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

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

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

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

Pāli MSS. are kept in nine different collections:

1. Deposited collection

There is a series of MSS. placed temporarily in the Library and not strictly in its possession: a summary catalogue is given under the shelfmark **Dep. Stol.** on revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993.

2. MS. Asiat. Misc.**3. MS. Burmese**

See under 6. MS. Pali

4. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali & MS. Ind. Inst. Sinhalese

Collections of the Indian Institute, Oxford

5. MS. Ouseley

For Ouseley collection A. D. 1844, see

—*Catalogue of several hundred Manuscript works in various oriental languages collected by Sir William Ouseley*, London 1831

—S.C. vol IV 1897, p. 671 under n°23083 **308** and p. 673 under

n°23190 **415-416**

n°23191 **417**

n°23192 **418**

6. MS. Pali

For Pali collection, see

—S.C. vol V 1905 p. 928, accessions 1844 formerly belonging to Ouseley collection (I have selected the MSS. which are) really in Pāli) under

n°30900a = MS. Pali a. 1 (Kammavācā)

n°30900b = MS. Pali a. 2 (do)

n°30900c = MS. Pali a. 3 (do)

n°30900g = MS. Pali a. 8 (do)

n°30900h = MS. Pali a. 9 (do)

n°30900i = MS. Pali a. 10 (Samanta Pāsādikā)

n°30900j = MS. Pali a. 11 (do)

n°30900k = MS. Pali a. 12(R) (Vimativinodani)

n°30900m = MS. Pali a. 14 (R) (Temi Jātaka)

n°30900o = MS. Pali a. 16 (Athasālinī)

n°30900p = MS. Pali a. 17 (Dhātukathā)

n°30900q = MS. Pali a. 19 (R) (Saddasāratthajālinī)

n°30900r = MS. Pali a. 20 see n° 31294, below

n°30900s = MS. Pali a. 21 (R) (Vessantara Jātaka)

n°30900t = MS. Pali a. 22

n°30900u = MS. Pali a. 23

n°30900v = MS. Pali a. 24

n°30900w = MS. Pali a. 25

n°30900x = MS. Pali b. 2(R) (Janananda)

n°30900z = MS. Pali b. 5

For the other Burmese, Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese MSS. collections, see

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 32 (corrections p. xii), accessions 1890-91 under

n°31294 = MS. Pali a. 20(R) (Comm. on *Suttapiṭaka*)

n°31295 = MS. Pali a. 38(R) (fragment of *Bahudhātukasutta*, &c.) olim MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)

n°31296 = MS. Pali b. 15(R) (A *bhidhammatthasaṅgaha*)

n°31297 = MS. Pali b. 16(R) (*Sāvatti niḍāna*)

n°31298 = MS. Pali b. 17(R) (*Dhammaddesakathā*) olim MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

n°31299 = MS. Pali b. 19(R) (*Suttas*, fragm.)

n°31301 = MS. Pali b. 18(R) (Pāli and Sinhalese)

n°31302 = MS. Sanskr. c. 122(R) (medical, Sanskrit and Sinhalese)

n°31304 = MS. Sanskr. c. 125(R) (*Vaidyālaṅkāra*, Sanskrit and Pāli)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 56, accessions 1892 under

n°31482 = MS. Pali b. 7 (*Jātaka*)

n°31483 = MS. Pali e. 2

n°31484 = MS. Pali e. 3

n°31485 = MS. Pali e. 4

n°31486 = MS. Pali e. 5

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 78-79, (corrections p. xvi), accessions 1893 under

n°31602 = MS. Pali a. 33 (*Anuvanṇanā* of the *Pātimokkha*) (!) olim MS. Burm. a. 3

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 pp. 144-45, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions 1896 under

n°32355 = MS. Burm. a. 4(R) (Nemi-jātaka)

n°32356 = MS. Pali g. 1(R) (extracts from the Tripitaka) olim
MS. Burm. g. 1(R)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 160, accessions 1897 under

n°32537 = MS. Pali a. 32(R)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 175, (corrections pp. xxi-xxii), accessions 1896
under

n°32596 = MS. Pali a. 34 (Kammavācā)

n°32597 = MS. Pali a. 35 (do., on ivory)

n°32598 = MS. Pali a. 36 (do.)

n°32599 = MS. Pali a. 37 (do.)

n°32600 = MS. Pali b. 10(R) (Vidhurajātaka)

n°32601 = MS. Pali b. 11 (Mahosathajātaka-vatthu)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 209, accessions 1900 under

n°32925 = MS. Pali b. 12

n°32926 see n°32356, above

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 231, accessions 1902 under

n°33176 = MS. Pali a. 39(R)

n°33177 = MS. Pali b. 13(R)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 245, accessions 1903 under

n°33358 = MS. Pali a. 40

n°33359 = MS. Pali a. 41

n°33360 = MS. Pali a. 42

n°33362 = MS. Pali a. 44

n°33363 = MS. Pali a. 45

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 257, accessions 1904 under

n°33510 = MS. Pali b. 14 (Satipaṭṭhānasutta)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 306, accessions 1908 under

n°34170 = MS. Sinh. a. 4 (Satipaṭṭhānasutta)

n°34172 = MS. Sinh. b. 4(R) (Parābhavasutta)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 324, accessions 1909 under

n°34688 = MS. Pali a. 46(R)

n°34689 = MS. Pali a. 47(R)

n°34690 = MS. Pali a. 48(R) (Kammavācā)

n°34691 = MS. Pali c. 3(R) (Bālapaṇḍitasutta)

—S.C. vol VI, 1924 p. 347, accessions 1910 under

n°35297 = MS. Pali a. 49(R)

7. MS. Sanskrit

See under 6.

8. MS. Sinhalese

See under 6.

9. MS. Wilson

Wilson MSS., A. D. 1842 (we give in bold, actual shelf-marks as stated in this catalogue) see:

—Aufrecht Th. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Sanscritorum*, Oxford 1864 p. 363-64 and p. 374

—S. C. 1897, p. 644 under

n°22162. **51** = Quarto Series of Catalogues viii (Sanskrit) p. 363

(Pāli-Burmese Lexicon)

n°22165. **54** = Quarto Series p. 364 (Pāli-Hindustānī lexicon)

n°22166. **55** = " p. 364 (Pāli-Burmese Jātaka, &c.)

n°22167. **56** = " p. 364 (Abhidhammapiṭaka, in Pāli and Burmese)

n°22415. **304** = " p. 374 (copy of n° 22165 above)

As a by-product of their researches, a number of celebrated scholars attempted to identify and classify the Pāli manuscripts. They produced tentative listings which were very incomplete. According to Frankfurter and Childers 1880, Frankfurter 1882 and those who followed them: Pe Maung Tin 1925 & Pearson 1971, there are only 34 Pāli manuscripts in the Bodleian. Recently my colleague Dr Jinadasa Liyanaratne has drawn my attention to a number of Pāli items included in the listing of the Sinhalese collection and encouraged me to describe these hitherto unidentified works (Liyanaratne 1991 & 1992). Some of

the choicer items I describe here were included in a summer exhibition at the Bodleian Library. Following the leaflet entitled *Catalogue of the Summer Exhibition of Important Recent Acquisitions, 19 June to 26 August 1995* issued in connection with the exhibition, we may list these items: n° 29 Abhidhamma MS. Asiat. misc. a. 34(R); n°30 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 128; n°31 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 109; n°32 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 103; n°33 Kammavācā Dep. Stol. 114; n°34 Sinhalese alphabet MS. Pali a. 38(R); n°36 Upāsakajanālaṅkārapāli MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R); n°37 Phra Malai Dep. Stol. 111; n°38 Brahmajālasutta MS. Pali a. 27(R).

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Adrian D. S. Roberts, the Keeper of Oriental books, Bodleian Library, who offered all facilities for the consultation of MSS. and gave his consent for the publication of this catalogue, kindly translating my French into English and improving my computer print-out survey, at a time when few persons in Europe are prepared to concern themselves with the care and proper listing of Pāli source material.

My warmest thanks go to Beatrice Chrystall, Dr. Sally Cutler-Mellick, Kate Crosby, Dr. Gillian Evison and Andrew Skilton for generously giving guidance.

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

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

Abbreviations & Bibliography

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

Bechert 1979 Burmese manuscripts. Pt. 1. Compiled by H. Bechert [and others]. (VOHD, Bd 23, i) Wiesbaden, 1979

Braun 1985 Burmese manuscripts. Pt. 2. Compiled by H. Braun & Tin Tin Myint. (VOHD, Bd 23, ii) Stuttgart, 1985

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

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

Frankfurter & Childers 1880 *Classified List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* [Manuscript handlist referenced Z. Fol. 1c, kept in the Oriental reading Room, Bodleian Library], Oxford, December 1880. [The MSS. marked + have been described by the

late Professor Childers and his description has been entered verbally in the catalogue, offering some complementary details to the published list. Large in-fol. bound in black, ruled paper, Queen Victoria watermarks, Cansell 1844, foll. 9 written on recto only, 30 lines, described in English.

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

JBRS *Journal of the Burma Research Society*

JPTS *Journal of the Pali Text Society*

Liyanaratne 1991 Jinadasa Liyanaratne, "Sinhala palm-leaf manuscripts in the Bodleian Library", *Bodleian Library Record*, XIII, pp. 514-518

Liyanaratne 1992 Jinadasa Liyanaratne, "Sri Lankan Medical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford", *The Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, vol 2, 1992 pp. 36-53

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

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

Pe Maung Tin 1925 "Burma MSS. in the Bodleian Library Oxford" *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XV(2), 1925, pp. 145-147

PTS Pali Text Society

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 103**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 109**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 111

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

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered); 670 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 12 paired illustrations (some unusual) in the margins, 280 x 165mm + 1 ill. full page; a single one brown lacquered cover, then painted in green, brown edges; (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris¹)

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 112

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

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 47 folds (not numbered); 660 x 140mm; 5 lines, 45 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 11 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 180mm; a single one brown lacquered cover, brown edges; (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 113

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

¹*Répertoire des textes pālis dans les manuscrits illustrés de la Péninsule indochinoise, Collections françaises et britanniques*, EFEO DATA Paris. For consultation of this Data base: Bibliothèque de l' Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 22, Avenue du Président-Wilson, 75116, Paris, France.

Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. [Sahassaneyya]

3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 50 folds (not numbered); 655 x 140mm; 5 lines, 53 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink & in gold; Kham script; 17 paired ill. in the margins, 280 x 180 to 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. Some insect damage. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 114

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 650 x 150mm; 6 lines, 28 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 570 mm; numb. Burmese letters; very fine gilded and red painted decorations, fol 1a illustrating 2 scenes of the Vessantarajātaka (Vessantara leaving his palace for the hermit life is shown with his wife and their 2 children on a chariot, horse and 2 attendants; then follows the scene in which the 2 children are handed over to Jūjaka); fol 16b illustrating scenes of Cetuttapabhatuiñ: prañ kruñ; 2 gilded and red lacquered wooden covers, fine decorations on the outside.

Date: BS. 1296 = 1934 A.D.—On revocable deposit from Mr R. L. Stolper, by agreement of 27 July 1993

BODL. Dep. Stol. 128

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth or thick *khoi* paper?, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 9 (ka-[ko]); 540 x 102mm; 5 lines, 24 char., old square Burmese large script, 465 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers, 1st and

last foll. black lacquered and gilded; fol 12a, Burmese colophon. Some foll. damaged.

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 129

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, black lacquered and silvered; foll. 10 (ka-[ko]); 500 x 82mm; 5 lines, 25 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, unusual punctuation; 460 mm; no numb.; no covers, 1st and last foll. red lacquered, silvered, decorated with red and gilded motifs; 1st fol, margins damaged but text complete.

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 196

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 572 x 132mm; 6 lines, 38 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 542 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, outside carved into a frame with in addition a fine work of relief-moulded *thayō* with glass-inlay *hman-zi shwei-chā* decoration. Sumptuously produced.

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 197

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 198

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. Dep. Stol. 199

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

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

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna
2. Māleyya (in Siamese)
3. [Sa]hassaneyya

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 51 folds (not numbered, in pencil European figures 1-199); 665 x 140mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 17 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

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

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. **Māleyya** (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 50 folds (not numbered, in pencil European figures 1-194); 665 x 145mm; 5 lines, 40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham & Siamese scripts; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 295 x 200mm; 2 light brown lacquered and green covers, brown edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

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

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

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. [Sahassaneyya] fragment

3. **Māleyya** (in Siamese)

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

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

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

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract
CPD. 1.1

3. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1

4. Māleyya (in Siamese)

5. [Paritta] Mahākassapabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVII); Mahāmoggallānabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVIII); Mahācundattherabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XIX)

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 18(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 19(R)

Kammavācā Pāli-Laotian nissaya CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 20(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 21(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (ga-ghī); 580 x 61mm; 5 lines, 56 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; red lacquered then gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold with floral motifs, inside black lacquered.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 22(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (1-26); 532 x 60mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 450 mm; numb. name of figures written in Tham letters up to "dasa", then 11 up to 26 in Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered

wooden covers on the outside, decorated in gold and green with floral motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R)

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract, CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract, CPD. 2.1
3. Sahassaneyya
4. [Abhidhammadātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

5. Māleyya (in Siamese)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 49 folds (not numbered); 660 x 142mm; 5 lines, 30-35 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 10 paired ill. in the margins, 285 x 175mm; 2 brown lacquered covers and edges. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEQ DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased from R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract, CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract, CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammadātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna
4. Māleyya (in Siamese)
5. [Paritta] Mahākassapabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVII); Mahā-moggallānabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XVIII); Mahācundattherabojjhāṅga CPD 2.9.1(XIX); Girimānanda CPD 2.9.1(XX); Isigilisutta CPD 2.9.1(XXI)

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 38 folds (not numbered); 720 x 168mm; 5 lines, 25-40 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham script; 11 paired ill. in the margins, 340 x 190mm; a single one lacquered cover and edges. Perfectly restored ms. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date (19th c.)—Purchased from R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-kho); 590 x 55mm; 4 lines, 42 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 27(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka, kha, ga, gha ... dha); 562 x 60mm; 5 lines, 48 char. large Laotian Tham script, 485 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 gilded wooden covers, painted in black, red, gold and brown with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (no numbering); 595 x 60mm; 5 lines, 56 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 550 mm; black lacquered and gilded edges, 2 wooden covers, black lacquered, gilded and painted in black with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 30(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 19 (1-15); 620 x 65mm; 5 lines, 80 char. medium Laotian Tham script, 520 mm; numb. Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 31(R)**Kammavācā** fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (kha-khu); 600 x 58mm; 5 lines, 40 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers on the outside only, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs, inside plain black lacquered.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 32(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 24 (ka-khe); 585 x 60mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 465 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded and paint in black with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 33(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 17 (1-16); 595 x 62mm; 5 lines, 45 char. large Laotian Tham script, 505 mm; numb. Tham figures; gilded edges, 2 dark brown lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 34(R)

[Abhidhammātikā] Pāli-Laotian nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 8 (1-7); 550 x 52mm; 5 lines, 82 char. small Laotian Tham script, 500 mm; numb. Laotian figures; red lacquered and gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with floral motifs on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 35(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (ka-khē); 585 x 58mm; 5 lines, 36 char. large Laotian Tham script, 460 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 36(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka, kha, ga, gha...da / 1- 18); 560 x 52mm; 5 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 480 mm; numb. Tham letters and Laotian figures; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded floral motifs on the outside only.

Date: BS. 1147? = 1785 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 37(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 16 (ka missing, khā-gī); 650 x 55mm; 4 lines, 38 char. large Laotian Tham script, 490 mm; numb. Tham letters; gilded edges, 2 black lacquered wooden covers, gilded with floral motifs on the outside only.

Date: BS. 1188? = 1826 A.D.?—Donated by R. L. Stolper, 1993

BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 38(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

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

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
2. Mahābuddhaguṇā
3. [Abhidhammātikā] (bis) Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahāpaṭṭhāna
4. [Sahassaneyya]
5. Paṃsukūla

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

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

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

1. Horoscope, Iti pi so... & various yantras & mantras
2. Indasāva
3. Mahāpaṭṭhāna fragment

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

illustrations & diagrams sometimes coloured black, yellow, red.

No date—Purchased Asian Arts, Ltd., 1990

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 4(R)

[Nemijātaka]—Nemijāt nissaya fragment Pāli-Burmese
nissaya CPD.2.5.10

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

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

BODL. MS. Burmese a. 14(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2.16

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

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

BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

1. **[Kaccāyana] Pāli grammar** CPD. 5.1

2. **Cariyāpiṭaka** CPD. 2.5.15 Pāli-Burmese nissaya

3. **Cariyāpiṭaka aṭṭhakathānām— [Paramatthadīpanī
VII]**

CPD. 2.5.15.1 Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 109 (ka-jū) + 68 (ka-nū) + 268 (ka-phe); 492 x 56mm;
2 cord holes; 9 lines, 52 char. medium Burmese script, 380 mm; numb.
Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 raw
wooden covers inscribed in Burmese in brown paint by an unlettered

hand. In the box, a fly label in English, incorrect for this ms.: "A book on Science? taken from a Buddhist Monastery in Burmah 1764 A.D."

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

BODL. Ms. Burmese b. 7(R)

Paritta CPD 2.9,1 and horoscope? Pāli-Burmese

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

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

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

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā fragment CPD. 2. 5. 2,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 31 (ma-yah); 540 x 50mm; 5 lines, 55 char. medium and small mūl script, 450 mm; numb. mūl letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; margins and text: many emendations and additions in ink; no covers, but wrapped in a gorgeous red and blue cotton cloth woven with mango and floral decoration in gilded thread. (Phūk 13, contains: mahādhanabāṇijavatthu, kīsāgotamī°, paṭācārā°, (maggavaggavaṇṇanā), kukkuṭaṇḍakhādikavatthu, baddhiyabhikkhu°, vajjiputtaka°)

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

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

[Dīghanikāya] CPD. 2. 1

1. Sut Silakkam pālitō [Silakkhandhavagga]
2. Sut Mahāvā pālitō [Mahāvagga]
3. Sut Pādeyya(or Pātheyya) [Pāṭikavagga]

Palm-leaves; foll. 323 (ka-be); 500 x 65mm; 12 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, 2 red

lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the outside only; 1st fol, in ink "S. C. Malan, the gift of Col. Duncan; ... from Mandalay, 1875"; 1st cover, printed label: Indian Institute, Oxford, The Malan Library presented by the Rev. S. C. Malan, DD., Vicar of Broadwindsor January, 1885".

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

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

Dhammasaṅgaṇippakarāṇa CPD.3.1

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

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

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

[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Pārājika] CPD. 1.1

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

Date: BS. 2428 = 1885 A.D.—[Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Donated by Edwin Arnold Esquire M.A., C.S.I; May 1887" but Bodleian records say "Provenance unknown"].

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R)
[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—]Pārājikaṇ pālitō
 CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; 5 bundles, foll. 207 (ka-ṇe); 495 x 65mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 thick wooden covers, red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges. 1st to fifth chapters.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)
Sandhi nyāsapadipahāraṇa

(This is not Nyāsa or Nāsa or Mukhamattadipani CPD. 5.1,11)

Palm-leaves; foll. 63 (ka-cū mixed); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 72 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R)
Vīthi lak rui Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 35 (ka-gam); 500 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 84 char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges, no covers. See Bechert 1979 n° 29, p. 33: "This is an explanation of the vīthi section of Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha...?"

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R)
Saddā ḥye sum coṇ Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 7 (ka-ke); 510 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges, no covers. (Unknown in CPD & Bechert 1979, Braun 1985)

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 8(R)

Samvannanā Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 11; 495 x 50mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord-holes, 8 lines, 80 char.—Burmese script—Numb. Burmese letters.

No date—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, lacquered, gilded decorated in red; foll. 16 (ka- khī); 515 x 121mm; 6 lines, 28 char. in black lac, Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 490 mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red. Wrapped in a cotton fabric interwoven with bamboo slats, dark red, off-white and blue colours, geometric designs.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)

1. **Vimānavatthupakkaraṇa** CPD. 2.5.6, 1(5)?
2. **Vimānavatthuvanṇanā** by Dhammapāla(?) CPD. 2.5.6, 1

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (1-21) + 102 (ka-chū); 505 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 98 char. medium Sinhalese script, 450 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers, painted on the outside in bright orange, decorated in yellow and green on the borders with *pālapeti* and *katuru-mala* motifs, painted in black on the inside; copper *pot sakiya* in the shape of a lotus.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 11(R)

Mahāvamsa (incomplete)CPD 4.1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 211 (ka-dau); 475 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 110 char., Sinhalese medium script, 415 mm; 2 wooden covers, painted in bright orange, decorated on outside, *pālapeti* and *katuru-mala* motifs painted in black and yellow; silver *pot sakiya* in the shape of a lotus.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha CPD.3.8.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 18 (dā-dhu); 595 x 65mm; 2 cord holes, 11 lines, 88 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R)

1. [Kammavācā—Pabbajjā] fragment CPD. 1.2.16

Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (no numb°); 365 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 80 char., Sinhalese small script, 350 mm.

2. Fragments in Sinhalese

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

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

BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)

Upāsakajanālaṅkārapāli CPD. 2.9.4¹

Palm-leaves; foll. 98 (ka-cau); 458 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 88 char., Sinhalese small script, 390 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden covers decorated in orange paint on the outside with *katurumala* in the middle and *palāpeti* on the borders, black paint inside, decorated with yellow garlands reminiscent of the pistils of flowers. Cartouches in the middle, title and date inscribed in yellow paint, silver *pot sakiya* bearing the effigy of Queen Victoria. Mentioned in

Liyanaratne 1991 "Upāsakajanālamkāra, is a complete Pāli text in the Sinhala script, deposited among Sinhala manuscripts"

Date: BS. 2399 = 1856 A.D.—Label: "Indian Institute, Oxford. Presented by Edwin Arnold Esquire MA., C.S.I., May 1887"

BODL. MS. Ouseley 308

Arakanese alphabet

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

No date—S.C. 23083

BODL. MS. Ouseley 415

Samantapāsādikā Pāli- Burmese nisaya fragment

Illegible for those who do not know Burmese. Frankfurter Catalogue: "The Pāli text of the Pārājika interlined with a Burmese translation—Imperfect. Of 412 leaves numbered from ka-gyi of which the ms. originally consisted only 240 are left ...". According to Ouseley Oriental Catalogue this MS. is said to consist of three separate ones: one of 140, one of 60, and one of 40 leaves." S.C. 1897 p. 673. "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 628 (Burmese)"

No date—S.C. 23190

BODL. MS. Ouseley 416

missing in the box

S.C. 1897 p. 673, "Sale Catalogue (1831) n° 629-31 (Burmese)" S.C. 23190

BODL. MS. Ouseley 417 & 418**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16 fragments

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

No date—S.C. 23191-92

BODL. MS. Pali a. 1(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 16 (ka-khu); 535 x 90mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and *hamsa* motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 2(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, ochre red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 17 (ka-khū); 530 x 92mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 32 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; fine floral, geometrical and *hamsa* motifs; 2 ochre-red lacquered, gilded wooden covers decorated in red with fine floral and geometrical motifs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 3(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 4(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 5(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves, red lacquered, gilded, painted in red; foll. 16 ([ka-khi]); 535 x 85mm; 2 cord holes, 4 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script in black lac, 495 mm; numb. Burmese letters in red; fine floral & geometrical motifs. First and last leaves slightly damaged.

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 5—S.C. 30900e—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 6(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 7(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 8(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2,16

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

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 8—S.C. 30900g—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 9(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 10

[Vinayaṭṭhakathā]—Samantapāsādikā CPD 1.2,1

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

Date: BS. 1170 = A.D. 1808—Frankfurter 1882 n° 10—S.C. 30900i—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 11

**[Vinayapiṭaka—Mahāvagga]—Mahāvā nissya—
Ratanamañjūsa vinaññ lak pan kyam** Pāli-Burmese
nissaya CPD. 1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 276 (ka-be); 500 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines. 65

char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. A label in English: "Mahāvagga nissaya. The Pali text of the Mahāvagga interlined with a Burmese translation. Perfect 271 leaves Burmese char. (June 20-[18]68)"; cf. Braun 1985, Burmese Manuscripts part 2, n°303 p. 122

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)
[Samantapāsādikānavatīkā]—Vimativinodanī

fragment CPD. 1.2,13

Vimattivinodanivinayya (!) phūk 21

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jhā-ñah); 540 x 50mm; 2 cord holes; 5 lines, 68 char. Kham script, 460 mm; numb. Kham letters; gilded edges.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R)
Temijātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 67 (ka-cū); 500 x 52mm; 2 cord holes; 7 lines, 63 char. medium Burmese script, 420 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle.

Date: BS. 1140? = A.D. 1778?—Frankfurter 1882 n° 15—S.C. 30900m—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 16
[Dhammasaṅgaṇīatṭhakathā]—Atthasālinīpāṭh CPD
 3.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 318 (ka-yē); 520 x 54mm; 2 cord holes; 8 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers, label: "Athasālinī or Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasaṅganippakarani which is

the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19/[18]68"

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 17

[Abhidhammapiṭaka]

1. Dhātukathā CPD.3.3

2. Yamaka CPD. 3. 6

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

Date: BS. 1203 = A.D. 1841—Frankfurter 1882 n° 18—S.C. 30900p—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 18

Mahāvamsa CPD. 4.1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 256 (ka-to); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 82 char., Sinh. small script, 440 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers red lacquered on outside only, decorated with black and yellow motifs of *palāpeti* on borders and *liyavāla* in the middle; large copper *potsakiya* in shape of a flower; label: "This is Turnour copy. He obtained it from Kotagama Anunāyaka of Kandy Ceylon on the 8th April 1827." Frankfurter catalogue: "Published as far as the 37th chapter by the Hon. George Turnour Esqre with a translation and an introductory essay Ceylon 1837. The remaining parts have been published under orders of the Ceylon Government with a translation into Sinhalese by H. Sumaṅgala High Priest of Adams Peak and Don Andris de Silva Batuwantudawa pandit, Colombo 1877, 2 vols.

No date—S.C. 24684—Frankfurter 1882 n° 19—Probably originally part of the collection purchased from W. H. Mill, 1849<>68?

BODL. MS. Pali a. 19(R)**Saddasāratthajālinī** CPD 5.4.6

Palm-leaves; foll. 27 (ka-khu); 490 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 66 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; label: "Saddasāratthajālinī A Pali grammar. Perfect... R. C. C. June 19/[18]68

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 24—S.C. 30900q—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R)**Various suttas** (to identify)

Palm-leaves; foll. 22 (1+A-B+1-3+1-4+1-4+1-8); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 110 char., Sinh. small script, 480 mm; numb. European figures or letters; no covers.

No date—S.C. 30900r, corrected in 31294 (comm. on Sutta-piṭaka)—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali a. 21(R)

Vessantarajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya fragment CPD. 2.5. 10,1
 Palm-leaves; foll. 3 (tham, thah, ra); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 65 char., Burmese medium script, 432 mm; numb. Burmese letters; no covers.

No date—S.C. 30900s—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 22**Yamaka** CPD. 3.6

Palm-leaves; foll. 330 (mixed); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. medium Burmese script, 418 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle. For another part of this ms. see under next number.

Date: BS. 1161 = 1799 A.D.—S.C. 30900t—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 23

Yamaka CPD. 3.6 (part of the ms. above)

Palm-leaves; foll. 184 (mixed); same material description *supra* + 2 wooden boards and a piece of ola, folded, in the shape of a paper cutter, used as a label to MS.

—S.C. 30900u—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 24(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, gilded, decorated; foll. 16 (kā-khī); 536 x 120mm; 6 lines, 32 char. in black lacquer, tamarind-seed large script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and decorated in red.

No date—S.C. 30900v—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 25

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered and gilded, decorated in red; foll. 16 (ka-khī); 535 x 124mm; 6 lines, 26 char., Burmese tamarind-seed large script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered and gilded wooden covers, decorated in red on outside boards only; wrapped in a bright red piece of velvet lined with green damask cotton; unusual cotton ribbon woven with blue and white, checks, red borders, 3.65 meters long.

No date—S.C. 30900w—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali a. 26(R)

[Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana]

Pāli-Burmese nissaya, 2 different copies, CPD. 1.2,16

1. Palm-leaves, silvered and decorated; foll. 7 (cha-[che]); 525 x 78mm; 7 lines, 55 char. large Burmese round script, 500 mm; numb. Burmese

letters; floral motifs painted in red, some worn away, palm-leaves slightly damaged.

