

Pali Text Society

JOURNAL

OF THE

PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XIV

EDITED BY

K.R. NORMAN

Published by

THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
OXFORD

1990

© *Pali Text Society 1990*

ISBN 0-86013-292-7

First published in 1990
Distributed by Lavis Marketing
73 Lime Walk
Oxford OX3 7AD

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

CONTENTS

The colophons of 30 Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand By H. Hundius	1
Studies in the Pāli Grammarians II.1 By O.H. Pind	175
Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII By K.R. Norman	219
Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XIV By K.R. Norman	227
Contributors to this Volume	229
Notice from the Council of the Pali Text Society	231
Editorial Notice	233

THE COLOPHONS OF THIRTY PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS FROM NORTHERN THAILAND

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	3
Note on Transcriptions.....	6
List of Abbreviations and Signs.....	7
Map	8

PART A : INTRODUCTION

1. Background : The Sources.....	10
1.1 The Pāli Tradition of Northern Thailand in an Historical Perspective	10
1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research	15
2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study	20
3. The Colophons.....	26
3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pāli Manuscripts	26
3.2 Content of the Colophons	28
3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts	28
3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means of Acquiring Merit.....	29
3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit.....	30
3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.....	31
3.2.5 The Colophons as Media of Communication and Personal Expression.....	32
3.2.6 Remarks Pertaining to the Quality of the Copying Work.....	33
3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.....	34
3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae	34
3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sḡḡy	36
3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example	37

PART B : THE TEXTS

1. Technical Remarks	
1.1 The Transliteration.....	42
1.1.1 Consonants	43
1.1.1.1 General Principles.....	43

1.1.1.2	Rationale.....	43
1.1.1.3	Specific Information.....	44
1.1.2	Vowels	45
1.1.2.1	General Principles.....	45
1.1.2.2	Rationale.....	46
1.1.2.3	Specific Information.....	47
1.1.3	Tones.....	48
1.2	Note on the Phonematic Notation.....	49
1.3	Note on the Pronunciation.....	49
1.3.1	General Remarks.....	49
1.3.2	Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.....	49
1.3.3	Ambiguities of Pronunciation.....	50
1.3.3.1	Loss of /-ʔ/ in connected speech.....	50
1.3.3.2	Final particles.....	52
1.3.3.3	Tonal quality of certain syllables ending with /-am/.....	52
1.4	The Pagination of Palm-leaf Manuscripts.....	53
1.5	Glossary of Special Words.....	53
1.6	Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.....	55
1.7	Note on the Description of the Manuscripts and the Presentation of the Colophons.....	56

2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

01.	DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ	59
02.	DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ	60
03.	JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka	62
04.	MILINDAPAÑHA	63
05.	JĀTAKA: Paṇṇāsaniṭṭhā	64
06.	JĀTAKA: Tiṇṇaniṭṭhā	67
07.	JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta.....	68
08.	SAMṬUTTANIKĀYA: Sagāthavagga.....	70
09.	PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ	75
10.	ABHIDHAMMA-GULHAṬṬHĀ-DĪPAṆĪ	76
11.	DĪGHANIKĀYA; Sāmaññaphalasutta	78
12.	SADDANĪTI	79
13.	JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-[Aṭṭhavanna-] ṭikā ("ṬĪKĀ MAHĀVESSANTARA")	85
14.	JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā	86
15.	CAKKAVĀḶADĪPAṆĪ	88
16.	CAKKAVĀḶADĪPAṆĪ	94
17.	CĀMADEVIVAṆSA	101

18.	CĀMADEVIVAṄSA	105
19.	JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī	108
20.	LOKADĪPA	113
21.	LOKADĪPA	117
22.	LOKASAṄṬHĀNA (-JOTARATANAGAṄṬHĪ)	119
23.	MAṄIPADĪPA	121
24.	BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA	128
25.	VAṄSAMĀLINĪ	130
26.	VUTTODAYA	132
27.	SIVIJAYAPAṄHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)	133
28.	SIVIJAYAPAṄHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)	136
29.	PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ	144
30.	PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ	150

INDEX

A.	Pāli Manuscripts in Chronological Order (Christian Era).....	157
B.	Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974).....	158
C.	Texts and Authors.....	158
D.	Donors, Scribes, and Other Persons Mentioned in the Colophons.....	159
E.	Names of Places	164
F.	Names of Monasteries	165

BIBLIOGRAPHY	167
---------------------------	-----

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

contained in the colophons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chiang Mai, April 1990

Harald Hundius

Note on Transcriptions.

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

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

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

List of Abbreviations* and Signs

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

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

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

The following signs have been used:

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

PART A : INTRODUCTION

1. Background: The Sources.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most recent holograph of the collection under study here was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

texts.⁸

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

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

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

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

⁸ See also Gosling 1983:92 foll.

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

endangered, is increasingly shared by the central authorities.

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

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

1.2 Surveys of Manuscripts and Relevant Research.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 See Cœdès 1915.

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

Northern Thai oral history, several boat-loads of Northern Thai manuscripts were taken to Bangkok from monasteries in Lamphun in the late 18th or early 19th c. It was presumed that they were to be used for the restoration of the Buddhist scriptures which had been lost since the devastation of Ayutthaya, the former capital of Siam, by Burmese armies in 1767.¹⁵

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

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

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

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

-
- 15 Verbal communication by Singkha Wannasai in February 1972 who referred to information handed down through generations by the monk community of Wat San Ton Thong (NT /wāt sǎn tǒn thoŋ/), Lamphun (situated some 2km to the SW of the present city of Lamphun, on the way to Pasang). In 1786, a Council was convened in Bangkok with the aim of reassembling and reestablishing the Pāli canon. It took a whole century until the first printed version of the canon could appear. For details see v. Hinüber 1983:75.
- 16 Prof. v. Hinüber has drawn my attention to the fact that a certain number of Northern Thai manuscripts found their way to Japan in the 19th c. as a gift by King Chulalongkorn; possibly at least some of these might belong to the above-mentioned ones which are not traceable at present.
- 17 For details see v. Hinüber 1987a. The studies referred to are predominantly unpublished Master's degree theses. Written in Thai, they have remained inaccessible to scholars of Pāli in the West. As far as texts included in our collection of 30 are concerned, hints about studies and editions of Pāli literature undertaken by Thai scholars are given in the "Remarks" to the colophons.

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

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

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

-
- 18 My earlier assumption that Finot's sources might have been Laotian versions, or adaptations, of these texts could be refuted when it was found that a number of the texts in question bore inventory numbers of the École Française d'Extrême Orient identical with the numbers given in Finot's study. (For details see Hundius 1976b).
- 19 For details on the results of research done during the past six years, emphasizing the importance of the Lan Na tradition for the study of canonical texts and our knowledge of Pāli, see various articles written by O. v. Hinüber since 1983; for instance an article concerning the oldest known manuscript of the Milindapañha (= 04 of the present article), and the history of the Pāli language as reflected in the manuscript tradition of Southeast Asia. Cf. v. Hinüber 1987a, 1988.

2. Subject, Aims and Scope of the Study.

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

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

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

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

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

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

12, 20 and 21, 23, possibly including nos. 09, 10.

- (4) Works composed by scholars from Lan Na or those generally ascribed to this tradition, are represented by 15 and 16, 17 and 18, 19, 24, 27 and 28.
- (5) Three works are of as yet unknown origin: nos. 22 (*Lokasaṅṭhāna*), 25 (*Vaṅsamālinī*), as well as 29 and 30 (*Paramatthavibhūsanī*), but may also be surmised to be of Southeast Asian origin, especially no. 25.²¹

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

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

²¹ Cf. Remarks to 25, below.

²² It may be worth mentioning here that the non-canonical *Jātaka* tradition of Lan Na

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

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

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

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

- (1) in transliteration,

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

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

(2) in phonemetic transcription,

(3) in translation.

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

ad 1:

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

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

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

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

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

work.²⁶

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

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

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

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

contacts and exchange.²⁸

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

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

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

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

assist the reader in identifying the lexemes.²⁹

ad 2:

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

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

ad 3 :

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

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

3. The Colophons.

3.1 The Collection of the Thirty Pāli Manuscripts.

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

"... Pāli words are deep and subtle ...

elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp ...

if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will know ...".

²⁹ For details, see Part B, 1.1, below.

³⁰ A useful introduction into spoken Northern Thai is given by Purnell (1962)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 Content of the Colophons.

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

3.2.1 The Purpose and Organization of Making Dhamma Manuscripts.

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

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

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

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

³² See A 1, p. 1, footnote 1, *supra*.

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Making Manuscripts as a Means to Acquiring Merit.

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

* Cf. the Pāli term *ādikammasādhaka*

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3 Aspirations for Results of Merit

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.4 Social Aspects of the Making of Manuscripts.

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.5 The Colophons as Media of Communication and Personal Expression.

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

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

own life.

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

3.2.6 Remarks Pertaining to the Quality of the Copying Work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.7 Evidence on Historical Personalities and Places.

3.2.7.1 The Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana from Phrae.

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

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

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

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

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

-
- 41 These figures are mentioned in a stone inscription set up at Wađ Wijuur (mostly written as Vat Visoun or Vixun), Luang Prabang, in CS 1198, Year of the Monkey |pii rwaay san| (AD 1836) to commemorate the accomplishment of his historic 99-manuscript copying endeavour. In the inscription which has been published, in facsimile, transliteration and French translation, by Father Schmitt in: Mission PAVIE, II, 1898:357–363, it is stated in detail how much money was spent, and by whom, for the making of the manuscripts: the King of Luang Prabang (i.e. Mangthathurat, r. 1817–1836, called |Mañdhaa| in the inscription) is said to have contributed 85 |"tañ| of silver, the |"Cau Raajjawoñ| spent purified silver (ñöön "laañ|) weighing 18,202 Baht, = 7 |'kaa|, 2 |dääñ|; and the lay people of Phrae contributed silver weighing 1 |'jañ|, 10 |taamlüñ|, 10 |slün|. For the gilding of the palm-leaves 2,800 gold leaves were used. The King of Luang Prabang sponsored the making of 34 bundles, the Prince Raajjawoñ 177, and 31 were made through contributions from the people of Phrae. (Father Schmitt's transliteration and translation, admirable as they remain after almost a century, need a few corrections).
- 42 Among the palm-leaf manuscripts kept up to the present in the library of Wat Sung Men, there is also a list of the works (NT |"seen dhamm|) which were copied in Luang Prabang. An edition of the Lan Na version of the "Fifty Apocryphal Jātakas" is presently in preparation by a research team of the Department of Thai, Chiang Mai University, supported by a grant from the Toyota Foundation, Japan.
- 43 The holdings of Wat Sung Men have recently been recorded on microfilm under the "Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project" mentioned above.

"Cau Raajjawoñ, under the aegis of a highly revered Lan Na monk.⁴⁴

3.2.7.2 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷ For more details, see Part B, Remarks to 04, 05, below.

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

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

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

3.3 Composition of Variant Colophons — an Example.

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

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

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

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

38 *Maññānīkavācā*
The colophons may be broken down into the following components:

- (1) (The Pāli text of +) title
a. *Paṇṇāsaniṭṭhā*
b. *Sattatinipāṭi*
c. *Sagāthavagga*
d. *Samantapāsādikā*
- (2) (clf +) demonstrative
a. an "nii "this"
b. "nii "
- (3) Subject (title or name of spp/don) + Predicate "to make"
a. mahaasaṅgharaajaa "cau + "saañ
(b..., c..., d..., etc.)
- (4) Date: "in the Year of (name of Cyclical Year)"
a. nai pii koḍ seḍ
(b..., c..., etc.)
- (5) Cūlasakarāja + "ḍai + (number) + numerative (+ lāā)
a. cūlasakraaja "ḍai 912 tuua lāā
(b..., c..., d..., etc.)

Translation of (1a) – (5a):

"This [manuscript of the] *Paṇṇāsaniṭṭhā* was made at the behest of the Venerable Mahāsaṅgharāja in the Year of the Dog, CS 912".

- (6) a. "phuu ḍai "Whoever ..."
b. kullaputt ṭon ḍai "Whoever [among you], sons of good family..."
c. puggala ṭon ḍai "Whoever..."
- (7) a. au bai prasoñ "takes out for worship ..."
b. au prasoñ "takes [out for] worship ..."
c. au bai prasoñ "lāāw "having taken out for worship ..."
d. yūum bai prasoñ "lāāw "having borrowed out for worship ..."
- (8) a. 'po "ruu aṭṭha lāā sapdaa "cāāñ "dāā "not truly knowing the meaning and wording ..."

- b. 'pɔ "ruu aṭṭha lāā sapdaa "cāān "not clearly knowing
the meaning and wording."
- (9) a. 'yaa nap plāān siia "do not make corrections ..."
b. 'yaa nap plāān siia 'ḍāā "
c. 'yaa plāān siia 'ḍāā "
d. 'gɔ 'yaa plāān siia 'ḍāā "
- (10) a. 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām "do not add any writing on it ..."
b. 'gɔ 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām 'ḍāā "
c. 'yaa khiian 'sai thāām "
- (11) a. 'pɔ ḍii "[that is an] evil [deed]..."
b. 'pɔ au "[if you] do not follow [my advice]..."
- (12) a. peen phreeti "[you will be reborn] as a peta ("hungry ghost ...")
b. peen phreeti jaam "
- (13) a. prasoṇ "lāāw "after worship ..."
b. 'müüa prasoṇ "lāāw "
- (14) a. yia blan au maa 'soṇ 'ḍaṇ 'kau 'ḍāā "see to it that it is
brought back again quickly ..."
b. yia blan au maa 'soṇ "wai 'ḍaṇ 'kau (= a.)
c. yia blan maa 'soṇ (= a.)
- (15) a. "saān yaak nak 'kāā "it was very hard to make it ..."
b. "saān yaak nak 'kāā naa jlāā " (= a.)
c. "saān yaak nak 'kāā jlāā " (= a.)
- (16) a. jāān "ḍuuy dūūn "do take good care!"
b. 'gɔɔy jāān "ḍuuy dūūn "
c. 'gɔɔy jāān "ḍuuy 'ḍāā "
- (17) a. "hūū puñ caaṃrōōn 'kāā "phuu peen daayaka "nan 'tɔɔ "dau
nibbaan dūūn

"may the merit [acquired by sponsoring the making of this manuscript] contribute to the donor's eventual attainment of Nibbāna."

- b. 'cuñ peen pracaiy "gaam̐ juu daayaka "phuu "saan̐ "nan 't̥oʔ
 "dau thöön̐ amaṭanibbaan döön

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

- c. 'cuñ "hüü peen pracaiy 'kää an "ḍai lookiya l̥ää
 lookuttarasampatti 'kää upaasikaa "phuu "saan̐ "nii düün rau 'g̥o
 anumoodanaa "ḍuuay l̥ää

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

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

05 (2):

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

07 (1):

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

08 (2):

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

08 (5):

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

08 (6):

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

Samantapāsādikā, AD 1561, Front Cover:

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

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

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

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

PART B: THE TEXTS

1. Technical Remarks.

1.1 The Transliteration.

The transliteration system used for the edition of the colophons is introduced and explained in detail in HUNDIUS 1990⁴⁹, where a collection of variant writings and allographs comprising some 250 forms is given to be used as a reference for further research. The Romanization introduced there and applied in the present study is not conceived as a definite or codified, fixed system, but rather as a practical tool for handling the multitude of primary sources written in Northern Thai and related languages and scripts that are becoming accessible at present.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1.1 Consonants.

1.1.1.1 General Principles.

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

1.1.1.2 Rationale.

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

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

⁵¹ Including the NT equivalent of CT /təʔ təw/, since |t| is reserved for the equivalent of CT /dəʔ dək/ which is not represented in the Dhamma Script (where |d| is used instead), but is in others, e.g. the |Fak Khaam| and the |Daiy Nideeś| scripts as well as in the traditional secular Laotian (and Northeastern Thai) alphabets often called |Daiy "Nḡḡy| Script.

⁵² Cf. Brown 2.1985, Gedney 1967, and especially Li 1977.

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

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

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

1.1.1.3 Specific Information.

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

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

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

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

and secondary graphs are rendered by a single symbol.

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

1.1.2 Vowels.

1.1.2.1 General Principles.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁵ The graphemes were established after an evaluation of a broad cross-section of data

turn as |deiðəḥ, dēḍəḥ, deiò, deḍò, deiððəḥ, dēḍðəḥ| etc., if transliterated according to the Pāli (or Sanskrit) value of each of its graphic elements, will be rendered as |dö, dö₂, dö₃, dö₆, dö₇, dö₈| etc. in the present system.⁵⁶

1.1.2.2 Rationale.

- §14 Using a phonological basis for the Romanization appears to be the most appropriate way of dealing with NT vowel writings, especially in view of the complex graphemes with their multifunctional use of certain symbols and graphic elements.
- §15 This approach offers the advantage of Romanizations which are close to present (and, one may add, past) language reality, and consequently, relatively easy to read.⁵⁷
- §16 In Romanizing NT vowel graphemes, the use of index numbers appears to be the most economical way of differentiating between allographic writings which include mutual overlappings between forms which should have been differentiated and used consistently,

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

- 56 The "atomistic" approach of transliterating Tai vowels, introduced, as it appears, by Father Schmitt at the end of the 19th century, though logically consistent in itself, has a number of serious drawbacks. As the above example illustrates, the transliterations are sometimes difficult to read; furthermore, diacritica which are mostly used multifunctionally in Northern Thai manuscripts (cf. Hundius 1990: 154-5) cannot be rendered adequately; essential and insignificant graphic elements are treated equally, to name but a few. Its basic weakness, however, lies in the fact that the transliterated graphs have no relationship to Tai phonology.
- 57 The advantage gained seems not to be counterweighed by historical considerations: according to the present state of knowledge in the field of historical phonology (see, for instance, Brown 2.1985, Li 1977, Egerod 1961), it may be safely assumed that the vowel system of Northern Thai has undergone only limited change during the past five to six centuries from which written sources have come down to us. This change has been mainly confined to the "waxing and waning" of vowel length and the monophthongization of /ia, ua, ua/ to /e(e), ə(ə), o(o)/ respectively. For details see Hundius 1990:21foll; cf. also Hartmann 1976.

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

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

1.1.2.3 Specific Information.

- §19 By analogy to the phonematic notation, vowels interpreted as long are transliterated by double symbols; including, for the sake of convenience — and by analogy to the NT writing system where long diphthongs are separated from short ones — the first parts of the (phonetically long) diphthongs, viz. |iia| representing NT /ia/, |üüa| (/üa/), and |uua| (/ua/) whose short variants are accordingly rendered as |ia| (/iaʔ/), |üa| (/üaʔ/), |ua| (/uaʔ/).
- §20 Written long vowels in closed "live syllables", i.e. those ending in a continuant (some of which have been shortened secondarily under conditions determined by tonal influences), are maintained as long, e.g. |peen| /pě̃n/ "to be", |ñöön| /ɲ̃ən/ "silver", |"tʰoŋñ| /tʰɔ̃ŋ/ "must", etc., as well as |-aam| representing /-am/.
- §21 |wa| (in Pāli texts: |va|), when used for representing NT /ua/, is written |uua|.
- §22 Correspondingly, Skt/ Pāli |ya| is rendered |iia| when representing /ia/.
- §23 The NT equivalent of CT /ʔaj máj múan/ which is occasionally used in ancient manuscripts, is rendered |aü|.

- §24 Complementarily used allographs (positional variants), like the ones used for syllable final, and for interconsonantal position, respectively, are indicated implicitly, by word boundaries (cf. § 9, *supra*).
- §25 In the case of "dead syllables", i.e. those ending in /-p, -t, -k /, and /-ʔ/, where short and long vowels are crosswisely correlated with different tones, vowels are consistently differentiated as to their length, so as to allow for a correct identification of the tone. An ambiguous form like written |kööḍ|, for example, must be interpreted either as /kəət/ "to be born" or as /kət/ "to intercept" etc. If the context leaves no doubt that the first is meant, it would be rendered |kööḍ|, if the second one is meant, it would be written |kṵḍ| (here the index number is used to indicate that in the original the symbol normally representing a long vowel is written).
- §26 Underlining of certain vowels (especially syllable final |-a|, but also word initial |ī-|, |ū-| etc.) is used to indicate that the vowel writing as found in the original manuscript is following the rules for Pāli, instead of those for NT. The same applies for opposite cases, i.e. when, for example, the NT graph |ṵṵ| is used for writing |o| in a Pāli text.

1.1.3 Tones.

Since tone indication in Northern Thai orthography, as found in the manuscripts, is marked by the same degree of inconsistency as in the case of vowels, a similar, though simpler treatment is applied.

- §27 The principle of preserving the evidence of the original is adhered to, while, at the same time, an interpretation of the tonal phoneme is given. Such an interpretation is often necessary for an identification of the lexeme.
- §28 The tonal phoneme considered to be the **correct** one in the context of a given word (or syllable) is marked by the respective tone marker **before** the lexeme, whereas the **actual** tone markation found in the manuscript, if different, is written **after** the transliterated word.
- §29 Symbols used are, in accordance with Thai usage, |' , |" , and

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

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

1.2 Note on the Phonematic Notation.

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

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

1.3 Note on the Pronunciation.

1.3.1 General Remarks.

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

1.3.2 Tonal Quality and Phonological Affiliation of the Tones.

Live Syllables*

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

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

Dead Syllables**

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

Abbreviations:

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

1.3.3 Ambiguities of Pronunciation.

1.3.3.1 Loss of /-ʔ/ in connected speech.

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

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

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

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

(Pāli/ Skt.)	(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>tīkā</i> >	/tiʔ kää/	/tikää/	/tikkaa/
<i>dīpanī</i> >	/tīʔ paʔ nii/	/tīpanii/	/tīppanii/
<i>jotaka</i> >	/coo taʔ kaʔ/	/cootakaʔ/	/cootakkaʔ/
<i>śakarāja</i> >	/saʔ kaʔ laa cãʔ/	/sakalaacãʔ/	/sakkalaacãʔ/
<i>likhita</i> >	/līʔ khiʔ taʔ/	/līkhitaʔ/	
	/līkkhittaʔ/sobhati	/sōo phãʔ tiʔ/	/sōophãtiʔ/
	/sōophãttiʔ/sthita	/saʔ thit/	/sathit/
	/satthit/		

etc.

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

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

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

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

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

colloquial pronunciation, are notated correspondingly.

1.3.3.2 Final particles.

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

/dɛɛ, d̃ɛɛ, dɛɛ/;
/hǎəj, həəj, hǎ(ə)j/;
/naa/
/nǎə, "nǎə/;
/nôɔ, "nôɔ, nô, nǔ/
/lǎ, lɔ, lǔ/
/ʔəə/

etc.

Such forms have been notated in accordance with present common usage.⁵⁹

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

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

/cǎmləən/ >	/càmləən/	"to prosper"
/kǎmlaŋ/ >	/kàmlaŋ/	"strength"
/kǎmpɛɛŋ/ >	/kàmpɛɛŋ/	"wall"
/kǎmpii/ >	/kàmpii/	"holy scripture" (< Pāli <i>gambhira</i>)
/sǎmlaan/ >	/sàmlaan/	"to be well, happy"
/tǎmnaan/ >	/tàmnaan/	"chronicle"
/*pǎmpɛɛŋ/ >	/pàmmpɛɛŋ/	"to perform, pursue"
/*lǎmpəəŋ/ >	/làmmpəəŋ/	"to contemplate"
/lambàak/ >	/lámabàak/	"to be hard, troublesome"

etc.

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

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

in the original indicates a change of tone class.⁶⁰

1.4 The Pagination of Palm-leaf Manuscripts.

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

1.5 Glossary of Special Words.

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

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

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

* For a discussion of the various meanings of [müüañ], cf. Wyatt 1984:7-8.

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

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

1.6 Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.

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

systems, see v. HINÜBER 1987b:15.

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

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

The following information is given:

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

12. The year according to the Christian era (AD); obtained by adding 638 to the Cūlasakarāja year.

NB: If no date is mentioned, the abbreviation "n.d." together with an estimate of the probable date is added. This estimate rests upon the physical appearance, the style of the script and the orthography used.

13. Name of the monastery where the original was found (in 1974).
14. Location of the repository, i.e. district (Amphoe /ʔamphəə/) and province (/caŋwàt/).
15. Beginnings of the Pāli texts, preceded by information concerning the location on the microfilm (if necessary).
16. Location of the respective text in the generally used editions (as far as traceable). (This information is kindly provided by Professor O. von Hinüber).
17. Ends of the Pāli texts and their location on the microfilm.
18. Transliteration of the Northern Thai Colophons, preceded by their location on the microfilm.

