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CONTENTS

1. Steven Collins, 1951–2018 by Rupert Gethin	I
2. Dr phil. Ole Holten Pind, 1945–2018 by Jørgen Podemann Sørensen	11
3. Abhidhamma Studies IV: The Saccasāṅkhepa and Its Commentaries by L.S. Cousins†	19
4. Writing Pali Texts in 16th century Lan Na (Northern Thailand): The Life and Work of Sirimaṅgala (Part I) by Gregory Kourilsky	69
5. Pali <i>ekakkharas</i> Revisited by Javier Schnake	125
6. Theragāthā 168 by Martin Straube	151
7. The Pāli Tipiṭaka Recension Carved on the Kuthodaw Pagoda Stelae and Its Relation to Other Burmese Versions by Royce Wiles, Chris Clark, Tamara Ditrich, Mark Allon	155
8. Boundaries and Domains : Understanding Optionality in Buddhappiya’s <i>Rūpasiddhi</i> by Aleix Ruiz-Falqués	227
9. Nāmadhātusūcī : An Annotated Index of Denominative Verbs in Pāli by Timothy P. Lighthiser	251
10. Pali <i>mantā</i> and <i>mantabhāṇin</i> by Martin Straube	313
An Index to <i>JPTS</i> , Volumes IX–XXXIV	331
Contributors to this volume	341
PTS Research Grants	343

Steven Collins
1951–2018

Rupert Gethin

Professor Steven Collins died unexpectedly on 15 February 2018 during a visit to New Zealand where he was giving a series of lectures as a visiting professor in Buddhist studies at the University of Otago. Steven Collins' premature death — he was sixty-six — is a loss to Buddhist studies generally, and a particular loss to the study of Pali Buddhist literature. Steven Collins also served as a member of the Council of the Pali Text Society for two extended periods, first from 1981 to 1993 and then, after a break prompted by his move to the US, from 2006 until his death; his dedication to the Society over so many years will be much missed.

Steven Collins' interest in Theravāda Buddhism and Pali literature began after he had completed his undergraduate studies at Oxford in Latin and Greek (Honours Moderations) and in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics in 1974. His decision to embark on research in Buddhist studies owed something to his friendship with Paul Williams, who at the time was beginning his own research in Madhyamaka under the supervision of B.K. Matilal. Paul Williams introduced Collins to Richard Gombrich, who was then Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali (but soon to be become Boden Professor of Sanskrit), and Steven Collins began his doctoral research under his supervision. The focus of his research was the understanding of the person and self in Pali Buddhist literature; he was awarded the degree of DPhil for his dissertation "Personal Continuity in Theravāda Buddhism" in 1979. Steven Collins then secured a Junior Research Fellowship at Exeter College, Oxford, and began revising the dissertation for publication. The revised dissertation was published as *Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravāda Buddhism* in 1981, shortly after his appointment as Lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Bristol (1980). A year later Paul

Williams also gained a position at Bristol, and together they established a tradition of Buddhist studies at the university that continues.

Like his subsequent scholarship, *Selfless Persons* is informed not only by the disciplines of textual scholarship but by broad intellectual interests — literary, philosophical, sociological, and anthropological. One of the most important aspects of Collins' approach to reading Pali texts already evident in *Selfless Persons* was the focus on imagery, in this instance house, vegetation, and river imagery. Indeed, an emphasis on the need to take the imaginative world of Pali texts seriously in the context of understanding their systematic doctrine was to become a feature of his approach to reading Pali literature.

Selfless Persons sets out to explore and understand how the doctrine of “not self” works — philosophically, psychologically, emotionally, and socially — within a broad corpus of Pali texts. While he does not ignore questions related to the development of the doctrine, he has little time for those — past, present, and no doubt future — who seek to save the Buddha from what they perceive as the unwanted consequences of the doctrine of *anattā* by claiming that the Buddhist tradition has misrepresented him on the issue.¹ *Selfless Persons* has become perhaps the standard treatment of the doctrine of “not self” (*anattā*) in early Buddhist literature, although for some his refusal to engage with the possibility that the Buddha did not teach what the texts say he taught means it is tainted by a form of Theravāda orthodoxy. I suspect that Collins would respond that his concern was with understanding the reality of Buddhist doctrine, not some long lost imaginary doctrine.

Steven Collins' interest in matters related to the Buddhist understanding of the person continued, resulting in a number of further publications. In particular his article “A Buddhist Debate About the Self; And Remarks on Buddhism in the Work of Derek Parfit and Galen Strawson” (1997) presented his own translation of a portion of the then

¹ See in particular “Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism”, *Numen*, 29 (1982), 251–71, a review article of Joaquín Pérez-Rémon, *Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism* (The Hague: Mouton, 1980).

untranslated twelfth-century *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, arguing for its relevance to modern philosophical debates.²

But in the 1980s and 1990s Collins' scholarly interests began to shift towards a broader exploration of what he referred to as the cultural logic of asceticism: what role does a group who are in some sense wishing to escape society play in society? This would eventually result in the publication of his second monograph, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* in 1998. In the meantime he published a number of articles that contributed directly or indirectly to this project, including a study of the neglected notion of the good friend “*Kalyāṇamitta* and *Kalyāṇamittatā*” (1987), an annotated translation of the *Aggañña-sutta* (1992), the results of his initial reflections on nirvana (“Nirvāṇa, Time, and Narrative”, 1992), a significant contribution to the discussion of the orality of ancient Pali literature (“Notes on Some Oral Aspects of Pali Literature”, 1992), as well as engaging in an exchange with Andrew Huxley on the social-contract theory of Buddhist kingship.

In addition, in September 1987 Collins had given the second I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture with the title “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon”. This was subsequently published in the *Journal of Pali Text Society* (1990). Here he pointed out that the notion that “the Buddha’s word” (*buddhavacana*) comprised a precisely defined set of texts appears to be peculiar to the Theravāda tradition of Buddhism. He went on to argue that the fixing of the Pali canon was related to a more general strategy of self-definition and self-legitimation on the part of Theravāda monks of the ancient Mahāvihāra that also involved the production of standard commentaries as well as chronicles setting out the history of its lineage (*vaṃsa*).

² See also “Buddhism in Recent British Philosophy and Theology”, *Religious Studies*, 21 (1985), 475–93; “Categories, Concepts or Predicaments? Remarks on Mauss’s Use of Philosophical Terminology”, in *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History*, ed. by Michael Carrithers, Steven Collins, and Steven Lukes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 46–82; “What Are Buddhists *Doing* When They Deny the Self?”, in *Religion and Practical Reason*, ed. by Frank Reynolds and D. Tracy (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 59–86.

In 1987 Steven Collins moved from Bristol to North America, initially to a one-year position at Indiana University Bloomington. It was shortly before his move to America that I met him for the first time when he acted as one of the examiners for my doctoral dissertation at Manchester. What I remember from this first encounter is his intellectual integrity based in a genuine quest for understanding. While Collins did not immediately resign from his position at Bristol, leaving open the possibility of a return, it was clear to his friends and colleagues that this was never his preferred option and that the possibilities offered by academic life in the North America attracted him.

In 1989 Collins moved to Concordia University in Montreal, and then in 1991 to the University of Chicago, where he joined the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations and was to remain for the rest of his academic career. In the preface to *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities*, he acknowledges the influence of “the extraordinarily stimulating and challenging intellectual milieu at Chicago” (p. xv). Certainly this second monograph, published sixteen years after his first, impresses by the breadth and ambition of its intellectual vision, which encompasses philosophy, historiography, anthropology, sociology, and literary theory. Given the place this book occupies in Steven Collins scholarly œuvre it is worth saying more about it.³

Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities is a study of the vision of “happiness” revealed in the Pali “imaginaire”, a term he adopts from French historiography. The problem Collins seeks to explore is not simply the metaphysics of nirvana. It is rather how the Theravāda Buddhist vision of happiness, which — in advocating a life of asceticism — seems to run counter to people’s ordinary aspirations, becomes the inspiration of civilizations across South and Southeast Asia. At seven hundred pages it is a substantial work, comprising an extended introduction on “Buddhism and civilizational history”, lengthy considerations first of nirvana as the ultimate “happiness” of Theravāda Buddhism (164 pages), and then of Buddhist visions of other, relative,

³ See also Rupert Gethin, review of Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* in *Contemporary Buddhism*, 2 (2001), 121–27.

forms of happiness (the ideal society, life in the heaven worlds), as well as appendices of translations of Pali texts.

Collins suggests that the problem that has often preoccupied modern Buddhist scholarship — whether nirvana is a form of super-existence or mere non-existence — is a pseudo problem created by accepting “Buddhist conceptual presuppositions but not the conclusions which Buddhists have drawn from them”; here he highlights in particular the failure to respect “the silences which they have preserved”, which are part of the production of meaning. In fact, he suggests, Theravāda Buddhist texts are quite clear about the nature of nirvana (p. 97). But for Collins making sense of nirvana in Buddhist terms is not enough; he tasks himself with making sense of it in his own scholarly terms (p. 205). To this end the book is dedicated to demonstrating how “nirvana was thought, as a concept, an image, and as a syntactic element of closure, structural and narrative, in the Buddhist discourse of felicity, implicit in any and every form of imagined well-being” (p. 25).

The ambition and length of *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* mean that it is not always an easy book, and no doubt this is one of the reasons that prompted him to publish an abridged version in 2010 (*Nirvana: Concept, Imagery, Narrative*), over ten years after the original publication. Some will inevitably feel that the richness of Collins’ intellectual framework is not always to their taste and at times indigestible. Nonetheless, there is no doubting that Collins’ intellectual achievement is considerable: he has much to say about various aspects of the study of Buddhism and Pali literature that deserves careful consideration. Perhaps his most lasting contribution is the manner in which he explores Buddhist imagery and narrative literature as a way of deepening an understanding of systematic doctrine, insisting that we need to take texts seriously as redacted wholes rather than treat them as crudely thrown together. In this way he attempts to go beyond “the dour-faced and humorless positivism with which these texts are so often read” (p. 494). In the final chapter of *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* Collins turned to the *Vessantarajātaka* as a work of literature, getting to the heart (in more than one sense) of what he wants to say: here we find the full spectrum of Buddhist happiness — from the beauty of this world to the final and sublime peace of nirvana — narrated in a work of

literature that confronts the reality of the painful emotions involved in renouncing the joys of family life in the quest for nirvana. The need to consider the literary aspects of Pali texts generally and with reference to the *Vessantarajātaka* was an issue Collins returned to in his 2003 essay “What Is Literature in Pali?” as well as in the collection of essays he edited, *Readings of the Vessantara Jataka* (2016).

In the early 2000s Collins turned his scholarly energies to issues related to Theravāda Buddhism and gender. This led to a series of invited lectures entitled “Civilisation et la femme célibataire” delivered at L’École pratique des hautes études in Paris in 2006 (published as a monograph in 2011),⁴ as well as several other articles.⁵

In 2011, with Juliane Schober, he launched the Theravāda Civilizations Project as a way of supporting collaborative exchanges among scholars working on different dimensions of the Theravāda civilizations of South and Southeast Asia. The project facilitated a number of workshops in the US and Asia resulting in a volume edited with Schober, *Theravāda Buddhist Encounters with Modernity* (2017). In the last decade of his life he also published a number of insightful focused studies, such as “Remarks on the *Visuddhimagga*, and on Its Treatment of the Memory of Former Dwelling(s) (*pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa*)” (2009) and “Madness and Possession in Pāli Texts” (2014). But it is his contribution to an edited book that eventually appeared shortly after his death that reveals the direction his scholarship was heading.

“Some Remarks on Hadot, Foucault, and Comparisons with Buddhism” (2018) returns to the broad philosophical themes and the issues of cross-cultural comparisons that are also apparent in *Selfless Persons* and *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities*. The specific question at stake here is the possibility of a cross-cultural comparison of “spiritual exercises” and “technologies of self” as envisioned by Pierre Hadot and Michel Foucault. The question is approached with Collins’ character-

⁴ *Civilisation et femmes célibataires dans le bouddhisme en asie du sud et du sud-est: une “étude de genre”* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2011).

⁵ Including “Remarks on the Third Precept: Adultery and Prostitution in Pāli Texts”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 29 (2007), 263–84; and (with Justin McDaniel) “Buddhist ‘Nuns’ (Mae Chi) and the Teaching of Pali in Contemporary Thailand”, *Modern Asian Studies*, 44 (2010), 1373–408.

istic concerns — rigour and precision in the use of language when translating (in this case the works of Hadot and Foucault, as well as Pali texts); the need to set systems of ideas in their practical, social, and institutional contexts; the importance of careful and close reading. This chapter anticipates themes that are developed in a final monograph, published posthumously on the basis of an unfinished manuscript, *Wisdom as a Way of Life: Theravāda Buddhism Reimagined* (2020). In this final work Collins presents something of his own vision of how the academic and scholarly study of Theravāda Buddhism might become something more than merely academic and itself contribute to a modern “philosophy as a way of life”. Once again he emphasises the importance of narrative thought for understanding the imaginaire of Theravāda Buddhism, focusing in particular on the literary dimensions of the *jātaka* tales.

The intellectual ambition and range of Steven Collins’ work mean that he is sometimes a difficult author. But there can be no doubt that his scholarly output represents a very considerable contribution to the study of Pali literature, not only in his interpretation and understanding of specific texts, but also in what he has to say about how we should approach reading Pali texts in order to make sense of them. On both accounts his work deserves reading and rereading. Steven Collins’ scholarship is carried out within an intellectual framework that combines the methods and insights of a number of disciplines in a genuine quest for understanding from a perspective of genuine humanity. He cared deeply about Pali literature and devoted his career to trying to show that what it had to say was important.⁶

⁶ For further reflections on Steven Collins’ scholarly legacy, see Charles Hallisey, “Exploring the Buddhist Middle Way From a Middle Ground: In Memoriam Steven Collins”, *Sophia*, 57 (2018), 203–206, and the preface (Dan Arnold), the editor’s introduction (Justin McDaniel), and the afterword (Charles Hallisey) of Steven Collins, *Wisdom as a Way of Life* (2020).

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Dr phil. Ole Holten Pind
1945–2018

Jørgen Podemann Sørensen

At the death of Ole Holten Pind, on December 13, 2018, Buddhist studies has lost an exceptionally shrewd contributor with rare proficiencies. He began his studies in history of religions at the University of Aarhus in 1967. At that time he had already added Hebrew to his high school Greek and Latin and followed courses in Sanskrit. In the following year, when a teacher in near eastern archæology was persuaded to give courses in Akkadian, both Ole Pind and the undersigned took the first steps in the language of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians and the difficult cuneiform writing. As far as possible, Ole stated, one should every year take up a new language. Today, I believe this sounds like something that would be banned immediately by curriculum logistics, but Ole remained remarkably true to the principle he had so boldly adopted as a young student. In the following years, without neglecting the history of religions, he picked up Pali, Tibetan, and classical Chinese. In 1974, he graduated with a masters' degree on the topic of *En undersøgelse af forudsætningerne for den vedisk-brahmanske Brahman/Atman terminologi* (*An inquiry into the background of the Vedic-Brahmanic Brahman/Atman Terminology*) in history of religions with Indology as a minor at the University of Aarhus. His teachers were Professor Halfdan Siiger (History of Religions) and Associate Professor Erik Pihlkjær Hjortshøj (Indology). For a short period, he taught as an extramural (part-time) teacher in the same university, and for quite a number of students, this became their first acquaintance with the novel currents in the comparative study of religion and anthropology. Also in Copenhagen his Danish translation of Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous paper on the structural study of myth was widely used in the basic curriculum.

But the late seventies and the early eighties were difficult times for Danish academics in search of tenure; at the universities part-time, extramural jobs and a few scholarships were often all that was available. But in Ole's case, his independent studies in Pali eventually led to a more permanent position in Copenhagen, as an author of articles and co-editor together with Oskar von Hinüber of six fascicles of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Vol. III, 1–6, 1992–1999. This comprehensive lexicographical project begun by V. Trenckner (1824–1891), was continued by the Danish Pali scholar Dines Andersen (1861–1940) and the Swedish indologist Helmer Smith (1882–1956), who edited the first volume. The second volume saw several editors (II, 1–4 anonymous; II, 5–10 Ludwig Alsdorf, 1904–1978); II, 11–17 Kenneth Roy Norman (*1925) and Christian Lindtner (*1949), before, with the third volume, Oskar von Hinüber (*1939) and Ole Holten Pind — the latter up to fascicle 6 — took over as editors. From the beginning until Vol. III.6, the *CPD* was a project of The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. The main sponsor up to 1991 were the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Research Council for the Humanities. From then onwards a larger number of other sponsors further supported the project financially.¹ Eventually, however, also this funding came to an end. On the initiative of Ole Pind the completed parts of the dictionary were digitized by the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Copenhagen, thus facilitating search across dictionary entries and making the entire bulk of text examples accessible.²

Already as a student Ole Pind had taken an interest in the Indian grammatical tradition. In his work on the Pali language he carried this interest still further. With a series of papers about Indian Pali grammarians (1989, 1990, 1995, 1996, 1997a, 2010) and his edition of

¹ For more details, see Oskar von Hinüber, “Concluding Remarks”, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. III, Fasc. 8, Bristol: Pali Text Society, 2011, XXXIII–XXXVII.

² This electronic version has since been transferred to the University of Cologne where it is maintained by the Data Center for the Humanities in cooperation with the Pali Text Society (Bristol, UK). There, the portions of the dictionary which had appeared after the digitization in which Ole Pind was involved were digitized too, so that now all parts of the dictionary are accessible online (<https://cpd.uni-koeln.de/search.php>).

Kaccāyana's grammar (2013),³ he established himself internationally as an authority in this important field.

Also in Ole Pind's contributions to Buddhist studies, the study of Buddhist philosophy, especially with reference to its technical terms and forms of argument, was always central. He took a special interest in the subtle concepts and arguments so richly represented in Buddhism. An early field of study was the Madhyamaka school and its idea of emptiness (1983, 1992a, 2001, 2007). Given Ole's early interest in Madhyamaka, it is perhaps not surprising that he also began to explore the literature and ideas of the Buddhist logico-epistemological school, focusing especially on Dignāga (c. 500 CE) and his theory of exclusion (*apoha*) (1991, 1999a, 2011a, 2015).

In order to investigate Dignāga's ideas, Pind worked on the reconstruction of the fifth chapter of his *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*, a crucial source for the *apoha* theory. For this he made use of a newly available and unique Sanskrit manuscript of the only Indian commentary, the eighth century *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* by Jinendrabuddhi. Ole's skilful and careful reconstruction was informed by his detailed knowledge of Dignāga's intellectual environment, in particular Vaiśeṣika thought and the grammarian-philosopher Bharṭṛhari. It was this work that grew into a dissertation that in 2009 was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy *summa cum laude* at the University of Vienna (2015).

In addition to these highly specialized studies, Ole Holten Pind has made valuable contributions to the spread of knowledge of Buddhism in Danish, for a short period also as a teacher at the University of Copenhagen, but first and foremost through translations into Danish of Pali texts (2005, 2007, 2015) and later Mahāyāna texts in Sanskrit, e.g. the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and *Sukhāvativyūha* (2006). His comprehensive selection of Pali texts (2005) is provided with a valuable and instructive introduction to the Tipiṭaka and includes, in addition to the canonical texts, excerpts from the *Milindapañha*, examples of commentarial literature and *Jātaka* tales. Together with the chapter on Buddhism in *Gyldendals religionshistorie* (2011b) these translations provided a solid foundation for teaching Buddhist studies in Danish universities and high schools.

³ Reviewed by Eivind Kahrs, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 78.1 (2015): 204–205.

ABBREVIATIONS

CPD *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* — begun by V. Trenckner; edited by Dines Andersen, Hans Hendriksen, Helmer Smith, Ludwig Alsdorf, Kenneth Roy Norman, Oskar von Hinüber, and Ole Holten Pind, Vols. 1–3, Fasc. 8, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, and Bristol: Pali Text Society, 1924–2011.

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Abhidhamma Studies IV*

The Saccasaṅkhepa and Its Commentaries¹

L.S. Cousins[†]

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

L.S. Cousins' (LSC) article published here posthumously was considered not yet ready for publication by LSC himself. In an email to me dated 21 July 2014 with the preliminary version of this article attached, he characterised it as "very much a work in progress". This in his opinion was especially valid for the Appendices, and the third part of the paper. With respect to the latter he stated, "Part Three needs to be rewritten; it collects together various thoughts and is not a coherent whole. I have not yet made up my mind about some aspects." In the following months we further discussed several points, especially the translation of the introduction to the Saccasaṅkhepavivaraṇa. As a consequence LSC revised his translation several times, rendering the version contained in his original article obsolete. However, he did not find time to work on this article again because of other obligations (email, 25/9/2014). Sadly he was not granted the time to return to it.

Despite the unfinished state and the remaining imperfections, especially of the third part, this article is an important piece of scholarship

*[LSC's three previous Abhidhamma Studies are: "Abhidhamma Studies I: Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭṭikā*", *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies*, 2 (2011), 1–36; "Abhidhamma Studies II: Sanskrit Abhidharma Literature of the Mahāvihāravāsins", *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies*, 4 (2013), 1–61; "Abhidhamma Studies III: Origins of the Canonical Abhidha(r)mma Literature", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 8 (2015), 96–145.]

¹ Thanks are due to Peter Skilling for access to mss of Sacc; to Uppsala University Library, Jacqueline Filliozat, Olivier de Bernon, and Petra Kieffer-Pülz for mss of the *ṭīkā*s.

not only concerning the history of Pāli literature, but also with respect to the development of the Abhidhamma and its representation in the Saccasāṅkhepa. Since we do not know what decisions LSC would have made concerning various points in his article, nor which of the more recent findings he would have accepted, we now publish this last version, designated as the fifth by him, and dated 14 July 2014; it incorporates the changes suggested by LSC himself in subsequent emails to me. Some of the questions we discussed were dealt with by me in articles that appeared only after LSC's demise. In order to bring these more recent findings to the reader's notice comments and references are added in square brackets.

The paper was finally revised by Rupert Gethin and me. We decided to eliminate the third Appendix to this paper which contained translations — characterised as “rough” by LSC himself — of difficult text portions from a variety of Abhidhamma commentaries and subcommentaries, since neither of us knew how LSC would have translated them finally in a revised version.

Petra Kieffer-Pülz

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

Saccasāṅkhepa (Sacc) has been variously attributed to (Culla-) Dhammapāla and to Ānanda. This dates back to at least the early thirteenth century. A careful examination of the contents of the work suggests, however, that it cannot be the work of Ānanda nor of Dhammapāla, if by the latter one means the author of the four Suttanta *ṭīkā*s and/or the Māhāṭīkā to the Visuddhimagga. The possibility that it is the work of Jotipāla is suggested, but complete certainty does not seem attainable as yet.

Two *ṭīkā*s are extant, although there is no printed edition of either as yet. One of them (Saccasāṅkhepavivarāṇa = Sacc-viv), despite often being labelled on the mss as the “old *ṭīkā*”, can be shown to be the later of the two. No date can be suggested for this, although it must be thirteenth century or more probably later.

The older of the two *ṭīkā*s, we are informed, was written at the request of Sāriputta and must therefore be the work of a pupil or

associate of his. It is referred to as the Sāratthasālinī (Sacc-ṭ) in the mss and cannot be later than the thirteenth century in date. Some attempt is made here to explore the complex issues involved in dating the work of Sāriputta and his disciples.

PART ONE

I. PROPOSED AUTHORS OF THE SACCASAṅKHEPA

The authorship of the Saccasaṅkhepa has been disputed for a considerable time. Among twentieth-century scholars some have assigned it to a Culla-Dhammapāla, although mostly aware of other possibilities.² *CPD* (*Epilegomena* to Vol. I, p. 50) is a little more cautious and notes both attributions to Culla-Dhammapāla and to Dhammapāla without prefix. More recently, von Hinüber simply mentions Dhammapāla and Ānanda as possibilities.³

The confusion in fact derives from our sources. It has long been known that the three main traditional bibliographic sources differ on this. The nineteenth-century Sāsana-vaṃsa simply attributes Sacc to Dhammapāla-thera.⁴ The earlier Gandha-vaṃsa at first attributes it to “the teacher Dhammapāla, senior pupil of the teacher Ānanda”⁵ but then later refers to the author of Sacc as the teacher Culla-Dhammapāla: “The book named Saccasaṅkhepa was made by the teacher the Younger

² For example, Geiger 1956 [1916], p. 34; Malalasekera 1928, pp. 112; 202f.; Norman 1983, p. 152.

³ Von Hinüber 1996, § 351, cf. § 366.

⁴ [Sās 34.2f.] So also the later *Piṭakat samuñ* which refers to Dhammapāla as residing in “Badaratittha Monastery, Anurādha city west, Sri Lanka” (Mahāsiriyejaya-Sū 2012, p. 67, no. 290). However, this is unlikely to be correct.

⁵ [Gv B^e:] *Ānandācariyassa jeṭṭha-sisso Dhammapālo nāmācariyo Saccasaṅkhepaṃ nāma pakaraṇaṃ akāsi*. [LSC here follows the reading of Gv B^e as documented on the CSCD; Gv E^c 60,30f. reads *Culladhammapālo* and omits *pakaraṇaṃ*; thus, according to the roman edition, there is no discrepancy between the two statements of Gv. It is, however, known that there are a number of discrepancies in the various testimonies of the Gv, none of which is reliable (B^e E^c N^e).]

Dhammapāla according to his own understanding”,⁶ i.e. without his having been requested by anyone. However, the only other known mention of a Culla-Dhammapāla is in the Gandha-vamṣa itself, where he is included with Dhammapāla in a list of eleven teachers from Jambudīpa.⁷ The still earlier Saddhamma-saṅgaha (c. A.D. 1400) by contrast gives the worthy elder Ānanda as the author.⁸

There is in fact an earlier attribution of Sacc to Dhammapāla, as mentioned by von Hinüber [1996: §351] — that by Ariyavaṃsa in his subcommentary (to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha), composed in A.D. 1466 (Mañis I 377,23–25; 407,20). To this can be added an even earlier mention in A.D. 1154 by Aggavaṃsa in the Saddānīti.⁹ This might seem to settle the matter, if it were not for the fact that the twelfth- or thirteenth-century *ṭīkā* by a pupil or associate of Sāriputta attributes Sacc to Ānanda, using precisely the same verse we find in Saddhamma-s; so presumably the Sacc-ṭ is the source from which Saddhamma-s has taken its information. I shall refer to this *ṭīkā* as the Sāratthasālinī. To add to this, a second *ṭīkā*, whose date I will discuss below, has the attribution to Dhammapāla. This *ṭīkā* I will refer to as the Vivaraṇa, since it is described as an *atthavivara<ṇa>* in its introduction.

2. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE SACCASĀṆKHEPA

It is clear then that the authorship of Sacc was ascribed to both Ānanda and Dhammapāla by the early thirteenth century and that the manuscripts of Sacc available to the author of the Sāratthasālinī did not contain the colophon attributing it to Dhammapāla, given in most (?) printed editions, but absent from the only manuscript used for the PTS edition. Also in the early thirteenth century, Sumaṅgala cites Sacc at least seven times in his Abhidh-s-mhṭ, mostly without attribution but

⁶ [Gv E° 70,12f. = Gv B°:] *Saccasaṅkhepo nāma gantho attano matiyā Culla-Dhammapālācariyena kato.*

⁷ [Gv E° 66,30 = Gv B°.]

⁸ Saddhamma-s 62,31–32 [ch. 9, v. 16]:

*kato yo Saccasaṅkhepo nipuṇ'attha-vinicchayo
Ānanda-thera-pādena vicitta-naya-maṅḍito.*

⁹ [Sadd E° I 8,9f.:] *Saccasaṅkhepa-ppakaraṇe hi Dhammapālācariyena ... uccāritaṃ.*

twice explicitly mentioning Saccasaṅkhepa.¹⁰ In Abhidh-av-ṇṭ he mentions it by name twice and also quotes it once without name.¹¹ Since Sumaṅgala mentions both Dhammapāla and Ānanda on a number of other occasions, this gives good reason to suspect that he either did not have information as to the authorship of Sacc or else knew of both attributions without being sure which, if either, was correct.

The confusion in the later tradition is clearly due to the fact that the name of Ānanda is embedded in the Sāratthasālinī, the better and more influential of the two *ṭīkā*s, while that of Dhammapāla is given in the widely known Saddanīti. Since the earliest known citations from Sacc are given by Sāriputta in his *sanne* to Abhidh-s,¹² we can probably assume that Sacc precedes the twelfth century and must therefore date to the period from the seventh to the eleventh century. Most probably it precedes the Māhāṭṭikā to Vism in date. If so, it would be earlier than the eleventh century (see below). It does sometimes contain more Sanskritized language and concepts, otherwise found in the *ṭīkā* literature. In general we may say that it bears a relationship to the earlier *ṭīkā*s similar to the relationship which the Abhidhammāvātāra bears to the *aṭṭhakathās* of the school of Buddhaghosa.

Since there does not appear to be any explicit reference to Sacc in any pre-twelfth century source, we must turn to its content for confirmation as to its likely dating. Here the striking element is the manner in which Sacc often presents both the position of the *aṭṭhakathā* literature and that of the *ṭīkā* writer, i.e. Ānanda. The Sāratthasālinī refers to this as the *ṭīkā-naya* [“*ṭīkā* method”] and the *aṭṭhakathā-naya* [“*aṭṭhakathā* method”]. It needs to be examined in detail with reference to the specific issues to understand the place of the Saccasaṅkhepa in the history of the *abhidhamma* exegetical literature.

¹⁰ Abhidh-s-mhṭ [B^c] 95, 101, 108, 109, 143, 145, 146. They are introduced as follows: 95: *āhu Porāṇā*; 101: *Saccasaṅkhepe*; 108, 146: *vadanti*; 109: *vuttañ ca*; 143, 145: *āhu*.

¹¹ Abhidh-av-ṇṭ II 38, 65, 96.

¹² Abhidh-s-sn 90, 102, 104, 146, 163, 175. Sacc is mentioned by name at 163,30 [*Satyasamkṣepayehi*].

IS BIRTH BORN?

At Sacc 31 we have the explicit statement that birth (*jāti*) can be born from any of the four conditions: *kamma*, mind, season, and nutriment. This accords with the Dhammasaṅgaṇi where the *upacaya* and *santati* of materiality can be either *upādiṇṇa* or mind-originated (Dhs §§ 746; 747). But in Sacc 32 it is pointed out that by the *aṭṭhakathā-naya* birth is not born from any cause. This is because birth is simply a name for the arising of *dhammas*; it has no separate existence. If it did, there would be an infinite regress.¹³ Here the distinction is not between the *aṭṭhakathā* and *īkā* methods, but between a canonical statement understood as *pariyāyena vutta* [“stated in a loose manner”] and a commentarial statement explained as *nippariyāya* [“stated in a strict manner”].

MIND-BORN SOUND WITHOUT COMMUNICATION

At Sacc 36 the number of types of mind-born *kalāpas* [“clusters”] is given as either seven or six. The figure six is reached by omitting the simple ninefold cluster of sound. In other words, mind-born sound would always be accompanied by communication. The view that there are seven is attributed to the Porāṇas by the Māhāṭīkā (*Vism-mhṭ* II 110) and to the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā by the Aṭṭhasālinī, the Mūlaṭīkā, and other sources. It is rejected by the Aṭṭhasālinī on the authority of the *āgama* commentaries of Buddhaghosa; and also by citing the Paṭṭhāna statement that “mind-originated sound base is a condition for ear discrimination by object condition”.¹⁴ However, a number of later writers point out that the Paṭṭhāna does not in fact specify “mind-originated” here.¹⁵ That also appears to be the case with the extant texts of the Paṭṭhāna.¹⁶ Since Ānanda appears to accept the reading of the Aṭṭhasālinī, it could indicate that the author of the Abhidhamma commentary had a different textual reading in the version of the Paṭṭhāna available to him.

¹³cf. *Vism* 452.

¹⁴Dhs-a 86–87, Sv III 887, Mp II 269; cf. Paṭis-a 693.

¹⁵Dhs-anuṭ 161, Spk-pt II 349, Abhidh-av-ṇṭ II 129.

¹⁶Paṭṭh I 135, II 478, III 97.

This then is not precisely a dispute between the *aṭṭhakathā-naya* and the *īkā-naya* so much as a disagreement between the *aṭṭhakathās* and the earlier Sinhala commentaries. Ānanda in the *Mūlaṭīkā* in fact explains the issue, stating that the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* is referring to subtle sound, heard with the divine ear as in the Suttas, whereas the *Paṭṭhāna* refers to gross sound. He seems, however, to accept the rejection of this in *Dhs-a*, on the grounds that there is no such thing as a sound which cannot be discriminated by the ear.¹⁷ According to *Sv-ṭ* what is meant here is the sound experienced by someone reciting a *mantra*.¹⁸

We can note here that the author of *Sacc* simply gives both alternatives without indicating any preference.

THE MOMENT OF PRESENCE

At *Sacc 54ff.* we have the treatment of moments of mentality. As is well known, Ānanda, the author of the *Mūlaṭīkā*, rejected the moment of presence and allowed only the moments of arising and ceasing for mentality. This is the position which is stated in *Sacc 54*: only in the moment of arising of mentality can it give rise to materiality, if the moment of presence is not recognised. As *Sacc-ṭ* points out, the basis

¹⁷*Dhs-mṭ* 75,13–76,2 (to *Dhs-a* 86f.): *sahasaddā panā ti* (*Dhs-a* 86,15) *tassa vikārassa saddena saha sambhūtattā vuttaṃ. cittānuparivattitāya pana so na yāva saddabhāvī ti daṭṭhabbo. vitakkavipphārasaddo na sotaviññeyyo ti pavattena Mahā-aṭṭhakathāvādena cittasamuṭṭhānasaddo vinā pi viññattighaṭṭanena uppajjati ti āpajjati. “yā tāya vācāya viññattī” ti* (*Dhs* §§637; 720; 848) *hi vacanato asotaviññeyyasaddena saha viññattiyā uppatti natthī ti viññāyatī ti. cittasamuṭṭhānaṃ saddāyatanan ti* (*Dhs-a* 86,30) *ettha ca na koci cittasamuṭṭhāno saddo asaṅgahito nāma atthī ti adhippāyena Mahā-aṭṭhakathāvādaṃ paṭisedheti. chabbidhena rūpasāṅgahādīsu hi sotaviññeyyan ti diṭṭhaṃ sutan ti ettha sutan ti ca na koci saddo na saṅgayhatī ti. Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana viññattisahajam eva jivhātālucalanādikaravitakkasamuṭṭhitam sukhumasaddam “dibbasotena sutvā ādisati” ti Sutte Paṭṭhāne ca oḷārikasaddam sandhāya “sotaviññānassa ārammaṇapaccayena paccayo” ti vuttan ti iminā adhippāyena asotaviññeyyatā vuttā siyā. saddo ca asotaviññeyyo cā ti viruddham etan ti pana paṭikkhepo veditabbo.*

¹⁸*Sv-ṭ* III 85,17–18: ... *yo loke mantajappo ti vuccati, yassa Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ asotaviññeyyatā vuttā.*

for this is the absence of presence in the Yamaka which analyzes in terms of the moments of arising and breaking up (Yam I 179 *passim*). The following stanza [Sacc 55] rejects the argument that the moment of presence can be inferred from the Ānguttara reference to “change of what is present” as one of the three *saṅkhata-lakkhaṇa*.

The next stanza [Sacc 56], however, introduces an alternative with *atha vā*, possibly intended here as the preferred alternative. At all events, this now introduces the *aṭṭhakathā-mata* [“the opinion (expressed) in the commentary”], as the Sāratthasālinī points out, “after having shown the understanding of the *ṭīkākāra*”.

MATERIALITY AT REBIRTH IN AN *APĀYA*

Sacc 65 states that in the Descents [*apāya*] a blind or deaf being without gender has five <*kamma*-born> material decads at the moment of rebirth. It then adds that whether they have five or four has to be known by inference. The following verse [Sacc 66] begins by citing the statement that <in the Descents> an *opapātika* being lacking sight, hearing, and smell has only four material decads at the moment of rebirth, i.e. the decads of taste, touch, gender, and heart base. The Sāratthasālinī indicates that this statement is made in the *aṭṭhakathā*.¹⁹ This is superficially contrary to the Vibhaṅga commentary which gives a stanza (also cited in the Visuddhimagga and probably from an earlier source²⁰) that treats the *opapātika* and the *saṃsedaja* together and gives a minimum of three decads, i.e. omitting in addition the sense of taste.²¹ The Yamaka commentary, on the other hand, denies that there are any *opapātikas* in the *kāma-dhātu* who lack the sense of smell.²² Taking these two statements together, the understanding is then that some very small creatures have only the senses of touch and smell together with a basis for mind. However, the stanza (Sacc 66) concludes with the comment

¹⁹[Sacc-ṭ ad v. 66: *caturo bhavanti paṭisandhikkhaṇe jivhākāyabhāvavattu vasena caturo hontī ti aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ*].

²⁰[Vism 552,34f. (Vism Trsl., p. 661f).]

²¹Vibh-a 161f.

²²Yam-a 76,1: *kāmadhātuyam pana aghānako opapātiko natthi*.

that a knowledgeable person should understand this after investigating. As the Sāratthasālinī points out, this was said by the *ṭīkā-kāra*.²³

More probably, Sacc-ṭ is mistaken and Sacc is simply hinting at the view of the author of the Mūlaṭīkā.²⁴ Ānanda points out that neither the *opapātika* nor the *saṃsedaja* lacks the sense of smell in the canonical text.²⁵ The Anuṭīkā critiques various views.²⁶ Abhidh-av-ṇṭ presents this

²³[Sacc-ṭ ad v. 66: *upaparikkhitvā ti vimaṃsitvā; gahetabban ti ṭīkākārena vuttaṃ;*] e.g. Dhs-ṃṭ 129,24: *upaparikkhitvā gahetabbo*; Vibh-anuṭ (B^o) 124,4: *sabbaṃ taṃ vimaṃsitvā gahetabbaṃ*.

²⁴Vibh-ṃṭ 109,12–13: *na hi pālīyaṃ kāmāvacarānaṃ saṃsedajopapātīkānaṃ aghānakānaṃ upapatti vuttā*. cf. Yam-ṃṭ 129.

²⁵Citing Vibh 412f., etc.

²⁶Vibh-anuṭ 123,6–124,4: *ettha ca yathā sattati ukkaṃsato ca rūpānī ti padaṃ saṃsedajopapāṭīsū ti ettha yonidvayavasena yojīyati, na evaṃ avakaṃsato tiṃsā ti idaṃ; idaṃ pana saṃsedajayonivasen' eva yojetabbaṃ, ekayoga-niddiṭṭhassāpi ekadeso sambandhaṃ labhaṭi ti. "saṃsedajass'eva ca jaccandhabadhira-aghānakanapūṃsakassa jivhākāyavattudhasakānaṃ vasena tiṃsa rūpāni uppajjanṭi ti vuttaṃ, na opapātīkassā" ti ayam ettha Aṭṭhakathāya adhippāyo. ye pana "opapātīkassa jaccandha ... pe ... uppajjanṭi' ti Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttan" ti vadanti, taṃ na gahetabbaṃ. so hi pamādapāṭho. evaṃ ca katvā Āyatanayamakavaṇṇanāya "kāmadhātuyaṃ pana aghānako opapātīko natthi. yadi bhavēyya, 'kassaci aṭṭhāyatanāni pātubhavanti' ti vadeyyā" ti vakkhati. apare panāhu "kassaci ekādasāyatanāni pātubhavanti' yāva 'kassaci navāyatanāni' ti pālī opapātīke sandhāya vuttā. tasmā pubbenāparaṃ Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ avirodho siddho hoti, tathā ca yathāvuttapālīyā ayam atthavaṇṇanā aññadatthu saṃsandati sameti yevā" ti. yaṃ pan' eke vadanti "opapātīkaggahaṇena saṃsedajā pi saṅgayhanti. tathā hi Dhammahadayavibhaṅge 'kāmadhātuyā upapattikkhaṇe [...] kassaci ekādasāyatanāni pātubhavanti' ti ādināṃ (Vibh 411,37–40) uddese "opapātīkānaṃ petānaṃ' ti ādinā opapātīkaggahaṇaṃ eva kataṃ, na saṃsedajaggaṇaṃ" (Vibh-ṃṭ 135,20–21) ti, taṃ paripuṇṇāyatanānaṃ yeva saṃsedajānaṃ opapātīkesu saṅgahaṇavasena vuttan ti vedītabbaṃ. tathā hi vakkhati saṃsedajayonikā paripuṇṇāyatanāparipuṇṇāyatanabhāvena opapātīkasaṅgahaṃ katvā vuttā" ti "padhānāya vā yoniyā sabbaṃ paripuṇṇāyatanayoniṃ dassetuṃ 'opapātīkānaṃ' ti vuttan" ti ca. Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana yonidvayaṃ sarūpen' eva pakāsetuṃ, saṃsedajayonivasen' eva ca*

dispute as the views of Jotipāla, etc., as against those of Ānanda, etc., but this may be an oversimplification.²⁷

MATTER IN THE BRAHMA REALM

At Sacc 21 the eight kinds of inseparable (*avinibbhoga*) materiality [constituting the bare material octad] are listed: the four elements, colour, smell, taste, and nutriment. The fact that they are inseparable would seem to imply that they are all eight present in the Brahma realm. That raises certain issues, since Brahmas have only the senses of sight and hearing and do not consume even subtle material food. Sacc-ṭ points out that this is stated according to the *aṭṭhakathā-naya*, but the understanding of the *ṭīkācariya* who declares that smell and so on do not exist in the *rūpaloka* will appear below. In fact, the list of eight inseparable *rūpas* as such appears first here, although it is later standard in the verse texts.

In the next verse of Sacc [v. 22] we find the explicit statement that tangible materiality, i.e. the object of the sense of touch, consists of the earth, fire, and wind elements in the *kāma<loka>*. This, as Sacc-ṭ points out, implies the view of the *ṭīkācariya* for whom these three elements in the Brahma realm cannot be classified as tangible materiality. That in fact seems to be the position of the Vibhaṅga (Vibh 405) which includes only nine of the eighteen *dhātu* in the *rūpa* sphere. The *aṭṭhakathā* works do, however, classify those three elements in the Brahma realm as tangible materiality. Sacc-ṭ indicates that the *aṭṭhakathā* position is given later at Sacc 69.

Sacc 67–71 further addresses the question of matter in the Brahma realm.²⁸ The author of the *Mūlaṭṭikā* [on the *Abhidhamma*] denied the existence of smell, taste, and nutriment on the basis of Vibh 418f. and Kv 375.²⁹ He therefore held that on rebirth in the form realm only three septads of materiality (plus the life sextad) arise. This is exactly the

*avakaṃsato pavattiṃ dassetuṃ opapātikayoniyā itaraṃ asaṅgahetvā
“samsedajopapātīsū” ti vuttan ti. sabbaṃ taṃ vīmaṃsitvā gahetabbaṃ.*

²⁷Cousins 2011, pp. 15f.

²⁸Cousins 2011, pp. 13f.

²⁹Vibh-mṭ 108f. The position is rejected in the *Anuṭṭikā*: Vibh-anuṭ 121f.

position set out here. However, in the last two *pādas* of verse 71 we are given as the (preferred?) alternative (with *atha vā*) decads, enneads, and octads, i.e. the decads of eye, ear, and heart base, and the life ennead at rebirth, and (subsequently) the bare octad. As the Sāratthasālinī points out, this is the position of the *aṭṭhakathā*. In the next and final verse of its chapter on materiality, Sacc [v. 72] goes on to state that there are nineteen kinds of materiality in the form realm, exactly as given in the works of the school of Buddhaghosa.

RESULTS OF EXCITEMENT *CITTA*

At Sacc 144 it is stated that unskilful *citta* gives connexion in the four *apāya*. This can be taken as following the position that the last kind of unskilful *citta* (i.e. excitement *citta*) also gives rebirth, whereas the usual view is that the last kind of unskilful *citta* cannot condition rebirth, as stated in the Abhidhamma commentary.³⁰ This position is based upon the *aṭṭhakathākaṇḍa* of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (Dhs § 1391) which specifies that this *citta* arising is exclusively abandoned by practice, i.e. there is no kind of excitement *citta* which is abandoned at stream-entry, after which rebirth in the four descents is not possible. According to Sumāṅgala the view apparently presented here is that of Buddhamitta and others.³¹ The Mūlaṭṭikā and Anuṭṭikā attribute this view to the Amataggapatha; so this may be the name of a work by Buddhamitta.³²

THE *GATINIMITTA*

At Sacc 173 it is stated that *kammanimitta* [“sign of *kamma*”] and *gatinimitta* [“sign of destiny”], which are two of the three kinds of mental object which occur at death and reconnexion, arise in a five-door process. This seems problematic for the latter which is a kind of vision

³⁰Dhs-a 261. [See also Dhs-a trsl. 396.]

³¹Abhidh-av-ṇṭ II 73f.; Abhidh-s-mhṭ 139 (translated Wijeratne and Gethin 2002, [p. 192]).

³²Vibh-anuṭ 104,25–26: *yaṃ “na bhāvanāya pahātabbam pi atthi uddhacca-sahagatan” ti ādi Amataggapathe vuttaṃ, taṃ akāraṇaṃ.* cf. Vibh-mṭ 95; Vibh-anuṭ 102,23–24: *Amataggapathe ti evaṃnāmake pakaraṇe*; Paṭṭh-anuṭ 323.

of something belonging to the realm in which rebirth will take place. The Abhidhamma commentary and Visuddhimagga in fact specify that this occurs at the mind door.³³ They seem to be generally followed in this by the *īṭkā* literature.³⁴ However, the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha refers to apprehending the *kammanimitta* and the *gatinimitta* at the six doors. This is interpreted by Sāriputta, followed by Sumaṅgala, as meaning at the six doors for a *kammanimitta* and at the mind door for a *gatinimitta*.³⁵ They mention that some do not make that distinction and cite this verse of Sacc. However, they reject this view and refer to the *Mūlaṭīkā* with a quotation that appears in fact to be from the *Māhāṭīkā*. The *Mūlaṭīkā* and *Anuṭīkā*, [i.e. subcommentaries on the Abhidhamma,] do not appear to address this issue.

REPETITION OF ESTABLISHING

In its account of the consciousness process (Sacc 180) the Sacca-saṅkhepa rejects the statement that in the case of a small object, establishing (*voṭṭhapana*) occurs two or three times, utilizing the argument that the Paṭṭhāna does not list this possibility in its treatment of repetition condition. Such a comment is found in the commentaries of the school of Buddhaghosa.³⁶ The Visuddhimagga, however, seems to

³³Vibh-a 157f., 160; Vism 549, 551.

³⁴Vism-mhṭ II 300.

³⁵Abhidh-s-sn 163, Abhidh-s-mhṭ 146, Abhidh-av-ṇṭ II 96f. See Wijeratne and Gethin 2002, p. 209.

³⁶Ps II 226,9–10: *voṭṭhabbanam* (E^c *voṭṭhapanam*) *patvā ekam dve* (E^c *ekadve*) *vāre āsevanam labhitvā cittam bhavaṅgam eva otarati*, i.e. it is repeated once or twice. Dhs-a 269,16–18: *voṭṭhabbanavasena* (E^c *voṭṭhapanane*) *pana thatvā ekam vā dve vā cittāni pavattanti. tato āsevanam labhitvā javanaṭṭhāne thatvā*. Nidd-a I 69,5–7: *voṭṭhabbanam* (E^c *voṭṭhapanam*) *pana patvā anivattanabhāvena uppajjanti nāmā ti evam eke vaṇṇayanti*. Abhidh-s 18: *yāva javanuppādā pi appahontāṭītakam āpātham āgatam ārammaṇam parittam nāma, tattha javanam pi anuppajjitvā dvattikkhattum voṭṭhabbanam eva pavattati, tato param bhavaṅgapāto va hoti*. Pm-vn v. 101: *voṭṭhabbanam parittamhi dvattikkhattum pavattati*.

reject the possibility of multiple occurrences of establishing.³⁷ The Mūlaṭīkā provides detailed arguments from the Paṭṭhāna against this, but this position is cautiously questioned by the Anuṭīkā.³⁸ The counter-arguments are accepted by the author of the Majjhimaṭīkā, followed by Sumaṅgala.³⁹ In effect they point out that what is meant by repetition here is that it resembles repetition; in other words it is not literally a case of repetition condition. This circumvents the arguments of Ānanda based on the Paṭṭhāna. It might imply that Sacc is earlier in date than the time of composition of the Suttanta ṭīkā attributed to Dhammapāla.⁴⁰

THE CONSCIOUSNESS PROCESS

Sacc 232–34 and Sacc 235 are contrasted in the Sāratthasālinī as presenting the ṭīkā method and the aṭṭhakathā method respectively. This does not appear to be exactly correct, since the view initially presented seems to be that of the first *theravāda*, i.e. that of Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāga (Dhs-a 267). That is more or less accepted by Ānanda. However, the view given in Sacc 235 allows *tadārammaṇa* also after *kiriya* active minds. This is the view of the third *theravāda*, i.e. that of Tipiṭaka-

³⁷Vism 459,14–15: *evaṃ ekass’ eva kiriyaviññāṇassa voṭṭhapanavasena pavatti veditabbā*.

³⁸Dhs-mṭ 129f.; Dhs-anuṭ 138,9–22: *api c’ ettha “yaṃ javanabhāvappattaṃ, taṃ chinnamūlakarukkhapupphaṃ viyā” ti* (Dhs-a 293,15–17) *vakkhamānattā anupacchinnabhavamūlānaṃ pavattamānassa voṭṭhabbanassa kiriyabhāvo na siyā, vutto ca “yasmiṃ samaye manoviññādhātu uppannā hoti kiriyā neva kusalā nākusalā na ca kammavipākā upekkhāsahagatā” ti, tasmā “javana-ṭṭhāne ṭhatvā ti javanassa uppajjanaṭṭhāne dvikkhattuṃ pavattitvā, na javanabhāvenā” ti, “āsevanaṃ labhitvā ti ca āsevanaṃ viya āsevanan” ti vuccamāne na koci virodho, vipphārikassa pana sato dvikkhattuṃ pavatti yev’ ettha āsevanasadisatā. vipphārikatāya hi viññattisamuṭṭhāpakattañ c’ assa vuccati. vipphārikam pi javanaṃ viya anekakkhattuṃ appavattiyā dubballattā na nippariyāyato āsevanapaccayabhāvena pavattheyyā ti na imassa pāṭhe āsevanatthaṃ vuttaṃ, Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana pariyāyato vuttaṃ yathā “phalacittesu maggaṅgaṃ maggapariyāpannan” ti. ayam ettha attano matī. ayam pi porāṇakehi asaṃvaṇṇitattā sādhukaṃ upaparikkhitabbo.*

³⁹Ps-pt II 169ff.; Abhidh-av-nt II 41ff.

⁴⁰See also: Bodhi 1993, pp. 159–62; Kim 1999, pp. 208ff.

Mahādhammarakkhita (Dhs-a 286*f.*). Since Ānanda explicitly rejects the possibility of *tadārammaṇa* after *kiriya* active minds,⁴¹ this can then be described as the *aṭṭhakathā* method in the sense that it is not the *ṭīkā* method! The same issue arises at Sacc 226 and 227, which contrast the method of the Paṭṭhāna and that of the Aṭṭhakathā, and at Sacc 272, which explicitly denies the possibility of *tadārammaṇa* after *kiriya* active minds on the grounds that this possibility is not given in the Paṭṭhāna. Sacc-ṭ again refers to this as the *ṭīkā* method. Sacc 273, however, gives an alternative view (with *vā*), pointing out that this should be carefully examined.

COMPASSION AND JOY IN JOY

In Sacc 295 we have the statement that compassion (*karuṇā*) and joy (*muditā*) in the joy of others are in twenty *cittas*, i.e. not in *cittas* accompanied by neutral feeling.⁴² Then in the same stanza we have the alternative position (with *vā*) that they are found in twenty-eight.⁴³ This position is related to the fact that in the canonical *abhidhamma* compassion and joy in the joy of others are shown only for the first three *jhānas* and not for the fourth which has neutral feeling.

In the cases I have taken so far we find that the view of the *ṭīkā*, i.e. of Ānanda, is taken first and then subsequently the view of the commentaries of the school of Buddhaghosa is given. This could be interpreted as expressing a preference for the latter or as an eclectic position that recognises the authority of both. The situation is rather different with the final topic I want to address.

⁴¹Dhs-mṭ 134.20–24: *na ca katthaci kiriyānantaram tadārammaṇassa vutta-ṭṭhānaṃ dissati. vijjamāne ca tasmim avacane kāraṇaṃ natthi, tasmā upaparikkhitabbo eso theravādo. vipphārikaṃ hi javanaṃ nāvaṃ viya nadīsoto bhavaṅgaṃ anubandhatī ti yuttam, na pana chaḷaṅgupekkhavato santavuttiṃ kiriyajavanaṃ paṇṇapuṭaṃ viya nadīsoto ti.* cp. Dhs-anuṭ 141.

⁴²Dhs-a 157.16–17: *karuṇāuditāparikammakāle pi hi imesaṃ uppatti Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ anuññātā eva.* Dhs-mṭ 99.18–19: *Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ anuññātā nāṭisamāhitāya bhāvanāyā ti yevāpanakehi pi nibbisesataṃ dasseti.* Vism-mṭ I 386.4–5: *tathā hi aṭṭhavīsatiyā cittuppādesu karuṇāuditānaṃ pavattim ācariyā icchanti.*

⁴³cf. Abhidh-s-mṭ 89; Wijeratne and Gethin 2002, pp. 74–75.

THE NATURE OF CONCEPTS

The concluding chapter of Sacc concerns *nibbāna* and *paññatti* (concepts). Verses 373–78 discuss the definition of *vijjamānapaññatti*, i.e. the case of labels describing phenomena which really exist in *abhidhamma* terms. The definition given is that a *vijjamānapaññatti* is just sound accompanied by a particular “alteration [in the material elements] that constitutes communication” (*viññattivikāra*), i.e. modulated sound. This position is certainly held by Ānanda, but it is not quite clear that it originates with him. The *Netti* commentary gives it as the view of others (*apare*), but it is not known whether this commentary (traditionally attributed to Dhammapāla) precedes Ānanda in date or not.⁴⁴ Similarly, with the late sixth-century Paṭisambhidāmagga commentary.⁴⁵

3. CONTENTS, DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

What is clear from the above survey is that the position of the author of Sacc is eclectic. In one or two cases he specifically follows the position of the *Mūlaṭīkā* or others. Most often, however, where there is a difference from the works of the school of Buddhaghosa, he presents both views, and it is not entirely certain what position he prefers, if any. In these circumstances I think we can rule out the authorship of Ānanda who is usually rather definite in his opinions.⁴⁶

It also seems unlikely that Sacc could have been written after the availability of the *ṭīkā*s attributed to Dhammapāla, i.e. the four *Suttanta ṭīkā*s and the *Māhāṭīkā*. The author of Sacc leaves open positions which are to some extent closed after these subcommentaries become authoritative. If these are the work of Dhammapāla II in the eleventh century, then that Dhammapāla was not the author. The earlier Dhammapāla, who is among others the author of the *Khuddakanikāya aṭṭakathā*s, shows little interest in *abhidhamma* and therefore seems unlikely. A real

⁴⁴Nett-a 121,21–22: *kā pana sā ti? nāmapaññattinibandhanā tajjāpaññatti. viññattivikārasahito saddo evā ti apare.*

⁴⁵Paṭis-a I 307,17–18: *aññe pana “nāmaṃ nāma atthajotako saddo” ti vadanti.*

⁴⁶In Cousins 1972, [p. 161], I thought Ānanda the most likely author, but the more detailed survey given here supersedes that.

possibility would be Jotipāla, the probable author of the *Anuṭīkā*.⁴⁷ The very fact that he wrote the *Anuṭīkā* which juxtaposes exegesis and critique of the *Mūlaṭīkā* shows that this approach would not be alien to him. We know that he wrote a verse text in Sanskrit; so one in Pali would be quite possible.⁴⁸ Given that the later tradition (after the time of *Sumaṅgala*) confuses Jotipāla and *Dhammapāla*, it would then be quite easy to understand why *Dhammapāla*'s authorship became established in some sources.

We can note that the Sanskrit verse cited at *Vism*-sn III 1086 (to *Vism* 453) is closely parallel to *Sacc* 124–26.⁴⁹ Since the Sanskrit verse in question could well be the work of Jotipāla, this gives some force to the hypothesis. Against it is the fact that in some cases *Sacc* does seem to adopt the position of the *Mūlaṭīkā*. However, this would be accounted for if *Sacc* were an earlier work of Jotipāla prior to the full development of his critique of the *Mūlaṭīkā* as presented in the *Anuṭīkā*. This might also account for the slightly more Sanskritic style of *Sacc*, if Jotipāla had only recently come from an area where Sanskrit or a Sanskritised Middle Indian was more used. If this hypothesis is accepted, the date of the composition of *Sacc* would be ca. A.D. 600. Otherwise we could only say that it is by an unknown author writing at some date between the seventh and tenth centuries.

OFFERING HOMAGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF A WORK

It is quite common to offer homage to the three jewels at the start of a work, but this pattern is not quite universal. Firstly, it is not found in *Vism* nor in any surviving work prior to this.⁵⁰ It is nearly universal in

⁴⁷See Cousins 2011.

⁴⁸*Sumaṅgala* attributes a Pali stanza to Jotipāla, but there is no way of knowing whether he has rendered this from Sanskrit. *Abhidh-av-nt* II 181: *Ācariya-Jotipālattherena pana nipphannānipphannavasena dasa rūpāni avinibbhoga-vuttikāni eko kalāpo ti vatvā puna taṃsamatthan 'atthaṃ idaṃ vuttaṃ: avinibbhogavuttīni catujānekalakkhaṇā nipphannānaṭṭha vā tesu, hitvāna kāyalakkhaṇe ti.*

⁴⁹Cousins [2013, pp. 47f.]

⁵⁰The *Peṭakopadesa* may have had a more unusual authorial beginning. See Crosby 2012, [pp. 128–30].

the *aṭṭhakathā* literature. Only apparently an exception are a number of cases where a work is a continuation of another.⁵¹ Another case which is only apparently an exception is Pj I which starts by commenting precisely on the three refuges at the beginning of Khp. This leaves Paṭi-a, which commences by offering homage to the Buddha alone, as the only real exception. A small number of later works follow the same practice.⁵² However, when we come to the *īkā* literature, almost all works prior to the twelfth century revert to the earlier pattern and do not include any homage at all.⁵³

It is striking then that we see a new practice commence with Sāriputta in the twelfth century. He follows the offering of homage to the three jewels with a fourth homage to his *guru*. The same practice is followed by his pupil Sumaṅgala.⁵⁴ Yet this precise approach does not seem to be followed by subsequent authors. Many revert to the three homages. Instead, some add as a fourth homage one to former teachers (*pubbācariya*).⁵⁵ This was already done in the presumably earlier Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī. It is significant, then, that Vin-vn-ṭ adds both the *guru* and the former teachers. This is comparable to the alternative of five refuges found in some later texts of the esoteric Theravādin tradition.⁵⁶ I should also mention that some grammatical texts add as a fourth homage Kaccāyana or Moggallāna, as the founder of their particular tradition.⁵⁷

⁵¹Pj II, Vibh-a, Ppk-a, Thī-a.

⁵²e.g. Rūp, Mhv, Vism-gp, Dhātum, Pāc-y, Abh-ṭ.

⁵³This includes all those attributed to Ānanda and Dhammapāla [except for Vism-mht] as well as Mūlas, Kacc, Abhidh-av-pt, Nett-pt, Kkh-pt.

⁵⁴Similarly, the Dhātupāthavilāsini, [and also Sāriputta's pupil Saṅgharakkhita, see Kieffer-Pülz 2017, pp. 30, 34, 36, 38.]

⁵⁵Khuddas-pt, Sacc-viv, Pay; Mūlas-ṭ has *porāṇācariya*. [See also Kieffer-Pülz 2017, p. 29.]

⁵⁶In these texts the *kammaṭṭhāna* replaces the *pubbācariyas*. See for example: Bizot 1992, pp. 217, 220f.; Crosby 2000, p. 187: "found throughout the *yogāvacara* tradition".

⁵⁷[For instance Mogg-p-ṭ, Sc; see Kieffer-Pülz 2017, pp. 27f., 42.]

Sacc-ṭ does not, however, follow precisely this practice. It simply has the three refuges, followed immediately by the mention of Sāriputta as having requested the work. Even so, that still suggests some continuation of the influence of Sāriputta.⁵⁸

4. THE COMMENTARIES TO THE SACCASAṄKHEPA

The situation is also somewhat confused as regards the commentaries to the Saccasaṅkhepa. The Sāsanavaṃsa simply attributes an *abhinava-ṭīkā* to an *araññavāsi-thera* — this could be either a name or a monastic epithet: “the elder Araññavāsin” or “a forest-dwelling elder” or “an elder belonging to the Araññavāsin section of the Saṅgha”. Possibly this is a reference to the Sāratthasālinī.⁵⁹ According to its introduction its writing was requested by Sāriputta who is referred to as *araññavāsin*. If so, the author of the Sāsanavaṃsa clearly thought that the Sāratthasālinī was the later work.⁶⁰

⁵⁸[The differences in the introduction of Sacc-ṭ and Vin-vn-ṭ have been examined in Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 192–97, 203.]

⁵⁹[For an overview over the various commentaries to Sacc listed in the Pali literary works, see Kieffer-Pülz 2018, p. 202.]

⁶⁰[For a discussion of these passages, see Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 203ff.]

PART TWO

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE VIVARAṆA

The introduction [of Sacc-viv] is as follows:⁶¹

<p><i>Saraṇaṃ sabba-lokassa Buddhaṃ Dhammaṃ Gaṇ'-uttamaṃ Vanditvā paramaṃ hitaṃ sukha-daṃ ratana-ttayaṃ (1)</i></p> <p><i>pāda c is anuṭṭhubha</i> 1c. so B^{m3}; B^{m1}: paramahita-</p>	<p>After offering reverence to the three jewels that afford the highest benefit and happiness — Buddha, Dhamma, and the Supreme Community — the refuge for the whole world</p>
<p><i>Katvā porāṇācariya-pādesu aṅjali- putaṃ Pasanna-sīla-saddhādi-guṇa-bhūṣita- cetasā (2)</i></p> <p>Saccasaṅkhepa <i>pāda a is bha-vipulā</i> 2b. B^{m3}: aṅcaliputhaṃ [or °putaṃ?]</p>	<p>after having folded my hands in <i>aṅjali</i> at the feet of former teachers, [I will make an explanation of the meaning of the]⁶² that fulfils the essence of the the goal (<i>attha</i>?) [and] was</p>
<p><i>Bhadanta-Dhammapālena param'- attha-rasa-ññunā Racito Saccasaṅkhepo yo attha- rasa-pūraako (3)</i></p>	<p>composed by Bhadanta Dhamma-pāla, a knower of the essence of the highest meaning (<i>attha</i>), his peaceful mind adorned with the qualities <i>sīla</i>, faith and so on,</p>
<p><i>Sarīra-suriya-raṃsi-pabhā-jālā- vamaṇḍito Paññ'-obhāsa-karo moha-andha- kāra-tamo-nudo (4)</i></p>	<p>[that Saccasaṅkhepa which] is decorated with a multitude (<i>jāla</i>) of attractive features (<i>pabhā</i>) like the blazing radiance (<i>jāla</i>) of the sun and the relics/body [of the</p>

⁶¹[LSC stated that he doesn't understand the overall structure of this. Furthermore, for several of the passages we discussed various possibilities. Since LSC did not make a final revision of this text, it remains unclear what he would have decided on. We, therefore mention other possible translations in the footnotes.]

⁶²[This sentence is only mentioned in v. 8; vv. 2–8 form one sentence.]

<p><i>pāda</i> a is <i>sa-vipulā</i> 4d. B^m3: °<i>kāre</i></p>	<p>Buddha],⁶³ and brings the light of wisdom, dispelling the darkness and blindness of delusion,</p>
<p><i>Piṭake ca sabhāvattha-adhippāy’-attha-akkhito</i>⁶⁴ <i>Ganthato yeva saṅkhepo attha-rāsi-sudubbaco</i> (5) 5d. B^m3: °<i>sudubbate</i></p>	<p>[that Saccasaṅkhepa which] is a summary of the scripture[s?]⁶⁵ that have told the essential meaning and the intended meaning [to be found?] in the Piṭaka [??]⁶⁶ itself has a mass of meaning very hard to explain.⁶⁷</p>
<p><i>Paññāduddhālo vattuṃ asamatto va sabbathā</i> <i>Gabbh’ andha-kāra-bahalaṃ pavitttho</i></p>	<p>One weak in wisdom is as if unable to explain everywhere and accordingly, is as if entered into</p>

⁶³[In an earlier attempt LSC had rendered this as: “which is decorated with a blazing radiance like the rays of the sun and the body [of the Buddha]”; he then pondered whether only *pabhājāla* is compared to *suriya-ramsi*, and suggested: “is decorated with a net of light [emanating from] the body [of the Buddha] comparable to rays of the sun.” As parallels he referred to Vjb 405,20–21: *bahuno devasaṅghassa sannipātato, bhagavato sarīrappabhājālavisañjanatī cā ti ekacce* (this is in the explanation of the setting in motion of the wheel; here *sarīrappabhājālavisañjana* certainly is no Dvandva); see also Bv-a 165,17: *tassa dehābhiniikkhantam* (E^c *dehābhiniibbattam*) *pabhājālam anuttaram*; see also Ap-a 421,6–7 where *suvanṇapabhā* and *buddhassa sarīrapabhā* together are *mahā obhāso*. The translation printed above was LSC’s final variant, dating from 6/8/2014. He wrote, “This is taking it as a *yamaka*, but I am not sure if *pabhā* can mean something like ‘attractive features’.”]

⁶⁴Read *akkhi so? akkhi* = *akkhā* 3rd aorist. Or understand it as an ablative belonging to the following *ganthato*, characterizing the book (but the form remains problematic).

⁶⁵[LSC, email 6/8/2014: “Perhaps intended as a collective word here?”]

⁶⁶[LSC, email 6/8/2014: “or ‘that has told ..., is a summary of a scripture’.”]

⁶⁷[LSC, email 6/8/2014: “The *Piṭake* must be the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, but *ganthato* can either refer to that specifically or to the canon as a whole. The latter is what I meant by ‘a summary from scripture’.”]

<p><i>va tathā pi ca; (6)</i> <i>pāda c is na-vipulā; 6a. read paññāya</i></p>	<p>a room filled with darkness.</p>
<p><i>Evaṃ me nipphalaṃ kāya-jīvitam adhuvaṅgataṃ Saphalaṃ kātu-kāmo va citta-khedam acintayaṃ (7)</i> 7c. B^m3: <i>ca</i> 7d. B^m3: <i>cittakkhevapagam</i></p>	<p>Accordingly, desirous of making fruitful my life and body <hitherto> unfruitful and without any lasting <result>, I was as if intent upon mental exhaustion.</p>
<p><i>Tassa nissāya porāṇa-kathā-maggaṃ anākulam Karissām' attha-vivaraṃ taṃ nisāmetha sādhave ti. (8)</i> [8c. B^m3: <i>attha-civaraṃ</i>] 8d. B^m3: <i>nissāmeta</i></p>	<p>Relying on the way of explanation of the former <teachers> that is free from confusion, I will make an explanation (<i>vivaraṇa</i>) of the meaning of [that Saccasaṅkhepa]. Carefully attend to it, good people.</p>

This *ṭīkā* includes a certain amount of discussion in the first chapter, but after that largely confines itself to a rather workmanlike commentary on the actual text of Sacc. However, it is clear from the material in the first chapter that the author is familiar with the Abhidhamma commentary and the Visuddhimagga, and probably the Māhāṭīkā to the latter. There is one citation of the Paṭisambhidāmagga commentary⁶⁸ and one of Kaccāyana.⁶⁹ The Abhidhammaṭīkā is mentioned by name.⁷⁰ Similarly with a reference to the *ṭīkācariya*; this seems to refer to the Mūlaṭīkā, although it does not appear to be a literal citation.⁷¹

⁶⁸Sacc-viv to Sacc 1 refers to Paṭis-a 2.

⁶⁹Sacc-viv to Sacc 2: Kc 224; cf. Mogg 74.

⁷⁰Sacc-viv to Sacc 3: *Abhidhammaṭīkāyaṃ*. Presumably this is a reference to the Mūlaṭīkā.

⁷¹Sacc-viv to 32: *tenāha ṭīkācariyo: na hi uppādo atthī ti*, i.e. Dhs-mṭ 155,22-23: *anipphannattā pana tassa uppādo na kenaci sakkā vattun ti adhippāyo*. cf. Nett-pt 124,27: *na hi uppādo uppajjati*.

There is, however, one passage which establishes beyond doubt that the Vivaraṇa is later than the Sāratthasālinī. This is the comment on Sacc 11 which reads:

bhāvadvayaṃ tu kāyaṃ va, byāpi no sahavuttikaṃ.

The Sāratthasālinī interprets *va* as = *iva* and hence has to explain *kāyaṃ* as nominative neuter.⁷² This is because it understands *kāya* here as referring to the *kāyindriya*, i.e. the sensitive matter of the sense of touch and the male and female materiality cannot be said to pervade the sense of touch. The Vivaraṇa rejects this strongly.⁷³ It considers that referring to the *kāyindriya* here would entail imputing the defect of repetitiveness (*punaruttidosā*) to Dhammapāla. By this it must mean that the stillnesses (*pasāda*), i.e. the five kinds of sensitive matter (including *kāyindriya*) have already been given in Sacc 10 and so should not be mentioned again here. Instead it interprets *va* as = *eva* and understands *kāyaṃ* as the gross body. Gender materiality does indeed pervade the gross body; so this seems a more reasonable interpretation.

I do not think this can refer to anything other than the comment in the Sāratthasālinī. The Vivaraṇa then must be subsequent to the Sāratthasālinī despite being listed as a *porāṇaṭṭikā* in some Burmese mss, etc. Given that it attributes the authorship of Sacc to Dhammapāla, we might suspect that it was written in Burma; no early non-Burmese source offers that attribution.

⁷²*taṃ bhāvadvayaṃ kāyaṃ va byāpi no sahavuttī ti yojanā. ettha kāyaṃ ti līṅgavipallāso. kāyo ti vā pāṭho. kāyindriyaṃ viya sakalasarāmaṃ byāpi pharivā tiṭṭhati; bhinnanissayattā na sahavuttikan ti attho.*

⁷³*keci pana no sahavuttī taṃ ti etassa taṃ bhāvadvayaṃ pasādakāyena no sahavuttī ti atthaṃ vadanti. taṃ ayuttaṃ, heṭṭhā vuttattā punaruttidoso ti. vimalabuddhinā atthadassinā Dhammapālācariyena nippayojanam eka-kkharam api no yojitaṃ ti.*

PART THREE

SACCASAṅKHEPAVAṆṆANĀ OR SĀRATTHASĀLINĪ

I turn now to the commentary which is referred to in its introductory verses as the Saccasaṅkhepavaṇṇanā (Sacc-t) and in the manuscripts at the conclusion of each chapter as the Sāratthasālinī. Here are those verses :

<p><i>Buddhaṃ sad-dhamma-pajjotaṃ Dhammaṃ Buddha-ppaveditaṃ Saṅghañ ca sirasā vande sammā- sambuddha-sāvakaṃ. (1)</i></p> <p>[1d: B^{m3}: °sādhakam]</p>	<p>I offer reverence with my head to the Buddha, light of the <i>saddhamma</i>, to the Dhamma made known by the Buddha and to the Saṅgha of the disciples of the Sammā-sambuddha.</p>
<p><i>Kato yo Saccasaṅkhepo nipuṇ'-attha- vinicchayo Ānanda-thera-pādena vicitta-naya- maṇḍito (2)</i></p> <p>2c: so HS & Saddhamma-s; mss: -vādena 2d: B^{m3}: vivittanayapaṇḍito</p>	<p>The Saccasaṅkhepa, determining subtle meanings and adorned with manifold methods, which was made by the venerable therā Ānanda,</p>
<p><i>Tam ahaṃ vaṇṇayissāmi, sikkhā- kāmena dhīmatā Therena Sāriputtena yācito 'rañña- vāsinā. (3)</i></p>	<p>I will comment on, since I have been requested by the wise forest-dwelling therā Sāriputta who loves training.</p>

There can be little doubt that the second verse has been adopted into the Saddhamma-saṅgaha (Saddhamma-s 9.16) from here. The author of this *ṭīkā* clearly identifies himself as a pupil of Sāriputta. This would date him in the period from the twelfth century to the thirteenth century. Since he was requested to compose the work by Sāriputta, it is likely that he began to work on it during Sāriputta's lifetime.

The dating of Sāriputta is currently rather difficult. There appear to be two options — one earlier and one later. Dragomir Dimitrov has attempted to identify Sāriputta with Vijayagarbha, the author of an *alaṅkāra* or subcommentary to Ratnamati's *Pañcikā* commentary in

the grammatical tradition of Candragomin.⁷⁴ Portions of this *alamkāra* are extant in a manuscript in the Sindhura or Bhaikṣukī script. If this identification is correct, then Sāriputta wrote a grammatical work in Sanskrit ca. A.D. 1116. It is difficult to suppose that he did this much younger than 25 years of age. This would make him around 85 years of age at the death of Parākramabāhu in 1186. It seems unlikely that he could have lived much longer.⁷⁵

That is the earlier option. Alternatively, we may suppose that Sāriputta's *ṭīkā* or *alamkāra* on Ratnamati's Pañcikā was a different work. If so, we might expect a later dating for Sāriputta. He was a pupil of Mahākassapa, a leading figure in the early years of Parākramabāhu's reign; so he represents a later generation. It seems that a residence was made for Sāriputta by Parākramabāhu in the Jetavana at Polonnaruva. He appears to have been given the title of Mahāsāmi.⁷⁶ It is unclear what the exact implications of this title were at this point in time, whether administrative or more honorary. However, the fact that surrounding residences were also provided for the heads of the eight Mūla into which the Saṅgha was divided at this time seems to imply that it was not purely honorary. If Sāriputta was a young pupil of Mahākassapa at the time of Parākramabāhu I's accession in 1153, he may well have been alive for some decades after the king's death in 1186. This is the later option.

This brings us to the issue of Vācissara. The *Gandhavaṃsa* attributes eighteen books to Vācissara 'known as *mahā-sāmi*',⁷⁷ of which one is a *ṭīkā* to Saccasaṅkhepa [*saccasaṅkhepassa ṭīkā*, Gv 62,16]. Later, it refers to this as a *ṭīkā* to Saccasaṅkhepa made by Vācissara at

⁷⁴Dimitrov 2010, pp. 31–47.

⁷⁵Additional evidence in support of an earlier dating is provided by the Vinayārthasamuccaya of Dimbulāgala Medhankara which informs us that Sāriputta helped Mahākassapa in uniting the three *nikāyas* (Rohanadeera 1996, p. 44) cited from Gornall 2012, p. 35, n. 56.

⁷⁶Rohanadeera 1985.

⁷⁷[The assumption that Gv calls Vācissara *mahāsāmi* is erroneous. *Mahāsāmi* here is the title of the *ṭīkā* to the Subodhālaṅkāra (62,16): *Vācissaro nāmā-cariyo Mahāsāmi nāma Subodhālaṅkāraṃsa ṭīkā*.]

the request of the elder named Sāriputta. That seems clearly to be a reference to the Sāratthasālinī. The Gandhavaṃsa also includes a Saccasaṅkhepa-vivaraṇa in a list of twenty-five works made by “teachers in such places as the island of Laṅkā” [Gv 75,19–20]. The *nigamana* to the Thūpavaṃsa claims that Vācissara wrote an *atthadīpanā* in Sinhalese to the Saccasaṅkhepa book, as well as the Thūpavaṃsa and other works.⁷⁸ However, it is not at all clear why the Gandhavaṃsa attributes so many works to Vācissara.

The conclusion (*nigamana*) to the Sāratthasālinī (Sacc-t) seems to have been composed by a pupil [of the author].⁷⁹ It refers to the author as a pupil of Sāriputta, but does not give his name. It states that this work was commenced in Jambuddoṇi (Daṃbadeṇiya). This probably situates it to the period after Vijayabāhu III made his capital there in the 1230s. The author is said to have composed a number of works:

an explanation of the three Piṭakas,
 the Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā,
 the Nāmarūpaparicchavedavaṇṇanā,
 a *padarūpavibhāvanā* to the grammar of Kaccāyana,
 many small books.

⁷⁸Thūp 255,1–10:

Paṭisambhidāmaggassa yena Līlatthadīpani
Ṭīkā viracitā sādhu saddhammodayakāminā, (158)
Tathā pakarāṇe Saccasaṅkhepe atthadīpanā
Dhīmatā sukatā yena suṭṭhu Sīhaḷabhāsato, (159)
Visuddhimaggasaṅkhepe yena atthappakāsana
Yogīnam upakārāya katā Sīhaḷabhāsato, (160)
Parakkamanarindassa sabbabhūpāna ketuno
Dhammāgāre niyutto yo piṭakattayapārāgo, (161)
Sāsanaṃ suṭṭhitam yassa antevāsikabhikkhusu,
Tena Vācissarattherapādena likhito ayan ti. (162)

All Mss read: Vāgissara-. [For some of the statements in this passage, see Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 207–210.]

⁷⁹See Appendix One. Saddhamma-s 64 (9.36) also quotes part of a line from the *nigamana*.

The work was completed elsewhere in a residence provided by his pupil, a lay disciple named Dhammakitti. The name Kitti is rather frequent in this period and any layman with that name would be likely to become known as Dhammakitti; so this is not necessarily the same Dhammakitti that we meet elsewhere.

This possibly links the author to the name of Vācissara. The Sāsanavaṃsa attributes *porāṇaṭṭikās* to Saccasaṃkhepa, Nāmarūpa-pariccheda, Khema<pakaraṇa>, and Abhidhammāvatāra to Vācissara-mahāsāmi [Sās 34,7–9]. The Gandhavaṃsa, however, attributes a much longer list of eighteen works to the same author:⁸⁰

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>subodhālaṅkāraṣṣa ṭīkā</i> | 2. <i>vuttodayavivaraṇaṃ</i> |
| 3. <i>sumaṅgalappasādani nāma
khudda-sikkhāya ṭīkā</i> | 4. <i>sambandhacintā</i> |
| 5. <i>sambandhacintāya ṭīkā</i> | 6. <i>bālāvatāro</i> |
| 7. <i>mogga<l>lānabyākaraṇaṣṣa
pañcīkāya ṭīkā</i> | 8. <i>yogavinicchayo</i> |
| 9. <i>vinayavinicchayassa ṭīkā</i> | 10. <i>uttaravinicchayassa ṭīkā</i> |
| 11. <i>nāmarūpa-paricchedassa
vibhāgo</i> | 12. <i>saddatthassa padarūpa-
vibhāvanāṃ</i> |
| 13. <i>khemassa pakaraṇaṣṣa ṭīkā</i> | 14. <i>sīmālaṅkāro</i> |
| 15. <i>mūlasikkhāya ṭīkā</i> | 16. <i>rūpavibhāgo</i> |
| 17. <i>paccayaṣaṅgho</i> | 18. <i>saccasaṅkhepassa ṭīkā</i> |

It is clear that much of this information has been collated from the introductory and concluding verses of some of these texts. Not all of them are available to me.

⁸⁰[The investigations of Kieffer-Pülz concerning the works to be assigned to Saṅgharakkhita therā by intertextual links (Kieffer-Pülz 2017) and the works to be assigned most probably to Vācissara therā (Kieffer-Pülz 2018) have shown that the texts listed as numbers 1, 3, 4, 7, and 8 are texts written by Saṅgharakkhita. Texts number 9, 10, and 18 can be assigned to Vācissara with high probability. From this it is evident that the ascription of the large numbers of texts in the Gandhavaṃsa at least partly result from a mixing up of Saṅgharakkhita and Vācissara. It cannot be excluded that even other persons' works are named in this list.]

The Saddhammasaṅgaha does not attribute anything to Vācissara by name, but does state that the Sāratthasālinī commentary on Saccasaṅkhepa was composed by a pupil of Sāriputta.⁸¹ This clearly indicates that the author or his source had seen the introduction to Sacc-ṭ. The name Sāratthasālinī is not given in the introduction nor in the *nigamana*, but it is found at the conclusion of each chapter in the manuscripts I have seen. The Sāsanavaṃsadīpa [A.D. 1880] gives Dhammapāla as the author of Sacc⁸² and Vācissara as the author of the *pubbaṭṭikā*.⁸³ The *Piṭakat samuññ* [A.D. 1888] attributes to Vācissara the Sīmālaṅkāra, Sīmasaṅgaha,⁸⁴ Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭṭikā, the *porāṇaṭṭikā* to the Abhidhammāvatāra, the *porāṇaṭṭikā* to the Subodhālaṅkāra and the *porāṇaṭṭikā* to the Saccasaṅkhepa.⁸⁵

Given that such a large number of works are attributed to Vācissara in the Gandhavaṃsa, it is perhaps not surprising that in the nineteenth century it was already thought that two Vācissaras worked during the thirteenth century. In 1900 Wickremasinghe wrote: “Considering the large number of books which appear under the authorship of Vācissara Thera, it is thought that besides the pupil of Sāriputta, another writer having the same name Vācissara lived in the thirteenth century”.⁸⁶ He goes on to suggest that the author of the Thūpavaṃsa “may indeed have been identical with our Vācissara, for both seem to have been living in

⁸¹Saddhamma-s [9.36].

⁸²Sās-dīp v.1220:

*Therena Dhammapālena Saccasaṅkhepa-nāmaṅṅa
Gantho viracito sādhu paṇḍitehi pasamsiyo.*

⁸³Sās-dīp v. 1225

*Saccasaṅkhepa-ganthassa pubbaṭṭikā maṭṭimāta
Vācissara-mahāsāmi-pāden’ eva suvaṇṇitā.*

⁸⁴[Mahāsiriyejya-Sū 2012, p. 65, no. 270, lists a Sīmālaṅkāra-aṭṭhakathā; Mahāsiriyejya-Sū 2012, p. 65, no. 271, a Sīmāsaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā. These are most probably only different titles for the same text, see Kieffer-Pülz 2021, pp. 1–9.]

⁸⁵Mahāsiriyejya-Sū 2012, Index.

⁸⁶Wickremasinghe 1900, pp. xvi; 141.

the thirteenth century". Geiger followed this position,⁸⁷ citing also Dhammaratana, the earlier editor of the Thūpavaṃsa.⁸⁸ Malalasekera interprets Wickremasinghe as advocating two Vācissaras, but thought that there might have been even "more than two, not all of them from Ceylon, but living about the same period".⁸⁹ This is the position adopted by Jayawickrama.⁹⁰ It seems clear that the Vācissara or Vāgissara who was the author of the Thūpavaṃsa dates from the reign of Parākramabāhu II. But I find the argument that there were two Vācissaras in the reign of Parākramabāhu I unconvincing. The author of the Cūlavāṃsa at least knows only one, who was absent from the island in the Tamil country during much of the time of Māgha, but returned when Vijayabāhu III established himself in the Malaya region. If indeed he was the senior monk instrumental in providing the bowl and tooth relics to that king, he could expect considerable honour from the king. This could be hinted at in the *nigamana* to Sacc-ṭ when it is stated that he was recognized as *garu* by the kings in Taprobane. The mention of "kings" in the plural probably refers to Vijayabāhu III and his successor Parākramabāhu II.

It is important to note that he need not have been a very senior monk at the time of Māgha's invasion in A.D. 1215. Such important relics would have been under the charge of the most senior monks in Polonnaruva, but the party that took them to Malaya and eventually concealed them would have included junior and middle ranking monks, if only to do the carrying. The senior monk or monks would probably no longer be alive by the time of Vijayabāhu's accession after 1232. If Vācissara had been around 40 years old in 1215 he would have been around 57 or so in 1232. This suggests he might not have lived very far into Parākramabāhu II's very long reign. He is at any rate senior enough

⁸⁷Geiger 1908, p. 84: "I am now of the opinion that this Vācissara is no other than the celebrated therā of the same name, who is spoken of in M. 81,18 *et seq.*"

⁸⁸Dhammaratana 1896 [1891] (not seen).

⁸⁹Malalasekera 1928, p. 202.

⁹⁰Jayawickrama 1971, pp. xviii*ff.*

to be referred to as a *mahāsāmi*,⁹¹ but we do not know how far this was purely honorific and how far it might have involved administrative responsibilities.