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 27(R)

1. [Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Parivāra] extract CPD. 1.1
2. [Dīghanikāya-Brahmajālasutta] extract CPD. 2.1
3. [Abhidhammadātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna
4. Sahassaneyya
5. Mahābuddhaguṇā
6. Mahābuddhaguṇavaṇṇanā
7. Uṇhisavijaya

Folding book, off-white *khoi* paper; 39 folds (not numbered); 660 x 95 mm; 5 lines, 35-55 char. inscribed on both sides in black ink; Kham compressed script; 10 paired illustrations in the margins, 221 x 190mm; 2 black lacquered, gilded frame covers, decorated with star motifs included in 9 roundels, corners restored, brown edges. Label glued inside the ms. "To Mr. Thomson Edinburg a complete book, in the Siam language, found in Kandy, considered very old, and a great curiosity from (signature illegible)". In the box containing this ms., is found a letter in English from "B. Clough Ceyl (?) giving an account of the book with paintings from Siam 1819", addressed to M. C. Gibson Esq. who calls it:

"Singh. Tallabannu." (?). Perfectly restored. (Text and ill. fully described in J. Filliozat EFEO DATA Paris, v. note 1)

No date—S.C. 29897w—Probably bought in the Gibson-Craig sale (lot 758), 17 Nov. 1888

BODL. Ms. Pali a. 31(R)

Abhidhammātikā

[Dhammasaṅgaṇī]—Padabhājaniya; [Vibhaṅga]—Suttanta-bhājaniya; [Dhātukathā]; Puggalapaññattimātikā;

Kathāvatthu-pakaraṇamātikā; [Yamaka]; [Mahāpaṭṭhāna]

Palm-leaves; foll. 84 (ka-cho); 540 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 48 char., fine Kham compressed script, 460 mm; numb. Kham letters; the 2 first and 2 last palm-leaves of each bundle are illuminated in the margins and around the cord holes with floral motifs in red, green, pink, yellow and gilded colours; 2 covers red lacquered, recto only with gilded geometrical designs.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 32(R)

Vessantarajātaka —Maddīpabba fragment CPD. 2.5. 10,1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 33

1. Mūlasikkhāpāṭh CPD. 1.3.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 11 (ka-kū)

2. Mūlasikkhātikā CPD. 1.3.2,2

Palm-leaves; foll. 136 (ka-ñāh)

3. **Khuddasikkhātikā** CPD. 1.3.1, 1 or 2?

Palm-leaves; foll. 217 (ka-dhi); 504 x 58mm; 2 cord-holes, 9 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese round script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, European ex libris.

Date: BS. 1159-1160 = 1797-1798 A.D.—S.C. 31602—

Purchased Sotheby's, 26 May 1893

BODL. MS. Pali a. 34

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 35(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 36(R)

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 37(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)

1. Alphabet

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

No date.

2. [Majjhimanikāya]—Bahudhātukasutta & Isigili-sutta fragments CPD. 2.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 4 (13-16); 455 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 67 char. medium Sinhalese, 405 mm; numb. Europ. figures. Fol 1: namo buddhāya — evamme sutam ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme —tatra kho bhagavā ... fol 4:—bahudhātukasuttanenā pañcamo — evam me sutam ... rājagahe isigilismim pabbate...

No date—S.C. 31295—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)

**Samantapāsādikāya vinayasamvāṇṇanā nāya
sāratthadipaniyam catutthapārājikāvāṇṇanā** fragment
CPD. 1.2,12

Palm-leaves; foll. 165 (mixed); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 102 char. medium Burmese script, 440 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, red lacquered on outside only.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 40(R)

Atthasālinī—Dhammasaṅganiatthakathā fragments

CPD. 3.1,1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R)

Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā fragment CPD.

1.1.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 42(R)

Fragments (Paṭṭhāna?)

Palm-leaves; foll. 14; 530 x 55mm, red lacquered edges, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 82 char.; Burmese script; numb. Burmese letters. *Beg.:* hetu dhammam paticca maggā... ārammaṇapaccayā hetuyātiṇi na hetu paccayā ārammaṇā tiṇi atitārammaṇam hetu dhammam paticca atitā dhammam ajjhattassa hetussa dhammassa ārammaṇapaccaye na paccayo ! ajjhatto hetu dhammā bahiddhā bahiddhā hetussa dhammassa ārammaṇapaccaye na paccayo bahiddhā hetu ... akusalam ahetukam dhammam paticca abyākato hetuko dhammo uppajjati hetu paccayā abyākata ahetukam ... kusalam hetu sampayuttam dhammam paticca kusalo hetu sampayutto dhammo uppajjati ...

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 44(R)

Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā CPD. 1.1.1

& Various fragments

Palm-leaves; foll. 9 (mixed); different sizes; 2 cord holes, 7 to 8 lines, medium Burmese; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle

and gilded edges, no covers. The leaves containing Kañkhāvitaranī belong to the above MS. Pali a. 41(R)!

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 45(R)

1. Fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya

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

No date.

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

Palm-leaves; foll. 28 (jū-ñō); 510 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 82 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges, no covers. *Beg. fol 1a: ciram titthatu sāsanam l cattāri saccāni dukkhasaccam samudayasaccam nirodhasaccam maggasaccam dukkham dukkhasaccam ... fol ñe, verso, line 7: l pariñāvāram nitthitam l saccayamakam nitthitam l ... cf. ed. PTS vol I, pp. 173-228*

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 46(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 47(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 48(R)

[Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana]

Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 49(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

No date—S.C. 35297—Donated by Sir. A. Cowley, 17 Jan. 1910

BODL. MS. Pali a. 50(R)

1. [Abhidhammātikā] Dhammasaṅgaṇī; Vibhaṅga; Dhātukathā; Puggalapaññatti; Kathāvatthu; Yamaka; Mahā-paṭṭhāna

2. Dhammasahassanayya [Sahassaneyya]

3. Māleyya (in Siamese)

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 51

[Vinayapiṭaka]

1. [Parivāra]—Parivā pālitō CPD1.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 191 (ka-tām)

2. [Suttavibhaṅga—Pācittiya]—Pācit pālitō CPD 1.2

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

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

BODL MS. Pali a. 52(R)

[Dīghanikāya]—Sut mahāvā pālitō nañ Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 172 (thu-āh); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes; 9 lines, 78

char. medium Burmese script, 402 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; no covers, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

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

BODL MS. Pali a. 53(R)

[Vinayapiṭaka—Pātimokkha—Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī]—

Kaṅkhāvatthu pāṭh nissya fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 1.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 190 (ka-tē); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 85 char. medium Burmese script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; a single cover, wrapped in a printed red, green, off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats.

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 54(R)

Kaccāyana (grammar) fragment Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD.

5.1

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

Date: BS. 1200 = 1838 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 55(R)

[**Jātaka**]—**Catukkanipāt—Pañcanipāt nissya** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 252 (ka-pha); 510 x 62mm; 2 cord holes; 10 lines, 88 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges; 2 wooden covers, wrapped in an off-white cotton fabric, interwoven with fine bamboo slats; piece of ola in the shape of an arrow engraved on one side: catukkanipu?danissya + Burmese; engraved on the other side: pañcakanipadananissa + Burmese

Date: BS. 1207 = 1854 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R)

1. Abhidhammatthavibhāvani—

Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭikā CPD. 3.8.1,2

2. Kaṅkhāvitaranī—Bhikkhupātimokkhavaṇṇanā

CPD.1.1,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 85 (ka-ce) + 102 (cē-tu) mixed; 492 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 93 char., Burm. medium script, 400 mm; numb. Burm. letters; red lacquered in the middle, gilded edges, 2 wooden covers; wrapped in bamboo slats woven in a yellowish cotton fabric.

Date: BS. 1208 = 1846 A.D.—Donated by N. H. Snaith, June 1925

BODL. MS. Pali a. 57

Kammavācā fragment CPD. 1.2,16

Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 11 (ka-khi or khī?, wanting at least one plate before the last one); 542 x 105mm; a single cord hole, 6 lines, 30 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 510 mm; numb. Burmese letters; *devata* and floral motifs in red on 1st and last foll. and margins; some foll. lightly damaged; 2 red lacquered gilded covers, decorations rubbed entirely away.

No date—Donated by Mrs Littledale, 12 March 1926

BODL. MS. Pali a. 58

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2.16

Metal plates, red lacquered, gilded; foll. 10 (kha-khō); 475 x 90mm; 6 lines, 26 char. in black lac, tamarind-seed large script, 450 mm; 2 wooden covers red lacquered inside; outside gilded upon relief-moulded lacquer (*thayō*) work and inlaid with small round mirrors in green, red and silver; wrapped in 2 different pieces of cloth, 1st: rectangle 550 x 290mm of lined red cotton fabric enhanced with bamboo slats and printed with floral motifs, birds and butterflies in black, blue, yellow; 2nd: 71 x 116cm rectangle of double facing blue fabric, check material on one side, striped on the other side, red bias sewn as a border.

No date—Donated by Mrs Hurry, 12 Nov. 1929

BODL. MS. Pali a. 59

Maṇisāramañjūsā—Maṇisāramañjū pāṭh CPD. 3.8.1.21

Palm-leaves; foll. 423 (ka-ē); 505 x 60mm; 10 lines, char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, wrapped in a printed cotton cloth, yellow, blue, brown floral motifs, bound with a long ribbon woven in green, yellow and off-white.

Date: BS. 1239 = 1877 A.D.—Donated by Mr. Walker, 30 May 1930

BODL. MS. Pali a. 60

[Jātakatthavaṇṇanā] Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

1. Kalyāṇīkyokcā?

Palm-leaves; foll. 131 (ka-chū)

2. Ekanipāta jāt nissya

Palm-leaves; foll. 320 (ka-yī) + 2 foll. not belonging to this text; 498 x 58mm; 9 lines, 98 char. medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges; 2 wooden

covers, piece of ola cut as a label, engraved: ekkanipāt jāt nissya ... kalyāñikyo...

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R)

[**Dīghanikāya**]—**Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta** CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 25 (1-25); 485 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Europ. figures.

No date—Bequeathed by Professor Sayce, 1933

BODL. MS. Pali a. 62(R)

Kammavācā CPD. 1.2,16

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)

1. [**Paritta**] —**Parit kri pālitō and various fragments** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.9.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 154 (mixed, many blank leaves, many not inked, difficult to read); 485 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 108 char. medium Burmese round script, 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

2. [**Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha**]—**Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha nissaya and other texts** fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 86 (mixed, many blank leaves); 470 x 53mm; 2 cord

holes, 9 lines, 92 char., medium Burmese round script, 382 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

No date

3. Bhikkhunī-Pātimokha CPD. 1.1

A. Bhikkhunī-Pātimok pāṭh foll. 18 (khi-khō)

B. Bhikkhunī-Pātimut foll. 13 (khi-khō)

C. Mūlasikkhā pāṭh CPD. 1.3.2 foll. 8 (ghi-ghē)

Palm-leaves; 3 bundles; foll. 18+13+8 (many blank leaves); 500 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 105 char., medium Burmese round script, 400 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered in the middle and gilded edges.

Date: BS. 1231 = 1869 A.D.

4. Various grammatical fragments Pāli & Pāli-Burmese nissaya

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

No date

5. Mūlasikkhā fragment CPD. 1.3.2

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

No date

6. Dhātumañjū pāṭh fragment CPD. 5.5.2

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

No date—Donated by J. L. Thompson, 1943

BODL. MS. Pali a. 64(R)**Kammavācā** CPD. 1.2.16

Plates made of stiffened cloth, red lacquered, gilded and decorated; foll. 10 (ka-kō); 510 x 115mm; 6 lines, 28 char. large Burmese tamarind-seed script, 480 mm; numb. Burmese letters; 2 red lacquered, different wooden covers, recto gilded and painted in red with *devatā* floral and bird motifs. First fol. unusual, in the middle of the decoration, some words written in Pāli & Burmese but half cancelled: kammavācā ... nibbāna ...; wrapped in a green velvet cloth.

No date—Bequeathed by Mrs. H.L. Eales, 19 Oct. 1946

BODL. MS. Pali b. 1(R)**Dhammapada** CPD. 2.5.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 17 (ka-kha); 420 x 48mm, 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 80 char. medium Sinh. script, 390 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 wooden covers; Label: "Dhammapada ... Perfect copy. This ms. which originally belonged to Georgius Mudeliyar was presented to the Bodleian by Dr. Mill (June 12/1868) R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"

No date—S. C. 24677—Frankfurter 1882 n° 13—Part of the collection purchased from W.H. Mill, probably in 1868

BODL. MS. Pali b. 2(R)**Janananda** Pāli-Sinhalese sanne

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (ka-khī); 460 x 52mm, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 75 char. medium Sinh. script, 390 mm; numb. Sinh. letters; 2 red lacquered wooden covers decorated on outside only with very fine motifs of *palāpeti* on borders and *katuru-mala* in the middle, large round *potsakiya* made out of a coconut shell?, black lacquered with fine red and yellow circles; label: "Jananda (!) The Pali text with a Sinhalese translation ... Perfect ... An inscription at the end states that this copy was made by Babe Appuhāmi as a present to his relation Mahatoṭa Abhayavardddhana Edirisimha Mudliar. R. C. C. June 21/[18]68"

No date—Frankfurter 1882 n° 21—S.C. 30900x—Provenance unknown.

BODL. MS. Pali b. 3(R)

Kaccāyana [Grammar by]—Sandhikappa CPD. 5.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 5

[Grammar]—Saddā lvan nissaya Pāli-Burmese nissaya

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 7

[Jātakatthavaññanā]—Ummaggajātaka Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10, 1

Palm-leaves; foll. 267 (dhō-jhyah); 475 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 70 char. medium Burmese round script, 390 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1158 = 1796 A.D.—S.C. 31482—Purchased from Quaritch. Nov. 1892

BODL. MS. Pali b. 8(R)**[Grammar]** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

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

Date: BS. 1205 = 1843 A.D.—S.C. 32370—Donated by Rev. R. J. Elliot 15 Jul. 1896

BODL. MS. Pali b. 9(R)**Paritta** CPD 2.9.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R)**Vidhurajātaka** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 11

Mahosathajātakavatthu—Maho vatthu Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

Palm-leaves; foll. 188 (khā-dō, mixed, wanting ka-kha); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 62 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb.

Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 wooden covers.

Date: BS. 1263 = 1901 A.D.—S.C. 32601—Purchased from Hodgson, 7 June 1898

BODL. MS. Pali b. 12

[Abhidhammapiṭaka]—Paṭṭhāna—Paṭṭhān nissya
Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 3.7

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 13(R)

[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga]—Pārājikaṇ pālitō
fragments CPD. 1.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 223 (ka-tha, some mixed); 495 x 52mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 78 char. medium Burmese script, 410 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle; 2 thick wooden covers.

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 14(R)

1. Mahāsatipatṭhānasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

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

2. Satipatṭhāna pada ānuma Pāli-Sinhalese

Palm-leaves; foll. 39 (co-jhī); 500 x 60mm; 2 cord holes, 7-10 lines, 75 char. medium Sinhalese script, different hands, 440 mm; numb. Sinhalese

letters; both texts bound together, 2 wooden covers, roughly decorated in red, black, yellow paint with *palāpeti* and *liyavāla* on recto only. On last cover, printed label: "Rev. A. Lawson, M.A.". Last ola in ink: John F. Beer. Paper attached with explanations in English about the *Satipaṭṭhanasutta* and adds: " Rev. J. Moscrop late missionary in Ceylon [Bt. by the Bodleian 15 Ap. 1909(?) lot 309 in Branch Sale Liverpool]"

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 15(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha fragment CPD. 3.8.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 16(R)

Sāvatthīnidāna fragments

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 17(R)

[*Dhammasaṅgaṇiṭṭhakathā*]—*Atthasālinī*—

Dhammaddesavārakathā fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 3. 1. 1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 18(R)

Various fragments Pāli & Sinhalese

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 19(R)

Various fragments Pāli & Sinhalese

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 20(R)

Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 21(R)

Dhammacakkapavattanasutta CPD. 2.9.1(XXIA)

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

No date—SC. 33181—Purchased Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1901

BODL. Ms. Pali b. 23(R)

Paritta CPD 2.9.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali b. 24(R)

[**Temiyajātaka**]—**Teminissya** Pāli-Burmese nissaya

CPD. 2.5.10.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 56 (ka-ghāh); 490 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 392 mm; numb. Burmese letters; red lacquered edges.

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

BODL. MS. Pali c. 2(R)

Vuttamālāsandesaśataka CPD. 4.5.8

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali c. 3(R)

[**Majjhimanikāya**]—**Bālapaṇḍitasutta** Pāli-Sinhalese

sanne CPD. 2.2

Palm-leaves; foll. 32 (ka-ga); 315 x 45mm; 2 cord holes, 8 lines, 72 char. small Sinhalese script, 290 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters; 2 wooden

covers, *pot sakiya* made of a silver coin: two annas India 1862. Queen Victoria.

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

BODL. MS. Pali d. 1(R)

[Paritta]—Mahācundattherabojjhāṅga CPD. 2.9.1(XIX)

Palm-leaves; foll. 5 (ka-ki); 350 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 52 char. medium Sinhalese script, 260 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 1

[Papañcasūdanī—Majjhimanikāya]—

Assalāyanasutta[vanṇanā] CPD 2.2.1

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 2

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°, from the Payogasiddhi, Balāvatāro with notices of the Dhauli, gatha Pracrit dialects)

Note book, bluish paper, watermarks: Matthews 1859, foll. 120 (1-120); numb. in pencil; 215 x 180; written in ink and pencil on both sides; binding in boards covered with marbled paper; Singh. alphabet + Burmese round and square alphabets (Burnouf "Essai sur le pali"), Old Siamese (mūl) alphabet, Asoka inscriptions alphabet (Prinsep *JRAS.*

Bengal VII), Buddhistic alphabet of Tibet (Csomo Körös), Nepalese alphabets (Hodgson in As. Researches vol XVI); 1. Sound. 2. Roots. 3. Inflection.

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 3

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°)

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 4

Pali grammar by Burnell (Collections for a°)

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

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali e. 5

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

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

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

BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)

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

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

No date—S.C. 32356—Purchased from J. & M. L. Tregaskis, 1896

BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 122(R)

Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 40: "Pāli text with Sinhala commentary on letters of the alphabet".

Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 5(R)—S.C. 31302—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)**1. Vandanā gāthā**

Palm-leaves; foll. 21 (1-21) + 10 (1-10); cf. *JPTS* 1910-12 p. 153; see description infra.

2. Bhesajjamañjūsā fragment CPD. 2.9.22

Palm-leaves; foll. 41 (4-43) wanting 1-3; 320 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 62 char. medium Sinhalese script, 280 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters & figures. Already described in Liyanaratne 1992 p. 42: "Three Buddhist texts (*vandanā gāthā*) + Fragment of the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*".

No date—Old shelfmark MS. Sinh. C. 7(R)—S.C. 31304—Purchased from Lt. J. Merriman, 18 Sept. 1890

BODL. MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)**Mahāsatipatṭhānasutta** Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 146 (ka-ño); 495 x 55mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 60 char. medium Sinhalese script, 420 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters. Last leaf, in ink: "Given to me by the Priest of the temple of Buddha Kandy Ceylon C. I. Teaching of Buddha."

No date—S.C. 34170—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)**[Suttanipāta—Parābhavasutta]** fragment Pāli-Sinhalese sanne CPD. 2.5.5

Palm-leaves; foll. 9 (ka-kl); 390 x 56mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 80 char. small Sinhalese script, 345 mm; numb. Sinhalese letters.

No date—S.C. 34172—Purchased Sotheby's, 1 June 1908

BODL. MS. Sinh. d. 12(R)

Sivalī paritta CPD. 2.9.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 2 (double foliation: 18-19 & 1-2); 262 x 50mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 35 char. Sinhalese medium script, 230 mm; numb. Sinhalese & European figures.

Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515. "Remedies for snake bite and charms taken down from Veddahs of Uva province, Ceylon by Mr. Bibile R. M of Bibile and Mr. E. D. Dharmasena, S. M. R. Uva".

No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)

[Kammavācā—Pabbajjā] CPD. 1.2,16

Palm-leaves; foll. 7 (1-5); 215 x 48mm; 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 38 char. medium Sinhalese script, 190 mm; numb. European figures; 1st ola in ink: "This ms. contains the address made by a candidate for the Buddhist priesthood ..." Part of a Sinhalese ms. described in Liyanaratne 1991 p. 515: "Book of Buddhist ritual: the five, eight and ten precepts, and Ordination. Pāli texts"

No date—Bequeathed by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 1967

BODL. MS. Wilson 51

Pāli dictionary with Burmese translation

Saṅsagaruik abhidhān [Amarakosa according to Judson?] transcript in Roman char.: Then-tha-garaik abeiddan

European white paper (watermark 1829 J. Whatman) bound with covers in yellowish cloth and spine in red leather; foll. 200, (Burmese foliation: ka-jō + 1-4 in figures, then missing, 10-11, then missing, ka-kham then missing, 1-32 then missing; European figures added in pencil 1-192); 395x245mm; 40 lines, 30 char. written recto-verso, Burmese large round script in black ink, neat calligraphy, 210 mm; 2 copies of letters, bound with the work:

1. "Extract from Major Burney's letter, Rangoon 5th July 1832:
 ... the former dictionary is copied from one which the Prince of Mokkhara (?) kindly sent me, the latter (?) was proposed for me by the special ... of the king of Ava by his most learned brahmins. They have both cost a great deal of money and I hope Wilson [will] find them useful ..."

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

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

BODL. MS. Wilson 54

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

Beg.: akkharam, akkhañā, akko, akkha, akkhi, akkhako, akkhadaso akkhabhañi...

Ends: hutāvaho, hutāso, hutī, hemanta, hemanto, hesā, helā, herañiko, hemā, heti, hemarñi hetu

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

No date [Aufrecht: 1831]—S.C. 22165

BODL. MS. Wilson 55

A. **Vessantarajātaka** Pāli-Burmese nissaya CPD. 2.5.10,1

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

No date—S.C. 22166

B. **Buddhavāmsa—Buddhavañpālitō—Dhātu-bhajanīyakathā** CPD. 2.5.14

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

No date (old script)—S.C. 22166

BODL. MS. Wilson 56**1. Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇa** CPD. 3.1

Palm-leaves; foll. 121 (ka-ṭa, mixed); 495 x 58mm; 2 cord holes, 9 lines, 68 char. medium Burmese script, 405 mm; numb. Burmese letters; gilded edges, ochre lacquered in the middle.

Date BS. 1153 = A.D. 1791

2. Dhammasaṅganīpālitōnissaya Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Palm-leaves; foll. 115 (ka-ñu, mixed) + 36 bl.; same material description as above. See Aufrecht *op. cit.* p. 364

Same date?—S.C. 22167

BODL. MS. Wilson 304**Lexicon Palicum (Pāli vocabulary)**

Transcript of MS. Wilson 54 in elegant Nāgarī script. Cf. Aufrecht 1864, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars octava, Codices Sanscriticos*, Oxford 1864, p. 374: "Lit. Devan. Charta Europ. Foll. 106. Post annum 1827 exar. Lexicon Palicum, e codice 54 transcriptum".

Foll. 106, European bluish white strong paper (watermark Balston & Co) bound with covers in brown leather, hand ruled in pencil, 28 to 20 lines; 310 x 245mm; 15 to 20 char. large Nāgarī script on 3 columns, 170 mm; numb. Nāgarī figures in black ink, supplied with European figures in pencil.

No date [Aufrecht: after 1827(!); must be after 1831, the date of the ms. transcribed according to Aufrecht himself]—S.C. 22415

INDEX OF PĀLI TEXTS
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE
BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

Atthasālinīpāṭh **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 16; MS. Pali a. 40(R);
MS. Pali b. 17(R)

Anusāsana **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 26(R); MS. Pali a. 48(R)

Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 56(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R);
MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R); MS. Pali b. 15(R)

Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 56(R)

Abhidhammapiṭaka **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 31(R);
MS. Pali b. 12

Abhidhammātikā **BODL.** Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 34(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Amarakosa **BODL.** MS. Wilson 51

Assalāyanasuttavaṇṇanā [Majjhimanikāyatthakathā—Papañcasūdanī]
BODL. MS. Pali e. 1

Ākyātapada **BODL.** MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5

Iti pi so... **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)

Indasāva **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)

Isigilisutta **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R);
MS. Pali a. 38(R)

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

Upasampadākammavācā—Anusāsana **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 26(R);
MS. Pali a. 48(R)

Upāsakajanālaṅkārapāli MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)

Ummagajātaka **BODL.** MS. Pali b. 7

Ekanipāta jāt nissya **BODL. MS. Pali a. 60**

Kaṇkhāvatthu pāṭh nissya **BODL MS. Pali a. 53(R)**

Kaṇkhāvitaranī **BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R); MS. Pali a. 44(R); MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali a. 56(R)**

Kaccāyana (grammar by) **BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R); MS. Pali a. 54(R); MS. Pali b. 3(R)**

Kaccāyanadhātumañjūsā **BODL. MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5**

Kathāvatthu **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113; MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) & 9(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)**

Kathāvatthupakaraṇamātikā **BODL. MS. Pali a. 31(R)**

Kammavācā **BODL. Dep. Stol. 103; Dep. Stol. 109; Dep. Stol. 114; Dep. Stol. 128 & 129; Dep. Stol. 196 to 199; MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R) to 22(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R) & 27(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R) to 33(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 35(R) to 38(R); MS. Burmese a. 14(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R); MS. Ouseley 417 & 418; MS. Pali a. 1(R) to 9(R); MS. Pali a. 24(R) to 26(R); MS. Pali a. 34; MS. Pali a. 35(R) to 37(R); MS. Pali a. 46(R) to 49(R.); MS. Pali a. 57 & 58; MS. Pali a. 62(R); MS. Pali a. 64(R); MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)**

Kalyāṇikyokcā? **BODL. MS. Pali a. 60**

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

Girimānanda **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)**

Catukkanipāt nissya **BODL MS. Pali a. 55(R)**

Cariyāpiṭaka BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

Cariyāpiṭaka atṭhakathānām—Paramatthadipanī VII

BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

Janananda BODL. MS. Pali b. 2(R)

Jātakatthavaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 14; MS. Pali a. 55(R);

MS. Pali a. 60; MS. Pali b. 7; MS. Pali b. 24(R);

MS. Wilson 55A

Teminissya BODL. MS. Pali b. 24(R)

Temiyajātaka BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R); MS. Pali b. 24(R)

Dīghanikāya BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R);

MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 52(R);

MS. Pali a. 61(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)

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

Dhammapada BODL. MS. Pali b. 1(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)

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

Dhammasaṅgaṇippakaraṇa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R);

MS. Wilson 56

Dhammasaṅgaṇī BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);

MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);

MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R); MS. Wilson 56

Dhammasaṅgaṇīṭṭhakathā BODL. MS. Pali a. 16;

MS. Pali a. 40(R); MS. Pali b. 17(R)

Dhammasaṅgaṇī pāṭītō nissaya BODL. MS. Wilson 56

Dhammasahassanayya [Sahassaneyya] BODL. MS. Pali a. 50(R)

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

Dhātukathā BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) & 9(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
 MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
 MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
 MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Dhātubhajaniyakathā **BODL.** MS. Wilson 55 B

Dhātumañjū pāṭh **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Dhātumañjūsā **BODL.** MS. Pali e. 3; MS. Pali e. 5

Nemijātaka **BODL.** MS. Burmese a. 4(R)

Nemijāt nissaya **BODL.** MS. Burmese a. 4(R)

Nyāsa padipahāraṇa [Sandhi°] **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)

Pamsukūla **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)

Pañcanipāt nissaya **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 55(R)

Paṭṭhāna **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 42(R); MS. Pali b. 12

Paṭṭhān nissaya **BODL.** MS. Pali b. 12

Paṭṭhānamātikā **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)

Papañcasūdanī [Majjhimanikāyatthakathā]—Assalāyanasuttavaṇṇanā
BODL. MS. Pali e. 1

Pabbajā **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R); MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)

Payogasiddhi **BODL.** MS. Pali e. 2

Paramatthadipanī VII—Cariyāpiṭaka atthakathānām

BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R)

Paramatthapakaraṇa **BODL.** Dep. Stol 112

Parābhavasutta **BODL.** MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

Parit kri pālitō **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R)

