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BRAH MĀLEY YADEVAT THERAVAT THU

I

In 'L'Origine Cinghalaise du P'rah Malay' (*Felicitacion volume of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.M. Prince Dhaninivat*, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 329–38), the late Eugène Denis S.J. (1921–86) stated that the École Française d'Extrême-Orient was to publish his 1963 Sorbonne doctoral thesis, which was entitled 'Brah Māley yadevat theravat thū, Légende bouddhiste du saint therā Māley yadeva. Texte établi d'après des manuscrits inédits en caractères cambodgiennes, accompagné d'une introduction et d'une traduction, avec une traduction du P'rah Malay siamois qui en est dérivé'. Unfortunately this did not happen, and the article remains his only publication on the topic to date. Very few primary sources for the story — better, stories — of Māley ya¹ are yet available in the West, and Denis' thesis has proved elusive to a number of scholars who have tried to find it: even those in Paris, including Denis' Directeur de travaux, André Bareau, seem to have had some difficulty in locating a copy. The Pali Text Society has acquired one through Professor O. von Hinüber, itself taken from a copy in the library of the University of Göttingen. It seemed to us that it would be useful to make available here Denis' text, accompanied by a translation of it into English.² The story of Māley yadeva is known to have been very important in the practice of traditional Thai Buddhism; but the text is also relevant to the matters of linguistic and literary history with which the JPTS is more specifically

¹ The Pali form of the name is spelt variously, as Maliya, Malaya, Māley ya, etc., sometimes with one of the suffixes -mahādeva or -deva; sometimes these suffixes are used alone (as in the text p. 58 below). For brevity I shall use Māley ya.

² Permission for the present publication has been given by Denis' surviving sister, Mme Marie-Thérèse Saulnier; we are grateful to Jacqueline Filliozat for contacting Mme Saulnier on our behalf.

concerned. Denis' edition was certainly intended as no more than a pioneering first attempt; more work must be done on other manuscripts before anything like a definitive version of this particular Māleyya text can be established. But it can already contribute to the further understanding of Pali in Southeast Asia, and to that of the literary history of the Pali tradition.

Denis' Introduction contains four sections: I — 'The Legend of P'raḥ Malay'; II — 'The thera Māleyyadeva — Sinhalese sources; III — 'The development of the legend — Southeast Asian texts'; IV — 'The Influence of the legend in Southeast Asian countries'; and two accounts of manuscripts: V — 'Description of the documents' [in Thai and Pali, on which his edition and translations were based]; and VI — 'A list of manuscripts of the P'raḥ Malay found at Luang Prabang and Vientiane'. There follow translations of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* (hereafter Mth-v), of Chapter 10 of the *Rasavāhinī*, and of the *P'raḥ Malay* [sometimes transliterated *Phra Malai*], and a Bibliography; and then the text of Mth-v, and of relevant sections of the *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthu*, transcribed from Sinhalese editions.¹ Some of the Introduction has been published, in the article mentioned above; for this reason, and also because new information has appeared in the thirty years since the thesis was written, what follows here is a summary (section III below), with additional information. A final section IV gives Denis' description of the manuscripts used, and explains how we have established the text of Mth-v from Denis' typescript.

¹ The former has not been edited in a European edition; the latter is forthcoming from the PTS, edited by Jacqueline Filliozat. On these texts, see now T. Rahula, 'The *Rasavāhinī* and the *Sahassavatthu*: a Comparison', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 7, 2, 1974, pp. 169–84.

II

It has become clear in recent years that certain features of Southeast Asian Pali may well not be scribal errors, as had been previously thought, but genuine characteristics of the language as it was used in later Pali literature from that region. As is clear from his comments translated below (p. 15), Denis was aware of this, referring to F. Martini's edition and translation of the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36, 1936, pp. 287–390), and G. Terral's edition and study of the 'Samuddaghosajātaka: conte pali tiré du *Paññāsa-jātaka*' (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, 1956, pp. 249–351).¹ Mth-v provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis.

As far as the literary history of Pali is concerned, study of the text will contribute to our knowledge of later Pali materials, and specifically to our assessment of the place of non-canonical texts in Buddhist cultures. In one of the earliest references to the Māleyyadeva story, G. Cœdès cited it as an example of 'a certain number of apocryphal *suttas* and *jātakas* which must have been forged in Thailand' ('Note sur les ouvrages Palis composés en pays Thai', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 15 (3), 1915, p. 40 and note 3. He was followed in this assessment by A.B. Griswold ('A Warning to Evildoers', *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XX, 1957, p. 18 and note 1) and by H. Saddhātissa ('Pali Literature of Thailand', in L. Cousins et al. (eds.) *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, p. 215). Some manuscripts have the word *sutta* in their title; but neither the Pali version printed here, nor the translation of the Thai *P'rah Malay* given

¹ See also now P.S. Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (2 Vols., PTS 1981–83); K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 144, 178, and the works cited there; and C. Hallisey, 'Nibbānasutta: an allegedly non-canonical sutta on Nibbāna as a great city'. (See pp. 97 foll. below).

by Denis in his thesis, nor a translation of the 'royal' Thai version (*Phra Malai Kham Luang*) kindly made available to me by Bonnie Brereton show any sign of attempting to resemble a *sutta*: they are not spoken by the Buddha (indeed they open with an address to him), nor do they begin *evam me sutam*. Further empirical research into different versions is necessary; but also, on a theoretical level, it is by no means clear that the language of 'apocryphal forgeries' is helpful in addressing the issues here. Even in the case of texts which do resemble *sutta*-s formally, it may be that the form should be taken as a sign of literary genre rather than an attempt at historical deception. Moreover, the designation *sutta* for texts not included in the traditional *piṭaka* list cannot pre-judge the issue of whether their contents differ from those of 'the Canon', nor does it indicate whether or not the texts so called have been regarded in practice in the same way as 'the Canon'. For these reasons Charles Hallisey has suggested that we use a phrase of K.D. Somadasa, 'allegedly non-canonical', or perhaps some other such as 'deutero-canonical', to refer to texts of this kind ('*Tuṇḍilovāda*: an allegedly non-canonical *Sutta*', *JPTS* Vol. XV, 1990, pp. 156–58; '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical *sutta* on Nibbāna as a great city', [see pp. 97 foll. below]). In the case of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, the classificatory issue of its 'canonicity' is clear: it is neither in the *sutta* genre nor in the *piṭaka* lists. Whether or not we should regard it as being comparable to the 'canonical' texts in status and/or use is an empirical issue, to be decided — perhaps differently — for specific times and places.¹

The need for both further empirical research and further discussion of the descriptive concepts we employ is also evident in relation to the question of the origin and development of the story, an issue addressed by Denis in his article and in the Introduction to his

¹ See my remarks, and those cited from C. Keyes, in 'On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon', *JPTS* Vol. XV 1990, pp. 103–4.

thesis. I shall discuss empirical data in III below. Here I wish to quote some remarks of A.K. Ramanujan on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which I think apply very well to the range of stories referred to as those of Māleyya, Vessantara, and 'the' *Anāgatavaṃsa* (the name not of a text but of a family of texts), three closely associated strands of the Theravāda tradition. Ramanujan writes of the many different 'tellings' of the Rāma story:

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the word *tellings* to the usual terms *versions* or *variants* because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or *Ur*-text — usually Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But ... it is not always Vālmīki's narrative that is carried from one language to another.

The variety and number of different tellings lead him to suggest that

the cultural area in which the *Rāmāyaṇas* are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs ... [all] carry allusions to the Rāma story. These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context.¹

¹ 'Three Hundred Rāmāyaṇas', in P. Richman (ed.), *Many Rāmāyaṇas: the Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (University of California Press, 1991); quotes from pp. 25, 46.

Although the different tellings of the stories about Māleyya, Vessantara, the Bodhisatta Metteyya and other future Buddhas, are not so varied as those of the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ramanujan's choice of language here seems to me helpful in considering the origin and development of the Māleyya stories, as well as the relationships — both textual and contextual — between these stories and those of Metteyya and Vessantara. The particular telling found in this written text of the *Māleyyadevattheravattu* seems most likely to have occurred first in Thailand; but as Denis shows, the 'pool of signifiers' from which this 'crystallization' was taken began in Sri Lanka.

III

In the first section of his Introduction Denis cites previous notices of the Māleyya stories: in chronological order these are: E. Burnouf, *Essai sur le pali* (Paris, 1826), pp. 209–12; G. Cœdès (as above); L. Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XVII, 1917, pp. 65–66; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la littérature siamoise* (Paris, 1951), p. 129; Prince Dhaninivat's review of a Thai re-publication of the 18th century 'Phra Malai, royal version', in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 1948 (1), pp. 69–72; A.B. Griswold (as above); and finally he refers to three tellings of the story, two in written form from Burma and Sri Lanka, and one oral chant ('une vieille mélodie') provided to him in writing by Ven. Wachissara from Southern Sri Lanka. The Burmese text is from the *Madhurarasavāhīnī Vatthu*; the bibliographical details cited by Denis (as also in his article) can now be supplemented by H. Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts Part 2* (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXIII, 2, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 192–93. Denis cites the Sinhalese text from a manuscript in the British Museum, referred to in D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Singhalese manuscripts of the British Museum* (London, 1900);

it consists in verses, in variant form, from the Mth-v, which Denis gave as Appendix D (see p. 63 below).¹ Most of these verses are in fact found in the *Sīhalavatthupakaraṇa* (hereafter Sīh), a text which Denis consulted in a Sinhalese edition, and which has since been published by J. Ver Eecke (née Filliozat) in *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* Vol. CXXIII (Paris, 1980). Unfortunately he failed to notice that story III of that collection not only contains the verses, but indeed many of the elements of the Māleyya story as found in Mth-v.² In Ver Eecke's edition of Sīh III, she cites similar sections from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the first is entitled *bra māleyyasūtra*, with *māleyyadevattheravaṇṇa* (sic) in the colophon, and the second *bra māleyyadevattheraatthavaṇṇana* (sic). In

¹ Denis gives the number wrongly in the first section, and in his article, as 109: it is 129 on pp. 142–43 (as correctly noted in the thesis p. 47 note 109). In Wickremasinghe's catalogue, the text is given as *Sampiṇḍi-mahānidāna*, 'an extract from a Pali text as yet unidentified, accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary'. In C.E. Godakumbara's *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (in the Royal Library) (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 200, what would appear to be the same verses — Godakumbara cites the last in Pali, which is almost identical to Denis' version — are found in a text called by him *Devadūtadharmadesanāva* and dated at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th centuries. In K.D. Somadasa's *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. 2 (London, 1989) a number of texts with this or similar titles are found, none of which seem to contain the verses; on pp. 3–4, however, they are said to be in a work called *Sampiṇḍimahānidānaya* (*Maitreya-Maliyadeva-sakacchā*), described by Nevill as 'a series of thirteen Pali Gāthās, accompanied by a free enlarged translation in Sinhalese'. W.A. de Silva's *Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* (Colombo, 1938) contains three texts, nos. 1450–52, with this same title. In Saddhātissa's 'Pali Literature in Cambodia' (*JPTS* Vol. IX 1981), p. 181, he refers to a *Sampiṇḍita-mahānidāna*, 'known in Sri Lanka as *Mahāsampiṇḍitanidāna*'. This text does refer to Metteyya, but it seems to have nothing to do with the Māleyya story; it is discussed and translated in part in Saddhātissa's *Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas* (London, 1975), pp. 43–45.

² Ver Eecke notes that there seem to have been some unclarities in the Sinhalese edition (op. cit., p. IV), which may perhaps account for the oversight.

her main text, story III ends with the words *metteyyavatthu tatiyaṃ*. The modern Burmese bibliographical work *Piṭakattamain* states that Sīh was composed in Sri Lanka, but it is likely that its compilers 'had access to materials current in Southeast Asia',¹ and the title may well simply refer to the fact that most of its stories are set in Sri Lanka. This text must have been written before the first half of the 15th century, since it is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1442, but it remains uncertain whether some or all of it can be traced back to Sri Lanka.

It is, however, certain that some elements of the story — the pool of signifiers — can be traced back to Sri Lanka, and this is the subject of Denis' section II, on the Sinhalese sources for the elder Māleyyadeva. The lack of reference to Sīh story III renders this section somewhat out-dated. Denis refers to previous discussions of monks called by various similar names, by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1901, pp. 889 foll., and by A.P. Buddhadatta, in the introduction to his Sinhala script edition of the *Sahassavatthu*, concluding that it is impossible to tell whether all the uses of the name concern one and the same person; he thinks that there was an original historical figure to whose name legendary elements were added. The texts which deal with Maliya/Māleyya etc. are, in the order treated²: Mp I 38–39, Ps V 101–03, Vism 241–42 (= HOS ed. VIII 49), Ja IV 490, VI 30, Mhv XXXII 49–50, Mhv-ṭ 606. Although it is by no means clear that the similarity of names shows that we are dealing here with a single figure, historical or legendary, it is true that many of the stories concern excellence at preaching, which is one of Māleyya's characteristics in Mth-v. Denis discusses only story 41 of Sīh, which is quite different from Mth-v, although the name Māleyyadeva does appear in it and it does have a generic resemblance to Mth-v in so far as it concerns the

¹ K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 154.

² Abbreviations used are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

value of giving.¹ He then describes three stories found both in the *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhīnī*; the former text is mentioned in the same inscription of 1442 mentioned above, and the latter is dated to the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.² The first resembles story 41 of *Sīh*; the second concerns giving, and has Maliyadeva (as the name appears there) conversing with Sakka on that subject. The faint analogy to the Māleyya story found in these stories is much stronger in the third, *Sah* story 77 and *Ras* Chapter 10, 1. Here Maliyadeva visits the Cūlāmaṇi shrine in heaven with a layman, sees various gods and explains to the layman the good deeds done by them on earth which resulted in their rebirth there. At the end Metteyya appears³ and gives the layman a celestial robe; the latter returns to earth, and thereafter dies and is reborn in the Tusita heaven. (*Ras* is more elaborate than *Sah*, but the essentials of the story are the same.)

The third section, on the development of the legend in Southeast Asia, can be improved on now thanks to the work of Bonnie Brereton: see her article 'Some comments on a Northern Thai *Phra Mala* Text dated C.S. 878 (A.D. 1516)', forthcoming in *Journal of the Siam Society*; and her recent doctorate thesis at the University of Michigan, 'The *Phra Malai* Theme in Thai Buddhist Literature: a study of three texts' (1992). The thesis makes clear that, as mentioned above, there are a number of different 'tellings' of the stories involving Māleyya, Metteyya and Vessantara, in Pali and various vernaculars, some of them closely intertwined. Brereton's article enables us to improve on Denis' dating. The text discussed there, which very closely parallels *Mth-v*, is

¹ Denis says that the title of the story is *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, which follows one of the titles given by the Sinhalese edition; Ver Eecke (op. cit., pp. V–VI) gives also *vaṇibbakayāgudāko*.

² K.R. Norman, op. cit., p. 155.

³ The *Ras* version given by Denis contains the very surprising phrase *anekasatapaccekabuddhabodhisatthehi ca parivuto*, used of Metteyya.

in the form of a *nissaya*: that is, what is presented as a Thai 'commentary' on a Pali text. One might conclude that a version of Mth-v in Pali was in existence at that time, but it is by no means clear that the *nissaya* form does not result in fact from a Thai story grouped around Pali phrases invented for the sake of linguistic and religious prestige. But clearly the contents of Mth-v, in whatever linguistic form, were already in existence in the early 16th century in something close to the Mth-v version. Many other aspects of Denis' treatment remain valuable, however. He says that although the story of Māleyya was also known in Burma, the texts through which we can come to know it are primarily preserved in Thailand and Cambodia. (Information on mss. known to Denis can be found in his article, pp. 330–31 note 6. The manuscripts from which Buddhadatta made his Sinhalese edition of Sīh, which Ver Eecke then transliterated in the Ee, were all in Burmese script.) The general structure of the story is, as he says, already present in the Ras and Sah versions. Certain narrative elements and emphases are changed in the Southeast Asian versions, and others added. The principal additions are, (i) in vernacular versions, extensive descriptions of the hells visited by Māleyya (which themselves draw on materials such as the *Nimi-jātaka* and the visits to hell by Moggallāna in the *Mahāvastu*¹), and in both vernacular and Pali versions; (ii) more elaborate tellings of the previous good deeds done by the inhabitants of heaven and of Metteyya's bodhisatta-career; (iii) the connection between hearing recitations of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and rebirth at the time of Metteyya; (iv) the account by Metteyya of the degeneration and renewal of religion (itself taken, sometimes word-for-word, from the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which Denis curiously fails to mention); and (v) Metteyya's account of the paradisaical conditions which will obtain

¹ This is also a feature, Denis remarks, of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*: see now the translations by G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes* (*Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. LXXXIX, 1973) and F.E. and M.B. Reynolds, *The Three Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982).

when he is reborn on earth. Denis states that many of the developments of the part of the story concerning Metteyya are found in sections of the *Saddharmāṅkāra*,¹ a 14th century Sinhala work which is otherwise a translation of Ras. Given that the dating and provenance of these stories are uncertain, it cannot be decided if this Sinhala version is an indigenous creation or taken from texts originating in Southeast Asia.

The association between the Māleyya story and that of Vessantara has been discussed by S.J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults of Northeast Thailand* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), and L. McClung, *The Vessantara Jātaka: paradigm for a Buddhist Utopia* (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1975). Denis cites a Burmese author of the early 20th century who states that the two were recited together, and a Burmese inscription from 1201, which Luce interpreted as referring to successive recitations of the two texts.² Brereton (1992) further explores the connection; manuscripts often contain the two stories together.

In the short fourth section, on the influence of the story in Southeast Asia, Denis discusses the times and occasions at which Māleyya texts were recited (the end of the Rainy Season Retreat, marriages and funerals, merit-making ceremonies) and adds some information about the manner of reciting the texts which is of interest not only for the social history of these stories, but also for our appreciation of the relation between written text and performance context. He cites K.E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities* (Bangkok, 1939), p. 233, who reports that normally there were three reciters, one for Māleyya, one for Indra (Sakka) and one for Metteyya;

¹ According to W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956), p. xxxv note 2, called the *Metteyya-vastu*.

² Denis cites G.H. Luce, *Inscriptions of Burma* (n.d.), Portfolio I Plate XXII lines 1-7.

and states that skilled reciters of the text could gain a considerable reputation (he cites R. Lingat, 'Le Wat Rajapratistha', *Artibus Asiae* 1961 Vol. XXIV p. 232). Denis made a tape recording of one of the last celebrated reciters of the Māleyya story then living in Bangkok. He was a famous reciter of the 'Liké' form of 'popular comic theatre'. The passages chanted were from the earlier part of the Thai *P'rah Malay*, concerning hells and the tortures endured by their inhabitants: the first two passages were chanted by a monk in an ordinary tone; the next nine by the reciter, 'in the Petchaburi tone. The style is more complex and dramatic'; the last seven passages were chanted by him in a manner resembling that of the 'Liké' theatre. Denis adds that on a number of occasions decrees were passed against this manner of chanting the *P'rah Malay*, and goes on to give examples:

'These recitations led often to excess. The crowd liked reciters who acted the part of their characters and did not hesitate to make use of comic gestures and tones. A decree of 1801 legislated on the subject: 'on the occasion of funerals, the "master of ceremonies" is forbidden to invite monks to recite the P'rah Malai; only the P'rah Aph'ith'amma [the *Abhidhamma*] is to be recited in an ordinary tone, not in the Indian, Chinese, European or Môn tones If there are laypeople who want to recite the P'rah Malay, they may do so, but should avoid a comic tone [un ton plaisant (drôle)]'

A law of 1782 had already warned monks against reciting the P'rah Malay and similar texts in a theatrical manner. It also throws an interesting light on the popularity of devotion to Metteyya at that time. It stated that "many people endeavour to accomplish all kinds of meritorious acts so as to be able to meet [Metteyya], according to the instructions given to P'rah Malay by [Metteyya] himself, who recommended that everyone revere and listen to the *Vessantara-jātaka* in One Thousand Verses in order to meet him in the future Monks who preach the Law and laity who listen to the [*Vessantara-jātaka*] should

use the Pali [text] and the Commentaries; if they want to meet [Metteyya] in the future, they should not use rhyming texts, and the comical, theatrical manner of representing P'rah Malay, which is an offence against the Vinaya”.'

IV

In the fifth section of his Introduction, Denis describes the Thai and Pali manuscripts he used, and his reasons for making the edition of the Pali Mth-v as he did; his remarks concerning the latter are:

‘For the Pali text [of Mth-v] we were able to use five manuscripts:

1. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (Mss Pali No. 147), of which we have a photocopy. It is written in ‘mūl’ characters engraved on ola-leaves. There are 24 ola-leaves, thus 48 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page contains only the title: ‘Braḥ Māleyyadevatthera- vatthū, 1 ph’uk (1 bundle). This is without doubt the best preserved manuscript, and we reproduce it as the main text. We refer to it as M1.

2. A manuscript in the Institut Bouddhique de Pnom-Penh [*sic*], given to the Institut in 1930 by the Daṇṇap monastery in Kampong Chhnang [*sic*] province. It is written in ‘mūl’ characters on 26 ola-leaves, thus 52 pages, with 5 lines per page. The Ven. Braḥ Grū Saṅghasatthā P.S. Dharmārāma, of the Lycée Boudhique of Pnom-Penh, has been kind enough to copy this text for us in ‘mūl’ characters and to send us the copy. We had asked him to transcribe it faithfully without standardising the Pali. He writes that the manuscript cannot be old, as it is easily legible. We have ascertained that the text of this manuscript is very similar to that of the Bangkok manuscript, with only one interpolation [see text p. 26 note 2]. We refer to it as M2.

3. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cf. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Pali de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. 2e fasc. No. 326) (gift of the Société des Missions Étrangères). It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 18 ola-leaves, thus 36 pages, with one line per page, but the last ola leaf is for protection only and the first carries only the title: *Braḥ Māleyya Sutrāh* [sic]. The text is written in a good, regular hand. The title is in different handwriting and seems to have been added afterwards. Notes in Cambodian have been added on the first and second pages. This manuscript contains quite significant variations from M1. We have had to reproduce entire passages at the end of the notes [Appendices A, B, C]. We refer to it as M3.

4. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Paris, No. 658 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is in 'mūl' script on ola-leaves. There are 12 ola-leaves, thus 24 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page has the title: *Braḥ Māleyya devathera* [sic]. The text is incomplete and only covers the first part (the arrival of the 12 Junior Gods) and the beginning of the second part, finishing in the middle of a sentence. We refer to it as M4.

5. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, No. 659 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 13 ola-leaves, but five are for protection only at the end, and the first carries only the title: *Braḥ Māleyya devathera atthavaṇṇanā* [sic]. There are therefore only 7 ola-leaves left, thus 14 pages, with 5 lines per page. It is the shortest text; it is very incomplete, only covering the last part, and even the beginning of this part is missing. It begins in the middle of a sentence. This is not a continuation of No. 658 [i.e. M4], as one might think. The writing is neat and regular, very different from the preceding manuscript. Moreover the texts are not continuous. We refer to it as M5.

None of these manuscripts carries a date. A. Cabaton, in his *Catalogue*, dates manuscript No. 326 [i.e. M3] to the 18th century, and Nos. 658 and 659 [M4 and M5] to the 19th. We do not know on what he based these dates.

One can apply to the Pali of our manuscripts the remarks made by G. Terral (op. cit., pp. 263–64) on the *Samuddagghosajātaka*, and by F. Martini (op. cit., pp. 370 foll.) on the *Dasa-Bodhisatta-Uddesa*. Firstly, there are many copying errors. One constantly finds short *i* and *u* instead of long *ī* and *ū*, dentals instead of cerebrals and vice-versa, aspirates instead of non-aspirates and vice-versa, etc. Moreover, syllables are often omitted, words miscopied (*karonto* in place of *kathento*), etc. In addition, it seems that the Pali of our texts has been strongly influenced by the Indo-Chinese languages spoken by copyists fairly ignorant of Pali, and perhaps even by the authors of our texts. We have not undertaken a systematic survey of all the grammatical anomalies, which would only repeat the studies of F. Martini and G. Terral. As far as possible we have transcribed the texts, with all their anomalies, such as we have found them in the manuscripts, restricting ourselves to adding occasionally, in parentheses, certain syllables which had evidently been omitted through negligence. We thought that these texts were sufficiently comprehensible transcribed as they are, without being standardised, and could thus contribute to future comparisons or studies carried out by qualified philologists.'

The text given here — which has been prepared for publication by K.R. Norman and myself — follows Denis' edition as closely as possible, for the same reasons. On some occasions we have corrected what seemed in our judgement to be obviously typographical errors: for example, on p. 26 line 6 his typescript had *uppapajjati* in place of

upapajjati. It seems unlikely that all his mss. would have had the same mis-spelling, so we have assumed it is a typographical error by Denis. Similarly on p. 36 we have given *samattam* on line 8 for (for his *samatam*) and on line 12 *-candamaṇḍalo* (for his *-candamandalo*, since he gives *-maṇḍalo* elsewhere). Obviously we may not have made the right decision in every case. Where we found unusual spellings used consistently, e.g. *Tāmbapaṇṇi* (for *Tambapaṇṇi*) we have left them as they were. Denis' method of making an edition was perhaps a little unusual, since he transcribed M1 throughout, even where other mss. contained clearly what would usually be thought to be better readings: for example, on p. 21 line 9 he gives *eva sammacintesi* where M2 and M4 have *evam samacintesi*, which would be correct in standard Pali. In this particular case one might decide that the forms in M1 and M3 are simply errors; in other cases it might be better to assume that we have genuinely variant forms. In the present state of our knowledge, both of this text (and the family of texts from which it comes) and of Southeast Asian Pali more generally, it seems more prudent to present what is clearly not a critical edition, and hope that future scholarship will be able to clarify the usages involved so that — when more manuscripts are consulted — the making of a critical edition may become feasible. (There has been, of course, much debate about the very notion of a 'critical edition' in relation to South and Southeast Asian materials.) In my translation I have noted on the few occasions where it seemed necessary that I have adopted a different reading from that in M1; for the most part the issues involved in the variant readings will be obvious to those who know Pali, and irrelevant to those who do not.

May this publication honour the memory of Father Denis, and add to the scholarly reputation already acquired by his *La Lokapaññatti et*

les idées cosmologiques de Bouddhisme ancien (Atelier Reproduction
des Thèses, Université de Lille, 1977)

Chicago

Steven Collins

BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERA VATTHUṢ

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.¹

suranaramahiṇiyaṃ² buddhaseṭṭhaṃ namitvā³
sugatappabhavaṃ dhammaṃ⁴ sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā⁵
sakalajanappasādaṃ Mālayyaṃ⁶ nāma vatthuṃ
paramanayavicittaṃ sāmāsā ārabhissaṃ ti.⁷

atite⁸ kira⁹ ratanapatiṭṭhānabhūte Laṅkāḍīpasāṅkhāte¹⁰ Tāmbapaṇṇidīpe¹¹
paramiddhiṇāṇena pākaṭo¹² Māleyya devatthero nāma eko thero¹³
Kambojagāmaṃ nissāya Rohanajanapade viḥāsi.¹⁴ so pana¹⁵ thero
punappunaṃ niraye paccamānānaṃ¹⁶ nārakānaṃ¹⁷ pavuttim āharitvā
tesaṃ ṇātakānaṃ kathetvā dānādīni puñṇāni kārāpetvā tesaṃ uddissa
puñṇānumodanena laddhapuñṇaphalena¹⁸ devalokaparāyane karonto
tattḥ' eva viḥāsi. so pi iddhibalena devalokaṃ ca yamalokaṃ ca gacchati.
devaloke ratanattaye pasannānaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ mahantaṃ

¹ M4: *om.*

² M4: suranamahiṇiyaṃ

³ M2: buddhaseṭṭhaṃ ca namitvā

⁴ M2: sugatappabhāvaṃ dhammaṃ

⁵ M2: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca natvā; M4: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā

⁶ M2 & M4: Māleyyaṃ

⁷ M2: ārabhissaṃ ti; M3: *om. four preceding lines and replaces by namatthu;*
M4: ārebhissaṃ

⁸ M3 & M4: atite

⁹ M3: *om. kira*

¹⁰ M3 & M4: *om. these two words*

¹¹ M2: Tāmbapaṇṇiya dīpe; M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadīpe; M4: Tāmbapaṇṇiyam dīpe

¹² M3 & M4: *om. these two words*

¹³ M3: *om. eko thero;* M4: *om. thero*

¹⁴ M3 & M4: pavasi

¹⁵ M3: *om. all of the passage between so pana thero and tasmim gāme;* M4: *om.*
all of the passage between so pana thero and so thero pubbaṇhasamaye

¹⁶ M2: paccamānaṃ

¹⁷ M2: nārakānaṃ

¹⁸ M2: puñṇāphalena

isiriyaṃ¹ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca upāsako asukā ca upāsikā asukasmim² nāma devaloke nibbattetvā mahāsampattim anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. yamaloke pāpamanussānaṃ mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca asukā ca asukasmim niraye nibbattetvā mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. manussā sāsane pasīdanti pāpāni na karonti dānādīni puññāni nītakānaṃ kālakatānaṃ uddissimṣu te uddissa puññānumodanena laddhapuññaphalena devalokaparāyanā honti. ath’ ekadivasaṃ so thero pubbaṇhasamaye uṭṭhāy’ āsanā³ pattacīvaram ādāya piṇḍapātaṃ gahanatthāya gāmaṃ pāvīsi. tasmim gāme⁴ eko daliddakapuriso⁵ mātu-upaṭṭhānaṃ⁶ karoti. tasmim kāle so gāmato nikkhamitvā⁷ nhāpanatthāya⁸ ekaṃ saraṃ patvā tattha nahātvā⁹ aṭṭhanīluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā¹⁰ sarā uttaritvā¹¹ maggaṃ paṭipajji.¹² tadā so therāṃ āgacchantaṃ¹³ santaṃ dantaṃ suguttaṃ¹⁴ jitindriyaṃ uttamarūpadharaṃ pattahatthaṃ disvā samuppanna-pītipāmojjo yena thero ten’ upasaṅkami¹⁵ upasaṅkamitvā dasa-nakhasamodhānakarapuṭakamalo¹⁶ therāṃ vanditvā¹⁷ saddhāya

¹ M2: issariyaṃ

² M2: asuko ca asukā ca asukasmim nāma

³ M4: *om.* uṭṭhāy’ āsanā

⁴ M2: pavīsi; M3: tadā tasmim gāmaṃ

⁵ M2: dalikapuriso; M3: dalīdakapuriso; M4: daliddhapuriso

⁶ M3: māta-upathākam; M4: mātu-upaṭṭhākam

⁷ M3: *om.* gāmato nikkhamitvā *and adds* dalikapuriso

⁸ M2: nahāpanatthāya

⁹ M2: nahātvā

¹⁰ M3: *replaces* tāni gahetvā *by* tattha niluppalapupphāni gahetvā

¹¹ M3: sara-utaritvā; M4: sarāni utaritvā

¹² M3: pattipajji

¹³ M3: āgacchante

¹⁴ M3: sugatajitindriyaṃ; M4: sugutaṃ

¹⁵ M3: ten’ upasaṅkamitvā

¹⁶ M3: *om.* upasaṅkamitvā dasa ... kamalo *and replaces it by* pana; M4: *om.* dasa ... kamalo *and replaces it by* ca pana

¹⁷ M3: vandhitvā

bahulatāya¹ aṭṭhanīluppalapupphāni therassa hatthe datvā paṇidhānaṃ²
karonto imaṃ gātham āha³:

iminā pupphadānena yattha yattha⁴ bhavāmi 'haṃ
jātisatasahassesu mā daliddo⁵ bhavāmi 'han ti.⁶

thero aṭṭhanīluppalapupphāni⁷ gahetvā anumodanaṃ karonto imaṃ
gātham āha⁸:

yaṃ yaṃ lūkhaṃ paṇitaṃ⁹ vā deti pasannamānaso¹⁰
vipākaṃ tassa dānassa¹¹ yathā-icchā samijjhati ti.¹²

thero anumodanaṃ katvā¹³ eva sammacintesi¹⁴ “imāni aṭṭhanīluppala-
pupphāni kuhiṃ āropessāmi¹⁵ cetiyaṃ vā udāhu upari pabbate vā
parinibbute vā¹⁶ mahābodhiyaṃ¹⁷ vā bhagavato anuttaradhamma-
cakkapavattanaṭṭhāne vā” ti.¹⁸ puna cintesi “etāni ṭhānāni sattakkhattum
eva pūjesiṃ¹⁹ yaṃ nūnāhaṃ devaloke Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ pūjessāmi” ti.

¹ M3 & M4: bahūlatāya

² M4: (pa)nīdhānaṃ

³ M3: therassa adāsi adīṭṭhānakaronto āha *instead of* therassa ... imaṃ gātham
āha

⁴ M4: yattha tattha

⁵ M3 & M4: daliddho

⁶ M3: bhavāmi 'ham

⁷ M3: niluppalapupphāni

⁸ M3: *om.* imaṃ gātham

⁹ M3: sukhaṃ paṇitaṃ

¹⁰ M3: pasananāpi dentiya

¹¹ M3: tena puññavipākena

¹² M3: samijjhatu

¹³ M3: karonto

¹⁴ M2 & M4: evaṃ samacintesi; M3: eva sammacintesi

¹⁵ M3: ā(ro)pessāmi *and adds here* udāhu

¹⁶ M3: *om.* parinibbute vā; M4: *om.* uparipabbate vā parinibbute vā

¹⁷ M4: mahā(bo)dhiyaṃ vā

¹⁸ M3: pavattitaṭṭhāne vā *and om.* ti

¹⁹ M2: pūjesi; M3: satam eva pūjessāmi; M4: pūjessī

thero¹ attanā cintitasamanantaram eva abhiññāpādakaṃ catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā tato vutthāya anilapathatalaṃ² ullaṅghitvā accharāsaṅghāṭamattam eva sattaratanavicittatalabhūmibhāgapatiṃmaṇḍita-vilasitatidasadevanagaramajjhe Sakkena devaraññā bhagavato attanā kappāsapicutulasadisamudutalajālavicittakaragahitena asinā chindita-paramamoḷiṃ “sa”³ āham³ imāya pabbajjāya paramasambodhiṃ patvā buddho bhavissāmi mama moḷiṃ bhūmiyaṃ⁴ mā patatū”⁵ ti⁵ adhiṭṭhānena bhūmiyaṃ apatamānaṃ⁶ ākāse yeva pakkhipitvā sakasirasā vahatena suvaṇṇacaṅgoṭakavarena sampaṭicchitvā sakalasuragaṇānaṃ pūjanathāya sasādarapatiṭṭhāpitaṃ manorammaṃ indanīlamaṇimayaṃ⁷ Cūḷāmaṇicetiyaṅgaṇaṃ patvā aṭṭhanīluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā⁸ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pañcapatiṭṭhitena⁹ vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge¹⁰ nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

abhiññāpādakaṃ jhānaṃ samāpajjitvā jhānato

vutthāya hemamaṃseva¹¹ nabhaṃ uttamma tāvade¹²

¹ M3: *replaces the passage between thero and tasmiṃ Sakko devarājā by thero tadahe yeva vehāsaṃ abhūgantvā apurasamaṅghāṭamattam pi Vejayantapāsādassa purato aṭṭhāsi thero cetiyaṃ disvā somanassapatto cetiyaṃ vandhitvā niluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vandhitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi Sakko devarājā*; M4: *replaces the same passage by thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā accharāsaṅghāṭamantāppi ... (then as M3) ... aṭṭhāsi tasmiṃ khaṇe Sakko devarājā*

² M2: anīlapathītaṃ

³ M2: saccāhaṃ

⁴ M2: *om.* bhūmiyaṃ

⁵ M2: mā pattatū ti

⁶ M2: appattamānaṃ

⁷ M2: *om.* mayaṃ

⁸ M2: pūjivā

⁹ M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitena

¹⁰ M2: bhāgena

¹¹ M2: haṃso va

¹² M2: uggama tāvad eva

accharāsaṅghāṭamattam va Vejayantassa purato¹
cetiyaṃ upagantvāna pūjivā va avandi so ti.

tasmim̄ khane Sakko devarājā saha parivārehi āgantvā bhagavato dakkhiṇadāṭhañ ca Cūlāmaṇicetiyañ ca nānāvidhehi mālāgandha-vilepanādihi pūjetvā² tam̄ theram̄ nisinnam̄ disvā upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā³ ekamantam̄ nisīdi.⁴ sabbā devaparisā ca cetiyaṃ vanditvā padakkhiṇam̄ katvā⁵ theram̄ vanditvā samantato nisīdim̄su. sabbā pi devaccharā⁶ cetiyaṃ pūjetvā vanditvā padakkhiṇam̄ katvā pañcapatiṭṭhitena⁷ theram̄ vanditvā samantato nisīdim̄su. Sakko devarājā theram̄ pucchi⁸ “bhante, kuto agacchathā” ti.⁹ “mahārāja, aham̄ Jambūdīpāgato ’mhi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāyā” ti.¹⁰ puna thero Sakkam̄ devārājānam̄ pucchi “kim̄ tayā Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ patiṭṭhāpitam̄,¹¹ mahārājā” ti.¹² “āma, bhante, mayā devānam̄ pūjanatthāya patiṭṭhāpitan” ti.¹³ thero “devarāja, ime devā manussaloke kusalakammaṃ katvā dibbasukham̄ anubhavitum̄¹⁴ idha nibbattā¹⁵ idāni kasmā puññaṃ karontī” ti pucchi.¹⁶ “bhante, ime devā kusalakammaṃ katvā upari devalokaṃ gantukāmā va honti.¹⁷ bhante, ye keci devā appapuññā te¹⁸ na ciraṃ

¹ M2: pūrato

² M2: pūjivā

³ M4: vandhitvā

⁴ M3 & M4: aṭṭhāsi

⁵ M2: *adds* pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitena; M3: *adds* pacchā

⁶ M2: deva-acchāra; M3 & M4: *om. the passage between* sabbā pi devaccharā *and* Sakko devarājā

⁷ M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitena

⁸ M3: Sakko theram̄ samapucchi

⁹ M3: āgato ’sī ti

¹⁰ M3: vandanatthāya

¹¹ M3: kim̄ tayā tidaṇca ṭhāpitam̄; M4: ṭhāpitam̄

¹² M2: *om. mahārājā* ti

¹³ M3: āma bhante ti aham̄ ṭhapetvā devānam̄ pūjanatthāya; M4: ṭhāpitan ti

¹⁴ M2: anubhavanti

¹⁵ M3 & M4: icchantā

¹⁶ M3: *om. pucchi*

¹⁷ M3: gantikāmā *and om. va hontī* ti

sagge t̥hitā¹ yathā appadhaññā done t̥hapitā² khippam eva khiyanti.³ bhante, ye keci devā bahūpuññā te⁴ ciraṃ sagge⁵ t̥hitā yathā bahūdhaññā⁶ koṭṭhe t̥hapitā ciraṃ t̥hatvā na khiyanti.⁷ bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā bahūsippā bahuññāno⁸ kasivanijjādīni karontā jīvantā na dukkarā⁹ honti¹⁰ tathā appapuññā devā phalaṃ¹¹ bhuñjitvā puna paraṃ puññaṃ¹² katvā pacchā saggasampattim¹³ anubhavanti. bhante, yathā bahūdhaññā janā asippā¹⁴ aññāno¹⁵ kasivanijjādīni akarontā¹⁶ khīṇadhaññā¹⁷ pacchā¹⁸ daliddakatarā¹⁹ honti evaṃ pi bahūpuññā²⁰ devā²¹ phalaṃ anubhavantā paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā²² pacchā daliddakappattā²³ jātā. bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā asippā aññāno kasivanijjādīni akarontā daliddakatarā honti evaṃ pi appapuññā devā²⁴ phalaṃ anubhavantā paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā daliddakatarā honti. bhante, yathā

¹⁸ M3 & M4: *om.* te; M3: apuññā

¹ M2: sagge t̥hitā *and om. text as far as* yathā bahūdhaññā koṭṭhe t̥hapitā

² M3: yathā dhaññāno t̥hapitā; M4: yathā dhaññā done t̥hapitā

³ M3: khippam eva khayyanti

⁴ M3 & M4: *om.* te

⁵ M3: sage

⁶ M3: yathā dhaññā

⁷ M3: na khayyanti

⁸ M3: *adds* honti

⁹ M3: dukarā

¹⁰ M3 & M4: *om.* honti

¹¹ M3: appapuññā janā phalaṃ; M4: appapuññā phalaṃ

¹² M3: (pu)ññaṃ

¹³ M2: saggam sampattim; M3: sukham sampattim

¹⁴ M3: appasippā aññāno

¹⁵ M3: *adds* honti

¹⁶ M3: karontā

¹⁷ M3: *om. text as far as* bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍhanti

¹⁸ M2 & M4: *om.* pacchā

¹⁹ M2: daliddakā; M4: daliddhakā

²⁰ M4: bahū(pu)ññā

²¹ M4: *om.* devā

²² M4: na puññaṃ katvā

²³ M4: daliddhakappattā

²⁴ M4: *om.* devā

bahūḍhaññā janā¹ bahūsippā bahuññānino kasivanijjādini karontā bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍḍhanti² evaṃ pi bahūpuññā devā³ dānasilādini karontā uddhamṣotā vaḍḍhanti⁴ yāva nibbānan” ti.⁵ taṃ sutvā thero pasīditvā Sujampatiṃ⁶ pucchi “mahārāja, sabbe devā bhagavato⁷ cetiyaṃ vanditum āgatā; kim Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto āgamissatī” ti.⁸ “āma, bhante” ti. “kadā āgamissatī” ti.⁹ “bhante, aṭṭhamiyaṃ vā cātuddasiyaṃ vā¹⁰ paṇṇarasiyaṃ vā Metteyyo cetiyaṃ vanditum¹¹ āgato” ti. “tena hi ajja aṭṭhamiyaṃ kiṃ so āgamissatī” ti.¹² “āma, bhante” ti.¹³ evaṃ¹⁴ there Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente yeva¹⁵ eko devaputto sataparivārehi saddhiṃ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ devaputtam āgataṃ¹⁶ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi¹⁷ “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.¹⁸ “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,

¹ M2: om. janā

² M3: bhiññoso mattāya vadanti

³ M3: janā; M4: om. devā

⁴ M2: vaḍḍhanti; M3: vadanti

⁵ M4: yā(va) nibbān ti

⁶ M4: Sujjappatiṃ (M4 almost always uses this form, which will no longer be noted)

⁷ M3: bhavagato (sic)

⁸ M3: āgamisatī ti

⁹ M2: kadāgamissatī ti; M3: kadāgamisatī ti; M4: kadāci āgamissatī ti

¹⁰ M3 & M4: cātudasiyaṃ

¹¹ M3: vanditu; M4: vandhitum

¹² M3: aṭṭhamiyaṃ va so āgato ti

¹³ M3: om. āma bhante ti

¹⁴ M2: evaṃ theram Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente; M3: thero Sakkena saddhiṃ kathento; M4: therena Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente

¹⁵ M3: taṃ khaṇaṇ ñeva eko devaputto sataparivāro cetiyaṃ ...