There is an earlier reference to a Vācissara/Vāgissara in the Cūlavamsa. At Mhv LXXVI 32 Vāgissara and Dhammakitti are mentioned together as envoys to the king of Rāmañña. The combination of the two names is unusual and in the light of the *nigamana* to Sacc-ṭ might refer to the same individuals. If Vācissara was sent as an envoy to Burma, it is quite natural that he would be attended by a young lay disciple. A monk sent as an envoy would also be likely to be relatively young. What is surprising is the mention of the names of the envoys, but it is much less surprising if a lay disciple named Dhammakitti was indeed the author of the first part of the Cūlavamsa (written soon after the end of the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I).⁹²

The usual dating of Parākrāmabāhu's military expedition to Burma ca. 1164 is, however, a problem. To be sent as an envoy he should have been aged around 30 years at the youngest. This is entirely compatible with the early dating of Sāriputta discussed above. However, it would make him probably a centenarian at the accession of Parākrāmabāhu II in A.D. 1236. Writing both Vin-vn-ṭ and Sacc-ṭ at such an advanced age is not at all plausible. The account of the Burmese expedition in the Cūlavamsa does not give a date as such, but immediately prior to this it mentions events occurring in the eighth and sixteenth year of the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I. After the Rāmañña episode the chapter continues with its account of Parākrāmabāhu's military interventions in South India. These go on until the end of the reign; so as far as the Cūlavamsa is concerned the Rāmañña expedition could have taken place at any time

⁹¹[Vācissara never had the office of *mahāsāmi*. This title is attached to his name only in the quite recent works — all nineteenth century A.D. — from Burma (Sās 34.7-9; Mahāsiriṇjeya-Sū 2012, nos. 313, 315, 322) and Sri Lanka (Sās-dīp v. 1225). In *Buddhadatta's Manuals* (Part II, London: Pali Text Society, 1928, p. xi) Vācissara is consequently titled Mahāsāmi. In the passage of the Cūlavamsa (Mhv LXXXI 20) Vācissara is designated as *mahāthera*.]

⁹²cf. Von Hinüber 1996, p. 173, n. 600.

between 1165 and 1186. However, it is usually dated on the basis of the Devanagala Inscription dated to Parākramabāhu's twelfth regnal year.

This leaves us with a difficulty. On the basis of the above data, Vācissara would have been around 30 or a little younger in 1165 as an envoy in Burma. This would make him about 80 years old at the time of Māgha's invasion in 1215 when the relics were concealed and about 97 at the beginning of the reign of Vijayabāhu III in 1232 when the relics were uncovered. That is perhaps just about possible. But it is hard to suppose that he went on at this advanced age to write both Vin-vn-ṭ and Sacc-ṭ after the accession of Parākramabāhu II in 1236 as a centenarian.

One or more of the following must be mistaken:

1. The reference in the Cūlavamsa to Vācissara and Dhammakitti may refer to a different Vācissara and a different Dhammakitti. That, however, is surprising if the author of Sacc-ṭ is named Vācissara, given the close association with his disciple Dhammakitti as revealed in the *nigamana*.⁹³
2. The date of Parākramabāhu's raid on Rāmañña⁹⁴ as given in the Devanagala Rock Inscription is ca. 1164. If this is wrong, the events concerned could have taken place twenty years later. Vācissara could then have written the two *ṭīkā*s in his 80s. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be possible. The date in this inscription was first read by H.C.P. Bell.⁹⁵ Paranavitana

⁹³[We know of other such pairs of teacher and pupil with identical names (both monastics) such as Ānanda and his pupil Buddhappiya in the thirteenth century A.D. and another couple in the twelfth century A.D. See Matsumura 1999, p. 158; Gornall 2014, p. 521.]

⁹⁴The inscription refers to the Burmese king Bhuvanāditta as living in Aramaṇa = Pali Rāmañña (from Rmeñ = Mon). Bell reads: *Aramaṇa* (*wasana*) and Paranavitana: *aramaṇā[dhipā]ti*. There is an even earlier dated reference to Rāmañña as a country, i.e. the Mon country in Sinhalese inscriptions: Vijayabāhu I in the eleventh century. Michael Aung-Thwin is sceptical, but Aramaṇa is very much the expected form of either Rmeñ or Rmañ in Sinhala and Rāmañña is an abstract formation, i.e. "belonging to the Ramaṇas". Aung-Thwin 2005, [pp. 49; 347, n. 182].

⁹⁵Bell 1892, pp. 73–76.

subsequently reedited the inscription with minor corrections.⁹⁶ Although the date is quite illegible in the published rubbing, it seems implausible that both scholars would be mistaken about this. We have to accept this date as correct.

3. The attribution of the Nissandeha is to Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu. If this attribution is wrong, or the work was written before his accession to the throne as Parākramabāhu II in 1236, then Vin-vn-ṭ could have been written a decade or so earlier. But this would still leave Vācissara writing in his 90s. Against this is the fact that the Nissandeha is cited a number of times in Vin-vn-ṭ and otherwise not often. This suggests it may be referred to because of royal prestige at a date close in time to its composition.⁹⁷ Against this also is the reference in the *nigama* to Sacc-ṭ which refers to the author as having been formerly living in Jambudoṇi. This should be after Jambudoṇi was made the capital following the accession of Vijayabāhu in 1232.

It is perhaps worth noting that if we follow the first alternative and reject the identification of our author with the Vācissara mentioned in the Cūlavam̐sa, then we have no evidence at all that he was named Vācissara in any source prior to the Gandhavam̐sa. Nothing suggests to me that the Vācissara who was the author of the Thūpavam̐sa has anything to do with our author — the list he gives of his writings is different.⁹⁸ This is the view put forward by Jayawickrama.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁶Paranavitana 1933, [pp. 312–325].

⁹⁷[It is quoted at least once in the Kaṅkhāvitaranīpitapota (Kkh-pipo 131.9ff.), in Sinhalese, but the Pāli parallel in the Vin-vn-ṭ shows that the author of the latter most probably made use of the Nissandeha even where he does not quote it by naming his source (see for details Kieffer-Pülz 2016, pp. 11–12). This speaks against the assumption that the Nissandeha is quoted in the Vin-vn-ṭ only because of royal prestige.]

⁹⁸[A different conclusion is drawn by Kieffer-Pülz 2018, who thinks that Vācissara, the author of Sacc-ṭ, Vin-vn-ṭ, and Utt-vn-ṭ, may also have been the author of the Thūpavam̐sa and possibly the Sīmālankārasaṅgaha.]

⁹⁹Jayawickrama 1971, pp. xxi–xxiv.

nigamana states that this Vācissara was in charge of the *dhammāgāra* of King Parākrāmabāhu.¹⁰⁰ Jayawickrama seems uncertain whether this is a reference to Parākrāmabāhu I or II. However, the allusion is certainly to Parākrāmabāhu's building of a *dhammāgāra* (Mhv LXXIII 44ff.). From the description there this was certainly not a library, as Jayawickrama takes it. Geiger's "sermon hall" seems more to the point. In fact, the reference may very easily be to both Parākrāmabāhu I as the builder and to Parākrāmabāhu II or III as the current owner. We should note that Parākrāmabāhu III who reigned from 1287–93 seems to have ruled from Poḷonnaruva.

If it is correct that the same Vācissara as the author of Thūp wrote the *Sīmālaṅkāra*,¹⁰¹ which critiques the ordination practices of the Coḷiya monks,¹⁰² we should look to a period when the influence of South Indian monks was significant in Sri Lanka. Parākrāmabāhu II carried out a purification of the order and brought over from the Coḷa country many respected monks. He "established harmony between the two orders" (Mhv LXXXIV 10).¹⁰³ Later Parākrāmabāhu IV (reigned 1302–26) appointed a *mahāthera* belonging to the Coḷa country as *rājaguru*.¹⁰⁴

Comparison of the *nigamanas* to the *Sāratthasālinī* and to the *ṭīkā* to the *Vinayavinicchaya* make it clear that both are composed by the same author who was a pupil of Sāriputta.¹⁰⁵ Since the former refers to the

¹⁰⁰ *Parakkama-narindassa sabbabhūpālaketuno
dhammāgāre niyutto yo Piṭakattayapārāgo.*

¹⁰¹ [For a discussion of the authorship of the *Sīmālaṅkāra* (saṅgha), see Kieffer-Pülz 2021, pp. 22ff.]

¹⁰² Kieffer-Pülz 1999; [Kieffer-Pülz 2021, pp. 24ff].

¹⁰³ *Pasiddhe Coḷiye bhikkhū ānetvā Tambapaṇṇiyaṃ
Kārāpesi samaggaṃ so rājā ubhayasāsanam.*

¹⁰⁴ Mhv LXXXX 8of.:

*Atha so Coḷadesīyaṃ nānābhāsāvisāraḍaṃ
Takkāgamadharaṃ ekaṃ mahātheraṃ susaṅṅataṃ
Rājā rājaguruṭṭhāne thapetvā tassa santike
Jātakāni ca sabbāni sutvā sutvā niran taraṃ.*

¹⁰⁵ See Appendixes One and Two.

latter work, we know that it was written at a later date. Since the *ṭīkā* to the Vinayavinicchaya quotes from the Nissandeha ascribed to Parākramabāhu II (1236–1278),¹⁰⁶ it is not likely to have been written before the 1240s, unless it was written by him before his accession to the throne. We could then suppose a later date for the *Sārattha-sālinī* of c. 1250. But there are problems with this and I will return to the issue. The *nigamana* tells us that he began the work in Jambuddoṇi (Daṁbadeniya), then or later at the request of a learned lay disciple known as Dhammakitti. Subsequently the work was completed at a monastery in a different location, built by Dhammakitti. Vācissara was invited there for the rains retreat to complete the work. A library of 4,000 books is mentioned. This might well be Dhammakitti's own collection.

The *nigamana* indicates that the *Sāratthasālinī* was begun earlier and completed at a later time. This fits well with the contents. The first three chapters of Sacc are concerned with giving an outline of materiality, mental and mind respectively — in other words they outline the basic *abhidhamma* system. In commenting on these chapters, especially the first, the author of *Sāratthasālinī* draws heavily on Sumaṅgala's *Abhidh-s-mhṭ* and Sāriputta's *sanne* on *Abhidh-s*. Since the former is partly

¹⁰⁶Information from Petra Kieffer-Pülz (email: 8/4/14). “It is also in my Gaṅṭhi-pada book [Kieffer-Pülz 2013, I, pp. 30ff., 52f.]. But there I still thought the Vin-vn-ṭ must have been written in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. Taking into account the secondarily added *nigamana* after the Utt-vn-ṭ, the texts of Vin-vn-ṭ and Utt-vn-ṭ most probably were taken to Burma by Sīvalī Thera. If he in fact died around 1240, then the time frame for the writing of the Vin-vn-ṭ must be very short [see now Kieffer-Pülz 2018, 199–200]. Taking into account that the author of Vin-vn-ṭ says in the Gaṅṭhā-rambhakathā, that there existed a Sinhalese exposition (*vivaraṇa*) to the Vin-vn which did not suffice for the monks abroad, and looking at the one passage from the Nissandeha which we have in Sinhalese in the Kkh-pipo, and which corresponds to the Pāli of the Vin-vn-ṭ [see now Kieffer-Pülz 2016, p. 12], it is very probable that the Vin-vn-ṭ author translated the Nissandeha even where he does not note it. [For the investigation of Vin-vn-ṭ in connection with Sacc-ṭ, see now Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 190–97]. Since the Vin-vn-ṭ also takes over much material from Sp, it should not have taken a very long time to write the Vin-vn-ṭ.”

based on the latter, it is difficult to be sure how far he is using his teacher Sāriputta's *sanne* directly. But, since there are some verses cited which are only found in Abhidh-s-mhṭ and at least one that is only found in the *sanne*, it seems that he must have made use of both. After chapter III, however, verses are not taken from either work. These verses are in almost exactly the same order as in the two sources for chapter I and in the single example from chapter II. For the third chapter they do not follow any particular order.

In the first two chapters there is relatively little by way of other quotations or references to post-Buddhaghosa sources. Beginning with the third chapter we see a number of citations from the earlier Abhidhamma manuals, especially Abhidh-av and from the *ṭīkā* literature. Mentioned by name are the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Paramatthavinicchaya and especially the Abhidhammāvātāra. The first two of these cannot be dated, while the last is certainly from a much earlier period. The Abhidhammaṭṭīkā and the Visuddhimaggaṭṭīkā are mentioned by name and more often cited without attribution. This could be in part due to the more difficult nature of the later chapters of Sacc, but it also fits well with the possibility that the work was started at an earlier date and then laid aside, to be resumed under more favourable conditions with better library access.

8. CONCLUSIONS

As to the date of the Saccasaṅkhepa, a plausible hypothesis is that it was written by Jotipāla ca. A.D. 600, but otherwise we can only postulate an unknown author between the seventh and tenth centuries but most probably towards the beginning of that period.

The Saccasaṅkhepavivarāṇa (Sacc-viv), although described as the older *ṭīkā* in some Burmese mss, is in fact later than the Sāratthasālinī, but there is no indication as to its likely date.

The Sāratthasālinī is the work of a pupil of Sāriputta in the thirteenth century, a pupil who was requested to write this work by Sāriputta himself.

APPENDIX ONE

NIGAMANA OF THE SACCASAṅKHEPAṬĪKĀ¹⁰⁷

<p><i>Mahā-sāmi-samaññāya vissuto yati- puñ-gavo</i> <i>Sāriputta-mahā-thera-kappo nāma guṇehi yo (1)</i></p> <p>1b. so HS; B^m1&2: <i>visuto</i>; B^m3: <i>vibhūto</i></p>	<p>A leader of monks, renowned for his title of <i>mahā-sāmi</i>, in name and qualities resembling the <i>mahāthera</i> Sāriputta (i.e. the Buddha's pupil),</p>
<p><i>Piṭakesu ca sabbattha sadda- satthādikesu ca</i> <i>Pāra-ppatto mahā-pañño jotento</i> <i>Jina-sāsanam (2)</i></p> <p>2b. B^m2 & 3: <i>satt-</i> and below</p>	<p>one who had achieved mastery in every aspect both in the Piṭakas and in grammatical and other textbooks, one of great wisdom who makes the <i>sāsana</i> of the Victor shine,</p>
<p><i>Vinay'-aṭṭha-kathādīnam ṭīkaṃ</i> <i>satth'-antarassa ca</i> <i>Akāsi, tassa yo sisso piṭaka-ttaya- pāra-gū (3)</i></p> <p>3b: B^m2: <i>tikaṃ</i>; B^m3: <i>ṭīkā</i> 3c. B^m2: <i>akāsi tath' assa yo piṭaka-</i></p>	<p>made a <i>ṭīkā</i> both to the commentaries to the Vinaya and other works and to a work (śāstra) of a different kind.¹⁰⁸ His pupil, who had gained mastery of the three Piṭakas,</p>

¹⁰⁷[This *nigamana* has also been translated in Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 204–206, taking into account LSC's translation, but deviating in some points.]

¹⁰⁸Most probably the Jotisattha mentioned in the *ganthārambha* of the Vin-vn-ṭ I 2,8 (v. 6): *satthantarassāpi ca jotis'-attham*. [LSC characterised the way this is indicated in the text as “a strange expression”.]

<p><i>Vātādhutākhyā-Suneru-paramākhyā-mahā-muni</i></p> <p><i>Mahato bhikkhu-saṅghassa piṭakattaya-vanṇanaṃ</i> (4)</p> <p><i>pāda a: savipulā</i> 4a. B^m₃: <i>vātarutākhyadhuneru</i> 4b. B^m₃: <i>hāramajjha-</i></p>	<p>a great sage reckoned supreme as Suneru is reckoned unshaken by wind, and made an explanation of the three Piṭakas for the great <i>bhikkhu-saṅgha</i></p>
<p><i>Akāsi, akāsi Tappaṇṇimhi garubhāvañ ca rājunaṃ</i> <i>Ṭikā ca racitā yena Vinayassa vinicchaye</i> (5)</p> <p><i>pāda a: savipulā</i> 5a: so HS; mss omit one <i>akāsi</i> 5b: mss: <i>rājunaṃ</i></p>	<p>that <made him recognized as> <i>guru</i> (?) by the kings in Tappaṇṇi and composed a <i>ṭikā</i> to the Vinaya-vinicchaya</p>
<p><i>Nāma-rūpa-pariccheda-vanṇanā ca samāsato</i> <i>Mahā-kaccāyana-tthera-racitassa samiddhiyā</i> (6)</p> <p><i>pāda c is sa-vipulā</i></p>	<p>and an explanation in brief of the Nāmarūpapariccheda, successfully composed a <i>pada-rūpa-vibhāvanā</i> to the grammar that the therā Mahākaccāyana composed, and, wishing to illuminate the <i>sāsana</i>, composed many small books</p>
<p><i>Racitaṃ sadda-satthassa pada-rūpa-vibhāvanam</i> <i>Aneke khuddakā ganthā sāsan'-ujjotan'-atthinā*</i> (7)</p> <p>7b. B^m₃: <i>vibhāvinam</i></p>	
<p><i>Sāsan'-ujjotan'-atthīnam racitā buddhi-vuddhiyā,</i> <i>Tenācariya-pādena suci-sīlanivutt<h>inā</i> (8)</p>	<p>for the sake of increase in understanding for those wishing to illuminate the <i>sāsana</i>. That worthy teacher, wise and</p>

<p>8b. B^m1 & 2: <i>Buddha-</i> 8c. B^m3: <i>-pādena caritassa nirutti</i></p>	<p>and dwelling with pure <i>sīla</i>, composed this explanation of Saccasaṅkhepa too. May it last long in the world, accomplishing the benefit of mankind.</p>
<p><i>Dhīmatā racitāyam pi</i> <i>Saccasaṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā.</i> <i>Ciraṃ vattatu lokamhi, sādhentī</i> <i>janatā-hitam. (9)</i></p>	
<p><i>Āraddhā Jambu-doṇimhi kānane</i> <i>vasatā satā</i> <i>Vasatā Tilak'-uyyāne nivāsena</i> <i>mano-rame (10)</i> The <i>nivāsena</i> does not make sense. <i>pāda a</i> is <i>sa-vipulā</i> 10d. B^m3: <i>ramme</i>; B^m2: <i>panorammaṇe</i></p>	<p>It was begun by that good man when he was dwelling in a glade at Jambuddoṇi (Daṃbadeṇiya), when he was dwelling in the habitation in the delightful Tilaka Park.</p>
<p><i>Dhamma-kittana-sañjāta-kitti-</i> <i>kittana-saññinā</i> <i>Upāsakena sissena paṇḍitena naya-</i> <i>ññunā (11)</i></p>	<p>After being requested by his learned pupil, knowledgable as to methods, the <i>upāsaka</i>, known by the name of Kitti who has gained the name of Dhammakitti (“Dhamma- fame”), he was conducted to the fine city of Salaḷī in the very delightful Tilaka Park abode for forest- dwellers,</p>
<p><i>Ajjesitvā samānīto Salaḷī-nagaraṃ</i> <i>varam</i> <i>Suramme Tilak'-uyyāne nivāse</i> <i>'rañña-vāsinaṃ (12)</i> 12d. B^m3: <i>raññavāsina</i></p>	
<p><i>Yatīnaṃ pīya-sīlānaṃ* dhut'-aṅgādi-</i> <i>guṇ'esinaṃ</i> <i>Kūṭāpuravatī-nāma-vissutena</i> <i>yasassinā (13)</i> 13a. B^m1&2: <i>yatīnaṃ</i> B^m3 omits <i>pādas b & c</i></p>	<p>monks of pleasing conduct who seek such qualities as the <i>dhutaṅgas</i>. The famous one who is renowned under the name of Kūṭāpuravatī,</p>

<p><i>Sāsan'odaya-kāmena visāla-kula-ketunā</i> <i>Vassāvās'-attham ajjhiṭṭho,</i> <i>paccayehi upaṭṭhito (14)</i> 14c. so B^m1 & 3; HS: <i>vāsāvās'-</i>; B^m2: <i>vasāvās'-</i></p>	<p>desirous of progress for the <i>sāsana</i>, leader of his extensive kin, requested him to stay for the rains and supported him with the requisites.</p>
<p><i>Ten'eva kārite ramme viharanto nivesane</i> <i>Paṇḍitenāpi ten'eva yathā-balam upaṭṭhito (15)</i> 15a. so B^m1 & 3; B^m2: <i>rammaṇe</i>; HS: <i>kamme</i></p>	<p>Dwelling in the delightful abode, which had been constructed by the same <lay-follower>, he was supported by that same vigilant scholar according to his ability</p>
<p><i>Sap-pāya-paccay'oghena appamattena paccayaṃ</i> <i>Samajjhiṭṭho samāpetuṃ yato saṃvaṇṇanaṃ imaṃ (16)</i> 16b. B^m3: <i>paccayo yena</i></p>	<p>with a mass of suitable requisites for this reason (?) since he who convinces carefully (?) was thoroughly requested to complete this explanation,</p>
<p><i>Ācinna-citto cinnākhyo aṅga-nāyaka-potthaki-</i> <i>Susamiddhāya saddhāya pasanno Buddha-sāsane (17)</i> 17a. B^m1 & 2: <i>-vitto</i>; B^m3: <i>ādinacitto</i></p>	<p>with practised mind reckoned as (?),¹⁰⁹ he had settled devotion for the <i>sāsana</i> of the Buddha, when the faith of the Aṅga-nāyaka-potthakin¹¹⁰ was so successful,</p>

¹⁰⁹[LSC: Unclear.]

¹¹⁰This could also be the *nāyaka-potthakin* Aṅga, but the title of *potthakin* is mostly given to Kittī in the Cūlavamsa, (Mhv 72.27, 207; 74.90). Does this mean that the Kittī, who is a general and administrator of Parākramabāhu, is one and the same as the *upāsaka* Dhammakittī? Several Kittīs were serving Parākramabāhu. See Liyanagamagē 1968, pp. 54ff.

<p><i>Upaṭṭhahanto sak-kaccaṃ paccayehi yathā-balaṃ Ajjesanaṃ yato kāsi samāpetum atho imaṃ (18)</i></p> <p>18b. B^m2: -phalaṃ 18d. B^m2: ano; B^m3: ato</p>	<p>since, while providing with requisites in the proper way to his capacity, he then made the request to complete this,¹¹¹</p>
<p><i>Tato 'yaṃ vaṇṇanā sammā Buddha- sāsana-vuddhiyā catūhi gantha-sahassemi sādhikehi samāpitā ti. (19)</i></p> <p>19c. em. to <i>catu</i>; B^m3: <i>vandha-</i> 19d. B^m3: <i>sādhiṭe</i>; B^m2: <i>samāpīte</i></p>	<p>then this commentary was perfectly completed for the growth of the <i>sāsana</i> of the Buddha with <the aid of > more than four thousand books.¹¹²</p>

¹¹¹It seems from vs. 17 on that this refers to the pupil Dhammakitti. It seems that parts are doubled in that later stanzas.

¹¹²Compare the 2,047 books listed in the *Piṭakat samuñ* (von Hinüber 1996, §4) and the nearly 300 books recorded as donated to the Order in an inscription from Pagan of A.D. 1442. In contrast, at an earlier date (in the reign of Parākramabāhu I), Sāriputta refers to 20,000 and 30,000 books in the conclusions to Mp-ṭ and Sp-ṭ. This may reflect the effects of destruction during the invasion of Māgha. [Another way of understanding this stanza is to consider *gantha* as used in the sense *gāthā* (i.e. 32 syllables) (suggestion, Peter Jackson). The two passages in Sp-ṭ (III 456,5-6) and Mp-ṭ (III 370,16-17), hinted at by LSC, certainly do not refer to 20,000 and 30,000 books, but to the number of *gāthās* or syllables which these commentaries comprise. Compare also Vin-vn-ṭ I 10,26-11,2 (*ganthaparimāṇaṃ pana Vinayavinicchaye asīti-ganthādhikāni cattāri ganthasahasāni [≠ Utt-vn v. 969], Uttare paññā-saganthādhikāni nava ganthasatāni [≠ Utt-vn v. 968] hontī*) where the number of stanzas of Vin-vn and Utt-vn are given in the Burmese edition reading *gantha* for *gāthā*. Assuming that *gantha* in v. 19 is used in this sense, we would be informed that “the commentary was perfectly completed ... with more than 4,000 *gāthās*”, that is more than 128,000 syllables. As we have it, the Saccasaṅkhepa-ṭikā has about 40,000 words and around 287,000 characters. If we reckon two characters for one syllable, we would reach 143,000 syllables, which is slightly higher than this number.]

APPENDIX TWO

THE GANTHĀRAMBHAKATHĀ OF THE VINAYAVINICCHAYAṬĪKĀ¹¹³

<p>1. <i>ādiccavaṃsambarapātubhūtaṃ</i> [Be I 1] <i>byāmapabhāmaṇḍaladevacāpaṃ</i> <i>dhammambunijjhāpitapāpaghammaṃ</i> <i>vandāmaṃ ahaṃ Buddhamahambuvantaṃ.</i></p>	<p>I pay homage to Buddha who resembles a great raincloud who appeared in the sky of the solar lineage. The circle of his radiant aura is like a rainbow. He consumes the fire of evil with the water of <i>dhamma</i>.</p>
<p>2. <i>pasannagambhīrapadāḷisotaṃ</i> <i>nānāyānantataraṅgamālaṃ</i> <i>sīlādikhandhāmitamacchagumbaṃ</i> <i>vandāmaṃ ahaṃ Dhammamahāsavantiṃ.</i></p>	<p>I pay homage to the great river of the Dhamma, whose clear and deep flow is embanked with words, whose endless succession of waves is the various methods (<i>naya</i>) <of the teaching>, and whose countless shoals of fish are the collections of the precepts and so on.</p>

¹¹³[Characterised by LSC as a “very rough translation” of the only accessible edition of the Vin-vn-ṭ in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition. This introduction and its translation have been discussed by LSC and Petra Kieffer-Pülz. A translation partly based on that by LSC, partly deviating from it is contained in Kieffer-Pülz 2018, pp. 192–94. I kept LSC’s translation, and added his comments which originally were not meant for publication, for further information in the footnotes.]

<p>3. <i>sīloruvelaṃ dhutasāṅkhamālaṃ santosatoyaṃ samathūmicittaṃ padhānakiccaṃ adhicittasāraṃ vandāmi' ahaṃ Saṅghamahāsamuddaṃ.</i></p>	<p>I pay homage to the great ocean of the Saṅgha, with precepts as its sandy shore, adorned with purification practices like conch shells, whose water is joyfulness, whose manifold waves are <i>samatha</i>, whose activity is effort (? <i>unclear</i>), whose motion is higher consciousness.</p>
<p>4. <i>ye tantidhammaṃ munitirājaputtā yāvajjakālaṃ paripālayantā saṃvaṇṇanaṃ nimmalam ānayaṃsu te pubbake cācariye namāmi.</i></p>	<p>I bow down too to the former teachers, the sons of the king of sages who guarded the teaching of the scriptures until the present time and brought <to us> the pure explanation.</p>
<p>5. <i>yo [B^e I 2] dhammasenāpatitulyanāmo tathūpamo Sīhaḷadīpadīpo mamaṃ mahāsānimahāyatindo pāpesi vuḍḍhiṃ Jinasāsanamhi.</i></p>	<p>I bow down to my teacher who embodied the qualities of a teacher, who shared the name of <Sāriputta>, the General of Dhamma and was like him a lamp to the island of the Sinhalese, a leader among great monks and a <i>mahāsāmi</i>. He made a <i>īkā</i> to the commentary named Samantapāsādikā</p>
<p>6. <i>īkā katā aṭṭhakathāya yena. Samantapāsādikanāmikāya Aṅguttarāy' aṭṭhakathāya ceva saththantarassāpi ca jotis'-atthaṃ.</i></p>	
<p>7. <i>nikāyasāmaggividhāyakena raññā Parakkantibhujena sammā Laṅkissarenāpi katopahāraṃ vande garuṃ gāravabhājanam taṃ.</i></p>	

	<p>and likewise to the commentary to the Aṅguttara and also to another textbook for the study of the stars.</p> <p>He it was who was properly given offerings by the lord of Laṅkā, Parākramabāhu the king who brought unity to the fraternities.</p>
<p>8. <i>namassamāno 'ham alattham evaṃ vatthuttayaṃ vandītavandaneyyaṃ yaṃ puññasando 'ham amandabhūtaṃ tassānubhāvena hatantarāyo.</i></p>	<p>Bowing down in this way to the three things which have been and should be honoured, I have obtained no sluggish inflow of good fortune. By the power of that good fortune may all obstacles be destroyed</p>
<p>9. <i>yo Buddhaghosācariyāsabhena viññūppasatthena pi suppasattho so Buddhadattācariyābhīdhāno mahākavī theriyavaṃsadīpo.</i></p>	<p>The great sage/poet (? <i>kavī</i>) and light of the Theriya lineage named as the teacher Buddhadatta, who was highly praised by Buddhaghosa, a hero among teachers, <himself> praised by the wise,</p>
<p>10. <i>akāsi yaṃ Vinayavinicchayaṃ sauttaraṃ pakaraṇaṃ uttamaṃ hitaṃ apekkhataṃ vinayanayesu pāṭavaṃ purāsi yaṃ vivaraṇaṃ assa Sīhaḷaṃ.</i></p>	<p>made the work called Vinayavinicchaya together with the Uttara<vinicchaya>,</p>

	<p>looking to the highest benefit and skill in the ways of Vinaya. [Because the Sinhalese exposition to it which existed before]¹¹⁴</p>
<p>11. <i>yasmā [Be I 3] na dīpantarikānam atthaṃ sādheti bhikkhūnam asesato taṃ tasmā hi sabbattha yatīnam atthaṃ āsīsamānena dayālayena.</i></p>	<p>does not fully accomplish the goal for monks belonging to other parts of the world; therefore, for this reason</p>
<p>12. <i>Sumaṅgalattheravarena yasmā sakkacca kalyāṇamanorathena nayaññunāraññanivāsikena ajjhesito sādhuṅāḅakarena.</i></p>	<p>and because I was asked with respect by the excellent Elder Sumaṅgala, full of compassion, who wished to benefit monks everywhere, a forest-dweller who knows proper means and who is a mine of good qualities,</p>
<p>13. <i>ākaṅkhamānena cirappavattiṃ dhammassa dhammissaradesitassa Coḷappadīpena ca Buddhamittatherena saddhādiguṇoditena.</i></p>	<p>[and] by the Elder Buddhamitta, luminary of the Coḷas, known for such qualities as faith, desiring that the Dhamma taught by Dhamma's lord should endure long,</p>

¹¹⁴[This line was not translated by LSC].

<p>14. <i>tathā Mahākassapa-avhayena therena sikkhāsu sagāravena kudīṭṭhi-matte bha-vidārakena sīhena Coḷāvanipūjitenā.</i></p>	<p>[and] by the elder named Mahākassapa one with respect for the [three] trainings [who tears up error in one enthralled by wrong views]¹¹⁵ a “Lion” revered by the Coḷa realm.</p>
<p>15. <i>yo Dhammakittī ti pasatthanāmo tenāpi saddhena upāsakena sīlādīnānāguṇamaṇḍitena saddhammakāmen’ idha paṇḍitena.</i></p>	<p>[and] here by the devout lay disciple who is praised by the name Dhammakitti and adorned with the various qualities of virtue and so on, a scholar who loves the <i>saddhamma</i>,</p>
<p>16. <i>saddhena paññānavatā vaḷattā- maṅgalyavaṃsena mahāyasena āyācito Vāṇijabhāṇunāpi varaṇṇunā sādhuṅṇodayena.</i></p>	<p>[and] asked by Vāṇijabhāṇu, who is devout, intelligent, renowned, of auspicious lineage, generous and the source of good qualities,</p>
<p>17. <i>tasmā [B^c I 4] tam āropiṃya pālībhāsaṃ nissāya pubbācariyopadesaṃ hitvā nikāyantaraḷaddhidosāṃ katvātivitthāranayaṃ samāsaṃ.</i></p>	<p>therefore putting it into the language of the scriptures, depending upon the instruction of former teachers,</p>

¹¹⁵[Since the third line was unclear to LSC, he left it untranslated. I insert the translation by Crosby & Skilton 1999, pp. 176ff.]

	<p>avoiding the defect of the views of other fraternities, [and] making a summary in a very detailed manner,</p>
<p>18. <i>avuttam atthañ ca pakāsayanto pāṭhakkamañ cāpi avokkamanto saṃvaṇṇayissāmi tadatthasāraṃ. ādāya ganthantarato pi sāraṃ.</i></p>	<p>but explaining content that has not been given and not exceeding the sequence of the text, I will comment on its important content, taking important matter from other books.</p>
<p>19. <i>ciraṭṭhitim patthayatā janānaṃ hitāvahassāmalasāsanassa mayā samāsenā vidhīyamānaṃ saṃvaṇṇanaṃ sādhu suṇantu santo ti.</i></p>	<p>Let good people listen well to the explanation, set out in brief by me, wishing for the stainless <i>sāsana</i> that brings benefit to mankind to last long.</p>

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for names of texts used in this paper are those of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, unless otherwise indicated. Texts used are Pali Text Society editions, except for works not published by the PTS; the Burmese Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyanā editions (as given on the Dhammagiri CD [CSCD]) were used for these unless otherwise stated. [In addition the following abbreviations were used]:

VRI	Vipassana Research Institute Igatpuri
BJT	Buddha Jayanti Tipitaka
[CSCD]	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CDRom (Vipassana Research Institute, Igatpuri)
Abhidh-s-sn	<i>Abhidhammattha sangaha by Bhadantachariya Anuruddha Mahathera with the Sinhalese paraphrase by Sāriputta</i> , ed. T. Pannamoli Tissa, rev. by W. Somaloka Tissa. Colombo: Anula Press, 5th ed., 2503/1960.
Gv	[Nandapañña's] Gandhavaṃsa [Gv without any further specification refers to Gv E ^c] B ^c CSCD E ^c <i>Gandha-Vaṃsa</i> , ed. by Professor [Ivan P.] Minayeff of St. Petersburg, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> 1886, pp. 54–80. N ^c <i>The Gandhavaṃsa</i> (A History of Pali Literature), ed. Bimalendra Kumar. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1992.]
Pm-vn	[Anuruddha,] Paramatthavinicchayo, ed. by A.P. Buddhadatta, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> Vol. X (1985), pp. 155–226.

MANUSCRIPTS

Saccasaṅkhepa = Sacc

B ^{m1}	British Library Ms I.O. Man/Pali 120 (formerly part of the Royal Library, Mandalay)
B ^{m2}	Fragile Palm Leaves Ms 1250 (dated 1861)
B ^{m3}	Fragile Palm Leaves Ms 1422 (dated 1771)

Saccasaṅkhepavaṇṇanā = Sacc-ṭ

- HS transcript kept in the Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket prepared by Helmer Smith, from B^m₁
- B^m₁ British Library Ms I.O. Man/Pali 121 (formerly part of the Royal Library, Mandalay)
(Manuscript signed out to Helmer Smith 11/8/47) (conclusion by scribe in reign of Mindon after founding of Mandalay in 1857)
- B^m₂ British Library Ms Or. 3001
- B^m₃ Manuscript from the U Pho Thi Library, UPT 524.7 (Saddhammajotikārāma Monastery in Thaton, Myanmar)
[https://digicoll.library.utoronto.ca/mmdl/UPT524_7F.pdf;
last accessed, 26/6/2020]

Saccasaṅkhepavivarāṇa = Sacc-viv

- HS transcript kept in the Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket prepared by Helmer Smith, from B^m₁
- B^m₁ British Library Ms I.O. Man/Pali 121 (formerly part of the Royal Library, Mandalay)
(Ms signed out to Helmer Smith 11/8/47)
- B^m₃ Manuscript from the U Pho Thi Library, UPT 524.6 (Saddhammajotikārāma Monastery in Thaton, Myanmar)
[https://digicoll.library.utoronto.ca/mmdl/UPT524_6F.pdf;
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**Writing Pali Texts in 16th-Century Lan Na (Northern Thailand):
The Life and Work of Sirimaṅgala (Part I)***

Gregory Kourilsky

INTRODUCTION

Sirimaṅgala was a monk who lived in Chiang Mai, the royal city of the ancient kingdom of Lan Na (present-day northern Thailand), at the beginning of the 16th century. He is known for having written a number of significant Pali texts, such as the *Vessantaradīpanī*, the *Saṅkhyāpākāsaka-ṭīkā*, the *Cakkavāladīpanī*, and the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, all completed ca. 1520. Sirimaṅgala enjoys a recognition that has extended beyond Lan Na, as his work is disseminated not only in all parts of Thailand but also in Laos, in Cambodia, in Burma and even in Sri Lanka. The *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, in particular, is certainly among the most famous and the most influential religious texts for the Buddhists of mainland Southeast Asia.

However, Sirimaṅgala has attracted little interest outside Thailand, despite some scholars (George Cœdès in the first place) who have highlighted the important role of his writings in the regional Pali literature. Evidence of this is the fact that these have not been extensively studied in a European language. This paper aims to provide an overview of Sirimaṅgala's life and work, attempting to place them in the historical and religious context of 16th-century Lan Na.

PALI LITERATURE IN 15TH- AND 16TH-CENTURY LAN NA

Except for Burma, pre-modern Buddhist texts (written in Pali or in vernacular languages) that have been composed in Theravādin Southeast

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Asia are mostly anonymous. Therefore, we know almost nothing about the scholars (monks or laymen) who are behind the writings preserved in the hundreds of thousands of manuscripts that are stored in monastic repositories (หอไตร *hātrai*)¹ — or, nowadays, in modern libraries — of Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and of other Tai/Dai cultural areas of south China and east Burma.² Although a significant proportion of manuscripts bear a colophon, this indicates not the author of the text but rather its scribe or its sponsor, whose main aim is to gain or dedicate to others the merit that must result from this pious deed. Similarly, when a date is given in a manuscript (sometimes to one-hour precision), it refers to the copying and not the composition of the text. Certainly, the different texts of the *Tipiṭaka* also have no named authors, since each is supposed to represent “the word of the Buddha” (regardless of whether we have to do with texts that obviously do not claim literally to be this, such as the *Kathāvatthu*). However, Indian and Sinhalese traditions have left the names of famous commentators such as Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Nāgārjuna, or Vasubandhu attached to their writings. Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, and Burmese traditions have also kept the memory of their scholars and their literary production, such as Xuanzang, Nichiren, Milarepa, or Ariyavaṃsa, a memory and a personalisation that allow the establishment of a history of Buddhist literature related to these traditions. This is not the case with the various Thai kingdoms that emerged from the 13th century onwards, for which it is arduous to determine the authors or dates of the Buddhist literary works. In this regard 15- and 16-century Lan Na is an exception.

¹ For Thai words and names, I use the transliteration system adopted by François Bizot in his publications at the École française d’Extrême-Orient (with some minor amendments). However, some Thai terms that are commonly used are written according to the Royal Institute of Thailand transcription system.

² The word “Thai” may refer both to the inhabitants of modern-day Thailand (regardless of their ethnic or linguistic affiliation) and to different population groups — Buddhist or not — speaking Thai (or “Tai”, or “Dai”) languages that are distributed across Thailand, Laos, Burma, China, Vietnam, and India, and which include several ethnic subcategories (Siamese, Lao, Khoen, Shan, Lue, etc.). This term has become particularly ambivalent since 1939, when Siam took the name of Thailand (viz. “the land of [all] the Thai”).

This northern Thai kingdom, which expanded around the city of Chiang Mai (today part of Thailand), during that period saw the emergence of several monks who were erudite enough to compose substantial writings in Pali. Scholars have therefore become accustomed to refer to this period as the “golden age” of Pali literacy in Thailand (Pent 1994: 80f.). Setting aside the *Traibhūmikathā*, a cosmological Thai-Pali text that is ascribed to King Lidaya (1347–1368) of Sukhothai, this “golden age” is the only one for which a significant number of literary works are identified by their authors, as well as their date and place of composition. This period also sees a spectacular development of epigraphic and archæological material, which is primarily the product of two kings who actively supported Buddhism in Lan Na, namely Tilokarāja (1441/2–1487), and his great-grandson Mueang Kaew (1495–1526). It is also thanks to royal promotion that Lan Na Buddhism was able to spread into neighbouring countries, through Pali scriptures and Buddhist scholars and craftsmen.

The origin for the development of Pali literacy in this area is, however, attributed to the lineage of the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus*, as they called themselves, a group of monks at first affiliated to the Suan Dok monastery (วัดสวนดอก *vāt svan tāk*, P. Pupphārāma) in Chiang Mai³ led by Dhammagambhīra⁴ and Medhañkara, who are said to have travelled in 1423 to Lanākā, where they were re-ordained before returning to Chiang Mai some years later and establishing a new ordination lineage. According to them, the ordination carried out previously in Lan Na was regarded by Sinhalese monks to be invalid. Yet Suan Dok monastery was itself considered as belonging to an older “Sinhalese trend” (*laddhi-Lanākā*), in contrast to monks who were associated with the traditional ordination lineage, probably of Mon origin. Indeed, sources ascribe to Sumana, a monk originated in Sukhothai who had also been re-ordained in the Sinhalese tradition in the Mon kingdom of Martaban (in present-day Lower Burma), the establishment of a forest-dwelling (*araññavāsī*) monastic congregation in the city of Lamphun in 1369 and then in Chiang Mai, precisely in Suan Dok monastery.⁵ At any rate, Dhammagambhīra’s

³ For a map of monasteries in an around Chiang Mai, see below, pp. 118f.

⁴ Ñāṅagambhīra in certain sources.

⁵ Previously a royal pleasure garden (*uyyāna*), Suan Dok was transformed in 1370 into a temple by King Kue Na, who then invited Sumana to establish a Sinhalese tradition of Buddhism there.

statement regarding Suan Dok monks (which amounts to saying that they were false *bhikkhus*) led to disputes between monks who supported Dhammagambhīra's position and the others who rejected it. Eventually, Dhammagambhīra and his advocates had to leave Suan Dok, and thus established the Pa Daeng monastery (วัดป่าแดง *vāt pā, tēñ*, P. Rattavanamahāvihāra), located at the foot of Mount Suthep, about one kilometre away from the former. From there, they sparked an innovation regarding Buddhist practices and text composition in Lan Na and neighbouring principalities, where they established their own network of monasteries (วัด *vāt*) that were often also named Pa Daeng or Rattavanamahāvihāra.⁶ Therefore, three different Buddhist schools or "factions" (P. *saṅgha, gaṇa*, or *pakkha*, Th. ฝ่าย *fāy*) coexisted in Lan Na from the mid-15th to 17th centuries: the first Sinhalese *araññavāsī* school established by Sumana in Suan Dok monastery (P. *pupphavāsīgaṇa*, Th. ฝ่ายสวน[ดอก] *fāy, svan [tāk]*), the second Sinhalese *araññavāsī* school founded by Dhammagambhīra in Pa Daeng monastery (P. *Sīhaḷagaṇa*, Th. ฝ่ายป่า [แดง] *fāy, pā, [tēñ]*), and the ancient and unreformed school, probably linked to an old Mon tradition and considered as *nagaravāsīn* (or *gāmvāsīn*) that is, village-dwellers (EHS⁷ 19, Penth 1994: 171).⁸ These factions were characterized by different practices with regard to the monastic robes, the right or being forbidden to use a walking stick, the proceeding for the installation of *sīmā* stones, and the pronunciation of Pali wording (especially in the context of the ordination ceremony) (Bizot 1988: 15 ff.). Sources suggest that King Sam Fang Kaen (1401/2–1441) supported the "fay Suan", while his successors, in particular Tilokarāja (1441–1487) and Phra Mueang Kaew (1495–1526), promoted

⁶ In fact, the situation is more complicated, since Pa Daeng was also the name of older monasteries (e.g. at Si Sacchanalay) that were affiliated to the Sumana's lineage, that is, the first "Sinhalese trend".

⁷ *Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (A.B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, cf. bibliography).

⁸ *Jinakālamālī* chronicle (Jkm) calls *Sīhaḷasaṅgha* the monks affiliated to Pa Daeng monastery, while the *Mūlasāsana* chronicle (Mls) uses the term *Sīhaḷapakkha*. Although these factions distinguished themselves by different ordination lineages, the term *nikāya* barely occurs in local sources from this period. For this reason, the English word "sect" seems here not to be appropriate. *Nikāya* will be used, however, later in Thailand, in particular with the advent of the *Dhammayuttikanikāya* established by Mongkut, the future King Rama IV (1851–1868). It may also occur in later versions of chronicles.

the “fay Pa”.⁹ These three factions continued to live side by side for at least two centuries.¹⁰

The events related above are recorded in local historiography, especially in *Jinakālamālī* (Jkm), *Gambhīrabhikkhu*¹¹ and different versions of the *Mūlasāsana* (Mls), as well as in stone inscriptions.¹² Certainly, some of these records must perhaps be considered with more caution — and less literally — than is usually the case in academic writings, especially with regard to the Lan Na monks’ journey to Laṅkā, whose authenticity is open to question (see below). It is nonetheless beyond doubt that the emergence of the *Sīhalabhikkhus* in the middle of the 15th century led to a radical change in Pali writings in Lan Na and the neighbouring Thai-Lao kingdoms or principalities (เมือง *mījan*). Indeed, the few texts we know to have existed before this time were written either in Thai (such as Mls), or in what some call “Indochinese

⁹ Medhaṅkara, one of the two leaders of the 1423 mission to Laṅkā, is said to have been the preceptor (*upajjhāya*) of King Tilokarāja, who bestowed him with the title *mahāsāmī* (Jkm 95; Mls 217). Thereafter, and until the Burmese takeover of Lan Na (1558), the heads of the Saṅgha of Chiang Mai were always affiliated with Pa Daeng.

¹⁰ In 1477 King Tilokarāja gathered monks of the three factions (*tayogaṇasaṅgham*) at Chet Yot monastery (Mahābodhārāma) for a great ceremony during which an “amended *Tipiṭaka*” (*piṭakattayaṃ akkharaṃ sodhāpetvā*) was deposited (Jkm 114–115). The three factions are also said to have participated together, in 1515, in an ordination ceremony for new monks celebrated in Chiang Saen (Cœdès 1926: 122), and in another in Chiang Mai, at the Sīhalārāma, organized in 1523 by Mueang Kaew for the sake of his dead daughter (Jkm 125). Moreover, another inscription from Chiang Saen (JR07), dated CS 977 (1615), refers to the “venerable royal preceptors of the three factions” (*brah rāja grū cao, dān sām gaṇā*) (in Prasert ṇa Nakhorn et al. 1991: 28. I am grateful to François Lagirarde for bringing this inscription to my attention).

¹¹ This text is of great interest, as it relates the dispute between Dhammagambhīra and the monks of Suan Dok monastery. Arguments, sometimes very technical, concern primarily Pali pronunciation and grammar. For a summary and a discussion of this text, see Bizot 1988: 77–83.

¹² For example EHS 9, 11, 13 and 19, and also JR04 (in Prasert ṇa Nakhorn et al. 1991: 9). G. Cœdès is probably the first scholar to have given records of these religious (and actually political) events, in his study of Jkm (Cœdès 1925: 31–33). Others have reviewed the importance of this period for the history of Lan Na (Bizot 1988, Penth 1995, Veidlinger 2004).

Pali”, that is, a Pali that does not conform to the grammar and syntax of canonical Pali, but rather to those of the vernacular. Illustrative examples of the latter writings are *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (Cdv) and *Sīhīnganidāna*, both being local chronicles based on the vernacular historiographical literature (Cœdès 1915: 44); *Paṭhamasambodhi* and *Māleyya-devattheravathu* must also be mentioned, although the place and date of their composition remain uncertain.¹³ In contrast, the texts that have been written during the subsequent period demonstrate a mastery of Pali as a canonical language, although some linguistic idiosyncrasies may distinguish Pali texts composed in Lan Na from those originating in Sri Lanka and Burma (see von Hinüber 1988). This “golden age”, however, will end with the Burmese incursion and stranglehold on the kingdom that occurred in 1558. The recovering of Thai suzerainty over Lan Na at the beginning of the 19th century did not allow the resurgence of such a situation with regard to Pali literacy.

Despite its relative brevity, this period has particular significance as it occurred at a time when monks in Sri Lanka had more or less ceased writing in Pali. This valuable corpus, however, is for the most part yet to be studied, despite some scholarly writings that have already highlighted its importance.¹⁴ Here are some examples of noteworthy texts that have been handed down to us:

Saṅkhyāpakāsaka, a treatise on weights and measures written by Nānavilāsa (15th century)

Saddabindu-vinicchaya (or °*abhinava-ṭīkā*), a subcommentary on a Pali grammar text (the *Saddabindu*), written by Saddhammakitti Mahāphussadeva in the late 15th century¹⁵

Jinakālamālī, a history of Buddhism, a substantial part of which concerns religious events that occurred in Lan Na, written by Ratanapañña (1516, completed in 1527)¹⁶

¹³ For a general discussion of “Indochinese Pali”, see Masefield 2008. For case studies related to respectively *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, *Paṭhamasambodhi*, and *Māleyya-devavathu*, see Cœdès 1925: 15 and Collins 1993: 3.

¹⁴ Several scholarly works give a survey of Pali literature of Lan Na. Particular mention must be made of Cœdès 1915, Cœdès 1925, Likhitanonta 1969, Supaphan 2533 [1990], Hundius 1990, Filliozat 1992, von Hinüber 1996, Penth 1997, von Hinüber 2000, Saddhatissa 2004, Veidlinger 2006.

¹⁵ Lottermoser 1987: 79-80.

¹⁶ It is not certain whether the later part was written by Ratanapañña himself or by another scholar.

Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha, a compendium containing linguistic and esoteric analysis of Pali words and verses, written by (Siri-)Ratanapañña in 1534¹⁷

Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-tīkā, a commentary on the latter by an unknown author¹⁸

Mātikatthasarūpa-Abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, a sub-commentary on the *Abhidhamma* written in 1535 by (another?) Ratanapañña

Ganthābaraṇa-tīkā, a commentary of Ariyavaṃsa's grammatical treatise, written by Suvanṇaramsi (1585)¹⁹

Visuddhimaggadīpanī, an exegesis of Buddhaghosa's work, written by Uttarārama (16th century)

Ratanabimbavaṃsa-vaṇṇanā, the chronicle of the Emerald Buddha, written by Brahmaṛājapañña (16th century)

Amarakaṭabuddharūpa-nidāna, another chronicle of the Emerald Buddha, written by Ariyavaṃsa (16th century)

Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpa-nidāna, a chronicle of the Phra Bang image, by Ariyavaṃsa (16th century)

To these examples must be added the works of the very prolific Ñaṅakitti, who is the author of at least ten sub-commentaries (*attha-*

¹⁷ A comparative study of this text and the *Jinakālamālī* leads to the conclusion that they have different authors, despite their bearing the same name (Javier Schnake, personal communication). At least two other Ratanapaññas are known for the same period in Lan Na. Thus, "Ratanapañña" could be an honourific name, rather than a strictly proper name (Pent 1995). Moreover, the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* is sometimes wrongly attributed to Sirimaṅgala (*viz.* Saddhatissa 1989: 43). For an in-depth study of this text, see Schnake 2018.

¹⁸ Javier Schnake, personal communication.

¹⁹ This *tīkā* seems to be mentioned only by G. Cœdès (1915: 41). Its author is said to have composed this text at Visai monastery in Vieng Chan, then the capital of the Lan Xang kingdom (present-day Vientiane, Laos), which is actually outside the scope of Lan Na in the strict sense of the term, but within its sphere of cultural influence. Incidentally, the two kingdoms were politically related. The Lao King Setthathirat (Jetṭhādhirāja, 1546–1571) was the son of a princess of Chiang Mai, and as such sat on the throne of Lan Na between 1546 and 1548, before returning to Lan Xang to succeed his dead father as king.

yojana) related to the three *piṭaka*, and one on the Buddhapiya's *Rūpa-siddhi* (*Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī*) (von Hinüber 2000: 127–128). Many others might have been lost as a result of the vicissitudes of history, while others' date of composition and authorship are still unknown (such as the *Uppātasanti*, mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*,²⁰ or collections of non-classical *jātaka* known as *Paññāsa-jātaka*). But today the most famous author of this period is indisputably Sirimaṅgala, whose work has marked Buddhist literacy in Thailand and beyond.

SIRIMAṄGALA ON SIRIMAṄGALA

Among all the Lan Na authors who wrote their works during the “golden age”, Sirimaṅgala is the only one whose literary production had a lasting influence.²¹ No less than five of his texts are known so far, most of which have extensively circulated not only in Lan Na, but also in the other Theravādin countries:

Vessantaradīpanī (Vess-dīp): a commentary on the *Vessantara-jātaka* (and its *aṭṭhakathā*), written in CS 879 (1517).

Gāthādīpaka: another commentary on the *Vessantara-jātaka* (probably only on the verses), for which the date of composition is unknown, but which was written before the Vess-dīp.²²

Saṅkhyāpakāsaka-ṭīkā (Saṅkh-p-ṭ): a commentary on the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka* (Saṅkh-p) by Ñāṇavilāsa (see above), written in CS 882 (1520).

Cakkavāḍadīpanī (Cakkav-d): a Buddhist cosmology describing the world system, also written in CS 882 (1520).

Maṅgalatthadīpanī (Maṅg-d): an exegesis of the *Maṅgala-sutta*, written in CS 886 (1524).

It therefore appears that Sirimaṅgala was a very productive author and commentator. Not only are these works substantial pieces compris-

²⁰ Sās 51.

²¹ Sirimaṅgala of Chiang Mai must not be confused with another Sirimaṅgala (or Sirisumaṅgala), a Burmese monk of the fourteenth century, who is the author of several commentaries on Buddhaghosa's works (see Bode 1909: 27).

²² This text is known only by its title, as it is mentioned by Sirimaṅgala himself in the Vess-dīp (Yamanaka 2011: viii).

ing several hundred folios, but they were written in less than a decade.²³ Unlike Ñāṇakitti's work, which survived only partially, Sirimaṅgala's texts (except for the *Gāthādīpaka*) have been continually used and copied in the intervening period and widespread in different scripts and languages. In view of the preceding, Sirimaṅgala's case is thus exceptional in the history of Southeast Asian Buddhism, even in the particular context of 15th- and 16th-century Lan Na. It may also well be that he composed other pieces, which have been lost.

Nonetheless, little is known about Sirimaṅgala himself. Various local biographical data — mostly hagiographical — circulate about him in Thailand (see below), but the most reliable information available lies in the manuscripts bearing his own work, especially in the colophons, where he gives details of the place and time he was writing. The colophons of Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-p-ṭ, and Cakkav-d are similar, except of course for the details of the title and date of composition. In each, Sirimaṅgala says that he resided in Chiang Mai (Navapura), in a place that was commonly known under its Thai name, Suan Khuan (สวนขวัญ *svan khvāñ*),²⁴ which was located to the Southwest of the Sīhaḷārāma,

²³ None of these texts has been extensively studied in a western language, except for the Vess-dīp, which has been transcribed in Roman characters by Nakorn Khemapālī (2006), and also edited in the context of a PhD thesis submitted in 2010 by Yukio Yamanaka. As for Maṅg-d, its two initial books (out of a total of eleven) have been translated into English by Saksri Yamnadda in his PhD dissertation (1971). Cakkav-d has been the subject of several scholarly works in Thai, among which is the remarkable study by Supaphan na Bangchang (2011). As for the Saṅkh-p-ṭ, only one MA dissertation (in Thai) is dedicated to this text (*viz.* Boonna 1980).

²⁴ *Svan* สวน literally means “garden”. As for the notion of *khvāñ* ขวัญ, it is present in all Thai cultures, whether these are Buddhist or not. Thai believe a certain number of *khvāñ* or “vital spirits” inhabit the individual, each of them occupying a specific part of the body. According to Thai tradition, however, not only human beings have *khvāñ* but also certain animals (such as buffalos and horses), and even non-living entities such as rice and also specific locations, especially when these have a guardian or ancestor's spirit. Thus, *Svan Khvāñ* could be here translated as “the garden of the guardian spirit [of the place]”. Considering that the Phra Singh monastery, which *Svan Khvāñ* is connected to (see later in this paper), has a special link with the ancestor spirits of Chiang Mai, it could even refer to the guardian spirit of the city (I

that is, the Phra Singh monastery.²⁵ He further indicates that he lived, at the time of his writings, during the reign of “the great-grandson of the king named Laka,”²⁶ namely Phra Mueang Kaew (1495–1526):²⁷

*icc' ayam Navapure patiṭṭhita-Siḥalārāmassa dakkhiṇa-
pacchima-disāya patiṭṭhite deyya-bhāsāya Svan Khvan ti
pākaṭanāme pi vihāre, vasantena mahussāhena Tipiṭaka-
dhārena saddhā-buddhi-viriya-[paṭi]maṇḍitena saparānaṃ
kosallam icchantena Sirimaṅgalo ti garūhi gahita-nāmena
mahā-therena, paramende Navapure issarassa Lakavhaya-
rājanattuno rājābhiraṅgajassa manujindassa sabba-rājūnaṃ
tilaka-bhūtaṃ, parama-saddhassa patthita-sabbaññūta-
ñāṇassa Buddha-sāsane pasannassa kāle dvāsītādhikaṭṭha-
satasa-kkarāje Mahāsappa-vasse katā tesattati-gāthā-pati-
maṇḍitassa Saṃkhyāpakāsaka-pakaraṇassa attha-vaṇṇanā.*
(Sāṅkh-p-ṭ, colophon)²⁸

The colophon of Maṅg-d is similar to that of Sirimaṅgala’s previous works, but differs in some details. Here is an extensive extract from the closing folios:

*ettāvatā ca
paṭiññātā mayā esā yā Maṅgalatthadīpanī |
ānāyitvāna sārathāṃ anekāṃ piṭakattayā |*

owe a debt of gratitude to Phongsathorn Buakhampān for sharing his views on this issue).

²⁵ Some Thai scholars assert that “Siḥalārāma” actually refers to another monastery. This issue is discussed below in this paper.

²⁶ That is, Tilokarāja (1441/2–1487).

²⁷ Bilakapanattādhiraṅga in Jkm (with Bilaka = Tilaka). See Cœdès 1915: 39.

²⁸ In Boonna 1980: 174–175, from a manuscript stored at the National Library (Bangkok). The same text is reproduced (with minor variants) in Cœdès 1915: 39, also from a manuscript kept at the National Library (previously Vajirañāna library). See also Supaphan 1990: 419 (with a Thai translation). For the colophon of Vess-dīp, see Samnak Rachadikaṅ 1998: 473–474 and Supaphan 1990: 382 (both in Thai; a romanized version is given in Nakorn Khemapālī 2006: 515–516, but it contains many mistakes). For Cakkav-d, see Nopporn 1980: 56 and Supaphan 1990: 405 (both in Thai; no romanized versions are available).

katā sā niṭṭhitā suṭṭhu passitabbā hi viññunā |
 passantena imaṃ laddhā chekatā sabba-maṅgale ||
 Suttābhidhamma-Vinayesu vicāra-ñāṇo |
 Siryādi Maṅgal' abhidhānayut[t]oru-thero |
 ussāhavā racayi Buddhav[ī]rassa sisso |
 Maṅgalatthadīpanim imattha-rasābhirāmaṃ ||

iccāyaṃ Navapurassa dakkhiṇa-disā-bhāge gāvute ṭhāne
 vivitte, sampattānaṃ pasāda-janake suññāgāre vasantena
 vivekābhiratena, mahussāhena Tipiṭaka-dharena saddhā-
 buddhi-viriya-ppaṭimaṅḍitena saka-paresaṃ kosallam icchantena
 Sirimaṅgalo ti garūhi gahita-nāmena mahā-therena, paramende
 Navapure issarassa Lakavhaya-rājanattuno rājādhi²⁹-rājassa
 manujindassa sabba-rājūnaṃ tilaka-bhūtassa, parama-
 ssaddhassa paṭṭhita-sabbāññuta-ññāṇassa Buddha-sāsane
 pasannassa kāle chaḷāsīty ādhikaṭṭha-sata-Sakkarāje Makkaṭa-
 vasse katā Maṅgalatthadīpanī.³⁰

And so,

This *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, for which I promised [the paternity],
 conveying the many essential meanings of the Scriptures,
 is now completed, and should be well studied by one who is wise;
 studying it he will acquire skill in all that is auspicious.
 Knowledgeable in the study of *Sutta*, *Abhidhamma*, and *Vinaya*,
 the elder Uru, rightly called Maṅgala with the prefix *Siri*,
 and who is the diligent pupil of Buddhavīra,
 composed the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, delighting readers by getting
 to the heart of the matter.

The elder monk, whom the masters call Sirimaṅgala, who is
 delighted to live in solitude in a secluded place that is situated
 at one league (*gāvuta*) south of Navapura [Chiang Mai], with
 great effort holding in mind the *Tipiṭaka*, who is endowed with
 devotion, knowledge, and perseverance, wishing proficiency

²⁹ Here Supreme Patriarch Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1976: 479) reads *rājāti*^o, which differs from all other versions consulted.

³⁰ Maṅg-d II 478–79 (the pagination follows the 1972 edition in Siamese characters). See also (with some variants) Cœdès 1915: 40.

for himself and for others, wrote the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* in the year 886 of [Little] Era, year of the Monkey, during the reign of the bright monarch, the ruler of men, the king above all kings, who is the great-grandson of the king named Laka,³¹ lord of the capital Navapura. He did it endowed with great faith, wishing to obtain omniscience, pious towards the Teaching of the Buddha, at the highest level.

Here Sirimaṅgala does not give the name of his abode, nor does he mention the *Sīhaḷārāma* again. The question of whether or not he refers to the same place as in his preceding writings (*i.e.* “Suan Khuan”) will be discussed later in this paper. For now, we should note that the local tradition in Thailand maintains that the place Sirimaṅgala describes as his abode in all his texts is a unique monastery that bears today the name “Tamnak Suan Khuan Sirimangkhachan” (วัดตำหนักสวนขวัญ สิริมังคลาจารย์ *vāt tāṃhnāk svan khvāñ Sirimaṅgalācāry*), or more commonly Tamnak monastery (*vāt tāṃhnāk*). It is located in Tamnak village, Mae Hia precinct, Chiang Mai district, about five kilometres south-southwest of the old city. Moreover, Sirimaṅgala here insists on his delight in staying in solitude and in a secluded place, which is not in the other colophons. Finally, he says he was a pupil (*sissa*) of a master named Buddhavīra, who was not mentioned previously.

Additional information provided by the Maṅg-d colophon concerns Sirimaṅgala’s lay (or birth) name, Uru (“*abhidhānayut[ta-U]ru-thero*”).³² Moreover, the sentence is turned in such a way as to highlight the honourific title *siri* that is associated with Maṅgala, his conventual name

³¹ See p. 78, note 26.

³² Referring briefly to Sirimaṅgala, G.E. Gerini (1904: 108) also states that his birth name was Ru or Uru (see also Finot 1917: 71). Although he does not give any details for the source he relies on, this hesitation as to the spelling (Ru/Uru) suggests it is the Maṅg-d colophon as well. Indeed, Gerini’s hesitation likely results from the presence of the *sandhi* in the Pali compound. Moreover, in his Burmese translation of Maṅg-d, scholar Kavinda (1753–1821) gives *Ū: Roñ* as Sirimaṅgala’s lay name (see Nyunt, Cicuzza 2014a: 523), which leads us to believe that Uru, rather than Ru, is the accurate spelling. The fact that *uru* in Pali (and in Thai as well) means “excellent” or “eminent” tends to confirm this hypothesis.

(“*Sir[i-ā]di Maṅgala*”). The epigraphic sources of 15th- and 16th-century Lan Na indicate that the use of the prefix *siri* (or *sirī*) was strictly reserved for sacred persons, places, or objects. It is thus unlikely that it can have been associated with a commoner, even in a case of a well-respected monk. It must be added that in the Buddhist tradition of Southeast Asia (and of other areas as well), monks bear a religious name (*chāyā*) that not only differs from their birth name, but may also change several times throughout their life, especially when they go up in the hierarchy.³³ In this regard, the somewhat hagiographic phraseology that characterizes these colophons might also be meaningful. Indeed, *Siri-maṅgala* is here introduced in very eulogistic terms as an eminent scholar who is endowed with all kind of qualities and knowledge (“*Suttābhidhamma-Vinayesu vicāra-ñāṇo*”).

This contrasts with colophons from Pali and vernacular manuscripts of Lan Na in which scribes most often demonstrate an excessive modesty, apologizing for possible errors and their bad handwriting (Hundius 1990: 33). One possible explanation would be that *Siri-maṅgala* is not the author of the colophons, which would have been written by another monk, or requested by a lay sponsor. It was not unusual for high-ranking Thai monks to dictate their composition to a scribe, who was responsible for writing it on palm leaves on their behalf.³⁴ In this regard, the eulogistic depiction of *Siri-maṅgala* would not be misplaced if he were of a noble origin, or at least related to the secular power. It is very common in Thai religious texts (epigraphs and religious writings) to depict dignitaries, who are often introduced as their sponsors or even their authors, as scholars in matters of Pali and Buddhist scriptures. An illustrative case is King Lidaiya (1347–1368),

³³ According to local sayings, *Siri-maṅgala* received his *chāyā* from King Mueang Kaew himself, although there is no extant source that allows us to confirm this.

³⁴ One example is the Thonburi version of the *Traibhūmikathā* (1776), entitled *Tāmrā bhāp Traibhūmi chapāp hlvañ* (“The Great Three-Worlds Treatise Illustrated”). The manuscript says that it was ordered by King Taksin (1767–1782) and copied in the residence of the *saṅgharāja*, who dictated the story together with Pali verses to an artist and scribe whose name was Śī Dharmādhirāja (see Krom Silpakorn 1999: 6).

whose knowledge in Pali scriptures is underlined both in inscriptions (EHS 11.1) and in the *Traibhūmikathā*, which is ascribed to him (see Archambault, Cœdès 1973: 3). Similarly, Ratanapañña (the author of Jkm) places himself and his work in the frame of the highest religious hierarchy and royal circle (Jkm 115, 185).³⁵ More broadly, written sources show that monks, especially high-ranking ones, were connected with the ruling elite.³⁶ In Lan Na, it was the prerogative of the king to appoint the abbots of the most important monasteries, who were endowed with the title (*mahā*-)saṅgharāja, and temples were more often sponsored by rulers or their families.³⁷

Actually, later colophons that are written by copyists of Siri-maṅgala's works also plead in favour of the assumption that he was a high-ranking figure linked to the political power. A very interesting case is a *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* manuscript dated CS 900 (1538), stored at Phra Sing monastery in Chiang Mai.³⁸ As only eighteen years separate this copy from the original, Sirimaṅgala was possibly alive at that time, which would make this manuscript rather exceptional (Hundius 1990:94, von Hinüber 2000: 123).³⁹ The cover folio states that the copy was ordered by "the lord Mahāsaṅgharāja Candaramsī araṅ[ṅ]avāsī",

³⁵ Pagination of Jkm refers to the edition of A.P. Buddhadatta (PTS, 1962).

³⁶ There are several examples in Thai history where the head of the *saṅgha* belonged to the ruling family. An illustrative example is the case of the supreme patriarch of Siam Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1860–1921), who was the son of King Rama IV, and the half-brother of King Rama V.

³⁷ See previous note.

³⁸ This manuscript is now available to scrutinize and download from the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (code number 010704024_06). Supaphan na Banchang (1990: 405), and after her Daniel Veidlinger (2006: 94), mention another copy bearing the same date and the same sponsor's name, kept at the Pupphārāma monastery. One can suspect that only one manuscript exists, which had been displaced at the time of Supaphan's survey (the fact she does not mention the copy of Phra Singh supports this hypothesis). Moreover, Supaphan seems to confuse the present-day Pupphārāma monastery, which is located in inner Chiang Mai, with the Suan Dok monastery, whose Pali name is also Pupphārāma.

³⁹ One could also suppose that this manuscript was copied directly from Siri-maṅgala's original, while later versions might have been subject to changes or alterations.

showing that Sirimaṅgala was connected with the forest-dwellers lineage (Veidlinger 2006: 94) and that his work was, during his life or just after, already recognised by leading figures of the Buddhist hierarchy in Lan Na. Manuscript copies from later periods and originating in other areas confirm this connection. This is the case of the oldest Pali manuscript of the Maṅg-d found so far, dated CS 1009 (1647). This palm-leaf manuscript is stored at Maha That monastery (วัดมหาธาตุ *vāt mahā dhātu*) in Yasothorn (northeast Thailand), but it probably originated in Vientiane, which was at that time the capital of the Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang. Indeed, hundreds of texts were brought to this monastery after the sacking of Vientiane by the Siamese in 1828 (Iijima 2005: 346).⁴⁰ The colophon of this manuscript indicates that it was ordered by Venerable “Mahāsaṅgharāja Bodhijotaka araṅ[ṅ]avāso”, that is, a patriarch within the forest-dweller congregation (presumably in Vientiane). Moreover, two Cakkav-d manuscripts copied in Nan (in present-day Northern Thailand), which was at a time a *mījan* dependant of Lan Na, are also said in their colophons to have been made at the behest of the ruler himself (see Hundius 1990: 88-100). One of them, dated CS 1185 (1833) was copied by the Venerable Khruba Kanchon (ครูบาศักดิ์จัน *grūpā kañcana*) (1789–1878), an *araññāvāsīn* monk originally from Phrae (about 200 kilometres east of Chiang Mai), famous for having collected and copied thousands of manuscripts throughout the region (Chiang Mai, Nan, Chiang Saen, Luang Prabang, etc.). He did this often under the patronage of rulers, in particular those of Nan and Luang Prabang, suggesting political issues were at stake beyond the religious fervour (*ibid.* 34–36, Veidlinger 2006: 96ff.). It is noteworthy that royal sponsoring of Maṅg-d is also found in Burma and Cambodia, as several colophons mention the support of Burmese and Khmer

⁴⁰ The date of this manuscript is not given in the provisional inventory established by Akiko Iijima, which only mentions one *Maṅgala[ttha]dīpanī* without any details (Iijima 2005: 355). Date and content of the colophons are given in the catalogue established by Mahasarakham University, Thailand. I thank Prof. Weena Wisaphen from the Research Institute of Northeast Art and Culture at Mahasarakham University for letting me consult this valuable document. I am also grateful to the abbot of Maha That monastery in Yasothorn, who was kind enough to confirm the date given in the manuscript.

dignitaries.⁴¹ In this connection, many Maṅg-d manuscripts are finely crafted, with palm-leaves gilded and decorated with vermilion bands, which denotes their origin at the highest level of society. Last but not least, Maṅg-d received the attention of King Rama III (1824–1851), as he ordered its translation into Siamese in 1821, before his enthronement; this was partly published in 1876–1877 (Gerini 1904: 108–109). Later on, at the very beginning of the 20th century, prince Wachirayan Warorot (วชิรญาณวโรรส Vajirañāṇavarorasa) (1860–1921) produced a modern printed edition in Thai script including a scholarly apparatus, which has been often reprinted (see bibliography).

Apart from the colophons, Sirimaṅgala's writings give no explicit information about him. One can only notice a remarkable command of the Pali language, as well as an extraordinary scholarship in Pali scriptures from Sri Lanka and Burma. In parenthesis, the references Sirimaṅgala gives in his works provide us with information on the canonical and postcanonical texts that circulated at this time in Lan Na. Furthermore, they shed light on several Pali works that have not found their way into our times. For instance, Vess-dīp mentions several lost or hitherto unknown texts such as *Sārasamāsa*, *Ganthapotthaka*, and *Gāthādīpaka* — the latter being written by Sirimaṅgala himself (see Nakorn Khemapālī 2006: 39; Yamanaka 2011: xvi–xvii, and above). Sirimaṅgala also refers to some Pali scholars who were his contemporaries. Nāṇavilāsa, in particular, must have been known to him, at least through his work if not in person; not only does he quote passages of the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka* in his writings (Supaphan 1990: 402), but also he wrote a voluminous exegesis of this very text, namely, the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka-ṭīkā*. The Vess-dīp mentions three other authors from 16th-century Lan Na, Anomadassi-thera, Mahāpussadeva (or Pussadeva, or Phussadeva) and Ratanapaṇḍita. The first one is unknown to us, but the second could be the author of the *Saddabindu-abhinavaṭīkā* (Khemapālī 2006: 39 and above). As regards to Ratanapaṇḍita, he must have been very well-known by Sirimaṅgala, as he refers to him and to his work no less than 40 times in Vess-dīp (*id.*; Supaphan 2011: 264).⁴² These

⁴¹ A Burmese example is a manuscript entitled *Maṅgalatthadīpanī kyaṃ.*, dated 1894, copied at Maṅgala Bhuṃ Khyō monastery. The colophon says it was ordered by Minister Sīri-jeyya-kyō-cvā (see Nyunt, Cicuzza 2014b: 117).

⁴² Both Supaphan na Bangchang and Bhikkhu Nakorn Khemapālī believe that this Ratanapaṇḍita actually is Ratanapañña, the author of Jkm. However,

references made to scholars and texts of his lifetime show that Sirimaṅgala was not a reclusive scholar who spent all his life isolated from the Buddhist community. Rather the opposite: it appears that he was fully in communion within the Chiang Mai *saṅgha*. It is therefore all the more surprising that he never quotes, nor even mentions, the few authors who are familiar to us today, such as Bodhiramṣi, Ñāṇakitti, or Ratanapañña.

SIRIMAṄGALA IN LOCAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Apart from his own writings, ancient sources tell us little about Sirimaṅgala. As regards the epigraphic corpus, it provides interesting elements on the religious figures of Lan Na, but adds at the same time confusion. On the one hand, stone inscriptions, especially those of the 15th and 16th centuries, regularly refer to high-ranking monks by giving their names. On the other hand, religious titles are often used as proper names, so that it is difficult to identify individuals with certainty. Moreover, epigraphy also shows that many religious names have been widely shared within the Buddhist communities of Lan Na. An illustrative case is that of “Ratanapañña”, which has been discussed above. In this connection, a *paṇḍita* named Ratanaphrayā appears in an inscription from Phayao (BY39) dated 1495,⁴³ but it is not clear whether it refers to one among the “Ratanapañña” we know through their Pali composition.⁴⁴ Additionally, the same inscription mentions a certain high-ranking

excerpts that are reproduced in Vess-dīp are not in Jkm, neither do they occur in texts ascribed to the other “Ratanapañña”, that is, *Vajirasārattha-saṅgha* and *Mātikatthasarūpa-Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (see Khemapālī 2006: 39). Moreover, the two names are not entirely similar. Even if this were the case, Ratanapañña was a rather common name for monks at this time, and thus could refer to different persons (see p. 75, note 17).

⁴³ Lorrillard, Michel, “Règne de Phra Muang Kèo (1495–1526)”, unpublished paper (hereafter referred to as “Mueang Kèo”); Prasert na Nakhorn et al. 1991: 177–80.

⁴⁴ It is not unusual in the Thai world that Indic names are spelt in different ways, especially as local pronunciation might lead to confusion. In Northern Thai dialects, in particular, the consonants *ñ* and *y* (or *ny*) may have the same phonetical value */j/*. Moreover, words or personal names can occur with a Sanskrit as well as a Pali etymology or spelling, depending on sources and context.

monk named Mahā Ñāṇakitti, which could refer to the reknowned Pali scholar of the same name (see above). But here again, more evidence is needed to confirm this. Also noteworthy is the mention, in an inscription dated 1496 found in Chiang Saen (JR03), of a *saṅgharāja* named Ñāṇavilāsa, who might be the author of the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka* (Cœdès 1925: 120). If so, this would confirm Sirimaṅgala's proximity with the ruling elite, as we have said that he obviously knew Ñāṇavilāsa, whether directly or indirectly. As for Sirimaṅgala himself, the available data are difficult to interpret. "Maṅgala" as a proper religious name (or as a part of it) appears frequently in epigraphy, showing it was in common use in Lan Na. There is a Sṛī Maṅgala mentioned in two inscriptions from the Phayao area, one of which (LB 10) is a royal edict written on the occasion of the installation of *sīmā* stones in a monastery in 1496.⁴⁵ Its content attests that this monk was a religious dignitary who was designated by King Mueang Kaew to inscribe and install the stones. It is nonetheless not possible to ascertain that this is the same person as the author of the Maṅg-d.

Sirimaṅgala's name does not appear in the great Thai Buddhist chronicles, such as *Jinakālamālī* (Jkm), *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* (Cdv), *The Chiang Mai Chronicle* (TCM),⁴⁶ or *The Annals of Yonok* (PY).⁴⁷ This might seem surprising, especially in the case of Jkm, which records in great detail religious events that occurred in Lan Na up to 1527, the end of the decade during which Sirimaṅgala wrote all of his works. This silence could be explained by the fact that Sirimaṅgala chose to spend these years in an unobtrusive place, keeping his time for writing his monumental pieces. Indeed, Jkm focuses on religious events connected with royalty and kingship. Monasteries such as Pa Daeng (Rattavana-mahāvihāra), Chet Yot (Mahābodhārāma) and Phra Singh (Sihāṭārāma) were at the core of royal religious sponsorship, while Sirimaṅgala's abode (Suan Khuan) was probably less visited. On the other hand, we have seen that there is reason to believe that Sirimaṅgala was probably well-connected with the high religious hierarchy and the secular power. The fact is other famous Lan Na scholars such as Ñāṇakitti, Brahma-

⁴⁵ Lorrillard, "Muang Kèo".

⁴⁶ ตำนานพื้นเมืองเชียงใหม่ *Tāṃnān bīn, mījañ Jīaṅ hmai*.

⁴⁷ พงศาวดารโยนก *Baṃśāvātāra Yonaka*.

rājapaññā, or Bodhiraṃsi are also not mentioned in Jkm, despite their having been very active and certainly of great reknown at that time. Among the Pali authors known to us, only the name of Ñāṇavilāsa occurs in this text. His name is actually just listed among several other *mahātheras* coming from different cities of Lan Na, who gathered in Mahābodhārāma in the year CS 873 (1511) on the occasion of the construction of an *uposatha* hall and the installation of *sīmā* stones, under the patronage of King Mueang Kaew (Jkm 106). This Ñāṇavilāsa may well refer to the author of the *San̄khyāpakāsaka* and/or to the *saṅgharāja* of Chiang Saen whose name is found in the above-mentioned inscription, but it would be unwise to assert it. The same list also gives the name of a certain Sumaṅgala, whom some scholars identify with Sirimaṅgala, unconvincingly arguing that monks in the list are said to have been well-versed in the *Vinaya* and other canonical scriptures (Supaphan 1990: 325). Although the dates are consistent, there is indeed no substantiated evidence that both names (which are in any case not the same) refer to the same person. Moreover, a “Mahāthera Sumaṅgala Medhāvī” appears in an inscription dated the same year (1511), where this monk is linked to the Kao Tue monastery (วัดเก่าตุ๊อ *vāt kao₂ tū₂*), which was situated near the Suan Dok monastery.⁴⁸ This monk can thus hardly be Sirimaṅgala. Finally, some claim that Sirimaṅgala was among the eighteen *mahātheras* described in Jkm as being “versed in the Scriptures” who were invited by Mueang Kaew in 1523 to come to the Sīhaḷarāma (Phra Singh monastery) on the occasion of the cremation of the king’s dead daughter (Jkm 125, see also Penth 1994: 245–46). The fact that Sirimaṅgala refers to the Sīhaḷarāma in his colophons gives some credibility to this assumption, but this does not constitute evidence.

Although Jkm does not mention Sirimaṅgala’s name, it might refer to one of his works. In 1519, King Mueang Kaew had an ordination ceremony for no fewer than three hundred monks organized in Pa Daeng monastery (Rattavanamahāvihāra). This was a large ceremony that was attended by dignitaries of neighbouring *mījañ*. The participants were invited to anoint the Sīhaḷa Buddha statue (Phra Sihing); they then listened to “the *Mahā-Vessantara* introduction that he [the king] had himself sponsored, and to the exposition of the Dhamma entitled *Mahā-Vessantara*” (*attanā likhāpitaṃ Mahā-Vessantara-nidānañ ca Mahā-*

⁴⁸ Lorrillard, “Muang Kèo”.

Vessantaran nāma dhammapariyāyañ ca suñi) (Jkm 120). This *Mahāvessantara* “introduction” (*nidāna*) that King Mueang Kaew is said to have ordered could actually be the *Vessantaradīpanī*, which Sirimaṅgala had composed shortly before in 1517 (Cœdès 1925: 132–33). This is particularly likely since Sirimaṅgala refers several times to Mueang Kaew in *Vess-dīp*, even more than in his other works. He explicitly mentions the king in the colophon, showing considerable deference towards him (*rājābhirājassa manujindassa sabbarājūnaṃ tilakabhūta*). He then expresses the wish that the “lords [of the land] still protect the population in accordance with the Dhamma” (*evaṃ dhammena rājāno janam rakkhantu sabbadā ti*) (*Vess-dīp* 516).⁴⁹

While Sirimaṅgala seems to be absent from ancient Thai sources, late Burmese historiography does mention him. The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, the famous Burmese chronicle that was written in 1861 by Paññāsāmi, lists several Pali texts and authors that originated in Yonakarattṭha (*i.e.* Lan Na), including Nāṇavilāsa, Uttarārāma, and Sirimaṅgala (Sās 51; Cœdès 1915: 39).

tattha nagare Nāṇavilāsa-thero Saṅkhyāpakāsakan nāma pakaraṇam akāsi. taṃ tīkaṃ pana patta-Laṅka-therassa vihāre vasanto Sirimaṅgalo nāma thero akāsi. Visuddhimaggadīpaniṃ pana saññatta-araññavāsī Uttarārāmo nāma eko thero, Maṅgala-dīpaniṃ Sirimaṅgalathero, Uppātasantiṃ aññataro thero.

In that very city [of Chiang Mai], the Elder Nāṇavilāsa composed a book entitled *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka*. Then an Elder named Sirimaṅgala, while residing in the monastery of an Elder who had travelled to Laṅkā, wrote its *tīkā*. Moreover, an Elder named Uttarārāma, who was considered a forest-dweller, [wrote] the *Visuddhimaggadīpanī*; the Elder Sirimaṅgala [also wrote] the *Maṅgala[ttha]dīpanī*,⁵⁰ and another Elder the *Uppātasanti*.

As noted before, this passage, albeit very short, gives additional — and noteworthy — information concerning Sirimaṅgala, saying he was

⁴⁹ Pagination according to the 2006 edition of Nakorn Khemapālī (see bibliography).

⁵⁰ This text is sometimes titled *Maṅgaladīpanī* instead of *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, especially in Burma.

staying in a monastery whose abbot had travelled to Lan̄kā.⁵¹ In other words, Sās suggests that this “Elder” was among the Lan Na monks who are said to have reached the island of Lan̄kā in 1423 and then established the reformed tradition of the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* at the Pa Daeng monastery (Saksri 1970: xix; Veidlinger 2006: 94). This passage is, however, puzzling, as the use of the present participle implies that Sirimaṅgala was living with this Elder at the time he was writing the Saṅkh-p-ṭ (*tīkaṃ pana patta-Laṅka-therassa vihāre vasanto Sirimaṅgalo nāma thero akāsi*). This would mean the same Elder was the abbot of Suan Khuan monastery, where Sirimaṅgala says he composed Saṅkh-p-ṭ. The problem is this text was completed in 1520, that is, almost a century after the Thai *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* came back from Lan̄kā. This situation is thus impossible in terms of chronology. One hypothesis is that this Elder was not among the monks who travelled to Lan̄kā, but was a pupil of one of them.

Another hypothesis is that this passage of Sās refers confusingly to an earlier time in Sirimaṅgala’s life. In this case, this abbot could be Buddhavīra, of whom Sirimaṅgala says in Maṅg-d he was a pupil. In this case the chronology is plausible, provided Sirimaṅgala was at least fifty years of age when he wrote his first works (1517 or before). This is actually very likely if one considers the depth of knowledge demonstrated in his writings; it seems also to be confirmed by the use of the honourific title *mahāthera* that he attributed to himself in Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-p, and Cakkav-d, as this title is normally conferred upon monks who have spent at least twenty years in the monastery (Suphon 1999: 23).⁵² Therefore, Sirimaṅgala would have been born in mid-15th century, so that he might have been a *sāmaṇera* around 1460 or later.⁵³ If one accepts Buddhavīra was in his twenties when he set out on his journey to Lan̄kā (1423), he might have been alive at this time, although already an old man. Unfortunately, no monk bearing the name of

⁵¹ Javier Schnake points out that the Sinhalese editor of the Cakkav-d, who also mentions this passage, understands “Pattalaṅka” as to be the proper name of the abbot. One can doubt the relevance of this reading. In any event, it explicitly connects the *thera* to the Sinhalese lineage (*Sīhaḷagaṇa*).

⁵² In Lan Na, the title *mahāthera* seems to have been used by the three factions.

⁵³ This corresponds to the assumption of some Thai scholars, according to which Sirimaṅgala was born during the reign of King Tilokarāja (1442–1487) (Nopporn 1980: 13; Saduphon 1999: 23; “History of Tamnak monastery”).

Buddhavāra occurs in Thai epigraphy or historiography, and it is thus not possible to learn more about him.

Another Burmese document, the *Piṭakat Thamain*, which enumerates Pali scriptures and authors known in Burma at the time of its writing (1888), also mentions Sirimaṅgala (as well as other scholars from Lan Na). However, information given in this text is partly inaccurate, as it ascribes to him two pieces that were actually written by Nāṇakitti, namely the *Aṭṭhasālinī-atthayojanā* and the *Sammohavinodanī-atthayojanā* (Likhit 1969: 277).