NB: Shorter Pāli passages interspersed in the vernacular text are also transliterated. In some cases where lengthy portions written in Pāli (mostly wishes expressed by the scribes) are included in a NT colophon, these Pāli passages have not been transcribed, however. Any such case is identified.

19. Phonematic transcription of the transliterated texts.
20. Translation.
21. Remarks, containing information on special terms, comments on the translation, bibliographic data, etc.

NB: In accordance with the aim of the present study which is meant as an introduction into NT colophons, every NT colophon to be found on the microfilmed manuscripts is identified and treated in the way outlined above. Their presentation is done according to the order of their appearance in the manuscripts. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, identical colophons are identified as such and rendered only once. Those with only minor alterations from others previously presented, are given only in transliteration, while reference is given where the phonematic transcription and translation of the previous specimen can be found. In one case (no. 12, *Sadd*), due to particular

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

2. The Manuscripts and their Colophons

01. DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

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

Begins:

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

Ends: phuuk 1.48 = *khaḥ* v , line 5

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

Colophon.

Front Cover Folio.

|pii₄ "ruuaṅ₃ "sai^o sakraaja 883 tuua dhammaṃpaḍa "nii^o mahaatheen suuar₃ prahyaa "cau^o₁₀ "saan^o "wai^o peen muulāsāasnaa bra gootama₃ "cau^o₁₀ 5 ban pii₄ (...)|

/p̄i lúṅ sāj sakalaacā?^{*} p̄et lɔj p̄et sip sām t̄a thammā?patā? ní mahāathēen s̄an ph̄ññā cāw s̄aṅ wāj p̄n muulāsāasanaa ph̄ñ? kootamā? cāw h̄a pan p̄i (...)/

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

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

02. DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 2.5.2.1

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

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

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

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

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

Colophons.

(1) p 3 = *hā* r, on left margin

|dhammapada lāā sundarapañño "saan°|
/thammāpatā? lee sūntālā?pañño sāṅ/

Translation.

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

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

|"wai° kap bra dhaaḍ "cau°₁₀ lambaan lāā|
/wáj kap phā thāt cāw lampaṅ/

Translation.

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

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

|dhammapada sundara "saan° "wai° kap bra₂ dhaaḍ "cau°₁₀ laṃbaan|
/thammāpatā? sūntālā? sāṅ wáj kap phā thāt cāw lampaṅ/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

03. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Mahosathajātaka

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

Begins: no no. = *ka v*, preceding p 2, 4, 6, etc.

namo tass' atthu. pañcālo sabbasenāyāti, *Ja* VI 329,20

Ends: p 46, line 5

gāmvāsino pokkharaniṃ pe[sentu, *Ja* VI 341,29

Colophon.

Front Cover Folio (in very small characters).

|maḥoosathaḥ maḥaatheen (p)aa "cau^o₁₀ (riiañ) suuñ, "wai^o kap waḍ (un?) müüañ₃ nai wiiañ|

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

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

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

04. MILINDAPAÑHA 2.6

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

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 15, p 58

|sakraaja "ḍai⁵ 857 t₂uua naü₂ pii ḍap "hmau¹⁰ milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saañ^o "wai⁵ kap hḡḡ₄ piṭaka 'daa^o "sḡḡy^o lää|

/sakalaacã? * dāj pèet lḡḡj hã sip cet tũ naj pī dap mãw mīlintã?pãnhã
naaj sñ phãññã sãaj wáj kap hḡḡ pitaka? tâa sḡḡj læ/

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

Translation.

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

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

|milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saañ^o "wai⁵ kap hḡḡ₃ piṭaka 'daa^o "sḡḡy^o |

/mīlintã?pãnhã naaj sñ phãññã sãaj wáj kap hḡḡ pitaka? tâa sḡḡj/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

05. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Paṇṇāsanipāta

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

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

Ends: p 46, line 5

datvā piyaṃ ummadanti adiṭṭhā

addhā piyā mayhaṃ janinda esā, *Ja V* 219,7*

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, on left margin.

[kap waṣ srii 'u₃r₃ müüañ₃ [3] yo₂ṣṣā "dau₁₀ "faa nai müüañ₃ [3] 'daa'
"sṣṣy° lää|

/kap wāt salīi ?ùn muəŋ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj muəŋ tâa sṣṣj lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ Sree 'Ur Müüañ {Yossa "Dau "Faa} in Müüañ 'Daa
"Sṣṣy.

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

[paṇṇaasānīpaatā jaatakā mahāsaṅgharājā "cau₁₀ "saan° nai₄ pii ko₂ḍ
se₃ṣ cuḷasakraajā [2] "ḍai° 912 tuua lää "phuu° ḍai au pra₂so₂ñ 'pṣ° 'ruu°
aṭṭhā lää sapdaa "cāān° "ḍāā° 'yaa° nap khiian [3] 'sai° thāām 'gṣ° 'yaa°
plāān siia₄ 'ḍāā° 'pṣ° au peen phreed₃ (müüā₃) pra₂so₂ñ "läāw° yia₄ blan au
[4] maa 'so₂ñ° 'ḍañ° 'kau° 'ḍāā° "saan° [yaak] nak 'kāā° naa jlāā jāān
"ḍuuay° (düün)|

/pānnaasa? nīpāata? caataka? mahāsaṅghā?laacaa cāw sāṅ naj pii kot
set cūnlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lee phūu ḍaj ?aw phasōṅ bḍ
lūu ?attha? lē? saptaa cēṅ tēe jāa nāp khīan sāj thēem kō jāa pēṅ sīa dēe
bḍ ?aw pēn phēt mūa phasōṅ léew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ dàṅ kàw dēe
sāṅ nāak nāk kēe naa calee cēṅ dōj tūn/

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

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

Post-script.

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

06. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Tīṅsanipāta

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

Begins: 2 = *ka v*, line 1

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

Ends: 46 = *khaṃ v*, line 5

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

Colophon.

Front and Back Cover Folio.

|pii₃ kaap se₃d {8} sakraaja "ḍai° 876 tiṅsanipaata mahaa upaasaka
buua gaam'ṭaan° müüa₃n "saan° "wai° kap waḍ suuar₃ khuua "nan° (?)|

/p̄i kàap set sakalaacā? dāj p̄et lóʝ cet sip hok [t̄u] t̄ṅsa?n̄ip̄āata?
mahāa ?ubaasaka? pua kham tàaṅ m̄uaṅ s̄āaṅ wáj kap wāt s̄ūan kh̄uā
nán/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

07. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Sattatinipāta

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

Begins: p 1 = ka r, line 1

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

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

Soṇananda-jātakam dutiyam. iti jātakatṭhakathāyavijātaka-
paṭimaṇḍitassa Sattatinipātassa [42.1]ttavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā, *Ja* V 332,26

Colophons.

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

|sattatinipaata jaatakā an "nii² māhaasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° nai₄ pii
ko₂d se₃ṣ [2] cuḷasakraaja "ḍai 912 tuua lāā "phuu° ḍai₄ au bai pra₂so₂n
'yaa° nap khiian 's[3]ai° thāām 'yaa° plāān₃, siia₄ 'ḍāā° 'pḡ° ḍii₂ peen
phreed jaam pra₂so₂n "lāāw° [4] yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂n° 'ḍaṅ° 'kau₁₀ 'ḍāā°
"saan° yaak nak 'kāā° 'gḡḡy° jāān "ḍuuy° ḍiūn|

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

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

|ga ka ka kha kap waṣ srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃n yo₂ṣ "dau₁₀ "fāa° nai müüa₃
'daa° "sḡḡy° "hni² lāā|

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

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

|māhaasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° lāā|
/mahāsaṅkhālaacaa cāw sāṅ lē/

Translation.

Made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasaṅgharaajaa.

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

|kap waṣ māhaasro₂hmaṅṅa srii₂ 'ur₃ müüa₃n yo₂ṣ "dau₁₀ "fāa° 'daa°
"sḡḡy° "hni² lāā|

/kap wāt mahāasalōmmanā? salīi ?ùn muay nōt táw fáa tâa sōj nū lē/

Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ {Mahaasrohmaṅa} Srii 'Ur Müüa₃ {Yo₂s "Dau "Fāa},
here in 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

Remarks.

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

08. SAṂYUTTANIKĀYA 2.3; Sagāthavagga

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

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

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

Colophons.

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

|"saañ° "wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ₃ yo₂ṣṣa "dau₁₀° "faa° nai müüañ₃
'daa° "sḡḡy° "hniī° lää|

/sāṅ wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn mḡṅ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj mḡṅ tâa sōj nī lee/

Translation.

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

(2) phuuk 3, Front Cover Folio, reverse side, in the middle of the page|paa|ii sagaathawagga an "nii° naañ gaṃ baa miia₄ 'hmüün° "nḡḡy

traa "saan° nai pii kaḍ "rau°₁₀ cuḷasakraaja "ḍai° 911 tuua lāā [2b] kulaputt
 10_{2n} ḍai au bai praṣo_{2n} "lāāw° yia₄ blan au maa 'so_{2n}° "wai° 'ḍañ° 'kau°₁₀
 'ḍāā "saan° yaak nak 'kāā [3b] jlāā jāān "ḍuay° dūūn "hūū° puñ₃
 caaṃrōōn 'kāā "phuu peen daayakā "nan° 'ṭṭ° "dau°₁₀ nibbaan dūūn|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkā? ?an nī naaṅ kham paa mia mēūn nōj thalāa
 sāaṅ naj pīi kat lāw cūnlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lōj sip ?et tūa lēe
 kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōṅ lēew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ wāj dàṅ kàw
 dēe sāaṅ nīāk nāk kēe calee ceeṅ dōj tūūn hūū bun cāmləən kēe phūū pēn
 taañāka? nán tōo táw nīppaan tūūn/

Translation.

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

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

(See also 05 [2], above).

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

|"wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüa_{3n} 'daa° "sḡy° lāā|
 /wāj kap wāt salīi ?ūn muaṅ tâa sōj lēe/

Translation.

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

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

|"wai° kap waṣ srii 'un₃ müüān₃ yo₂ṣṣa [2] "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüān₃ 'daa°
 "sqṣy° "hnii₃ lāā|

/wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn mvaṅ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj mvaṅ tâa sṓj nīi lee/

Translation.

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

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

|paaḷii sagaathawagga saṃyuttanikaaya an "nii₃ naan gaṃṃ baa miia,
 'hmüün° "nṣṣy° traā "saan° nai pii kaḍ "rau₁₀ cuḷa[2]sakraaja "ḍai° 911
 tuua lāā kulaputt ton ḍai au bai praṣo₂ñ 'yaa° nap plāān₃ siia, 'gṣ° [3]
 'yaa° nap khiian 'sai° thāām 'ḍāā° 'pṣ° ḍii₃ peen phreed jaam praṣo₂ñ
 "lāāw° yia, blan au maa 'so₂ñ° "wai° [4] 'ḍañ° 'kau₁₀ 'ḍāā° "saan° yaak nak
 'kāā° 'gṣṣy° jāān "ḍuuay° düün 'cuñ₃ "hüü° peen praḥaiy 'kāā° an "ḍai°
 yañ lookiya lāā lookuttara sampatti 'kāā° upaasikaa "phuu° "saan° "nii°
 düün rau₁₀ 'gṣ° anumoo[6]ḍanaa "ḍuuay° lāā|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkā? sāṅñūta?nīkāaj ?an nīi naṅ kham paa mia
 mēṃ nōj thalāā sāṅ naj pii kat lāv cunlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lōj sip ?et
 tūa lee kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōṅ jāā nāp pēṅ sīa kō jāā nāp
 khīan sāj thēem dēē bō dii pēn phēt caam phasōṅ léew nīa? pan ?aw
 maa sōṅ wāj ḍaṅ kāv dēē sāṅ nīāk nāk kēē kōj cēṅ ḍōj tēṃ cūṅ hūṃ
 pēn phatcāj kēē ?an ḍāj nīṅ lookiñā? lē? lookuttalā?sāmpatti? kēē
 ?ubaasikāā phūu sāṅ nīi tēṃ law kō ?anūmootanaa ḍōj lee/

Translation.

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

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

(7) *ibid.*, on left margin

|"saañ° kap waş srii 'un₃ müüañ₃, yo₂ssa "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüañ₃, 'daa°
"səqy° "hnii° lää|

/sãaŋ kap wãt salíi ?ùn mʉaŋ ñõtsa? táw fáa naj mʉaŋ tâa sɔɔj nīi lee/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

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

09. PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ
[3.3.7]

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

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

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

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

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

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio.

" 5 *Paṭṭhānamahāpakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* "

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

|na 5 sa{a}kraaja 945 ma- mää chṇam₂ p° upaasikaa 'mää ciam peen
pratyayadaayikaa|

/hāa sakalaacā? kāw lóoj sī sip hāa mā?mee sanām patthāanā?
mahāapakalānā? ?atthakathā ?ubaasikāa mēe ciam pēn
phatñāññā?taaññā/

Translation.

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

* |'mäa ciiam| lit.: "Mother Ciiam".

Remarks.

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

10. ABHIDHAMMA-GUḬHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 3.9.3

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

Begins:

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

Ends: p 47, line 4b-5

aṭṭhakathācariyassa hi nāma kattā Buddhaghosena 'ti vuttaṃ. samattan ti dhammasamma[5]taṃ paṭiccasamuppādadhammataṃ paṭi vijjhatū 'ti attho majjhimaṃ vā paṭipadaṃ ariyaṃ aṭṭhamṅikamaggaṃ. sammohavinodaniyā vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya guḬhaditthadīpa[48.1] nā(!) niṭṭhitā

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover, r

|nāk puñ, †juuañja† "tääm° "saan° läa
maḥaa ñaaṇasaṃuddamaṅgala- meedhaawii "cau^o peen upathambhaka
"saan|

/nāk bun (cuagcā? ?) tēem sāṅ lee
mahāa ṅānāsamūttā?maṅkālā?meethaawii cāw pēn ?upathāmphāka?
sāṅ/

Translation.

Written by the pious Juuanja (?) - supported by the Venerable Mahaa ṅānāsamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii.

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

(2) *ibid.*, rear side

|*Sammohavinodaniya Gulhatthakathā* lāa "saan° "wai° 'būūa° "hūū°
jootakā buddhāsaasanaa traap₃ 'tōq° "dau° jaraa lāa|

/sāmmooha?wīnootānīnā? kunhatthakathā lee sāṅ wāj pūa hūū
cootaka? pūthā?sāasanaa thalāap tōc táw calaa lee/

Translation.

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

(3) p 48, line 1

|mahāa ṅānāsamuddamaṅgala "cau° uppathāmbhaka "saan
Sammohavinodaniyā Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya Gulhatthadīpanā(!) niṭṭhitā |

/mahāa ṅānāsamūttāmaṅkālā? cāw ?uppathāmphāka? sāṅ .../

Translation.

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

(4) Back Cover, r

|guḷḥadiipanii lää "saai° "wai° 'büüa; "hüü° jootaka buddhaṣaasanaa
lää|

/kunhatiipanii lee sāṅ wáj pūa hūu cootaka? pūthā?śāasanaa lee/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

11. DĪGHANIKĀYA 2.1; Sāmaññaphalasutta

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

Begins: Front Cover [no no.] r, preceding p 2, 4, 6 etc.

evaṃ me suttaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā, *DN I 47,2*

Ends: p 75, line 5a

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

Colophon [in Pāli].

p 76, line 1a

[*Sāmaññapha*]lasuttaṃ dutiyaṃ

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

Begins: phuuk 8, p 1, line 1a

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

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

ari[5]maddanapuravāsinaṃ aggavaṃsācariyena kamaṃ
Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ(!) niṭṭhitaṃ. pamāṇato idaṃ pakaraṇaṃ sattatiyā
bhāṇavātehi sattatuṃthehi [read: sattuttarehi] gāthāsatehi ca
niṭṭhaṅgataṃ, Sadd 928,21

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, r

|cu|ṣaṅkraaja "ḍai, 9°(2)3 tuua sre₃jh naü pii, rakaa dai₄ya bhaasaa
'waa' pii₄ "ruuañ₃ "rau₂ saddanitti phuuk₄ 8 luu₃k₄ naañ khaaw srii,
'y₄uu' "paan 'daa' huua rūüan (sic!) ban "hüü' "saan' kap
buddhaṣaṣnaa |ää|

/cūnlāsāṅkhàatcā? dāj kāw lóoj saaw (?) sām tūa salet naj pii lākāa
tajñā?phaasāa wāa pii lúaj lāv sattānītti? phūuk pèet lūuk naaj khāaw
salī jūu bāan taa hūa lan pan hūu sāj kap pūthā?śāasanaa lee/

Translation.

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

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

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

(2) phuuk 24, Front Cover Folio, r

|phuuk₄ 24 cuḷasaṅk₄kraajjā "ḍai° 9(2)3 tuua sre₃h naü pii₅ rakaa dai₄ya bhaasaa 'waa° pii₅ "ruuaṅ₃ "rau₂ s₃ḍḍaṇi₁ti luuk₄ naaṅ₄ khaaw srii₅ mii 'ḡ₄uu° 'daa" huua rūüan ban mii kusala₃chan "haü° "saaṅ° "wai₄ kap saasnaa bra₃ buddha₃ "cau° 'ṭṭṭ₃ "dau° 5000 wassaa phuuk₄ 24|

/phùuk saaw s̄i c̄unlās̄ṅkhàatc̄ā? d̄āj k̄āw l̄óḷj saaw (?) s̄āam t̄ūa salet naj p̄i l̄āk̄āa tajñā?phaas̄ā w̄āa p̄i l̄uāṅ l̄āw sattāñi?i l̄ūuk naaṅ khaaw sal̄i mii j̄ūu t̄āa h̄ūa l̄uan pan mii kutsala?s̄ān h̄āj s̄āṅ w̄āj kap s̄āasanaa ph̄ā? p̄ūth̄ā c̄āw t̄òḷ t̄āw h̄āa pan w̄āts̄āa ph̄ùuk saaw s̄i/

Translation.

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

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

(3) phuuk 33, Front Cover Folio, r

|... "hūū° "saan° mii mahāa wajirapañño° "cau₂° peen upathambhaka : 33|

/... hūū sāṅ mii mahāa wātcilā°pāñño cāw pēn ?uppathāmphāka?
sāam sip sāam/

Translation (last part).

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

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

(4) phuuk 22, Front Cover Folio, r

|namatthu jina(v)arapavara †cuua waad† culāsaṅkraaj "ḍai° 9°53 tuua
sre₃jh (written: sra₃jhee) sḍḍanitti phuuk₄ 22 luuk₄ naañ khaaw srii,
'y₄uu° "paan° 'daa° huua rūūan ban "hūū° "saan° peen pra₃ccaya 'kāa°
ñāaṅ(...)|

/nāmātthu? cīnā°wālāpawālā ... cūnlāsāṅkhāat ḍāj kāw lōj hāa sip sāam
tūa salet sattānitti? phūuk saaw sōṅ lūuk naaṅ khaaw salī jūū bāan
tāa hūa luan pan hūū sāṅ pēn phatcañā° kēē ñāanā(...)/

Translation (last part).

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

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

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

|saddānīti maḍ plaay saddānīti phuuk₄ 8 luuk₄ naañ₄ khaaw srii,
'y₄uu° 'daa huua rūüan ban "hüü° "saan° kap buddhāsaanaa|

/sattānīti? māt pǎaj sattānīti? phūuk pèet lūuk naaḅ khǎaw salīi jùu
bāan tâa hǎa luan pan hǎu sǎaḅ kap pūthā?sāasanaa/

Translation.

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

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

(6) phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio, r

|sakkāraaja 953 pii, thō₄ daiyaḅhaasaa 'waa° pii, "ruuañ₃ "hmau°
gimhantaḅduu dūüa₃n 7 "khün° 15 'gaam° (sic!) saddānītipakaraṅa maḍ
plaay mahaa aggasaamii, "cau₂ waḍ cādamooḷii, srii, saddhammakitti
"saan° ka kha kō |

/sakkalaacā? kǎw lǎj hǎa sip sǎam pīi thō? tajñā?phaasǎa wǎa pīi
lúaḅ māw kimhanta?lǎduu duan cet khün sip hǎa khām
sattānīti?pakalāñā? māt pǎaj mahǎa ?akkāsāamii cǎw wāt cǎntā?moolii
salīi satthammākitti? sǎaḅ/

Translation.

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

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

(7) phuuk 32, Front Cover Folio, r

|saddanītipakaraṇa somḍe₂cch "cau₂ waḍ cāṇḍamuḷii, srii,
saddhammakitti "cau₂ "saāi^o phuuk₄ 32|

/sattānīti?pakalānā? sōmdet cāw wāt cāntāmuḷii salīi
sattammākitti?cāw sāaṅ phūuk sām sip sōṅ/

Translation.

Saddanīti-Pakaraṇa - Made at the behest of the Venerable Lord Abbot Candamuḷii (here written: Candamuḷii) Srii Saddhammakitti. - phuuk 32.

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

|saddanītipakaraṇa "ḍai^o (... ... 'hmaū^o) hnaṅsūū hnūūa capap 'nūn^o
'daan^o khiian pii sakkaraaja 855 (tuua)|

/ḍāj ... màj nāṅsūū nūa cabap nūṅ tāan khīan pīi sakkalaacā? pèet lóṅ hāa
sip hāa tūa/

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

Another strange fact is the mention, on the Front Cover colophon of phuuk 8, that this phuuk belongs to the same "last bundle" of the Sadd like all the other fasciculi: this would mean that the last bundle of this text must have consisted of 40 phuuk — a number fairly exceeding the normal size of palm-leaf bundles the largest ones of which generally comprise not more than 20-24 phuuk. Although it would be tempting to think of possible answers to the problems, it is preferred here to wait for a more detailed study of the manuscript which is about 300 years older than the one used by Helmer Smith for his edition of this important Pāli grammar. For a study of old NT orthography, the colophons of this manuscript offer some interesting pieces of evidence one of which is the consistent differentiation between the equivalents of |ai| (/ʔaj máj maalaj/) and |aü| (/ʔaj máj múan/), a characteristic which is also found in the colophons of other early Pāli manuscripts of this collection, for instance in 04 (Mil). Another peculiarity is the shape of the character |y₄| used for representing ancient /*ʔj/ (or /*ʔñ/, resp.): a digraphic combination of

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

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

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

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

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

Ends: p 46 = *ñah* v, line 6

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

Colophons.

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

|kap waṣ paak₄ ṇuua|

/kap wāt pàak ŋua/

Translation.

[Made for] Waḍ Paak Ṇuua.

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

[ṭikaa mahaaweessantara³jāat⁴aka an "nii" "saan⁴ nai pii₃ plöök₃ yii
cuḷasa³kraaj "ḍai" 940 tuua lā³]

/tikā mahāwēetsāntalā? caataka? ?an nī sāṅ naj pīi pèək nīi
cūnlāsakhàat dāj kāw lóṅ sīi sip tūa lee/

Translation.

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

* ṭikā (P): 'subcommentary'

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

Remarks.

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

14. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā

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

Begins: p 1 = *tha r*

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

Ends: p 48 = *caḥ v*, line 6

pakampitvā nirantaraṃ anekasatarāvaṃ anekasahassarāvaṃ nadanti
ravanti uccārenti ahosi. saddo te tidivaṃ gato 'ti sādhu³kārasaddo tava
dā, [commentary on *Ja* VI 571,9*]

Colophons.

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

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

Translation.

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

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

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

|"sañ° "wai° kap waṣ paak, Ńuua|
/sāṅ wāj kap wāt pàak ṅua/

Translation.

Made for Waḍ Paak Ńuua.

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

Begins:

namass' atthu. anantaka cakkavāḬaṃ ve yena gataṃ asaṃsayaṃ natvā saddhammasaṅghan taṃ lokaviduṃ anantaḡuṃ nānāganthesu sārathaṃ gahetabbaṃ samādiya karissā 'haṃ subodhattaṃ cakkavāḬakadipaniṃ anusuyyā nisāmetha api labheta chekata[2]nti. tattha cakkavāḬaṃ nāma lokadhātuṃ

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

yaṃ manussakaṃ vassa[3]sattaṃ t[ā]vatipaṃsānaṃ eso eko rattindivo |pe| tena saṃvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesam āyuppamaṇaṃ. manussagaṇaṇā[4]ya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo satṭhiṃ ca vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmaṇaṃ eso eko, *Cakkav* (S^e 1980) 188,20.

Colophons.