¹⁶ M3: āgattaṃ; M4: ā(ga)taṃ

¹⁷ M3: om. Sujampatiṃ and puts pucchi at the end of the sentence; M4: om. Sujampatiṃ

¹⁸ M2: kim ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto ti; M3: ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto ti; M4: ayaṃ so Metteyo bodhisatto ti

ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ ācikkhanto¹ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante² so mānuse jāto³ daliddo⁴ tiṇṇahārako⁵
 bhattapūtaṃ ca⁶ bhuñjitvā kāke dajj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ⁷
 ettakaṃ puññakammaṃ pi katvā so mānuse pana⁸
 maraṇante saritvā taṃ⁹ tena so upapajjati ti.

tena vuttaṃ:

kākādiṇe tiracchāne dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
 tass’ eva dānassa phalaṃ sataṃ labhati dāyako ti.

so devaputto āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā pācīnadisābhāge nisīdi.¹⁰ tadanantare eko devaputto saḥassaparivārehi¹¹ saddhim āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ pūjanatthāya sarīrobhasena sabbā disā obhāseti.¹² thero taṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi¹³ “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ¹⁴ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññatāro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ ācikkhanto¹⁵ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante so mānuse jāto Gopālo nāma māṇavo¹⁶

¹ M2: pakāsetvā; M3: āvikaronto

² M2: *puts here a part of the text which appears later in the other manuscripts*

³ M2 & M4: manussajāto; M3: mānaso jāto

⁴ M3: dalido; M4: daliddho

⁵ M4: tiṇṇahārako

⁶ M3: bhataṃ pūtaṃ ca

⁷ M4: dajj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ

⁸ M2: so mānusse pana; M3: so manuso puna; M4: so manusso (pu)na

⁹ M3: saritvāna

¹⁰ M3: aṭṭhāsi tadanantare nisīdi

¹¹ M3: saḥassaparivāre

¹² M3: sabbadisā obhāsanti

¹³ M3: Sujampati pucchi

¹⁴ M3: *om.* kiṃ

¹⁵ M3: āvikaronto

¹⁶ M3 & M4: māṇavo

bhuñjanto attano bhāgaṃ¹ deti gopālakassa ca²
 tena dānena so jāto saḥassaparivārito³
 cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya saḥassen' eva⁴ āgato ti.

tena vuttam:

asīle appapuññesu⁵ dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
 tass' eva dānassa phalaṃ saḥassaṃ paṭilabhatī ti.

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atṭhadisāsu vanditvā
 gandhamālādīhi pujetvā pacchimadisābhāge nisīdi.⁶ aparo devaputto
 dasasahassaparivārehi⁷ āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsenā⁸ sakala-
 cetiyamaṇḍalam obhāseti.⁹ thero tam¹⁰ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi
 “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ devaputto¹¹ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,
 bhante” ti. “katamo,¹² mahārāja” ti. “aññatāro, bhante” ti. “mahārāja,
 ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa¹³
 puññaṃ kammaṃ kathento¹⁴ imaṃ gātham āha:

bhikkhaṃ¹⁵ datvā pure bhante sāmaṇerassa sīlino¹⁶
 tena puññaṃ avipākena cavitvā saggam āgato ti.¹⁷

tena vuttam:

¹ M2: bhaggaṃ; M3: bhattaṃ; M4: bhagaṃ

² M4: gopālassa ca

³ M4: saḥassaparivāro

⁴ M3: saḥassen' eva

⁵ M3: asīlesu apuññesu

⁶ M3: atṭhāsi

⁷ M2: *adds* saddhiṃ; M3: dasasahassaparivāro

⁸ M2: tisarīrobhāsenā; M3: sarīrobhasenā

⁹ M3: obhāsetvā

¹⁰ M[*number omitted in Denis' ms.*]: *om.* tam

¹¹ M2: *om.* kiṃ; M3 & M4: *om.* kiṃ devaputto

¹² M3 & M4: kattamo

¹³ M2: *adds* vacanaṃ sutvā

¹⁴ M2: ācikkhanto

¹⁵ M3: bhattaṃ

¹⁶ M3: silavanto

¹⁷ M3: idha-m-āgato

puthujane¹ sīlavante dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass' eva dasasahassaṃ phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.²

so āgantvā³ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-
mālādīhi pūjetvā⁴ dakkhiṇadisābhāge nisīdi.⁵ aparo devaputto vīsati-
sahassaparivārehi⁶ āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsenā ābharaṇena⁷ ca
ākāsamaṇḍalam obhāseti.⁸ therō taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi
“devarāja,⁹ ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo¹⁰ bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,
bhante” ti. “katamo,¹¹ mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,
ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa
puññaakammaṃ pakāsento¹² imaṃ gātham āha:

bhikkhaṃ datvā tadā eso piṇḍapātikabhikkhuno¹³
ten' eva puññaakammena cavitvā saggam āgato ti.¹⁴

tena vuttaṃ:

bhikkhuno sīlavantassa¹⁵ dānaṃ datvāna koci pi
tass' eva vīsatisahassaṃ¹⁶ phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.¹⁷

¹ M2 & M4: puthujjane

² M3: tass' eva dānaphalaṃ dasasahassaṃ labhati

³ M2: gantvā

⁴ M4: *adds* ca

⁵ M3: aṭṭhāsi

⁶ M3: parivā(re)hi

⁷ M3: *om.* ābharaṇena

⁸ M3: obhāsetvā; M4: obhāsentī ti

⁹ M2: devarāja

¹⁰ M3: *om.* devaputto Ariya-; M4: *om.* devaputto

¹¹ M3: kattamo

¹² M3: kathento; M4: pa(saṃ)sento

¹³ M2, M3 & M4: piṇḍipātikabhikkhuno

¹⁴ M3: idha-m-āgato; M4: saggam āgato 'sī ti

¹⁵ M4: sillavantassa

¹⁶ M4: *adds* parivāro

¹⁷ M3: visatipañcasahassaṃ pi phalaṃ labbhati dāyako

so āgantvā¹ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā uttaradisābhage nisīdi.² tadā eko devaputto tiṃsasahassaparivārehi³ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo⁴ bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.⁵ “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa⁶ puñña-kammaṃ kathento āha⁷:

Anurādhapure pubbe sucikammena jīvati
 bahūpuñña-karo⁸ eso tantavāyo ti vissuto.⁹
 matakānaṃ sarīraṇi¹⁰ jhāpetvāna tahiṃ tahiṃ
 tam uddissa dakkhiṇaṃ ca sīlavantesu deti so¹¹
 bhesajjaṃ piṇḍipātaṃ ca¹² cīvaraṃ sayanānaṃ.¹³
 ten’ eva puñña-kammena¹⁴ uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁵

so āgantvā¹⁶ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-mālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. atha¹⁷ aparo devaputto cattālīsa-

¹ M2: gantvā

² M3: aṭṭhāsi

³ M3: *adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the phrase*

⁴ M3: *om. devaputto Ariya-*; M4: *om. devaputto*

⁵ M3: bhante

⁶ M3: devaputtassa

⁷ M3: *puts here the verses Haritālo mahāseṭṭhi ... etc. which, in the other manuscripts, appear on page 30*

⁸ M3: bahūpuñña-karo

⁹ M3: visutto

¹⁰ M3: sarire; M4: sarīraṇi ca

¹¹ M3: tam uddissa yathā puññaṃ silavante yajeti so; M4: tam uddissa yathā yaññaṃ silante yajeti so

¹² M3: piṇḍipātaṃ ca yajitvāna; M4: piṇḍipātaṃ ca datvā

¹³ M3: sayanānaṃ

¹⁴ M3: bhikkhunaṃ silavantānaṃ; M4: bhikkhunaṃ sillavantānaṃ

¹⁵ M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppaja tidase pure ti

¹⁶ M3 & M4: *add bhagavato*

¹⁷ M3: *om. atha*; M4: *athako*

sahassaparivārehi¹ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.² thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto³ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,⁴ mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.⁵ “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa⁶ puñña-kammaṃ kathento⁷ āha:

Haritālo⁸ mahāseṭṭhī Haritāle ca gāmake
cāgavā⁹ sīlasampanno siddhājivena¹⁰ jīvati.
sīlavantesu bhesajjaṃ cīvaraṃ pānabhojanaṃ
datvā kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.¹¹

so āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare¹² nisīdi. aparō¹³ devaputto¹⁴ paññāsa-sahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.¹⁵ thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹⁶ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,¹⁷ mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke¹⁸ kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puñña-kammaṃ kathento āha:

¹ M4: caḷisa; M2, M3 & M4: add āgantvā

² M3: *om.* āgato

³ M3 & M4: *om.* devaputto

⁴ M3: kattamo

⁵ M3: bhante

⁶ M3: devaputtassa

⁷ M2: karonto

⁸ M4: Haritālo

⁹ M2: cāturā; M4: pātavā

¹⁰ M2 & M4: saddhājivena

¹¹ M2: uppajji va tidase pure ti; M3: upaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

¹² M4: tadantare nisīdi

¹³ M3: apparō

¹⁴ M2: *om.* the following passage as far as Metteyyo bodhisatto ti

¹⁵ M3: paññāsasahasseehi āgantvā cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya; M4: paññāsasahasseehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato

¹⁶ M3 & M4: *om.* devaputto

¹⁷ M4: kattamo

¹⁸ M2: manussaloke ti

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dīpasmim¹ uppajjitvā narādhipo²
 Abhayaduṭṭhassa bhātā³ Saddhātisso ti nāmako⁴
 cittappasādo buddhe⁵ ca dhamme saṅghe sagāraṃ
 pañcasīlaṃ uposathaṃ⁶ katvā aṭṭhaṅg' uposathaṃ
 sīlavantesu⁷ dādānaṃ yācayogo amaccharā.⁸
 tena kammavipākena uppajji tidaśālaye ti.⁹

so āgantvā¹⁰ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. aparō devaputto¹¹ saṭṭhi-
 saḥassaparivārehi¹² cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ disvā
 devarājānaṃ pucchi “mahārāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹³ Metteyyo bodhisatto”
 ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.
 “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti.
 Sakko tassa puññaṃ kammaṃ kathento āha:

Abhayaduṭṭho ti nāmena catupaccayadāyako¹⁴
 buddhe ca dhamme ca saṅghe ca sakkaccaṃ¹⁵ payirupāsati.¹⁶
 tathāgatassa¹⁷ so thūpaṃ¹⁸ kārayi bodhiropaṇaṃ

¹ M2: Tāmbapaṇṇidīpasmim

² M3: upajjitvā narādīpo; M4: uppajjitā narodipo

³ M3: adds ca

⁴ M4: nā(ma)ko

⁵ M3: cittapasādena buddhe

⁶ M2: uposathe; M3: pañcasīle sayyamo niccaṃ; M4: pañcasīle saññaṃ niccaṃ

⁷ M3: sīlavantesu

⁸ M3: yācayogaṃ amacchariṃ

⁹ M3: uppajja tidase pure

¹⁰ M3: adds bhagavato

¹¹ M3: apparo and om. devaputto

¹² M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

¹³ M3 & M4: om. devaputto

¹⁴ M3: catupaccayako

¹⁵ M3: sakaccaṃ

¹⁶ M2: payirupāsati; M4: om. the line buddhe ca ... payirupāsati

¹⁷ M4: tathāgatatassa

¹⁸ M3: thūpaṃ so

mātāpitūnam atthāya bhikkhūnaṃ deti dakkhiṇaṃ¹
 sīlavantesu² dādānaṃ yācakānaṃ anappakaṃ³
 sādarena⁴ cuto⁵ tamhā uppajji tidasālaye ti.⁶

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu⁷ vanditvā
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁸ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto⁹
 sattasahassaparivārehi¹⁰ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ
 disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto¹¹ Metteyyo
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro,
 bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe¹² manussaloke kim akāsi
 puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

sāmaṇero pure¹³ āsi appamatto vicakkhaṇo¹⁴
 buddhe dhamme ca saṃghe ca sakkaccaṃ payirupāsati.
 uṇhodakena sītena rattindivam atandito¹⁵
 sammajjanīpadīpena¹⁶ sadā saṃgham upatthahi.¹⁷
 tena kammavipākena¹⁸ uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁹

¹ M3: bhikkhuyaññaṃ yajeti so

² M3 & M4: sīlavantesu

³ M3: yācakānaṃ vanibbake

⁴ M3: sādharena

⁵ M3: cutto

⁶ M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidasā(1a)ye ti

⁷ M2: atthā(di)sāsu

⁸ M3: *om.* gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

⁹ M3: *om.* devaputto

¹⁰ M4: sattatisahasse(na); M3: *adds* āgantvā *and om.* āgato *at the end of the sentence*

¹¹ M2 & M4: *om.* devaputto

¹² M3: *om.* devaputto pubbe; M2 & M4: *om.* devaputto

¹³ M2: *om.* pure

¹⁴ M3: appamattā pur’ āsi patthigā

¹⁵ M2: attandito

¹⁶ M3: samajanīpadiyena; M4: samajanīpena

¹⁷ M3: udakaseyyanāsanāṃ

¹⁸ M3: tena vipākena

¹⁹ M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

so āgantvā¹ cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
 gandhamālādihi pūjetvā² tadanantare nisīdi. tadā aparō³ devaputto
 asītisahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.⁴ therō taṃ āgataṃ⁵
 disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁶ Metteyyo
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro,
 bhante” ti. “devarāja ayaṃ⁷ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti.
 Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento⁸ āha:

dugatassa⁹ kule jāto parādhinena¹⁰ jīvati.
 gocare ca bhikkhuṃ disvā¹¹ paragehesu tiṭṭhati¹²
 gehasāmi ajānantaṃ¹³ pabodhetvā subhāsita¹⁴:
 silavanto ayyo sāmi¹⁵ gharadvāresu¹⁶ tiṭṭhati.
 yathāladdhaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ¹⁷ sādhukaṃ dehi tādino.¹⁸
 sutvāna gharasāmiko¹⁹ piyen’ eva taṃ abravi:
 sādhu tāta subhāsitaṃ²⁰ piṇḍapātaṃ²¹ dadāmi ’haṃ;

¹ M2: so gantvā

² M3: *adds* bhagavato; M3: *om.* gandhamālādihi pūjetvā

³ M3: *om.* tadā; M3: *apparo*

⁴ M3 & M4: asītisahassehi; M3: *adds* āgantvā and *om.* āgato at the end of the sentence

⁵ M4: *om.* āgataṃ

⁶ M3 & M4: *om.* devaputto

⁷ M2: *adds* devaputto

⁸ M2: karonto

⁹ M2: duttasa; M3: dugatassa

¹⁰ M2 & M4: paradinnena

¹¹ M2: gocaraṃ bhikkhuṃ disvā; M3 & M4: bhikkhussa gocaraṃ disvā

¹² M2: tiṭṭhakaṃ

¹³ M3: gehasāmi na jānti

¹⁴ M2: subhāsita; M3: subāsita

¹⁵ M3 & M4: ayyassa silavanto so

¹⁶ M2: gharadhāresu

¹⁷ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

¹⁸ M2 & M3: tādisaṃ; M4: tādise

¹⁹ M3: sutvā gharassa sāmica

²⁰ M3 & M4: subhāsehi

²¹ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

piṇḍapātaṃ²⁷¹ gahetvāna therassa upanāmayi.

etena vacībhedenā¹ uppajji tidase pure ti.²

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ³ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁴ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto
navuttisahassaparivārehi⁵ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ
āgataṃ⁶ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto⁷ Metteyyo
bodhisatto” ti.⁸ “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,
ayaṃ devaputto⁹ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa
puññaṃkammaṃ kathento āha:

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dīpe so¹⁰ Kaṇṇikārikagāmake¹¹

disvā tathāgataṃ thūpaṃ¹² kaṇṇikārena pūjayi

cakkhudvayapadīpena¹³ sirasā¹⁴ pupphitena ca

vacasā dhūpakārena¹⁵ manasā va sugandhitā.¹⁶

tena kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.¹⁷

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā¹⁸ tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto

¹ M3: piyavādena

² M3: uppappajja tidase pure; M4: upajja tidase pure ti

³ M3: *om.* cetiyaṃ

⁴ M3: *om.* gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

⁵ M3 & M4: navuttisahassehi; M3: *adds* āgantvā *and om.* āgato *at the end of the sentence*

⁶ M4: *om.* āgataṃ

⁷ M3 & M4: *om.* devaputto

⁸ M2, M3 & M4: *add* n’ eso bhante ti

⁹ M3: *om.* ayaṃ devaputto; M4: *om.* devaputto

¹⁰ M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadīpe ca so

¹¹ M2: Kaṇṇikārikagāmake; M3: Kaṇṇikāre gāmake; M4: Kaṇṇikāre ca gāmake

¹² M2 & M4: tathāgatathūpaṃ

¹³ M2: cakkhudvayaṃ; M3: nayanajalapadīpena

¹⁴ M2: sirisā; M3: sirisā dipena ca

¹⁵ M3: *adds* ca

¹⁶ M4: sugandhakā

¹⁷ M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

¹⁸ M3: *om.* gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

satasahassaparivārehi¹ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto² Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.³ “devarāja ayaṃ devaputto⁴ pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento⁵ āha:

Anurādhapure pubbe daliddo⁶ tiṇahārako⁷
 pāṇātipātā virato⁸ kalyāṇo saraṇe ṭhito.
 tiṇakatthaṃ haritvāna⁹ sammājīvena¹⁰ jīvati.
 aparena samayena¹¹ nadiṃ gacchati ekako
 rajataṃ vālukaṃ¹² disvā viyūhitvāna so tadā¹³
 cetiyaṃ pi karitvāna sumano etad abravi¹⁴:
 aho subhaṃ¹⁵ vata cetiyaṃ me¹⁶ veduriyavaṇṇaruciraṃ
 pabhassaraṃ¹⁷ aggi yathā pajjalitena¹⁸ susubhaṃ
 hadayaṅgamaṃ¹⁹ vicittakaṃ ulāraṃ.²⁰

¹ M3 & M4: satasahasseehi; M3: *adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence*

² M3 & M4: *om. devaputto*

³ M3: *om. aññataro bhante ti*

⁴ M3 & M4: *om. devaputto*

⁵ M3: *om. kathento*

⁶ M4: *dalido*

⁷ M3: *paradukkhā mukule āhu*

⁸ M3: *viratto*

⁹ M3: *tiṇakatthaṃ gahetvāna*

¹⁰ M3: *samā jivena*

¹¹ M3: *tadāparena samayena*; M4: *tadā aparena samayena*

¹² M3: *bāhukaṃ*; M4: *bālukaṃ*

¹³ M4: *om. viyūhitvāna so tadā*

¹⁴ M2: *etaṃ abravi*; M3: *eta bravi*

¹⁵ M3: *surūpaṃ*

¹⁶ M4: *om. me*

¹⁷ M2: *pabhassavaraṃ*

¹⁸ M2: *ambhaggi yathā pajjalitena*

¹⁹ M3: *lobhaṃ hadayaṃ*

²⁰ M4: *(vi)cittakaṃ olaraṃ*

vandāmi¹ cetiyaṃ varaṃ bālukā² pakataṃ mayā.

kāyena vacā manasā saha puppehi pūjayi.

silavante bharitvā³ yathāladhamṃ dadāti⁴ so.

tena kammavipākena uppajji tidasālaye ti.⁵

so pi⁶ āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā⁷
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā⁸ tadanantare nisīdi.

evaṃ dvādasahi devaputtehi upalakkhitaṃ⁹ pathamaṃ Māleyyavatthum
samattaṃ.

tadā Ariyametteyyo¹⁰ bodhisatto dasasatakiraṇanisākarapabhātireka-
pabhāviraṇjitehi koṭisatasahasasurayuvatisuraputtehi parivārīto tārā-
gaṇehi parivārīto¹¹ jaladharapatalavirahitasaradasamayākāsasamuggato
paripuṇṇacandamaṇḍalo viya virocamaṇo¹² dīpadhūpagandhamālādīhi¹³
gāhāpetvā Tusitabhavanato otaritvā¹⁴ cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya sakala-
tidasapuram¹⁵ dibbobhāsena obhāsento¹⁶ dibbagandhehi pavāyanto¹⁷

¹ M3 & M4: vandhāmi

² M2, M3 & M4: bālukaṃ

³ M2: bharitvā; M3: sillavante; M4: silavantam

⁴ M3: dadāmi

⁵ M2: uppajji tidase pure ti; M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppaje tidasālaye ti

⁶ M3: *om. pi*

⁷ M2: vanditvāna; M4: vandhitvā

⁸ M3: *om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā*

⁹ M2: upalikkhitum

¹⁰ M3: *om. ariya*

¹¹ M4: *om. tārāgaṇehi parivārīto; M3: koṭisatasahasasehi devagaṇehi parivārīto in place of dasasatakiraṇa ... tārāgaṇehi parivārīto*

¹² M3: *om. jaladharapatala ... virocamaṇo*

¹³ M2, M3 & M4: ... mālādīni

¹⁴ M2: otaritvā; M3: *replaces* cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya ... koṭīhi parivārīto *by* parivārādasento āha

¹⁵ M4: sākalatida(sa)puram

¹⁶ M2: dibbobhāsantā

¹⁷ M2: vāyanto

anopamāya sakapakatilīlāya anopamena sakapakatisirivilāsena
cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā¹ aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pūjetvā
pācinadisābhāge² nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

tadā Ariyametteyyo koṭṭhi parivārito.³

purato ca satam̐ kaññā pacchato accharā satam̐

dakkhiṇato satam̐ kaññā vāmato⁴ accharā satam̐.

tāsaṃ majjhe ca⁵ Metteyyo tārā majjhe va candimā.⁶

dibbaccharānaṃ raṃsīhi tāsaṃ ābharaṇassa⁷ ca

jotayanti disā sabbā⁸ koṭicandappabhā viyā ti.⁹

thero bodhisattam̐ dūrato¹⁰ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja,¹¹
ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “āma, bhante” ti. “devarāja, etā¹²
devakaññā Metteyyassa purato āgatā¹³ setaraṃsā¹⁴ setavatthā
setābharaṇā pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu¹⁵ puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tāsaṃ
puññaṃakammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā mānusaṃ¹⁶

uposathamhi divase puññaṃ dānādikaṃ¹⁷ karā

setavatthaṃ setamālaṃ setagandhavilepanaṃ

¹ M4: *om.* padakkhiṇaṃ katvā

² M2: bhāgena

³ M2: koṭṭhi’ imo sataṣaṇṇasapariṇārehi

⁴ M3: bāto

⁵ M4: va

⁶ M4: candhimā

⁷ M2 & M4: ābharaṇassa

⁸ M4: jotayanti sabbā disā

⁹ M2: koṭicandappaā viyā ti [*thus in Denis’ ms.*]; M4: koṭicandhappabha viyā ti

¹⁰ M3: durataṃ

¹¹ M3: *om.* rāja

¹² M3: ayaṃ etā

¹³ M2: āgato; M3: gatā

¹⁴ M4: setaraṃsā

¹⁵ M2: akāṃsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

¹⁶ M2 & M4: manussake; M3: manussaloke

¹⁷ M2: puññadānādikaṃ; M4: puññaṃ dhanādikaṃ

setam āhāraṇaṃ¹ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.²

ten' eva puññakamma³ Metteyyapūrato gatā ti.⁴

thero taṃ sutvā⁵ tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto⁶ puna Sujampatiṃ
pucchi “devarāja, etā⁷ devakaññā Metteyyassa dakkhiṇapassena āgatā⁸
pītaraṃsā pītavattā pītābharaṇālaṅkatā⁹ pubbe manussaloke kim
akaṃsu¹⁰ puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake¹¹

uposathamhi divase puññaṃ silādikaṃ¹² karā

pītavattamaṃ¹³ pītamaṇaṃ pītāgandhavilepanaṃ

pītāṃ āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.

ten' eva¹⁴ puññakamma¹⁵ Metteyyadakkhiṇā gatā ti.¹⁵

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto¹⁶ puna devarājānaṃ¹⁷
pucchi “devarāja, etā¹⁸ devakaññā vāmapassena āgatā rattaraṃsā¹⁹

¹ M3: seta-āhāraṇaṃ; M4: setāhāraṇaṃ

² M3: bhikkhūno

³ M2: tena puññavipākena

⁴ M3: Metteyyapūrato gatā

⁵ M4: (sut)vā

⁶ M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: pa(saṃ)santo

⁷ M3: ayaṃ etā

⁸ M2: gatā

⁹ M2 & M4: pītābharaṇālaṅkatā; M3: pītābharaṇāni pītakarā devānaṃ

¹⁰ M2: akāsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

¹¹ M2 & M3: mānussaloke; M4: mānusake

¹² M2: mālādikaṃ

¹³ M3 & M4: pita is always written with short i in this passage

¹⁴ M2: tena

¹⁵ M3: Metteyyassa dakkhiṇāgatā

¹⁶ M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

¹⁷ M2: Sujampatiṃ pucchi; M3: sudevarājānaṃ pucchi

¹⁸ M3: ayaṃ etā

¹⁹ M3: rattarasā

rattavatṭhā rattābharaṇā¹ pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu² puññān” ti.

Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ³ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā⁴ sabbā pubbe⁵ jātā manusake⁶

uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjitā⁷

rattavatṭham rattamālaṃ rattagandhavilepanaṃ

rattam āhāraṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno⁸

ratanatṭhayaṃ⁹ pūjesuṃ Metteyyavāmato gatā ti¹⁰

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ¹¹ puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto¹² puna Sujampatiṃ

pucchi¹³ “devarāja, etā¹⁴ devakaññā¹⁵ pacchimapaṣṣena āgatā sāmamaṃsā

sāmavatṭhā sāmabharaṇā¹⁶ pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu¹⁷ puññān” ti.

Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake¹⁸

uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjitā¹⁹

sāmavatṭham sāmamālaṃ²⁰ sāmagandhavilepanaṃ

¹ M3: rattabharaṇāni ratikarā devānaṃ

² M3: akāsi

³ M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

⁴ M3: devapurā

⁵ M2: *om.* pubbe

⁶ M2: mānussake; M3: manussaloke; M4: mānussake

⁷ M2: supūjetvā; M3: supūjitaṃ

⁸ M3: *om.* this verse

⁹ M2, M3 & M4: rattanatṭhayaṃ

¹⁰ M3: Metteyyavāmato āgatā

¹¹ M2: *om.* tāsāṃ

¹² M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: pa(sam)santo

¹³ M2: *om.* pucchi

¹⁴ M3: ayaṃ etā

¹⁵ M4: devakaññāyo

¹⁶ M3: sāmabharaṇāni sāmāpitikarā devānaṃ

¹⁷ M3: akāsi

¹⁸ M2 & M3: manussaloke; M4: manussake

¹⁹ M2: supūjito

²⁰ M3: sāmavatṭhā sāmamālā sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ; M4: sāmavatṭhā sāmamālaṃ, *and om.* sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ

sāmam āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.¹

saṃyamaṃ saṃvibhātā ca² Metteyyapacchato gatā ti.³

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ⁴ puññakammaṃ pasaṃsanto⁵ puna Sujampatiṃ⁶
pucchi “devarāja,⁷ Metteyyo īdisaṃ⁸ sampattiṃ labhati. kiṃ pana
puññaṃ akāsi” ti.⁹ Sakko Metteyyassa¹⁰ puññaṃ saṃkhepena
sāgarāṭikkamanasopamāya¹¹ pabbatārohanandhopamāya¹² ca¹³ paññāya
pakāsetvā puna saddhādhikapaññādhikaviriyaḍḍhikasamkhātānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ
anappakappopacitakāyavacimāno¹⁴ paṇihitatividhasucarita-
cathanapariccāga¹⁵-puttapariccāga¹⁶-bhariyāpariccāga-aṅgapariccāga-
jīvitapariccāga-samkhātadānapāramī¹⁷ tadanurūpasīlanekkhamma-
paññāviriyakhantīsaccādiṭṭhānamettupekkhā ti dasapāramī¹⁸ dasa¹⁹-
upapāramī²⁰ dasaparamatthapāramī ti sama²¹-tiṃsapāramiyo puritānaṃ

¹ M3: *om. this verse*

² M3: sayamālavibhātāya; M4: saññaṃ saṃvibhātā ca

³ M2: Metteyyassa pacchato gatā ti; M3: Metteyyapacchato gatā

⁴ M2: *om. tāsāṃ*

⁵ M3: pasaṃsati

⁶ M2: *adds ca*

⁷ M3: *the following passage as far as ahaṃ jambūdīpāgato 'mhi mahārājā ti is quite different. It is hard to read and what I have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings. See Appendix A.*

⁸ M2: tadisaṃ

⁹ M2 & M4: akāsi

¹⁰ M[*number omitted in Denis' ms.*]: *adds va*

¹¹ M2: sāgarāṭikkamana- ; M4: sāgarāṭikkamana-

¹² M2: pabbatārohandhopamāya

¹³ M2 & M4: *add attano*

¹⁴ M2: vacimanto

¹⁵ M2: pañcamahāpariccāga *instead of* dhanapariccāga *which is included in the list lower down*; M4: *always writes* pariccāga

¹⁶ M2: *adds* dhanapariccāga

¹⁷ M2: pāramita; M4: samkhātāni dānapāramī

¹⁸ M2: mettapekkhātidasapāramī; M4: metta-upekkhātidasapāramī

¹⁹ M4: *om. dasa*

²⁰ M4: u(pa)pāramī

²¹ M2: *om. sama*

bodhisattānaṃ viriyādhikabodhisatto ariyaMetteyyo bodhisatto ti
pakāseṇto imā gāthayo āha:

Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹ katvā puññāni nekadhā
setṭhasabbaññūbuddhehi na sakkā tāni vaṇṇetum²
ekadese na vuttāni saso³ sāgaratikkamo
andho va pabbatāroho patiṭṭhaṃ na labhissati.⁴
tathā Metteyyo puññāni⁵ anantāparimāṇakā
anappakappe sambhāre sambhāritvāna sabbaso.
tayo hi bodhisattāsum⁶ eko thāmādiko mato⁷
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa⁸
pūretvā paramī sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;
eko saddhādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse⁹
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭha pi¹⁰
pūretvā pāramī sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;
eko paññādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse¹¹
kappasatasahassāni cattāri ca¹² asaṃkheyyāni
pūretvā paramī sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ.
Metteyyo bodhisatto hi¹³ tesam thāmādhiko mato¹⁴
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa

¹ M4: pi

² M4: vaṇṇetum

³ M2: adds va

⁴ M4: labhissāmī ti

⁵ M2: Metteyyapuññāni; M4: Metteyyassa puññāni

⁶ M2: bodhisattesu

⁷ M2: eko ca viriyādhiko matto (*always written thus in M2*); M4: *om. the passage up to eko saddhādhiko mato*

⁸ M2: soḷasi

⁹ M2: mānusse; M4: mānuse

¹⁰ M2: asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭhi pi

¹¹ M2: mānusse; M4: manu(se)

¹² M2 & M4: *om. ca*

¹³ M2: tu

¹⁴ M2: tesahaviriyādhiko matto; M4: *replaces this verse with viriyādhika-Metteyyo tesu thāmādhiko mato*

pūretvā pāramī sabbā¹ Tusite upapajjati.²

cavitvāna tato kāyā sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissatī ti.

evaṃ Sakkena³ saddhiṃ there kathente yeva Metteyyo cetiyaṅganam⁴
āgantvā padakkhiṇam katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā
pañcaṅgapatitṭhita vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge⁵ nisīdi. bodhisatto tattha
nisinnam theram vanditvā pucchi “kuto āgato si, bhante” ti.⁶ “aḥam
Jambūdiṇipāyato ’mhi,⁷ mahārājā” ti. “bhante, Jambūdiṇipamanussānam
kiṃ vattamānan” ti.⁸ therō bodhisattassa paṇham kathento āha:

sabbe te manussā tattha sakakammena⁹ jīvītā¹⁰
samiddhā ca daliddā ca¹¹ sukkhitā dukkhitā pi¹² ca
abhirūpā virūpā ca¹³ dighāyukā appāyukā.¹⁴
samiddhā appakā honti daliddā¹⁵ ca bahūjanā;
sukhitā appakā honti¹⁶ dukkhitā ca¹⁷ bahūjanā;
surūpā appakā¹⁸ honti virūpā ca¹⁹ bahūjanā;
dighāyukā appakā honti appāyukā ca²⁰ bahūjanā.