As for recent sources, Sirimaṅgala and his life have been the subject of several biographies in Thailand, which have circulated in the form of books, booklets, or notices. Many of them, however, are not reliable. The truth is that in large part what has been written on Sirimaṅgala in Thailand owes more to conjecture than to fact. First of all, the local tradition has it that Sirimaṅgala was of the lineage of King Mangrai (1263–1292), the first king of Lan Na,⁵⁴ and that he became a monk because he was reluctant to take the throne (see Supaphan 1990: 386; Saduphon 1999: 33–35). It is also believed that Sirimaṅgala was a son (one of ten) of King Sam Fang Kaen and that he ordained in order to escape, when his brother, Thao Lok, seized power from his father and became king under the name Tilokarāja (Sa-nguan 2009: 382).⁵⁵ Although TCM and PY confirm the coup of Tilokarāja, neither of them mentions Sirimaṅgala, nor do they make any allusion to a son of Sam Fang Kaen who took refuge in a monastery. Above all, the time frame does not match: even if one supposes Sirimaṅgala was only twenty years old, or even a teenager, at the time of Tilokarāja's coup (1441), it would imply he was almost one hundred years old when he wrote his works (1517–1524), which is hardly conceivable (Supaphan 2011: 18).

Another common belief is that Sirimaṅgala himself had been to Laṅkā to be reordained in the Sinhalese tradition (Saddhatissa 1989:

⁵⁴ All kings of Lan Na until the Burmese stranglehold (1558) actually belong to that lineage.

⁵⁵ Sa-nguan relies on another paper by Saen Thammayot, which it was not possible to examine in the frame of this study.

42).⁵⁶ This is very unlikely, as written sources do not record other Lan Na monks having travelled to the island subsequent to those who accompanied Dhammagambhīra and Medhānkara — which obviously happened before Sirimaṅgala was born. Here one can suppose that the historiographers have relied on the inscription of Vana Ārām monastery (JR04, Phayao, dated 1499), which gives the name of two *theras* who were among the twenty-five Lan Na monks who had been to Lan̄kā, one of these being “Mahā Sāramaṅgalā”.⁵⁷ Further unreliable information circulating in Thailand is that Sirimaṅgala was the spiritual teacher (*upajjhāya*) of King Mueang Kaew (Saddhatissa, *op. cit.*; Khemapālī 2006: 35). The biography of Sirimaṅgala that is displayed at Tamnak monastery passes on this rumour, and even states that Mueang Kaew built the Rattavanamahāvihāra (Pa Daeng monastery) in honour of the great monk, which is, of course, a nonsense based on historical sources concerning this place.⁵⁸ According to other sayings, he eventually took on the position of supreme patriarch of the Lan Na kingdom (*id.*), which is here again not supported by any evidence.

A more consistent source is a manuscript partly dedicated to Sirimaṅgala and his life. Unfortunately, this manuscript has been lost, and all we know about it comes from the testimony of the scholar and royal attendant Tho Jum na Bangchang (อำมาตย์ โทจุ่ม ณ บางช้าง, 1897–1987), who reported its content after he found it in 1921 at Khuang Singh monastery (วัดช่างสิงห์ *vāt khvaṅ, sinh*), located a few kilometres north of Chiang Mai city.⁵⁹ This manuscript was written by a monk named Phra

⁵⁶ This is also what is written in the biographical notice that is displayed at the entrance of Tamnak monastery. A similar notice is found below the statue of Sirimaṅgala that is situated within old Chiang Mai, near the Nam Ping river (see p. 104, n. 85, for details).

⁵⁷ See Lorrillard, “Muang Kèo”, and Prasert na Nakhorn et al. 1991: 9.

⁵⁸ This detail occurs only in the Thai version of the text. The adjacent English translation just indicates that Mueang Kaew “built a temple for him to reside in”.

⁵⁹ Tho Jum na Bangchang’s record about Sirimaṅgala is included in a book published by Silpakorn University, entitled นำชม จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ (*Nāmjam cāṅhvāt jāṅ hmai*), pp. 59–60 (date of publication unknown, probably the 1920s or 1930s). It was unfortunately not possible to find this publication. Its content, however, is summarized in Saduphon 1977: 232–33, Supaphan

Siwichai (พระศรีวิชัย *Brah Śrīvijāy*), who was the abbot of the Ho Phra monastery (วัดหอพระ *vāt hābrah*)⁶⁰ and who allegedly wrote the biographies of several prominent figures of Lan Na, including Sirimaṅgala. On palaeographical grounds, Tho Jum na Bangchang reckoned the manuscript to date from Mueang Kaew's reign (1495–1526), which means that it could have been written soon after Sirimaṅgala's death. This is of course unverifiable, and, to be honest, doubtful, as palaeographical analysis is certainly not sufficient for dating a Thai manuscript.⁶¹ According to this text, Sirimaṅgala was born in the city of Chiang Mai, in a family whose father was a mahout. Sirimaṅgala's birth name was Siri Ping Mueang (ศรีปิงเมือง *siri/śrī piṅ mījaṅ*), which was given to him after the wind blew so hard on the day of his birth that the family home tumbled down. His mother, who was about to deliver, ran out and took refuge at the foot of a *bodhi* tree, which in Northern Thai is also called “mai sri” (ไม้ศรี *mai₂ śrī*, “the sacred tree”). He is said to have ordained as a novice (*sāmaṇera*) at a young age. When he was 13 years old, he urged the inhabitants to build a new monastery in his village. This monastery was called Veḷuvana-vihāra, but became commonly known under its vernacular name, Pa Phai Kao Ko (วัดป่าไผ่เก้ากอ *vāt pā₁ phai₁ kao₂ kā*), meaning “the temple with the nine bamboo clumps”. Siri Ping Mueang stayed permanently in this monastery and, after some years, he received the full ordination (*upasampadā*). From there, he took the name of Sirimaṅgala, which was given to him by King Mueang Kaew himself. Sirimaṅgala spent some years in the Veḷuvana-vihāra, then Mueang Kaew appointed him as the abbot of Mahābodhārāma (Chet Yot monastery). He obtained on this occasion the rank of *ācārya*.

1990: 384–85, Saduphon 1999: 29–33, Khemapālī 2006: 35, and Supaphan 2011: 16–17.

⁶⁰ No temple of this name seems to exist today around Chiang Mai, but a school located in the vicinity of Phra Singh monastery is named Ho Phra. As modern schools in Northern Thailand are sometimes built on monastery lands, it is not impossible that a Ho Phra monastery existed on this location in former times.

⁶¹ Moreover, although the oldest northern Thai manuscripts are dated from the end of the 15th century, only a few go back that far. It is rare to find Thai manuscripts older than two or three hundred years.

Therefore, his full religious name (*chāyā*) became Sirimaṅgalācārya. Later on, Sirimaṅgala was appointed as the abbot of Suan Dok monastery (Pupphārāma) and remained there until his death.

This manuscript is the only source giving a more or less complete chronology of Sirimaṅgala's life. For that reason, it is not possible to cross-check most of the biographical elements it contains, such as details about his family or his social origin. Only Sirimaṅgala's lay name (Siri Ping Mueang) can be compared with the one indicated in the Maṅ-d colophon, but it turns out to be different (see above). One can only say that the alleged occupation of Sirimaṅgala's father does not necessarily contradict the hypothesis that he was of noble rank. Indeed, Thai royal courts have their own herds of elephants, especially as the white or albino elephant (ช้างเผือก *jāñ₂ phīiak*) is considered sacred and is the symbol of wealth, royal virtue, and power. The function of royal elephant keeper in Lan Na was certainly not considered a degrading position but quite the opposite, a position of status. The *Mūlasāsanā* even relates the case of a nephew of the king of Chiang Mai who was his mahout, before he brought the Sinhalese tradition of Buddhism in Chiang Tung. Although not specifically significant, it may be noted that the Burmese *Piṭakat Thamain* indirectly connects Sirimaṅgala to the royal elephants, by stating that he lived during the reign of a king who was the owner of four white elephants from Vijayapura (Likhit Likhitanonta 1969: 277), which was the capital of the Shan (Tai) kingdom of Pinyā.⁶² Parallel to this biography, Tho Jum na Bangchang records that he read in another manuscript that Sirimaṅgala used to ride an elephant when he entered Chiang Mai, which would support the hypothesis that his father worked as an elephant keeper. He also says that he had the opportunity to see with his own eyes Sirimaṅgala's elephant saddle stored at the Tamnak monastery, although nowadays no saddle is visible there.⁶³ In any event, it would be surprising that a

⁶² The kingdom of Pinya, located in central Burma, existed in the 14th century. It was subsequently absorbed by the Burmese kingdom of Ava.

⁶³ Venerable Bhikṣu Caruṅ Paññādhara, who was a resident of Tamnak monastery in 1977, confirms that an elephant saddle was indeed stored there in the past, but that it had since been moved to the Chiang Mai museum

saddle would have remained intact for four centuries. One can also doubt that Sirimaṅgala, whose works bear witness to his knowledge of and respect for the Vinaya, would have travelled riding on the back of an elephant, as the monastic code of the Pali tradition clearly prohibits such a practice.

Some other information given in this biography is puzzling, and some even seems to contradict that given by Sirimaṅgala himself in his writings. First, it is surprising that it remains silent about Suan Khuan monastery, where Sirimaṅgala must have spent a subsequent part of his life. On the other hand, the name of the monastery that Sirimaṅgala is said to have had built, Veḷuvana-vihāra, is confusing. Following the Thai erudite Mahā Vuddhiñāṇo, some scholars believe this is the same place as the Veḷuvana-vihāra that is mentioned in Jkm (121) and PY (368) (Saen Monvithun 1958: 154; Saksri 1971: xviii; Saduphon 1977: 6; Saduphon 1999: 24; Supaphan 2011: 19–21) — and which would also be the actual Tamnak monastery (see below for discussion of this matter). The fact is the Veḷuvana-vihāra that these chronicles refer to is actually the Umong monastery, located to the west of the Chiang Mai city wall, in which King Mueang Kaew enshrined relics in 1520 (Penth 1994: 201, 266–7).⁶⁴ Umong monastery (วัดอุโมงค์ *vāt umōṅ*) is also called in other local chronicles Pa Phai Sip-et Kor monastery (วัดป่าไผ่สิบเอ็ดกอ *vāt pā, phai, sip ēt kə*), which means “the monastery of the eleven bamboo clumps” — thus not “of the nine bamboo clumps”, as Sirimaṅgala’s temple is called in his biography. It turns out that Veḷuvana is a name that is quite widespread in Northern Thailand for Buddhist monasteries, in particular for those affiliated to the *Sīhala-bhikkhus*, as it refers to an emblematic place in the life of the Buddha.⁶⁵

(Saduphon 1999: 33). While various accessories for a mahout are kept at Chiang Mai museum, their age and provenance are unknown.

⁶⁴ Sometimes Veḷukatthārāma. Its complete vernacular name is Wat Umong Suan Phutthatham (วัดอุโมงค์สวนพุทธธรรม *vāt umōṅ svan Buddhadharrma*), not to be confused with the Umong Thera Chan monastery (วัดอุโมงค์มหาเถรจันทร์ *vāt umōṅ mahā thera Cāndr*) that is located in inner Chiang Mai (see Penth 1974).

⁶⁵ There is today, for example, a Weluwan (P. Veḷuvana) monastery located about 5 kilometres east of Chiang Mai. Moreover, the Pali name of the Ku

It would not be surprising that two monasteries situated at the south or southwest of Chiang Mai both bore the name of Veļuvana. These would have been distinguishable by their respective vernacular designations, namely “the monastery with nine bamboo clusters” (Sirimaṅgala’s abode) and “the monastery with the eleven bamboo clusters” (*i.e.* Umong monastery).

The mention of Sirimaṅgala having been appointed as the abbot of Mahābodhārāma (Chet Yot monastery) also raises questions. According to Jkm (112) and PY (362), the abbot of Mahābodhārāma, whose honourific name or title was Mahābodhārāmādhīpati Mahāsāmi, was appointed by King Mueang Kaew as the patriarch (*saṅgharāja-adhipatī-saṅgha*) of the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* in 1517, and thus moved to Rattavana-mahāvihāra (Pa Daeng monastery). It is thus theoretically possible that, as the biography states, Sirimaṅgala would have been then assigned to replace him at the head of this monastery. It is, however, supported by little evidence. Moreover, in 1517, Sirimaṅgala had just completed the writing of Vess-dīp, while Saṅkh-p-ṭ and Cakkav-d were composed three years later, in 1520. Considering the significance of both texts in terms of volume and complexity, a period of three years for writing is already impressive. It is thus unlikely that Sirimaṅgala would have been able to achieve this while being at the same time the abbot of one of the most important monasteries in Lan Na, especially as this task is particularly heavy, not only in terms of internal responsibilities, but also with regards to the relationship with the secular power. Additionally, Sirimaṅgala states in his colophons that he was staying at Suan Khuan at the time of completing Saṅkh-p-ṭ and Cakkav-d. This means that in any event, he would have left the Mahābodhārāma in the meantime to go back to his previous abode. In sum, it is more likely that Sirimaṅgala stayed permanently at Suan Khuan during this period, and thus that it was another monk who was appointed as the abbot of the Chet Yot monastery.

Tao monastery (one kilometre north of Chiang Mai) is also Veļuvana-vihāra (mentioned in TMC 197). One can also mention another old Veļuvana-ārāma (built in 1488) that is located in Lamphun. A stone inscription (n. 67) found in San Makha monastery (in Lamphun) clearly connects this Veļuvana-ārāma to the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* lineage and to the Pa Daeng monastery” (see Penth et al. 1999: 160–61).

As for Sirimaṅgala having been appointed as the abbot of Suan Dok monastery (Pupphārāma) and having resided there until his death, it is not supported by evidence either. It is also inconsistent with the previous allegation according to which Sirimaṅgala was once the abbot of a monastery affiliated to the Pa Daeng lineage, namely the Mahābodhārāma. But if one were to accept such a possibility, his appointment to Pupphārāma could have taken place only after 1524, the year of the completion of Maṅg-d, his last known work.⁶⁶ In this regard, Tho Jum na Bangchang asserts that in 1925 he saw in the vicinity of the Suan Dok monastery a reliquary bearing an inscription saying it shelters Sirimaṅgala's bones (*aṭṭhi braḥ Sirimaṅgalācāry*). Unfortunately, this alleged reliquary was removed two years later by villagers, while the place is now located within the precinct of the airport (Supaphan 1990: 385; Sadupon 1999: 35).⁶⁷

In the final analysis, only little information on Sirimaṅgala that is given in Thai historiography can be considered as relevant, as it mainly rests on unexamined or unverifiable assumptions.⁶⁸ On the other hand, these writings reflect the devotional respect Thais have for Buddhist figures and their need to place them within both an historic and hagiographic religious tradition. To adopt a critical perspective toward the

⁶⁶ According to Jkm (127), King Mueang Kaew honoured the abbot of Suan Dok in 1524, and filled him with incalculable wealth (*Pupphārāme [...] anagghaparikkhārehi therādhīpatino pūjetvā pavesāpesi*). The chronicle doesn't give the name of this abbot but, in any case, it can't be Sirimaṅgala, as this event took place at the very beginning of the year (10th day of the month of Māgha, *i.e.* Friday 15 January 1524).

⁶⁷ Tho Jum na Bangchang also states that he read a document handwritten by Prince Damrong Rajananubhab, in which the latter attests having found a source according to which Sirimaṅgala was once the abbot of Ton Khanun monastery (lit. "the monastery of the jackfruit"). This name appears to be the sobriquet of Chet Yot monastery (P. Mahābodhārāma). Here again, Tho Jum na Bangchang gives no other evidence than his own testimony. This might simply be a confusion with Ñāṇakitti, who is said to have resided in a monastery also called "Jackfruit grove" (Panasārāma) (see Saddhatissa 1989: 41).

⁶⁸ Not to mention the fact that all the things Tho Jum na Bangchang writes about strangely disappear.

life, work, or acts of these figures would certainly be seen as misplaced if not outrageous. Ultimately, they do not tell much about Sirimaṅgala, but they do tell a lot about Thai culture and local Buddhism.

WHERE DID SIRIMAṄGALA WRITE HIS WORKS?

I noted above that Sirimaṅgala mentions in his colophons the place where he wrote each of his pieces, namely Suan Khuan (*svan khvāñ*) for Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-p, and Cakkav-d, and “a secluded place that is situated one league south of Chiang Mai” (*Navapurassa dakkhiṇa-disā-bhāge gāvute thāne vivitte*) for Maṅg-d. The identification of this (or these) place(s) has been the subject of several discussions in Thailand, but it is now widely agreed that all colophons refer to the same place, namely the present-day Tamnak monastery (วัดตำหนัก *vāt tāṃhnāk*), located approximately 5 kilometres south of inner Chiang Mai (*viz.* Bimaladharm 1953: 21–30; Supaphan 1990: 388; Hinüber 1996: 179; Saduphon 1999: 24; Nakorn Khemapālī 2006: 35; Supaphan 2011: 21–24).⁶⁹ This place has therefore been renamed Tamnak Suan Khuan Sirimangkhalaḥchan monastery (วัดตำหนักสวนขวัญสิริรังคลาจารย์ *vāt tāṃhnāk svan khvāñ Sirimaṅgalācāry*), in homage to Sirimaṅgala.

There are reasons, however, to question these views. As for Suan Khuan, colophons specify that it is “located at the southwest of the Sīhaḷārāma” (*Sīhaḷārāmassa dakkhiṇa-pacchima-disāya paṭiṭṭhite*), which recognisably refers to the Phra Singh monastery (วัดพระสิงห์ *vāt braḥ siṅh*) (Cœdès 1925: 132). This monastery, one of the most important ones in inner Chiang Mai, owes its current name to the presence of the Phra Sihing image (Sīhaḷapaṭima). It also shelters one of the biggest *cetiya* in Chiang Mai, which was probably built even before the temple itself. As for King Mueang Kaew, the ruler of Lan Na at Sirimaṅgala’s time, not only did he support renovation and construction works in this monastery, he also made it a place of representation of power, as it was there that rulers of smaller principalities came to pledge allegiance to him (Jkm 119, Notton 150–51); it was also this monastery that Mueang Kaew chose for organising the funeral of his dead daughter (Jkm 125ff., and above). Yet several Thai scholars argue that the Sīhaḷārāma refers in Sirimaṅgala’s colophons not to Phra Singh monastery, but to the Mahā-

⁶⁹ See also *The Life and Work of Braḥ Mahā Hmiṇ, Vuḍḍhiñāṇo* 1957: 41.

bodhārāma (Chet Yot monastery), which is located about 3 kilometres northwest from Chiang Mai (Saen Monvithun 1958: 138; Nopphon 1980: 235; Supaphan 2011: 19, 25, 263–64).⁷⁰ However, the arguments put forward are not convincing. One of these is that the designation “Sīhaḷārāma” would be related to *Sīhaḷa* (*i.e.* Laṅkā), while the etymology of the vernacular name of the temple, Phra Singh (พระสิงห์ *braḥ siṅh*), would be *siṅha*, or *sīha* (“lion”, *i.e.* the Buddha). Admittedly, Phra Singh monastery is also known under another Pali name, Siṅhavaravīhāra, but texts from this period often display confusion between *siṅha* (or *sīha*) and *sīhaḷa*, which are anyhow linguistically related.⁷¹ According to chronicles, Phra Singh monastery was first called Mahāvīhāra, and then took the name of Sīhaḷārāma after King Kue Na (*circa* 1355–1385) had the Phra Sihing image (Sīhaḷa-paṭima) brought from Laṅkā (Jkm 86–91, 102; CMC). Thus, whichever etymology is accepted, the vernacular name of this temple refers, directly or indirectly, to Laṅkā. In any event, this name was given to the monastery before Dhammagambhīra’s mission to Laṅkā, meaning that it is not related to the formation of the *Sīhaḷagaṇa* in Lan Na (*circa* 1430). On the other hand, it coincides with the establishment of the first Sinhalese trend by Sumana (*circa* 1370). Another argument raised by scholars to contest the identification of Sīhaḷārāma with Phra Singh monastery relies on the “biography” of Sirimaṅgala related by Tho Jum na Bangchang (see above). According to this text, Sirimaṅgala was for a period of time the abbot of Mahābodhārāma, and as such was connected with this temple. They deduce from this that the place he refers to as Sīhaḷārāma in his colophons must be the Mahābodhārāma. One can only notice how fragile the

⁷⁰ Saen Monvithun, in his Thai translation of Jkm, seems to be the source of this identification.

⁷¹ The Sv-ṭ glosses *sīhaḷa* as “the lion prince”, taking the suffix *la* in the sense of “catching” (*lāti*) (Crosby 2004: 75). Moreover, Supaphan na Bangchang has noted that some sources write Sīhārāma, instead of Sīhaḷārāma. She deduces that two distinct monasteries might have existed, Sīhaḷārāma and Sīhārāma, the latter only being the Pali name of Phra Singh monastery (Supaphan 2011: 264). The truth is, misspellings are habitual in ancient Thai sources, and that the two names very likely refer to the same monastery.

foundations are on which this view rests.⁷² Whatever the case may be, cross-checking passages concerning the Sīhaḷārāma that are recorded both in Jkm (written in Pali) and in TCM (written in Thai) leaves no doubt regarding the identity of this monastery with the Phra Singh monastery.⁷³

Nevertheless, one might wonder why Sirimaṅgala mentions the Sīhaḷārāma in his colophons. As Phra Singh monastery is situated at the very centre of Chiang Mai, such a reference is indeed by no means helpful in locating Tamnak monastery, which is situated several kilometres south of the city walls.⁷⁴ This was actually another argument used by some modern scholars in asserting that “Sīhaḷārāma” cannot in this instance be the Phra Singh monastery. In fact, the problem occurs only if one admits that Tamnak monastery is the same place Sirimaṅgala refers to as Suan Khuan in his colophons. There is, however, material

⁷² The same scholars raise other arguments, which are summarized below in order to give a clearer idea of the hypotheses or assertions that circulate in Thailand about Sirimaṅgala: Mahābodhārāma was affiliated to the *Sīhaḷa-pakkha*, while Phra Singh monastery would have been affiliated to the old Mon tradition. Taking for granted that Sirimaṅgala was a *Sīhaḷabhikkhu*, they conclude that he could not have resided in Phra Singh monastery. Not only is there no real evidence of Sirimaṅgala’s affiliation to the *Sīhaḷa-pakkha* (see below), but sources do not support the affiliation of Phra Singh monastery to the old Mon tradition. Evidence rather shows it was primarily connected with the first Sinhalese trend led by Sumana (see above). Some studies also assert that Ñānakitti and Ratanapañña once resided at Mahābodhārāma (Supaphan 2011: 26). Assuming that Sirimaṅgala must have been close to them, they deduce that he must have resided in the same monastery. None of these arguments is supported, or even suggested, by evidence.

⁷³ For instance, both texts report that Mueang Kaew ordered simultaneously the construction of two religious buildings (*vihāra*), one in the Phra Singh monastery (Jkm “Sīhaḷārāma”), one in the Maha Chedi Luang monastery (Jkm “Mahācetiṅgarāma”) (Jkm 119, CMC 160). H. Penth (1994: 245–246) also identifies Sīhaḷārāma with Phra Singh monastery.

⁷⁴ It must be added that Tamnak monastery is, strictly speaking, located to the south of Phra Singh monastery rather than southwest. Certainly, the road coming from the southern gate of Chiang Mai is slightly oriented towards the southwest, but people from ancient Lan Na must have assumed that its orientation was clearly southward.

evidence that tends to contradict this assumption, namely two old manuscripts actually stored at Lai Hin monastery in the city of Lampang (about 100 kilometres south of Chiang Mai). These manuscripts are two Pali *Jātakas* of the *Tiṃsanipāta* and *Paṇṇāsanipāta*. Both bear colophons indicating they were copied at a monastery named Suan Khuan in CS 876 (1514) and ordered by an “important faithful layman” (*mahā-upāsaka*) whose name was Bua Kham.⁷⁵ The colophon of the second text provides additional details, saying that this very monastery is located “within the walled city, near the gate of the Flower-garden (*svaṛ khvār nai vyañ cim, paḥtū svaṛ taḅ*)”.⁷⁶ The fact is there is no record of a gate in Lampang that is called “Flower Garden” (Suan Dok), nor of a monastery with the name of “Suan Khuan”. The mention of “the gate of the Flower-garden” actually leaves little doubt that it refers to the western gate of Chiang Mai, which nowadays still bears this very name, opening onto the road that leads westward to Suan Dok monastery (Pupphārāma) and beyond to Mount Suthep.⁷⁷ This city gate is already

⁷⁵ “*I pī kāp seḍ sakrāja dai 876 tiṃsanipāta jātaka mahā-upāsaka bva gāṃ tāñ mein sāñ káp vát svaṛ khvān*”. “*Paṇṇāsanipāta káp vát svaṛ khvān nai vyañ cim paḥtū svaṛ ḍok lee. 12{?} pī kāp seḍ sakrāja dai 876 paṇṇāsanipāta jātaka mahāupāsaka bva gāṃ tāñ mein sāñ káp vát svaṛ khvān lee*” (in Hinüber 2013: 106–107). Both manuscripts are readable online through the Digital Library of Northern Thai manuscripts (<http://lannamanuscripts.net/en>) (codes PNTMP: 030104092_01, and 030104005_00).

⁷⁶ *Cim*, จิม is a Northern Thai word that is equivalent to Central Thai (Siamese) ใกล้ *klai*, meaning “near”, “close to” (see Udom 1991: 195; I am also grateful to Phongsathorn Buakhampan for having confirmed this meaning). The reading of the colophon by O. von Hinüber (2013: 107) is thus not entirely accurate, as he understands *cim* as a proper name, and thus wrongly translates as “in the city of Cim”.

⁷⁷ The presence at Lampang of manuscripts that originated in Chiang Mai is not surprising, especially in the case of Lai Hin monastery. Indeed this monastery is famous for its manuscript collection, since the *araññavāsīn* monk Kesārapañña endeavoured at the end of the 17th century to collect Pali texts from different areas. The oldest manuscripts in Thailand, dating from the end of the 15th century are stored in Lai Hin monastery (see Hinüber 2013, and also Veidlinger 2006: 93). As for Tamnak (“Suan Kwan”) monastery, it does not hold any manuscripts. Yet there is a manuscript repository (หอไตร *hā'trai*), but it is very new and at present empty. See p. 104, note 84.

mentioned under this name in local chronicles; what is more, in terms that are similar to that of the colophon:

[In year 1367] the prince [Phayu] took his father's remains and deposited them in the [walled] city of Chiang Mai, near the Suan Dok Gate (*nai vyaṅ jāṅ hmai, bāy pratū svar taḅ*), where he had a *cetiya* built to enshrine them; and he built a temple there for the monks to live in. At the time, everyone going to the market saw the temple, which came to be called the Li Chiang Phra. Later the Buddhasiṅha [image] was in the temple, and it came to be called Phra Singh monastery to the present day.

(TCM 65)⁷⁸

Significantly, TCM here associates the Suan Dok gate with the Phra Singh monastery, which is actually located in close proximity to the east. PY, which also relates this event, specifies that the ashes of King Kham Fu (1334–1336)⁷⁹ were deposited at 100 fathoms (Th. ၇၇၁) from the Suan Dok Gate (PY 187). This perfectly matches with observations that can be made today, as excavations undertaken in 1925 uncovered the ruins of a *cetiya* containing the king's remains within the enclosure of the Phra Singh monastery (Notton 1932: 84). Therefore, the Suan Khuan monastery which the colophon refers to as situated “within the walled city and near the Suan Dok gate” must have been established in inner Chiang Mai, between this very gate and the Phra Singh monastery, which are only (approximately) 300 metres apart from each other. Although the latter is nowadays the only Buddhist monastery that is located near the Suan Dok gate, it is not impossible that another one existed in its vicinity in the past. As a matter of fact, a 19th-century manuscript listing all temples within the city wall of Chiang Mai at that time precisely mentions a monastery named “Suan Khuan”. What is more, Suan Khuan appears in the list immediately after the Phra Singh monastery, thereby indicating the geographic proximity of the two temples.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Transl. Wyatt & Aroonrut Wichienkeo 1998: 103–104.

⁷⁹ 1338–1345 according to TMC.

⁸⁰ Leporello manuscript of the Harald Hundius collection. The colophon indicates it was ordered by a high ranking official of the principality of Lampang (*khun-nān Lāmpān*), who originated in Phayao. This official said (folio 58) to have inventoried 161 temples in Chiang Mai (62 within the wall, and 99

Such information sheds new light on the place Sirimaṅgala described in his works (Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-p-t, Cakkav-d) as “situated to the southwest of the Sīhaḷārāma, and commonly known by its Thai name, Suan Khuan” (*Sīhaḷārāmassa dakkhiṇa-pacchima-disāya paṭiṭṭhite deyya-bhāsāya Svan Khvan ti pākaṭanāme*).⁸¹ It clearly refers to the same monastery that is mentioned in the *Paṇṇāsanipāta* manuscript dated 1514, which was situated between the Suan Dok gate (to the west) and the Phra Singh (to the north-east). In this regard, Suan Khuan must have been a modest and discreet temple, otherwise the reference to Sīhaḷārāma would have not been necessary to Sirimaṅgala, as well as that to Suan Dok gate for the copyist of the *Paṇṇāsanipāta* manuscript. It is also significant that both refer to Suan Khuan only by its vernacular name. Sirimaṅgala at least would certainly have used the Pali name if it had existed, especially as the presence of these two Thai words clashes within a text that is entirely written in Pali. This absence of a Pali name suggests we are dealing with a simple monastic abode, which perhaps did not have an ordination hall (*sīmā*). On the other hand, Suan Khuan must have been an active place in terms of Pali literacy, as not only did Sirimaṅgala spend years writing his works in this monastery, but Pali texts were also ordered and copied there, such as the two *Jātakas* mentioned above. It was probably a quiet place where monks could write or copy manuscripts in complete tranquillity. Therefore, there is a greater understanding of the mention by Sirimaṅgala of the Sīhaḷārāma (Phra Singh monastery), since he lived in its close vicinity. The presence in the manuscript repository of Phra Singh monastery of the oldest copy of a text written by Sirimaṅgala, namely the Cakkav-d dated

outside) in the year CS 1182 (a year *koṭ-si*), that is, in 1820. The names “*Brah̄ Sin*” and “*Svar Khvar*” are given on folio 53. Once again, my gratitude goes to Phongsathorn Buakhampān for having provided me with a sample of this manuscript.

⁸¹ To be precise, this sentence could well be interpreted as “situated at the southwest quarter of the Sīhaḷārāma”, meaning within the monastery rather than outside it. It is actually the way G. Coëdès (1915: 39) has translated this passage: “dans la partie Sud-Ouest du Sīhaḷārāma”. However, mention made of a *vāt* bearing the name Suan Khuan, in both 1514 manuscript and 19th century list of Chiang Mai monasteries, invalidates this reading.

1538 mentioned before, is another indication of Sirimaṅgala's connection with this temple. This also pleads in favour of the supposition that he participated in some royal or important ceremonies held in Phra Singh monastery (see above).

Having denied the possibility that Sīhaḷārāma was actually the Phra Singh monastery, Thai scholars could not have imagined that the place named Suan Khuan would actually be located in inner Chiang Mai. It follows from this that, contrary to what is generally accepted today in Thailand, the place Sirimaṅgala refers to as Suan Khuan in Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-pt, and Cakkav-d can hardly be the present-day Tamnak monastery, as it is located several kilometres south of the old city of Chiang Mai. The actual name of "Suan Khuan *Sirimaṅgalācāry*" that has been added to that of Tamnak is therefore the result of a mistake, mainly due to the assumption that the "Suan Khuan" and "a secluded place situated at one *gāvuta* south of Chiang Mai" referred to in Sirimaṅgala's various writings were a single place. The fact this is not the case actually explains why the colophon of Maṅg-d differs from that of his previous works (Vess-dīp, Saṅkh-p, and Cakkav-d), while making no mention of the Sīhaḷārāma in Maṅg-d.⁸²

But although Tamnak monastery is not Suan Khuan, could it still be the "secluded place" Sirimaṅgala refers to in the Maṅg-d colophon? Certainly the situation of Tamnak village is, even today, beyond the major roads. Despite the urbanization that has deeply changed the landscape since Sirimaṅgala's time, it retains a feeling of peace and tranquillity. According to local tradition, the name Tamnak (ตำหนัก *tāmhnāk*) was given to this village only in 1796 after King Kavila

⁸² One might ask why Sirimaṅgala would have moved from Suan Khuan monastery to a place located outside Chiang Mai. Although it is not possible to provide a definitive answer, one can at least formulate a hypothesis. The *Annals of Yonok* relate that Chiang Mai experienced a flood disaster in CS 886 (1524), that is, precisely the year Sirimaṅgala completed the Maṅg-d. The flood affected in particular the eastern part of the town, around the Tha Phae (or Chiang Rueak) gate, and caused massive damage with a high number of deaths (PY 371, Saduphon 1999: 24). It could have been a reason for people impacted to move, and Sirimaṅgala could have been one of those. If so, he probably looked beyond the city wall for a safe, quiet place to complete his work.

(1775–1813) and his entourage spent four nights there, in a pavilion built for the occasion (the word *tāmhñāk* refers in Thai to a residence for the ruling elite or the *kuṭi* of a *saṅgharāja*).⁸³ Historical sources are, however, silent on this episode. As for Tamnak monastery, it is in large part a classical Thai monastery, which includes the usual religious buildings, such as a *vihāra*, an ordination hall, residences for monks (*kuṭi*), a manuscript repository,⁸⁴ and several chapels. One must also notice a statue representing Sirimaṅgala that has been installed just before the *vihāra*, and another one that stands inside a small chapel.⁸⁵ All these structures are of recent construction.

Other architectural elements, however, suggest that this place might have been a Buddhist monastery for centuries. First, an ancient, massive entrance gate together with ruins of a brick surrounding wall (and probably of another smaller gate) give an imposing and majestic character to the whole. Although the gate has obviously been recently restored, it might evoke the style of Lan Na architecture of the 16th century. Local tradition says that these ruins are those of the Veḷuvana-vihāra, the alleged abode of Sirimaṅgala (Saksri 1971: xviii). The “History of Tamnak monastery” (ประวัติวัดตำหนัก *pravāti vāt tāmhñāk*) that is displayed at the entrance states that it was built in the mid-15th century, during King Mueang Kaew’s reign.⁸⁶ This statement actually results from a confusion with the Veḷuvana-vihāra that is mentioned in Jkm and PY, which we have proved to be another monastery (see above). Second, an older and now abandoned *vihāra* adorned with a beautiful carved wooden pediment, possibly dating from the 18th or

⁸³ *The Life and Work of Braḥ Mahā Hmīṇ, Vuḍḍhiñāṇo* 1957: 42. See also Supaphan 2011: 20.

⁸⁴ This repository is actually an exact replica of the one in Phra Singh monastery, probably because Sirimaṅgala refers to this monastery in his writings.

⁸⁵ There is another statue representing Sirimaṅgala in Chiang Mai. It was installed in 1998, at the angle of Chareung Prathet and Tha Phae avenues, not far from the Ping river. It represents Sirimaṅgala holding a *Maṅgala-thadīpanī* manuscript. These images of Sirimaṅgala attest his popularity in present-day Northern Thailand.

⁸⁶ Other sources give the dates BE 2038 (1495), BE 2050 (1507), or BE 2053 (1510) as the date of construction. None of them is supported by evidence.

19th century, is still standing in close proximity to the gate. Thirdly, a *cetiya* is present just behind the old *vihāra*, but recent restoration makes it difficult to estimate the date of its construction. Lastly, a centuries-old *bodhi* tree stands near it, a sign that this location has been a religious site for ages. For reasons that remain to be cleared up, an old *vihāra*, *cetiya*, and *bodhi* tree are located outside the ancient boundary wall. New buildings, however, have been erected inside the wall.

On-site observations made in the 1940s attest that more ancient architectural elements were visible then, including the surrounding wall and smaller gates at the four cardinal points (see Bimaladharm 1953: 26ff.). According to some, these ruins and ancient buildings were those of an ancient monastery that was destroyed or abandoned in the second half of the 16th century, after the Burmese seized Chiang Mai (Supaphan 2011: 23).⁸⁷ Later publications attest that Tamnak monastery was still in ruins at the end of the 1960s (see Saksri 1971: xviii). Thereafter, inhabitants of Tamnak village invited a charismatic monk, the Venerable Paññā Siridhammo, to reside in this monastery and to become its abbot. Between 1977 and 1986 this monk undertook, together with the provincial responsibility of the *saṅgha* of Chiang Mai province (เจ้าคณะจังหวัด *cao₂ gāna cānghvāt*), the rehabilitation of the monastery and the construction of the new buildings of the present-day Tamnak monastery (Saduphon 1999: 22; Supaphan 2011: 24).

While it is commonly assumed today in Thailand that Sirimaṅgala once resided in the place that is today the Tamnak monastery (or more exactly in its older part, on the other side of the gate), when and how this assumption became established is not entirely clear. It seems that the one who is at the origin of this identification is the prince Damrong Rajanubhab (1862–1943). Relying on the details given by Sirimaṅgala about his abode in Maṅg-d colophon (“*Navapurassa dakkhiṇa-disā-bhāge gāvute thāne*”), he would have reviewed all the temples located within a distance of 2,000 fathoms (*i.e.* one *gāvuta*) from the southern wall of Chiang Mai. He found Tamnak monastery was the location that corresponded most, especially thanks to the presence of the old

⁸⁷ See also “History of Tamnak monastery”.

archaeological remains.⁸⁸

The truth is the correspondence is rather approximate: distance from Tamnak monastery to the southern gate of the old city is in fact more than five kilometres, while one *gāvuta* is equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ *yojana*, that is, a little less than three kilometres. Subsequently the study of the royal attendant Tho Jum na Bangchang, discussed earlier, certainly reinforced Prince Damrong's hypothesis. In his study (*circa* 1930), he clearly identifies Tamnak monastery with the Veļuvanārāma, or Pa Phai Kao Ko monastery ("the temple with the nine bamboo clumps"), which Sirimaᅅgala's biography indicates to have been his place of residence for many years (see above). His assumption draws on the fact that Jkm and PY mention a Veļuvana-vihāra monastery also located "at the southwest of Chiang Mai" (*Nabbisipurassa dakkhiᅇa-pacchimadisantarālakone*) (Jkm 121, PY 368), which may appear as analogous to that given by Sirimaᅅgala to locate his own abode (*Sīhaļārāmassa dakkhiᅇa-pacchima-disāya patiᅇᅇhite*). However, we have shown that not only is the Tamnak monastery not the place Sirimaᅅgala refers to in his colophons, nor is it the "Veļuvana-vihāra" mentioned in Jkm.

Taking all this into consideration, arguments supporting the idea that Tamnak monastery was the place where Sirimaᅅgala wrote the Maᅅg-d are very fragile. First, the geographical situation of this monastery matches only approximately with the details given in the Maᅅg-d colophon (*i.e.* "situated at one league south of Chiang Mai"). Second, this situation might as well apply to several other places in the vicinity, especially as many old temple structures have been excavated over the past few years in the surroundings. Furthermore, this statement results for its greater part from a confusion related to the name of Veļuvana-vihāra, which Thai scholars wrongly identified with Tamnak monastery. Finally, Sirimaᅅgala does not specify in this very colophon that he was residing in a temple. He only mentions a secluded place (*thāne vivitte*) that allowed him to live in solitude, which rather suggests a simple monk's abode or hermitage, and certainly not a large monastery surrounded

⁸⁸ Mahā Vuᅇᅇᅇhiᅇāᅇo attests he read the record of Damrong's survey and findings in the prince's correspondence (see *The Life and Work of Brah Mahā Hmiᅇn, Vuᅇᅇᅇhiᅇāᅇo* 1957: 39).

by walls and massive gates.⁸⁹ In the end, no reliable data allows us to connect Sirimaṅgala to present-day Tamnak monastery. This connection rests only on a series of suppositions that are not supported by the evidence so far. Still, it appears from subsequent studies that monks and laypeople in Chiang Mai had by around 1940 already acknowledged that Tamnak monastery was Sirimaṅgala's abode (see Bimaladharm 1953: 24–25), probably after Prince Damrong's conclusions.⁹⁰ At that time, however, the name *Svan Khvǎñ Sirimaṅgalācāry* had not been included yet. The "History of Tamnak monastery", displayed at the entrance of this temple, leads to the conclusion that this additional name was added only later on, after academic studies had been published on Sirimaṅgala and his work, and had, inaccurately, identified Tamnak monastery both with Veḷuvanārāma (Umong monastery) and Suan Khuan monastery (*viz.* Bimaladharm 1953: 24–26; Saksri 1971: xviii; Supaphan 1990: 387; Saduphon 1999: 24).⁹¹ Ironically enough, these misinterpretations and confusions caused Tamnak monastery to gain its present reknown, not only in Chiang Mai, but also in other regions of Thailand, so much so that members of the royal family came on an official visit in 1973 (see Saduphon 1999: 32).

WAS SIRIMAṅGALA A *SĪHALABHIKKHU*?

As said at the beginning of this paper, a radical change in Pali writings is perceptible in Lan Na from the 15th to mid-16th century which corresponds to the emergence of the *Sīhalaḡana* and the development in Chiang Mai and neighbouring principalities of a network of monasteries affiliated to the Pa Daeng monastery. A large number of new texts demonstrate their authors' undeniable mastery of the Pali language in

⁸⁹ Certainly it is also possible that a monastery was built on the same location after Sirimaṅgala's death, but even so, this only brings additional suppositions.

⁹⁰ The Venerable Bimaladharm Āsabha Thera relates that when he asked monks and officials of Chiang Mai in 1943 to lead him to the place where Sirimaṅgala had resided, they straight away conducted him to Tamnak monastery. They left Phra Singh monastery and then travelled about six kilometres southwest.

⁹¹ Supaphan na Banchang's book on Pali literature in Thailand (1990) is given as the main source of this notice.

comparison with previous and subsequent literary religious productions in the area. Sirimaṅgala's works, which were all written in the first decades of the 16th century, clearly belong to this "fresh sap" in Thai Buddhism (Cœdès 1925: 32). It is thus generally assumed that Sirimaṅgala belonged to the *Sīhaḷaḡaṇa* (Saksri xvi-xvii, Saddhatissa 1989: 43), that is, the second *araññavāsī* trend founded by Dhammagambhīra. This remains, however, a supposition, and further analysis is needed to determine whether it can be taken for granted.

In truth, reliable information we have on Sirimaṅgala does not allow a definitive conclusion about his affiliation to one or the other of the three factions that coexisted in Lan Na at that time. On the one hand, it has been demonstrated above that Suan Khuan monastery, where Sirimaṅgala wrote at least three of his works, was located within the walls of Chiang Mai, in the close vicinity of the Phra Sing monastery (Sīhaḷārāma). One might thus conclude that he was a town-dwelling monk (*gāmaṅvāsī*), and as such that he was affiliated to the old Mon tradition. However, the term *araññavāsī* should perhaps not be understood too literally when dealing with Lan Na (and probably when dealing with Sri Lanka earlier). Indeed, one can only observe the high concentration of monasteries within the walls of Chiang Mai,⁹² while a large number of them were established after the installation of the two factions that claim to belong to the forest-dwelling tradition. Even monasteries affiliated to the *Sīhaḷaḡaṇa*, such as Pa Daeng (Rattavana-mahāvihāra) and Chet Yot (Mahābodhārāma), although complying with the rules of the *Vinaya* on this matter (see below), were close to the city and located in inhabited places. Contrary to the common view, Buddhism in Southeast Asia was for a long time of an "urban" nature, which is also true for the so-called forest-dwelling trends.

As for the Phra Sing monastery, we have seen that it was supported by kings, especially by Mueang Kaew who had organised the funeral ceremony for his daughter there. It is not clear, however, to which lineage this monastery was affiliated, as monks of the three *gaṇas* are said to have participated (Jkm 125). Certainly, its Pali name (Sīhaḷārāma) refers to Lan-kā, but we have seen that it predates the return of the *Sīhaḷa-bhikkhus* from the island (*circa* 1430) and the establishment of the Pa Daeng monastery. The name of Phra Singh is a direct consequence of

⁹² The same can be said for other old Thai-Lao cities, such as Sukhothai, Lamphun, or Luang Prabang.

the installation of the Phra Sihing image (Sīhaḷapaṭima), which is said to have originated in Laṅkā (above). It is thus very likely that Phra Singh monastery was at first connected with the first Sinhalese trend, established by Sumana around 1370. This does not mean, however, that this situation prevailed for later periods. It may also be that “royal” monasteries of inner Chiang Mai, which were sponsored and frequented by kings, were not clearly affiliated to one of the three *gaṇas* that coexisted in Lan Na, even if rulers could have unofficially supported one of them.

On the other hand, when Sirimaṅgala wrote the Maṅg-d some years later (in 1524), he had obviously moved from Suan Khuan to a place he describes as secluded and at a distance from the city. His insistence in the colophon on his delight at staying in solitude is probably intended to highlight that he conformed to the forest-dwelling tradition. However, this does not necessarily mean that Sirimaṅgala was affiliated to the Pa Daeng lineage (*fāy_i pā_i*), as some monks of Suan Dok lineage (*fāy_i svan*) also claimed to belong to an *araññāvāsī* tradition. Suan Dok was indeed divided in two branches, one — probably the vast majority — gathering the village-dwelling monks (*gāmaṅgāsīn*), who were devoted to the study of texts (*ganthadhura*), the other one gathering forest-dwelling monks, who practised introspective meditation (*vipassanādhura*) (Bizot 1993: 50).⁹³

But the mention of the distance of one league (*gāvuta*) between Sirimaṅgala’s residence and Chiang Mai is significant, as the geographical remoteness from the city of a forest-dwelling monastery has precisely been an issue between monks of both trends. Indeed, this attribute was contested with the monks of Suan Dok monastery by Dhammagambhīra and his companions when they came back from their journey to Laṅkā, arguing that this monastery was too close to the city. Indeed the *Vinaya* states that a monk’s residence can be considered a forest dwelling only if it is located at least at 500 bow lengths from a village or a city (*āraññakamaṃ nāma senāsanaṃ pañcadhanusatikamaṃ pacchimamaṃ*) (Vin IV 183). Hence, they established the Pa Daeng monastery one kilometre west of the Suan Dok temple, at a greater distance from the Chiang Mai city walls. The fact is all monasteries

⁹³ The distinction between *vipassanādhura* and *ganthadhura* is still meaningful today in Thailand and Laos, although the “forest-dwelling” is much more controlled and structured than in the past.

whose affiliation to the *Sīhaḷagaṇa* is definitely ascertained, such as Tapodārāma,⁹⁴ Mahābodhārāma, Veḷuvanārāma, and Rattavanamahāvihāra, are situated a certain distance from the historical centre of Chiang Mai.

Another element that supports the hypothesis that Sirimaṅgala was a forest-dwelling monk comes from the 1538 dated manuscript of the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* (above), stored at the Phra Singh monastery. The word that immediately follows the title says the copy was sponsored — if not during the lifetime of Sirimaṅgala, certainly soon after — by “the lord Mahāsaṅgharāja Candaraṃsī araṅ[ṅ]avāsī”.

It happens that a high-ranking monk named Candaraṃsī, who came from Khelānga-nagara (i.e. Lampang), is listed among the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* who are said to have attended the above mentioned ceremony for installing the *sīmā* at the Mahābodhārāma (Wat Chet Yot) in CS 873 (1511) in the presence of King Muang Kaew (Jkm 106–107, see also above p. 87).

The Cakkav-d manuscript from 1538 would thus connect directly at least Sirimaṅgala’s writings to the “fay Pa” lineage, and also to the highest religious hierarchy, if not to the king himself. Here we must remember the possibility that the Vess-dīp was preached during the ceremony supported by Mueang Kaew at Rattavanamahāvihāra in 1519, when 300 monks received their ordination. If this is the case, it would add another argument in favour of this hypothesis.

The passage of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* mentioning Sirimaṅgala also supports the idea of his affiliation to the Pa Daeng lineage. As said before, Paññāsāmi states that Sirimaṅgala once resided in a temple whose abbot was an Elder who had visited Laṅkā (*patta-Laṅka-therassa vihāre vasanto Sirimaṅgalo*) (Sās 51). We have seen that several interpretations of this statement are possible. One possibility is that this Elder was the abbot of Suan Khuan at the time Sirimaṅgala resided there writing the Saṅkh-p-ṭ (1520) — though in this case this abbot would not himself have travelled to Laṅkā. This would mean that Suan Khuan monastery was affiliated to the *Sīhaḷagaṇa*. Here its location in the city centre would raise questions concerning the local understanding of the “*araṅṅavāsī*” qualification. Another less likely possibility is that this Elder is Buddhavīra, the master Sirimaṅgala refers to in Maṅg-d. In this case, Sirimaṅgala would have been directly instructed by a *Sīhaḷabhikkhu*. Both hypotheses actually link Sirimaṅgala to the “fay Pa” (*fāy*,

⁹⁴ Known under its Thai name as Wat Ram Poeng (วัดรามโป่ง *vāt rām₁ pōṅ*).

pā,) lineage. However, the information given by Paññāsāmi about this “Elder who had visited Laṅkā” is too loose to be taken for granted. Furthermore, the fact that it comes very late in the historiography (Sās was written in the 19th century) makes it all the more questionable.

Sirimaṅgala’s affiliation to the “fay Pa” is also supported by his biography as recorded by Tho Jum na Bangchang and summarized above. This document states that Sirimaṅgala was once the abbot of Mahābodhārāma (Chet Yot monastery), which was, after the Rattavana-vihāra, the most important monastery of the Sīhaḷagaṇa. However, we have suggested that this is very unlikely considering the time frame, as this would have happened during the same period Sirimaṅgala produced some of his major works, which it is clear he in fact wrote in other places. Furthermore, the same document says that Sirimaṅgala was then appointed as the abbot of Suan Dok monastery (Pupphārāma) and resided there until his death. This is confusing, as this monastery was the very centre of Sumana’s lineage (*fāy,* *svan*), and thus in direct opposition with the *Sīhaḷabhikkhus* of the Pa Daeng monastery. If regular monks of the “fai Suan” and the “fay Pa” might not have continuously been in open conflict, it is unlikely that the abbot of the Suan Dok monastery would have been subsequently appointed as the abbot of the rival faction. Here again this illustrates how limited the credit is that can be given to this “biography”.

Ultimately, what pleads the most in favour of the hypothesis that Sirimaṅgala was a *Sīhaḷabhikkhu* are the four texts of his composition that have reached us. The huge number of quotations and textual references that Sirimaṅgala used to compose them show a high level of literacy and knowledge in Pali scriptures. The variety of the Pali sources on which Sirimaṅgala relies for his writings is astonishing; not only does he extensively quote canonical scriptures and commentaries of all kind, but he also mentions grammatical works, cosmological treatises and later texts, some of which are not widely spread.⁹⁵ Interestingly enough, Sirimaṅgala refers to some Pali texts that originated in Burma,

⁹⁵ For Vess-dīp, Sirimaṅgala’s Pali sources are listed in Supaphan 1990: 400–402 and Khemapālī 2006: 40–41 (see also Yamaka 2011: xii–xvii for further analysis); for Cakkav-d, see Supaphan 405–406; for Saṅkh-p-ṭ, *ibid.* 423. For Maṅg-d, see the second part of the present study (forthcoming).

such as the *Maṇisāramañjusā*,⁹⁶ the *Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā*,⁹⁷ the *Candasuriya-gatidīpanī*,⁹⁸ the *Nepātikapada-vibhatta*,⁹⁹ and, above all, the *Saddanīti*.¹⁰⁰ Scrutinizing references and quotations in Sirimaṅgala's writings shows that they correspond to Pali texts that were available in 15th-century Burma, as is apparent in the Kalyānī inscription (1476), especially *Vinaya* commentaries and manuals (Sp, Sp-ṭ, Vmv, Vjb, Kkh, Kkh-ṭ, Vin-vn, Vin-vn(p)ṭ, Pālim, etc.) (cf. Hinüber 1996: 159–60).

The evident Burmese influence in Sirimaṅgala's works (which is also observable in the writings of other Lan Na scholars of the 15th–16th centuries)¹⁰¹ leads to questioning the authenticity of records of Lan Na monks having visited Lankā. Indeed, one might be surprised that, on the one hand, connections with the island are highlighted in Thai historiography, while, on the other hand, Buddhist cultures that are geographically closer are more discreetly mentioned. Indeed, the presence of a Pali trend of Buddhism that is attested among various populations throughout the region for centuries (Pyu, Mon, Burmese, Khmer, Sukhothai) does not entail the conclusion that the use of Sinhalese Buddhism was a complete innovation at that time. The historiographical tradition of Northern Thailand certainly mentions Mon and Burmese civilizations, but barely assigns to them Lan Na's own affiliation to

⁹⁶ The *Maṇisāramañjusā* is an exegesis of the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* (Abhidh-s-mhṭ). It was written in 1466 by Ariyavaṃsa, a Burmese monk living on the banks of the Irawaddy (Bode 1909:42).

⁹⁷ This *ṭīkā* of the *Bālāvatāra* was composed by a monk named Uttama, who was born in Pagan (Burma). He is also the author of the *Lingatthavivarana-ṭīkā* (Bode 1909: 22).

⁹⁸ An astrological treatise written by a Burmese scholar named Uttamaṅga (Hinüber 1996: 185). Its date of composition is unknown, but it is obviously older than Cakkav-d (1520), which quotes it.

⁹⁹ *Nepātikapada-vibhatta* seems to be a commentary on the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* (a Pali lexicon written by Moggallāna at Sri Lanka in the 12th century). This text, which is rarely found in publications and catalogues, was written in 1351 by a high-ranking Burmese officer (Bode 1909: 27, 67).

¹⁰⁰ A Pali Grammar written in 1154 by Aggavaṃsa of Pagan (Bode 1909: 16).

¹⁰¹ For example, the *Saddabindu-vinichchaya* (or *°abhinava-ṭīkā*), written by a scholarly monk originated in Haripuñjaya (i.e. Lamphun, Northern Thailand), is a commentary on a Pali Grammar, the *Saddabindu*, which was composed in Pagan in the 13th century. The *Saddabindu* seems to be unknown in Sri Lanka (Lottermoser 1987: 79).

Buddhism. Lower Burma, in particular, is depicted as an intermediary stage towards Lan̄kā (Lorrillard 2018: 161), but not really as an important religious centre. Another fact that makes these records suspicious is that Lan Na sources show numerous inconsistencies and contradictions (in particular between records of the supporters of Pa Daeng and those of Suan Dok). Curiously enough, they also echo similar events that are said to have happened in other places at other times. Indeed, analogous events are related for Ava (Burma), where the monk Chapata established the *Sīhaḷasaṃgha* congregation in 1181. The Sukhothai epigraphy also records the establishment in the Mon country (Rāmaññadesa) of an *araññāvāsī* lineage by a certain Udumbara-mahāsāmī who came from Lan̄kā (EHS 11.1, Jkm 84), of whom Sumana is said to have been the pupil in Martaban.

Lao chronicles give another example in saying that Buddhism was introduced in Lan Xang kingdom by a religious mission of monks coming from Lan̄kā and sent by the king of Mahā-Nagara (Angkor Thom).¹⁰² But it is the Kalyānī inscriptions that presents the most astonishing similarities with the Lan Na accounts: these relate the journey of 22 Péguan monks in Lan̄kā (between 1476 and 1479), who subsequently introduced the Sinhalese lineage into Burma through a new procedure for ordinations and the custom of installing *sīmā* stones (*cf.* Taw Sein-Ko 1892: 16-22). While it is true that according to these sources, the Thai mission to Lan̄kā (*circa* 1420) predates that from Pegu (1476), it is striking that Burmese and Thai sources use, to a certain extent, the same proper names, toponyms and vocabulary — first and foremost the Kalyānī river on which both group of monks are said to have received a new ordination.¹⁰³ In this regard, a comparison between the Kalyānī inscriptions and Jkm remains to be undertaken. One might also notice that references made to Lan̄kā in Thai historiography are often legendary. One example is the mention by several chronicles (Jkm, Cdv, Mls)

¹⁰² Michel Lorrillard (2001) has convincingly shown the artificial character of these events.

¹⁰³ On this matter see Cœdès (1925: 32). In addition, it should be noted that Jkm extensively borrows from the *Mahāvamsa* (as well as other Sinhalese chronicles), which also relates the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka from the perspective of reformists of the Mahāvihāra, rivals of the two other monasteries, Abhayagiri and Jetavana. It is difficult not to see the resemblance between the two chronicles, both in terms of events and ideology.

Somma Premchit & Swearer 1977: 87).¹⁰⁵ While it is commonly agreed that Tham script derives directly from the Mon script through the Hariṣuñjaya civilisation, the important historical gap between the latest Mon written testimonies (very beginning of the 13th century) and the appearance of Tham script (end of the 14th–15th centuries) raises serious questions for this connection. It is more likely that Tham script derives from a Mon-Burmese template that was used in Lower Burma at the turn of 15th century (Lorrillard 2018: 169–71).

As for the Burmese sources, such as *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the *Zimme Yazawin* (“Chronicle of Chiang Mai”), they reflect concerns about Buddhism in Lan Na, and even consistently highlight the influence of Burma in matters of religion. Sās even suggests, although not in a straightforward way, that the development of an important Pali literature in the Yonakarātṭha is the result of policies conducted by King Bayinnaung (1551–1581), who sent an Elder named Saddhammacakkasāmi to Chiang Mai with the task of “purifying the religion” (*sāsanañ ca visodhetum*) in the kingdom (Sās 51). As Burmese seizure of Lan Na is supposed to have happened only in 1558, that is, much later than the composition of the first original Pali texts in Lan Na, one certainly might question this chronology. Still, the discrepancy between Burmese and Thai sources concerning the relationship between the two cultural domains in terms of Buddhism is noteworthy.

Finally, the Sinhalese historiography seems not to have kept traces of these early Thai missions, contrary to the later (18th century) visit of Siamese monks from Ayutthaya, which has been accurately recorded (see Supaphan 1988: 185). In any event, even if we believe in the authenticity of the journey to the island of Lanā made by Dhammagambhīra and his companions, we cannot help but be astonished by what seems to be a wilful omission of Burmese influence on Lan Na.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ The oldest testimony for Tham script could, however, be earlier, in the form of a short inscription from Sukhothai, dated 1376 (Penth 2004: 59; see also EHS 11). Nevertheless, it must be noted that this inscription is mainly written in Sukhothai script; only the last line, a Pali verse, is written in Tham script. It is thus possible that this last line was added at a later period.

¹⁰⁶ The concealment of the contribution of Burma on Northern Thai culture still prevails today in Thailand.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to give a picture of a major Pali scholar in Lan Na in the particular context of the “golden age” of the kingdom, which lasted barely a century (mid-15th to mid-16th centuries). Scarcity of sources, in addition to the lack of reliability of some of them, makes the task difficult. In particular, the recent writings that are dedicated to Sirimaṅgala offer conjectures rather than certitudes. Luckily, the greater part of Sirimaṅgala’s writings have survived. These actually constitute the most reliable information we have about this prolific author.

Sirimaṅgala was probably born within the first decades of the reign of Tilokarāja (1442–1487). His birth name was Uru, and he likely took the name under which he is actually known later on during his long and outstanding religious career. We do not know where he spent the first part of his religious life, as biographical elements available are not reliable. However, one can infer from his honourific titles (*siri*, *mahāthera*, *ācārya*), and from the very high degree of knowledge of Pali scriptures he demonstrates, that Sirimaṅgala had already spent many years as a Buddhist monk at the time he wrote his main work. What we do know is the place where he was residing while he composed the *Vessantaradīpanī* (1517), the *Cakkavāḍadīpanī* (1520), and the *Saṅkhyāpakāsaka-ṭīkā* (1520), namely a small monastery commonly known as Suan Khuan located in close proximity to Phra Singh monastery (Sīhaḷārāma) in the centre of the city of Chiang Mai. Suan Khuan monastery was apparently a place where Pali texts were composed and copied. It was, moreover, very likely connected with Sīhaḷārāma in some way: not only does Sirimaṅgala repeatedly refer to this monastery in his colophons, but copies of his writings were ordered and reproduced there during his lifetime, or soon after. It is also probable that Sirimaṅgala participated in ceremonies organized in this monastery.

Sometime between 1520 and 1524, he moved from Suan Khuan to a secluded place situated outside Chiang Mai, a few kilometres (one *gāvuta*) south of the city walls. There he wrote the last of his compositions (as far as we know), the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*. It is asserted today in Thailand that this place is the actual Tamnak monastery, but there are serious reasons to question this identification. In any case, Tamnak monastery is not the place Sirimaṅgala used to call Suan Khuan in his

colophons, contrary to what the actual name of the monastery (*vāṭ tāmhnāk svan khvāñ Sirimaṅgalācāry*) implies.

Several elements, such as his religious name and the way he describes himself, suggest that Sirimaṅgala was a high ranking monk, possibly of a noble origin. But one must be more than cautious with the speculations put forward by modern scholars who would like to see him as having been appointed by kings to honorary functions, and even as belonging to the royal lineage. Certainly, his texts were known and widespread among the highest ranks of several cities in Lan Na, and even in other kingdoms, not only during his lifetime but also afterwards. There is even a probability that the Vess-dīp was sponsored by King Mueang Kaew himself, who would have had it recited during an ordination ceremony which took place in 1519 at the Pa Daeng monastery.

Other evidence, such as his proximity to the Sīhalārāma, leaves little doubt that Sirimaṅgala was an *araññavāsīn* monk, in the sense that term was understood in Lan Na at that time. His alleged connection with an Elder “who had visited Laṅkā”, as well as the colophons of manuscript copies of his work, even reflects an association with the *Sīhalaḥhikkhus* of the Pa Daeng monastery. But the most convincing argument about Sirimaṅgala’s affiliation to the *Sīhalaḡaṅa* is his own writings, which fall within the advent of the golden age of Lan Na and the development of Pali literature in the region. In this regard, it remains to be determined to what extent Sirimaṅgala and the other scholars of his time were connected to Burmese trends of Buddhism. Whether or not we believe in the reality of the expedition of the *Sīhalaḥhikkhus* to Laṅkā, the influence of Burma on their followers is undeniable. Only an in-depth study of the Pali writings that have been produced in Lan Na can shed light on the impact that Burmese or Sinhalese Buddhism had on their authors. To do this, it would be best to start with Sirimaṅgala’s own works, as these are for the most part accessible to us.

MAP OF CHIANG MAI



KEY TO MAP OF CHIANG MAI

1. Wat Phra Singh (*Sīhaḷārāma*)
 2. Wat Suan Khuan [now disappeared]
 3. Wat Chedi Luang (*Mahācetiṭṭhārāma*)
 4. Wat Umong Thera Chan
 5. Wat Buppharam
 6. Wat Ku Tao (*Veḷuvanavihāra*)
 7. Wat Khuang Singh
 8. Wat Chet Yot (*Mahābodhārāma*)
 9. Wat Suan Dok (*Pupphārāma*)
 10. Wat Kao Tue [subsequently integrated into Wat Suan Dok]
 11. Wat Pa Daeng (*Rattavanamahāvihāra*)
 12. Wat Umong Suan Puttharam (*Veḷuvanavihāra, Veḷukaṭṭhārāma*)
 13. Wat Ram Poeng (*Tapodārama*)
 14. Wat Tamnak Suan Khuan *Sirimāṅgalācāry*
- A. Chang Pueak Gate
B. Chiang Ruak Gate (present-day Tha Phae Gate)
C. Chiang Mai Gate
D. Saen Pung Gate
E. Suan Dok Gate
F. Chang Moi Gate
- Old city walls

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Pali ekakkharas Revisited

Javier Schnake

PALI LEXICOGRAPHY

Indian literature written in Sanskrit has a long, rich lexicographic tradition, with the composition of glossaries or lists of words (*nighaṇṭu*) that are rare, unexplained or of difficult understanding in sacred texts. The *Nirukta* composed by Yāska (ca. third century CE) is probably the most famous and the oldest witness of such works. Then, many specialized dictionaries on some groups of words or subjects have been developed. These lexicons can be synonymous, exposing lists of terms with one or more words having the same meaning (*ekārtha*, *samānārtha*), or homonymical, compiling words with one or more meanings (*anekārtha*, *nānārtha*). Among them are the *ekākṣarakośas* (“lexicons of monosyllables”) which deal with particles and monosyllabic terms that can be polysemic. Claus Vogel lists about eleven such texts (Vogel 2015: 102–104). These *ekākṣarakośas* are well known in the Sanskrit tradition as used mainly in two types of exercises: games on linguistic matters, such as riddles or learned poems, and Tantric practices where the meanings of the hidden characters are used in magic formulas and esoteric diagrams (Vogel 2015: 102).

Pali literature is far from being so prolific in this field of knowledge. The most ancient lexicographic work known is the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*,¹ a vast dictionary of synonyms composed in the twelfth century by Moggallāna Thera in Ceylon. However, it is not the only lexicon that has reached us. There are, for example, the *Dhātumañjūsā* (fourteenth

¹ The colophon is clear regarding the place and time of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*'s composition: it has been elaborated at Pulatthipura (today Polonnaruwa in Ceylon) under the reign of Mahā Parākramabāhu. The identity of the author (Moggallāna) has been controversial, but he has to be distinguished from the Sinhalese grammarian. See the introduction of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* edition for more details (Abh ix–xvi).

century) and *Dhātupāṭha* (composed earlier) which list verbal roots (*dhātu*)² or the *Abhidhānappadīpikā-sūci* (nineteenth century) which arranges the entries of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* in a different way. A compendium focused on monosyllables was also composed in the sixteenth century, the *Ekakkharakosa* which we will come back to below. The list of Pali lexicons is however quite short compared to Sanskrit, even if we take into account the possibility that other texts have been lost.

Despite this fact, the organization of linguistic entities has been a preoccupation since the early days of Pali Buddhism. Just as Sanskrit lexicography draws its source in Vedic literature, so the Tipiṭaka contains in germ what will be systematized later in specialized works. It must be admitted that this interest is mainly focused on synonyms. Indeed, the enrichment of linguistic resources is primarily for the purpose of spreading the Buddha's words to the greatest number, in a complex social and cultural context, and linguistic diversity. Unlike the Brahmin attitude towards Sanskrit, the Blessed One prescribes monks to diversify and expand their vocabularies to best fit their audience. The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* (M III 230) is the *locus classicus* on the subject, expressing perfectly in this well-known formula the need to adapt and vary one's own language :

janapadaniruttiṃ nābhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nātidhāveyyā ti.

M III 234,32

One should not insist on local language, and one should not override normal usage.

Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi 1995: 1084,25f.

This injunction warns against a misrepresentation of the language that would make it an object of attachment, as well as a use of words that would not be within the understanding of the audience. Language obeys social conventions and conveys ideas and concepts whose signifiers vary according to dialects and contexts. The Buddha suggests speaking

² Rudolph O. Franke described these two works and mentioned also a third roots lexicon whose date and authorship are unknown, the *Dhātvatthadīpanī* (Franke 1902: 69–76; 1903: 317–318). It seems to focus on the material expounded in the *Saddanīti Dhātumālā*.

in a language understandable to all, the role of synonyms being then essential. Enriching the lexicon aims to a certain extent at “popularizing” the words of the Buddha. It is then one of the preferred methods in canonical literature for spreading the Dhamma (Nandawansa 2001 : 5).

In parallel, the old layers of the Pali canon organize these elements. The first case is the *Padabhājanīya* section (“explanation of individual words”), the old commentary on the *Pātimokkha* of the Vinaya-piṭaka (Norman 1983 : 166), which offers a precise analysis of rules word by word. It gives a clear explanation essentially in the form of lists of synonyms. This method is also formulated later in the *Mahāniddeśa*, which, in addition to groups of synonyms, presents etymological constructions to account for the meaning of certain terms. For instance, eleven synonyms of the word “snake” are commented on :

*sappo vuccati ahi. ken' atthena sappo? saṃsappanto gacchatī
ti sappo, bhujanto gacchatī ti bhujago, urena gacchatī ti urago
(...)*

Nidd I 7,28 –8,1

sappo (the creeper) means the snake. How is it the creeper? “He creeps forward”, such is the creeper (*sappo*); “He moves forward contorting”, such is the serpent (*bhuja-go*); “He advances on the chest (he crawls)”, such is the crawler (*ura-go*) (...).

Subsequent developments contained in the *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* are an essential step towards the realization of lexicons (Law 1933 : 634; Norman 1983 : 166; Nandawansa 2001 : 8). These guides for commentators to interpret and to transmit the word of the Master both define sixteen modes of transmission (*hāra*) of the teachings. The synonyms are one of the essential vectors of this diffusion, as described in sections entitled *Vevacanaḥāra* (“mode of transmission by synonyms”) (Nett 53,1–56,24; Peṭ 96,4–23). The commentators go on with this activity of lexical enrichment. They fully understand the use and functions of synonyms and also develop the field of homonyms and other grammatical resources (particles, prefixes, etc.) (Nandawansa 2001 : 9-10).

MONOSYLLABLES (*ekakkharas*)

In this general context, monosyllables are of very minor importance. They are present from the earliest days of Pali literature but do not follow the same way and systematic forms as synonyms. As they are very rare, their polysemic potential is still of little interest. They often occur within a formula or group of words which are repeated identically in various places, as for example the syllable *sā* that has been used for “dog” many times in the Pali canon in the sentence “not where a dog was waiting” (*na yattha sā upaṭṭhito*) (D III 41,6; M I 77,34f.; etc.).

The late canonical literature expands their field of application, particularly the *Mahāniddeśa*. This commentary inserted in the Pali canon includes monosyllables in its glosses. For instance, the syllable *dhī* which means “wisdom” (*dhī vuccati paññā*) is called on to explain the meaning of *dhīra*, “the sage”. It defines it “as one who possesses wisdom” (*tāya paññāya samannāgatattā dhīrā*) (Nidd I 44,24). Commentators then integrated these monosyllables into the range of semantic tools, as being able to enrich the meaning of certain terms. These *ekakkharas* thus take part in artificial constructions of the meaning or semantic etymologies, which strive to motivate the hidden link that exists between words and the things they designate. They reveal semantic contents that are unrelated to a morphological or linguistic analysis governed by grammatical conventions (see Balbir 1991; Kahrs 1998a, 1998b; Bronkhorst 2001). Contrary to a historical approach, their intention is more to unveil the essence or deeper meaning of a notion (Kahrs 1998b: 142–143) and to create verbal associations with “(des) valeurs symboliques et figurées” (Renou and Filliozat 1947: § 110). For instance, the syllable *kaṃ* participates in the etymology of the word *kandara* (cliff) at various places:

kandaran ti kaṃ vuccati udakaṃ, tena dāritaṃ, udakena bhinnam pabbatapadesam.

Sv I 209,25f.; Nidd I 98,8f.; etc.

The word *kaṃ* means water. A mountainous place dug by water (*kaṃ*), that is split (*dāritaṃ*) by it, is “a cliff” (*kan-daraṃ*).

Or the word *dukkham* (suffering) defined many times by the addition of the respective meanings of *du* and *kham*:

idha iti ayaṃ saddo kucchite dissati, kucchitañ hi puttaṃ duputto ti vadanti. khaṃ saddo pana tucche, tucchañ hi ākāsaṃ khaṃ ti vuccati. idaṃ ca paṭhama-saccaṃ kucchitaṃ aneka-upaddavādhi-ṭṭhānato, tucchaṃ bālaJanaparikappitadhuvasubhasukhattabhāvā virahitato. tasmā kucchitattā tucchattā ca dukkhaṃ ti vuccati.

Vism 494,27–32; Paṭis-a I 54,26–28; Vibh-a 84,2–7; etc.

Here the word *du* (“bad”) is met with in the sense of vile (*kucchita*); for they call a vile child a *du-putta* (“bad child”). The word *kham* (“-ness”), however is met with in the sense of empty (*tuccha*), for they call empty space “*kham*”. And the first truth is vile because it is the haunt of many dangers, and it is empty because it is devoid of the lastingness, beauty, pleasure, and self conceived by rash people. So it is called *dukkham* (“badness” = suffering, pain), because of vileness and emptiness.

Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli 2010: 506, § 16

Thus, the use and handling of these syllables suggest the existence or constitution of a background of references, from which commentators draw their knowledge. *Ekakkharas* are of particular interest because of their semantic potential, including the way they allow us to elucidate etymologies.

LATE PERIOD³

To the best of our knowledge, two works have organized and greatly exploited largely these monosyllables for different purposes: the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* elaborated by Moggallāna (twelfth century) and supplemented by its *ṭīkā* (fourteenth century), and the *Saddanīti* composed by Aggavaṃsa (twelfth century).

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* evidences an interest for *ekakkharas*, but in an unorganized form. They are present among the abundance of synonyms, and it is difficult to count their exact number without a thorough study of this work. However, the number of words treated and the multiplicity of meanings associated with these syllables largely exceed the

³ We designate by “late” the post-commentarial period (fifth century), without being now able to be more precise. Only reliable and available sources could help to delineate these developments with precision.

Saddanīti (see below), as illustrated by the word *saṃ*. The *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* gives nineteen different meanings while the *Saddanīti* shows only four:⁴

saṃ sāmaṃ ca sayamaṃ (...).

Abh 1144

saṃ is oneself and by itself (...)

ānande sañ ca diṭṭhā 'tha (...).

Abh 1151

saṃ and *diṭṭhā* are for joy (...).

*saṃ samodhānasāṅkhepasamantattasamiddhisu,
sammābhusasahāppathābhimukhatthesu saṅgate,
vidhāne pabhava pūjāpunappunakriyādisu.*

Abh 1170

saṃ is for combination, summary, totality, and prosperity,
Correct, abundant, with, little thing, and turned towards, meeting,
Performance, origin, tribute, repeated action, etc.

Moreover, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā-tīkā* gives helpful indications regarding the use of these monosyllables and the existence of some lexicons. First, it perfectly integrates other monosyllables in some of its glosses by way of etymological constructions. There are many examples, such as the gloss of *gottaṃ* “the clan”:

*go vuccati abhidhānaṃ buddhi ca, “te tāyati” ti gottaṃ
gotram pi “gavaṃ saddaṃ tāyati” ti vā gottaṃ.*

Abh-ṭ 332

go means naming and knowledge. “It preserves (*tāyati*) them” such is the clan (*go-ttaṃ, go-tram*).

Or “it preserves sound and knowledge (*gavaṃ*)”; it is the clan (*go-ttaṃ*).

In addition, some explanations reflect a certain degree of elaboration. To some extent this can be explained by the fact that some of them are Pali adaptations of passages found in Sanskrit works, such as the

⁴ See Sadd 245,4–246,3. *tatra saṃ vuccati santacitto puriso (...)* *saṃ vuccati dhanam (...)* *tathā saṃ vuccati sukhaṃ santi ca (...).*

Viśvaprakāśa, a Sanskrit lexicon written in 1111 CE by Maheśvara. This is the case for *ko* and *kaṃ*:

*ko brahmattānīlakkesu samāne sabbanāmike, pāvake ca
mayūre ca sukhasīśajalesu kaṃ ti.*⁵

Abh-ṭ 1198

ko is for Brahma, for self, wind, sun, equal, pronoun;

kaṃ is for fire, peacock, as well as happiness, head, water.

Finally, this commentary refers (in nominative or locative form) to an *ekakkharakosa* on six occasions.⁶ This term could be understood either as “lexicon of monosyllables” or as the title of a work (*Lexicon of Monosyllables*). This is unlikely since the Pali treatise having this name was composed two centuries later (the *Ekakkharakosa*) and since these monosyllables are not referenced in a Sanskrit work called *Ekākṣara-kośa* (see below). In any case, these references to one or more lexicons (*kosa*) of the genre, in addition to the elements previously mentioned, suggest that textual sources focusing on monosyllables were sufficiently structured (although not yet determined) and were circulating at the turn of the first millennium.

The second work, the *Saddanīti*, occupies a central place when the analytical study of lexicon is concerned. This masterpiece offers an exhaustive description of the Pali language, not only in a grammatical way, but also philologically and hermeneutically. It is not surprising to see that it participates actively in the development of the Pali lexicological tradition. It contains a large number of lists of synonyms and homonyms (Nandawamsa 2011: 11), and an entire section is dedicated

⁵ It refers to *Viśvaprakāśa* 24.

*ko brahmātmānīlārkeṣu śamane sarvanāmnī ca,
pāvake ca mayūre ca sukhaśīśajaleṣu kaṃ.*

⁶ Abh-ṭ 84. “*ā tu kodhamudāṭṭīsū*” *ti hi ekakkharakose vuttaṃ.*

Abh-ṭ 156. “*pasaddo paramatthe pī*” *ti hi ekakkharakose vuttaṃ.*

Abh-ṭ. 262. “*a pume mādhave ñeyyo, paṭisedhe tad’ abyayaṃ; ī satthe ca viruddhatthe, sadisatthe payogato*” *ti. hi ekakkharakose vuttaṃ.*

Abh-ṭ. 661. “*dā dānacchedadhātū*” *ti hi ekakkharakose, [...].*

Abh-ṭ 743. “*ā tukodhamudāṭṭīsū*” *ti hi ekakkharakoso.*

Abh-ṭ 1162–1163. “*po siyā paramatthasmiṃ, pātu vātesu pā bhava*” *ti ekakkharakose vutto.*

to the roots or *dhātu* (the *Dhātumālā*, Sadd chapters 15 to 19). In addition, the *Saddanīti* focuses on monosyllables and organizes them in a specific section (Sadd 239,6–246,8). They are examined in alphabetical order (from *ka* to *saṃ*), in the context of noun declensions and the establishment of the genres of the words considered. Compounds constructed on this basis are supported by examples and quotations taken from various texts. Thus, the introductory stanzas of the tenth section of the *Padamālā* present a series of sixteen monosyllables that retain Aggavaṃsa's attention:

viññnūnaṃ

gambhīra-buddhi-cāratthaṃ pavakkhāmi yathābalaṃ: (...)

*ko vi sā c' eva bhā rā ca thī dhī kū bhū tath' eva kaṃ khaṃ go
mo mā ca saṃ yan taṃ kiṃ icc ādi ca ekikā ti.*

Sadd 236,1–8

I will expose the things that deepen the intelligence of wise people, according to their ability: (...)

The elements “*ko vi sā*” and “*bhā rā thī dhī kū bhū*”,

Then *kaṃ khaṃ go mo mā ca saṃ yan taṃ kiṃ*”.

For instance, the word *rā* is presented in this way:

*rā vuccati saddo. Aggaññasuttaṭīkāyaṃ hi “rā saddo tiyyati
chijjati ethā ti ratti sattānaṃ saddassa vūpasamakālo” ti
vuttaṃ — tasmā rāsaddassa saddavācakatte rattī ti padaṃ
nidassanaṃ. (Sadd 237,1–4)*

rā means noise. For it is said in the *Aggaññasutta-ṭīkā*: the night (*ra-tti*) is the time of the cessation of noise for beings, as *rā* (means) noise, *tiyyati* (means) “it is cut” here. That is why when we express “noise” with the word *rā*, the word “night” (*ratti*) is an example.

Aggavaṃsa was mainly inspired by the exegetical literature in Pali to illustrate this set of monosyllables, but not only that. Indeed, in his entry on *mo*, he justified the grammatical passage from *mā* to *mo*, both meaning moon, stating that “the method has been understood according to the *Ekakkharakosa* [in Sanskrit], and it has to be said with the *o* letter as in ‘*mo* is Siva as well as the moon’” (*ekakkharakosato nayaṃ gahetvā*

“*mo Sivo candimā c’ evā*” *ti okārantavasena vattabbattā*) (Sadd 243,19f). In the *Saddanīti* edition Helmer Smith identified the source of reference (Sadd 243, n. 8), namely the *Ekākṣarakośa*, a Sanskrit lexicon composed by the grammarian Puruṣottamadeva at the same period in Orissa.⁷ This fact illustrates the penetration and adaptation of Sanskrit technical works in Pali erudite circles at that time, and illustrates similar connections between the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* and the *Amarakośa*, the *Vuttodaya* and the *Vrttaratnākara*, or also parts of the *Subodhālankāra* and the *Kāvyaadarśa*.⁸ The *Saddanīti* also exhibits the meticulous interest in language artifices present during this period, monosyllables then becoming objects of study in their own right. In the absence of other available sources, this grammar marks a milestone in the history of Pali lexicography dealing with the *ekakkharas*.

The presence of monosyllables was enlarged through their inclusion in works where playing with linguistic elements is at the centre, such as the enigmatic and poetic genres targeted at a learned audience. They are still used to shed light on etymological points, as for instance in the *Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana-tīkā*, a commentary on the undated compendium of learned riddles, the *Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana* (Balbir 2007: 346–360):

bhāti ābhāti ti bhā raṃsī. bhaṃ karotī ti bhākarō suriyo.

Vid-ṭ ole gā, lines 4f.

It lights, illuminates (is the meaning of) *bhā* (which means) ray. It produces light, (therefore it is) *bhākara* (which means) sun.

atthaṃ dhāretī ti dhī paññā.

Vid-ṭ ole ku, line 3

It supports a meaning, (therefore it is called) *dhī* (which means) wisdom.

⁷ See the *Ekākṣarakośa* edition of Ram Kumar Rai (2005: §27) which mentioned *maḥ śivaś candramā* (...).

⁸ For instance, the section dealing with riddles (*pahelīkā*) is based on the classification provided by the *Kāvyaadarśa*; see Subodh 33 (footnote 1).

But *ekakkharas* also become parts of more complex compositions, allowing different levels of understanding. The *Subhodhālankāra*, a treatise on poetics composed in Ceylon by Saṅgharakkhita (twelfth century), integrated these tools in its technical demonstrations. Among the multiple “embellishments of speech” or *alankāras* developed in this work, *silesa* (polysemies) and *paheḷī* (enigmas) are a fertile soil for *ekakkharas*. The first method, the *silesa*, is characterized by the principle of “simultaneity” of a significant element, here the use of polysemic terms.⁹ For instance:

sāradāmalakābhāso samānītaparikkhayo,

kumudākarasambodho pīṇeti janataṃ sudhī.

Subodh 290

(Meaning 1)

It has a pure light in autumn,
It carries the decline,
It is the awakening for lotus
groups,
It rejoices the assembly of
people,
It is the pure (i.e. the moon).

(Meaning 2)

He promises the excellent,
He has the pure light that comes
from the head,
He ended (suffering) and brought
peace,
He is the awakened source of joy
on earth,
He rejoices the assembly of
people,
He is the sage (i.e. the Buddha)

The work done on the linguistic chain permits a statement with a double meaning. Monosyllables allow manipulations of the compounds, giving different readings according to the different divisions of words. The two commentaries (the *porāṇa*-^o and *abhinava-tīkā*) are here indispensable: *sārado* (in autumn) and *sāra-do* (he promises the excellent); *amalak'-ābhāso* (it has a pure light) and *amala-k'-ābhāso* (he has the pure light that comes from **the head**), where *ka* designates the head; *samānīta-parikkhayo* (it carries the decline) *sam'-ānīta-parikkhayo* (he ended [suffering] and brought peace); *kumud'-ākara-sambodho* (it is the

⁹ See for instance the works of Yigal Bronner on the subject (Bronner 2010, 2014).

awakening for lotus groups) and *ku-mud'-ākarasambodho* (he is the awakened source of joy on **earth**), where *ku* designates the earth; *sudhī* (it is the pure) and *su-dhī* (he is the sage), where *su* is for beautiful and *dhī* wisdom.

Certain types of enigmas (*pahelikā*) also include monosyllables in their construction.¹⁰ The *ubhayacchannā* type (“the two are hidden”) illustrates this pattern:

alaṅkaronto bhuvanam sassiriko sadevakam,

kasmim sañjātasamvaddho ko na ten' upalimpaṭi ti.

Subodh-pt 63,6f.

(Meaning 1)

He is resplendent,

He embellishes the world

including the *devas*,

Where (*kasmim*) does one rise
and develop (spiritually)?

Who is not stained thanks to
him?

(answer: the Buddha)

(Meaning 2)

It is resplendent,

It always embellishes the world
and the water (*kaṃ*),

It was born and grows in the
water (*kasmim*),

Water does not adhere to it.

(answer: the lotus)

Here, the “container” and the “contained” are hidden (Sternbach 1975: 49): the enigma makes use of specific linguistic elements, here the *ekakkharas*, to play alternatively with the different meanings of the term. In this example, *ka* is the key word: it promotes first the elaboration of an interrogative statement, *ka* being the interrogative pronoun “where” (*kasmim*), and then gives the answer to this question since *ka* means also “water”, in the accusative (*kaṃ*) and locative (*kasmim*) cases.

The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* composed by Ratanapañña in Lanna in 1534 CE illustrates another way to use these minimal linguistic units.¹¹ This compendium, dedicated among other things to linguistic matters,

¹⁰ See for instance Gerow 1971: 210–217 and Porcher 1979 for more details on the subject.