(1) Front Side of "mai hlaap.

|tuua paali cakkawaḬadipani mii sip phuuk, lāā gru paa "cau kaṅcaṅa aṅṅāwaa[2]sii müüa,ṅ 'brāā peen "glau° saddhaa lāā sissa "cau daṅ muuar, saddhaa baay noḡk, mii māhaaraaj "cau° müüa,ṅ 'brāā° lāā māhaaraaj "cau° müüa,ṅ 'naan peen "glau° [3] lāā pajaanaarattha daṅ muuar, "broḡm kan "saan yaṅ akkhradhamm, kambii an "nii "waiy joodhaka (!) buddhaṣaasnaa 5 ban braḡ wassaa lāā "saan nai müüa,ṅ 'naan° lāā|

/túa baalii cakkawaalātīpanii mii sip phùuk lee khuu baa cāw kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi m̄uaṅ phêe pěn káw sathaa lē? sitsa? cāw taṅ muan sathaa paaj nōok mii mahāalāat cāw m̄uaṅ phêe lē? mahāalāat cāw m̄uaṅ nāan pěn káw lē? pacaanaalāttha? taṅ muan phóom kǎn sǎaṅ ñaṅ ?akkhalātham kǎmpii ?an ní wáj coothāka? pūthā?śāasanaa hǎa pan phā? wātsāa lee sǎaṅ naj m̄uaṅ nāan lee/

Translation.

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

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

|paaḷii cakkawaalādīpanii phuuk₄ "ton dañ muuar₃ mii sip phuuk₄ [2] cuḷasakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai| [3] (s. line 1)

/baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phùuk tōn taṅ muan mii sip phùuk cūnlāsakhāt ḍāj pan n̄ṅ lóṅ kǎw sip hǎa túa pīi kàa sǎj/

Translation.

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

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side.

|"saañ 'müüa₃ sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai lǎä| /sǎaṅ m̄ua sakhāt ḍāj pan n̄ṅ lóṅ kǎw sip hǎa túa pīi kàa sǎj lee/

Translation.

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

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

|t̄uaa paaḷii c° phuuk₄ "ton ḷāḷ somḍe, ch maḥaaraaj müüa,ñ 'naan "saan
 "gaam̄ juu gruu paa kañcanaḡ araññawaasii müüa,ñ, 'brää nibbāna paccayo
 hotu |

/t̄ua baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk tōn lee sōmdet mahāalāat m̄aḡ
 nāan sāaḡ kām cuu khuu baa kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasii m̄aḡ phē.../

Translation.

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

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

|paaḷii c° phuuk₄ "thuar₃ sḡḡñ₃ cuḷāsakhraaj ... (s. above, colophon [2],
 line 2) "saan nai müüa,ñ, 'naan° ḷāḷ 'thḡḡñ₃ dhaan (sic!) "ḷāḷw° taam capap
 'klau° |

/baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk thūan sḡḡ cūnlāsakhàat dāḡ pan n̄ḡ
 lóḡ kāw sip hāa t̄ua p̄ii kàa sāj sāaḡ naj m̄aḡ nāan lee thòḡ thaan
 léew t̄am cabap kàw/

Translation.

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

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

|maḥaawan bhikkhu rikkhitta "waiy "gaam̄ juu warabuddhaśaasanaa
 bra goodom "cau₂ 'tḡḡ "dau₂ pañcasahassa wassaa traap
 phoṭṭhakapatta aayu pamaṇa "dāa 'ciñ° ḷāḷ|

/mahāawan phīkkhu? līkkhitta? wáj kám cuu walā?pūthā?sāasanaa
phā? koodom cāw tōw taw pānca?sahatsa? wātsāa thalaap
phòotthakapatta? ?aañū? pamaanā? tée cìṅ lee/

Translation.

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

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

[paripuṇṇa "lāāw° yaam 'diian₃ 'kāā "khaa "nḡy lāā na sobhati sak
yaḍ lāā [2] mahāawan bhikkhu khiiar₃ paañ 'müüa 'yuu waḍ "ṭon hnu_r₃
"naam saa lāā 'pḡ{ḡ}° 'jaan hlaay lāā]

/palīpūnnā? léew ñaam tīaṅ kèe khāa nōcṅ lee nā? sōphāti? sak jāat lee
mahāawan phīkkhu? khīan pāaṅ mēa jūu wāt tōn nūn nám sāa lee bō
cāaṅ lāaj lee/

Translation.

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

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

[80000 4000 "khaa khḡḡ "hūū° naa puñ₂ "gaam juu tuua "khaa peen "glau°
lāā guu paa aacaan 'bḡḡ 'māā 'bii "nḡḡ₃ 'juu° gon "dāā ḡii-hlii dō [2] puglā
"phuū ḡai "ḡai 'lau₂ 'ḡḡḡ" biccāṅanaa bai" dō tuua 'pḡ ñaam heeṭ cai 'pḡ
"tañ lāā]

/pèet mēn sī pan khāa khōw hūu naa bun kám cuu tūa khāa pēn káw
lē? khuu baa ?aacāan pōw mēe pīi nōcṅ cūu khon tée dii līi tē? pukkālā?
phūu daj ḡāj lāw kōj pītcalanaa paj tē? tūa bō ṅaam hēet cāj bō tāṅ lee/

Translation.

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

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

[cu]ṣakkaraaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai rikkhitta paan 'müüa;
 sathi[t] saamraar waṣ ṅuua ḍään 'ḍaan "tai wiian₃ (written: wiiar₃) "nan°
 lää paarii₄ cakka₄waaladipañii₄ phuuk₄ (.) lää ḍüüa₃n 12 oḥk₃ 6 'gaam
 'braam° 'waa "ḍai wan meen-'maan° deey₂ (sic!) lää|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan nḥj lóḥj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj
 līkkhitta? pāaṅ mūa sathit sāmllaan wāt ḡua deeṅ dāan tāj wiāṅ nán lee
 baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk (?) lee ḍuan sip sōḥj ?ḍok hok khām
 phām wāa dāj wan meṅ māan taj lee/

Translation.

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

* This monastery still exists today.

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

[ṣakkaraaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai somḍe₃cc ma[2]haaraaj
 anantara_{yā} raajaadhiraaj "cau droṅ raaja[3]ṣaddhaa ton swöoy nai
 nandapurii "ḍai "saan yaṅ dhamm tuua paa[4]ii c° an "nii° "waiy
 jooṭakkā waṛabuddhaṣaa[5]ssnaa 5 ban wassaa nibb[ā]napac[c]ayo hotu
 me|

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet mahāalāat ?anantalīñā? laacaathīlāat cāw thaloṅ laacāsathāa tōn sawāṅ naj nantāpuliī dāj sāṅ ṅaṅ tham tūa baaliī cakkawaalātīpaniī ?an nī wāj cootakka? walāpūthā? sāasanaa hāa pan wātsāa nīppaanā? patcaṅoo hōotu? mee/

Translation.

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

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

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

|sakkāraaja "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy somḍe₃cc parammapōbbiṭ sihaa anantāraya raajaaddhiraas "cau droṅ raajasaddhaa jooṭakka buddha₃saassnaa nibbānapac[c]ayo hotu nic[c]aṃ [2] dhuvam dhuvam|

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet palammābōpīt sihāa ?anantalīñā? laacaathīlāat cāw thaloṅ laacāsathāa cootakka? pūthā? sāasanaa .../

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Somḍec Parammapōbbiṭ Sihaa Anantāraya Raajaadhiraaj*, [Royal Ruler of Müüañ 'Naan], faithfully supported Buddha's Teachings ...

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

(12) phuuk 10, 3rd Cover Folio

[somḍe₂cc pa₂ra₂mmapḡḡbitt̃ an₂an₂ta₂ra₂ya raajaaddhiraas "cau droṅ
raajas°...]

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

Begins:

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

gahettabbaṃ samadiya (!) karissāhaṃ subodhatthaṃ
cakkavāḷa{la}dipani a{2}nususuyyā nissametha ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2b

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

Colophons.

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

{(...)} "sai sraḍe₃jh "khau maa nai ḍūūar₃, 11 "khūn° 'gaaṃ 1 'braaṃ 'waa
"ḍaiy wan 1 daiy "ruuaṅ₃ me₃ṣ (...)" ḍaiy 11 tuua paṛipunṇa "lāāw°
yaam (...) teeja phla pur₃ an "khaa "ḍaiy "tāām dhammaḍaan an" 'jūū°-
'waa° paa[2] (...) "waiy "gaaṃ juu saasnaa gootama "cau traap 'tḥḥ° 'dau
5000 bra wassaa "nii "dāā ḍii-hlii nibbāna[ṃ] paramaṃ su{k}khaṃ
nic{c}aṃ dhuvam dhuvam (...) phla pur₃ an "khaa "ḍai tāām dhammaḍaan
an "nii 'cuṅ₃ "hūū peen (...) pattha uppa[3]{...} tuua "khaa lāā 'boḥ° 'māā
'bii "noḥṅ₃ 'juu gon "hūū "ḍaiy "hwaay roḥḥ₃ cḥḥḥ₃ müūa₃ṅ neeraḅbaan nai
aṅaagatakaan an" cak₄ maa baay "hnaa "nan 'cuṅ₃ cak₄ mii "dāā ḍii-hlii
nic{c}aṃ dhuvam dhuvam 'ciṅ° dō|

/(...)} sāj saladet khāw maa naj ḍuan sip ?et khūn khām nūḅ phām wāa ḍāj
wan nūḅ taj lúag mēt (...) ḍāj sip ?et tūa palipunnā? léew ṅaam (...)
tēcā? phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem thammātaan ?an cūw wāa baa[lii
cakkawaalātipanii] wāj kām cuu sāasanaa kootamā? cāw thalāap tō
tāw hāa pan phā? wātsāa nī tēe dii līi (...) phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem
thammātaan ?an nī cūḅ hūū pēn (...) pattha? ?uppa(...) tūa khāa lē? pō
mēe pīi nōḅ cūw khon hūū ḍāj wāj lōt cōt mwaḅ neelāppaan naj
?anaakātakaan ?an cak maa paaj nāa nán cūḅ cak mii tēe dii līi nītcāḅ
thūwaj thūwaj cūḅ tē?/

Translation.

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

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

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

|cu|asakkaraaja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍūūa₃n sraawaṇṇ güü-'waa°
 ḍūūa₃n 10 hooraa rääm 2 'gaam° 'braam 'waa "ḍai wan kuñ(ja)waa|ḍ
 thñai daiy 'waa wan aṅgaan yaam cak₄ koḥṇ₃ lään 'klää "khaa |lää
 dhammajeey₂ bhikkhu rikkhitta wiggaha "täam khiiar₃ plaan 'müüa;
 'yuu meettaa peen "cau aaraammadhi[2]patti waḍ 'daa° mahimsaa 'dii°
 "nan 'cin° cak₄ rap raajani₄mon 'hään mahaaraaj rikkhitta paalii dhamm₂
 an" 'jüü°-'waa° cakkawaa|adipañii an" "nii "waiy "hüü° peen 'dii° "hwai
 saa sakkara puujaa "waiy kap saasnaa bra gootama traap 5,000 bra
 wassaa |lää|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan sōṅ lōṅ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj duan
 salaawan kuw wāa duan sip hōlāa lāam sōṅ khām phām wāa dāj wan
 kūncā?waalā? thaṅāj taj wāa wan ?aṅkaan ñaam cak kōṅ leṅ kēe khāa
 lee thammacaj phīkkhu? līkkhitta? wīkkāha? tēem khīan pāṅ
 mūa jūu mēettaa pēn cāw ?aalaammāthīppati? wāt tāa mahīṅsāa tīi nān
 cīṅ cak lāp laacānīmon hēṅ mahāalāat līkkhitta? baalii tham ?an cū
 wāa cakkawaalātipanii ?an nī wāj hūw pēn tīi wāj sāa sakkalā?
 pūuca wāj kap sāasanaa phā? kootamā? thalāp hāa pan phā? wātsāa
 lee/

Translation.

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

(3) phuuk 5, p 41, line 4

|sraḍe₃h "läw° yaam tuuḍ₃ "jaay 'kää "khaa lää bindaa bhikkhu lää khiiar₃ "ḍuuay ton een ḍiiaw₃ "cau lää-naa|

/saladet léew ñaam tüt cáaj kèe khãa lee pintaa phīkkhu? lee khīan dōj tōn ?eeṅ diaw cãw lee naa/

Translation.

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

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

|"khaa khiiar₃ "gaam juu du 'bii° hluuaṅ "cau dhammajeeyy₂ waḍ "paan 'daa mahimsaa 'kää "khaa lää "khaa khiiar₃ paan 'müüa₃ 'yuu° meettaa saddhaa "paan hnaaḍ tuua 'pō ñaam sak glaay khau₂ 'daan güḍ yaak₄ ja (!) 'aan teem dhii (!) 'hlō° 'noḡ° öö₅ öö₅ [2] cuṅḍasakkabḍa "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "khii "gaan "täam ḥaa"|

/khãa khīan kám cuu tū? pīi lūaṅ cãw thammacaj wāt bãan tâa mahĩsãa kèe khãa lee khãa khīan pãaṅ mûa jùu mêettãa satthaa bãan nàat túa bò

ḡaam sak kaaj khǎw tâan kũt ñâak ca ʔàan tẽm thii lò "nôc* ʔəə ʔəə [2]
cũndaʔsakkaptãʔ dǎj pan sǔwḡ lóʔj sǎam sip ʔet túa pĩi kat sǎj khĩi kháan
tẽem haa/

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

Translation.

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

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

|dibbawoñ saamaṇeer|
/tĩppǎwoḡ sǎamaneen/

Translation.

[Written by] Dibbawoñ Saamaṇeer (Novice D°)*

*dibbawoñ: < P *dibbavaṃsa*

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

|cuḷasakkaraaja "ḡai 1231 tuua plii kaḡ "sai ḡüüa,n 11 ɔɔk, 10 'gaam
'braam' 'waa' "ḡai meen wan 4 daiy" pöök, san 'kää "khaa jǎä 'jüü "khaa

'waa° ariya bhikkhu pañ 'müüa, 'yuu [48.1] meettaa saddhaa waḍ "paan
khōḥ, müüañ, buua wan "nan lāā|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāḥ pan sōḥ lōḥ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj dhan sip
?et ?ōk sip khām phām wāa dāḥ meḥ wan sīi taj pēk sǎn kēe khāa lee
cūu wāa ?alīñā? phīkkhu? pāḥ mūa jūu mēettaa satthaa wāt bāan
khōḥ muḥ pua wan nán lee/

Translation.

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

(7) phuuk 9, p 49.4 - 50.3

|cu|asakkaraaja "ḍai 1231 tuua maroñ snaam kambooja khroḥm, bhisai
waa[50.1]lā thñai dai bhaasaa 'waa plii kaḍ "sai(...) sudhammā bhikkhu
likkhitta jootakā mahāraaja müüa,ñ 'naan wan "nan lāā "lāāw°[2] ḍūuar,
10 "khün° 14 'gaam 'braam 'waa° ḍai wan 7 dai 'klaa meḥ yaam kōḥ,
naay sṛaḍeḥ yaam "nan lāā hañ müüañ, buua huua müüañ, nāañ, 'doñ°
'hañ 'dii° 'plaa ma"hyaa 'kōḥ, tuua 'pō naam (...) ee 'pō naam ee ee 'gō°
'pō naam [3] hlaay huua faay "naam "lōḥm, "naam wāāḍ "ōḥm, teem dhii
lāā naay hōy|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāḥ pan sōḥ lōḥ sāam sip ?et tūa maloḥ sanām
kāmpoocā? khōḥ phīsāj waalā? thaḥāj taj phaasāa wāa pīi kat sāj(...)
suthammā? phīkkhu? likkhitta? cootaka? mahāalaacā? muḥ nāan wan
nán lee léew dhan sip khñ sip sīi khām phām wāa dāḥ wan cet taj kaa
mēt nāam nán lee hāḥ muḥ pua hūa muḥ ḥeḥ tōḥ háḥ tīi paa mañāa
kōḥ tūa bō ḥaam (...) ?ee bō ḥaam ?ee ?ee kō bō ḥaam lāaj hūa fāaj nám
lōḥm nám wēt ?ōḥm tēm thii lee naaj hōḥ/

Translation.

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

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

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

|sakraaj 1231 ḍüüa,ñ 9 ḍuḍiya "läw° lää bhikkhu leekkhamatti lää
"cau ḥöy' ḡwaad ḡwaad "hnaa dhap plaay c°|

/sakhàat pan sḳḳ lḳḳ sām sip ?et tūa ḍuan kãw tūtiññ? léew lee
phīkkhu? lêekhamātti? lee cãw hæj swâat swâat nãa thăp pãj
cakkawaalātīpanii/

Translation.

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

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

|paṛipunnā sṛḷaḍe.jh "lāāw" yaam kḷḷḷ, [2] ṇaay 'kāā "khaa lāā tuua 'pḷ°
 ṇaam hlaay|

/paḷīpunnā? saladet léew ṇaam kḷḷḷ ṇaaj kèe khāa lee tūa bḷ ṇaam lāaj/

Translation.

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

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

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

Begins:

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

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = tī v, line 3b

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

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paāli deewantaṣuṭ mii saam phuuk, lāā tuua paāli
 caamaḍeewiwaṇsa mii "haa phuuk, lāā gruu paa kaṅcaṅa graṅṅawaasii
 müüa,ṇ 'brāā peen "glau° saddhaa "brḷḷḷ, kap sissa "cau° daṅ muuar,
 "saān yaṅ dhamm kambii "nii lāā "saān nai müüa,ṇ 'naan|

/t̄a baalii teewantasūt mii s̄am phùuk lee t̄a baalii
c̄amāteewiwaṅsa? mii h̄a phùuk lee khuu baa k̄ancaṅ? ?alanñāwaas̄i
muṅ phē p̄n káw satthaa phóom kap sitsa? c̄w taṅ muan s̄aṅ ñaṅ
tham k̄ampii ní lee s̄aṅ naj muṅ n̄an/

Translation.

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

(2) Front Cover Folio:

|phuuk₄ "ton caamādeewiwaṅsa paalīi c° lää phuuk₄ "ton° 'd̄oṇ̄, dhaan
"l̄äw° taam capap 'klaus|

/phùuk t̄on c̄amāteewiwaṅsa? baalii c̄amāteewiwaṅsa? lee phùuk
t̄on t̄oṅ than léew t̄am cabap k̄aw/

Translation.

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

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

|"saan 'müüa, sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai l̄ä|
/s̄aṅ m̄a sakhāat d̄aj pan n̄uṅ l̄oṅ k̄w sip h̄a t̄a p̄i k̄a s̄aj lee/

Translation, see (4)

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

|cuḍassakabda 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai° ḍüüa,ñ 10 huuraa r̄ām 1 {hok}
'gaṅ wan aṅgaan daiy koḍ yii yaam tr̄ä 'suu [?] paripuṅṅä l̄ä
nibbānapaccayo hotu metteyya santike anāgate nicaṅ dhavaṅ l̄ä|

/cudāṣakaptā? pan nūṅ lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj dān sip
hūulaa nūṅ khām wan ṽaṅkaan taj kot nīi nāam thēe sūu [?] palīpunnā? lee
nīppaanā? patcaṅo hōotu? mēettāññā? sāntikēe ṽanaakātēe nītcāṅ thūwaṅ
lee/

Translation.

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

(5) phuuk 2, Front Cover Folio:

|paalīi c° phuuk₄ 2 'dḡoṅ₃ dhaan "lāāw° taam caṅap 'klaus|

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

(6) phuuk 2, p 50 = ghu v

|cuḷasakkabḍa "ḍai 1195 tuua plīi 'klaa "sai° ḍūūa₃ñ 11 daiy ḍap pol (!?)
meen wan can paṛipunṇa "lāāw° yaam kḡoṅ₃ hīaay (sic!) ['kää] "khaa lāā
arahantāmaggayānaṃ nibbānapaccayo hontu me lāā|

/cūnlā?sakkaptā? dāj pan nūṅ lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj dān sip
ṽet taj ḍap bon (?) meṅ wan cān palīpunnā? léew nāam kōḅṅ ḡaaj
[kèe] khāa lee.../

Translation.

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

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

|Sihīṅganidānaṃ niṭṭhitāṃ atthaparicchedavaṅṅanā niṭṭhitā sakkaraaja
1195 tuua plīi 'klaa "sai ḍūūa₃n 11 ḡoḷ₄ (..) 'ḡaam daiy rwaay s"naa°

meen wan 5 likhita paripunṇa pḡḡṛamuuar, "phuu "khaa 'puu° hnaan
 deebi,ṇ likhita "gaṃ juu saasanaa nibbānapaccaya [3] hontu
 metteyyasantike (...) |

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lōṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāṅ ḍuan sip ?et
 ?ḍok (..) khām taj lwaaj saṅāa meṅ wan hāa līkhita? palīpūnnā?
 bōōlāmuan phūu khāa pūu nāan teepin līkhita? kām cuu sāasanaa .../

Translation.

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

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

|(...) ḍūūa,ṇ 11 ḡḡk, 12 'gaṃ 'braṃ 'waa wan 5 daiy koḍ se,ḍ sraḍe,cc,
 "lāaw° yaam koṅṇ, hnaay" (!) 'kāā" "khaa lāā khḡḡ suumaa ḍō, "cau° 'dii°
 "hwai h,ḍōy |

/(...) ḍuan sip ?et ?ḍok sip sḍḡḡ khām phām wāa wan hāa taj kot set
 saladet lēew nāam kḍḡḡ ṅaaj kēe khāa lēe khḍḍ sūumaa tē? cāw tīi wāṅ
 hēḡj/

Translation.

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

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

[cuḍassaraaja 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai ḍūūa,ṇ 11 ḡḡk, 4 'gaṃ meen
 [wan] aadiḍ daiy" 'tau' s'naa' paripunṇa "lāaw° yaam 'diiā,ṇ, ['kāā] "khaa

lää sudiṇṇaṃ vatta me dānaṃ nibbānapaccayo hotu me nicaṃ dhuvaṃ
dhuvaṃ |

/cudatsalaacā? pan nūṅ lóṅ kǎw sip hǎa túa pǐi kàa sǎj dʉan sip ?et ?òṅ
sìi khâm meṅ [wan] ?aatit taj tàw saṅáa palípunnǎ? léew ñaam tíaṅ wan
[kèe] khǎa læ .../

Translation.

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

18. CĀMADEVIVAṆSA [4.2] Author: Bodhiraṃsi (probably: 15th c.)

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

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namatthu ādiccavaṃso pavaro jino yo manussajāto
dipadānam indo byāmapabhāso abhipamāro maṇipajoto jina[ṃ] taṃ
namāmi. gambhiram atthaṃ puṇaṃ (!) sududdasaṃ sā sappabi
jīvajasinero heṭṭhaṃ nānāna(y)ānaṃ [2] munisevitan taṃ sukhumāṃ
dhammaṃ pavaraṃ namāmi

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = *nū* v, line 1c

evaṃ dhātupāṭi[2]hāriyaniddeso ca puna pathaṃ vaṃyaṃ nimuttā ca
Bodhiraṃsinā nāma mahātherena laṅkato pañcadasamo vatto nīttitho(!).
Cāmadevivaṅsā nitthitā.

Colophons.

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

|... *phuttakaṃ tasmā so sraḍe₂ṣ* "lääw° yaam lään rääm 14 'gaam° 'braam°
'waa° "ḍai wan 6 'kää" "khaa lää [4] *nibbānapa[cca]yo hotu me niccaṃ*
dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ ḍii-hlii 'kää" "khaa 'ḍää" dö₂|

/... saladet léew ñaam læḅ læm sip s̄i khâm phâm wâa dāj wan hok kèe
khãa lee ... dii l̄i kèe khãa dèe t̄o?/

Translation.

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

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

|*Sihinga[2]nidānaṃ nitthitaṃ(!) aṭṭhaṃ paricchedavaṇṇanā nitthitā*
sraḍe₃jh "lääw° [yaam] kḷḷḷ₃ (written: kḷḷḷ₃) ñaay wan buḍ₃ 'kää° "khaa
lää ḷḷḷ₄ 'gaam° 'kää° "khaa lää|

/... saladet léew [ñaam] k̄ḷḷḷ ḡaaj wan p̄t̄ kèe khãa lee ?ḷḷḷ s̄i khâm kèe
khãa læ/

Translation.