¹ M2: sambodhiṃ

² M2: Tussitam upapajji; M4: Tussitam upapajjati

³ M2: Sakena

⁴ M2: cetiyaṅgane; M4: *omits this passage up to and including* nisinnam

⁵ M2: bhāgena

⁶ M3: bhante kūto āgato ti

⁷ M4: Jambūgato ’mhi

⁸ M4: vattamān ti

⁹ M2: sakammena

¹⁰ M2 & M4: jīvanti; M3: jīvātā

¹¹ M4: samiddhā ca daliddhā ca

¹² M3: sukkhitā pi ca (*om.* dukkhitā)

¹³ M3: abhirūpā pi ca (*om.* virūpā)

¹⁴ M2: appayukā; M3: dighāyu(kā) appakāyukā

¹⁵ M3: dalidā; M4: daliddhā

¹⁶ M3: sukkhitā a(ppa)kā honti

¹⁷ M2: *om.* ca

¹⁸ M3: appa(kā)

¹⁹ M2: *om.* ca

²⁰ M4: *om.* ca; M3: appā(yukā)

manussā appakā honti tiracchānā bahūtarā¹;

tasmā vadāmi 'haṃ sabbe sakakammena² jīvitā ti.³

bodhisatto therassa vacanaṃ sutvā “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussā kiṃ bahūpuññāni⁴ karonti udāhu pāpāni” ti. “mahārāja,⁵ puññaṃ karontā appakā honti⁶ pāpaṃ karontā bahutarā honti” ti.⁷ “kiṃ puññaṃ karontā,⁸ bhante” ti. “mahārāja, Jambūdīpamānussā keci dānaṃ denti keci sīlaṃ rakkhanti keci dhammadānaṃ denti keci uposathaṃ karonti keci buddhapatimaṃ karonti keci vihāraṃ karonti keci āvāsaṃ⁹ karonti keci vassāvāsaṃ denti¹⁰ keci cīvaraṃ denti keci piṇḍapātaṃ¹¹ denti keci bhesajjaṃ denti¹² keci bodhirukkhaṃ ropenti¹³ keci thūpaṃ karonti¹⁴ keci cetiyaṃ karonti¹⁵ keci ārāmaṃ karonti¹⁶ keci setuṃ karonti keci caṅkamaṃ karonti keci kūpaṃ khananti keci taṭākāṃ khananti¹⁷ keci parikkhāraṃ denti keci dasavidhaṃ dānaṃ denti¹⁸ keci mātupitu-upatthānaṃ karonti¹⁹ keci kālakatānaṃ nātakānaṃ atthaya yaññaṃ²⁰

¹ M3: *om. this verse*

² M2: sakamena; M4: sakammena

³ M2 & M3: jīvantī ti

⁴ M3: *om. bahū*

⁵ M4: *om. this phrase up to the second mahārāja*

⁶ M3: *om. honti*

⁷ M2 & M3: honti

⁸ M3: *om. karontā*

⁹ M3: ārāmaṃ; M4: *om. this phrase*

¹⁰ M3: keci sīlaṃ karonti

¹¹ M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

¹² M3: *om. this phrase*

¹³ M3: keci bodharopenti

¹⁴ M3: *om. this phrase*

¹⁵ M3: *om. the verbs of this phrase and the eight following phrases*; M4: *om. this phrase and the six following phrases*

¹⁶ M3: āvāsaṃ

¹⁷ M2: tanākāṃ

¹⁸ M3: dasavidadānaṃ

¹⁹ M3: mātāpitu-upatthānaṃ

²⁰ M4: nātinaṃ atthāya yaññaṃ; M3: *om. this phrase*

karonti¹ keci ratanattayaṃ pūjenti keci puttāṃ pabbājenti keci dhammaputtāṃ pabbājenti² keci buddhapatimaṃ pūjenti evaṃ³ sabbāni kusalakammāni Jambūdīpamanussā yathāsatiyathābalaṃ yathā-
ajjhāsayāṃ karonti” ti kathesi.⁴ “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussā evarūpāni puññāni katvā⁵ kiṃ paṭṭhānaṃ karonti” ti.⁶ therō tassa manussānaṃ panidhānaṃ karonto⁷ āha:

deva te puññamattaṃ pi katvā kārenti vā pana
paresaṃ vā anumodanti tuyhaṃ patthenti⁸ bodhiyā:
iminā katapuññena dānasīlādinaṃ pana⁹
Metteyyass’ eva buddhassa dassanaṃ ca¹⁰ labhāmhasse¹¹;
yāvānupajjate buddho Metteyyo devapūjito
saṃsāre saṃsarantā pi¹² apāye na gamāmhasse.¹³
Jambūdīpamanussā te puññaṃ katvā tadā pana
evaṃ karimṣu paṇidhiṃ¹⁴ sabbatṭhānesu sabbadā ti.

bodhisatto Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ pavattiṃ sutvā somanassaṃ patto¹⁵
hutvā¹⁶ evaṃ āha “bhante, sabbe janā maṃ sabbaññūtaṃ pattāṃ
daṭṭhūṃ¹⁷ patthento¹⁸ Mahāvessantarajātakaṃ ekadivase yeva

¹ M4: *adds two phrases here*: keci cetiyam karonti keci ārāmaṃ karonti; M4 *ends here*

² M2: *om. this phrase*

³ M3: *om. evaṃ*

⁴ M2: katheti; M3: *om. kathesi*

⁵ M3: bhante manussā evarupāni karontā

⁶ M3: kiṃ patthitaṃ kiṃ panidhānaṃ dakkhiṇodakaṃ pātetvā

⁷ M2: kathento; M3: paṇidhikathento evaṃ āha

⁸ M2: patthenti; M3: pattheti

⁹ M3: dānaṃ silānaṃ pana

¹⁰ M2: dassanaṃ ca

¹¹ M3: labhāmhasa

¹² M3: saṃsaranto pi

¹³ M2: gamhāmhasse

¹⁴ M2 & M3: paṇidhi

¹⁵ M2: somanussapatto; M3: somanassapatto

¹⁶ M3: *om. hutvā*

¹⁷ M2: sabbaññūtappattaṃ daṭṭhaṃ; M3: sabbaññūtadaṭṭhūṃ

parinīṭṭitaṃ¹ suṇantu; saḥassapadīpena vā pūjetvā saḥassapadumena vā saḥassaniluppapena vā saḥassa-indīvarena² vā saḥassa-maṇḍārapupphena³ vā saḥassa-ummārapupphena⁴ vā saḥassadhajena vā saḥassachattena vā saḥassapaṭākena⁵ vā saḥassayaññaṇṇena vā sabbam āharitvā dhammaṃ pūjetvā mama bodhikāle mama sammukhā⁶ saha paṭisambhidāhi⁷ arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti” ti. iti vatvā puna⁸ pāpamanussānaṃ attano buddhattadassanaṃ alabhamānabhāvaṃ kathento gātham āha:

paṭighaṃ bhikkhunīdūsaṃ⁹ karonti saṃghabhedakaṃ
pañcānantariyakammaṃ¹⁰ thūpaṃ bodhissa chedakaṃ¹¹
bodhisattaṃ ca mārenti¹² santaṃ saṃghassa hāraḥ¹³

¹⁸ M2: patthento; M3: paṭṭhentā (*From this point onwards, the text of M3, although having virtually the same meaning, is set out slightly differently. We have transcribed the whole of it here as far as the verses: ... bhikkhu vā bhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā mahāvēssantaraṃ puppehi vā jātake ekadivase yeva suṇanti saḥassayaññaṇṇena saḥassadhupena saḥsadīpena vā saḥassaniluppapuppehi vā saḥsapadumapuppehi vā saḥsa-umārapuppehi vā cetiyassa puṇenti vā buddhapatimaṃ puṇenti vā sabbe te kālaṃ karitvā sattaṃ sampattiṃ yathā paribhuñjitvā mama bodhikāle mama samukhā saḥsasambhidāhi arahattaṃ pattiṃ labhanti vatvā te dassento gātham āha ...*)

¹ M2: parinīṭṭitaṃ

² M2: *om. this phrase*

³ M2: maṇḍālapupphena

⁴ M2: ummārapupphena

⁵ M2: *om. this phrase*

⁶ M2: samukhā

⁷ M5 starts here. (*The beginning of the text is quite different; we have transcribed up to the verses as far as we have been able to decipher them: ... hi arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti ti āpariyo pokado vadeyya ekacce kappanā dubbalaṃ kiṃ karissanti ti parihaṇo taṃ vadeyya thapetvā samiddhā c’ eva mahaddanā ca kareyyanti evaṃ ca pana vatvā bodhisatto puna manussānaṃ attano buddhattaṃ dassanaṃ alabha(mā)nabhāvaṃ kathento āha*)

⁸ M2: *om. puna*

⁹ M3: paṭighabhikkhunīdūsaṃ

¹⁰ M2: pañcānantarikammaṃ; M5: pañcānantarikaṃ kammaṃ

¹¹ M3: bodhiṇ ca chedakaṃ; M5: bodhiṇ ca chedakā

¹² M2: bodhisantakaṃ; M3: bodhisattassa māreti

maccherā ca pamādā ca na honti mama santike ti.¹
 thero tassa vacanaṃ sutvā evaṃ ahā² “mahārāja,³ sādhu te⁴ vacanaṃ.
 ahaṃ⁵ Jambūḍīpamanussānaṃ kathessāmi. tvaṃ⁶ pana kadā buddho
 bhavissasi” ti.⁷ “bhante, Gotamabuddhassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassa-
 sahasāni tṛtīvā⁸ antaradhāyissati. tasmim̐ antarahite⁹ loke
 akusalussannaṃ¹⁰ bhavissati.¹¹ kusalan ti nāma mattaṃ pi¹² na bhavissati
 pageva kusaluppati.¹³ tadā anukkamena¹⁴ manussā virahita-
 hirottappābhinṇamariyādā¹⁵ ayaṃ me¹⁶ mātādhītābhaginīnattātisaññaṃ
 anuppādetvā ajelakakukkuṭasūkarasiṃgālasonādayo viya nillajjā¹⁷
 bhavissanti.¹⁸ tadā te anukkamena¹⁹ ussanna-akusalappayogena²⁰
 vassasataparicchināyukato²¹ manussā parihāyitā dasavassāyukā

¹³ M2: saṃghahāraṃ; M5: saṇṭaṃ saṃghassa hārikaṃ

¹ M3: māmā santi ti

² M2 & M3: om. evaṃ

³ M5: devasantusita

⁴ M3: sodha te (*In M3 the following passage, up to the verses, is quite different. What we have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings*). See Appendix B.

⁵ M5: om. ahaṃ

⁶ M5: adds kho

⁷ M2: bhavissatī ti; M5: bhavitum gamissatī ti

⁸ M5: thatvā

⁹ M5: antaradhāhite

¹⁰ M5: akusalāni usannāni

¹¹ M5: bhavissanti

¹² M2: kusalan ti nāmaṃ mattaṃ pi; M5: kusalaṃ puññaṃ ti nāma mattaṃ na honti

¹³ M5: paggeva kusalapūññaṃ karonti

¹⁴ M2: anukkamena; M5: om. tadā anukkamena

¹⁵ M5: manussā ahirikā anotappā bhinnamariyādā

¹⁶ M5: sabbe janā

¹⁷ M2: nilajjā; M5: nilajā

¹⁸ M2: bhavissati

¹⁹ M2: anukkamena; M5: atha anukkamena

²⁰ M2: ussanna-akusalaṃ piyogena; M5: akusalā usannātehi kusalapāpehi payogehi

²¹ M2: yukāto; M5: yukā

bhavissanti. yadā pañcavassikadārakassa pañcavassikāya dārikāya¹ āvāho vivāho² bhavissati tadā satthantarakappo bhavissati. manussā aññamaññaṃ migasaññikā³ bhavissanti. tesam daṇḍādi upakaraṇaṃ hi⁴ hatthena gahitagahitaṃ yaṃ kiñci⁵ ubhatodhārākhuradhārasadisam⁶ āvudhaṃ bhavissati. te aññamaññaṃ ghāṭessanti.⁷ tesu ye manussā⁸ paṇḍitā⁹ paṭhamam eva¹⁰ taṃ vināsaṃ sutvā¹¹ pabbatarādīsu¹² pavisitvā¹³ ekikā nilīyissanti.¹⁴ te ṭhapetvā¹⁵ avasesā sattāhaṃ aññamaññaṃ paharitvā¹⁶ vinassissanti. atha¹⁷ sattame divase atikkante attano attano niliyatṭhānā¹⁸ nikkhamitvā aññamaññaṃ āliṅgitvā samaggasaṃvāsaṃ¹⁹ paṭilabhitvā yaṃ nūna²⁰ mayam²¹ kusalakammaṃ kareyyāma pāṇātipātā virameyyāma²² adinnādānā kāmesu micchācārā

¹ M5: pañcavassikadarikāya ca

² M5: āvāhavivaho

³ M2: miggasaññikā; M5: migasaññino

⁴ M2: om. hi

⁵ M5: *has* yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitaṃ tan taṃ *in place of* tesam daṇḍādi ... yaṃ kiñci ...

⁶ M5: ubhatodhārākhuradhārādi

⁷ M5: vadhissanti

⁸ M5: *adds* ca *and* om. manussā

⁹ M5: *adds* kalyānā sattāhabbhantare

¹⁰ M5: pathameva *and* om. taṃ

¹¹ M5: *adds* sattāhaṃ yāpanamattaṃ gahetvā

¹² M2: pabbantarādīsu; M5: pabbatarādīsu

¹³ M2: pavīsutvā

¹⁴ M5: tāni ekekaṭṭhāne nilayanti

¹⁵ M2: taṭhapetvā; M5: teva ṭhapetvā

¹⁶ M5: vadhitvā

¹⁷ M5: om. atha *and* *adds* sakalapathavi ekamaṃsaṃ lohitā bhavissati

¹⁸ M5: *has* te ca attano niliyatṭhānato *in place of* attano attano niliyatṭhānā

¹⁹ M5: *the text is different up to* yaṃ nūna ... : samaggacittā hutvā ambho usannākusalakammanimittena amhākaṃ nātakāvinatthā honti sujhpāyena mayam jvitaṃ labhimhā

²⁰ M5: yaṃ nūna

²¹ M5: *adds* pi

²² M5: om. virameyyāma



musāvādā surāmerayā¹ pisuññāvācā² pharussāvācā samphappalāvācā abhijjhā byāpādā micchādītṭhiyā pativirameyyāma puññāni karissāmā ti puññāni karissanti.³ atha dasavassāyukamanussānaṃ vīsativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti⁴; bhiyyo puññāni karontānaṃ manussānaṃ dārakā⁵ anukkamena⁶ tiṃsacattāḷisapaññāsasatṭhi⁷ sattati-asītinavutti⁸-sata-vassāyukā⁹ bhavissanti. anukkamena¹⁰ dvivassasatāyukā puttā¹¹ ticatupañcachasatta-aṭṭhanavasatāyukā sahasassāyukā.¹² bhavissanti anukkamena¹³ sahasassāyukānaṃ dvisahasassāyukā puttā bhavissanti¹⁴; ticatupañcachasatta-aṭṭhanavadasahasassāyukā¹⁵ bhavissanti. atha manussā atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā vassasatasahasassāyukā bhavissanti.¹⁶ atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena¹⁷ vassasatasahasassākoṭi-āyukā¹⁸ bhavissanti. tato paraṃ atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā¹⁹ asaṃkheyyāyukā bhavissanti. tadā sattānaṃ jarāmarañāni²⁰ na paññāyissanti²¹; puna pi pamādaṃ āpajjissanti²²; tesam

¹ M5: surāmerayamajjhapaṃmādaṭṭhānā

² M5: pesuññāvācā

³ M5: pativicikiccā virameyyāma ti puññāni karissanti

⁴ M5: atha dasavassāyukānaṃ manussānaṃ puttā vīsativassāyukā bhavissanti

⁵ M5: *has* puttā *in place of* manussānaṃ dārakā

⁶ M2: anukammena

⁷ M2 & M5: satṭhi

⁸ M2: navutti

⁹ M5: *om.* vassā

¹⁰ M2: anukammena

¹¹ M5: *om.* vassasatāyukā puttā

¹² M5: *adds* ca

¹³ M2: anukammena

¹⁴ M5: *om.* sahasassāyukānaṃ dvisahasassāyukā puttā bhavissanti

¹⁵ M5: *adds* dasahasassāyukā ca

¹⁶ M5: atha manussesu atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena sata-sahasassāyukā bhavissanti

¹⁷ M2: anukammena; M5: *om.* anukkamena

¹⁸ M2: yukā; M5: koṭisatasahasassāyukā

¹⁹ M5: *om.* atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā

²⁰ M5: jarāmarāṇaṃ

²¹ M5: paññāyanti

āyuparihāyissanti.¹ asaṃkheyyāyukato sattā² parihāyitvā vassakoṭi-vassasahassāyukā bhavissanti; tato pi parihāyitvā anukkamena³ navutikoṭivassasahassāyukā bhavissanti.⁴ tato pi anukkamena⁵ parihāyitvā asītivassasahassāyukā bhavissanti. tasmim̐ samaye⁶ devo anvaḍhamāsaṃ anudasāhaṃ anupañcāhaṃ ca⁷ majjhimayāme paṭhaviraṣaṃ vaḍhento vassissati.⁸ tadā⁹ Jambūdīpo samiddho hoti¹⁰ sabbakālaṃ pupphaphalalatāgumbapādapābharito¹¹ kukkūṭasampātika-gāmanigamasamākīṇo¹² corakaṇṭhakavirahito¹³ appagatadiṭṭhigahano¹⁴ rājadhānīsamujjalito¹⁵ sabbaratanasampanno sukhito¹⁶ subhikkho khemo¹⁷ bahu-annapānakkhajjabhojanasampanno¹⁸ macchamaṃsādi upabhogaparihogasamiddho.¹⁹ taḷākā sumadhurodakaparipuṇṇā sabbattha bhavissanti.²⁰ tadā bhante²¹ jāyapatikā avivādakā akodhanā

²² M2: puna pi pamādapajissanti; M5: puna pamādaṃ āpajanti

¹ M2: ayupariyāpāyissanti; M5: *attaches this phrase to the following phrase:* tesam̐ ayusaṃkheyyato parihāyissati vassakoṭi ...

² M2: *om.* sattā

³ M2: anukammena

⁴ M5: *om.* this phrase

⁵ M2: anukammena

⁶ M5: tadā

⁷ M5: anupañcāhaṃ

⁸ M2: vassissanti; M5: majjhimayāme rattiṃ pathavi(yā)rasaṃ (saṃ)vaḍhento vassanti

⁹ M5: tadāyaṃ

¹⁰ M5: samiddho ahosi; *The following text is slightly different:* tadā dummālatāgumbhavānicakārameva pupphaphaladharāpādatatabharito

¹¹ M2: pādapābharito

¹² M5: kukkūṭasampattagāmanigamasamākīṇo

¹³ M2: corakaṇṭhakavirahito; M5: *adds ca*

¹⁴ M2: appagatadiṭṭhigahano

¹⁵ M5: *adds ca*

¹⁶ M5: *om.* sukhito

¹⁷ M5: *adds ca*

¹⁸ M5: *adds ca*

¹⁹ M5: *om.*

²⁰ M2: taḷākāsu madhurodakaparipuṇṇo sabbattha bhavissati; M5: taḷākādīṃsu sabbathamadurodakasampanno ca bhavissati

pañcakāmaguṇasukhaṃ¹ anubhavantā kasivañijjādi kammavirahitā² sukhena jīvissanti.³ itthī purisā na suttaṃ kantissanti⁴ na tantaṃ vāyissanti⁵ dibbavathāni nivāsissanti. purisā sadārehi santutṭhā⁶ itthīyo⁷ sasāmikehi santutṭhā; saṃyamā⁸ purisā paradāraṃ na karonti na itthiyo paraṃ purisaṃ karonti te piyā manāpā aññamaññaṃ bhavissanti. sabbe te gāmanigamadhanadhaññakhattavattupapaṃsuhetu na vivādaṃ karissanti⁹; sabbe manussā surūpā uttamarūpadharā aññamaññaṃ piyā manāpā honti.¹⁰ kākā¹¹ ulukehi saddhiṃ mettacittā majjhāri ca undurehi¹² saddhiṃ mettacittā migā migindehi saddhiṃ mettacittā naṅkulā sappēhi saddhiṃ mettacittā bhavissanti sīhādayo migehehi saddhiṃ mettacittā honti evaṃ aññamaññaṃ paṭisattatiracchānā¹³ sabbe¹⁴ mettacittaṃ labhissanti.¹⁵ yadā¹⁶ sālī ekabijā¹⁷ sañjātā āropitā; dve sakatasahassāni dve

²¹ M5: *adds* pañcavassasatitthiṃ purisānaṃ āvāho ca vivaho ca bhavissati

¹ M5: *om. guṇa*

² M5: *adds* ca

³ M2: jīvanti; M5: *puts here the text about the spontaneous growth of rice. We reproduce it in note 16 below.*

⁴ M2: na suttakantissanti; M5: tadā itthīyo suttaṃ na kantissanti

⁵ M5: vāyissanti

⁶ M5: sadārasantutṭhā

⁷ M5: *adds* ca

⁸ M5: *om. the passage between saṃyamā and aññamaññaṃ piyāmanāpā bhavissanti*

⁹ M5: tadā gāmanigamakhettavattupapaṃsudhanadhaññādi hetu vivā na karissanti

¹⁰ M5: *om. this phrase and adds* khattiyā macchā ca sabbe sanāpati-ādayo ca pañcasilāni rakkhissanti

¹¹ M5: *the text is different between kākā and aññamaññaṃ: tadā kākā ca ulukā ca majjhā ca undurā ca miggā ca miggindā ca naṅkulā ca sappāpāti sabbe aññamaññaṃ ...*

¹² M2: majjhāri

¹³ M5: *adds* hi

¹⁴ M5: *om. sabbe and adds* aññamaññaṃ

¹⁵ M5: paṭilabhissanti

¹⁶ *This passage is placed earlier in M5 (see note 3 above), and is slightly different: tadāhi sayamañjātasālino ekabijjāya taṇḍulapphalāni dvesakatasahassāni dve ca sakatasatāni sattati ca sakatāni soḷasa ambānāni dve ca tumbādhikā bhavissanti*

sakatasatāni ca dve sakatasattati c' eva ambaṇaṃ soḷasaṃ pi ca atho pi
 dve ca tumbāni¹ tandulāni pajāyareti.² tadāhaṃ bhante dasa-
 saḥassacakkavāḷavāsīnaṃ devabrahmānaṃ āyācanaṃ sutvā
 kāladesadīpakulamātāyusaṃkhātāni pañcavilokanāni³ viloketvā buddho⁴
 manussalokaṃ gamissāmi⁵” ti vatvā attano pāramivaṇṇaṃ⁵ vaṇṇento āha:

ahaṃ hi⁶ paripūretvā pāramiyo anekadhā
 kappasatasahassāni⁷ asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa
 viriyādhiko⁸ bodhisatto racitvā⁹ demi dānaṃ
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.¹⁰
 sīsaṃ me racitaṃ¹¹ katvā añjanaṃ akkhiyugalaṃ
 yācakānaṃ adādānaṃ kappakoṭisatehi pi¹²
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto andhā na honti mānusa.¹³
 racitvā āṅgapaccaṅge¹⁴ dānaṃ datvā asesakaṃ¹⁵
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.¹⁶
 na vadāmi musāvādaṃ yācakānaṃ avañcana¹⁷
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na mūgā honti mānusa.¹⁸

¹⁷ M2: ekasāli-ekabijā sayamjātā

¹ M2: tumbhāni

² M2: ca jāyareti

³ M5: pañcamahāvīlōkanāni

⁴ M5: om. buddho

⁵ M5: om. vaṇṇaṃ

⁶ M3: pi; M5: om. hi and writes paripuretvāna

⁷ M2: kappāsattasahassāhi

⁸ M3: saddhādhiko

⁹ M2: caritvā

¹⁰ M2: me; M3: ca; M5: patto surūpā honti

¹¹ M3: sisameracitaṃ

¹² M3 & M4: ca

¹³ M2 & M5: na andhā honti manusā; M3: vikalaṅgā na honti ca

¹⁴ M2: caritvā āṅgapañcaṅgaṃ; M5: āṅgapañcaṅge

¹⁵ M5: demi dānaṃ asesatto

¹⁶ M2 & M5: me; M3: ca

¹⁷ M3: na vañcanaṃ; M5: avañcanaṃ

¹⁸ M2 & M5: muggā; M3: muggā honti tadā pana

dhammaṃ sutvā pasīditvā yācakānaṃ kathaṃ suniṃ¹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na badhirā honti mānusa.²
 piyacakkhūhi passāmi silavante ca³ yācake
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na andhā honti mānusa.
 ujaṃ kāyaṃ⁴ karitvā 'haṃ kāle dānādike pana
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na khujjā honti mānusa.⁵
 osadhaṃ⁶ demi sattānaṃ bhayaṃ tesaṃ pi no kare⁷
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā sattā arogino.⁸
 mettaṃ karomi⁹ sattānaṃ bhayasantāsanānaṃ¹⁰
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā Mārā na honti te.¹¹
 manāpā annapānāni manāpena¹² dadāmi 'haṃ
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samiddhā honti mānusa.
 manāpāni ca vatthāni¹³ manāpena dadāmi 'haṃ¹⁴
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto surūpā honti mānusa.¹⁵
 manāpāni ca yānāni¹⁶ hatthi-assarathāni ca¹⁷

¹ M2, M3 & M5: suṇi

² M3 & M5: na honti badhirā tadā

³ M3 & M5: silavante; M2 & M3: *om.* ca

⁴ M2 & M3: ujukāyaṃ; M5: ujum khāyaṃ

⁵ M3: khujjā honti tadā pana

⁶ M2 & M5: osathaṃ; M3: osatthaṃ

⁷ M5: bhayaṃ tesaṃ vinodayi

⁸ M3: arogino

⁹ M3: mettakaromi

¹⁰ M2: bhayaṃ santāsavināsaṃ; M3: bhayaṃ santākasakaṃ pana (?); M5: bhayasantāsaṃ na kare

¹¹ M2, M3 & M5: me

¹² M2: manāpehi; M3: yācakānaṃ

¹³ M3: *om. this half verse*

¹⁴ M5: *adds here a half verse yācakānaṃ yathākāmaṃ (?), which is unmetrical and seems to be a scribal error*

¹⁵ M3: *om. this verse*

¹⁶ M2: yānāni

¹⁷ M2: hatthi assarūpāni ca; M3: hatthi assā ratthāni ca

dolā ca sivikā cāpi yācakānaṃ dadāmi 'haṃ¹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sukhitā honti mānusa.²
 mocemi bandhanā satte³ dosato dukkhato⁴ pi ca
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto bhujjissā honti pānino.⁵
 samaṃ mettaṃ⁶ karitvā 'haṃ piyesu apiyesu ca⁷
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samā honti mahitalā.⁸
 tosemi yācake sabbe bhojanehi dhanehi ca⁹
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sītodakāpuṇṇā nadī.¹⁰
 yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā¹¹ mamaṃ patthenti mānusa¹²
 saṃsārabhayabhītā te bhavissaṃ¹³ bhavamocako.¹⁴
 avijjāghorapabhavaṃ¹⁵ mohajālasamākulaṃ¹⁶
 vuyhantaṃ caturoghesu lokaṃ santārayiss' āhaṃ.¹⁷
 kilesapaṅkamakkhite taṇhātakkārasevite
 saṃsāradisasaṃmulhe makkhamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.¹⁸
 Sañjive Kālasutte ca¹⁹ Tāpane ca Patāpane²⁰

¹ M3: yācakānaṃ puna punaṃ

² M2: manussā; M3: sattā yanti ca nibbattiṃ

³ M3: bandhanā sa(tte)

⁴ M2: dukkhito

⁵ M3: tadā puññāni pānino; M5: bhujjissā

⁶ M2: samamettaṃ; M3: samamettā; M5: samaṃ mettiṃ

⁷ M2 & M3: appiyesu; M2: om. ca

⁸ M5: patibalā

⁹ M3: icchitehi dhanehi ca

¹⁰ M3: tadā pūre cindanādiyo ti; M5: sātodakena puṇṇā nadī; M3: adds athā metteyo taṃ evaṃ āha

¹¹ M5: kusalakammaṃ katvā

¹² M2: mamaṃ patthenti; M3: mamaṃ pattenti; M5: mama patthenti

¹³ M3 & M5: bhavāmi

¹⁴ M2: bhava mocako; M5: bhavamocaye

¹⁵ M3: avijjhāpabhavaghoram

¹⁶ M3: mohajālaṃ samaṃ kulaṃ

¹⁷ M3: lokaṃ santārayi ahaṃ

¹⁸ M2, M3 & M5: adesayi

¹⁹ M3: kālaṃ sutte ca; M2: adds saṃghāteroruve tadā mahāroruve c'eva

²⁰ M2: tāpanapamahātāpane; M3: tāpane ca (pa)tāpane; M5: patāpena

Aviciniraye satte¹ saggamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.²
 aññābandhanā bandhe taṇhājālavasaṃgate³
 chetvāna bandhanā satte sampāpessāmi⁴ nibbutiṃ.⁵
 micchādiṭṭhikavātena dvāsattḥiditṭhi-aggalaṃ
 atthaṅgikamaggatālena⁶ vivarissāmi pāṇinaṃ⁷
 nibbānanagaradvāraṃ visālaṃ aṇāraṃ.⁸
 rāgadosatamonaddha⁹-hatanettānaṃ jantūnaṃ¹⁰
 paññāsallākaṃ¹¹ datvāna nayanāṃ¹² sodhayiss' āhaṃ.¹³
 sokāturaṃ sudukkhitaṃ¹⁴ jarāmaraṇapīlitaṃ
 ñāṇosadhavaraṃ¹⁵ datvā tikicchissāmi pāṇinaṃ.¹⁶
 mohandhakārasamulhe¹⁷ sadevāsuraṃ mānusa¹⁸
 ñāṇālokaṃ¹⁹ pharivāna nīharissāmi taṃ tamaṃ.
 apāyesu ca patante²⁰ atāṇe aparāyane²¹

¹ M3: *om.*

² M2, M3 & M5: *adesayi*

³ M2: *jalavassaṃgate*; M3 & M5: *māsavaṃgate*

⁴ M5: *sampasomi*

⁵ M2, M3 & M5: *nibbattiṃ*

⁶ M3: *atthaṅgamaggatāle*

⁷ M3: *vivaritvā mokkhaḍhāraṃ*; M5: *pāṇinā*

⁸ M3: *om. this verse*

⁹ M3: *rāgamohatamonaddhaṃ*; M5: *rāgadosatamonuddhaṃ*

¹⁰ M3: *hantaṃ renattā ca jantunaṃ*; M5: *hatanettānājjantūnaṃ*

¹¹ M2, M3 & M5: *salākaṃ*

¹² M5: *nayyanāṃ*

¹³ M3: *adds apāyesu pavattantaṃ atāṇaṃ aparāyanaṃ*

¹⁴ M2: *sokāturassa dukkhitaṃ*; M3: *sokāturasudakkitaṃ*; M5: *sokāturaḍakkitaṃ*

¹⁵ M2: *sattḥavaraṃ*; M3: *sattḥaṃ varaṃ*; M5: *sathaṃ varaṃ*

¹⁶ M2: *tikicchāmi paṇinaṃ*

¹⁷ M2: *sammulhe*; M5: *mohajandhakārasamulhe*

¹⁸ M2: *mānussa*; M5: *sadovāsuraṃ mānussa*

¹⁹ M2: *ñāṇālokaṃ*; M3: *yāṇālokaṃ*

²⁰ M2: *apāyesu pattantaṃ*; M3: *places this verse earlier (see note 13 above)*; M5: *apāyesu ca pattantaṃ*

²¹ M2: *attānapparāyanaṃ*; M5: *attanaṃ aparāyanaṃ*

apāyā uddharitvāna¹ dassessāmi parāyanan ti.²

evaṇ ca³ pana vatvā bodhisatto “yathā ’haṃ, bhante, vadāmi tathā manussānaṃ kathetā” ti⁴ sāsanaṃ datvā dasanakkhasamodhāna-samujjalakarapūṭamakūlo⁵ sudhotakanakaphalakasadisanalāṭantara-supatitṭhāpitasmujjalitañjalikarapūṭo manoramam⁶ indanīlamanimayaṃ Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pañcaṅga-patitṭhitena⁷ vanditvā theram āpucchitvā koṭisatasahassa⁸-saṃkhāya⁹ surayuvati¹⁰-suraputtaparisāya¹¹ parivutto tārāṇaṇaparivārīto¹² bahala-jaladharapaṭalavirahitakkhaggatalasamudito paripuṇṇacandamaṇḍalo viya virocamaṇo Tusita¹³-puram eva gato.

tena vuttam:

evam anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo cetiyaṃ varam
pūjetvā puna¹⁴ vanditvā piṭṭhito va patikkami.
sabbā devaccharā pi ca¹⁵ pūjetvā cetiyaṃ varam

¹ M2: apāya udaritvāna

² M2: dassissāmi; M3: desessāmi parāyanti

³ M3: *the text differs from here up to punnamāyaṃ yathā cando ...* : bhante manusse lokam gantvā yathā mayā kathitaṃ tatheva katheyyāsīti so theram vanditvā āpucchitvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā tusitabhavanaṃ gato sabbā devaparisā pubbapacchimadakkhinatare thitā bodhisattassa parivārayiṃsu tārāṇaṇaparivutto viya gaḍḍalālapuṇṇacando devata vuttam pi c’ etaṃ devakaṇṇo pi tādisā Metteyyam ārivāritvā ...

⁴ M2: kathekatha cā ti

⁵ M2: dasana(kkha)samodānasamujjakaramakulo; M5: dasanakhasamodāna-samūjalam jalakaramalakaramakulo

⁶ M5: ... samujjalitakarapūṭañjalimanoramam

⁷ M5: pañcapatitṭhitena

⁸ M2: koṭisattasahassa

⁹ M2 & M5: saṃkhātāya

¹⁰ M2 & M5: suravati ...

¹¹ M5: suraputtehi parisāya

¹² M2: om.; M5: tārāṇaṇaparivutto

¹³ M2 & M5: Tusita

¹⁴ M5: pi

¹⁵ M5: sabbe devagaṇā cāpi

atthadisāsu vanditvā piṭṭhito ca paṭikkamuṃ.¹
 puṇṇamāyaṃ² yathā cando sarade va virocati³
 tathā ariyaMetteyyo⁴ devamajjhe virocati.
 migamajjhe yathā sīho⁵ gavamajjhe yath' usabho⁶
 pakkhimajjhe yathā garuddho⁷ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.⁸
 nagamajjhe yathā Meru⁹ sattaratanaṃandito¹⁰
 naramajjhe cakkavatti¹¹ devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.
 tarumajjhe pāricchattako pupphamajjhe kokanado¹²
 maṇimajjhe veduriyo devamajjhe yathā ayaṃ.¹³
 pabbatagge yathā aggi suddhantakanakaṃ yathā¹⁴
 sabbe deve atikkamma vaṇṇatejena rocati.¹⁵
 Tusitabhavanaṃ yanto¹⁶ devehi parivārito¹⁷
 dibbasukhaṃ anubhutvā¹⁸ ciraṃ satte pamodaṭi ti.¹⁹

¹ M2: piṭṭhito va ca paṭikkamuṃ

² M2 & M5: ulumajjhe; M3: pumamāya

³ M3: saradeti virocati

⁴ M3: evaṃ hi Metteyyo nātho

⁵ M2, M3 & M5: siho

⁶ M2: gavamajjhe yathā usabho; M3: gavamajjhe 'va usabho; M5: gavamajjhe yathāsabho

⁷ M5: varagaruddho

⁸ M3: naddimajjheva sāgaro

⁹ M3: *contains the same verses, but in a slightly different order*; M5: nāgamajjhe

¹⁰ M3: devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ

¹¹ M2 & M5: cakkavati

¹² M2 & M3: kokanudo; M5: *om. this verse*

¹³ M2: *om. this half verse*

¹⁴ M3: sudantī kaṇṇikā yathā; M5: *om. this verse*

¹⁵ M2: virocati; M3: dicchati; M5: *om. this verse*

¹⁶ M2: Tusitabhavanaṃ yanto; M5: Tusitapabhavayanto

¹⁷ M3: *om. this verse*

¹⁸ M5: dibbasukhānubhutvāna

¹⁹ M3: *om. this verse, and adds evaṃ anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo devapūjito devadevagaṇāmajjhe puṇṇacando va gacchati*

tasmiṃ khaṇe yeva¹ thero paramapāṭimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ indriya-
saṃvarasīlaṃ² sammā jīvapārisuddhasīlaṃ³ paccayasannissitasīlaṃ cā ti
catupārisuddhasīlādi aparimita⁴-guṇagaṇābharaṇasamalaṅkato indanīla-
maṇimayaṃ Cūḷāmaṇicetiyaṃ⁵ vanditvā Sakkaṃ devarājanaṃ
āpucchitvā⁶ ativiyaḍarūṇarāgataṇhā⁷-micchādiṭṭhādi vividha⁸-rukka-
vanalatākīṇṇaputhuvanagumbālayajā ti⁹ jarāmaraṇādi¹⁰ dukkhappabhava-
saṃsāraṃ addhānaṃ¹¹ atikkanto¹² paramasetṭhativijjāpāla¹³-sīsaca-
tutthajhānavicittapakkhavilāsita virājitaṃ iddhipāda¹⁴-varapāda¹⁵-
dvayasubhaggam aṭṭha-vimokkhapaṭisambhidāñāṇa¹⁶-lokiya-
lokuttarasaddhā¹⁷-pāla¹⁸-sakalalomālaṅkata-deho suvaṇṇahaṃso viya
sobhamāno tāvatiṃsabhavanato otaritvā Jambūḍīpaṃ āgantvā¹⁹
anopamāya sāvakapakatīlīya gāmanigamarājadhānīsu piṇḍāya pāvīsi.
tena vuttaṃ²⁰:

¹ M3: *finishes with a short paragraph which differs a little from the other texts.*
We reproduce it at the end of the variants. See Appendix C; M5: taṃ khaṇe
ñeva

² M2: *om.*

³ M2 & M5: *om. sammā-*

⁴ M5: *dharaparamita-*

⁵ M5: *om. cūḷāmaṇi*

⁶ M2: *pabhāpucchitvā*

⁷ M2 & M5: *add kilesā*

⁸ M5: *vicita-*

⁹ M5: *jana-*

¹⁰ M2: *adds saṃsā(ra)-; M5: adds saṃsāra-*

¹¹ M5: *om. saṃsāraṃ addhānaṃ*

¹² M2: *atikkamanto*

¹³ M2 & M5: *pala-*

¹⁴ M5: *dvipāda-*

¹⁵ M2: *om. varapāda-*

¹⁶ M5: *yāṇa-*

¹⁷ M2: *suddhā-*

¹⁸ M2 & M5: *pala-*

¹⁹ M5: *Jambūḍīpāgantvā*

²⁰ M5: *yathāha*

tadā so devathero pi āpucchitvā surindakam¹
 cetiyam puna vanditvā otarivāna saggato²
 sobhati hemahamso va³ pun' āgacchati mānusaṃ.⁴
 nigama⁵rājadhānīsu bhikkham piṇḍāya pāvisi ti.

so⁶ piṇḍapātapaṭikkanto Metteyyassa pavattiṃ Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ
 ārocesi. manussā therassa vacanaṃ sutvā pasannacittā dānādīni puññāni
 katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke pūrayiṃsu. so daliddakapuriso⁷
 aṭṭhanīluppaladāyako yāvajīvam⁸ uppaladānaṃ anussarivā manussa-
 lokato cavitvā tāvatimsabbhavane⁹ devaccharāhi parikiṇṇe¹⁰ naccagīta-
 pañcaṅgikaturiyasaṃghuṭṭhe¹¹ sattaratanakhacitte niluppalapasāde
 nibbatti.¹² tassa akkanta-akkanta¹³-kāle pañcavaṇṇāni uppalāni pade pade
 sampatiṇṇiṃsu. tassa mukhagandho uppalagandho¹⁴ viya sakaladeva-
 nagaram pavāyi.¹⁵ devā devitthiyo uppalagandham ghāyitvā¹⁶ taṃ
 sevanti. sabbe devā tassa pade pade sampatiṇṇinam¹⁷ uppalam disvā
 Sakkassa devarañño ārocesuṃ.¹⁸ Sakko taṃ¹⁹ tesam katham sutvā
 tuṭṭhacitto hutvā tattha gantvā pucchi "devate, manussaloke kim akāsi

¹ M5: āpucchitvaṃ purindhamaṃ

² M5: saggato ti

³ M5: ca

⁴ M2 & M5: mānussaṃ

⁵ M2: adds vā

⁶ M5: *om. the following passage up to aṭṭhanīluppaladāyako*

⁷ M2 & M5: *om.*

⁸ M5: *om.*

⁹ M5: *adds niluppalapāsāde*

¹⁰ M5: *paripuṇṇe and adds dibbatitvā*

¹¹ M5: *samkhecumve (?)*

¹² M5: *om.*

¹³ M5: *atikkanta atikkanta*

¹⁴ M5: *mukho uppalagandho*

¹⁵ M5: *vayāsi*

¹⁶ M5: *ghāyitvā and om. taṃ*

¹⁷ M2: *sampatiṇṇinam; M5: om.*

¹⁸ M5: *ārocayīṃsu*

¹⁹ M5: *om. taṃ*

puññaṃ¹ evarūpaṃ sampattiṃ labhasī” ti.² yo³ Sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā evaṃ āha “devarāja, ahaṃ pubbe manussaloke Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo⁴ mātaraṃ posento⁵ ekadivasamhi ṇhāpanatthāya⁶ ekaṃ saraṃ gantvā tattha⁷ ṇhātvā⁸ aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā ekassa bhikkhuno datvā tena⁹ nīluppaladānena nīluppalapāsāde jāto ‘mhi¹⁰; mama akkanta¹¹-akkantakāle pade pade uppalapupphaṃ¹² jāyati mama cakkhudvāyaṃ uppaladalasadisam¹³ uppalaḡandho viya me kāyo tena Uppalo nāma devaputto jāto ‘mhi” ti. Sakko tassa vacanaṃ¹⁴ sutvā pamuditacitto pasannaṃānaso hutvā¹⁵ tato pi¹⁶ nīluppalapupphāni gahetvā¹⁷ buddhassa cetiyaṃ¹⁸ pūjesi so Uppaladevaputto¹⁹ yāvajjattana yeva²⁰ hoti.

tena vuttaṃ:

puna bhava pi taṃ puññaṃ Metteyyass’ eva santike²¹
dibbasukhañ ca bhuñjitvā pupphadānass’ idaṃ phalaṃ.