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

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Burmese b. 7;

MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 9(R);

MS. Pali b. 23(R); MS. Pali d. 1(R)

Parivā pālitō **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 51

Parivāra **BODL.** Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);

MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Pācittiya BODL. MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Pācit pālitō BODL. MS. Pali a. 51

Pātikavagga [Dīghanikāya] BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)

Pātimokkha BODL. MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 41(R);

MS. Pali a. 44(R)

Pādeyya (or Pātheyya) [Pātikavagga—Dīghanikāya]

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

Pārājika BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R); MS. Ouseley 415;

MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Pārājikān pālitō BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R);

MS. Pali b. 13(R)

Pārājikavaṇṇanā (Catuttha^o) BODL. MS Pali a. 39(R)

Puggalapaññatti BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R) & 9(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);

MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);

MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Bahudhātukasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 38(R)

Bālapaṇḍitasutta BODL. MS. Pali c. 3(R)

Bālāvatāra BODL. MS. Pali e. 2

Buddhavaṇṇa BODL. MS. Wilson 55 B

Buddhavañpālitō BODL. MS. Wilson 55 B

Bodhikathā BODL. MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Brahmajālasutta BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);

MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Bhikkhunī-*Pātimokkha* **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Bhikkhupātimokkhavannanā **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 56(R)

Bhikkhunī-*Pātimok* pāṭh **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Bhikkhunī-*Pātimo* nissya **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Bhesajjamañjūsā **BODL.** MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)

Majjhimanikāya **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 38(R); MS. Pali c. 3(R)

Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā—Papañcasūdanī—Assalāyanasuttavannanā **BODL.** MS. Pali e. 1

Maṇisāramañjū pāṭh **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 59

Maṇisāramañjūsā **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 59

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

Mahākassapabojjhāṅga **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)

Mahācundattherabojjhāṅga **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali d. 1(R)

Mahāpatṭhāna **BODL.** Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R);
MS. Pali a. 31(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)

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

Mahābuddhaguṇā **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
MS. Pali a. 27(R)

Mahābuddhaguṇavannanā **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 27(R);
Mahāmoggallānabojjhāṅga **BODL.** MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)

Mahāvāmsa **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 11(R); MS. Pali a. 18;
MS. Pali e. 4

Mahāvagga [Dīghanikāya] **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)

Mahāvagga [Vinaya] **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 11; MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Mahāvā nissya **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 11

Mahāvā pālitō [Mahāvagga—Dīghanikāya]

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

Mahāsatipatthānasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R);

MS. Pali b. 14(R); MS. Pali b. 20(R);

MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)

Mahosathajātakavatthu BODL. MS. Pali b. 11

Māleyya (in Siamese) BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Mūlasikkhā BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Mūlasikkhātikā BODL. MS. Pali a. 33

Mūlasikkhāpāṭh BODL. MS. Pali a. 33; MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Yamaka BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);

MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali a. 22 & 23;

MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);

MS. Pali a. 45(R); MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Ratanamañjūsa vinaññ lak pan kyam BODL. MS. Pali a. 11

Vandanā gāthā BODL. MS. Sansk. c. 125(R)

Vidhurajātaka BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R)

Vinayatthakathā BODL. MS. Ouseley 415; MS. Pali a. 10

Vinayapiṭaka BODL. Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R)

& 4(R); MS. Pali a. 10 & 11; MS. Pali a. 27(R);

MS. Pali a. 51; MS. Pali a. 53(R); MS. Pali b. 13(R);

MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Vinayasamvannanā BODL. MS. Pali a. 39(R)

Vibhaṅga BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a.11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);
MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Vimativinodanī BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)

Vimānavatthupakaraṇa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)

Vimānavatthuvaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R)

Visuddhimagga BODL. MS. Pali e. 4

Vīthi lak rui BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R)

Vuttamālā sandesa śataka BODL. MS. Pali c. 2(R)

Vessantarajātaka BODL. MS. Pali a. 21(R); MS. Pali a. 32(R);
MS. Wilson 55 A

Saṃvaṇṇanā BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 8(R)

Saṅsagaruik abhidhān (Pāli dictionary) BODL. MS. Wilson 51

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

Satipatṭhānapada änuma BODL. MS. Pali b. 14(R)

Satipatṭhānasutta BODL. MS. Pali a. 61(R); MS. Pali b. 14(R);
MS. Pali b. 20(R); MS. Sinh. a. 4(R)

Saddasāratthajālinī BODL. MS. Pali a. 19(R)

Saddā ṇye sum coṇ BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R)

Saddā lvan nissya BODL. MS. Pali b. 5

Saddhammalaṅkāvatāra BODL. MS. Pali e. 4

Sandhikappa (Kaccāyana°—) BODL. MS. Pali b. 3(R)

Sandhi nyāsa padipahāraṇa BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R)

Samantapāśādikā BODL. MS. Ouseley 415; MS. Pali a. 10;
MS. Pali a. 39(R)

Samantapāśādikānavaṭīkā BODL. MS. Pali a. 12(R)

Sahassaneyya BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);

MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 31(R);

MS. Pali a. 50(R)

Sāratthadīpanī **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 39(R)

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

Silakkam pālitō [Silakkhandhavagga—Dighanikāya]

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

Silakkhandhavagga [Dighanikāya]

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

Sīvalīparitta **BODL.** MS. Sinh. d. 12(R)

Suttanipāta **BODL.** MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

Suttantabhājaniya **BODL.** Pali a. 31(R)

Suttavibhaṅga **BODL.** Dep. Stol. 111; Dep. Stol. 113;

MS. Asiat. Misc. a.11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R) & 4(R); MS. Pali a. 27(R); MS. Pali a. 51;

MS. Pali b. 13(R); MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Sut Pādeyya (or Pātheyya) [Pāṭikavagga]

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

Sut Mahāvā pālitō [Mahāvagga] **BODL.** MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)

Sut Mahāvā pālitō nañ [Mahāvagga] **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 52(R)

Sut Sīlakkam pālitō [Silakkhandhavagga]

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

Alphabet (Arakanese) **BODL.** Ouseley 308

Alphabet (Sinhalese) **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 38(R)

Burnell, Pali grammar **BODL.** MS. Pali e. 2 to 5

Burnes v. Burney

Burney (Major) **BODL.** MS. Wilson 51& 54

Grammar **BODL.** MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 5;

MS. Pali b. 8(R)

Horoscopes **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R);**
MS. Burmese b. 7(R)

Illuminated MSS. **BODL. Dep. Stol. 111 to 113;**
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R); MS. PALI a. 27(R);
MS. PALI a. 31(R); MS. PALI a. 50(R)

Judson **BODL. MS. Wilson 51**

Lexicon Palicum **BODL. MS. Wilson 304**

Pāli dictionary with Burmese translation **BODL. MS. Wilson 51**

Pāli grammar **BODL. MS. Pali e. 2-5**

Pāli-Sanskrit/Hindi/Bengali multiscripts dictionary
BODL. MS. Wilson 54

Pāli verbs **BODL. MS. Pali e. 5**

Pāli vocabulary **BODL. MS. Wilson 304**

Unidentified fragments **BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R);**
MS. Pali a. 20(R); MS. Pali a. 42(R);
MS. Pali a. 63(R); MS. Pali b. 18(R) & 19(R);
MS. Pali a. 44(R) et 45(R)

Various fragments Pāli-Burmese nissaya or Pāli-Sinhalese sanne
BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R)
MS. Pali a. 44(R) & 45(R); MS. Pali a. 63(R);
MS. Pali b. 18(R) & 19(R)

Various Suttas **BODL. MS. Pali a. 20(R); MS. Pali b. 16(R);**
MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Various yantras, mantras **BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)**

LIST OF DATED MSS. IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

(All dates are converted from Buddhist era and given in A.D.)

1670 BODL. MS. Pali a. 37(R) Burmese script
1752 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R) Burmese script
1778? BODL. MS. Pali a. 14(R) Burmese script
1778 BODL. MS. Pali b. 10(R) Burmese script
1785? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 36(R) Laotian Tham script
1788 BODL. MS. Pali a. 16 Burmese script
1789 BODL. MS. Pali a. 44(R) Burmese script
1791 BODL. MS. Wilson 56 Burmese script
1794 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 4(R) Burmese script
1794 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 7(R) Burmese script
1796 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 6(R); MS. Pali b. 7 Burmese script
1797-1798 BODL. MS. Pali a. 33 Burmese script
1799 BODL. MS. Pali a. 22 Burmese script
1808 BODL. MS. Pali a. 10 Burmese script
1826? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 37(R) Laotian Tham script
1829 BODL. MS. Pali a. 60 Burmese script
1831 BODL. MS. Pali b. 13(R) Burmese script
1838 BODL. MS. Pali a. 54(R) Burmese script
1841 BODL. MS. Pali a. 17; MS. Pali b. 24(R) Burmese script
1843 BODL. MS. Pali b. 8(R) Burmese script
1846 BODL. MS. Pali a. 56(R) Burmese script
1854 BODL. MS. Pali a. 55(R) Burmese script
1856 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R) Sinhalese script
1858-1859 BODL. MS. Pali e. 5 Burmese script
1859 BODL. MS. Pali b. 5 Burmese script; MS. Pali e. 2 various scripts
1860 BODL. MS. Pali e. 3 various scripts
1860? BODL. MS. Pali e. 4 Roman script
1862 BODL. MS. Pali a. 53(R) Burmese script
1868 BODL. MS. Pali a. 51 Burmese script

1869 BODL. MS. Pali a. 63(R) n°3 Burmese script
 1871 BODL. MS. Pali e. 1 Sinhalese script
 1872 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R) Burmese script
 1873? BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 19(R) Laotian Tham script
 1876 BODL. MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R) Siamese Kham script
 1877 BODL. MS. Pali a. 59 Burmese script
 1878 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 12(R) Burmese script
 1880 BODL. MS. Pali a. 52(R) Burmese script
 1883 BODL. Dep. Stol. 112 Siamese Kham script
 1885 BODL. MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 3(R) Sinhalese script
 1901 BODL. MS. Burmese b. 6(R) Burmese script
 1901 BODL. MS. Pali b. 11 Burmese script
 1934 BODL. Dep. Stol. 114 Burmese script

LIST OF DONORS & VENDORS

Arnold, E., donor, May 1887 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 2(R) & 3(R);**
MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 10(R) & 11(R);
MS. Ind. Inst. Sinh. 10(R)

Asian Arts, Ltd., vendor 1990 **MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 7(R) to 9(R);**
MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R); MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 17(R);
MS. Asiat. Misc. d. 11(R)

Asian Arts, Ltd., vendor 1991 **MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)**

Barnett, P. A., donor, Sept. 1921 **MS. Ind. Inst. Misc. 20(R)**

Branch & Leete, vendor 15 Apr. 1904 **MS. Pali b. 14(R)**

Childers, R. C., donor, 4 Dec. 1871 **MS. Pali e. 1**

Coltart, Captain A. H., donor, 1918 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 13(R)**

Cowley, Sir. A., donor, 17 Jan. 1910 **MS. Pali a. 49(R)**

Dornford, Joseph, donor, 8 Nov. 1830 **MS. Pali a. 6(R)**

Drury, E., donor, **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 9(R)**

Eales, Mrs H. L., donor, 19 Oct. 1946 **MS. Pali a. 64(R);**
MS. Pali b. 24(R)

Elliot, Rev. R. J., donor, 15 Jul. 1896 **MS. Pali b. 8(R)**
Evans-Wentz, W. Y., donor, 1967 **MS. Sinh. d. 12(R);**
 MS. Sinh. e. 3(R)
Foster, E. P. Arnold, donor, Oct. 1921 **MS. Burmese b. 6(R)**
Gibson-Craig, vendor, 17 Nov. 1888 **MS. Pali a. 27(R)**
Grundy, A. H., vendor, 1888 **MS. Pali a. 26(R)**
Hodgson, vendor, 7 June 1898 **MS. Pali a. 34; MS. Pali a. 35(R)**
 to 37(R); MS. Pali b. 11
Hurry, Mrs, donor, 12 Nov. 1929 **MS. Pali a. 58**
Jamieson, Col. A. W., donor, 1 May 1903
 MS. Pali a. 40(R) to 42(R), 44(R) & 45(R)
Johnson, J. de M., donor, Dec. 1935 **MS. Pali a. 62(R)**
Johnson, J. de M. donor, Dec. 1937 **MS. Burmese a. 14(R)**
Kirby, Miss, donor, March 1921 **MS. Pali a. 51**
Leckie, Miss J. M., donor 1916 **MS. Pali a. 50(R)**
Leckie, Miss J. M., donor, 18 Dec. 1920 **MS. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R)**
Littledale, Mrs, donor, 12 March 1926 **MS. Pali a. 57**
Luzac & Co., vendor, 19 Jan. 1943 **MS. Burmese b. 7(R)**
Malan, Rev. S. C., donor, Jan. 1885 **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 1(R)**
Merriman, Lt. J., vendor, 18 Sept. 1890 **MS. Pali a. 20(R);**
 MS. Pali a. 38(R); MS. Pali b. 15(R) to 19(R);
 MS. Sansk. c. 122(R); MS. Sanskr. c. 125(R)
Mill, Dr, donor, **MS. Pali c. 2(R)**
Mill, W. H., vendor, 1849< >68? **MS. Pali a. 18;**
 MS. Pali b. 1(R); MS. Pali b. 3(R)
Monier-Williams, Sir M., donor, **MS. Ind. Inst. Pali 5(R) & 6(R)**
Ouseley, Sir William, vendor, 1831? 1844? **Ouseley 308;**
 Ouseley 415 to 418
Pope, Dr. G. U., vendor, 1897 **MS. Pali a. 32(R);**
 MS. Pali b. 9(R)
Quaritch, vendor, Nov. 1892 **MS. Pali b. 7; MS. Pali e. 2 to 5**
Sayce, Prof., donor, 1933 **MS. Pali a. 61(R)**

Snaith, N. H., donor, June 1925 MS. Pali a. 52(R) to 56(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 30 May 1893 MS. Pali a. 31(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 26 May 1893 MS. Pali a. 33

Sotheby's, vendor, 4 Dec. 1900 **MS. Pali b. 12**

Sotheby's, vendor, 4 Dec. 1901 **MS. Pali a. 39(R)**;

MS. Pali b. 13(R); MS. Pali b. 20(R) & 21(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 7 Dec. 1901 MS. Pali d. 1(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 18 July 1907 MS. Burmese a. 14(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 1 June 1908 MS. Sinh. a. 4(R);

MS. Sinh. b. 4(R)

Sotheby's, vendor, 17 March 1909 MS. Pali a. 46(R) to 48(R)

Stark, Miss H. A. W., vendor, 23 March 1909 MS. Pali c. 3(R)

Stolper, R. L., deposit 27 July 1993 Dep. Stol. 103:

Dep. Stol. 109: Dep. Stol. 111 to 114:

Dep. Stol. 128 & 129; Dep. Stol. 196 to 199

Stolper, R. L., donor. 1993 MS. **Asiat. Misc.** a. 18(R) to 22(R)

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 26(R) & 27(R):

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 29(R) to 38(R)

Stolper, R. L., vendor. 1993 MS. *Asiat. Misc.* a. 23(R);

MS. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R)

Thompson, J. L., donor, 26 Oct. 1943 MS. Pali a. 63(R)

Tregaskis, J. & M. L., vendor, 1896 MS. Burmese a. 4(R);

MS. Pali g. 1(R)

Tregaskis, J. & M. L., vendor, 26 May 1898 **MS. Pali b. 10**

Walker, Mr, donor, 30 May 1930 MS. Pali a. 59 & 60

Wilson, Sir H. H., vendor, 1842 Wilson 51; 54 to 56; 304

A Note on King Milinda in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya**

A. King Milinda in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

The citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of a conversation between King Milinda and Sthavira Nāgasena was brought to the attention of the scholarly world in 1893 by Sylvain Lévi.¹ At that time the Sanskrit text of the *Kośabhāṣya* had not yet been recovered, and Lévi's study was based on the Chinese versions of Paramārtha (translated 564–

* The bibliography—historical, numismatic, and literary—on King Milinda and the *Milinda-pañha* is vast. In addition to the works mentioned in the course of the article, I have consulted the following: Paul Pelliot, “Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du *Milindapañha*”, *Journal asiatique*, onzième série, tome IV (1914), pp. 379–419; Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, *Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*, [Calcutta, 1933] New Delhi, 1991, pp. 174–83; Siegfried Behrsing, “Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* VII (1933–35), pp. 335–48, 517–39; *L'Inde classique* II, §§ 1983, 2148; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, [1958] Louvain-La-Neuve, 1976, pp. 457–69; A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970, pp. 330–31; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 110–13 (see also references in Norman's Index of Works, p. 203b); Oskar von Hinüber, “The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milinda-pañha*”, *JPTS* XI (1987), pp. 111–19; “An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milindapañha*”, *JPTS* XII (1988), pp. 173–74.; Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, Hirakata, 1980, pp. 114–15 and nn., especially n. 5. These articles give detailed bibliographies.

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

¹ Sylvain Lévi, “Un nouveau document sur le Milinda-Praṇa”, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1893, pp. 232–37 (reprinted in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1937, pp. 214–17).

67) and Hsüan-tsang (translated 651–54). Lévi noted that Paramārtha transliterated the name as Min-lin-to, Hsüan-tsang as Pi-lin-to (his transliterations); he explained the latter's substitution of *mi* by *pi* as having been done on the analogy of the name Pilinda-vatsa. He also noted that the passage does not have a parallel in the Pāli *Milinda-pañha* or in the Chinese versions studied by Specht. In 1924, in his magistral study of the corpus of Milinda literature, Paul Demiéville discussed the *Kośabhāṣya* citation in detail (again from the Chinese).² He confirmed that the passage is not found in either the Pāli or Chinese versions, and was able to point out a parallel in another Chinese text, the “*Avadāna* of the discussion between King Nanda and Nāgasena”, noting that the relevant passage had been translated by Chavannes in his *Cinq cents contes* (see below). In 1925, Louis de La Vallée Poussin's version of the passage in question appeared in volume V of his epochal translation (again from the Chinese) of the *Kośabhāṣya*. La Vallée Poussin gave the king's name as Milinda, without comment.³ In a foot-note he referred to the earlier work of Lévi and Demiéville, and such sources as had appeared by the time of his writing.

The Sanskrit text of the *Kośabhāṣya* was first published in 1967. The citation occurs in the ninth *Kośasthāna*, a prose appendix to the *Kośa* proper, devoted to the clarification of misconceptions about the person (*pudgala*). The Sanskrit text opens with the phrase *sthaviro hi nāgasenah kalingena rājñopasamkramyoktaḥ*.⁴ Neither Pradhan nor

² Paul Demiéville, “Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha”, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* XXIV (1924), pp. 64–67.

³ Louis de La Vallée Poussin (tr.), *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, tome V, repr. Brussels, 1971 (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XVI), p. 263.

⁴ P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series VIII), [1967], 2nd ed., K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1975, p. 469.13–24; Swami Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphutārthā Commentary of Ācārya*

Dwarikadas list any variant readings, and Yaśomitra does not repeat or comment on the name: we have thus only a single reading, *kaliṅgena rājñā*.⁵ The *Pudgala-viniścaya* has been translated into English three times: by Stcherbatsky from the Tibetan of a Peking edition of the Tanjur⁶ by Duerlinger from the Sanskrit,⁷ and by Pruden from La Vallée Poussin's French compared with the Sanskrit.⁸ The first two translators use the name Milinda, the former without remark, the latter stating in a note "here I use the better known title of this king, 'Milinda', rather than 'Kaliṅga', which is found in the text".⁹ Pruden has "the King of Kaliṅga"; his n. 91 (p. 1370) reproduces La Vallée Poussin's

Yaśomitra (Buddha Bharati Series 9), Part IV, Varanasi, 1973, pp. 1209.10–1210.13.

⁵ The only commentary on the *Kośa* that survives in Sanskrit is Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*, the celebrated *Sphuṭārthā*. Out of the commentaries preserved in Tibetan translation (excluding that of Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā*), only Pūrvavardhana's *Lakṣaṇānusārīṇī* and Dignāga's *Marmapradipa* comment on the ninth chapter, but neither cites the passage or comments on the name (Q5594, Vol. 118, *mñon pa ū*, 376b8 and Q5596, Vol. 118, *mñon pa thu*, 284a–b, respectively). It is most unfortunate that Śamathadeva (Q5598, Vol. 118, *mñon pa thu*, 134b–135b) does not include a citation or reference in his indispensable treasure-house of Mūlasarvāstivādin literature, the *Upāyikā-tīkā*. Vinitabhadra's *Kārikā-bhāṣya* (Q5592) and Sthiramati's *Tattvārtha* (Q5875) do not comment on the chapter.

⁶ Theodore Stcherbatsky, *The Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, repr. Delhi, 1976, pp. 40–41 (originally published in 1920).

⁷ James Duerlinger (tr.), "Refutation of the Theory of Selfhood: A Resolution of Questions about Persons", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17/2 (June, 1989), pp. 157–58.

⁸ Leo M. Pruden, *Abhidharmakośabhaṣyam* by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Vol. IV, Berkeley, 1990, p. 1332.

⁹ Note 34, p. 186. As will be seen in the following, the Tibetan version does not immediately bring to mind the name Milinda. Stcherbatsky (p. 7) notes that his translation from the Tibetan was "carefully compared" with the Chinese translations of Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang by O.O. Rosenberg: this may explain his use of the name Milinda. Duerlinger's remark implies that "Kalinga" is a lesser known title of Milinda: this is quite inaccurate.

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

The Tibetan translation of the *Kośabhāṣya*, done by Jinamitra and dPal brtsegs at the beginning of the 9th century, has here *rgyal po des* 'du sbyin gnas brtan klu'i sde'i thad du 'oṇs nas....¹⁰ There is no problem with the name Sthavira Nāgasena, since *gnas brtan* = *sthavira*, *klu* = *nāga*, and *sde* = *sena*. It is the name of the king that poses difficulties. We have *rgyal po* = *rāja*, then *des*, plus 'du sbyin.¹¹ The phrase 'du sbyin may be explained on the basis of the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*. The former, in a list of names of Nāga-kings, has *ela-melo-nāga-rājā* (var. *ela-melau nāga-rājānau*), in Tibetan *lug daṇ* 'du ba gñis: "the two [Nāga-kings], Lug and 'Du ba".¹² The Sanskrit *Mahāmāyūrī* mentions *ela-melau nāga-rājānau*, also in a list of Nāga-kings;¹³ the Tibetan translation has here *klu'i rgyal po e la daṇ*, 'dus pa dag daṇ: "the Nāga-kings Ela and 'Dus pa".¹⁴ That *lug* = *ela*, *eda*, *edaka*, etc., is well attested:¹⁵

¹⁰ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu, Translated into Tibetan in the 8th century by Jinamitra and Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs Rakṣita, Reproduced from a mid-15th century manuscript Bstan-'gyur volume from Rgyal-rtse Fort, New Delhi, Tibet House, 1983, p. 767.3 (*mnon 'grel gu*, 385a3); Q5591, Vol. 115, *mnon pa ḥu*, 101a8.

¹¹ *rgyal po des* could represent the instrumental, "by that king", suggesting that the Sanskrit recension upon which the Tibetan was based included the word *tena* (= *des*) to make *tena rājñā*. *des* could also be read *nes*, but that strikes me as unlikely.

¹² R. Sakaki, *Mahāvyutpatti*, Kyoto, 1926, § 3291. The *Mahāvyutpatti* published by I.P. Minaev (Bibliotheca Buddhica XIII, [1911] Delhi, 1992, § 167.63 has *edameḍo nāgarājā*.

¹³ Shūyo Takubo (ed.), *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo, 1972, p. 41.6.

¹⁴ Q178, Vol. 7, *rgyud pha*, 108b5 *klu'i rgyal po e la dan*, 'dus pa dag daṇ: *klu'i rgyal po* = *nāgarāja*; *e la* = *ela*; *dan* = "and"; 'dus pa = *mela*; *dag* indicates here dual; *daṇ* = "and". A manuscript version reproduced in *Tog daṇ gzuṇs grwa lha*, *The Tibetan Translations of the Mahāsannipātaratnaketudhāraṇī and*

Mahāvyutpatti § 3263: *elo nāga-rājā* = *lug*

Mahāvyutpatti § 3267: *ela-varno nāga-rājā* = *lug mdog*

Mahāvyutpatti § 4823: *edakah* = *lug*

Mahāvyutpatti § 6177: *edāksi-puspam* = *me tog lug mig*

Mahāvyutpatti § 7684: *eda-mūkah* = *lug ltar lkug pa.*

That '*du ba* or '*dus pa* = *mela* or related forms derived from the Sanskrit root *MIL* (to come together, meet, join, assemble) is also well established:¹⁶ in the *Hevajra Tantra*, '*du ba* = *milana*, *melā*, and *melāpaka*, and '*dus pa* = *melā*; in the *Nāgānanda*, '*dus pa* = *milita*.¹⁷ We may thus conclude that the '*du* of the *Kośabhāṣya* is equivalent to *mila* or *mela*.¹⁸ *shyin* at the end of names in Tibetan regularly translates the Sanskrit *-datta* or *-da*; in this case we will prefer the latter.

The Indian orthography of the king's name has recently been discussed by Fussman, who presents numismatic and inscriptional evidence for "la forme officielle indienne" *Menaṇḍra* (and also

Pañcarakṣā, A reproduction of a six part manuscript from Bhutan calligraphed by one *Ñag-dbañ-bsam-grub-rnam-rgyal-don-grub*, published by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, Kyichu Monastery, Paro, Bhutan, 1978, p. 407.7 (ga 30a7) has only *klu'i rgyal po 'dus pa dag dañ*, omitting *ela*.

¹⁵ As before, in the first two cases Minaev's *Mahāvyutpatti* has *eda*: see his index, p. 152a.

¹⁶ '*dus pa* is the past participle of the infinitive '*du ba*, "to come together".

¹⁷ The references are from Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 4 (Śata-piṭaka Series Vol. 374), New Delhi, 1993, p. 989b.

¹⁸ The use of equivalents in '*du* = *MIL* in the Tibetan should rule out Minaev's *meda* (see above, n. 12).

Minamdra), and “la forme déformée” Minedra, influenced by Gāndhāri.¹⁹ As far as I know in Pāli the name is always Milinda.²⁰

Unfortunately our researches into the Tibetan do not enable us to reconstruct the name of the King with absolute precision or certainty. They do, however, allow us to establish certain significant points.²¹ It is impossible to decide whether the first syllable had as vowel *i* (as in Pāli) or *e* (as in Greek and on Indian coins), since the root *MIL* allows both: although the Chinese of both Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang suggest the former.²² It is, however, certain that the second syllable began with *la* (as in Pāli and in Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang), and not *na* (as in Greek and in the Indian evidence): this is vouchsafed by the derivation of *'du* from *MIL*. Whether the second syllable had as vowel *a* or *i* is not certain: *mila-* or *mela-* are more obvious, and agree with the Indian evidence supplied by Fussman, but *mili-* or *meli-* might also be possible—and it seems the Indic form transliterated by Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang was *mili-*.²³ The final syllable must certainly have been *-da* (Tibetan *sbypin*), and was not Sanskritized as *(-in)dra* as in some manuscripts of the *Stūpāvadāna* (see

¹⁹ Gérard Fussman, “L’Indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité”, *Journal asiatique* CCLXXXI, 1–2 (1993), pp. 72–73.

²⁰ For earlier discussions of the king’s name, see e.g. T.W. Rhys Davids (tr.), *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part I (The Sacred Books of the East XXXV), [Oxford, 1890] Delhi, 1975, pp. xviii–xix, and Pelliot, pp. 384–85.

²¹ It is important to recall that Jinamitra—described in the colophons of Vinaya translations as a “*vinayadhara* of the Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādins and an *ācārya* of the Kashmiri Vaibhāsikas”—and dPal brtsegs were two of the greatest translators of the “early diffusion” (*sna dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. During the period a royally sponsored commission, in which the two translators were leading figures, supervised and regulated translation work and fixed the Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Their translation of the *Kośabhāṣya* is thus highly reliable.

²² As seen above, these are Min-lin-to and Pi-lin-to in Lévi’s transliteration; in that of Demiéville, they are Min-lin-t’o and Pi-lin-t’o.