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

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

|*cuḷasaakraaj* "ḍai 1204 tuua plii 'ṭlau"(!) yii sraḍe₂cc₂ "khaa maa nai
ḍiūar₃ 11 ḷḷḷ₄ 9 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° "ḍai wan 2 daiy" [?] sraḍe₂jh
"lääw° yaam kḷḷḷ₃ lään 'kää" "khaa lää *nibbānapaccayo hotu me nicaṃ*
dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ [2] 'kää° "khaa ḍii-hlii dö "khaa khiar₃ paañ 'müüa₃
"khaa yuu° paṭipaḍ waṣ buu "kääw srii pur₃ rüüa₄n müüa₄n 'bää" 'ḍaan°
"ṭai wan "nan lää tuua 'pḷ° ñaam sak "hnḷḷḷ° 'gḷḷḷ° bi₄ccaraṇaa 'ci₄m°
dö, 'dii° "hwai ḥööy|

/cūnlāsakhàat dāṅ pan sōṅ lōṅ sīi tūa pīi tàw nīi saladet khāw maa naj
 duan sip ?et ?òok kāw khām phām wāa dāṅ wan sōṅ taj [?] saladet léew
 ñaam kōṅ leeṅ kèe khāa lee ... kèe khāa dii líi tō? khāa khīan pāṅ mēa
 khāa jùu patibat wāt puu kēew salīi bun luaṅ mhaṅ pēe daan tāj wan
 nán lee tūa bō ṅaam sak nōṅ kōj pītcalanaa cīm tō? tīi wāj hōaj/

Translation.

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

(4) phuuk 5, p 38 = *nū* v, line 3

|paalīi caamaḍeewiiwaṃsa "siiañ" "hniī" lāā phuuk₄ plaay 'gō' 'waa' lāā
 caamaḍeewii phuuk₄ 5 lāā|

/baalīi cāamāteewiiwaṃsa? sīaṅ nīi lee phūuk pāaj kō wāa lee
 cāamāteewii phūuk hāa lee/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

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

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

Begins:

anekajati(!) jano yo patto sambodhim uttamaṃ atikkamesajātake
dakkhaṃ natvāna nāyakaṃ. nekajāti atikkamma na yo sutonavā adhigato
taṃ pa[ṃ]varamṃ dhammaṃ natvā lokahita[2]kkaramṃ. nekajātiṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 11, p 51, line 2a

iti cuḷavanapabbe pañcapaññāsa gāthāyo honti 'ti sujanapāmojjatthāya
katāya Vessantaradipa[3]niyaṃ cuḷavanapabbaparicchedo sattho ḥha,
corresponds to *Ja* VI 532,10

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap.

|paa|ii₃ dipaṇii mahaaweessantara maḍ "ton mii sip e₃ḍ phuuk₄ bra
mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jūū° kañcana araññawaasii müüa₃ñ 'bräa° [2] peen
mullāsaddhaa lää sissā dañ muuar₃ saddhaa baay nōok₃ mii "cau°
müüa₃ñ, [3] 'bräa° lää "cau° raajawoñ müüa₃ñ hluuañ bra paañ peen "glau°
lää "saan nai müüa₃ñ hluuañ bra paañ|

/baalii tīpanii mahāwēetsāntalā? māt tōn mii sip ?et phūuk phā?
mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi muaṅ phēe [2] pēn
munlāsathaa lē? sitsa? taṅ muan satthaa paaj nōok mii cāw muaṅ [3]
phēe lē? cāw lāatcāwoṅ muaṅ lūaṅ phā baṅ pēn kāv lē? satthaa nāk sīn
nāk bun taṅ muan phōm kān sāṅ lee sāṅ naj muaṅ lūaṅ phā baṅ/

Translation.

The| Pāli [text of] *Dīpanī Mahāvessantara* - First Bundle; comprising 11
phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera named Kañcana from
Müüa₃ñ 'Bräa as leading monastic supporter, and his followers, the Ruler of
Müüa₃ñ 'Bräa and the "Cau Raajawoñ* of Müüa₃ñ Hluuañ Bra
Paañ as leading lay supporters, together with all the pious lay-men and
lay-women [of both states] joined in the making [of this manuscript].
Made in Müüa₃ñ Hluuañ Bra Paañ.

* |raajawoñ| is an official title for one of the three highest
administrative functions under the King or Ruler (|"cau müüa₃ñ|) of a
Siamese vassal state or principality. According to Laotian and
Northern Thai custom, only members of the Royal family (|"cau| or
|"daaw|), are eligible for these positions. Cf. JONES 1971: 122.
(See Remarks for further details).

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

|brā mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jūū° kañcana araññawaasii müüa₃n 'brää°
peen "glau lää sissā dañ muuar₃ saddhaa baay noḥk₄ mii raajjawañ
müüa₃ hluuañ brā paañ peen "glau° "brḥom₃ kan "saañ lää|

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōñ cū kāncanā? ?alanñawaasii mhaṅ phēe pēñ
kāv lē? sitta? taṅ muan satthaa paaj nōk mii lāatcāwoṅ mhaṅ lūaṅ phā
baṅ pēñ kāv phōm kǎn sāṅ lē/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera Kañcana from Müüa₃n 'Brää as initiator (i.e. leading monastic supporter) together with his followers, and the Raajjawañ of Müüa₃n Hluuañ Bra Paañ as leading lay supporter, joined in having made [this manuscript].

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

|sakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san paalii mahaaweessantara lää
phuuk₄ 2 24 paü 48 "hnaa [2] dhāmm hluuañ lää pḥrammapubbitt
brā pe₂n "cau° "laan° "jaañ 'rom° khaaw lää [3] paalii dipanii
mahaaweessantara phuuk₄ 2|

/sakhàat dāj pan nūṅ lōj kǎw sip pēt tūa pīi lwaaj sǎn baalii
mahāawēetsāntalā? lē phūuk sōṅ saaw sīi baj sīi sip pēt nāa[2] tham
lūaṅ lē bōlammābuppit phā? pēñ cāw lāan cáaṅ lōm khǎaw lē[3] baalii
tīpanii mahāawēetsāntalā? phūuk sōṅ/

Translation.

CS 1198 - Year of the Monkey. [The] Pāli [text called] *Dīpanī Mahāvessantara*, phuuk 2, [comprising] 24 folios, 48 pages.- Royal manuscript - [the making having been sponsored by] His Majesty the Ruler of "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw*. Pāli [text of] *Dīpanī M°* - phuuk 2.

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

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

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

|pa subham as(a)tu braḥ maḥaa sa(ṅkyu!?) "ḍai 1198 tuua plii₃ rwaay san ḍūūa₃n (...) wan (...) yaam (...) luu₄k₄ somḍe₂cc pōrammapubbitt bra pe₂n "cau₂ "laan° "jaan° 'rom° khaaw pōrommaḥeettḥakhattiya suriya bra raaja woṅsaa bra maḥaa uttama oorassaa raajaadhiraḥ "cau₂ mii bra raajasaddhaa pōromma(.)i(.)aa saū naū bra raaja[2]hōraḍai "hlūūam° saū wōra ba buddhaḥa[a]ssnaa 'hāān° bra maḥaakrunṇaadhigur₃ "cau₂ an 'yi₄n 'ci₄n° "ḍai° nimantaṇa bra wōraji₄nnapuṭṭaa saṅghasamaggaa "haū° "bōom₃ kap kan "lāāw° 'ciñ° "ḍai (...) "haū° (...) rikkhittaa "saan yañ bra sḍdhammaa gambhiruttamaa nanthaadigur₃ "cau₂ ḍuañ yuuaḍ₃[3] 'yi₄(n)° kōōt thaawara jōotanaa "wai° pe₂n mullasaassnaa sūūp sūūp pai baay "hnaa° lāā (jūūn) dānavatthu daan ḍuañ "nii° bra oñ jaambō₄ "ḍuua₂° puṭṭasaneehaa khō[ḍ] uddhisā naa pur₃ pai thōōn yañ wōraaraajaputtii mii bra naamapaññatti 'jūū°-waa° naañ gaam tan suwanṇaraajakalyaa (...) [4] (...) cutti pai 'suu° pōraḥlook baay "hnaa° khō[ḍ] teeja puṇṇaa(.)sandaṇa (...) 'yūūa₃n° "nii° coñ "haū° pe₂n yaan "kāāw° yaa[n] gaam naam pai rōḍḍ₃ "khaū₂ bai(!) cōḍḍ₃ (...) coñ "haū° pe₂n wātḥaa baḷanaa aahaan dibb an bi₄seed° coñ "haū° pai thōōn 'kāā bra kaḥattii oñ "nan coñ "haū° "ḍai° "bon° caak₄ heeḍ° gaam "yaan° coñ "haū° pe₂n sra[5]baan gaam 'soñ° "khūn° thōōn 'hāān° "hōḥñ° "taū (...) ḍāā "dau₂ wan praḥkaan 1 khōḍ teeja bra raaja(k)ōḥson (written: °som) phalla naa pur₃ gunṇ wi₄seed° an "nii° (... ...) [5b] an "nii° khō[ḍ] coñ "haū° (...) naam oñ bra pe₂n "cau₂ "haū° "ḍai° "hwaī° 'yaan° "naam° "kwaan° gūū°-waa° oghasoṅsaan khō[ḍ] "haū° "ḍai swōy yañ sampatti suk₄ 3 'siñ° gūū°-waa° "hōḥñ° 'jan° 'faa° (yiñ°) pe₂n bra inṭ suk₄ ḍai maṇussaḥlookaa|

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

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

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

20. LOKADĪPA 2.9.17 Author: Nava-Medhaṃkara

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

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

Begins:

namo tassa bhaga[va]to arahato sammāsambuddhassa seṭṭhaṃ
seṭṭhadadaṃ buddhaṃ loke lokagganāyakaṃ lokabandhuṃ mahāviraṃ
lokanāthaṃ namāmy āhaṃ lokanāthena tenā 'pi lokākācariyena yo pūjito
tañ ca saddhammaṃ vande gambhiram uttamaṃ ...

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

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

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

Colophons.

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

|pii₃ "ruuañ₃ "sai" ḍūua_{3n} ciiāñ ḡḡk₄ 5 'gaaṃ° wan 5 cuḷasaakraaj "ḍai°
943 tuua 'daan° naay puñ₃ waḍḥanaṅ naañ "kääw° miia₄ gaa(ṃ) "lääw°
"saan° "wai° peen muulāsāasnaa brā "cau° 'tḡḡ₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wāssaa gaaṃ°
(written: gaaṃ) praṭhnaa 'cuñ° somriddhii₄[2] ka kha phuuk₄ 'nūñ°)*

/pʰi lúɑ̃ sǎj duan cǎɑ̃ ʔòk hǎ khâm wan hǎ cǔnlǎsakhàat dǎj kǎw
lɔj sǐ sip sǎam tǔa tâan naaj bun wǎtthanǎ? naaj kǎew mia kham
léew sǎɑ̃ wáj pǎn muulǎsǎasnaa phǎ cǎw tɔ tǎw hǎ pan wǎtsǎa kam
phǎathanaa cùṅ sǔmlǐthii ka? kha? phùuk nǎn/

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

NB: Throughout the colophons of this manuscript only one graph, viz. |i| is used to represent the vowels /i/, /u/, /u̯/, and mostly also /ii/ (transliterated as |ii₄|). Since the homography between the vowels /i/ and /u/ (and their long variants, respectively) only occurs in rare cases, it is not provided for in the allograph inventory to be found in HUNDIUS 1990.

Translation.

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

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

|pii "ruuañ° "sai° ḍūūa₃n cīaṅ ḡḡk₄ 5 gaam wan 5 cuḷasakraaj "ḍai° 943
tuua 'daan° naay puñ₃ waḍhāṇa jaayaa naañ "kāāw° miia₄ gaam (written:
gaam) "läāw° 'kau° (!) "saan° "wai peen muulāsāasnaa (written: °lāsnaa)
bra "cau° 'ḷḡḡ₃ "dau₂ 5 ban wāssaa gaam praathnaa "cuñ° somriḍḍhii₄
duk₄ an|

/pīi lúṅ sāj ḍuan cīṅ ḡḡk hāa khām wan hāa cūnlāsakhāat ḍāj kāw
lōj sīi sip sāam tūa tān naaj bun wāthānā? caañaa naṅ kēew mia
kham léew kāv (= kōḡ?) sāṅ wāj pēn muulāsāasanaa phā cāv tō tāv
hāa pan wātsāa kam phāathanaa cūṅ sōmlīthīi tūk ?an/

(For **translation**, see [1]).

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

|pii₄ "ruuañ₃ "sai° sakraaj "ḍai° [9]44 tuua hnañ₃sūū (written: °si)
'daan° puñ₃ waḍhāṇa jaayaa 'jūū°-'waa° (written: ji-waa) "kāāw° miia₄
(written, only this time, as what could be interpreted as 'māā") gaam
"läāw° "saan° "wai° kap [waḍ] srii₄ 'un₃ müūa₃n 'daa° "soḡḡ° peen praai
"gaam° (written: gaam) 'ḷḡḡ₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wāssaa|

/pīi lúṅ sāj sakhāat ḍāj [kāw lōj] sīi sip sīi tūa nāṅsūū tān bun
wāthānā? caañaa cūw wāa kēew mia kham léew sāṅ wāj kap [wāt]
salīi ?un muṅ tāa sōj pēn phatcāj kām tō tāv hāa pan wātsāa/

Translation.

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

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

[a[n] "nii° 'daan° saddhaa 'jüü° 'waa°[2] puñ₃ waḍḥaṇa jaayaa 'jüü° 'waa°
 kammaṛaanaṇ₃ "cau° 'hmüün₃ liiap 'jüü° 'waa° {'jüü°-'waa°} sään gaaṃ daa
 "saan° "wai° peen muulāsasanaa (written °lāsnaa) braḥ buddha "cau°[3]
 "hüü° ḍap duk₄ dañ muuan₃ siia₄ 'pḳ° seedḥ sala düün lää|

/ʔan nīi t̄aan sathaa c̄u w̄aa bun w̄āthh̄āññ? caañaa c̄u w̄aa
 k̄ammalaanan c̄aw m̄uun liiap c̄u w̄aa {c̄u w̄aa} s̄een kham taa s̄āṅ
 w̄āj p̄en muulāsāsanaa ph̄ā? p̄ūth̄ā c̄aw h̄üü dap t̄ūk taḡ muan s̄ia
 b̄ò s̄èet sala? tuun l̄e/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

21. LOKADĪPA 2.5.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara

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

Begins:

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

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

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

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

{paa}ii lookadiipa mii sip phuuk₃ bra māhaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü°
kañcaṇa arañña₃waasii müüaṅ₃ 'bräa° peen mullasaddhaa läa sissā daṅ[2]
muuar₃ saddhaa baay nõq₃ mii "cau° müüaṅ₃ 'bräa° läa "cau°
raajjawaonmüüaṅ₃ hluuaṅ bra paaṅ peen "glau°[3] läa saddhaa nak sil nak
puñ₂ daṅ muuar₃ "brõqm₃ kan "saaṅ läa "saaṅ nai müüaṅ₃ hluuaṅ bra
paaṅ|

/lookadiipa? mii sip phùuk .../

Translation.

Lokadīpa - comprising 10 phuuk ...

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

(2) phuuk 1, Title Folio

|paaḷii lookāḍii,pa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ṭon saḅkraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii
rwaay san paaḷii loḳkaḍii,pa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ṭon|

/baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn sakhàat dāj pan nūḅ lóḳ kǎw sip pèet tūa
pīi lwaaj sǎn baalii lookatīpa? phūuk tōn/

Translation.

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

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

|saddhaa baay nai mii braḅ maḅhaatheera "cau ṭon 'jūū° kañcana
araññāwaasii müüa,ñ "bräa° peen "glau ḷāā sissā "cau° ḍañ muuar,
saddhaa baay nḳḳk, mii raajjawoñ müüa,ñ hluañ braḅ paañ peen "glau
"brḳḳm, kan "saañ°|

/satthaa paaj naj mii phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūḅ kāncanā?
?alanñāwaasīi muan phēe pēñ káw lē? sitsa? cāw taḅ muan satthaa paaj
nōḳ mii lâatcāwoḅ muan ḷūaḅ phā baḅ pēñ káw phóḳm kǎn sāaḅ/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüañ 'Bräa,
as the leading monastic supporter, and his followers, together with the
Raajjawoñ of Müüañ Hluañ Bra Paañ as the leading lay supporter,
joined in having made [this manuscript].

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

22. LOKASAṄṬHĀNA (-JOTARATANAGAṄṬHĪ)

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

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

yo tilokantapajoto nātho lokapadipo dhammo lokavaḍhano
 ariya[2]saṅgho aṭṭha tañ ca lokapakāsakaṃ gammañ ca loka[3]niyātaṃ
 saṅghaṃ lokapāraguṃ vanditvā siraśā lo[4]kajotikaṃ bhāsisāṃ tatrāyaṃ
 mātikāasaṃkheyya[5]kathā kappakathā kappavināso
 saṃvaṭṭavivaḍhakathā sattasuriyācakkavāḷakathā[1.5.1a] sinerukathā
 catumahādipakathā himavantakathā candimasuriyagatikathā
 saggakathā niri[2]yakathāpetavisayañ ca tiracchānakathā
 pakiṇṇakathā 'ti[3] tatha asaṃkheyyā 'ti na saṃkheyyāna gaṇetabbo
 'ti asaṃ[4]kheyyo. ekadivasena anekavidhā yāvapamā[5]ṇā tato tāva
 asaṃkheyyo nāma. tato paraṃ lakkhaṇaṃ vā pamāṇaṃ vā akatvā ...

Ends: phuuk 5, p 71, line 3a

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

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paaḷii lookasaṅṭhaana jootaratanagaṅṭhii mii 5 phuuk₄ braḥ maḥaatheera
 "cau° ton 'jüü kañcana[2] araṇṇāwaasii müüa₃ñ 'brää° peen
 muulā[3]saddhaa lāḷḷ sissā dañ muuar₃ "cau° müüa₃ñ hluuañ braḥ paañ peen
 sādhaa baay noḳk₃ "saañ° nai müüa₃ñ hluuañ braḥ paañ|

/baalii looka?sānthāanā? coota?lāttanā?kanthii mii hāa phūuk phā?
 mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā? ?alanāwaasii mḥaṅ phēe pēn
 muulāsathaa lē? sitsa? taṅ muan cāw mḥaṅ lūṅ phā baṅ pēn satthaa
 paaj nōok sāṅ naj mḥaṅ lūṅ phā baṅ/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] *Lokasaṅghāna Jōṭaraṭanagaṅṭhī* consisting of five phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüañ 'Brää, was the leading [monastic] supporter together with his followers. The Ruler of Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ was the lay supporter. - Made in Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ.

(2) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|paañii 1° j° phuuk₄ "ton[2] cuḷasaḅkraaj "ḁai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san
lää|[3] (s. line 1)

/baalii ... phùuk tōn cūnlāsakhàat ḁāj pan nūḅ lóḅj kāw sip pèet túa pñi
lwaaj sǎn læ/

Translation.

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

(3) phuuk 1, p 1.

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

* Sole difference: instead of the enigmatic |*sañkyu| here the word
buddhaḅakḅaraaja| is used.

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

|brā mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcanaḅ graññāwaasii 'yuu müüa₃n
'brää° peen "glau lää sissa ḁañ muuar₃ saḁḁhaa baay nōḅk₄ mii raajjāwoñ
müüa₃n hluuañ brā paañ peen "glau° "brōḅm₃ kan "saañ|

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kǎncanā? ?alanñāwaasii jūu muay phēe
pēn káw læ? sitsa? taḅ muan satthaa paaj nōḅk mii lâatcāwoḅ muay lūay
phā baay pēn káw phóḅm kǎn sāay/

Translation.

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

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

|bra buddhaṣakkaṛaaja 1198 tuua pii rwaay san ḍüüa,n 10 6 (hok) 'gaam wan (6?) "müü" möön "gäu" yaam kḥḥḥ₄ ṇaay ...|

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

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

23. MAÑIPADĪPA 3.1.13 Author: Ariyavaṃsa

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

Begins:

keci pana idaṃ pubbavacanena ekasambandhaṃ katvā. neva nāpajjati 'ti iti evaṃ (a)ttha ca saddonaṃ yaṃ anatto hoti 'ti yojanaṃ karoti. sā na yuttā iti saddassa vamettha yojanā kātabbati [2] īminā sampajjato. ayañ

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

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

idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti sotāpattimagge sotāpattimaggaṭṭhassa' ev' ass' eva sekkhassa dhārako nāñassa sotāpattitthaḷaṭṭhassa sekkha[2]ssa sotāpattitthalaṃ sotāpattaṭṭhalaṭṭhassa' eva sekkhassa sādharāṇanāñesaṃ sakadāg{g}amiṭalaṭṭhaṃ anāgāmittha[3]laṭṭhānaṃ sekkhānaṃ paggeva arahattatthaḷaṭṭhassa asekkhassa.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paaḷii maṇii₃padip (*Maṇipadīpa*) mii₃ sip hok phuuk₄ lāā gruū paa "cau° kañcāṇa araññā[2]waasii müüa₃ñ 'brāā peen "glau° saddhaa lāā sissa "cau° dañ muuar₃ saddhaa baay ṇoḷk₄ mii māhaaraaj "cau° müüa₃ñ 'brāā lāā māhaaraaj "cau° müüa₃ñ 'naan° peen[3] "glau° lāā pajaanaaraṭṭha dañ muuar₃ "brōḷm₃ kan "saan yañ akkharadhāmm kambii₃ an 'nii₃ "waiy jootakā buddhaasnaa 5 ban wassaa lāā "saan nai müüa₃ñ 'naan° lāā|

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

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

Translation.

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

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

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

|{b}bhikkhu ri[khi]t[a] attānoo 'dōḷṇ° dhaan (...) taam capap 'klau lāā maḍ klaañ phuuk₄ "ton lāā uppānaamoo rikkhita "gaṃ juu 'bōḷ° oḷ₂k₄ māhaaraaṣ {lāā} hluañ lāā|

/phīkkhu? līkhita? ?attanoo tōṅ than (...) tām cabap kàw lee māt
kāṅ phūuk tōn lee ?uppanaamoo līkkhita? kām cuu pōc ?òc mahāalāat
lūṅ lee/

Translation.

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

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

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side

|"saan' müüa, sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai' lää|
/sāṅ mēa sakhàat dāṅ pan nūṅ lōj kām sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj lee/

Translation.

Made in CS 1195 - Year of the Snake.

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

|paṭhamamuu, lasaddhaa naamapaññatti 'jüü°-'waa° mahaa kañcana
theeraṅ aṅñāwaasii aaraam 'suuñ "hmeer' müüañ, 'bräa 'ḍaan "tai "saan
"waii "gaṃ juu buddhaasanaa traap 'tōḍ° "dau° 5 ban braṅ wassaa läa [2]
cuḷasakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii, 'klaa "sai māhaaraaj hluañ müüañ,
'naan "saan° "gaṃ juu mahaa kañcana theeraṅ|

/pathamā? muulāsathaa naamā?paññatti? cūh wāa mahāa kāncanā?
thēelā? ?alanñāwaasīi ?aalam sūṅ mēn mṅaṅ phēe dān tāj sāṅ wāj
kām cuu pūthā?śāasanaa thalāap tōc tāv hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee
cūnlāsakhàat dāṅ pan nūṅ lōj kām sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj mahāalāat
lūṅ mṅaṅ nān sāṅ kām cuu mahāa kāncanā? thēelā?/

Translation.

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

(5) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

[1] s. colophon (1), supra

[|2] saṅk₃raaṣ 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy lāā arahantāmaggañānaṃ dinnam nibbānapaccayo hotu [3] me nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ 'dḡḡñ₃ dhaan "lāāw° taam caṇap 'k lau° |

/... sṅkhàat pan nḡṅ lóḡ kḗw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sṅj lee ... tḡṅ thaan léew tām cabap kàw/

Translation.

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

(6) phuuk 5, p 38

|bhikkhu jeeyyānaam khiiar₃ paañ 'müüa₃ 'yuu° meettaa waṣ "paar° dūḡn_{2y} (!) müüañ₃ jlāāñ₃ "bol lāā "yḡḡr₃ tuua 'pḡ° 'naay° sak yaad° lāā[2] "ḡai khiiar₃ "ḡāā dhāmm 4 phuuk₃ 'pḡ° ḡaay 'gḡḡy° biccāraṇaa ḡuu dō saadhu "cau° ton "ḡai riiar₃ "ḡai 'aan° 'gḡ°-ḡii biccāraṇaa "hūū° 'thii° "yḡḡr₃ 'pḡ° smöö₄ kan hnai lāā |

/phīkkhu? cajñānaam khīan pāṅ mḡa jūu mēettāa wāt bāan tuun muṅ caleṅ pón lee ṅḡḡn tūa bḡ ṅḡaj sak jāat lee[2] ḡāj khīan tēe tham sīi phūuk bḡ daaj kḡj pītcalanaa duu tḡ? sḡathū? cāw tōn ḡāj lian ḡāj ḡaan kḡ dii pītcalanaa hūū thīi ṅḡḡn bḡ samḡḡ kḡn nḡj lee/

Translation.