¹ M5: so kim katvā

² M2: labhatī ti

³ M2 & M5: so

⁴ M2 & M5: *om.* Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo

⁵ M5: posesi

⁶ M2: nahānatthāya

⁷ M5: *om.* tattha

⁸ M2: nahātvā; M5: *adds* pana

⁹ M5: te ten’ eva uppalaḡānena

¹⁰ M5: aṭṭhaniluppalapāsāde jāto; M2: jatehi

¹¹ M5: atikkanta

¹² M5: nīluppalaṃ

¹³ M2: uppaladasadisam; M5: cakkha-uppalasadisam

¹⁴ M5: kathaṃ

¹⁵ M5: *om.*

¹⁶ M2: *om.*; M5: so

¹⁷ M5: nīluppalaṃ gahetvā

¹⁸ M5: buddhapatimaṃ

¹⁹ M5: *om.* uppala

²⁰ M5: yāvajjhattameva

²¹ M5: Metteyyassa va santike

tasmā hi paṇḍito poso Metteyyabuddhasantike¹
 pāpunituṃ paṇidhāya dānasīlādikaṃ kare.
 yo yo yaṃ yaṃ bodhisattaṃ vacanassānusārino
 puññaṃ karoti so so ca Metteyyadassanaṃ varam²
 labhissati dukkhass' antaṃ karissati anāgate.
 saṃsāre saṃsaranto pi apāye³ na gamissatī ti.

iti Mālayyadevatherassa⁴ vaṇṇanā nitthitā.
 nibbānapaccayo hotu anāgate bhavissanti⁵

† E. Denis

¹ M2: buddhassa

² M5: Metteyyadassanavaram

³ M5: apāyaṃ

⁴ M2: om. deva; M5: ends Māleyyadevavatthu

⁵ M2 & M5: om. this final phrase

Appendix A (see note 7 on page 40)

M3: devarāja Meteyyo kiṃ kammaṃ (= puñña-kammaṃ ?) katvā idaṃ sampatiṃ labhati bhante ahaṃ kathaṃ jānitabbaṃ sabbaññabuddho pana sakā (= sakkā ?) tassa sampatiṃ vannetum Meteyyo budhassapadaṃ pathetvā loka-bhavāṃopanattāya me dhanisambhāraṃ karonto dānadācini (= dānādini ?) manussasampatidento anekakoṭikappadānapārami katvā silarakkhitum satta-sampatidento jhānaṃ kārinaṃ brahmasampatidento anekakoṭikappanekkhamapārami katvā dukkhadassanaṃ sotāpattimaggaphalaṃ dento anekakoṭikappapaññāpārami katvā aniccadassanaṃ sakkhidāgāmaggaṃ (= sakadāgāmaggaṃ ?) dento anekakoṭikappavirayapārami katvā anattānadassanaṃ (= anattadassanaṃ ?) anāgāmmaggaṃ dento anekakoṭikappakhaṇṭipārami katvā tisakkhanaṃ upekkhanaṃ arahattaṃ dento anekakoṭikappasaccapārami katvā pāṇavadhavivajitaṃ atthaṅgikaṃ dento anekakoṭikappa-adhiṭṭhānapārami katvā dukkhadassanaṃ saṃsāranibbānaṃ dento anekakoṭikappamettupekkhaṃ katvā anantañānaṃ paṭṭhayaṇo sabbe sattānaṃ upanattāya samaṭṭho anatta(= ananta ?)-bodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva anantasilālaṅkāre dento anantabodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva kilesasocanaṃ samādhidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe yeva pāpachedanaṃ paññāsaṭṭhaṃ dento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe yeva saṃsāraṇnavattikaṃ vimuttidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ karonto anantakappe yeva mokkhapathaṃ nātukāmo nānaṃ dento anantabodhisambhāraṃ karonto kappā yeva tayo bodhisattā eko bodhisatto eko paññādhiko eko virayādhiko eko saddhādhiko tesu paññādhiko nāma kappasatasahassādhikāni koṭicattāri asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi viriyādhiko kappasatasahassādhikāni atṭha asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi saddhādhiko pana kappasatasahassādhikāni soḷasa asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi Meteyyo pana saddhādhiko nāma Meteyyasambhāro (= sambhārā ?) samuddoya (= samuddo yathā ?) pāramiyo hoti ekadesena vuttaṃ pi saso samuddo (?) vattati andho yathā pabātārohe yeva tasmā bhante na sakkomi tassa sambhāraṃ pakāsetum tathā Ariyametteyyo anekasahassaparivārehi āgantvā yojanaparimaṇḍalaṃ Cūḷāmunīcetiyaṇ ca ākāsaparimaṇḍalaṇ ca dibbobhāsena pharitvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā anekasahassasuriyamaṇḍalaṃ viya sinerapadakkhiṇaṃ katvā atṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā sattaratanamayāṃ mālāvicittam candamaṇḍalaṃ sadisaṃ sisato otāretvā cetiyaṃ pūjetvā pācinadvāre nisīdi tadā cetiyaṅgaṇamālāvicitra(*sic*)-paripuṇṇa osadhitārakarasi viya ahosi sakala-indanagaraṃ ekaganda ahosi bodhisatto yena thero ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā therāṃ vanditvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi therāṃ etad avoca bhante kuto āgato ti ... ?

Appendix B (see note 4 on page 46)

M3: ... mahārāja sodha te vacanaṃ Jambudipamanussā kathessāmi tvaṃ pana kadā buddho bhavissasī ti bhante Gotamabuddhassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassasahassāni thatvā antaradhāyissanti tasmim̐ antarahite loke akusalappanaṃ kusalan ti na jānāti paggeva kusaluppati tadā manussā virahita-hirotappābhinnamariyādā mā(tā)pitābhaginisaññaṃ anuppā ajjelakukkara-sigālāsonādayo viya nilajjā bhavissanti usannākusalena āyuvassasataṃ hīnaṃ hinā anukammen' eva dasavassāyukā maggedārakā pañcavassā ca pañcavassā va dārakā āvāho vivāho ca tesam̐ dvinnam̐ bhavissati tividho sattantarakappo dubbhikkantarakappo rogantarakappo satthantarakappo idha sattantarakappo vedigañño (= veditabbo ?) tadā manussā aññaṃaññaṃ miggasaññaṃ patilabhissanti hattena gahita ubhato dhārākhurasadisam̐ āvudhā bhavissati te aññaṃaññaṃ paharitvā vinassanti tesu ye manussā pañḍitā pathamam̐ eva taṃ vināsam̐ sutvā sattāhaṃ yāpadāhāraṃ gahetvā pabbatakandarādisu pavisitvā niliyissan ti tesu thapetvā avasesā sattāhaṃ aññaṃaññaṃ paharitvā vinassanti sakalapathavi ekamaṅgakaḷikā bhavissati atha sattāhaṃ divase atikante attano attano niliyitathānā nikkhamitvā aññaṃaññaṃ visālaṃ labhitvā āliṅgitvā samaggaṃ patilabbhitvā yanuna mayaṃ kusalakammaṃ kareyyāma paṇātipātā virameyyāma adinnādānā kāmesu micchācarā musāvādā pīsuññāvācā pharusavācā sampapphalāvācā abhiḷḷā byāpādā micchādīṭṭhiyā pa(tī)virameyyāmā ti ime dasakusalakammaṃ paṭisamodhānetvā te puretuṃ ārabhisu athā dasavassāyukānaṃ manussānaṃ visativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti atha bhiyyo tesu dhammaṃ puretesu timsacattālisapaññāsā ti anukammena dve vassasatāyukā bhavissanti tīnicattāripaṇcacasatta-aṭṭhanavavassasahassā dvetīnicattāripaṇcadasavisati-timsacattālisapañcasatṭhisattati-asitīvassasahassāni vadanti nava-timsavassasahassā aṭṭhamanusseṣu atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu vassasatasahassa āya (= āyukā ?) bhavissanti atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu vassakoṭisahassā āyu(kā) bhavissanti tathā sattānaṃ jarāmarāṇaṃ na paññāyanti puna pi pamādaṃ āpajjanti tesam̐ āyaṃ parihāyissanti asaṃkheyya ayaṃ pa(ri)hāyitvā vassakoṭisahassā tato satasahassaṃ parihāyitvā navuttīvassasahassā asitīvassasahassaṃ vathassanti tasmi samaye devo aghamāsaṃ anuddasāhaṃ anupañcahañ ca majjhīmayāme paṭhaviraṣaṃ vadento vassati tadā jambudipaṃ sabbattha samiddho hoti yadā padamānīccakālaṃ thulālatāgumbapādapattalabharitā kukkuṭasāpātikagāmaniggamarājadhāni samākinno corakaṇḍakavirahito appaggaṭadīṭṭhigahano rājadhāni samujjalito sabbaratana-sampanno subhikkho khemo bahu-annapānakhajabhojanaṃ seyya meyya macchamaṃsādi upabhogaparibhogasamiddho bhante yadayaḷāpatikā avivādakā ako(dha)nā honti pañcakāmasukhaṃ anubhavanti tadā manussaloke gamissāmi yadā sabbaparīsā kasinabijā akarontā sabbabhogaṃ anubhavantā tadā manussaloke gantvā tadā ittiyo na suttaṃ kantikaṃ pi rukkhe dibbavattehi

nivāsento tadā m(an)ussalokaṃ gantvā yadā manussalokhattiyā amacchā senā patādayo rakkhanti pañca silāni tadā manussalokaṃ gantvā yadā ittisāmikena santutthā purisā parādāraṃ na karonti ittiyo aññehi kāmāṃ na karonti te manussalokaṃ gantvā idāni attano pāramivaṇṇento āha ...

Appendix C (see note 1 on page 57)

M3: thero Meteyyassa gamanaṃ varaṃ pasitvā devarajānaṃ āpucchitvā cetiyaṃ vandhitvā Jambudipaṃ sampatto Kambujagāmaṃ pindāya pavasi piṇḍipātaṃ gahetvā pattikanto tato patthāya Meteyyassa va pavuttiṃ Jambudipa-manussānaṃ ārocesi manussā therassa vacanaṃ sutvā dānādini puññāni katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke puriyimsu so upaladāyako tena tāvatimsabhavane pupphapāsāde devapuripiṇṇe nibbatti naccagitapañcaṅgikaturiyasaṃghutte akkantakale pañcavaṇṇa-upalāni pade pade jātā tassa upalagando viya mukkho sakaladevanagare vāyati Sakko pagevā tassa pade pade upalaṃ disvā tutthacitto ahesuṃ Sakko āha devate pubbe kiṃ akāsi puññaṃ evaṃ rūpaṃ sampattilabhasi ti Upaladevaputto yathā tathā visajjhesi Sakko taṃ vacanaṃ sutvā pamuditacitto upalapupphāni gahetvā cetiyaṃ pujesi sakālayaṃ tato vassati ti tena pathamasāṅgitikācariyājīnadesitaṃ dhammaṃ saddhāya pasādajanatthāya kathento āha ye suṇantiṃ sa sakkaccaṃ Vessantaraṃ jinadesitaṃ ye ca karonti puññāni silādini padāyakā te subhanti passayyaṃ Mettayyasugataṃ varanti Māleyyadevattheravaṇṇanā nitthitā

braḥ Māleyyayavalelāchapappabissantā (?)

buddhaṃ saranaṃ gacchāmi

dhammaṃ saranaṃ gacchāmi

saṃghaṃ saranaṃ gacchāmi

iti pi so bhaggavā a(ra)haṃ sammāsambuddho vijā

Appendix D (see Introduction page 7)

anekadevaputtā pi

Metteyyaṃ parivāretvā

puṇṇamāyaṃ yathā cando

vaṇṇarūpena ten' eva

evam anomavaṇṇo so

devamajjhe gato santo

devakaññā pi tādīsā

gacchanti tathāmbare

sarade kāle va bhānumā

devamajjhe virocati

Metteyyo lokapuṇḍavo

pajjalanto pi āgato

so āgantvā Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā Maliyadevathera upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā ekamante titho therāṃ pucchi bhante āgacchathā ti Jambudīpā mahārājā ti kiṃ bhante Jambudīpāmanussā mamaṃ sambhaventī sambhaneti (= sambhāventi) mahārājā ti

yadā hi kusalaṃ katvā

Metteyyass' eva buddhassa

tuyhaṃ bhāventi bodhiyaṃ

dassanaṃ bhavatu sabbadā ti

Metteyyo bodhissato evaṃ āha	
yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā	mama pathenti mānusa
saṃsārabhayabhītānaṃ	bhavāmi bhayaṃmocako
avijjāya mahāghoraṃ	mohajālasamajalaṃ
vuyhantaṃ caturoghehi	lokass' antaṃkaro ahaṃ
kilesapaṇkamakkhite	taṇhātakkarasevite
saṃsāradisammūlhe	dhammaṃ sudesayiss' ahaṃ
sañjive kālasutte ca	tāpane pune tāpane
aññābandhanābaddhe	taṇhāsāvasaṃgate
chetvāna bhandanaṃ satte	sampāpessāmi nibbutiṃ
micchaditṭhikavātehi	dvāsattihi hanaraṃ gataṃ
aṭṭhaṅgamaggatalehi	vivarissāmi paṇinaṃ
rāgadosatamonaddhaṃ	pāvetvā nantajantūnaṃ
paññāsālākaṃ datvāna	nayanaṃ sodhayiss' ahaṃ
sokāturaṇaṃ dukkhinaṃ	jarāmaṇapilitaṃ
ñānosadhavaṃ datvā	tikichissāmi paṇinaṃ
mohandhakārasammūlhe	sadevāsuraṃ mānuse
ñāṇālokaṃ karitvāna	vidhamissāmi taṃ tamaṃ
lokaṃ apāyabandhantaṃ (baddhaṃ taṃ) attānaṃ	tamparayaṇaṃ
apāyā uddharitvāna	dassayissāmi parāyaṇaṃ

THE STORY OF THE ELDER MĀLEYEYADEVA

Translated by Steven Collins

Honour to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Enlightened One ! Bowing to the excellent Buddha, (who is) to be revered by gods and men, to the Teaching which originates from the Happy One,¹ and to the virtuous Monastic Order, I will undertake (to tell) in brief the story of Māleyya, replete with supreme(ly good) advice² and edifying for all.

In the past, the story goes, in the island of Tambapaṇṇi, (also) called the isle of Lankā, where the (Three) Jewels were established, a certain elder by the name of Māleyyadeva, famous for the excellence of his supernatural power and knowledge, lived in Rohana province supported by (alms given in) the village of Kamboja. The elder repeatedly brought back news of the beings roasting in hell: recounting (this news) to their relatives he inspired them to make merit by alms-giving and the like, and he made them aim for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (hell-beings). By the force of his supernatural power he travelled to both heaven(s) and hell(s): after seeing the great majesty of laymen and women in heaven who had faith in the Three Jewels, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a layman or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a heaven and experienced great happiness; after seeing the great suffering of miscreants in hell, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a man or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a hell and experienced great suffering. People gained faith in the

¹ On *sugata* as an epithet of the Buddha see Norman (90: 154), who renders it 'one who is) in a (particularly) good way'.

² For *naya* as 'advice' see Ñāṇamoli (62: xli-xliii), who translates more literally as 'guide-line'.

teaching and did no evil; they dedicated merit (acquired through) almsgiving and the like to their dead relatives, and aimed for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (dead relatives).

One day the elder got up in the morning, took his robe and bowl and went to the village to collect alms. In the village (lived) a poor man (who) looked after his mother. At the (same) time he went out from the village to bathe; he came to a pond, took his bath, and saw eight blue lotus flowers. He picked them, got out of the pond, and started on his way (back). Then he saw the elder coming (towards him) bowl in hand, (looking) calm, restrained, well-controlled, his senses mastered, with perfect bearing. Joy and delight arose in him, and he went up to the elder and greeted him respectfully with his hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together. With great faith he gave the flowers to the elder, and made an aspiration in this verse:

By this gift of flowers, wherever I am (reborn) in a hundred thousand births, may I not be poor !

The elder took the eight blue lotus flowers, and gave thanks in this verse:

Whatever (a person) gives with a faithful mind, whether coarse or choice,¹ has a successful result according to (the donor's) wish.

¹ This rendering of *lūkhāṃ paṇītaṃ vā* is taken from Masfield's (89: 91) translation of the phrase at Vv-a 64.

After giving thanks (thus) the elder (first) reflected¹: 'Where shall I place these eight blue lotus flowers on a shrine — on top of a mountain, at (the place of the Buddha's) final nirvāṇa, at (the foot of) the Great Bodhi-tree or at the place where the Blessed One set in motion the Wheel of the Supreme Law²?' Then he thought: 'I have worshipped (at) these places seven times (each); what if I were to worship at the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in heaven?'

Immediately after thinking this, the elder attained the fourth meditation level, which is the basis for supernatural knowledge; emerging from it he flew along the path of the wind and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers reached the terrace around the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in the city of the Thirty-three gods, made beautiful by the (surrounding) land's being adorned with seven precious things³; Sakka,

¹ Reading *evaṃ samacintesi* with M3.

² 'Shrine' translates *cetiya*; the translation omits the first *vā*, and takes *udāhu* as an interrogative introducing the list of alternative sites in the locative. (Sih III p. 5 has *kuhiṃ āropessāmi mahācetiye udāhu cetiyagiripabbate udāhu mahābodhimhīti punassa etad ahoṣi*.) Denis translated here 'Ou déposeraï-je ces huit fleurs de lotus ? aux pieds du cetiya, situé sur la Montagne, ou à celui situé à l'endroit du Parinirvāṇa, ou à celui situé près du grand arbre de la Bodhi, ou à celui situé à l'endroit de la mise en route de la roue de la Loi incomparable ?' In a note he refers to the fact that four 'shrines' commonly grouped together in this way are the sites of the Buddha's birth at Lumbinī, his Enlightenment, First Sermon and final Nirvāṇa. He remarks that the order is different here, and that the site of his birth is 'curiously replaced by the cetiya "placed on the mountain"', speculating that this might refer to the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya on Mt. Meru, in the heaven of the Thirty-three. He notes that manuscript M4 omits both this and the Parinirvāṇa cetiya, while M3 omits the latter; and states that 'the Siamese translation of the *Tikā Māleyyadevathera*' (*sic*) mentions only three cetiya-s: those at the top of a mountain, at the place of the Parinirvāṇa and of the First Sermon, while 'the Siamese text of the Pra Malay' mentions only the cetiya at the Bodhi-tree.

³ The long compound is difficult to analyse satisfactorily. The seven 'precious things' (literally 'jewels') are: gold, silver, pearl, gems, beryl, diamonds, and coral.

king of the gods, had reverently caused (this) delightful sapphire (shrine) to be set up, so that all the gods could worship (there). The Blessed One himself had cut off his top-knot (of hair) with a sword grasped in his cotton-soft, webbed hand, and had thrown it into the air with the aspiration 'if I am to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha may my top-knot not fall to the ground'; it did not fall to the ground, and (Sakka) caught it in a splendid gold casket which he carried on his own head (and then made the shrine for it). (The elder) worshipped (at the shrine) with the eight lotus flowers, walked around it keeping it to his right, paying reverence to the eight directions and with a five-fold prostration,¹ and sat down on the eastern side. Thus it is said:

He attained the fourth meditation level, the basis for supernatural knowledge, and emerging from it rose up instantly² into the sky like a golden swan; in the time it takes to snap one's fingers he arrived at the shrine in front of (the) Vejayanta palace, (where he) worshipped and paid reverence.³

At that moment Sakka, king of the gods, came with his retinue and worshipped the right tooth of the Blessed One and the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine with various kinds of garlands, perfumes, ointments and the like;

¹ This has been taken to refer to (i) 'touching the ground with forehead, waist, elbows, knees and feet' (PED citing Childers, s.v. *pañca-paṭiṭṭhita*), (ii) a 'kneeling añjali salute in which the forehead, edges of the hands and the knees touch the ground' (Masfield 89: 32 note 22), or (iii) touching the ground with forehead, elbows and knees (Bureau 62: 251).

² Reading *uggamma* with M2.

³ M3 and M4 omit this paragraph and read more simply: 'The elder rose up into the sky on that very day and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers stood in front of the Vejayanta palace [reading *thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā acchārasaṃghātamattam pi* ... ; for *tadahe va* see CPD s.v. *aha*]. He saw the shrine and feeling joy paid reverence to it; he worshipped with the eight blue lotus flowers, walked around (it) keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions and stood at one side'.

seeing the elder sitting down he went up to him, paid reverence and sat down to one side. All the groups of gods paid reverence to the shrine, walking around it keeping it to the right, (and then) paid reverence to the elder and sat down all around (him); so too did all the divine maidens, who paid reverence to the elder with a five-fold prostration. Sakka, king of the gods, asked the elder: 'Sir, where have you come from?' 'Great king, I have come from the Rose-Apple island¹ to pay reverence to the shrine.' Then the elder asked Sakka: 'Did you have the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine set up?' 'Yes, venerable sir, I had it set up to be worshipped by the gods.' The elder asked: 'King of the gods, these gods did good deeds in the human world and were reborn here to enjoy divine happiness; why do they make merit now?' 'Venerable sir, these gods make merit in the desire to go beyond the world of the gods.² Sir, gods who are of little merit do not remain long in heaven, just as a few grains put in a wooden trough are quickly used up; whereas gods who are of much merit remain long in heaven, just as a lot of grain put in a granary remains (there) for a long time and is not used up. Similarly, sir, just as people with little wealth (but) with a lot of skill and knowledge, if they engage in farming, trade and the like make a living without difficulty, gods of little merit who enjoy (its) result (but) then make further merit experience heavenly happiness afterwards. Venerable sir, wealthy people with no skill or knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like, (soon) use up their wealth and afterwards become quite poor: in just the same way gods of much merit who experience (its) result without making further merit afterwards are born in a poor state. Just as poor people with no

¹ *Jambudīpa*, the continent south of the cosmic centre Mt. Meru, corresponding (at least) to what are now India and Sri Lanka.

² I have previously rendered *devaloka* simply as 'heaven'. In this context there is, perhaps, some ambiguity as to whether *upari* means 'above', in the sense that the gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three wish to be reborn higher in the cosmic scale, in one of the Brahma-worlds, or whether it means 'beyond' in the non-spatial sense of transcending heavenly rebirth in *nirvāṇa* (perhaps by means of rebirth on earth at the time of Metteyya). See text below.

skill and knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like become (even) poorer, so too gods of little merit who experience (its) fruit without making further merit become (even) poorer; (conversely) just as rich people with a lot of skill and knowledge who engage in farming, trade or the like prosper even more, so too gods of much merit who give alms, practise morality, and so on, go upstream (in the stream of life) and prosper, (even) as far as *nirvāṇa*.¹

When the elder heard this he was pleased, and asked Sujā's husband (i.e. Sakka): 'Great king, all the gods have come to pay reverence at the shrine of the Blessed One; is the future Buddha Metteyya coming?' 'Yes, venerable sir.' 'When will he come?' 'Sir, he has come (in the past) on the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth days (of the lunar month).' 'So — today being the eighth — is he coming (today)?' 'Yes, sir.' While the elder was thus conversing with Sakka, a junior god came with a hundred-fold retinue to worship at the shrine. The elder saw the junior god arrive and asked Sakka: 'King of the gods, is this Metteyya?' 'No, sir.' 'Who is it?' 'Someone else, sir.' 'King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?' Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a poor grass-cutter who (once) when eating a leaf used for wrapping food¹ gave one piece as an offering to a crow; after doing even so small a meritorious deed he moved on (through life) in the human

¹ If *bhattapūtaṇ* is correct, it is the direct object of *bhuñjivā*; the word usually refers to a leaf used for wrapping cooked rice, and I assume the point is that the man is so poor this is all he has to eat. The word *ekapiṇḍika* then refers not to one ball of rice but to one piece of the leaf given as 'alms-food' to the crow. Denis renders more simply 'comme il mangeait un sachet de riz bouilli, il en donna une portion à un corbeau'.

(realm) which ends in death, and was then reborn (here) because of it.¹

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an animal such as a crow, as a result of even that gift the giver receives a hundred(-fold).

The junior god came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the eastern side.

Immediately afterwards another junior god came to worship at the shrine of the Blessed One with a thousand-fold retinue, illuminating all the regions with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him and asked Sakka 'King of the gods, is this Metteyya ?' 'No, sir.' 'Who is it ?' 'Someone else.' 'King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world ?' Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a young brahmin by the name of Gopāla; (once) when eating he gave a portion to a cowherd, and through that gift he has been born (here) with a retinue of a thousand. He has come with (his) thousand(-fold retinue) to worship at the shrine.

Therefore it is said:

¹ I derive *saritvā* from *sar*, to move, flow (as in *samsāra*); Denis seems to have taken it as being from *sar*, to remember, since he translates the last line 's'en étant souvenu au moment de la mort, il a transmigré et est re-né ici', although it is unclear whether his last two verbs gloss *upapajjati* (mss. *uppapajjati*) or he was taking *saritvā* in both the senses mentioned here.

Whoever gives a gift to those who are without virtue and of little merit, as a result of even that gift receives a thousand(-fold).

He arrived, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the western side.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of ten thousand, illuminating the whole shrine area with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same replies]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, (once) in a former life he gave alms to a virtuous novice, and through the maturation of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an ordinary person¹ who is virtuous, as a result of even that gift the giver receives ten thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the southern side.

¹ Reading *puthujjane* with M2 and M4; i.e. someone who has not advanced to any of the stages of the Buddhist spiritual path.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of twenty thousand, illuminating the whole area of space¹ with the splendour of his body and his ornamentation. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka explained his meritorious deed in this verse:

This one gave alms to a monk on his alms-round at (one) time (in the past); because of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to a virtuous monk, as a result of that same (gift) the giver receives twenty thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the northern side.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of thirty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was formerly a weaver in Anurādhapura, who lived a life of purity (and was) well-known as (a person) of great merit; at various places he cremated the bodies of the dead, and transferred to (each dead person) the merit acquired through

¹ *Ākāsa-maṇḍala*, lit. 'circle of space'; for the term in meditative visualisation see Vism 175 (PTS ed., = HOS V 26).

giving¹ to the virtuous gifts (such as) medicine, almsfood, robes and lodgings. Because of this meritorious action he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of forty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was a very wealthy man² (called) Haritāla, generous and virtuous, who lived a life of faith³ in the village of Haritāla; he gave medicine, robes, food and drink to the virtuous, and by the maturation of these deeds was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ Literally 'having cremated the bodies of dead people here and there and dedicating (to them) the (merit acquired through) gift(s), he gave ...'. The verb *uddissati*, 'to point out' or 'refer to', also has the specialised meanings of designating the recipient of a gift or of the transferred merit acquired from a gift (see CPD s.v.); *dakkhiṇā* simply means 'gift', but is common, in the *Peta-vatthu* for example, as a term for what PED calls (s.v. *dakkhiṇā*) 'a donation given to a "holy" person with ref. to unhappy beings in the Peta existence, intended to induce the alleviation of their sufferings; an intercessional, expiatory offering'. I assume therefore that the weaver is being said to have transferred merit to the dead he cremated by giving gifts to 'the virtuous'. As Denis points out in a note, the force of *tahim tahim* is probably that these were either abandoned corpses or those of people who had no relatives to bury them.

² *Mahāseṭṭhi*, a 'great' banker or merchant.

³ Reading *saddhājivena* with M2 and M4.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with fifty¹ thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was (re)born as king Saddhātissa in the island of Tāmbapaṇṇi, the brother of Abhayaduṭṭha²; serene in mind and respectful to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order, permanently restrained in the five (rules of) virtue and observing the eight Precepts on Uposatha day(s),³ giving to the virtuous, devoted to liberality, not stingy⁴; by the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of sixty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

¹ Reading *paññāsa-sahasseehi* with M3 and M4.

² i.e. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, destined to be at the right side of Metteyya as his first chief disciple; Saddhātissa was destined to be at Metteyya's left, as his second chief disciple; see DPPN s.v.

³ Reading *pañcasīle* [for *-sīle*] *saññāmo niccaṃ*, with *saññāmo* (= *samyamo*) as an adjective: cp. text p. 40 line 2 and p. 50 line 4, translation p. 81 and note 3, p. 88 and note 2.

⁴ Reading *dadānaṃ ... amaccharo*, and taking *dadānaṃ* as a present participle.

Abhayaduṭṭha by name, a provider of the four requisites (to monks), he paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; he had a relic-shrine built for the Tathāgata and (a sprig of) the Bodhi-tree planted, gave gifts to monks for the sake of (transferring merit to) his mother and father,¹ giving lavishly to the virtuous and beggars. He died a reverent death² and was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of seventy³ thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

In a former life he was a novice (monk), diligent and wise, who paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; untiringly night and day he constantly provided the Order with hot and cold water, brooms and lamps. By the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ See note 1 on p. 74 on *dakkhiṇā*.

² The story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's death and entrance into the Tusita heaven, which he delayed in order to listen to monks reciting, is told in the Mahāvamsa Chap. 32.

³ Reading *sattati*-.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of eighty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Born into a family of poor (people), he lived on what was given (to him) by others. (Whenever) he saw a monk on his alms-round he would stand (in front of) other people's houses and alert (any) house-owner who was unaware (that a monk was there) with elegant words (such as): 'master, a venerable virtuous (monk) is standing at the doors of (your) house, give generously whatever alms-food you have to this excellent (person)'. On hearing this the house-owner would say to him kindly 'Well spoken, my friend, I will give almsfood; take almsfood and present it to the elder'. By speaking in this way he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of ninety thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers].¹ Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

¹ Denis' text, based on M1, omits Sakka's reply *n' eso bhante ti* here, but this is a scribal error: it is found in M2, M3 and M4.

In Tambapaṇṇi Island, in Kaṇṇikārika village, he saw a stūpa of the Tathāgata¹ and worshipped it with a Kaṇṇikāra (flower), and with his eyes as a lamp, his head as (a bunch of) flowers, his voice as incense and his mind as perfume²; by the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of a hundred thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Formerly he was a poor grass-cutter in Anurādhapura who refrained from killing, was good and established in the (Three) Refuge(s); he followed a proper livelihood by cutting grass and fire-wood. On one occasion when he had gone alone to the river he saw (some) silver sand; he carried it away, built a shrine and said happily: 'Oh, my shrine is beautiful ! It sparkles like a beryl, (it) shines and blazes like a fire; (it is so) beautiful it stirs the heart, (it is) lovely, glorious: I worship the excellent shrine I made with sand, I honour it with body, speech and mind, (as well as) with flowers'. He fed virtuous (monks) and gave (them) what he had. By the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

¹ Reading *tathāgatasthūpaṃ* with M2 and M4.

² Assuming *sugandhinā*.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

End of the first (section of the) story of Māleyya, dealing with the twelve junior gods.

Then the noble Metteyya, the future Buddha, came down from the Tusita realm to worship at the shrine. He was attended by millions upon millions¹ of junior gods and goddesses, who shone with a light brighter than that of the moon with its thousand rays; he (himself) shone like a full moon in a cloudless autumn sky, surrounded by clusters of stars. They were (all) holding lamps, incense, perfumes and garlands.² His celestial radiance filled the whole city of the Thirty-three (gods) with light, gave off a celestial smell, and with his characteristic incomparable grace and charm he came to the shrine-terrace, walked around it keeping it to his right, paid reverence to and worshipped the eight directions, and sat down on the western side. Therefore it is said:

Then the noble Metteyya (came), attended by tens of millions, with a hundred divine young maidens in front, a hundred behind, a hundred to his right and to his left. Metteyya in their midst was like the moon in the midst of stars; everywhere was illuminated by the rays of the divine maidens and of their jewels, like the light from ten million moons.

¹ *Koṭṭasahasassa*, 'one hundred thousand crores'; a crore is usually taken to be ten million.

² Reading *-ādīni* with M2, M3 and M4. I have not followed the exact order of the Pali here, for the sake of smooth English.

The elder saw the future Buddha from afar, and asked Sakka ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya the future Buddha?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ ‘King of the gods, these divine young girls coming in front of Metteyya, with their (shining) white rays, clothes and jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human world?’ Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Venerable sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by giving gifts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave white clothes, white garlands, white perfumes and ointments, and white food to the excellent Buddha’s monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit and again questioned Sakka: ‘King of the gods, these divine young girls coming on the right of Metteyya, with (golden-)yellow rays, (golden-)yellow clothes and wearing golden jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human (world)?’ Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by keeping the (moral) precepts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave yellow clothes, yellow garlands, yellow perfumes and ointments, and yellow food to the excellent Buddha’s monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again questioned Sakka [in a similar way, about the divine young girls to Metteyya’s left, with red rays, clothes and jewels]. Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching¹ on Uposatha day, and gave red clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and red food to the excellent Buddha's monks; they honoured the Three Jewels and (so) are coming on Metteyya's left.

[Again the elder praised their deeds and then questioned Sakka about the divine girls behind Metteyya, with dark-coloured rays,² etc.] Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching on Uposatha day, and gave dark-coloured clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and dark food to the excellent Buddha's monks; with restraint, shining,³ they are coming behind Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again asked Sakka 'What merit did Metteyya make that he should have attained such happiness?' Sakka's capacity to elucidate⁴ Metteyya's merit can be

¹ Either taking *supūjitā* in an active sense, as Denis suggests, or reading *supūjetvā* with M3 (here and in next verses). See note 3 below.

² *Sāma*, Skt. *śyāma* can refer to a number of dark colours. Denis chooses 'blue', perhaps because, as K.R. Norman writes (personal communication) 'other references to groups of people with different coloured robes, etc., usually have blue, yellow, red, white, which would suggest that *sāma* might be taken as = *nīla* "blue"'.
³ As Denis remarks, *saṃyamā* must be taken as an adjective here. He derives *saṃvibhātā* from *vi-bhaj*, to give a share (of), and says that this, like *supūjitā* in the previous verses, is a past participle used actively. The past participle passive from *vi-bhaj* is usually *vibhatta*, however, and I prefer to derive the form from *vi-bhā*, to shine. K.R. Norman suggests (personal communication) that *supūjitā* may be *metri causa* for the absolutive *supūjivā*.

⁴ *-opamāya ca paññāya pakāsetvā*, literally 'elucidating it with an understanding comparable to ...'. I have broken up the long Pali sentence, which is not without linguistic problems, into more manageable English.

compared to a hare (trying to) cross the ocean, or a blind man (trying to) climb a mountain, but he elucidated it briefly (as follows): there are three (types of future Buddha), called those who excel in faith, those who excel in wisdom, and those who excel in energy; Metteyya is one who excels in energy.¹ (All) future Buddhas, by means of the three-fold good conduct (consisting in) control of body, speech and mind, accumulated over many ages,² fulfil thirty perfections altogether: ten (ordinary) perfections, ten higher perfections, and ten perfections in the ultimate sense. The perfection of generosity comprises the sacrifice of wealth, children and wife [= ordinary perfection], the sacrifice of (one's own) limbs [= higher perfection] and the sacrifice of (one's) life [= perfection in the ultimate sense]³; and correspondingly (there are three levels of) the perfections of morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, loving-kindness and equanimity. He spoke these verses:

The merit which Metteyya the future Buddha made over and over again — not (even) the excellent omniscient Buddhas could describe it (all) — cannot be told (even) partially, just as a hare crossing the ocean or a blind man climbing a mountain would

¹ This classification of bodhisattvas would seem to be a Southeast Asian invention, found elsewhere in published Pali texts only at the very end of the *Dasabodhisattuddesa* (Martini (36): text p. 335, transl. pp. 367–68), where it is associated with three kinds of person, from a group of four, found in earlier literature (A II 135, Pp 41, Nett 7). The alternative version of this section cited in Appendix A from M3 says that Metteyya was 'one who excels in faith', although Denis gives no alternative for *thāmādhiko* in the following verses from that ms.

² Reading *anappakappopacita-kāyavācīmānopaṇihita-tividdhasucaritena*.

³ There is a certain amount of confusion in different texts as to which actions constitute which level of the perfections. This doubtless arises because the prefix *upa-* often denotes a 'minor' level of what it is prefixed to, whereas the term *upapāramī* occurs second in the list: compare Ja I 25 and Bv-a 59 with Bv-a 113, and cf. Cp-a 272. I follow Horner (78: 89 and note 1, 162–63) in taking *upa-* in the sense of 'superior' (cf. CPD s.v.) or 'higher'.

not attain (their) goal¹: in the same way Metteyya's merit is infinite, boundless, (since) he accumulated the necessary conditions (for enlightenment) completely, during many aeons. There are three (kinds of) future Buddhas: one is known as he who excels in energy,² who fulfils all perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the second) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in faith, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and eight uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the third) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in wisdom, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and four uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment. The future Buddha Metteyya is known as one who excels in energy; he has fulfilled all the perfections during a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and has been reborn in the Tusita (heaven): when he dies from that body (and is reborn on earth) he will attain Full Enlightenment.

While the elder was conversing thus with Sakka, Metteyya came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., paid reverence with the five-fold prostration, and sat down on the eastern side. The future Buddha saw the elder sitting down there, paid reverence to him and asked 'Where have you come from, venerable Sir?' 'I have

¹ This is clearly the sense of *patiṭṭhā* here, although it is an unusual use of the word. Similarly, the general sense is quite clear in the sentence as a whole, despite the inelegant syntax of the Pali.

² In the prose version *virīya* appears here in place of *thāma*; they can be regarded as synonyms.

come from the Rose-Apple Island, great king.' 'Venerable Sir, what is happening among the human beings in Rose-Apple Island?' The elder answered his question by saying:

Everyone there lives according to their (past) deeds, rich and poor, happy and unhappy, attractive and unattractive, long-lived and short-lived. The rich are few, the poor are many; the happy are few, the unhappy many; the attractive are few, the unattractive many; the long-lived are few, the short-lived many. Human beings are few, there are more animals; that is why I say that everyone lives according to their (past) deeds.

The future Buddha heard what the elder said (and asked) 'Sir, do the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make much merit or demerit?' 'Great king, those who make merit are few, there are more who do evil.' 'Sir, how do they make merit?' He explained 'Great king, some human beings in Rose-Apple Island give alms, some preserve morality, (or) give the gift of The Truth, keep the Uposatha day(s), make images of the Buddha, build monasteries or residences (for the Order), give rains-residences, robes, almsfood (or) medicine, tend the Bodhi-tree, build stūpas, shrines, parks (for the Order), causeways (or) walkways (for meditation), dig wells (or) canals, give (the monastic) requisites (or) the ten-fold gift,¹ look after their mother and father, offer sacrifice for the sake of dead relatives, worship the Three Jewels, have their son enter the Monastic Order (as a novice),² or worship the Buddha-image: the

¹ Lists of gifts, varying in number, are found in the texts (e.g. A IV 239, Nidd I 373, Nidd II 233; the number ten is given at Pv-a 7); without citing a source Denis gives food, drink, lodging, clothes, vehicles, garlands, ointments, perfumes, seats and lamps.

² All mss. apart from M2 add here *keci dhammaputtaṃ pabbājenti*, 'some have a son in the Teaching [?] enter the Monastic Order (as a novice)', which I do not understand. Perhaps *dhammaputta* refers to a novice, and the verb is repeated in

human beings in Rose-Apple Island do all these deeds of merit, according to their capacity, their strength and their inclination'. 'Sir, when the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make merit in these ways, what wishes do they make ?' The elder recounted¹ their aspirations in these words:

Your Highness,² when they make even a (small) measure of merit, or cause others to make merit, or transfer their merit to others, they make an aspiration for enlightenment (in relation) to you: 'by the merit acquired through giving, morality and the like, may we gain sight of the Buddha Metteyya himself, (and) while the Buddha Metteyya is not reborn (on earth, but remains in heaven) worshipped by the gods, may we, moving through rebirths, never go to a hell'. In this way the human beings in Rose-Apple Island, everywhere and always, make merit and then make an aspiration with regard to you.

The future Buddha, joyful to hear (this) news of human beings in Rose-Apple Island, said 'Sir, let everyone who wishes to see me when I have attained Omniscience listen to a complete recitation in one day of the Great Vessantara Birth-Story; if they worship with a thousand lamps or a thousand lotuses, a thousand blue lotuses, blue water-lilies, Mandāra-flowers, flax-flowers, a thousand banners, parasols, flags or vehicles, and bring everything to worship the Teaching, they will attain arahantship along with the analytical insights at the time of my Enlightenment (and) in my presence'. Then he

error for *upasampādentī*; the phrase would then refer to monks ordaining their novices in the second and higher Ordination.

¹ Reading *kathento* with M2 and M3.