¹¹ The critical edition of this text is forthcoming (*Ratanapañña's Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha and Its Ṭikā*, Bristol: The Pali Text Society.)

devotes four short chapters to different types of enigmas, probably inspired by the Pali *Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana*. Again, *ekakkharas* participate in the process, for instance in the *antapādottara* chapter (“the answer is at the end”) which plays with the spatial position of questions and answers in the stanza, as well as with the different divisions of compound words. Here, the first three verses contain the questions, while the last details the respective answers :

*ko khe dhamme ca kā ko c' abbhantare yāti ko 'ṇṇataṃ,
k' oṇataṃ ko aghantaṃ ko vī dhi mānarahorahā.*

Vss 128

Who moves in the sky? Who (travels) in the Dhamma?
And who (moves) between the clouds? Who (leads) to arrogance?
Who (makes) a bow? Who (leads to suffering)?
Who (puts) an end to suffering?
The bird, wisdom, the moon, pride,
The one who has no arrogance, loneliness, the Arahant.

Three monosyllables are used by the author in his demonstration: *vī* for bird, *dhi* for wisdom, and *mā* for moon.

*ko khe ākāse yāti ? – vī sakuṇo.
kā dhamme yāti ? – dhi pannā.
ko ca abbhantare antarikkhe yāti ? – mā cando.
ko uṇṇataṃ yāti ? – māno.
ko oṇataṃ yāti ? – māna-raho māna-rahito.
ko aghaṃ dukkhaṃ yāti ? – raho sokī.
ko aghantaṃ dukkhass' antaṃ yāti ? – arahā.*

Vss-ṭ 128

The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* offers another puzzling mechanism designated as *pañhasamottara* (“the answer is in the question”). Ratana-pañña proposes compositions of his own but also borrowed from other works such as the *Saddanīti* which can hardly be suspected of promoting recreational matters, underlining then an essential point: all these riddles were probably not just for the entertainment of mind, this genre having gained a singular and serious status among scholarly circles. For instance :

*uṅhakāle kam icchanti kam icchanti pipāsītā,
paccāmittā kam icchanti kam icchanti du[k]khaṭṭitā.*

Sadd 281,23f.; Vss 133

(Questions)

What (*kaṃ*) do you want
when it's hot?

What (*kaṃ*) do thirsty people
want?

What (*kaṃ*) do enemies want?

What (*kaṃ*) do people who
suffer from suffering want?

(Answers)

When it's hot, we want wind (*kaṃ*).

Thirsty people want water (*kaṃ*).

Enemies want the head (*kaṃ*).

People afflicted by suffering desire

happiness (*kaṃ*).

Here, the monosyllable *ka* is simultaneously the interrogative pronoun (“what”) and a polysemic word with several meanings that are perfectly attested in the corresponding technical literature: wind, water, head, and happiness.

Monosyllables and their potentialities were well known by learned monks in Northern Thailand during its “golden age” (15th–16th centuries). This is not surprising as Lanna was an active centre of Pali studies where scholar monks showed in their works a deep interest in the rules underlying the structure of language (Schnake 2018: 98–106). A prolific author such as Ñāṇakitti¹² made use of these *ekakkharas* and elucidated the etymology of some notions with their help. The voluminous *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-vibhāvinī-attha-yojanā*¹³ offers examples, dissecting the meaning and morphology of the terms with the help of various linguistic tools (roots, morphology, etc.). The *Saddanīti* is here called upon several times and is clearly one of the sources of reference, as shown for instance by the gloss of *karuṇā* (“compassion”):

*kaṃ rundhatī ti vā karuṇā yā dhammajāti, kaṃ sukhaṃ rundhati iti
tasmā sā dhammajāti, karuṇā dutiyā tappuriso. kasaddo sukhattha-
vācako. tena vuttaṃ:*

¹² See von Hinüber 2000: 123–34 for more details concerning this Lanna scholar monk.

¹³ This title is given in *CPD* as *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-vibhāvinīya Pañcīkā nāma Atthayojanā*.

*kāye brahmanī vate [sic] ca sirojālasukhesu ca*¹⁴
kasaddo vattati tīsu pumā; tīsu napumsako ti.

Sadd 281,15f.

*dukkhaṃ kusatī*¹⁵ *ti kaṃ sukhaṃ.*

Abhid-a-mh-y 5, 11-16

“It does not take into account (its own) happiness” such is compassion (*ka-runā*) born in the Dhamma, or else “it ignores (its own) happiness (*kaṃ*)” because it is born from the Dhamma. “Compassion” (*ka-runā*) is a *tappurisa* compound. The word *ka* has the meaning of happiness, because it is said:

The word *ka* is used for body, Brahma,
 Wind, and head, water and happiness;
 Masculine for three, neutral gender for three.

Happiness (*kaṃ*) is “what slices the suffering”.

Surely Ñāṇakitti made use of these polysemic syllables in his other so-called *attha-yojanās*. Only a study of those available would provide confirmation.

As said earlier, the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* and its *ṭīkā* display interest in *ekakkharas* in learned riddles. In addition, this compendium also offers a synthesis of monosyllables modeled on the list provided by the *Saddanīti*. The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā* also glosses these linguistic units, but adds an element concerning the circulation of these lexicons. Indeed, in the section dealing with the word *go*, it is said:

Visuppakāsapakarāṇe pana:
gosaddo saggaramsīsu vajirājjunavārīsu,
disānayanacandesu pasumhi vacane bhūvī ti vuttaṃ.

Vss-ṭ 223–225

It is also said in the work (named) *Visuppakāsa*:

The word *go* is for heaven, ray, diamond, Ajjuna tree, water,
 Direction, eyes, moon, cattle, speech, earth.

The *Visuppakāsa* is very likely the *Viśvaprakāśa* already mentioned, whose stanza dealing with *go* is close in content to the *Vajira-*

¹⁴ Compare Smith’s ed. of Sadd: *kāye Brahmaṇī vāte ca sīse jalasukhesu ca*.

¹⁵ Probably derived from Sanskrit *kuṣṇati* “to cut, to fill” as indicated in *A Dictionary of Pāli* (cf. √*kuś*²).

sāratthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā.¹⁶ It is still difficult to determine the diffusion of this lexicon in Southeast Asia, and to know whether it had been adapted in Pali, especially since it is absent from any work of reference. However, it seems to have exerted an influence among learned circles from Lanna at this time. Indeed, there is another text that probably made use of this literary source. The *Saddabinduvinicchaya* composed by Dhammakitti Phussadeva a few decades before the Vss (end of the fifteenth century) also illustrates the word *go* in its *nāmakappa* section through a stanza very close in content to that of the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā*, which suggests a common background.¹⁷

The compilation of monosyllables finds a culmination in a work totally dedicated to the topic, the *Ekakkharakosa*. This text also sheds light on these linguistic units and on their allegorical value during the same period.

THE EKAKKHARAKOSA

Composed in 1525 by Saddhammakitti this huge work from Taungu (Burma) requires the support of its commentary, the *Ekakkharakosa-ṭīkā* (same period), in order to be fully apprehended. Unique in the Pali literary landscape, it is a major contribution in the lexicographic field, especially since this work is still living in Burma: this “minor” grammatical text¹⁸ enjoys a certain popularity and is a part of the monastic curriculum. Composed in *anuṭṭhubha* meter, the *Ekakkharakosa* deals with all the letters of the alphabet, each of them liable to be the subject of multiple entries (e. g. *ka*, *ki*, *kim*, *ku*). A total of 136 different monosyllables which define proper nouns, roots, prefixes and particles are listed and explained. Clearly the *Ekakkharakosa* surpasses the *Saddanīti* in this field of knowledge. To measure the significant contribution of

¹⁶ See *Viśvaparakāśa* 4cd-5ab.

*gauḥ svarge vṛṣabhe raśmau vajre candramasi smṛtaḥ
arjune netra-dīg-bāna-bhū-vāg-vāriṣu gaur matā.*

¹⁷ Sadd-v 94,17f.

*gosaddo saggaramsīsu vajirānunevādisu
dassane nayanantesu pasumhi vacane bhuvī ti.*

¹⁸ For a description of these “minor” grammatical texts, see the introductory part of Sadd-v and Ruiz-Falqués 2017: 28–29.

this text to this linguistic discipline, let us take as an example the monosyllable *vi* :

*vi tu dhāt' upasaggesu pakkhipakkhandanesu ca,
saṃsibbane vināsāyaṃ padissati payogato
vividhātisayābhāve bhūsatt' issariy' accaye,
viyoge kalahe pātubhāve bhāse ca kucchane,
durānabhimukhatthesu mohānavatṭhiṭṭsu ca,
padhāne dakkhatākhede sahatthādo ca dissati.*

vi exists to designate a root, a prefix, bird, and springing,
Sewing together, destruction,

Multitude, abundance, absence of, being decorated, suprem-
acy, fault,

Separation, conflict, appearance, language, and contempt.

And it appears for far, diverted from, ignorance, unstable,

Effort, dexterity, regret, with one's own hands.

Twenty-five different meanings are here referenced, all subjected to analysis in the *Ekakkharakosa-ṭīkā* :

*“vināyako vindo” ti ādīsu pakkhimhi. “vīnaṃ nāyako adhi-
pati (ti) vināyako supaṇṇasaṅkhāto garuḷo. vīnaṃ sakuṇānaṃ
indo sāmī” ti vindo garuḷo ti attho.*

*“vināyako ti vindo” ti etth' eva visaddo pakkhandane hoti.
tattha hi “vināti pakkhandatī” ti vi sakuṇo ti attho.*

*“nibbānan” ti ettha vidhātu saṃsibbane hoti. tattha hi
“vin(ā)ti saṃsibbatī” ti vānaṃ. tato “vānato nikkhantan” ti
nibbānan ti attho.*

Ekakkh-ṭ 512,16-21

It is for *bird* as in “the lord of birds, the king of birds”. “He is the lord (*nāyako*), the ruler of birds (*vīnaṃ*)” such is the lord of birds (*vi-nāyako*), the Garuḷa (otherwise) called the Supaṇṇa. He is the king (*indo*), the ruler of birds (*vīnaṃ*)” such is the king of birds (*v'-indo*), the Garuḷa. Such is the meaning.

“Lord of birds (*vināyaka*)” means “king of birds (*vi-inda*)”. Here, the word *vi* is for *jumping*. For here *vi* means “he jumps (*vināti*) (which is equal to) *pakkhandatī*”. The meaning (of *vi*) is bird (*sakuṇo*)

In “Nibbāna” the root *vi* is for *sewing together*. Indeed, “it weaves, entwines” such is the attachment (*vānaṃ*). Therefore Nibbāna is “the eradication of attachment”. Such is the meaning.

Little information is available about this lexicon and its sources, this work having not received much attention from Western scholars.¹⁹ The *Ekakkharakosa* is mentioned in works dealing with Pali literature,²⁰ but did not arouse more curiosity,²¹ and was sometimes described with imprecision.²² The author collected a lot of information from many works he did not quote explicitly (*Saddanīti*, *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, *Kaccāyana*, etc.), the voluminous commentary increasing the number of examples by various borrowings from Pali literature (*Jātaka*, *Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana*, *Pādarūpasiddhi*, *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-mūlaṭṭikā*, etc.). Saddhammakitti’s motivations to compose this text came in a troubled political context in Burma, as reported by scholars²³ and as detailed in the following extract from the *Sāsanavaṃsa*:

So the Thera Saddhammakitti wrote the *Ekakkharakosa*. Indeed, in the year 887 of the Kali era (i.e. 1525 CE) the light of the *Sāsa*na disappeared throughout the kingdom of Tambadīpa for fear of the

¹⁹ Exception being made of Paul Grimblot who considered preparing the transliteration of the text and of its commentary (Grimblot 1862 : 753).

²⁰ For example, Bode 1909 : 45 ; Law 1933 : 634 ; Norman 1983 : 167, etc.

²¹ Rudolf O. Franke said of this text that it was “ohne Bedeutung für die Pali-Kenntnis” (“without importance for our knowledge of Pali”) (Franke 1902 : 77, n. 2).

²² In the introduction to his edition Subhūti incorrectly described the *Ekakkharakosa* as “a small vocabulary of words of various meanings ending in certain final letters” (Subhūti 1865 : vii), an assertion later repeated by Mabel H. Bode in her edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (Sās 23, n. 3).

²³ Mabel H. Bode stated that “the *Ekakkharakosa* was written to keep alive sacred learning, then in mortal danger from the great destruction of books in the land” (Sās 23,21–24,22); or as K.R. Norman also summed up the situation: “during the difficult period of persecution in the fifteenth century, and in the belief that survival depends on correct understanding of the texts his book was intended to help with the proper understanding of Pali” (Norman 1983 : 167).

families called Jaluma (who were of) wrong views.²⁴ Thus, many manuscripts were destroyed by fire. There, observing that he felt anxious and thought, “If the study of the doctrine perishes, then the doctrine by the practice will disappear; when the doctrine by the practice is gone, what will become of the doctrine by the penetration of meaning? (Therefore) he wrote this text.” This is said in the commentary.²⁵

Surely the *Sāsanavaṃsa* refers to the following passage from the *Ekakkharakosa-tīkā*:

At this moment, the master (thought) in this kingdom, the continuity of the Sāsana through the existence of the study (of texts) (*pariyatti*) will be interrupted in a short time. When the continuity of the study has been interrupted, the continuity of the practice (*paṭipatti*) will be interrupted. When the continuity of practice will be interrupted, recluses and householders who failed in (this) practice will have a bad destiny; they will disappear.²⁶

The text describes a well-known process that goes well beyond this local context: the destruction of the Sāsana by the successive disappearance (*antaradhāna*) of teachings/study (*pariyatti*), practice (*paṭipatti*), and the penetration of these teachings (*paṭivedha*) which is not explicitly mentioned here. This process, detailed in Buddhaghosa’s

²⁴ It refers to the Shan ruler Salun, remembered in Burmese history as the conqueror of the Ava Kingdom in about 1523 CE. Salun placed his son Thohanbwa on the throne, reputed for his roughness and brutality against Buddhist monks (see Phayre 1883: 87f. and 93)

²⁵ Sās 76,1–9. *Ekakkharakosam pana Saddhammakittithero akāsi. so hi kaliyuge sattāsī-adhike aṭṭhasate sampatte micchādīṭṭhikānaṃ Jalumasaññitānaṃ kulānaṃ bhāyena sakale pi Tambadīparatṭhe sāsanobhāso milāyati. bahūni pi potthakāni aggibhāyena nassessuṃ. tadā taṃ pavattim passivā sace pariyattidhammo vinasseyya paṭipattidhammo pi nassissati paṭipattidhamme nassante kuto paṭivedhadhammo bhavissatī ti saṃvegāṃ apajjivā imaṃ ganthaṃ akāsīti taṭṭhikāyaṃ vuttaṃ vuttaṃ.*

²⁶ Ekakkh-ṭ 428,12–16. *tasmiṃ ca kāle ayam ācariyo imasmiṃ raṭṭhe sambhūto pariyattisāsanavaṃso aciraṃ pacchijjeyya. pariyattivaṃse pacchinne paṭipattivaṃso pacchijjeyya, paṭipattivaṃse pacchinne pabbajitā gahaṭṭhā ca paṭipattiyaṃ virajjhivā duggatigāmino yebhuyyena bhaveyyuṃ.*

commentaries, highlights the value of the study (*pariyatti*) to the expense of the two others, an elementary condition to sustain the living of the Sāsana.²⁷ Focus on *pariyatti* aims to counteract, or rather delay from the Buddhist perspective, this destruction of the Buddhist community. The composition of the *Ekakkharakosa* intended to reverse this process, as expressed in its commentary:

Free of the fear aforementioned, sons of good family, modest and devoted, confident, left household life in order to find a way out in the Sāsana. They produced renewed efforts by memorization and learning, etc., of canonical texts, commentaries, etc., and by this work (i.e. the *Ekakkharakosa*) as a support they will have the certain knowledge. In accordance with this, they will have a perfect practice. In these circumstances, the continuity of study and practice will become prosperous and flourishing and will last without interruption for 5,000 years. In this context, the one whose spirit is guided by compassion composed this work thinking “here in the Tamba kingdom, having found pleasure in gift and discipline, in the fulfilment by the study, beings could reach liberation, the divine abodes”.²⁸

Thus, the compilation of what best embodies the value of the syllable, because of its range of meanings, is considered according to this extract as a concentrate of the Buddhist doctrine. Beyond a work of lexical synthesis, the development of this work is then placed in a soteriological perspective. It corroborates the views of Pagan’s grammarians who no longer view the study of language as a way to normalize the Pali language, that is to say the study of its structure and its forms. They offer above all an exhaustive description of the language, and promote a

²⁷ See Sv III 898,18–21; Ps IV 115,10–13; Vibh-a 431,27–30.

²⁸ Ekakkh-t 428,22–30. (...) *yathāvuttabhayesu vūpasantesu, lajjipesalā saddhā-sampannā kulaputtā sāsane nissaraṇathāya pabbajitvā imaṃ pakaraṇaṃ nissāya pāḷiy’ aṭṭhakathādīsu savanuggahadhāraṇādivasena punappunaṃ ussāhaṃ katvā yathābhūtaṃ bujjhissanti. tadanusārena ca sammāpaṭipattim paṭipajjissanti. evaṃ sati pariyattipaṭipattivaṃso ca puna pi iddho phīto saṃvutto hutvā yāva pañcavassasahassapariyantaṃ avicchedaṃ apavattissati. evañ ca sati idha tambaraṭṭhe sattā pariyattiparipūraṇesu dāna-sīlādīsu abhiraṭā hutvā saggamokkhalābhino bhaveyyun ti karuṇāsaṅcodita-mānaso hutvā idaṃ pakaraṇaṃ akāsi.*

method to correctly interpret and transmit the Pali texts in order to sustain and keep the *pariyatti* alive (Ruiz-Falqués 2015: iii).²⁹ The *Saddanīti* which influenced many of these Pali works during these times is in that way unequivocal. It perfectly reflects this vital and conceptual orientation, as expressed in the parable concluding the text:

This has been composed by me (to support) the study, the
 practice, and the penetration (of meaning),
 This is why we have to listen to this:
 “Is the study (*pariyatti*) the basis of the Sāsana of the Master,
 Or is it the practice (*paṭipatti*)?”
 It was said “the study!”
 Indeed, it was said by the Blessed One, the Buddha,
 The kinsman of the sun, (regarding) what makes the Sāsana
 last for 5,000 years:
 “As long as the Suttanta exists, as long as the Vinaya illumi-
 nates,
 They see the sky when the sun rises,
 When the Suttanta is gone and the Vinaya is lost,
 Darkness happens in the world like the sun at bedtime,
 When the Suttanta is protected, practice is preserved,
 The sage is established in practice, he is not deprived of the
 liberation of the attachments.”³⁰

²⁹ Note that this concern for the end of the Sāsana also reached the Sukhothai and Lanna kingdoms during the 14th–16th centuries. For instance, King Lidaya evoked the different steps leading to this fatality in the Nagara Jum inscription dated 1357 CE (Griswold and Prasert 1973, 98–102), and composed the *Traibhūmikathā* (1345 CE) to delay this deadline (Coëdès 1957, 348–51). Lanna scholar monks showed a sharp interest in the structure of language in some works, surely in order to sustain the *pariyatti* (Schnake 2018, 98–105), and the importance of grammar is clearly formulated in the Padaeng Chronicles, in their task to preserve the monastic rules and the symbolic order (Schnake 2018, 93–97).

³⁰ Sadd 926,30–927,27.

*pariyattipaṭipattipaṭivedhānaṃ eva me
 atthāya racitaṃ etaṃ, tasmā sotabbam ev’ idaṃ.
 “pariyatti nu kho mūlaṃ sāsanaṃ mahesino
 udāhu paṭipattī” ti. “pariyattī” ti dīpaye.
 vuttaṃ h’ etaṃ Bhagavatā buddhenādiccabandhunā
 pañca vassasahassāni sāsanaṃ hitikārinā:*

Beside the linguistic contribution to Pali lexicographical knowledge, the elaboration of the *Ekakkharakosa* can surely be appreciated in this optic: preserving the sacred word of the Buddha from final destruction, and making it last.

CONCLUSION

It is still difficult to have a definitive idea regarding the history of these *ekakkharas*. Although they have had some success in the Sanskrit tradition, their developments have been more uneven in the Pali field. The origin of *ekakkharas* is the correct observation of *ekākṣaras* particularly in the Vedic language, but also in Tantric literature as mystical letters. This observation was expanded and generalized in a creative way to be used as a tool to explain words unclear to traditional commentators, surely drawing on an unidentified common fund. Little used in the early days, these monosyllables infiltrated later disciplines focused on the study of language to serve as a help for composition before being studied in a more objective way.

The range of meanings of these small linguistic units shows the richness of the resources studied by the experts of the language and testifies to the vitality of this discipline by the numerous influences and borrowings of which each lexicon is the object. From knowledge as it stands today, it seems that many textual sources circulated, but their references and methods of access still elude us. In this context, the influence of Sanskrit lexicons cannot be underrated, both in their form and content, but further investigations are needed to identify them with precision. The *Saddanīti* had a pivotal role in the organization of the *ekakkharas* and certainly prevailed as a model in its time, before the massive *Ekakkharakosa* (supplemented by its commentary) became the centrepiece in this field of knowledge. Beside the contribution it makes to lexicographic studies, one should take into account the vital and

“yāva tiṭṭhanti suttantā vinayo yāva dīpati,
tāva dakkhanti ālokaṃ suriye abbhuṭṭhite yathā,
suttantesu asantesu sammūṭṭhe vinayamhi ca
tamo bhavissati loke suriye atthaṅgate yathā,
suttante rakkhite sante, paṭipatti hoti rakkhitā
paṭipattiyam ṭhito dhīro yogakkhemā na dhamasatī”ti.

social issue at the origin of its composition, namely the conviction that it would help avoiding the end of the Buddha's teachings by perpetuating *pariyatti*.

ABBREVIATIONS

The system of abbreviations follows the *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

Other texts are :

Abh-ṭ	<i>Abhidhānappadīpikā-ṭikā</i>
Ekakkh-ṭ	<i>Ekakkharakosa-ṭikā</i>
Vss	<i>Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha</i>
Vss-ṭ	<i>Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-ṭikā</i>
Sadd-v	<i>Saddabinduvinicchaya</i>
Vid-ṭ	<i>Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana-ṭikā</i>

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Theragāthā 168

Martin Straube

Theragāthā 168 runs as follows:

*tvañ ca me maggam akkhāhi añjasam amatogadham;
aham monena monissam Gaṅgāsoto va sāgaran ti.*

And do you show me the straight path which plunges
into the death-free. By sage-hood I shall know it, as the
stream of Ganges will [eventually] know the sea.¹

Th-a II 44.16 glosses the verbal form *monissam* with *jānissam* “I will know”, thereby relating it implicately to the verb *munāti* “knows, understands”. This derivation of *monissam* from a verbal root *mun* is made clear by Aggavaṃsa in his *Saddanīti* who at the same time addresses the problem of the unusual root vowel *o*.² The verb *munāti*³ is attested once in the Pali canon (Dhp 269) in its present 3rd singular form. In addition, the word *muta* “apprehended, sensed, perceived” has been considered as a past perfect participle of *munāti*,⁴ but is probably to be explained as a phonetic by-form of *mata* (related to *maññati*, Skt. \sqrt{man}),⁵ while some other forms seemingly related to *munāti* are

¹ Norman 2007.

² Sadd 498.6ff., under the sūtra *muna ñāṇe: anāgatavacane ukārassa vuddhi-vasena aham monena monissan ti rūpantarañ ca dissati. tatha monissan ti jānissam*; “due to *vr̥ddhi* of the vowel *u* in the future tense [the root *muna*] shows a different form, thus: *aham monena monissam*. There, *monissam* means ‘I will know’.”

³ It is probably related to OIA $\sqrt{mnā}$; see Norman 1999, p. 27, n. 6; Oberlies 2019, vol. I, p. 326, n. 4.

⁴ CPD s.v. *a-muta*.

⁵ *Muta* is probably the product of sound change of *a* to *u*, caused by the preceding labial *m*-; cf. Norman 1999, p. 247ff., esp. p. 250.

most likely artificially modelled after *muta*.⁶ Notwithstanding its rare occurrence, *munāti* is used by commentators to explain the words *muni* and *mona*.⁷

Since a future form *monissam* would be the second occurrence of an otherwise rare verb in the Pali canon, it deserves special attention. In addition to the grammatical problem of how to explain the root vowel *o*, the meaning “I will know” appears odd in the given context. In the well-known simile in pāda d we would expect “as the stream of Ganges will reach the sea”, rather than “know”. Moreover, pāda c lacks a subject of comparison to *sāgaram* which therefore has to be supplied from the first half of the stanza. But, to take *maggam* as the subject of comparison only adds another oddity to the simile, since *magga* is the “path” or “means” by which one will reach the goal, not the goal itself, as is the ocean for the river that flows in.

All these problems disappear if we read *monissam* as *mon'issam*, as sandhi form for *monam issam*, with *issam* as future 1st singular of *eti* “goes”.⁸ Then we may translate the second half of the stanza as follows:

By [living] the way of life of a *muni* I will reach the state
of a *muni*, as the stream of the Ganges will reach the sea.

C.A.F. Rhys Davids arrived at a syntactically very similar translation by taking the simile seriously and discarding the commentary’s explanation of *monissam*. However, she did not draw any conclusions with regard to the printed Pali text:⁹

So I in silent study pondering
Shall to the silence of the seers attain,
As glides great Gangā’s river to the main.

⁶ A II 25,16ff.: *mutvā motabbam mutam na maññati, amutaṃ na maññati, motabbam na maññati, motāram na maññati.*

⁷ See, e.g., Spk I 26,28ff.: *monan ti catumaggāññaṃ. taṃ hi munāti ti monaṃ. catusaccadhamme jānāti ti attho*, ad S I 4,19*.

⁸ Similar forms are attested; cf. DoP s.v. *eti*²: *issati, issāmi.*

⁹ Rhys Davids 1913, p. 132 with note 3.

As one can see, other interpretations of the multifaceted term *mona* are possible, including “silence” which in its basic meaning of “not speaking” is undeniably attested at Dhp 268,¹⁰ but could also be taken as “quietude, inner peace”. In the given context I am inclined to take *monena* as referring to the way (*magga*) mentioned in the first line, understood in a general sense as the way of life of a *muni*. The expression *mon’ issaṃ* could perhaps be translated more idiomatically as “I will become a muni”, but, it is this peculiar mode of expressing the concept of becoming something by combining an abstract noun with a verb of going to or reaching — “I will reach the state of a *muni*” — that allows for the simile of the river reaching the sea. Similar statements playing with *mona* and *muni* and their different (shades of) meanings are well attested in early Pali stanzas.¹¹ And what is more, the often quoted simile of the river flowing and dissolving in the ocean now appears meaningful in our stanza since being a *muni* may be aptly compared with the ocean. This is in line with a number of passages in old Pali texts where the unmoved, deep and unfathomable ocean is compared to a wise person or a sage.¹²

¹⁰*na monena munī hoti mūlharūpo aviddasu.* The commentaries usually gloss *mona* with *ñāṇa* “knowledge, understanding” which is however hardly the meaning attached to *mona* in the old texts. The evidence of Dhp 268 forced the author of the Dhp-a to acknowledge the inadequacy of the traditional interpretation: *kāmaṃ hi moneyyapaṭipadāsāṅkhātena maggañāṇamonena muni nāma hoti, idha pana tuṅhībhāvaṃ sandhāya monenā ti vuttaṃ.* (Dhp-a III 395.9ff.)

¹¹Cf., e.g., Ud 9.7*: *yadā ca attanā vedi muni monena brāhmaṇo*, 43.20*: *munino monapathesu sikkhato*, and especially Sn 723: *yo ca jānaṃ yatatto, jānaṃ na bahu bhāsati / sa munī monam arahati, sa munī monam ajjhagā ti*, where *mona* refers to *moneyya* “the characteristics of a *muni*” (discussed from Sn 700 onwards), but is here obviously used in a word play with the meaning “silence” (cf. Sn 720f.). In addition to the parallels from the Pali canon, the line *maunena vidvān uta yāti maunaṃ* at Mhbh 5: 43, *254: 3 may also be compared, even though *mauna* was surely understood in a different way there.

¹² Cf., e.g., S IV 376.23ff.; Sn 920; Th 372, 660; Mil 21.20.

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The Pāli Tipiṭaka Recension Carved on the Kuthodaw Pagoda Stelae and Its Relation to Other Burmese Versions

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ABSTRACT

This article presents details on the background (and subsequent influence) of the Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions (Mandalay, Myanmar), supplementing and extending an earlier paper by Allon et al. (2016). In particular, this article puts forward new material on the Tipiṭaka editing projects undertaken during the reign of King Mindon (reigned 1853–1878) and the so-called Sixth Council (1954–1956). By examining what is known about the processes that occurred for these apparently unified recensions and the subsequent publishing initiatives linked to each, the article attempts to clarify and underline the importance of the Pāli text of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae and its significance for contemporary editors, readers, and translators of Theravāda canonical texts. Also included are indicative results of new textual studies comparing four canonical extracts using nineteenth century manuscripts from Mandalay, the Kuthodaw stelae inscribed version, and printed versions linked to the Fifth and Sixth Councils, as well as those of the Pali Text Society (PTS).

CONTENTS

1. Introduction
2. The Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae: background and findings
 - 2.1. Western sources and historical references
 - 2.2. King Mindon's copies of the Tipiṭaka and the Fifth Council
 - 2.3. Printings of the Kuthodaw recension by Hanthawaddy and other presses (1893–1939)
 - 2.4. The editing work of the Sixth Council
 - 2.4.1. Setting up editorial procedures and sources for the Tipiṭaka
 - 2.4.2. Processes of editing
 - 2.4.3. Detailing the contributions from Sri Lanka and Thailand
 - 2.4.4. Printing and proofreading of the finalised text

- 2.5. Study of selected texts
 - 2.5.1. Previous scholarship
 - 2.5.2. Text comparisons
 - 2.5.3. Description of the main features of the four text extracts from the Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions and comparison with other sources
 - 2.5.4. Summary of preliminary findings
- 3. Abbreviations
- 4. References
- 5. Appendices
 - 5.1. Hanthawaddy and other printings of the Kuthodaw texts (ca. 1893–1939)
 - 5.2. Extracts of earlier published accounts
 - 5.2.1. Max Müller (1895, 503–505) on the Kuthodaw
 - 5.2.2. Arnold Wright (1910, 139) on Philip Ripley and the Hanthawaddy Press
 - 5.2.3. Ludu Daw Ahmar (1980, 53–57) on Philip Ripley

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1860 to 1868 King Mindon (reigned 1853–1878) of Myanmar — the country known then in Western sources as Burma — had the complete Theravāda Buddhist canon in Pāli (the Tipiṭaka) carved onto 729 marble stelae using Burmese script and installed at a specially constructed monument in his new capital in the north of Myanmar (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 52).¹ The inscribed marble stelae were set up vertically and each separately housed at the specifically constructed Kuthodaw Pagoda not far from the new royal palace complex in Mandalay. By transferring Pāli texts from manuscript to stone King Mindon did something new, extending the range of the traditional and routine religious duties of Myanmar kings, namely, to take steps to conserve and transmit the Buddha’s teachings for the good of the realm and the teaching (*sāsana*). Myanmar has a particularly rich and well-established history of stone inscriptions (both religious and non-religious) in a number of languages; however this was the first time the

¹ There are, in addition, four stelae in the Burmese language.

Pāli canon was carved onto stone in its entirety ; the Kuthodaw was at the time of its production unique in the Theravāda world.²

The Kuthodaw inscriptions (which survived unscathed both Japanese and British bombing of Mandalay during the Second World War) preserve a complete and perhaps unified recension of the Pāli canon, and as such they constitute a unique inscriptional witness of the Theravāda textual tradition of Myanmar outside the range of influence of Western textual methods and practices. This paper follows an earlier one (Allon et al. 2016) reporting on a collaborative project to conserve, document, and study the texts on the stelae in Mandalay — that paper details official permissions, documentation of the site, conservation planning, cleaning, photography, etc., and provides a detailed description of the first phase of the larger project aiming to comprehensively study the monument and the textual recension it preserves. That material will not be repeated here ; however, some additional historical material located since that paper was published will be included below.

In order to explore the nature of the recension of the Pāli canon inscribed in stone, this paper firstly gives some background on the Kuthodaw Pagoda and overviews preliminary findings from textual research. In particular, new information on the so-called Fifth Council (1871) and the editorial procedures of the Sixth Council (1954–1956) are presented to move towards a clearer understanding of the (currently opaque) textual work of those two projects. Their work has had a decisive formative influence on the versions of Pāli texts accessible today on-line. This paper also attempts to put forward evidence that the Pāli text preserved on the stelae of the Kuthodaw Pagoda (and the subsequent printed editions based on those) are a significant international resource for all interested in the transmission (and constitution) of the Theravāda canon in Myanmar and in wider South and Southeast Asia. Recourse to the readings preserved on stone in Mandalay can

² Within Myanmar it became a model for other sites to house inscribed versions of the Pāli commentarial corpus (Sandamuni Pagoda) or contemporary writings in Pāli and Burmese (i.e. writings by Ledi Sayadaw at Monywa, Sagaing region) (Bollée 1968, 495).

assist editors, readers, and translators of Pāli texts to better comprehend the Tipiṭaka texts as transmitted within Myanmar from ancient times.

The broader focus of the overall project is to explore questions of how the texts as inscribed at the Kuthodaw relate to both earlier manuscript traditions within Myanmar and subsequent printed versions of the canon published in Myanmar — all in order to situate the text version on marble within the much larger range of international sources for Pāli textual scholarship and research. This paper is intended to supplement previous accounts and will present:

1. Additional background on the Kuthodaw Pagoda from Western sources.
2. Further details about the Fifth Council held nearby in the Royal Palace in 1871 after the stelae had been carved.
3. New information on subsequent printings of the Kuthodaw inscriptions by the Hanthawaddy and similar presses from 1893 to at least 1939.
4. New material on the editing procedures adopted by the influential Sixth Council (1954–1956), which took the Kuthodaw inscriptions as a starting point.
5. A review of characterisations of the value of the Kuthodaw inscribed texts by Bollée (1968) and Clark (2015a; 2015b), the only scholars to previously examine the inscribed text closely.
6. New indicatory findings from four short textual examinations which compare the Kuthodaw text with readings from manuscripts and printed editions.

The clarification of the differences between the inscribed and published versions of canonical texts deepens scholarly appreciation of the alterations (major and minor) introduced over the past centuries to Pāli texts by documenting (the many times silent) editorial practices and conventions, which are as yet poorly described or understood. A major value of using the stelae texts is that they present a Myanmar version of the Pāli canon uninfluenced by Western scholarship. As far as we know, the Kuthodaw texts have only been used by two Western scholars for

Pāli textual work (details below). The reasons for this lack of use by scholars from outside Myanmar seem to be threefold:

1. The long periods of restrictions on foreigners visiting Myanmar and travelling within the country meant that it was often very difficult for non-Myanmar-based scholars to access the inscriptions.
2. For those scholars who managed to access the site, the stelae were mostly locked away in individual pagodas and not easy to read or photograph without considerable preparatory steps (unlocking, cleaning, dousing with water, arranging lighting, etc.) and so no fully legible images seem to have been available (the complete set of high resolution photographic images prepared for this project will be released online for public access overcoming both of these two limitations).
3. While scholars outside Myanmar had little to no access, for Myanmar-based scholars it seems the publication of the state-sponsored Sixth Council edition of texts from the mid-1950s onwards resulted in a setting aside of the Kuthodaw's nineteenth-century inscriptional versions (authorised as they were by the Fifth Council in 1871); presumably the Kuthodaw versions (like those that preceded the Fifth Council) were perceived as surpassed and improved upon by the extensively publicised and drawn out editorial work of the nationally significant Sixth Council in the 1950s.

Undoubtedly important scholarship on the Kuthodaw and its history exists in Burmese; however, it has not yet been possible to make use of work by interested Myanmar scholars (apart from Ludu Daw Ahmar's indispensable work) or to systematically search through printed materials in Burmese on the monument. With that said, the material presented here is heavily reliant on English language materials with the consequent limitations that entails.

Before gathering together a number of historical sources concerning the Kuthodaw, it is as well to mention in passing (since a comprehensive history of the role of the Kuthodaw has yet to be written) that it is not possible to consider the construction of the impressive Kuthodaw

inscriptional monument without regard to the context of British encroachments in Lower Myanmar in the mid- to late-nineteenth century prior to full annexation. The larger question of the reasons for the entire Buddhist scriptural text corpus being carved into stone for the first time in Myanmar by King Mindon can presumably be considered as an element of (renewed?) focus on scriptures *per se*, perhaps even with an element of “scripturalist” import.³

The setting up of such an outstanding public monument as the Kuthodaw, and the subsequent public event of the Fifth Council, played a significant role in King Mindon’s self-promotion and push towards legitimation as a Buddhist monarch (see for example the royal proclamations cited below explicitly linking Mindon with Aśoka, the great Buddhist monarch of the legendary past). As observed by Braun (2012, 6), “The Fifth Council allowed Mindon to reassert the strength of Buddhism as a coherent whole in royal Burma and, by extension, his authority under the banner of the *dharmarāja*.” No doubt much more research is possible into the role of the monument within Mindon’s political agenda. The focus here, however, is on the place of the text inscribed on the stelae for Pāli textual history within Myanmar.

A final introductory comment is needed to address the question of the relative importance (or otherwise) of the Kuthodaw recension for Pāli textual studies, i.e., with particular reference to the Burmese tradition. As stated by Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1886, xi–xii; emphasis added):

As to the *Sumaṅgala*[*vilāsini*] itself, there is a marked difference between the text as handed down in Ceylon and the text (so far as we can judge from our one Burmese manuscript) as handed down in Burma. *The variations are more frequent than important.* It will be seen on referring to our notes that they amount on average to at least five or six words on each printed page, but that there are only about half a dozen cases in the whole volume in which the variations make any substantial difference in the

³ With reference to Theravāda countries, Collins (1990, 115, n. 51) described “scripturalism” as “a religious attitude arising as a reaction to a wide range of phenomena in the experience of colonialism and modernity”, as part of a “search for indigenous resources to combat foreign dominance” leading to “an emphasis on the noble ideals of the early texts”.

sense. The variations do not therefore constitute what could fairly be called another recension. One synonym is used for another, one particle for another of closely similar sense, a word of no particular importance of the context is added or admitted, a rare or difficult word is replaced by a more common or easy one, an historical present is used instead of a past tense or vice versâ, an active is put in the place of a medial form of a verb, or slight alterations in the order of words are introduced for the sake of supposed improvement in the style.

We do not wish to overstate the significance of the Kuthodaw version for constituting Pāli editions, but nor do we want to undervalue the inscriptions *a priori*. However:

a false sense of security sometimes concerns whole traditions of transmission, as the case of the Pāli canon shows. For historical reasons European editions have almost exclusively relied on Ceylonese materials and tended to ignore the Burmese tradition, which forms a separate branch, but not without complicated interactions between these “branches”. ... Nalini Balbir has described some reactions of editors of Theravāda texts, who thought they knew that early Buddhism was found in Ceylonese sources and nowhere else, and had to accept gradually the existence of other materials. The conviction about the validity of some sources was apparently so strong that editions produced by the Pali Text Society were sometimes based on merely a single manuscript, not because the text was transmitted to posterity in a *codex unicus*, but because more material was deemed unnecessary.

Hanneder 2017, 153–54

Without reasonable and systematic efforts to examine the preserved text in detail, it is not clear that dismissing the inscriptions as a “late” source is justified. As will be seen when we present the findings of more detailed comparisons below, there are indications that the tradition represented on the stelae contain readings of importance and of use to editors. Scholars in Myanmar may question any need to examine the text of the Fifth Council when the Sixth Council has already concluded its exacting and painstaking work. To this we can only reply that the lack of documentation about Sixth Council textual emendations and alterations to the text, i.e., what changes were introduced in those (now widely used) editions, prompts us to at least wonder if that large project did have time to review each and every difference when the changes were made silently. The sections of the Tipiṭaka from the Sixth Council were edited by different groups of monastic scholars; were the decisions

they took with regard to changing the text uniform? A summary of what we know about how the two councils worked with the texts is included below to start to explore this.

2. THE KUTHODAW PAGODA STELAE: BACKGROUND AND FINDINGS

2.1. WESTERN SOURCES AND HISTORICAL REFERENCES

In this section we will present — in approximate chronological sequence — materials significant to the appreciation of both the nature and history of the Kuthodaw monument and text recension. There is as yet no comprehensive study of the monument nor its inscriptions and so the material presented below can be only a contribution towards such a cumulation. Ludu Daw Ahmar's important booklet (first published in 1972, available in Burmese and English) on the monument is exceptionally important because it is founded on earlier scholarship from Myanmar, but it does not provide detailed citations identifying which material she has drawn from each of the listed sources (most are in Burmese).

Considerable detail on the Fifth Council and new material about the versions printed in Myanmar from 1893 onwards are included below. These printed editions have not yet been fully described or critically assessed, perhaps due to their scarcity and inaccessibility. Our preliminary assessment suggests that these printings based on the Kuthodaw stelae can offer improved readings of the Kuthodaw text itself, which is significant for future would-be editors of Pāli texts. With help from scholars in Thailand and Japan and from the Library of Congress we have managed to obtain reproductions of some volumes of these rare sets (details are given in Appendix 1).

A major importance of the Kuthodaw then, is its preservation of a complete, purposeful and traditional editing (i.e., recension) of the Pāli canon by the most important of the Myanmar Saṅgha of the time. Lest anyone think that Theravāda texts are immune to the normal vicissitudes of textual transmission, there is widespread evidence of variants in Pāli texts. For example, Hardy (1901, viii) commented:

the various readings of other commentaries which are referred to in Dhammapāla's commentary by "keci paṭhanti" [some read] or "apare vadanti" [others say] or "pāṭho pi" [there is though a reading] and the like

... we have here a specimen amongst many of Dhammapāla's accuracy in giving an account of all textual possibilities.

The role of Myanmar in transmitting the Pāli canon is well known, e.g., the numerous references to Burmese script sources in the editions of the PTS (founded in 1881 and so ten years after the Fifth Council in Mandalay), complete online versions of the Pāli canon largely based on Myanmar sources, etc.

2.2. KING MINDON'S COPIES OF THE TIPĪTAKA AND THE FIFTH COUNCIL

Almost all scholarly works in English which discuss the Fifth Council refer back to an important work by the well-known Mandalay-based scholar, journalist and activist, Ludu Daw Ahmar (1915–2008). Her 1973 booklet in Burmese entitled *Kambhā' 'a krī" chui" cā 'up'* was translated into English by Than Tun as *The World's Biggest Book* and first published in 1974. The English version has been through second and third editions and is still in print. Myo Myint (1987, 185), for instance, refers to the Burmese version, while Braun (2013, 23–28) in turn cites Myo Myint 1987, amongst other sources, for information on the Kuthodaw Pagoda.⁴ Ludu Daw Ahmar does not give individual citations or footnotes in the booklet and so it is never clear which (if any) of the ten listed references she is drawing on for which details; only scholars accessing the original sources will be able to deepen our knowledge of these matters.

Myanmar rulers have a long history of copying and transmitting the canon as part of their standard state activities, for example during the reign of King Bagyidaw a royal order was made on 2 January 1820, stating:

Copies of the Pitaka (on lacquered plaques with letters) in gold, (on paper with letters) in ink and (letters incised) by stylus (on palm leaf) left by former kings in [the] Royal Library, are in (various stages of) decay; the king wants new copies made in all three styles, i.e., written in gold, ink and by stylus; get all good scribes and all experts in preparing the material for writing; there is a register of these specialists and their descendants in

⁴ Myo Myint (1987, 185, n.46) mentions that most of his account is based on the 1972 Burmese language version of the book by Ludu Daw Ahmar.

all parts of the kingdom; get all of them here and put them under Maha Dama Thin Gyan, Min Daing Bin Amat Minister King's Counsellor, for reorientation (in their old art).

Than Tun 1988, 50

The editing of the Pāli Tipiṭaka under King Mindon involved three separate (but interlinked) projects, the sequence of which has been frequently conflated or confused:

1. EDITING THE TĪPĪṬAKA: 1856 TO 11 MARCH 1865 (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 16–20): this involved very senior monks checking texts and then preparing a carefully proof-read and complete manuscript copy. Work began in 1856, involved 134 monks and 100 scribes.⁵
2. CARVING OF THE TEXT EDITED BETWEEN 1856–1865 ONTO MARBLE (THE KUTHODAW TEXTS): 14 October 1860 to 4 May 1868 (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 20–22, 50–52). Before the first editing project was completed, the second was begun, which involved the carving on marble stelae of that edited text. Three senior monastic leaders were in charge with six lay individuals also helping to supervise, and 50 masons.⁶
3. THE FIFTH COUNCIL: 15 April to 12 September 1871
Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 52.

⁵ “Four presiding monks called ‘Sayadaws in charge of the religion’ were editors-in-chief. One of them was in fact the Supreme Head of the Religion whom we called Thathanabine. All of them had titles conferred on them by the King as the most learned men in the land in matters of religion. Next to them were thirty senior monks acting as senior editors, then fifty monks as editors and another fifty more as sub-editors. There are eighty-four thousand sections in the *Pitaka* and these editors were severally and separately held responsible to make each section correct before it was handed over to the copyists numbering up to 100 with their own group leaders, all under the command of the Keeper of the Library. But the scribes were not left to their own devices. Three senior monks, viz. (1) Sayadaw of *Dakkhinarāma*, (2) Sayadaw of Sidawmyinwun Taik and (3) Sayadaw of Zibani were in constant attendance to explain any doubts as to spelling, grammar, etc. in the text copied. Scribes works were also to be checked by clerks of the Hluttaw and other courts.” (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 16–17)

⁶ “Even before the copying of [the] *pitaka* on palm-leaves, etc. was complete the King ordered another on stones. Senior monks assigned to supervise the making of the stone copy were: (1) Sayadaw of Queen Taungsaungdaw, (2) Sayadaw of Myadaung Myosa Thaynat Wungyi and (3) Sayadaw of Sidawmyinwun Tike. Lay supervisors were [six in number]” (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 20–21).

Published accounts of the Fifth Council rely almost exclusively on Ludu Daw Ahmar (1980) and perhaps only sources in Burmese will be able to add to what has been rehearsed already. A royal order from 10 September 1871 describes the Fifth Council:

King Ajatasatthu [*sic*] convened the First Buddhist Synod, Kalasoka the Second, Asoka the Third and Dutthagamani the Fourth⁷ when the Buddha's Teachings were reduced to writing on palm leaves. These kings supported the Dhamma Sak Authority of Law, by their Ana Sak — Power of Enforcement, and in that way the Buddha's Religion had had a lasting effect on all people for many centuries. Following their example the king had convened the Fifth Buddhist Synod on 15 April 1871. Eight members of the Council of Royal Preceptors at the Hall of Good Law led the convention when 2,400 monks met to recite all the Buddha's Teachings in the Great Prasada of Earth Palace. The Convention shall be over on 12 September 1871. With the beat of drum the good news would be declared in the capital and messengers would take the information to the provinces so that all people in the kingdom could join the festivals that would start by a cannon fire as soon as the recitations are over.

Than Tun 1989, 178–179⁸

This is the only original source seen so far to specify the dates of the council. A later proclamation from 31 May 1878 built upon this, stating (additions in square brackets are those of the editor, Than Tun):

Pariyattisasana — Learning the Buddha's Teachings [Patipattisasana — Practicing the Ways given in the Buddha's Teachings, Pativedhasasana — Gaining Insight into the Buddha's Teachings]; these are the mainstays of Buddhism and all the ancient kings who professed to be the defenders of the Buddha's Religion devoted their best efforts to keep the Buddha's Teachings [which were later reduced to writing in the form of the three Pitakas] free from any addition or omission. They sponsored to hold the Sangayana — Convention to recite all the Buddha's Teachings in the original form. After the convention the text would be copied again completely edited to make it free from any mistake and to use the edited

⁷ Dīp XX 19–21 states that the king was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

⁸ Mindon is described as being busy with “the founding of the Kuthodaw, the Royal Merit pagoda, where the Books of the Law are engraved on three hundred and seventy marble slabs [*sic*]; the holding of the Fifth Great Synod, in which two thousand four hundred monks took part and the Three Baskets of the Law were recited over a period of five months” (Scott 1924, 296*f.*).

text in all monastic schools. It is very important to encourage these educational [*sic*] institutes that produced most able teachers as well as talented pupils [to carry on with the Buddhistic studies for many many generations in succession]. In all these phases, the king's help was essential in the nature of extending generous aids and subsidies to these establishments. These certainly would help the Buddha's Religion last [for the whole span of five thousand years]. Bearing this in mind the king had (1) the Pitaka Text incised on [729] stone stelae, (2) the learned were given the Four Requisites of Monks, (3) the Fifth Buddhist Synod was convened in Earth Palace and (4) religious examinations were held regularly and sumptuous rewards were given to successful candidates.

Order: In order to make the king's help to the Religion an *Asadi-sanugga* [*sic*] — Effort with no equal, fire a cannon three times to begin the Religious Examination on each day of its duration. This Order was passed on 31 May 1878.

Than Tun 1989, 235

It is notable that before this, in 1861, there is a report of Mindon having Abhidhamma text carved on “stone posts”, during the period when the Kuthodaw stelae were being inscribed (1860–1868):

A European visitor to Mandalay in 1861, Adolf Bastian, gives us another example of the particular importance of the Abhidhamma to King Mindon. He records that one day he came upon workers in one of the palace courtyards engraving the Abhidhamma on stone posts that the king had ordered set up as milestones along all the roads of the kingdom.

Braun 2013, 72

We have not located any specific details of how the Fifth Council conducted its work in terms of decisions or choices it made; it does seem to have been a reciting of each Tipitaka text as already “purified” and worked through by the earlier royal projects (Braun 2013, 25). Documenting the participation by Ledi Sayadaw at this Council, Braun states “Recitation during the council was not done *en masse*. Instead, a monk would recite a text or part of a text to the assembled monks and, in particular, to a learned senior monk who would listen for errors” (Braun 2013, 26). The confusion over the sequencing of the carving of the Kuthodaw and the holding of the Fifth Council has been commented on by both Ludu Daw Ahmar (1980, 52) and in more detail by Braun (2013, 26).

There have been very few significant studies on the Kuthodaw Pagoda in Western scholarship. Indeed, in the introduction to his exami-

nation of two portions of the stelae recension, Bollée (1968) was only able to identify four such prior studies (Müller 1895; Ferrars and Ferrars 1900; O'Connor 1907; Leumann [1925] 1998). We think it important to present those accounts here in one place, assembling the scattered scholarly information available on this monument. We have therefore chosen to review and quote from a small number of earlier scholarly and other accounts of the Kuthodaw, mainly for historical purposes, in that their negative judgements perhaps contributed to the academic neglect of the contents of the inscriptions, even before the political restrictions preventing Western scholars access to the site for so many decades.

With the PTS producing editions and the availability of the King Chulalongkorn series of the Tipiṭaka (1893–1894) in some European centres, notices about the Kuthodaw inscriptions failed to ignite European interest in any serious way (e.g. Leumann [1925] 1998, 430). The earliest substantive published description of the monument is that of Max Müller from September 1895. An enlarged photograph of the Kuthodaw had been sent to him by Mr Ferrars, “a member of the Burma Forest Department” (1895, 504) with the further information that

the text, as engraved on the marble slabs, was critically revised and edited by a Royal Commission, consisting of ten learned men under the presidency of the famous Rahan [i.e. monk], U-Nye-ya. It is stated that three copies of the same text were prepared at the same time on palm-leaves, and sent by the king to three European libraries. What libraries they were I have not been able to find out.

Müller 1895, 504

Reading Müller’s essay on the Kuthodaw, the tone may come as a shock to some (see Appendix 5.2.1 for the full text of the relevant passage). Müller is usually regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern religious studies; however, the essay (meant for a literary magazine) reveals animus and judgement against the utility of the monument and it is seen as less valuable to have the Buddhist texts on stone when

[a] small copy of the New Testament, which our University Press turns out for a penny a copy, is more useful, has more power for good in it, quite apart from its intrinsic value, than the whole of this gigantic structure which no one reads, nay, which but few people understand.

Müller 1895, 504

Max Ferrars is mentioned by Müller as the informant on the ground in Mandalay ready to undertake the complete photographic documenta-

tion of the site should some learned society or government agency deign to fund it — apparently no one took up this offer and it was only very recently that complete sets of images were prepared. Before that there seem to have been a number of earlier individual or group projects: Willem Bollée took a partial set of images in 1968 (Allon et al. 2016, 225), while Ludu Daw Ahmar mentions that “Recently a mission from West Germany was here to photograph every face of the inscriptions” (1980, 56–57) (no further information traced, though perhaps she is in fact referring to Bollée) and then, in 2006, Alpha Computer made a complete set of images but because they were of a low resolution, the text is not very legible (Clark 2015b, 107; Allon et al. 2016, 225).

The next account to add material of interest is the Ferrars’ own, included in their sumptuous and superbly illustrated volume showing the full range of their photographic talents in Burma. This account included one of the first known published photographs of the Kuthodaw itself (1900, 171), which appears to be taken from Mandalay Hill.⁹ On the Kuthodaw they state (1900, 121–122) that

[t]he late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit. ... They constitute the most important of the King’s religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahân* [i.e. monks] in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print.

The next account is by O’Connor (1907) whose observations are quoted in full below. These are more descriptive and of the traveller’s guide variety with a romanticising tone, but importantly he included several black and white photographs of the site, including the pagodas (p. 45), one of the carved gateways used to access the site (p. 47), the first known published photograph of a stela with the caption “A page of the Kutho-daw” (p. 49) and an aerial view from Mandalay Hill (p. 61).

⁹ Additionally, the British Library has images of the Kuthodaw Pagoda taken during the 1880s. Images of the site from 1885 (e.g. shelfmark: photo 15/6(33)) and 1886 (e.g. shelfmark: photo 312/(34)) seem to show very few trees inside the site, whereas an image from 1895 (shelfmark: photo 88/1(29)) shows numerous trees inside the site.

Significantly, O'Connor also identifies contemporary use being made of the stone stelae to correct another version of the canonical text which (if based on observations and not poetic licence) belies Max Müller's inaccurate assessment from afar (quoted above) that no one read the inscriptions:

Let us turn back through the courtyard of the Taik-taw to the most wonderful object in all Mandalay, the Kutho-daw or Lawka Marazein Pagoda, where the Buddhist scriptures stand carved in stone. Here is the biggest Bible in the world, each page of it a monolith of white marble the height of a man. And each of these pages, 729 in number, has a temple to itself. The white temples stretch away in long avenues like an army of soldiers, and if you get them in a line and look down it, you will see the great stones within like colossal mile-posts, receding far into the distance. There are rows upon rows of them facing east and west and south and north, and in their midst there towers up a lofty white pagoda with a golden spire. There are great and exquisitely carved gateways at the cardinal points, and there are rows of trees now between the temple avenues. A great stillness pervades this place, broken only by the chaunt [*sic*] of a novice's voice droning the graven text to a man prone within one of the temples correcting his copy of the life-giving book.

Outside as you come away you will find kneeling at the far end of one of the white stone aisles which culminate in the central pagoda, a group of worshippers: old women with white hair, and little children with shut eyes and folded hands, and wrinkled elders whose race is nearly run. They kneel here in humility without, because they are a people of exquisite instincts and because they think much of this place which enshrines in imperishable stone the message of their master; the wisdom that they believe will guide their footsteps into the pathway of eternal peace.

Of the Kutho-daw it need only be added that the text was revised, the accuracy of the carving was certified to, by the most learned monks and officials in the city. The work extended over five years, and it was shared in by all the Ministers of the King.

O'Connor 1907, 48–50

This last sentence is the first mention we have traced of a time period for the carving of the entire monument. Additional incidental and largely derivative brief comments on the Kuthodaw are scattered throughout works from the British colonial period; most being akin to the example below:

Farther east [of the Sandamuni Pagoda] is the Kuthodaw, the most splendid monument of king Mindon, consisting of a pagoda 100 feet high

surrounded by 729 others, in each of which is a marble slab inscribed with a part of the Buddhist scriptures in Burmese and Pāli. Great care was taken to collate the various manuscripts so as to arrive at the most correct version, and the whole stands as a complete official record of the sacred writings.

Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series, Burma, Vol. 2, The Minbu, Mandalay, Sagaing, and Meiktila Divisions; and the Native States 1908, 94

There are further references merely in passing and without adding new information (e.g., Finot 1915, 129, n.2). Credner's account in 1947 (56–57),¹⁰ however, includes the (mis-)information not traced before, that the editing of the texts by the Fifth Council had taken three years and only subsequently was the text carved on stones. This error had to be explicitly corrected by Braun (2012).

Next comes a short descriptive note in 1925 by Leumann (reprinted in 1998) instigated by the same Max Ferrars mentioned above who had attempted to attract interest in the Kuthodaw through Max Müller.

¹⁰“Zum Teil sind diese Stufenfelder in Burma erst junger Entstehung. So stammt die großartige Anlage Kuthodaw erst aus den 70iger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Sie ist von dem um die Pflege der buddhistischen Lehre besonders verdienten König Mindon Min, dem vorletzten der burmanischen Herrscher, errichtet worden, um in ihr die reine Form des Tipitika, des Pali-Kanons als wichtige Grundlage der Lehre der Nachwelt in möglichst unvergänglicher Form zu erhalten. Auf einem Konzil buddhistischer Priester und Schriftgelehrter hat er den ursprünglichen Text des Kanons in dreijährigen Arbeiten feststellen und das Ergebnis in 729 Steintafeln einmeißeln lassen. Jede dieser Tafeln ließ er in einen kleinen Stupa einmauern, die sich nun — 729 an der Zahl — um eine Zentralstupa gruppieren. So liegt diese eigenartige Schöpfung, bis auf unsere Tage unversehrt im schimmernden Weiß des rechteckig angeordneten Stupenwaldes erhalten, zu Füßen der auf der Höhe eines kleinen Inselberges errichteten älteren Arakan Pagode, die selbst eines der bedeutendsten Heiligtümer des Buddhismus in Burma darstellt. Weit schweift der Blick von der Höhe über das Kuthodaw und das dahinter im Grün der Fruchtbaumgärten fast verschwindende Mandalay, über die weite Reisfeldebene des Irawadi, die im Osten durch den Steilanstieg des Shanplateaus begrenzt wird, sich nach Süden ins Unendliche verliert, durchstrahlt gewissermaßen von der Heiligkeit dieses kultischen Mittelpunktes der alten Königsstadt Mandalay.”

Leumann mentions that there had been no follow-up to or outcome from Müller's notice and yet the Kuthodaw inscriptions ought not be forgotten; Ferrars had supplied Leumann with a copy of the very same enlarged photographic image (29 x 39 cm) sent to Müller 30 years earlier. Leumann ([1925] 1998, 431) was able to identify the stela as presenting part of the Vinaya and stated that it was possible to read the text to check the PTS edition of Oldenberg. Leumann's quoting of a few lines of the text is the first published use of the Kuthodaw recension by a Western scholar, followed by Willem Bollée in 1968 (discussed below).

As far as we are aware, however, no study has attempted to clarify or identify the sources for the readings of the Kuthodaw Pagoda recension, to make clear presumed changes introduced by its redactors, or to expand on the influence it had on the subsequent manuscripts or printed editions of the canon in Myanmar and elsewhere (those topics will be taken up after a brief presentation of the comments by earlier scholars on the Kuthodaw).

The Fifth Council (held in 1871) reputedly had 2,400 monks recite the text. Whether or not non-Myanmar monastics were present is unclear.¹¹ There is a suggestion that the printed versions of Fifth Council texts might have been withdrawn from sale after the publication of the Sixth Council's revised version. According to Conze's 1954 report, once the Sixth Council completed its work, "the sale of all other editions [including the Fifth Council ones presumably] will be forbidden" (Conze 1954, 6; see also Bollée 1968, 497). This suggestion is repeated by Ruiz-Falqués (2017, 367), who states, "A different version of the canon, published by the Handhawaddy [*sic*] Press, can still be found, but it is not easy and has been systematically removed from monastic library shelves and Pali bookshops."

Putting this possibility to a half dozen learned monks in Mandalay in late 2017, however, drew a blank and none had any inkling of this

¹¹One late source written immediately before the Sixth Council mentions this possibility as evidence that Myanmar and Sri Lanka have assisted each other throughout history to preserve the Buddha's teachings: "During the reign of King Mindon too, when the Fifth Great Buddhist Council was held at Mandalay, many Sinhalese bhikkhus attended the Synod at the invitation of the King" (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1953, 1(4), 4).

having been the case, so it cannot yet be confirmed that this did in fact happen in an organised manner. Perhaps the new printings from the Sixth Council may just have been easier to get hold of while the old editions were frail and less likely to stand up to use or the climate.

2.3. PRINTINGS OF THE KUTHODAW RECENSION BY HANTHAWADDY AND OTHER PRESSES (1893–1939)

In line with king Mindon's stated aim of strengthening the transmission of Buddhist teachings, the Kuthodaw stone inscriptions did, it seems, become the authoritative basis for early printed editions of the Tipiṭaka in Burma. Information on these printed versions is sketchy and incomplete; however, given their relevance to our own readings of the Kuthodaw texts it is necessary to review what we know about them.¹² These printed versions are exceptionally rare and as far as we are aware, only one Western scholar, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, has used these editions to establish or check readings (Dukap I (1906, ix), Tikap I (1921, xii), Yam I (1911, ix)).¹³ After a review of the meagre details about them that have been published up to now, we will outline new information extracted from newly accessed copies of some of these early printings.

The main source of information up to now has been the paragraphs below from Ludu Daw Ahmar's indispensable guide to the history of the Kuthodaw:

Thirty years after the stone *pitaka* was completed, the paper *pitaka* was made for the first time. Mr Philip H. Ripley of the Hanthawaddy Press was

¹²The new source for hitherto unreferenced information on the printing of the Kuthodaw Pagoda and Fifth Council versions has been the Burmese language introductions from some of the early Pāli editions published by the Hanthawaddy and Thudhamawadi presses between 1893 and 1939 (listed with some details on the translations utilised in Appendix 1, 5.1 below), in particular the Pācittiya edition (1893, [ka]-ca). Other information has come from the editions of the Mahāvagga (1900, unnumbered page preceding title-page), Saṃyuttanikāya Vol. 2 (1900, unnumbered page preceding title-page), Parivāra (1900, unnumbered page preceding title-page), Vinayapiṭaka Cullavagga (1911, two unnumbered pages preceding title-page), and Aṅguttaranikāya Vol. 1 (1939, two unnumbered pages following the title-page).

¹³We thank Peter Jackson for drawing our attention to these uses.

the pioneer in this work. One volume of this book (Royal Octavo size) had 400 pages approximately and there were thirty-eight volumes in a complete set. A printed book would make the *Pitaka* cheap and the public opinion was against it. So only when the Taunggyin Thathanabine expressed his happiness to hear the news that the *pitaka* would soon be available in book form, that Mr Ripley regained his courage to proceed with the work of printing. It was in about 1900 and Mr Ripley took all care to make his copies perfect. He had the galley-proofs checked against the “stone *Pitaka*” at Mandalay. In fact he claimed that his books were “true copies of the *Pitaka* inscribed on stones by King Mindon”. He also had the titles to various chapters printed in the same handwriting as they appeared on the stones. People who were once proof-readers under him like Hanthawaddy U Ba Yin and Saya Zeya (U Yaw) often recalled that the old gentleman took enormous pains to make the *pitaka* he printed free of mistakes. He printed a declaration on each book that he would give a reward of Rs. 50 for each word that did not agree with the corresponding word on the “stone *pitaka*”.

Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 53–54

Ripley was amply rewarded for all the care he took in printing the *Pitaka* in exactly [*sic*] as it appeared on stones. Many sets of his books were sent even outside Burma where Theravada Buddhism prevailed. Soon other printing concerns followed suit. One of them was the Tampadipa Time Press which in 1912 printed books on *pitaka* with the same claims as Ripley. It even used a picture of [the] “stone *Pitaka*” cave as its trade mark. Ripley had established a tradition that all printed *Pitaka* books must have the “stone *Pitaka*” as the standard work.

Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 56

None of the printed copies available to us (listed in Appendix 1 below) have this declaration of the fifty rupee reward, nor the “stone *piṭaka*” cave trademark. Ludu Daw Ahmar gave the printing date as about 1900 but we now have information that there were printings in 1893 (of the *Pācittiya*). In 1893 Ripley resigned his post and travelled to England to study printing and it seems likely that he returned with printing equipment and enhanced technical knowledge. A previously unremarked source (Wright 1910, 139) of additional (and corroborating) information, which dates from 1907, is too lengthy to reprint here but is given as 5.2.2 in the appendices below.

Additional information has been found which sheds light on these printings and who was responsible for them. A review of the activities of the *Sāsanahitakāri* Association (i.e., “Association for the Benefit of

the Buddha’s Teaching”) published in Burmese in 1893 (as the introduction to a re-printing of the Pācittiya section of the Vinaya) states that from 1890 onwards a group of learned monks and lay people in Rangoon organised meetings, discussions, and fundraising as part of an eventual five-point programme to both preserve and propagate the Dhamma in Burma.¹⁴ Once official permission had been granted to form an association, the Sāsanahitakāri Association resolved on 17 July 1892 to prioritise the production of a well-edited and well-printed version of the Tipiṭaka for the benefit of both teachers and students of the Dhamma.¹⁵ Nothing else is yet known about this group but their five-point programme also mentions plans to invite European teachers of the Dhamma (to Myanmar presumably) and so they seem to have been similar to groups in Sri Lanka¹⁶ which were reacting to British colonial rule and missionary initiatives by beginning their own home-grown Buddhist defence and propagation models. It is possible, for example, that they were in part reacting to Judson’s complete Burmese language translation of the Bible, which had been in publication since 1835. By November-December 1893 this new Association was able to announce that it had *completed* publication of the entire Tipiṭaka in Myanmar. So far none of these texts have been located or examined; however, copies may exist in Myanmar libraries or in the British Library collections.

This review of the history of the publications says the Association had, between sometime in 1892 and November-December 1893, initially printed 1,000 copies of the two first sections of the Vinaya — the

¹⁴We have had assistance with a number of Burmese language introductions found in the early editions of Pāli texts published in Myanmar. In December 2017, with the assistance of Daw Yi Yi Maw (University of Arts and Humanities, Mandalay), Dr. Tin Tin Nwe rephrased these stylised and formal introductions into contemporary Burmese. Those rephrasings were then translated into English and the resulting versions polished somewhat for fluency and style before being reproduced in this article.

¹⁵Multiple benevolent societies with religious aims were in existence by 1894 under British rule (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/1, 1953, 8).

¹⁶For convenience, we use the term “Sri Lanka” here and throughout the article, despite its usage being anachronistic at times. For similar reasons, we also consistently use the terms “Thailand” and “Cambodia” throughout this article.

Pārājika and Pācittiya — in “durable format” because those, they said, were the basis of the existence of the monastic orders and, therefore, of the entire Buddhist teachings. When those 1,000 copies had been sold, the funds raised were used to prepare, print and bind a subsequent complete edition of the Tipiṭaka. This account of their activities appears in a volume (again Pācittiya) published by the Hanthawaddy Press (“Hamsāvati”) in Rangoon in November-December 1893. It is not clear if the earlier complete Tipiṭaka appeared under the name of the same press but that seems likely given the explicit need stated to have good fonts and accurate printing. It is also not yet clear if any of these particular volumes have survived. The earliest Hanthawaddy publication (non-Tipiṭaka) we have traced dates from 1891 (Taw Sein Ko’s *An Elementary Grammar of the Burmese Language*).

Remarkably, the same programme review provides information about the text printed in this first complete printing of the Tipiṭaka in Burma:

In line with the [Association’s] decision [to publish the Tipiṭaka], permission was gained to copy from the basis of the Fifth Council text prepared under the supervision of Sayadaws appointed officially and by the king’s senior advisors. The Laṅkārama Sayadaw, Venerable Nanda-mañju in Mandalay and the Kyaundawyar Monastery Sayadaw, Venerable Ravinda in Rangoon, who are the equals of those learned Sayadaws mentioned above [at the Fifth Council in 1871], made every effort to copy the text accurately and to use a first class printing house to print the text with correct spelling and punctuation under the supervision of the Pāli expert Mr Phyeey and using excellent quality paper and binding materials.

1893, Pācittiya edition introduction;
for details see Appendix 1, 5.1

To recap then, the first (presumably complete) printing of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka in Myanmar so far traced was produced under the auspices of the Sāsanahitakāri Association probably through the Hanthawaddy Press in Rangoon. It is not made explicit here whether the version reportedly completed in 1893 was in fact based on the Kuthodaw inscriptions or some other format of the Fifth Council version; however, the title-pages of editions appearing from the Hanthawaddy Press from 1900 explicitly refer to the Mandalay stelae, using wording

that is strikingly similar to the sentence found at the top of the verso side of each stela.

The history of these printings of the Fifth Council texts based on the Kuthodaw inscriptions is still unclear. Most of the copies so far examined have no preliminary matter to explain how the text has been constituted, other than a note on the title-page which states that the prints follow the text of the Fifth Council inscribed in stone in Mandalay.¹⁷ To judge by the variety of donative notices appearing in the volumes from the Hanthawaddy and the Thudhamawadi Presses, there seem to have been multiple print runs between 1893 and 1939 funded by a variety of well-to-do families or individual donors. We have not seen a complete set of any printed series as yet, instead we only have had access to scattered scanned editions. Ludu Daw Ahmar (1980, 53) states that the Hanthawaddy set was complete in 38 volumes. The extant copies that we have been able to locate are listed in Appendix I below (5.1).¹⁸

The introduction to a 1939 Hanthawaddy printing of the fifth volume of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* provides additional information. It is signed by the British-Burma Film Company and states that when this company purchased the compound of the Hanthawaddy Newspaper Press in Rangoon along with everything therein to set up a film production facility, they found in storage there “multiple copies of high quality [printings] of the *piṭakas*, the commentaries and sub-commentaries as well as Myanmar paraphrases (*nissaya*)”. Over 9,000 copies as unbound text blocks were in need of binding and covering before they could be released. Rather than destroy these or otherwise let them go to waste, the company wanted to bind and distribute them, but the cost was prohibitive and so they seem to have bound and released some but were also actively requesting donors to contribute to this and reminded pious

¹⁷The title-pages of editions from Thudhamawadi Press, however, do not explicitly state that they are based on the Fifth Council recension.

¹⁸We wish to thank Professor Shimoda for making available scans from the library of the University of Tokyo and also the Dhammachai Tipitaka Project for sharing scans they made of the collection at the Mangalarama monastery, Taung Gyi, Shan state.

Buddhists that the sponsoring of the distribution of the Tipiṭaka itself is as meritorious as the building of a *caitya*.

Setting apart the commercial tone of the two Thudhamawadi printings seen (which are keen to encourage buyer loyalty to their editions), the Hanthawaddy printings sporadically contain a range of short donor panegyrics and lists of names, but no indications of how the text there printed was constituted. Possibly (as in the case of the British-Burma Film Company invitations) arrangements were made with individual donors to cover the binding and covering of pre-printed text-blocks or fascicules.

In terms of the nature of the text printed in these early editions, they are somewhat corrected versions of the text on the Kuthodaw stelae (more details on the relationships between these editions and the later printings are given in the section on text comparisons below).

2.4. THE EDITING WORK OF THE SIXTH COUNCIL

Moving on to the influential editing work of the Sixth Council held in Rangoon (now Yangon), Clark (2015a) investigated a range of sources relating to the Sixth Council, specifically looking at why the event was held, the way in which it was presented to the general public, and the nature of the resultant printed series of the Tipiṭaka. Regarding the last, he provided a detailed analysis of a section of one text, with comments on its editing methodology and sources. This section of the present article will build upon Clark's findings with the inclusion of additional information, particularly regarding the manner in which the editing project as a whole was undertaken and the ways in which the editing groups were organised. Additionally, it will document the explicit and repeated positioning of the Kuthodaw stelae text as the basis for the Sixth Council's text editing work and to identify what steps were taken to review and revise that text.

In terms of the Sixth Council's explicit aims, the Pāli preface (Nidānakathā) to the printed edition states:

Then the great elder monks decided to hold a Dhamma Council and announced, "It is necessary to hold this Dhamma Council; it is not the case that it is unnecessary to hold this. Therefore, we will now bring together [printed?] books of the Tipiṭaka with the stone inscription[s] of the Fifth Council, make them a corpus and will hold a Dhamma Council

having corrected the texts beforehand. By this means we will remove readings produced by careless writing that have arisen in contemporary [printed] books due to changes to the tradition. Having established the root text of the teachings — corrected and purified — and having printed it, the long-term preservation of the Buddha’s teaching will be accomplished by disseminating it throughout the whole world, in various countries and various places....¹⁹

More clarity about the text editing processes of the Sixth Council can be reached here than has been hitherto recorded by tracing official statements about what was to occur prior to the printing of the texts and confirming these against later published accounts.²⁰ As far as we are aware, these details have never been discussed in academic articles and so it is necessary to present them in some detail. After reviewing the Sixth Council’s own statements on the editing structures and processes, some information will be given on the involvement of international Theravāda monastic scholars (mostly from Sri Lanka and Thailand) and on the proofreading procedures for Sixth Council printed texts.

2.4.1. SETTING UP EDITORIAL PROCEDURES AND SOURCES FOR THE TIPITAKA

An early overview of the sources and processes used to edit the Sixth Council series appears in a publicity bulletin (*The Sangāyanā*²¹ *Monthly Bulletin*) published in English to broadcast news of the preparations for the Council (1/1, 1953, 11):

¹⁹*atha kho te mahātherā “dhammasaṅgītiṃ karissāmā” ti katasanniṭṭhānā evaṃ pativedesuṃ “kattabbā yev’ esā dhammasaṅgīti. n’ esā na kattabbā. tasmā mayāṃ dāni piṭakapothakāni pañcamasaṅgītisilālekhāya samānetvā tāni yeva sarīraṃ katvā pāḷisaṃsodhanapubbaṅgamaṃ dhammasaṅgītiṃ kassāma. yāya ādhunikapothakesu paramparāparivattanavasena sañjātā pamādalekhapāṭhā ca nirākarīyissanti. visodhitañ ca suparisuddhaṃ pāvacaṇamūlaṃ labhitvā taṃ muddāpetvā sakalaloke nānāraṭṭhesu nānādesesu byāpanavasena buddhasāsanassa ciraṭṭhiti ca sādhiyissati.* (“Nidānakathā” 1956, iv)

²⁰We rely on English versions of the material cited here; undoubtedly more documentation exists in Burmese sources, but those seem not to have been fully exploited by anyone yet.

²¹English language publications in Burma at the time of the Sixth Council frequently transliterate Pāli words differently to standard spellings used today (e.g. *sangāyanā* instead of *saṅgāyanā*). In this article, we reproduce the spellings found in the original publications.

The Union Buddha Sāsana Council [of Burma] is in possession of some of the Tipitakas, formerly scrutinized and edited by the learned Sayadaws of Mandalay under the auspices of the Young Men’s Buddhist Association of Rangoon. The remaining portions which were left unedited are being scrutinized and edited by eighty groups of learned Mahātheras who are entrusted with the responsibility of purifying the Texts, scrutinizing, comparing, editing, classifying and arranging all the teachings of the Buddha.

It is not clear which “Tipiṭakas” are meant, or indeed, even if printed volumes are indicated, although that does seem most likely.²² As stated by Clark (2015a, 95–96, 101), the editions of the Sixth Council very publicly took the marble stelae of the Kuthodaw as their historical basis and the Sixth Council texts include limited variant readings from parallel printed editions of the Tipiṭaka from the PTS, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Cambodia. No evidence has so far come to light of any use of manuscripts in preparations for the editing of the texts.

The announcement of the preparations for scrutinizing and (re)-editing the canonical texts continues, “The Pāli Texts adopted by the Fifth Great Buddhist Council and inscribed on 729 marble slabs at Mandalay will form the basic Texts” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/1, 1953, 11).

The photo accompanying this announcement (reproduced as Figure 1) makes clear that the marble inscriptions (validated after carving by the Fifth Council) are the antecedents of the Sixth Council work. Subsequent statements in the same bulletin underline this.²³

²²On the very next page of the same issue we read “The Buddha Sāsana Council gave the [Laotian] Mission [of 1953] the ... Pāli Text of Five Nikāyas in 38 volumes, comprising 1 set of Tipitakas”. The Hanthawaddy edition is reported to have had “thirty-eight volumes in a complete set” (Ludu Daw Ahmar 1980, 53) and that was also instigated by Mandalay-based Sayadaws (see section 2.3 above). These two features suggest this reference is to that set; however, the involvement of the Young Men’s Buddhist Association of Rangoon is unexplained so we cannot be sure. When the text quoted adds “remaining portions which were left unedited” that may refer to the *Milindapañha* and other texts not printed by the Hanthawaddy edition, but this too is speculation.

²³“The Groups for Correcting the Texts are now busy with their editing and comparing their scripts with the inscriptions on the marble slabs. Thus, this Kutho-daw Pagoda had a great bearing on the Fifth Great Buddhist Council

As comprehensively demonstrated by Braun (2013, 23–28), the carving of the Kuthodaw stelae occurred prior to the Fifth Council, nevertheless multiple publications of the Sixth Council (e.g., *The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin*, 1/1, 1953, 11) state the opposite.



The responsible bhikkhus comparing their scripts with the inscriptions on the marble slabs.

FIGURE 1: MONKS BESIDE THE KUTHODAW PAGODA STELAE

The bulletin goes on to say (emphasis added):

The Pāli Texts as extant in *printed* form in Sinhalese script in Ceylon, in Siamese script in Thailand, in Cambodian script in Cambodia, together

and the Kaba-Aye (World Peace) Pagoda and the Kutho-daw Pagoda are now closely connected with the proceedings of the forthcoming Chattha Sangāyanā” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1953, 1). In April 1953 the Laotian Mission visited “various places of religious interest” and at “Mandalay, they watched the responsible Bhikkhus comparing their scripts with the inscriptions on the marble slabs” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/1, 1953, 12).

with the Texts published by the Pali Text Society, England, will form the basic Texts for collation. The Commentaries (Atthakathās) and Sub-Commentaries (Tikās, Anutikās and Yojanās) will be basic Texts for reference.²⁴

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/1, 1953, 11

2.4.2. PROCESSES OF EDITING

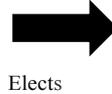
The official outline of the form and functions of the organisation running the Sixth Council were set out in “The Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā Sangha Council Rules, 2496 BE” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1953, 2, 11). In theory at least, these “Rules” are the basis for the actions undertaken by the Council and its Committees and Sub-committees, including those which edited, printed and ultimately distributed the texts we term the Sixth Council series. As a way to overview that material we have arranged the same information as a chart in Figure 2 below, which shows the Committee structures; Text box 1 which follows, lists the “duties” of each committee extracted from the published Rules. Sub-committees 1 to 3 under the Bhāranitthāraka Committee ultimately produced the texts published as Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā versions (these are asterisked in the diagram).

²⁴In 1954 (a propos of a visit by Drs I.B. Horner and Butler) the following account was published, “The P.T.S. edition of the Tipiṭaka has to be employed by the Text-editing Text Re-editing Groups in their respective works. The other day, Miss I.B. Horner and Prof. Butler visited the Thāthana Yeiktha and watched the Mahātheras and Theras reediting and scrutinising the Pāli texts with reference to various editions of the Tipiṭaka, including that of the P.T.S. and various Commentaries, Sub-commentaries and Vyākaraṇas (Grammars). The Bhikkhu-editors dividing into four Groups scrutinised the Pāli texts with the Mandalay Inscriptions also” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1954, 10).

Ovādācariya Saṅgha Nāyaka Committee (Rules §3-4)

1. *Bhikkhus* with the title *Aggamahāpaṇḍita*
2. Union Ovādācariya *mahātheras*;
3. Union Vinayadhara *mahātheras*; and
4. *Bhikkhus* elected by the Bhāranitthāraka *mahātheras*
 - a. two from Northern Shan states
 - b. two from Southern Shan states
 - c. two from Kachin state
 - d. one *thera* from each of the districts of Burma proper
 - e. three *mahātheras* from Burma (elderly learned *mahāthera*)
 - f. five *thera* representing the Saṅgha from Ceylon
 - g. five *thera* representing the Saṅgha from Thailand
 - h. three *thera* representing the Saṅgha from Cambodia
 - i. two *thera* representing the Saṅgha from Laos

Advises the Bhāranitthāraka *mahātheras* and the Union of Burma Government and the Union Buddha Sāsana Council



forms

Groups for Correcting the Texts (Rules §5-6)

Those groups were to consist of senior bhikkhus (ideally at least 20 years standing) throughout Burma, and, it was hoped, in Thailand, Ceylon, Cambodia and Laos, subdivided into:

1. Editorial Board: to edit the texts ‘as instructed’;
2. Correcting Board: to check the work of the Editorial Board; and
3. Scrutinising Board: to scrutinise the work of the above two Boards.

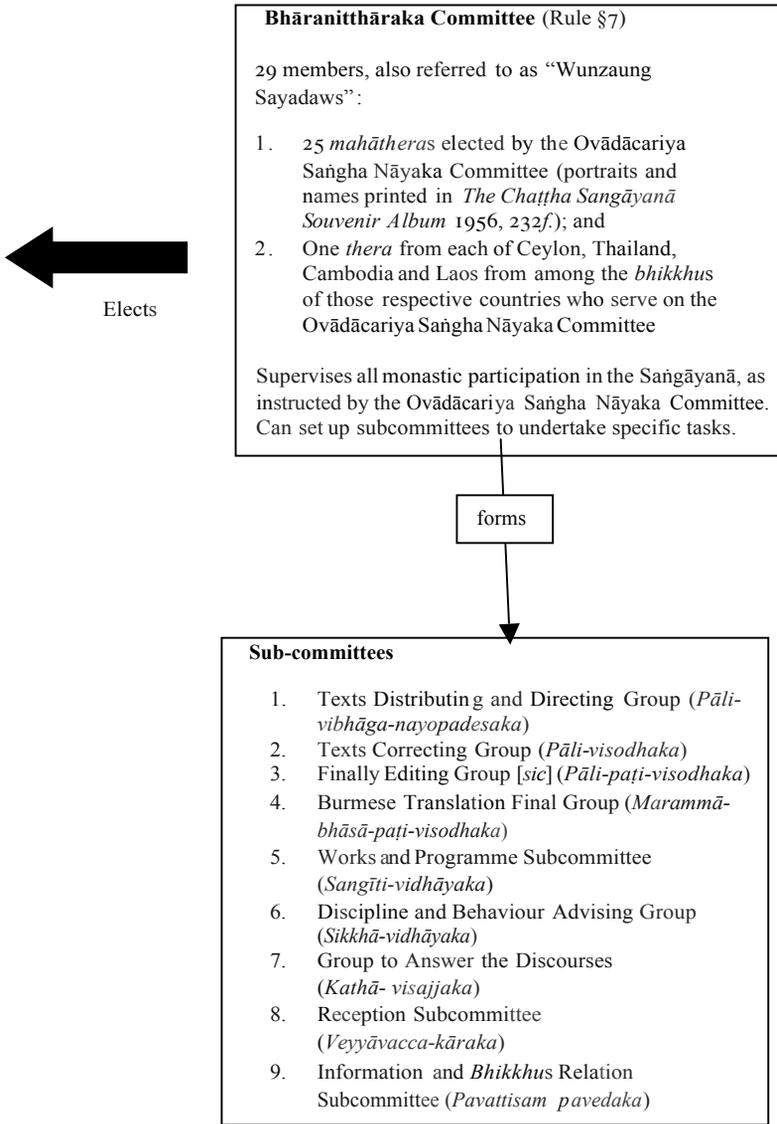


Figure 2: Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā Committee Structure
 Based on *The Saṅgāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1953, 2, 11

TEXT BOX 1 : Tasks of the Sub-committees of the Bhāranittharaka Committee
(*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1953, 11)

10. *Duties of the Texts Distributing and Directing Group [Pāli-vibhāganayopadesaka]*:

- (a) To edit the different kinds of Texts ;
- (b) To distribute the Texts to the Groups concerned for editing, and to call for the edited Texts within the allotted time; and
- (c) To instruct the detailed methods of correcting the Texts, such as division of sentences, clauses, punctuation, and phrases; fixing headings; indexing; character-sifting; and differentiation of editions.

11. The duties of the Texts Correcting Groups [*Pāli-visodhaka*] are to correct the Texts edited by the Editing Groups, by collating with the authorised Texts and Commentaries.

12. *The Burmese Translation Group [Mammā-bhāsā-ṭṭi-visodhaka]*:

Its duty is to translate the Texts into Burmese, in accordance with the instructions given to them, and with reference to the Texts, Commentaries, and Sub-commentaries.