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

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

|paṛipuṇṇa "lääw° yaam kḡṇṇ, naay 'kää "khaa lää sakkabd(d)a "ḍai
 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy ḍūūa₃n sip 2 ḡḡk₄ 3 gaam "braam 'waa "ḍai
 wan 2 daiy "ruuañ₃, "pau° lää [2] iminā dhammarikkhittadānena yathā
 yathā bhava jāto m[ā] rogā mā dalado bhavāmi 'haṃ sañsāre sañsāran
 ta metteyyasanti[38.1]ke anāgate nic[c]aṃ dhuvaṃ ha|

/palīpūnnā? léew nāam kḡṇṇ ḡaaj kēe khāa lee sakkaptā? ḍāḡ pan nūḡ lḡṇ
 kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj ḍuan sip sḡṇṇ ḡḡk sām khām phām wāa
 ḍāḡ wan sḡṇṇ taj lúḡḡ pāw lee[2] ?i?mī?naa .../

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 3rd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition called] ["ruuañ "pau] [in the] Dai [tradition]. (Followed by a lengthy wish written in Pāli, at the beginning of which the hope is expressed that the scribe may, in his future lives, not be reborn as a man struck with sickness and poverty [daliddo is miswritten as dalado] while at the end, the common wish is uttered to be reborn during the life time of the future Buddha Metteyya [Skt: Maitreya]).

(8) phuuk 7, p 47, line 3-4

|cuḷassakābadd "ḍai 1195 tuua plii māseñ snaam (written: smaam)

kamboojjhā khəom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa plii 'klaa "saiy "khau
 maa nai wasaana utu "khau maa nai sraawaṇṇ güü-'waa' ḍüüa_{3n}[4] 11
 huulwaa ɔɔk₄ 13 'gaam meen [wan] 1 daiy "ruuañ₃ "saiy yaam kəon₃,
 naay lää 'gəy' biɔɔraanaa "hüü° 'thii° dö 'pə° "ruu° cak₄ tuua "ton 'thii° |

/cūnlāsakkapāt dāj pan nūṅ lóɔj kǎw sip hǎa túa pǐi mǎsěṅ sanǎm
 kǎmpoocǎ? khǒm phǐsǎj taj phaasǎa wǎa pǐi kǎa sǎj khǎw maa naj
 wǎtsǎanǎ? ʔutu? khǎw maa naj salaawan kuu wǎa duan sip ʔet
 hǔulwaa ʔòk sip sǎam khǎm meṅ [wan] nūṅ taj lúṅ sǎj nǎam kǒɔṅ ṅaaj
 lee kǒj pǐcalaanaa hǔu thii tǎ? bə lúu cak túa tǒn thii/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake, in the Khmer tradition called |pii maseñ|,
 in the Dai tradition called |pii 'kaa "sai|, at the beginning of the Rainy
 Season, at the beginning of [the month called] |sraawaṇa| [in the Khmer
 tradition], i.e. the 11th lunar month [according to the Dai tradition], on
 the 13th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 1st [day of the]
 Mon [tradition, called] |"ruuañ "sai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time
 of the morning drum [accomplished]! Use thorough consideration: I have
 not been very familiar with [the style of] the script in the original!

(9) phuuk 8, p 44

|cu|assakkabadd 1195 tuua plii₃ maseñ snaam (written: smaam)
 kaamboojjhā khəom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa° 'klaa "sai sraawaṇṇ
 daiy rau 'waa' ḍüüa_{3n} (11) huulwaa ɔɔk₄ (.) [2] 'gaam meen wan 5 daiy
 rwaay "cai yaam kəon₃, lään lää likkhitta paañ 'müüa₃ 'yuu meeṣṭaa
 müüa_{3n} jāñ nai cakkhawaar müüa_{3n} nandapurii₄ srii₃ müüa_{3n} 'naan"
 "buur' lää... (Pāli)|

/cūnlāsakkapāt pan nūṅ lóɔj kǎw sip hǎa túa pǐi mǎsěṅ sanǎm
 kǎmpoocǎ? khǒm phǐsǎj taj phaasǎa wǎa kǎa sǎj salaawan taj law
 wǎa duan sip ʔet(?) hǔulwaa ʔòk [.] khǎm meṅ wan hǎa taj lwaaj cǎj
 nǎam kǒɔṅ leeṅ lee likkhitta? pǎṅ mǎa jùu mǎettǎa mṅṅ ceeṅ naj
 cakkhawaan mṅṅ nantǎpulii salǐi mṅṅ nǎan púun lee/

Translation.

[As for the first part, see (8)] ... called 11th (?) lunar month [according to] our Dai [tradition], on the (.) day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the 5th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |rwaay "cai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset drum. Written while I was staying, spreading Loving-Kindness at Müüañ Jääñ, far away in the prosperous realm of Nandapurii* Müüañ 'Naan.

* Nandapurii (P): "City of Joy".

(10) phuuk 11, no no., preceded by p 47

|sǎṅkraaṣ 1195 plii 'klaa "saiy meen wan 6 daiy" pöök (written: pöök) sii ðüüa,n räam 13 'gaaṃ° paaliṃ maṇii,paḍip (Maṇipadīpa) phuuk 12 'dḡḡñ, dhaan "lääw° taam caḡap 'klau|

/sǎṅkhàat pan nḡṅ lḡṅ kǎw sip hǎa pǐi kǎa sǎj meṅ wan hok taj pḡək sǐi ðuan leem sip sǎam khām baalliṃ maniipaṭṭip phūuk sip sḡṅ tḡṅ thaan léew tǎam cabap kàw/

Translation.

[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake, on the 6th day [of the] Mon [tradition, called] |pöök sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], in the (...) month, on the 13th day of the waning moon. Thoroughly checked with the original.

Remarks.

Colophons virtually identical with the ones transcribed and translated above are found in several other phuuk. In the second part of colophon (9) which is not included here, viz. on p 44, line 5b, the scribe reveals his name as |sii,wijeey bhikkhu| /sǐiwīcaj phīkkhu?/ (Pāli Name: Sivijaya-Bh°). To my knowledge, this work has not yet been edited.

24. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA [4.2.] Author:

Bodhiram̐si (15th c.)

Roll 9, 094". Dc no 0262, ms no 801. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1199 = AD 1837. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins: p 1 = *ghī* r, line 1a-2b

namo tass' atthu. namassitvāna sambuddhaṃ dhammaṃ saṅghañ ca
uttamaṃ ariyavaso nāmāhaṃ suvaṇṇasuvibuddhassa vatthunidānaṃ
ravissaṃ yathā balaṃ samāsato taṃ sunātha sā[2]dhukan 'ti.
amhāka[m̐] pana bhagavato parinibbānato sattasatasāsanasaṅkarājakāle
...

Ends: p 30 = *jhū* v, line 3b-4

iti sisatanāganahuttamahānagare paṭitṭhitassa agatassa
su[4]vaṇṇa suvibuddharupassa tatiyavatthu nidāna[m̐] ssamattaṃ. (!) [in
Northern Thai:] tua paaḷii *Nidānaṃ Buddhassa* lāā haa

Colophons.

(1) Cover Folio, preceding p 1, 3, 5 etc.

[tua paaḷii nidaanaṃ buddhassa phuuk₄ ḍiiaw₃ haa[2] cuḷasaakraaj "ḍai
1199 tua plii möön "rau ḍūuar₃ ciiañ₃ rāām 'gaaṃ 1 meeñ wan aadiṭ
daij "ruuañ₃ "hmau yaam kḥḥñ₃ rāāñ paṭipunṇa lāā "lāāw° haa |[3]
(s. line 1)

/tūa baalii nītaanā? pūthātsa? phūuk diaw cūnlāsakhàat dāj pan nêṅ
lōj kāw sip kāw tūa pī mæṅ lāv ḍuan cīaṅ lēem khām nêṅ meṅ wan
?aatit taj lūaṅ māw ñaam kḥḥṅ lēṅ palīpūnnā? lēe léew hāa/

Translation.

The Pāli text of *Nidāna Buddhassa* - One phuuk. CS 1199 - Year of the
Cock, in the 1st [lunar] month, one the 1st day of the waning moon, on a
|wan aadiṭ| ("Sunday") [according to the] Mon [tradition, called]
|"ruuañ "hmau| [in the] Dai [tradition,] at the time of the sunset drum:

accomplished!

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

|braḡ maḡhaatheeraḡ "cau ton 'jüü° kañcanaḡ araññāwaasii 'suuñ, "hmeer,
 peen "glau lāā sissaḡ "cau dañ muuar, "brōḡm, kan "saan nai müüañ, 'brää
 lāā aḡḡharassabhikkhu khiiar,[2] plaañ 'müüa saḡḡhitt 'saamraan waḡ
 hluuañ srii jum, wan "nan lāā arahattamaggaññāḡḡ nibbāḡḡḡ paramaḡ
 sukkaḡḡḡ |

/phã? mahãathẽelã? cãw tøn cõu kãncanã? ?alanñãwaasii sũuḡ mẽn pẽn
 kãw lẽ? sitsa? cãw taḡ muan phócõm kãn sãḡḡ naj muan phẽe lee
 ?atthãlãtsa?phĩkkhu? khĩan pãḡḡ mũa satthit sãmllaan wãt lũḡḡ salĩ cum
 wan nãn lee ?alãhatta?mãkkãññaanaḡḡ nĩppaanaḡḡ palãmaḡḡ sukkaḡḡḡ/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller Mahaatheera Kañcana, 'Suuñ "Hmeer, as leading [monastic] supporter, and his followers, joined in the making of [this manuscript] in Müüañ 'Brää. Written by Aḡḡha-Rassabhikkhu, while staying happily in Waḡ Hluuañ Srii Jum, on that very day ...

Remarks.

Judging from the Pāli colophon (cf. the end of the text), this manuscript does not seem to be complete. The "Legend of the Buddha Image called [Bra Buddhasiñ]" is another work by the Monk Bodhiramaḡsi, the author of the *Cãmadevivaḡsa* (cf. supra, 17, 18), and was probably written about the same time, i.e. at the beginning of the 15th c. (Cf. CÆDÈS 1925:13). A copy of the S° is included in the list of manuscripts which were sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th c. (Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988c:176). There are another two copies of this text included in the present microfilm collection of manuscripts from Northern Thailand: see Remarks to 17, 18. This text has not yet been edited.

25. VAÑSAMĀLINĪ

Roll 8, 209". Dc no 0243, ms no 1051. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text written in Laotian Dhamma Script (colophons in NT). Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

vase pi tajje pi avadinātho ñatvā hi te te pavisesato yo desesi moghavatarāya tesam vandāmi nātham tam anantañānaṃ dhammañ ca saṅghaṃ sirasā 'bhivande vaṃse 'pi ñāte n[ā]ta[2]re ca ñātā (read: ñātāro ca ñātā ?) tasmā hi vaṃsāvāriyānuñātaṃ (read: vaṃsācariy^o) saṅkhepaṃ vakkhāmi ... [4] ... imamhi kappe paṭhamo 'va rājā mahādināmo ahu tassa vaṃsāparamparā-m-āga tato asinnā tato sisabye vararājavaṃso ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 24 = *dhaḥ* v, line 3a-5c

so hi tava pañcakaṃ va kammaṭṭhānaṃ va bhaveyaṃ tilakkhaṇupaṭṭhapetvā buddhassa sāmāne tathā pasādenācalen' eva sampanno yeva ce siyā laddhupasampado hutvā. [4] Buddhaghoso catusu pi paṭisambhidāsv' apaṭihatañāno va ce siyā gotamabuddhasāvako Buddhaghoso tadā siyā idaṃ 'pi vacanaṃ yeva vicāretvāna kavinā sakarucikhantiyā va gahetabbaṃ [5] yathiritaṃ (?!). niddāne Buddhaghosassa pāṭhitatthaṃ yathārahaṃ sādhippāyaṃ pi nissāya Buddhaghosa-Niddānaṃ vilāsakaraṇaṃ yeva navaniddān' idaṃ mayā racitaṃ ādaren' eva paripuṇṇaṃ va niṭṭhanti.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paa|ii wañsa₁maalīnii sip phuuk₄ bra₁ mahaatheera₂ "cau^o ton 'jūū^o kañcaṇa₁ araññāwaasii müüaṅ₃, 'brää^o peen mulla[2]saddhaa lāā₁ sissā₁ daṅ muuar₃, saddhaa baay nōok₃, mii "cau^o müüaṅ₃, 'brää^o lāā₁ "cau raajja[3]woṅ müüaṅ₃, hluuaṅ bra₁ paaṅ lāā₁ saddhaa nak puñ₂ daṅ muuar₃, "brōom₃ kan "saaṅ "saaṅ nai müüa₃ṅ hluuaṅ bra₁ paaṅ|

/baalii waṅsa₁maalīnii sip phūuk .../

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] *Vaṅsamālinī* - 10 phuuk ...

NB: The following text is virtually identical with the inscriptions on the "mai hlaap of 19 and 21. For phonematic transcription and translation, see 19 (1).

(2) Front Cover Folio

|cuḷasakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii rwaay san lää tuua paaḷii
waṅsaṃmaalinii₄ phuuk₄ "ton lää|

/cūnlāsakhàat ḍāḷ pan nēḡ lóḡj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi lwaaj sǎn lee tūa baalīi
waṅsaṃmaalinīi phūuk tōn lee/

Translation.

CS - 1198 Year of the Monkey. The Pāli text of *Vaṅsamālinī* - First phuuk.

NB: The same text is engraved on the cover folios of phuuk 2-10; at the end of phuuk 10, the colophon inscribed on the "mai hlaap (see [1], above) is repeated, except that the Royal Ruler of Phrae is not mentioned as supporter.

Remarks.

This text, allegedly composed by Buddhaghosa, was previously unknown; its existence, however, had already been indicated by L. FINOT (1917:151). It still awaits scholarly attention and edition. However, a Nissaya (Pāli-Northern Thai) version of the second, and concluding part of this legendary chronicle called "*Dutiyavaṅsamālinī*" or |Ṭaamṇaan Bryaa Cūūaṅ| relating events which are said to have taken place in the Lan Na region during the first half of the 12th century AD, has been published, meanwhile, in Central Thai transliteration, from a manuscript also micro-filmed in this collection: see GANJANAPAN; WICHIENTKEEO [ed.] 1981.

26. **VUTTODAYA** (with a commentary) 5.7.1 Author:
Saṅgharakkhita (13th c.)

Roll 16, 021". Dc no 0572, ms no 837a (= phuuk 13 of ms no 837). 1
phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1236 = AD 1874. Wat Chang Kham (NT
/wāt cáṅ kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namatthujanasanānatamamassantānābhedino ...
(Vutt 1,3*)

Ends: p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-3

dviguṇatā ekenāta ekena akkharenaṅ unabhūtā vitthārāyāmasambhavo 'ti
pujulenā ca dighena ca sambhū[3]to vuttayassa bhaṭṭhapavesanto
anantonaṅ ca garulaṃhunam agu bhavati. iti vuttodaye
chaṭṭhamaparicchedavannaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

Colophon: p 32, line 4-5

|sade₃d "lääw° 'dau" "nii₄° 'kq̄r₃ lää cuḷasakkālaaj (written: °sakkajlaa)
"ḍai ban 2°3° 6 wan deey₂ möön sii₃ meen [wan] 3 yaam tajaa (!)
sra{a}de₃d (!) "khau maa 'suu° utugimhaa [kām]bhoojja khq̄m₃ "khaa
"ḍai khiar₃ dhammaḍeesnaa phuuk₄[5] "nii₄° "waiy "gaam° juu joottaka
walaḷbuddha₃saasnaa (ee yaṃ !?) bra₃ goodom "cau° taap 'tq̄° "ḍai 5 ban
bra₃ wassaa khq̄ suk₄ 3 prakāan mii nibbaan peen 'dii° "lääw° dan₃ pitta
maadaa yaatikaa 'bii° "nq̄n₃ 'hään rau" ['juu] ḡn dö *sudinnaṃ vadā me
tanam āhā hanta makaññā* (!)|

/sadet léew tâw nî kôn lee cūnlāsakkalàat dāj pan sōṅ lōṅ sāam sip hok
wan taj mæṅ sī meṅ wan sāam ñaam (...) saladet khāw maa sùu
ʔutuʔkimhāa kāmphocāʔ khōom khāa dāj khīan thammāteesanaa phūuk
nī wáj kám cuu cootakaʔ walāʔpūthāʔsāasanaa hēṅ phāʔ koodom cāw
tàap tòṅ dāj hāa pan phāʔ wātsāa khōo suk sāam phakāan mii nīppaan
pēn tī léew taṅ pittā maadaa ñaatikāa pī nōṅ hēṅ law [cū] khon
tēʔ .../

Translation.

The end [of the book called V°] CS 1236 = AD 1874, on a day [called] |mööñ sii| [in the] Dai [tradition, corresponding to] the 3rd day [in the] Mon [tradition], at the beginning of the Hot Season [, as the] Khmer [would say?]. I wrote this Dhammadesanā manuscript with the wish to lend support to the Excellent Teachings of Lord Gotama so that they may stay for five thousand years. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired through this pious deed] ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness, the ultimate goal being Nibbāna, for myself, as well as for my parents, my brothers and sisters, and my relatives.

NB: On p 33 some further remarks are added by the scribe concerning his uneven handwriting. There is another copy of this well-known treatise about Pāli metre included in the microfilm collection; it is recorded on Roll 9, 069". Dc no 0255, ms no. 719. 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Remarks.

As the Burmese editions of commentaries on *Vutt* listed by Ichiro KATAYAMA in: *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō kenkyū) III*, Hanamatsu 1973, p. 142, are inaccessible, it is not clear which commentary is contained in the present manuscript. (O. v. Hinüber).

27. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 9, 059". Dc no 0254, ms no 430. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 942 = AD 1580. Siam Society No. 159/SSLP. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty
atthu 'ti. idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabha kathesi.
ath' [2] ekadivassaṃ bhikkhudhammasabhāyaṃ kathāṃ
samuṭthapesuṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 53 = *ṇi* r, line 5b – p 54 = *ṇi* v, line 1

yo rājasetṭho siviṇṇayanāmo so dāninañño varalokanātho tumhe bhavantā[54.1] amatam paṭhentā dhāretha varavarajātakan tīti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakaṃ paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Cover Folio, recto side

|sii,wijayyapañhaa 1 "cau° aananda peen "gau° saddhaa rañ "saañ°
 "wai° peen muu[la]saasnaa 'būūa° peen praçai 'kää sabbaññuṭa- ñaanaṃ
 traap₃ dai læä 'pai° "ḍai° 'yaa°(!) peen gon hruu hnuuak taa pḷḷḷ₃ [rear
 side] læä gon byaadhi sak jaad "hūū° peen "phuu° droṇ₃ traipitakā 'juu°
 jaati "hūū° "ḍai° triheetukapaṭṭisandhipañña yavanto bbhabbapuggala
 'yaa° peen gon duk₄ "rai° kheen cai sak jaad 'yaa° "hai° "ḍai° praḥmaad
 bra buddh bra dhamm bra saṅghā "cau°₁₀ sak jaati 'ḍää°|

/sīwīcajñāṇāpāṇhā [phūuk] ṇṅ cāw ?aanantā? pēn kāw satthaa laṅ
 sāṅ wāj pēn muulāṇsāasanaa pūa pēn phatcāj kēe sappanñūṭṭaṇaṅ
 thalāp daj lee pāj dāj jā pēn khon hūu nūak tāa bōṭ lē? khon phaṇāat
 sak cāat hūu pēn phūu thaloṅ thalājpitaka? cūu caati? hūu dāj thali?
 hēettukka?pati?saṅthī?pāṇṇāa ṇāwantō phāppā?pukkālā? jāa pēn khon
 tūk lāj khēn cāj sak cāat jāa hāj dāj phamāat phā? pūt phā? tham phā?
 sāṅkhā cāw sak caati? dēe/

Translation.

Siiwījayiyapañhaa - phuuk one. "Cau Aananda as leading supporter had [this manuscript] made in order to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, so that it may contribute to [my] attainment of Omniscience. As long as [this] is not achieved, may I not be [reborn as] deaf, blind or as a man struck with sickness; [may I be reborn] as a man upholding the Three Baskets in each of his existences; may I be reborn with the consciousness of the Three Noble Root-Conditions (i.e. selflessness, kindness, intelligence); may I above all not be reborn as a poor man; may I not be negligent of Lord Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, in any of my future births.

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 47

|kap "cau¹⁰ guu dañ hlaay peen 'ton° 'waa° bra māhaa swaamii "cau°
 ḍḍḍḍ₄ jai lāā bra māhaa swaa[mii] "cau° raajamo₂ndiian lāā hlaan
 māhaath[ee]n "cau° 'māā° ki 'māā° kii paansok "paan° ('hmai°) 'juuay°
 kan "saan° "wai peen muulāsaasnaa peen pṛacai 'kāā maggaphala|

/kap cāw kuu taṅ lāaj pēn tōn wāa phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw dōon caj
 lē? phā? mahāa sawāamii cāw laacāmontian lē? lāan mahāathēen cāw
 mēe ki? mēe kii baansok bāan māj (?) cōj kǎn sāaṅ wāj pēn
 muulā?śāasanaa pēn phatcāj kēe mākkāphala?/

Translation.

To all the Venerables, like Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] Ḍḍḍḍ Jai,
 and Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] Raajamondiian.- The nieces of
 the Venerable Mahaatheera(s), 'Māā Ki and 'Māā Kii, and the villagers of
 "Paan 'Hmai helped each other in having made [this manuscript] wishing
 thereby to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, and [hoping
 that this meritorious act may] contribute to the attainment of Path-
 Result.*

* For an explanation of the Pāli term magga-phala, s. NYANATILOKA
 1972:141 (s.v. *phala*).

(3) phuuk 2, Cover Folio

|sii₂wijayapañhaa phuuk₄ 2 sakraaj 942 nai plii₃ ḍap "rau¹⁰ lāā|

/siiwīcājñā?pañhāa phūek sōṅ sakhàat kǎw lōj sī sip sōṅ naj pīi ḍap
 lāw lē/

Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk two. [C] S 942 (= AD 1580), in the Year of the
 Cock.

(4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 48

|sii₄wijayapañhaa phuuk₄ 1 pii₃ ḍap "rau₁₀ ḍüüan₃ 7 ḡḡk₃ 11 'gaam wan
 3 dai "ruuañ₄ "sai" sakraaj "ḍai 942 rüük 9 tuua "cau' aanandā peen
 "gau₁₀ saddhaa nak jöö₇n₃ paanso₂k paansikaa ḍañ hlaay peen "ṭon 'waa
 ratana "paan' yaam "nii₃|

/sīiwīcajñā?pānhāa phūuk nāṅ pīi ḍap lāw ḍuan cet ṭōk sip ṭet khām
 wan sām taj lūaṅ sāj sakhat ḍāj kāw lōj sīi sip sōṅ lūuk kāw
 tūa cāw ṭaanantā? pēn kāw satthaa nāk cāen baansok baansikāa ṭaṅ
 lāaj pēn tōn wā lāttanā? bān ñaam nī/

Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk 1; Year of the Cock, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the third day [of the Mon tradition, called] ["ruuañ "sai| [in the Dai tradition], in [C] S 942, at *ḥkṣa* 9. - "Cau Aananda was the leading lay supporter and the initiator who invited all the lay-men and lay-women, including the people of this splendid village named "Paan Yaam (?) [to join in the meritorious act of having made this manuscript].

NB: Another short colophon, found at the end of phuuk 2 (no no., preceded by p 46 = *ghaḥ* v) which is almost identical with (3), above, confirms the date as given in (4).

(For Remarks, see 28, below)

28. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA)

Roll 3, 088". Dc no 0052, ms no 344. 7 phuuk, 5 lines. [1st bundle?]. Complete. CS 1201 (or 1141?) = AD 1839 (or 1779?). Siam Society No. 38/2508 SSLP. Wat Lai Hin. Amphoe Ko Kha, Lampang.

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. devarājanamo 'ty atthu. idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto dānapārami ārabha kathesi. ath' ekadivassaṃ bhikkhudhammasabhāyaṃ katham samuṭṭha[2]pesuṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 52 = *bhā v*, line 4c – p 53, line 1 (upside down; preceded by p 51)

so nāma nāgo varapāli[5]leyyo sabbe sivrājajanā ca sebhāparissabhūtā tathāgatassa yo rājasettho sivijayanāmo so dānināñño varavarajātakaṃ tī[53.1]ti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakam paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|"hnaa rap "glau sii,wijeeyyaṇṇhaa phuuk₄ "ton lāā|
/nāa lāp káw sīwīcajñā?pānhāa phūuk tōn lee/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio - Siiwijeeyyaṇṇhaa (*Sivijayapañha*), first phuuk.