² The vocative *deva*, literally 'god' applies directly to Metteyya in his present birth in the Tusita heaven; since it is also regularly used as a form of address to kings, in the light of Māleyya's having previously called him 'great king' (*mahārāja*) I adopt this rendering here.

recounted how evil humans would not attain the sight of his Buddhahood, in these verses:

(Those who) violently mistreat nuns, make a schism in the Order, commit the five actions which bring immediate retribution,¹ destroy a stūpa or Bodhi-tree,² murder a future Buddha or take away the peace of the Order: (these) wicked and negligent beings will not be in my presence.

The elder listened to these words and said 'Great king, what you said was good ! I will recount (it) to the human beings in Rose-Apple Island. But when will you become Buddha ?' 'Sir, the dispensation of Gotama Buddha will last five thousand years and (then) disappear. When it has disappeared there will be an abundance of bad actions in the world. Even the word 'good' will not exist — how much less the occurrence of good (actions) ! Gradually human beings will lose (all) conscience and (sense of) shame, breaking (all) rules: they will not consider 'this is my mother, my daughter, my sister or grand-daughter', and will be (as) shameless as goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, jackals, dogs, and the like. Then gradually, because of their abundant bad actions, from (having) a lifetime fixed at a hundred years, human beings will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of ten years. When there is taking and giving in marriage³ between five year old boy(s) and girl(s), then will occur an 'intervening period of the sword'. Men will regard each other as animals; whatever they (can) grasp in their hands⁴ will become a weapon like a two-edged (sword) or a single-edged razor, (and) they will kill each other. The wise among them, as soon as they hear of

¹ These are: matricide, parricide, killing an Arahant, causing a Buddha to shed blood, and creating schism in the Order.

² Reading *bodhiñ ca chedakā* with M5.

³ Reading *āvāhavivāho* with M5.

⁴ Reading with M5 *yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitaṃ tan taṃ ...*

the destruction, will go to the mountains and hide by themselves; all the rest apart from them will attack and destroy each other within seven days. When the seventh day has passed, they will come out, each one from his hiding-place, embrace each other and come into harmony with each other, (saying) 'let us do good, and abstain from killing, from theft, sexual misdeeds, lying, intoxicating drink, speech which is malicious, harsh or frivolous, from envy, ill-will and wrong views — let us make merit !' (And so) they will make merit. Those who live ten years will have children who live for twenty; and as human beings make more and more merit, their children will gradually live for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety and a hundred years. Children will gradually live for two hundred years, (then) three, four, five, six, seven, eight and nine hundred years, (and then finally) a thousand. Gradually, the children of those who live a thousand years will live for two thousand; (then) for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten thousand. Then human beings will practice religion still more, and will live for a hundred thousand years; as they practice religion still more, there will be those who live for millions and millions of years¹; practising religion still further than this, they will live for an incalculable amount of time. Then old age and death will not be known among (these) beings; but again they will become negligent, and their length of life will diminish.² From (having) an incalculable length of life, men will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of millions and millions of years³; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of ninety thousand years; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of eighty thousand years. At that time it will rain (only) in the middle of the night, every fortnight, ten

¹ Reading *koṭṭisatasahassāyukā* with M5; literally a hundred thousand crores; on *koṭṭi* see p. 79 note 1.

² Assuming *āyu parihāyissati*.

³ Assuming (*vassa-*)*koṭṭisatasahassāyukā*, as at M5 above; see note 1 above.

days or five days, increasing the fertility of the earth.¹ The Rose-Apple Island will be prosperous (and) continuously filled with flowers, fruits, thickly-clustered garlands, and trees; (it will be) crowded with villages and towns (only) a cock's-flight (apart), free from thieves and robbers, without (any) grasping at (wrong) views, (and) blazing with royal cities; (it will be) replete with all treasures, happy, with abundant alms-food and at peace, replete with great amounts of food and drink, hard and soft food, fish, meat and the like, prospering with wealth and possessions. The reservoirs will be everywhere filled with beautifully soft water. Then, sir, husbands and wives will enjoy the pleasures of the five senses without arguments or anger; farmers, traders, and the like will live happily without (needing to) work; men and women will not (need to) spin thread or weave the loom, (but) will wear celestial clothes. Men will be content with their wives, and women with their husbands; restrained,² men will not commit adultery nor women make another man their husband, (but) they will be loving and pleasant to one another. No-one will stir up quarrels because of villages, towns, wealth, crops, fields, property or soil; all human beings will be handsome, with beautiful bodies, (and will be) loving and pleasant to each other. Crows will become friendly with owls, cats with mice, deer with lions, mongooses with snakes, lions with deer, and so on: in this way all animals which are (usually) enemies will be friendly to each other. Then, from one grain of self-growing rice (will come already-)husked grains: two thousand two hundred and seventy cartloads will be (for them as easily had as) sixteen *ambana*-measures and two *tumba*-s.³ Then I will

¹ Literally 'the nutritive essence of the earth', *paṭhaviṛasa* (spelt thus in text); it is said that seeds take up this 'earth-essence', along with liquid, or 'the nutritive essence of water' (*sineha*, *aporasa*) to produce growth: S I 134, A I 32, V 213, Spk I 250, Pj II 5-6, etc.

² Again, assuming *saṃyamā* is being used adjectivally.

³ I translate the text of M5, cited here by Denis but occurring in that ms. after the sentence 'farmers ... will live happily without (the need to) work'. Similar sentiments are expressed at Anāg vv. 27-29, and for the interpretation here see

listen to the entreaty of the gods and Brahmas living in the ten thousand-fold world system; I will make the Five Considerations, as to time, place, continent, family, and age-limit of the mother; (and) I will come as Buddha to the human world.' When he had said this, in order to praise his own perfections he said:

During a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen incalculable aeons I fulfilled the perfections variously, acting¹ as a future Buddha excelling in energy, and gave gifts²: when I attain omniscience no-one will be deformed. Putting ornaments on my head and ointment on my eyes I gave to beggars for millions and millions of years: when I attain omniscience no human being will be blind. Ornamenting all parts (of my body) I gave a complete gift: when I attain omniscience, no-one will be deformed. I told no lies and did not deceive anyone who asked (me for something): when I attain omniscience, no human being will be dumb. When I heard the Teaching I was glad, and I listened to what supplicants said: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be deaf. I looked at virtuous supplicants with loving eyes: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be blind. With upright body I gave gifts and the like at the proper time: when I attain omniscience no human being will be humpbacked. I gave beings medicine(s) and got rid of³ the danger (from disease): when I attain omniscience, then beings will be in good health. I practised loving-kindness, destroying beings' fear and

Leumann (19) ad loc. The Anāg reads *ambāṇaṃ soḷasaṃ*, 'one sixteenth of an ambāṇa'.

¹ Reading *caritvā* with M2.

² As Denis notes, the forms and tenses of the verbs in these verses are odd. The translation assumes all Metteyya's assertions about himself refer to the past, and all predictions about others refer to the future.

³ Reading *vinodayi* with M5.

terror: when I attain omniscience, then there will be no Māras.¹ In a pleasant way I gave pleasing food and drink: when I attain omniscience human beings will be prosperous. In a pleasant way I gave pleasing clothes: when I attain omniscience human beings will be handsome. I gave to supplicants pleasing vehicles, elephants, horses, chariots, palanquins and litters: when I attain omniscience human beings will be happy. I freed beings from bondage, from hatred and suffering: when I attain omniscience, living beings will be free. I practised loving-kindness equally to friend and foe: when I attain omniscience, the ground will be even. I made supplicants happy with food and wealth: when I attain omniscience rivers will be full of cool water.

(Then Metteyya said this:)²

When they have done any (act of) merit human beings, full of fear of rebirth, aspire to (see) me; I will free them from existence. I will cause (them) to cross to the further shore of the world, (this world) whose fearful origin is ignorance, which is entangled in the net of delusion and carried away by the four floods. I (will) teach³ the way to liberation to those who are smeared with the dirt of defilement, who follow after the thief (which is) craving, and have gone astray in (all) the regions of rebirth; I will teach the way to heaven to beings in the hells (called) Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Tāpana, Patāpana and Avīci. I will cut from (their) bondage beings who are bound by the ties of ignorance and caught in the net of craving, and make them

¹ *Māra*, literally death, is a name given to various phenomena and gods, all of which/whom are malevolent in some way; see DPPN s.v.

² This is found only in M3, but marks a natural break in the verses.

³ The verbs in this sentence and the next are in the aorist.

attain *nirvāṇa*. The city of *nirvāṇa*, without old age or death, has a fence of wrong views and a door bolted by the sixty-two views: with the key of the Eight-fold Path I will open up (this door) for beings. I will give the medicinal stick of wisdom to beings whose sight is spoilt through being covered with the darkness of lust and hatred, and clean their eyes. I will give the excellent medicine of understanding to beings who are sick with grief, who suffer much, and who are oppressed by old age and death,¹ and (so) cure (them). I will suffuse with the light of understanding (the world) with its gods, asuras and humans, gone astray in the darkness of delusion,² and take away the darkness. I will raise from hell those who are falling, helpless and without refuge, into the hells, and show them the way to the further shore.

When he had said this the future Buddha told (the elder): 'Sir, recount to human beings what I have said'. With his shining hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together, and putting the shining añjali-greeting (thus made) firmly to his forehead, (itself) like a well-washed plate of gold, he walked around the delightful sapphire Cūlāmaṇi-shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and made a fivefold prostration, and took leave of the elder; escorted by millions and millions of junior gods and goddesses, shining like a full moon, risen to the top of the sky freed from masses of dense cloud (and) surrounded by clusters of stars, he went to the Tusita city. So it is said:

Thus the supremely beautiful Metteyya worshipped at the excellent shrine, again paid reverence, and left keeping his face

¹ The epithets here must be taken to refer to 'beings', although they are in the accusative singular and not genitive (used for dative) plural.

² Again, the grammar is faulty here, although the sense is clear.

towards (the shrine).¹ And all the celestial maidens worshipped at the excellent shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and left (likewise). Just as the moon shines on an autumn full moon night, so the noble Metteyya shone among the gods. Like a lion among deer, a bull among cows, a Garuda among birds, so was he among the gods. Like Meru among mountains, adorned with the seven jewels, a Universal Emperor among men, so was he among the gods. The Pāricchattaka² among trees, the lotus among flowers, beryl among gems, so was he among the gods. Like fire at the top of a mountain, like refined gold, surpassing all the gods he shone with the fire of his beauty. Going to the Tusita realm, surrounded by gods, he experienced divine happiness and caused beings to rejoice³ for a long time.

The elder⁴ (possessed, as if he) was adorned with a multitude of ornaments, unlimited good qualities, such as the four perfect virtues — the supreme virtue of restraint by the Monastic Rule, the virtue of sense-restraint, the perfect virtue of right livelihood and the virtue of dependence (only) on the four requisites (of the Monastic Life). At the same moment (as Metteyya left) he paid reverence to the Cūlāmaṇi-

¹ *Piṭṭhito*, lit. 'backwards'.

² A tree in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

³ Taking *pamodati* in the sense of the causative *pamodeti*; perhaps the text should be emended.

⁴ The Pali has a single long sentence here, beginning with 'at the same moment (as Metteyya left)'; I have changed the long string of epithets applied to Māleyyadeva and to the golden swan into separate sentences. M3 has a different and shorter ending section, reproduced in Appendix C. The sense is much the same, but it adds in the last sentence of the prose: 'whoever listens attentively [assuming *suṇanti sakkaccaṃ*] to the Vessantara (Jātaka), taught by the Conqueror, and whatever benefactors make merit and (practise) morality and the like, (they will all) hear [assuming *suṇanti*, used for the future tense] the excellent Happy One Metteyya, (their) support [taking *passayaṃ* as equivalent to *apassayaṃ*].

shrine and took leave of Sakka, king of the gods. He travelled along the path of rebirth¹ which is the origin of sufferings such as birth, old age and death, which have their home in numerous forest thickets crowded with various trees and forest creepers such as the extremely strong (trees and creepers of) lust, craving and wrong views.² He shone like a golden swan whose supreme, outstanding body had a head guarding the threefold knowledge, wings of the fourth meditation level, two excellent lucky feet of the beautiful, shining bases of supernatural power, and the entire plumage guarding the eight liberations, the analytical knowledges and the worldly and super-worldly confidences. He descended from the realm of the Thirty-three, came to Rose-Apple Island, and with the incomparable grace natural to a disciple (of the Buddha)³ went for alms in villages, towns and royal cities. So it is said:

Then the elder (Māleyya-)deva took leave of the king of the gods, paid reverence again at the shrine and came down from heaven. He shone like a golden swan as he came again to the human (world) and went for alms in towns and royal cities.

As he returned for alms he announced to the people of Rose-Apple Island the news of Metteyya. When they heard what the elder said people were glad and made merit through giving and the like: at the end of their lives they filled up the divine worlds. The poor man who had given the eight blue lotus flowers remembered that gift of lotuses all his life; when he died (he went) from the human world and was reborn in the realm of the Thirty-three, in a blue-lotus palace inlaid with seven jewels,

¹ i.e. he returned to earth from heaven.

² There is probably a pun intended here between *vana*- as 'forest' and *vana* as a synonym for *taṇhā*, 'craving'. The image is of Māleyyadeva returning from heaven like a swan through a forest, both of which are metaphorically elaborated.

³ i.e. not the same as the 'grace' or 'charm' of a Buddha, *Buddha-līlāhā*.

crowded with celestial maidens and ringing with the sound of dancing, singing and the five kinds of musical instrument. As he walked lotuses of five colours (appeared to) receive each foot; the odour from his mouth pervaded the entire city of the gods like the perfume of a lotus. The gods and goddesses smelt the lotus-perfume and followed after him; they all saw a lotus receiving each foot, and told Sakka, king of the gods. When he heard their tale he was delighted, and went there (to him) and asked 'God, what deed of merit did you do in the human world to obtain such happiness?' He listened to what Sakka said and replied 'King of the gods, formerly in the human world I lived in Mithilā supporting my mother; I was a young man called Piṅguttara.¹ One day I went to a certain pond to bathe. When I had bathed there I saw eight blue lotus flowers; I took them and gave them to a certain elder. Because of that gift of blue lotuses I have been born in a blue-lotus palace; as I walk lotus flowers come into existence at each step, my eyes are like blue-lotus petals, my body has an odour like that of a blue lotus, and I am born (here) as the junior god named Blue-lotus'. When Sakka heard this he became joyful and glad; he took blue-lotus flowers and worshipped at the shrine of the Buddha. The junior god Blue Lotus is still there today. So it is said:

To enjoy (the result of) that merit, and divine happiness, in a future birth in the presence of Metteyya — this is the result of a gift of flowers. Therefore the wise man who aspires to be in the presence of Metteyya should practice alms-giving, morality and the like. Whoever remembers the future Buddha's words and does any act of merit, will gain the advantage of seeing Metteyya, and will in the future make an end of suffering;

¹ J VI 347–49 tells a different story of a young man from Mithilā, in north India, with this name; perhaps the Māleyyadevattheravattu has borrowed the names, although this is clearly the same person as at the start of the story, in Kamboja village, Rohana, Sri Lanka.

(before then,) moving on through rebirth, that person will not go to hell.

End of the expository account of the Elder Māleyyadeva.

(This) will be a cause of (attaining) *nirvāṇa* in the future !¹

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for titles of Pali texts are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary

Childers = R.C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pāli Language

CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary

DPPN = Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series

PED = The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary

PTS = Pali Text Society

¹ Denis states that in M1, the only ms. in which it occurs, the word *bhavissanti* [for *bhavissati*] seems to have been written later, to complete the verse. Presumably the 'cause' for attaining *nirvāṇa* here is copying the manuscript and/or listening to its being recited.

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NIBBĀNASUTTA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA ON NIBBĀNA AS A GREAT CITY¹

The pages that follow carry a preliminary edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta*, an “allegedly non-canonical”² Pali text

¹ This is a corrected and revised version of the edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta* that was published as “The Sutta on Nibbāna as a Great City” in the commemorative volume for the Ven. Hammalava Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Essays: A Miscellany*, edited by Pollamure Sorata Thera, Laksman Perera, and Karl Goonasekera (London: Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre, 1992), pp. 38–67.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, Steven Collins, Jacqueline Filliozat, and P.B. Meegaskumbura in the preparation of this edition and translation. All read over a preliminary transcription of the manuscript and each made many suggestions for improving the text. Professor Wijayawardhana’s and Steven Collins’ comments also aided me in translating the text. P.B. Meegaskumbura made many helpful comments on the introduction. It was, however, only through the generosity and kindness of Jacqueline Filliozat that this edition was even possible. She made a copy of the original manuscript available to me and also made it possible for me to learn how to read *mūl* script. Finally, she compared my initial transcription with the original manuscript and made a number of improvements in the reading of the manuscript itself.

² I use this appellation to refer to texts which begin with the standard phrases of a sutta — “*Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ ...*” — but are not found in standard editions of the Pali canon. The term comes from K.D. Somadasa, who uses it in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), Vol. I, p. 27. I prefer this label to the alternative designations “apocryphal” or “counterfeit”, since it is less likely to pre-judge the whole issue of the status of such texts; see Charles Hallisey, “Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-Canonical Sutta,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, XV (1990), pp. 156–58. The use of the term “apocryphal” for texts whose inclusion in the Canon might be contested has been popularized by Padmanabh S. Jaini; see especially “*Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35 (1992), p. 193. The label “counterfeit Sutta” has been applied to the *Dasabodhisattuppattikathā* by the Ven. H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth*

probably of Southeast Asian origin. This edition is preliminary in two important ways. First, as will be discussed below, it is based on a single manuscript and it must be frankly admitted that no textual criticism which uses only a single exemplar can be taken as more than provisional. Second, the readings suggested for establishing an acceptable text must also be taken as strictly provisional, given the limitations of our knowledge of Pali language and literature in Southeast Asia.¹ While I hope that in the future the discovery of other manuscripts and the further study of Southeast Asian Pali will make it possible to improve on this provisional edition, I think that in the meantime the *Nibbānasutta* can make a contribution to our understanding of both the literary history and the conceptual patterns of the Theravāda Buddhist traditions.

Stories of the Ten Bodhisattvas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā [London: Pali Text Society, 1975], p. 16).

¹ One example will suffice to emphasize how limited knowledge of later Pali as a language may encourage us to jump to wrong conclusions when editing texts. In the manuscript of the *Nibbānasutta*, the letter “ñ” is usually not doubled; thus we consistently find ‘arañe’ for ‘araññe’, ‘pañā’ for ‘paññā’, ‘añata’ for ‘aññata’, etc. In each case I have given the latter spelling as a suggested reading in the footnotes. This might suggest that the spellings with the single “ñ” are mistakes in the manuscript, but Jacqueline Filliozat has pointed out (personal communication) that “ñ” is rarely doubled in Southeast Asian manuscripts. Others have noticed a more generalised orthographic convention of manuscripts written in the *mūl* script to suppress geminates; see François Martini, “Dasa-bodhisatta-uddesa”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 36 (1936), p. 371 and G. Terral, “*Samuddagghosajātaka* — Conte Pāli tiré du *Paññāsa-jātaka*”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 48 (1956), pp. 312–13. Thus we need at least to consider that what might be taken as a fault is better taken as an example of Southeast Asian usage. I hope that this one example makes it clear that textual criticism of Southeast Asian Pali, indeed of any of the Pali of the late Theravāda, is conditioned by our limited knowledge of the linguistic variety permissible in later Pali literature.

The *Nibbānasutta*, as an allegedly non-canonical sutta, belongs to a class of Theravādin literature which has been unduly neglected by scholars. Such literature, however, was apparently known to and accepted as authoritative by Buddhaghosa. In *Atthasālinī*, he makes a point by referring to "a sutta which was not composed at a council."¹

We can begin to have a more accurate estimation of the significance of such texts by carefully considering their role as instructional aids and vehicles for the transmission of the "Way of the Elders." When we do so, we see that the production of allegedly non-canonical suttas in the Theravāda is not always analogous to the creation of the Mahāyāna sūtras, superficial similarities notwithstanding, in so far as they frequently did not formulate new teachings.² Such compositions were apparently one response to a fundamental problem continually faced by the Theravāda, a problem which was recognized by Louis Finot seventy-five years ago: "The Buddhist Canon is not an easy study: it discourages by its mass and its difficulties the enthusiasm of the most fearless ... It was necessary to be concerned about making this *rudis indigestaque moles* accessible, either by condensing it in the form of a summary, or by combining scattered elements from this or that part of the doctrine, or finally by simply detaching from this immense book (i.e. the *tipiṭaka*) some leaves which interested more particularly the

¹ Asl 65.

² Of course, some allegedly non-canonical texts include notions which appear novel when compared with norms accepted in the Pali Canon. See Ven. H. Saddhatissa, *The Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas*, pp. 7–14, and P.S. Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, pp. 197–98. A more extreme example of novelty in an allegedly non-canonical sutta is found in the Sinhala-language *Sumana Sūtraya*, a work dating to the colonial period of Sri Lanka's history and described by Kitsiri Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millennialism (Kitsiri Malalgoda, "Millennialism in Relation to Buddhism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 [1970], pp. 424–41).

spiritual life or the practice of the community.”¹ These different responses, however, are not easily distinguished. The *Nibbānasutta* appears to be a combination of the first two types of response specified by Finot: it is a summary, although it gathers together in a significant way material scattered in the Pāli canon and commentaries. Moreover, allegedly non-canonical suttas like the *Nibbānasutta*, circulated individually, as did even those texts which we might somewhat ironically call “uncontestedly canonical suttas”; but they also circulated in a variety of *ad hoc* anthologies.² The co-existence of summaries and anthologies

¹ Louis Finot, “Recherches sur la littérature Laotienne”, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 17 (1917), p. 71.

² Some idea of the range and variety of *ad hoc* anthologies, Finot's third type of response, can be gained from K.D. Somadasa's catalogue of the Nevill Collection in the British Library; see note 2 on p. 97 above. Some anthologies, like the very large *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* and the *Suttasaṅgha* (see Ven H. Saddhatissa, “Literature in Pāli from Laos”, *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, edited by A.K. Narain [Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1979], pp. 327–28), became relatively stable texts in their own right, and thus have had more enduring identities than other more ephemeral, and titleless, anthologies. They, like all of the anthologies, await sustained study, although a unique portion of the *Suttajātakanidānānisamsa* has been edited by George Cœdès; see “Dhammakāya”, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 20 (1956), pp. 248–86; the *Suttasaṅgha* is available in an edition prepared by B. Dhīrānanda Mahāthero (n.p. Vijjāsāgarākhyā Yantrālaya, 1903). For a description of the *Piṭaka dan sām*, a smaller anthology, “very widespread in Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia”, see George Cœdès, *Catalogue des manuscrits en Pāli, Laotien, et Siamois provenant de la Thaïlande* (Copenhagen: Royal Library, 1966), pp. 70–76. In each anthology, the excerpted portions from the canon remain Pāli (i.e. canonical), which helps to explain the confusion over whether or not the *Suttasaṅgha* was added to the canon in Burma; see H. Oldenberg, “List of Manuscripts in the India Office Library”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* I (1882), p. 80, and V. Fausbøll, “Catalogue of the Mandalay Manuscripts in the India Office Library”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* IV (1896), p. 31 [cited at Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” p. 108, note 11]. See also on the *Suttasaṅgha*, K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 31, 172.

with collections of the more diffuse canonical literature parallels the analogous tension in the Theravādin tradition between the actual diversity of thought and practice noted by historians and observers of the contemporary Theravāda and an assumption of doctrinal systematicity idealized by Theravādin intellectuals and by scholars of the Theravāda.

Recognizing that the canon was generally transmitted in condensed parts and in summaries is of course relevant for reconstructing the range of Buddhist thought and practice operative in any given historical context. But although we are now beginning to appreciate better the importance of such texts for our understanding of "Buddhism on the ground," we still have little idea of the actual numbers of such texts, the extent of their originality, or the processes of their composition. The *Nibbānasutta* makes a valuable contribution to the pool of information that will be necessary for answering the latter questions.

The *Nibbānasutta* displays, at least in part, the processes through which summaries and new suttas were created in the Theravāda tradition. As a discourse, the *Nibbānasutta* is organized around a narrative about a man journeying to a great city. This short narrative is subsequently used to order a series of metaphors about Buddhist practice, salvation, saṃsāra, and nibbāna in a coherent, if loose, fashion. It is striking that a similar metaphorical reinterpretation of a narrative is used to provide a summary of doctrine and practice in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and its commentary. The canonical passage, which is part of a conversation between the Buddha and the Sakyan prince Vappa, reads:

Just as, O Vappa, a shadow of a tree (*thūṇaṃ*) is seen, and a man might come there, bringing a hoe and basket, and he might cut the tree at the root, and having cut the root, he might dig it up, and digging, he might lift up the roots, even as much as a

tube holds of the fragrant *usīra* root. He might break up that tree piece by piece, and destroying it piece by piece he might chop it, and chopping it, he might splinter it, and then dry it in the wind and heat, and having dried it in the wind and heat, he might burn it with fire and turn it into ashes. Having turned it into ashes, he might scatter it in a strong wind or wash it away in a river with a swift current. Thus the broken roots of that tree whose shadow appeared are uprooted and completely destroyed and in the future will be things that do not arise again. Just exactly so the six *satatavihāra* are attained by the monk whose mind is completely freed.¹

The commentary, the *Manorathapūraṇī*, finds in the connecting adverb *evaṃ* an opportunity to explain the metaphorical significance of this narrative:

¹ A II 199: *seyyathāpi Vappa thūṇaṃ paṭicca chāyā paññāyati, atha puriso āgaccheyya kudālapiṭakaṃ ādāya, so taṃ thūṇaṃ mūle chindeyya, mūle chetvā palikhaṇeyya, palikhaṇetvā mūlāni uddhareyya antamaso usīranālimattāni pi. so taṃ thūṇaṃ khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chindeyya, khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chetvā phāleyya, phāletvā sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ kareyya, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ karitvā vātātape visoseyya, vātātape visosetvā agginā ḍaheyya, agginā ḍahitvā masiṃ kareyya, masiṃ katvā, mahāvāte vā opuneyya nadiyā vā sīghasotāya pavāheyya. evaṃ hi 'ssa Vappa yā thūṇaṃ paṭicca chāyā sā ucchinnamūlā tālāvatthukatā anabhāvakatā āyatim anuppādadhammā. evaṃ eva kho Vappa evaṃ sammāvimutticittassa bhikkhuno cha satatavihāra adhigatā honti.*

PTSD defines *satatavihāra* as “a chronic state of life”; PTSD s.v. *satata*, p. 672. They are modes of life limited to those who have destroyed the *āsava*s.

It should be noted that although this narrative resonates with the imagery of the great tree of *kilesas* in the *Nibbānasutta*, its imagery of uprooting roots is in fact more prominent throughout Theravādin literature; for a *locus classicus* of this metaphor, see Dh 338.

*Just exactly so*¹ this is the application of the simile here: individual life is to be known as like the tree (*rukkho*), the *kamma* of good and bad deeds is like the shadow of the tree, the *yogāvacaro* is like the person desiring to put a stop to the shadow, wisdom is like the hoe (*kuddāla*, i.e. mammaty), concentration is like the basket, insight meditation is like the tool for uprooting (*khaṇitti*), the opportunity for destroying ignorance with the path of the *arahant* is like the digging up of the roots with the spade, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the sensory elements is like the the opportunity for breaking up (the whole tree) piece by piece, the opportunity for seeing the influence of the elements of sense-perception is like the opportunity for chopping (the tree), the opportunity for seeing the influence of the physical elements is like the opportunity for splintering (the tree), the opportunity for creating mental and bodily exertion is like the opportunity for drying (the broken parts) in the wind and heat, the burning of the *kilesas* with knowledge is like the burning (the pieces) with fire, the continuing existence of the five *khandhas* is like the making of ashes, the unmendable cessation of the five *khandhas* is like the scattering of the destroyed roots in a great wind or washing them away in the current of a river, and the state of the non-manifestation, without any further arising, of *khandhas* which are the fruits of previous actions in a new birth is to be known as being like the attained condition of non-manifestation because of the scattering (in the wind) and the washing away (in the river).²

¹ The term *evam* is sometimes glossed in the commentaries as being a “term of comparison” (*upamāvacana*); see for example Pj I 208.

² Mp III 179–80: *evam eva kho ti ettha idaṃ opammasaṃsandanaṃ: rukkhō viya hi attabhāvo daṭṭhabbo, rukkhāṃ paṭicca chāyā viya kusalākusalakammaṃ, chāyaṃ appavattaṃ kātukāmo puriso viya yogāvacaro, kuddālo viya paññā,*

In the quotation above, the *Manorathapūranī* names the interpretive strategy which it employs to connect these two passages as *opammasaṃsandānā*.¹ The presence of this same interpretive strategy in the *Nibbānasutta* suggests that its composition may have followed a generic pattern already well-established in earlier texts; that is, the general process at work in the creation of summary texts included the use of models found in other texts. This suggestion finds some confirmation when we look at the serial simile of the "city of Nibbāna" in the *Nibbānasutta* which itself seems to build on patterns already present in the commentaries and other types of Theravādin literature.²

Moreover, as indicated by the passages found in the *Nibbānasutta* which are taken from the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Theragāthā*, the process of creating new texts included the direct use of materials found in older texts. We see a similar use of older material in other allegedly non-canonical suttas, such as the *Tuṇḍilovādasutta* and the *Ākāravattārasutta*.³ Indeed, the process of making new texts out of the materials of older texts seems to have become quite common in the later Theravāda; we can refer here to such Pāli texts as the *Jinakālamālī*,

piṭakam viya saṃādhi, khaṇṭhi viya vipassanā, khaṇṭhiyā mūlānaṃ palikhaṇanākālo viya arahattamaggena avijjāya chedanākālo, khaṇḍākhandaṃ karaṇākālo viya khandhavasena diṭṭhakālo, phāḷanākālo viya āyatanavasena diṭṭhakālo, sakālī karaṇākālo viya dhātuvasena diṭṭhakālo, vātātape visosanākālo viya kāyikacetasikassa (taking variant reading for kāyikavācasikassa) viriyassa karaṇākālo, agginā dahanākālo viya nāṇena kilesānaṃ dahanākālo, masikaraṇākālo viya dharamāṇaka-pañcakkhandhakālo, mahāvāte opunanākālo viya nadīsote pavāhanākālo chinnaṃ mūlakānaṃ pañcannaṃ khandhānaṃ appaṭṭisandhikanirodho, opunanapavāhanehi appaṇṇattika-bhāvupagamo viya punabbhave vipākakhandhānaṃ anuppādena appaṇṇattikabhāvo veditabbo.

¹ See as well A II 201 and Mp III 181–82; Vism 346; Sv (I) 127.

² For example, Mil 330–45; see as well Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pt III 78.

³ Compare *Tuṇḍilovāda* 176–77 and Bv-a 121; *Tuṇḍilovāda* 186 and Bv-a 121; see Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, 197, 199, 200 note 13, 201 notes 14–15, 209 note 21.

the *Pathamasambodhi*, the *Jinamahānidāna* and the *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa*, all composed in Thailand.¹ It should be noted that one result of this process of composing new texts would be a blurring of the distinctions between canonical and non-canonical literature.

An awareness of the special problems which the Theravāda faced in transmitting a systematic, but complex doctrine abstracted from a large and diffuse literary tradition is important for understanding the continuing literary activities of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. This awareness above all allows us to acknowledge the conditions under which new suttas, such as the *Nibbānasutta*, could have been composed and accepted in the Theravāda; it is easy to see that the very idea of a closed canon might well have functioned more as a rhetorical marker than as a strictly closed list in contexts where the canon circulated and was known in its parts rather than as a whole.² But we should be careful not to limit the ramifications of this fact to the admission that "new" texts could probably find some acceptance in such contexts; we could make this admission and still care little for the contents of these individual suttas on the grounds that they seem to add little to the scholarly understanding of the doctrinal orientations of the

¹ *Jinakālamālī* (London: Pali Text Society, 1962), *Jinamahānidāna* (Bangkok: National Library — Fine Arts Department, 1987); *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa* (Bangkok: 1926). On the *Pathamasambodhi*, see George Cœdès, "Une vie Indochinoise de Buddha: La *Pathamasambodhi*," in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation indienne, 1968), pp. 217–27. There is some precedent for this process of composition in the Pali Canon itself, most notably in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Ānguttara-nikāya*.

² For a discussion of the significance of the idea of a closed canon in the Theravāda, see Steven Collins, "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XV (1990), pp. 89–126; for a discussion of the idea of the *tipiṭaka* functioning as a marker for "orthodoxy", see François Bizot, *Le figuier a cinq branches* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1976), p. 21. Bizot argues that the term *tipiṭaka* "refers less to a collection of texts than to an ideological concept."

Theravāda. This would be unfortunate, since their condensed format may in fact display relative emphases of doctrine and practice within the Theravādin traditions which might otherwise be hard to discern.

We have so far noted the elaboration of the metaphor of "the city of Nibbāna" in the *Nibbānasutta* as an illustration of the processes involved in the composition of new texts in the Theravāda. When we turn to the contents of the *Nibbānasutta*, we see that this metaphor is indeed a helpful device for listing and linking a variety of doctrinal items and practices; the different parts of a city are associated with various aspects of Buddhist life. It is thus easy to see that such a metaphor could be conducive to the *Nibbānasutta*'s functional role as a summary of the *Dhamma*. While recognizing this, we should be careful not to ignore the role that such imagery may have had in generating "religio-aesthetic experiences" which would have enriched an understanding of particular doctrinal points and which may have also motivated individuals to practice the Buddhist religious life.¹

As already noted, metaphorical applications of a city to the constituents of Buddhist life have a long history in the Theravāda; examples are found in the *Milinda-pañha* as well as in the *Madhuratthavilāsini*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, and the *Tuṇḍilovādasutta*.² We can find a very pleasant example of such an application in the *Saddharma-ratnāvaliya*, a thirteenth-century Sinhala translation of the *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, a book which itself was intended to be an instructional aid to those on the way to the city of Nibbāna³:

¹ The possible danger of overlooking the significance of metaphors in "religio-aesthetic experiences" was emphasised to me by P.B. Meegaskumbura. In this regard, it is thus worth noting the prominent place of metaphorical sequences in both the *Ākāravattārasutta* and the *Tuṇḍilovādasutta*.

² Mil 330–45; Bv-a 155–56; Sv (III) 881; Sv-pt III 78; *Tuṇḍilovāda* 192–94.

³ Ranjini Obeyesekere, *Jewels of the Doctrine* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 3.

Thus, having begged for alms in the countryside of the *arahat*, he arrived finally at the city of the Teachings of the King of the Universe, the Enlightened Buddha.

That city had a long wall made of Morality, a moat made of the restraints, Fear and Shame, a city gate of Wisdom, with lintels of Effort, a protective column of Faith, and watchmen of Mindfulness. It had a nine-storied palace of the Nine Spiritual Attainments, four roads of the Fourfold Path going in four directions and the Three Signs, Impermanence, Sorrow, and Soullessness, pointing in the three directions. It had also the Hall of Justice named the "Rules of the Monastic Order" and a royal thoroughfare called "The Path of Mindfulness." There were market stalls selling the flowers of Higher Knowledge, stalls selling perfumes of Moral Conduct, and fruit stalls selling the Fruits of the Path. There were also stalls selling medicinal preparations of The *Dharmas* of the Thirty-Seven Constituents of Enlightenment¹ for curing the disease of Defilements, and which could destroy Decay and Death. In addition, there were stalls full of the gems of Moral Conduct and Contemplation, which could bring Enlightenment. There was a stall that was filled with the blessings of high status, wealth, long life, good health, good looks, and intelligence; and also the blessings of the human world, the heavenly worlds, the Brahma worlds, and of *nirvāṇa*.²

¹ I have modified Obeyesekere's translation at this point.

² Obeyesekere, *Jewels of the Doctrine*, p. 207; this is a translation of *Saddharmaratnāvali* (Colombo: Sri Lanka Oriental Studies Society, 1985), I.126. This passage obviously owes much to the account of the "City of Righteousness" in Mil 330–45.

Each of these associations between a Buddhist idea or practice and a part of a city could be interpreted, apparently,¹ through a process of comparison which would specify on what basis the two things are juxtaposed in the metaphor; the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* describes this process as asking "What is it like, because of what?"² The *ṭīkā* on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, for example, glosses the simile that *sīla* is like a wall by saying: "*Sīla is like a wall* because it has the nature of protecting completely those who attain it."³ It is particularly interesting, as a comparison with the similar application of the metaphor in the *Nibbānasutta* displays, that there is no fixed association between the parts of a city and a Buddhist counterpart. For example, the door or gate (*dvāra*) to the city of Nibbāna is variously said to be *sīla*,⁴ *dāna*,⁵ the *ariyamagga*,⁶ and *ñāṇa*.⁷ This variability is further evidence that the different examples of the serial simile of the city of Nibbāna may be the products of different applications of a common process rather than derivations from a single source.

This variability also suggests that the serial simile might be derivative from and secondary to a more fundamental conventional

¹ I say "apparently" since as I mentioned in the introduction to *Tuṇḍilovādasutta* (p. 163), it is not always self-evident what the similarities between the two juxtaposed elements might be, and most often we are dependent on commentarial glosses to specify the intended similarities.

² Sv (III) 881: *tattha 'kiṃ kena sadisaṃ' ti ce ...*. This might be an allusion to the method of instruction mentioned in the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka* (Ja I 448): "eliciting comparisons and reasons" (*upamaṇ ca kāraṇaṇ ca kathāpeti*). The method is explicitly used in the *Nibbānasutta* when Nibbāna is compared to the moon, the sun, the earth, a mountain, the ocean.

³ Sv-pt III 78.

⁴ *Tuṇḍilovāda* 177.

⁵ *Tuṇḍilovāda* 174, 193.

⁶ Sv (III) 881; this is a common gloss on the notion of "the door to that without death" (*amataadvāra*) — see M I 353, S I 137, Vin I 5, etc.

⁷ *Nibbānasutta*, see p. 122 below.

metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, which itself is linked to the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a “place”. In this regard, quite significantly, the contents of the *Nibbānasutta* help us to understand and thus to appreciate better the cognitive import of this conventional metaphor which is found throughout much of Theravādin literature, including Buddhaghosa’s commentaries. On the basis of what can be seen in the *Nibbānasutta*, we may be able to avoid the temptation to dismiss a common image of this sort as an over-used “literary ornament” or “figure of speech”, since we see in this text that it may not actually function as such. Rather, we can see that such common images are probably better understood as “conventional metaphors”, part of the normal ways that Buddhists talk about, conceive and even experience their own situations.¹

When the *Nibbānasutta*, using the method just mentioned, compares Nibbāna to a collection of good things (*sudhammā*), on the grounds that both are collocations or combinations (*samodhāna*), it makes a point which is quite relevant to understanding the image of a city as a metaphor for Nibbāna. In this context, we can recall that a city is sometimes defined on the basis of its combining a physical layout with buildings, and inhabitants,² and with this in mind, we can see that it is

¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 51. In a related vein, see the valuable discussion of one important set of images and their relations with the *anattā* doctrine in the Theravāda by Steven Collins in *Selfless Persons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), and more generally, see Diana Eck, “The Dynamics of Indian Symbolism,” *The Other Side of God*, edited by Peter L. Berger (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), pp. 157–81.

² See, for example, Bv-a 66–67 (on Bv IIA 3–4): “(3) The City was complete in all respects. It engaged in every industry, (4) was possessed of the seven kinds of treasures, crowded with all kinds of people; prosperous as a deva-city, it was a dwelling place for doers of merit. Therein *complete in all respects* means: possessed of all the constituent parts of a city, with city gateways, halls and so forth. ...” (I.B. Horner, translator, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning* (London:

significant that the serial simile specifies not only the buildings of the city, but the flocks of birds (i.e. the city's inhabitants, the arahants, etc.) which frequent it.¹ We can also recall that a traditional gloss of a city is that it is *rakkhāvaraṇagutti*: it protects, shuts out, and provides security.² Thus we might conclude that the significance of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna lies less in its individual parts, which we have seen can have varying associations, but rather in its being a general picture which defines Nibbāna as something with both form, coherence, and function.³ This insight is applicable to the use of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna scattered throughout Theravādin literature.