²³ But it strikes me that other Chinese forms—Mi-lan and Nan-t’o (see below) suggest an *a* against an *i*.

below). We are thus left with a number of possible equivalents for 'Du sbyin: *Milamda or *Miliṁda, *Melamda or *Meliṁda (and perhaps also *Milanda, etc., and even Milinda).²⁴

What, then, should we make of the reading *Kalinga-rāja* of the Sanskrit *Kośabhāṣya*? It is important first of all to note here that, so far as I know, *Kalinga* is always transliterated and never translated into Tibetan. The *Mahāvyutpatti*, for example, transcribes *Kaliṅga* as *ka lin ga* (§ 4128) and *Kaliṅga-rāja* as *ka lin ga'i rgyal po* (§ 3589).²⁵ While it might be possible to explain *-liṅga* as a scribal error for *-liṁda* or *-linda*, it seems impossible in any script to explain the substitution of *ka-* for *mi-* or *me-*. Furthermore, the final part might well have been *-lamda* and not *-liṁda* (or *-linda*). Still, the dropping of a superscript vowel or its migration from the first to the second syllable—from *Milamda* or *Melamda*, etc., to *Maliṁda*, *Malinda*, etc.—at some stage is by no means impossible, and a later scribe, faced with an unfamiliar *Maliṁda*-, *Malinda*- or *Maliṅga-rāja* may have substituted the *lectior familiaris* *Kalinga-rāja*. We do not know how many intermediate copies, in how many scripts, the text went through before arriving at the present reading. Since the two Chinese and one Tibetan translations are unanimous in

²⁴ Yasunori Ejima, in his "Textcritical Remarks on the Ninth Chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*", Tokyo, 1987, p. 21, has come to a similar conclusion. He remarks: "rgyal po des 'du sbyin ('des' ambiguous. 'du' = 'mela', cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* 3291. 'sbyin' = 'da'. Therefore 'des' 'du sbyin' may be a rendering of something like 'milinda'). Read 'milindena rājñā'." (I am grateful to Bhikkhu Pāsādika for supplying copies of the relevant pages of Ejima and Pruden.)

²⁵ Cf. also the references in Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 1 (Śāta-piṭaka Series Vol. 369), New Delhi, 1992, p. 8a; in J.S. Negi, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. 1, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, 1993, pp. 9–10; and Edward Conze, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Serie Orientale Roma XIII), Rome, 1974, p. 41, n. 2, which gives "Tib. Ka-liṅ-ka" for the *Kalinga* of the text, line 7.

suggesting a name equivalent to Milinda, the form Kaliṅga must be rejected, and some such explanation adopted.

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

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

²⁷ See here the remarks of Gérard Fussman, “Upāya-kauśalya: L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra”, in Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman (eds.), *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques 2, Paris, 1994, pp. 25–26. I could not find any references to Milinda or any likely variants in the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* or in Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Compact Edition, Rinsen Book Co., Kyoto, 1990). The sole reference in Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Supplementary Volume 5 (Śata-piṭaka Series Vol. 375), New Delhi, 1993, p. 1405b is to the Milindra of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*. Some scholars have interpreted a passage in Tāranātha as referring to Milinda: see Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (tr.), *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, [1970] 1980, p. 46. Since in the Tibetan the name of the king is Minara of Thogar and of the arhat monk Dhitika, and since the conversion narrative is quite general, I find the identification unconvincing, and too uncertain to be of any use. For the Tibetan see Antonius Schieffner, *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, St. Petersburg, 1868 (repr. as Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series 2, n.d.) p. 18.7 *dus lan cig tho gar gvi yul na rgyal po mi na ra žes bya ba yod do...*

²⁸ The reference was recorded (as King Millinda, without comment) by Rājendralāla Mitra in his *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* [Calcutta, 1882], Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1971, p. 60, and pointed out by Serge d'Oldenbourg to T.W. Rhys Davids: see *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part II (The Sacred Books of the East XXXVI), [Oxford, 1894] Delhi, 1975, p. xvii.

*tatra samdarśanāyātām bhagavān indram abravīt
milindro nāma rājāśmin deśe stūpam karisyati.*²⁹

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

De Jong gives two readings from manuscripts in Cambridge, A Milindo, B Miliṇdo, and recommends the first.³⁰ Here the Tibetan, as given by de Jong, transliterates the name as *rgyal po mi lin dra zhes pa*: “a king, Milindra by name”. The change from *-inda* to *-indra* might have been a Sanskritization made on the analogy of Indra, a frequent component of royal names or titles.³¹

The identification of our King with Milinda is further supported by the fact that in the Chinese parallel to Vasubandhu’s citation mentioned above, the dialogue is between a King *Nanda and Nāgasena. In addition to Chavannes’ French translation, there is an English translation by Takakusu.³² As noted by Demiéville, the parallel is not from the independent Chinese counterpart of the *Milinda-pañha*, the

²⁹ P.L. Vaidya/Sridhar Tripathi (edd.), *Avadāna-kalpalatā* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 23), Vol. II, 2nd ed., Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1989, p. 342.3. For textual history, see de Jong’s (foll. n.) Introduction. The *Stūpāvadāna* is translated and discussed at length by Demiéville, pp. 36–43.

³⁰ J.W. de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallavas 42–108)*, Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library, 1979 (Studia Philologica Buddhica II), p. 97.

³¹ This was already suggested by Demiéville (p. 39, n. 4).

³² Édouard Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apollogues extraits du Tripitaka chinois*, tome III, repr. Paris, 1962, § 418, pp. 123–24; J. Takakusu, “Chinese Translations of the Milinda pañho”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, pp. 1–21.

**Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra*,³³ but from the “*Avadāna* of the discussion between King Nanda and Nāgasena”, which is chapter 111 of the *Tsa pao tsang ching*,³⁴ a collection of 121 *avadānas* translated into Chinese in 472 by *Kikkāya—who came from the “West”, perhaps Gandhāra or Kaśmīr.³⁵

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

³³ *Na hsien pi ch'iu ching* (Taisho § 1670a = Korean Buddhist Canon § 1002; Taisho § 1670b = Nanjio § 1358): for detailed studies see Demiéville, pp. 1–264, and Bhikkhu Thich Minh Chau, *Milindapañha and Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra (A Comparative Study)*, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, n.d.

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

³⁵ The translator and his name are discussed by Demiéville, p. 65, n. 4, and by Willemen, pp. 508–509.

the *avadāna* version shows that although they are fairly close, there are differences in framework and certain details. The question posed by the King is different. While in the *Kośabhāṣya* it concerns the identity of the *jīva* and the body, in the Chinese it concerns permanence and impermanence.³⁶ Thus, although the *avadāna* version and the *Kośa* citation are clearly affiliated, they come from different recensions of a further Milinda tradition.³⁷

Willemen (pp. 511–13) points out that many stories of the *Tsa pao tsang ching* take place in Gandhāra or Kaśmīr, and concludes that “the Indian material seems to come from Gandhāra or Kaśmīr, which may be the place of origin of *Kikkāya”. He states that “the language of the Indian originals seems to have been Sanskrit, as is clear from phonetic renderings and from the few mantras”. Both Willemen and *L’Inde classique* (§ 2148) suggest that the original may have belonged to the Sarvāstivādins.

The original language of the **Nāgasenabhikṣu-sūtra* is believed to have been a North-western Prakrit. Vasubandhu’s citation, from a different text, is in Sanskrit. Was there, then, a Sanskrit recension of the *Milinda-pañha*? As far as I know, Vasubandhu—whether in his *Kośabhāṣya* or in such other works as are available in Sanskrit—does not give any citations in any form of Prakrit, unlike, for example, Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* or Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. For the most part Vasubandhu cites (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin texts, which by his time at least were redacted in Sanskrit. In the present case it strikes me as likely that Vasubandhu is citing a Sanskrit, (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin recension of a *Milinda-pañha*.

³⁶ The phrase is discussed by Demiéville, p. 66, n. 6.

³⁷ In order that the reader may compare the two versions, I reproduce the relevant texts and translations below.

In the light of the above, and since two translations recorded in Chinese catalogues were later lost,³⁸ we may suggest that the Milinda corpus was more varied and extensive than previously thought, and list the following versions:

- (1) The Chinese “Sūtra on the similes of Nāgasena”, in four rolls (*chüan*). This is the earliest known Milinda text, translated by unknown hands by the 3rd century at the latest, and lost by the 5th. Since no information is available, we cannot say anything about the relation of the text to those we know.³⁹
- (2) The extant Chinese **Nāgasenabhiksū-sūtra*, in two or three rolls. This is an anonymous translation done under the Eastern Chin (317–420), extant in two textual lineages descending from the same translation, but transmitted and revised independently. A portion of the opening and the dialogues proper correspond to the *bāhirakathā* and the first 7 *vaggas* of the Pāli version.⁴⁰ The original is believed to have been written in a

³⁸ See Demiéville, pp. 4–21.

³⁹ Demiéville, pp. 7–9 and 21.

⁴⁰ That is, up to p. 89 of V. Trenckner, *The Milindapañha*, London, [1880] 1962, or p. 96 of the Chatthasaṅgīti edition (ChS). The “original” portion of the Pāli is usually described as the first three “Books” (I to III) of the *Milinda-pañha*. This description, as far as I can tell, derives from a division of the text into seven “Books” introduced into his translation by Rhys Davids (see his remark on p. 100, n. 1, at the beginning of his “Book III”: “the chapters go straight on because Books II and III are really only parts of one Book”). No such division is found in Trenckner, or in the ChS or Siamese editions. In fact, the issue of the structure is complex, and the internal table of contents (Trenckner, p. 2, ChS 2.12) divides the work into six parts, with two further subdivisions (the Siamese edition, p. 4.11, also lists six parts and two subdivisions, but with differences in order and phraseology). The “original” text extends beyond the 7th *vagga* (which ends at Trenckner p. 87.20, *sattamo vaggo*; ChS 94, penult *arūpadhammadavavatthāna-vaggo sattamo*) to what might be called the conclusion, which ends on p. 89 (ChS 96). Since it is unsound to refer to

North-western Prakrit. The text may be studied in Demiéville's annotated French translation. The *Na-sien ching* (**Nāgasena-sūtra*) in 1 roll, translated by Guṇabhadra between 435 and 455, was based on the same original as the preceding. It was lost by 664.⁴¹

(3) The *bāhirakathā* and the first 7 *vaggas* of the Pāli *Milinda-pañha*.⁴² The consensus of scholarship is that these opening sections correspond to the original text, which was brought to Ceylon and translated into Pāli by about the beginning of the Common Era (with the *proviso* that much of the narrative material in the *bāhirakathā* was composed in Ceylon). For example, Pelliot concluded “il me semble certain que le *Milindapañha* primitif s'arrêtait là où les versions chinoises le terminent, c'est-à-dire à la page 136 du tome I de la traduction de M. Rhys Davids” [= Trenckner, p. 89].⁴³ Norman (p. 111) has “from the fact that the words

divisions introduced into a translation (followed also by I.B. Horner in her *Milinda's Questions*) and not supported by the texts, I rather hope that future discussion of the Milinda will abandon the reference to Rhys Davids' “Books”.

⁴¹ Demiéville pp. 10–11 and 21.

⁴² For the Pāli *Milinda-pañha* we should note that the Siamese recension differs from the Sinhalese and that citations in Buddhaghosa's works do not always agree with the received text (see e.g. Thich Minh Chau, pp. 33–34). For the different paritta list of the Siamese version see *JPTS* XVI, 1992, Table 1. The Siamese version has recently been reprinted on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Siam (Wat Pak Nam, Bangkok, 2536 [1993]). A Pāli manuscript in Mon script dated Sakkarāj 1167 (CE 1805) is noted under the title *Pāli-milindavitthāra paṭhamavagga* in *The Mae Klong Basin: Socio-cultural Development*, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, 1992, p. 200. It would be interesting to know to which tradition the manuscript belongs. Cf. also the manuscript described in the colophon as “brought from Siam” (*siyamdesato ānitapoththakato*): Jinadasa Liyanaratne, “Pāli manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library”, *JPTS* XVIII (1993), pp. 139–40.

⁴³ Pelliot, p. 418. See also Winternitz, pp. 176–83, who refers to similar conclusions reached by Senart and Bart (p. 177, n. 2). Regrettably, Winternitz's discussion is marred by modernist prejudices. He remarks of “Books IV–VII”

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

(Geiger, however, stated that "the real contents of the work ended with Chapter 2, at the end of which we find in our Pāli text the remark: *Nāgasena-Milindarāja-pañhā-niṭṭhitā*".⁴³ In Trenckner's edition this statement occurs a short way into the fourth *vagga*, p. 64,ult. The phrase is difficult to explain. Can it refer to the end of the second part listed in the internal table of contents, "Milindapañha"? The statement is not found in ChS, which describes the dialogue as the second of the fourth *vagga*: *nāgasena dutiyo*.)

(4) The remainder of the Pāli *Milinda-pañha*.⁴⁴ The consensus of opinion is that the remaining chapters—which are entirely absent in the Chinese **Nāgasenabhiksū-sūtra*—were composed in Ceylon, after the basic Indian text had been translated into Pāli, and appended to that text at a later date.⁴⁵ While I agree that they are not part of the "original" text, I feel that they may have been composed in India and circulated independently—that is, that they could represent another development of the rich Indian Milinda tradition—and later translated into Pāli and conjoined with the basic text. My reason is that the later books contain

(pp. 182–83) that "these legends are permeated with a low conception of the doctrine of Karman, an exaggerated cult of the Buddha (Buddha-Bhakti), and a somewhat crude belief in miracles, which would seem to indicate a later period".

⁴⁴ Wilhelm Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language* (tr. by Batakrishna Ghosh), [Calcutta, 1943] Delhi, 1968, § 20, pp. 26–27.

⁴⁵ That is, from p. 90 of Trenckner's edition on (p. 97 of ChS), which according to the internal table of contents comprises the *Mendakapañha*, *Anumānapañha*, and *Opammakathāpañha*. These correspond somehow to Rhys Davids' Books IV to VII.

⁴⁶ See Norman, p. 112: "Books IV–VII are different in style, and are clearly later than the first portion and probably by a different author".

many purportedly canonical citations that are not found in the Pāli canon, as well as citations attributed to different persons than in the Pāli.⁴⁷ That is, the author(s) must have consulted a different canon. It seems impossible to decide whether the later part is a compilation from several different works, or a single work.⁴⁸

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

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

⁴⁷ See I.B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. I (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXII), London, [1963] 1969, pp. x foll.

⁴⁸ According to Winternitz (p. 177, n. 2) Schrader, in his introduction to his translation (Berlin, 1905), “assumes that there were seven different recensions or revisions of this work”.

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

One other point may be mentioned. Trenckner noted that “the opening phrase [of the *Milinda-pañha*] *tam�athā 'nusūyate* is not found in any other Pāli writing”.⁴⁹ A similar phrase, *tadyathā anuśrūyate*, is used to open the prose of stories in the Sanskrit Buddhist *jātaka* or *avadāna* genre, such as the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna*,⁵⁰ the *Jātakamālās* of Āryaśūra, Haribhṛta, and Gopadatta,⁵¹ and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.⁵² (Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* prefers *śrūyate hi*,⁵³ while the *Suvarnavarṇāvadāna* opens with *evam anuśrūyate*.⁵⁴)

B. Translation of Vasubandhu's citation

King Milinda went to the Elder Nāgasena and said:⁵⁵ “I would like to question the respected one, but [you] śramanas are great talkers: could

⁴⁹ Trenckner, p. vii. The Siamese edition (p. 3.18) has here *suuyatī ti* (without *tam�athā*).

⁵⁰ Konrad Klaus, *Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna (Divyāvadāna 38)* (Indica et Tibetica 2), Bonn, 1983, p. 28.5.

⁵¹ Hendrik Kern (ed.), *The Jātaka-mālā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 1), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943, pp. 1.19; 6.13, etc.; Michael Hahn, *Haribhṛta and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra: On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās*, The Reiyukai Library, Tokyo, 1977, pp. 10; 31.5 and Tables 7 and 8.

⁵² Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta* (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft II), [Leipzig, 1926] Wiesbaden, 1979, pp. 47, 152.

⁵³ Swami Dwarikadas Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra* (Buddha Bharati Series 5), Part I, Varanasi, 1970, p. 7.23, 25.

⁵⁴ Sita Ram Roy, *Suvarnavarṇāvadāna*, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute (Historical Research Series Vol. VII), Patna, 1971, p. 218.3.

⁵⁵ The Chinese of Hsüan-tsang lists several of the Elder's attainments: “il y eut un Bhadanta nommé Nāgasena, possédent les trois *vidyās*, les six *abhijñās*, les huit

Continues...

you respond to exactly what I ask?" "Ask" said [Nāgasena. The King] asked, "Is the life-force (*jīva*) the body, or is the life-force one thing, and the body another?" "That cannot be answered" replied the Elder. The King said, "Did not the respected one promise from the outset not to avoid answering? How then do you speak otherwise, saying 'that cannot be answered'?" The Elder said, "I also would like to question the Great King, but kings are great talkers: could you respond to exactly what I ask?" "Ask" said [the King. Nāgasena] asked, "Are the mangos from the mango-tree in your inner court sour, or are they sweet?"⁵⁶ "There is no mango-tree in my inner court." "Did not the great king promise from the outset not to avoid answering? How then do you speak otherwise, saying 'there is no mango-tree'? "How can I answer regarding the sourness or sweetness of a non-existent mango-tree?" "In the same way, great king, that very life-force does not exist—how can I declare that it is different from or the same as the body?"

C. The parallel from the *Tsa pao tsang ching*⁵⁷

C.1. Chavannes

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

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

⁵⁶ For similes with mangos in the *Milinda-pañha*, see Trenckner pp. 46, 72, 77, 263.

⁵⁷ Chavannes, *Cinq Cente Contes*..., pp. 123–24, and Takakusu, *JRAS* 1896, p. 20. I reproduce the two translations, including their transliterations of the Chinese names, as they stand.

acides?" Le roi répondit: "Dans mon palais il n'y a aucun arbre de cette sorte; comment pouvez-vous me demander si ces fruits sont doux ou acides?" (*Na-k'ia-*) *sseu-na* reprit: "Je vous répondrai moi aussi de la même manière; tout l'ensemble des cinq viscères ne constitue point le moi; comment pouvez-vous me demandez si ce moi est permanent ou impermanent?"

C.2. Takakusu

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

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

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

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

D. Vasubandhu's citation: texts

D.1. Sanskrit text⁸

esa ca granthah pūrvakair⁹ eva nirmocitah / sthaviro hi nāgasenah
kalingena rājñopasamkramyoktaḥ / prccheyam aham bhadantam

⁸ I reproduce (with a few adjustments) the text as given in Bhikkhu Pāsādika, *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu* (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 1), Göttingen, 1989, § 522, p. 129, except that the opening from *esa...* to ...*upasamkramyoktaḥ*, not given by Pāsādika, is supplied from Pradhan and Dwarikadas (see n. 4 above).

⁹ Yaśomitra 1209, ult *pūrvakair eveti, sthaviranāgasenādibhīḥ*; Tibetan in Q5593, Vol. 117, *mnon pa chu*, 391b7 *sna ma dag kho nas žes bya ba ni gnas*

bahubollakāś⁶⁰ ca śramaṇā bhavanti / yadi yad eva pr̄ccheyam tad eva vyākuryā iti / pr̄cchet yuktah pr̄ṣṭavān⁶¹ / kim nu sa jīvas tac charīram anyo jīvo 'nyac charīram iti / avyākṛtam etad ity avocat sthavirah / sa āha / nanu bhadantaḥ pūrvam eva pratijñām kārito nānyad vyākartavyam iti / kim idam anyad evoktam avyākṛtam etad iti / sthavira āha / aham api mahārājam pr̄ccheyam bahubollakāś⁶² ca rājāno bhavanti / yadi yad eva pr̄ccheyam tad eva vyākuryā iti / pr̄cchet yuktah pr̄ṣṭavān⁶³ / yas te 'ntahpure āmravṛksas tasya kim amlāni phalāni āhosvit madhurāñiti / naiva mamāntahpure kaścid āmravṛkṣo 'stity āha / nanu mayā pūrvam eva mahārājah pratijñām kārito nānyad vyākartavyam iti / kim idam anyad evoktam āmra eva nāstiti / sa āha katham asato vṛkṣasya phalānām

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

⁶⁰ bahuvollakāś Pāsādika. Yaśomitra 1209, ult: *bahubollakā iti, bahupralāpā iti*; Tib. 391b7 *smra ba man ba žes bya ba ni gtsor (!) ba'o*; *Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī* (376b8) *smra ba man ba žes bya ba ni gtser ba'o*. (I take the correct reading to be *gtser ba*, for which see *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, *Bar cha* [II], 2195a, *gtser ba: rna ba sun par byed pa; don med ku co man pos rna ba gtser bar byed pa; mi tshogs man du 'dus nas ca co'i sgras gtser ba*. This suggests something like tiresomely or annoyingly garrulous: cf. La Vallée Poussin's rendering, "mais les religieux sont bavards", and Lévi's (p. 216) rendering of Yaśomitra's gloss *bahupralāpa* as "qui bavarde beaucoup". More neutrally the phrase means largiloquent or multiloquous; cp. Lévi's rendering, "or les cramanas aiment beaucoup à parler".) As noted by La Vallée Poussin (*op. cit.*, p. 263, n. 2) *bahubollaka* occurs in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, repr. Delhi, 1987, *Samgharakṣitāvadāna*, p. 338.13, 19: not p. 358 as in La Vallée Poussin). This is the only reference given by Edgerton (BHSD 403b, s.v. *bollaka*); Lévi (p. 216) refers to the term as "un des exemples les plus anciens du thème *bol* consacré par l'hindoustani dans le sens de 'parler'". The *Pravrajyāvastu* version of the *Samgharakṣitāvadāna* reads *bahūllāpaka* (not in BHSD, but see 462a, *-lāpika*), which means the same: Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts III–4*, [Calcutta, 1950] Delhi, 1984, p. 39.1, 6. The Tibetan, given in a footnote, is the same as in our text: *smra ba man ba*.

⁶¹ *pr̄cchet yuktah pr̄ṣṭavān* Pāsādika.

⁶² bahuvollakāś Pāsādika: see above.

⁶³ *pr̄cchet yuktah pr̄ṣṭavān* Pāsādika.

amlatāṁ madhuratāṁ vā vyākaromīti / evam eva mahārāja sa eva jivo
nāsti kuto 'sya śarīrād anyatāṁ ananyatāṁ vā vyākaromīti /

D.2. Tibetan text⁶⁴

'dud pa⁶⁵ 'di ni sna ma dag kho nas kyañ bkrol⁶⁶ te/ rgyal po des 'du
sbyin gnas brtan klu'i⁶⁷ sde'i thad du 'oñs nas btsun pa dge sbyoñ⁶⁸
rnams ni smra ba mañ ba lags so// gal te gañ dris pa de ñid (Q101b) lan
'debs na/⁶⁹ bdag 'dri bar 'tshal lo žes smras so⁷⁰// drir gsol žes smras pa
dañ/ ci lags⁷¹ srog de ñid lus lags sam/ srog kyañ gžan lags⁷² la⁷³ lus
kyan gžan lags žes dris so// gnas brtan⁷⁴ gyis 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no
žes smras pa dañ/ des smras pa/ bdag gis sna nas btsun pa gžan luñ bstan
par mi bya'o⁷⁵ žes dam 'char gsol⁷⁶ ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du 'di skad
du⁷⁷ 'di ni lan mi gdab pa yin no žes gžan kho na gsuñs⁷⁸/ gnas brtan gyis
smras pa/ rgyal po chen po rgyal po rnams ni⁷⁹ smra ba mañ ba lags so//

⁶⁴ My text is composite, based on rGyal rtse (G) 385a3 (repr. p. 767.3) and Peking (Q) *mñon pa'i bstan bcos ñu*, 101a8. All variants are recorded; the punctuation follows G.

⁶⁵ 'dud pa (= *grantha*) G: *bdud pa* Q.

⁶⁶ Q adds *zin*: not in G.

⁶⁷ *klu'i* G: *klu* Q.

⁶⁸ *dge sbyoñ* (= *śramana*) Q: *dge sloñ* (= *bhikṣu*) G.

⁶⁹ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁰ *smras so* Q: *smra'o* G.

⁷¹ /G: Q om. /.

⁷² *lags* G: Q om. *lags*.

⁷³ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁴ *gnas brtan* Q: *gnas grtan* G.

⁷⁵ Q adds //: not in G.

⁷⁶ G adds *ba*: not in Q. See n. 92.

⁷⁷ /G: Q om. /.

⁷⁸ *gsuñs* Q: *gsun* G.

⁷⁹ *ni* Q: G om. *ni*.

gal te gaṇ dris⁸⁰ pa de ŋid^{81} lan 'debs na bdag kyaṇ 'dri⁸² bar 'tshal lags so// drir gsol žes smras pa daṇ/ khyod kyi slas la śiṇ ljon pa a mra⁸³ {84} yod pa gaṇ yin pa de'i 'bras bu rnams/⁸⁵ ci skyur ram/⁸⁶ 'on te^{87} mñar lags śes⁸⁸ dris so// bdag gi slas⁸⁹ la śiṇ ljon pa a mra⁹⁰ ŋid 'ga' yaṇ med do//⁹¹ žes (G385b) smras so// bdag gis sña nas rgyal po chen po gžan luṇ bstan par mi bya'o// žes dam 'char gsol^{92} ma lags sam/ ci'i slad du⁹³ 'di skad du śiṇ ljon pa a mra⁹⁴ ŋid med do žes gžan kho na gsuṇs/ des smras pa/ ji ltar na śiṇ⁹⁵ ljon pa med pa'i 'bras bu rnams skyur ba 'am/⁹⁶ mñar ba ŋid du luṇ bstan par bya/ rgyal po chen po de bžin du srog de ŋid med na/⁹⁷ ci'i slad du 'di la⁹⁸ lus las gžan pa ŋid dam gžan ma yin pa ŋid du⁹⁹ lun bstan par bgyi žes bya ba lta bu'o//

Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

⁸⁰ *dris* Q: *srid* G.

⁸¹ G adds *la*: not in Q.

⁸² 'dri G: *dri* Q.

⁸³ a mra Q: a smra G.

⁸⁴ Q adds 'bras bu (*phala*): not in G or Sanskrit.

⁸⁵ /G: Q om. /.

⁸⁶ /G: Q om. /.

⁸⁷ Q adds /: not in G.

⁸⁸ *lags śes* G: žes (om. *lags*) Q.

⁸⁹ *slas* G: *slam* Q.

⁹⁰ a mra Q: a smra G.

⁹¹ // G: not in Q.

⁹² G adds *ba*: not in Q. See n. 76.

⁹³ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁴ a mra Q: a smra G.

⁹⁵ śiṇ Q: G om. śiṇ.

⁹⁶ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁷ /G: Q om. /.

⁹⁸ *la* G: Q om. *la*.

⁹⁹ gžan ma yin pa ŋid du Q: G gžan ma (om. *yin*) pa ŋid du, added in small letters below line.

Supplement to The Concordance of the Buddhist Birth Stories

Introduction

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

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

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

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

ABHINIŠKRAMANA

TPS: No. 25 TAN 73 PL 109 P 469

Story: Life story of Buddha.

References:

Budge (1923) Baralam and Jēwsēf
 Pal (1988) 201 Pl 64 Buddha's early life
 Peri (1959) Barlaam Legende

Motif-Index TMI: T 617

AKATAÑNU

J 90

CJ: I 220-1, MAL: I 1

Story: Having been treated courteously, a merchant refused to reciprocate. In turn, when the merchant needed some favor again - he was refused.

References:

Babay (1980) Babay, Rafael: A Favor for a Favor, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, (TEM-41), 1980 # 9 "Two Friends" (IFA 10199)

Folktale Type AT: 613, 893

AMARĀDEVĪ-PAÑHA, Chandapathapañha

J 112

CJ: I 254, FJ: I 424, MAL: I 147

Story: Mahosadha was testing Amarā about her virtues. She was outstanding in her behavior and intellect.