13. *The Sangayana Works Sub-committee [Sangīti-vidhāyaka]*:

Its duties are

- (a) To select the Bhikkhus who will chant in the Sangāyanā;
- (b) To select the Bhikkhus in order of precedence;
- (c) To instruct in the methods of chanting, articulation, and pausation;
- (d) To draw up a timetable for the Sangāyanā;
- (e) To draw up a programme for the Chattha Sangāyanā; and
- (f) To invite the Bhikkhus to the Sangāyanā and provide them with board and lodging.

14. *Sikkha vidhāyaka [Sikkhā-vidhāyaka] Group*:

Its duty is to see that the Bhikkhus behave well in all the four kinds of postures, in accordance with the Rule of the Viniya [*sic*].

15. *The duties of the Katha visajja [Kathā-visajjaka] Group are*

To verify and rectify all the controversial points,

- (a) that have arisen from within the Sāsana; and
- (b) that have arisen from outside the Sāsana.

16. *Reception Sub-committee [Veyyāvaccā-kāraka]*:

Its duties are

- (a) To procure the four requisites of the monks, namely, the building, robes, food and medicine;
- (b) To keep the above in order;

- (c) To wash, label, patch and dye the robes of the Bhikkhus participating in the “chanting”;
- (d) To arrange food for the Bhikkhus in accordance with the Vinaya;
- (e) To accept invitations from outside and to allot the Bhikkhus for such invitations;
- (f) To attend to any sick Bhikkhu;
- (g) To keep the dormitory and the latrines in hygienic order;
- (h) To provide water for bathing, cleansing, and washing the face;
- (i) To keep the towels, napkins, blankets, and bedsheets clean and tidy;
- (j) To arrange the journeys of such Bhikkhus.

17. *Information and Monks Relation Sub-committee [Pavattisam pavedaka]:*

Its duties are

- (a) To be conversant with all matters relating to the Chattha Sangāyanā ...
- (b) To know about all the “Sangīti” Bhikkhus ...
- (c) To take information about the Sangāyanā matter in hand;
- (d) To contact all the Bhikkhus participating in the Sangāyanā;
- (e) To make reports to the Bhāranitthāraka Mahatheras once a week, or urgently in cases of emergencies;
- (f) To carry out their duties smoothly in connection with the Sangāyanā matters or the Bhikkhus participating in the Sangāyanā;
- (g) To propagate in Pāli, Burmese, and other languages the following [information] throughout the world, so as to let the people of the world revere Buddhism: (1) Origin of the Chattha Sangāyanā; (2) Organisation and allotment of duties; (3) How the Union Buddha Sāsana Council acts in this respect; (4) That the Chattha Sangāyanā is an international one [etc.]

A major point in clarifying the textual work done by the Sixth Council committees is that the review of the texts prior to reciting them was planned in three consecutive stages by the first three sub-committees of the Bhāranitthāraka Committee, with each stage being a pre-condition for the work of the next one.

The first sub-committee appointed by the oversight Bhāranitthāraka Committee was the “Texts Distributing and Directing Group” (*Pāli-vibhāga-nayopadesaka*). It made decisions about the distribution of various texts for expert review. Once decisions had been made regard-

ing who would review what, the various texts were handed over to Subcommittee 2, the “Text Correcting Group” (*Pāli-visodhaka*).

The Text Correcting Group was made up of multiple sub-groups, which were to consist of senior monks (of at least 20 years standing) throughout Burma as well as — it was initially hoped — in Thailand, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, and Laos; although in the end Cambodia and Laos were not able to contribute in this way. This Sub-committee had three sub-layers (Rules §5–6):

1. an Editorial Board to edit the texts “as instructed”,
2. a Correcting Board to check the work of the Editorial Board,
3. a Scrutinising Board to review the work of the two preceding Boards.

Once these three sub-groups had completed their review work on texts, they were ready to be handled by the third Subcommittee, the “Final Editing Group” (*Pāli-paṭi-visodhaka*).

No explicit instructions about these editing tasks have been located or published so far, but subsequently published progress reports do make clear the nature of the tasks done by each subcommittee (in the case of the Second Subcommittee, 118 “Text Correcting Groups” in Myanmar alone are mentioned below, while details of the structure of editorial committees in Sri Lanka are mentioned separately below). In some cases a certain inexactitude of the translation from the original in Burmese may be hindering appreciation of what the various stages involved, especially with the term “edit”.

The first Sub-committee, the “Text Distributing and Directing Group” (*Pāli-vibhāga-nayopadesaka*), formally had the following preliminary duties:

- (a) To edit the different kinds of Texts;
- (b) To distribute the Texts to the Groups concerned for editing, and to call for the edited Texts within the allotted time; and
- (c) To instruct [in] the detailed methods of correcting the Texts, such as division of sentences, clauses, punctuation, and phrases; fixing headings; indexing; character-sifting and differentiation of editions.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/2, 1953, 11

This last wording in Rule §10 suggests that explicit (printed or written) instructions were in fact promulgated as “detailed methods

(*naya*) of correcting the texts” to guide how the separate groups were to edit the basic texts prior to them being corrected.

Who were the individuals editing the texts? Beginning with the issue published in September 1953, *The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* lists the names and some details about the learned ordained individuals responsible for editing various texts (with the article “Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā” Broadcast by Thiripyanchi U Sein Maung, Chief Executive Officer, Union Buddha Sāsana Council, Rangoon on 8 July 1953: translation *The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/5, 1953, 5). As an example, one of the individuals involved named there is described in this way in 2001: “Venerable U Silananda [1927–2005] has been a Buddhist monk for over fifty years. He holds two titles of Master in *Dhamma* and had taught at the Atithokdayone Pali University and served as the external examiner at the Department of Oriental Studies, The University of Arts and Sciences, Mandalay, Myanmar. He also was the chief compiler of the comprehensive Tipitaka Pāli–Burmese Dictionary and one of the final editors of the Pali Texts, Commentaries, and Sub-Commentaries at the Sixth Buddhist Council, held in the Rangoon, Myanmar, in 1954” (Silananda 2001, 261). It is notable that different groups of around half a dozen monks and senior monks (*thera* and *mahāthera*) are responsible for named divisions of the canon (these names do not appear in the final editions).

A July 1953 update from the Executive Officer of the Union Sāsana Council on progress with preparation of the texts (published September 1953) clarifies the procedure under Stage Two and mentions all three stages which seem to correspond to the three levels of sub-committee visible on the chart (Figure 2: Sub-committees 1–3) (numbers in square brackets below have been added for clarity):

I should like to inform you how far the work has proceeded in respect of [1] correcting, [2] editing, [3] re-editing and scrutinising the Text which is to be commonly adopted by the Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā. The Discourses of the Omniscient Buddha comprise the Tipitaka or Five Nikāyas which have been printed in 88 different books [volumes?].²⁵ About six or seven

²⁵These 88 printed “books” were presumably the outcome of the first phase (Subcommittee 1); see also the “eighty groups” cited above. Those versions were prepared for the various groups working as Subcommittee 2 “to correct

months ago [late-1952], these books were distributed among 118 Text-Correcting Groups [Sub-committee 2 on Figure 2 presumably] formed from the learned Bhikkhus all over the Union [of Burma], together with the various editions of the Text and relevant Commentaries and Sub-commentaries, for the purpose of collating, correcting, and return of the same to the headquarters. ... So, at the present juncture, the whole Vinaya Piṭaka has been re-edited. When the Thai and Ceylon members of the Text Re-editing Group [presumably the *Pāli-paṭi-visodhaka*] arrive here this month (July 1953), this Vinaya Piṭaka will be scrutinised by them in conjunction with the Mahātheras selected by the Bhāranitthāraka Committee (Wunzaung Sayadaws) for this specific purpose. When these Vinaya books receive the common approval of all the members, they will be printed at the Council's huge printing works at Yegu, Rangoon as the Tipiṭaka commonly adopted by all the Theravāda countries.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/5, 1953, 5

Again:

Next, I should like to tell you something more about the re-editing of the Pāli Texts. As I have mentioned in my previous talks, the three Books on Dīgha Nikāya have been completely re-edited by the Burma Re-editing Groups. When similar books which are now being re-edited in Ceylon arrive here, both will be compared and passed by the Bhāranitthāraka Mahātheras. The five books on Vinaya which have already been approved by the Bhāranitthāraka Mahātheras will be printed at the Council's Printing Press at Yegu, when the same is formally opened on the 25th October 1953.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin, 1/7, 1953, 6–7

So, in the terms used by the Council, the first step was to establish a correctly printed text (the 88 books mentioned as “pre-revised versions”), and the second step was the “correcting” of that text. After these two steps were completed, Subcommittee 3, the “Final Editing Group” (*Pāli-paṭi-visodhaka*), took the material in hand (mentioned in Rule §9 but no further explanation found). This is the stage when the international Saṅgha members (from Sri Lanka and Thailand only, since Cambodia and Laos were not able to send representatives to Burma, as stated in *The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/6, 1953, 7–8) became

the texts edited by the editing groups by collating with the authorised texts and commentaries” (Rule §11). See below for the reference to the distribution of “pre-revised versions” for checking in Sri Lanka.

involved in finalising the texts, in both Mandalay and Rangoon. This was the final stage before the printing of the Sixth Council versions.

2.4.3. DETAILING THE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM SRI LANKA AND THAILAND
In terms of editorial contributions, the Rules above specify “Groups for Correcting the Texts shall also be formed in Thailand, Ceylon, Cambodia, and Laos” (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/2, 1953, 2, Rule 5) but only Sri Lanka and Thailand seem to have been able to do this.

It is necessary to make explicit here the contributions of Sri Lankan and Thai editing sub-groups that have only been documented by Clark (2015a, 97) up to now; the published reports suggest considerable consultation on the constitution of the text.²⁶ In terms of Sri Lankan involvement in the text editing for the Sixth Council recension, in January 1953 an official Burmese mission to Sri Lanka had arrived in Colombo (emphasis added):

²⁶A separate Sri Lankan Tipiṭaka text re-editing initiative is reported to have begun in Sri Lanka in 1950, prior to the 1952 resolution by senior Burmese monastics to hold the Sixth Council (*The Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā Souvenir Album* 1956, 36). Seeing that some passages of the texts as published were “devoid of their meaning ... [w]ith this reason in view, we, the Bhikkhus representing the three sects of Ceylon, competent in the task, and led by Mahānāyaka and Anunāyaka Theras, assembled at the Vidyalānkāra Pirivena in the year ... [1950] of the Christian Era, on the fifteenth day of August, and inaugurated a Dhamma Sangāyanā. It took us as long as three years and six months to complete the first stage of this Dhamma Sangāyanā, in which we rehearsed every letter, every word, and every sentence of the Buddha Vacana, compared the different texts, local and foreign, modern and ancient, and arranged together and examined the different variations in readings. In the second stage which is now in progress, we are rehearsing, discussing, and comparing the Buddha Vacana, paragraph by paragraph, sentence by sentence, and meaning by meaning. The third stage of this Dhamma Sangāyanā will follow, it is hoped, at the close of the Lent this year. This will be known as Pancasatika Sangīti or Pancasatika Sajjhāyana and will rehearse, consider and examine carefully the whole of the Tipiṭaka, according to etymology, tradition, and usage, before an assembly of Bhikkhus over five hundred in number.” (*The Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā Souvenir Album* 1956, 96)

It was on this occasion that the Honourable U Win, formally handed to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Honourable Mr Dudley Senanayake, *the pre-revised versions* of the Burmese Tripitaka Texts which the Buddha Sasana Council in Rangoon expected the Ceylon monks to examine and revise in the light of the Tripitaka Texts available in Ceylon.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/8, 1953, 2

A considerable network of scholar monks and qualified lay individuals was subsequently set up in Sri Lanka to comply with the Sixth Council's request for a review of the Tipiṭaka ahead of the Sixth Council recitation. A central body of 16 *mahātheras* and groups of five monks (distributed at 29 locations throughout Sri Lanka) were nominated to review individual texts and report back to the central body which sat in Colombo. They would in turn review the editing work in the presence of one of the five members from the 29 locations, presumably so they could explain any of their decisions that were questioned. The groups of five *theras* doing the editing were from various *pirivenas* (monastic education centres) and temples (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/8, 1953, 2–3). These revised texts were returned to Burma in due course: the first mission in July 1953 and the second in November 1953 (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/8, 1953, 4), with announcements of further deliveries not yet found.

The Thai involvement is somewhat less well documented so far, but a number of senior monks did visit both Mandalay and Rangoon to work through the texts after their revision by the Burmese national teams. The phrasing below suggests there were more extensive groups set up in Thailand, but no account of them has yet turned up:

Bhikkhu Phra Dhammadhiraja Mahamun, Bhikkhu Chawin Saradam and Bhikkhu Kiet Sukitti, representing the Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā Text Re-editing Committee in Thailand came to Burma by air on the 21st. July 1953, for the purpose of revising and scrutinising the Tipiṭaka Texts that have been re-edited by the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. On the same day a Buddhist Mission headed by Venerable Polwatte Buddhadatta Mahāthera arrived at Rangoon bringing the First instalment of the Tipiṭaka revised by the Ceylonese Sangha. These two Buddhist Missions met at Rangoon and they both visited Mandalay. Venerable Buddhadatta Mahāthera and the Thai Theras remained at Mandalay to scrutinise the Texts that have been re-edited by the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. The other members of the Ceylonese Mission returned to Rangoon and thence to Ceylon. The

Thai and the Ceylonese Bhikkhus began their work at Mandalay a day or two after their arrival and in one month they completed their work and returned to Rangoon. On reaching Rangoon, Bhikkhu Chawin Saradam returned to Bangkok by air before the Vassa of 1953. Temporarily residing at the Thāthana Yeiktha and working daily except on Fast-days, the Thai and Ceylonese Bhikkhus scrutinised the Tipiṭaka that have been re-edited by the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. On completing their work after a period of over four months, they returned to Thailand by air on the 12th December 1953.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/8, 1953, 11

Before the arrival of the international editors in Burma, a July 1953 update from the Executive Officer of the Union Sāsana Council (Rangoon) on progress with preparation of the texts (published September 1953) reports:

During May last [1953], a Text Re-editing Group [Subcommittee 3] has been formed from among the Theras and Mahatheras who are well conversant with Buddhist literature, for the purpose of *re-editing the corrected books* with reference to various editions of the Tipiṭaka; Vyākaraṇā and relevant Commentaries and Subcommentaries.

Emphasis added, *The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/5, 1953, 5

Elsewhere, in a broadcast in September 1953, it is stated:

Now, we should like to inform you how the relevant Pāli Texts, which have been re-edited by Text Re-editing Groups of Burma have been collated with the corrected Vinaya Books brought to us by the Ceylonese Mission. As previously arranged, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos were to send a representative each to work in co-operation with the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. The learned Theras and Mahātheras of Cambodia and Laos were unable to send their representatives, but gave their assent to the decisions to be arrived at by the Mahātheras of the remaining Theravāda countries. Venerable Buddhadatta Mahāthera, representing Ceylon, and Bhikkhu Phra Dhammadhirāja Mahāmuni, representing Thailand arrived here in July last [1953], for the purpose of scrutinising the Pāli Texts in conjunction with the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. They went to Mandalay and began their work in co-operation with eight other Mahātheras from the Text Re-editing Groups of Burma. They have ably scrutinised the Five Books on Vinaya and completed their task very smoothly in 20 days.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/6, 1953, 7

2.4.4. PRINTING AND PROOFREADING OF THE FINALISED TEXT

With so much time and effort having gone into editing the texts, it was important that no errors of typesetting mar the final publications. The typesetting, printing, and binding of the finalised texts was a huge undertaking and the first tenders for the supply of materials were let in April 1953, although printing did not get underway until 7 AM on 25 October 1953. A “Printing Department Report” appeared in 1953 (*The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin* 1/9, 1954, 11) which details that by that time the specially built printing facility had ordered 350 tons of white printing papers, 70 tons of strawboard for binding, and 43 kilometres of book cloth from London. Fifty typesetters/compositors were employed and 5,400 kilograms of Pāli type in Burmese characters ordered to add to the 2,700 kilograms on hand.

In terms of proofreading, the stages were outlined as follows:

The first proof-reading is done by four lay persons who passed the Lectureship Examination in Buddhist Literature, and have headed [*sic*] by Saya Nyan, a learned Pāli scholar.

The second proof-reading is done by four Sayadaws who have passed the Lectureship Examination in Buddhist Literature.

The third and the final proof-reading is done by the following Mahatheras:

- (1) Sayadaw U Kondañña, Agga Maha Pandita, Chauk-htat-gyi kyaung-taik, Rangoon.
- (2) Venerable A.P. Buddhadatta, Agga Maha Pandita.
- (3) Sayadaw U Nāgavamsa, Bhagaya Tawya, Rangoon.
- (4) Venerable Mahāsi Sayadaw, Agga Maha Pandita.
- (5) U Visuddha, Vjjjalaṅkāra Sayadaw.

Working daily from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. these five Mahātheras are doing this final proof-reading.

The Sangāyanā Monthly Bulletin 1/10, 1954, 10

The textual output for each of the five separate sessions of the Sixth Council was on hand prior to the relevant sitting, with the very first sitting at twelve and a half minutes after twelve on the full moon of Kason 1316 (Burmese Era), 17 May 1954.²⁷

²⁷Most academic reviews consistently ignore the major contributions made to Burmese language versions of texts and the production of the multi-volume Tipiṭaka Pāli-Myanmar dictionary. A full listing of the publications of the

In summary, the link to the Mandalay inscriptions was explicitly and repeatedly made in the lead up to the Sixth Council to set up a continuity with the previous councils. Considerable attempts were made to consult learned individuals (lay and monastic) from other Theravāda countries, with missions to Sri Lanka and Thailand well-documented and the involvement of senior monks in settling the final texts apparent. The subsequent intentional publicising of this suggests a push to legitimise the Council as a truly international affair (Clark 2015a). In spite of this publicity, it is unclear how Sri Lankan or Thai monastic authorities regarded the publications of the Sixth Council. Subsequent publication of Tipiṭaka versions in Theravāda countries suggest that, while respecting the Sixth Council work and contributing to it, the editions emanating from that Council did not in fact supplant those current in individual Theravāda countries though some took into consideration the variants

Sixth Council has yet to be made, thus an indicatory list is given here (most extracted from the scanned versions on the website of the “Kaba Aye Buddha [sic] Research Library” (<http://www.kbrl.gov.mm/catalog/index/2>).

The Saṅgāyanā Monthly Bulletin (English)

Saṅgāyanā (Burmese language bulletin series)

Revised (re-edited) texts of the Tipiṭaka: Vinaya (5 volumes); Suttanta (23 volumes); Abhidhamma (12 volumes)

Revised (re-edited) texts of the Aṭṭhakathā (Commentaries) (50 volumes, first published 1958–1959)

Revised (re-edited) texts of the Ṭīkā (Sub-commentaries) (31 volumes, first published 1960–1961)

Nissaya (word-by-word translations of the Tipiṭaka texts into Burmese) (8 volumes)

Burmese translations of Tipiṭaka texts (projected 40 volumes; by 2011 only 29 volumes published)

English translations of selected Tipiṭaka texts (22 volumes)

Tipiṭaka Pāli-Myanmar dictionary

Publications about the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā (by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Culture) (18 volumes)

**Chaṭṭha saṅgāyanā phvaṅ' pvai mhat' tam' krī'* = *The Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā Souvenir Album* (1954)

Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā mhat' tam' / The Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā Souvenir Album (1956)

and decisions made by Sixth Council editors. The appearance of variant readings in the Sixth Council editions stems from the editing decisions made by this complex and distributed process.

The simplified chart below attempts to outline the nature of the relationships between these editions:

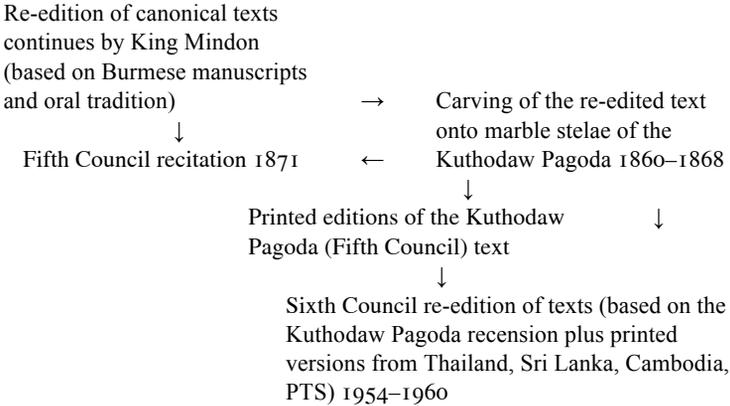


Figure 3: SUMMARY OF THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG BURMESE EDITIONS

2.5. STUDY OF SELECTED TEXTS

Part of the project being reported on here is the preparation of a transcription of the texts on the Kuthodaw marble stelae into Roman script, which was begun in 2016 in collaboration with monastic scholars at the Sitagu International Buddhist Academy in Mandalay. An eventual aim of the overall project is the provision of an electronic edition of the Kuthodaw Pagoda text to accompany the high-resolution digital images, as a resource for researching Pāli canonical text editions. Continuing on from the background information given above, in this section a closer examination is made of the relationships between the Kuthodaw stelae versions of a sample of texts, the early-twentieth century Myanmar printed versions and the Sixth Council published versions, and some manuscript versions. After a brief review of the only two known earlier studies on the Kuthodaw recension, this section will present an indicative summary of new explorations on Kuthodaw text samples, namely,

(1) Pācittiya of the Suttavibhaṅga; (2) Dhammasaṅgaṇī (Mātikā only); (3) Buddhāpadana of the Apadāna; and (4) Mūlapariyāya-sutta of the Majjhimanikāya.

2.5.1. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP²⁸

In the first published Western scholarly examination of the text versions either on or associated with the Kuthodaw Pagoda, Bollée (1968, 496–97) — working from photographs²⁹ — collated two lengthy text extracts to compare the edited Pāli text printed in PTS, Thai, Sri Lankan, and Burmese editions. Bollée examined the entire Sāmaññaphala-sutta (D I 47–86), a text already examined in detail by Hamm to compare other Asian editions (1962, 1973), and the Kuṇārajātaka (Jā V 415–56).³⁰

Bollée found that for the *sutta*

[B^{KP}], the text of the stone slabs, differs in 21 instances from E^e, the European [i.e. PTS] edition, and [Be^{ChS}], the Burmese edition of the VIth Council text (Rangoon, 2500/1956). In 75 cases [B^{KP}] goes with [Be^{ChS}] against E^e. ... In 11 out of 12 instances the *variae lectiones* denoted with the abbreviation *ka* in [Be^{ChS}] are identical with [B^{KP}].

Bollée 1968, 496

²⁸Abbreviations: BTh refers to the Burmese script manuscripts commissioned by King Tharrawaddy and given to Arthur Phayre by King Mindon (currently in the British Library); B^{KP} refers to the Burmese recension preserved on the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae; Be^H to the Hanthawaddy series; Be^{ChS} refers to the Sixth Council Chatṭhasaṅgīti series; and E^e to the PTS series in Roman script. For details, see below.

²⁹Bollée notes that during his trip to the site in January–February 1965 the stelae had to be moistened before being photographed (with flash) for the text to be more legible. He took photographs of the Sutta- and Abhidhamma-piṭaka sections and those films (but not prints) are now in the Universität Hamburg (Asien-Afrika-Institut, Bibliothek). Sixty-seven films and around one thousand photos are stored there which are not currently indexed (Birte Plutat, email to Mark Allon, 15 August 2013; see Allon et al. 2016, 225). In addition, “The late Dr Hermann Kopp possessed a copy of Wilhelm Geiger’s folio edition of the Vinaya slabs [from the Kuthodaw]” (personal email Willem Bollée to Mark Allon, 14 August 2013); however, as yet there is no trace of this (see Allon et al. 2016, 225).

³⁰Bollée’s sigla have been altered to match those used here: i.e. B^m = B^{KP} and B^e = Be^{ChS}.

This positively confirms (as expected) that the text printed by the Sixth Council (Be^{ChS}) does cite variant readings from the Kuthodaw stelae and the Kuthodaw text is a direct influence on the Sixth Council edition for the text Bollée examined. For his second text, the *Kuṇāla-jātaka*, Bollée collated B^{KP} with Be^{ChS} (Rangoon, 1960) and noted:

when collating [B^{KP}] with [Be^{ChS}] (Rangoon, 2504/1960) 118 different readings apart from evident writing or inking errors. From material collected for a new edition of this *Jātaka* [B^{KP}] could be collated with other editions, too. In 11 cases C^e (*Jātakatthakathā* [sic], Colombo, 1937), alone or together with other versions, reads the same as [B^{KP}] against [Be^{ChS}] ... In the other instances [B^{KP}] stands alone or is followed by other Burmese editions only. ... The different readings indicated in [Be^{ChS}] with the abbreviation *ka* can be identified in 26 out of 31 cases (inclusive of two repetitions) with [B^{KP}].

Bollée 1968, 496

Based on these two detailed and extensive collations, Bollée's conclusion (1968, 496) — echoing that of Hamm — was that the Burmese (and other editions from Asia) “represent only the tradition of their own respective countries, holds true rather for [B^{KP}] than for [Be^{ChS}], all the more because the [B^{KP}] slabs were ready before the Vth Council, even allowing for the revision”; i.e., the Kuthodaw Pagoda versions are more distinctively faithful to an identifiably Burmese recension of the text than Be^{ChS}. This accords with the descriptions of the methods used to prepare the Sixth Council editions, the use of published versions from surrounding countries and the PTS printings.

Bollée goes on to conclude that B^{KP}:

was probably used by most of the later Burmese editions, whether this is stated explicitly in them or not. In the case of the *Kuṇāla-jātaka* the Hamsavati Press edition (Rangoon, 1939), in which *daṅḍas* divide the words in the prose passages as on the stone slabs, is almost identical with the [B^{KP}] version. The text is printed in the traditional way, whereas in the other pre-war editions of the *Jātaka Pāli* published by the Sudhammavati Press (Rangoon, n.d.) the verse lines are printed one beneath the other, but, just as in the Hamsavati editon, they are not numbered. It also corrects many errors of [B^{KP}].

Bollée 1968, 497

It is significant that the printed versions of the Hanthawaddy (Hamsavati) and presumably other presses are correcting “errors” from the stelae texts and as such have undergone revisions and improve-

ments. In summary, Bollée (1968, 497) outlines the importance of the Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions in this way:

1. Most of the Burmese editions have [B^{KP}] as their authentic basis.
2. This text, above all, allows a more detailed criticism of the edition of the Vth Council, e.g. with respect to the unspecified different readings marked in [B^{ChS}] with the abbreviation *ka*.
3. Here and there [B^{KP}] has a better, or — which often occurs in Pāli — equivalent reading. This can be important in cases where the text of the PTS edition is unsatisfactory, as e.g. in the case of *Petako-padesa*, or where it is based on Oriental prints only.
4. [B^{KP}] is at least not contaminated with E^c and can, therefore, be better compared with other Oriental editions.
5. The Mandalay slabs — one of the most important monuments left by King Mindon — form the first complete Tipiṭaka text handed down to us which a Buddhist council officially approved of.

A second set of studies to use the Kuthodaw texts supplements this description. In his unpublished PhD thesis, Clark (2015b) made a study of the Apadāna, including an edition and translation of the text's second, third, and fourth chapters. In preparing the edition, he worked with a wide range of Myanmar textual material, including images of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae.³¹ Importantly, Clark (2015b, 106) proposed that British Library manuscript IO Man/Pali77 is the possible exemplar of the Apadāna text inscribed on the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae. This suggestion is consistent with the latest year mentioned in its long

³¹Clark's description (2015b, 107) of his use of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae for his work reads: "Kuthodaw Pagoda marble stelae associated with the fifth Buddhist council (stelae numbers 665–687) located in Mandalay, Burma. The text was inscribed on these particular stelae between 1866 and 1867. Digital colour photographs were taken by myself in 2011. Because some of the stelae were unclean and the camera resolution was not ideal, the inscribed text was often difficult to read clearly. Besides these photos, I examined a DVD-ROM containing digital photographs of the stelae. ... While the stelae were cleaned in preparation for this project, the camera resolution is poor and therefore, again, the inscribed text was often difficult to read clearly. ... [I]t appears that [British Library manuscript IO Man/Pali78] is a more faithful and careful reproduction of [British Library manuscript IO Man/Pali77] than the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae."

colophon, 1857. Elsewhere, Clark (2015a) made a detailed study of a section of the Sixth Council edition of the Apadāna, with the aim of shedding light on the editing methodology and sources used to produce that edition. He found that the sample text was “eclectically edited by freely adopting readings from the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae and several early printed editions from South and Southeast Asia, with preference given to readings that are most easily understood” (Clark 2015a, 106). Further, he noted that, “The Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions contain a reasonably large number of spelling mistakes” (Clark 2015a, 103) and “The editors of the [Kuthodaw Pagoda] recension, which represents a thoroughly revised version of the Pāli canon made during the founding years of Mandalay, have emended the received text in order to avoid hypermetric *pādas* wherever possible” (Clark 2015a, 104). This suggests that the recensions of the Fifth and later the Sixth Council have had a strong normative influence on the textual traditions in Burma and are therefore of relevance to scholars making use of the widely distributed Sixth Council reprinted and reformatted texts available now (e.g. the Digital Pāli Reader; Igatpuri version of 1993–1998, etc.) (Grönbold 2005, 47–49, 56). As shown above, promotional material on the Sixth Council explicitly stated that the Fifth Council stelae inscriptions were the starting point for their review of the canonical texts; these textual studies support this.

According to Clark, readings from the Kuthodaw version of that text had influenced later manuscripts and printed versions. This is supported by eye-witness statements such as this from 1951:

On other days the long white colonnades of gleaming shrines are empty, save for an occasional visitor; or for a few Monks in the Yellow Robe, who, kneeling within the little shrines, are busily comparing with the stone inscription a new-written palm-leaf manuscript of Sutta, Vinaya, or Abhidhamma; and marking on it where the text differs, or the copyist has erred.

Maung Tsain 1951, 20

2.5.2. TEXT COMPARISONS

To make a start on using the digital images produced in the first stage of this project (Allon et al. 2016, 236), the inscribed versions of four selected text extracts from the Kuthodaw stelae were worked through in detail, comparing them (in this first instance) with other Myanmar

versions³² and the respective PTS versions (because these have been so widely used in contemporary Western scholarship).

The sources of the texts compared here are listed below in chronological sequence. See the individual sections below for further details on individual sources for textual comparison.

- 29 Burmese script manuscripts commissioned by King Tharrawaddy, given to Arthur Phayre by King Mindon in 1855 and currently held in the British Library (BTh). This manuscript set predates the Kuthodaw inscriptions; indeed, Oldenberg (1882, 59) suggests that the manuscripts date to 1841–42.³³
- Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions (B^{KP}).
- Fifth Council editions published by the Hanthawaddy (Haṃsāvati) (Be^H) and other Myanmar presses (1893 onwards, especially the 1900 versions) (these are listed below at 5.1.1).³⁴
- Pali Text Society (PTS) editions (E^e).³⁵

³² As Balbir (2009, 4) has identified, there are “risks of conflating Buddhist traditions from different provenances and thereby producing an artificial mixture”, i.e., “a kind of phantom text” (Hinüber 1996, 36).

³³ The set is currently located in the British Library at Or. 3403-80. It is generally regarded as being of high quality (Oldenberg 1882, 59). Although presumed to be a complete version, British Library staff were unable to locate the section of the Majjhimanikāya which contains the Mūlapariyāya-sutta. For more information on this set, see Herbert (1975). As far as we have traced, these manuscripts were used for the Khuddakapāṭha (1870) and for at least the following PTS editions: Vinaya (1879–1883), Thera- and Therī-gāthā (1883), Majjhima-nikāya I (1888), Itivuttaka (1889), Dīgha-nikāya (1890–1911), Aṅguttara-nikāya (1885–1900), Nettipakarāṇa (1902), Sutta-nipāta (1913), Sutta-nipāta commentary (Paramatthajotikā II, 1916) and Mahāniddeśa (1917).

³⁴ The statement “In this way the 5th council edition has skipped printing technology” (Ruiz-Falqués 2017, 366) is not quite accurate in this regard since the Hanthawaddy editions (and perhaps others) printed the Fifth Council text.

³⁵ With the Pali Text Society named after “the Early English Text Society” (Rhys Davids, 1942, 81) it is not clear how (if at all) the editing methods and conventions of that and similar groups influenced the editing style of the PTS itself. The nature of existing PTS editions has been well overviewed by Balbir

- Sixth Council publications or the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series (Be^{ChS}) (Grönbold 2005, 47–48) and subsequent reprintings and transcriptions as noted.³⁶

The initial goal of the comparison was to situate the Kuthodaw inscriptions in relation to these versions of the selected texts.

GENERAL REMARKS ON BUDDHIST TEXTUAL TRADITIONS

We have chosen to initially explore the Burmese recension(s) by examining text passages from the Kuthodaw stelae in relation to other Burmese versions of the same texts. There are some general and distinctive features of the Pāli manuscript (textual) tradition to be identified first, which have been written about in Europe for as long as manuscripts from the country have been used by European scholars. Fausbøll's 1861 comments on the Burmese manuscripts available to him (notwithstanding Balbir's characterisation of his work (2009, 2)) are a useful starting point:

The other signed B, is a MS. [i.e. manuscript] in the Burmese character ... this is, like most of the Pāli MSS. in Burmese writing, a very bad one, and as for the text contained therein, it appears to be a later, revised or rather would-be emended edition, as one may directly see on looking over the readings and attending to the real discrepancies. As far as I am aware, all the Burmese copies of the Sacred Pāli Writings represent such a revised edition.

1861, I

(2009), who notes that the work of the PTS was never systematic and as such, heterogeneity is the rule. Some PTS “editions” are merely “transcriptional” (2009, 3). Even those PTS editions based on more extensive groups of manuscripts seem to have produced conflated texts.

³⁶This edition includes in footnotes variant readings or references to the following sources: Sī = Sīhaḷapothhake dissamānapāṭho [Sri Lankan], Ka-Sī = Katthaci Sīhaḷapothhake [Sri Lankan], Syā = Syāmapothhake [Thai], Kaṃ = Kambojapothhake [Cambodian], I = ṅgalisapothhake [PTS], Ka = Katthaci Marammapothhake (= B^{KP}?) [Burmese], Ṭṭha = Aṭṭhakathā, ? = “Siyā nu kho porāṇapāṭho” ti takkitapāṭho.

He expanded on this repeatedly:

As to the difference between the Singhalese (C) and the Burmese (B) Redaction of the Jātaka-Book, I still hold the same opinion that I expressed in my “Five Jātakas” [1861, cited above].

1872, ix

On the whole it seems that C retains older forms and expressions, whereas B replaces them by more modern, more common, or more regular ones.

1872, x

B sometimes adds and sometimes omits a few words. The additions seem on the whole to have the character of minor ameliorations of the style; of the omissions some may have arisen from the carelessness of the copyist, but some also seem to be intentional.

1872, xi–xii

B represents a later, corrected edition.

1872, xii³⁷

This article will not take up these matters in detail but a comparison of these comments with the more detailed summary of these features by Stede (PTS *Cullaniddesa* edition 1918, xii–xix) would be a starting point for future discussions to characterise the nature of Pāli manuscripts from Myanmar.

On the nature of the manuscript textual tradition itself, both Hinüber and Norman have pointed out the artificial and changing nature of the Pāli used in canonical texts (Hinüber 1982; 1983; 1996, 5; Norman 1983, 6–7; 2006). Smith did this eloquently in his introduction to Agga-vaṃsa’s *Saddanīti* (1928–1954, volume 1, vi):

Therefore, with the conviction that our Pāli is a function of that of the twelfth century — and that a knowledge of the Burmese and Sinhalese philology of that period is indispensable for those wishing to go back, through the recension of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, to a Pāli that has interest linguistically — I have begun the study of standardised Pāli (*la*

³⁷See also his comments about the manuscripts from Mandalay “Although the MSS. are, on the whole, carefully written, as remarked before, still they share with nearly all Burmese MSS. such blunders as *brāhmaṇa* for *brāhmaṇa*, *gandha* for *gantha*, *niṭṭhita* for *niṭṭhita*, etc.” (Fausbøll 1896, 2).

norme palie) taught by Aggavaṃsa in the three volumes that make up the Saddanāṭi.³⁸

Kahrs (1992) has raised significant questions about the importance and even the competency of Aggavaṃsa's work. Importantly, he has also identified issues with the examples from the Pāli canon quoted in the work. Unanswered questions remain about how and to what extent the work of Sanskrit grammarians influenced the schools of grammar that grew up for Pāli and Prakrits (Kahrs 1992, 8). Pind (1995, 297), however, has an opposite view and states, "There is no proof that the grammatical literature has had any influence on Theravāda scribes: in spite of minor divergences, Pāli literature is remarkably consistent, as shown by the many canonical quotations in the grammatical literature." The role of the preliminary studies below is more to start to map these differences as they relate to the tradition from Myanmar, in particular as recorded in stone by the Kuthodaw Pagoda texts.

A final general point concerns the *-by-/-vy-* alternation in Pāli. In B^{KP}, BTh and Be^H *-vy-* is consistently written as *-by-*, which is followed by later Burmese editions, such as Be^{ChS}. Because we are examining the textual tradition from Myanmar here, that is accepted as the spelling for Pāli words in the extracts.

The four text extracts selected to be analysed and compared and the sources used are the following:

I. VINAYA-PĪṬAKA : SUTTAVIBHAṄGA PĀCĪTTIYA I :
SAMPĀJĀNA-MUSĀ-VĀDA (abbrev Vin IV, Pāc)³⁹

The sources compared were:

- BTh: manuscript IO Pāli 2 (Oldenberg 1882, 59) in the Phayre collection at the British Library; leaves *ka-kī*

³⁸"C'est donc dans la conviction que notre pali est une fonction de celui du 12^{me} siècle — et que la connaissance de la philologie birmane et singalaise de ladite époque est indispensable à qui voudra remonter, à travers la recension Buddhaghosa-Dhammapāla, à un pali d'intérêt linguistique —, que j'ai entrepris l'étude de la norme palie enseignée par Aggavaṃsa dans les trois volumes qui forment la Saddanāṭi."

³⁹The abbreviation "Pāc" for the Pācittiya is taken from Ñāṇatusita 2014, xviii.

- B^{KP}: Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions, lines 1–42 on stela 17a; inscription completed on 30 January, 1862
- E^e: Oldenberg, Hermann (ed.). 1882. *The Vinaya Piṭakam: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language*, Vol. IV. London: Williams and Norgate, pp. 1–4
- Be^H: *Vinaññ'” piṭakat', pācit' pāli to'*. 1900. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press, pp. 1–6⁴⁰
- Be^{Thu}: *Vinayapiṭaka, pācit' pāli to'*. 1911. Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press, pp. 1–6
- Be^{ChS}: *Pācittiyapāli*. 1967; 2005; 2008. Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series. Yangon: Buddhasāsana Samiti, pp. 1–6⁴¹

2. ABHIDHAMMA-PIṬAKA: DHAMMASAṄGAṆĪ: MĀTIKĀ (Dhs)

The sources compared were:

- BTh: manuscript IO Pāli 22 (Oldenberg 1882, 61) in the Phayre collection at the British Library; leaves *kā–kī*
- B^{KP}: Kuthodaw Pagoda inscription, lines 1–41 on stela 112a; inscription completed on 25 December, 1862
- E^e: Müller, Edward. (ed.). 1885. *The Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. Oxford: Henry Frowde for the Pali Text Society, pp. 1–8⁴²
- Be^H: *Abhidhammāpiṭakat', Dhammasaṅgaṇī pāli to'*. 1908. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press, pp. 1–6

⁴⁰Be^H refers to the versions published by the Hanthawaddy (Haṃsāvātī) Press which are explicitly linked to the Fifth Council version on the title-pages; we have followed the Library of Congress transliteration of Burmese, but the usual problems with rendering this language into Roman script remain.

⁴¹The 1967 edition in Burmese script was reprinted in 2005 and then again as a romanised version in 2008 (*Vinayapiṭaka, Pācittiyapāli*. Yangon: Buddhasāsana Society): “Romanized from Myanmar version printed in 1997. Pāli Series 02.” It is notable that the reprints carefully retain the same page breaks as the earlier editions in every case. No misprints were noted in the text comparison of these various reprintings.

⁴²This edition is based on one Burmese and one Sinhalese manuscript, but no variants are given, no critical apparatus is established, nor is there sufficient information to locate or identify these manuscripts nowadays.

- Be^{ChS}: *Dhammasaṅgaṇīpāḷi*. 1961. Chatṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series. Rangoon: Buddhasāsana Samiti, pp. 1–16⁴³

3. SUTTA-PIṬAKA : BUDDHĀPADĀNA OF THE APADĀNA (Ap)

The sources compared were:

- BTh: manuscript IO Pāli 2I (Oldenberg 1882, 6I / § 2I; Mellick 1993, 36–40) in the Phayre collection at the British Library; leaves *ka-kī*⁴⁴
- B^{KP}: Kuthodaw Pagoda inscription, lines 1–40 on stela 665a; inscription completed on 25 August, 1867
- E^c: Lilley, Mary E. (ed.). 1925. *The Apadāna*, Vol. 1. London: Oxford University Press for the Pali Text Society, pp. 1–6
- Be^H: *Therā-apadān' pāḷi to'*. 1909. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press, pp. 1–5
- Be^{ChS}: *Suttantapiṭake Khuddakanikāye Apadānapāḷi*, Vol. 1. 1997. Chatṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series. Yangon: Ministry of Religion, pp. 1–7

4. SUTTA-PIṬAKA : MŪLAPARIYĀYA-SUTTA OF THE MAJJHIMA-NIKĀYA (M I)

The sources compared were:⁴⁵

- B^{KP}: Kuthodaw Pagoda inscription, lines 1–66 on stela 356a; inscription completed on 16 February, 1865
- E^c: Trenckner, V. (ed.). 1888. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, Vol. 1. London: Pali Text Society, pp. 1–6
- Be^H: *Mūlapaṇṇāsa pāḷi to'*. 1909. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press, pp. 1–7

⁴³This edition was reprinted in 1997 and romanised in 2008 (*Dhammasaṅgaṇīpāḷi*. Yangon: Buddhasāsana Society. Romanised from Myanmar version published in 1997. Pāli Series 29).

⁴⁴This manuscript contains a relatively small number of corrections, which fall into two categories. Corrections belonging to the first type appear to have been made by the original scribe using a stylus. Corrections belonging to the second type are more frequent and appear to have been made by a later hand using a pencil.

⁴⁵The Phayre manuscript (BTh) of this text was not available in the British Library when we sought it.

- Be^{ChS}: *Majjhimanikāya mūlapaṇṇāsapāli*, Vol. I. 1956. Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series. Rangoon: Buddhasāsana Samiti, pp. 1–8

2.5.3. DESCRIPTION OF THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE FOUR TEXT
EXTRACTS FROM THE KUTHODAW PAGODA INSCRIPTIONS
AND COMPARISON WITH OTHER SOURCES

PUNCTUATION AND GENERAL ORTHOGRAPHIC REMARKS

The Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae (B^{KP}) present their contents in Burmese script as *scripta continua*, i.e., without spacing between “words”; there are a few exceptions as detailed below. The only punctuation marks included in the inscriptions, as in the manuscript tradition, are *danḍas* in single || or double sets || ||. Generally, single *danḍa* sets || mark small syntactic units and double sets separate larger units (usually marked in modern printed editions by a full stop or a new paragraph). No actual single *danḍas* | have been observed in the B^{KP} inscriptions.

In the Apadāna extract studied here, single *danḍa* sets || mark the end of a *pāda*, except for the final *pāda* of a verse which is marked by a double set || ||.⁴⁶ Occasionally *danḍas* are (probably in error) omitted; e.g., at Dhs B^{KP} (112a,22) a single || is missing. A pair of *danḍas* is also used to enclose the abbreviation (*pa* or *la* standing for *peyyāla*) which stands in for passages which are meant to be repeated (these are thus markers of abbreviation).⁴⁷ Occasionally, wider spaces are left where the surface of the stone is irregular (or otherwise unsuitable for carving and inking) or the spacing between lines requires a larger gap for clarity (i.e. to avoid any overwriting of complex graphemes for conjunct characters extending above or below the line). The lines of text though

⁴⁶In one instance (Ap B^{KP} 665a,2–3), where the end of a *pāda* coincides with the end of a line, the double *danḍa* is erroneously omitted. Please refer to the Referencing section at the end of this article for an explanation on how we cite text for the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae and manuscripts.

⁴⁷For example, in the extract from the Pācittiya studied here, || *pa* || occurs 6 times, and || *la* || 70 times. The reasons for this distribution of usage are not clear yet.

are not always perfectly horizontal, which may reflect the manner in which they were originally laid out and carved.⁴⁸

The appearance of the inscribed B^{KP} text matches the indigenous palm leaf manuscript tradition of the Tipiṭaka on which the inscriptions are modelled. The Phayre manuscript (BTh) versions of the extracts studied here are also written in *scripta continua*, with single *danḍa* || sets marking small syntactic units and double *danḍa* sets || || separating larger units. As an example, in comparison with the Kuthodaw Pagoda stela, in the Dhs Phayre manuscript missing *danḍas* appear to be much more common (e.g., Dhs BTh ka-r,1; ka-v,6-7; kī-r,6), seemingly due to frequent scribal errors,⁴⁹ or extra *danḍas* are frequently inserted between words, which may reflect the oral recitation of the text, grouping several words into one unit (e.g., Dhs BTh kā-r,7-8; kā-v,4-5; ki-v,3). Interestingly, this is not observed in B^{KP}.

The editions of the Hanthawaddy (Be^H) and other presses (1893 onwards) fall into line with this style of text presentation and print a text which is in appearance similar to BTh and B^{KP}; however, some shift in style to match the conventions of the new printing technology can be noted. In Be^H there is in general a similar usage of *danḍas* as in B^{KP}, but Be^H does not reflect occasional omissions of *danḍas* found in B^{KP} and BTh. In Be^H there are the occasional beginnings of discernible breaks between phrases or words (or even between members of compounds), seemingly at random, and the usage of paragraphing (e.g., Dhs Be^H 1-7) and using indentation marks; similarly, in Ap Be^H (1-5) paragraphs separate *apadānas*; and in M I Be^H (1-7) they mark each *bhūmipari-ccheda*, presumably under the influence of Western styles of printing.

⁴⁸Bollée (1968, 494) describes a possible method for the carving (however it is not clear on what basis): “The procedure at the Vth Council was, therefore, probably the following: First the text was engraved on stone, then the council discussed it, and finally the necessary alterations were made on the slabs.” Braun mentions that “so far as I know no errors were found” (Braun 2013, 25).

⁴⁹Although it is claimed by Oldenberg (1882, 59) and other PTS editors that the Phayre manuscripts used are of a high quality, the extracts studied here have a significant number of errors and this judgment needs to be reviewed for each text. In addition, opening leaves of texts seem to be well-made and accurate, but deeper into the manuscript standards are different in a number of cases.

It would seem that reprintings of the Fifth Council texts by other presses (e.g. “Thudhamawadi”, “Ratanadīpa”, etc.) follow this style for Pāli texts. Only the printings of the Sixth Council begin to include regular and larger spaces between “words”, paragraphs and punctuations, in all likelihood even more influenced by Western models for presenting Pāli with word division.⁵⁰ In the extracts studied here we have paid particular attention to punctuation of the texts in an attempt to explore if those conventions can be used to discern lines of influence between manuscript, inscriptional, and printed editions.

Punctuation in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti editions (Be^{ChS}) of the selected text extracts seems to reflect influences from the European PTS editions (E^e), which predate Be^{ChS} and, in the case of M I, Dhs, and Pāc, also the Hanthawaddy editions. Be^{ChS} adds paragraphs, word breaks, and headings; however, its usage of *daṇḍas* is slightly different to B^{KP} and BTh. For example, in the Apadāna extract, a single *daṇḍa* | marks the end of a *pāda*, except for the final *pāda* of a *pādayuga* which is marked by a double *daṇḍa* ||, whereas paragraphs are used for separating *apadānas*. In the Mūlapariyāya-sutta (M I) a combination of traditional punctuation with *daṇḍas*, and European punctuation (such as commas, m-dash, quotation marks) are used; a single *daṇḍa* | appears where B^{KP} and Be^H use a single set ||, and a double *daṇḍa* || where B^{KP} and Be^H use a double set |||. The romanised edition of Be^{ChS} from 2008 uses capital letters, hyphens separating compound members (only between final and initial vowels), as well as full stops for *daṇḍas*; thus, its presentation is very close to PTS editions (E^e) which include headings, paragraphs, word breaks, capitalisation (of the first word of a sentence and for proper nouns), hyphenation, and punctuation (full stops, commas, colons, semi-colons, carets (^) over long vowels resulting from *sandhi*, em-dash in *peyyāla* passages, hyphens in compounds).

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of nasals in B^{KP} varies among the four texts examined. In the Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya (Pāc) the class nasals before consonants

⁵⁰The Library of Congress standard for converting Burmese script to Roman script states “For Burmese words, leave a space after each syllable. For loanwords, use the same word division as in the original language. Apply the same practice to loanwords with modified forms in Burmese” (*Burmese* 2011, 3). Pāli words, e.g., are seen as loan words in this system.

(instead of *anusvāra*) are mainly used, except before velar consonants where B^{KP} (as well as BTh, Be^H and Be^{ChS}) sometimes write *anusvāra* (-ṃ-) and at other times the appropriate class nasal (-ṅ-). Similarly, in the extract from Dhs all Burmese sources (BTh, B^{KP} and Be^H) consistently use the class nasals before consonants, except for occasional *anusvāra* (-ṃ-) appearing for velar nasal -ṅ- but only before syllable -ki-.

Consistent with prior observations made by scholars working on Burmese versions of Pāli texts, B^{KP} displays variations in vowel length, especially short -i- and long -ī-. In the Pāc extract two examples of such variations were found: Pāc B^{KP} (17a,3, 5) (also in Pāc Be^H 1,10 and 2,1) and Pāc Be^{ChS} (1,11, 17) write *khīyanti*, *khīyāntānaṃ*,⁵¹ whereas Pāc BTh (ka-r,6) and Pāc E^e (1,17) have *khīyanti* and *khīyāntānaṃ* respectively. On the other hand, the word *gīra* occurs in Pāc B^{KP} (17a,11) with long -ī-, (likewise Pāc BTh kā-r,5), whereas all other witnesses spell *girā*. In Dhs different patterns were observed: spelling of short -i- and long -ī- in Dhs B^{KP} would agree with all Burmese witnesses against E^e; e.g. long -ī- in the word *bāhīrā* is found in Dhs B^{KP} (112a,26), Dhs BTh (ki-r,6), Dhs Be^H (4,9) and Dhs Be^{ChS} (1,10-12), whereas *bāhīrā* in Dhs E^e (5). Similarly, in Dhs all adjectives ending on -īya- in Dhs B^{KP} (as well as Dhs BTh, Dhs Be^H and Dhs Be^{ChS}) are consistently written with short -i-, whereas in Dhs E^e the suffix is written -īya-.⁵² In the Mūlapariyāya-sutta, M I B^{KP} and M I Be^H quite consistently agree in spelling of short -i- and long -ī- against the other witnesses (e.g., *vītarāgattā ... vītadosattā ... vītamohattā* (M I B^{KP} 356a,44 (*ff.*)), M I Be^H 5,22 (*ff.*)), *vītarāgattā ... vītadosattā ... vītamohattā* (M I Be^{ChS} 6,5 (*ff.*)), M I E^e 5,4 (*ff.*)).

Vowel lengths -u- and -ū- in B^{KP} frequently differ from other witnesses: either B^{KP} writes -ū- where others write -u- (e.g., in *cittasahabhūno* (Dhs B^{KP} 112a,24f.) against *cittasahabhuno* (Dhs BTh ki-r,4,5; Dhs Be^H 4,4-5,7-8; Dhs Be^{ChS} 10,1-2; and Dhs E^e 5), or alternatively, -u- in B^{KP} against -ū- in other witnesses (e.g., Dhs B^{KP} 112a,34 writes *vijjupamādhammā*, whereas *vijjupamā dhammā* in Dhs BTh ki-v,8; Dhs Be^H 5,9; Dhs Be^{ChS} 13,16; and Dhs E^e 7), showing, yet again, the influence of Dhs E^e on Dhs Be^{ChS}. Similarly, in the Apadāna, Ap B^{KP} (665a,7) reads *kuṭāgāraravārupetā* against *kūṭāgāraravārupetā* in all other sources. It is suggested that the orthographic variations between

⁵¹They presumably follow Sadd 327, 3-5.

⁵²This may be influenced by Sri Lankan sources.

short and long vowels do not occur randomly but may follow some distinguishable patterns that require further investigation.

In Dhs there is a variation between the phonemes *-th-* and *-dh-*: BTh, B^{KP}, and Be^H write *-dh-* whereas Be^{ChS} and E^e *-th-*; for example, *paṭisandhāroca* in Dhs B^{KP} (112a,38), Dhs BTh (kī-r,4) and Dhs Be^H (5,22), but *paṭisanthāroca* in Dhs Be^{ChS} (15,11–12) and Dhs E^e (7), showing influence of Dhs E^e on Dhs Be^{ChS}. Occasionally B^{KP}, BTh, and E^e all tend to use single consonants against double consonants in Be^{ChS}; e.g., in the Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya extract *sallapento* is found in Pāc BTh (ka-r,5), Pāc B^{KP} (17a,2) and Pāc E^e (1,10), whereas in Pāc Be^{ChS} (1,8) *sallapanto* (and six further occurrences in Pāc); similarly, *asutaṃ* in Pāc BTh (kā-r,5), Pāc Be^H (2,24) and Pāc E^e (2,17), against *assutaṃ* in Pāc Be^{ChS} (2,20).

A few (presumed) scribal errors were identified in B^{KP}; e.g., in Dhs, *-m-* is written for *-p-*: *maggaho* in Pāc B^{KP} (112a,39), whereas *paggāho* in Pāc Be^H (5,26–27), Pāc BTh (kī-r,15), Pāc Be^{ChS} (16,1–2) and Pāc E^e (8). In the Apadāna, *-th-* is at times written as *-tth-* (e.g. *paṭṭhamā* instead of *paṭhamā* at Ap B^{KP} 665a,5) and *-c-* instead of *-j-* (e.g. *sīhapañcarā* instead of *sīhapañjarā* at Ap B^{KP} 665a,7 and Ap Be^H 2,4). Curiously, Be^H prefers *vīriya* (e.g. Ap Be^H 5,6–11), while Ap B^{KP} *virīya* (e.g. Ap B^{KP} 665a,36–37). In this and other respects, Ap Be^{ChS} appears to be more similar to Ap Be^H than Ap B^{KP}, which may indicate that its base text was derived from Ap Be^H or some other early printed edition instead of Ap B^{KP} itself.

MORPHOLOGY AND LEXICON

Both B^{KP} and Be^H occasionally disagree with the other witnesses in morphological features; e.g., in the Apadāna, Ap B^{KP} (665a,30) and Ap Be^H (4,20) write *sabbe kaññā* against *sabbā kaññā* in other sources. In the Mūlapariyāya-sutta, M I B^{KP} (356a,34) and M I Be^H (4,23–24) write *pathaviṃ mābhinandati* whereas M I Be^{ChS} (5,4) and M I E^e (4,11) *pathaviṃ mābhinandi*; or *nibbānaṃ mābhinandati* (M I B^{KP} 356a,37; M I Be^H 4,30–5,1) against *nibbānaṃ mābhinandi* (M I Be^{ChS} 5,11; M I E^e 4,21). In Dhs, there is an elision of the morpheme *-no-* in the compound *nevācayagāmināpacayagāminodhammā* in all Burmese sources (i.e. Dhs BTh ka-v,4–5; Dhs B^{KP} 112a,5; Dhs Be^H 2,2; Dhs Be^{ChS} 2,12), whereas Dhs E^e (2) writes *neva-ācayagāmino na apacayagāmino dhammā*, presumably reflecting a Sri Lankan manuscript.

Variant readings are very rare in Pāc, just occasionally B^{KP} (probably erroneously) omits a word (e.g., *musā bhaṇitanti* (Pāc B^{KP} 17a,43) against *musā mayā bhaṇitanti* in Pāc BTh (kī-r,5), Pāc Be^H (6,6), Pāc Be^{ChS} (6,8) and Pāc E^e (4,19)) or, alternatively, a word is added to mark more explicitly the end of a section, e.g., Pāc B^{KP} (17a,44) *musāvādasikkhāpadaṃ paṭhamam* against *paṭhamam* at Pāc BTh (kī-r, 6) and *musāvādasikkhāpadaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ paṭhamam* at Pāc Be^H (6,9) and Pāc Be^{Ch} (6,13), although this is para-textual.

In Dhs all readings in Burmese sources agree; however, there are several significant lexical differences in relation to Dhs E^e, indicating that the latter presumably relied on Sri Lankan manuscripts (the PTS edition of Dhs gives no variant readings and uses two unidentified manuscripts, one Burmese and one Sri Lankan). The following examples were identified in the Dhs extract studied: (1) Dhs B^{KP} (112a,34), Dhs BTh (ki-v,7), Dhs Be^H (5,7) and Dhs Be^{ChS} (13,9–10) read *saraṇā dhammā || araṇā dhammā || ||*, whereas Dhs E^e (7) *saraṇā dhammā, saraṇā dhammā*; (2) Dhs B^{KP} (112a,7), Dhs BTh (ka-v,8–kār,1), Dhs Be^H (2,6) and Dhs Be^{ChS} (3,5) read *sammattaniyatādhammā*, against Dhs E^e (1) *sampattaniyatā dhammā*; (3) Dhs B^{KP} (112a,21), Dhs BTh (ki-r,1) and Dhs Be^H (3,24–25) read *nīvaraṇācevadhammānīvaranasampayuttāca || nīvaraṇasampayuttācevadhammānocanīvaraṇā || ||*, whereas Dhs E^e omits this duplet. In Dhs, colophons in B^{KP} agree with Be^H and Be^{ChS} against BTh and E^e (e.g., Dhs B^{KP} (112a,9) and Dhs Be^H (2,13) and Dhs Be^{ChS} (3,28) *tikamātikā*; whereas Dhs BTh (kār,3) *dvāvīsatikaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ* and Dhs E^e (2) *tikaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ*).

One of the greatest differences between the witnesses of the Mūlapariyāya-sutta (M I) is in the titles that head and end the *sutta* and in division titles, perhaps reflecting their para-textual status. Otherwise, in the Mūlapariyāya-sutta (M I) B^{KP} and Be^H readings agree in virtually all cases; sometimes Be^H (seemingly) corrects an error in B^{KP}, e.g., endings in *mutaṃ mutate sañjānāti* (M I B^{KP} 356a,26–27) against *mutaṃ mutato sañjānāti* (M I Be^H 3,30 and so in all other witnesses); or deletes particle *na* in *te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ nābhinanduntī* (M I B^{KP} 356a,66) against *te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanduntī* (M I Be^H 7,28–29). Generally, M I B^{KP} and M I Be^H agree and only minor differences are found among all other witnesses, e.g., an additional *ti* in later printed

editions, e.g., *abhisambuddhoti vadāmi* (M I B^{KP} 356a,66; M I Be^H 7,26–27) against *abhisambuddhoti vadāmīti* (M I Be^{ChS} 8,17; M I E^e 6,22–23). There is one instance in the Mūlapariyāya-sutta where all witnesses differ from each other in wording: *te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitam nābhinanduntī* (M I B^{KP} 356a,66); *te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitam abhinanduntī* (M I Be^H 7,28–29); *na te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitam abhinanduntī* (M I Be^{ChS} 8,19); *Attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitam abhinandun – ti* (M I E^e 6,24–25).

The Buddhāpadāna of the Apadāna appears to contain more variant readings than the other texts selected for this investigation. For example, we find *dhārentī* (Ap B^{KP} 665a,18; Ap Be^H 3,10–12) instead of *dhārentu* (Ap Be^{ChS} 4,12–14; Ap E^e 3,16–18), *samāhantā* (Ap Be^{ChS} 3,18; Ap Be^H 2,26) instead of *samāhantvā* (Ap B^{KP} 665a,13; Ap E^e 2,27) and *santi* (Ap B^{KP} 665a,11; Ap Be^H 2,18) instead of *sandhī* (Ap Be^{ChS} 3,7; Ap E^e 2,16). Curiously, in Be^H we find *tejasā* (Ap Be^H 4,3) against all other witnesses included in this investigation which read *cetasā*; indeed, in the case of the Apadāna, it cannot be said that Be^H is an especially faithful reproduction of B^{KP}. At times the readings of E^e are substantially different, e.g. we find the reading *suvaṇṇajālābhi samyuttam rajatajāla-manīhi ca* (Ap E^e 3,15) instead of *chattā tiṭṭhantu ratanā kañca-nāveḷapantikā* and the complete omission of the first four verses of the text.

2.5.4. SUMMARY OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Overall, the findings of these reviews of four sample sections of the text inscribed on the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae mostly confirm what have been identified already as features of the Pāli texts transmitted by Burmese sources (Bollée 1968; Hamm 1962; 1973; Grönbold 2005; Clark 2015a; 2015b).

- Assuming that the placement of *daṇḍas* within Pāli texts is guided by traditions of text division, we judge from the (generally lighter) use of *daṇḍas* on the Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions that the inscriptions as carved do not present evidence (for these texts at least) of direct influence of the *daṇḍa* tradition in the manuscript tradition represented by BTh, i.e., BTh seems to stem from a different manuscript line than B^{KP}. Further exploration of manuscripts from Mandalay that pre-date the Kuthodaw Pagoda may yet identify a manuscript more closely related to the source tradition.

- Be^H and Be^{ChS} do tend to conserve the *danḍa* markings from B^{KP} . Since Be^{ChS} is apparently based on B^{KP} (as reflected in Be^H) this seems to be confirmed.
- As already known, E^e tends to innovate within the transmitted text by omitting repetitive elements, and completely revising punctuation and division naming conventions. No Burmese source innovates by removing repeated material. Instead, Burmese sources generally follow the text patterns passed down by the tradition rather carefully in terms of the *peyyāla* markings; simultaneously though there is evidence of (mostly minor) “innovations” in the text as printed in the Sixth Council versions which, in terms of printing and layout, have a strong influence from Western models of presenting printed texts (including the introductions of sections and other headings).
- As shown for each of the texts discussed, there are idiosyncrasies of text presentation (matching what many other editors using Burmese sources have found). There are minor differences between B^{Th} and B^{KP} that include variations in vowel length, the use of *anusvāra* or class nasals, variation between *-th-* and *-dh-* and *-tth-*.
- There are micro shifts in word division, presentation of consecutive words as compounds or not, etc. In a few cases these do alter meanings.
- Variant readings seem to be rare, especially in Dhs, Pāc, and M I; Burmese witnesses mostly agree, lexical differences are mainly found in relation to E^e . Ap appears to contain more variant readings among its witnesses than the other texts selected for this investigation, indicating that, in comparing different editions and manuscripts, each text may reflect different sources and idiosyncrasies of transmission.
- Although B^{KP} is generally aligned with Be^H , Ap and Dhs show several differences between these two sources.
- Overall, when contrasted with the Be^{ChS} editions, there are no indications or evidence in the texts reviewed to suggest that the B^{KP} texts contain anything other than a Burmese “recension” of the texts they present; while the Be^{ChS} edition (as stated in the extracts cited earlier) seems to be based on B^{KP} as well as a number of printed editions (importantly, most likely not directly on any

manuscripts) (Clark 2015a, 95).

- Alterations of the text transmitted by the Fifth Council have been silently introduced into the Pāli text of Be^{ChS}.
- Be^{ChS} reflects influences from E^e, having regularised the texts (e.g., insertions of *ti*, inclusion of the explanatory word *niṭṭhitam*) and following its example, the inclusion of readings from different (non-Burmese) transmission lines.
- Be^{ChS} has been characterised by Clark (2015a, 103–105), who states that the choice of readings made by its editors “has resulted in a text that is more homogeneous, adheres more closely to standard Pāli, and is more easily understood. ... Moreover, contrary to previous belief, the series does not exclusively represent the Burmese transmission of Pāli literature; in fact, it has liberally used readings from all its sources, which were produced in different countries” (Clark 2015a, 105). In this edition, readings have been favoured that
 - produce an orthographically consistent text, and that better reflect the corresponding Sanskrit,
 - produce metrically standard *śloka* verses containing eight-syllable *pādas*,
 - avoid unusual grammatical features (in favour of readings that contain standard grammar),
 - produce a sentence more easily understood from a semantic viewpoint.
- E^e is eclectically edited using some witnesses that belong to different transmission lines to the other witnesses included in this investigation. Therefore, at times the readings of E^e are substantially different.

3. ABBREVIATIONS

Be ^{ChS}	Burmese script Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition (Burmese or Roman script versions)
Be ^H	Burmese script “Fifth Council” text as printed by the Hanthawaddy Press
B ^{KP}	Burmese script Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions
B Th	Burmese script Phayre manuscript(s); manuscripts commissioned by King Tharrawaddy and given to Arthur Phayre by King Mindon; now housed at the British Library

E^e European Roman script PTS editions

PTS Pali Text Society

REFERENCING

Abbreviations of Pāli texts follow the PTS usage plus Pāc for Pācittiya

Manuscripts: text + folio letter/number + recto/verso + line; e.g., Dhs ka-r,5 = Dhammasaṅgaṇī folio ka, recto, line 5

Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions (B^{KP}): stela no. + side + line; e.g., 112a,1 = stela 112, side a, line 1; 112b,1–5 = stela 112, side b, lines 1–5. The counting of line numbers in the B^{KP} does not include the header and footers (text in cartouches at top and bottom of the stela).

Editions: text + volume + page + line; e.g., for Be^{ChS}, M I 234,2–3 = Majjhima-nikāya, volume 1, page 234, lines 2–3; M I 234,2–235,10 = Majjhima-nikāya, volume 1, page 234, line 2 to p. 235, line 10. The counting of line numbers in editions does not include the header.

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ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Late in the final proof-reading of this article, Anthony Scott kindly provided images of the following Myanmar PhD theses which contain information

directly relevant to this topic; however, we have not been able to use these for this article:

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5. APPENDICES

5.1. APPENDIX 1: HANTHAWADDY AND OTHER PRINTINGS OF THE KUTHODAW TEXTS (CA. 1893–1939)

Very few copies of these early printed books survive, even within Myanmar; an exception is a partial set held in the library of the University of Tokyo (UT). As an initial step towards documenting these editions, we reprint here a list of the volumes traced so far, with date, standardised Pāli title, pagination, place of publication and press.

BL = British Library; Dh = Dhammachai Tipiṭaka Project digital versions; LC = Library of Congress; UT = University of Tokyo library

1. 1893. Pācittiya (Vinayaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 425 pp. [Dh]
2. 1900. Dhammasaṅgaṇī (Abhidhammaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 228 pp. [UT]
3. 1900. Dhātukathā and Puggalapaññatti (Abhidhammaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 77 pp. (Dhātukathā), 71 pp. (Puggalapaññatti) [UT]
4. 1900. Paṭṭhāna, Vols. 1, 3–5 (Abhidhammaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. [UT]
5. 1900. Yamaka (Abhidhammaṭiṭaka), Vols. 1–2. Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. [UT]
6. 1900. Vibhaṅga (Abhidhammaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 371 pp. [UT]
7. 1900. Pāṭikavagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 207 pp. [UT]
8. 1900. Sīlakkhandhavagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 200 pp. [UT]
9. 1900. Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttaṭiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 241 pp. [Dh, UT]

10. 1900. Khandhavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 196 pp. [Dh]
11. 1900. Saḷāyatanavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 293 pp. [Dh]
12. 1900. Cūlavagga (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 442 pp. [UT]
13. 1900. Mahāvagga (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 451 pp. [UT]
14. 1900. Pācittiya (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 369 pp. [BL, LC, UT]
15. 1900. Pārājika (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 323 pp. [Dh, UT]
16. 1900. Parivāra (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 311 pp. [Dh, UT]
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21. 1908. Paṭṭhāna, Vol. 2 (Abhidhammapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 333 pp. [Dh]
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23. 1908. Paṭṭhāna, Vol. 5 (Abhidhammapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 240 pp. [Dh]
24. 1908. Vibhaṅga (Abhidhammapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 371 pp. [Dh]
25. 1908. Jātaka (verses only; Suttapiṭaka) Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 387 pp. [Dh]
26. 1908. Majjhimaapaṇṇāsa of the Majjhimanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 420 pp. [Dh]
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28. 1908. Sagāthāvagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 172 pp. [Dh]

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32. 1908. Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka and Suttanipāta (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 274 pp. [Dh]
33. 1908. Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 217 pp. [Dh]
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35. 1909. Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 488 pp. [Dh]
36. 1909. Cūlaniddesa (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 253 pp. [Dh]
37. 1909. Mahāniddesa (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 367 pp. [Dh]
38. 1909. Milindapañha (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 337 pp. [Dh]
39. 1909. Mūlapaṇṇāsa of the Majjhimanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 384 pp. [Dh]
40. 1909. Nettippakaraṇa and Peṭakopadesa (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 298 pp. [Dh]
41. 1909. Paṭisambhidāmagga (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Hanthawaddy Press. 391 pp. [Dh]
42. 1911. Cūlavagga (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 454 pp. [Dh]
43. 1911. Mahāvagga (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 461 pp. [Dh]
44. 1911. Pācittiya (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 399 pp. [Dh]
45. 1911. Pārājika (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 330 pp. [Dh]
46. 1911. Parivāra (Vinayapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 336 pp. [Dh]
47. 1911. Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 249 pp. [Dh]

48. 1911. Pāṭikavagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 211 pp. [Dh]
49. 1911. Sīlakkhandhavagga of the Dīghanikāya (Suttapiṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 200 pp. [Dh]
50. 1912. Paṭṭhāna, Vol. 1 (Abhidhammapīṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 325 pp. [Dh]
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52. 1912. Yamaka, Vol. 2 (Abhidhammapīṭaka). Rangoon: Thudhamawadi Press. 289 pp. [Dh]
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5.2. APPENDIX 2: EXTRACTS OF EARLIER PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS

5.2.1. MAX MÜLLER (1895, 503–505) ON THE KUTHODAW

True, the Buddhist Canon is full of repetitions, but at present we need only think of the number of volumes, of pages, and of words, whether repeated or not. It is not easy to realise such a number as 8,708,000 syllables, but we may try to do so, and then think of the Kutho-daw, which is a Buddhist monument near Mandalay in Burma, consisting of about 700 temples, each containing a slab of white marble on which the whole of this Buddhist Bible, the whole of these eight millions of syllables, has been carefully engraved. The alphabet is Burmese, the language is Pāli, the language supposed to have been spoken by Buddha. Well may the Buddhists say that such a Bible on white marble cannot be matched in the whole world. I am glad it cannot. Think of the fearful expenditure of labour and money. And what is the result? A small copy of the New Testament, which our University Press turns out for a penny a copy, is more useful, has more power for good in it, quite apart from its intrinsic value, than the whole of this gigantic structure which no one reads, nay, which but few people understand. The Kutho-daw is not an ancient monument. It was erected in 1857 by Mindon-min, the predecessor of King Thebaw, the last king of Burma. No one seems ever to have described this marvellous pile, and I confess that unless my correspondent, Mr Ferrars, had sent me photographs of it, I should have found it difficult to believe in this extraordinary monument of Buddhist piety and Buddhist folly.

To judge from these photographs, there are about seven hundred temples, forming together a large square, with a higher temple in the centre, visible from far and wide. Each temple contains a slab of white marble covered with inscriptions, possibly more than one, if the inscriptions contain, as is maintained, the complete text of the three Pitakas. Over each slab there is an ornamental canopy in pagoda form, which renders photography difficult, but by no means impossible. Mr Ferrars, a member of the Burma Forest Department, is quite ready to undertake the photographic reproduction of the complete text of the Tripitaka, if the Government or some learned society will bear the small expense that is required. He has been assured that the text, as engraved on the marble slabs, was critically revised and edited by a Royal Commission, consisting of ten learned men under the presidency of the famous Rahan, U-Nye-ya. It is stated that three copies of the same text were prepared at the same time on palm-leaves, and sent by the king to three European libraries. What libraries they were I have not been able to find out.

If a photographic reproduction could be made at a reasonable price, it would certainly seem desirable, though, from a specimen sent to me, I am a little afraid that some of the letters are no longer quite distinct. The signs of decay are visible all over the building; the moisture of the climate has begun to tell, and moss is growing on the walls and cupolas. What a confirmation of Buddha's

teaching that all is perishable and that all that has been put together will come apart again!

How much more real good might have been done if this pious and learned Buddhist king had been properly advised as to the best way of doing honour to the memory of Buddha! Buddhists in many parts of the world seem very anxious that the nations of Europe should gain a correct knowledge of the ancient religion of Buddha. In this they are quite justified. Some go so far as to send missionaries to convert the world. This seems rather too sanguine a plan; anyhow, before such attempts are made, it would certainly be desirable to spread a correct knowledge of Buddhism, and thus to counteract the mischievous misrepresentations of the great sage of Kapilavâstu, scattered broadcast by those who call themselves esoteric Buddhists. The importance of Buddhist literature for a comparative study of religions is now generally recognised, and for philological purposes also a scholarlike knowledge of Pâli is of very great importance.

It is a great pity that at Oxford there should be no chair of Pâli; and the true admirers of Buddha could hardly show their admiration in a better way than by helping to found a lectureship of Pâli language and literature. The King of Siam has shown his reverence for the memory of Buddha by helping me to bring out a series of translations of the sacred books of the Buddhists. Is there no other admirer of the great sage to follow this noble example? Even a gigantic marble structure like the Kutho-daw crumbles to pieces, and the inscriptions remain silent in the wilderness. A learned and painstaking teacher of Pâli, though he must not expect to gain any converts to Buddhism at Oxford, would certainly help to secure to Buddha that position among the wisest and best men of the world which belongs to him by right as the recognised guide and teacher of 423 millions of human beings — as a sage whose utterances even those who belong to another religion may read, mark, and inwardly digest, with real advantage to themselves — as one whom a former professor in this University declared to be “second to One only”.

5.2.2. ARNOLD WRIGHT (1910, 139) ON PHILIP RIPLEY AND THE HANTHAWADDY PRESS

THE HANTHAWADDY PRESS. The story of the growth of the Hanthawaddy Press is linked to an unusual degree with the history of the founder and owner, Mr Philip H. Ripley. Born in Kyaukpyu fifty years ago [1860], Mr Ripley came to Rangoon at the age of seventeen to earn his own living. He first obtained an appointment in the Rangoon and Irrawaddy Valley (State) Railway, and subsequently entered the British Burma Secretariat. While there he assiduously set himself to master the Burmese language under the *capable* guidance of the late Mr W. Hadford, Government translator. After two years' steady work he was selected for the post of sub-editor of the Educational Gazette, a Government publication, and by the time he was twenty years of age he was acting as

Burmese translator to the Government. It was about this time that he became keenly interested in the art of printing, the taste for which was accentuated by his connection with the Government Printing Press in the passing of proofs of Burmese matter for the British Burma Gazette. As a hobby, he set up a miniature printing press, for the printing and publishing of Burmese literature, in a by-lane known as 34th Street, at the back of the Town Hall. General jobbing work in English was also undertaken, and he was entrusted with the whole of the printing for the Church of England in the Rangoon Diocese. In 1893 Mr Ripley resigned the service of Government in order to proceed to England for the purpose of studying the method of type-founding, and of improving his general knowledge of the art of printing. In this he was eminently successful. During the twelve months that he spent in England Mr Ripley visited numerous printing works, and made himself thoroughly familiar with the practical details of type-founding. On his return to Rangoon in 1897, he brought with him complete plant for a type foundry, which he set up in the present commodious premises known as the Hanthawaddy Printing Works, at 46, Sule Pagoda Road. The building, which is four storeys in height, has a floor space of 6,000 square feet. In the new home of the Hanthawaddy Press the printing of Burmese literature continues to be the main work undertaken, special attention being directed to the publication of Burmese classics, which are found inscribed upon palm leaves in the various monasteries throughout the country. The most important work in this direction has been the production of the Pāli Text of the Tripitaka (Buddhist scriptures), after very careful recension. As a young man Mr Ripley cherished an ambition to make these writings known, and, in spite of discouragement, even from the Buddhist priesthood, he resolutely set about the task. The work took many years to accomplish. The complete Tripitaka comprises thirty-eight printed volumes. The proofs of this work had to be sent for revision to Mandalay, where the whole of these scriptures, engraved on marble slabs, are placed round a pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill. The demand for the volumes is steadily increasing. The Press undertakes not only printing in English, Burmese, and Tamil, type-casting, and stereotyping, but also bookbinding, rubber-stamp making, engraving, and the making of photo-process blocks. During recent years the business has grown steadily, and at the time of writing new works are in course of erection in the suburbs of Rangoon, and a branch is about to be opened at Mandalay. Among the periodicals and newspapers published by the Press are the *Rangoon advertiser*, an English paper, and the *Hanthawaddy weekly review*, which is printed in Burmese, and contains general news, translations of Reuters telegrams, and commercial information calculated to be of interest to the Burmese. The firm employ four Burmese editors, the chief of whom is an ex-official of the Court of the late King of Burma, and over 180 hands are engaged in the works. In the management of the business great assistance is rendered Mr Ripley by his wife and his two sons, Messrs. Harry and George Ripley. Both sons were educated at

Dulwich College, England. The elder served his apprenticeship in printing with Messrs. Andrews Bros., London, and subsequently joined a firm of photo-process engravers. Mr George Ripley studied at the Crystal Palace School of Engineering, and afterwards added to his experience by a term of apprenticeship at Glasgow in the engineering works of Messrs. Major & Coulson. The London agents for the Hanthawaddy Press are Messrs R.D. Galbraith & Co., of 11, Billiter Square, E.C. Mr P.H. Ripley is managing director of the Hanthawaddy Land Company and he is on the directorate of the Athlone Land Company. He is also a member of the board of governors of the Diocesan Schools, Rangoon.

5.2.3. LUDU DAW AHMAR (1980, 53–57) ON PHILIP RIPLEY

Thirty years after the stone *pitaka* was completed, the paper *pitaka* was made for the first time. Mr Philip H. Ripley of the Hanthawaddy Press was the pioneer in this work. One volume of this book (Royal Octavo size) had 400 pages approximately and there were thirty-eight volumes in a complete set. A printed book would make the *Pitaka* cheap and the public opinion was against it. So only when the Taunggyin Thathanabine expressed his happiness to hear the news that the *pitaka* would soon be available in book form, that Mr Ripley regained his courage to proceed with the work of printing. It was in about 1900 and Mr Ripley took all care to make his copies perfect. He had the galley-proofs checked against the “stone *Pitaka*” at Mandalay. In fact he claimed that his books were “true copies of the *Pitaka* inscribed on stones by King Mindon”. He also had the titles to various chapters printed in the same handwriting as they appeared on the stones. People who were once proof-readers under him like Hanthawaddy U Ba Yin and Saya Zeya (U Yaw) often recalled that the old gentleman took enormous pains to make the *pitaka* he printed free of mistakes. He printed a declaration on each book that he would give a reward of Rs. 50 for each word that did not agree with the corresponding word on the “stone *pitaka*”.

The reason for Ripley’s such thoroughness [*sic*] was not entirely business. He was an Armenian born at Kyaukphyu and when he was a boy he visited the Mandalay Palace with his father known to the Burmese as Commissioner Red Head. King Mindon took a fancy to adopt the Little Red Head as one of his sons. So he lived in the Palace like a prince and attended an English school run by an Anglican clergy called Dr. Marks where most of the King’s sons were sent for modern education. Whenever he had to mention the King, he used the term “Phondawgyipaya” like the other children of the King. When the King was ill for the last time, there were many palace intrigues on naming a successor to him. The Little Red Head, then seventeen, did not want to get himself involved in any one of these intrigues and so he fled to Rangoon. He was Burmese in many ways and when he entered the printing and publishing business, he tried to express his thanks to the King he loved by making an extension of the King’s project in having perfect copies of the *Pitaka*.

Ripley was amply rewarded for all the care he took in printing the *Pitaka* in exactly as it appeared on stones. Many sets of his books were sent even outside Burma where Theravada Buddhism prevailed. Soon other printing concerns followed suit. One of them was the Tampadipa Time Press which in 1912 printed books on *pitaka* with the same claims as Ripley. It even used a picture of “stone *Pitaka*” cave as its trade mark. Ripley had established a tradition that all the printed *Pitaka* books must have the “stone *Pitaka*” as the standard work.

Most of the foreigners visiting Burma made it a point to visit the Kuthodaw at Mandalay and take photographs of the World’s Biggest Book. Recently [1972 ?] a mission from West Germany was here to photograph every face of the inscriptions. The mission had to take seven days to finish the task. When the Sixth Buddhist Synod was convened at Rangoon, a delegation of 100 monks came here to check their text against the text here. It reported that it found no serious difference between the two.

**Boundaries and Domains :
Understanding Optionality in Buddhapiya's *Rūpasiddhi****

Aleix Ruiz-Falqués

ABSTRACT

Since the publication of Paul Kiparsky's *Pāṇini as a Variationist* (1979), the discussion on optionality in Indian *vyākaraṇa* has been largely polarised into two views: Kiparsky's thesis defends the idea that Pāṇini used different words to indicate different degrees of optionality; others deny Kiparsky's claim and maintain that the exact scope of grammatical options can only be determined by the context. Whereas Sanskrit grammarians do not substantiate Kiparsky's claims, the Pali *vyākaraṇa* tradition of the Kaccāyana school recognises two different types of options. In this paper I will focus on the treatment of option markers in Buddhapiya's *Rūpasiddhi* (South India, twelfth century). The *Rūpasiddhi* is based on the Kaccāyana grammar, but it takes an innovative approach towards the general structure of the rules. It also alters the mechanisms of optionality in a way that allows for higher accuracy in the process of word derivation. As a step forward in our understanding of the rich Pali grammatical tradition, this article provides a definition and classification of markers *vā*, *kvaci*, *navā*, and *vibhāsā* in the *Rūpasiddhi*. It also shows that the understanding of

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option markers in Kaccāyana classical scholarship differs significantly from Kiparsky's understanding of linguistic variation.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. In the Pali language, one single word can adopt various correct forms. For instance, the ablative singular of the word *buddha* may be *buddhā*, *buddhamhā*, *buddhasmā*, or *buddhato*, and the third person singular optative can be *care* or *careyya*. In order to account for such multiplicity of derivations, Pali grammarians use a set of markers inherited from the Sanskrit tradition. The most prominent among them are option markers, such as *vā* or *kvaci*. Option markers delimit the domain of a rule; they draw the boundary line between what is general and what is exceptional, thus distinguishing what is allowed in terms of derivation from what is not.¹ Therefore, understanding how option markers work is essential for the correct interpretation of classical Pali grammars.

1.2. The study of option markers has received considerable attention in Sanskrit scholarship, especially after Paul Kiparsky's publication of *Pāṇini as a Variationist* (1979). In this monograph Kiparsky challenges the received opinion concerning the function of option markers in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*:

To indicate that a rule is to be applied optionally, Pāṇini uses 106 times *vā*, 112 times *vibhāṣā*, and 93 times *anyatarasyām*. Why this variety, when one word would do? This question has a surprising answer, which has remained unknown for over two thousand years. Not even the oldest commentators Kātyāyana and Patañjali have any inkling of it.²

¹ Kahrs (1992: 233) compares Pāṇini's grammar with a map describing a territory that is the language: "If we have a map — and I think it is justified to call the linguistic descriptions of the ancient Indian grammarians a map — it will tell us a great deal about those who made the map. A basic question is this: What features of the territory are represented on the map? If the territory is absolutely uniform, nothing would be represented on the map except the borders of the territory. Otherwise, what will be represented on the map is really *differences* of various kinds."

² Kiparsky 1979: 1.

Kiparsky's "surprising" answer is that these three technical terms express three different levels of optionality: *vā* "or rather", "preferably"; *vibhāṣā* "or rather not", "preferably not"; *anyatarasyām* "either way".³ Kiparsky understands that preferred options reflect a wider linguistic usage, and less preferred options reflect marginal, or perhaps dialectal, usage. Among Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* specialists there is a divide concerning the validity of Kiparsky's thesis.⁴ But regardless of our judgement, the importance of his question seems undeniable. For economy of language is one of the cardinal principles of *vyākaraṇa*, and if all option markers mean the same: why use many and not one?

1.3. The same question may be asked about option markers in Pali classical⁵ grammar, where virtually the same technical terms are used. So far, there has been little research in this area. Émile Senart, who published the first European integral edition and translation of the Kaccāyana grammar, openly condemns the manner in which Kacc uses option markers. The same goes for R.O. Franke.⁶ More constructively, Helmer Smith analyses option markers in the Saddanīti in a useful sketch in his *Cospectus Terminorum* (§7.3.2.3), although no further discussion is given. Ole Pind observes that, in the Kaccāyana and the Kaccāyana-vutti, the terms *vā* and *kvaci* "are apparently used interchangeably, thus making the exact scope of a rule difficult to interpret,"⁷

³ Kiparsky 1979: 1.