Although the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna occurs frequently in commentarial and post-commentarial Theravādin literature,⁴ it apparently does not occur in those parts of the canon

Pali Text Society, 1978), pp. 99–100. For a similar definition of a city, see Totagamuve Sri Rahula, *Pañcīkāpradīpaya*, edited by R. Tennakoon (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1962), p. 359.

¹ See the pictorial representation of Nibbāna, which includes both a tank and attending birds, in the illustration from the *Traibhūmikathā*, found in *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, translated by Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Series, 1982).

² This gloss was told to me by P.B. Meegaskumbura.

³ For a similar use of this city metaphor with respect to diligence in the religious life, see Dhpa III 488, on Dhpa 315. See as well the “Nagaropamasuttanta” at A IV 106–13 and Mp IV 53–66.

⁴ It may also be properly said that the metaphor predates the commentaries, since it is found at Mīl 333. Moreover, the metaphor occurs in non-Theravādin literature; see Dieter Schlingloff (ed.): *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 162R5 (p. 169); J. Duncan M. Derrett, *A Textbook for Novices: Jayarākṣita's “Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana”* (Turin: Pubblicazioni di “Indologica Taurinensis”, 1983), p. 17; E.H. Johnston (ed.), *The Saundarananda of Āśvaghoṣa* (Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass, 1975), p. 106; R.E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990), p. 24 [*amṛtapura*]; R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 153, 303, 317, 421; Giotto Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra* (Ph.D. Dissertation,

which are usually considered to be early, that is the Vinaya and the four Nikāyas. The metaphor coheres, however, with another conventional metaphor in the canon — that conditions and experiences are places (*ṭhāna*), and thus I do not think that there would be anything automatically controversial or objectionable about it as a piece of imagery.¹ Without speculating about the actual origins of the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, we can at least say that it may have been used as an image because it evoked and elaborated the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a place, which is found in the canon. Furthermore, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna was apparently grounded in the canon by commentators' reinterpreting canonical references to cities as references to the city of Nibbāna. For example, Sāriputta uses a simile of a border city and its watchman to convey his limited knowledge of the Buddha's maximal greatness in the *Sampasādaniyasutta* and in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*; this simile is glossed in Buddhaghosa's

University of Hamburg, 1992), p. 213. Analogous applications of the metaphor of a city are also found in medieval Indian Buddhist inscriptions; see the references to *muktipura* (thirteenth century) found at Grosrwa (*Indian Antiquary* 17 [1888], p. 310); to *jinapura* (thirteenth century) found at Bodhgaya (*Indian Antiquary* 10 [1881], p. 342); and to *praśamapura* (fifth century) found at Ajanta (Ghulam Yazdani, *Ajanta* [Delhi: Swat Publications, 1983] Pt IV, p. 115). The metaphor is also found in the Chinese translation of the Dharmaguptaka version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*; see André Bareau, *En suivant Buddha* (Paris: Lebaud, 1985), p. 289. This text apparently takes "entering the city of *nirvāṇa*" as referring to *parinirvāṇa*. The diversity of these examples suggests at least that the metaphor of the city of *nirvāṇa* was in common usage among the different Buddhist traditions. I wish to thank Gregory Schopen for bringing the inscriptional, Aśvaghoṣa, and Dharmaguptaka examples to my attention.

¹ As the entry on "nibbāna" in the PTSD says: Nibbāna "is a reality, and its characteristic features may be described, may be grasped in terms of earthly language, in terms of space (as this is the only means at our disposal to describe abstract notions of time and mentality)"; PTSD, s.v. *nibbāna*, p. 362b. See as well PTSD, s.v. *ṭhāna*.

commentary as referring to the city of Nibbāna.¹ The *ṭikā* to this passage then uses the metaphor to extend understanding and insight through the same process of comparing and giving reasons we have already noted: “*Nibbāna is like a city* because it is to be approached by those seeking it, and because it is the condition (*thāna*) of the attainment of *sukha* without any dangers for those who reach it.”²

We can gain some further understanding of the connotations of the metaphor as a whole if we look at two different uses of the image of the city in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā*. The first compares the mind to a city and comments on the stanza, “Securing this mind as a citadel”.³

As a city: A city having a deep moat, encircled by a wall, containing gates and watchtowers, is firm from outside; inside, it is fitted out with well-apportioned streets, squares, crossroads, and shopping areas. Thieves come from without, saying, “Let us loot it !” [But] being unable to enter, [they] remain as if confronting, and being checked by, a [mighty] rock. As one standing in the city [attacks such] a horde of robbers with many kinds of weaponry — single-edged [weapons], and so on — in exactly the same way, *securing*: making firm his “insight-mind”, as if it were a citadel ...⁴

The second application of the city metaphor in the *Dhammapada* compares the body to a shed for storing grain which in turn is said to be a city, in part because it is constructed with various

¹ Sv (III) 881. The commentary on the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* refers readers to this gloss; Sv (II) 538. For similar incidental glosses using the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, see Ap-a 291 (on verse 133); Bv-a 155; Vv-a 284.

² Sv-pt III 78.

³ Dh 40: *nagarūpamaṃ cittam idaṃ thapetvā*.

⁴ John Ross Carter and Mahinda Palihawadana, translators, *The Dhammapada*, (New York: Oxford, 1987), p. 128.

parts, and also because such a shed is a “protected structure.”¹ We see in these two uses of the metaphor associations which are obviously shared with the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna. First, all three applications apparently assume that a city is defined by its various constituent parts, arranged in an ordered whole which is “firm from outside,” that is a stable and independent condition in its own right. The image also portrays Nibbāna as a pleasing place inside. This holistic image would seem, then, to lend considerable coherence to a theoretical vision of Nibbāna and its connection to Buddhist soteriological practices.

Finally, I would like to note that the image of the city of Nibbāna could suggest a continuum between Nibbāna and the possible forms of rebirth found in saṃsāra. The same conventional metaphor that “defines” existential conditions as “places” (*thāṇa*), which we have already seen with reference to Nibbāna, was also used with respect to some forms of rebirth which are possible in saṃsāra. Heavens, above all, are defined as cities.² This homology between heavens and Nibbāna as “cities” creates, in turn, a double relation between Nibbāna and saṃsāra. On the one hand, they are still different kinds of things, and are thus best understood doctrinally as opposed to one another, as when we contrast *asaṅkhata* Nibbāna with *saṅkhata* saṃsāra, or when we contrast the *sukha* of Nibbāna with the *dukkha* of saṃsāra. On the other hand, heavens as “cities” could also be construed as merely, even if immeasurably, different in degree from the “City of Nibbāna.” As the

¹ Dhṛp 150; Carter and Paliawadana, p. 217.

² See, for example, S IV 202; Vv-a 285; Ja I 47, 49, 52; *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, pp. 218, 223–35, 250. The realm of the dead is also sometimes compared to a city or even called a city: *yamapura*; see *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, p. 68 and W.F. Gunawardhana, *Guttala Kāvya Varṇanā* (Colombo: Lake House, 1962), p. 208 (verse 317). For a discussion of the symbolism of the royal city in the Sinhala Buddhist pantheon, see Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 50–56.

Traibhūmikathā, a fourteenth-century Thai-language cosmological treatise, says: "The treasure of Nibbāna brings a high degree of pleasure, happiness, and tranquility; nothing can be found to equal it."¹ This sequence of images of cities may lie behind the location of Nibbāna at the pinnacle of a cosmological hierarchy as has been frequently noted in ethnographic studies of contemporary Theravādin Buddhism.

The manuscript utilized here is now kept in the collections of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Paris under the reference number EFEO Pali 30. It is a short manuscript, four *ola* leaves in length, and is written in the *mūl* script. It contains two texts: the *Nibbānasutta*, and a fragment of another text called the *Jarāsutta*. A covering leaf is inscribed: *bra mahānagarānibbānasūtravaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā / buddhassa parinibbānato aṭṭhapaññāsādhike catusatadvesahassame byaggha-saṃvacchare siṭṭesena (?) likkhāmi tamidam*. The alternative title given here, *Mahānagarānibbānasuttavaṇṇanā*, specifies what may have been taken as the main point of the text, the metaphor of the city of Nibbāna; I have followed this covering-leaf's example in the title of this paper. Given the blurring between canonical and non-canonical literature which we noted above, it is significant that the title given here and at the end of the text seems to suggest that it is a commentary (*vaṇṇanā*) on a *sutta*.²

If the covering-leaf title, *Mahānagarānibbānasuttavaṇṇanā*, is a true alternative title for this text, then it may provide some evidence that the text was composed in Thailand or Cambodia, since the *tappurisa* compound of the city of Nibbāna is formed in the manner standard in Thai and Khmer, rather than in the manner more commonly found in classical Pali (i.e. *Nibbānanagara*).³ There is nothing about the language

¹ *The Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, p. 329.

² A similar alternation between *sutta* and *vaṇṇanā* is found in the *Ākāravattārasutta*; see Jaini, *Ākāravattārasutta*, 194, 209.

³ I would like to thank Professor Oskar von Hinüber for pointing this out to me.

or contents of the text which allows us to suggest even a probable date of composition.¹

We can say more about the manuscript than the text. Given the origins of the collection at the École Française d'Extrême Orient, it seems probable that this manuscript was prepared in Cambodia. Moreover, the inscription on the covering leaf gives some valuable information about the date of the preparation of the manuscript. Despite a persistent problem² with the Pali here, we may translate this last passage as providing a date for the copying of the manuscript: "I wrote this in the year of the tiger, two thousand four hundred fifty eight years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha." If we take 544 B.C.E. as the traditional date for the parinibbāna of the Buddha in Southeast Asia, this would give us a date for the manuscript about the year 1914–15 C.E.³ The dating according to the Buddhist Era seems to agree with the dating to the year of the Tiger in the twelve-year cycle. At the end of the manuscript the scribe has given his name and expressed his aspiration in

¹ Given that the linguistic variations found in this text, such as the suppression of geminate consonants, are also common in Southeast Asian Pali, it seems unlikely to me that such "irregularities" could be used as satisfactory evidence to establish a text's date.

² I am unable to make any sense of *sītesena*, although perhaps it further specifies the date of copying the manuscript, with the date written in a system like "the so-called *ka-ṭa-pa-ya* system" found in Sri Lankan and Burmese manuscripts; for references to this system of writing numbers, see *Burmese Manuscripts* Part 1, compiled by Heinz Bechert, Daw Khin Khin Su, and Daw Tin Tin Myint (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1979), pp. XIX–XX. This sentence appears in a number of other manuscripts in the collections of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Paris with some variation in the spelling of this word; see the covering leaves to EFEO Pali 28, *Rathasenaṇḍātaka* (*saṭesena*), EFEO Pali 31, *Arabhimbajātaka* (*sijesena*), EFEO Pali 32, and *Candasenaṇḍātaka* (*sijesena*).

³ For some brief comments on the reckoning of dates in "Cambodian" manuscripts, see C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts*, (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1983), p. xvi.

copying the manuscript: "*Ahaṃ Indujotaṃ likkhitāṃ Buddhasāsane Buddhō homi anāgate.*" The notion of becoming a Buddha in the *Buddhasāsana* is intriguing, although the aspiration to become a Buddha is quite frequent in manuscript colophons in Sri Lanka.¹

My attempts to find another copy of the text have not met with any success. The *Nibbānasutta* does not seem to be among the Cambodian manuscripts which have been copied by the Cornell University preservation project in Phnom Penh.² Although a text of the same title is listed by Louis Finot in his survey of manuscript holdings in Laos, Finot's note seems to suggest that this text was related to the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*.³ George Cœdès has described a Lao-language text with the title *Nibbānasutta* in his catalogue of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Copenhagen; from his description, it does not seem likely that this text is a translation of the Pali *Nibbānasutta* with which we are concerned here.⁴ There are three texts with a very similar title listed in the *Catalogue of Palm-leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University 1978-86*, but I have not been able to compare these texts with the

¹ This aspiration is very common in the manuscripts found in the Nevill Collection in the British Library. See, for examples chosen almost at random, the eighteenth century copy of the *Dhammapada Sanne* (Or. 6600[52]) and the nineteenth century copy of the *Aggikkhandopama Sutta Pada Ānuma* (Or. 6599[6]), found in Somadasa, pp. 21, 110.

² I would like to thank Dr. Judy Ledgerwood for her kind assistance in checking whether the *Nibbānasutta* was among the texts microfilmed by the Cornell University Project.

³ Finot, p. 194.

⁴ Cœdès, p. 66. Cœdès, it should be noted, was hardly impressed by this text, and described it as "un discours assez banal." It apparently includes an account of some rich merchants being freed from the *preta* world and ascending to a *devaloka* from hearing that *sutta*, something which is completely missing from the text edited here.

manuscript transcribed here.¹ The title does not appear in K.D. Somadasa's survey of the manuscript holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries.²

Since this is a first and necessarily provisional edition of the text, I have only attempted to transcribe accurately the manuscript available to me. I have made no emendations in the text as it is found in the manuscript, but I have given alternative readings in the notes in order to make some sense of the Pali or to clarify the Pali by comparison with the better known forms of classical Pali. Some of these clarifications are merely for the convenience of the reader since the text itself is quite consistent in its own usage, even if it is irregular by the standards of classical Pali, as for example with the creation or suppression of consonant geminates (such as -ññ- which are normally written -ñ- here).³ The edition provides numbers for each leaf (1a-1b, etc.), but also includes the letter-sequencers (*ka-kī*) given in the manuscript itself.

NIBBĀNASUTTA

[1a (ka)] Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Savatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍakassa ārāme. Tasmim kho Bhagavā bhikkhūnā⁴ āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasom.⁵

¹ *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University 1978-86* (Chiang Mai: Social Research Institute, 1988), p. 124: s.v. *Nibbānasutta*. I would like to thank Professor Oskar von Hinüber for bringing the existence of these texts to my attention.

² K.D. Somadasa, *Lankāvē Puskola Pot Nāmāvaliya* (Colombo: Cultural Department, 1959).

³ See note 1 on p. 98 above.

⁴ Read *bhikkhūnam*.

⁵ Read as *paccassom*; on the suppression of geminates in *mūl* manuscripts, see Martini, p. 371, and Terral, pp. 312-13.

Bhagavā etad avoca: Dhammaṃ bhikkhave desissāmi ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ byañjanaṃ¹ kevalaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ² parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāṣissāmi yadidaṃ Nibbānasuttaṃ nāma dhammaṃ cariyā.³ Sakkaccaṃ sunātha⁴ sādhuṃ manasikarothā ti. Evaṃ Bhante ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasosaṃ.⁵ Bhagavā etad avoca: Seyyathāpi bhikkhavo puriso mahānagara-gantukāmo sakagharā nikkamitvā addhānamaggapaṭisanno;⁶ cattāro paccatthikā anubandhantā gacchanti. Aṭṭhaṅgate suriye anupubbena mahantaṃ nadiṃ adassa.⁷ Uđakanāvaṃ pi adisvā vicaranto vuyhanakuṇapaṃ disvā dakkhanahatthena⁸ taṃ gahetvā taṃ āruya oramatiraṃ⁹ pajahitvā paratiraṃ¹⁰ patvā [1b] matakāḷevaraṃ chadetvā¹¹ ṇhātvā¹² suvatthaṃ nivāsetvā sugandhaṃ vilimpetvā attānaṃ alaṅkārehi alaṅkaritvā ujumaggaṃ paṭipanno¹³ mahānagarābhimukhena pāyāsi.¹⁴ Bhikkhave yathā puriso mahānagaragantukāmo addhānamagga-paṭipanno¹⁵ eva yogāvacaro gharāvāsaṃ pajahitvā¹⁶ araṇe¹⁷ vasati. Yathā

¹ The more usual phrase would be *sātthaṃ sabyañjanaṃ*.

² Read *kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ*.

³ Read *dhammacariyaṃ*; full stop added. Compare these sentences to M I 280 and Nett 5.

⁴ Read *sunātha*.

⁵ Read *paccassosum*.

⁶ Read *paṭipanno*; Jacqueline Filliozat noticed that the palmleaf is inscribed *paṭipanno*, but the manuscript was corrected in ink to *paṭisanno*.

⁷ Read *addasa*; see Terral, p. 311, for inversion of geminates in aorist forms.

⁸ Read *dakkhiṇahatthe*.

⁹ Read *orimatiraṃ*; see Terral, p. 310, for the confusion between long *ī* and short *i*.

¹⁰ Read *paratiraṃ*.

¹¹ Read *chadḍetvā* or alternatively *chādetvā*. I think the former is preferable; see Terral, p. 314, for dentals replacing cerebrals and Terral, pp. 312–13, for the suppression of geminates.

¹² From *nahāyati*; read *nahātvā*. See Terral, p. 337, concerning *ṇhāyati* as an acceptable form.

¹³ Manuscript adds a stop here.

¹⁴ Full stop added.

¹⁵ Manuscript adds a stop here.

cattāro paccatthikā taṃ anubbandhantā¹ evaṃ jānāti²-jarā-byādhi-maraṇaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā aṭṭhaṅgamite suriye evaṃ parihinakāyo³ datṭhabbo. Yathā mahantaṃ nadiṃ adassa⁴ evaṃ taṇhāyo⁵ datṭhabbo. Yathā udakanāvaṃ pi adisvā evaṃ saṃsādakkhatarāṇaṃ⁶ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā vuyhamānaṃ kuṇapaṃ disvā evaṃ karajakāyo datṭhabbo yathā dakkhiṇaṭṭhena taṃ gahetvā evaṃ abhipasādā⁷ datṭhabbā. Yathā kuṇapaṃ āruya evaṃ cittapasādaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā oramatiraṃ⁸ pajahitvā evaṃ saṃsāradukkhatarāṇaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā paraṃ tīraṃ patvā evaṃ muti⁹ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā matakāḷevaraṃ chadetvā¹⁰ evaṃ karajakāyaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā ṇhatvā¹¹ evaṃ pañā¹² datṭhabā¹³ [2a (kā)] yathā suvatthaṃ nivāsetvā evaṃ hiri-ottappaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā sugandhaṃ visippetvā¹⁴ evaṃ sillagandhaṃ¹⁵ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā attānaṃ alaṅkārehi alaṅkaritvā evaṃ sotāpattiphalāṃ anāgāmiphalāṃ arahattaphalāṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yathā ujum maggapaṭipanno¹⁶ evaṃ aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo datṭhabbo. Yathā mahānagarābhimukhena pāyāsi evaṃ mahānibbānamahānagaraṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Tasmīṃ yeva

¹⁶ Read *pajahitvā*.

¹⁷ Read *araññe*.

¹ Read *anubandhantā*; on added geminations in "Cambodian" manuscripts, see Terral, pp. 310–11.

² Read *jāti*.

³ Read *parihinakāyo*.

⁴ Read *addasa*.

⁵ Seems to be a case-confusion by contamination ?

⁶ Read *saṃsāradukkhatarāṇaṃ*.

⁷ Read *abhippasādā*.

⁸ Read *orimatīraṃ*.

⁹ A better reading might be *mutti*.

¹⁰ Read *chaddetvā* or alternatively *chādetvā*.

¹¹ Read *nahātvā*.

¹² Read *paññā*.

¹³ Read *datṭhabbā*.

¹⁴ Read *vilimpetvā*.

¹⁵ Read *silagandhaṃ*.

¹⁶ Read *ujumaggapaṭipanno*.

nibbānamage¹-tanatalaṃ² samphasantaṃ³ viya kilesamahīruhaṃ⁴ adassa⁵
 abhayaṇ ca.⁶ Kilesamahīruho⁷ nibbānamaggasacchādito.⁸ Kīdiso⁹
 kilesamahīruho ? Pañcakhandhabhūmitaḥasanno avijāvijapabhavo¹⁰
 kāyavacīmanoduccarita bhāvasitaṃ¹¹ jalavarasiñci.¹² Lobhvirūya¹³.
 pula¹⁴-dhāritā dosasākhāparikīṇo¹⁵ mohapallavapattagaṇibhūto
 anuparimāṇakurasampanno¹⁶ vicchikicchā¹⁷-piṇṇarapito¹⁸ thinamidaṃ
 bhusabharito¹⁹ ahirīkamanottappavikāsita kusumo²⁰ jātijarābyādhimaraṇa-
 jalasañchanno²¹ [2b] narakatiracchānapeta-asurakāyavisesa²²-dijagaṇa-
 khādita phalo evarūpo kilesamahīraho²³ nibbānamaggasacchādito.²⁴
 Taṃcchinditū²⁵ vaṭṭatī ti. Yadi chindanto na sāmāṇasaṭṭhena²⁶ chindi

¹ Reading *nibbānamagge* would seem most obvious, but see next note.

² Read *taṃ thalaṃ*. It is also possible for the manuscript to be read *ganatalaṃ* (*t* and *g* are easily confused in *mūl* script) and perhaps the scribe may have intended to write *nibbānamaggena*.

³ Read *samphasantaṃ*.

⁴ Read *mahīruhaṃ*.

⁵ Read *addasa*.

⁶ Read perhaps *bhayaṇ ca* ? Full stop added.

⁷ Read *mahīruho*.

⁸ Read *sañchādito*.

⁹ Manuscript adds a stop here.

¹⁰ Read *avijjābījappabhavo* or alternatively *avijjāvijjāpabhavo*.

¹¹ Read *kāyavacīmanoduccarita bhāvasito*.

¹² Read *pallavararāsi ca*; or perhaps *jalāvāraṃ siñci* ?

¹³ Read *virūḷha*.

¹⁴ Read *phala*, or alternatively *mūla*.

¹⁵ Read *parikīṇo*.

¹⁶ Read *anuparimāṇakurasampanno*.

¹⁷ Read *vicchikicchā*.

¹⁸ Read *piṇṇarapīto*.

¹⁹ Read *thinamiddhabhusabharito* ?

²⁰ Read *ahirīmanottappavikāsita kusumo*.

²¹ Read alternatively *jātijarābyādhimaraṇajalasañchanno*.

²² Read *-viseṣa*.

²³ Read *kilesamahīruho*.

²⁴ Read *nibbānamaggasañchādito*; full stop added.

²⁵ Read *taṃ chinditū*.

na pharasunā vāsiyā chindi ti yeva.¹ Api ca kho añata² nisitasamādhisilāya³ maggañāṇapharasunā chinditum sakkoti. Seyyathāpi bhikkhave parikiṇṇo parikkhāro sunisitasatthaṃ ādāya vanantaraṃ pavisitvā mahārukkhaṃ samphassamāno⁴ kiṃ paṭhamam chindāmī ti mañāti.⁵ Handa mūlaṃ chindāmī ti mūlaṃ chinditvā aggamaṃ chinditvā nirasesaṃ⁶ chinditvā nirasesaṃ⁷ chinditvā yathā sukhaṃ gacchati. Evam eva yogāvacarō sattavidhakammaṭṭhānaparikiṇṇo silamayadadadalla-parikkhāro⁸ suṇisita⁹-maggañāṇapharasuṃ ādāya vivekavanantara-kilesasākhamaṃ chinditvā yathā sukhaṃ tiṭṭhati yeva. Atite¹⁰ saṃkilesamahīruho¹¹ nibbānamahānagaraṃ pañāyati.¹² Kenatthena nibbānaṃ pavuccati ? Sitalatthena¹³ [3a (ki)] cando viya nibbānaṃ. Kilesussanatthena¹⁴ suriye¹⁵ viya nibbānaṃ. Patitṭhānatthena pathavi¹⁶ viya nibbānaṃ. Acalanatthena seleṇḍo¹⁷ viya nibbānaṃ. Ratanānaṃ sambhutatthena¹⁸ sāgaro viya nibbānaṃ. Samodhānatthena sudhammā

²⁶ Read *sāmaññasatthena*.

¹ Read *yadi chindanto ... chindati ... chindati yevāti*.

² Read *aññathā*; see Terral, p. 315, for replacement of an aspirated consonant by a simple consonant.

³ Read *nisitasamādhisilena*.

⁴ Read *samphassamāno*.

⁵ Read *maññāti*.

⁶ Read *majjham* ?

⁷ Alternatively to previous note, read here *niravasesaṃ*, or take this second *nirasesaṃ chinditvā* as an unintentional repetition.

⁸ Read *sīlamayadaddalhaparikkhāro*.

⁹ Read *sunisita*-.

¹⁰ Read *atīte*.

¹¹ Read *saṅkilesamahīruhe*; this reading and the one preceding are not entirely satisfactory.

¹² Read *paññāyati*.

¹³ Read *sītalatthena*.

¹⁴ Read *kilesasussanatthena*.

¹⁵ Read *suriyo*.

¹⁶ Read *pathavi*.

¹⁷ Read *selendo* or *selindo*.

¹⁸ Read *sambhatatthena*, or alternatively, *sambhūtatthena*.

viya nibbānaṃ. Tañ ca nibbānaṃ pathavi¹ natthi āpo natthi tejo natthi vāyo natthi sitaṃ² natthi uṇhaṃ natthi. Yasmā ajāti-abyādhī-maraṇaṃ³ khemaṃ santaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ padaṃ evaṃ nibbānamahānagaraṃ. Tañ ca nibbānamahānagaraṃ sapākāraṃ saddhāra⁴-saṭṭālakam⁵ sa-parikkham⁶ savithi⁷ sa-antarāpanaṃ sathambhaṃ sagabbhaṃ sasayanaṃ sapallamaṃ sapadipajalitaṃ⁸ sapokkharaniṃ sasitajalapariṇaṃ⁹ sabālukaṃ¹⁰ sabhamarasevitaṃ sahaṃsa-sacākaṃ¹¹-jīvaṃjīva¹²-kokilamayura-koṇicāgaṇasevitaṃ evaṃ nibbānamahānagaraṃ. Kin taṃ pākāraṃ ? Silapākāraṃ.¹³ Kin taṃ pākāraṃ ?¹⁴ Nāṇaṃ dvāraṃ. Kin taṃ ṭālakaṃ ?¹⁵ Samādhīṭālakaṃ.¹⁶ Kin taṃ parikkham ?¹⁷ Mettāparikkham. Kin taṃ¹⁸ vithiṃ ?¹⁹ Cattālisasamathakammathānavithiṃ²⁰ Cin²¹ taṃ antarāpanaṃ ? Bodhipakkhiya-antarāpanaṃ. Kin taṃ thambhaṃ ? Viriyathambhaṃ.²² [3b] Kin taṃ gabbhaṃ ? Abhidhammapakaraṇa-

¹ Read *pathavi*.

² Read *sitaṃ*.

³ Read *ajāti-ajarā-abyādhī-amarāṇaṃ* ?

⁴ Read *sadvāra*.

⁵ Read *sāṭṭālakam*; it might also be possible to read *sataṭṭālakam*.

⁶ Read *parikkham*.

⁷ Read *savithi*.

⁸ Read *sapadipajalitaṃ*.

⁹ Read *sasitajalapariṇaṃ*.

¹⁰ Read *savālukaṃ*.

¹¹ Read *sacakkavāka*.

¹² Read *jīvaṃjīva*.

¹³ Read *Silapākāraṃ*.

¹⁴ Read *dvāraṃ*.

¹⁵ Read *aṭṭālakam* or alternatively *taṭṭālakam*.

¹⁶ Read *samādhī-aṭṭālakam* or alternatively *samādhītaṭṭālakam*; see previous note.

¹⁷ Read *parikkham*.

¹⁸ Read *tā*; the structure of the passage (*kin taṃ ...*) may have discouraged the use of feminine or plural forms.

¹⁹ Read *vithi*.

²⁰ Read *cattālisasamathakammaṭṭhānavithi*.

²¹ Read *Kin*.

²² Read *Viriyatthambhaṃ*.

gabbhaṃ.¹ Kin taṃ sayanaṃ ? Nikkhammasayanaṃ.² Kin taṃ pallaṅkaṃ ? Vimuttiñāṇapallaṅkaṃ. Kin taṃ padīpajalitaṃ ? Vimuttiñāṇadassanapadīpajalitaṃ.³ Kin taṃ pokkaraṇi ? Bhāvanā-pokkharāṇi. Kin taṃ sītalaparipuṇṇaṃ ? Karuṇāsītalaparipuṇṇaṃ.⁴ Kin taṃ bālukaṃ ?⁵ Aṭṭhārasabuddhañāṇabālukaṃ.⁶ Kin taṃ bhamarasevitaṃ ? Khīṇāsavabhamarasevitaṃ.⁷ Kin taṃ haṃsa-cākavāka-jivajivaka-kokila-mayura-koṇicāgaṇasevitaṃ ?⁸ Buddha-arahanta-nidosasaṃkilesa-haṃsa-cākavāka-jivajivaka-kokila-mayura-koṇicāgaṇasevitaṃ.⁹ Evaṃ nibbānamahānagaraṃ santaṃ lenaṃ dhuraṃ¹⁰ iti parāyanaṃ. Kena kasmim̐ gamissati ? Na hatthiyānena vā na assayānena vā na rathassayānena vā na dolāyayānena¹¹ vā na sīvīkāyayānena¹² vā na upāhanayānena vā na padagameva¹³ vā api ca kho aññatra¹⁴ Buddhasaraṇena Dhammasaraṇena Saṃghasaraṇena evarūpena Dhammasavaṇe¹⁵ vā taṃ gantaṃ vaṭṭati. Yathā hi yo ca Buddhaṃ ca Dhammasaṃghaṃ ca saraṇaṃ gato āpadaṃ so na gaccheyya, adhigaccheyya¹⁶ padaṃ sukhaṃ ti. Iti Bhagavā nibbānapaṭisaṃyuttā Dhammapariyāyagāthā [4a (kī)] bhikkhūnaṃ desesi. Tena vuttaṃ:

¹ Read *abhidhammapakaraṇagabbhaṃ*.

² Read *nekkhammasayanaṃ*.

³ Read *vimuttiñāṇadassanapadīpajalitaṃ*.

⁴ Read *karuṇāsītalaparipuṇṇaṃ*.

⁵ Read *vālukaṃ*.

⁶ Read *aṭṭhārasabuddhañāṇavālukaṃ*.

⁷ Read *Khīṇāsavabhamarasevitaṃ*.

⁸ Read *haṃsa-cakkavāka-jīvaṃjīvaka-kokila-mayūra-koṇicāgaṇasevitaṃ*.

⁹ Read *Buddha-arahanta-niddosa-saṃkilesa-haṃsa-cakkavāka-jīvaṃjīvaka-kokila-mayūra-koṇicāgaṇasevitaṃ*.

¹⁰ Read *dhuraṃ* ?

¹¹ Read *dolāyānena*.

¹² Read *sivikāyānena*.

¹³ Read *padagameva*.

¹⁴ Read *aññatra*.

¹⁵ Read *Dhammasavaṇa*.

¹⁶ Read *adhigaccheyya*.

Tumhe ārabbhatha¹ nikkhamatha yuñjatha buddhasāsane
 dhunātha maccuno yesaṃ² naḷāgāraṃ va kuñjaro.³
 Yo imasmiṃ Dhammavinaye appamatto viharati
 pahāya jatisaṃsāraṃ⁴ dukkhasantaṃ⁵ karissatha.⁶

Santaṃ paṇitaṃ⁷ apasaṃsava⁸-abhayaṃ accutaṃ
 ajāti-ajara-khemaṃ nibbānaṃ nāma bbyadisaṃ⁹ ti.¹⁰

Nibbānasuttavaṇṇanā nitthitā.¹¹

¹ Read *ārabhatha*.

² Read *senam*.

³ Compare to Th 256 = S I 156 = Mil 245. See also *Lokapaññatti*, edited by Eugène Denis (Lille: Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1977), Vol. I, p. 5.

⁴ Read *jātisaṃsāraṃ*.

⁵ Read *dukkhassantaṃ*.

⁶ Read *karissati*.

⁷ Read *paṇitaṃ*.

⁸ Read *apasaṃsavā*.

⁹ Read *byādisaṃ ti*.

¹⁰ Compare to the closing verse of *Tuṇḍilovādasutta* (here emended from what appears at *Tuṇḍilovāda* 194):

*Santaṃ paṇitaṃ amalaṃ sivaṃ abhayaṃ accutaṃ
 Ajaraṃ amataṃ khemaṃ nibbānaṃ nāma īdisaṃ ti*

¹¹ Read *niṭṭhitā*.

TRANSLATION

Thus I have heard. At one time the Blessed One was living at Savatthi in the Jetavana garden of Anāthapiṇḍaka. There the Blessed One addressed the monks, "O monks," and those monks replied to the Blessed One, "Sir." The Blessed One said this: "O monks, I will teach the Dhamma which is good in the beginning, good in the middle, good at the end, with its own meaning and form;¹ I will explain the holy life which is entirely perfect and pure, that is, the (account of the) observance of the good life² called the *Nibbānasutta*. Listen carefully and bear it in mind well." "Yes, O Sir," those monks replied to the Blessed One. The Blessed One said this: "Just as, O monks, a man who desires to go to a great city, having left his own house, becomes one going along the high road; four pursuing enemies also go (on that road). In the course of time, when the sun was setting, he saw a great river. Not seeing a boat, and wandering about, he saw a corpse being carried (by the current). Taking it with the right hand, and climbing onto the corpse, he abandoned the near shore and reached the other shore. He discarded (the corpse), washed, put on fine cloth, smeared (himself) with fragrant perfume, adorned himself with ornaments, and going along the straight road, he set out towards the great city.

O monks, just like the man desiring to go to the great city goes along the high road is the *yogāvacaro* who renounces the household life and lives in the forest. Birth, old age, sickness, and death are to be seen as just like the four enemies pursuing him. The decaying body is to be regarded as like the setting sun. Desire is to be seen as the great river which he saw. (Looking for something for) crossing the suffering of *saṃsāra* is like not seeing a boat. The body born from *kamma* is to be regarded as the corpse being carried (by the current) which he saw.

¹ *sātthaṃ sabyañjanam*.

² *dhammacariyaṃ*.

Trust¹ is to be seen as like when he took it with his right hand. Mental calm² is to be seen as like the climbing on the corpse. Crossing the suffering of *samsāra* is to be seen as like abandoning the near shore. Freedom is to be seen as reaching the other shore. The karma-born body is to be seen as like the corpse which he threw away. Wisdom is like him bathing; shame-and-modesty are like his putting on fine cloth; the perfume of virtue³ is like the perfume with which he anointed himself. The fruits of the stream-winner, once-returner, and arahant are like the ornaments with which he adorned himself.⁴ The eightfold path is to be seen as like the straight road he went on. The great city of Nibbāna is like the great city he went towards.

There he saw a dreadful great tree of defilements (which looked) as if it were blocking⁵ that place on the road to Nibbāna. The great tree of defilements covered the road to Nibbāna. What was this great tree of defilements like ? It was sunk in the earth of the five aggregates, its origin was the seed of ignorance, and it was a mass of sprouts which were supported by the condition of misbehaviour in body, speech, and mind. It bore fruits which grew from greed, and it was surrounded by branches of hate. It had a host of leaves and sprouts of delusion, it possessed small⁶ red and yellow shoots of doubt, and it bore the heavy (weight of) sloth and torpor.⁷ It had flowers blossoming with shamelessness and lack of remorse and was covered with the moisture of birth, old age, sickness, and death. Its fruit was eaten by flocks of birds, (beings with) the particular bodies of hell-dwellers, animals, ghosts, and

¹ *abhippasāda*.

² *cittapasādaṃ*.

³ *silagandham*; see Dh 55 and Vism 58 for other uses of this metaphor.

⁴ Note that the fruit of the once-returner (*sakadāgāmiphalaṃ*) is omitted.

⁵ *samphassantam*. This translation is somewhat loose, although the passage is itself obscure.

⁶ *anuparimāṇa* ?

⁷ *vicikicchā* and *thīnamiddha* are two of the five ethical obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*).

asuras. The tree of defilements which was like that covered the road to Nibbāna.

"It would be right to cut it down," (he thought). Although he was cutting it, he did not cut it with a common sword, he did not cut it with an axe or even with an adze. But, in a different manner, it was possible to cut it with an axe of the knowledge of the Path sharpened on concentration and virtue.¹ Just as, O monks, (a man) equipped and having the necessary requisites, taking a very sharp axe, enters the forest and seeing a great tree, he thinks, "What should I cut first?" Thinking "Now I will cut the root," he cuts the root, then the top, and then the middle. Having cut it completely, he goes on satisfied. Just so, the *yogāvacaro*, equipped with the sevenfold subjects of meditation and having requisites brilliant with virtue, takes his well-sharpened axe of Path-knowledge, and cuts the isolated² tree³ of the defilements in the middle of the forest and so he gains happiness. When the tree of defilements is overcome,⁴ the great city of Nibbāna is clearly seen.

In what sense is Nibbāna spoken of? Nibbāna is like the moon in the sense that it is cool, and it is like the sun in the sense that it dries up defilements. Nibbāna is like the earth since it is a support, like a mighty mountain⁵ since it is unmoving, like the ocean since it is the treasury⁶ of jewels, like good *dharmas* since it is a collocation. But this

¹ *nisitasamādhisīlena*.

² *viveka*.

³ *sākhā*.

⁴ *atīte saṃkilesamahīruhe*.

⁵ *selindo*, literally "lord of rock." *Sela* also means "crystal," and it might be recalled here that Nibbāna is called a crystal city in a Shan chronicle, *The Pādāṅ Chronicle*; see *The Pādāṅ Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated*, translated by Sao Sāimōng Mangrāi (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1981), p. 100.

⁶ *sambhata*.

Nibbāna is not the earth, it is not water, it is not light, it is not wind, it is not cold, it is not heat. It is the great city of Nibbāna because it is without birth, old age, sickness, and death, because it is calm, peaceful, permanent,¹ the place of happiness.

The great city of Nibbāna has an encircling wall, a gate, a watchtower, a moat, streets, a bazaar, a pillar, an interior (place), a bed, a couch, the brightness of lamps, a lake filled with cool water and sand; it is frequented by bees and by flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks and heron. What is that encircling wall ? The wall of virtue.² What is that gate ? Knowledge is the gate. What is that watchtower ? The watchtower of concentration. What is that moat ? The encircling ditch of loving kindness. What are those streets ? The streets of the forty meditation topics.³ What is that bazaar ? The bazaar of the constituents of enlightenment. What is that pillar ? The pillar is effort. What is that interior (place) ? The interior place of the books of the Abhidhamma. What is that bed ? The bed of renunciation. What is that couch ? The couch of release. What is that brightness of lamps ? The brightness of the lamps of the vision that comes with liberating knowledge.⁴ What is that lake ? The lake of meditation. What is that cool water which fills it ? It is filled with the cool water of compassion. What is that sand ? The eighteen kinds of Buddha-knowledge are the sand. What are those bees that frequent it ?⁵ Those who are free from the cankers⁶ are the bees which frequent it. What are the flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks, and heron which frequent it ? Buddhas, arahants and those who are free of

¹ *dhuvam*.

² *silapākāram*; perhaps a pun on *silāpākāram*, a wall of stone.

³ See Vism 187 where the metaphor is also used.

⁴ *vimuttiñāṇadassana*.

⁵ The translation is necessarily loose. More literally it would be "What is it that is frequented by bees ?"

⁶ *khīṇāsava*, i.e. arahants.

defilements and faults¹ are the flocks of geese, cakkavāka birds, pheasants, cuckoos, peacocks, and heron which frequent it. Thus the great city of Nibbāna is peaceful, a refuge, the topmost, and thus the final goal.