References:

Adam of Cobsam (1462) The Wright's Chaste Wife, in Furnivalli, F J (1865) publ. Early English Text Society
 Árnason, Jón (11864) Icelandic Legends, Story of Geirlaug and Groedari
 Barbazan-Méon (1808) De la Dame qui Attrapa un Prêtre, un Prévôt et un Forestier, III: 296>
 Basile (1932) II: 9, The Paddock I: 197-203

Boccaccio (1982) Decameron VIII: 8

Burton, R F (1886-8) Supplemental Nights... V: 253>: Good Wife of Cairo, and of her Four Gallants

Burton R T (1865) Thousand Nights and a Night

Clouston, W A (1884) VI: 172 The Lady and her Five Suitors

Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Seven Vazirs, First Tale of Sixth Vazir

Clouston, W A (1884) Book of Sindibād p. 181 >

Clouston, W A (1887) A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories p. 240 >

Clouston, W A Popular Tales and Fictions, Vol. II: The Lady and her Suitors p. 303-5; Temal Ramakistnan p. 305-7

Coelho A (1879) Contos populares portugueses, Lisbon, Sixty seventh story

Cunningham (1879) 53

Damant, G A The Touchstone Indian Antiquary (1873), vol. IX, p. 2-3

Darvish Makhlis of Ispahān: Thousand and one Days

Dasent, George Webbe (1912) Popular Tales from the Norse Mastermaid

Falla, Manuel de Based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcon: The Corregidor & The Miller's Wife Three-cornered hat (1916-9)

Forteguerri, Ser Giovanni (1882) Novelle edite ed inedite, Bologna, Eighth novel

Gibb, R T W (transl): History of Forty Vazis p. 227 > Story of 21st Vazir

Gonzenbach, Laura (1870) Sicilianische Märchen, Leipzig p. 859-62, No.55

Ināyatū-'llāh: Bahār'i-Danish = Spring of Knowledge

J 546 Mahā-ummagga VI: 185-7

Liebrecht, Felix (1851) John Dunlap's *Geschichte der Peosadichtungen*, Berlin No. 72 b

Mizrahi (1967) # 6 Handicraft delivers from death (IFA 1625b)

Montaiglon (1877) IV-106: Constant du Hamel

Nakshabī, Ziya-u'Din: *Tūtī Nāma Tales of a Parrot*, Graz (1978) ADV Fourth Night

Noy (1962) # 4 Wisdom of Life

Penzer (1924) I: 153-64; 168; 172-81 *Devasmitā*; I: 42-4 The entrapped suitors; I: 29-36 *Upakosā*

Penzer (1924) *Yavamajhakiyā*

Rapoport (1937) 168-73 The Clever Peasant Girl

Sansovino, F (1603) *Cento novelle*, Venice IX:8

Shaykh'Izzat Ullāh (1712): *Gul-i-Bakāvalī* = The Rose of Bakāvalī

Stokes, Maive (1879) Indian Fairy Tales No. 28

Straparola, Giovan Le Piacevoli Notti, Venoce 1567 II: 5

Francesco da Caravaggio

Swan, Charles & Gesta Romanorum No. 69

Wynnard Hooper (1876)

Thorbun, S S (1876) Bannūor Our Afghan Frontier, London

Verdi: Falstaff Mélusine p. 178

Folktale Type AT: 875, 1730

Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

Libretto: Arrigo Boïto, based on Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*

ĀSAMKA J 380

CJ: III 161-4, MAL: I 299

Story: Near the hut of a hermit a girl was born in a lotus. She descended from the heaven of 33. The hermit adopted the beautiful girl. A king came around & fell in love with her. The hermit agreed to give her away on condition of guessing her name. For 3 years he tried. At last with a hint he guessed it right.

References:

Noy (1963) 4 Les choses qu'il vaut mieux faire 35-40
Noy (1963) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux
142-52
Noy (1968) 51 La fille savante du rabbin et son mari qui
ne savait encore plus 229-32

Folktale Type AT: 725, 851A, 900-III, 931

Motif-Index TNI: L 161

CANDAKINNARA J 485

CJ: IV 179-82, MAL: I 845

Story: King notices a kinnara couple. Candā the Kinnarī wife is beautiful. King wants to get her, kills the husband & offers her the throne. She refuses & laments bitterly the loss of her beloved husband.

References:

BP II 264>
Eberhard (1965) 136; 291
Gaster (1924) # 308; 378
Noy (1968) 25 L'homme qui n'a jamais prêté sermon
125-36

Thompson and Roberts (1960) No. 938

Yehoshua (1969) # 12 The clever wife (IFA 7667)

Folktale Type AT: 465-II, 930-III

Motif-Index TMI: H 931.1, K 978

CENDRILLON, Cinderella

Macdonald (1988): 143-9 Cendrillon au Tibet

Story: Orphan adopted and abused by stepsisters meets prince who rejects the stepsisters and marries the orphan.

References:

Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-85

Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9

Basile (1932) I: 6 The Cat Cinderella I: 56-63

Dundes (1982) Cinderella

Hanoki (1982) in Dundes (1982)

Neumann, Erich (1956) Amor and Psyche

Noy (1968) 11 La rencontre du prince et de la princesse 75-83

Noy (1968) 13 La tête d'animal qui voulait épouser une princesse 90-7; 313-4

Noy (1968) 71 L'oiseau d'or et l'oiseau d'argent 282-6

Noy (1979) # 9 The ugly duckling and the beautiful stepdaughter

Ramanujan, A. K. (1982) Hanoki: a Kanada Cinderella, in Dundes (1982)

Roth (1951) The Cinderella Cycle

Üveges (1986) Aranyos Bethali és szurkos Baba 7-9

Warren, Robert E. (1960) A Spaniolic-Jewish version of "Frau Holle" in Patai (1960)

Folktale Type AT: 306, 403, 480, 510, 510A, 510B, 888

Motif-Index TMI: K 1815, L 100, L 162

CROSSING OF GANGES

Le Coq (1922): VI 13 78-9 PL 13

Story: Miracle of B. to impress believers.

References:

Schlingloff (1994) 571-81

CULLA-DHANUGGAHA, Little Archer J 374

CJ: III 144-8, FJ: III 219-24, MAL: I 884

Story: Treachery of women. Husband trying to kill a bandit. He asks wife for a sword -- she hands it to the bandit (whom she suddenly desires.) The bandit kills husband, but observing her character he abandons her. He took her jewelry.

References:

Alexander (1989) 6 No trust in wife 69-70

Gaster (1934) # 197 Story of the Faithless Wife II: 443-5

Talmud Kiddusshin 80b and its Tosefet: The Matron of Ephesus, R. Hananel (XI Cent.)

Folktale Type AT: 34A, 150, 318, 510, 1511

Folktale Type B: 1265

Motif-Index TMI: H 466, H 1556.1, J 344, J 1791.4, K 604, K 2213, T 30, T 232, W 151

DABBHAPUPPHA J 400

CJ: III 205-7, MAL: I 1059

Story: Two otters caught a fish. Unable to agree how to divide the booty they presented the problem to a jackal for arbitration. He gave the tail to one, the head to the other, and kept the meaty part to himself.

References:

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

Noy (1968) 20 Le servant du Nissim le colporteur 119-22

Folktale Type AT: 51***, 518*, 1533

Folktale Type B: 297

Motif-Index TMI: H 601, H 1212.4, J 811.1, J 1171, J 1241, K 815.7, K 452

J 186

DADHIVĀHANA

CJ: II 69-73, MAL: I 1055

Story: Of four ascetic brothers in the Himālayas the oldest became Sakka. He gave to his three brothers three magic objects: a razor-axe, a drum and a bowl. A wild boar possessed a gem, which carried its rider through the air. A shipwrecked sailor stole the gem and flew to the Himālaya, where he found the three brothers and exchanged his gem for the three magic objects. With those objects he killed the brothers and repossessed the gem.

References:

Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 105-41
 Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
 Folktale Type AT: 560-III, 563, 567, 569, 926
 Motif-Index TMI: D 1470.1, D 1470.1.42, D 1472.1.7

DEVATĀ-PAÑHA

J 350

CJ: III 101, MAL: I 1106

Story: Riddles asked and solved by the wise Mahosadha in J 546 Mahā-ummagga.

References:

Cheichel (1970) # 3 The emir, the Jewish counselor and the sheep (IFA 8464)
 Noy (1970) # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a great friend (IFA 114459)

Folktale Type AT: 875, 891

Motif-Index TMI: F 645

DĪGHĪTIKOSALA,

J 371

Dīghatissakosala, Dīghatissa, Dīghakosala, Kosalarāja

CJ: III 139-40, FJ: III 211-3, MAL: I 1087

Story: Enmity is not wiped out by enmity, only non-enmity wipes out enmity.

References:

Dhammapada 5. "Hatreds never cease by hatred in this world; by love alone they cease. This is an ancient law".
223. "Conquer anger by love; Conquer evil by good; Conquer the stingy one by giving; Conquer the liar by truth".

Mahābhārata Udyogaparva 38. 73, 74: "Conquer the anger of others by non-anger; Conquer evil-doers by saintliness; Conquer the miser by gifts; Conquer falsehood by truth".

Motif-Index TMI: B 449.1

DĪPI J 426

CJ: III 285-6, MAL: I 1089

Story: Panther accuses she-goat of having trod on his tail. When goat says she came flying, in front of panther, he still devours her alleging that she scared a herd of deer, thereby spoiling his prey.

References:

Alexander (1989) 51 Three gifts 162-4
Noy (1963) 4 Die Sünde des Schafes ist die schwerste 27
Noy (1968) 29 Le chat noir 156-7
Folktale Type AT: 51, 111A, 123, 126, 248A, **1583
Folktale Type B: 540, 780, 1255, 1256
Motif-Index TMI: B 780, J 144, J 357, K 561.1.1, K 650, K 931, K 1710, K 1715, K 2285, K 2323, L 310, U 243, U 30, U 31, U 110

DŪBHİYAMAKKATĀ J 174

CJ: II 48-9

Story: A desperately thirsty monkey got some water. He made grimaces at his benefactor and left droppings at his head.

References:

Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
 Gaster (1924) # 441
 Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n.31
 Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1
 Folktale Type AT: 155, 166
 Folktale Type B: 1159
 Motif-Index TMI: W 154

EKAŚRĀNGA

TPS: No. 65 TAN 83 PL 119 P 504

Story: Young son, born to hermit & doe, loses innocence seduced by a princess. Story of the Unicorn.

References:

Parimoo (1995) 164>
 Sharma (1978) 44 The Legend of Rurukshestra
 Folktale Type AT: 1678
 Motif-Index TMI: T 338, T 371, T 541.10

GAHAPATI, Householder

J 199

Story: Adulterous woman caught by husband. He beats her up with the local headman.

References:

J 212 Ucchitthabhatta
 Motif-Index TMI: K 1561

GĀMANI-CĀNDĀ

J 257

CJ: II 207-15

Story: Chain of accidents pursued the retired faithful servant of the king. Accused of malfeasance he was brought to the king for judgment. The king recognized him. His judgment absolved him of intent to do harm.

He punished the accusers and the defendant such a way that the servant won a great amount of money from the accusers.

References:

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

Folktale Type AT: 947, 1534, 2042

Motif-Index TMI: J 1172, J 1173, J 1179, K 248

GHOSAKA

Burlingame (1921): I 79, 247

Story: Miraculous escape from death seven times, fulfilling a prophecy at birth.

References:

Gaster (1925-8)	1057-64 Parallels to the Legends of Candrahāra
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Folktale Type AT: 930 I-II

Motif-Index TMI: K 978, M 312, M 370, M 371

HĀRITA

J 431

CJ: III 295-7, MAL: II 1324

Story: Young man, upon death of his parents became a hermit. Wandering he arrived to Benares and stayed in the royal park. The king saw him, invited him to stay and built a quarter for him in the park. He lived there for 12 years. When the king had to leave to quell a border turbulence, he asked his queen to look after and feed the hermit. She did so. Once the hermit got back late, the queen was waiting at the window to see him coming for his usual meal. The queen hastily got up, her robe fell off. This aroused the hermit, got hold of the hand of the queen, drew her to himself. Both enjoyed each other. On his return the king confronted them, both confessed. The hermit said: "There are four passions in this

world, great king,/ That in their power are over-mastering:/ Lust, hate, excess and ignorance their name;/ Knowledge can here no certain footing claim". (Emotion outweighs logic.)

References:

Ryusen (1981) Pl 21

Folktale Type AT: 318

I NEVER LOSE ANYTHING

Chavannes (1910-34): No. 118 v 1: 389-90; v4: 144

References:

Gaster (1934) # 6 Observance of the Sabbath Rewarded I: 9-11

Folktale Type AT: 736A

Motif-Index TMI: N 211.1

KAKKATĀ

J 267

CJ: II 235-7, MAL: I 472

Story: A huge crab catches an elephant's foot in his claw. Wife of elephant pleads for him and he was let to go free. Then he trampled the crab to death.

References:

Parimoo (1995) 164>

Folktale Type B: 86

Motif-Index TMI: B 876.2.1, K 910

KALYĀNAKĀRI

TPS: No. 32 TAN 74 PL 110 P 474

Story: Mother has two sons: the good Kalyānakāri or Kṛtajña or Kṣemakāra and the bad Pāpakāri or Pāpamkāra or Vikṛtajña. Good brother saves the bad one, who in turn blinds the good one.

References:

Noy (1979) # 6 The wonderful healing leaves
(IFB 10.125)

Folktale Type AT: 613, 673

Motif-Index TMI: N 451, S 165

KANHADĪPĀYANA

J 444

CJ: IV 17-22, MAL: I 502

Story: False accusation leads to order of execution by a careless king, who did not investigate the case.

References:

Benfey (1859) I: 479-86; 499-501
Benfey (1859) II: 326-7; 345-6
J 332 Rathalatthi
Kalila and Dimna VII 45-199
Rapoport (1937) 173-5 A wise Lion or the Dervish and the Honey Jar

Folktale Type AT: 178, 780

Motif-Index TMI: H 171.1, H 252, K 650

KAPIRĀJA, Monkey king, Sumsumāra, Markata

J 208

FJ: II 158-60, MAL: II 1172

Story: Crocodile's wife craved for a monkey's heart. Husband made friends with a monkey & offered to take him over to the other shore. When monkey realized what the purpose was, he told crocodile that his heart was on a tree on the other side. Getting close, the monkey jumped into a tree & laughed at his "friend".

References:

Parimoo (1995) 164 >
Steel (1894) 230-3 The Jackal and the Partridge

Folktale Type AT: 91

Folktale Type B: 535, 678

Motif-Index TMI: F 1041.1, H 252, H 1212.4, K 544, K 561.3, K 726, K 961.1, T 571

KATTĀHĀRĪ

J 7

CJ: I 27-9, MAL: I 490

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

References:

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

Folktale Type AT: 736A, 873

Motif-Index TMI: H 252

KHARAPUTTA, Son of donkey, Senaki

J 386

CJ: III 174-7, FJ: III 275-81, MAL: I 714

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

References:

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

Folktale Type AT: 517, 670 II-III, 671, 207A

Motif-Index TMI: B 165, B 216, B 217, C 425, D 1815, J 386, N 451, T 252.3

KIND ANIMALS – UNGRATEFUL MEN

Various (1986):

Story: Many examples of peoples' cruelty.

References:

Basile (1932)	III: 5 The Cockchafer, the Mouse and the Grasshopper I: 257-64
Cheichel (1970)	# 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
Marcus (1966)	# 32 There is no pity in Man's heart (IFA 5319)
Noy (1968)	7 Der undankbare Königsohn 29-32
Noy (1968)	14 L'homme qui rendit le mal pour le bien 97-100

Folktale Type AT: 75, 155, 160, 161

Folktale Type B: 350, 1134

Motif-Index TMI: B 363, B 391, K 735, W 154.8

KUMBHA J 512

CJ: V 5-11, MAL: I 636

Story: Origin of drunkenness.

References:

Motif-Index TMI: A 1427.0.1

KUMBHAKĀRA J 408

CJ: III 228-32, MAL: I 637

Story: Impermanence of worldly existence moves couple to renounce and retire.

References:

Schwarzbaum (1979) 477-9/XCVIII/The Raven and the Carcass

Folktale Type B: 1032, 1250

Motif-Index TMI: K 1086, U 30, W 150

KUNĀLA, Cuckoo bird, of beautiful eyes
 CJ: V 219-45, FJ: V 412-56, MAL: I 622
 Story: "Joseph and Mrs. Potiphar"

J 536

References:

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

KURUÑGAMIGA-II

J 206

CJ: II 106-7

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

References:

Noy (1968) 25-8 Le coq, l'âne et le chien

Folktale Type AT: 75, 125, 233B

Folktale Type B: 731

Motif-Index TMI: A 2493.32, B 545.1, J 1020, K 642

KUSA J 531

CJ: V 141-64, MAL: I 651

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

References:

Alexander (1989) 9 Seven nuts 79-85

Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan espoused by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8

Basile (1932) II: 5 The Serpent I: 160-9

Basile (1932) II: 6 She-Bear I: 170-8

BP II: 234-51; 267-71

Edgerton (1926) XXVI: 263-66 Birth of Vikramāditya, father a cursed Gandharvan in skin of ass

J 419 Padmāvatī

Macdonald (1988) Cendrillon 143-9

Neumann, Erich (1956) Amor and Psyche

Noy (1968) 13 La tête d'âne qui voulait épouser une princesse 94-7

Noy (1968) 71 L'oiseau d'or et l'oiseau d'argent 232-6

Parimoo (1995) 124>

Thompson (1951) 98

TPS No. 68 Padmavatī

Folktale Type AT: 425C, 873

Motif-Index TMI: D 735.1

KŪTAVĀNIJA-II

J 218

CJ: II 127-9, MAL: I 659

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

References:

Cheichel (1973) # 10 A real epidemic (IFA 9150)
 Eberhard-Boratav (1953) 243 Zimmermann and Goldschmid 337
 Noy (1965) 55 Los comieron los ratones 147
 Folktale Type AT: 1592
 Motif-Index TMI: J 1530, J 1531.2

LA DISPUTE DES DEUX DÉMONS

Chavannes (1910-34): No. 277 v 2: 185-6; v 4: 167

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

References:

Kagan (1965) Kagan, Zipora: TEM 1964, IFA, Haifa, 1965
 # 8 The Princess on the glass Mountain
 (IFA 6084)
 Noy (1967) # 2 The magic hen (IFA 7303)
 Weinreich (1988) 40 The Magic Fish and the Wishing Ring
 115-9
 Yehoshua (1969) # 6 The marvelous hen (IFA 6012)
 Folktale Type AT: 405, 518, 566, 567, 926
 Motif-Index TMI: D 1520.11

MAHĀ-UMMAGGA, Big tunnel J 546

CJ: VI 156-246, FJ: VI 329-478, MAL: II 465

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

References:

Alexander (1989) 64 Cutting cloth 192-3

Apocrypha Susanna

Cheichel (1970) # 13 The Christian Duke and his Jewish financial adviser (IFA 8235)

Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter's son (IFA 1193)

Gaster (1924) # 429; 441

Mizrahi (1967) # 5 Bahlul and the clever Maiden (IFA 1625a)

Noy (1962) # 4 Wisdom of Life (Amra the clever girl)

Noy (1962) # 5 Three Questions of a King

Noy (1968) 10 Le jugement dans l'affaire du miel et d'or 72-4

Noy (1979) # 22 He who has found a wife, has found a great friend (IFA 11459)

Weinreich (1988) 75 The Bishop and Moshke 114-5

Zabara, Joseph ben Meir The Clever Judge, p.215-6 in Schwarz (1935)

Folktale Type AT: 178A, 178B, 425, 875, 916, 920C, 922, 922A, 922C, 926, 981, 1641-III, 1651, 1730

Motif-Index TMI: B 122.8, B 331, F 645, F 1041.1, H 486.2, H 561.4, H 1010, H 1024.1.1.1, J 123, J 151.1, J 1144.1, J 1153, J 1153.2, J 1171.4, J 1179.7

MAHĀKAPI-I J 407

CJ: III 225-7

Story: Monkey saves his troop using his body as bridge.

References:

Gaster (1925-8) 1243-8 Das Herz auf dem Lande
 Folktale Type B: 692
 Motif-Index TMI: B 555, K 650

MAHĀSĀRA

J 92

CJ: I 222-7, MAL: II 567

Story: Monkey steals pearl necklace. Many innocent people accused. King's minister investigates, suspects the monkey. To find the thief he orders all monkeys to be let loose with necklaces, bracelets and anklets on. When the thief saw that, he became jealous and produced the pearl necklace.

References:

Benfey (1859) I: 172; 196
 Pal (1988) 197 Pl 60
 Ramaswami, Ragu (1901) 78 > Indian Fables
 Uther (1993) 513 Ida von Toggenburg 456
 Ward (1981) 513 Ida von Toggenburg II: 132-3
 Wesselski (1925) 42 Das Urteil über die Elstar 114
 Folktale Type B: 291
 Motif-Index TMI: J 1141.1

MĀNDHĀTU

J 258

CJ: II 216-8, MAL: II 445

Story: Icarus motif. Ambitious, injudicious king, not satisfied with everything he got; he wants the whole world. It leads to his downfall.

References:

Pal (1988) 196 Pl 59
 Parimoo (1993) 24-43
 Folktale Type AT: 836
 Motif-Index TMI: C 773, F 1021.2.1, L 420, L 421, Q 338

MĀRAVIDRĀVA

TPS: No. 26 TAN 73 PL 109 P 470

Story: Temptation & attack of meditating Buddha.

References:

Pal (1988) 202 Pl 65

Motif-Index TMI: H 252

MUNIKA

J 30

CJ: I 75-6, MAL: II 641

Story: Bull complains of hard work, while boar is only fed. He finds out the ultimate fate of the boar (slaughter).

References:

Marcus (1966) # 21 The Consultant Ass (IFA 6951)

Folktale Type AT: 214*

Motif-Index TMI: L 456

NIGRODHA, Banyan tree

J 445

CJ: IV 22-7, FJ: IV 37-43, MAL: II 68

Story: Three friends slept under a tree. One of them overheard cocks disputing. One cock bragged: whoever eats my fat will become king, whoever eats my middle flesh will become commander-in-chief and whoever eats my bone-flesh will become the treasurer. The one who heard that talk climbed on the tree, grabbed the cock, cooked it and distributed the fat to Nigrodha, the middle flesh to the other guy and he ate the bone-flesh. All predictions proved to be true.

References:

1 Kings 5: 13 “Solomon spoke also to beasts and birds”

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

Folktale Type AT: 567A-II, 670 II-III

Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, H 171.1, M 312.3, N 451

NIGRODHAMIGA, Banyan-Deer, Gazelle-king, Nyagrodhamiga J 12
CJ: I 36-42, FJ: I 145-53, MAL: II 69

Story: Deer king, provided king's kitchen daily with a deer to save mass killing of his flock. When the lot fell on a pregnant doe, he offered himself for slaughter. The amazed king stopped the killing.

References:

Steel (1894) 129-43 The Two Brothers

Folktales Type AT: 890, 910K

Folktales Type B: 808

Motif-Index TMI: T 412

PADMĀVATĪ

TPS: No. 68 TAN 84 PL 120 P 508

Story: Padmāvatī, daughter of an ascetic in the forest hermitage, was beautiful. King Brahmadatta on a hunt met her, fell in love, asked her to his palace. Women in harem were jealous. They falsely accused and besmirched her. King believed and ordered her killed. Deity of father's hermitage saved her by Act of Truth.

References:

Alexander (1989) 76 Orphan married by prince – envied by her stepsisters 205-8

BP II: 392-3 Grimm: 96 Recueil des frères

Chauvin (1899-1902) # 375 VII: 95

Eberhard-Boratav (1953) # 239 55 versions

J 531 Kusa 320-7 Oral version

Littman 320-7 Oral version

Macdonald (1988) Cendrillon 143-9

Noy (1968) 15 Le Prince dont tous les souhaits furent exaucés 101-5

Noy (1968) 45 Les Princes perdus 209-14

Noy (1970) # 7 The weaving that saved the queen (IFA 8870)

Thompson (1951) 121
 Üveges (1866) 10-3 A három holló
 Zfatman (1991) 21 Story of stepmother 78-85
 Folktale Type AT: 451, 652-II, 712, 951
 Motif-Index TMI: K 2155.1

RATHALATTHI J 332

CJ: III 69-70, MAL: II 715

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

References:

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

RKSAPATI

XIA NAI (1983-5): III: 62, 161

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

References:

Falah (1978) # 24 The tiger and the woodcutter's son
 (IFA 1193)
 Marcus (1966) # 32 There is no pity in Man's heart
 (IFA 5319)

Folktale Type AT: 75, 154, 154 IV, 160, 161

Folktale Type B: 1134, 1179

Motif-Index TMI: K 2315

SACCAMKIRA

J 73

CJ: I 177-81, MAL: II 995

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

References:

Feer (1901) 174
 Hertel (1909) I: 74; 214 > Katharatnākara
 Hertel (1909) I: 130
 Noy (1968) 14 L'homme qui rendit le mal pour le bien
 97-100
 Rückerts, F (1868) III 252 Gedicht "Von Menschen Undank und
 der Tiere Dankbarkeit" in Brahmanischen
 Erzählungen, Poetische Werke
 Wesselski (1925) 56 Die Damkbarkeit 153-5
 Folktale Type AT: 160, 554
 Folktale Type B: 1122
 Motif-Index TMI: B 437.1, B 469.9, B 491.1, B 531, B 583, W 154.2.2

SAMMODAMĀNA

J 33

CJ: I 85-6, MAL: II 1065

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

References:

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

SAMBHAVA, Youth, Simbha J 515

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

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

References:

Alexander (1989) 1 Mother's heart 51-3

Alexander (1989) 59 Answers of Jewish minister 179-80

Alexander (1989) 64 Cutting cloth 192-3

Alexander (1989) 92 Clever boy and king 234-6

Apocrypha Susanna

Avitsuk (1965) Avitsuk, Jacob: TEM 1964, IFA, Haifa, 1965
27 The Tree that absorbed Tears

Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine
(IFA 8168)

Eberhard-Poravka (1953) 294 Der Kaufmann und sein Lehrling 337

Gaster (1924) # 429; 441

Gaster (1934) # 144 The Old Man and the Snake and the
Judgment of Solomon I: 276-80

Gaster (1934) # 199 The Woman who hid her Gold in a Jar
II: 452-6

Ginzberg (1946-61) III 257 n. 7-10

Koen-Sarano (1994) 195-203 El mazal i la hohma 195-203

Marcus (1966) # 14 King learns from children (IFA 4839)

Noy (1966) Noy, Dov: Tunisia, IFA, Haifa 1966 # 10

Noy (1968) 10 Le jugement dans l'affaire du miel et d'or
72-4

Noy (1968) 47 L'orphan qui savait dévoiler les secrets
217-30

Noy (1979) 39-17 Thanks to King Solomon's Trial
(IFA 11093)

Noy (1979) # 20 The boy's three questions (IFA 11137)

Thompson (1951) 145 The Folktale

Tsedaqa (1965) # 1 The daughter of Amran (IFA 6379)
 Folktale Type AT: 921, 922, 926A, 1620
 Motif-Index TMI: A 530, H 524.1, H 711.1, J 1113, K 445

SAÑJIVA, Resurrection, Byaggha J 150

CJ: I 319-22, FJ: I 508-11, MAL: II 1001

Story: Pupil learned a spell how to raise the dead, but did not know how to stop the spell. He used the spell on a dead tiger. The tiger became alive & killed him.

References:

Basile (1932) IV: 6 The three Crowns II: 43-53
 Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)
 Gaster (1924) #441
 Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n. 31
 Noy (1967) # 11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)
 Noy (1968) 18 Le médecin et son assistant 112-5
 Rappoport (1937) 195-9 The creation of the Golem
 Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1
 Folktale Type AT: 155, 325, 565, 678
 Motif-Index TMI: D 806, D 965, D 1500, D 1635, D 1711.0.1, D 1810.4, J 563, J 1172.3, J 1804, J 2411.4, R 1117

SIRI J 284

CJ: II 279-82, MAL: II 1138

Story: A stick-gatherer at night overhead two cocks fighting and abusing each other. One cock boasted: if anybody eats my meat - will become a king; my exterior - will be commander-in-chief; my bones - a chaplain. The stick-gatherer caught the cock, killed & his wife cooked it in a pot. Going to bathe in the river, they put the pot on the bank. A breeze blew it into the river. Downstream an elephant-trainer picked it up. At mealtime an ascetic stopped in. They offered him the pot (unaware of its importance). The ascetic divided the pot: meat to the trainer, exterior to

the wife, and he ate the bones. Events materialized according to the prediction.

References:

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

Folktale Type AT: 567A, 567A-II, 670 II-III, 926

Motif-Index TMI: B 216, D 1561.1.1, M 312.3, N 451

SIVI

J 499

CJ: IV 250-6, MAL: II 1153

Story: Sivi's story presents four versions of self-sacrifice: 1) giving away his eye; 2) his flesh; 3) his head; 4) his body.