⁴ Strong reservations regarding Kiparsky's thesis are presented in Palsule 1982, Devasthali 1983, and Cardona 2004: 162ff. Other distinguished reviewers, however, have accepted the thesis: Bronkhorst 1982: 273; Smith 1982: 185. For a middle-way assessment, see Deshpande 1984.

⁵ By "classical" Pali grammar I mean the Kaccāyana, the Moggallāna, and the Saddanīti, along with their commentaries and offshoots. I use the term *classical* in its meaning "exemplary". For overviews of classical grammatical scholarship in Pali, I refer to Franke 1902, Pind 2012, Deokar 2008, Gornall and Gunasena 2018, and see also von Hinüber 1983, and Gornall and Ruiz-Falqués 2019; for an overview of the Kaccāyana tradition, see Ruiz-Falqués 2016.

⁶ For Kacc *sutta* as lacking a systematical approach, see Senart 1871:14; see also Franke 1902: 14; for the wrong use of *vā*, see Senart 1871: 93.

⁷ Pind 2012: 83.

but he also notes that the Rūpasiddhi applies some corrections concerning optionality of *kvaci* and *na vā*.⁸ Mahesh Deokar includes optionality in his thorough comparative study *Technical Terms and Technique of the Pali and the Sanskrit Grammars* (2008). Deokar points out that the minute distinctions that are observed in Sanskrit grammars “are not observed so rigorously by the Pali grammarians”.⁹ Some translators of the Kaccāyana do not reflect any difference of meaning between different option markers;¹⁰ others are more careful and try to distinguish them, e.g. Nandisena’s translation.¹¹ Among all translations and studies known to me, only those by Thiab Malai and Nandisena acknowledge the traditional system of reading option markers.¹² The intricacies of this system, however, remain to be properly elucidated. The present article is intended as a contribution to the vastly unexplored field of Pāli *byākaraṇa* studies. It focuses on one of the major grammars of the Kaccāyana school, namely the Rūpasiddhi, composed in South India by Coḷa Buddhappiya¹³ around the twelfth century CE.¹⁴

1.4. Buddhappiya’s Rūpasiddhi is a recast of the Kaccāyana (Kacc) grammar.¹⁵ It uses practically all the *suttas* of Kacc, but their sequence is dramatically altered. Furthermore, the old Kaccāyana-vutti (Kacc-v) is replaced by Buddhappiya’s own commentary. In the introductory stanzas Buddhappiya briefly justifies his project. He states that he has

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Deokar 2008: 367, 369.

¹⁰ For instance, in his notes to the *ākhyāta* chapter of the Rūpasiddhi, Grünwedel translates both *kvaci* and *vā* as “arbiträr”, but he is obviously aware of the levels of optionality of the *vavatthitavibhāsā* “bestimmte *vibhāsā*” (Grünwedel 1883: 52); Ashin Thitzana (2016), translates the four main option markers in Kacc *vā*, *kvaci*, *na vā*, *vibhāsā* as “sometimes”, cf. Thitzana 2016: 129 n.11.

¹¹ D’Alwis (1863: 25–26), for instance, translates *vā* as “optionally” and *kvaci* as “sometimes.”

¹² Malai 1997: 105; Nandisena 2005: 48.

¹³ For the most up-to-date biographical sketch of Buddhappiya, see Gornall 2020: 69ff.

¹⁴ Rachiwong 1995: 10; Gornall and Gunasena 2018: 33; Gornall 2020: 24.

¹⁵ For a critical edition of Kaccāyana and Kaccāyanavutti, see Pind 2013.

composed a work that is *byattaṃ* “clear” and *sukaṇḍaṃ* “well-arranged”. According to the commentary, “*clear (byattaṃ)* means that it is particularly clear, easy to see, because of its clarity both in the delimitation of the domain of the rules and the derivation of what is prescribed by the rules”.¹⁶ This is a direct reference to Buddhappiya’s innovative system, which represents a significant improvement in the use of option markers. As for the adjective *sukaṇḍaṃ* it refers to a topic-wise arrangement that makes the Kacc easier to grasp, much like *kaumudī* grammars did with Pāṇini.¹⁷ Despite the obvious advantages of the new topic-wise arrangement, the alteration of the original sequence of rules inevitably disrupts the mechanisms of *anuvutti* (“recurrence”) that control option markers. Buddhappiya solves this problem by explicitly indicating which words, including option markers, recur in a *sutta*. And more importantly, he incorporates the concept *vavatthitavibhāsā* (“restricted option”) to the repertoire of option markers. In doing so, he achieves higher accuracy than his predecessor Vimalabuddhi when it comes to delimiting the domains and boundaries of options. In the following sections I will offer a preliminary examination of how this system of optionality works.

2. OPTIONALITY IN BUDDHAPPIYA’S RŪPASIDDHI

2.1. Classical Pali grammarians distinguish two main levels of optionality: one for an open “alternative” (*vikappa*) and one for exceptions to a larger rule. The general principle to interpret optional markers in the Kaccāyana Pali grammar is laid out in Vimalabuddhi’s *Mukhamattadīpanī* (Mmd), otherwise known as *Nyāsa*, composed around the tenth century CE.¹⁸ According to Vimalabuddhi, the option markers *kvaci* and *navā* (or *na vā*) have the same meaning; they generally express the correctness of one form, dismissing the other. In contrast, the terms *vā* and *vibhāsā*, which also have the same meaning,¹⁹ generally express an

¹⁶Rūp-ṭ B^e 4.3-5 *byattaṃ* *lakkhaṇavisayavavatthānassa, lakkhiyābhiniṭṭhāyā ca paribhāyā abhibhāyā supākaṭaṃ*.

¹⁷Gornall and Gunasena 2018: 34.

¹⁸Pind 2012: 71.

¹⁹For the unclear relationship between the terms *bhāsā* “language” and *vibhāsā* “dialect” see von Hinüber 2001: 102–103. Von Hinüber provisionally accepts

open option (*vikappa*) in which it is possible to derive two forms.²⁰ The main issue at stake here is whether a word is correct in terms of derivation or not. In Pali, option markers have nothing to do with frequency of usage in the literature, although they are supposed to reflect forms that are attested in the literature (*āgama*). They are only concerned with grammatical correctness, what Sanskrit grammarians call *sādhutva*.²¹ Aside from the general principle that has been described, option markers do not work exactly in the same manner in every Pali grammatical treatise. But exactly how they differ, and why grammarians modify the system, is something that requires further research.

2.2. As a grammar belonging to the Kaccāyana school,²² the Rūpasiddhi uses virtually the same set of option markers: *vā* 154 times, *kvaci* 54 times, *navā* 6 times, *vibhāsā* 4 times (5 if we include *saha vibhāsā* in the *vutti* of Rūp §351).²³ To this list we may also include other words

Kiparsky's conjecture that *vibhāsā* could mean "zu meiden (als Alternative" (i.e. an alternative to be avoided) versus *vā* "zu bevorzugen" (i.e. to be preferred).

²⁰Vimalabuddhi's discussion is in the context of Kacc §21 *ivaṇṇo yaṃ navā* and it is about reading *navā* as one word (Mmd 32,24ff.), see also Malai 1997: 105. Note that in his critical edition Pind reads *na vā* always. The principle of the two levels was synthesised by Guṇasāgara of Pagan (c. thirteenth century) in the Mukhamattasāra (unedited work), and is quoted in Kacc-nidd B^c 154,10–11; C^c 150,13–14, for the context, or lack of context, of this quotation, see Ruiz-Falqués 2015: 142. Guṇasāgara's stanza is quoted by Nandisena (2005: 48) via a quotation found in the Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā (16th c. CE, Burma).

²¹Pas III §§46–55; Joshi and Roodbergen 1968: 70–78. In the discussion on 1.1.44 *naveti vibhāsā*, Patañjali quotes the *iṣṭhi*: *sādhvanuśāsane asmin yasya vibhāsā tasya sādhutvam* "In this teaching of correct [words], correctness applies to that which is optimal" (MBh I 104,8).

²²This is the interpretation of the Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā, problematically ascribed to Buddhappiya himself (see 5.4).

²³The numbers include instances in the *sutta* and the gloss (*vutti*) properly speaking, that is to say the first line of the commentary in which the expanded formulation of the *sutta* is given, including the *anuvutti* (information recurring from previous *suttas*). Option markers in further sections of the *vutti* are excluded from this count. These sections are no doubt relevant to the study of optionality and variation, e.g. the word *ca* introduces a *kvaci* option in Rūp

that control optionality, e.g. *ca* (= *vikappa* Rūp § 117 = *vā*; = *aniyammattha* = *vā* § 664), *thāne* (= *kvaci* Rūp §§ 40, 42), *tu* (= *kvaci* Rūp §§ 125, 226), *vikappena* (Rūp § 117), *niccaṃ* “always” (Rūp §§ 135, 195, 196) and *yebhuyyena* “generally” (Rūp § 36). Keeping with the structure of *Kacc* and *Kacc-v*, the proper option markers remain *vā*, *kvaci*, *navā*, and *vibhāsā*.

2.3. Buddhappiya accepts Vimalabuddhi’s two levels of optionality, but he refines the system in the following manner:

vā “or” has two meanings:

- *vikappa* “open option”
- *vavatthitavibhāsā*²⁴ “restricted option” (used 42 times),²⁵ which involves three sub-domains:
 - (a) *nicca* “mandatory” [Ø option]
 - (b) *anicca* “not mandatory” [= *vikappa*]
 - (c) *asanta* “inapplicable” [≈ *kvaci/navā* see below 4.6.]

kvaci “in some places” indicates exceptions

navā “or not” is glossed as *kvaci* (Rūp § 21)

vibhāsā “optionally” is glossed as *vā* (Rūp-ṭ ad Rūp § 360)

§ 27, or Rūp § 488, invoked a number of times in the elaborations of the *vutti*, e.g. Rūp §§ 470, 488, 489, 492, 500. A more detailed study on option markers, including all the sections of the Rūp commentary and other *Kaccāyana* commentaries, is in preparation.

²⁴This term is known in Sanskrit grammatical literature. Patañjali uses it in his *Mahābhāṣya* (ad Pāṇini 2.4.56, 3.2.124 and 7.1.56). It becomes part of the system of interpretation in later works such as the *Kāśīkāvṛtti* (cf. *Kāś* ad Pāṇ 1.3.70 *tad asmin viṣaye nityaṃ, anyatra vikalpaḥ. vyavasthitavibhāṣā hi sā*; or *Kāś* ad Pāṇ 2.3.17 *vyavasthitavibhāṣāvijñānād eva na bhavati*). The *Kātantra-vṛtti* also uses this term, especially in relation with *navā*: *Kāt-v* 1.4.2, 1.5.5; and see *Kāt-v* 4.6.83: *svariṣyatīti paratvād vikalpo na syād vyavasthitavāvacanāt*; in *Kāt-v* 4.1.72 we can observe the triple domain used in Rūp: *nityaṃ, na syāt* (= *na bhavati*) and *vā* (= *vibhāṣā*).

²⁵In cases such as Rūp § 207 or § 259, the *vutti* suggests that *vā* is being used in the sense of *vavatthitavibhāṣā*, but that is not explicitly stated in the main paraphrase of the *sutta*; therefore, we exclude such cases from the present study (see n. 24).

2.4. There are some exceptions: *vā* = *kvaci* in Rūp § 676 and probably in § 207; *vā* = *sampiṇḍana* in Rūp § 595 (alternatively interpreted as *vikappa*) and Rūp § 187, glosses by Rūp-ṭ as *pakativikappana*; *vā* = *kathacivikappanatta* Rūp § 190; *kvaci* = *vavatthitavibhāsā* Rūp § 461. The relatively rare occurrence of anomalies shows that the general theory is quite consistently observed. In the following sections I am going to briefly examine of how these markers function.

3. *VĀ* AND *VIBHĀSĀ*

3.1. The words *vā* and *vibhāsā* express *vikappa* (Skt. *vikalpa*) “open option”. Whether these terms are explicitly glossed as *vikappena* or not, they indicate an option in which the alternation is unrestricted. For instance, in Rūp § 30 *jhalānaṃ iyuvā sare vā* “before a vowel, masc. neut. endings *i/ī* and *u/ū* may optionally be replaced with *iy* and *uv* respectively”. The word *vā* is not glossed, but a series of free alternatives are listed as examples, e.g. *bhikkhuvāsane bhikkhu āsane vā* (“[one can write/say] *bhikkhvāsane* or *bhikkhu āsane* [indistinctly]”). Similarly, in Rūp § 116 *nāmi raññā vā*, we are given two possibilities for each word, e.g. *rājena/raññā*. Accordingly, we can form the sentences *raññā kataṃ* or *rājena kataṃ*.²⁶

The same type of option is expressed by the marker *vibhāsā*. For example, Rūp § 360 *vibhāsā rukkha-tiṇa-pasu-dhana-dhañña-jana-padādīnañ ca* allows couplets of coordinative compounds that refer, for instance, to species of trees: *assatthakapitthaṃ assatthakapitthā vā* (“fig and wood-apple [trees]”). The word *vā* is used as the gloss of *vibhāsā*.

Eventually it may be possible to derive more than two forms, e.g. Rūp § 197 gives a triple option: *kammunā, kammanā, kammena*.

3.2. The word *vā* is often glossed as *vavatthitavibhāsā* (Skt. *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*), which means “restricted option”.²⁷ Buddhappiya is the earliest

²⁶In reality, *rājena* only appears as part of a compound (*dhammarājena, devarājena*, etc.), never in a sentence such as *rājena kataṃ* (cf. Oberlies § 45, 2b).

²⁷“Option limitée” (Smith 1949: 1146, § 7.3.2.3), “bestimmte *vibhāsā*” (Grünwedel 1983: 52).

recorded Pali grammarian to use this term.²⁸ The usage may have been borrowed from the Cāndra tradition of Sanskrit grammar.²⁹ The standard expression of Rūp is *vavatthitavibhāso* 'yam *vāsaddo* "this word *vā* represents a restricted option". This means that the word *vā* is a *vikappa* only to a certain extent. This is explained in Rūp § 15 *vā paro asarūpā*:

In the same way that the preverb *ā* expresses an inclusive limit or an exclusive limit, the word *vā* in some places expresses an open option (*vikappa*) and in some places expresses the delimitation (*pariggaha*) of certain word-forms (*rūpa*) according to a specific restriction (*yathāvavatthita*). In the present *sutta*, the latter applies. Therefore the word *vā* here illustrates a grammatical operation (*vidhi*) which involves [simultaneously] a mandatory (*nicca*) domain, a non-mandatory (*anicca*) domain, and an inapplicable (*asanta*) domain.³⁰

²⁸For the relative date of the Rūpasiddhi, older than the Moggallāna-byākaraṇa (1165 CE), see Gornall and Gunasena 2018: 34, n.1. As for the relative dates of the Rūpasiddhi and the Saddanīti, they are problematic. Some scholars assume that the Sāsanavaṃsa's dating of Sadd, 1154 CE, is correct (e.g. Franke 1902: 25ff.; von Hinüber 2001, § 62). Other Burmese sources, as little reliable as the Sāsanavaṃsa, point to the thirteenth century CE (cf. Tin Lwin 1991). Aggavaṃsa seems to rely on his predecessors for the understanding of the term: *vavatthitavibhāsāyam vāsaddappayogo ācariye payirupāsivā gahetabbo* "The usage of the word *vā* in the sense of restricted option (*vavatthitavibhāsā*) should be adopted respecting the teachers" (Sadd 889,2-3 and n. 2). For a detailed examination of the relative chronology: Rūpasiddhi > Nyāsappadīpa > Saddanīti, I refer to my forthcoming monograph on Guṇa-sāgara's Mukhamattasāra.

²⁹Gornall 2017: 479: "Au début de sa discussion du chapitre sur les *kāraka*, le commentaire singhalais sur la Rūpasiddhi affirme que Buddhappiya, auteur de la Rūpasiddhi, s'est appuyé sur la Cāndrapañcikā de Ratnamati dans son interprétation du mot 'vā' ('facultativement') dans les Sūtra de Kaccāyana." I thank Alastair Gornall for calling my attention to this important point. It is possible, too, that the term *vavatthitavibhāsā/vyavasthitavibhāsā* was borrowed from the Kātantra tradition, where it is widely used, see below § 3.3.

³⁰Rūp 9,1-4: *yasmā pana mariyādāyam abhividhimhi ca vattamāno ā-upasaggo viya vāsaddo dvidhā vattate, katthaci vikappe, katthaci yathāvavatthitarūpariggaha. idha pana pacchime. tato niccam aniccam asantañ ca vidhim*

The option prescribed by Rūp § 15 is mandatory. For instance, if we apply sandhi to the expression *yassa idāni*, only the elision of the second vowel is allowed: *yassa 'dāni*. The option *yass' idāni* is not contemplated.³¹ The same holds true for *cakkhu indriyaṃ*, which can only undergo the ligature *cakkhundriyaṃ*, never **cakkhindriyaṃ*. This type of option is called *nicca* “mandatory”. Other cases fall under the category *anicca* “not mandatory”, equivalent to *vā = vikappa*, for example: *moggallāno asi* or *moggallāno 'si*. This is a case of “either ... or ...”, but note that the option is not between eliding the first vowel or eliding the second, but between eliding the second or not eliding at all. Finally, the category *asanta* “non-existent” or “inapplicable” is glossed as *idha na bhavati* (“here [the phenomenon of option 2] does not exist [i.e. does not apply]”),³² for example: *pañca indriyāni > pañc' indriyāni*, never **pañca'ndriyāni*.

3.3. Following a method that reminds us of the Kātantra tradition,³³ Buddhappiya frequently synthesises the details of the restricted option

ettha vāsaddo dīpeti. The word *asanta* literally means “non-existent”, i.e. instances of the rule are not found. See also Rūp-ṭ 14,21–15,6: *yasmā ā-upasaggo viya vāsaddo dvidhā vattate, kvaci vikappe, yathā vā ṇapacce ti ādisu, katthaci yathāvavathitānaṃ udāharaṇarūpānaṃ pariggahe, yathā vaggantaṃ vā vagge ti ādisu imasmiṃ sutte paranayena yathāvavathitarūpa-pariggahe vattati, tato niccañ ca aniccañ ca asantañ ca vidhim atra vāsaddo dīpeti ti yojanā* “The connection (*yojanā*) is the following: Because like the preverb *ā*, the word *vā* operates in two ways: somewhere in the sense of option, as in *vā ṇapacce* [Rūp § 361, Kacc § 346], and in some places as the adoption (*pariggahe*) of the example forms as they have been determined (i.e. restricted), as in *vaggantaṃ vā vagge* [Rūp § 49, Kacc § 31], in this *sutta* it operates as adopting the restricted form by taking the following [speech-sound] (*paranayena*), therefore the word *vā* here illustrates an operation that is mandatory, and also not mandatory, and also non-existent.”

³¹I have only been able to find one exception to this rule in the Burmese edition of Sāriputta’s sub-commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, twelfth century CE (cf. A-ṭ B^c II 179). I could not find any instance in canonical or *aṭṭhakathā* texts. Rūp GRETEL ed. p.15 *yassadāni yassidāni*, is a wrong reading for *yassa dāni, yassa idāni*.

³²In Sanskrit grammars we find an equivalent expression in *na syāt*.

³³Cf. Grünwedel 1883: 69.

in “versified summaries” (*saṅgahagāthās*), a sort of *ślokavārttikas*, supplementary rules in verse,³⁴ apt for easy memorisation along with the *sutta*. For instance, in Rūp § 15 we read:

bhavati ca vavatthitavibhāsāya :
avaṇṇato saro ’dānīṭivevādiṃ vinā paro,
na luppāt’ aññato dīgho āsevādivivajjito.

And there is also [the following stanza being the summary] of the restricted option:

After *a-vaṇṇa* [= *a, ā*], the vowel that follows is not elided, except in cases such as *idāni, iti, iva, eva*.

After a vowel other than *a-vaṇṇa* [i.e. after *i, ī, u, ū, e, or o*], the following long vowel is not elided. Exception is made in cases such as *āsi eva* [where no elision at all takes place].³⁵

We may turn now to Rūp-ṭ to clarify the purport of the stanza:

In the summary stanza, the syntax (*sambandha*) is the following: “after *a-vaṇṇa* [= *a/ā*], when it is not homogeneous [with the next vowel], and when it is the cause (*hetu*) of the restricted option (*vavatthitavibhāsā*), the next vowel — i.e. *i-vaṇṇa* [*i/ī*], *u-vaṇṇa* [*u/ū*], etc. — is not elided, except when [it is the first vowel] of words such as *idāni, iti, iva, eva*, etc.” Herein, the word *ādi* includes examples such as *evaṃ kira me* [cf. M III 25,2]. The long vowel that follows a non-homogenous vowel like *i-vaṇṇa*, etc., is not elided, except in cases such as *āsi eva* [cf. Vin IV 74 (?)].³⁶

Another example of a summary stanza that clarifies the scope of a restricted option is found in Rūp § 69 *sabbayonīnam ā e*, “All forms *yo* (nom./acc. pl.) and *ni* (nom./acc. n. pl.) [can be optionally] replaced

³⁴Cf. DSG s.v. *ślokavārttika*.

³⁵Rūp B^e 9,18–20.

³⁶Rūp-ṭ B^e 15,1–6: *saṅgahagāthāya vavatthitavibhāsāya hetunā asarūpabhūtā avaṇṇato paro ivaṇṇuvaṇṇādiko saro ṭhapetvā idāni iti iva eva icc evam ādikaṃ na luppātī ti sambandho. etth’ ādisaddena evaṃ kira me ti ādi saṅgahyati. aññasmā asarūpabhūtā ivaṇṇādito paro dīgho saro āsi eva icc ādivivajjito na luppati.*

with *ā* and *e* [respectively].” Buddhappiya indicates in the *vutti* that *vā* recurs. Then he continues:

The word *vā* here has the meaning of a restricted option, that is why, with regard to this rule, it is stated:

“The word *vā* illustrates the operational rule in this manner: It is mandatory (*nicca*) in the masculine; not mandatory (*anicca*) in the neuter; inapplicable (*asanta*) in masculine/neuter *i/ī* stems when they operate as *a*-endings.”³⁷

Thus we always find nom. pl. *purisā* and acc. pl. *purise*, but never nom./acc. pl. **purisayo*. Neuter words replace *ni* with *ā* and *e*, but not mandatorily, thus: nom./acc. pl. *cittāni*, but also nom. pl. *cittā*, acc. pl. *citte*. Finally, the rule is not applicable to the masculine/neuter stems in *i/ī* such as *aggi* “fire”: nom./acc. pl. *aggayo*, but never *aggā* and *agge*.

3.4. The option marker *vā*³⁸ is used sometimes “for the purpose of blocking” (*nivattanattham*) other option markers. See for instance Rūp § 190, where the term *vā* is not explicit in the rule, but its governance is invoked: *vādhikāro kathacinivattanattho* “the governance of *vā* is in order to prevent the application of *kathaci*”.³⁹ In its equivalent rule in the Kaccāyana grammar (Kacc § 239), the governance of *vā* is missing because the author of Kacc/Kacc-*v* understands that the effect of optionality has already ceased, and the rule should be understood as a simple injunction.

3.5. Furthermore, in Rūp §§ 155, 226, and 440, *ca* is used also as *kathacinivattanattham*; in § 201 as *kathacipaṭisedhanivattanattham*; and in § 141 as *kvacinivattanattham*. The words *kathaci*^o and *kvacinivattanattham* appear to be synonymous. In § 155, for instance, the effect

³⁷Rūp B^e 45,23ff.:

vāsaddo ’yaṃ vavatthitavibhāsatto, tena c’ etha:
niccam eva ca pulliṅge, aniccañ ca napumsake;
asantam jhe katatte tu, vidhiṃ dīpeti vāsuti.

³⁸The different meanings of *vā* are stated in an appendix on *nipātapadas* at the end of the Nāmakaṇḍa, cf. Rūp B^e 132–36.

³⁹Rūp B^e 88,10–14.

of *ca*, glossed as *katthacinivatthanattham*,⁴⁰ is precisely to cancel the exceptional nature of the rule and make it open in some cases. The same rule is affected by the option marker *vā*, recurring from the *vutti* of Rūp § 153. This *vā* yields the following *vavatthitavibhāsā*:

*bhikkhuppabbutito niccam; voyonam hetu-ādīto
vibhāsā; na ca vo no ca amuppabbutito bhava.*

[The ending *yo* for nom./acc. pl.] is mandatory in words such as *bhikkhu*, etc.

[The ending *yo* for nom./acc. pl.] can optionally (*vibhāsā*) take *vo* or *yo* in words such as *hetu*, etc.

[The endings] *vo* and *no* [for nom./acc. pl.] do not apply to words such as the [pronoun] *amu*, etc.⁴¹

Note that the role of *ca* as blocker of an exception gives, as a result, the *vibhāsā* described in the summary stanza: one can form the plural of *hetu*: *hetuyo* or *hetuno*. Thus, one and the same rule can have more than one option marker in the interpretation, and these option markers have different roles.

4. *kvaci* and *navā* “exceptionally”⁴²

4.1. In the Rūpasiddhi there are fifty-six rules involving *kvaci*, of which forty-five, the large majority, express exceptions of some sort. Seven more rules could be called exceptions too, but the role of *kvaci* is not entirely transparent (§§ 43, 45, 109, 111, 260, 350, 588); in three cases *kvaci* seems to mark *vikappa* (§§ 39, 266, 502); and once it is glossed as *vavatthitavibhāsā* (§ 461).

4.2. The function of *kvaci* as exception marker is illustrated in Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā ad Rūp § 466. The commentary explains that the insertion of *i* is allowed in *asabbadhātuka*⁴³ verbal roots when the

⁴⁰With the alternative gloss *noggahaṇānuvattanattham* (“for the sake of triggering the recurrence of the ending *no* [from § 151 *yonaṃ no*]). This is simply a different way of stating the same thing.

⁴¹Rūp B^e 72, 77f.

⁴²Deokar 2008: 368–69 *navā* interpreted as “rarely”.

⁴³That is to say, “non-*sabbadhātuka*”. In Pāṇinian grammar, *sārvadhātuka* refers to a specific set of affixes marked with the letter *ś* (DSG s.v.

following *vibhatti* begins with a consonant, but not when it begins with the vowels *a* or *i*, and he adds: “It should be understood that this distinction (*viseso*) is established by the governance of the word *kvaci*” (*ayaṃ pana viseso kvacī ti adhikārato siddho ti veditabbo*).⁴⁴ According to this statement, the term *kvaci* indicates a case that is special or particular (*visesa*) as opposed to a general state of affairs. Thus, *kvaci* is often found as a blocker of a more general option marked with *vā*. It should not come as a surprise, then, that the function of the word *kvaci* can also be carried out by its synonym *navā*, i.e. “the *vā* [open option] does not (*na*) [apply]” (see below 4.5.).⁴⁵

4.3. As stated above (3.5), the terms *kvaci* and *vā* (= *vikappa*) may both affect one and the same rule. Even in such cases they are explicitly described as performing different functions. Consider for instance Rūp § 336:

*na pañcamyāyam ambhāvo kvacī ti adhikārato,
tatiyāsattamīchaṭṭhīnan tu hoti vikappato.*

Due to the governance of *kvaci*, the ending *aṃ* is not there before the fifth case ending,

but it may be there optionally (*vikappato*) before the third, seventh, and sixth case endings.⁴⁶

sārvadhātuka). In the Kaccāyana school the term is defined in Kacc § 433 (= Rūp § 458) *hīyattanīsattamīpañcamīvattamānā sabbadhātukaṃ* “the technical term *sabbadhātuka* denotes the finite verbal endings of *hiyattanī* (imperfect), *sattamī* (optative), *pañcamī* (imperative), and *vattamānā* (present)” (trans. Deokar 2008: 205); its negation, *asabbadhātuka*, is used in Kacc § 518 (= Rūp § 466) *ikārāgamo asabbadhātukamhi* “in non-*sabbadhātukas*, [there is] augment *i* [obtains];” see Deokar 2008: 206: “In Pali grammars, the main function of these two terms [*sabbadhātuka* and *asabbadhātuka*] is to distinguish between the finite verbal endings which take an augment *i* from those which do not.”

⁴⁴Rūp-ṭ B^e 191, *Aff*.

⁴⁵See Kiparsky 1979: 3: “*Vibhāṣā* is defined by *na vā* in 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*. *Na vā* is not used otherwise, apart from the cases when it arises implicitly from the combination of a *na* continued by *anuvṛtti* with an overt *vā* stated in a rule.”

⁴⁶B^e 180, 22ff.

The stanza makes clear that there are two different poles of optionality, one is *kvaci*, the other is *vikappa*. The commentary explains: “Because of the governance of the word *kvaci*, there is no *aṃ* for the fifth *vibhatti*, but *aṃ* is optional for the third, seventh and sixth *vibhattis*.”⁴⁷ From this statement we understand that the function of *kvaci* is to isolate an exception from the main rule, which may or may not be a *vikappa*.⁴⁸ This makes *kvaci* different from *nicca* “mandatory”, as *kvaci* could probably be translated as “mandatorily no option is allowed”. The term *nicca* does not presuppose any previous option, whereas *kvaci* does. In the end, however, both terms lead to one single derivation pathway.

4.4. Another clear example of *kvaci* functioning as a marker of exception is found in Rūp §35 *sare kvaci*. Buddhappiya explains that *kvaci* (“in some places”), means “in those places where prosody is broken, or pronunciation is difficult, and also in those instances where sandhi is neglected. The point is that elision (*lopa*), replacement (*ādesa*), and modification (*vikāra*) do not obtain [in those cases].”⁴⁹

4.5. The term *navā* appears six times in the Rūpasiddhi (§§ 21, 28, 246, 247, 256). In § 21 Buddhappiya explicitly glosses it as a synonym (*pariyāya*) of the word *kvaci*.⁵⁰ This is in line with the interpretation of Vimalabuddhi (see 2.1). The other five cases of *navā* do not clearly attest to this equivalence. If it is true that *navā* and *kvaci* have the same

⁴⁷Rūp-ṭ B^e 135,24–26: *kvacī ti adhikārato aṃbhāvo pañcamyā vibhattiyā na hoti, tatiyāsattamīchaṭṭhīnaṃ aṃbhāvo pana vikappena hotī ti yojanā*.

⁴⁸See also the stanza in Rūp §466 (Rūp 276,19ff.), where *vā* and *kvaci* control different domains:

*asabbadhātuke byañjanādimhe vā ’yam āgamo
kvacādhikārato byañjanādo pi kvaci no siyā*.

⁴⁹Rūp B^e 22,5–7: *kvaci chandabhedāsukhuccāraṇaṭṭhāne sandhicchārahita-ṭṭhāne ca, na lopādesavikāram āpajjante ti attho*. Similarly, euphony and metre mark *kvaci*-type exceptions in Rūp §35 (Rūp 22,18ff.: *kvacī ti kim? itismiṃ chandānurakkhaṇe sandhi hoti*), Rūp §37 (24,18ff.) *sukhuccāraṇa-chandarakkhaṇaṭṭhānesu* and Rūp §38 (25,11ff.) *chandānurakkhaṇe*. And see also Rūp §§ 53, 54, 57.

⁵⁰Rūp §21 (B^e 14,6ff.): *navāsaddo kvacisaddapariyāyo*; see also Malai 1997: 105. Note that it does not say *ayaṃ navāsaddo* “this particular *navā*”, but simply *navāsaddo*, “the word *navā* [in general]”.

meaning, the question naturally arises as to why Rūp §21 *ivaṇṇo yaṃ navā* (= Kacc §21) does not use the word *kvaci*. According to Vimalabuddhi, the use of *navā* in Kacc §21 serves the purpose of blocking a former *kvaci*. It thus marks an exception to an exception. It seems that Buddhappiya has silently accepted Vimalabuddhi's solution, although we should keep in mind that Rūp-ṭ is quite critical of Vimalabuddhi's methods regarding optionality.⁵¹

4.6. The recurrence of *navā* can only be studied in a string of three *suttas* beginning in Rūp §234. This rule allows the pronominal replacements *tavaṃ mamaṃ* for the acc.sg. It is followed, with “a frog's leap” (*maṇḍūkaplutī*), by §246, which allows *vo no* for acc./dat./gen. pl., and subsequently by §247, which allows *te, me* for acc./dat./gen. sg. In this case the word *navā* is not blocking any other option marker. In fact, if we look at the Kaccāyana parallel (Kacc §144), *navā* is glossed by Vimalabuddhi as “*vikappena*”.⁵² There are reasons to believe, however, that Vimalabuddhi has missed the mark, and here *navā* is not equivalent to *vikappa*, but to *kvaci*, in accordance with the general criterion postulated by Vimalabuddhi himself. The Rūpasiddhi, once more, clarifies the point:

Why [does the sutta state] *navā*? [Consider the counter examples:⁵³] *idaṃ cīvaraṃ tuyhaṃ vikappanattāya dammi* “I give these robes to you for the sake of assigning”; and: *suṇātha vacanaṃ mama* “listen to my words”.

⁵¹Cf. Rūp-ṭ B^e 21,5–16. Furthermore, in Rūp-ṭ ad Rūp §35, the author of the commentary disparages Mmd for understanding *kvaci* as a synonym of *vā* in the commentary upon Kacc §24 *sare kvaci*.

⁵²Mmd B^e 138,28.

⁵³It is customary in Kacc and Rūp to give counter-examples by showing how the desired result would not be there if a word was missing. The counter examples are introduced by the question tag *kiṃ*, and thus they are called *kimudāharaṇa* “examples of why [a certain word needs to be used in the sutta]”. The question could be also rephrased: “What would happen if the word X was missing in the sutta?” The first attestation of the term *kimudāharaṇa* in the sense of “counter-example” is in Vimalabuddhi's Mmd, cf. Mmd 26,23; 34,27; 35,20; 39,26, and *passim*.

Here [Rūp §§ 246–47], due to the governance of *navā* [from Rūp § 234],

these [pronominal] forms, namely *vo*, *no*, *te*, and *me*,
do not apply at the beginning of a verse (*pāda*),
or when they precede particles such as *ca*, *vā*, *eva*, etc.⁵⁴

The expression *na honti te* (lit. “those [instances] do not exist”) tells us that *navā* is here a marker of an *asanta*-type exception. What the word *navā* means in this string of rules, then, is that the cited pronominal forms are forbidden in certain contexts.⁵⁵

4.7. The last occurrence of *navā* is found in Rūp § 256 *catūpapadassa lopo t’ uttarapādādi cassa cu-co pi navā*. This rule addresses the behaviour of the numeral *catu* (“four”) in compounds that express other numerals, such as *cuddasa* (“fourteen”). Let us look at Buddhappiya’s paraphrase in order to unpack the full meaning of the rule:

When it expresses a numeral and precedes the word *dasa* (“ten”) in a compound, the word *catu* (“four”) suffers the elision of the syllable *tu*, and the remaining *ca* may exceptionally (*navā*) be replaced with *cu* or *co*. [Examples:] *cuddasa*, *coddasa*, *catuddasa* (“fourteen”).

On account of the mention of the word *api*, even when *catu* is not the first word of a compound, if it expresses a numeral, the initial syllable *ca* is elided; and, exceptionally (*navā*), *cu* or *co* are there [i.e. replace *ca*]. For instance: *tālīsaṃ*, *cuttālīsaṃ*, *cottālīsaṃ*, *cattālīsaṃ* (“forty”).⁵⁶

⁵⁴Rūp B^e 116,3–8: *navā ti kiṃ? idaṃ cīvaraṃ tuyhaṃ vikappanattāya dammi, sunātha vacanaṃ mama.*

navādhikārato c’ ettha, vo no te me ti ye ime;
pādādo ca ca-vā-evā-diyoge ca na honti te.

⁵⁵Cf. Rūp-bh-ṭ I 276.

⁵⁶Rūp B^e 119,6–12: *gaṇane dasassādimhi ṭhitassa catu icc etassa upapadassa tusaddo lopo hoti, uttarapādādimhi ṭhitassa catūpapadassa cakārassa cu-coādesā honti navā. cuddasa, coddasa, catuddasa. apiggahaṇena anupapadassāpi gaṇane padādicakārassa lopo, cu-co honti navā, yathā tālīsaṃ, cuttālīsaṃ, cottālīsaṃ, cattālīsaṃ.*

The idea here is that *navā* expresses an exception to the main rule formulated in the first half of the *sutta*. The procedure seems to have two stages: First, a mandatory elision of *tu*, and second, an exceptional replacement of the remaining *ca* with *cu* or *co*. The interpretation of *api* is not relevant to our discussion, but it confirms the use of *navā* as a marker of a special case within a general state of affairs.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. A preliminary examination of option markers in Buddhappiya's Rūpasiddhi has shown that the system of two levels of optionality, originally postulated by Vimalabuddhi in ca. the tenth century CE, seems to be functional on the *suttas* of Kaccāyana and suffers from few exceptions. The claim that Kaccāyana grammarians use option markers randomly (see 1.3), therefore, needs to be corrected. It is important to note, too, that each grammarian may tweak the system according to his needs. Thus, Buddhappiya's system is an improved version of Vimalabuddhi's, and the improvements have to do with the radically new approach that Buddhappiya adopted towards the sequencing of the rules. Later grammarians of the same school do not hesitate to apply Buddhappiya's refined system to the old sequence of rules in Kacc.⁵⁷ Future studies on vernacular commentaries, such as the Rūpasiddhi-sannaya, will no doubt amplify and correct what has been stated in this paper.

5.2 To conclude, let us go back to Kiparsky's innovative approach of option markers in Pāṇini, and how it may be related to Pali grammarians. Unlike the Pāṇinian *vyākaraṇa* tradition in Sanskrit, Pali grammarians openly discuss the role of different option markers. Their description of these technical terms, however, does not fit Kiparsky's thesis, which posits different degrees of "preference". Rather, Kaccāyana grammarians seem to favour a type of analysis that is more in line with Kiparsky's critics.⁵⁸ Indeed, the distinction of option levels does not

⁵⁷Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, commenting on the old *suttapāṭha* of Kaccāyana, uses the terms *nicca*, *anicca*, and *asanta*, cf. Kacc-nidd B^c 12,5-10; C^c 10,24-11,6.

⁵⁸Notably Palsule 1982 and Cardona 2004, cf. n.3.

seem to be related to frequency of use, or any preference of the users of the language, but simply to a hierarchy of domains. It has nothing to do with the outside world, so to say. It has to do with the very structure of a grammatical treatise composed in the *sūtra* style. For the sake of parsimony, a basic contraposition is established between the general rule (*utsarga*) and the particular or exceptional rule (*apavāda*).⁵⁹ In-between we find what is generally called an alternative or open option. To put it in other words: a general rule will state that only X form is possible. An open option will posit that both X and Y forms are possible. A particular or exception rule will state that only Y is possible. Thus, we have three different possible domains. These domains are not related to statistical occurrence, or to any preference of usage, but simply to the sheer possibility of achieving the “perfection of a [word-] form” (*rūpasiddhi*). Accordingly, Pāli grammarians use *vā* and *vibhāsā* to derive an optional form that is as correct as a form given in a general rule previously promulgated, and they use *kvaci* and *navā* to mark an exception to the option marked by *vā/vibhāsā*. It is not by chance, perhaps, that Buddhappiya compares the option marker par excellence, namely *vā*, with the preverb *ā* in the sense of “limit” or “boundary”, both inclusive and exclusive. This comparison subtly suggests a parallel with the inclusive option-boundary (*vibhāsā*) and the exclusive option-boundary (*kvaci*). For, as we have shown in this article, option markers are not only capable of indicating variation, but they can also indicate whether the variation occurs within the general domain of a rule, or beyond its boundaries.

⁵⁹For a detailed introduction to the dialectics between general rules and exceptions in Pāṇinian *vyākaraṇa*, see Cardona 1997: 404–12; for the descriptive model that combines general and particular rules in Pāṇini, see Kahrs 1992: 232–33.

ABBREVIATIONS

For Pali texts, I adopted the list of abbreviations of the *Epilegomena to A Critical Pāli Dictionary*: <http://cpd.uni-koeln.de/intro/>

B^e = Burmese edition

C^e = Cinghalese edition

DSG = *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, Abhyankar, 1961

GRETIL = Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages
(<http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.html>)

Kacc = *Kaccāyana*

Kacc-v = *Kaccāyana-vutti*

Kāt = *Kātantra*

MBh = *Mahābhāṣya*

Mmd = *Mukhamattadīpanī*

Mmd-ṭ = *Mukhamattadīpanī-pūrāṇa-ṭīkā*

Mmd-sāra = *Mukhamattasāra*

Mogg = *Moggallāna*

Mogg-v = *Moggallāna-vutti*

Mogg-p = *Moggallāna-pañcīkā*

MW = *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams, 1899

Pāṇ = Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Pas = *Paspaśāhṇika*, ed. Joshi and Roodbergen, 1969

PED = (Pali Text Society's) *Pali-English Dictionary*, Rhys Davids and Stede, 1921

Rūp = *Rūpasiddhi*

Rūp-ṭ = *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā*

Rūp-bh-ṭ = *Rūpasiddhi-bhāsā-ṭīkā*

Sadd = *Saddanīti*

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C^e *The Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa by the Venerable Neruttikācariya Chappada Mahāthere, Revised and Edited by the Rev. Mabopitiye Medhankera Bhikkhu*, Colombo: Vidyabhusana Press, 1915

Kātantra = Eggeling, 1874

Kāśīkāvyṛtti = Sharma et al., 1969

Mahābhāṣya = Kielhorn, 1880

- Mukhamattadīpanī* = *Nyāsapāṭh*. Rangoon: Sudhamavati Press, 1913
- Mukhamattadīpanī-pūrāṇa-ṭīkā* = *Saṃpyaṅ-ṭīkā-pāṭh*, Yangon: Kavi Myat Hman Press, 1914
- Mukhamattasāra* = Forthcoming edition by A. Ruiz-Falqués, Pune: Pune Indo-logical Series.
- Rūpasiddhi* = *Padarūpasiddhi*, Saccamaṇḍain Press, Yangon, 2006 (3rd reprint)
- Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā* = *Padarūpasiddhiṭīkā*, Mandalay: Padesā Piṭakat-cā-pe, undated reprint of 1964 (CS 1326) edition
- Rūpasiddhi-bhāsā-ṭīkā* = Ashin Janakābhivamsa, *Rūpasiddhi-bhāsā-ṭīkā*, Mandalay: First Book Press, 2001
- Saddanīti* = Smith, 1930

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Nāmadhātusūcī : An Annotated Index of Denominative Verbs in Pāli

Timothy P. Lighthiser

PREFACE

This work is an annotated index of denominative verbs in Pāli that was inspired by the work of Westergaard (*Radices linguæ Sanscritæ*, 1841), Treckner (*Radices linguæ Pālicæ*, n.d.), Whitney (*The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*, 1885), Andersen (*Supplementum ad Radices linguæ Pālicæ*, 1898), and Oberlies (“The Roots and Verb Forms Specific to Epic Sanskrit”, in *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit*, 2003).

Articles within the index usually consist of four kinds of annotation prior to the enlisting of the citation(s) of a denominative verb as it is attested in the Pāli Text Society’s version of a particular Pāli text. The notes to the first entry, *āṅkati*, *āṅkayati*, *āṅketi*, now follow:¹

1. Etymological: [Cf. Skt *āṅkay*^o: *āṅkayitvā*, Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra I 110,18, *āṅkayām āsa*, Mbh 3,299.5, *āṅkita-*, R 5,34.2]
2. Lexical: Dhātusūcī: *aki lakṣaṇe*, Dhātup I 92; *āṅka pade lakṣaṇe ca*, Dhātup X 473; *āṅka lakkhaṇe*, PDhātup 3, 535; *aki lakkhaṇe*, Dhātum 10, 745; Sadd 22 (I 87), 1295 (X 382)
3. Commentarial: *āṅkitakaṇṇako ti atha viddhakaṇṇo chiddakaṇṇo*, Ja II 185,23
4. Philological Ref.: v. CDIAL 100, 104, EWAia, and KEWA s.v. *āṅkā-*, cf. Kuiper (1952, 61–62)

¹ Mbh = Mahābhārata, Rāmāy = Rāmāyaṇa, Dhātup = Dhātupāṭha (Sanskrit); PDhātupāṭha = Dhātupāṭha (Pāli). The rest of the abbreviations of Pāli texts follow those in the epilegomena of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*; the details for the abbreviations of the titles of secondary works, e.g., CDIAL, EWAia, etc., can be found at the end in the section entitled Literature.

On occasion, there is a fifth type, “Preverbs”: Verbs with more than one preverb are indexed under the etymon instead of the prefix, as in the case of *kujjati* to which the preverbs *a* (neg.), *ava*, *u*, *ni*, *pali*, *paṭi* can be appended.

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DENOMINATIVE VERBS

A denominative verb is one that is usually formed from a synchronically occurring noun (or an adjective) to which verbal endings are appended. Denominative verbs, in a way, can be seen as nouns (or adjectives) which have metamorphosed into verbs formally and semantically. Denominative verbs are well represented in the Indo-European language family, such as Indo-Aryan, Iranian, etc. For example:

- Avestan: *baēšaziiaiti* “to cure” (Yašt 8. 43) < *baēšaza-* “cure”
 Vedic Sanskrit: *bhiṣajyāti* “to act as doctor” (RV 8.22.10d) [beside
bhiṣákti (RV 8.79.2b)] < *bhiṣáj-* “doctor”
 Epic Sanskrit: *svapnāyate* “to wish to sleep” (Mahābhārata
 7,159.18) < *svapna-* “sleep”
 Classical Sanskrit: *lohitāyati* “to become red” (Kumārasambhava
 8,28c) < *lohita-* “red”
 Pāli: *āturiyati* “to feel sick” (Majjhima-nikāya III 234,23) < *ātura-*
 “sick”
 Aśokan: *sukhāpayate* “to feel pleasure” (Rock Edict VI Girnār) <
sukha- “pleasure”
 Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: *vr̥ṣṭāyate* “to rain” (Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-
 Vinaya) i.36.8, prose) < *vr̥ṣṭi-* (or *vr̥ṣṭa-*) “rain”
 Gāndhārī: *arogyati* “to wish for health” (ms. CKD 133) < *aroga-*
 “health”

DENOMINATIVE VERBS IN SANSKRIT
FORMATION

As shown below, the most productive forms of denominative verbs in Sanskrit can be understood as being basically comprised of two to three constituent parts. There is a stem, i.e. a noun (or an adjective) which ends in either a consonant or a vowel which can remain the same, change, or be elided;² a denominative suffix *-ya-*, or not; and a verbal ending.

EXAMPLE 1: *ā*-stem noun > *ā*-stem denominative base

amitrāyati “to act as an enemy”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>amitrā-</i> “enemy”	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

²See Whitney (1889: § 1053–1068) for the details.

EXAMPLE 2 : *ā*-stem noun > *ā*-stem denominative base
svapnāyate “to wish to sleep”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>svapnā-</i> > <i>svapnā-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-te</i>

EXAMPLE 3 : *an*-stem noun > denominative base (post sandhi *-an-* > *ā-*)
rājāyate “to act as king”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>rājan-</i> > <i>rājā-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-te</i>

EXAMPLE 4 : *j*-stem noun > denominative base (post sandhi *j-* > *k-*),
 without suffix *-yá-*

bhīṣākti “to act as doctor”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>bhīṣaj-</i> > <i>bhīṣāk-</i>	Ø	<i>-ti</i>

MEANING

The denominative verb in Sanskrit has a vast array of semantic flavorings, but at all times bears, at the minimum, a strong affiliation with the stem from which it is derived.

Whitney (1889: § 1058) posits:

The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: be like, act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave — that which was signified by the noun-stem.

In order to acquire a better understanding, five examples of these flavorings as set forth in the *Kāśīkāvṛtti* — a 7th century commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini — are below. Each example explicitly lays out the condensed meaning of the denominative verb under the focus of the commentator.

N.b.: With the word “crow” (*kākaḥ*) in the third example in hand, subjects for the other four examples have been

inserted, along with interpolation, all of which has been placed between brackets. As the first and second examples show, a single denominative verb can be versatile, belong to more than one semantic field, with “*putrīyati*” having a desiderative flavoring (via *icchati* “to desire”), as well as a comparative flavoring (via the comparative particle *iva* “like” and *ācarati* “to treat”).

putrīyati [is equivalent to saying “The father] desires a son of his own” (*ātmanaḥ putram icchati putrīyati*, 3.1.8)

putrīyati [is equivalent to saying “The teacher] treats the pupil like a son” (*putram iva ācarati putrīyati chātram*, 3.1.10)

śyenāyate [is equivalent to saying “The] crow acts like a raptor” (*śyena iva ācarati kākaḥ śyenāyate*, 3.1.11)

śabdāyate [is equivalent to saying “The boy] makes a sound” (*śabdaṃ karoti śabdāyate*, 3.1.17)

sukhāyate [is equivalent to saying “The girl] feels pleasure” (*sukhaṃ vedayate sukhāyate*, 3.1.18)

DENOMINATIVE VERBS IN PĀLI FORMATION FORMATION

Like Sanskrit, denominative verbs in Pāli can also be understood as being comprised of the same basic components: There is a stem, a denominative suffix or not, and a verbal ending.

Note, though, in Pāli stems do not normally end in consonants. Stems usually end with a vowel which can remain the same, change, or coalesce with suffix *-ya-* (i.e., *-a-ya-* > *-e-*).

Nine examples exhibiting the formation of the constituent parts of denominative verbs which are based upon stems ending in *ā-*, *ā-*, *ī-*, and *ū-* now follow.

Example 1 : *ā*-stem noun > *ā*-stem denominative base
maggayati “to search”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>maggā-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 2: *ā*-stem noun > *ā*-stem denominative base
dhūmāyati “to fume”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>dhūmā-</i> > <i>dhūmā-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 3: *ā*-stem noun > *ī*-stem denominative base
dhammiyati “to act in a lawful manner”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>dhammā-</i> > <i>dhammī-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 4: *ā*-stem noun > *ī*-stem denominative base
āturīyati “to feel sick”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>āturā-</i> > <i>āturī-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 5: *ā*-stem noun > *e*-stem denominative base
cunñeti “to (cover with) powder”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>cunñā-</i>	<i>-ā-ya-</i> > <i>-e-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 6: *ā*-stem noun > *ā*-stem denominative base
kathayati “to talk”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>kathā-</i> >	<i>kathā-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 7: *ī*-stem noun > *e*-stem denominative base
kitteti “to praise”

Stem	Stem Vowel + Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>kittī-</i> > <i>kittā-</i>	<i>-ā-ya-</i> > <i>-e-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 8: *ī*-stem noun > *ī*-stem denominative base
kaṇḍuyati “to itch”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
<i>kaṇḍū-</i>	<i>-ya-</i>	<i>-ti</i>

Example 9: *ā*-stem adjective > *ā*-stem denominative base,
without suffix *-ya-*
namassati “to honor”

Stem	Denominative Suffix	Verbal Ending
* <i>namassā</i> - < Vedic <i>namasyá</i> - adjective	Ø	- <i>ti</i>

MEANING

Naturally, denominative verbs in Pāli also have the comparative and the desiderative-like semantic shadings, as well as a strong formal and semantic connection with the vowel stems from which they were produced. The following Kāśikā-like examples, adduced from the *Saddanīti* — a 12th century book on Pāli grammar — illustrate some of the formations and meanings of the denominative in Pāli.

N.B.: The first three have the phrase *iva attānam ācarati*: they are with a comparative sense. Of these, the second is also illustrative of onomatopœia, as is the fourth. The fifth shows a form based upon the possessive adjective *mama* (my/mine). The sixth and seventh have a comparative sense. The eighth has a desiderative sense with the verb *icchati*. The six remaining examples are not with a comparative or a desiderative sense; in these cases, the stems function like verbal roots and directly carry the unflavored meaning of the noun or adjective upon which they are based.

pabbatāyati [is equivalent to saying “The] Saṃgha in itself is like a mountain” (*saṃgho pabbatam iva attānam ācarati pabbatāyati*).

cicciṭṭāyati [is equivalent to saying “The] sound in itself is like *cicciṭṭa*” (*saddo cicciṭṭam iva attānam ācarati*).

dhūmāyati [is equivalent to saying “The] substance in itself is like smoke” (*vatthuṃ dhūmaṃ iva attānam ācarati dhūmāyati*).

daddubhāyati [is equivalent to saying “The] sound is like *daddubha*” (*saddo daddubha iti ācarati daddubhāyati*).

mamāyati [is equivalent to saying “She] grabs [and says,] ‘This is mine!’” (*mama idan ti gaṇhāti*).

mettāyati [is equivalent to saying “The] bhikkhu acts like a friend, so he feels compassion” (*bhikkhu mettā iva ācarati mettāyati tathā karuṇāyati*).

chattīyati [is equivalent to saying “The lady] uses [what is] not a sunshade like a sunshade” (*achattaṃ chattaṃ iva ācarati chattīyati*).

puttīyati [is equivalent to saying “The] teacher treats the pupil, who is not his son, like a son” (*aputtaṃ puttaṃ iva ācarati puttīyati sissaṃ ācariyo*).

pattīyati [is equivalent to saying “The father] desires a bowl of his own” (*attano pattaṃ icchati pattīyati*).

atihathayati [is equivalent to saying “He] travels across [land] by elephant” (*hatthinā atikkamati atihathayati*).

upavīṇayati [is equivalent to saying “She] sings [and plays along] with the lute” (*vīṇāya upagāyati upavīṇayati*).

dalhayati [is equivalent to saying “He] fortifies [his] virility” (*dalhaṃ karoti viriyaṃ dalhayati*).

pamāṇayati [is equivalent to saying “He] exemplifies [virtue]” (*pamāṇaṃ karoti pamāṇayati*).

kusalayati [is equivalent to saying “The mother] asks about [his] well-being” (*kusalayaṃ pucchati kusalayati*).

visuddhayati [is equivalent to saying “The] night becomes clear” (*visuddhā ratti hoti visuddhayati*).

In summary, based upon the above, a denominative verb in Pāli can be said to either have a comparative or a desiderative flavoring added to the stem, or not, and if not, it can have just the plain flavoring of the noun (or adjective) upon which it is based. So, in Pāli, if the noun (or the adjective) from which a denominative verb is based is called X, then its meaning can be as follows, at the very least:

to be like X; to use like X; to treat like X; to desire X; and probably, according to Whitney, to act as X; to play the

part of X; to regard as X; to cause to be X; to make into X;
to use X; to make application of X; to wish for X; to
crave X.

NĀMADHĀTUSŪCĪ

***aṅkati, aṅkayati, aṅketi* “to mark” *aṅka-* ← “mark”**

[Cf. Skt *aṅkay°*: *aṅkayitvā*, Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra I 110,18, *aṅkayām āsa*, Mbh 3,229.5, *-aṅkita-*, R 5,34.2]

Dhātusūcī: *aki lakṣaṇe*, Dhātup I 92, *aṅka pade lakṣaṇe ca*, Dhātup X 473, *aṅka lakkhaṇe*, PDhātup 3, 535, *aki lakkhaṇe*, Dhātum 10, 745, Sadd 22 (I 87), 1295 (X 382)

Ct.: *aṅkitakaṇṇako ti atha viddhakaṇṇo chiddakaṇṇo*, Ja II 185,23

Ref.: v. CDIAL 100, 104, EWAia, and KEWA s.v. *aṅkā-*, cf. Kuiper (1952, 61–62)

pres. 3 sg. *aṅkati*, Sadd II 325,22, *aṅkayati*, 521,4, *aṅketi*, 521,4

pp. °*aṅkita-*, Ja II 185,10*, Ap 487,12, Abh 263, Sadd III 859,9

abs. *aṅketvā*, Ja I 451,25, II 399,4

***ajjhāyati* “to study” ← *ajjhāya-* “study”**

[Cf. Skt *adhyāya-*, Mbh 1,1,57]

Dhātusūcī: Rem. *in adhyayane*, Dhātup II 41, *i ajjhayane*, Sadd 13 (II 37)

Ct.: *ajjhāyati ti ajjhāyako mante parivatteṭi ti*, Sv I 247,16, Sadd II 355,15

pres. 3 sg. *ajjhāyati*, Sv I 247,16, Mp II 261,12, Sadd II 322,29, 355,15

***aṭṭiyati* “to be distressed, hurt” ← *aṭṭa-* “hurt” or *aṭṭi-* “calamity”**

[Cf. Skt *ārta-*, Taittirīya-Saṃhitā VI 4,18.6, Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa IV 5,2.3 (Mādhyandina), *ārta-*, Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā III 31,2 (Śaunaka), *aṭṭāyate*, Kās ad Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.17]

Ct.: *aṭṭiyāmī ti aṭṭo pīlito viya homi*, Sv II 389,13, *aṭṭiyeyyā ti aṭṭo dukkhito bhaveyya*, Ps II 90,17

Ref.: v. CDIAL 1337 and cf. EWAia s.v. ARD [Rem.]; cf. BHSD s.v. *art(t)iyati* and BHSG s.v. *artīyati/te*

pres. 1 sg. *aṭṭiyāmi*, D I 213,22, S I 131,12*, A IV 377,3, Pv I 10,2, *addiyāmi*, Thī 140 (↗ *addiyati*), 3 sg. *aṭṭiyati*, Vin I 86,36, M III 300,32,

A I 145,28, *aṭṭīyati*, M I 423,24, A IV 435,4,8, 2 pl. *aṭṭiyatha*, A I 115,6 foll., 3 pl. *aṭṭiyanti*, Vin III 68,16, 69,34

***aṅkati, aṅkayati, aṅketi* “to mark” ← *aṅka-* “mark”**

opt. 1 sg. *aṭṭiyeyyam*, A I 145,31, 3 sg. *aṭṭiyeyya*, Vin III 68,19, M I 120,1, A IV 377,2, 2 pl. *aṭṭiyeyyātha*, A I 115,4

pres.part. *aṭṭiya(t)-*, Nidd I 466,6, Pj II 572,8, *aṭṭiyanta-*, Vin III 68,21, Ja V 114,26', Pj II 14,3, *aṭṭiyamāna-*, Vin III 24,26', M III 269,11, S IV 62,25, Sp I 247,11

ger. *aṭṭiyitabba-*, M I 419,27, A I 115,10

va. *aṭṭita-*, Th 157, Thī 89, 328 (↗ *addiyati*), Ja II 269,21*, Mhv 6,21

abs. *aṭṭiyivā*, M I 419,28, Bv-a 73,15

***atigāḷhati* “to oppress” ← *atigāḷha-* “oppressed”**

[Cf. Skt *atigāhate*: *āti gāhemahi dviṣaḥ*, RV 2.7.3]

Ct.: *atigāḷhitā ti paccatthikehi atipīḷitā viluttasāpateyyā viddhastavāhanā hutvā*, Ja 401,31

pp. *atigāḷhita-*, Ja V 401,14*

***ativaṇṇati* “overcolor” ← *ativaṇṇa-* “overcoloring”**

[Cf. Skt *varṇay*°: *varṇayatam*, R 7,35,17, *varṇayati*, Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3,162.1, *vivarṇayati*, q.v. BHSD s.v.]

pres. 3 sg. *ativaṇṇati*, D I 267,18

***ativegāyati* “to overhasten” ← *ativega-* “overhastening”**

[Cf. Skt *ativega-*, Mbh 8,54.8, R 5,1.31]

aor. 2 sg. *ativegāyi*, Mp I 428,18

***atihatthayati* “to travel across by elephant” ← *atihatthin-* “traveling across by elephant”**

[Cf. Skt *atihastay*°: *atihastayati*, Mugdhabodha 21,17]

pres. 3 sg. *(ati)hatthayati*, Kacc-v 441, Sadd II 587,8, 823,30, Mogg-v V 12

***atthāpeti* “to instruct about what is good or profitable”**

← *attha-* “good, profitable”

[Cf. Skt *arthāpayati*, Kāś ad Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.25]

pres. 3 sg. *atthāpeti*, Mogg V 13

addāyate “to be moist” ← adda- “moist”

[Cf. Skt *ārdaya*^o: *ārdayanti*, Śatakatrāya 1,51 (Ed.: Chaukhamba Vidya Bhavan)]

Ct.: *addāyate ti udakabharito viya addo hutvā paññāyati*, Ja IV 353,1¹
Ref.: v. CDIAL 1340 and EWAia s.v. *ARD*

pres. 3 sg. med *addāyate*, Ja IV 351,26*

addiyati “to hurt” ← aṭṭiyati x addita- or ← addita- “hurt”

[Cf. Skt *ardita-*, R 4.57.6, *ardīyamāna-*, Dīvyāvadāna 23,27]

Dhātusūcī: *arda himṣāyām*, Dhātup X 365, *adda himṣāyām*, Sadd 1498 (X 285)

Ref. On *aṭṭ-* (M Be Ce) and *addh-* (Ke Se) as alternatives for *add-* (*ad Thī* 77, 140) v. Norman (1971, 79, 90).

pres. 1 sg. *addiyāmi*, Thī 140 (↗ *aṭṭiyati*)

pp. *addita-*, Thī 77, 89, 328

anāthati “to be helpless” ← anātha- “helpless”

[Cf. Skt *nādha*^o: *nādhamāna*, Rīgveda 1.178.3, *nātha*^o: *nāthita-*, Atharvaveda-Saṃhita 4.36.7 (Paippalāda), *nāthamāna-*, Buddhacarita 2,5.4.2]

Dhātusūcī: *nāthr yācñopatāpaiśvaryāśīṭṣu*, Dhātup I 7, *nādhṛ yācñopatāpaiśvaryāśīṭṣu*, Dhātup I 6, *nātha yācanopa-tāp’-issariyāsiṃsu*, PDhātup 129, *nātha yācana-santāpa-isserāsiṃsanesu ca*, Dhātum 185

Ct.: *anāthamāno ti niravassayo anātho viya*, Ja V 18,23¹

pres.part. *anāthamāna-*, Ja V 16,1*

anupadati “to repeat” ← anupada- “a next following word”

[Cf. Skt *anuvad*: *anuvadati*, Kāṭha-Saṃhitā 19.4]

Ct.: *anupadantī ti anugacchanti*, Sv III 868,33

Ref.: On *-v-* ~ *-p-* v. Oberlies (2001, 76–77 n.6, 79 n.4), von Hinüber (2001, §§ 177–79).

pres. 3 pl. *anupadanti*, D III 86,26 v.1.

anuvicāreti “to ruminate” ← anuvicāra- “rumination”

[Cf. Skt *anuvicāraya*^o (v. BHSD s.v.)]

pres. 3 sg. *anuvicāreti*, D III 242,8, M I 115,22, A III 87,12, 3 pl. *anuvicārenti*, A III 177,24, 178,16

opt. 1 sg. *anuvicāreyyaṃ*, M I 116,7 foll., 2 sg. *anuvicāreyyāsi*, A IV 86,5

pres.part. *anuvicāraya(nt)*, M I 116,12, A III 382,6, 383,7

abs. *anuvicāretvā*, M I 144,5

***andhayati* “to make blind” ← *andha-* “blind”**

[Cf. Skt *andhá*, RV I.112.8b]

Dhātusūcī: *andha dr̥ṣṭyupaghāte* | *upasamhāra ityanye*, Dhātup X 471,
andha diṭṭhūpasamhāre, Sadd 1511 (X 380)

pres. 3 sg. *andhayati*, *andheti*, Sadd II 548,24

pp. *andhita-*, Ja II 327,13*

***ābhāveti* “to annihilate” ← *ābhāva-* “annihilation”**

[Cf. Skt *abhāva-*, Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad 6.4.2]

Ct.: *abhāvetī ti vināseti*, Nidd-a II 281,17

pres. 3 sg. *abhāveti*, Vibh 262,37, Nidd-a II 30,25, Vism 334,25, Sadd II 5,28, *ābhāveti*, Nidd II 179,3 (wrong reading accord. to Cone s.v.)

***abhijjhati* “to covet” ← *abhijjhā-* “covetousness”**

Ct.: *anabhijjhita ti na abhikañkhitā*, Vv-a 200,19, Rem. *nājjhetī ti nābhijjhati*, Pj II 568,20

Preverb: *an*

pres. 3 sg. *abhijjhati*, S V 74,6 foll.

pp. *abhijjhita-*, Vin I 287,27 (*an+*), Sn 40 (*an+*), Ja VI 445,25*, Nidd II 84,6 (*ad* Sn 40)

***abhiniveseti* “to adhere to” ← *abhinivesa-* “adhering”**

[Cf. Skt *abhiniveśay*^o: *abhiniveśitam*, Mbh 4,18.26]

Ct.: *nābhiniveseyyā ti na adhiṭṭhahitvā ādāya vohareyya*, Ps V 30,19

opt. 1 sg. *abhiniveseyyaṃ*, Thī-a 284,2, 3 sg. *abhiniveseyya*, M III 234,30, 235,16

abs. *abhinivesitvā*, Spk I 64,1

abhilepeti “to cover” ← abhilepa(na)- “covering”

[Cf. Skt *lip*°: *ni* [...] *alipsata*, RV 1.191.1, *abhilip*°: *abhilipita*-
Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1.259.12, *lepay*°: *lepaiṣyāmi*, R 2,9.36]

Ct.: *suvaṇṇenābhilepayin ti taṃ silāsanam jambonadasuvaṇṇena
abhivisesena lepaiṃ chādesin ti attho*, Ap-a (Be)

aor. 1 sg. *abhilepayiṃ*, Ap 84.10

abhisekayati “to anoint” ← abhiseka- “anointing”

[Cf. Skt *abhiṣekay*°: *abhiṣekita*-, Rasaratnakara 14,43.1]

pp. *abhisekita*-, Mhv-ṭ 305.22 foll.

avamāneti “to disrespect” ← avamāna- “disrespect”

[Cf. Skt *avamānay*°: *avamānayet*, Manu-Smṛti 2,50, *avamānita*-,
Mbh 3,268.13]

Ct.: *sahanto avamānitan ti vibhāgaṃ akatvā tehi pavattitaṃ avamānaṃ
paribhavaṃ sahanto khamanto*, Cp-a 143.11

pp. *avamānita*-, Cp II 5.11, Pv-a 36.7

abs. *avamānetvā*, Ja V 246.4

ahiṃseti “to not injure” ← ahiṃsā- “not injuring”

[Cf. Skt *hiṃsay*°: *hiṃsayant*-, Mbh 3,188.2]

Dhātusūcī: *hisi hiṃsāyāṃ*, Dhātup X 366, *hiṃsa hiṃsāyaṃ*, PDhātup
387, Rem. *hiṃsa vihiṃsāyaṃ*, Dhātum 621, *hisi hiṃsāyaṃ*,
Sadd 1655

pres.part. *ahiṃsayat*-, Mil 184.25, 185.19

ākulayati “to disarrange” ← ākula- “disarranged”

[Cf. Skt *ākulay*°: *ākulita*-, Mbh 13,14.105, Kumārasambhava 5.85]

Preverb: *an*

ger. *ākulanīya*-, Pv-a 118.1 (+)

pp. *ākulita*-, Vibh-a 243.28

āghāteṭi “to hate” ← āghāta- “hate”

[Cf. Skt *āghāta*-, *āghātay*° (v. BHSD s.vv)]

Ct.: Rem. *kopo hi cittaṃ āghāteṭi ti*, Sv III 854.4, *cetaso āghāto ti kopo*,
Mp II 152.12

pres. *āghāteṭi*, Sv III 854.4

pp. *āghātita-*, Nidd I 408,²¹ 412,¹⁵, Paṭis I 130,¹⁴

abs. *āghātetvā*, S I 151,², A V 172,³, Sn 126,²⁶, Pj II 476,¹⁰

***āṇāpeti* “to command” ← *āṇā-* “command”**

[Cf. Skt *ājñāpay°*: *ājñāpayāṃ cakāra*, Chāndogya-Upaniṣad 5.3.7, *ājñāpayet*, Mbh 12,69.20, R 2,46.17, Rem. *āṇapayati*, Kātyāyana’s vt. *ad* Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.3.1, v. also BHSD s.vv. *āṇatta*, *āṇāpeti*, cf. Gāndhārī *anapemi*, CKI 20,²⁸, *anavidavo*, CKD 152, *anapita*, CKI 20, 29]

Dhātusūcī: *āṇa pesane*, PDhatup 576, Dhātum 805

Ct.: *āṇāpetī ti uddissa vā anudissa vā āṇāpeti*, Sp II 445,²⁴, *baddham āṇāpesī ti brāhmaṇo pakatiyāpi tasmim issāpakato ‘va so rañño āṇāpehī ti vacanaṃ sutvā yasmā pakkosāpehī ti rañña vuttam tasmā nam hatthesu pādesu ca baddham katvā āṇāpessāmī ti baddham āṇāpesi*, Sp II 294,³⁰, *navakaṃ bhikkham āṇāpetun ti ettha yo sakkoti uggahetuṃ evarūpo āṇāpetabbo na bālo*, Sp V 1060.⁷

Preverb: *an*

pres. 1 sg. *āṇāpemi*, Vin II 290,²⁰, 3 sg. *āṇāpayati*, Kacc-v 643, Sadd III 865,²², *āṇāpayate*, 865,¹⁵, *āṇāpeti*, Vin I 196,²⁵, Kkh 27,³⁷, Mil 57,¹², 3 pl. *āṇāpenti*, Mil 29,⁶, Ps II 373,¹³

imper. 2 sg. *āṇāpehi*, Vin I 273,¹, II 191,²⁸, Ja II 189,¹⁷ foll., Sp II 295,¹, 3 sg. *āṇāpetu*, Vin I 276,²⁸, II 290,¹², Pj II 61,³⁰, 2 pl. *āṇāpetha*, Ja VI 136,^{5*}, Sp I 10,¹⁸, Pj I 95,³

opt. 2 sg. *āṇāpeyyāsi*, D II 324,⁶, 3 sg. *āṇāpeyya*, Vin IV 280,²⁸, 291,²⁷, 302,³, Mil 35,⁷, 147,¹²

aor. 3 sg. *āṇāpesi*, Vin I 73,²³, D III 67,¹⁵, Ja VI 387,¹⁰, Vism 392,¹, 3 pl. *āṇāpesuṃ*, D II 159,¹⁴, 161,³¹, Ja VI 556,¹²

fut. 1 sg. *āṇāpessāmi*, Sp II 295,³, Ps IV 80,¹³

pres.part. *āṇāpenta-*, Ja VI 23,^{21’}, 448,²⁵, Sp II 369,¹³, Pv-a 39,¹³

ger. *āṇāpetabba-*, Sp IV 755,¹⁸, V 1060,⁸ foll.

pp. *āṇatta-*, Vin I 116,³⁷, Ja VI 104,^{24’} (*an+*), Kv-a 141,¹², *āṇāpita-*, Vin II 292,¹¹, Mhv 39,¹⁸, Mil 147,¹, Nidd-a I 198,¹⁵ (*an+*), *āṇāpi-tatta-*, Mil 147,²⁶

inf. *āṇāpetuṃ*, Vin I 116,⁷, 118,⁹ foll.

abs. *āṇāpetvā*, Vin III 54,7 foll., Ja IV 27,13, Ps II 297,33, Spk III 202,18
(*an+*)

***āturīyati* “to feel sick” ← *ātura-* “sick”**

[Cf. Skt *ātura-*, RV 8.22.10 (v. EWAIas. v. *turá-*, cf. CDIAL 5874),
Gāndhārī *adura-*, DhPK 237a]

Ct.: *āturīyatī ti āturo hoti gelaññaṃ patto sabbādho*, Ps V 31,28, Rem.
aṭṭo ti āturo, Pj II 489,11 (*ad Sn 694*)

pres. 3 sg. *āturīyati*, M III 234,23, Pj I 146,11

pp. *āturita-*, Ps II 129,24, Nidd-a I 94,8

***āroget* “to be healthy” ← *āroga-* “healthy”**

[Cf. Skt *ārogyay°* (v. BHSD s.v.), Gāndhārī *arogyati*, CKD 133]

Ref.: On *ā* as a alpha privative in Pāli v. Oberlies, 2001 §6.4; cf. von
Hinüber, 2001 §160, *pace* Cone for whom it is a wrong reading
(v. DOP s.v. *arogāpeti*, Ce).

caus. 1 sg. opt. *ārogāpeyyam*, Vin I 274,7

***ālayati* “clings to” ← *ālaya-* “clinging”**

[Cf. Skt *ālī-* *ālīyate*, Mbh 3,60.13]

pres. 3 pl. *ālayanti*, S III 190,12, Peṭ 109,8, Sv II 464,15, Ps II 174,30

***ālopati* “to rip off” ← *ālopa-* “rip-off”**

pres. 3 sg. *ālopati*, Th 743, Th-a III 25,11

***āvilati* “to become turbid” ← *āvila-* “turbid”**

[Cf. Skt *āvilay°*: *āvilayitum*, Śakuntalā 5,21]

Ref.: On the formal and semantic development of MIA *āvila-*v. EWAia
s.v. *ābilām*.

pres. 3 sg. *āvilati*, Mil 259,31, 260,3

***āhārayati, āhāreti* “to take food” ← *āhāra-* “food”**

[Cf. Skt *āhārayanti*, Mbh 12,56.50]

Ct.: *āhāreti ti paribhuñjati ajjhoharati*, As 401,26, Rem. ... *añhamāno*
āhārayamāno ..., Pj II 284,22 (*ad Sn 240*)

Ref.: At Thī 460, one should read *āhārisaṃ*, not *iya*, accord. to Norman
(1971, 163).

pres. I sg. *āhāremi*, M I 78,3, 3 sg. *āhāreti*, D I 166,14, A I 114,2, Dhs 231,15, Pp 55,19, 3 pl. *āhārenti*, S III 240,3, M I 238,26, Pj II 208,1
opt. I sg. *āhāreyyam*, M I 245,18, 247,8, 3 sg. *āhāreyya*, Nidd I 241,3, 368,27

ārogeti “to be healthy” ← āroga- “healthy”

I I aor. I sg. *āhāresim*, M I 245,21, Spk II 107,14, 3 sg. *āhāresi*, Vin V 19,18
pres.part. *āhāraya(nt)-*, M I 81,7, Vism 418,29, *āhārayamāna-*, Pj II 284,22, *āhārenta-*, Vin V 19,10, As 401,27
inf. *āhāretuṃ*, Ja I 67,29
abs. *āhāretvā*, M I 247,17, II 212,9

ugghātiyati “to elate” ← ugghāta- “elation”

Ct.: *ugghātītā ti uddhumātā*, Mp III 258,20
pp. *ugghātita-*, A III 68,26, 69,6*, Nidd I 168,3 foll.

udāneti “to chant” ← udāna- “chant”

[Cf. Skt *udānay°*: *udānayati* Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa III 9,6.3 [*ámbe ambāly ámbika íti pátnīm udānayatī*], *udānayati*, Mahāvastu III 111.8 *apud* BHSD s.v.]

Ct.: *udānaṃ udānesī ti udāhāraṃ udāhari*, Sv I 140,28

pres. 3 sg. *udāneti*, Vin II 183,26, 3 pl. *udānenti*, D III 218,23, A III 202,13
aor. 3 sg. *udānesi*, Vin I 3,4 foll., D I 47,9, S I 20,7 foll., Th-a I 36,4
pres.part. *udānaya(nt)-*, Mhv 19,29, *udānenta-*, Ud 18,26, Ja III 216,23, IV 270,14, Thī-a I 136,32
pp. *udānita-*, Dh-p-a IV 55,16, Ud-a 314,17
abs. *udānetvā*, Ja I 267,30', Spk II 89,22, Mhv 27,8

upakkamālati “to act” ← upakkama- “action”

Ct.: *upakkamaṃ karoti upakkamālati*, Kacc-v 441

pres. 3 sg. *upakkamālati*, Kacc-v 441

upaddaveti “to bother” ← upaddava- “bother”

[Cf. Skt *upadrava*, Mbh 12,318.20]

pres. 2 sg. *upaddavetha*, Sv I 213,23, Ps II 318,28 3 sg. *upaddaveti*, Dh-p-a II 70,10

upamāneti “to compare to” ← upamāna- “comparison”

[Cf. Skt *upamāna-*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.1.204]

Dhātusūcī: *mā māne*, Dhātup II 47, *mā māne śabde ca*, Dhātup III 7, *mā pamāṇe*, Dhātum 595, 723, *mā māne śadde ca*, Sadd 647, *mā parimāṇe* Sadd 1248, 1288

Ref.: At Thī 382, *-upamāniye* is the correct reading accord. to Norman (1971, 141).

pp. *upamānita-*, Thī 382

upavīṇayati “to pluck a lute” ← upavīṇa- “lute”

[Cf. Skt *upavīṇay°*: [*vīṇayopagāyati*] *upavīṇayati*, Kās *ad* Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.25] Ct.: *vīṇāya upagāyati upavīṇayati*, Sadd II 587,20

pres. 3 sg. *upavīṇayati*, Kacc-v 441, Sadd II 587,8

uppaṇḍeti “to ridicule”

[← *paṇḍaka-* “eunuch” (accord. to Smith, Sadd V 1276; cf. *pace* CDIAL 9372, Dhātup I 306 (infra), Pkt *ubbhaṇḍa-* “abusive”); cf. Skt *paṇḍaka-*, Mairāyaṇi-Saṃhitā (v. EWAia s.v., cf. Burrow (1955, 384), KEWA s.v.)]

Dhātusūcī: Rem. *bhaḍi paribhāṣaṇe*, Dhātup I 306, *paṇḍa paribhāse*, PDhātup 567, Dhātum 797, *paḍi parihāse*, Sadd 1417

Ct.: *tattha uppaṇḍesun ti kittakena bhante kītāni ti ādīni vadantā avahasimsu*, Sp III 687,20, *uppaṇḍeti ti uppaṇḍanakathaṃ*, Pp-a 250,1

pres. 3 sg. *uppaṇḍeti*, Vin I 216,2, A III 91,17, Pp 67,12, 3 pl. *uppaṇḍenti*, Vin I 272,30, III 128,2, Mp III 316,11,15

aor. 3 sg. *uppaṇḍesi*, Ja V 288,9, Mhv 25,88, Thūp LXIV 6, 1 pl. *uppaṇḍimhā*, Pv-a 175,9, 3 pl. *uppaṇḍesum*, Vin III 233,12

fut. 3 pl. *uppaṇḍessanti*, Spk I 179,20, As 273,21

pres.part. *uppaṇḍenta-*, Ud-a 318,19, Pj II 19,8, pass. *uppaṇḍiyamāna-*, Vin IV 278,9, 345,4, A III 91,18, Ud-a 177,28

pp. *uppaṇḍita-*, Vin III 233,18, Ps II 414,19

abs. *uppaṇḍetvā*, Dh-p-a I 276,6

ubbhaṇḍeti “to load up” ← ubbhaṇḍa- “loaded up”

[Cf. Skt *sambhāṇḍayate*, Kās *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.20 [pucchabhāṇḍa-cīvarān ṇin], *bhāṇḍa-* (q.v. EWAia s.vv., cf. CDIAL 9440)]

Ct.: Rem. *cīvarehi ubbhaṇḍikate 'ti cīvarehi ubbhaṇḍikate yathā ukkhittabhaṇḍā honti, evaṃ kate ukkhittabhaṇḍikabhāvaṃ āpādithe 'ti attho*, Sp V 1127,30

pp. *ubbhaṇḍita-*, Vin I 287,33

***usūyati, usuyyati, usuyy[ā]jati, ussuyati* “to grumble”**

← *usuyyā-, usūyā-* “grumble”

[Cf. Skt *asūy°*: *asūyān*, RV 10.135.2, *asūyayitvā*, Mbh 3,63.16, *asūyet*, R 2,72.21, *abhyasūyā*, R 2,8.1, *guṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaranam asūyā*, Kās *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.37]

Dhātusūcī: *sūya* [sic] *dosāvikaṇe*, PDhātup 238, *usūya dosāvikaṇe*, Dhātum 342

Ct.: *maṃ usuyyasī ti mayhaṃ usuyyasi mayhaṃ issaṃ karosī*, Pv-a 87,25

Ref.: v. EWAia s.v. *asūy*, Whitney (1889, § 1061)

Rem.: Some traditions' mss have *usuyati*, *usūyati*, or *ussuyati* (v. DOP s.v.).

pres. 1 sg. *usuyyāmi*, Ja IV 134,19*, 2 sg. *usuyyasi*, Pv II 3,21, 3 sg. *usuyyati*, Ja V 114,23', Sadd III 695,25, *usūyati*, Ps IV 74,2, 3 pl. *usuyyanti*, Vin I 242,31, II 190,11, *usūyanti*, Ja III 7,26'

pres.part. *usuyya(nt)-*, Ja III 27,2* (*an+*), *usuyy[ā]amāna-* [Morris' emendation, m.c.], A I 199,9* (*an+*), *usūya(nt)-*, Ps I 288,14, Ud-a 256,10, Dh-p-a III 346.8, *usūyamāna-*, Mp IV 171,7, *ussuyyant-*, Sv III 784,28

pp. *usuyitta-*, Dhs 1121, *usūyitta-*, Vibh 357,23, *ussuyitatta-*, Nidd I 440,27

***usūyāyati* “to grumble” ← *usūyā-* “grumble”**

ger. *usūyāyitabba-*, Mil 402,14

***ussakkati, usukkati* “to be eager” ← *ussukka-* “eagerness”**

[Cf. Skt *autsukya-*, Mbh 3,2.64, R 2,108.4, *utsukāy°*: *utsukāyamāna-*, Bhaṭṭikāvya 5,74.2; Rem. *utsuka-* is a denominal base that belongs to the *bhṛśādigaṇa*, Kās *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.12]

Ct.: *osakkantiyā vā ussakkeyyā ti paṭikkamantiyā upagaccheyya anicchantiyā iccheyya ekāya sampayogaṃ anicchantiyā eko*

iccheyyā ti vuttaṃ hoti, Sv II 397,15, *pādehi ussakkitivā agganakhato paṭṭhāya pādehi abhirūhitvā*, Mp III 319,22

Ref.: On the formation of *ussukka-* (← **utsukya-* ← *autsukya-*) v. Oberlies (2001, 54; 1995, 129).

pres. 3 sg. *ussakkati*, Mil 260,25, Vism 705,12

opt. 3 sg. *ussukkeyya*, D I 230,21, Th-a I 179,23

caus. 3 sg. pres. *ussukkāpeti*, It-a I 116,23, 1 sg. aor. *ussakkāpesim*, Vv-a 95,12, *ussukkāpesim*, Th-a II 270,36, pres.part. *ussukkāpentī-*, Thī-a 134,3, 202,36, ger. *ussukkāpetabba-*, Paṭis-a 19,21, pp. *ussukkāpita-*, Thī III 161,15, abs. *ussukkāpetvā*, Ps V 23,26, Spk II 175,11, Ud-a 165,9, Vibh-a 390,1, inf. *ussukkāpetum*, Sv III 725,7, Th-a II 86,2

pres.part. *ussukka(nti)-*, Sv II 397,25, Ud-a 398,11, *ussukkamāna-*, Vism 153,15

inf. *ussakkītum*, Vibh-a 419,29

abs. *ussakkītvā*, A III 241,7, Mil 260,22, Vism 437,5

***ussineti, usseneti* “to be attached to” ← **ussina-*, **ussena-*
“attached”**

Ct.: ... *n' ev' ussenetī ti diṭṭhivasena na ukkhipati* ..., Mp III 209,3

Rem.: Perhaps *usseneti* is formally patterned after *paṭīleṇeti* (← *lī-na + paṭī*) which occurs earlier in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, *pace* CPD, DOP s.v. *usseneti* (← *utsenī*); it is synonymous w/ *apacināti*, *ācināti*, and *upadīyati* and antonymous w/ *viseneti*. On suffix *na* v. Oberlies (2001, § 56), von Hinüber (2001, § 492). Cf. BHSD s.v. *viśreṇīkatvā*.

pres. 3 sg. *ussineti*, Nidd I 21,14, II 161,15, Kv 93,21, 542,28, 543,7, *usseneti*, S III 89,23, A II 214,3, foll., 3 pl. *ussinenti*, Paṭis II 167,21

pres.part. *ussinenta-*, Kv 614,12

***ūnayati* “to become less” ← *ūna-* “less”**

[Cf. Skt *ūnay°*: *ūnayih*, RV 1.53.3d, Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (Śaunaka) 20.21.3d, Kās *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.51]

Dhātusūcī: *ūna parihāṇe*, Dhātup X 430, *ūna parihāṇe*, Dhātum 831, *ūna parihāṇiyam*, Sadd 1516 (X 342)

pres. 3 sg. *ūnayati*, *ūneti*, Sadd II 549,27

ogumpheti “to string together” ← °gumphā- “stringing”

[Cf. Skt *guṣpīṭā-* (v. EWAia s.v.), *gúmphita-*, Vaikhānasa-Mantrapraśnā

8.3.8.7, *gumphitvā*, Kāś *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.2.23, *guhṃ-* (v. BHSG s.v.)]