By what, in what, does one go ? Not by an elephant carriage, nor by a horse carriage, nor by a royal horse carriage, nor a pаланquin, nor by a litter, nor by (wearing) sandals, nor by going barefoot.² One ought to go to it in a different manner, by taking refuge in the Buddha, by taking refuge in the Dhamma, by taking refuge in the Saṅgha, and by listening to the teaching of the Dhamma in texts like this.³ Anyone who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha does not go to misfortune, (but rather) he attains a place of happiness." Then the Lord taught the monks Dhamma-verses connected with Nibbāna. It was said by him:

Exert yourselves, go forth, devote yourselves to the Buddha's teaching. Knock down the army of death as an elephant knocks down a reed-hut.

Whoever will dwell vigilant in this doctrine and discipline, eliminating journeying-on from rebirth to rebirth will put an end to pain.⁴

¹ *niddosasaṃkilesa*.

² *padagamanena*.

³ *evārūpena Dhammasavaṇena*.

⁴ Translation of *Theragāthā* 256–57 by K.R. Norman, *The Elders' Verses I: Theragāthā* (London: Pali Text Society, 1969), p. 30; I would like to thank Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana and Steven Collins who each identified this verse. See p. xxi of Norman's introduction for a discussion of multiple ascriptions of verses in canonical literature.

Nibbāna is shown to be peaceful, excellent, without fear because it is not producing (anything else), permanent, without birth, without old age, full of peace.

The exposition on the *Nibbānasutta* is finished.

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PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS OF SRI LANKA IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Out of the rich collection of Pāli manuscripts preserved in the Cambridge University Library, forty-two Sri Lankan manuscripts, written mostly in the Sinhala script, are listed below. In a few cases, the Roman script is used. Most of the manuscripts are written on palm-leaves, some on paper. They all belong to the 19th century.

This list is the result of a rapid survey of these manuscripts undertaken especially with the aim of identifying the unidentified items.¹ In the short period (eleven working days, from 7 to 19 October 1991), sixty-six manuscripts were examined, the forty-two Pāli manuscripts referred to above, and twenty-four Sinhala manuscripts, including six medical texts.²

The Sinhala manuscripts have, however, a relevance to Pāli literature due to the fact that Sinhala literature is predominantly inspired by Buddhism. Especially, the Jātakas have provided the themes for the bulk of Sinhala literary works right up to modern times. With regard to the list of Sinhala manuscripts given in the Appendix, it is worth remembering that the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (item 13) and the *Saddharmaratnāvalīya* (item 14) have as their main source the *Rasavāhinī* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, respectively. In fact, the author of the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, echoing the aim of all classical Sinhala authors, says that his work, "although written in a different language is the same

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Dr Ronald E. Emmerick, Prof. K.R. Norman and Mr R.C. Jamieson (Keeper of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Oriental Department of the Cambridge University Library) for being instrumental in organising that survey, financed by the Rapson Fund.

² A list of these Sinhala manuscripts is given in an Appendix at the end of this paper.

Pāli Dharma and it therefore should be listened to respectfully by everybody".¹ The other titles themselves betray their relation to Buddhism.

Item no. 30 below, Add. MS. 972 (13), is given under Pāli manuscripts, because only the Pāli stanzas of the *Rājaratnākaraya* (a chronicle written in Sinhala, with Pāli stanzas interspersed) are given in this particular manuscript. The *Rājaratnākaraya* proper, Add. MS. 971 (8), is included in the Appendix (see ed. P.N. Tisera, 1929).

Four manuscripts mentioned below are from the Scott Collection, identified here for the first time.

Out of the forty-two Pāli manuscripts listed here, twenty-three belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids. Some of these were especially copied for him and some others were purchased by him during his tenure of office in the Ceylon Civil Service. Rhys Davids had procured these manuscripts from widely separated parts of Sri Lanka: Anuradhapura in the North-Central Province, Kalutara in the Western Province, Galle and Matara in the Southern Province.

Rhys Davids had, in fact, published a "List of Pāli manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library" in *JPTS* 1883: pp. 145–46, with forty-four entries. However, twenty-two manuscripts listed below are omitted in that list although ten of them (items 1, 14, 20, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 40 below) belonged to Rhys Davids himself. The reason for this omission may be that those ten manuscripts were not in the possession of the Cambridge University Library at the time the list was published in the *JPTS*.

¹ "e da vanāhi bhāṣāva venas vuva da pāli dharmaya ma heyin siyallavun visin ādara sahita va āsiya yuttē ya". Ed. Makuḷudūvē Śrī Piyaṛatana, Colombo 1971, p. 33.

The Library Marks of two manuscripts in Rhys Davids' list need rectification: *Ambaṭṭhasutta-aṭṭhakathā*, Add. MS. 929 (8) instead of 928, and *Raṭṭhapālasutta sannaya*, Add. MS. 970 (20) instead of 978.

Most of the notes written by Rhys Davids on the manuscripts give valuable information not only regarding the names and status of the scribes,¹ place and dates of copying, but also regarding the sources of the copies,² and the particular value of certain texts. For instance, regarding the *Abhidhammattha-saṃgaha* (Add. MS. 1957), he remarks that "it was not collated for the edition of the text published in the Pāli Text Society's Journal 1884". Again, regarding the *Mahāvamsa*, Add. MS. 964 (20), he observes that it is "a very correct and valuable copy".

The *Cariyāpiṭaka*, Add. MS. 936 (13), is a collation of various manuscripts, including a Burmese text and commentary. The *Milindapañha*, Add. MS. 1251 (19), according to its colophon, is based on a Siamese copy, for the section beginning with the Archer's question to the end.

Two of the undermentioned manuscripts had belonged to N.C. Macready, Government Agent of Puttalam: *Abhidānappadīpikā sannaya* (Add. MS. 923) and Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations (Add. MS. 924).

The *Kālakārāmasutta* (Or. 904) was presented to the Cambridge University Library by Mr G. Le Strange, on 14.6.1914. This is a rare example of a miniature-size palm-leaf manuscript (16 folios, 65×5 mm), showing the scribe's skill.

¹ E.g. the Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations, Add. MS. 924 (14), was written by the Deputy Chief monk of the Chilaw Pattu of Pitigal Kōraḷē.

² E.g. the *Khuddakapāṭha* extracts, Add. MS. 931 (8), were copied from a Burmese manuscript.

The *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhānasutta sannaya* (Or. 1734) was bequeathed to the Library by Sir Ellis Hovell Minns.

The *Jinacarita* was donated to the Library on 20.4.1906 by H.D. Rouse.¹

Among the works belonging to this collection, attention may be drawn to the value of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā sannaya* as a Pāli lexicon. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* has been edited in Sinhala characters by the famous Buddhist prelate, the late Waskaduwe Subhuti, with Sinhala and English interpretations, index of the different elements of compound words occurring in the stanzas, two separate indexes on homonyms and indeclinables, an index of all the words, along with the references to stanzas in which they occur, and the text of the *Ekakkhara kosa*, a Pāli lexicon composed by a Burmese Buddhist monk by the name of Saddhamma Kittī (fifth ed., Colombo 1938). A paper on the *Arañṇavagga* of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, section dealing with the names of trees and plants, will be published subsequently in the *JPTS*.

LIST OF PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS

(1) *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*

Up to the ninth chapter: *Kammaṭṭhāna vibhāga*.

Paper, 67 written pages. Title page, verso: "This m.s. was copied at Kalutara, Ceylon, in 1885 for me. It was not collated for the edition of the text published in the Pali Text Society's Journal 1884. Rh.D." Add. MS. 1957 (9).

¹ This must be Dr W.H.D. Rouse, who had given a list of Pāli words (c to ñ) for the compilation of the PTS's *Pali-English Dictionary*. (See *ibid.*, p. vii).

(2) *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī* or *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha-ṭīkā*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 570×60 mm, *ka*, 1 to *cu*, 86 (folio *gū* numbered twice) + 2 fly-leaves, one at the beginning, one at the end. Add. MS. 1960 (22).

(3) *Abhidānappadīpikā sannaya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 270×60 mm, [*ka*] to *ṭhām*, *ṭhaḥ*. On the underside of the upper wooden cover: sgd/ N.C. Macready (left margin); sgd/ T.W. Rhys Davids (right margin). Add. MS. 923 (10).

(4) *Ambaṭṭhasutta vaṇṇanā* (Extract).

Paper, 10 written pages. See *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, PTS ed. 1886, pt. 1, pp. 258–62: Origin of the Sākyas. Page 1, left margin: “The origin of the Sākya and Koliya races: copied for T.W.R.D. from *Ambaṭṭhasutta aṭṭhakathā*”. Add. MS. 929 (8).

(5) *Bālāvatāra*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 360×50 mm, *ka* to *gl*. Add. MS. 957 (14).

(6) *Bālāvatāra sannaya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 365×50 mm, *ka* to *ñam*. Upper side, left bottom of upper wooden cover: “15/6 63 (?) W.C.M. T.W. Rhys Davids”. Add. MS. 958 (14).

(7) *Bodhivaṃsa*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 600×65 mm, *ka*, 1 to *ghau*, 62. Folio 1, right margin: (Rhys Davids’ hand), “Copied for T.W. Rhys Davids — *Bodhivaṃsa*”; upper side of upper wooden cover: Title in Roman script, “T.W.R.D. Galle. Dec. 1872”. Add. MS. 953 (24). See also Add. MS. 954 (24).

(8) *Brahmajālasutta*, with Sinhala commentary.

Incomplete. Palm-leaves, 510×55 mm, *ka* to *ghi* + 8 fly-leaves at the end. Two beautifully painted wooden covers. Scott. LL.I.5 (2).

(9) *Brahmajālasutta*.

Pāli text from *ka* to *kho*, Sinhala commentary from *khau* to *ghe*, Sinhala *sanne* from *ghai* to *jhū*. Palm-leaves, 435×60 mm. Writing completed in 1752 of the Śaka era [1830 A.D.]. MS belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids. Add. MS. 956 (17).

(10) *Brahmajālasūtra sannaya*.¹

Palm-leaves, 435×55 mm, *ka* to *jī*. Folio 1, margin decorated with floral designs and human and animal figures. Name of a monk, Sirimānanda, written in ink on folio 1 and folio *jī* (end). T.W. Rhys Davids has written the title in Roman script, with an annotation, and signed and dated: Galle. 31 Jan. 1871, on back of folio 1. Add. MS. 955 (17).

(11) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

Paper, 44 leaves. Add. MS. 935 (8).

(12) *Cariyāpiṭaka*.

"Various readings. Galle. Nov. 3, 1869". Collation of a Burmese text, Burmese commentary, Dadalla MS, Degalla MS. Paper, 48 leaves. Add. MS. 936 (13).

(13) *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*.

In triplicate: Pāli text 1, *ka* to *kṛ*; Pāli text 2, *kī* to *khu*, *sanne*, *khū* to *gū*. Palm-leaves, 470×55 mm, *gi* missing. Concluding folios *gī*, *gu*, *gū* placed at the beginning. Two painted wooden covers. Or. 1122 (19).

¹ In Sinhala works, Sanskrit loan words are often used instead of the Pāli term. Hence *sūtra*, *dharma* etc.

(14) *Dhammasaṅgani*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 550×60 mm, *ka* to *ja* + one fly-leaf at the beginning and two at the end. Folio 1, verso: “*Dhammasaṅgani*. Bought at Galle 1885 for T W Rhys Davids P.T.S.”. Add. MS. 1959 (22).

(15) *Dhātuvam̐sa* or *Lalāṭadhātuvam̐sa*.

Pāli text with commentary in Roman script. Paper, 99 written pages. 166 *gāthās*. Add. MS. 974 (8).

(16) *Haṭṭhavanagallavīhāravam̐sa*.

Palm-leaves, 450×55 mm, *ka*, 1 to *khṛ*, 24. Colophon in Sinhala (24 v5) means: “Thus ends the sacred book *Attanagaḷu*, written in Pāli and belonging to the Chief monk of the monastery of Attanagalla”. Fly-leaf at the end: “*Attanagalu vam̐sa*. Copied at Attanagala (sic) in 1867 for T.W. Rhys Davids, Magistrate &c. at Pāsyaḷa (sic) near Attanagala (sic)”. Add. MS. 925 (17). See also Add. MS. 926 (8).

(17) *Jinacarita sannaya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 365×50 mm, *ka* to *ṇaḥ*. Presented to the Cambridge University Library by H.D. Rouse, 20 April 1906. Or. 678 (14).

(18) *Kāḷakārāmasutta*.

See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, London 1937, p. 574. Tiny palm-leaf manuscript, 16 folios, 65×5 mm, *ka* to *kaḥ* + 2 fly-leaves at the beginning and the end, 3 or 4 lines per folio. Two thin book covers (horn?). Manuscript placed in black cloth case and deposited in a small hard cover box. Small note signed by the donor, G. Le Strange, says that the manuscript was given to him by a Buddhist priest in Ceylon in 1822. Or. 904 (3).

(19) *Khuddakapāṭha* (Extracts).

Saraṇattaya, *Dasa sikkhāpada*, *Dvattiṃsākāra*, *Kumārapañha*, *Maṅgalasutta*, *Ratanasutta*, *Tirokuḍḍasutta*, *Nidhikaṇḍasutta*, *Mettasutta*. Paper, 15 pages. "Copied 1869 at Galle by Deva Arnolis for T.W. Rhys Davids from a Burmese m.s. at Dadalla". Add. MS. 931 (8).

(20) *Madhuratthappakāsini sannaya*. Commentary to the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*.

Palm-leaves, 600×65 mm, *sva*, 1 to *ṭhā*, 178. Folio 1: (Rhys Davids' hand): "Copied for T.W. Rhys Davids. *Bodhi-waṃsa-sannaya*". Upper wooden cover also bears the title. "T.W.R.D. Galle. Dec. 1872". Add. MS. 954 (24). See also Add. MS. 953 (24).

(21) *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta*. (See item 34).

In two parts: *ka* to *cī*: Sinhala translation of Pāli text, *cī* to *jhaḥ*: *sanne*. Palm-leaves, 415×60 mm. Folio numbering letters blackened only up to *kho*. Bequeathed to the Cambridge University Library by Sir Ellis Hovell Minns. Or. 1734 (17).

(22) *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta*. (See item 34).

Two Sinhala *sanna*, the first containing more exegetical matter. Palm-leaves, 480×55 mm, (1) *ka* to *ci*, (2) *cī* to *chaḥ*. The second part is placed at the beginning of the manuscript. In numbering folios, the *ka* series has been omitted. Two wooden covers painted with usual floral designs. Add. MS. 3683 (19).

(23) *Mahavaga* [Pāli *Mahāvagga*]: *senāsanakkhanda sannaya* etc.

Title page: (Rhys Davids' hand): "Inheritance &c. of property given to Buddhist priests or priesthood, Galle 1871". Paper, 22 written pages. Pāli texts in Sinhala and Roman scripts. *Mahāvagga-senāsanakkhanda (sannaya)*; *Vinayāṭṭhāna* (sic), ch. XXI; *Wihāra Vinischaya* (sic) (Roman script, Pāli text followed by English translation); on the turning

aside of advantage, Pāli *muttaka-vinaya* (Roman script); *Makasajātaka* (Sinhala script); Extract from the *Mahāvamsa* [73.1 to 73.80] (Sinhala script); *Mahāvagga*; *senāsanakkhanda* (Sinhala script); tomtom beater's song (Sinhala script); 2 pages, with seal, "Kachcheri, Anuradhapura"; "Chapters of *Narendra-caritāvalokana-pradīpikā*". Add. MS. 952 (8).

(24) *Mahāvamsa*.

Incomplete. Ends at 100.292 (ñl v2).

Palm-leaves, 440×55 mm, *ka* to *ta* + one fly-leaf at the end. Following folios are in duplicate: ñ, *chu*, *chū* and *taḥ*. Following folios are numbered with three akṣaras each: *thl*, *thl̃*, *the* (one leaf); *dh̃l*, *dh̃l̃*, *dhe* (one leaf). Add. MS. 962 (17).

(25) *Mahāvamsa*.

Incomplete. Ends at 90.59. Palm-leaves, 580×60 mm, *ka* to *thu* + one fly-leaf at the end. Stanzas 90.57 to 59 vary from PTS ed. 1927. These three stanzas are given as variants in Sumangala and Batuwantudawa ed., Colombo 1877, Vol. II, p. 369. Upper wooden cover: "*Mahāvamsa* T.W.R.D. 1870". Add. MS. 963 (23).

(26) *Mahāvamsa*.

Incomplete. Ends at 90.45–46 (184 r6). Palm-leaves, 500×60 mm, 1 to 184 + 2 fly-leaves at the end. Folio 1, left margin: signature of T.W. Rhys Davids after endorsement: "*Mahāvamsa*. A very correct and valuable copy". Add. MS. 964 (20).

(27) *Milindapañha*.

Complete. According to the colophon, the text from the Archer's question to the end is based on "the book brought from Siam". (*Siyamdesato ānītapotthakato issatthassa pañhato paṭṭhāya pariyosāna-*

vacanāni gahetvā likhitan ti jānitabbam).¹ Palm-leaves, 500×60 mm, *ka*, 1 to *ñr*, 72 + 2 fly-leaves at the beginning and 2 at the end. Folios of the *ga* series placed in descending order. Add. MS. 1251 (19).

(28) Pāli grammar with Sinhala explanations: declensions, conjugations, nouns.

Palm-leaves, 360×50 mm. Three texts: (1) *ka* to *kām*; (2) *kaḥ* to *khī*; (3) *khī* to *khe*. Colophon in Sinhala (*khe* r7) means: "Grammar books written for the Government Agent of Puttalam, by the Deputy Chief monk of the Chilaw Pattu of Pitigal Korale. Year sixty-nine". Upper side of folio 1: (Rhys Davids' hand): "Written for N.C. Macready Esqr by the priest of the 2nd rank in the Chilaw district of the Puttalam Division of N.W. Province of Ceylon. Written in 1869. Bought after Mr McReady's death by T.W. Rhys Davids". Written in the middle: "*Akhyata Waranagila*" (sic) [Conjugation of verbs] Add. MS. 924 (14).

(29) *Petavatthu*.

Complete. Paper, 63 written pages. Colophon (p. 63) means: "Thus ends the *Petavatthuvaṇṇanā* done by the great Rev. Thera, Ācariya Dhammapāla, residing in the Badaratittha vihāra. Thus ends the Pāli text of the *Petavatthu*". Title page: "Copied for me at Kalutara, Ceylon, in 1885 Rh. D." Add. MS. 1955 (9).

(30) *Rājaratnākara*.

Pāli *gāthās* only. Paper, 8 written pages, 203 stanzas (199 in the printed ed.). A list of references to the sources of some of the stanzas of the text is given at the end (p. 8). T.W. Rhys Davids writes at the back of p. 8:

¹ The same endorsement is found in MS, BN Pāli 359 in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. See Jacqueline Filliozat, *Catalogue des manuscrits pālis des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées*, to be published by the PTS in collaboration with the Bibliothèque nationale and the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

"*Rājaratnākara* without the *sanne*. It differs a little (a few verses being omitted and a few added) from the text contained in my other copy. Nov. 1870". Add. MS. 972 (13). See Add. MS. 971 (8): *Rājaratnākara*.

(31) *Rasavāhinī*.

Incomplete. First four stories only: (1) *Dhammasoṇḍaka vatthu*, (2) *Migaluddaka vatthu*, (3) *Tiṇṇaṃ janānaṃ vatthu*, (4) *Buddheniyā vatthu*, incomplete. Paper, 11 written pages. Text better than that in the edition of Friedrich Spiegel, *Anecdota Pālica*, Leipzig 1845 (Tales 1–4 in Nāgari characters). Add. MS. 973 (13).

(32) *Raṭṭhapālasūtra arthavyākhyānaya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 520×55 mm, *ka* to *ga* + one fly-leaf at the end. Folio 1, right margin: sgd/ "T.W. Rhys Davids. C.C.S." Add. MS. 970 (20).

(33) *Samyutta Nikāya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 620×65 mm, *ka* to *bū* + one fly-leaf at the beginning. Folio *khām* bears the numbering *ka* as well; from folio *ju*, Arabic numerals are inscribed in parallel, starting with 1. Arabic numeral 243 in folio *bū* at the end is not the exact number of the last folio, as two consecutive folios are numbered *the*. Folio *ka* (1), left margin: "This m.s. of the *Samyutta* was bought for me at Galle in 1884. T.W. Rhys Davids". Paper label on upper wooden cover: "Add. 1961 *Samyutta*. Bought from P.T.S. Received Jan. 31, 1887". Add. 1961 (24).

(34) *Satipaṭṭhānasutta sannaya*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 490×60 mm, *ka* to *gho*. Neatly written. Two plain wooden covers. Scott. LL.5.1.

(35) *Sigālovādasutta*.

Pāli text in Roman script. Paper, 22 written pages. Copied by “Dewa Aranolis for T.W. Rhys Davids Esqr from a m.s. at Dadalla, 20.4.70” [1870]. Appended at the end (Rhys Davids’ hand): “Notes on *Sigālovāda Sutta*. Galle. Oct. 26. 1870”. Add. MS. 984 (8).

(36) *Udāna*.

Paper, 155 pages. “Copied at Kalutara, Ceylon, in the Spring of 1885 for T.W. Rhys Davids”. Letter dated 24 January (?) 1887, addressed to Prof. Robertson Smith by T.W. Rhys Davids is attached. Bought from the P.T.S. Add. MS. 1952b (9). See also Add. MS. 1953 (22).

(37) *Udāna*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 590×60 mm, *ka* to *go*. Folio 1 recto: “The *Udāna* text. Presented by Sūriyagoḍa Sonuttara Thera of the Pattirippuva Māligāva Kandy to the Pali Text Society of London at the suggestion of Edmund Gooneratne Atapattu Mudaliyar¹ of Galle. Kandy 15th March 1884”. Add. MS. 1953 (22). See also Add. MS. 1952b (9).

(38) *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*. Commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 565×60 mm, *ka*, 1 to *ṭhḷ*, 187 + 2 fly-leaves at the beginning and the end. Folio *jām* is numbered 127, 128, 129. Endorsement in Sinhala at the end of folio 187 verso, means: “Completed revising, using the book at Dadalla Vihāra, on 21st August 1871”. Folio 1 verso: “*Mahā-vamsa-ṭikā*. T.W. Rhys Davids. Anuradhapura”. Folios assembled with verso on upper side. Add. MS. 965 (22).

¹ Atapattu Mudaliyar was the title given to the Interpreter/Translators to the Government Agents of Colombo and Galle under the British administration. (*Siṃhaḷa Śabdakoṣaya*, Colombo 1937, Vol. I).

(39) *Vibhaṅga*.

Incomplete. Ends at *Paccayakāravibhaṅga*, *mātikā* XX. See PTS ed. 1904, p. 143. Palm-leaves, 450×55 mm, *ka* to *ghe*. Folio 1 recto: *sgd*/ T.W. Rhys Davids. Add. MS. 978 (17).

(40) *Vimānavatthu*.

Complete. Paper, 72 written pages, interleaved. Colophon (p.72) means: "Thus completed the *Vimānavatthu vaṇṇanā*, done by Ācariya Dhammapāla. Thus completed the *Vimānavatthuppakaraṇa*". Title page verso, (Rhys Davids' hand): "This m.s. was copied in the district of Matara, Ceylon, through the instrumentality of Abraham Mendis &c in 1884 for T.W. Rhys Davids". Add. MS. 1956 (9).

(41) *Visuddhimagga*.

Complete. Palm-leaves, 570×60 mm, *ka* to *ṭṭ* + 2 fly-leaves at the beginning and 2 at the end. Paper label on lower wooden cover: "Add. 1954 *Visuddhi Magga* P.T.S. July/86. Recd. January 31, 1887". Add. MS. 1954 (23).

(42) *Visuddhimagga sannaya*.

Incomplete. Beginning and end missing. Ch. III: *Kammaṭṭhānagahana niddeso*; *dasa paḷibodhā*. See PTS ed. Vol. I, pp. 96 ff. Palm-leaves, 580×60 mm, *kā* to *ne*, *ke* placed at the beginning. Two leaves numbered *kai*. Manuscript belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids. Add. MS. 934 (23).

APPENDIX

LIST OF SINHALA MANUSCRIPTS

(1) Astrological notes. Palm-leaves, irregular folio numbering. Or. 1162.

(2) *Attanagaluvaṃsa* (Sinhala prose version of the Pāli *Hatthavanagalla vihāraṃsa*). Palm-leaves, 62 folios. Add. MS. 926 (8).

(3) Bible (Fragmentary Sinhala translation). Palm-leaves, 1 to 117. Add. MS. 3329 (16).

(4) Christian sermon in Sinhala, based on ISAIAS XI:9: "They shall not hurt, nor shall they kill in all my holy mountain; for the earth is filled with the Knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea". Palm-leaves, 1 to 9. Or. 874 (14).

(5) *Dāna paricchēdaya* (extract from the *Paricchēda pota*), and *Kukkura Jātakaya*. Palm-leaves, *ka* to *ci*. Or. 766 (16).

(6) *Eḷu Uvaṃdāva* (Sinhala version of the *Ummagga Jātaka*). Palm-leaves, *ka* to *ṭhai*. Scott. LL.5.17.

(7) *Guttila Jātakaya* [*kāvyaya*]. Palm-leaves, 1 to 50. Add. MS. 932 (18).

(8) *Kosalabimba varṇanāva* etc. (Collection of Buddhist tales, including the *Jātakas*: *Kuḍupa*°, *Svarṇakarkāṭaka*°, *Serivāṇija*°, *Padamānavaka*°, *Sīlavimaṃsa*°, *Sīlānisamṣa*°, *Dahamsoṇḍa*°). Palm-leaves, 3 parts, irregular folio numbering. Add. MS. 2596 (20).

(9) *Narendracaritāvalokana pradīpikā* (abridged version). Paper, 65 pages. Add. MS. 999 (1).

(10) Panegyric (2 verses with paraphrase) in honour of Governor Sir Edward Barnes, invoking blessings on him. Palm-leaves, 1 to 2. Add. MS. 339 (2).

(11) *Pansiyapanas Jātakapota*, last three *Jātakas*: *Vidhura*, *Ummagga* and *Vessantara Jātakas*. Palm-leaves, *dva sa to ti ghau*. Or. 2261 (35).

(12) *Rājaratnākaraya*. Paper, 163 pages. Add. MS. 971 (8).

(13) *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (Extracts) etc.: *Svarṇatilakā vastuva*, *Buddheniyā vastuva*, *Pādapiṭṭhikā vastuva* + *Utpalagandha vastuva* + *Javanahaṃsa* and *Svarṇakarkaṭaka Jātakas*. Palm-leaves, *ka to ṇaḥ*. Add. MS. 1003.

(14) *Suciloma pretavata* etc. (Extracts from the *Petavatthu*, *Saddharmaratnāvalī* etc.: *Kavandha pretavata*, *Matasūra kathāva*, *Daruvan satdenā vadā kana pretiyagē kathāva* (Tale of the *petī* who gave birth to seven children and ate them), *Kāli yakinnagē kathāva*, *Patipūjikkāvangē kathāva*, *Ubbarī kathāva*, *Mahākāḷa upāsakayangē kathāva*, *Vaira bāṇḍi kathāva* (the tale of hatred), *Maduaṅganā nam gama demaḷa doraṭuvehi bilī vāddahugē kathāva* (the tale of the angler at the Tamil gate of the village named Maduaṅganā), *Tirokuḍḍa pretavata*, *Revatī vata*. Palm-leaves, *ka to ghā*. Scott. LL.3.1.

(15) Sermon in Sinhala based on the *Raṭṭhapālasutta*. See *Majjhima Nikāya* II.82. Palm-leaves, *ki to khḷ*. Add. MS. 339 (22).

(16) *Siyabasmaldama* (Sanskrit *Svabhāṣāmālādāma*, Sinhala versification of the story of Vijaya, first king of Sri Lanka). Palm-leaves, *ka*, 1 to *gu*, 37. Add. MS. 993 (17).

(17) *Thūpavaṃsaya*. Palm-leaves, *ka to nū*. Or. 898 (19).

(18) *Weligama gal sannasa* A.D. 1470. (After building the Rājakula-vaḍana Vihāra to offer merit to king Sirisaṅgabo Śrī Bhuvanekabāhu, the Minister Kaḷu Parākrama decrees the continuation of the services to the

monastery). See JCBRAS 1870, p. 21. One palm-leaf. Add. MS. 1873 (14).

(19) to (24) Six medical manuscripts: Or. 958 (9), Or. 1163 (9), Or. 1720 (11), Or. 2270 (7), Add. MS. 300 (10), Add. MS. 966 (8).

The following manuscripts in the above list belonged to T.W. Rhys Davids: *Attanagaluvaṃsa* ("1867 A.D. Written at the spot for T.W. Rhys Davids"); *Guttila Jātakaya* (kāvyaya) (sgd/ T.W. Rhys Davids, Colombo 1872); *Narendracaritāvalokana pradīpikā*; *Rājaratnākaraya* ("Anuradhapura, Oct. 1871. Copied from a m.s. at Talāwe Wihāra by Deva Arnolis for T.W. Rhys Davids C.S.").

The *Pansiyapanas Jātakapota* belonged to G.H. Muller, and the *Siyabasmaldama* to William Alexander Arneves (?).

Manuscript Scott. LL.3.1 has the title *Vimanvatayi* (Pāli: *Vimānavatthu*) inscribed on the upper side of folio *ka* and at the end of the text (folio *ghā*). But it is really a collection of Buddhist tales taken from the *Petavatthu*, the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* etc.

Items 3 and 4 above are important documents for the study of Christian literature in Sri Lanka and the development of the Sinhala language in that field.

The two wooden covers (*pot kamba*) of the *Thūpavaṃsaya* (Or. 898) are beautifully painted on the underside with scenes from the *Vessantara Jātaka*, especially the scene where the Bodhisatta gives away his son Jāliya and his daughter Kṣṇajinā to the Brahmin Jūjaka.

The medical manuscripts will be analysed in detail in a separate paper on the same lines as the "Sri Lankan medical manuscripts in the Bodleian

Library, Oxford”, which appeared in the *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, 2, 1992, pp. 36–53.

The present paper is respectfully dedicated to the memory of the great scholar Thomas William Rhys Davids (1843–1922) as a token of gratitude to his inestimable contribution to Pāli and Buddhist studies.

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PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES XI¹

SIX PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED,² or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *kaḍḍhati* “to drag”
2. *tiracchānakathā* “gossip”
3. *pacchābandha* “rudder”
4. *mātang’arañña* “elephant forest”
5. *vidha* “buckle”
6. *seṭṭhi* “dregs”

1. *kaḍḍhati* “to drag”

PED explains³ this word as a dialect form which is alleged to equal Skt *karṣati*. It compares Pkt *kaḍḍhai* “to pull, tear”, and *khaḍḍā* “pit, dug-out”. It also refers to Bloomfield’s article (see below).

¹ See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies X”, in *JPTS* XVII, 1992, pp. 215–18.

² Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the *Epilegomena* to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS(D) = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Dictionary); CDIAL = R.L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966; CP I, II, III = K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, Vols. I, II, III, PTS 1990, 1991, 1992; DPPN = *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*; Erz. = *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*; MW = M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pali-English Dictionary*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; Pkt = Prakrit; Skt = Sanskrit; Be = Burmese edition; Ce = Sinhalese edition; Ee = European edition; cty/cties = commentary/commentaries.

³ See PED, s.v. *kaḍḍhati*.

CPD¹ says that *okaddhati* is a denominative from *o* + *kaddha* < *kaṭṭha* < Skt *kr̥ṣṭa*, which is the past participle of $\sqrt{kr̥ṣ}$ "to drag". For the form with *o*- it compares Pāli *apakaḍḍhati* and *avakaḍḍhati*, and BHS *okaṭṭati*.

Earlier discussions of *kaḍḍhati* include the following suggestions:

1) Weber (perhaps for the wrong reason) suggested that the word which he at first read as *āṭṭana* in Hāla's *Sattasāi* 109 was to be derived from *ākr̥ṣṭa*.² He mis-quoted³ Hemacandra IX 187 (where Hemacandra states that *kaḍḍhai* is one of the six *ādeśas* of the root *kr̥ṣ*). By 1881 Weber had decided⁴ to read *āaḍḍhana*, quoting Marāṭhī *kāḍhaṇem* in support of his decision.

2) S. Goldschmidt⁵ derived *kaḍḍhai* < **kaṭṭhai* < **kr̥ṣṭati*, without stating specifically that it was a denominative verb.

3) E. Leumann stated⁶ that *pakaḍḍhijai* was the passive of a verb from the past participle passive *pakaḍḍha* (= *prakr̥ṣṭa*) and referred to Goldschmidt and to Hemacandra IX 187, as had Weber already before him.

¹ See CPD, s.v. *okaddhati*.

² A. Weber, *Ueber das Saptaṣatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig 1870, p. 107.

³ A. Weber, "Zum Saptaṣatakam des Hāla", *ZDMG*, 28, 1874, pp. 345–436 (p. 375).

⁴ A. Weber, *Das Saptaṣatakam des Hāla*, Leipzig 1881.

⁵ "Prākṛtische miscellen", *Zeit. für vergl. Sprach.*, XXVI, pp. 103–12 (pp. 105–6).

⁶ *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, 1883, Index p. 130, s.v. *pakaḍḍhijj-*.

4) J. Bloch, discussing Marāṭhī *kāḍhṇem*, followed the derivation < *kr̥ṣṭa*.¹

5) Geiger² said that *kaḍḍhati* = **kardhati*, which he described as a side-form of *karṣati*, etc. He gave no explanation of the structure of **kardh-*. It might be taken as an extension in *-dh-* to *kar-*, in the belief that *karṣ* shows an extension in *-s-*, but there seems to be no evidence for a root *kar-* with the meaning "drag".

6) Bloomfield³ suggested a derivation < **kr̥žd*. He presumably saw an extension in *-d-* to *kr̥ṣ-*, cf. Burrow's suggestions for *luṭh-* and *luḍ-* from *luṣ-*, and *heṭh-* and *hīḍ-* from *heṣ-*.⁴ Turner, however, said⁵ that Bloomfield's suggestion was phonetically unjustified (presumably because of the unexpected aspiration < *ṣ* + *d*).

7) Lüders⁶ gave examples of the change of *-tṭ(h)-* > *-ḍḍ(h)-*, but denied⁷ the derivation < *kr̥ṣṭa* and acquiesced in Bloomfield's suggestion. He seemed to base his objection on the fact that *kaḍḍhati* occurs only rarely in canonical texts, the more common forms being based upon *kass-*. His implication was, therefore, that *kaḍḍh-* is a non-Eastern form, and he supported this statement by quoting New Indo-Aryan developments from Western languages only. This is, however, to ignore the fact that various forms from *kaḍḍh-* occur in Jain canonical texts, which would seem to

¹ *La formation de la langue marathe*, 1920 (but based upon a thesis published in 1914), §§ 112, 231.

² W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, § 130.

³ *JAOS* 41, 1921, p. 465.

⁴ T. Burrow, "Skt. *luḥ* 'to disturb'", *JRAS* 1956, pp. 191–200.

⁵ *CDIAL* (App. p. 825).

⁶ H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, §§ 151–58.

⁷ Lüders, *ibid.*, § 165.

make the existence of the Eastern form of the word indisputable. Turner, in fact, quoted derivatives from Eastern New Indo-Aryan languages also.

8) Turner¹ stated that the phonetic or analogical replacement of Middle Indo-Aryan *-tṭh-* by *-ḍḍh-* is unexplained. Since there is also evidence for a word **gaḍḍhati*, he suggested that, with an alternative *-k-* and *-g-*, it is probably non-Aryan. It is not clear why he ignored the other changes of *-tṭh-* > *-ḍḍh-* which Lüders gave.

I would accept the suggestion followed by Leumann and Bloch because of the existence of BHS *okaṭṭati* (this, as Edgerton points out² and as Lüders accepts in a footnote,³ is what the MSS read, with occasional occurrences of *-tṭh-*). This seems to me to suggest a form < *-krṣṭa*. There are other examples of *-ṣṭ-* becoming *-tṭ-*, e.g. the spellings *ovaṭṭa* and *ovuṭṭa* (< *-vrṣṭa*), and *maṭṭa* < *mrṣṭa* found commonly in Pāli.

The fact that the Pāli canonical preference is for *kass-* (although *kaḍḍh-* is not totally avoided, as already noted), and *kaḍḍh-* is found more commonly as the commentarial gloss, I regard as an example of the phenomenon that I have noted elsewhere⁴ — that what one sect regards as canonical another treats as commentarial, and vice versa. I assume, therefore, that texts with both *kaḍḍh-* and *kass-* came to Ceylon from mainland India, but the Theravādin redactors generalised one in the canon and the other in the commentaries.

One objection to the view followed by Leumann and Bloch is the infrequency of denominative verbs made from past participles. Most

¹ CDIAL p. 133, s.v. $\sqrt{*kaḍḍh}$.

² BHSD, s.v. *kaṭṭati*.

³ Lüders, *Beob.*, p. 125 note 3.

⁴ K.R. Norman, "The dialects in which the Buddha preached", in H. Bechert (ed.): *The language of the earliest Buddhist tradition*, Göttingen 1980, pp. 61–77 (p. 73).

of the Middle Indo-Aryan examples which can be given are no more certain than *okaḍḍhati*, and like *okaḍḍhati* can almost always be explained in a different way if one objects to the idea of a denominative formation. From Pāli we can quote *olaggati* from *olagga* < *avalagna*. This could be taken as coming from *lagyate*, but one then has to explain the double -gg- in the causative *olaggeti*. There is also Pkt *tuttai* from the past participle *tutta* < **truṭ-ta*, but *truṭyati* is alleged to occur. The Pkt verb *uvakkhaḍai* “to prepare”¹ is, however, hard to explain except as a denominative from *uvakkhaḍa* < Skt *upaskṛta*. Bloch gave² a number of New Indo-Aryan examples.

Another past participle showing the development -ṣṭ- > -ṭṭ- is *ugghaṭṭa*, which we find in the compound *ugghaṭṭapādo* at Sn 980. It is glossed: *ugghaṭṭapādo ti, maggakkamaṇena ghaṭṭapādalo, paṇhikāya vā paṇhikaṃ gopphakena vā gopphakaṃ jaṇṇukena vā jaṇṇukaṃ āgantvā ti ghaṭṭapādo* (Pj II 582,6–9). We presumably have a past participle *ghaṭṭa* < *ghaṭṭha* < *ghṛṣṭa*, with dissimilation of aspirates. The verb *ghaṭṭi* “to rub” occurs in Skt, and is probably a Prakritism there, if CPD is correct³ in seeing a derivation from Skt *ghṛṣṭa*. We must then assume a denominative verb formed from the Pkt past participle *ghaṭṭa*.

The only treatment I know of such forms is by L.A. Schwarzschild.⁴ Some of the examples she gives seem irrefutable, but they are for the most part from rather late texts. This, in itself, is an argument from silence. The fact that we do not have early examples does not prove that the type of formation cannot be early.

¹ Uvāsagadasāo, § 68.

² Bloch, *op. cit.*, § 231.

³ CPD, s.v. *ugghaṭṭa*.

⁴ L.A. Schwarzschild, “Prakrit *thakka*, ‘tired’”, *Indian Linguistics*, XIX, 1958, pp. 311–18.

I must make it clear that when I write of “denominative” verbs, I mean verbs made from nouns (or adjectives), i.e. the stem of the noun (or adjective) is taken over as a verbal root. They are not necessarily conjugated as denominative verbs would be in Sanskrit, i.e. I do not thereby imply that they are Class X verbs. We can see this from examples of this type of formation in Sanskrit.