References:

Cheichel (1973) # 4 100 grams of a flesh of a Jew (IFA 9321)

Folktale Type AT: 890

Motif-Index TMI: A 1598, H 252, J 1161.2

SUDATTA

TPS: No. 35 TAN 75 PL 111 P 476

Story: The religious and humble Sudatta disobeyed the proud king's ordinances in maintaining his practices of rituals. Severely punished by the king, he distributes his wealth and retires.

References:

Mizrahi (1967) # 10 Reverence to prayer at Day of Atonement (IFA 7065)

Folktale Type AT: 929

Motif-Index TMI: T 232

SUDHANA

TPS: No. 64 TAN 83 PL 119 P 501

Story: Prince Sudhana (S.) & Manoharā (M.). King Dhana had a Nāga, whose presence augured prosperity. An enemy king wanted to acquire that Nāga by dispatching men to capture it. Nāga saved by a hunter. As a reward the Nāga gave him a magic noose. Hunter gave the noose to his

son, who was able to capture with it M., a beautiful Kinnari princess. He gave M. to Prince S. They married. S. was sent to conduct a campaign. S. gave to his mother the queen a miraculous gem to safeguard M. in his absence. There was a rivalry in the king's court between two chaplains: the favored & the unfavored one. The unfavored chaplain was looking for an opportunity to take revenge on the favored one. This came about when the king had a bad dream & consulted the unfavored chaplain. He suggested to the king to sacrifice M. to the gods. This was almost done, had not M. been rescued by the miraculous gem in custody of the queen. With that M. flew back to her Nāga world. Before entering her world she visited a hermit & asked him to tell the returning Prince S. where she went & entrusted a ring for S. The returned S. was frantically searching for M. & by chance met the hermit, who fulfilled the charge given to him by M. This led to their happy reunion.

References:

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

SUMĀGADHĀ

TPS: No. 93 TAN 90 PL 126 P 526

Story: Pious daughter converts her whole family to Buddhism from Jainism.

References:

Noy (1970)	# 22 He who has found a wife, has found a great good (IFA 11459)
Folktale Type AT: 875, 875D	
Motif-Index TMI: F 645	

SURUCI

J 489

CJ: IV 198-205, MAL: II 1258

Story: Two motifs: 1) two friends who later became kings promised to wed their future children; 2) at wedding festivity groom could not be made to laugh until a dancer performed a “half-body” dance.

References:

Basile (1932) Frame Story and I: 3
Basile (1932) III: 5 The Cockchafer, the Mouse and the Grasshopper I: 257-64
Noy (1968) 27 Le jeune homme et les trois oiseaux
142-52
Parimoo (1995) 164 >
Weinreich (1988) 7 Wisdom or Luck 5-8
Folktale Type AT: 559-I, 571-III, 930, 945II
Motif-Index TMI: 591.2, H 252, N 640

SUTASOMA

J 537

CJ: V 246-79

Story: King became cannibalistic by tasting human flesh offered to the unwitting king by his cook. This caused panic in the populace. With help of brave Sutasoma he was converted to his previous habits.

References:

Alexander (1989) 4 Repentance of cannibal 60-7
Alexander (1989) 94 Two brothers responsible for each other
237-8
Parimoo (1995) 124 >
Folktale Type AT: 406, 768
Motif-Index TMI: B 243, G 11.7, G 51, G 78.1, H 252, K 815.17,
N 101, S 262

SUVARNAVARNĀVADĀNA

Mitra (1882):

Story: Three incarnations: 1) old bhikṣu wanted to get rid of a new monk Ajita. Accused him falsely for sexual excesses, exclaiming: "you deserve the stake for your crime". 2) the old bhikṣu reborn as Virūpa, an ugly creature, cause of calamity; 3) again reborn as Suvarnavarṇa a beautiful and devoted youngster, falsely accused of murder and was put on stake for execution. Every time he was rescued because he performed the rite of caityavrata (honoring the caitya). - Karma served the purpose of a "rational excuse for the apparent absence of justice in the world" (G. Scholem).

References:

Noy (1963) 32 Schwili : Die Königstochter und der Sohn des Zauberers 101-6

Folktale Type AT: 759**

TACCHASŪKARA

J 492

CJ: IV 216-21, MAL: I 986

Story: Wise boar helped to save his herd of wild boars from a harassing tiger. He organized the herd, captured & devoured the tiger. The same wise boar got rid of a sham ascetic who used to help a tiger to devour the boars. The herd elected him to be their king. They seated him in a fig tree & sprinkled him with water from a conch shell. This is the origin of the coronation ceremony on a figwood chair & sprinkling from a conch shell.

References:

Noy (1968) 1 Le coq, l'âne et le chien 25-8

Folktale Type AT: 125

Folktale Type B: 35

Motif-Index TMI: J 1020, K 1715.3

TAKKĀLA

J 446

CJ: IV 27-31, MAL: I 981

Story: Wicked wife persuades husband to kill his old father. He goes to the cemetery with his young son. Starts to dig a grave for his old father. When the young son starts to dig another grave "Whom is it for?" asked the father. "For you, when you get old." They went home & he chased away his wife. (Blames wife instead of his own malice!)

References:

Yehoshua (1969) # 13 Honor your Father (IFA 7668)

Folktale Type AT: 980, 982

Motif-Index TMI: J 121.1, K 214.2, N 451

TAKKĀRIYA

J 481

CJ: IV 153-61, MAL: I 984

Story: Chaplain discovers that his wife had a look-alike lover: tawny brown. Chaplain persuades king to sacrifice a tawny brown man to enable a building to be built. The stupid husband tells his perfidious wife about it. The word spreads around looking for a tawny man. Wife warns all of them to flee. The only one remaining is her husband.

References:

Cheichel (1968) # 2 The Turning Wheel (IFA 7905)

Cheichel (1970) # 19 Wisdom preserves the life of the wine
(IFA 8168)

Noy (1968) 29 Le Chat Noir 56-7

Noy (1970) # 20 The boy's three questions (IFA 11137)

Schwarzbaum (1968) 254-5

Folktale Type AT: 980C

Folktale Type B: 1015, 1168

Motif-Index TMI: J 21.45, J 2143.1, N 101, N 331, S 241, S 261

TESAKUNA

J 521

CJ: V 59-64, MAL: I 1037

Story: King finds a nest with three eggs. Young birds hatched, adopted by king as his children. They give him good advice how to rule: 1) do not attempt the impossible; 2) regret nothing that is past; 3) believe no impossible tale. The king failed on all three.

References:

Ausubel (1948)	628 The Wise Bird and the Foolish Man
Budge (1923)	5 The Nightingale and the Fowler XXII–XXIII
Budge (1923)	63-7 The Parable of the Hunter
Burton (1888)	VI: 169 The Three Teachings of the Bird
Campbell, Marie	in Patai (1960): The Three Teachings of the Bird XXXIII-XXXIX
Davids (1880)	
Gaster (1924)	# 39 The Bird's Three Advices 149-50
Hammond (1927)	Lydgate, John: The Churl of the Bird 102-40
Jacobs (1896)	Introduction commentary LXX, 80, 190; Appendix II page CXXI
MacDonald (1895)	The Three Teachings of the Bird - three versions
Parker (1914)	III 256, 354
Rapoport (1937)	175-6 Three Precepts

THE BRAHMAN AND THE MONGOOSE

Penzer (1924): V:138-9

Story: A Brahman left his infant in care of a trusted mongoose while he was called to perform a ceremony. A snake crept to the bed of the child ready to bite him. The mongoose jumped at the snake and killed it. The returning Brahman saw at the entrance the mongoose with its bloody mouth. Believing that the mongoose killed the child he stoned the faithful animal.

References:

CJ VI 186-9
 J 332 Rathalatthi
 Noy (1968) 16 Le cordonnier et la bague magique 103-14
 Motif-Index TMI: B 331.2

TIPALLATTHAMIGA J 16

CJ: I 47-50, MAL: I 1013

Story: Young stag caught in net, feigned death to make his escape.

References:

Noy (1968) 2 La ruse de renard 28-32
 Folktale Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A, 239
 Folktale Type B: 504, 996
 Motif-Index TMI: K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860

UCCHAṄGA, Lap/womb, Apronfull, Uccaṅga, Udariya J 67

CJ: I 164-6, FJ: I 306-8, MAL: I 340

Story: Three men were taken prisoners alleging they were bandits. Woman claimed them. The king presented her with a dilemma: if she take only one person with her of the three: husband, child or brother, which one should she pick? She picks the brother, who is irreplaceable (the other two could be replaced). The pleased king released all three.

References:

Basile (1932) IV: 9 The Raven II: 72-82
 Folktale Type AT: 985
 Motif-Index TMI: A 530, P 253.3

UCCHITTHABHATTA, Left-over food, Nana J 212

CJ: II 117-20, FJ: II 167-9, MAL: I 341

Story: Husband found wife's lover in the storeroom.

References:

J 199 Gahapati

Folktale Type AT: 985

Motif-Index TMI: K 1561

UPAKOŚĀ

Penzer (1924): I 32-44, 167

Story: Virtuous wife traps suitors, hides them in baskets & takes them to king's court.

References:

Alexander (1989) 54 The Wise Queen 169-70

Folktale Type AT: 1730

Motif-Index TMI: K 1218.1

UTPALAVARNA

Chavannes (1918-34): No. 188 v: 2 54, v 4: 154-5

Story: Being insistently pursued by a young man she asked for the reason. He said he likes her lotus-like eyes. She tore them out & sent them to him. This is according to the Tripitaka XIX, 7, p. 7 ro. and XVII, 2, p. 54 ro. However, according to Tawney-Penzer: Kathā sarit sāgara (III: 19-20) it is a prince who tore out his eyes, because the wife of a merchant was charmed by them. While so far no Pāli jātaka or avadāna seems to describe the story (?) or an illustration has been found, a personal communication by Prof. Jean Fontein (11/30/97) indicates that an up-to-date unidentified freeze on the main wall (II:35) of the second gallery at Barabudur seems to correspond to the Tawney-Penzer story.

References:

Basile (1932) III: 2 The Girl with the Maimed Hands

I: 232-41

Bin Gorion (1934)

IV: 283

BP

I: 295-311 to Grimm No. 31 "Das Mädchen ohne Hände"

Cahier (1867)

Charasteristiques des Saints, in Revue

Celtique V: 130

Eisler, R Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt, München, 1910, p. 150

Lamotte (1944) I: 260-3

Lamotte (1944) II: 875

Liebrecht (1879) 441 Essay on the Sources of Barlaam and Josaphat

Marguerite (1959) No. X

Parker (1910-4) II: 198

Pauli, Johannes Schimpf und Ernst, ed. Bolte, Berlin, 1924, vol. I: 13 & vol. II: 258

Penzer (1924) 3-III: 19-21 Prince who tore out his own Eye

Stokes (1877) 65 St. Brigit

Tubach (1969) # 4744 Temptation resisted by mutilation, p. 359. Many references.

Wirth, A Danae in christlichen Legenden, Wien, 1892, p. 45

Folktale Type AT: 706

Motif-Index TMI: T 327

VALĀHASSA

J 196

CJ: II 89-91, MAL: II 838

Story: Five hundred merchants shipwrecked on the island of goblins (Ceylon). They were enticed by those women (in beautiful shape). The leader of the group observed that these goblins devoured their victims as soon as new shipwrecks arrived. The Flying-horse showed up asking if they wanted to return to their homes. Only half of them grabbed the opportunity.

References:

Kurata (1987) Pl 45
Meech-Pekarik (1981-2) P 111-8 F 2-6
Parimoo (1995) 164 >

Folktale Type AT: 314-III

Motif-Index TMI: G 264.3

VATĀKA-II

J 118

CJ: I 261-2, MAL: II 816

Story: Quails were caught, fattened & sold. One quail refused to be fattened, fasted till he became all skin & bone. The fowler took him out of cage to examine him, he flew away & regained his freedom.

References:

Sharma (1978) 24-6 Santha Bahu

Folktale Type AT: 33, 56A, 56A*, 233A

Folktale Type B: 501, 504, 510, 996

Motif-Index TMI: K 520, K 522, K 522.4, K 642.1, K 1860

VEDABBHA

J 48

CJ: I 121-4, MAL: II 920

Story: Two robbers obtain treasure. They slaughter each other due to extreme greed.

References:

Alexander (1989)	5 Sheppard who found livelihood 67-9
Bezemer	24-6 Volksdichtung aus Indonesien
Falah (1978)	# 27 The pardoner's tale
Grimm (1856)	Brüder Lustig
Hechal	Hechal, Edna: TEM # 42 (unpublished)
	# 6 Treasure finders
Marcus (1966)	# 6 The end of a wicked man (IFA 3801)
Noy (1962)	# 3 Moses our Teacher
Noy (1967)	# 8 The poor woodcutter who trusted God (IFA 7315)
Noy (1967)	Pardoner's Tale
Schwarzbaum (1939)	4-5 Introduction by Eli Josef

Schwarzbaum (1947) 97-105 "The liar and the loaves of bread" in
Edoth (Hebrew)

Tupper (1941) 415-38 The pardoner's tale

Folktale Type AT: 763

Motif-Index TMI: K 1685

VELUKA J 43

CJ: I 114-5, MAL: II 934

Story: A hermit kept a viper as a pet, in spite of warnings against it. Once he was away for days. On his return the hungry & angry viper bit him. He died.

References:

Cheichel (1970) # 2 There is no truth in this world (IFA 8004)

Gaster (1924) # 441

Ginzberg (1946-61) VI: 286 n. 31

Noy (1967) # 11 King Salomon and the div (IFA 7530)

Schwarzbaum (1968) 360-1

Folktale Type AT: 155

VESSANTARA J 547

CJ: VI 246-305, MAL: II 944

Story: Prince Sudāna=Vessantara=Viśvāntara gives away everything. The classical story is too long even to abstract, it is a must reading in any of the references.

References:

Bacot (1923) Three Tibetan Mystery Plays

Pal (1988) 117 F 40

Pal (1988) 177

Pal (1988) 203 Pl 60

Parimoo (1995) 124 >

Motif-Index TMI: B 801

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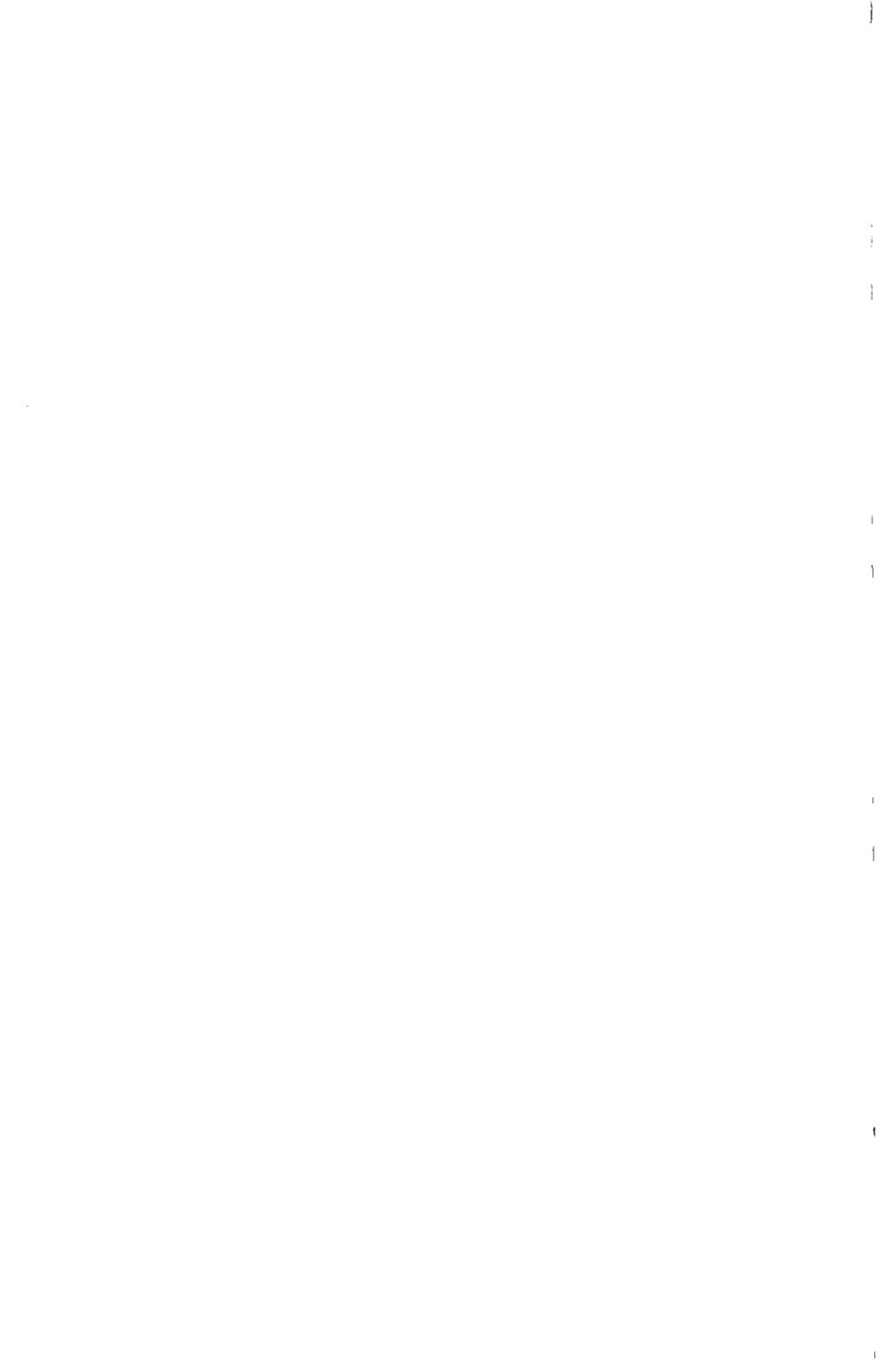
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A Note on *Dhammapada* 60 and the Length of the *Yojana*

I. *Dhammapada* 60 and its counterparts

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

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

In the Pāli and Patna *Dhammapadas* the verse is in the *Bālavagga*; in the *Udānavarga* it is in the *Anityavarga*.¹ The first part of the *Anityavarga* of the *Udānavarga* from Subaśi, which should have contained the verse, is lost,² as is the entire *Bālavarga* of the “Gāndhārī Dharmapada”, which might have contained the verse.³ A perfect equivalent to the *Udānavarga* verse is cited in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* as “a gāthā spoken by the Lord”,⁴ and lines *c* and *d* are cited in Bhavya’s *Tarkajvālā*, as preserved in Tibetan translation.

¹ The verse is not included in the *Fa chü p'i yü ching* (Taishō 211): see Samuel Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon, Commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying Narratives*, [Boston, 1878] San Francisco, 1977, p. 77, and Charles Willemen, *Dharmapada: A Concordance to Udānavarga. Dharmapada, and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Brussels, 1974, p. 10.

² Cf. H. Nakatani (ed.), *Udānavarga de Subaśi*, Paris, 1987, p. 13.

³ Cf. John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962, pp. 10–12.

⁴ *bhagavatā gāthā bhāṣitā*: Sylvain Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La grande classification des actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga)*, Paris, 1932, p. 46.4; P.L. Vaidya, *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha I* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17), Darbhanga, 1961, p. 187.9.

Dhp 60 (V,1) PDhp 185 (XI,12b) Uv I,19; Mkv 46.4

<i>dīghā jāgarato rattī</i>	<i>drīghā assupato rātrī</i>	<i>dīrghā jāgarato rātrīr</i>
<i>dīgham santassa yojanam</i>	<i>drīgham śāntassa yojanam</i>	<i>dīrgham śrāntasya yojanam</i>
<i>dīgho bālānam samsāro</i>	<i>drīgho bālāna samsāro</i>	<i>dīrgho bālasya samsārah</i>
<i>saddhammam avijānatām.</i>	<i>saddhammam avijānatām.⁵</i>	<i>saddharmam avijānatah.⁶</i>

UvT I,19 Mkv 189.8

<i>mel tshe byed la mtshan mo riñ// lam gyis dub la rgyañ grags riñ// dam chos rnam par mi śes pa'i// byis pa rnams la 'khor ba riñ//⁷</i>	<i>mel tshe byed na nam yan riñ// ñal ba dag la dpag tshad riñ// dam pa'i chos na śes gyur kyanñ// byis pa rnams la 'khor ba riñ//⁸</i>
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⁵ Margaret Cone, "Patna Dharmapada", *JPTS* XIII (1989), p. 185; Gustav Roth, "Text of the Patna Dharmapada", in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen, 1980, p. 114. I prefer "Patna Dhammapada" to "Patna Dharma-pada", since *dharma* is so spelt in the body of the text: *Dharmmapada* occurs only in the Sanskrit colophon. I have proposed elsewhere that the PDhp might be a recension of the Sāmmatiya school: see Peter Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS* XIX (1993), p. 152, n. 1.

⁶ Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Vol. I, Göttingen, 1965, p. 102.

⁷ Siglinde Dietz and Champa Thupten Zongtse, *Udānavarga*, Vol. III, Göttingen, 1990, p. 34.

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

Tarkajvālā 167.28

dam chos rnam par mi śes pa'i// byis pa la ni 'khor ba riñ//⁹

Chinese *Udānavarga* I,18

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

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

II. The setting (*nidāna*) of the verse

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

⁹ Shotaro Iida, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism*, Tokyo, 1980, p. 167.28.

¹⁰ Taishō 213, tr. by Charles Willemen, *The Chinese Udānavarga: A Collection of Important Odes of the Law, Fa Chi Yao Sung Ching* (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques XIX), Brussels, 1978, p. 2.

¹¹ UvViv I 98.15–99.10. For the alternate *nidānas* given by Prajñāvarman, see Michael Balk, *Untersuchungen zum Udānavarga*, Bonn, 1988, pp. 205–12 and Skilling, “Theravādin Literature”, pp. 143–53.

(1) When the monks were gathered, seated together in the assembly hall (*bsti gnas kyi khan pa*),¹² this chance discussion arose: “What, venerable ones, is that which is called ‘long’ (*dirgha*)?” Some said, “The night is long for one who is awake”. Others said, “The *yojana* is long for the weary traveller”. Overhearing [their discussion], the Lord spoke this verse.

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

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

¹² Cf. the stock introduction at *Śayanāsanavastu* (Raniero Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu*, Rome, 1978, p. 3.9 *sambahulānām bhiksūnām upasthānaśālāyām samniṣāṇnānām samnipatitānām ayam evamṛūpo 'bhūd antarākathāsamudāhārah*; Kośavyākhyā (ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, IV 1066, antepenult); introductions to MN 119 and 123 (III 88.18, 118.12) *sambahulānām bhikkhūnām...upatīthānasālāyām sannisinnānām sannipatitānām ayam antarākathā udapādi*; *Karmaprajñapti*, *Upāyikā-tikā* (see below). It seems that here *bsti gnas kyi khan pa* = *upasthānaśālā* (Pāli *upatīthānasālā*): *bsti stan* frequently translates forms of *sat-kr*, which is one of the senses of *upasthāna*. *upasthānaśālā* is frequently rendered as *rim gro'i gnas*, the form sanctioned by the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Mvy 5565; MPS 2.1-4; *Vinayavastu*, *Samghabhedavastu*, Q1030, Vol. 42, 'dul ba ce, 155b7, 156a1, 2 = Raniero Gnoli (ed.), *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Samghabhedavastu*, Part II, Rome, 1978, p. 75.25 foll.). But there are, for Tibetan, a surprising number of alternates:

rim 'gro'i khan pa (*Karmaprajñapti*, Q5589, Vol. 115, *mnon pa khu*, 112a3);

dpoṇ sa'i khan pa (*Vinayavibhāṅga*, Q1032, Vol. 42, 'dul ba je, 1a3, 5, 7, 8 = *Samghabhedavastu*, loc. cit.);

bkad sa (MPS 19.1, 2, 4, 5; at Mvy 5562 *bkad sa* = *maṇḍapa*);

'dun khan (*Kośavyākhyā*, Q5593, Vol. 117, *mnon pa chu*, 303b7);

mdun ma (*Śamathadeva*, *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tikā*, Q5595, Vol. 118, *mnon pa thu*, 58b6, 59a4);

bsñen bkur gvi gnas (*Śayanāsanavastu*, Q1030, Vol. 41, 'dul ba ne, 179a5, b5 (dkur for *bkur*)).

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

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

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

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

*imam dhammadesanam satthā jetavane viharanto
pasenadikosalañ c' eva aññatarāñ ca purisam ārabbha kathesi.*

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

¹³ *Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā*, *Aññatarapurisa-vatthu*, (Mm) III 100.3; (PTS) II 1.3.

The *Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā* gives a long story¹⁴ in which King Pasenadi of Kosala, out touring the city, glimpses the wife of “a certain poor man”,¹⁵ becomes infatuated with her, and spends a sleepless night.¹⁶ The reference to “the sleepless King Prasenajit” of the UvViv fits the *Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā* story, but the “weary traveller” does not, since the “certain poor man” of the latter is a resident of the city, and is taken by the King into his service (with a sinister motive). Nonetheless, Prajñāvarman’s reference suggests that, as in other cases, he knew an exegetical tradition on the *Udānavarga/Dharmapada* that was related to that of the Theravādins.

III. The length of the *yojana*

The *Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā*, commenting on the line “long is the league to him that is weary” (*dīgham santassa yojanam*), defines a *yojana* as equal to four *gāvuta*: *yojanan ti yojanam pi catuggāvutamattam eva*.¹⁷ The *Vibhaṅga-āṭṭhakathā* states that 80 *usabha* are a *gāvuta*, and four *gāvuta* a *yojana*: *asīti usabhāni gāvutam, cattāri gāvutāni yojanam*.¹⁸ The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* adds one more measurement:

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

¹⁵ (Mm) III 100.9; (PTS) II 1.12 *aññatarassāpi* (PTS *aññattarassāpi*) *duggatapurisassa bhariyā*.

¹⁶ (PTS) II 5.10, *rañño pi tam rattim niddam alabhantassa*; 5.20, *rājā niddam alabhanto*.

¹⁷ (Mm) III 109.20; (PTS) II 13.4.

¹⁸ *Sammohavinodanī nāma Vibhaṅga-āṭṭhakathā*, Nālandā ed. p. 346.19 = PTS ed. p. 343.

*gāvutam usabhāsīti yojanam catugāvutam
dhanupañcasatam koso.*¹⁹

A *gāvuta* is 80 *usabha*, a *yojana* four *gāvuta*;
a *kosa* is 500 *dhanu*.

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

Medhamkara's *Lokadīpakaśāra* gives the relation between *kosa* and *gāvuti*:²⁰

*dhanu pañcasatam kosam kosam cattāri gāvutam
gāvutāni ca cattāri yojanan ti pavuccatīti.*
500 *dhanu* are a *kosa*, four *kosa* are a *gāvuta*;
four *gāvuta* are called a *yojana*.

¹⁹ *Phra gambhir abhidhānappadipikā ru bacanānukram bhaṣāpālī plae pen thai* (Mahāmakutārājāvidyālaya, Bangkok, 2508 [1965]), p. 53, vv. 196cd, 197a.

²⁰ National Library-Fine Arts Department, *Lokadīpakaśāra*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], Chap. 7, p. 544.18.

A similar verse is found in the *Samkhyāpakāsaka-pakarana*²¹ and *Cakkavāladīpanī*²²:

*dhanu pañcasatam kosam catukosañ ca gāvutam
gāvutāni pi cattāri yojanā ti pavuccati.*

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

*gžu 'dom lñā brgya rgyañ grags te// rgyañ grags bži la ba lañ
'gros//*

ba lañ 'gros bži dpag tshad do// žes so//

²¹ Boonna Sonchai, *Samkhyāpakāsakapakaranaṁ and Commentary: An Edition and Critical Study*, Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of Eastern Languages, Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University, 1980, Chap. I, *Addhā-saṃkhyā*, v. 8 (p. 40). For this text see *Abstracts of M.A. Pāli-Sanskrit Theses* (Pāli and Sanskrit Section, Department of Eastern Languages, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University 2531), pp. 39 (Thai) and 123 (English) and Supaphan na Bangchang, *Vivaññhanākār varṇagatī sai phra suttantapīṭak ti daeng nai pradeś thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 325–33.