(2) phuuk 1, p 37 = *khe r*, line 3

|paali_{ii} sii₄wijeeyyaṇṇhaa phuuk₄ "ton lāā "khaa "tāam plii kaḍ "gai'
ḍūuar₃ 10 duṭṭiya rāam 11 'gaam 'braam 'waa "ḍai wan 2 sraḍe₂jh "lāāw'
yaam trāā 'gaam sakraaj "ḍai 1201 (?) tuua lāā iminā sabbavatthudānena
sabbaparivāre dānekatapuññe a[4]nāgatakāre arahantā rabheyyam
ariyaḥ metteyyasantike ehi bhikkhupaccayabhavāyam paccayo hotu
saṃsāle saṃsārato 'pi tikhapaññā visārada surūpattā bhyāgyaḥ vaṇṇā
mahātejā mahāpaññā mahābbalā mahāsattaratanaṣa samlanān
bha[38.1]vā majātiloratti sattasahasu mā daridā bhavāmi 'haṃ 'ḍaṅ'
"nii "ḍuua_y° teeja kusla naa pun₂ an "khaa "ḍai "tāam "ḍai khiiar₃ yaṅ
paali_{ii} sii₄wijeeyyaṇṇhaa "nii₄ khōḍ 'cu₃n° "hūu uḍom somriddhi_{ii} ḍaṅ°
gaam praathnaa 'hāān° tuua "khaa ju yūūa₃n ju praakaan 'ḍāā° dō|

/baalii sīwīcajñā?pānhāa phūuk tōn lee khāa tēem pīi kat káj dūan sip
tūtiñā? leem sip ?et khām phām wāa dāj wan sōḍḍ saladet léew nāam
thalēe khām sakhāat dāj pan sōḍḍ lōḍḍ ?et tūa lee ?imī?naa
phāwamī? hāḅḅ dàḅḅ nīi dōḅḅ tēecā? kutsala? naa bun ?an khāa dāj tēem
dāj khīan nāḅḅ baalii sīwīcajñā?pānhāa nīi khōḍ cūḅḅ hūu ?udom
sōmlīthīi dāḅḅ kam phāathanaa hēḅḅ tūa khāa cū? nūāḅḅ cū? phakāan
dēe tē?/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] Siiwijeeyyapañhaa - First phuuk. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant (|pii kaḍ "gai|), in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waning moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition], accomplished at the time of the evening horn, in [C] S 1201 ...
 - May the power of the merit I have gained by writing this Pāli text of S° lead to the fulfilment of each and every wish I have expressed!

(3) phuuk 2, p 37 = *ghe* r, line 3b-4

|s° phuuk₄ 2 "khaa "tāām plii kaḍ "gai' ḍüüar₃ 11 oḷk₄ 2 'gaam°
 'braam° 'waa° "ḍai wan 2 yaam trää baaḍ (?) sakraaj "ḍai 1201 (?) tuua
 sraḍe₂jh "läaw° lää 'gḡḡy° biccarānaa (!) ḍu u dö [4] "ḍuuay teeja kusla
 'suuar₂ puṇ₂ an "khaa "ḍai "tāām° yañ paaḷii s° "nii° khḡḡ "hüü "khaa mii
 pryaa pāññaa an sliiaw₃ slaḍ wiseet sak swaaḍ aaḍ "ruu yañ 8 'hmüür₃ 4
 ban khan "cau° ju ḍuuañ₄ dhamm 'guu° bhawā jaaḍ traap 'tḡḡ° "dau₂
 "khau° 'suu neerabbaan "ḍuuay "miiar₃ soṇsaan siia "hüü kḡaaḍ 'diiāñ₃
 "dää° ḍii hlii dö|

/s... phùuk sḡḡ khāa tēem pii kat káj ḍuan sip ?et ?ḡḡk sḡḡ khām phām
 wāa ḍāj wan sḡḡ ñaam thalēe pāat sakhàat ḍāj pan sḡḡ lḡḡj ?et
 tūa saladet léew lee kḡj pītcalanaa duu tē? ḍḡj tēecā? kutsala? sūan
 bun?an khāa ḍāj tēem ñaḡ baalii s... nī khḡḡ hūu khāa mii phāññāa
 pāññāa ?an salīaw salāat wīsēet sak swāat ?àat lūu ñaḡ pēt mūun sīi pan
 khān cāw cū? duḡḡ tham kūu phāwā? cāat thalāap tḡḡ táw khāw sūu
 neelāppaan ḍḡj mīan sḡḡsāan sīa hūu khāat tīaḡ tēe dii līi tē?/

Translation.

S° - phuuk two. I wrote this in the Year of the Elephant, in the 11th [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition], at the time of the late evening horn;* accomplished in [C] S 1201.- May I, by virtue of the merit I have earned by writing this Pāli text of S°, be bestowed with an intelligent mind, wisdom, and mental acuteness, and utmost capability so that I may know all the 84,000 khandhas in every [future] life until, after the definite

disruption of Saṃsāra, I may enter Nibbāna. Oh, may this wish come true!

* /ñāam thalēe pāat/; the time designated by this expression is not entirely clear. Probably, it corresponds to the time from 4.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. See TUIKEO 1986: 107, footnote. Cf. also the Laotian equivalent »gnaam phat lan« mentioned in PHETSARATH 1959:99.

(4) phuuk 3, p 48 = ce v, line 4

|sade_{3c} "lāaw° dūüa_{3n} 10 rāam 15 'gaam° dūüa_{3n} dap wan 7 lāā "khaa khōḥ an suk₄ 3 prakaan mii neerabbaan peen yōḥḍ₃ "ḍāā° dö dha "ni₄ hōöy lāā|

/sadet léew duan sip leem sip hāa khām duan dap wan cet lee khāa khōḥ ?an suk sāam phakāan mii neelāppaan pēn nīḥḥ dö dē tē? thā? ní hōəj lee/

Translation.

Accomplished in the tenth [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waning moon, on the seventh day [in the Mon tradition]. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired] just ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal!

(5) phuuk 4, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 1

|paalīi s° phuuk₄ "thuar₃ 'thii° 4 lāā 'nōö° naay hōöy "hnaa rap "glau° paarii sii₄wijaiyyapaṇḥaa phuuk₄ "thuar₃ 4 "khaa "ḍai khiiar₃ dhāmm phuuk₄ "nii "khaa khōḥ an suk 3 prakaan mii nibbaan peen yōḥḍ₃ 'ḍāā° dö 'nōö° naay[2] naay "hwaī° dañ hlaay hōöy|

/baalii sīwīcajñā?pañhāa phūuk thūan thīi sīi lee naaj hōəj nāa lāp káw baalii sīwīcajñā?pañhāa phūuk thūan sīi khāa ḍāj khīan tham phūuk ní khāa khōḥ ?an suk sāam phakāan mii nīppaan pēn nīḥḥ dö dē tē? nēə naaj naaj wāj taṇ lāaj hōəj/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] S° - 4th phuuk. Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S° - phuuk no. 4. Having written this phuuk, I should like to ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal, dear respected readers!

(6) phuuk 4, Back Cover Folio (no no., preceded by p 40 = *ji v*)

|paaḷii sii₄wijeeyyapaṇḥaa phuuk₄ 4 lāā 'nōō° naay hōöy "hnaa' rap plaay paaḷii s° lāā 'nōō° naay 'dii "hwai ton dai liiap leñ 'gō° 'gōḡy" biccarāṇaa "hūū° 'thii° dö "khaa 'pō° 'kwäär₃ hlaay lāā|

/baalii sīiwīcajñā?pānhāa phūuk sīi lē nēə naaj hǎəj nāa lǎp pǎaj baalii s... lē nēə naaj tīi wǎj tǒn daj dǎj līap leḡ kō kōj pīcalanaa hūū thīi tē? khāa bō kwèn lǎaj lē/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] S°, phuuk 4, my dear! Back Cover Folio of the Pāli text of S°, my respected, dear! Whoever among you, my fellow Monk-Brothers, casts his eyes on it, may you please use thorough consideration; I am not [a] skillful [scribe] at all.

(7) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

|s° phuuk₄ 5

paaḷii lö₃k rāap "luuar₃
peen 'klaa° kōḡr₃ gaam guuar₃
tuua aḍ oḡk₄ bōḡ "huuar₃ "huuar₃
tok 'dii° dai" 'pō° "cāāñ "waiy
yaiyadhamm lāā naay h₂ōöy|

'yaa° luuar₃ dan 'bōḡ°
waaḍ "waiy
haa yaak nak lāā
'cim° "cau ton trad

/baalii lōk lēp lúan
 pěn kàa kōon kam kuan
 tūa ?at ?òok pōw hūan hūan
 tok tīi daj bō cēṅ wáj
 ñajñātham lēe naaj hōəj/

jàa luan tan pōw
 wāat wáj
 hāa ñāak nāk lēe
 cīm cāw tōn thalat

Translation.

Pāli words are deep and subtle, do not pass them over fast,
 composed they are as poetry which deserves to be engraved for ever.
 Elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp;
 if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will
 know.

Dhammas they present which should be known.

(8) phuuk 5, p 43

|naarada cak₄ ri rañ "thōṇṇ"
 'yuu' waty₂ waad srii paan pai
 naa "iiañ" "kāāw" raad lūu jaiy
 khiiar₃ lāā 'nōo' naay 'dii "hwai

snuk₃ cai kṇṇ₃ lāā
 kōṇṇ "han"
 lūu raad mii₄ lāā
 bra 'mṇṇ₃ 'yaa' grniñ|

/naalātā? cak lī? laṅ thōj
 jūu wāt wāat salīi baan baj
 naa ?īaṅ kēew lāat lūu caj
 khīan lēe nōə naaj tīi wāj

sanuk cāj kōon lēe
 kōṇṇ hān
 lūu lāat mii lēe
 phā? mōn jàa khanij/

Translation.

Naarada [-Bhikkhu] will tell you some heart-warming words,
 while staying at Waḍ Sree Paan Pai, in the village of his birth,
 in a splendid place well-known by all, called Naa "Iiañ";
 it's there that these words were written, respected reader — do not doubt!

(9) phuuk 5, p 44

|S° phuuk₄ 5 [2] cuḷasakkaraaj "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai sraḍe₃jh
 "lāāw° yaam tuuḍ₃ "jaay meen wan 2 daiy möön "rau° "khaui nai
 wassa[a]na güü 'waa° düüa₄n 11 oḷk₄ 2 'gaaṃ "lāāw° 'kää° "khaa' lāā
 nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ 'cuñ" cak₄ mii 'diiāñ" "dāā° ḍii-hlii dö₃|

/s... phùuk hã cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan lóoj saaw ?et tũa p̄ii kat káj
 saladet léew ñaam tūt cáaj meṅ wan sōṅ taj mæṅ lāv khãw naj
 wātsāanā? kuu wāa ḍuan sip ?et ?òk sōṅ khām léew kèe khãa lee
 nippaanaṅ palāmaṅ sukkaṅ cūṅ cak mii tīaṅ tée dii lī tō?/

Translation.

S°, phuuk 5. CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant. Accomplished at the time of
 the afternoon horn, on the 2nd day [according to the] Mon [tradition,
 called] |möön "rau| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the beginning of the Rainy
 Season, that is in the eleventh [lunar] month, on the 2nd day of the
 waxing moon. Nibbāna is the utmost happiness — may this definitely
 come true [for me]!

(10) phuuk 6, p 50 = paḥ v, line 5

|vanakaṇḍaṃ nitthitaṃ [5] cuḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ
 "glai° düüar₃ 10 duṭiyaḅ daiy kaap se₃tṭh meen wan 2 "khaa khiiar₃
 "lāāw° düüar₃ 10 duṭiyaḅ oḷk₄ 9 'gaaṃ "braaṃ° "ḍai wan soḷñ risnaa
 khiiar₃ "lāāw° yaam wan 'diiāñ₃ sudinnaṃ vata me dānaṃ dhammajināti|

/... cūnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan lóoj saaw ?et tũa p̄ii kat káj ḍuan sip
 tūtiñā? taj kàap set meṅ wan sōṅ khãa khīan léew ḍuan sip tūtiñā?
 ?òk kãw khām phām wāa wan sōṅ lītsanāa khīan léew ñaam wan
 tīaṅ.../

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the second
 day [according to the Mon tradition, called] |kaap seḍ| [in the] Dai
 [tradition].- I completed my writing in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 9th

day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the second day [of the Mon tradition]. The writing was completed at noon-time.

(11) phuuk 7, p 54 (upside down)

|cu|āśśākaṛāja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai' ḍūuar, sraawaṇa daiy"[3]
'tau sii, meeñ wan 6 "khaa risnaa khiiar, "lāw"[4] kḥiiar, "waiy
"gaam' juu buddhassaana (written °buddhassnaa) traap 'tɔɔ° an aayu
laan peen praḍhaar 'ciñm(!) 'ḍāa|

/... (s. above) ... dhan salaawan taj taw sii meḡ wan hok khāa khīan
léew ñaam wan tīaḡ khāa līsanāa khīan léew khīan wáj kám cuu
pūthā?śāasanaa thalāap tōɔ ?an ?aañū? laan pēñ phathan cìḡ dēe/

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the month |sraawaṇa|*, [on a day called] |'tau sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], [corresponding to] the sixth day [in the] Mon [tradition]. I completed my writing at noon time. I have now completed my writing. I wrote this in order to support Buddha's Teachings for as long as the palm-leaves may endure.

* < Skt śrāvāṇa

NB: for the last sentence, cf. no. 15 (6), above!

(12) ibid., on left margin

|"khaa "ḍai khiiar, dhamm, "nii° khɔɔ "hūu peen uppanisai praçaiy
"gaam juu' ton[4] tuua 'hāñ "khaa' traap 'tɔɔ° "dau' thōñ nibbaan dō|

/khāa dāj khīan tham nī khōɔ hūu pēñ ?uppanīsāj phatcāj kám cuu tōñ
tūa hēḡ khāa thalāap tōɔ táw thēḡ nīppaan tē?/

Translation.

May the writing of this Dhamma [manuscript] help to give support to myself until I eventually reach Nibbāna.

Remarks.

From what is indicated in the Pāli colophons at the end of the last phuuk of both manuscripts **27** and **28**, it may be assumed that their 7 phuuk in fact constitute the first bundle of a set of at least two. No. **27** represents, as it seems, the oldest dated specimen of a monolingual Pāli version of any non-canonical Southeast Asian Jātaka known up to the present. A copy of this very popular Jātaka, well-known also in neighbouring countries, was brought to Europe as early as the 17th/18th century; it appears in FOURMONT's catalogue of 1739 (see Bibliography), and, as G. CÆDÈS (1966:43) notes, is mentioned also in an essay on Pāli written in 1826 by E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen. A brief synopsis of the story, based on a manuscript written in Lampang in AD 1838, can be found in CÆDÈS (ibid.). As for no. **28**, there are two conflicting dates given in the colophons, viz. CS 1121 (phuuk 1, 2), and CS 1201 (phuuk 5, 6, 7). Of these two dates, only 1201, however, fits with the name of the Cyclical Year |pii kaḍ "gai| mentioned in the colophons. A thorough check on the orthography could perhaps reveal some clues about the factual age of the copy. Meanwhile, the later date is given the credit as the more probable one. According to CÆDÈS (ibid.) there is a printed edition in Central Thai script of the Pāli text — represented by various manuscripts kept at the libraries of Paris, Bangkok, etc. — of the *Mahā-Sivijayajātaka* (published in Bangkok, Dharmabhakti Press).

29. PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ

Roll 8, 144". Dc no 0239, ms no 704. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?). CS 1223 = AD1861. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cáaj kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tassa. karuṇā vissasatte sapaññāyassa mahesino ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavittittha yathā ruci|la|tassa pāde namassitvā sammaddhassa (read: sambuddhassa) sirimatto saddhamma[2]ñc' assapuretvā katvā ssaṅghassa sañcalinti. iti h' idaṃ vihitam kiṃ attham vihitanti ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 22 (difficult to read on the microfilm)

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 1, Front Cover Folio (preceded by p 1, 3, 5 etc.)

|paalīi paramatthawibhuusanīi (Paramatthavibhūsanī) phuuk₄ "ton
dañ muuar₃ mii 12 phuuk₂ lāā "hnaa dhap "glau tuua paalīi p°
phuuk₂ "ton lāā phuuk₃ "ton waḍ huua faay" rikkhitta "gaam̐ juu
māhaajiiwiḍ lāā-naa|

(on left margin:) |p° phuuk₄ "ton akkharā "tañ [k]a roḍḍ₃ khā |

/baalii p ... phūuk tōn taṅ muan mii sip sōṅ phūuk lee nāa thāp káw
tūa baalii p ... phūuk tōn lee phūuk tōn wāt hūa fáaj līkkhitta? kám cuu
mahāaciwiṭ lee naa/

(on left margin:) /p... phūuk tōn ?akkhala? tāṅ ka? lōṭ khāa/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] P°, first phuuk. Altogether there are 12 phuuk.-
Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of P°, first phuuk.- The first phuuk
was written by [a monk or a novice from] Waḍ Huua Faay in support of
[the meritorious efforts pursued by] the "Lord of Life".*

* This and other similar mentions in the colophons of 29 and 30 refer
to Anantaworariththidet who ruled over Nan from AD 1855 to 1893.
(For more details, see Remarks to 30, below).

(On left margin:) P°, first phuuk; from akṣara ka to akṣara khā

(2) phuuk 2, p 38 = kra (!) v, line 1b-3a

|paṛipuṇṇā "lāāw° yaam koṇṇ₃ lāān (?) lāā tuua "khaa 'jūu° (written: ji)
hnaan" abhijaiy" hñii ruk₂ müüa₃ñ 'bāā maa 'yuu kap gruu p{r}aa "cau
waṣ "paan "kāām° waṣ "paan ṇoḍk₄ "gaam̐ juu gruu p{r}aa "cau "waiy
"gaam̐ juu' saasnaa (written: snaa) 5 ban bhā waṣ[s]aa 'klāā "khaa lāā
dhamm somḍe₃jh brā "cau jii₄wiṣ lāā[3] ḍii-hlii dō|

/palīpūnnā? léew ñaam kṣṣṣ leṅ(?) lee tūa khāa cāu nāan ?apphīcaj nī
lūk muṅ pēe maa jūu kap khuu baa cāw wāt bāan kēem wāt bāan nōok
kám cuu khuu baa cāw wáj kám cuu sāsanāa hāa pan phā? wātsāa kēe
khāa lee tham sōmdet phā cāw ciwīt lee dii lī tō?/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan Abhijaiy. I came over from Müüan 'Bää to stay with the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau at Waḍ "Paan "Kääm, a rural monastery, wishing to help the Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

|cu|ḷaḷbaddasakkaraaja(!) "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruuañ° "rau^o₁₀ ḍūuar₃ 4
huulaa oḷk₄ 12 'gaam meen [wan] 4 daiy kaṣ "gaiy yaam lāañ rūū₂kt₂ [?]
paṛipuṇṇa "lāaw° yaam "nan lāā [2] |pa| dhammajñāsuttinaṃ vatta me
dinaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ nicaṃ dhavaṃ dhavaṃ paañ(!)
'mūua₃ 'yuu saṭṭhi[t] saamlaan waḍ loḷṇ müüa₃n buua wan "nan lāā
saadhu "cau jeeyya₃seen |lāā|

/cūnlāpāttā?sakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sṣṣṣ loḷj saaw sāam tūa pī lūaḷ lāw
ḍuan sīi hūulaa ?ōok sip sṣṣṣ khām meḅ [wan] sīi taj kat káj ñaam
leṅ lūuk [?] palīpūnnā? léew ñaam nān lee ... pāaḅ mēa jūu satthit
sāmlaan wāt loḷj muṅ pua wan nān lee sāathū? cāw cajñāsēen lee/

Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 4th lunar month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] |kaḍ "gai| [in the] Dai [tradition], at the time of the sunset [drum], at ḥkṣa [?], accomplished in this very moment. [Written] while I stayed happily at Waḍ Loḷṇ, Müüan Buua, on that very day. [Written by]

called] "Paan "Kääm, in Wiaan Buua, at Waḍ Peensakaḍ, on that very day.- [My writing] does not look beautiful at all. Whoever will read this, may he be a monk or a novice, should use thorough consideration; do not put blame on me, for I cannot write well, my characters do not take the shape of vowels and consonants. Village monks just don't have the skill. - May I [by virtue of the merit gained through writing this manuscript] attain the knowledge of the way leading to Arahantship; oh, may this wish come true, indeed! - A Dhamma manuscript [written at the behest] of His Majesty the Lord of Life, dear respected readers!

* < P *Kittiyasa*?

(5) phuuk 11, p 44 = *khai* v, line 3b - p 45, line 3c

[sraḍe₃jh "läw^o yaam 7 'kää "khaa güü 'waa^o yaam 'diiā₄, wan jariñ
ciñ (!) "ḍuuy teeja₂ naa pur₃ an "khaa "ḍai[4] khiiar₃ dhamm phuuk₄ "nii₄
khḡḡ "hüü^o "ḍai thöön wiaan₄ "kääw yḡḡḡ₃ neerabbaan an 'pḡ^o
"ruu^o "thau 'pḡ^o "ruu^o taay sak 'düüa₃ "dää ḍii-hlii prakaaan 1 khḡḡ "hüü^o
mii pryaa paññaa "ruu^o hlwak₃ swak swaaḍ aad "ruu^o "kää peessnaa
paḅhaa an" yaak lää aad[45.1] "hüü^o "ruu^o dhamm bra₂ buddha₂ "cau 8
'hmüür, 4 ban khan "nan^o 'cuñ₃ cak₄ mii 'diiā^o "dää^o ḍii-hlii 'dää dö₃[2]
cuḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruuañ₃ "rau peen pii₃
yaacaadhi[ka]maad meeñ wan 4 dai pöök "caiy ḍüüa₃n 9 ḍuḷiya {'pḡ^o?}
hon ḡḡk₄ 'gaam 1 boodhisammaḅeen likkhitta lää 'müüa₃ 'yu meetta
saddhaa[3] guu paa riia(n) müüa₃n gwaan wan "nan "kii(!) lää khiiar₃
"gaam juu "cau maḅaajiiwiḍ ton sa-hwöy müüa₃n nandapurii, nagḡḡḡ₃
ton "thuar₃ 5 lää "cau hōy|

/saladet léew ñaam cet kèe khää kuu wâa ñaam tîaḡ wan caliḡ cîḡ dōj
téecā? naa bun ?an khää dāj khîan tham phùuk ní khḡḡ hūu dāj thōḡ
wiaḡ kēew ñōt neelappaan ?an bō lúu thāw bō lúu tāj sak tūa tée dii lîi
phakāan nūḡ khḡḡ hūu mii phāññāa pāññāa lúu lwak swak swāt ?āt
lúu kēe petsanāa pāñhāa ?an ñāak lē? ?āt[45.1] hūu lúu tham phā?
pūthā cāw pèet mēun sîi pan khān nán cūḡ cak mii tîaḡ tée dii lîi dēe
tō?[2] cūñlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan sḡḡḡ lḡḡ saaw sāam tūa pîi lúḡ lāw pēn
pîi ñaacāthî[ka]māt meḡ wan sîi taj pāek cāj ḍuan kāw tūtiñā? {bō?}

hõon ?òok khâm nêṅ poothi?sāmmāneen līkkhitta? lēe m̄a jùu mēettāa
 satthaa[3] khuu baa liaṅ (?) m̄aṅ khwaṅ wan nán kīi (?) lēe khīan
 kám cuu cāw mahāaciwīt tōn sawǎej m̄aṅ nantā?pulii nākōon tōn thūan
 hāa lēe cāw hǎej/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the 7th watch, that is, at noon, exactly.*
 May I, by virtue of the merit acquired by writing this manuscript, reach
 the splendid City of Nibbāna, the peak [of Happiness] where age and
 death are unknown for ever. Furthermore, I should like [in my future lives]
 to be bestowed with intelligence, wisdom, and acuteness of mind so that I
 may know how to solve riddles and answer difficult questions, and will be
 able to know all the 84,000 khandhas of Lord Buddha's Teachings - oh,
 may this wish come true! [2] CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, which happens
 to be a year with a supplementary month, on the 4th day [according to
 the] Mon [tradition, called] |p̄öök "cai| [in the] Dai [tradition], in the 9th
 [lunar] month — the second one** — on the 1st day of the waxing moon.
 - Written by Boodhi-Sammaṇe (Bodhi-Sāmaṇera), while he stayed,
 spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community, with the Venerable
 Gruu Paa Riiaṅ (?) in Müüaṅ Ḡwaaṅ, on that very day.- Written in
 support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Fifth Lord
 of Life*** who reigns over Müüaṅ Nandapurii!