Dhātusūcī: *gumphā granthe*, Dhātup VI 43, Rem. *gupha granthe*,
Dhātup VI 42, *gupha ganthe*, Sadd 580

Ct.: *ogupphiyantī [sic] ti bhittidaṇḍakādīsu vethetvā bandhanti*, Sp V
1087,8, *ogumbetvā [sic] ... ti chadanaṃ odhunitvā ghanadaṇḍakam*
katvā ..., Sp VI 1207,1

Ref.: CDIAL 4205 [2]

pass. 3 pl. *ogupphiyanti*, Vin I 194,6

abs. *ogumphetvā*, Vin II 117,22, 120,12, 121,12, 141,34

osaṇheti “to make smooth” ← °saṇhā- “smooth”

[Cf. Skt *ślakṣṇá-*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.21 (listed as a denominal base; v.

EWAia s.v.), *ślakṣṇay°*: *samślakṣṇya*, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa VI 5,2.4

(Mādhyandina), *ślakṣṇita-*, Mahāvastu I 7,2]

Ct.: *kocchena osaṇhentī ti kocchena olakkhitvā sannisīdāpentī*, Sp VI
1200,27

pres. 3 pl. *osaṇhenti*, Vin II 107,5 foll.

opt. 3 sg. *osaṇheyya*, Vin II 107,11, Sp I 107,11

ger. *osaṇhetabba-*, Vin II 107,10

pp. *osaṇhita-*, Th-a III 86,26

abs. *osaṇhetvā*, Ja IV 219,16, Pj II 35,26

kaṭakaṭāyati “to make (the sound) kaṭakaṭā”

← *kaṭakaṭā-* “(the sound) kaṭakaṭā”

[Onom. Cf. Skt *kaṭakaṭā(pa)y°*: *kaṭakaṭāyya*, R 7,61.2]

Ct.: Rem. *kunṭhena chijjamānā kaṭakaṭā ti saddaṃ karoti*, Pp-a 193,11

Ref.: v. Emeneau (1969, 289)

pres. 3 pl. *kaṭakaṭāyanti*, Pj II 67,31, 68,2 Vibh-a 247,34, 248,2, Vism
264,25,29

kaṇṇakayati “to darken” ← *kaṇṇaka- “dark”

[Not clear. Cf. CPD, DOP s.vv. *kaṇṇa-*, *kaṇṇaka-*, *kaṇṇākita-*. Rem.:

Could *kaṇṇakita-* be an error for **kaṇṇakita-* “darkened” (←

kaṇhaka- “blackish” [Sp-t, Be] ← *kaṇha-*, “black, dark” ← Skt *kṛṣṇaka-*, “blackish” (Kausika-Sūtra 11.1.26) ← *kṛṣṇá-*, “black, dark”? Could it be modelled formally after *puñjakita-* (← *puñjaka-* ← *puñja-*) which occurs in the Vin (II 208,31). On *ṇha* ← *ṣṇa* v. Oberlies (2001, § 18.4), von Hinüber (2001, § 239). Plus, in terms of semantics, “darkened” is more applicable to *bhitti-*, *sūci-*, and *cīvara-*, unlike “mouldy”, “mildewed”, and “rusty”.]

Ct.: *kaṇṇakitā hontī ti malaggahitā honti*, Sp VI 1205,27, cf. Sp III 651,5, VI 1122,5,

pp. *kaṇṇakita-*, Vin I 48,9, II 115,37, 209,7, III 198,6

***kaṇḍūyati, kaṇḍūvati, kaṇḍūvayati* “to itch” ← *kaṇḍū-* “itch”**

[Cf. Skt *kaṇḍū-* is a Dravidian loan-word accord. to Burrow (1948, 369); is a denominal base at Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.27; *kaṇḍūy°*: *kaṇḍūyante*, Kāthaka-Brāhmaṇa 23.4a : 76,7, *kaṇḍūyan*, Mbh 1,139.3.]

Dhātusūcī: *kaṇḍu[va] kaṇḍuvane*, PDhātup 286, *kaṇḍūvanamhi kaṇḍūvo*, Dhātum 416

Ct.: *kaṇḍuvamāno ti nakhānaṃ chinnattā kaṇḍuvitabbakāle tena kaṇḍuvamāno*, Ps III 12,8, Mp III 185,10, Pp-a 233,29

Ref.: On the change of *y* to *v* v. Oberlies (2001, § 14.8b). von Hinüber (2001, § 214).

pres. 3 sg. *kaṇḍuvati*, Vin I 205,37, *kaṇḍuvāyati*, Ja V 198,3*, 3 pl. *kaṇḍuvanti*, Vin II 121,1

aor. 3 sg. *kaṇḍūyi*, Ja VI 413,24

pres.part. *kaṇḍuva(i)*, Sp III 528,15, *kaṇḍuvanta-*, Vin III 117,14, Ps III 218,11, *kaṇḍūyamāna°*, Pj II 116,7, *kaṇḍūvanta-*, Dhṛp-a III 297,12, *kaṇḍuvamāna-*, Sp III 528,14, *kaṇḍūvamāna-*, M I 343,33, A II 207,19, Pp 56,15

ger. *kaṇḍuvitabba°*, Ps III 12,8, Mp III 185,10, Pp-a 233,30

inf. *kaṇḍūyitum*, Ps II 21,24

abs. *kaṇḍuyitvā*, Ja V 298,10

***kathayati, katheti, kaccheti* “to talk” ← *kathā-* “talk”**

[Cf. Skt *kathay*^o: *akathita*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.51, *kathayiṣyāmi*, Mbh 3,50.20, *saṅkathayiṣyāmi*, Mbh 5,8.30, Gāndhārī *kaṣeti*, SaṅgCm 31r40, *kaṣayati* SC 2 Ea6]

Dhātusūcī: *katha vākyaprabandhe*, Dhātup X 389, *katha vākyappabandhe*, PDhātup 582, Dhātum 816, Sadd 1469 (X 307), *katha kathane* Sadd 1462

Ct.: *kathetave ti kathetabbe*, Sp V 1153,27, *kaccho ti kathetum yutto akaccho ti kathetum na yutto*, Mp II 308,23, *sākacchāyamāno ti pañhapucchanavissajjanavasena sākacchaṃ karonto*, Mp III 172,14, Rem. *ācikkhāmī ti kathemi*, Mp III 149,14, *saṃvohāramāno ti kathento* Mp III 172,1

Preverb: *a, saṃ*

Ref.: On the rare in nitival suffix *-tave* (< Vedic *-tavái*) v. Oberlies (2001, 8, 264), von Hinüber (2001, § 497); v. Oberlies (2001, 35, 97) on *saṃ* → *sā* and *thy* → *cch* (in *sākaccheti*).

pres. 1 sg. *kathemi*, Ja II 307,3, Nidd I 246,13, 265,29, 3 sg. *kaccheti*, D II 237,5, foll. (*saṃ*+), *kathayati*, D III 154,6, Sadd II 541,28, *katheti*, Vin IV 168,27, S V 320,10, Kv 415,22, Mil 22,17*, 3 pl. *kathenti*, Vin IV 164,15, Thī 522, Nidd I 98,15

imper. 2 sg. *kathaya*, Ja VI 413,9, *kathehi*, Ja IV 184,3, 191,1, Mil 268,4, 2 sg. med. *kathayassu*, Nidd II 341,6, 2 pl. *kathetha*, Dh-p-a I 8,7

opt. 1 sg. *katheyyaṃ*, M III 167,19, 169,6, Ja I 129,14, 2 sg. *katheyyāsi*, Sp VI 1364,1, 3 sg. *kathaye*, A I 199,7, *katheyya*, D III 220,10, Sn 930, Nidd I 389,15*, Kv 513,25, 2 pl. *katheyyātha*, S V 419,5, A V 129,17, Ud 11,18, 3 pl. *katheyyūṃ*, Nidd I 249,25

aor. 2 pl. *kathayittha*, Ja III 441,9, VI 413,19, Ps III 68,18, 3 sg. *kathayī*, Ap 331,12, *kathī*, Ap 25,3, *kathesi*, Vin I 15,36, D I 110,1, M II 145,4, Ud 49,5, 3 pl. *kathayimṣu*, Ja IV 199,4, 266,11 foll., Sadd 241,19, *kathesum*, Ja X 28,4, 153,4, 371,2, Dīp 8,10, Ps IV 147,4

fut. 1 sg. *kathayissāmi*, Ap 63,12, Mil 131,21, *kathessāmi*, M III 113,25, A III 184,17, Kv 415,33, 1 sg. med. *kathayissam*, Cp-a 20,26, 2 sg. *kathessasi*, Sv I 184,8, 2 pl. *kathessatha*, Vin IV 164,22, 3 sg. *kathayissati*, Ap 84,14, *kathessati*, Ja V 459,2, VI 33,23, 66,7, Sv I

- 145,6, 3 pl. *kacchissanti*, Vin II 75,37, III 159,16 (*saṃ+*), *kathessanti*, Vin IV 164,28, Ja IV 340,17, Ap 304,26
- caus.** 1 sg. *kathāpemi*, Ja II 157,2,8, Dh-p-a IV 42, 3 sg. pres. *kathāpeti*, Sp IV 907,18, Sv I 145,17, Th-a III 181,2, 3 pl. *kathāpenti*, Sv I 187,4, Mp IV 17,17, Vibh-a 350,6, 2 pl. imp. *kathāpetha*, Ja II 157,2,9, Mp II 151,5, 1 sg. opt. *kathāpeyyam*, Ja II 156,20, 1 sg. aor. *kathāpesim*, Mhv 32,44, 3 sg. aor. *kathāpayi*, Mhv 24,4, *kathāpesi*, Sv I 184,8, III 822,14, 1 sg. fut. *kathāpessāmi*, Mp II 151,6, IV 268,3, Th-a III 201,4, 1 pl. *kathāpessāma*, Ps III 17,21, Mp II 136,2, Ud-a 409,6, pres.part. *kathāpenta-*, Ja II 157,10, Sp VI 1283,18, Mp IV 268,10, Vv-a 234,17, abs. *kathāpetvā*, Ja II 230,4, IV 272,14, Ap 89,18, Sp IV 907,18, inf. *kathāpetuṃ*, Ps II 353,16
- pass.** 3 sg. *kathiyati*, Nidd I 127,15, 210,11, 252,22, II 431,4, *kathiyati*, Ps IV 18,20, *kathīyati*, Ja I 380,26, III 331,16, Mil 205,14, Spk I 100,4, 3 pl. *kathiyanti*, Nidd I 420,15, *kathīyanti*, Mp II 205,8, 252,9
- pres.part.** *kathaya(t)-*, Sp I 79,2, *kathaya(nt)-*, Ap 85,6, Sp VII 1377,32, Spk I 289,11, *kathayamāna-*, Ja I 287,1, II 112,18, V 395,10, Ps II 168,19, *kathiyamāna-*, Sv I 158,17, III 723,14, Sp III 578,18, Mp II 136,22, *kathīyamāna-*, Sp II 322,10, *kathenta-*, Vin I 188,22, Ja I 380,18, Nidd I 219,32, Sp VII 1363,27 (*a+*), *kathentī-*, D I 178,18, M II 1,15, Ja VI 65,29*, *kacchamāna-*, M II 253,21, A III 181,9, Ps IV 211,1, *kacchāyanta-*, Vin I 169,8 (*saṃ+*), *kacchāyamāna-*, A II 189,10, foll. (*saṃ+*)
- ger.** *kathetabba-*, Ja IV 45,2, V 77,3, Mil 2,16, Sp VI 1364,28, *kathitabba-*, Nidd-a I 4,10, *kaccha-*, A I 197,19, 198,2 (*a+*), *kacchitabba-*, Vin V 123,15 (*saṃ+*)
- pp.** *kathita-*, Ja VI 86,1, Paṭis II 196,13, Mp III 115,23, As 151,6
- inf.** *kathetave*, Vin I 359,15*, *kathetuṃ*, A III 393,8, Nidd I 127,20, Sv I 184,3, Mp I 347,22, *kacchetuṃ*, Nidd I 177,7 (*saṃ+*)
- abs.** *kathayivā*, Sp I 82,4, Mp IV 168,4, Vism 97,1, *kathayivāna*, Sp I 67,18*, *kathetvā*, Vin III 297,8, Ja II 7,1, 107,6 (*a+*), Mil 9,27, *kathetvāna*, Mhv 44,109

karuṇāyati “to feel compassionate” ← *karuṇā-* “compassion”

[Cf. Skt *karuṇa-*, RV 1.100.7; *karuṇa-* (= denominal base which belongs to the *sukhādigaṇa*), Kāś *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.18, *karuṇāy°*: *karuṇāyatī*, Mbh 3,10.14 q.v. Oberlies (2003, 261–262), *karuṇāyamānaḥ*, Buddhacarita 3.45.2]

pres. 3 sg. *karuṇāyati*, Sadd II 587.6, 3 pl. *karuṇāyanti*, Vibh-a 75.22

opt. 3 sg. *karuṇāyeyya*, Vibh 273.36

pres.part. *karuṇāya(nt)*, Ap-a 335.34, *karuṇāyamāna-*, Sn 1065, Nidd II 21.5, Ud-a 271.2

ger. *karuṇāyitabba-*. Vism 314.22, As 194.11, Sadd II 553.16

***kicchati* “to feel miserable” ← *kiccha-* “miserable”**

[Cf. Skt *kṛcchrá-* (= denominal base which belongs to the *sukhādigaṇa*, Kāś *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.18), RV 10.52.4, *kṛcchrāy°*: *kṛcchrāyeta*, Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra 10.26.16]

Ct.: *kicchantā ti kilamantā vanapatthesu vasitum kicchantā kilantacittā ti attho*, Th-a III 87.5

Ref.: On *kiccha-* ← *kṛcchrá-* ← **kṛpsrá-* v. von Hinüber (2001, § 238), Tedesco (1957, 201), CDIAL 3420, cf. Oberlies (2001, § 18.1).

pres. 3 sg. *kicchati*, Th 1073, Sv I 275.14, Mp III 324.17, Th-a III 140.33

pres.part. *kicchanta-*, Th 962

***kiṇakiṇāyati* “to make (the sound) *kiṇa-kiṇa*”**

← *kiṇa-* “(the sound) *kiṇa*”

[Onom., redupl.; v. BHSD s.vv. *kaṅkaṇikā-*, *kiṇi-kiṇāyamānā-*, cf. Skt *kiṅkiṇī-* (q.v. Burrow (1948, 372), Emeneau (1969, 290), KEWA s.v., cf. CDIAL 3152), Mbh 4,38.31, R 5,3.7]

Rem.: The commentary reads *kiṇikiṇāyati*.

pres. 3 sg. *kiṇakiṇāyati*, Ja III 315.9*

***kitteti, kittayati* “to announce, to praise” ← *kitti-* “praise”**

[Cf. Skt *kīrtay°*: *kīrtayā*, Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā 7.37.1 (Śaunaka), *kīrtayitavya-*, Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa 23.2, *kīrtayet*, Mbh 12,297.13, Gāndhārī *kirtise*, NirdL2 1119]

Dhātusūcī: *kṛta saṃśabdane*, Dhātup X 155, *kitta saṃsaddē*, PDhātup 579, *kitta saṃsaddane*, Dhātum 812, Sadd 1450

Ct.: *tattha akittayī ti ācikkhi*, Pj II 563,22

Preverb: *a* (neg.), *abhi*, *pa*, *su*,

Ref.: On Pkt *kuṭṭei* ← **kūrtayati* v. Oberlies (1999, 44).

pres. 1 sg. mid. *kittaye*, S I 238,23*, 2 sg. *kittayasi*, Mil 127,5, *kittesi*, D II 268,23 (or preterite?), Thī 271, Ja IV 321,23*, 3 pl. *kittenti*, Nidd I 321,6, 384,1

opt. 1 sg. *kiteyyaṃ*, Pj II 381,8, 3 sg. *kittaye*, Ap 77,16, Ap-a TBD

aor. 1 sg. *kittayaṃ*, Ap 503,15, *kittayim*, Ap 411,3 (*abhi+*), 495,14, 3 sg. *kittayī*, Sn 921, Nidd I 354,20 (*a+*), Ap 489,7 (*abhi+*), Nidd I 354,20 (*pari+*), *kittayī*, Vin V 145,29*, Sn 875, Nidd I 281,1 (*a+*), *kittesi*, Ap 83,18, 3 pl. *kittayaṃ*, Ap 29,4, 29,8 (*a+*)

fut. 1 sg. *kittayissāmi* D II 255,16, Sn 935, Th 693, Nidd I 406,16 (*pa+*), *kittayissaṃ*, Ap 241,21, Dīp 1,1, *kittessāmi*, Pj II 476,17, 2 sg. *kittayissasi*, Vv 34,5

pres.part. *kittaya(t)-*, M III 69,27*, 503,15, Ap 503,15, *kittayanta-*, Ap 29,5, 471,17, Cp-a 471,17, *kittayamāna-* M I 146,37, A III 65,18, Mil 141,12, *kittenta-*, Ja V 362,21, Nidd I 321,6, Ap 77,16 (*pa+*)

ger. *kittanīya-*, Pv-a 9,3, *kittitabba-*, Ud-a 204,12, *kittetabba-*, Vin I 106,5, Pj II 381,12

pp. *kittita-*, Vin I 106,10, Sn 1057 (*su+*), Nidd I 306,6 (*a+*), Mil 184,6 (*pa+*)

abs. *kittayitvā*, Ap 422,21, *kittayitvāna*, Ap 432,33, *kittetvā*, Vin I 106,8, V 212,11, Ja I 17,15* (*pa+*), Sp VII 1401,21 (*a+*)

***kilikilāyati* “to make (the sound) *kili-kili*” ← *kili-* “(the sound) *kili*”**

[Onom., redupl. cf. *kiṇakiṇāyati* (supra)]

Ref.: Cf. BHSD s.vv. *kilikila*, *kilikīlate*

pres. 3 pl. *kilikilāyanti*, Ja V 206,7

***kisati* “to become faint” ← *kisa-* “faint”**

[Cf. Skt *krśa*, q.v. (Hara 1995)]

Ct.: *mā kisitthā ti . . . mā kisā bhava mā kilami*, Ja VI 495,11'

aor. 2 sg. *kisittha*, Ja VI 495,6*

***kukkuccāyati* “to feel bad” ← *kukkucca-* “bad feeling”**

[Cf. Skt *kukṛtya-*, Pañcatantra 237.²¹ (*apud* PW s.v.), *kaukṛtya-* (v. BHSD s.v.)]

Ct.: *ka kukkuccāyitabban ti saṃghabhogassa apaṭṭhapanam avicāra-
ṇam na kukkuccāyitabbaṃ nāma taṃ kukkuccāyati*, Mp II 156.⁴⁴, cf.
Pp-a 205.²⁴

Rem.: ... *kuḥ pāpārthe* Mahābhāṣya *ad* Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.2.18.

pres. 3 sg. *kukkuccāyati*, Vin V 118.³⁸, A I 85.²¹, Pp 26.², 3 pl. *kukkuccā-
yanti*, Vin I 211.²⁸, II 131.¹², IV 90.⁵, 350.¹³

pres.part. *kukkuccāyanta-*, Vin I 210.⁵, III 65.¹⁴, IV 70.²⁵, 234.⁸

ger. *kukkuccāyitabba-*, Vin V 118.³⁸, A I 85.²¹, Pp 26.²¹

***kujjati* “to curve” ← *kujja-* “curved”**

[Cf. Skt *kubjita-*, Nāiṣadhīyacaritam 18.17-2, Gāndhārī *ukuje*, EĀL r21,
ṇiujidu, EĀL r21]

Dhātusūcī: *kujja adhomukhikaraṇe*, Sadd 239

Ct.: ... *nikkujjeyyā ti tena dinnassa deyyadhammassa appaṭiggahaṇa-
tthaṃ pattanikkujjanakammavācāya nikkujjeyya na adhomukhaṭṭha-
panena | ukkujjeyyā ti ukkujjanakammavācāya ukkujjeyya*, Mp IV
159.²³, 160.³ *nikkujjitvā ti adhomukhaṃ katvā | ukkujjitvā ti uttānaṃ
katvā*, Ps III 127.¹² [*ad* M I 414.²⁰], *tattha nikkujjitan ti adhomukha-
ṭṭhapitaṃ heṭṭhāmukhajātaṃ vā ukkujjeyyā ti uparimukhaṃ kareyya*,
Pj II 155.³⁰, *tattha kujjati nikkujjati ti imāni carati vicarati ti padāni
viya samānatthāni | adhomukhaṃ karoti ti hi attho | ukkujjati ti
uparimukhaṃ karoti | paṭikujjati ti mukhe mukhaṃ ṭhapeti*, Sadd II
349.²⁵

Preverb: *a* (neg.), *ava*, *u*, *ni*, *pali*, *paṭi*

Ref.: Vedic *kubjá-* “crooked” is a loan word from a W. Central Asian
substrate accord. to Witzel (1999, 342, n. 26). Cf. EWAia s.v.,
CDIAL 3300, Burrow (1938, 720).

pres. 3 sg. *kujjati*, Vin II 127.⁷ (*u+*), 125.²⁹ (*ni+*), Nidd I 131.³ (*paṭi+*),
kujjeti, Sadd II 349.²⁵ (*ava+*), 3 pl. *kujjanti*, Vin II 113.³⁵ (*ni+*)

imper. 2 pl. *kujjatha*, A III 58.² (*paṭi+*), 3 sg. *kujjatu*, Vin II 126.²³ (*u+*),
125.¹⁴ (*ni+*)

- opt.** 3 sg. *kujjeyya*, Vin II 127.4 (*u+*), D I 85.9 (*u+*), Vin II 125.27 (*ni+*), A IV 345.7 (*ni+*), 3 pl. *kujjeyyūṃ*, D III 203.22 (*ni+*)
- aor.** 3 sg. *kujji*, A III 58.6 (*paṭi+*)
- caus. abs.** *ukkujjāpetvā*, Mhv-ṭ 439.20
- pres.part.** *kujjanta-*, D I 53.13, 55.4, 56.9 (*a-ni+*), Mp III 345.1, (*ava+*), IV 94.25 (*ni+*)
- ger.** *kujjitabba-*, Vin II 126.24 (*u+*), Sp VI 1209.11 (*u+*), 125.22 (*ni+*)
- pp.** *kujjita-*, Vin II 127.10 (*u+*), 125.29 (*ni+*), Ja V 266.20 (*paṭi+*)*, Kv 598.14 (*paṭi+*), Sp VI 1209.7 (*ni+*)
- inf.** *kujjitūṃ*, Vin II 126.30 (*u+*), 125.22 (*ni+*), Sp VI 1209.6 (*ni*)
- abs.** *kujjitvā*, Vin II 269.20, (*u+*), D II 142.3 (*paṭi+*), M I 387.14 (*pali+*), 414.20 (*ni+*), *kujjetvā*, Sp II 333.5 (*u+*), 333.7 (*ni*)

***kuhayati, kuheti* “to trick” ← *kuha- “tricky”**

[Cf. Gāndhārī *kuhidatva*, NirdL2 v19]

Dhātusūcī: *kuha vismāpane*, Dhātup X 433, *kuha vimhāpane*, PDhātup 633, Dhātum 875, Sadd 1677

Ct.: *kuhitassa bhāvo kuhitattan ti*, Vibh-a 481.19, Vism 26.31

pres. 3 pl. *kuhayanti*, Sv I 91.29

abs. *kuhitvā*, Ja VI 212.1*

pp. *kuhita-*, in *kuhitatta-* Nidd I 225.28

***khaṇḍeti* “to break” ← *khaṇḍa-* “broken”; “piece”**

[Cf. Skt *khaṇḍay°*: *khaṇḍayām āsa*, Mbh 6,78.33, *khaṇḍayitum*, R 3,9.13]

Dhātusūcī: *khaḍa khaṇḍane bhedane*, Dhātup X 65, *khaḍi khaṇḍane bhedane*, Dhātup X 66, *khaṇḍa bhedane*, PDhātup 565, *khaṇḍa cchedane* 105, *khaḍi cchide*, Dhātum 140, 795, *khaḍi khaṇḍe*, Sadd 351 (I 303), *khaḍi chede*, 1419 (X 44)

Preverb: *a* (neg.)

Ref.: v. CDIAL 3792 and EWAia s.vv. *khaṇḍa-* and *KHAND*; cf. Burrow (1971, 544–545), Insler (1971, 580), Kuiper (1948, 48).

pres. 3 sg. *khaṇḍati*, Sadd II 356.8, *khaṇḍayati*, 533.15, *khaṇḍeti*, Kv-a 96.7,

Sadd II 533.15, 3 pl. *khaṇḍanti*, Dhp-a IV 14.1

aor. 2 sg. *khaṇḍesi*, Ja II 435,6

pres.part. *khaṇḍenta-* Ps II 396,33 (*a+*), Cp-a 112,30 (*a+*)

ger. *khaṇḍitabba-*, Cp-a 136,31

abs. *khaṇḍitvā*, Mp I 441,5, *khaṇḍetvā*, Ja I 367,32, II 288,2, Sv III 717,16 (*a+*), 1055,19, *khaṇḍetvāna*, Mhv 5,30 (*a+*)

pp. *khaṇḍita-*, Sv III 798,11, Thī-a 200,38, 201,19 [*ad* Thī 260 which reads *khaṇḍā*]

***gaggarāyati* “to make (the sound) *gaggara*”**

← *gaggara-* “(the sound) *gaggara*”

[Onom.; cf. Skt *gaggara-*, q.v. Emeneau (1969, 285, fn. 11; DED 1168), Klaus (187-189); Rem. cf. Skt “*gharghara-*” per Kern (1/7-8) *apud* Oberlies (1995, 132)]

pres.part. *gaggarāyanta-*, Sv III 879,5, Spk III 208,30, *gaggarāyamāna-*, Mil 3,7, Sv II 569,25

***gandheti* “to scent” ← *gandha-* “scent”**

[Cf. Skt √*gandh-*: *jaṅgahe*, R̥g-Saṃhitā 1.126.6, Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā 9.19.1 (Paippalāda), q.v. Lubotsky (1999), *gandhay°*: *gandhayati*, Kauç. 115 (*apud* PW).]

Preverb: *su*

pp. *gandhita-*, Ap 19,26, 509,24 (*su+*), Bv-a 171,9

***gaḷagaḷāyati* “to make (the sound) *gaḷagaḷa*”**

← *gaḷagaḷa-* “(the sound) *gaḷagaḷa*”

[Onom. redupl.]; cf. Skt *gadgada-*, Buddhacarita 8,60.2; *guḍāyati*, *guḍu-guḍāyate*, *gulugulāyati*, q.v. BHSD s.vv.]

Ct.: *gaḷagaḷāyante ti gajjante*, Spk TBD, *tattha devo ca vassati devo ca gaḷagaḷāyati ti devo megho vassati ca gaḷagaḷā ti ca karonto gajjati ti attho*, Th-a II 60,1

pres. 3 sg. *gaḷagaḷāyati*, Th 189, Mil 116,13

pres.part. *gaḷagaḷāyanta-*, D II 132,1, S I 106,20, Th-a I 132,3, *gala-galāyanta-*, A V 114,7

gopeti “to guard” ← *gopa- “guardian”

[Cf. Skt *gopay°*: *gopayan*, Mbh 1,142.19, *gopāy°*: *gopāyanti*, Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa VII 5: 66.18, *gopāyet*, Viṣṇusmṛti 3,43.1]

Dhātusūcī: *gupa rakṣane*, Dhātup I 461, *gupa rakkhaṇe*, PDhātup 181, Sadd 548 (X 231)

Ct.: *gopetī ti yathā aññe na passanti evaṃ guttaṭṭhāne ṭhabeti*, Sp III 555.2 *gopethā ti gopeyya rakkheyya*, Sadd II 403.18 *ad* Dhp 315

Preverb: *a* (neg.), *su*

pres. 3 sg. *gopati*, Sadd II 403.16, 403.23, *gopayati*, Ja IV 448.21*, 448.23', Ps I 27.8, *gopeti*, Vin I 295.26, III 139.27, Ja V 330.12*, Mil 151.26, 3 pl. *gopayanti*, Mp III 269.23, It-a 160.33, *gopāyanti*, Mp II 205.13, *gopenti*, Nidd I 129.10, II 259.15, Vibh-a 384.22

imper. 1 sg. *gopemi*, Ap 555.8, Thī-a 185.28, 2 sg. *gopehi*, Dhp-a I 300.8, 3 pl. *gopentu*, Ja II 34.25'

opt. 1sg *gopaye*, Cp II 7.4, 3 sg. *gopeyya*, Nidd II 368.6, Th-a II 259.7, *gopeyyum*, 3 pl. Mil 143, 3 sg. mid. *gopetha*, Dhp 315, Th 653, 1005

aor. 1 sg. *gopesim*, Ap-a 559.25, *agopayim*, Ap 74.22, 3 pl. *gopayimsu*, Dhp-a III 488.9

fut. 1 sg. *gopayissāmi*, Mp III 277.22, 1 pl. *gopayissāma*, Sp III 691.11, 3 pl. *gopissanti*, Nidd I 262.30, Sv III 720.32

pass. 3 sg. *gopīyati*, Pj I 217.11

pres.part. *gopaya(t)*, M I 86.11, Th 729, Nidd I 155.18, 415.22, *gopayanta-*, Nidd-a I 280.34, Mhv 4.32, *gopayamāna-*, Sv VII 1331.1, Nidd-a I 255.24, Vibh-a 186.13, *gopenta-*, Vin III 53.1, Nidd I 130.24, 131.1

ger. *gopetabba-*, Vin V 125.18, Ja I 8.34

pp. *gopita-*, Vin II 184.18, Nidd I 221.5, Ap 75.21, (*su+*), Mp I 54.13 (*a+*)

inf. *gopayitum*, Dhp-a III 488.10, *gopitum*, Th-a III 22.24, *gopetum*, Vin III 65.13, Mp III 224.15, 268.14, Pp-a 249.28

abs. *gopitvā*, Ap 77.13, Sp II 386.7, *gopetvā*, Mil 360.7, Sp II 358.2

ghātayati “to kill, strike” ← ghāta- “killing, striking”

[Cf. Skt *ghātay°*: *ghātayati*, Mbh 6,24.21, *ghātayet*, R 4,52.24, *ghāta-yasva*, 3,54.29, *ghātayisyati*, 4,52.26]

Ct.: *ghātayāmase ti ghātessāmi*, Ja VI 49^{1,12}, *aghātesun ti vadhiṃsu*, Ja III 177^{,19}, Rem. *haññantū ti ghātiyantu*, Ps II 332^{,15}, *upahaññāti ti ghātiyati*, Ps V 31^{,26}

Preverb: *a* (neg.)

pres. 2 sg. *ghātesī*, Ja VI 139^{,20}, 3 sg. *ghātetī*, Dhṛ 405, Sn 609, Nidd I 216^{,24}, 3 pl. *ghātenti*, Sp I 54^{,2}, 3 sg. mid. *ghātayate*, Ja IV 449^{,17*}

imper. 1 sg. *ghātemī*, Ja V 182^{,22*}, 1 pl. *ghātema*, Vin IV 308^{,19}, 2 sg. *ghātaya*, Mhv 7^{,36}, *ghātehi*, Vin III 74^{,37}, Mhv 7^{,35}, 2 pl. *ghāteṭha*, Ja I 175^{,16}, Mp I 369^{,20}, 3 sg. *ghātetu*, Dhṛ-a II 43^{,14}, 3 pl. pass. *ghātiyantu*, 1 pl. mid. *ghātayāmase*, Ja VI 49^{1,10}

opt. 3 sg. *ghātaye*, Dhṛ 129, 130, Sn 705, *ghāteyya*, Ja VI 140^{,2*}, Ps III 345^{,3}, Spk III 61^{,13}, 3 pl. *ghāteyyuṃ*, Nidd I 397^{,8}, Sv III 80^{1,19}

aor. 2 sg. *aghātayi*, Ja V 69^{,13}, *aghātesī*, Ja VI 150^{,5*}, *ghātayi*, VI 142^{,3*}, *ghātayittha*, Sp III 588^{,31}, *ghātayesi*, Ja VI 139^{,21*}, *ghātesī*, Ja III 176^{,12'}, 2 pl. *ghātayittha*, Ja VI 49^{1,16'}, 3 sg. *aghātayi*, Sn 308, Mhv 7^{,37}, *ghātayi*, Sn 309, Ap 490^{,6}, *ghātesī*, Ja VI 141^{,15*}, Mil 201^{,15}, Sp I 41^{,23}, 3 pl. *aghātayūṃ*, Ja IV 211^{,3*}, *aghātesuṃ*, Ja III 177^{,15*}, *ghātayimsu*, Ja I 254^{,28}, As 245^{,19}

fut. 1 sg. *ghātayisāmi*, Ja VI 151^{,28*}, Cp III 12^{,6}, *ghātessāmi*, Vin IV 225^{,26}, Ps III 329^{,21}, 3 sg. *ghātayissati*, Ja VI 424^{,18}, Cp III 12^{,6}, *ghātessati*, Ja VI 424^{,22'}, Cp-a 225^{,12}, 1 sg. mid. *ghātayissaṃ*, Ja VI 137^{,12}, *ghātessaṃ*, Ja VI 137^{,8*}

caus. 1 sg. pres. *ghātapemi*, Cp III 2^{,9}, 2 pl. imp. *ghātapetha*, Ja V 230^{,25}, 3 sg. opt. *ghātapeyya*, Ja IV 124^{,26}, aor. *ghātāpesi*, Ja VI 140^{,23'}, 3 pl. *ghātāpesuṃ*, Ja IV 211^{,10'}, 3 sg. fut. *ghātāpessati*, Vin I 343^{,36}, pres.part. *ghātāpenta-*, ger. *ghātāpetabba-*, Cp-a 191^{,15}, Dhṛ-a I 359^{,5}, pp. *ghātāpitatta-*, Sp VI 1277^{,20}, inf. *ghātāpetuṃ*, Ps II 390^{,25}, abs. *ghātāpetvā*, Ja I 260^{,23}

pass. *ghātiyati*, Mil 186^{,14}

pres.part. *ghātenta*, Vin III 89^{,30}, Ja III 203^{,11*} (*a+*), Ps II 29^{,11}, Spk III 268^{,2}, pass. *ghātiyamāna-*, Ja I 175^{,17}, Ps II 133^{,24}

ger. *ghātaniya*, Mil 186^{,10}, *ghātetabba-*, Ja V 182^{,26'}, Mil 186^{,10}, *ghātetāya*, M I 231^{,2}

pp. *ghātita-*, Sp V 1023,6, Ps III 349,18, Sv III 926,6

inf. *ghātayitum*, Mil 186,17, *ghātetum*, M I 231,2, II 122,1, Ja IV 192,19*,
Sp I 56,14

abs. *ghātayitvā*, Mil 219,16, As 245,8, *ghātetvā*, Nidd I 216,24, Sp V 998,32,
Vism 602,1, *ghātetvāna*, Ja VI 140,2*

***ciṅgulāyati, ciṅguleti* “to move like a wheel” ← **ciṅgula-* “wheel”**

Dhātusūcī: *ciṅgula paribbhamane*, Sadd 1618 Ct.: *ciṅgulāyitvā ti paribbhamitvā*, Mp II 181,12

Ref.: v. Morris (1885, 50)

pres. 3 sg. *ciṅgulayati*, Sadd II 565,16, *ciṅguleti*, 565,16

abs. *ciṅgulāyitvā*, A I 112,1 foll., *ciṅgulayitvā*, Sadd II 565,16 foll.

***cicciṭāyati* “to make (the sound) *cicciṭa*”**

← *cicciṭa-* “(the sound) *cicciṭa*”

[Onom.]

Ct.: *cicciṭāyati ciṭciṭāyati ti evaṃ saddaṃ karoti*, Pj II 154,24, *saddo cicciṭam*

iva attānam ācarati cicciṭāyati, Sadd II 587,12, III 822,20

Ref.: Cf. Emeneau (1969, 292–293).

pres. 3 sg. *cicciṭāyati*, Vin I 225,25, Sn 15,9, Pp 36,32, Sadd II 587,5

***ciṭciṭāyati* “to make (the sound) *ciṭa/i*” ← *ciṭa/i-* “(the sound) *ciṭa/i*”**

[Onom., redupl.]; v. BHSD s.v. *ciṭciṭāyati*; cf. Skt *caṭacaṭāyate* (← *caṭacaṭa-*), Suśruta-Saṃhitā 1,29.1]

Dhātusūcī: Rem. *caṭa bhedena*, Dhātup X 246; *caṭa bhedane*, PDhātup 559; *caṭa bhede*, Dhātum 785; *caṭa vibhede*, Sadd 1393 (X 181)

Ct.: supra

Ref.: Cf. Emeneau (1969, 292–293).

pres. 3 sg. *ciṭciṭāyati*, Vin I 225,25, Sn 15,10, Pp 36,32, Mil 258,28

***cirāyati* “to delay” ← *cira-* “delay”**

[Cf. Skt *cirāy*°: *cirāyamāṇa-*, Mbh 3,296.14, R 7,59.19, *aticirayati*, Dīvyāvadāna 13.109.4]

Preverb: *a* (neg.), *ati*

pres. 3 sg. *cirāyati*, Dh-p-a I 16,4, Ja II 444,2' (*ati+*), Pj II 187,4 (*ati+*), 3 pl. *cirāyanti*, Ja I 8,22, Sp I 47,4 (*ati+*)

aor. 2 sg. *cirāyi*, Ja VI 280,4, 2 pl. *cirāyittha*, Ja III 36,18, 3 pl. *cirāyimsu*, Ps II 291,4

fut. *cirāyissāmi*, Ps III 316,4

pres.part. *cirāyanta-*, Ja V 91,27', II 274,11 (*ati+*), Dh-p-a I 359,21 (*ati+*), *cirāyamāna-*, Ja V 93,9', Mp I 425,12

pp. *cirāyita-*, Dh-p-a I 308,9, III 305,1

abs. *cirāyitvā*, Ud-a 313,26, Vv-a 208,15, Ja V 438,27 (*ati+*)

***citteti* “to make colorful” ← *citta-* “colorful”**

[Cf. Skt *citray*^o: *citrayan*, Mbh 12,29,88, *vicitrayet*, Lāṅkāvatārasūtra 365.12 (vs) *apud* BHSD]

Dhātusūcī: *citra citrīkaṇe* | *kadāciddarśane*, Dhātup X 459; *citta cittakarāṇe kadācidasane pi*, Sadd 1461 (X 370)

Ct.: *sucittitā ti hatthapādamukhādi ākārena suṭṭhu cittitā viracitā*, Thī-a 239,11 Preverb: *su*

pres. 3 sg. *cittayati*, *citteti*, Sadd II 541,8

pp. *cittita-*, S III 152,4, Vv 36,5, Th 736, Thī 390 (*su+*)

abs. *cittayitvā*, Mhv 32,6

***cīvarīyati* “to wish for a robe” ← *cīvara-* “robe”**

[Cf. Skt *cīvara-*, Aṣṭādhyāyī, 3.1.20, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra 2.16.2 (*apud* PW), Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra 4.9.7, Mbh 1,86.12]

pres. 3 sg. *cīvarīyati*, Sadd II 587,19, III 823,7

***cunṇayati*, *cunṇeti* “to (cover with) powder” ← *cunṇa-* “powder”**

[Cf. Skt *cūrṇay*^o: *cūrṇayitvā*, Mbh 1,71.43, *cūrṇayāmāsuḥ*, R 6,57.17, *saṃcūrṇita-*, Mbh 7,31.21]

Dhātusūcī: *cūrṇa saṅkocane*, Dhātup X 143, *cunṇa saṃcunṇane*, PDhātup 573, Dhātum 804, *cunṇa perāṇe*, Sadd 1431, *cūṇa saṃkocane*, 1430 (X 18)

Ct.: *cunṇentī ti mukhacunṇakena makkhenti*, Sp VI 1201,17 Preverb: *saṃ*

pres. 3 sg. *cunṇayati*, *cunṇeti*, Sadd II 535,20, 3 pl. *cunṇenti*, Vin II 107,24, 266,35, Sv I 88,31, Spk I 323,4

aor. 3 sg. *cunñesi*, Ja II 385,9 (*saṃ*+), 387,3 (*saṃ*+), 3 pl. *cunñayum*, Mhv 25,46

pres.part. *cunñayamāna-*, Ja IV 457,23, *cunñiyamāna*, Ja VI 185,9, Sp V 968,18, Cp-a 120,25, *cunñenta-*, Ja II 210,21 (*saṃ*+), Spk I 323,4, Pj II 224,6

ger. *cunñetabba-*, Vin II 107,29, 267,2

pp. *cunñita-*, Ap 21,14, Mhv 39,3, Dhp-a TBD (*saṃ*+)

inf. *cunñetum*, Ja VI 161,26

abs. *cunñetvā*, Ja II 254,7 (*saṃ*+), Sp III 716,1 Mhv 23,80

***chattīyati* “to use like a sunshade” ← *chatta-* “sunshade”**

[Cf. Skt *chattra*, Gautamadharmasūtra 1,2.13]

Ct.: *achattam chattam iva ācarati chattīyati*, Kacc-v 438, Sadd II 587,17, III 823,2

pres. 3.sg. *chattīyati*, Sadd 587,6, 587,17, 587,27

***takketi* “to reason” ← *takka-* “reason”**

[Cf. Skt *tarkay°*: *tarkayet*, Arthasāstra 1,16.29, *tarkayiṣyanti*, Mbh 4,56.4, *tarkayeta*, R 6,9.11, *vitarkayant*, R 6,37.21, cf. BHS D s.v. *anuvitarkaya-tī*]

Dhātusūcī: *tarka bhāṣārthaḥ*, Dhātup X 311, *takka vitakke*, PDhātup 534, Sadd 1294 (X 240), *takka vitakkane*, Dhātum 747, *takka bhāṣāyaṃ*, Sadd 1309, Rem. *ūh vitarke*, Dhātup I 735, *ūha vitakke*, PDhātup 348, Sadd 1028, *kappa vitakke*, Dhātum 839

Ct.: *anuvitakketī ti vitakkāhatam karoti*, Spk TBD, *vitakkessatī [sic] ti vitakkayissati pavattayissatī ti pajānāti*, Mp II 270,16, *evaṃ vitakkethā ti evaṃ nekkhamavitakkādayo pavattentā vitakketha | mā evaṃ vitakkayitthā ti evaṃ kāmavitakkādayo pavattentā mā vitakkayittha*, 271,12

Preverb: *a, anu, abhi, pari, vi*

pres. 3 sg. *takketi*, D III 242,8 (*anu-vi*+), M I 115,21 (*anu-vi*+), S V 67,27 (*anu-vi*+), A I 264,10 (*anu-vi*+), 3 pl. *takkenti*, A III 177,23, 178,16 (*anu-vi*+)

imper. 2 pl. *takketha*, Vin III 8,25 (*vi*+), D I 214,18 (*vi*+), A I 171,21 (*vi*+), Paṭis II 228,8 (*vi*+)

- opt.** 1 sg. *takkeyyaṃ*, M I 116,7,9 (*anu-vi+*), 2 sg. *takkeyyāsi*, A IV 86,5 (*anu-vi+*), 3 sg. *takkayye*, A III 213,25* (*anu-vi+*)
- aor.** 2 sg. *takkesi*, Ja III 277,15 (*pari-vi+*), Sv III 663,13 (*pari-vi+*), 2 pl. *takkayittha*, Vin III 8,25 (*vi+*), D I 214,19 (*vi+*), A I 172,21 (*vi+*), Sv I 257,7
- fut.** 3 sg. *takkissati*, A I 171,17 (*vi+*), *takessati*, Paṭis II 228,4 (*vi+*)
- pres.part.** *takkaya(nt)-*, M I 116,12 (*anu-vi+*), A III 382,6, 383,6 (*anu-vi+*), *takkenta-* D I 119,2 (*anu-vi+*), Ja III 340,5 (*pari-vi+*), Sv III 398,22
- pp.** *takkita-*, D I 37,10 (*vi+*), Ja IV 270,2* (*a-vi+*), M I 32,2 (*pari-vi+*), S I 193,7 (*a-pari-vi+*)
- abs.** *takkayitvā*, Nidd I 295,4, 295,5 (*vi+*), Dāṭh V 4 (*abhi+*), *takketvā*, M I 144,6 (*anu-vi+*)

***taṇhāyati, taṇhīyati* “to feel thirst for” ← *taṇhā-* “thirst”**

[Cf. Skt *trṣṇāy°*: *trṣṇāyate*, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Pañcarakṣā I, p. 5 (Iwamoto’s version)]

- pres.** 3 sg. *taṇhāyati*, Spk II 78,21, Sadd III 822,26, *taṇhīyati*, Vibh-a 150,11, 195,28, Vism 544,22

***tapassati* “to perform austerities” ← *tapassa-* “austere”**

[Cf. Skt *tapasya-* adj. Kirātārjunīya 3,22.1, *tapasy°*: *tapasyati*, Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa 14.6.8.10, Mbh 1,174.2, Kās *ad* Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.15]

- pres.** 2 pl. *tapassatha*, Dh-p-a I 53,3
- pp.** *tapassita-*, Sp I 135,14, Mp IV 82,3

***tuvatteti* “to lie down” ← *tuvatta-* “lying down”**

Dhātusūcī: *tuvatta ekasayane*, Dhātum 788, *tuvatta nipajjāyaṃ*, Sadd 1386 Ct.: *tuvattenti, ti nipajjanti*, Sp III 620,25, *tuvattēyyun ti nipajjeyuṃ*, Sp IV 932,7

Ref.: *tuvatta-* is a rare *deśī-*word accord. to von Hinüber (2001, § 72); v. Bollée (1983/84, 112f.), von Hinüber (2000), Tieken (2001, 1996) for a discussion.

- pres.** 1 sg. *tuvattāmi*, Ap 137,18, 3 sg. *tuvattayati, tuvatteti*, Sadd II 532,7, 3 pl. *tuvattenti*, Vin II 10,10, III 180,15, IV 288,21, Sadd II 532,8

- opt.** 3 sg. *tuvaṭṭeyya*, Vin II 124,13, 3 pl. *tuvaṭṭeyyum*, Vin IV 289,1**
foll., Sp VII 1312,16
- aor.** 3 pl. *tuvaṭṭesum*, Vin V 63,8 63,13
- fut.** 3 pl. *tuvaṭṭissanti*, Vin III 182,26, *tuvaṭṭessanti*, Vin IV 288,23 foll.
- pres.part.** *tuvaṭṭenta-*, Vin V 76,7, Ap 355,9
- ger.** *tuvaṭṭitabba-*, Vin II 124,12

***thenayati* “to steal” ← *thena-* “thief”**

- [Cf. Skt *stenay*°: *stenayet*, Manu-Smṛti 4,256]
- Dhātusūcī: *stena caurye*, Dhātup X 439, *thena coriye*, PDhātup 595,
Dhātum 832, Sadd 1518 (X 349)
- pres.** 3 sg. *thenayati*, Sadd II 550,6, *theneti*, Sp II 485,13, Sv I 72,3,
Sadd II 550,6
- fut.** 1 sg. *thenissāmi*, Sp V 984,24
- pres.part.** *thenenta-*, Ps III 428,26
- ger.** *thenitabba-*, Spk I 298,6
- inf.** *thenetuṃ*, Ja II 411,2
- abs.** *thenetvā*, Ja IV 114,10, Sp II 298,21, Ps III 343,9, Sadd II 550,6

***thomayati, thometi* “to praise” ← *thoma-* “praise”**

- [Cf. Skt *stomay*°: *stomita-* (q.v. BHSD s.v.), Mvy 2614]
- Dhātusūcī: *stoma ślaghāyām*, Dhātup X 468, *thoma silaghāyām*,
PDhātup 604, Sadd 1472, 1565 (X 377)
- Ct.: *thomayanī ti sommo cando parimaṇḍalo cando sappabho cando ti*
ādīni vadantā pasamsanti, Sv II 402,14, Rem. *tattha abhivādetvā ti*
vāditvā thometvā vā, Sadd II 544,28
- Preverb: *abhi*
- pres.** 3sg *thomayati*, Sadd II 541,33, 557,24, *thometi*, Vin III 129,7, Mp II
105,31, 106,11, Sadd II 541,33, 557,24, 3 pl. *thomayanti*, D I 240,8,
Sn 1046, Nidd II 12,23, Sv II 402,14, *thomenti*, Nidd I 321,6, II 163,5,
Mp III 314,3
- opt.** 3 sg. *thomeyya*, S IV 312,18, foll.
- aor.** 1 sg. *thomayim*, Ap 159,5 (*abhi*+), *thom’ aham*, Ap 423,13 (*abhi*+),
3 sg. *thomesi*, Ps V 99,20, Mhv 37,121

fut. *thomessāmi*, Spk II 65,21

pres.part. *thomaya(t)-*, Ps III 402,20, *thomaya(nt)-*, Sn 679, Bv XXVI,12, *thomayamāna-* Ja VI 503,36', Spk I 114,16, Pj II 412,23, *thomenta-*, Ja V 214,17, Th-a III 7,29, Vv-a 102,21, pass. *thomiyamāna-*, Spk II 286,24, Mp III 70,5

ger. *thometabba-*, Mp IV 198,7

va. *thomita-*, S II 272,2, Bv I,59, Nidd I 169,17, Mp III 313,19

inf. *thometum*, Pj II 272,15

abs. *thomayitvā*, Bv VI,11, *thometvā*, Ap 324,7, Sv II 400,17, Mp II 107,3, Th-a III 3,24

***daṇḍeti* “to (administer) punish(ment)” ← *daṇḍa-* “punishment”**

[Cf. Skt *daṇḍay°*: *adaṇḍya*, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa V 4,4.7 (Mādhyandina), *daṇḍayati*, Mbh 12,15.8, *daṇḍāpayanti*, Śikṣ 63.13 (v. BHSD s.v.), Gāndhārī *daḍiśā*, AvL2 v17]

Dhātusūcī: *daṇḍa daṇḍanipāte*, Dhātup X 472, *daṇḍa daṇḍane*, PDhātup 570, *daṇḍa daṇḍavinipāte*, Sadd 1425 (X 381)

Ct.: *adaṇḍiyan ti ... adaṇḍetabbam*, Ja IV 193,2'

Preverb: *a* (neg.)

pres. 3 sg. *daṇḍayati*, Pj II 63,27, Sadd II 533,26, *daṇḍiyati*, Ja IV 192,10*, *daṇḍeti*, Ja IV 193,2', Sadd II 533,26, 3 pl. *daṇḍenti*, Ja IV 495,14*, 498,23, Mil 293,24

opt. 3 pl. *daṇḍema*, Mil 84,19

caus. 3 sg. aor. *daṇḍāpesum*, Vin IV 224,8, 224,14, 1 sg. fut. *daṇḍāpessāmi*,

Ja I 483,21, 1 pl. fut. *daṇḍāpessāma*, Mp II 144,9

ger. *daṇḍaniya-*, Mil 186,8, *daṇḍiya-*, Ja IV 192,10* (*a+*), 192,10*, 193,2' (*a+*), 193,3', *daṇḍetabba-*, Ja IV 193,2' (*a+*), 193,3', Mil 186,8 (*a+*)

pp. *daṇḍita-*, Ja I 234,22

inf. *daṇḍayitum*, Ja IV 495,15*, 498,24'

abs. *daṇḍetvā*, Ja IV 193,3' (*a+*),

daddabhāyati “to (make the sound) *daddabha*”← *daddabha-* “(the sound) *daddabha*”

[Onom.]

Ct.: *daddabhāyati ti daddabhā ti saddaṃ karoti*, Ja III 77,12'; Rem. *saddo daddubha iti ācarati daddubhāyati*, Sadd II 587,14 [v. fn. b, d]

pres. 3 sg. *daddabhāyati*, Ja III 77,10*, 77,12', Ps II 93,7*, 93,8*, Sadd II 587.5

pp. *daddabhāyita-*, Mp II 277,14

dandhati, dandhāyati, dandheti “to be slow” ← *dandha-* “slow”[← Skt *ḍṛdhra-* accord. to Trenckner, q.v. Andersen (1908, 115), cf.Geiger § 38, fn. 1; cf. Skt *dandhāy°* (v. BHSD s.v.)]

Dhātusūcī: *dadhi asīghacāre*, Sadd II 510

Ct.: *dandhatī ti dandhāyati dandhakātabbakammāni dandham eva karoti*, Ja III 141,9'

pres. 3 sg. *dandhati*, Ja III 141,2*, 141,4*, Sadd II 394,24, *dandhāyati*, Ja III 141,10', *dandheti*, Th 293, Th-a II 123,15 (vs. 293)

opt. 3 sg. *dandhaye*, Th 291, Th-a II 123,11 (vs. 291) foll., *dandhayeyya*, Th-a II 123,27, *dandhāyeyya*, Mil 105,11, Sv II 405,19

aor. 2 sg. *dandhayi*, Cp I 8,13

pres.part. *dandhayanti-*, Th-a II 123,29, *dandhāyant*, Sv III 879,5

ger. *dandhayitabba-*, Th-a II 123,29 *daḥhayati*

daḥhayati “to strengthen” ← *daḥha-* “strong”

[Cf. Skt *ḍṛḍhay°*: *ḍṛḍhayati*, Satyasiddhiśāstra (pg. 46, Aiyaswami Sastri's ed.)] Ct.: *daḥhaṃ karoti vīriyaṃ daḥhayati*, Kacc-v 441, Sadd II 587,21

pres. 3 sg. *daḥhayati*, Sadd II 587,9

domanassati “to become sad” ← *domanassa-* “sad”

[Cf. Skt *durmanāy°*: *durmanāyate*, Mahāvīracaritam 2.48, Rem. *durmanas-* is a denominal base that belongs to the *bhṛṣādigaṇa*, Kās *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.12, *daurmanasya-*, Kāmasūtra 6,2.32 (Nirṇayasāgara Press), Bṛhatsamhitā 77.06b (Tripāthī's version)]

Ct.: *domanassito ti domanassappatto*, Nidd-a II TBD, Rem. *dummano ti domanassito*, Th-a II 239,27

pp. *domanassita-*, Nidd I 5,18, Ps V 108,2, Th-a II 278,8

***dolāyati* “to swing” ← *dola-* “swinging”**

[Cf. Skt *dolāy°*: *dolāyamāna-*, Kāmasūtra 2,8.18]

pres.part. *dolāyanta-*, Ja II 385,25, Cp-a 141,10

***dohaḷāyati* “to crave” ← *dohaḷa-* “craving”**

[Cf. Skt *dvihṛd-*, *dohada*, *dauhṛda*]

Ref.: On the craving of pregnant women in the Indic literature v. Bloomfield (1920), Hara (2009).

pres. 2 sg. *dohaḷāyasi*

***dhanāyati* “to treasure” ← *dhana-* “treasure”**

[Cf. Skt *dhanāy°*: *dhanāyati*, Taittirīya-Saṃhitā VII 4,19.3, *dhanāyate*, Mbh 5,131.15]

Ct.: *dhanāyanti ti dhanam viya maññanti*, Spk II 336,10

Rem.: *dhanāyanti* (supra) occurs in the Burmese edition of the Saṃyuttanikāya; it does not occur at S III 190,12 (PTS) where *manāyanti* occurs instead.

opt. 3 sg. *dhanāyetha*, M I 260,33

ger. *dhanāyitabba-*, Th-a III 39,31, Sadd II 401,4

***dhammiyati* “to act in a lawful manner” ← *dhamma-* “lawful”**

[Cf. Skt *dharmika-*, Chāndogya-Upaniṣad 8.15.1.2, (*a*)*dhārmika-*, Mbh 1,82.15] Ct.: *adhammiyamāne ti adhammiyāni kiccāni kurumāne*, SpV 1150,7

Preverb: *a* (neg.) Ref.: On °*īya* < °*ikā* v. Oberlies (2001,77), von Hinüber (2001,§ 178).

pres.part. *dhammiyamāna-*, Vin I 341,14 (*a+*), 341,17, Sp V 1150,11

***dhūpāyati*, *dhūpeti* “to fume” ← *dhūpa-* “fume”**

[Cf. Skt *dhūpay°*: °*dhūpita-*, RV 2.30.10, *dhūpayantu*, Kāṭha-Saṃhitā 16: 5, *vidhūpāyat*, Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā 4.19.6 (Śaunaka), *dhūpyamāna-*, R 5,17.8]

Ct.: *dhūpesiṃ dhūmena sugandhaṃ akāsin ti attho*, Ap-a 458,19,
dhūpitan ti vāsitaṃ gandhitāṃ, Bv-a 171,9

Preverb: *a* (neg.), *pa*, *vi*, *saṃ*, *su*

Ref.: Mayrhofer (s.v. *DHŪP*, EWAI): “*dhū-pa* möglicherweise nur
Suffix-Variante zu *dhū-mā*”. At Th 448, one should read *-dhū-*
māyito, instead of *dhūpāyito*, accord. to Norman (1971, 196).

pres. 3 sg. *dhūpāyati*, Vin I 180,27, 225,25 (*saṃ-pa+*), S I 169,7 (*saṃ-*
pa+), A II 214,27, Paṭis II 210,1, *dhupeti* [sic], Kv 93,6 (*vi+*), 93,8
(*saṃ+*), *dhūpeti*, A IV 102,18, (*saṃ+*) 102,18 (*saṃ-pa+*) 102,19,
Mil 252,21 (*vi+*), 3 pl. *dhūpāyanti*, A IV 102,16, 102,16 (*saṃ+*), (*saṃ-*
pa+) 102,17, *dhūpenti*, Mil 333,10, 333,11 *saṃ-pa+*)

aor. 1 sg. *dhūpesiṃ*, Ap 223,2, 3 sg. *dhūpayi*, Ja I 247,20, *dhūpesi*, Vin I
24,37 foll. (*pa+*), IV 109,6 (*pa+*)

pres.part. *dhūpayanta-*, Ja I 73,11, foll., 347,19, *dhūpayamāna-*, Vv-a
174,29, Dh-p-a III 38,9, *dhūpenta-*, Vin IV 132,25 (*pa+*), Kv 614,12
(*vi+*), 614,12 (*saṃ+*)

pp. *dhūpāyita-*, S I 40,4, Th 448 (*icchā°*), *dhūpita-*, S I 133,17 (*pa+*),
Bv VII 25, Sp II 478,25 (*a+*), Vv-a 186,25 (*su+*)

abs. *dhūpāyitvā*, D III 27,14, *dhupetvā* [sic], Kv 93,25 (*vi+*), Sp VI 1264,11,
dhūpetvā, Nidd I 21,15 (*vi+*)

dhūmāyati “to fume” ← *dhūma-* “fume”

[Cf. Skt *dhūmāy°*: *dhūmāyamānām*, Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa 1.2.9.34, *dhū-*
māyayan, Mbh 3,39.26 q.v. Oberlies (2003, 260)]

Ct.: *dhūmāyati pajjalatī ti tejokasiṇavasena*, Paṭis-a TBD, Rem.,
Paṭis II 210,1 reads *dhūpāyati*, *vattuṃ dhūmaṃ iva attānaṃ ācarati*
dhūmāyati Sadd II 587,13

pres. 3 sg. *dhūmayati*, Sp I 65,1, *dhūmāyati*, Vin IV 54,24, M I 142,21,
Pv I 6,4, 7,4, Sadd II 587,5

aor. 3 sg. *dhūmāyi*, Ja I 347,13, Th-a III 176,9, 176,10

pres.part. *dhūmayanta-*, Ja VI 112,4, Ud-a 198,17, *dhūmāyanta-*,
Mhv 25,31, Ps II 130,17, Sadd II 497,14

pp. *dhūmāyita-*, Spk I 95,25

abs. *dhūmāyitvā*, Ja VI 196,9

namassati “to honor” ← nama(s)- “honor”

[Cf. Sktnamasy^o: *namasyāmas*, RV 3.17.4, *namasyeta*, Mbh 12,156.4, *namasyasi*, R 2,94.52, Kās *ad* Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.19, Old Avestan *nəmaxiiāmahī*, Yasna 36, 35; 8, Gāndhārī *namasyati*, Obv2-3, *namasea*, DhPK 3c]

Dhātusūcī: *namassa vandanānatiyaṃ*, Sadd 873

Ct.: *namasseyyā ti namo kareyya*, Mp II 205,15 *namassiṃsū ti kāyena vācāya ca namakkāraṃ akaṃsu*, Th-a II 265,8, *namassamānā ti namo namo ti vadamānā*, Sv II 402,17, *namassantā ti sirasi añjalim paggayha namassamānā tiṭṭhanti*, Th-a III 142,21

Preverb: *a* (neg.)

pres. 1 sg. *namassāmi*, D II 267,13*, Th 343, Ja IV 134,20*, Dīp I 1,36, 1 pl. *namassāma* D II 275,7, Sn 236, Kv 187,7, 2 sg. *namassasi*, D III 181,1, S I 234,29*, Ja III 305,6*, 3 sg. *namassati*, D III 180,5, S I 234,17*, A V 268,17, Ja VI 532,4*, 3 pl. *namassanti* S I 234,20*, Sn 598, Th 690, Bv I,24

imper. 2 sg. *namassa*, S I 178,29*, *namassāhi*, Sv III 942,18, 2 pl. *namassatha*, Sn 485, Ap 6,14, Dīp 2,50, Mhv I,69

opt. 1 pl. *namassemu*, Sn 995, Nidd II 3,7, 2 sg. *namasseyyāsi*, D III 181,4, A V 263,20, Sv III 942,25, 3 sg. *namasseyya*, A I 132,14*, DhP 392, Ja V 331,6*

aor. 1 sg. *namassi(ṃ)*, Thī 87, Ap 20,23, 123,2, *namassisaṃ*, Ja VI 562,15*, 562,27', *namassissaṃ*, Ja VI 100,10*, 102,8, 3 sg. *namassi*, Ja III 470,30, VI 242,3, Mhv I,36, 3 pl. *namassiṃsu*, Sn 287, Th 628, Ap 178,4

fut. 1 sg. *namassissāmi*, Ap 340,4 3 sg. *namassissati*, Sv III 942,19

caus. 3 sg. *namassāpeti*, Sv III 942,22, Mp I 415,16

pres.part. *namassa(t)-*, Sn 344, Ja V 218,4*, *namassanta-*, D II 208,16*, Th 1083, Thī 143, Th-a III 142,5, *namassamāna-*, Vin I 3,25, D I 240,8, Sp I 1,14*, Sv I 41,5, Spk I 227,2 (*a+*), pass. *namassiyamāna-*, Pj II 315,25

ger. *namassiya-*, Ap 48,6, 309,13, Ap-a 293,35, *namassitabba-*, D III 181,10, Ja VI 298,16, Mp I 410,12, *namassanīya-*, Mil 278,17, Sadd III 790,5, *namassanīya^o*, Pj I 139,2, *namassaneyya-*, Sadd III 790,5

inf. *namassitum*, Vv 16,3, Mhv 1,68, Mp II 172,11

pp. *namassita-*, Ja II 34,24', Vv-a 340,23, Th-a III 169,12

abs. *namassitvā*, S I 234,33*, Ja VI 16,28, Ap 1,5, Bv II,177, *namassitvāna*, Ap 272,10

***niddāyati* “to become sleepy” ← *niddā-* “sleepy”**

[Cf. Skt *nidrāy*°: *nidrāyanti*, Mbh 13,148.10, Rem. *nidrāyati*, *nidrāyate* are enlisted in the Kāś *ad Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.13]

Preverb: *a-* (neg.)

pres. 1 sg. *niddāyāmi*, Ja IV 343,12, 3 sg. *niddāyati*, Ja I 492,10, Pj II 169,26, Sadd I 367,29, 3 pl. *niddāyanti*, Sp I 360,20

aor. 1 pl. *niddāyimha*, Spk II 230,12, 2 pl. *niddāyittha*, Ja VI 408,25, 3 sg. *niddāyi*, Dhp-a III 175,17, 3 pl. *niddāyimsu*, J V 13,25

fut. 1 sg. *niddāyissāmi*, Ja V 262,7, Dhp-a II 183,15

pres.part. *niddāya(t)*, Sp VI 1249,21, *niddāyanta-*, Ja I 61,22, Mil 299,10, Ja II 404,4 (*a+*), *niddāyamana-*, Ja II 53,13

ger. *naddāyitabba-*, D I 231,9, Dhp-a I 69,14

abs. *niddāyitvā*, Ja III 403,21 (*a+*), Ja V 110,5, Spk I 86,5

***nighaññati* “to strike down” ← *nighañña-* “striking down”**

Ct.: *nighaññasī ti nighaññasasi*, Ja VI 13,27'

Ref.: v. Oberlies (1996, 103).

pres. 2 sg. *nighaññasi*, Ja VI 13,18*, 3 sg. *nighaññati*, Dhp 164

***pacala* “to nod” ← *pacala-* “nod”**

[Cf. Skt *pracalāy*°: *pracalāyita-*, Amarakośa 3,1.66]

Ref.: At Th 200, one should read *pacalāyī* (m.c.), rather than *pacālesi*, accord. to Norman (1969, 164).

aor. 2 sg. *pacālesi*, Th 200

pres.part. *pacalāyanta-*, Ja V 16,8*, Sv III 748,3, Dhp-a I 160,5, *pacalāyamāna-*, A IV 85,13, 344,2, Th 200

inf. *pacalāyitum*, Ja I 384,2

***pattiyāyati* “to believe” ← *pattiya-* “belief”**

[Cf. Skt *pratyaya-*, R 7,88.3]

pres. 2 sg. *pattiyāyasi*, Th-a II 195,14

opt. 3 sg. *pattiyāyeyya*, Mp III 41,11

pres.part. *pattiyāyanta-*, Th-a III 40,20

ger. *pattiyāyitabba-*, Sv III 809,21

abs. *pattiyāyatvā*, Ja V 403,22'

***pattīyati* “to wish for a profit” ← *patta-* “profit”**

[Cf. Skt *prāpta-*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.66]

pres. 3 sg. *pattīyati*, Mil 240,14

***papañceti* “to diversify” ← *papañca-* “diversity”**

[Cf. Skt *prapañcay°*: *prapañcita-*, Udānavarga 29,51, (v. BHSD s.vv.),
prapañcyamāna-, Kāmasūtra 3,2.15]

Dhātusūcī: *paci vistāravacane*, Dhātup X 153, *paca vitthāre*, PDhātup
542, Dhātum 757, *paci vitthāre*, Sadd 1329 (X 109)

Ct.: *appapañcaṃ papañceti ti na papañcetabbaṭṭhāne papañcaṃ karoti
anācaritabbaṃ maggaṃ carati*, Mp III 151,1

Ref.: On *papañca-*, at Th 519, v. Norman (1971, 204), cf. Sadd II
528,27.

pres. 3 sg. *papañcayati*, Sadd II 528,26, *papañceti*, M I 112,1 foll., A II
161,29 foll., Sadd II 528,26, 3 pl. *papañcenti*, Th-a II 219,11 (*ad* vs.
519), Sadd II 528,28, 528,29

pres.part. *papañcayant-*, Spk TBD, *papañcayamāna-*, Spk TBD

pp. *papañcita-*, S IV 203,11 foll., A IV 69,1 foll., Vibh 390,32, Mp IV 38,7

ger. °*papañcetabba°*, Mp III 151,1

abs. *papañcetvā*, Mp I 42,29

***pabbatāyati* “to be like a mountain” ← *pabbata-* “mountain”**

[Cf. Skt *pārvata-*, RV 5.56.4]

Ct.: *sāṅgho pabbatam iva attānam ācarati pabbatāyati*, Sadd II 587,10

pres. 1 sg. *pabbatāyāmi*, 1 pl. *pabbatāyāma*, 2 sg. *pabbatāyasi*, 2 pl.
pabbatāyatha, 3 sg. *pabbatāyati*, 3 pl. *pabbatāyanti*, Sadd II 587,24-25

***pamāṇayati* “to set an example” ← *pamāṇa-* “example”**

[Cf. Skt *pramāṇay°*: *pramāṇayati*, Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali (pg. 40,
Thakur’s ed.)]

Ct.: *pamāṇaṃ karoti pamāṇayati*, Sadd II 587.²¹

pres. 3 sg. *pamāṇayati*, Sadd II 587.⁹

***paripañhati* “to question” ← *paripañha-* “question”**

[Cf. Skt *paripraśnati*, *paripraśnayati* (v. BHSD s.vv.), *paripraśna-*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.3.110, Mbh 6,26.34. On *ñha* ← *śna* v. Oberlies (2001, § 18.4), von Hinüber (2001, § 239).]

Dhātusūcī: Rem. *prach jñīpsāyām*, Dhātup VI 149, *pañha pucchāyaṃ*, Sadd 1001; Rem. *pañha icchāyaṃ*, Sadd 1002 [*etha ca pañho ti ñātum icchito attho*]

Ct.: *paripañhatī ti imaṃ nāma pucchissāmī ti aññāti tuletī parigaṇhati*, Mp II 189.²⁵, *paripañhatī ti idaṅ-c[a]-idaṅ-ca pucchissāmī ti paritūlati paricchindati*, Mp III 382.¹³, *paripañhatī ti pañhaṃ karoti idaṅ-c[a]-idaṅ-ca pucchissāmī ti vitakketi*, Mp IV 71.²⁰

pres. 3 sg. *paripañhati*, D III 285.⁶, M I 223.³³, A I 117.³⁰, III 361.²⁵, V 16.², 3 pl. *paripañhanti*, A III 244.²⁷, Nidd II 81.¹⁹

ger. *paripañhitabba-*, Nidd II 286.², Sp VII 1339.²⁷

***pāpeti* “to disgrace” ← *pāpa-* “disgrace”**

[Cf. Skt *pāpay°*: *pāpayiṣṭa-*, Taittirīya-Saṃhitā III 2,8.3]

pres. 2 sg. *pāpesi*, Vin IV 5.²⁶, 5.²⁹, 2 pl. *pāpetha*, Vin IV 150.⁷

pp. *pāpita-*, M II 43.²⁰

***piṇḍayati* “to compact” ← *piṇḍa-* “compact”**

[Cf. Skt *piṇḍay°*: *piṇḍitān*, Mbh 6,55.30, *ekapiṇḍayitvā*, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 73.2 (*apud* BHSD s.v. *ekapiṇḍayati*)]

Dhātusūcī: *piḍi saṃghāte*, Dhātup I 307, *piḍi saṃghāte*, Dhātup X 184, *piṇḍa saṃghāte*, PDhātup 569, Dhātum 801, *piḍi saṃghātaādisu*, Dhātum 150, *piḍi saṃghāte*, Sadd 142

Ct.: *piṇḍitā ti samuditā*, Thī-a 240.²⁵. “Ap-a reads sarīraṃ piṇḍaṃ; adhiṭṭhānabalena sakalasarīradhātu eka-ghana-silā-maya-paṭimā viya ekaṃ va ahoṣī ti attho, Ap-a 568.¹⁸⁻¹⁹”, CPD s.v. *eka-piṇḍita*.

Preverb: *eka, sam*

pp. *piṇḍita-*, Thī 395, Ja I 230.²⁵ (*sam+*), Ap 71.⁹ (*+eka*), Thī-a 233.²⁴

abs. *piṇḍetvā*, Mhv 36.¹⁰⁸, Th-a I 3.²⁸ (*sam+*), Sadd I 64.²⁶

piyāyati “to hold dear” ← piya- “dear”

[Cf. Skt *priyāy°*: *apriyāyata*, RV 3.53.9, *priyāmāna*, Artharvaveda-Saṃhitā 10.7.10 (Paippalāda), *priyāyase*, Mbh 2,56.5 [Oberlies (2003, 215)], *priyāyitvya-*, Mahāvastu II 479,1 (v. BHSD s.v. *priyāyati*)]

Dhātusūcī: *prīñ prītau*, Dhātup IV 39, *prīñ tarpaṇe kāntau ca*, IX 2, *pī piyaṃ*, Sadd 1213 (IV 36), *pī tappana-kantisu* 1247 (IX 2)

Ct.: *piyāyitan ti piyaṃ kataṃ*, Pj II 534,5, Rem. *na mānentī ti na manena piyāyanti*, Sv I 256,14

Preverb: *sam*

pres. 1 sg. *piyāyāmi*, Ud-a 274,27 (*sam+*), 2 sg. *piyāyasi*, Ja IV 216,18, 3 sg. *piyāyati*, S I 210,25, Kv 314,29, 483,28, Sadd II 499,27, 3 pl. *piyāyanti*, Thī 285, Ja VI 241,24, 378,3, Sv II 519,29

aor. 3 pl. *piyāyimsu*, Ja IV 359,13, VI 127,28 (*sam*)

fut. *piyāyissanti*, Mp IV 12,9

pres.part. *piyāyanta-*, J IV 135,8 (*sam+*), *piyāyamāna-*, D II 223,25 (*sam+*), Ja IV 35,11 (*sam*), Sv I 937,14, (*sam+*)

ger. *piyāyitabba-*, Ja VI 446,3, Thī-a 23,10, 155,31, Sadd II 499,29

pp. *piyāyita-*, Sn 807, Ja VI 115,19, Nidd I 126,3 foll.

abs. *piyāyitvā*, Ja III 510,24 (*sam+*), Ps I 206,30 (*sam+*), Mp III 41,4

pihāyati, piheti “to desire” ← pihā- “desire”

[Cf. Skt *sprhay°*: *sprhayanti*, RV 8.2.18, *sprhayate*, Mbh 14,19.5, Avestan: *aspərəzatā*, Yasna 31,16, Gāndhārī *svihadi*, DhPK 266d]

Dhātusūcī: *sprha īpsāyam*, Dhātup X 410, *piha icchāyam*, PDhātup 634, Sadd 1676 (X 325), *pih’ icchāyam*, Dhātum 704, 878

Ct.: *pihā vuccati taṇhā*, Nidd I 227,9

Ref.: At Thī 454, one should read *pihenti*, not *pihayanti*, accord. Norman (1969, 162)

pres. 3 pl. *pihanti*, Thī 454, 1 sg. *pihayāmi*, S I 236,15, *pihayati*, Sadd 568,27, 3 pl. *pihayanti*, S I 202,14, DhP 94, Th 62, 1 sg. *pihemi*, M I 504,34, 505,2, Pj II 535,17, 2 sg. *pihesi*, Nidd I 182,6, 3 sg. *piheti*, A III 237,15, Ja IV 198,25, Nidd I 3,17, 227,13, Sadd 568,27, *pihenti*, Kv 485,4, Thī-a 253,2, 1 sg. mid. *pihaye*, Thī 339

opt. 3 sg. *pihayeyya*, Nidd II 503,11, 2 pl. *piheyysāsi*, Mp II 302,11, 3 sg. *piheyya*, M I 505,21, Th-a II 248,18

aor. 2 sg. *pihayi*, Ja I 197,7, foll., 2 pl. *pihayittha*, Vin II 187,37, *pihayittha*, S II 242,15

fut. 3 sg. *pihessati*, M III 246,23

pres.part. *pihanta-*, Vin III 231,38, *pihayanta-*, Nidd II 411,12, *pihayamāna*, Nidd II 316,12, *pihent-*, Ja I 401,3, Mp II 157,14

ger. *pihanīyā*, Sadd 568,27

pp. *pihayita-*, Miln 182,24, 227,20, *pihita-*, M I 118,19, Ja I 204,7, Nidd I 36,27

***puttīyati* “to treat like a son” ← *putta-* “son”**

[Cf. Skt *putrīy°*: *putram iva ācarati putrīyati*, Kās ad Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.10] Ct.: *aputtam puttam iva ācarati puttīyati*, Kacc-v 438, Sadd II 587,17, 823,2

pres. 3 sg. *puttīyati*, Kacc-v 438, Sadd II 587,17, 823,2

***balīyati, baleti* “to empower, overpower” ← *bala-* “power”**

[Cf. Skt *balāy°*: *balāyamāna-*, Nirukta 10,3, *balīyate-*, Suśruta-Saṃhitā 39,321.1, *balīyati* (q.v. BHSD s.v.)]

Dhātusūcī: *bala prāṇane*, Dhātup X 123, *bala prāṇane dhānyāvarodhe ca*, I 974, *bala pāṇane*, PDhātup 273, Dhātum 389, Sadd 815 (I 893, X 85)

Ct.: *na balīyare ti nābhībhavanti na kuppanti*, Ja VI 225,4', ... *balīyantī ti ... balavanto honti vaḍḍhanti abhībhavanti*, Pv-a 94,10

pres. 3 sg. *baleti*, Ja III 225,14*, 225,16', 3 pl. *balīyanti*, Sn 770, Ja IV 84,34*, Pv II 6.1, Nidd I 12,9 foll., Sadd II 438,22, 3 pl. mid. *balīyare* Ja VI 224,14*

***byābādheti* “to hurt” ← *byābādha-* “hurt”**

[Cf. Skt *bādhate*: *bādhitāya*, RV 6,18,14, *bādheta*, Mbh 5,122.40, *bādhay°*: *bādhayitum*, Mbh I,140.7]

Dhātusūcī: Rem. *bādḥṛ loḍane* Dhātup I 5, *bādha viloḷane*, Sadd 507 (I 5)

Ct.: *na aññamaññaṃ byābādhentī ti aññamaññaṃ na upahananti*, Sv I 167,15

- pres.** 3 sg. *byābādheti*, Vin II 185,27, 186,7, A III 122,26, 123,15, 3 pl. *byābādheti*, D I 56,23, S III 211,8,13, A I 65,16 foll., 1 sg. *byābādheti*, S V 393,17, foll., It 31,13, It-a 147,18, 147,27, 1 pl. *byābādHEMA*, It 32,4
- fut.** 3.pl. *byābādHissanti*, Vin II 75,38

***magayati, mageti* “to search” ← *maga-* “search”**

- [Cf. Skt *mṛgay°*: *mṛgayānte*, RV 8.2.6, *mṛgayamāna-*, Mbh 12,136.167, R 3,9.12, *mṛgayāna*, Mbh 3,68.2 [q.v. Oberlies (2003, 263–264)]]
- Dhātusūcī: *mṛga anveṣaṇe*, Dhātup X 442, *maga anvesane*, PDhātup 541, *maga gavesane*, Dhātum 755, *maga anvesane*, Sadd 1322 (X 352)
- Ct.: *mūsikaṃ magayamāno ti mūsikaṃ gavesamāno | maggayamāno ti pi paṭhanti*, Nidd-a I TBD
- pres.** *magayati*, Sadd II 524,9, 524,12, *mageti*, Sadd II 524,9
- pass.** *magīyati*, Sadd II 524,18
- pres.part.** *magayamāna-*, M I 334,19, foll., Nidd I 149,29, 149,31, Sadd II 524,9, 524,10

***maggati, maggayati, maggeti* “to search” ← *magga* “search”**

- [Cf. Skt *mārga°*: *mārget*, Mbh 12,282.2; *mārgamāna-*, R 1,1.44, *mṛgyamāna-*, Mbh 3,181.20, *mārgati*, Kāśyapaparivarta 137.7 (*apud* BHSD), Gāndhāri *mārgaṃti*, CKD 86, *mārgetu* CKD 399]
- Dhātusūcī: *mārga anveṣaṇe*, Dhātup X 384; *magga anvesane*, PDhātup 541; *magga gavesane*, Dhātum 756
- Ref.: *ma[g]gāyasi* (← Skt **mṛgāyati* rather than Skt **mārgayati*), not *maggasi*, is the correct reading accord. to Norman (1971, 142). On the IE origin and the verbal derivatives of Skt *mṛga-* v. Burrow (1975, 58–59), who also explains Skt *mārgati* as a sanskritization of Middle Indic *maggati*.
- pres.** 2 sg. *maggasi*, Thī 384, Mp II 93,11, Pj II 19,20, 3 sg. *maggati*, It-a 85,25, Ud-a 146,27, 306,1, Th-a II 131,17, *maggayati*, Sadd II 524,23, *maggeti*, Sadd II 524,23
- opt.** 3 sg. *maggeyya*, Ja V 265,30*, 265,34', Nidd-a TBD

pass. 3 pl. *maggiyanti*, Sv III 753,26 Spk TBD, *maggīyati*, 3 sg. It-a 85,26,

Ud-a 146,26, 306,1, Sadd II 525,6

pres.part. *maggayamāna-*, S II 270,22

ger. *maggitabba-*, Peṭ TBD, *maggetabba-*, Sadd II 524,27, foll.

***mantayati, manteti* “to talk” ← *manta-* “talk”**

[Cf. Skt *mantray°*: *mantrayadhvam*, Mbh 3,8.4, *abhinimantrya*, R 3,44.32, *āmantrayate*, Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa 2.5.4, *nimantrayet*, Mbh 13,90.24, *pratimantritaiḥ*, Mbh 3,234.23]

Dhātusūcī: *matri guptaparibhāṣaṇe*, Dhātup X 199, *manta guttabhāsane*, PDhātup 578, Dhātum 819, Sadd 1446 (X 140)

Ct.: *mantayavho ti mantetha*, Ja II 107,21', *āmantayatan ti āmantetu jānāpetu*, Sv I 297,18, *āmantayāmī ti jānāpemi*, Ja V 178,8', *balavā-balavaṃ paṭimantethā ti suṭṭhubalavaṃ pativadatha*, Sp VI 1,4

Preverb: *a-*, *an*, *abhi-*, *ā*, *ni*, *paṭi/pati*

Ref.: On the suffix *vho* (2 pl. imper. Med.) as a “hyper-Pālistm” v. Oberlies (2001, 222), von Hinüber (2001, § 433).]

pres. 1 sg. *mantayāmi*, Ja VI 475,19*, D II 120,13 (*ā+*), Ja IV 222,1 (*ā+*), V 178,6* (*ā+*), *mantemi* D II 237,12, Pv IV 1,20, Ja V 405,7 (*ni+*), 3 sg. *mantayati*, Sadd II 539,14, D II 231,22 (*ā+*), Sadd II 539,14 (*ni+*), *manteti*, D I 103,24, Sadd II 539,14, Vin II 184,1 (*ā+*), A II 22,11 (*ni+*), Ja VI 82,30* (*pati+*), 3 pl. *mantayanti*, Ap 490,16, Sadd II 539,15, *mantenti*, S I 201,23, Sadd II 539,15, Ps II 242,12 (*ā+*), Vin I 150,15 (*ni+*)

opt. 1 sg. *mantaye*, Ja V 404,27* (*ni+*), *manteyyaṃ*, Sn 107,6, Vin III 2,11 (*ni+*), A IV 173,14 (*ni+*), 1 pl. *manteyyāma*, D I 61,2 (*abhi-ni+*), D I 61,1 (*ni+*), M II 89,8 (*ni+*), 3 sg. *mantaye*, A I 199,15*, Vin II 37,25* (*ni+*), *manteyya*, D I 104,1, Vin III 2,13 (*ni+*), A IV 173,16 (*ni+*)

imper. 2 sg. *mantaya*, Ja VI 290,13* (*ā+*), *mantehi*, Vin III 293,16, Ja VI 373,17*, Vin II 138,38 (*ā+*), 2 pl. *mantetha*, Cp III 5,4 (*ni+*), Vin II 1,9 (*pati*), Sp VI 1,4 (*paṭi*), 2 sg. mid. *mantayassu*, Ja VI 544,7* (*ā+*), 544,9* (*ā+*), 2 pl. mid. *mantayavho*, Ja II 107,18*, *mantavho*, D I 94,5, 3 sg. *mantetu*, Sv I 297,18 (*ā*), 3 sg. mid. *mantayataṃ*, D I 136,20 (*ā+*)

aor. 1 sg. *mantayim*, Ap 329,12 (*ā+*), 334,9 (*ā+*), Ap 334,5 (*ni+*), *mantesim*, Vin I 295,13 (*ā+*), D II 115,36 (*ā+*), Vv 34,13 (*ni+*), 3 sg. *mantayi*, D II

- 256.2* (\bar{a} +), Ja IV 408.28* (\bar{a} +), Sn 981 (ni +), *mantayī*, Sn 997 (\bar{a} +), Ja V 26.2* (\bar{a} +), IV 356.25* (ni +), *mantesi*, Vin III 10.26 (\bar{a} +), IV 98.3 (ni +), Ap 587.5 (*paṭi*+), 3 pl. *mantayum*, Ap , 71.7 foll., *mantayimsu*, Sv I 259.14, Sadd II 539.16, Ja VI 78.12* (\bar{a} +), Sv II 458.12 (ni +), *mantimsu*, Cp III 5.4 (ni +), *mantesuṃ*, Ja IV 305.25 (ni +), Ap 96.3 (ni +), Sp IV 815.17 (ni +), 3 sg. mid. *mantayittha*, Ja VI 505.12* (\bar{a} +), Sadd II 539.15 (a +), Ja IV 356.15* (ni +)
- caus.** 3 sg. pres. *mantāpayati*, Sadd II 539.18, *mantāpeti*, Sadd II 539.18, 3 pl. *mantāpentī*, Nidd-a I 335.10 (ni +), 3 sg. opt. *mantāpeyya*, Mil 149.16 (\bar{a} +), 3 pl. aor. *mantāpesuṃ*, Dh-p-a I 71.18 (ni +), 3 sg. pass. *mantāpīyati*, Sadd II 536.29, abs. *mantāpetvā*, D I 134.30 (\bar{a} +), Mil 75.17 (\bar{a} +), Ja III 182.25 (ni +)
- pres.part.** *mantayamāna-* Vin I 350.36, Sv III 1053.3 (\bar{a} +), Ps II 282.27 (ni +), *mantenta-*, Th-a III 155.6, Sv II 368.2 ($a-ni$ +)) [w.r. *animatento*], Pj II 385.23 (\bar{a} +), Ja II 231.19 (ni +), pass. *mantiyamāna-*, Mp I 145.6, Mil 2.31 (\bar{a} +), Vin IV 78.27 (ni +), Thī-a 2.16 (ni +)
- ger.** *mantañīya-*, Ja IV 371.10* (\bar{a} +), *mantayitabba-*, Mil 91.12, *mantetabba-*, Ja IV 372.22' (\bar{a} +), Vv-a 96.11 (\bar{a} +), Vin II 33.17 (ni +)
- pp.** *mantita-*, Mil 91.24, D I 139.14 (\bar{a} +), Vin IV 100.9 (ni +)
- inf.** *mantayitum*, Mil 91.22, *mantetum*, Vin II 15.32 (ni +), D I 93.23 (*pati*)
- abs.** *manta*, Vin 265.32* ($an-\bar{a}$), Ja III 315.23* (\bar{a} +), *mantaya*, Ja VI 271.9* (\bar{a} +), *mantayitvā*, Sn 379, Ja VI 291.4* (\bar{a} +), Ap 31.21 (ni +), *mantayitvāna*, Ja V 173.27* (\bar{a} +), Ap 572.27 (ni +), *mantetvā*, Vin I 229.3, Ja IV 370.23 ($a-ni$ +), D II 99.8 ($an-\bar{a}$), Vin IV 81.19 (ni +), *mantetvāna*, Ap 554.14 (ni +)

***mamāyati* “to make this mine” ← *mama-* “of me”**

[Cf. Skt *mamāy°*: *mamāyate*, Mbh 12,215.31, Śikṣ 269.6 (v. BHSD s.v.)]
Dhātusūcī: Rem. *kele mamāyane*, Sadd 796

Ct.: *mamāyitāni ti taṇhādīṭṭhimamāyitāni*, Pj II 407.17; *mamāyitā ti taṇhāvasena mama etan ti gaṇhitā | amamāyitā ti vuttapaṭipakkhā*, Nidd-a I TBD, *tathā karuṇāyati mama idan ti gaṇhāti mamāyati*, Sadd II 587.15

Preverb: *a, ati*

- pres.** 2 sg. mid. *mamāyase*, Th 1150, Th-a I 26,28, III 167,18, 3 sg. *mamāyati*, Nidd I 382,29, 458,16, Ja II 316,17 (*ati+*), Sadd II 587,6, 3 pl. *mamāyanti*, S III 190,12, Th 575, Nidd I 259,16
- opt.** 3 sg. *mamāyetha*, M I 260,34, Sn 922, Nidd I 369,7
- aor.** 3 sg. *mamāyi*, Sv III 907,25, 907,27, Ps II 251,5, 3 pl. *mamāyimsu*, Ja IV 359,4*, Sv III 907,24, Ps II 251,4, Pj II 567,11
- pres.part.** *mamāyanta-*, Sp III 637,4, Ja V 138,17, Nidd I 51,5 (*a+*)
- ger.** *mamāyitabba-*, Vin V 125,18, Th-a I 26,17
- pp.** *mamāyita-*, Vin III 46,33, Sn 466, Ja V 82,25*, Nidd I 2,1 (*a+*)
- inf.** *mamāyitum*, Ja VI 180,16, Mp I 143,4
- abs.** *mamāyitvā*, Mp I 141,9

***mahati, mahāyati* “to honor” ← *maha-* “honorable”**

[Cf. Skt *maháy°*: *mahayase*, RV 6.15.2, *mahāyamāna* 3.25.5, Gāndhārī *ma[ma]hisu*, Anavl 1115-6]

Dhātusūcī: *maha pūjāyām*, Dhātup X 406, *maha pūjāyām*, PDhātup 331, 635, Dhātum 486, 877, Sadd 1675 (X 321)

Ref.: On the development of suffix *emase* (1 pl. opt.med) v. Oberlies (2001, 224–225), von Hinüber (2001, § 438, § 444).]