²² National Library-Fine Arts Department, *Cakkavāladīpanī*, Bangkok, 2523 [1980], p. 208.7, with the sole variant *ca* for *pi* in line c (= *Lokadīpakaśāra*). The *Cakkavāladīpanī* is citing the *Lokadīpakaśāra*: the source is given at the beginning of the section (202.11, *vuttam lokadīpakaśāre*) after which Sirimaṅgala introduces his citations with *vuttam tath' eva*. For this text see Supaphan, *op. cit.*, 405–18.

²³ For Daśabala and his *Samskrātāsamskrta-viniścaya* see Peter Skilling, “The Samskrātāsamskrta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra”, *Buddhist Studies Review* 4/1 (1987), pp. 3–23.

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

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

Non-Theravādin sources give different definitions. Prajñāvarman's *Udānavarga-vivaraṇa* has: "in this case a *yojana* equals a distance of four *krośa*" (*dpag tshad ni 'dir rgyan grags bzi'i lam mo*).²⁸ The same figure is given in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* and the

²⁴ Supaphan, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–26.

²⁵ Supaphan, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

²⁶ I would not be astonished if more on measurements, including perhaps the figure in question, occurs in the *Tikā* literature.

²⁷ For the date see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 166–67; Claus Vogel, *Indian Lexicography*, (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. V, Fasc. 4), Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 313; Jinadasa Liyanaratne, "South Asian flora as reflected in the twelfth-century Pāli lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS* XX (1994), p. 43.

²⁸ I 100.5.

Lalitavistara; the former refers to a “Magadhan *yojana*”, the latter to a “Magadhan *krośa*”.²⁹ In both texts 1000 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa*. The Vaibhāṣika definition given by Daśabalaśrīmitra (D 119b5, Q 18a3) is “500 *dhanu* are one *krośa*; eight *krośa* are one *yojana*”. This agrees with the *Abhidharmakośa* (III,87cd, 88a).³⁰ (Yaśomitra does not add any comments.)³¹ Hsüan-tsang (second quarter of the 7th century) gives the same figures.³² The Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti* (beginning of the 9th century) gives only one measurement, *dhanuh pañca śatāni krośah*.³³ In sum:

²⁹ E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil (eds.), *The Divyāvadāna*, repr. Delhi, 1987, p. 645.15 *dhanuh sahasram ekakrośah, catvārah krośā eko māgadho yojanah* = Q1027, *sTag rna'i rtogs pa brjod pa*, Vol. 40, *mdo ke*, 264b4 *gžu ston la ni rgyan grags gcig go; rgyan grags bži la ni ma ga dha'i dpag tshad gcig go*; P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Lalitavistara*, Darbhanga, 1958, p. 104.5 *dhanuh sahasram māgadha* (mārgadhvajā, text) *krośah, catvārah krośā yojanam* = Q763, Vol. 27, *mdo ku*, 89b4 *gžu ston la ni yul ma ga dha'i rgyan grags gcigo; rgyan grags bži la ni dpag tshad gcig go*.

³⁰ P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Patna, 1975, 177.4, *pañcaśatāny eṣām krośo 'ranyam ca tan matam: dhanuṣām pañca śatāni krośah, krośamātrām ca grāmādi 'ranyam iṣṭam, te 'ṣṭau yojanam ity āhuh*. See also William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1987: *krośa*, pp. 92b-93a, 261b, 304a, 322a; *yojana*, 197b, and L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950, p. 29. For a complete list of measurements, see William Montgomery McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, [London, 1923] Lucknow, 1976, pp. 41-43.

³¹ Swami Dwarkanātha Shastri (ed.), *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra*, Part II, Varanasi, 1971, p. 536.19.

³² Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884 (repr. Delhi, 1981) I 70-71; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629-645)*, London, 1904-5 (repr. New Delhi, 1973) I 141-43.

³³ Mv 8205.

500 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa* (Theravāda, Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang,
Mahāvyutpatti);

1000 *dhanu* = 1 *krośa* (*Śārdūlakarnāvadāna*, *Lalitavistara*);

4 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Prajñāvarman, *Śārdūlakarnāvadāna*,
Lalitavistara)

8 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Vaibhāṣika, Hsüan-tsang)

16 *krośa* = 1 *yojana* (Theravāda).

Monier-Williams defines a *krośa* as “the range of the voice in calling or hallooing”, a measure of distance (an Indian league, commonly called a Kos = 1000 *Danḍas* = 4000 *Hastas* = 1/4 Yojana; according to others = 2000 *Danḍas* = 8000 *Hastas* = 1/2 *Gavyūti*.³⁴ He defines a *yojana* as “a stage or Yojana (*i.e.* a distance traversed in one harnessing or without unyoking; esp. a particular measure of distance, sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly = 4 *Krośas* or about 9 miles; according to other calculations = 2 1/2 English miles, and according to some = 8 *Krośas*”.³⁵ His sources thus give some of the definitions used by the Buddhists, but as part of different systems of measurement. Evidently, and naturally enough, a number of systems coexisted, and the definition of the *yojana* varied with time, place, tradition, and context.³⁶ It could hardly have been a matter of sectarian dispute for the Buddhists, although it may have had some significance in the interpretation of the *Vinaya*.³⁷

³⁴ Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, [Oxford, 1899] Delhi, 1976, p. 322b.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 858a.

³⁶ See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, [1967] Calcutta, 1971, pp. 505–6.

³⁷ See e.g. *The Entrance to the Vinaya*, *Vinayamukha*, Vol. I, Bangkok, 2512/1969, pp. 235–36. The *Lokadīpakaśāra* (544.7 foll. = *Cakkavālādīpani* 207.21 foll.) mentions two types of *yojana*: *brahmādi-yojana* and *bhūmyādi-yojana*. The first, used for cosmic measurements such as the size of the moon,

In Section IV I give a translation, in Section V the Tibetan text, of Chapter 5 of the *Samskṛtāsamskrta-viniścaya*. Daśabalaśrīmitra's description of atoms agrees with that of the *Indriyanirdeśa* (Chap. 2) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁸ His enumeration of measurements of size and units of time, both given in ascending order, agrees on the whole with that of the *Lokanirdeśa* (Chap. 3) of the *Abhidharmakośa*.³⁹ The relative antiquity of the enumerations of size and time is shown by the fact that they are given in the *Lokaprajñapti*, a "canonical" text of the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma.⁴⁰

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

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

³⁸ Cf. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Tome I, repr. Brussels, 1971, pp. 143–47. Cf. Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, Patna, 1977, (text) pp. 65–66, and Y. Karunadasa, *Buddhist Analysis of Matter*, Colombo, 1967, Chapter 8, "Atomism".

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

⁴⁰ Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme. Études et matériaux. Cosmologie: Le monde des êtres et le monde-réceptacle. — Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra. Troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakośa: Kārikā, Bhāṣya et Vyākhyā. Avec une analyse de la Lokaprajñapti et de la Kāraṇaprajñapti de Maugdalyāyana*, in *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques et Classe des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires*, deuxième série, tome VI, fasc. II, Brussels, January, 1919, p. 309. For size see *Lokaprajñapti*, Q5587, Vol. 115, *mnōn pa khu* 11a7–b2; for time see 54a4.

⁴¹ *Vibhāṅga-āṭṭhakathā* (Nālandā ed.) 346.5–19 = PTS ed. p. 343; Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli (tr.), *The Dispeller of Delusion (Sammohavinodanī)*, Part II, Oxford, 1991, p. 67.

given in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, *Lokadīpakaśāra*, *Samkhyāpakāsaka*, and *Cakkavālādīpanī*.⁴²

36 *paramāṇu* = 1 *anu*
 36 *anu* = 1 *tajjārī*
 36 *tajjārī* = 1 *rathareṇu*
 36 *rathareṇu* = 1 *likkhā*
 7 *likkhā* = 1 *ūkā*
 7 *ūkā* = 1 *dhaññamāsa*
 7 *dhaññamāsa* = 1 *aṅgula*
 12 *aṅgula* = 1 *vidatthi*
 2 *vidatthi* = 1 *ratana*
 7 *ratana* = 1 *yatthi*
 20 *yatthi* = 1 *usabha*
 80 *usabha* = 1 *gāvuta*
 4 *gāvuta* = 1 *yojana*.

The figures and names are quite different from those of the Vaibhāśikas, with the exception of the equations 7 *likkhā* = 1 *ūkā*; 7 *ūkā* = 1 *dhaññamāsa*; 7 *dhaññamāsa* = 1 *aṅgula*, which may be compared with the 7 *likṣā* = 1 *yūka*; 7 *yūka* = 1 *yava*; 7 *yava* = 1 *aṅgulī-parvan* of the Vaibhāśika system (see below).

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* does not enumerate the units of time. For these we may turn to Medhamkara's *Lokadīpakaśāra*.⁴³

⁴² *Abhidhānappadīpikā* vv. 194–96; *Lokadīpakaśāra* p. 544.10–15; *Samkhyāpakāsaka* Ch. 1, vv. 2–5; *Cakkavālādīpanī* 207, penult.–208.4. Cf. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–51. According to the *Lokadīpakaśāra* and *Cakkavālādīpanī* this is the *bhūmyādi-yojana*.

⁴³ *Lokadīpakaśāra* 546.1. I quote the verse from the *Cakkavālādīpanī* (see following note) because it appears to be corrupt in the *Lokadīpakaśāra*.

*dasakkharā ekaprāṇam chaprāṇañ ca vinādikam
vinādī pañcadasa pādam catupādañ ca nādikā
satthi nādī ahorattam timsarattekamāsakam
dvādasamāsakam vassam evam kālam vijāniya.*

10 *akkhara* are 1 *prāṇa*;
6 *prāṇa* are 1 *vinādikā*;
15 *vinādī* are 1 *pāda*;
4 *pāda* are 1 *nādikā*;
60 *nādī* are 1 day-and-night (*ahoratta*);
30 nights are 1 month (*māsa*);
12 months are 1 year (*vassa*).

The verses are cited by Sirimāṅgalācariya in his *Cakkavālādipanī*, with a prose commentary.⁴⁴ The terms *akkhara*, *prāṇa* (or *pāṇa*), *vinādī* / *vinādikā*, *pāda*, and *nādī* / *nādikā* (or *nālikā*) are not listed by the PED in the sense of units of time. Some of the terms are found in non-Buddhist texts.⁴⁵

The study of Buddhist systems of measurements is complex, and we still have much to learn. I hope that further Buddhist sources, whether in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese, will one day throw more light on the subject, in comparison with Jaina and Brahmanical systems.⁴⁶ The present article shows that, while Daśabalaśrīmitra followed the Vaibhāṣika system of measurement, he was aware that the Sthaviras defined the *yojana* differently.

⁴⁴ *Cakkavālādipanī* 208.15–209.14.

⁴⁵ See Louis Renou & Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique. Manuel des études indiennes*, II, Hanoi, 1953, p. 735; Basham, *op. cit.*, 506.

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

IV. “Analysis of Matter and Time”: Chapter 5 of the
Saṃskṛtāsaṃkṛta-viniścaya

[1. The components of the atom]

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

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

In the Sensual Realm (*kāmadhātu*), without sound and without faculty (*kāmadhātav aśabdako 'nindriyah*), an eight-substance-atom arises (*aṣṭadravyaka utpadyate*). Therein, these are the eight substances (*aṣṭau dravyāṇi*): earth (*prthivī*), water (*āp*), fire (*tejas*), wind (*vāyu*), visible-form (*rūpa*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), and touchables (*spraśṭavya*). When sound is added to these, there is a nine-substance-atom (*navadravyaka*). The atom of the body-faculty (*kāyendriya*) comprises nine substances. Therein, the nine substances are the aforementioned eight substances and the body-faculty-substance. When endowed with sound, there is a ten-substance-atom (*daśadravyaka*). The atoms of the other faculties comprise ten substances. Therein, the ten substances are the aforementioned nine substances and the substance of each individual faculty. When endowed with sound, it becomes an eleven-substance-atom (*ekādaśadravyaka*).⁴⁷ This is taught:⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The Sanskrit given in parentheses up to this point is for the most part drawn from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Indriyanirdeśa*, pp. 52.24–53.8.

⁴⁸ The verse is *Kośakārikā* II,22 *kāme 'ṣṭadravyako 'sabdah paramāṇur anindriyah; kāyendriyī navadravyah daśadravyo 'parendriyah*. I cannot explain (and for now ignore) the double negatives of the Tibetan, which do not fit the prose or the *Kośa* verse.

In the Sensual [Realm] the atom has eight substances without sound and without faculty.

With the body-faculty there are nine substances; with the other faculties there are ten substances.

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

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

[2. Measurements of size]

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

7 *paramāṇu* are 1 *anu* (*rdul phran* = Kośa)

Mvy *rdul phra mo*

7 *anu* are 1 *loha-rajas* (*lcags*)

⁴⁹ The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Indriyanirdeśa*, p. 53.17–18.

⁵⁰ The Sanskrit given in parentheses is from *Kośabhāṣya*, *Lokanirdeśa*, p. 176.11.

⁵¹ See *Kośabhāṣya*, *Lokanirdeśa*, 176.14–177.7, *ad Kośakārikā* III,85d–88a; Tibetan equivalents (“Kośa”) from *Kośabhāṣya* Tibetan, Q5591, Vol. 115, *mṇon pa gu*, 177b6 foll.; Mvy § CCLI, nos. 8190–8206. See also La Vallée Poussin, *Cosmologie*, pp. 262–63. The list is given in English translation from the Tibetan at Jamgön Kongtrul, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

Mvy, Kośa *lcags rdul*⁵²

7 *loha-ajas* are 1 *śaśa-ajas* (*ri boñ*)

Mvy, Kośa *ri boñ rdul*

7 *śaśa-ajas* are 1 *edaka-ajas*⁵³ (*lug*)

Mvy, Kośa *lug rdul*

7 *edaka-ajas* are 1 *go-ajas* (*glañ*)

Mvy, Kośa *glañ rdul*

7 *go-ajas* are 1 *vātāyanacchidra-ajas* (*ñi zer*)

Mvy, Kośa *ñi zer* (*gyi*) *rdul*

7 *vātāyanacchidra-ajas* are 1 *ajas* (*rdul*)

Mvy, Kośa —

7 *ajas* are 1 *likṣā* (*sro ma*)

Mvy, Kośa idem

7 *likṣā* are 1 *yūka* (*śig*)⁵⁴

Mvy, Kośa idem

7 *yūka* are 1 *yava* (*nas*)

Mvy, Kośa idem

7 *yava* are 1 *aṅgulī-parvan* (*sor mo tshigs*)

Kośa *sor mo* *i tshigs*,

Mvy *sor mo*, *sor*

3 *aṅgulī-parvan* are 1 *aṅgulī* (*mdzub mo*)

Kośa *sor mo*; Mvy —

⁵² Kośabhāṣya and Kongtrul add here 7 *loha-ajas* = 1 *ab-ajas* (Mvy 8193, Kośa *chu rdul*), 7 *ab-ajas* = 1 *śaśa-ajas*, not given by Daśabalaśrimitra.

⁵³ *avi-ajas*, Mvy 8195.

⁵⁴ Also described in the Kośabhāṣya as *tad-udbhava* = *de las byuñ ba*: that is, the louse (*yūka*) comes from the louse-egg (*likṣā*).

As for surface measurements:⁵⁵

24 *aṅgulī* are 1 full *hasta* (*khru gan* = Mvy)

Kośa *khru*

4 *hasta* are 1 full *dhanu* (*gžu gan* = Kośa)

Mvy 'dom⁵⁶

500 *dhanu* are 1 *krośa* (*rgyan grags*)

Mvy, Kośa idem⁵⁷

8 *krośa* are 1 *yojana* (*dpag tshad*)

Mvy, Kośa idem.

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

500 *dhanu* are one *kosa*;

4 *kosa* are one *gāvuta*;

4 *gāvuta* are one *yojana*.

[3. Time (*kāla*)]⁵⁸

The limit of time (*kāla-paryanta*) is the moment (*ksaṇa*).⁵⁹ A moment is described as the time it takes for one atom to pass to another

⁵⁵ *logs la gžal bas*: cf. *Kośabhāṣya* p. 176, ult *pārśvīkṛtās tu*; *Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *nos su bya na ni*.

⁵⁶ *Kośabhāṣya* 177.2 *dhanuh*, *vyāsenety arthah* (*Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *khru bži la gžu gan no*. 'dom *gan* no žes *bya ba'i tha tshig go*).

⁵⁷ This is the distance of an *aranya*: *Kośakārikā* III,87cd *krośo 'ranyam ca tan matam* (*Kośabhāṣya* Tib. 178a2 *rgyan grags de la dgon par 'dod*).

⁵⁸ Cf. *Divyāvadāna* (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*) p. 644; Hsüan-tsang in Beal I 71, Watters I 143–44; La Vallée Poussin, *Cosmologie*, p. 263; Jamgön Kongtrül, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–69. Mvy § CCLIII, *Dus kyi min*, gives a long list of terms related to time.

⁵⁹ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.11 *kālasya paryantah kṣano*.

atom.⁶⁰ Alternately, for a strong man to snap his fingers is 65 moments,⁶¹ or, some say, 37. 120 moments are called one *tatkṣāṇa*; 60 *tatkṣāṇa* are one *lava*; 30 *lava* are one *muhūrta*, which is also called a *nālikā*;⁶² 30 *muhūrta* are one day-and-night (*ahorātra*); 30 days are one month (*māsa*); 12 months are one year (*saṃvatsara*).⁶³

[4. Chapter colophon]

“Analysis of Matter and Time” (**Rūpa-kāla-viniścaya*), Chapter 5 of *The Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned*, compiled by Mahāpañdita Daśabalaśrīmitra.

V. Tibetan text of Chapter 5 of the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃkṛta-viniścaya*⁶⁴

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

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

⁶⁰ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.13, *yāvatā paramāṇoh paramāṇvantaram gacchati*.

⁶¹ *Kośabhāṣya* 176.13 *balavat puruṣācchaṭasamghātāmātreṇa pañcaśāsthīḥ kṣaṇāt atikrāmantīty ābhidhārmikāḥ*. For *puruṣācchaṭasamghātāmātreṇa* see Mvy 8226 and *L'Abhidharmakośa* III 178, n. 1.

⁶² The term is transliterated as *na-li-ka*.

⁶³ See *Kośabhāṣya* 177.7–20.

⁶⁴ Stobs bcu dpal bses gñen, 'Dus byas dañ 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa, Q5865, Vol. 146, no mtshar bstan bcos ño, 17b3–18a7; D3897, dbu ma ha, 119a6–120a2. All variants are recorded except for the use of the *śad* (*danda*), in which there are only two variants—the omission of the *śad* in Q after *dañ* in *dri dañ/ ro dañ/*, as given by D.

rnams su sgra rab tu bcug pas rdzas dgu ldan 'gyur ro// lus kyi dbaṇ po'i rdul phra rab ni rdzas dgu (D119b) ldan de/ de la rdzas dgu ni 'di lta ste/ rdzas brgyad po de ñid daṇ lus kyi dbaṇ po'i rdzas so// sgra daṇ bcas pa na rdzas bcu'o// dbaṇ po gźan rnams kyi rdul phra rab ni rdzas bcu ldan no// de la rdzas bcu ni 'di lta ste/ rdzas dgu po de ñid daṇ dbaṇ po ran rai gi rdzas so// sgra daṇ bcas pa na rdzas bcu gcig tu 'gyur ro// gsuṇs te/

'dod na phra rab rdzas brgyad de (D: *te* Q) // sgra med pa min
dbaṇ med min//
lus dbaṇ ldan la rdzas dgu'o// dbaṇ po gźan ldan rdzas bcu'o//⁶⁵

[1.2] 'dis ni gzugs kyi khams na dri daṇ ro dag med par gsuṇs pa des na/ de dag na ni rdul phra rab dag ni rim pa bźin du rdzas drug daṇ bdun brgyad do žes gsuṇs pa'i tshul ñid kyis na ci yaṇ brjod par mi bya'o//

[2] de ltar gzugs 'di ñid kyi 'grib bźin pa na mthar thug pa ni rdul phra rab po// rdul phra (Q18a) rab la sogs pa'i sgra bcu gcig ni/ goṇ ma bdun 'gyur te/ 'di lta ste/ rdul phra rab bdun la rdul phran no// rdul phran bdun la lcags so// lcags bdun la ri boṇ ño// ri boṇ bdun la lug go// lug bdun la glaṇ ño// glaṇ bdun la ñi zer ro// ñi zer bdun la rdul lo// rdul bdun la sro ma'o// sro ma bdun la śig go// śig bdun la nas so// nas bdun la sor mo'i tshigs so// sor mo'i tshigs gsum la mdzub mo'o// logs la gźal (D: *bźal* Q) bas/ sor mo ñi śu bźi la khru gaṇ ño// khru bźi la gźu gaṇ ño// gźu lha brgya la rgyaṇ grags so// rgyaṇ grags brgyad (Q: *brgya* D) la dpag tshad do// 'phags pa gnas brtan pa'i sde pa'i luṇ las kyan/

⁶⁵ Cp. Kośakārikā II,22 at Kośabhāṣya Tibetan 70b3 foll.:

'dod na dbaṇ po med pa daṇ//
sgra med phra rab rdul rdzas brgyad//
lus dbaṇ ldan la rdzas dgu'o//
dbaṇ po gźan ldan rdzas bcu'o//.

gžu 'dom lha brgya rgyaṇ grags te// rgyaṇ grags bži la ba lan
'gros//
ba lan 'gros bži dpag tshad do// žes so//

[3] dus kyi mtha' ni skad cig ma ste/ de yaṇ dus ci srid du rdul phra rab
kyis rdul phra rab gžan brgal bar gyur pa de srid kyi dus la skad cig ces
(D: žes Q) bya'o// yaṇ na stobs daṇ ldan pa'i skyes bus se gol gtogs pa
tsam la skad cig ma drug cu rtsa lha'o// sum cu rtsa bdun žes pa yaṇ nio//
skad cig brgya ni śu la de'i skad cig ces (D: žes Q) so// de'i skad cig
drug cu la than cig (D: gcig Q) go// than cig (D: gcig Q) (D120a) sum cu
la yud tsam mo// na-li-ka žes kyaṇ brjod do// yud tsam sum cu la ŋin žag
go// ŋin žag (D: žags Q) sum cu la zla ba'o// zla ba bcu gñis la lo 'khor
ba'o//

[4] paṇḍi-ta (D: *mkhas pa* Q) chen po stobs bcu dpal (Q adds *gyi*) bśes
gñen kyis bsdus pa (D: *pa'i* Q) 'dus byas daṇ 'dus ma byas rnam par nes
pa las gzugs daṇ dus rnam par nes pa žes bya ba l'eu lha pa'o//

Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

Abbreviations

D	Derge (sDe dge) bsTan 'gyur
Kośabhāṣya	P. Pradhan (ed.), <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu</i> , 2nd rev. ed., Patna, 1975
Mm	Siamese script Mahāmukūṭarājavidyālaya (Bangkok) edition
MPS	Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.), <i>Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i> , 3 parts, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986
Mvy	R. Sakaki, <i>Mahāvyutpatti</i> , Kyoto, 1926
PTS	roman script Pali Text Society edition

Q

Peking (Qianlong) bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur

Uv

Udānavarga

UvViv

Michael Balk, *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa*,
2 vols., Bonn, 1984

Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Dr Allen Thrasher of the Library of Congress called my attention to a few manuscripts that have come to (or back to) the Southeast Asia Section since I made the list published in JPTS XIII, pp. 1–31. This has made it possible to correct some entries and add new ones. There have also been a number of new palm-leaf manuscripts given to the library. Burmese-Pāli 129–153 were given by E. Gene Smith in 1993. They were bought in Thailand. Burmese-Pāli 158 and 159 were given by Mrs Mildred Goldthorpe. Burmese-Pāli 160 is an illustrated manuscript on paper recently acquired by the library.

William Pruitt

Abbreviations

Barnett L.C. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Burmese Books in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1913).

Bode M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma* (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909, repr. 1966).

Bur MSS I Heinz Bechert, Daw Khin Khin Su, Daw Tin Tin Myint, compilers, *Burmese Manuscripts, Part I* (Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1979).

Bur MSS I Heinz Braun, Daw Tin Tin Myint, compilers, *Burmese Manuscripts, Part 2* (Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1985).

PL K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983).

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

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

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

Chapters:

1. Nām[akappa], ff. khe-gō
2. Sandhi[kappa], ff. ñè-ñā:
3. Kāraka[kappa], ff. thi-tho
4. Samāsa[kappa], ff. thi-tho
5. Taddhit[akappa] (Taddit), ff. du-dā:
6. Ākhyāta-sutta, ff. dha-dhè
7. Kibbidhāna-sutta, ff. dho-ñī
8. Uṇhādi-sutta, ff. ñu-ñā:
9. Sadda aṭṭha suttam, ff. ta-tō [the first number is mistakenly written “ka”].

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

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

Burmese-Pāli 127. **Lokadīppa kyam:** (လောကဒ္ဓပ္ပ ကျမ်း).

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

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

The copyist's name, he says, is "Sa Nyaungtaing Awng Myaung" (Ca နှုန်းတိုင် ဦးမြောင်).

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

Burmese-Pāli 130. **Majjhima-nikāya, Mūlapaññāsa** (Mūlapaññāsa pāli-tō), ff. ka-dā: Pāli. Date: 1903. Owner: ဦ: Visuddha. (6 × 51 cm.; 20 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 131. **Cūlaganṭhi** (Cūlaganḍhi-mahāvagga-vanṇanā), ff. ññā-sā (incomplete). Pāli. Date: 1804. Author: Nandamāla (in text: Nandhamāla). Cf. Bode 76 (mention of a text entitled Cūlaganṭhipada by Moggallāna) and 73 (on monk Nandamāla, who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century) (6 × 49 cm.; 9 lines).

Burmese-Pāli 132. **Dīgha-nikāya**, ff. ka-yu. Pāli. Date: 1860. Three sections: ff. ka-jā: (Silakkhana-vagga [Sut Silakkham pāli-tō; Sus Silakkhan pāli-tō]); ff. jha-dū (Mahāvagga [Sut Mahāvā pāli-tō]); ff. de-yu (PātHEYA/Pātika-vagga [Sut Pādeyya pāli-tō; Pāthika-vagga]). (7 × 49 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 133. **Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā** (Vajira°) by Mahā-Vajirabuddhi of Sri Lanka (Gandavamṣa 60, 66), ff. ka-di. Date: 1859. Pāli. (6 × 47 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 134. (6 × 49 cm., 10 lines.)

- (A) **Aṭṭhasālinigandhi** (nissaya), incomplete, ff. jhī-te. Date: 1898–99.
- (B) **Vinaññ mhat su pāli** (Viny: mhat su [ဝိနည်/ဝိန်းမှတ်စု]) (nissaya), ff. tè:-so. Date: 1899.

Burmese-Pāli 135. ff. jā-yū. (6 × 48 cm.; 10 lines). Date: (all texts) 1900.

Rūpasiddhi (or Pada-rūpasiddhi, see PL 164), incomplete, by Buddhappiya (or Dipaṅkara). Pāli.

Sections (titles from margins):

- (A) Ākhyāt rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. jā-jo
- (B) Kit rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. jō-ññō
- (C) Sandhi rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. ññō-thā:
- (D) Kāraka rūpasiddhi pāli-tō, ff. ḍa-ḍhā
- (E) Samās rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā (Smās ...), ff. ḍhi-na
- (F) Taddhit rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā, ff. ḥā-ñè:
- (G) Ākh[y]āt rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā, ff. ḥo-tī
- (H) Kit rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā, ff. tu-tō

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

(I) **Sambandhacintā nissaya**, ff. tam–dhū. Cf. Barnett, col. 187: Pāli text by Saṅgharakkhita with nissaya by Silavilāsa, published 1898.

(J) **Kaccāyanabheda nissaya**, ff. dhe–nā:

(K) **Gaṇḍābharaṇa nissaya**, (Gandhā°) ff. pa–po. Cf. Barnett, col. 16: *Ganthabharana*, Pāli text by Ariyavamsa with nissaya by Bagaya Hsaya (Charā), published 1898.

(L) **Paṇāma**, ff. pō–pha

(M) **Kaccāyanasāra nissaya**, ff. phā–phō. Cf. Bur MSS I 139, Pāli text by Rhañ Mahāyasa of Pugam:

(N) **Vaccavācaka nissaya** (or: Vāca°; in margins: Vācca°), ff. pham–bi. Cf. Barnett, col. 180, Pāli text by Sadāteja, a disciple of Saddhammañāna; nissaya by Bagaya Hsaya (Charā), published 1898. The text is a tract on Pāli grammar.