* Counting from 6 a.m. (as is done also in Laos), one would have
 expected the 4th, not the 7th 'watch' (|yaam|) to be mentioned as
 equivalent with noon time. Cf. PHETSARAT 1959:99.

** P *adhikamāsa* ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 102.

*** See Remarks to 30, below.

(6) phuuk 12, p 22, line 3a-c

|sakkabḍa "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruuaṅ "rau ḍüüa₃n 11 hooraa ḡḡk₄ 4 (?)
 'gaam meen wan 1 daiy koṭ san yaam wan 'diiaṅ₃ paṛipunnā lāā|

/sakkaptā? dāj pan sōṅ lōṅ saaw sām tūa pīi lúṅ lāv duan sip ?et
hōolaa ?òk sīi (?) khām meṅ wan nṅ taj kot sǎn ñaam wan tīṅ
palīpūnnā? lee/

Translation.

CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, in the 11th lunar month; completed on the
4th day of the waxing moon, on the 1st day [according to the] Mon
[tradition, called] |koḍ san| [in the] Dai [tradition], at noon-time.

(For Remarks, see no. 30)

30. PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ

Roll 8, 155". Dc no 0240, ms no. 1306. 12 phuuk, 5 lines. Incomplete (?).
CS 1231 = AD 1869. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cáṅ kám/). Amphoe
Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. karuṅā vissasatte supaññāyassa mahesino
ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattittha yathā rucitassa pāde namasitvā
sambuddhassa sirimato sadhammañc' a[2][s]sapuretvā katvā saṅghassa
cañ(c)alinti. iti h' idaṃ vihitam kim atthaṃ vihitanti ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 23, line 2b-3c

ime dhammā nivaranaṅavippayuttā nideso dissati 'ti [3] katvā
orambhāgiyuddhamhāgiyabhāvena (!) samagahitā ricchanā
orambhā(giyuddhā)nivaranaṅa gocchakaṃ (!)

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 2, p 34 = 17 v, line 4b-5

[sraḍeḍ "lāw° wan 7 yaam {t}thää cak "klai 'diiā° na sobhati 'gō°-'pō°
ñaam lāā 'gōṅṅ" yāāñ" bai taam 'yüüa,ñ° dhāmm₂ dö tuua 'gō°-'pō° smöö
kan [5] kusla "khaa "ḍai "tääm dhāmm phuuk₃ "niī" khōṅ "hüü° mii phlā
ḡnisoñ(!) maak₄ hlaay "dää dö "tääm 'müüa₃ ḡüün {'müüa₃ wan}

'pho° 'pø° [han] sak gaay heetu 'waa con "ḍuuay dhamm₂ (!) naa lää
 "tääm 'müüa₃ wan 'pø° "ḍai lää 'dii° "hwai hööy"|

/saladet léew wan cet ñaam thée cak kāj tīaṅ nā? sōophāti? kô bô ñaam
 lee kôj ñeeṅ paj täam ñūaṅ tham tō? tūa kô bô samāḍ kān [5] kutsala?
 khāa dāj tēem tham phūuk nī khōḥ hūu mii phala? ?aanīsōṅ mâak läaj
 tēe tō? tēem mūa khuun phòḥ bô [hān] sak kaaj hēt wāa cōn dōj tham
 naa lee tēem mūa wan bô dāj lee tī wāj hōḍj/

Translation.

Completed on the seventh day [according to the Mon tradition], at the time of the forenoon horn.- My handwriting is not beautiful. So you should look very carefully by adhering to the meaning of the Dhamma [text]. The characters are uneven. [5] May the good deed I accomplished by writing this phuuk bear ample fruit! I did the writing at night-time and therefore could not see well, because during the day I had to do my farmer's work; that is why I could not write at day-time, respected reader.

(2) phuuk 5, p 35, line 5c - p 36, line 2

|paripuṇṇa "läaw° yaam kōṇṇ₃ ñaay[36.1] (not readable on the
 microfilm)[2] lää bhari₃yaa raajapu₃ttaputtii "cau₁₀ ju ton 'yuu paçanta
 'pø°
 'jaañ° "tääm tuua paaḷii (...)|

/palīpūnnā? léew ñaam kōṅ ṅaaj (...) lē? phālīñāa laacāputtāputtī cāw
 cū? tōn jūu paçanta? bô cāṅ tēem tūa baalii (...)/

Translation.

Completed at the time of the morning drum (...) [2] and [by his] spouse, as well as his Royal sons and daughters. - Living out in the countryside, I lack the skill of writing.- The Pāli text [of the P°?] ...

(3) phuuk 7, p 38, line 5b

|cu|ṣakkaraja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "ḍai (...) 'jüü°-'waa°
 paramatthawi₂bhuu₄sanii₂ jootaka kap sommḍe₃jh {kap} "cau
 mahaa₁iiwidḍ blḍḍ 'cuñ°' peen phlaḍ ḍii-hlii *nicamḍ dhuvaḍ dhuvaḍ*|

/cũnlāsakkalaacā? dāḍ pan sḍḍḍ lḍḍḍ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāḍ dāḍ (...)
 cūu wāa palāmāttha?wīphuu₄sanii cootaka? kap sḍmḍet mahā₁aciiwīt pḍḍ
 cūḍ pēn phala? dii līi nītcāḍ thūwaḍ thūwaḍ/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (...) named P°, in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. May [this pious deed of mine] bear excellent fruit for ever and ever!

(4) phuuk 9, p 44, line 1b-2c

|sraḍe₃jh "lāāw° yaam thāā cak₄ "klai° 'diiāñ° piiāñ₄ (?) kin 'dḍḍñ₃-'diiāñ₃
 'kāā "khaa "nḍḍḍ "tāām mā gūūn bai nak lāā biccarḍḍḍḍ au dḍḍ tuua
 "hyḍḍ teem dhii sakhaaḍ "ḍai [2] 1230(!) tuua plii (kaḍ) "sai° ḍūūar₃
 10 ḍḍḍ₄ 12 'gaaḍḍ 'braaḍḍ° 'waa "ḍai wan 2 'kāā "khaa hnaar ḍndasḍḍḍḍ₃
 "tāām° tuua 'pḍ° smḍḍ kan siia "lāāw° "tāām "gaaḍḍ juu som(baan) "cau₆
 mahaa₁iiwidḍ 'daan° "hūū° "kāā° 'gaa müū "tāām "pii₃ 1 ja|lāā|

/saladet léew ñāam thēe cak kāḍ tīaḍ piāḍ (?) kīn tḍḍ tīaḍ kēe khāa nḍḍḍ
 tēem mā khūūn paj nāk lee pītcalanaa ?aw tē? tūa ñḍḍ tēem thii sakhaat
 dāḍ [2] pan sḍḍḍ lḍḍḍ sāam sip tūa pīi kat sāḍ ḍuan sip ?ḍḍḍ sip
 sḍḍḍ khām phām wāa dāḍ wan sḍḍḍ kēe khāa lee nāan ?intā?ḍḍḍḍ tēem
 tūa bḍ samḍḍ kān sīa léew tēem kām cuu sḍmpaan cāw mahā₁aciiwīt
 tāan hūū kēe kāa müū tēem bīi nūḍ calee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the forenoon horn, right in time for lunch. A lot was written at night-time; so make use of your own consideration! The characters are badly contracted.- CS 1230 (!) Year of the Snake, in the 10th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition]. Written by Hnaan Indasḍḍḍḍ. The characters have become increasingly uneven. Written in support of the

merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one |"pii|* for the writing.

- * |"pii| (/bīi/): an ancient money unit equivalent to 12 satang (100 satang = 1 Baht), according to information provided by Acharn Indr Suchai (/ʔin suʔcǎj/), Chiang Rai, for the forthcoming Northern Thai–Central Thai Dictionary presently being compiled by Professor Dr. Udom Roongruangsri.

(5) phuuk 10, p 33, line 5b-c

[p̄aripun̄[n̄]a "l̄äw° yaam koṇ̄, ñaay "khaa "noṇ̄y° l̄ǟ naama
'jüü° -'waa° bhyaa maṅgla₃silaa "hnȫ° "ḍai "t̄ääm "gaaṇ juu sombaan
somḍe₃h "cau° m̄haajiiwiḍ 'daan° "ḍai "kää° 'gaa° müü "t̄ääm "pii° 1
[34.1] *iminā dhammarikkhittadānaṃ attano yatthā bhavē jāto ca
mātāpitā sambandha sahayati kuru uppaṣāyā ca ti ehi bhikkhu vasaṃ
padaṃ antamaṇo ca(..)tta sassane ariyametteyyasantike ānāgate k[ā]le
atthabhave[2] kāyajivhā sotāgandhanā saddhā rammā piyāmanussadda
manorammā vatthā jāta rū[pa] suvaṇṇaherañña bahu honti pacupānā
anāgate pacupanne attāyanaṃ mayaṃ evaṃ nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ
'kää[3] me 'hään "khaa dö|*

/palīpūnnā? léew ñaam kōṅ ṇaaj khāa nōj lee naamā? cūw wāa phaṇāa
maṅkālā?silaa nēā dāj tēem kām cuu sōmpaan sōmdet cāw mahāaciiwīt
tāan dāj kēe kāa muu tēem bīi nūṅ kēe mee hēṅ khāa lee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the morning drum. My name is Bhyaa Maṅgalasilaa. I wrote this in support of the merit [being accumulated by] His Majesty, the Lord of Life. He provided the remuneration of one |"pii| for the writing.

(6) phuuk 11, Front Cover Folio, no no., preceded by p 37

|"hnaa dapp₂ "glau paaḷii paramaṭṭhawibhuusanii phuuk₄ 11 l̄ǟ sāan

raajjasompaṣ müüañ, hrin 'haañ° 'ḍaar "ṭai"(!) khiiar₃[2] braṅ nagḡoṛ₃, müüañ, 'naan lāā "cau hōöy|

/nāa tāp káw baalii palāmāṭṭha?wīphuusanii phùuk sip ?et sēen lâatcāsōmbat mwaṅ hīn hàṅṅ dàan tāj khīan phā? nākḡḡḡḡ mwaṅ nāan lee cāw hōəj/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of the P°, phuuk 11. Written by Sään Raajjasompat, [living in] Müüañ Hin 'Haañ, to the South of Müüañ 'Naan, my dear!

(7) phuuk 11, p 38, line 4b-5

|cu|lāsakka "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍüüar₃ 12 "khün 14 'gaamṅ 'braamṅ° 'waa° "ḍai wan 1 "khaa "ḍai "ṭääm[5] dhamm phuuk₃, "nii° "gaamṅ hnur₃ sombaar "cau₂ maḥaajjiwiṣ nagḡoṛ₃, müüañ, 'naan° wan "nan lāā 'daan° "ḍai "klää 'gaa klaamḍe₃ṣ müü "pii₃ 1 lāā sään raajjasompatṭ khiiar₃, lāā|

/cūnlāsakka? dāj pan sōḡḡ lōḡḡ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj ḍuan sip sōḡḡ khūn sip sīi khām phām wāa dāj wan nūḡ khāa dāj tēem[5] tham phùuk nīi kám nūn sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt nākḡḡḡḡ mwaṅ nāan wan nán lee tāan dāj kēe kaa kāmdeṭ muu bīi nūḡ lee sēen lâatcāsōmbat khīan lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the 12th [lunar] month, on the 14th day of the waxing moon, corresponding to the first day [of the Mon tradition]. I wrote this phuuk in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüañ 'Naan, on that very day. His Majesty provided a remuneration of one |"pii| for writing.- Written by Sään Raajjasompat.

(8) phuuk 12, p 23, line 3c-4

|sään rattana "tääm "gaam̄ juu sombaar[4] "cau mahaajiiwiṣ müüaṅ,
 nandapulii bra nagqor, müüaṅ, "hnaan(!) lää "cau" naay hööy "khaa
 "nqoy 'yuu" paan (...) | [not readable on the microfilm].

/sēen lättanā? tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt mvaṅ nantāpulii
 phā? nākoon mvaṅ nāan lēe cāw naaj hōj khāa nōj jūu bāan (...)

Translation.

Written by Säan Rattana in support of the merit [accumulated by] His Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüaṅ Nandapurii Bra Nagqor Müüaṅ 'Naan. - I am living in the village of (...).

Remarks.

The appellation "Lord of Life" etc., repeatedly mentioned in the colophons, refers to Anantaworariththidet who reigned over the Siamese vassal state of Nan from AD 1855 to AD 1893. The appellation "Fifth" Lord of Life as found in 29 (5) is not clear; in the line of Rulers over Müüaṅ 'Naan since the founding of Bangkok as the new capital of Siam in 1782, Anantaworariththidet (previous name "Anantayot") would be the seventh. Perhaps "Fifth Lord of Life" might refer to the fact that he was, according to an indication given in Phraya Prachakitkoracak's "Phongsawadan Yonok", the fifth child of Aththawarapanyo (r. 1786–1810), the first great monarch of Nan since the foundation of the Chakri Dynasty who, in 1788, went to Bangkok to offer his allegiance to King Rama I (r. 1782–1809); cf. SI SAM-ANG in: KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1987:58–9;70, and PRACHAKITKORACAK 3.1961:584. This ruler is known as a fervent supporter of Buddhism and the revival of the literary tradition of Lan Na. He is known to have pursued, and financed, no less than seven huge manuscript copying campaigns in his home territory, the last one, in 1886, amounting to 38 bundles comprising altogether 292 phuuk (cf. KROM SILPAKORN [ed.] 1974:21) and must be regarded as one of the great rebuilders of Lan Na culture and literature in the 19th century, alongside the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana of Müüaṅ 'Bräa, by whose successful efforts he may have been inspired. The "Nan Chronicle", a history of Nan up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn in an English translation, is published in: WYATT [ED.] (1966). The *Paramatthavibhūsanī* is another

text which had been previously unheard of; there is no mention of such a work in Pāli and Buddhist studies up to the present.

INDEX

A. Pāli Manuscripts in Chronological Order (Christian Era)

- 1495 MILINDAPAÑHA 04
 1514 JĀTAKA: Tiṅsanipāta 06
 1521 DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 01
 1549 SAMYUTTANIKĀYA: Sagāthavagga 08
 1550 JĀTAKA: Paṇṇāsanipāta 05
 1550 JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta 07
 1550 PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 09
 1578 JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā 14
 1578 JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-tīkā 13
 1580 SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 27
 1581 LOKADĪPA 20
 1591 SADDANĪTI 12
 1759 SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 28
 1833 CĀMADEVIVAṆSA 17
 1833 CAKKAVĀḬADĪPANĪ 15
 1833 MAṆIPADĪPA 23
 1836 JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī (Dīpanī Mahāvessantara) 19
 1836 LOKADĪPA 21
 1836 LOKASAṆṬHĀNA 22
 1836 VAṆSAMĀLINĪ 25
 1837 BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA 24
 1842 CĀMADEVIVAṆSA 18
 1861 PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 29
 1869 CAKKAVĀḬADĪPANĪ 16
 1869 PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 30
 1874 VUTTODAYA 26
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] DĪGHANIKĀYA: Sāmaññaphalasuttaṃ 11
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 02
 [n.d.; 16th c.?] ABHIDHAMMA-GUḬHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 10
 [n.d.; 16/ 17th c.] JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka 03

B. Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974)

Wat Bun Yuen (NT /wăt bun ñuun/), Tambon Wiang Sa, Amphoe Sa, Nan
(Nos. 13, 14)

Wat Chang Kham [Worawihan] (NT /wăt cáag kám/; CT /wát cháag
khám wɔɔráwíhǎan/), Tambon Nai Wiang,
Amphoe Muang, Nan (Nos. 16, 26, 29, 30)

Wat Lai Hin (NT /wăt làj hǐn/), Tambon Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha,
Lampang (Nos. 01-11, 20, 27, 28)

Wat Phumin (NT /wăt phuumin/), Tambon Nai Wiang, Amphoe Muang,
Nan (No. 12)

Wat Sung Men (NT /wăt sùuɯ mǐn/; CT /wát sũuɯ mên/), Tambon Sung
Men, Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae (Nos. 15, 17, 18,
19, 21-25).

C. Texts and Authors

(No. in this article, date)

ABHIDHAMMA-GULHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?)

Aggavaṃsa, s. SADDANĪTI

Ariyavaṃsa, s. MAṆIPADĪPA

Bodhiraṃsi, s. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA ; CĀMADEVIVAṆSA
BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA 24 (AD 1837)

CAKKAVĀḬADĪPANĪ 15 (AD 1833) same place; 16 (AD 1869)

CĀMADEVIVAṆSA 17 (AD 1833); 18 (1842)

DHAMMAPADA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 01 (1521); 02 (n.d.; 16th c.?)

DĪGHANIKĀYA: Sāmaññaphalasuttaṃ 11 (n.d.; 16th c.?)

DĪPANĪ MAHĀVESSANTARA, s. JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī

JĀTAKA: Mahosathajātaka 03 (n.d.; 16/17th c.?)

JĀTAKA: Paṇṇāsaniṭṭhā 05 (AD 1550)

JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta 07 (AD 1550)

JĀTAKA: Tiṅsanipāta 06 (AD 1514)

JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī 19 (AD 1836)

JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā 14 (AD 1578)

JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭikā 13 (AD 1578)

LOKADĪPA (LOKADĪPAKASĀRA) 20 (1581); 21 (AD 1836)

- LOKASAṄṬHĀNA 22 (AD 1836)
MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA, s. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA
MAṄIPADĪPA 23 (AD 1833)
MILINDAPAÑHA 04 (AD 1495)
Nava-Medhamkara, s. LOKADĪPA
PARAMATṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 29 (AD 1861); 30 (AD 1869)
PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṄA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 09 (AD 1550)
SADDANĪTI 12 (AD 1591)
SAṂYUTTANIKĀYA: Sagāthavagga 08 (AD 1549)
Saṅgharakkhita, s. VUTTODAYA
Sirimaṅgala, s. CAKKAVĀLADĪPANĪ and JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī
SIVIJAYAPAÑHA (MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA) 27 (1580);
28 (AD 1759)
ṬĪKĀ MAHĀ-VESSANTARA, s. JĀTAKA: Vessantarajātaka-
Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭīkā
VAṄSAMĀLINĪ 25 (AD 1836)
VUTTODAYA 26 (AD 1874)

D. Donors, Scribes, and Other Persons Mentioned in the Colophons

- Aananda, "Cau [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (1) phuuk 1, cover folio
Abhijaiy, Hnaan [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (2) phuuk 2
Aḍḍha-Rassabhikkhu [scr] 24 (AD 1837) (2) cover folio
Anantāraya Raajaadhiraaj "Cau, Somḍecc Mahaaraaj, s. "Cau
Mahaayassaraajaa
Anantaworariththidet (Ruler of Nan), s. "Cau Anantaworariddhiḍeej
Ariya-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (6) phuuk 8
Bhyaa ... : a title preceding the name proper; s. under the following word
Bindaa-Bhikkhu [scr] 16 (AD 1869) (3) phuuk 5
Boodhi-Sammaṇeer [scr] 29 (AD 1861) (5) phuuk 11
Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wḍ] Ḍḍḍor Jai [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (2)
phuuk 1
Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wḍ] Raajamondiian [spp] 27 (AD 1580)
(2) phuuk 1
Bra Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii [spp], s. Kañcana ...

Buua Gaṃ 'Taañ Müüaṃ, Mahaa-Upaasaka [spp, don] **06** (AD 1514)

Front and Back Cover Folio

Candamoolii Sree Saddhammakitti, s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau ...

Candamuulii ... s. Mahaa-Aggasaamiii "Cau ...

"Cau Anantawṛariddhiḍeej (Ruler of Müüaṃ 'Naan; r. 1853-93)

16 (AD 1869) **(2)** phuuk 2: Mahaaraaj; **(7)** phuuk 9
Mahaaraaja Müüaṃ 'Naan **29** (AD 1861) **(1)** phuuk 1:
Mahaajiiwiḍ; **(2)** phuuk 2: Somḍejh Bra "Cau Jiiwiḍ **(4)**
phuuk 8, **(5)** phuuk 11, **30** (AD 1869) **(4)** phuuk 9, **(7)**
phuuk 11, **(8)** phuuk 12: "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ **30** (AD 1869) **(2)**
phuuk 5: (unreadable on the microfilm); **(3)** phuuk 7, **(5)**
phuuk 10: Somḍejh "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ

"Cau 'Hmüün Liip Säan {Gaṃ} Daa, s. {Gaṃ} Daa, Säan ...

"Cau Mahaayassaraajaa (Ruler of Müüaṃ 'Naan; 1825-35)

15 (AD1833) **(1)** "mai hlaap, **23** (AD 1833) **(1)** "mai hlaap:
Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüaṃ 'Naan; **(2)** ('Bḡḡ Qḡḡ) Mahaaraaj
15 **(4)** phuuk 1, front cover folio v: Somḍech Mahaaraaj
Müüaṃ 'Naan ; **(10)** phuuk 9, front cover folio: Somḍecc
Mahaaraaj Anantāraya Raajaadhiraaj "Cau; **(11)** phuuk 9,
preceded by p 45: Somḍecc Parammapḡbbitt Sihaa Anantāraya
Raajaadhiraas "Cau **(12)** phuuk 10, 3rd cover folio: Somḍecc
Parammapḡbbitt Anantāraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau

"Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhiḍeej

"Cau Müüaṃ 'Brää [spp] **19** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap, **21** (AD 1836)

(1) "mai hlaap, **25** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap : "Cau Müüaṃ
'Brää **23** (AD 1833) **(1)** "mai hlaap: Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüaṃ
'Brää

"Cau Müüaṃ Hluuaṃ Bra Paaṃ, s. King of Luang Prabang

"Cau Raajjawaṃ Müüaṃ Hluuaṃ Bra Paaṃ, Prince of Luang Prabang [spp]

19 (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawaṃ **(2)** phuuk 1,
preceded by p 49: Raajjawaṃ **(4)** phuuk 11:
Pḡrommaseetḡhakhattiya Suriya Bra Raajawaṃsaa Bra Mahaa
Utama Oorassaa Raajaadhiraas" "Cau; **21** (AD 1836) **(1)**
"mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawaṃ **(3)** phuuk 1, preceded by p 46:
Raajjawaṃ **22** (AD 1836) **(3)** phuuk 1, p 1 = **19** **(4)** **(4)** phuuk
1, Back Cover Folio, preceded by p 50: Raajjawaṃ **25** (AD

1836) (1) "mai hlaap and colophon at the end of phuuk 10:

"Cau Raajjawoñ

Ciiam, Upaasikaa, 'Mää [spp,don] **09** (AD 1550) (2) back cover, v

Deebin, Hnaan [scr] **17** (AD 1833) (7) phuuk 3

Dhammajaiy-Bhikkhu [scr] **16** (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 4

Ḍoḍḍo Jai, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Wad] Ḍoḍḍo Jai

{Gaam} Baa, Naañ (wife of 'Hmüün "Nḍoḍḍo Traa) [don] **08** (AD 1549)

(2) phuuk 3, front cover folio; (5) phuuk 3, last folio;

(6) phuuk 4, front cover folio, v

{Gaam} Daa, Sään, "Cau 'Hmüün Liap [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582)

(4) phuuk 12

Gaam Tan Suwaññaraajakalyaa, Naañ, late Princess of Luang Prabang

19 (AD 1836) (4) phuuk 11; **22** (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1

Gruu Paa ("Cau) Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana Araññawaasii

'Hmüün Liap, "Cau, s. {Gaam} Daa, Sään [spp, don]

'Hmüün Nḍoḍḍo Traa, s. {Gaam} Baa, Naañ [don]

Hnaan ... s. under the following word

Indasḍḍo, Hnaan [scr] **30** (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9

[Jayanāma-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu

[Jayasena-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu

Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayanāma) [scr] **23** (AD 1833)

(6) phuuk 5

Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayasena) [scr] **29** (AD 1861) (3) phuuk 7

Juañja (?), Nak Puñ [scr] **10** (n.d.; 16th c.), front cover folio, r

Kääw, Naañ (wife of Naay Puñ Waḍhana) [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582) (1)

phuuk 1, (2) phuuk 2, (3) phuuk 12, preceded by p 56; (4)

ib., p 56: Kammaranaan (= Kamalaananda?)