Ct.: *mahemase ti mahāmase pūjāmase*, Vv-a 203,6

pres. 3 sg. *mahāyati, maheti*, Sadd II 568,25, 3 pl. *mahenti*, D II 167,23*, foll.

opt. 1 pl. mid *mahemase*, Vv 47,11, Vv-a 202,18

pass. 3 sg. *mahīyati*, Vv 62,1, *mahīyati*, D II 167,27*, Vv-a 257,15, 258,1

pres.part. pass. *mahīyamāna-*, Vv 64,22, Vv-a 274,14

pp. *mahīta-*, M II 100,1, Th 868, Miln 278,22, Sadd II 568,25

ger. *mahanīya-*, Vv-a 97,5

abs. *mahāyitvāna*, Ja IV 236,2*

***mutteti* “to urinate” ← *mutta-* “urine”**

[Cf. Skt *°mūtray°*: *mūtrayante*, Mbh 5,94.40, *avamūtrayet*, Caraka-Saṃhitā 8,21.1, Manu-Smṛti 8,282

Dhātusūcī: *mūtra prasravaṇe*, Dhātup X 451, *mutta pa(s)savane*, Sadd 1459 (X 361)

Ct.: *omuttenti passāvamassa upari vissajjenti*, Ps II 49,6 Preverb: *o*

- pres.** 3 sg. *muttayati* Sadd II 540.25 (o+), *mutteti*, Cp II 5.4, Sadd 540.25 (o+), 3 pl. *muttenti*, M I 79.33 (o+), Dh-p-a II 181.10 (o+)
- opt.** 3 sg. *mutteyya*, M I 127.13 (o+), Kv 472.23 (o+), Ps II 127.13 (o+)
- caus.** 3.sg. *muttāpayati*, *muttāpeti*, Sadd II 540.28
- pp.** *muttita-*, Spk I 32.31 (o+)

***mettāyati* “to act as a friend to” ← *mettā-* “friend”**

[Cf. Skt *mitrīy*°: *mitrīyantas*, Sāyaṇa on RV 1.6.5, *mitrīyamāṇa-*, Brhātkaṭhāslokaśamgraha 20.398, *maitrāyati* (v. BHSD s.v.), Gāndhārī, *metrayadi*, Dh-p-K 195b]

Ct.: *mettāyeyyā ti mettāya phareyya | tasmim puggale mettaṃ kareyya pavatteyyā ti attho*, Vibh-a 378.34, *bhikku metta iva ācarati mettāyati*, Sadd II 587.15

pres. 3 sg. *mettāyati*, A IV 151.1*, It 21.8*, Paṭis II 131.38, Th-a II 94.38, Sadd II 587.5

opt. 3 sg. *mettāyeyya*, Vibh 272.24, Vism 296

fut. 3 sg. *mettāyissati*, Vism 319.5

pres.part. *mettāyant-*, Mp II 172.17, 172.21, Th-a II 186.30, Vism 298.6, 307.4

ger. *mettāyitabba-*, Mp II 172.18, Vism 319.5

***medayati*, *medeti* “to become fat” ← *meda-* “fat”**

[Cf. Skt *med*° [*mid*°]: *medātām*, RV 10.93.11, *medayathā*, 6.28.6]

Dhātusūcī: *mida snehane*, Dhātup X 12, *mida snehane*, PDhātup 160, 413, *mida sinehane*, Dhātum 228, 641, *mida snehe*, Sadd II 474

pres. 3 sg. *medati*, Sadd II 383.20, *medayati*, Sadd II 383.24, 3 pl. *medenti*, M I 238.33, Sadd II 383.26

***rahāyati* “to wish to be alone” ← *raha-* “a wish to be alone”**

[Cf. Skt *rahāy*°: *rahita-*, Mbh 3.68.8, Rem. *rahas-* is a denominal base that belongs to the *bhṛśādigaṇa*, Kāś ad Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.12]

Dhātusūcī: *raha tyāge*, Dhātup X 122, *raha cāge*, PDhātup 632, Dhātum 876, Sadd 1674 (X 84)

Ct.: *rahāyatī ti rahassaṃ karoti nigūhati*, Ps III 351.20

pres. 3 sg. *rahāyati*, M II 119.29, Sadd II 568.23, *raheti*, 568.23

pres. *rahita-*, Th 524, Thī 402, 404, Mp II 203,5

***laggati* “sticks to” ← *lagga-* “sticking to”**

[Cf. Skt *lagna-*, Aṣṭādhyāyī 7.2.18, Mbh 9,38.8, R 4,23.16, *vilagnita-*, Mahāvastu II 266,13 *apud* BHSD, *avalagna*, Amaruśataka 1,2.1]

Dhātusūcī: *lage(m) saṅge*, Dhātup I 895, *laga saṅge*, PDhātup 23, Dhātum 30, *laga saṅga ca*, Sadd 106

Ct.: Rem. *tvam olaggo na gañchisī ti tvam cittakālī mayā satipaññāpatodānkusehi vārīto na dāni yathārucciṃ gamissasi*, Th-a II 150,23, Rem., *visattā ti laggā laggitā*, Spk TBD, ... *asajjamāno ti alaggamāno* ..., Ja VI 303,8 Preverb: *a* (neg.), *an-o*, *ā*, *o*, *paṭi*, *vi*

pres. 1 sg. *laggāmi*, Ja III 120,19, 3 sg. *laggati*, Mil 407,13, Sp III 708,28, IV 850,26, 3 pl. *lagganti*, Vin I 202,14, Sv II 433,34

imper. 3 sg. *laggatu*, Ja IV 388,12, Dhp-a I 131,12

aor. 3 sg. *laggi*, Ja I 483,1, V 470,7, Sv III 933,30, 3 pl. *laggimsu*, Sp V 961,4, Thī-a 180,23

fut. 1 pl. *laggissāma*, Sv I 268,12

caus. 3 pl. pres. *laggāpentī*, Ja III 241,9, 3 sg. pres. *laggetī*, Sp IV 783,13, 3 pl. pres. *laggentī*, Vin II 114,9, Sp VI 1212,10, 3 sg. opt. *laggeyya*, Vin II 114,11, Sp VI 1204,9, Sv I 268,24, 3 pl. opt. *laggāpeyyum*, Ps III 427,17, *laggeyyum*, M II 178,19 (*o+*), 181,3 (*o+*), 3 sg. aor. *laggesi*, Ja I 195,15, VI 52,25, 1 sg. fut. *laggesāmi* Th 355 (*o+*), pres.part. *laggenta-*, Sp VI 1204,9, ger. *laggetabba-*, Vin II 114,11, inf. *laggetum*, Vin II 117,35, abs. *laggetvā*, Vin II 110,33 (*ā+*), III 208,13 (*ā+*), Ja III 130,7, Sp I 38,14, *laggetvāna*, Ap 73,2 (*ā+*)

pres.part. *lagganta-*, Ja IV 388,20, *laggamāna-*, Dhp-a III 298,4 (*a+*), Vism 394,18 (*a+*)

ger. *laggitabba-*, Mil 408,3

pp. *lagga-*, Th 356 (*o+*), Nidd I 23,11, II 99,28 (*a+*), Cp I 1,1 (*an-o+*), *laggita-*, Ap 278,13 (*vi+*), Nidd I 23,11, Bv II,123 (*paṭi+*), Sp II 327,1

inf. *laggitum*, Sv I 257,15, II 406,15, Spk TBD

abs. *laggitvā*, Ps IV 103,13, Mp II 167,21, Thī-a 77,27

***līṅgayati, līṅgeti* “to mark” ← **līṅga-* “mark”**[Cf. Skt *līṅgayo*: *līṅgyate*, Vaśeṣikasūtravṛtti 6,1.2]Dhātusūcī: *līṅga citṛīkarane*, Dhātup X 267, *līṅga cittikriyādīsu*,
Dhātum 754, *līṅga cittikarane*, Sadd 1321 (X 199)Ct.: *pajjalitaṃ aggiṃ va līṅgiyā ti pajjalitaṃ aggiṃ ālīṅgetvā viya*,
Thī 241,8 Preverb: *ud, upa***pres.** 3 sg. *līṅgayati, līṅgeti*, Sadd II 523,23**caus. pres.** 3 pl. *līṅgenti*, Vibh-a 126,16 (*ud+*), Vism 492,1 (*ud+*), Sadd
III 785,23, abs. *līṅgetvā*, Sadd II 515,22 (*upa+*)**pass.** 3 sg. *līṅgiyati*, Sadd II 523,26**pres.part.** *līṅgenta-*, Th-a II 142,22 (*ud+*)**ger.** *līṅgiya*, Thī 398**abs.** *līṅgitvā*, Sadd I 107,25 (*ud+*)***-lomayati, -lometi* “to be hair-like” ← *loma* “hair”**[Cf. Skt *anulomayati*, Caraka-Saṃhitā 1,25.1, *lomāny anumārṣṭi anulomayati* Kāś ad Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.25, *anulomyate*, Mbh 8,6.14, v. also BHSD s.v. *vilomayati*]Dhātusūcī: *vātaṃ anulometī ti vātaṃ anulometvā harati*, Mp III 326,11
Preverb: *a-, an-, anu, vi***pres.** 1 pl. *lomema*, Mil 295,6 (*vi+*), 3 sg. *lometi*, Vin I 225,25 (*anu+*),
A III 250,13 (*anu+*), Mil 29,5 (*vi+*), Sp I 219,28 (*an-anu+*), 3 pl.
lomentī, A I 69,29 (*anu+*), Sp V 1104,7**pres.part.** *lomaya(nt)*, Ja VI 295,9* (*anu+*), Mil 372,23* (*anu+*), Ud-a 2,6*
(*a-vi+*), *loment-*, Sv I 1,20* (*a-vi+*), Ps I 1,20* (*a-vi+*), 139,20 (*a-vi+*),
Vibh-a 130,6 (*anu+*)**abs.** *lomayitvā*, Mil 372,8 (*anu+*), *lometvā*, Mil 413,10 (*anu+*), *lometvāna*, Mil 372,12* (*anu+*)***vacceṭi* “to defecate” ← *vacca-* “faeces”**[Cf. Skt *varcas-*, Suśruta-Saṃhitā 1,92.19; v. CDIAL s.v. for cognate forms in Aśokan]Ct.: *vaccito ti sijnhātavacco* | *vaccapīlito ti adhippāyo*, Sp VI 1283,20**pp.** *vaccita-*, Vin II 212,33, 221,22, 232,14

vaṇeti “to wound” ← vaṇa- “wound”

[Cf. Skt *vraṇay*^o: *vraṇita-*, R 4,59.18]

Dhātusūcī: *vraṇa gātravicūrṇane*, Dhātup X 483; *vaṇa gattavicuṇṇane*,
Sadd 144I (X 390)

pres. *vaṇayati*, *vaṇeti*, Sadd II 537,8

pp. *vaṇita-*, Pv II 2.4, Ja I 150,28, II 31,7, III 356,21

vammeti “to put armor on” ← vamma- “armor”

[Cf. Skt *varmay*^o: *varmita-*, Mbh 6,55.30, *saṃvarmayati*, Kāś ad
Aṣṭādhyāyī 3.1.25]

Dhātusūcī: *vrñ āvaraṇe*, Dhātup X 345, *vara āvaraṇe*, PDhātup 606,
Dhātum 849, Sadd 1592 (X 271)

pp. *vammita-*, Ja I 179, II 315, V 301,5*, Sv I 40

varati “to choose” ← vara- “choice”

[Cf. Skt *varay*^o: *varaye*, Mbh 2,63.32, *varaysva*, Mbh 3,281.30, *varayitavya-*, Mbh 1,96.49]

Dhātusūcī: *vara āvaraṇ’ -icchāsu*, PDhātup 606, Dhātum 849, *vara
varaṇe*, Sadd 740 (V 8), *vara icchāyaṃ*, Sadd 1582 (X 308)

Ct.: *tāhaṃ bhadde vareyyāhe ti ahe ti āmantanaṃ ... evaṃ taṃ ahaṃ
vareyyaṃ iccheyyaṃ gaṇheyyan ti attho*, Sv III 703,24, *varamāno
paṭṭhayaṃāno*, Pv-a 128,17

Ref.: On the rarely employed optative suffix *-eyyāhe*, which is reminiscent of OIA *yaṣṭāhe* (1 sg. periphr. fut. mid. Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 1.11.4, q.v. Whitney (1889, § 947), v. Bloch (1985, 143–144) and Oberlies (2001, 225).

pres. 1 sg. *varāmi*, Ja V 495,30*, *varemi*, Sadd II 559,15, 3 sg. *varayati*,
vareti, Sadd II 559,14, 3 sg. *varati*, Ja V 329,23, 3 sg. mid. *varate*,
Ja V 329,18*, 329,20*

imper. 2 sg. *vara*, Ja III 353,25*, V 317,20*, 2 sg. mid. *varassu*, Ja III
493,4*, 495,18*, Pv-a 128,16

opt. 1 sg. *vare*, Ja IV 14,3*, 24I,20*, Sadd II 559,10, 2 sg. *vare*, Pv II 9.41,
Pv-a 128,14, 2 sg. *vareyyāsi*, Pv-a 128,18, 2 sg. mid. *vareyyāhe* D II
267,11*, 3 sg. *vareyya*, Ja V 480,11*

pass. 3 sg. mid. *variṇyate*, Sadd II 559,11

pres.part. *varanta-*, Sadd II 359,9, *varamāna-*, Pv II 9.4I, Pv-a 128,13
ger. *varitabba-*, Ap-a, TBD, Sadd II 359,11
pp. *varita-*, Mil 227,8

***vādiyati* “to teach” ← *vāda-* “teaching”**

[Cf. Skt *vivāday°*: *vivādayet*, Yājñavalkyasmṛti 2,12.2, *vivādayita-*, Mbh 3,133.20, v. BHSD s.v.]

Ct.: *tattha vivādiyanti ti vivadanti*, Pj II 542,18

Preverb: *vi (vī ti viruddhe ... tattha viruddhe vivādo ...*, Sadd III 885,3

pr. 3 pl. *vivādiyanti*, Sn 832, Nidd I 173,3

opt. 3 sg. *vivādiyetha*, Sn 830, Nidd I 171,1

***vāseti* “to scent” ← *vāsa* “scent”**

[Cf. Skt *vāsay°*: *vāsayanti*, Chāndogyopaniṣad 3.16.1, *vāsayitaiḥ*, Mbh 1,176.21, *āvāsayant*, R 2,95.4I, v. BHSD s.v. *upavāsita*]

Ct.: *vāsetun ti gandhena vāsetum*, Sp VI 1207,26, *vāsito va surabhī karaṇḍako ti pupphagandhavāsacunṇādthi vāsito vāsaṃ gāhāpito pasādhanasamuggo viya sugandhi*, Thī-a 200,19

Preverb: *upa*

pres. 3 pl. *vāseti*, Vin I 211,32

aor. 3 sg. *avāsesi*, Ja V 33,18*, 33,23

caus. 2 sg. *vāsāpesi*, Ja V 33,23

pp. *vāsita-*, Thī 253, Thī-a 149,9, 199,3, Pv-a 164,2 (*upa*)

inf. *vāsetum*, Vin I 211,34, II 120,28

abs. *vāsetvā*, Vin I 211,34, Ja IV 52,1, V 321,23

***visuddhayati* “to purify” ← *visuddha-* “pure”**

[Cf. Skt *visuddha°*, R 2,11.14]

Ct.: *visuddhā hoti ratti visuddhayati*, Kacc-v 44I, Sadd II 587,22

pres. 3 sg. *visuddhayati*, Sadd II 587,9

***visūkāyati* “to distort” ← *visūka-* “distorting”**

Ct.: *visūkāyitānī ti ādīni hi visevanācāraṃ kathesi sabbā n’ eva h’ añña-maññavevacanāni*, Ps III 158,9

pp. *visūkāyita-*, M I 234,19 446,5, foll., S II 62,15 foll.

vedhati “to tremble” ← vidhīta- “trembling” < viddha x *vithita

[Cf. Skt *vyathita-*, Mbh 3,61.113, *pravyathita-*, Mbh 6,33,20, *saṃpravya-*
thita°, R 1,36.15, *viddha-*, Mbh 3,2.65, *praviddha-*, Mbh 6,92.71]

Dhātusūcī: *vyatha(m) bhayaṣaṃcalanayoḥ*, Dhātup I 868, *vyadha tāḍane*,
IV 78, *vyatha dukkha-bhaya-calanesu*, PDhātup 130, Sadd 420 (I 801),
vyatha bhīti-calesu ca, Dhātum 188, *vyadha tāḷane*, Sadd 1150 (IV 72)

Preverb: *a, pa, sam-pa*

Ref.: See Oberlies (2001, 64, 251) on the formal development of °*vedhati*.

pres. 3 sg. *vedhati*, D II 12,18 (*sam-pa+*), S V 402,11, Sn 899, Th 42, 3
pl. *vedhanti*, Th 705, Ja II 191,16, Nidd I 50,12

opt. 3 sg. *vedheyya*, Sn 902, 923 (*sam-pa+*), 928 (*pa+*), Nidd II 317,3,
foll.

pres.part. *vedhamāna-*, D II 22,2 (*pa+*), S I 110,30*, Sn 213 (*a+*), Nidd I
50,14, *vedhiyamāna-*, Dhp-a II 249

ger. °*pavedhitabba-*, Nidd-a TBD

pp. *vedhita-*, S I 148,7 (*pa+*), Sn 902 (*sam+*), Cp III 11,13

saṃvohāraṭi “to trade” ← saṃvohāra- “trade”

[Cf. Skt *saṃvyavaharati*: *saṃvyavahārya*, Nāradaśmṛti 2,14.10, *saṃ-*
vyavahāramāṇa-, Dīvyāvadāna 259]

Ct.: *saṃvohāramāṇo ti kathento*, Mp III 172,1

Ref.: On *vo* ← *vyava* v. Oberlies (2001, 126).

pres.part. *saṃvohāramāna-*, A II 188,10

saṅkāyati “to feel doubt” ← saṅkā- “doubt”

[Cf. Skt *saṅkate*: *saṅkamāna*, R 3,23.10]

Dhātusūcī: *śaki saṅkāyam*, Dhātup I 91, *saṅka saṅkāyaṃ*, PDhātup 4, *saki*
saṅkāya, Dhātum 6, *saki saṅkāyaṃ*, Sadd 21 (I 86)

pres.part. *saṅkāya(nt)-*, Vin II 274,26

saṅgāmeti “to fight” ← saṅgāma- “fight”

[Cf. Skt *saṅgrāmayo*°: *saṅgrāmayiṣu*, Bhaṭṭikāvya 3,47, Rem.: *saṅgrā-*
maṃ kr: *saṅgrāmam akurvan*, Mbh 6,15.17, v. also BHSD s.v.
saṅgrāmayati]

Dhātusūcī: *saṅgrāma yuddhe*, Dhātup X 433, *saṅgāma yuddhe*, PDhātup 605,

Dhātum 847, Sadd 1673 (X 376)

Ct.: *saṅgāmeyyāmā ti saṅgāmaṃ kareyyāma yujjheyāma*, Mp IV 201,20

pres. 3 sg. *saṅgāmayati*, Sadd II 558,20, *saṅgāmeti*, It 75,16, Sadd II 558,20

opt. 1 pl. *saṅgāmeyyāma*, A V 432,8

aor. 3 pl. *saṅgāmesuṃ*, S I 84,10, A V 432,9, Sadd II 558,21

fut. 3 sg. *saṅgāmessati*, Vin II 195,21, 3 pl. *saṅgāmessanti*, S I 225,1

pres.part. *saṅgāmenta-*, Vin III 108,27

sajjhāyati “to study” ← sajjhāya- “study”

[Cf. Skt *svādhyāya*^o: v. BHSG pg. 238 for forms and citations.]

Ct.: Rem.: *saṅgāyitabban ti vācetaḅbaṃ sajjhāyitabbaṃ*, Sv III 911,16

pres. 3 sg. *sajjhāyati*, Mil 10,10

fut. 1 sg. *sajjhāyissāmi*, Mil 13,2

caus. 3 sg. pres. *sajjhāpayati*, Ja III 28,22*, 2 sg. imper. *sajjhāyāpehi*, Mil 10,10

pres.part. *sajjhāyanta-*, Paṭṭh 83

ger. *sajjhāya*, S I 202,21

saddāyati “to emit a sound” ← sadda- “a sound”

[Cf. Skt *śabdāy*^o: *śabdyate*, Mbh 12,59.12, *śabdāyante-*, Vikramacarita 1,56, *anuśabdita-*, Mbh 1,61.83]

Dhātusūcī: *śabda bhāṣaṇe kriyāyāṃ upasargādāviṣkāre*, Dhātup X 239, *sadda saddane*, Sadd 1486 (X 171)

Ct.: *evaṃ upagamanato tadā pi saddāyanto ti dhamadhama iti evaṃ saddaṃ karonto anuravadassanañhettaṃ dāvaggino*, Cp-a TBD,

Rem.: *kuvanto ti saddāyanto*, Nidd-a I TBD

Preverbs: *anu*, *vi*

pres. 3 sg. *saddayati*, Sadd II 542,26, 542,26 (vi+), *saddāyati*, Mil 258,28,

As 114,23 (*anu*+), Dh-p-a II 264,18, Sadd II 542,27, *saddeti*, Sadd II 542,26, 542,26 (vi+), 2 sg. mid. *saddayase* [sic], Pv IV 8.1, IV 16.1

opt. 3 sg. *saddāyeyya*, Mil 259,18

pass. 3 sg. *saddīyati*, Sadd II 543,1

pres.part. *saddāyanta-*, Cp III 9,4

santārati “to calm” ← santa- “calm”

Ct.: *santaṃ karoti santārati*, Kacc-v 44I

pres. 3 sg. *santārati*, Kacc-v 44I

samuddāyati “to be like an ocean” ← samudda- “ocean”

[Cf. Skt *samudrāy°*: *samudrāyate*, Mṛcchakaṭika 9.262]

Ct.: *taḷakaṃ samuddam iva attānam ācarati samuddāyati*, Kacc TBD

pres. 3 sg. *samuddāyati*, Sadd II 587.5

samodhāneti “to connect” ← samodhāna- “connection”

[Cf. Skt *samavadhāna-*, Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali (p. 40, Thakur’s ed.)]

aor. 3 sg. *samodhānesi*, Ja I 123.7, 126.10, 136.6, IV 196.21

abs. *samodhānetvā*, Ja I 15.10, 44.23, Sv I 18.33, Pj II 167.16

sārajjāyati “to feel ashamed” ← sārajja- “shame”

[Cf. Skt *saṃlajj°*: *saṃlajjamāna-*, R 2.49.10]

Dhātusūcī: *olasjī vrīḍāyām*, Dhātup VI 11, *lajja lajjane*, PDhātup 72,

Dhātum 85, Sadd 237 (VI 10)

Ref.: See Oberlies (2001, 35, 97) on *saṃ* → *sā*.

pres.part. *sārajjāyamāna°*, S III 92.32, 92.33

sukheti “to please” ← sukha- “pleasure”

[Cf. Skt *sukhay°*: *sukhita-*, Mbh 12, 144.5, Aśoka *sukhayite*, PE VII(U)

(v. Norman 1975, 20), *sukhāpayāmi*, RE VI G (~ *sukhāyāmi*, RE VI K) (v. Oberlies 2007, 219), Gāndhārī *sukhayami*, CKI 6, 16]

Dhātusūcī: *sukha tatkriyāyām*, Dhātup X 475, *sukha takriye*, Dhātum 752, *sukha takkiriyaṃ*, Sadd 4I (X 383)

Ct.: *sukhāpeyyā ti sukhasmiṃ yeva patiṭṭhāpeyya*, Ja VI 477.15, ... *tattha sukhan ti sukhayatī ti sukhaṃ | yass’ uppajjati taṃ sukhitam karotī ti attho*, Sadd II 327.27

Preverb: *a* (neg.)

pres. 1 sg. *sukhāmi*, Sadd II 328.23, 1 pl. *sukhāma*, Sadd II 328.23, 2 sg.

sukhasi, Sadd II 328.23, 2 pl. *sukhatha*, Sadd II 328.23, 3 sg. *sukhati*,

Sadd II 327.25 foll., *sukhayati*, As 41.24, Sadd II 327.27, foll.,

sukhāyati Ps IV 199.1, *sukheti* D III 130, S I 90.7, A II 67.33, Sadd II

327.33, 3 pl. *sukhanti*, Sadd II 328.23, *sukhenti*, D I 51.15, foll.

- caus.** 3 sg. pres. *sukhāpayati*, Sadd II 328,¹, *sukhāpeti*, Sadd II 327,³⁴,
3 sg. opt. *sukhāpeyya* Ja VI 477,^{12*}, 477,^{15'}, Sadd II 538,⁷, abs.
sukhāpetvā D II 202,¹², 204,³, inf. *sukhāpetuṃ* Ja II 236,^{28*}, 237,⁶,
237,⁸, V 115,²¹, pp. *sukhāpita*- Mil 79,⁸
- pres.part.** *sukhāyamāna*- Ja II 31,⁴ (a+), *sukhenta*- Pv-a 283,¹⁷
- pp.** *sukhāyita*, Sp *sukhita*- S I 52,^{11*}, Sn 1029, Th 103, Vibh 356,²⁹

sukkhati “to dry up” ← sukka- “dry”

- [Cf. Skt *śuṣka*:- RV 1.68.3, *pariśuṣka*-, Mbh 1,32.5, *viśuṣka*-, Caraka-
Saṃhitā 9,11.2, *śuṣkay*°, *śuṣkitum*, Dīvyāvadāna 27,254.32]
Dhātusūcī: *śuṣ śoṣaṇe*, Dhātup IV 80, *susa sosane*, PDhātup 457, Sadd
1194 (IV 74)
Ct.: Rem. *tattha socayissatī ti sokuppādanena sukkhāpessati*, Ja III
419,¹⁶

Preverb: *pari*, *vi*

- pres.** 3 sg. *sukkhati*, Mil 152,¹², Sp II 388,¹², V 1055,¹¹, Ps II 260,³⁶, 3
pl. *sukkhanti*, Sp III 518,¹²
- caus.** 3 sg. pres. *sukkhāpeti*, Th-a II 178,³, 2 sg. imper. *sukkhāpehi*, Nidd
I 434,², aor. *sukkhāpesi*, Ja III 491,¹¹, fut. *sukkhāpessati*, Ja III
419,^{16'}, pres.part. *sukkhāpenta*-, Ja I 126,²¹, *sukkhāpayamāna*-, S I
8,^{12*}, pp. *sukkhāpita*-, Ps III 283,¹⁰, abs. *sukkhāpetvā*, Vin IV 86,²⁰
- pres.part.** *sukkhanta*-, Ja I 498,¹⁶, Mp II 63,⁷, *sukkhāmāna*-, Ja I 304,²⁸,
Ps II 260,¹⁰
- pp.** *sukkhita*-, Mil 303,⁷, 303,⁷ (vi+), 303,¹¹ (pari+)

seseti “to spare” ← asesa- “spare”

- [Cf. Skt *śeṣay*°: *śeṣita*-, Mbh 12,37.24, *aśeṣayitvā*, Kumārasaṃbhava
7,29.1] Ct.: *asesitesū ti na sesitesu nissesesu ti attho*, Ja III 153,^{18'}
Preverbs: *a*, *an-ava*

- pp.** *sesita*-, Ja III 153,^{14*} (a+)
- abs.** *sesetvā*, Ja III 376,²¹ (a+), 370,¹⁷ (an-ava+)

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Pali *mantā* and *mantabhāṇin*

Martin Straube

Pali *mantabhāṇin* has been discussed repeatedly for over one hundred years. Recently, B.G. Levman objected to the *opinio communis* to derive *manta-* from *manda-* as transmitted in parallel versions in other Buddhist dialects.¹ Although Levman brought forward important arguments against this view, he did not arrive at a final conclusion as to how to interpret this expression. Moreover, focusing on *mantabhāṇin* Levman did not pay particular attention to the meaning and usage of *mantā* in canonical Pali texts. However, this seems to precisely be an important clue to an understanding and reasonable interpretation of the former expression. It may, therefore, be worthwhile to collect all the available evidence concerning both words as completely as possible and discuss the problem once again on that basis.

The word *mantā* occurs several times in presumably old text passages from the Pali canon. It has been interpreted in three ways: (1) as an absolutive of √*man* “to think”,² (2) as nominative singular of an action noun *mantar* (Skt *mantr*) from the same root, or (3) by the commentators, as a feminine noun *mantā* meaning “understanding”. *Mantā* occurs in different contexts of which a prominent one is concerned with the right way to speak. A key passage seems to be the following from the Sampaśādanīyasutta where Sāriputta praises the Buddha’s behaviour in speech (*bhassasamācāra*):

¹ See Senart 1898, p. 233; Lüders 1954, p. 126 (§167); Brough 1962, p. 249 (with a summary of the discussion up to then); Levman 2014, pp. 388–94.

² Ardhamāgadhi has the same form. Apart from *mantā* at issue here, absolutes related to Pali *maññati* are extremely rare in canonical texts, the only occurrence being *maññitvā* at Th 741. This form occurs also in the *aṭṭhakathās* and later, besides *mantvā* (with the occasional v.l. *mantā*, e.g. at Mhv 12:25; 12:50; Sadd 75,25 et infra). Post-canonical verse texts beginning with the Mahāvamsa also have *mantvāna* and *maññiya*.

idha bhante ekacco na c' eva musāvādūpasamhitam vācam bhāsati, na ca vebhūtiyaṃ na ca pesuniyaṃ na ca sārambhajaṃ jayāpekkho; mantā mantā vācam bhāsati nidhānavatiṃ kālena.

D III 106,21ff.³

In this connection, sir, someone does not speak words that involve lying, nor destructive or slanderous [words], nor impetuous [words] with a view to [gain] victory. He speaks *after careful consideration* words that are rich in content at the right moment.

Since it is hardly reasonable to interpret the double *mantā* as two nouns, it seems obvious to take it as an absolutive “having considered, or reflected” with the double *mantā mantā* expressing either an intensified meaning “having considered carefully” or an iteration “having considered again and again”. The commentary, however, explains the passage as follows:

ettha mantā vuccati paññā; mantāya paññāya. puna mantā ti upaparikkhitvā. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti: bhāssasamācāre ʒhito divasabhāgam pi kathento paññāya upaparikkhitvā yuttakatham eva katheti.

(Sv 892,15ff.)

Here, *mantā* means “understanding”; [used as an instrumental] *mantāya* [it means] “with understanding”. *Mantā* also [means] “having investigated”. This is meant: One who is firm in the [right] way to speak utters only appropriate words after having investigated with understanding, even if he tells what the time of the day is.

Mantā is explained here in two ways, first as a feminine noun “understanding” used as a truncated instrumental,⁴ and second as an absolutive “having investigated”. Based on this analysis, the double *mantā mantā* has, as it seems, been taken in twofold meaning with the first *mantā* interpreted as “with understanding” and the second as “having investigated”. The interpretation of *mantā* as a truncated instrumental of a feminine noun is a stock explanation repeated at various places in the commentaries, while the twofold explanation as feminine instrumental

³ The Sanskrit parallel in *Dīrghāgama* 16 (Prasādanīyasūtra, §6, ed. DiSimone 2020) has no equivalent to *mantā mantā*. I am grateful to Charles DiSimone (Gent) who provided me with his unpublished thesis.

⁴ On such forms see Oberlies 2019, p. 226.

and absolutive is given also at text passages with a single *mantā*.⁵ A feminine noun *mantā* “understanding” is not attested outside Pali exegetical texts and would be difficult to explain.⁶ It rather gives the impression of an artificial explanation, perhaps based on an old misunderstanding, and can be disregarded as a historically correct explanation for the canonical *mantā*. The second gloss with the absolutive *upaparikkhitvā* however, could go back to an older explanation of *mantā* as that what it appears to be, namely an absolutive (see below).⁷

A stanza from the Suttanipāta describes the Buddha’s way to speak in terms that are quite similar to the passage from the Dīgha-nikāya:

musā ca so na bhaṇati,
— iti Sātāgiro yakkho —
atho na khīṇavyappatho,
atho vebhūtiyan nāha, mantā atthaṃ so bhāsati.

Sn 159

“He does not speak falsely,”
 (said the yakkha Sātāgira),
 “and his way of speaking is not rough.
 He does not say what is destructive.
 With reflection, he speaks what is meaningful.”⁸

⁵ Nidd I 346,9ff. ad Sn 916; Mp III 402,23f. ad A III 399,23*; twofold explanation at Pj II 204,22f. ad Sn 159; 402,24ff. ad Sn 455; Vv-a 262,22 ad Vv 63:6. Double *mantā* is attested again only as a variant reading for D III 8,4f. *mattaṃ mattaṃ*, quoted in the Sv and explained in the same manner as above: *mattaṃ mattan ti pamāṇayuttaṃ pamāṇayuttaṃ. mantā mantā ti pi pāṭho; paññāya upaparikkhitvā ti attho.* (Sv 821,1f.; B^e, S^e so; C^e, E^e *mantvā mantvā*) All editions of the canonical text available to me read *mattaṃ mattaṃ*.

⁶ Aside from the commentaries there is Abh 153: *bhūrī mantā ca paññāṇaṃ ṇāṇaṃ vijjā ca yoni ca*, cf. 979: *mantā paññāyam uccate*. The Saddanāti derives *mantā* besides *manta* (Skt *mantra*) from a verbal root *mant-* (*manta guttabhāsaṇe ... mantā manto ... ettha mantā ti paññā, gavesanasaññā ti pi vadanti*; Sadd 539,14ff.).

⁷ It should be noted that the older subcommentary explains the commentary’s gloss *upaparikkhitvā* with the allegedly synonymous absolutive *mantetvā* (from *manteti*, Skt *mantrayate*), thereby suggesting a relation between *mantā* and *mantetvā* which is hardly tenable; see Sv-pt III 95,27ff.: *mantā ti idam mantetvā ti iminā samānatthaṃ nipātapadan ti āha upaparikkhitvā ti*.

⁸ Translation Bodhi 2017; emphasis added. K.R. Norman, in his translation, takes *mantā* here as in all other places in the Suttanipāta as a nominative

A last passage in this context I would like to quote here provides evidence for a negated form *amantā*. In the Subhasutta of the Majjhimanikāya, the Buddha asks the brahmin student Subha about his teachers: *katamā tesam seyyo, yaṃ vā te mantā vācaṃ bhāseyyuṃ, yaṃ vā amantā ti?* “What is better for them, that they would speak after consideration or without consideration?” The answer is, of course: *mantā, bho Gotama*. (M II 202,13ff.) It should be noted that the commentary does not quote the stock explanation, but glosses with two absolutes: *mantā ti tulayitvā parigaṇhitvā*, “*Mantā* [means] having weighed, having considered”. (Ps III 447,14)

Other stanzas from the Suttanipāta are concerned with understanding things right and acting accordingly:

*na brāhmaṇo no 'mhi na rājaputto,
na vessāyano uda koci no 'mhi,
gottaṃ pariññāya puthujjanānaṃ
akiñcano manta carāmi loke.*

Sn 455

I am not a brahmin nor am I a prince;
I am not a vessa or anything else.
Having fully understood the clan of worldlings,
owning nothing, *with reflection* I live in the world.

*mūlaṃ papañcasamkhāyā
— ti Bhagavā —
mantā asmī ti sabbam uparundhe
yā kāci taṇhā ajjhataṃ
tāsaṃ vinayā sadā sato sikkhe.*

Sn 916

“*By reflection*, he should stop [the conceit] ‘I am,’
the entire root of concepts due to proliferation,”
[the Blessed One said].

“Whatever cravings there may be internally,
he should always train mindfully for their removal.”⁹

mantā “a thinker” without giving a reason for his choice (Norman 2015; cf. the note ad 159). He may not have been aware of the passage from the Dīghanikāya in view of which this interpretation seems unlikely, at least for the stanza in question.

⁹ Translations Bodhi 2017; emphasis added. The shortened final in 455b *manta* is due to the metre.

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss a passage that has come down to us in Pali as well as in two other Indian Buddhist idioms (and in part also in Ardhmāgadhī).¹⁰ The Pali runs:

*paṭikacc' eva taṃ kayirā yaṃ jaññā hitam attano
na sākaṭikacintāya mantā dhīro parakkame* (1)
*yathā sākaṭiko panthaṃ*¹¹ *samaṃ hitvā mahāpathaṃ
visamaṃ maggaṃ āruyha akkhacchinno va jhāyati*¹² (2)
*evaṃ dhammā apakkamma adhammam anuvattiya
mando maccumukhaṃ patto akkhacchinno va jhāyati* ti (3)

- (1) Already in advance one should do what one knows is to one's own benefit. A wise one should not *knowingly* strive for the worry of a carter:
- (2) As a carter who has left the main road, [that] even way,¹³ and entered an uneven road, broods when his axle is broken, (3) so the slow-witted person who, having abandoned what is good and

¹⁰S I 57,19*ff. = Mil 66,27*ff. Parallels: PDhp 110–12, Udāna-v 4:16–18, Utt 5:14–15 (corresponding to stanzas 2–3). These stanzas form a fixed triplet, as the parallel versions show. Only in the Saṃyutta-nikāya they are preceded by another triplet that is also found at Dh 66–68. This, as well as the fact that the commentary on the Saṃyutta-nikāya does not comment on the first triplet, but starts rightaway with the first stanza of the second (Spk I 113,14: *dutiye paṭikacc' evā ti*), and the evidence of the parallel versions in the PDhp and Udāna-v where the first and the second triplets are found in different places, suggest that both triplets originally did not belong together, but have been combined at some point in the Saṃyutta-nikāya.

¹¹C^e, E^e *panthaṃ*, B^e (also at Mil) *maṭṭhaṃ*, S^e (also at Mil) *pasatthaṃ*, C^e, E^e, E^{e2} (at Mil) *nāma*.

¹²Spk sees a verb *avajhāyati* here: *akkhacchinno 'vajhāyati ti akkhacchinno avajhāyati, balavacintanaṃ cinteti*. (Spk I 113,14ff.)

¹³As the variants indicate, the text is problematic here. I stick with the reading *panthaṃ* that seems to be reflected in meaning by PDhp 111 *māggaṃ* and Udāna-v 4:17 *mārgaṃ*. Utt 5:14 has *jāṇaṃ* “knowingly” which makes good sense in view of the first stanza that has, however, no counterpart here: *jahā sāgaḍḍo jāṇaṃ samaṃ hiccā mahāpahaṃ* (Utt 5:14a–b), “As a charioteer, who against his better judgement leaves the smooth highway [...]” (Jacobi 1895). The paraphrase in the *ṭīkā* on Spk seems to echo this in negated form: *yathā sākaṭiko ajānītvā visame magge sakaṭaṃ pājento akkhe chinne patikātuṃ [v.l. pakatetuṃ] avisahanto dukkhī dummano balavacintanaṃ cinteti, mahantaṃ cittasantāpaṃ pāpuṇāti, evaṃ adhammavādī maccumukhaṃ patto balavacittasantāpaṃ pāpuṇāti*. (Spk-ṭ I 155,19ff.)

followed what is against the good, has reached the mouth of Death broods as if his axle is broken.¹⁴

Mantā is only one of several ambiguities in these stanzas. Various possibilities of interpretation have been adapted in previous translations, but it rarely becomes clear how the word has been understood by the translators.¹⁵ In my view, the first stanza fits well in the context of considered action, similar to the stanzas quoted above, which is why I understand *mantā* to be an absolute here too. Another ambiguity lies in the oblique case ending *-cintāya* which I took as a dative,¹⁶ while others took it as an instrumental, as is also reflected in the parallel version of the Udānavarga (4:16–18). Here, the first stanza of the triplet runs:

pratiyaty' eva tat kuryād yaj jāned dhitam ātmanah.
na śākaṭikacintābhir mandaṃ dhīraḥ parākramet.

Udāna-v 4:16

¹⁴One could take *akkhacchinno* here as a pun on the same expression in the second stanza: “broods as if his senses are destroyed”. Spk I 113,16f.: *akkhacchinno viya*.

¹⁵Bhikkhu Bodhi takes it explicitly as nominative singular *mantā*: “The thinker, the wise one, should not advance / With the reflection of the carter.” (Bodhi 2000, p. 154) Less clear are W. Geiger, “Nicht soll der einsichtige Weise im Denken mit dem Fuhrmann wetteifern” [“The insightful sage shall not compete in thinking with the carter.”] (Geiger 1930, p. 92), and Bhikkhu Nyānatiloka, “Denke nicht wie manch ein Kärner, / Sondern kämpfe klug und stark.” [“Do not think like some carter, but fight wisely and hard.”] (Nyanatiloka 1985, p. 94). I.B. Horner — “He, who is steadfast in wisdom, in exertion has no ‘carter’s thoughts’” (Horner 1963, p. 91) — with reference to the commentarial explanation of Sn 159 (*mantā* = *paññā*) took *mantādhīro* as a compound. In T.W. Rhys Davids’ rendering, “Not with the carter’s mode of thought, but firm / Let him, with resolution, step right out” (Rhys Davids 1890–94, pp. 102f.), as well as in Finot’s, “Qui’il marche ferme dans la sagesse et non à la manière du charretier” (Finot 1923, p. 115), one cannot recognise how *mantā* was understood.

¹⁶Compare, for example, Vin III 172,31: *yo pana bhikkhu samaggassa saṅghassa bhedāya parakkameyya*, “Should any bhikkhu attempt to cause schism in a united Saṅgha [...]” (Pruitt & Norman 2008, pp. 16/17).

The most serious difference to the Pali is *mandam* instead of *mantā*, but the instrumental *-cintābhir*¹⁷ standing for Pali *-cintāya* also has consequences, since it restricts the scope for interpretation. In this version the second half of the stanza may be translated as:

The wise one should not proceed slowly/cautiously with the thoughts/
anxieties of a carter.

Or, if one does not construe the negation particle *na* with the verb, but with *śākaṭikacintābhir* (which is not unproblematic):

Not with the thoughts of a carter, [but] slowly/cautiously should the
wise one proceed.

As one can see, the line does not allow for a straightforward interpretation. Notwithstanding how one construes the *na*, and whether one takes *mandam* in its basic meaning “slowly”, or rather as “cautiously”,¹⁸ the sense of the simile as expressed in the Pali is hardly recognisable. In the Pali the advice given seems to be clear: One should act prudently and not rush into disaster, as a carter who ruins his axle by leaving the even road for a rugged bypath. How the version in the Udānavarga is to be understood, however, is not clear to me.¹⁹

As already mentioned, this triplet is transmitted in a third Indian version, namely in the so-called Patna Dhammapada (PDhp 110–12). Again, I quote the first stanza only:

*paṭikacc' eva taṃ kayirā yaṃ ṇāyyā hitam āttano
na śākaṭikamanti ssa mantam dhīro parākrame*

PDhp 110

The second half is problematic. Instead of Pali *-cintāya* and Udāna-*-cintābhir*, the PDhp has the unclear *-manti ssa*. M. Cone takes *ssa* either as a sandhi form for an optative 3rd singular *assa*, or as a particle

¹⁷The plural is probably due to metrical reasons since a singular *-cintāyā* would result in the problematic cadence ~ - - -.

¹⁸SWTF s.v. “*behutsam* (?)”.

¹⁹Neither Lévi’s rendering, “Pas d’idées de charretier! Que le sage ne fasse pas effort mollement?” (Lévi 1912, p. 253), nor Hahn’s more literal, “Der Kluge darf nicht unentschlossen sein, mit den Bedenken eines Wagenlenkers” [“The wise one must not be undecided, with the concerns of a charioteer”] (Hahn 2007, p. 25), go well with the simile of the carter.

(Skt *sma*).²⁰ Neither option appears satisfactory to me, nor does a reading as *-mantissa*, but I cannot offer any better solution. More important for my argument is that PDhp *mantam* here agrees with Pali *mantā* in showing unvoiced *-nt-* against voiced *-nd-* in the Udāna-version. However, the transmitted ending *-am* against Pali *-ā* makes it difficult to interpret the reading. Whether this is due to “a version not marking length of vowels or *anusvāra*”, as Cone has suggested, or to a corruption of original **mantā* cannot be decided. There are, however, good reasons to believe that PDhp *mantam* goes back to **mantā* as in the Pali (see below).

After evaluating all occurrences of *mantā* in the Pali canon (most of which have been discussed here) I am of the opinion that in all passages, except for one (see below), an absolutive “after/with reflection” is the preferable interpretation. Even if it appears not unreasonable in some passages to take *mantā* as an agent noun “a thinker”, a careful analysis of context and style rather suggests an absolutive. Take for instance the following passage, again from the Suttanipāta:

*ko ubhantam abhiññāya majjhe mantā na lippati
kaṃ brūsi mahāpuriso ti ko idha sibbanim accagā.*

Sn 1040 c–f

This is followed by another stanza (1042) that answers these three questions in the same wording by replacing the question markers *ko ... kaṃ ... ko* with *so ... taṃ ... so*. Bhikkhu Bodhi renders it in his recent translation with:

Who, having directly known both ends,
by reflection does not get stuck in the middle?
Whom do you call a great man?
Who here has transcended the seamstress?²¹

²⁰Cone 1986, p. 237f.; she translates, “A wise man should not, with the plans of a carter, advance sluggishly. (Or: One should not have the plans of a carter; the wise man should advance after consideration.)” K.R. Norman also suggests *ssa* < Skt *sma* (Norman 2008, p. 10; originally published in 1989).

²¹Translation Bodhi 2017; emphasis added.

In the Aṅguttara-nikāya these two stanzas, combined in one, are quoted as follows:²²

*yo*²³ *ubhante viditvāna majjhe mantā na limpati*
taṃ brūmi mahāpuriso ti so 'dha sibbanim accagā.

A III 399,23*f.

The same translator some years earlier translated:

Having understood both ends,
the wise one does not stick in the middle.
I call him a great man:
he has here transcended the seamstress.²⁴

Here, both interpretations appear equally reasonable, one could even claim that the interpretation as action noun “thinker” may appear even slightly better in the stanza as it is quoted in the Aṅguttara-nikāya. But, if one considers the structure of the stanza in the Suttanipāta an apposition *mantā* “thinker” to the first *ko* would disturb the obviously deliberately chosen series of unqualified questions *ko? kaṃ? ko?* (to which two further have been added in pādas a–b not quoted above) and deprives the passage of much of its rhetorical force.

The only passage where *mantā* is indeed an action noun is found in A IV 103,21: *ko mantā ko saddhātā, ... ti*. Here, *mantā* is used as a periphrastic future: “Who would think, who would believe that ...” Except for this single occurrence of *mantā* in a special usage, an action noun *mantar* seems not to be attested in the Pali canon.

I am now turning to the second word to be discussed here by quoting another stanza that can be compared to different Indian versions. DhP 363 reads:

yo mukhasaññato bhikkhu mantabhāṇī anuddhato
atthaṃ dhammaṃ ca dīpeti madhuraṃ tassa bhāsitaṃ.

DhP 363

²²The text explicitly confirms that the quotation is from the Suttanipāta: *vuttam idaṃ āvuso bhagavatā Pārāyane Metteyyapañhe*. (A III 399,21f.) Note that the text of the Suttanipāta as transmitted in the Sinhalese manuscripts C^k and C^b used by the PTS edition virtually corresponds to the quotation in the Aṅguttara-nikāya.

²³B^e, E^e, S^e *yo*; C^e *so*.

²⁴Translation Bodhi 2012; emphasis added.

The word *mantabhāṇī* occurs in several places in the Pali canon, except in one always in stanzas in the pāda *mantabhāṇī anuddhato* (or plural ... *anuddhatā*),²⁵ and has puzzled both modern and ancient interpreters. To begin with the latter, it suffices to quote just two examples from the commentaries, scil. *mantā vuccati paññā, tāya pana bhaṇanasīlo* (Dhp-a IV 93,7f. ad Dhp 363), and *mantā vuccati paññā, tāya upaparikkhītvā bhaṇatī ti mantabhāṇī* (Th-a I 33,11f. ad Th 2), to see that *manta-* is explained in the same way as *mantā*, namely as an instrumental of a feminine (!) noun.²⁶

Modern interpreters have looked at parallel versions already some time ago. In view of the readings *manabhaṇi* transmitted in the so-called Gāndhārī Dhammapada (GDhp) 54, and *mandabhāṣī* in Udānavarga 8:9, scholars²⁷ have suggested to see Pali *manta-* as a hypercorrect form of original *mand(r)a-*. However, as Levman rightly points out (p. 392), there is a semantic problem. If one takes it as Skt *manda* in its basic meaning “slow” or “weak” one arrives at “speaking slowly/weakly/softly” what is obviously not appropriate, even if one ignores pejorative overtones that the word *manda* frequently has. But, according to the general usage in Sanskrit, also followed in Buddhist texts,²⁸ this is exactly what *manda* means when used in connection with speaking or voice. Already Senart has suggested to take it as “speaking little” (“qui parle peu”) which looks more reasonable. Lüders has proposed to see

²⁵Besides Dhp 363 and the related stanza Ja II 350,17*f. in Sn 850, Th 2 and Thī 281. On the prose passage A III 254,16 see below.

²⁶The Th-a seems to consider an alternative derivation from *manta* (Skt *mantra*) which, as far as I can see, is unparalleled: *mantabhāṇanasena vā bhaṇatī ti mantabhāṇī*. (Th-a I 33,13; E^c erroneously reads *-bhaṇanasena*.)

²⁷H. Lüders referring to a remark by É. Senart and J. Brough; see above, n. 1.

²⁸Cf. pw s.v. “eine schwache, leise Stimme” [“a weak, low voice”]; for Buddhist texts see, e.g., *mṛdubhāṇī mandabhāṇī* (Śikṣāsamuccaya, Bendall 1902, p. 124,18). The Śrāvaka bhūmi includes the term *mandabhāṇī* on the one hand in a list of characteristics of a person with deluded behavior (*moha-caritasya pudgalasya liṅgāni*), but on the other in a list of characteristics of one who is without passion (*vītarāgasya liṅgāni*; Shukla 1973, p. 187,6 and 469,16; in the first place the manuscript reads *mandabhāṅī* which has been emended to *-bhāṣī* in Matsunami 2007, p. 28,9, according to Tibetan *smra ba žan pa*; however, *-bhāṇī* seems preferable).

the oldest word form in **mandra-bhāṇin* meaning “speaking kindly” (“freundlich redend”), but this has been objected to by Brough on phonetical reasons in view of the received GDhp form *mana-* that he expected in this case to be rather **madra-*. Instead, Brough refers to GDhp 237 where *mana-bhaṇi* stands for Pali *mita-bāṇin* (Dhp 227) and feels that “‘speaking in moderation’ is adequate in all the passages quoted”.²⁹ This interpretation is also found in Prajñāvarman’s commentary on the Udānavarga as well as in its Tibetan translation, notwithstanding the semantic ambiguity involved.³⁰

The third parallel version in PDhp 54 could not have been taken into consideration by Brough and the scholars before him because it was not known to them.³¹ The reading *mantābhāṣī* preserved here can be compared to *mantam* in PDhp 110 discussed above where Pali has *mantā*. The evidence of both passages clearly shows that, as in Pali, unvoiced *-nt-* is present in the dialect of the PDhp. We have, therefore, to assume a shared dialectal predecessor for the PDhp and the Pali tradition on the one side, and for the dialect of the GDhp (and Gāndhārī, see below) and the Udāna-v on the other. We also see that PDhp has *mantā-* instead of Pali *manta-* which hints to a connection between Pali *mantabhāṇin* and *mantā*. This connection has been considered seriously first by Levman, and I would like to present some additional evidence here that is important in my opinion.

Above I have quoted some passages that show how Pali *mantā* was used in the context of the correct way to speak what already indicates a

²⁹Brough 1962, p. 249; see p. 98f. (§46) for the peculiar development of *nd > n* in the dialect of the GDhp.

³⁰Udānavargavivarāṇa ad Udāna-v 8:10: *dal bus smra źin [mandabhāṣī] źes bya ba ni ñuñ ñu smra ba yin te*, “‘speaking slowly’ [means] speaking little”; ad 28:8: *dal bus smra ba [mandabhāṣī] źes bya ba ni ñag legs par bsdams pa yin pa’i phyir ro*, “‘speaking slowly’ [is said] because he is well restrained in speech” (Balk 1984, p. 372,30 and 777,24f.); the Tibetan translation in both stanzas of the Udāna-v is *dal bus smra*; cf. also Mvy 2389 (Ishihama 1989) *mandabhāṣyo bhavati*, Tibetan *ñuñ ñu smra ba yin*, “is one who speaks little”.

³¹N.S. Shukla submitted the *editio princeps* of the PDhp in 1964, two years after the publication of Brough’s GDhp edition, as a dissertation to the University of Delhi, and published it as a book as late as 1979 (Shukla 1979); see Dimitrov 2020, p. 71ff., on the discovery and editorial history of the PDhp.

close relation to the expression *mantabhāṇin*. But there is another passage that seems to be of particular significance. In the Aṅguttara-nikāya and the Parivāra occurs a list of the well-known four kinds of good verbal conduct (*vacīsucaritāni*) in the following wording: *saccavācā, apisuṇā vācā, saṅhā vācā, mantābhāsā* (A II 141,8 = 228,16; Vin V 126,38). Despite some variant readings³² the cumulative evidence of the available editions points to *mantābhāsā* with *mantā-* instead of *manta-* as it occurs in *mantabhāṇin* discussed above. Here, *mantābhāsā* stands as a positive term for the list's fourth item that more frequently is put negatively as *samphappalāpā veramaṇī* "abstaining from idle chatter".³³ The commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya gives the standard explanation for *mantā* as a truncated instrumental of a feminine noun meaning "understanding".³⁴ The context of the canonical passage makes it clear that this explanation, even though etymologically unsatisfactory, gives the required meaning for *mantābhāsā* as "judicious speech", the opposite of *samphappalāpā* "idle chatter, meaningless talk", while an interpretation as "moderate speech" fits the context less well. A similar list of the four *vacīsucaritāni* is preserved also in a commentary on the Saṅgītisūtra in Gāndhārī.³⁵

*catvari vāya(sucaritā) <-> (sacava)ya sraṣvavaya mamdabhaśaṭa
apeṣuṇaṭa <-> kim atra vāya <-> mamdasa praṃṇavaṃtasa ·*

³²B^e *mantabhāsā* at A II 141,8; E^e *mantāvācā*, B^e *mantavācā*, C^e *mantābhassam* (< *mantā-* ?) at A II 228,16; Se *mattabhāsā* at Vin V 126,38.

³³Compare, for example, Caillat 1984. The list quoted above finds an echo in Sv 963,7f.: *amusā apisuṇā aphaṛusā mantabhāṇino*.

³⁴Mp III 134,4f.: *mantāsaṅkhātāya paññāya paricchinditvā kathitakathā* (C^e, E^e so; B^e, S^e *manta-*); cf. also the subcommentaries on the Vinaya, Sp-ṭ III 474,1f.: *matiyā upaparikkhitvā bhāsanato*; similar Vjb 559,20: *matiyā bhāsā*; Vmv II 289,1: *mantāya paññāya kathanam*.

³⁵I am grateful to Stefan Baums (Munich) for calling my attention to this, and for providing me with the relevant quotation from the unpublished text (British Library Fragment 15, frames 29–32, CKM 17 in Baums & Glass 2002 foll.; reading and reconstruction Stefan Baums). The Pali Saṅgītisutta and the Sanskrit version have the negatively formulated expressions *samphappalāpā veramaṇī* (D III 232,9) and *saṃbhinnapralāpād viratiḥ* (Saṅgītisūtra § IV.46, quoted from SWTF s.v. *saṃbhinna-pralāpa*).

The parallel to Pali *mantābhāsā* comes as third in the list which is quoted from the text commented on and reads *maṃḍabhaśaṭa*. The commentary itself is extremely concise and, unfortunately, syntactically not clear. It seems that *maṃḍabhaśaṭa* is the only item from the list that is explained, but, if the word division *maṃḍasa pramñāvaṃtasa* is correct, it remains uncertain how the genitive should be construed. However, notwithstanding the unclear construction it seems that *maṃḍa* is explained here in a similar way as *mantā* in the Pali commentaries, namely with “understanding” (*pramñā-*). According to this we can translate the expression *maṃḍabhaśaṭa* with “state of judicious speech”.

This is remarkable in two respects. It shows, first, that there was an exegetical tradition that interpreted the word *manda-* in a Gāndhārī text not as Skt *manda* “slow, weak”, and second, it indicates that the explanation in the Pali commentaries is not exclusive to the Theravādins, but is shared at least with a north-western tradition. Thus, the stock explanation *mantā* = *paññā* = *paññāya* in the Pali commentaries seems to go back to an old tradition. It is tempting to see its origin in a gloss **paññāya* that was originally intended as an absolutive “having understood” (Skt *prajñāya*),³⁶ but was wrongly interpreted as an instrumental of *paññā* which, in turn, gave rise to see in *mantā* a truncated instrumental of a feminine noun.³⁷

To sum up, in view of the evidence gathered together — scil., the semantic overlap between Pali *mantā* and *mantabhāṇin* which is also acknowledged by the commentaries, the testimony of the PDhp, and the Gāndhārī commentary on the Saṅgītisūtra — I would suggest to derive *manta-* in Pali *mantabhāṇin* from the absolutive *mantā*, and understand the whole expression to mean “speaking with/after reflection”. In my view, this interpretation perfectly fits the context of the passages in question. Even the juxtaposition of *bahubhāṇismiṃ puggale* and *manta-bhāṇismiṃ puggale* at A III 254.4ff. does not necessarily mean that *manta-* is to be taken as “moderate”, since “speaking with reflection”

³⁶I cannot quote an instance of an absolutive of *pra√jñā* in any Middle Indic dialect, but cf. forms like *aññāya*, *abhiññāya*, and *pariññāya* in Pali.

³⁷Differently Brough: “Although this *mantā* was later taken as a fem. sg., there is little doubt that the phrase [scil. *mantā vuccati paññā*, M.S.] originally meant it as a nom. pl.: ‘the term “mantras” is used as a synonym for *prajñā*’.”

can just as well be viewed as the opposite to “talking a lot; garrulous” (DoP s.v.). The interpretation as “speaking with reflection” has the further advance to be very near in meaning to the explanation of the commentaries as “speaking with understanding”. The peculiar usage of *mantā* as an adverbial expression, and not as a proper absolutive of a transitive verb that takes an object, as well as the paucity of commonly-used absolutives related to *maññati* in canonical texts, may have contributed to an early misunderstanding that is reflected in the commentaries’ derivation of the word from an alleged feminine noun. However, the “etymological” derivation is only one — and, as so often, a not particularly strong — side of the explanation put forward in the commentaries. The other is the proposed meaning, and here, I fail to understand Lüders’ reservation against the commentaries’ understanding of *mantabhānī* as “speaking with understanding” in view of the stereotyped combination with *anuddhato* “puffed-up, agitated”.³⁸ On the contrary, *mantabhānī anuddhato* “speaking with reflection, not being agitated”, as I understand this phrase, goes together very well. Likewise, the fact pointed out by Brough that *anuddhato* is also found in combination with terms meaning “speaking in moderation”, as, for example, at Th 209 *anuddhato sammitabhāṇi*, is not a convincing argument for reading “the normal sense of *manda*”³⁹ into the expression *mantabhāṇin*.

It remains to explain the form *manda-* (Udāna-v, Gāndhārī Saṅgītī-sūtra, *mana-* in GDhp). Levman assumes an intermediate stage *mantā* > **mandā* produced by a sound change *nt* > *nd* attested for several Prakrits,⁴⁰ which appears plausible to me. I may only add that this “intermediate stage” might well have been identical with the final stage *manda-* in a source that did not mark long and short vowels, and thus opened the way to interpret the word as Skt *manda*, as it seems to have happened at least in the Buddhist Sanskrit version of the Udānavarga.

³⁸Lüders 1954, p. 126: “was hat, weise redend‘ [...] mit, nicht hochfahrend‘ zu tun?”

³⁹Brough 1962, p. 249.

⁴⁰Levman 2014, p. 394. The “*maṇa*, (but with an unexplained retroflex nasal)” mentioned by Levman is not attested in the GDhp. For *nt* > *nd* cf. Pischel 1900, § 275.

How *manabhaṇi* (= *mandabhaṇi*), attested four times in the GDhp, should be understood, notwithstanding its phonetic shape, should be reconsidered in the light of the evidence from the Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary.

APPENDIX

OCCURENCES OF *MANTĀ* AND *MANTABHĀṆIN* IN CANONICAL PALI TEXTS

1. *mantā*: [D III 8,4 v.l. according to Sv 82I,1f.]; D III 106,24; M II 202,13ff. (also *amantā*); S I 57,20* = Mil 66,28*; A II 141,8 = 228,16 = Vin V 126,38 (*mantābhāsā*, v.l. *-vācā*); Sn 159; 455 (*manta* m.c.); 916; 1040/1042, cf. A III 399,23* = 401,25*; Vv 63:6; Nidd I 219,29 (explanatory ad Sn 850); 390,9.⁴¹
2. *mantabhāṇin*: A III 254,16; Dh 363, cf. Ja II 350,17*; Sn 850; Th 2; Thī 281.

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⁴¹ *mantāya(ṃ)* at D II 246,14ff. (*mantāyaṃ bodhabbaṃ kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ*, B^e, C^e so; E^e, S^e *mantāya*; = A IV 136,27ff.: Be *mantāyaṃ*; C^e, E^e, S^e *mantāya*) is a future passive participle in *-tāya* (of the type described by Geiger 1994, §203) related to *maññati* (Skt \sqrt{man}); cf. Mahāvastu III (Marciniak 2019) 268,12: *mantavyaṃ boddhavyaṃ kartavyaṃ kuśalaṃ*. However, the commentaries (Sv 669,10ff.; Mp IV 66,1f.) explain this too as the instrumental of the questionable *mantā*.

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An Index to *JPTS*, Volumes IX–XXXIV

An Index to the Journals of the Pāli Text Society (1882–1927 = Volumes I–VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with an Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This current index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journals since it was revived in 1981. The years of publication are: IX (1981), X (1985), XI (1987), XII (1988), XIII (1989), XIV (1990), XV (1990), XVI (1992), XVII (1992), XVIII (1993), XIX (1993), XX (1994), XXI (1995), XXII (1996), XXIII (1997), XXIV (1998), XXV (1999), XXVI (2000), XXVII (2002), XXVIII (2006), XXIX (2007), XXX (2009), XXXI (2011), XXXII (2015), XXXIII (2018).

Allon, Mark. A Gāndhārī Version of the Simile of the Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke	XXIX.229–62
———. Primoz Pecenko, 1947–2007	XXX.1–3
Anālayo, Bhikkhu. The Buddha’s Truly Praiseworthy Qualities : According to the Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta and Its Chinese Parallel	XXX.137–60
Balbir, Nalini. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1997: Jain– Buddhist Dialogue: Material from the Pāli Scriptures	XXVI.1–42
———. Three Pāli Works Revisited	XXIX.331–65
Bangchang, Supaphan na. A Pāli Letter Sent by the Aggamahāsenāpati of Siam to the Royal Court at Kandy in 1756	XII.185–212
Bareau, André. The Theravādins and East India According to the Canonical Texts	IX.1–9
Baums, Stefan, <i>see</i> Salomon, Richard	
Bechert, Heinz. The Bauddhayāna of Indonesia: A Syncretistic Form of Theravāda	IX.10–21
Blackburn, Anne M. Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections	XXVII.1–59
Bodhi, Bhikkhu. The Susīma-sutta and the Wisdom- Liberated Arahant	XXIX.51–75
———. Susīma’s Conversation with the Buddha: A Second Study of the Susīma-sutta	XXX.33–80

- Braun, Erik, ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82
- Braun, Heinz. The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts XXVII.155–82
Buddhadatta, Aggamahāpaṇḍita Polvatte. XI.155–226
Paramatthavinicchaya by Anuruddha
- Ciurtin, Eugin. A Nobel for the Pali Text Society? XXXII.195–212
T.W. Rhys Davids Writes to the Nobel Commission of the Swedish Academy
- Collins, Steven. *Kalyāṇamitta* and *Kalyāṇamittatā* XI.51–72
———. On the Very Idea of the Pāli Canon XV.89–126
———. The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva XVIII.65–96
———. Remarks on the Third Precept: Adultery and Prostitution in Pāli Texts XXIX.263–84
———. *See also* Denis, Eugène
- Cone, Margaret. Patna Dharmapada. Part I: Text XIII.101–217
———. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1995: Lexicography, Pāli, and Pāli Lexicography XXII.1–34
———. *caveat lector* XXIX.95–106
- Cousins, Lance S. The Paṭṭhāna and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma IX.22–46
———. Bibliography XXXII.7–14
———. Abhidhamma Studies IV: The Saccasaṅkhepa and Its Commentaries XXXIV.19–68
- Crosby, Kate. Sāriputta’s Three Works on the *Samantapāsādikā* XVIII.49–59
———. *Saṅkhepasārasaṅgaha*: Abbreviation in Pāli XXIX.169–74
- Cutler, Sally Mellick. *See* Mellick Cutler, Sally
- Denis, Eugène, and Steven Collins. Braḥ XVIII.1–64
Māleyyadevatthera-vatthu
- Dundas, Paul. A Note on the Heterodox Calendar and a Disputed Reading in the Kālakācāryakathā XXIX.76–92
- Exell, R.H.B. Rūpārūpavibhāga by Buddhadatta XVI.1–12
- Filliozat, Jacqueline. Documents Useful for the Identification of Pāli Manuscripts of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand XVI.13–54
———. A Survey of Burmese and Siamese Pāli XIX.1–41

- Manuscript Collections in the Wellcome Institute
- . The Commentaries to the Anāgatavaṃsa in the Pāli Manuscripts of the Paris Collections XIX.43–63
- . Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscript Collections in Burmese and Siamese Characters Kept in the Library of Vijayasundarārāmayā, Asgiriya XXI.135–191
- . Survey of the Pāli Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford XXIV. 1–80
- . Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library XXVI.139–60
- Gethin, Rupert. Mythology As Meditation: From the Mahāsudassana Sutta to the Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra XXVIII. 63–112
- . What’s in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya XXIX.367–89
- . Lance Selwyn Cousins, 1942–2015 XXXII.1–5
- . A Note on the Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta and Its Commentary XXXII.233–52
- . Steven Collins, 1951–2018 XXIV. 1–10
- Gombrich, Richard F. A New Theravādin Liturgy IX.47–73
- . Old Bodies Like Carts XI.1–3
- . Three Souls, One or None: The Vagaries of a Pāli Pericope XI.73–78
- . Two Notes on Visuddhimagga IX:1. The Etymology of *Puggala*; 2. An Imperfect Form in Pāli XII.169–71
- . A Note on Ambapālī’s Wit XV.139–40
- . Making Mountains without Molehills: The Case of the Missing Stūpa XV.141–43
- . Why Is a *Khattiya* Called a *Khattiya*? The Aggañña Sutta Revisited XVII.213–14
- . The Monk in the Pāli Vinaya: Priest or Wedding Guest? XXI.193–213
- . Report of the Pāli Text Society for 1994 XXI.215–17
- Grey, Leslie. Supplement to the *Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories* XXIV.103–47
- Hallisey, Charles. Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-canonical *Sutta* XV.155–95
- . A Propos the Pāli Vinaya As a Historical XV.197–208

- Document: A Reply to Gregory Schopen
- . *Nibbānasutta*: An Allegedly Non-canonical *Sutta* on *Nibbāna* As a Great City XVIII.97–130
- Hara, Minoru. A Note on *vinaya* XXIX.285–311
- Hazlewood, Ann Appleby. A Translation of *Pañcagatidīpanī* XI.133–59
- . *Saddhammopāyana*: The Gift Offering of the True Dhamma XII.65–68
- Hinüber, Oskar von. The Ghost Word *Dvīhitika* and the Description of Famines in Early Buddhist Literature IX.74–86
- . Two *Jātaka* Manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok X.1–22
- . The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milindapañha* XI.111–19
- . An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milindapañha* XII.173–74
- . Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the Eighteenth Century XII.175–83
- . *Khandhakavatta*: Loss of Text in the Pāli *Vinayapiṭaka*? XV.127–38
- . The Arising of an Offence: *Āpattisamuṭṭhāna* XVI.55–69
- . The *Nigamanas* of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī* XXI.129–33
- . Chips from Buddhist Workshops: Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand XXII.35–57
- . The *Paramatthajotikādīpanī*, a Fragment of the Sub-commentary to the *Paramatthajotikā* II on the *Suttanipāta* XXIII.27–41
- . *Tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti* Again XXVI.71–75
- . *Lān² Nā* as a Centre of Pāli Literature during the Late 15th Century XXVI.119–37
- . Preface XXIX.ix–xiv
- . *See also* Mettanando Bhikkhu.
- . The Verb **addhabhavati* as an Artificial Formation XXXII.213–27
- . An Old Colophon Preserved: The *Tipiṭaka* of *Ñāṇavaṃsa* and *Sobhaggasiri* XXXII.229–39

- Horner, Isaline Blew. *Keci* “Some” in the Pāli Commentaries X.87–95
- Hundius, Harald. The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand XIV.1–173
- Hüsken, Ute. The Legend of the Establishment of the Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-piṭaka XXVI.43–69
- Jackson, P. A Note on Dhammapāla(s) XV.209–11
- . The Canonicity of the Netti and Other Works XXVIII. 61–62
- Jaini, Padmanabh S. *Tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti* and the Bodhisattva Path IX.96–104
- . A Note on *micchādiṭṭhi* in Mahāvamsa XXIX.153–68
- Jong, Jan Willem de. Fa-Hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon IX.105–15
- Jurewicz, Joanna. Playing with Fire: The *Pratītya-samutpāda* from the Perspective of Vedic Thought XXVI.77–103
- Kahrs, Eivind G. Exploring the Saddanīti XVII.1–212
- . Commentaries, Translations, and Lexica: Some Further Reflections on Buddhism and Philology XXIX.137–51
- Kalupahana, D.J. The Philosophy of History in Early Buddhism IX.117–26
- Khantipālo, Bhikkhu. Where’s That *sutta*? A Guide to the Discourses in the Numerical Collection (Aṅguttara-nikāya) X.37–153
- . *See also* Laurence C.R. Mills
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra. Stretching the Vinaya Rules and Getting Away with It XXIX.1–49
- . The Law of Theft: Regulations in the Theravāda Vinaya and the Law Commentaries XXXI.1–56
- . “And there is this stanza in this connection”: The Usage of *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ etha* in Pāli Commentarial Literature XXXII.15–162
- Kourilsky, Gregory. Writing Pali Texts in 16th century Lan Na (Northern Thailand) : The Life and Work of Sirimaṅgala (Part I) XXXIV.69–112
- Lamotte, Étienne. The Gāravasutta of the Saṃyutta-nikāya and Its Mahāyānist Developments IX.127–44

- Ledi Sayadaw. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82
- Lienhard, Siegfried. On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring XXIX.409–22
- . Corrigenda et postscriptum for “On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring” XXX.177–78
- Lighthiser, Timothy P. *Nāmadhātusūcī* : An Annotated Index of Denominative Verbs in Pāli XXXIV.251–311
- Liyanaratne, Jinadasa. Pāli Manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library XVIII.131–47
- . South Asian Flora As Reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* XX.43–161
- . A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for the History of Indian Medicine XXII.59–72
- . Sri Lankan Manuscriptology XXVIII.39–48
- Lottemoser, Friedgard. Minor Pāli Grammar Texts : the Saddabindu and Its “New” Subcommentary XI.79–109
- Manné, Joy. Categories of *Sutta* in the Pāli Nikāyas and Their Implications for Our Appreciation of the Buddhist Teaching and Literature XV.29–87
- . Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I : The Sāmaññaphala Sutta Hypothetical Case History or How to Be Sure to Win a Debate XXI.1–34
- . Case Histories from the Pāli Canon II : *Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmin, Anāgāmin, Arahat* – the Four Stages Case History or Spiritual Materialism and the Need for Tangible Results XXI.35–28
- Matsumura, Junko. Remarks on the Rasavāhīnī and the Related Literature XXV.153–70
- Mellick Cutler, Sally. The Pāli *Apadāna* Collection XX.1–42
- Mettanando Bhikkhu & O. von Hinüber. The Cause of the Buddha’s Death XXVI.105–17
- Mills, Laurence C.R. The Case of the Murdered Monks XVI.71–75
- . *See also* Bhikkhu Khantipālo
- Mori, Sodo. *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* and *Sārasamāsa* XII.1–47
- . Recent Japanese Studies in the Pāli XXIX.175–90

Commentarial Literature

- Nihom, Max. Kāmaloka: A Rare Pāli Loan Word in Old Javanese XX.163–70
- Nolot, Édith. Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms I–III (1. *saṃgha-kamma*; 2. *adhikaraṇa*; 3. *mānatta, parivāsa, abbhāna*) XXII.73–150
- . Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms IV–X (4. The disciplinary procedures of *tajjanīya*-°, *nissaya*-°, *pabbājanīya*-°, *paṭisāraṇīya*-°, and threefold *ukkhepanīya-kamma* (n.); 5. *Nissāraṇā* (f.)/*nissāraṇīya* (n.), *osāraṇā* (f.)/*osāraṇīya* (n.); 6. *Nāsanā* (n.f.), “expulsion”; 7. *Daṇḍa-kamma* (n.), “punishment”; 8. *Pakāsaniya-kamma* (n.), “procedure of proclamation”; 9. *Patta-nikkujanā*/^o*-ukkujanā* (n. f.), “turning down/up the alms-bowls”) XXV.1–111
- Norman, K.R. Devas and Adhidevas in Buddhism IX.145–55
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies III: Ten Pāli Etymologies X.23–36
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies IV: Eleven Pāli Etymologies XI.33–49
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies V: Twelve Pāli Etymologies XII.49–63
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VI: Six Pāli Etymologies XIII.219–27
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII: Five Pāli Etymologies XIV.219–25
- . Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XIV XIV.227f.
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VIII: Seven Pāli Etymologies XV.145–54
- . Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XV XV.213f.
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies IX: Four Pāli Etymologies XVI.77–85
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies X: Two Pāli Etymologies XVII.215–18
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies XI: Six Pāli Etymologies XVIII.149–64

———. Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XVIII	XVIII.177–80
———. External Sandhi in Pāli (with Special Reference to the Suttanipāta)	XIX.203–13
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies XII: Ten Pāli Etymologies	XX.211–30
———. Book Review (<i>Catalogue of the Burmese–Pāli and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine</i>)	XXVI.161–64
———. Index of Grammatical Points Discussed in the Notes to <i>Elders' Verses I</i>	XXVI.165–68
———. The Anāgatavaṃsa Revisited	XXVIII. 1–37
———. On Translating Literally	XXX.81–97
———. Bibliography	XXX.99–135
Oberlies, Thomas. Pāli, Pāṇini and “Popular” Sanskrit	XXIII.1–26
———. A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhaṇḍa Jātaka	XXVII.115–46
———. The <i>h</i> -Future of Pāli with Random Notes on “Historical” and “Irregular” Future Forms	XXXII.163–94
Pecenko, Primoz. Sāriputta and His Works	XXIII.159–79
———. Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā: The <i>Purāṇaṭīkā</i> s and the <i>Ṭīkā</i> s on the Four Nikāyas	XXVII.61–113
———. The History of the Nikāya Subcommentaries (<i>ṭīkā</i> s) in Pāli Bibliographic Sources	XXX. 5–32
Penth, Hans. Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on the History of Lān Nā's Buddhism	XXIII.43–81
Pind, Ole Holten. Studies in Pāli Grammarians I: Buddhaghosa's References to Grammar and Grammarians	XIII.33–81
———. Studies in Pāli Grammarians II.1	XIV.175–218
———. Pāli Grammar and Grammarians from Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi: A Survey	XXXI.57–124
Pruitt, William. References to Pāli in Seventeenth-Century French Books	XI.119–31
———. Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	XIII.1–31
———. Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the	XXIV.171–83

- Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- . The Career of Women Disciple Bodhisattas XXIX.391–407
- , ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82
- Rahula, Walpola. Humour in Pali Literature IX.156–74
- Roock, A. Index of K.R. Norman's *Collected Papers I–VII* XXVI.169–231
- Ruegg, David Seyfort. A Further Note on Pāli *Gotrabhū* IX.175–77
- Ruiz-Falqués, Aleix. Boundaries and Domains: Understanding Optionality in Buddhapiya's *Rūpasiddhi* XXXIV. 227–50
- Saddhatissa, Hammalava. Pāli Literature in Cambodia IX.178–97
- . Nāmarūpasamāso: The Summary of Mind and Matter XI.5–31
- . Nāmacāradīpaka XV.1–28
- Salomon, Richard, and Stefan Baums. Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pāli *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Ismaho* XXIX.201–27
- Schmithausen, Lambert. On Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra VII.1 XXIX.199–200
- Schnake, Javier. Pali *ekakkharas* Revisited XXXIV.125–49
- Schopen, Gregory. The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya XIII.83–100
- . The Ritual Obligations and the Donor Roles of Monks XVI.87–107
- . The Buddhist *Bhikṣu*'s Obligation to Support His Parents in Two Vinaya Traditions XXIX.107–36
- Silk, Jonathan A. A Small Problem of Tense and Person: Dhammapada 306 and Its Parallels XXX.161–76
- . Kern and the Study of Indian Buddhism: With a Speculative Note on the Ceylonese Dhammarucikas XXXI.125–54
- Skilling, Peter. The Raksā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna XVI.109–82
- . A Citation from the *Buddhavaṃsa of the Abhayagiri School XVIII.165–75
- . Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation XIX.69–201
- . Vimuttimaggā and Abhayagiri: The Form-Aggregate According to the Saṃskṛtāsāṃskṛtaviniścaya XX.171–210
- . The *Sambuddhe* verses and Later Theravāda XXII.150–83

- Buddhology
- . On the School-Affiliation of the “Patna Dhammapada” XXIII.83–122
- . New Pāli Inscriptions from South-East Asia XXIII.123–57
- . A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya XXIV.81–101
- . A Note on Dhammapada 60 and the Length of the *Yojana* XXIV.149–70
- . Praises of the Buddha Beyond Praise XXIV.195–200
- . The Sixty-Four Destructions According to the Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya XXV.112–18
- . On a New Edition of the Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakatṭhakathā XXVII.155–58
- . Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia XXVII.159–75
- . Jātaka and Paññāsa-jātaka in South-East Asia XXVIII.113–73
- . Zombies and Half-Zombies: Mahāsūtras and Other Protective Measures XXIX.313–30
- Somarathe, G.A. Intermediate Existence and the Higher Fetters in the Pāli Nikāyas XXV.119–52
- Sørensen, Jørgen Podemann. Dr phil. Ole Holten Pind, 1945–2018 XXXIV.11–18
- Stargardt, Janice. The Oldest Known Pāli Texts, Fifth–Sixth Century. Results of the Cambridge Symposium on the Pyu Golden Pāli Text from Śrī Kṣetra, 18–19 April 1995 XXI.199–213
- Straube, Martin. Theragāthā 168 XXXIV.151–54
- . Pali *mantā* and *mantabhāṇin* XXXIV.313–30
- Thiradhammo Bhikkhu. Corrections to *The Book of the Discipline* XIX.65–68
- Warder, A.K. Some Problems of the Later Pāli Literature IX.198–207
- Wiles, Royce, et al. The Pāli Tipiṭaka Recension Carved on the Kuthodaw Pagoda Stelae and Its Relation to Other Burmese Versions XXIV.155–226

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In keeping with the aim of the Pali Text Society to foster and promote the study of Pali texts, the Council of the PTS invites applications for PTS Research Grants from suitably qualified persons working in the field of Pāli studies. Applicants' research will normally be expected to lead towards material suitable for publication by the PTS, and conditions of any grant awarded will be that the PTS has first option on the publication rights of the research and holds the copyright of any material it publishes.

Applications should be submitted by 28 February and 31 August of each year for consideration by the Council of the PTS in March and September respectively. Applicants are asked to submit (1) a statement briefly outlining their research project (two A4 pages with an appendix if necessary) clearly stating the purpose of their research, indicating a timetable for its completion, and stating whether they will be working on the project full-time or part-time, (2) a CV, (3) the names of two academic referees, (4) a statement of their financial circumstances. Grants will not normally be awarded to those in full-time academic employment.

Grants may be awarded to cover a period of research (full-time or part-time) up to a maximum of one year, but with a possibility of renewal. Applications should be sent either by email (pts@palitext.com) or by post to the President of the Pali Text Society, Pali Text Society, Old Market Studios, 68 Old Market Street, Bristol, BS2 0EJ, U.K.

The *Journal of the Pali Text Society* originally appeared between 1882 and 1927. It was revived in 1981 and since then new volumes have been published regularly. The front cover shows the first page of a Pali manuscript of the *Majjhima-nikāya* from the U Pho Thi Library, Myanmar.



T. W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922)

The Pali Text Society was founded in 1881 by T.W. Rhys Davids ‘to foster and promote the study of Pali texts’. It publishes Pali texts, translations and ancillary works including dictionaries, grammars and a journal. The Society is non-profit making and depends on the sale of its publications, on members’ subscriptions and on the generosity of donors. For information on membership and publications visit the website.

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