(O) **Vibhattyattha nissaya** (Vibhatyattha), ff. bī–bū. Cf. Bur MSS I 138.

(P) **Pathama-ca-tō pran sambān khrok pā:** (ပထမစတော် ပြန်သမ္မာန်ခြောက်ပါ:; variants in MS: “cha” for “ca,” “bā:” [ခါ:] for “khrok pā”), ff. bē–bhā:. Cf. Barnett, col. 171, text by Pathama Ca Tō.

(Q) **Recak khyā 'amyui:-myui:** (ရေစက် ခါ အမျိုးမျိုး:), ff. ma–yū

Burmese-Pāli 136. **Anuṭikā** (in 6 sections; at end of section 5 [f. nè, line 1]: Puggalapaññatthi-ṭikā), ff. ka–nō. Date: 1900. (6 × 47.5 cm.; 10 lines.)

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

(A) **Mahāniddesa-att̄hakathā** (Mahānidessa att̄hakthā), ff. ka–nam

(B) **Cūlaniddesa-att̄hakathā**, ff. nā:–no

Burmese-Pāli 138. 205 ff. with text (ka-da). Pāli. Date: 1902. Donors: Ko Rhve Thvan: (ကိုရွှေထွန်း) and his wife. (6.5 × 50.3 cm., 12 lines.)

- (A) **Majjhima-paṇṇāsa-ṭīkā** (ff. ka-cho) (sub-commentary on second part of the Majjhima-nikāya)
- (B) **Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā** (ff. chō-nè) (sub-commentary on third part of the Majjhima-nikāya)
- (C) **Sucittalaṅkāra** (Sucittalaṅkāragandha) (ff. ḥo-da)

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

Burmese-Pāli 140. **Nyāsa**, incomplete, 203 ff. with text (khā-ge, go-dha). Pāli. Date: 1872. (6 × 48 cm.; 10 lines.)

1. Sandhi-nyāsa (ff. khā-ge), incomplete
2. Nāma-nyāsa (ff. go-je)
3. Kāraka-nyāsa (Kāraka-ññās) (ff. jhā-ññu)
4. Samāsa-nyāsa (Samās ññāp) (ff. ññū-ṭam)
5. (Taddhis-ññās) (ff. ṭā:-ṭhā:)
6. (Ākyat ññās) (ff. thā:-ñi)
7. (Kit-ññās) (ff. ni-thè)
8. (Uṇhād-ññās) (ff. thè-dha)

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

Chapters:

1. Sandhi (Saddanīti-sandhi nissya) (ff. ka-ghā:)
2. Nāma (Saddanīti-nam nissya) (ff. ḥa-ju)
3. Kāraka (Saddanīti-kāraka nisya) (ff. jū-ṭham)
4. Samāsa (Saddanīti-smās nisya) (ff. ṭhā:-te)
5. Taddhita (Saddanīti-taddhit nisya) (ff. tè-dō)

6. Ākhyāta (Saddaniti-ākhyās nisya) (ff. dam-nā)
7. Kita (Saddaniti-kit nisya) (ff. pa-po), incomplete

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

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

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

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

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

- (A) **Saṅgruih gaṇṭhi sac** (သံကြိုးဟန်ကဏ္ဍာသစ်) (ff. cō-dō), Pāli-Burmese nissaya (incomplete, see Bur MSS II 384)
- (B) **Saṅgruih adhibbāy//Saṅgruih adhiy pāṭh nissaya** (သံကြိုးဟန်အဓိဋ္ဌာယ်//သံကြိုးဟန်အဓိယ်ပါဉ်နိသာယျ) (ff. dā:-yè), in Burmese (cf. Lib. of Con. 41 [C])

Burmese-Pāli 146. Saṃyutta-nikāya, 230 ff. with text (ka-nā). Pāli. Date: 1906. (6.1 × 40 cm.; 11 lines.)

- (A) Sagāthavagga (Sagthāvagga-saṃyut pāṭi-tō သွေ့ဝိုင် သံယုတ်ပါဉ်တော်) (ff. ka-cè)
- (B) Nidānavagga (ff. co-dī)
- (C) Kandhavagga (ff. ḍū-nā)

Burmese-Pāli 147. Samantapāsādikā (Mahavā atthakathā nisya), 219 ff. with text (ka-dhi). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1859. (6.1 × 40 cm.; 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 148. Mahāvagga nissaya (Dīgha-nikāya; Sut Mahāvā nisya သုတေသနဘဝါနီသူ) by Ariyalaṅkāra, 259 ff. with text (ka-phe). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1805. (6.3 × 51.3 cm.; 9 lines.)

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

(A) **Gambhiratthadesanā** (ff. ka, khī-ṇu), incomplete

(B) **Manussacārīttavikāsanī** (ff. ṇū-di), incomplete? (only a few words are written on f. di in pencil)

(C) **Cakkākāravinicchaya** (f. dī-nō)

(D) **Udānadīpaṇī** (ff. naṁ-ba)

(E) **Vodānadīpanī** (ff. bā-bhā:)

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

(A) **Yamaka**, incomplete

1. Citta-yamaka (Cittayamuik pāli-tō ဓိတတယမိက်ပါ၍ တော်)

(ff. ka-go), Pāli

2. Indriya-yamaka (Indriya-yamuik အူနှိယယမိက်) (ff. gō-thū),

Pāli

(B) **Buddhaghosasuppatti** (ff. ka-ko), Pāli

(C) **Buddhaghosasuppatti nissaya** (ff. kam-go), Pāli-Burmese nissaya

Burmese-Pāli 151. Sumangalavilāsinī (Sut pāthe:yya-atthakthā nisya သတ်ပါဝေးယျအူဇူးဘုန်သူ), Pāli-Burmese nissaya, incomplete, 253 ff. with text (ka-ññā:, tā, tī, tī [1], tī [2], tu-dhū, dhè-phā). Date: 1903. (6.4 × 49.4 cm.; 11 lines)

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

Burmese-Pāli 153. **Samantapāsādikā** (Pārājikañ atthakthā pāth) (first section of the commentary), 285 ff. with text (ka-bho). Pāli. Date: 1902. (6.2 × 51 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 154. **Silakkhami Gaṇṭhi** (Silakkha-atthakathā gaṇṭhi), 236 ff. with text (ka-nè). Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1900. (7.2 × 50.6 cm.; 11 lines.) A nissaya of texts from the Dīgha-nikāya commentary (?).

Burmese-Pāli 155. **Saṅgruih Gaṇṭhi**, 183 ff. (thō-la). Incomplete. Pāli-Burmese nissaya. Date: 1893. (5.9 × 48.3 cm., 11 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 156. **Yasavaddhanavatthu** (Yasavatthana°), 163 ff. with text (ka-dhe), by Toñbhilā charā-tō (Taunghpila Sayadaw) (1578–1651). Date: 1859–60. (6.5 × 49 cm., 12 lines.) Printed version in Library of Congress: BJ1618.B8 T38 1964 (Orien Bur) (catalogued under the title *Yatha waddana watthu*, printed 1964).

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

Burmese-Pāli 158. **Kammavācā**, 1 f. (ki). Gilded palm leaf. Tamarind-seed script. Pāli. Part of ordination ceremony. (18.5 × 4 cm.; 6 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 159. **Abhidhammatthasaṅgahadīpanī** (Abhidhamma-dīpanī, Dīpanī, Dīpañi), 186 ff. (ka-phū, f. chi has right half broken off). Pāli. Date: 1874. Donors: Moñ Rhve Ci (မောင်ရွှေ့) and Ma Khoñ: (မခေါ်း). (6.3 × 48 cm.; 10 lines.)

Burmese-Pāli 160. Burmese astronomical-astrological MS. Parabaik on native, handmade paper with gouache, 34 ff. Some damage to first two ff. (missing some illustrations and text) and to the last fourteen ff. (some text missing on one f.). Burmese. Date: mid-19th century. (41 × 15.5 cm.) Note from seller: Possibly of Sgau Karen origin. This MS was apparently acquired by an American missionary in Burma in the mid-19th century. He began an English translation on the MS itself; he writes, however, that he no longer had time and must leave off. Each folio is divided into ten squares with illustrations in the top part and descriptive text in Burmese underneath (approximately 307 images in all). On the front cover, in black ink on a small piece of Western paper glued on: "B.37."

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Sources for the Study of the *Maṅgala* and *Mora-suttas*

1) *Maṅgala-sutta*

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

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

² Léon Feer, “Fragments extraits du Kandjour”, *Annales du Musée Guimet* V (1883) 224–27. For a translation of a Sinhalese commentary on the *Maṅgala-sutta* see Charles Hallisey, “Auspicious Things”, in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 412–26.

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

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

³ Taishō 211, Vol. 4; Lewis R. Lancaster with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979 (= KBC), 1020; English translation in Samuel Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon, Commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying Narratives*, [Boston, 1878] San Francisco, 1977, pp. 174–76. For the Chinese *Dharmapada* literature see Sylvain Lévi, “L’Apramāda-varga. Étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas”, *Journal asiatique*, septembre-octobre 1912, pp. 203–94; Charles Willemen, “The Prefaces to the Chinese Dharmapadas, Fa-chü ching and Ch’u-yao ching”, *T’oung Pao* LIX (1973) 203–19; Charles Willemen, *Dharmapada: A Concordance to Udānavarga, Dharmapada, and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Brussels, 1974.

⁴ Beal (*op. cit.*, p. 23) noted that the *nidānas* assigned to the verses of the *Fa chü p'i yü ching* are entirely different from those of the *Dhammapada-āthakathā*.

⁵ Date from KBC 1020.

⁶ N. Aiyaswami Sastri, *Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1975 (Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, No. 159), p. 37 (translation from Chinese into Sanskrit); Vol. II (Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, No. 165), Baroda, 1978, pp. 29–30 (English translation). The text is the *Ch’eng shih lun*, translated by Kumārajīva in 411–12: Taishō 1646, KBC 966.

So says the *Maṅgala-gāthā*:

The most auspicious is the Buddha
who is the highest teacher and the wisest leader
amongst men and gods.

The most auspicious is the person
who has firm faith in the Buddha
and keeps pure conduct.

The most auspicious is
to serve the learned, not to approach the ignorant
and [to] pay homage to the worthy of homage.

Aiyaswami Sastri notes that “of these three verses only the third agrees with the *Maṅgala-sutta*, verse 2”. The first two verses have no counterpart in the *Fa chü p'i yü ching*.

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

*patirūpadesavāso ca pubbe ca katapuññatā
attasammāpanidhi ca etam maṅgalam uttamam.*

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

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

⁸ *Suttanipāta* v. 260, p. 46; *Khuddaka-pātha* p. 3.5.

The Tibetan *Devapariprcchā-māngala-gāthā* reads:⁹

*yul bzañ gnas dan grogs mchog dan//
sñon chad bsod nams byas pa dan//
sems ni legs par gtañ byas pa//
de ni bkra sis dam pa yin//*

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

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

⁹ Peking Tripitaka (Q) 442, Vol. 9, *rgyud tsha*, 318b1; Q721, Vol. 11, *rgyud ya*, 276a1; Q1053, Vol. 45, *'dul ba phe*, 315a3; Q5943, Vol. 150, *ño mtshar mo*, 330a4; Derge Tanjur 4400, *sna tshogs ño*, 337b7. Note that in both the Peking and Derge Tanjur versions the text is entitled simply *Māngala-gāthā* = *bKra sis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*.

¹⁰ For the significance of *cakka* in this context, cf. *Jātaka* V 114.27 *patirūpadesavāsādino kusalacakkassa bhañjanī*, PED 259a (s.v. *cakka*), and Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II, *Dictionary*, [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972, p. 221a (s.v. *cakra*). The *Manorathapūrāṇī* (Thai script Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya ed., II 378.17 has *cakkāñīti sampattiyo, catucakkam vattāñīti cattāri sampatticakkāni vattanti ghattiyanti yevāti attho*. The *Anguttara-ṭikā* (Chāṭhasaṅgīti ed., II 280.8) and the *Sumāngalavilāśinī* (Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya ed., III 328.1, commenting on the *Dasuttara* version) also interpret *cakka* as *sampatti-cakka*, without further explanation. Rendawa's commentary (reference below, n. 16) explains that “these four conditions are called ‘wheels’, for they are similar to the wheels of a carriage”.

*cattār' imāni bhikkhave cakkāni yehi samannāgatānam
devamanussānam catucakkam pavattati, yehi samannāgatā
devamanussā na cirass' eva mahantatam vepullatam pāpuṇanti
bhogesu. katamāni cattāri?*

- (1) *paṭirūpadesavāso*
- (2) *sappurisūpāssayo*
- (3) *attasammāpaṇidhi*
- (4) *pubbe ca katapuññatā.*

*imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri cakkāni yehi samannāgatānam
devamanussānam catucakkam pavattati, yehi samannāgatā
devamanussā na cirass' eva mahantatam vepullatam pāpuṇanti
bhogesu ti.*

*paṭirūpe vase dese ariyamittakaro siyā
sammāpaṇidhisampanno pubbe puññakato naro
dhaññam dhanam yaso kitti sukhañ c' etam adhivattati.*

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

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

¹¹ It is interesting that while the Pāli version refers to “wealth” (*bhoga*), the Sanskrit refers to “wholesome dharmas” (*kuśala-dharma*: see below).

These, O monks, are the four wheels...

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

A Sarvāstivādin counterpart of the *Cakka-sutta* is incorporated into the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* from Central Asia:¹³

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

- (1) *pratirūpo deśāvāsaḥ*
- (2) *satpuruṣāpaśraya*
- (3) *ātmanaś ca samyakpranidhānam*
- (4) *pūrve ca kṛtапunyatā.*

A counterpart from a text of the Sāmmatīyas is cited in Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya*:¹⁴

¹² Cf. *Manorathapūrani* II 379.6 *sukhañ c' etam adhivattatīti sukhañ ca etam puggalam adhivattati avattharatīti attho.*

¹³ Kusum Mittal, *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im älteren Buddhismus* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden IV), Berlin, 1957, § IV, 1, p. 61. The parallel in the Pāli *Dasuttara-sutta* (DN III 276.5–8) gives only the bare list of the four, similarly described as *cattāro dhammā bahukārā*.

¹⁴ Daśabalaśrīmitra (sTobs bcu dpal bses gñen), 'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa, Q5865, Vol. 146, no mtshar bstan bcos ño, 162b8. For this text see Peter Skilling, "The Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra,

'khor lo bži žes bya ba ni/ 'khor lo chen po bži ste/ 'di ltar/ mthun pa'i yul du gnas pa dañ/ skyes bu dam pa la brten pa dañ/ bdag gi smon lam yañ dag pa dañ/ sñon bsod nams byas pa'o// de dañ yañ dag par ldan pa'o//

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

The four are listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon of the early 9th century, under the title “The four wheels of gods and humans” (*catvāri devamanuṣyāñām cakrāni, lha dañ mi'i khor lo bži'i miñ*).¹⁵

- (1) *pratirūpadeśa-vāsaḥ*, 'thun pa'i yul na gnas pa
- (2) *satpuruṣāpaśrayam*, skyes bu dam pa la brten pa
- (3) *ātmanāḥ samyak prañidhānam*, bdag ñid kyis yañ dag pa'i smon lam btab pa
- (4) *pūrve ca kṛtапunyatā*, sñon yañ bsod nams byas pa'o.

The four *cakras* are given in verse in Nāgārjuna's *Suhrllekha* (v. 61):¹⁶

Buddhist Studies Review 4/1 (1987) 3–23, and “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, *JPTS* XIX (1993), pp. 140–42.

¹⁵ Mvy § LXXXIII, nos. 1603–7.

¹⁶ Venerable Lozang Jamspal, Venerable Ngawang Samten Chophel, and Peter Della Santina (tr.), *Nāgārjuna's Letter to King Gautamīputra*, Delhi, 1978, Tibetan text, p. 91 (translation p. 37). Cf. the translations and commentaries in Leslie Kawamura, *Golden Zephyr: Instructions from a Spiritual Friend*, Emeryville, 1975, p. 55; Geshe Lobsang Tharchin and Artemus B. Engle, *Nāgārjuna's Letter: Nāgārjuna's “Letter to a Friend” with a Commentary by the Venerable Rendawa*, Zhön-nu Lo-drö, Dharamsala, 1979, pp. 93–94.

*mthun par gyur ba'i yul na gnas pa dañ//
 skyes bu dam pa la ni brten pa dañ//
 bdag ñid legs smon sñon yañ bsod nams bgyis//
 'khor lo chen po bži ni khyod la mña'//*

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

2) *Mora-paritta*

The Pāli *Jātaka* gives a prose story of a golden peacock twice, as the *Mora-jātaka* (No. 159) and the *Mahāmora-jātaka* (No. 491).¹⁸ The basic narrative has a parallel near the end of the *Bhaisajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*¹⁹ and in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*.²⁰ A parallel to verse 2 of the *Mora-sutta* occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, with additions and variants and with the lines in a different sequence:²¹

¹⁷ It is interesting that of the texts studied here, only the Sāmmatiya citation and Nāgārjuna describe the four wheels as “great” (*mahā*).

¹⁸ For references see Leslie Grey, *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 253, 218.

¹⁹ Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 1, [Srinagar, 1947] Delhi, 1984, pp. 287.11–288.13. Cf. Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo, 1981, p. 62.

²⁰ Shūyo Takubo (ed.), *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo, 1972, 7.9–9.18. Cf. the translation and discussion (which notes the relation to the Pāli *jātakas*) in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1893–1912, pp. 240a–e.

²¹ Takubo, p. 6, ult; cf. also 38.17–39.1; 42.16–20.

Mora-paritta²²

Mahāmāyūrī

namo 'stu buddhāya namo 'stu bodhaye	
namo 'stu muktāya namo 'stu muktaye	
namo 'stu śāntāya namo 'stu śāntaye	
namo vimuktāya namo vimuktaye	
ye brāhmaṇā vedagū	ye brāhmaṇā vāhita-pāpa-dharmāḥ ²³
sabbadhamme	
te me namo te ca mama	teśām namas te ca mama pālayantu.
pālayantu	
nam' atthu buddhānam	
nam' atthu bodhiyā	
namo vimuttānam namo	
vimuttiyā.	

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

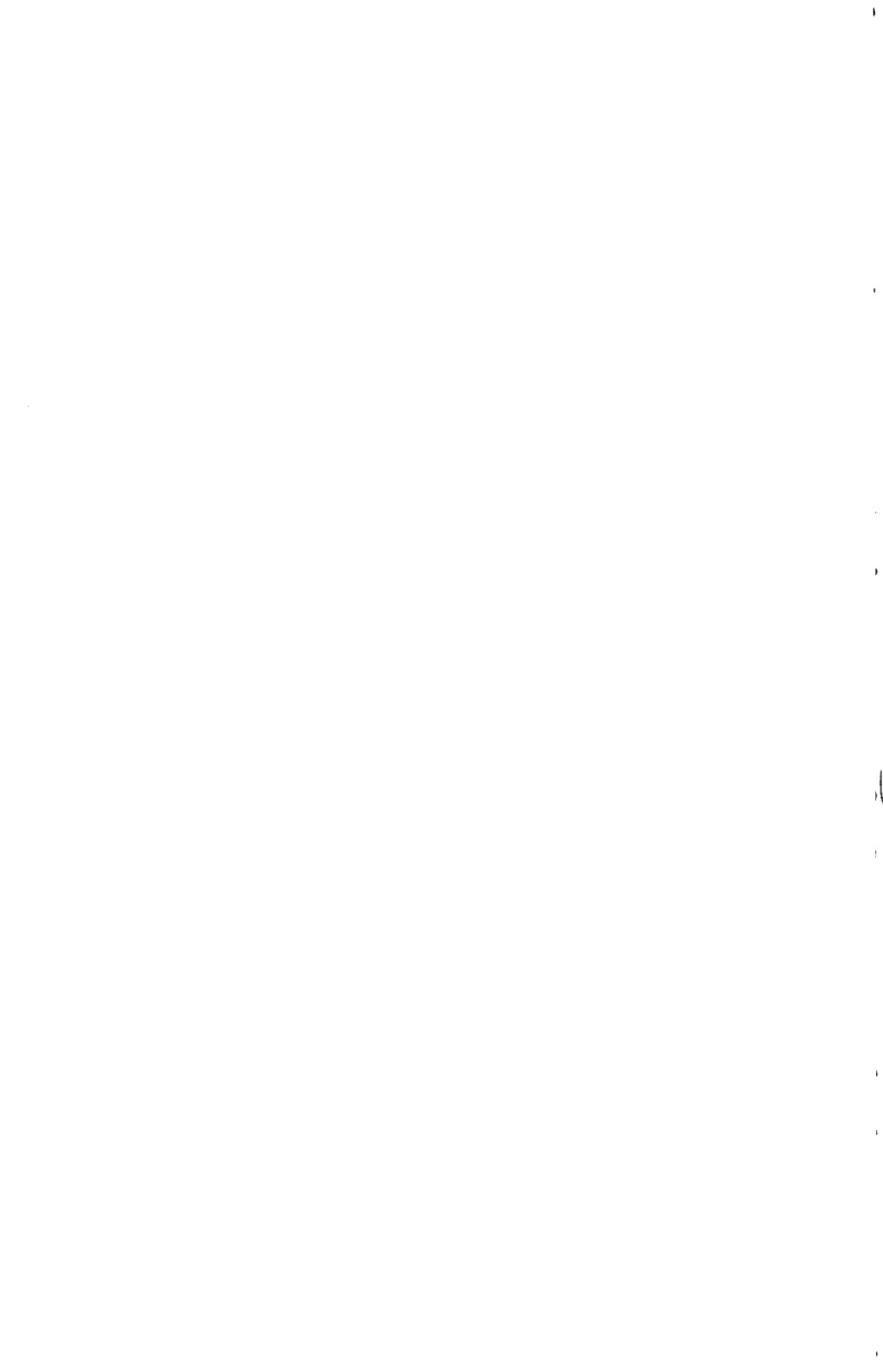
Nandapuri

Peter Skilling

²² *Jātaka* II 34.12.

²³ Cf. Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Vol. I (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden X), Göttingen, 1965, 33:13a and Radhagovinda Basak (ed. with Bengali translation), *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1968, p. 430.13 *yo brāhmaṇo vāhitapāpadharmo*; *Udāna* 3.20, *Vinaya* I 3.5 *yo brāhmaṇo bāhitapāpadhammo*.

²⁴ Cf. Skilling, "Rakṣā Literature", p. 140.



Praises of the Buddha beyond Praise*

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

* Unless otherwise noted references are to Pali Text Society (PTS) editions. For the *atthakathā* I also refer to Burmese script *Chatthasaṅgīti* (ChS) editions, and to Thai script editions published by the Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya (Mm) and the Bhūmibalo Foundation (BhB).

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

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

Continues...

This natural statement, which culminates a long eulogy of the Buddha, was later rephrased as a general principle: “The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, merit unlimited praise”.³ In the *Apadāna*, Gatasaññaka Thera refers to the Buddha Tissa as “an ocean of unlimited virtues” (*anantaguṇasāgara*).⁴ What had started out as a rather straightforward fact took on a mystical flavour.

The following passage shows how this concept was presented in Siam at the beginning of the 19th century. It is taken from the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā*, also known as the *Traibhūmi chabap luang*, which was composed at the behest of Rāma I, the first king of the Chakri Dynasty, by Phraya Dharrmaprijā (Kaew) in Culasakkarāja 1164 or BE 2345, that is CE 1802.⁵ The citation is from the beginning of the first chapter (*pathamapariccheda*), on homage to the Three Gems (*kham namaskār phra ratanatray*). The prose is in Thai, the verses in Pāli.⁶

immeasurable’: Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Kandy, 1995, p. 778.

³ *Udāna-atthakathā* (Mm) 524.1 *aparimānavannā hi buddhā bhagavanto*.

⁴ *Apadāna* (Nālandā ed.) I 151 (PTS p. 127).

⁵ Fine Arts Department (ed.), Phraya Dharrmaprijā (Kaew), *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā chabap ti 2 (Traibhūmi chabap luang)*, Bangkok, 2520 [1977], Vol. 1, pp. 15–16. For a brief note on the textual history of the *Traibhūmi* genre, see Peter A. Jackson, “Re-interpreting the Traiphum Phra Ruang: Political Functions of Buddhist Symbolism in Contemporary Thailand”, in Trevor Ling (ed.), *Buddhist Trends in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1993, pp. 69–70. For Phraya Dharrmaprijā see H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, “The Reconstruction of Rāma I of the Chakri Dynasty”, in *Collected Articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat reprinted from the Journal of the Siam Society*, Bangkok, 1969, p. 159 (originally published in *Journal of the Siam Society* XLIII-1, 1955).

⁶ I give in parentheses selected phrases that derive from Pāli or Sanskrit, in their Thai orthography. *phra* (rendered here as “holy”), *chao* (rendered here as “lord”), and *somdet* (not translated) are frequently attached to the names or titles of objects or persons of respect in Thai.

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

*sahassasīso⁷ pi ce poso sīse sīse satam mukhā
mukhe mukhe satam jivhā jivakappo mahiddhiko
na sakkoti ca vannetum⁸ nisesam satthuno gunam.*

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

*buddho pi buddhassa bhaneyya vannam
kappam pi ce aññam abhāsamāno*

⁷-*sīse Traibhūmi*: I follow here the Khmer citation (see below), to read -*sīso*.

⁸*vannetu Traibhūmi*: I follow here the Khmer citation, to read *vannetum*.

*khiyetha kappo ciradīgham⁹ antare
vanno na khiyetha tathāgatassa.*

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

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

The second verse may be explained thus: Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha has a long life-span of an aeon; if he does not preach on any other subject at all, but, as in the

⁹ *Traibhūmi* only reads *cīra-*, against the *cira-* of the *atthakathā* (see below).

¹⁰ I take the translation from Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Discourse on the All-embracing Net of Views: The Brahmajāla Sutta and its Commentarial Exegesis*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1978, p. 330; cf. also translations in Peter Masefield, *The Udāna Commentary (Paramatthadipani nāma Udānatthakathā)*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1995, p. 871; and in I.B. Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (Madhuratthavilāsini)*, London, 1978, pp. 193–94. Horner did not understand the verse.

previous example, preaches only on the Holy Buddhaguṇa of Somdet the Holy Omniscient Lord Buddha, throughout the day and throughout the night, and continues preaching until the end of that long stretch of time, to the limit of his aeon-long life-span—the Holy Buddhaguṇa of Somdet the Holy Tathāgata the Ten-powered one (Daśabala) would not yet be exhausted.

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

- Dīgha Atthakathā*, commenting on the *Sonadanda-sutta* (DN 4);¹³
- Dīgha Atthakathā*, commenting on the *Sampasādaniya-sutta* (DN 28);¹⁴
- Majjhima Atthakathā*, commenting on the *Cāñki-sutta* (MN 95);¹⁵
- Udāna Atthakathā*, commenting on the third sutta of the *Jaccandha-vagga*;¹⁶
- Cariyāpiṭaka Atthakathā* (twice);¹⁷

¹¹ F. Bizot and O. von Hinüber, *La guirlande de Joyaux* (Textes bouddhiques du Cambodge 2), Paris, 1994, (text) 135, (translation) 180–81.

¹² I have culled the references from the notes to the Chatthasaṅgīti editions. The verse is usually introduced by *vuttam h' etam* (*vuttam pi c' etam*, *vuttañ c' etam*, etc.).

¹³ (PTS) 288 (not seen); (ChS) [I] 257.8; (Mm) I 356.8; (Nālandā ed.) 315.25 (cf. comment in *ṭīkā*, ChS [I] 318.7–10).

¹⁴ (Mm) III 80.8; (ChS) [III] 61 (not seen).

¹⁵ (Mm) III 388.16; (ChS) III 209 (not seen).

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

¹⁷ (ChS) 9.1; 324.12; (BhB) 13.8; 506.7.

- Apadāna Atthakathā*;¹⁸
- Buddhavamsa Atthakathā*;¹⁹
- Dīghanikāya-ṭīkā* (*Linatthappakāsanā*).²⁰

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

Nandapuri

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¹⁸ (ChS) II 91.17.

¹⁹ (PTS) 135.9; (BhB) 250.1; (ChS) 163 (not seen).

²⁰ *Silakkhandhavagga-ṭīkā* (ChS) 51.1.

²¹ The idea of talking for an aeon or more is found in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: Étienne Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, Louvain, 1962, pp. 257–58. Lamotte (n. 17) refers to a similar hyperbole in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.

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