We find in Sanskrit both *cūrṇayati* and *ghūrṇati* (and *ghūrṇāyate* can be deduced from *ghūrṇāyamāna*) as denominative verbs from past participles of verbs which are no longer used in Sanskrit, although they, and derivatives from them, exist in Middle Indo-Aryan, e.g. (**ghr̥*- ?), **ghurati*,¹ *ghulai* and *gholai* = *ghūrṇati* (Hc), *gholira* (Sattasāi 391 and Erz.); (**cṛ*- ?), *cūraissam*, *cūriadu* (Karpūramañjarī), cf. **cūra*.²

2. *tiracchānakathā* “gossip”

References for *tiracchānakathā*, and other compounds of *tiracchāna*, can be found in PTC and in PED, and the word can also be found in the commentaries upon the various canonical texts listed there. To these can be added Pj II 564,5–6 (ad Sn 922): *gāmakathāya āvaraye sotan ti tiracchānakathāto sotam āvareyya*. This is derived from Nidd I 367,27 foll., which is listed in PTC. It is variously translated: “animal-talk, wrong or childish talk”,³ “low conversation”,⁴ “inferior matters”,⁵ “worldly talk”,⁶ “unedifying conversation”.⁷ The last might be thought to

¹ CDIAL 4497.

² CDIAL 4888.

³ PED, s.v. *tiracchāna-kathā*.

⁴ T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁵ I.B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, Vol. V, p. 99.

⁶ I.B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, Vol. IV, p. 250, and Pe Maung Tin, *The path of purity*, p. 148.

⁷ M. Walshe, *Thus have I heard*, p. 70.

be the nearest to, and is perhaps influenced by, Buddhaghosa's definition at Sv 89,16–17, which see below. To these translations can be added: "aimless talk",¹ "frivolous chatter",² and "childish talk".³

The list of 32 types of *tiracchāna-kathā* which is given at Nidd I 367,27 foll. also occurs at M III 113,17 foll., but there they are not called *tiracchāna-kathā*, but *kathā hīnā gammā pothujjanikā anariyā anattasamhitā*, which is another way of saying that *tiracchāna-kathā* = *gāma-kathā*. The meaning of *gāma-kathā* is "village talk, i.e. the sort of talk that goes on in villages, i.e. gossip", as is made clear by the little snippets given as examples at Ps III 221,20 foll., etc. There the adjective *gehasitakathā* is used — "household gossip". When it is said to be one of the five *ādinavas* arising from fire,⁴ we must suppose that a fire leads to useless talk and gossip about it, on the lines of: "Do you remember the night X's house burned down?" I would suggest that Hare's translation "tales of animals"⁵ is way off the mark.

The commentarial explanation *anīyānikattā* (or *-iyy-*) *saggamokkhamaggānaṃ tiracchānabhūtā kathā tiracchānakathā* (Sv 89,16–17) comes into the "folk etymology" category. Buddhaghosa is here taking *tiracchāna* in its sense of "crossways", and is explaining that this type of talk lies crossways, i.e. is an impediment, to the ways to release. It is not specifically condemned for *bhikkhus* in the Vinaya. The *chabbaggiyā bhikkhus* are rebuked for making a loud noise with their wooden shoes (Vin I 189,2–3) or for going to the village at the wrong time (Vin IV 165,1–2), rather than for *tiracchānakathā*. Nevertheless, it is designated as unsuitable (*na kho pan' etaṃ ... tumhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ*

¹ Nāṇamoli, *The path of purification*, p. 133 (ad Vism 127,23) and F.L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, Vol. V, p. 86.

² Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The all-embracing net of views*, p. 60 (ad D I 7,28).

³ F.L. Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*, Vol. V, p. 355.

⁴ A III 256,15.

⁵ *Gradual Sayings*, Vol. III, p. 188.

... *yam tumhe anekavihitam tiracchānakatham aanuyuttā vihareyyātha*, A V 128,30–129,3), presumably because it is conducive to thoughts about the material world, rather than to *nibbāna*. The *bhikkhus* were warned against it: *mā bhikkhave anekavihitam tiracchānakatham katheyyātha*, S V 419,23–24, and it is described as *n' esā ... kathā atthasamhitā nādirahmacariyikā na nibbidāya ... samvattati*, S V 420,4–5. When Dabba is allotting lodgings, the *tiracchānakathikā* come towards the end of the list, with the *kāyadaḥhībahulā*, and Dabba thinks they will spend their time *ratiyā* (Vin II 76,1–3). At A V 185,15 it is *paribbājaka* of other sects (*aññatitthiyā*) who are engaging in *tiracchānakathā*. The same statement is made at D I 7,27 foll., where Gotama is said to abstain from such talk (*evārūpāya tiracchānakathāya partivirato samaṇo Gotamo*, D I 8,4). At D I 178,16 foll. It is Poṭṭhapāda the *paribbājaka* with a large company of *paribbājakas* who is engaging in it, and at D III 36,17 foll. it is Nigrodha the *paribbājaka*, again with a large company of *paribbājakas*, who is engaging in it, whereas it is specifically stated (D III 54,16 foll.) that *arahats* and *sammā-sambuddhas* did not indulge in such talk.

I would suggest that *tiracchāna-kathā* was at one time one example of this gossip “talk about animals”, on the same lines as “talk about kings”, etc., and it then became used in a generic sense, to stand for all such talk, just as *gāma-kathā* is used at Sn 922. In *tiracchāna-kathā* and in the compounds which are used to explain it, *kathā* is singular and its meaning is “talk”, although if the words are taken individually the distinction may be blurred, since “talk about kings” (*rāja-kathā*) will, of course, involve “stories about kings”.

3. *pacchābandha* “rudder”

Under the entry for *kañcana-mahānāvā* “a big golden ship” the latest fascicle of CPD (i.e. Vol. III fascicle 1) gives a reference which

includes the word *pacchābaddha*: *so kañcana-mahānāvāya pacchā-bandho* (Be so; Ee reads *-ddh-*) *viya satthu padānupadikaṃ anugañchi*, Mp I 182,11. This word is not listed in PED. It is used of something which follows behind a ship, and presumably means “rudder”. A similar reference occurs for *kañcana-nāvā* “golden ship”, which is not listed in CPD: *so kañcana-nāvāya pacchābandho* (Ce so; Be and Ee read *-ddh-*) *viya satthāraṃ padānupadikaṃ anugacchati*, Th-a III 134,29 = Ap-a 264,24.

It is to be noted that the reading *-baddho* in the first reference is that of Ee; Be reads *-bandho*, whereas in the second reference *-baddho* is the reading of Be and Ee; Ce reads *-bandho*, i.e. Ee consistently reads *-baddho*, whereas Be is inconsistent. I think that the noun *bandha* (or *ābandha*) is more likely to be the correct reading “the behind equipment, the equipment behind”, rather than the past participle *baddha* (or *ābaddha*) “(the thing) tied on behind”.

4. *mātaṅ'arañña* “elephant forest”

This collocation of words occurs in two consecutive verses in Dhp and elsewhere in Pāli:

eko care mātaṅ'araññe va nāgo (Dhp 329 = M III 154,23* = Vin I 350,10* = Ja III 488,23*) and

appossukko mātaṅ'araññe va nāgo (Dhp 330 = M III 154,26* = Vin I 350,13* = Ja III 488,26*).

Max Müller¹ seems to have omitted *mātaṅga* in his translation of Dhp: “let him walk alone ... like an elephant in the forest” and “[let a man walk alone] ... with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest”.

¹ F. Max Müller, *The Dhammapada*, Sacred Books of the East X, Oxford 1881, pp. 79–80.

Radhakrishnan¹ was inconsistent, translating the first time "walk alone ... like an elephant ... in the forest" but then "let a man walk alone with few wishes like an elephant ... in the elephant forest". Acharya Budharakkhita² translates it as "elephant forest" in both verses. Kalupahana³ similarly translates it as a compound in both verses: "like the elephant in the Matanga forest". Miss Horner⁴ translates it as "elephant-jungle" in both verses in both M and Vin.

All these translations have in common the fact that they do not follow, and make no comment upon, the commentarial tradition. Carter and Palihawadana, however, who also⁵ translate: "like the elephant in the Mātanga forest", point out⁶ that in so doing they are going against the commentary which explains: *mātaṅg' araṇṇe va nāgo ti yathā ca "ahaṃ kho ākiṇṇo viharāmi hatthiṃ hatthinīṃ hatthikalabhehi hatthicchāpehi chinnaḅgāṇi c' eva tiṇāni khādāmi, obhaggobhaggaṇ ca sākābhāṅgaṃ khādāmi, āvilāni ca pāṇīyāni pivāmi, ogāhantassa ca me tiṇṇassa ca hatthinīyo kāyaṃ upanighaṃsantiyo gacchanti, yaṃ nūnāhaṃ ekako gaṇaṃhā vūpakaṭṭho vihareyyaṃ" ti evaṃ paṭicikkhitvā [ayaṃ me tena] gamanato mātaṅgo ti laddhaṇāmo, imasmiṃ araṇṇe ayaṃ hatthināgo yūthaṃ paḥāya sabbiriyāpathesu ekako sukhaṃ carati, evaṃ pi eko careyyā ti attho*, DhP-a IV 29,16–30,9.

Similarly, Ps IV 206,12 foll. (= Sp 1151,26 foll. = Ja III 489,25' foll.) explains: *mātaṅgaraṇṇe va nāgo ti mātaṅgo araṇṇe nāgo va*.

¹ S. Radhakrishnan, *The Dhammapada*, London 1952, p. 162.

² Acharya Budharakkhita, *The Dhammapada*, Kandy 1985, p. 61.

³ David J. Kalupahana, *A Path of Righteousness: Dhammapada*, Lanham 1986, p. 144.

⁴ I.B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. III, London 1959, p. 199; *Book of the Discipline*, Vol. IV, London 1951, p. 500.

⁵ John Ross Carter & Mahinda Palihawadana, *The Dhammapada*, New York 1987, p. 48.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 494 note 15.

mātaṅgo ti hatthī vuccati. nāgo ti mahantādhivacanam etaṃ. In this view, therefore, *mātaṅgo nāgo* means “large elephant”.

Carter and Palihawadana justify their rejection of the *cty* on the grounds that the sandhi of *-o + a- > -a-* seems unusual. They draw attention to two references to the name of a forest named *Mātaṅgārañña* connected with the outcaste *Mātaṅga*, quoting DPPN as their authority. One of these references is Mil 130,7, where I can see no mention of the outcaste *Mātaṅga*, nor does the text seem to justify Malalasekera’s statement that *Mātaṅgārañña*, which occurs with *Daṇḍakārañña*, *Mejjhārañña* and *Kaliṅgārañña*, is the same as *Mejjhārañña*. These four forests are the same as those at M I 378,20–21, to which DPPN makes no reference, although it does refer to Ps II 615 (= PTS ed. III 88,11), where *Mātaṅgārañña* is commented upon. It seems just as likely that *Mātaṅga* in this name is a geographical location, and I have considered elsewhere¹ a number of compounds where *Mataṅga* (which presumably underlies *Mātaṅga*) seems to be a geographical feature. A specific geographical location, however, seems unlikely in the context of the *Dhp*, since it is not clear why anyone should wander alone or have few desires like an elephant in the *Mātaṅgārañña* more than in any other place. If, then, we are dealing with a compound, it is more likely to mean nothing more than “elephant forest”, and it would be a synonym of *nāgavana* which occurs in *Dhp* 324 and elsewhere in Pāli,² and also in one of Aśoka’s Pillar Edicts.³

It is perhaps worth considering whether the unusual sandhi is sufficient reason for rejecting the *cty*’s explanation. I cannot at the moment quote another example of the sandhi of *-o + a- > -a-*, but if the

¹ K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies (I)”, *JOL(B)*, IX, 1960, pp. 268–73 (pp. 271–73) (= CP I, pp. 15–20 [pp. 18–20]).

² See PTC II, p. 460, s.v. *nāgavana*.

³ Pillar Edict V(1).

word were a compound, then we should have expected *mātaṅgārañṇe*, and we must assume that the shortening to *mātaṅgarañṇe* is metri causa, to avoid - - - in the break in the middle of a Triṣṭubh pāda. If we assume that *mātaṅgārañṇe* was an earlier form of the word(s), then we can state that the sandhi of -o + a- > -ā- is certainly not unparalleled, e.g. *ratāhaṃ* (< *rato* + *ahaṃ*) Sn 461, *anuttarāyaṃ* (*anuttaro* + *ayaṃ*) Sn 690, *orakāyaṃ* (< *orako* + *ayaṃ*) Sn 692, and probably *vivattacchaddāsi* (< *vivattacchaddo* + *asī*) Sn 378. There are other examples in Dhṛp itself: *yāyaṃ* = *yo ayaṃ* 56; *appassutāyaṃ* (*appassuto* + *ayaṃ*), 152; and with shortening of the vowel before a double consonant *y' assa* = *yo assa* 389.¹

To support their translation Carter and Palihawadana quote PDhp 10–11: *mātaṅgāranne*,² but this is no more conclusive than Pāli *mātaṅgarañṇa*, since it too can be taken in both ways. On the face of it *mātaṅgāraṇye* in Udāna-v 14.16, which they also quote, is conclusive, because this can be only be taken as a compound. This form of the word cannot be due to the metre, for if the BHS redactor had wished to follow the explanation of the Pāli cties, then he could have written *mātaṅgo 'raṇye*, with no change of scansion. A moment's thought, however, shows us that this is not as conclusive as we might wish. If the BHS redactor received *mātaṅgārañṇe* in his exemplar, but did not have access to the same commentarial tradition as we find in the Pāli cties, then it is inevitable that he would have taken it as a compound, and "translated" accordingly. Even if he received the same commentarial tradition, it is possible that, being trained in Skt grammar, he would have had the same distaste for the unusual sandhi, and would have rejected this explanation, like Carter and Palihawadana.

¹ For other examples see K.R. Norman, "The influence of the Pāli commentators and grammarians upon the Theravādin tradition", *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū)*, XV, 1985, pp. 109–23 (= CP III, pp. 95–107).

² See M. Cone, "Patna Dharmapada", *JPTS* XIII, 1989, p. 107.

Another reason for the rejection of the commentarial explanation by modern translators is probably because they find it difficult to include two words for “elephant” in the same sentence. As noted above, some of the commentators avoided this problem by assigning the meaning “large” to *nāga*. We may, however, avoid this problem by assuming that *mātaṅga* is not the name of a particular elephant as the Dh-p-a seems to imply, but a type or breed of elephant, perhaps one coming from the Maṭaṅga region. The epithet would then give the hearer some idea of the quality of the elephant, as Meenakshi¹ suggests, just as *sindhava* “coming from Sindh” was used as an epithet of excellent horses. In this connection we should note the collocation of words for “elephant” in: *koñcam kāhiti mātaṅgo kuñjaro saṭṭhihāyano*, Ja VI 497,2*.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the evidence for the interpretation of *mātaṅg'arañṇe* in Dh-p 329–30 is not sufficient for us to be able to say decisively whether we are dealing with two separate words or a compound. Much depends upon the value which we place upon the commentarial tradition, and there are many scholars who believe that, although it has long been standard practice to consult the Theravāda commentarial interpretations in order to interpret a difficult passage in an early text, every possible effort should be made to avoid the influence of the traditional commentarial interpretations on their own analysis.² I would agree wholeheartedly with the view that commentaries are frequently misleading because they are usually the product of a different social and historical background, and the information they give is sometimes unreliable and occasionally incorrect.³ I would, however, regard it as perverse to ignore completely all the information they give,

¹ K. Meenakshi, “Lexical borrowing from the non-Aryan into Indo-Aryan”, *Indian Linguistics* 50, 1989 [1991], pp. 113–26 [p. 120].

² See Grace G. Burford, *Desire, Death, and Goodness*, New York 1991, p. 11.

³ K.R. Norman, “On translating from Pāli”, *One Vehicle*, Singapore 1984, pp. 77–87 (p. 80) (= CP III, pp. 60–81 [p. 68]).

and would rather hope that it might be possible to evaluate commentarial information, and to determine what is likely to be reliable, and what not.

In this particular case, I should like to propose the principle of *explicatio difficilior*, which states that when two or more explanations are equally possible, preference should be given to the one which involves the greater difficulty. In this particular case, by far the simpler explanation is to take *mātaṅgarañña* as a compound, which is what the Udāna-v redactor and all the modern translators I have quoted have done. The Pāli commentarial tradition, however, has adopted the more difficult explanation which involves taken *mātaṅg'* and *arañña* as two separate words, and presuming the existence of the sandhi of *-o + a- > -a-* (via *-ā-*, I believe). This sandhi is rare, although well authenticated, and it would seem perverse for the commentarial tradition to have proposed and followed this more difficult explanation, without alternative, unless it was made on good authority.

5. *vidha* "buckle"

In the Nepali folios of the Vinayapiṭaka recently studied by Professor von Hinüber¹ we find the variants *veḍha* and *vehā* for Pāli *vidha* (which is said to mean "buckle"²). Taking these together with the readings *vītha* and *vīṭha* which are found in some oriental editions of the Vinaya, Professor von Hinüber was led to suggest a connection with BHS *veṭhaka*. If this is right, then presumably the correct reading is *vīṭha* or **veṭha*, with the *i/e* alternation.³

¹ Oskar von Hinüber: *The oldest Pāli manuscript. Four folios of the Vinayapiṭaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu*. Mainz, 1991.

² See PED, s.v. *vidha*².

³ K.R. Norman, "Some vowel values in MIA", *Indian Linguistics*, 21, 1960, pp. 104–7 (CP I, pp. 21–24)

This is presumably to be derived from Skt *veṣṭaka*, which has a variety of meanings based upon the senses “covering, surrounding”. The multiplicity of developments from Skt *ṣṭ* which occur in Middle Indo-Aryan can be well seen by examining the developments of *leṣṭu* (*leṭṭhu*, *leḍhukka*, *leḍu*, *lelu* [via *leḷu*], *leḍḍu* [via **leṭṭu*], *lehuḍa*)¹ and **luṣṭa* (*luṭṭha*, *loṭṭha*, *loḍa*, *loḍha*) which are found in Middle Indo-Aryan.²

It is possible that the word *samvelli*, which seems to be a garment worn by wrestlers, is also to be derived from the root *veṣṭ* (via **vel* < *veḷ*). It is also possible that we should consider here the variants *vegga-*, *vekha-*, and *veṭha-missa* at Th 143, which in EV I I derived from *veṣṭa*.³ Professor Gombrich suggested that the correct reading was *vedha* “trembling”,⁴ but this leaves the problem of the retroflex consonant in one of the v.ll. unexplained.

6. *seṭṭhi* “dregs”

This word is not listed in PED. It occurs in a list of things which are said in the Aggañña-sutta (§ 16)⁵ to have been thrown at those indulging in *methuna*. Buddhaghosa explained it as ashes.⁶

It is to be derived < Skt **śiṣṭi* < *śiṣ* “to remain”, and means “remainder, dregs”. One might argue that Buddhaghosa’s gloss is justifiable, as ashes are the remainder from a fire, but the usage in New

¹ K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies I”, *JOI(B)* IX, 1960, pp. 268–73 (CP I, pp. 15–20 [p. 16]).

² K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies IV”, *JOI(B)* XIII, 1964, pp. 208–13 (CP I, pp. 36–41 [p. 38]).

³ K.R. Norman, *Elders’ Verses I*, p. 154 (ad Th 143).

⁴ RFG, “Old bodies like carts”, *JPTS* XI, 1987, pp. 1–4.

⁵ *aññe paṃsum khipanti aññe seṭṭhiṃ khipanti aññe gomayaṃ khipanti*, D III 88,30 = 89,5.

⁶ *seṭṭhin ti chārikam*, Sv 869,24.

Indo-Aryan¹ suggests that it is liquid dregs which are intended. If this is so, then Buddhaghosa was merely guessing the meaning from the context, perhaps with the knowledge of a marriage ceremony where ashes were thrown.

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¹ See CDIAL 12480.

A CITATION FROM THE **BUDDHAVAMSA* OF THE ABHAYAGIRI SCHOOL

It is well known that the Theravādins of Sri Lanka were divided into two main rival branches, the Mahāvihāravāsins ("Residents of the Great Monastery") and the Abhayagirivāsins ("Residents of Abhayagiri [Monastery]"), and that after more than a thousand years of contention for legitimacy and patronage, the former won out, and the latter disappeared.¹ The Theravāda that we know today is the Mahāvihāra tradition, as settled in the main by the prolific commentator Buddhaghosa in the 5th century; the later Pāli literature of the sub-commentaries (*ṭīkā*s) and manuals, although subject to a variety of influences, also belongs to the Mahāvihāravāsin lineage.

No undisputed Abhayagiri text has survived. The Pāli *Saddhammopāyana*² and the *Questions of Upālī*³ and *Vimuttimaggā*,⁴

¹ For the two schools, see André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule* (*Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XXXVIII), Paris, 1955, chapters XXIX and XXX. A third branch, the Jetavanīyas or Sāgalikas (Bareau, ch. XXXI) seems to have played a less significant role. For the Abhayagiri, see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, [Colombo] 1961, pp. 21–25 ("Abhayagiri"), 25–28 ("Abhayagirivāsins"), and Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, [1956] 1966, pp. 83–85, 92–99, etc.

² Translated into English by Ann Hazelwood, *JPTS* XII, pp. 65–168.

³ See H. Bechert (ed.), *Upālipariprocchāsūtra, ein Text zur buddhistischen Ordensdisziplin*, aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt und den Pāli-Parallelen gegenübergestellt von Valentina Stache-Rosen, Göttingen, 1984, pp. 12–15, 28–31.

⁴ Translated into English by N.R.M. Ehara, Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom (Vimuttimaggā)*, [Colombo, 1961] Kandy, 1977; for a recent note see H. Bechert, "Vimuttimaggā and Amatākaravaṇṇanā", in N.H. Samtani and H.S. Prasad (edd.), *Amalā Prajñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies (Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume)*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 11–14. Selected portions of the work are preserved in Tibetan translation: see P. Skilling, "The

both in Chinese translation, have been ascribed to the school, but there is some debate on the subject.¹ In my opinion there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the last named was not a Mahāvihāra text, and that it was either composed by or (if written in India) adopted and transmitted by monks of the Abhayagiri lineage. I will present this evidence in a separate article.²

The Abhayagiri monks were broad-minded in outlook; they maintained contacts with foreign Buddhist schools, and themselves established bases in India and in South-east Asia. An inscription from Ratu Baka in central Java, dated 792 A.C., refers to the Abhayagiri-vihāra of the Sinhalese. The presence in North India of the Abhayagiri, or of an affiliated Sthavira tradition with similar views, is shown by the fact that a chapter of the *Vimuttimaggā* was translated into Tibetan around 800 A.C., and that lengthy sections were cited by Daśabalaśrīmitra, a North Indian scholar, probably in the 12th century, in a work preserved only in Tibetan translation.³ A similar tradition is

Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya of Daśabalaśrīmitra", in *Buddhist Studies Review*, Vol. 4, no. 1, 1987, pp. 7–8 and 16.

¹ See K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 29 and accompanying note, and pp. 159–60. The most recent contribution to the debate is K.R. Norman's "The Literary Works of the Abhayagirivihārins", in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇamitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, pp. 41–50, which gives an extensive bibliography.

² "*Vimuttimaggā* and Abhayagiri: The Form-aggregate according to the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛta-viniścaya*" (forthcoming), in which I will also discuss the date of the Chinese translation and the name of the translator, about which there has been considerable confusion.

³ See Skilling (*op. cit.*, p. 16) for references. Some of the shorter passages cited by Daśabalaśrīmitra "from the *Āgama* of the Ārya Sthaviranikāya", which are not yet traced in Pāli (Skilling pp. 7–8), may possibly be drawn from non-Mahāvihāra — that is North Indian Sthavira or Abhayagiri — sources. An Abhayagiri is referred to in the concluding Khmer portion of a Vajrayānist Sanskrit inscription, dated 1066 A.C., from the vicinity of Nakhon Ratchasima

possibly attested in South-east Asia at an earlier date, since *Saṃghabhara, who translated the *Vimuttimaggā* into Chinese in the second decade of the 6th century, was from Funan, but whether he obtained the text there, from India, or in China itself is not clear.

We cannot say with absolute certainty that the scriptures of the Abhayagiri were transmitted in Pāli, although this is most probable, since there is evidence that the two branches shared the same *Piṭakas*, with a few relatively minor differences.¹ Had the Abhayagirivāsins adopted a Sanskrit *Tipiṭaka*, their rivals would surely have been quick to point this out; but no such accusation is found in available literature. The disputes between the school and the Mahāvihāra described in the Pāli chronicles, although frequently the result of a struggle for royal patronage, are usually in some way connected with *Vinaya*; although the Mahāvihāra accuses the Abhayagiri of harbouring “heresy” —that is, leaning towards the Mahāyāna — this seems more of a blanket charge than the real cause of contention. The kings of Sri Lanka made periodic attempts to reunite the two groups, which should have been impossible had they adhered to completely different *Vinayas*, and the points upon which the two branches differed, as described in the *ṭikās*, are significant only in a Theravādin context.

in Central Siam: see Chirapat Prapandvidya, “The Sab Bāk Inscription: Evidence of an Early Vajrayāna Buddhist Presence in Thailand”, in *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 78, pt. 2 (1990), p. 12 (text line 32), p. 13 (tr.). The precise location of this Abhayagiri (note that the inscription names only an “Abhaya Mountain” (*giri*), where images of “Buddhalokeśvara” and others were installed and later renovated, and not a *vihāra*) is unknown, and it is not clear whether the toponym should be related to the Abhayagiri school of Sri Lanka.

¹ See Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 242–43, and Heinz Bechert, “Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna”, in *German Scholars on India*, Vol. 1, Varanasi, 1971, p. 11.

Even the overseas branches of the Abhayagiri would likely have kept their sacred canon in Pāli (as do the Mahāvihāravāsins to this day), although they may have composed some treatises in Sanskrit. Examples of scriptures of several Buddhist schools have been preserved in a number of Prakrit dialects, both in manuscript and inscription, and even Sanskrit texts such as the *Ratnagotravibhāga* or the works of Candrakīrti and Śāntideva cite Prakrit passages in the original. Thus, although a trend towards Sanskritization was certainly evident in some schools, notably the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, and later Dharmaguptakas, there was no compulsion to adopt Sanskrit.

A tantalizing brief citation of an Abhayagiri text is preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Tarkajvālā* of Bhavya.¹ The *Tarkajvālā* is Bhavya's commentary on his own *Madhyamakahrdaya-kārikās*; only the latter is extant in Sanskrit.² As is all too often the case, the exact dates of Bhavya — who is also known as Bhāvaviveka and Bhāviveka — are

¹ Derge (= D) 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 177a7–b2; Peking (= Q) 5256 in D.T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition*, Vol. 96, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957, *bstan 'gyur, mdo 'grel, dbu ma, dza*, 192b1–6. I am grateful to Dr. Josef Kolmaš of the Oriental Institute, Prague, for providing photo-copies of the relevant sections of the Derge.

² For this work, and the thought and work of Bhavya in general, see David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy In India* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 1), Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 61–66; see also the same author's "Towards a Chronology of the Madhyamaka School", in L.A. Hercus *et al.* (edd.), *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, [Canberra, 1982] Delhi, 1984, pp. 508, 512–13. Chapter 1 (verses, with Sanskrit, and commentary) has been translated by V.V. Gokhale, "Madhyamakahrdayakārikā Tarkajvālā, Chapter 1", in Chr. Lindtner (ed.), *Miscellanea Buddhica* (Indiske Studier V), Copenhagen, 1985, pp. 76–107. Part of Chapter 3 has been edited and translated by Shotaro Iida, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism*, Tokyo, 1980. Iida gives a detailed bibliography of studies of Bhavya's work.

not known. Ruegg suggests *ca.* 500–70, with a question mark.¹ Tāranātha states that he was born in South India, where he received *pravrajyā* and mastered the *Tripitaka*.²

Chapter 4 of the *Tarkajvālā*, *Śrāvakatattvāvatāra*, is a mine of precious information on the tenets and scriptures of the Śrāvaka schools.³ The Abhayagiri citation occurs in the context of Bhavya's response to the contention that monks should not honour or worship a layman, that is, an unordained bodhisattva. He states that "in the texts of most of the eighteen schools (*nikāya*), it is clearly stated that a bodhisattva should be honoured" and goes on to cite examples from the scriptures of seventeen schools.⁴ Of these, the Abhayagiri citation is seventh.

Bhavya describes the work from which he draws his citation as *'phags pa gnas brtan pa 'jigs med ri la gnas pa rnam kyī saṅs rgyas kyī rigs khri ṅis ston*: "the Twelve-thousand Lineage of the Buddhas of the Ārya Sthavira Abhayagirivāsins". The title consists of two elements:

¹ Ruegg, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

² Antonius Schiefner, *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, Saint Petersburg, 1868, p. 106.7, *slob dpon legs ldan ni lho phyogs ma lya rar rgyal rigs mchog tu skye ba brñed; yul de ṅid du rab tu byuṅ nas sde snod gsum la mkhas par byas*. Cf. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, 1980, p. 186.

³ *Ñan thos kyī de kho na ṅid la 'jug pa*, D 144a7 foll.; Q 157b2–218b8 = 123 folio sides. Of these, only about 17 folios have been translated and studied in the form of the independent treatise on the schools extracted from the *Tarkajvālā*, *bampo* 13 (D 148a4–155b6; Q 161a3–169a5 = Q 5640, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 177a1–187b2): see André Bareau, "Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques attribués à Vasumitra, Bhavya, et Vinītadeva", *Ile partie, Journal Asiatique*, 1956, fasc. 2, pp. 167–91.

⁴ D 175a7, Q 190a6, *sde pa bco brgyad phal chen gyi gzuṅ las kyaṅ l byaṅ chub sems dpa' la phyag bya bar rab tu grags te*. The section runs from D 175a7–179b1, Q 190a6–195a2. In a forthcoming article entitled "Bhavya's Citations from the Scriptures of the 'Eighteen Schools'" I will study this section.

saṅs rgyas kyi rigs and *khri ṅis ston*. *Saṅs rgyas* = Buddha (plus *kyi*, to make the genitive); *rigs* translates a number of Sanskrit terms, such as *kula*, *gotra*, *jāti*, *varṇa*, *vaṃśa*, *nikāya*. On the basis of the (admittedly brief) context and Pāli usage, **Buddhavaṃsa* seems a likely equivalent.¹ The second element, *khri ṅis ston*, is a number, 12000 = *dvādasasahasā*. The title as a whole may be somewhat tentatively rendered into Pāli as **Dvādasasahasā-buddhavaṃsa*.

A question arises: does the figure 12000 refer to the number of Buddhas, or to the size of the text, measured in *ślokas*? In either case, the Pāli or Sanskrit title would have been the same. In the former case, one would rather expect the translation to read *saṅs rgyas khri ṅis ston gi rigs*, “the lineage or succession of 12000 Buddhas” (but the translators, faced with a brief citation from an unfamiliar text, might have failed to understand the title). While I have not found any references to a group of 12000 Buddhas in the Mahāvihāra texts, the Abhayagiri tradition may have been different. If the latter is the case, the translation may be compared with the Tibetan titles of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts: the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, for example, is rendered as *Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri bgyad ston pa*.

I have not been able to trace the verses, or any similar verses, in the *Buddhavaṃsa* of the Mahāvihāravāsins. They thus seem to come from a uniquely Abhayagirivāsin text. The brevity does not offer us much information about the tenets of the school. We learn that it accepted ten perfections (*pāramī*); these are not named in the citation, but it is likely that the broader Sthavira tradition agreed on the subject, since the list of the non-Mahāvihārin *Vimuttimaggā* (pp. 188–89) agrees with that of the Mahāvihāravāsins. The citation adds to our meagre knowledge of Abhayagiri literature, and gives us an example of

¹ In the following discussion of the citation I will use Pāli equivalents of the Tibetan.

Theravādin devotional verse that is no later than the beginning of the 6th century. It also gives us a third, and the earliest, example of the availability of Sthavira texts in India: we now have the **Buddhavaṃsa* in the 6th century, the chapter of the *Vimuttimaggā* translated into Tibetan *ca.* 800,¹ and the *Vimuttimaggā* and other texts cited by Daśabalaśrīmitra in the 12th or 13th century. While the last two examples show that the *Vimuttimaggā* was available in Northern India, we cannot be certain where Bhavya obtained his text. Tradition places much of his career in South India, but also has him visiting Madhyadeśa, and we do not know where he composed the *Tarkajvālā*. The availability of Abhayagiri texts in South India would hardly be surprising, since on a number of occasions monks of that school fled or were banished to the South.

Here follows an English translation; the Tibetan text of the Derge and Peking *Tanjurs* — the only editions available to me — is given in the appendix. I find the text rather difficult at some points, and hope that more able scholars will be able to improve upon my work.²

¹ The chapter in question was translated by Vidyākaraśrīmitra and dPal brtsegs. While the origin of the Indian manuscript, or indeed of any other texts translated in the period, is not stated, it is clear that Tibet's religious relations were with Kashmir and Magadha, from which most of the translators hailed. That the text would have been obtained from Lanka or South India is unlikely. Why the text was selected for translation is not known; I assume that it was chosen by the Indian translator(s) because it was highly regarded in their homeland, which again points to North India.

² For a note on the quality of the Tibetan translation of the *Tarkajvālā*, see V.V. Gokhale, pp. 76–77. I am grateful to Paul Harrison for reading the draft of this article, and making perspicacious suggestions.

1. "The Buddha's son,¹ the bodhisatta,
should be honoured by all the world (*loka*):
[he is] limitless in wisdom (*paññā*),
virtue (*sīla*), and the wisdom of liberation
(*paññāvimutti*).
2. Donning the suit of great armour (*sannāha*)
he attains inconceivable (*acinteyya*) power;
fulfilling the ten perfections (*pāramī*),
he realizes the *dharmas* of a Buddha.
3. All the world (*loka*) should pay homage
to [the bodhisatta], shrine (*cetiya*) for all the world;
there is no [member of the] community (*saṅgha*) who
equals him
in wisdom, virtue, or concentration (*paññā, sīla,*
samādhi).
4. With the exception of the omniscient (*sabbapañṇu*)
Buddha(s),
[in] the world including the gods
there is no one who should not honour
[the bodhisatta] who is honoured by all the world."

The section as a whole concludes: "Therefore, since it is proven that according to the scriptures of the eighteen schools bodhisattvas

¹ *Saṅs rgyas sras po* = *buddha-putta, buddhattaja*. Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa* v. 76, cited below, where *jina-putta* describes the *arhats*. *Jina-putta* (-*putra*) thus has two meanings: (1) a bodhisatt(v)a (cf. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II: Dictionary, [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972, pp. 242–43, s.v. *jinaputra*); (2) a disciple of the Buddha (cf. PTSD 284a, PTC Vol. II, pp. 160–61, and *Buddhavaṃsa* citation below).

who have generated the initial aspiration [to Buddhahood], etc., are to be honoured, it is to be known that the Mahāyāna is included within (*antargata*) the eighteen schools".¹

The three-fold division of the Theravādins of Sri Lanka into Mahāvihāravāsins, Abhayagirivāsins, and Jetavanīyas was well-known in India, although Bhavya himself does not refer to it.² That he does not cite the scriptures of the other two schools may simply indicate that he did not have access to them, or that he deemed the Abhayagirivāsins to be representative of the Theras as a whole, and thus felt that a single citation sufficed. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Jātakanidāna* of the Mahāvihāravāsins may in fact be cited to support Bhavya's case. In the *Sumedhakathā*, after the bodhisatta as Sumedha has stretched himself out in the mud so that Dīpaṅkara may walk over him without dirtying his feet, we read³:

*Dīpaṅkaradasabalo ca bodhisattam mahāsattam pasamsitvā
aṭṭhahi pupphamuṭṭhihi pūjetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi; te pi
catusatasahassā khīṇāsavā bodhisattam pupphehi ca gandhehi ca pūjetvā
padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkamimsu; sadevamanussā pana tath' eva pūjetvā
vanditvā pakkamimsu.*

"Dīpaṅkara of the Ten Powers commended the Bodhisatta, the Great Being, honoured him with eight handfuls of flowers, circled him respectfully, and departed. The four hundred thousand [arhats] who had destroyed the cankers also honoured the Bodhisatta with flowers and

¹ D 179a7, Q 195a1, *de ltar na sde pa bco brgyad kyi gzuñ las dañ po sems bskyed pa la sogs pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' rnams la phyag bya bar grub pas theg pa chen po sde pa bco brgyad kyi khoṅs su gtogs pa yin par rig (Q rigs) par bya'o.*

² See the lists given by Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 24–26.

³ *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (PTS) 94,31–35; *Jātaka* I (PTS) 16,24–28, with a few minor differences.

perfumes, circled him respectfully, and departed. Gods and men as well honoured and worshipped him then and there, and departed.”

In this passage, the Buddha Dīpaṅkara himself honours the Bodhisatta, who is a layman, a brahman ascetic, as do the arhat monks. In this the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Jātakanidāna* of the Mahāvihāravāsins go farther than the **Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagirivāsins, since v. 4 of Bhavya’s citation excludes the Buddha from the need to honour the bodhisatta. This is the text of the commentary, which dates in this form to the 5th century. A verse from the *Buddhavaṃsa* itself, which should go back some centuries earlier, gives a simpler account¹:

*ye tatth’ āsum jina puttā padakkhiṇaṃ akaṃsu maṃ
devā manussā asurā ca abhivādetvāna pakkamuṃ*

Those Victor’s sons [the arhats] present there paid their
respects to me;
the gods, humans, and *asuras*,² having honoured me,
departed.

Here only the arhat monks (*jina puttā*) pay respect to the lay Bodhisatta; it is not stated that Dīpaṅkara does so. Thus the *Buddhavaṃsa*, its commentary, and the *Jātakanidāna* may be cited in support of Bhavya.

Appendix: Tibetan text

1. saṅs rgyas sras po byaṅ chub sems//
 ’jig rten kun gyis phyag bgyi’o//

¹ v. 76 of the *Buddhavaṃsa*; v. 86 of the *Jātakanidāna* is similar.

² Humans, *nāgas*, and *gandhabbas* (*narā nāgā ca gandhabbā*) according to the *Jātakanidāna*.

śes rab dpag tu med pa dañ//
tshul khrims śes rab mam grol dag¹//

2. go cha chen po'i go bgos nas//
bsam gyis mi khyab dbaṅ thob ciñ//
pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs gyur nas//
saṅs rgyas chos mams mñon gyur pa//

3. 'jig rten kun gyi mchod rten la//
'jig rten kun gyis² phyag bgyi'o//
śes rab tshul khrims tiñ 'dzin gyi³//
de dañ mñam pa'i dge 'dun med//

4. 'jig rten kun gyis⁴ phyag bgyis pa//
saṅs rgyas kun mkhyen ma gtogs⁵ pa'i//
lha dañ bcas pa'i 'jig rten ni//
'gas kyaṅ phyag mi bya ba min//

śes 'phags pa gnas brtan pa 'jigs med ri la gnas pa mams kyi
saṅs rgyas kyi rigs khri ñis stoṅ las 'don to//

Bangkok

Peter Skilling

¹ *Dag* D, *bdag* Q. The latter, "self, lord, master (*adhipati*, *ātman*, *pati*)", seems unlikely in combination with *paññā*, *sīla*, and *paññāvimutti*; I have therefore followed D, *dag*, which simply indicates the plural.

² *Gyis* (instrumental) D; *gyi* (genitive) Q.

³ *Gyi* (genitive) D; *gyis* (instrumental) Q.

⁴ *Gyis* (instrumental) D; *gyi* (genitive) Q.

⁵ *Gtogs* D; *rtogs* Q.

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