[Kamalaananda?], s. "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don]

Kammaranaan, s. "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don]

Kañcana Araññawaasii, Gruu Paa "Cau [spp] **15** (AD 1833) (1) "mai

hlaap (4) front cover folio, v; **17** (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap

19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 49

21 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46;

22 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, back cover folio;

23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio;

24 (AD 1837) **(2)** cover folio, v: Bra Mahaatheera "Cau ... **25**
(AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap and end of phuuk 10

Kattiyos-Bhikkhu [scr] **29** (1861) **(4)** phuuk 8

Khaaw Sree, Naan (son[s]/ daughter[s] of) [spp] **12** (AD 1591) **(1)** phuuk
8, front cover folio, r **(2)** phuuk 24 **(4)** phuuk 22 **(5)** phuuk 8,
front cover folio, v; also on phuuk 26, 29, 34-38

Khamtan Suvannarakalya, Nang (Princess of Luang Prabang),
s. Gaam Tan Suwanṇaraajjakalya

Ki, 'Mää ; Kii, 'Mää [spp, don; lay-women of "Paan 'Hmai] **27** (AD 1580)
(2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 47

King of Luang Prabang (Mangthathurat, r. 1817-36)[spp] **19** (AD 1836)
(3) phuuk 2, preceding p 1: Pṛammapubbitt Bra Pen "Cau
"Laan "Jaan; **22** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap: "Cau Müüaṅ
Hluuaṅ Bra Paaṅ; see also **19** (AD 1836) **(4)**.

Luang Prabang, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang

'Mää ... , s. under the following word

Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau Waḍ Candamooḷii Sree Saddhammakitti
[spp] **12** (AD 1591) **(6)** phuuk 21 **(7)** phuuk 32: °muulii; also
on phuuk 23, front cover folio

Mahaajiiwid, see "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej

Mahaa Ñaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii "Cau [spp] **10**
(n.d.; 16th c.?) **(1)** front cover folio **(3)** p 48

Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüaṅ 'Brää, s. "Cau Müüaṅ 'Brää

Mahaaraaj ("Cau) Müüaṅ 'Naan, s. "Cau , s. "Cau

Mahaayassaraajaa

Mahaasaṅgharaajaa "Cau [spp] **05** (AD 1550) **(2)** front cover folio
07 (AD 1550) **(1)** front cover folio **(3)** phuuk 3

Mahaatheen Paa Riiaṅ(?) Suuṅ [spp] **03** (n.d.; 16th/17th c.?)

Mahaatheen Suar Prahyaā [spp, don], s. Suar Prahyaā

Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii, s. Kañcana ...

Mahaa Wajirapañño "Cau [spp] **12** (1591?) **(3)** phuuk 33, front cover
folio, also on phuuk 34-35

Mahaawan-Bhikkhu (Pāli: Mahāvāna-Bh.)[scr] **15** (AD 1833) **(6)**
phuuk 2, preceded by p 50, **(7)** ibid., preceded by p 49

Maṅglaasiilaa, Bhyaa [scr] **30** (AD 1869) **(5)** phuuk 10

Mangthathurat, s. King of Luang Prabang

- Müüañ 'Brää, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müüañ 'Brää
 Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang
 Müüañ 'Naan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej, s. "Cau
 Mahaayassaraajaa
 Naañ ... , s. under the following word
 Naarada [-Bhikkhu?] (scr) **28** (AD 1759) **(8)** phuuk 5
 Naay ... , s. under the following word
 Nak Puñ Juuañja (?), s. Juuañja
 Nan, Ruler of, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej, s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Nāṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Nāṇa...
 Phrae, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müüañ 'Brää
 Prince of Luang Prabang, s. "Cau Raajjawoñ Müüañ Hluuañ...
 Puñ Waḍhana, Naay; "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don] **20** (AD 1582) **(1)**
 phuuk 1, **(2)** phuuk 2, **(3)** phuuk 12; also on phuuk 3-11
 Raajamondiian, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Waḍ] Raaja...
 Raajjasompaṣ, Sään [scr] **30** (1869) **(6)** phuuk 11
 Raajjawoñ Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ, s. "Cau Raajjawoñ ...
 Rattana, Sään [scr] **30** (1869) **(8)** phuuk 12
 Riiañ(?) Suuñ, s. Mahaatheen Paa ...
 Sään ... , (a title preceding the name proper) s. under the following word
 Saṅgharāja, s. Mahaasaṅgharaajaa "Cau
 Sihaa Anantāraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau, Somḍecc (Paramapōbbitt), s.
 "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Siiwijeey-Bhikkhu [scr] (< Pāli: Sivijaya-Bh.) **23** (1833) **(9)**
 phuuk 8, p 44
 Sin Prahyaa, Naay [spp, don] **04** (AD 1495) **(1)** phuuk 15, p 58
 (2) phuuk 2, line 1 on left margin; also on phuuk 2, line 48,
 phuuk 7, line 28
 [Sivijaya-Bhikkhu], s. Siiwijeey-Bhikkhu
 Somḍejh Bra "Cau Jiiwiṣ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhiideej
 Somḍejh "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhiideej
 Somḍecc "Cau Waḍ Candamoolii (Candamuulii),
 s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii ...
 Somḍecc Paramapōbbitt Sihaa Anantāraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau,
 s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
 Sudhamma-Bhikkhu [scr] **16** (AD 1869) **(7)** phuuk 9

Sundarapañño [don] **02** (n.d.; 16th c.?) (1) p 3 (3) p 9 (Sundara)
 Suuar Prahya, Mahaatheen [spp, don] **01** (AD 1495), front cover folio
 Traa, 'Hmüün "Nq̄y, s. {Gaam} Baa, Naan [don]
 Uppanaama-Bhikkhu [scr] **23** (AD 1833) (2) phuuk 1, front cover folio
 Wajirapañño "Cau, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Wajirapañño ...

E. Names of Places

Bra Nagq̄r Müüan 'Naan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Buua, Müüan, s. Müüan Buua
 'Daa "S̄q̄y*, s. Müüan 'Daa "S̄q̄y
 Hin (or Hrin) 'Haañ*, Müüan s. Müüan Hrin 'Haañ*
 Jään, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jään*, Müüan Jlään*
 Jlään, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jlään* Müüan Jään*
 "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw **19** (3) phuuk 2, (4) phuuk 11
 Lambaan, s. Index F: [Waq] Bra Dhaaq̄ "Cau Lambaan
 Lampang, s. Index F: [Waq] Bra Dhaaq̄ "Cau Lambaan
 Lan Chang (Lanchang, Lanxang, Lanxang Homkhao, Lan Sang), s.
 "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw
 Lan Sang, s. "Laan "Jaan 'Rom Khaaw
 Luang Prabang, s. Müüan Hluuan Bra Paañ
 Müüan 'Bää **18** (3) **29** (2); s. also Müüan 'Brää
 Müüan 'Brää **17** (1); **19** (1), (2) **21** (1), (3) **22** (1), (4) **23** (1), (4)
24 (2) **25** (1), also at the end of phuuk 10
 Müüan Buua (Pua) **16** (6), (7) **29** (3)
 Müüan 'Daa "S̄q̄y **04** (1), (2); **05** (1); **07** (2), (4); **08** (1), (3), (4), (7)
 (probably also nos. **01**, **02**, **03**, **06**, **09**, **10**, and **11**)
 Müüan Gwaan* (Nan) **29** (5)
 Müüan Hluuan Bra Paañ **19** (1), (2) **21** (1), (3) **22** (1), (3) **25** (1)
 Müüan Hrin 'Haañ* (Nan) **30** (6)
 Müüan Jään* **23** (9); s. also Müüan Jlään*
 Müüan Jlään* **23** (6); s. also Müüan Jään*
 Müüan 'Naan **17** (1) **23** (1) **16** (7); **30** (6): Bra Nagq̄r Müüan 'Naan
 (7): Nagq̄r Müüan 'Naan (8): Müüan Nandapurii Bra Nagq̄r
 Müüan "Hnaan **23** (9): Müüan Nandapurii Sree Müüan 'Naan
29 (5): Müüan Nandapurii Nagq̄r

Müüañ Nandapulii Bra Naggoṛ Müüañ "Hnaan, s. Müüañ 'Naan
Müüañ Nään 16 (7)

Nan, s. Müüañ 'Naan

Nandapurii Naggoṛ, s. Müüañ 'Naan

Nandapurii Sree Müüañ 'Naan, s. Müüañ 'Naan

Nään, Müüañ, s. Müüañ Nään

"Paan 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban* (Nan) 12, passim

"Paan 'Hmai* (Lampang?) 27 (2)

"Paan Hnaad (Nan) 16 (4)

"Paan "Kääm* (Nan) 29 (4)

"Paan Yaam (?)* (Lampang) 27 (4)

Phrae, s. Müüañ 'Bää, s. Müüañ 'Brää

Pua, s. Müüañ Buua

Sungmen, Sung Men, s. following entry

'Suuñ Hmeer (Phrae) 24 (2)

Ta Soi (or Tha Soi), s. Müüañ 'Daa "Sḡḡy

Wiang Pua, s. Müüañ Buua

Wiang Soi, s. Müüañ 'Daa "Sḡḡy

Wiiñ Buua (Pua), s. Müüañ Buua

Wiiñ ('Daa) "Sḡḡy, s. Müüañ 'Daa "Sḡḡy

F. Names of Monasteries

Aaraam 'Suuñ "Hmeer (Phrae) 23 (4)

[Waḍ] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan (Lampang) 02 (2), (3)

Waḍ {Buu "Kääw} Sree Pur Rüüan (Phrae) 18 (3)

Waḍ 'Daa Mahimsaa* (Nan) 16 (2), (4)

[Waḍ] Ḍḡḡr Jai* (Lampang?) 27 (2)

Waḍ Hluuañ Sree Jum (Phrae) 24 (2)

Waḍ Huua Faay* (Nan) 29 (1)

Waḍ Lḡḡñ* (Nan) 29 (3)

Waḍ [Mahaasrohmaṇa] Sree 'Un Müüañ* ('Daa "Sḡḡy) 07 (4); s. also

Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüañ*

Waḍ Naa "Tiañ* (Lampang) 28 (8)

Waḍ Nuaa Ḍään (Nan) 15 (9)

Waḍ Paak Nuaa* (Lampang) 13 (1) 14 (2); also *ibid.*, on p 3

- Waḍ "Paan Diiün* (Phrae) **23** (6)
 Waḍ "Paan "Kääm* (Nan) **29** (2)
 Waḍ "Paan Khəḡr* (Nan) **16** (6)
 Waḍ Peeṣsakaḍ (Nan) **29** (4)
 [Waḍ] Raajamondiian* (Lampang?) **27** (2)
 Waḍ Sree 'Un (or 'Ur) Müüaṅ* { Yossa "Dau "Faa } ('Daa "Səḡy) **05** (1)
07 (2), (4) **08**, (1), (3), (4), (7) **20** (3); probably also colophon
 in **03**
 Waḍ 'Suuṅ "Hmeer, s. Aaraam 'Suuṅ "Hmeer
 Waḍ Suuar Khuua* ('Daa "Səḡy [?]) **06**
 Waḍ "Ton Hnur {"Naam Saa} (Nan) **15** (7)
 Waḍ 'Un (?) Müüaṅ* **03**, s. Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüaṅ*

NB: Monasteries marked with * could not be located to date. They are not mentioned in the list published by the Social Research Institute [n.d.; 1984?] either. (See Bibliography).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations:

- AKM Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
BEFEO Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
BIHP Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology,
 Academia Sinica, Taipei
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society
JSS Journal of the Siam Society
VOHD Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

BECHERT, H. et al.

1979: Burmese Manuscripts, Part I, Wiesbaden (VOHD XXIII, 1).

BROWN, J. M.

2.1985: From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects — And Other Writings on
Historical Thai Linguistics, Bangkok (White Lotus Co.).

BRUN, V.

1976: Sug, the Trickster who Fooled the Monk,
Lund (SIAS Monograph Series).

CEEDÈS, G.

1915: "Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés en pays thai",
in: BEFEO, XV, 3, pp. 39–46.

1924 : Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, vol. I, Bangkok.

1925: Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos
Occidental, BEFEO, XXV, pp. 1–206.

1966: Catalogue des manuscrits en pāli, laotien et siamois, provenant de
la Thaïlande, Copenhagen.

2.1983 prachum śilaacaarāk phâak thîi 1,
Bangkok (sāmnākphim bannākīt; reprint of the Thai version of
Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, vol. I), B.E. 2526.

DAVIS, R.

1970: A Northern Thai Reader, Bangkok (The Siam Society).

- 1976: "The Northern Thai Calendar and Its Uses",
in: *Anthropos*, 71, 1976, pp. 3–32.
- EGEROD, S.
- 1957: "The Eighth Earthly Branch in Archaic Chinese and Tai",
in: *Oriens*, 10.2, pp. 296–299.
- 1961: "Studies in Thai Dialectology",
in: *Acta Orientalia*, 26. 1–2, pp. 43–91.
- 1971: *Phayaphrom: The Poem in Four Songs*, Lund.
- FINOT, L.
- 1917: *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*,
in: *BEFEO*, XVII, 5, pp. 1–219.
- 1956: "Les écritures lao", in: *France-Asie* 118–119 (pp. 981–998);
English Translation: "Laotian Writings", in: *Kingdom of Laos*,
ed. by René de Berval, Limoges 1959, pp. 307–327.
- FOURMONT, Stephanus; DE VILLEFROY, Guihilmus
- 1739: *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*,
Tomus Primus, Parisiis e Typographia Regiae MDCCCXXXIX.
- GANJANAPAN, Anan; WICHIENTKEEO, Aroonrut [ed.]
(/ʔaanan kaancanáphan; ʔarunrát wíchiangkǎw/)
- 1981: *tàmnān phaṅāa cǎaṅ*, 2 vols., Chiang Mai
(khanáʔ sǎṅkhommasàat mahǎawítthajaalaj chiangmàj
lǎeʔ sǔun sǎṅsǎəm lǎeʔ sǎksǎa wátthanátham láannaaj thaj
wítthajaalaj khruu chiangmàj), B.E. 2524.
- GEDNEY, W.J.
- 1967: "Thailand and Laos", in: *Current Trends in Linguistics*, 2:
Linguistics in East and Southeast Asia,
ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, The Hague, pp. 782–818.
- GOSLING, D.L.
- 1983: "Redefining the Sangha's Role in Northern Thailand:
An Investigation of Monastic Careers at Five Chiang Mai Wats",
in: *JSS*, 71, pp. 89–120.
- GRISWOLD, A.B.
- 1960: "Afterthoughts on the Romanization of Siamese",
in: *JSS*, 48.1, pp. 29–68.
- HAAS, M.R.
- 1958: "The Tones of Four Thai Dialects", in: *BIHP*, 29, pp. 817–826.

1964: Thai-English Student's Dictionary, Stanford.

HARTMANN, J. F.

1976: "The Waxing and Waning of Vowel Length in Tai Dialects",
in: *Tai Linguistics in Honor of Fang-Kuei Li*,
ed. by Th. W. Gething, J.G. Harris, Pranee Kullavanijaya,
Bangkok (Chulalongkorn University Press), pp. 142–159.

HINÜBER, O. von

1983: "Pāli Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand",
in: *JSS*, 71, pp. 75–88.

1985: "Two Jātaka Manuscripts from the National Library in
Bangkok", in: *JPTS*, X, pp. 1–22.

1987a: "The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the *Milindapañha*",
in: *JPTS*, XI, pp. 111–119 (with an additional note in: *JPTS*, XII,
1988, pp. 173–174).

1987b: "The Pali Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok.
A Short Catalogue", in: *JSS*, 75, pp. 9–74.

1988: "Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen
Handschriftenüberlieferung"
(Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde
des Pāli I) Stuttgart (Fr. Steiner).

1988b: "An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the
Milindapañha", in: *JPTS*, XII, pp. 173–174.

1988c: "Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the
18th Century", in: *JPTS*, XII, pp. 175–183.

HUNDIUS, H.

1976a: *Das Nirat Müang Kläng von Sunthøn Phū*,
Analyse und Übersetzung eines thailändischen Reisegedichts,
Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz).

1976b: *Verzeichnis der auf Mikrofilm erfaßten literarischen Dokumente
aus Nordthailand*, Frankfurt [unpublished computer print-out].

1990: *Phonologie und Schrift des Nordthai*,
Stuttgart (Fr. Steiner; AKM 48, 3).

JAINI, P. S.

1981/1983 *Paññāsa-Jātaka or Zimmè Paññāsa*,

London (Pali Text Society Series No. 172, 173).

JINAKĀLAMĀLI (Author: Ratanapañña) [ed. by A. A. P. Buddhadatta]

1962 London (Luzac & Co.).

KEYES, Ch. F.

1970: "New Evidence on Northern Thai Frontier History",
in: In Memoriam Phya Anuman Rajadhon,
ed. by T. Bunnag; M. Smithies, Bangkok, pp. 222–250.

JONES, R. B.

1971: Thai Titles and Ranks,
Ithaca, New York (Data Paper No. 81, Southeast Asia Program,
Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University).

KHANA KAMMAKAN CAT PHIM EKKASAN THANG

PRAWATTISAT [ed.]

(/khánaʔ kammakaan càt phim ʔèkkasǎan thaəŋ prawàttisàat/)

1965: Prachum Silacarük (/prachum s̄laacaarúk/), III, Bangkok.

1970: Prachum Silacarük (/prachum s̄laacaarúk/), IV, Bangkok.

LI, F.-K.

1977: A Handbook of Comparative Tai,
Honolulu (University Press of Hawaii).

LIKHITANONTA, Likhit

1980: "The Golden Age of Buddhist Literature in Lanna Thai", in:
Buddhism in Northern Thailand,
edited by Saeng Chandrangaam and Narujohn Iddhichiracharas,
Chiang Mai (published in commemoration of the 13th General
Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, Chiang Mai,
24–29 November 1980), pp. 64–80.

KROM SILPAKORN (/krom s̄nláppaakoon/, Fine Arts Department) [ed.]

1974: prawàt wát cháəŋ khám wooráwǐhǎan,
Bangkok (rooŋphim kaansàatsanǎa).

McFARLAND, G. B.

3.1956: Thai-English Dictionary, Stanford.

MULDER, N.

2.1985: Everyday Life in Thailand. An Interpretation,
Bangkok (D.K. Bookhouse).

NYANATILOKA

3.1972: Buddhist Dictionary (ed. by Nyanaponika), Colombo.

NOTTON, C.

1925: Annales du Siam, I, Paris.

ONGSAKUL, Saraswadee (sarātsawadii ṛṅṣakun)

1986: prawàttisàat láanna, Chiang Mai (khroongkaan khō̄ sō̄nhēet láannaakhadiisùksāa, khroongkaan sūun sō̄ṅsǎ̄m sīnláppà? wátthanatham mahāawítthajaalaj chiaṅmàj), B.E. 2529.

PAVIE, A. [ed.]

1898: Études diverses II: Recherches sur l'histoire du Cambodge, du Laos et du Siam (Mission Pavie), Paris.

PENTH, H.

1976: khamcaarúk thīi thāan phrá phúttharūup naj nakhō̄on chiaṅmàj, Bangkok (roongphim naajók rátthamontri), B.E. 2519.

1983: prawàt khwaampenmaa khō̄ṅ láanna thaj, Chiang Mai (Chiang Mai University, Social Research Institute), B.E. 2526.

PHAYOMYONG, Manee (/mánii phájǎomjɔ̄ŋ/)

1968: tamraa rian nǎṅsǔ̄m laanna thaj, Chiang Mai (prathuaj witthajaa), B.E. 2511.

PHETSARATH, Tiao Maha Upahat

1959: "The Laotian Calendar", in: Kingdom of Laos, ed. by René de Berval, Limoges, pp. 97–125.

PRACHAKITKORACAK, Phraya (Chaem Bunnag)

(/phrájaa prachaakitkō̄rácàk; chēm bunnâak/)

3.1961: phoṅsāawadaan joonók (chabàp hō̄ṅ samùt hēṅ chāat), Bangkok, B.E. 2504.

PRACHUM SILACARŪK, s. KHANA KAMMAKAN ...

PURNELL, H. C.

1962: A Colorful Colloquial, Chiang Mai (Overseas Missionary Fellowship).

ROONGRUANGSRI, Udom (/ṛudom rūṅruaṅsīi/)

3.1981: woohāan laanna: kham ṛū̄u bàaw ṛū̄u sǎaw, p̄ritsanāa khamthaaj, sùphaasìt, Chiang Mai (Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University; Mimeograph), B.E. 2524.

1984: rábòp kaankhīan ṛàksō̄on láanna, Chiang Mai (Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University; Mimeograph), B.E. 2527.

[forthcoming] /phótcànaanúkrom phaasāa láanna – thaj/.

SAO SAIMÖNG

1981: "Cūjasakarāja and the Sixty Cyclical Year Names",
in: JSS, 69, pp. 4–12.

SATTARAPHAI, Boonserm (/bunsǝm sàattàràphaj/)

2.1989: sadèt laannaa, 2 vols.,

Bangkok (ʔàksaraaphíphát; I: 184 pp, II:174 pp.), B.E. 2532.

SCHUYLER, M.

1908: "Notes on the making of palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam",
in: JAOS, 29, pp. 281–283.

SI SAM-ANG, Surasak (/sùrásàk sïisǎmʔaəŋ/)

1987: "prawàttisàat léʔ sǐnláppàʔ",

in: mʊəŋ nâan; booraanákhadii, prawàttisàat léʔ sǐnláppàʔ
(edited by the Fine Arts Department [Krom Silpakorn]),
Bangkok, B.E. 2530, pp. 39–242.

SMITH, H.

1948: A Critical Pāli Dictionary (begun by V. Trenckner),
Epilegomena to Vol. I, Copenhagen (E. Munksgaard).

SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (Chiang Mai University) [ed.]

[n.d.; 1984?]: raajchǝu wát phúttasàatsanǎa naj khèet 8 caŋwàt phâak
nǎa, Chiang Mai (SRI-CMU-23-3-027; Mimeograph).

1986a: raajchǝu nǎjsǝu booraan láannaa: ʔèekkasǎan majkhroofiim
khǝwǝj sathǎaban wícaj sǎŋkhom mahǎawíthajaalaj chiaŋmǎj,
Chiang Mai (Mimeograph), B.E. 2526.

1986b: Lan Na Literature. Catalogue of Palm-leaf Texts on Microfilm
at the SRI, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand,
Bangkok (Chulalongkorn University Bookstore), B.E. 2526.

SWANGPANYANGKUN, Thawee (/thawii sawàəŋpanjaəŋkuun/)

1988: sàkkaràat thîap hǝn thaj, Chiang Mai (YMCA), B.E. 2531.

TUIKEO, Puang Kham (/puəŋ kham tǝj khǝw/)

1986: "wiaŋ booraan, jan caarúk cèŋ hǝa lin, kaanbèŋ weelaa samǎj
booraan",

in: Wichaikhatthakha, Thiw [ed.], kampheəŋ mʊəŋ chiaŋmǎj,
Chiang Mai (thípphanèet kaanphim), B.E. 2529, pp. 96–109.

WANNASAI, Singkha (/sǝŋkháʔ wannásǎj/)

1975: tamraa rian ʔàkkharàʔ laannaa thaj,

Lamphun (lamphuun kaanphim), B.E. 2518.

- 1979: khlooŋ r̥aŋ maŋtharaa róp Chiangmàj,
Chiang Mai (Chiang Mai Bookcenter), B.E. 2522.
- 1980: pàrithát wannakhadii laannaa thaj,
Chiang Mai (Chiang Mai University, Faculty of Humanities),
B.E. 2523.
- WATCHARASAT, Bunkhit (/bunkhít wátcharásaàt/)
- 1985: b̥eep rian phaas̥aa muaŋ n̥aa,
(6th, enlarged and partly revised edition) Chiang Mai
(thaaraathooŋ kaanphim), B.E. 2528.
- WIRAPRACAK, Kongkaeo; THASUKHON, Niyada
(/kòŋ k̥eew wiirápracàk; níjadaa thaasukhon/)
- 1981: raajjaan kaanwícaj r̥aŋ kaanwíwát kh̥òŋ ?àks̥òŋ tham
laannaa, Bangkok, B.E. 2524 [unpublished].
- WIRAPRACAK, Kongkaeo; UNNATHARAWARANGKUN, Wirat
(/kòŋ k̥eew wiirápracàk; wíráat ?unnaathára?wáraaŋkuun/)
- 1984: khamphii bajlaan chab̀ap l̥uaŋ naj sam̥áj ráttanákoos̥ín,
Bangkok (National Library), B.E. 2527.
- WYATT, D. K. [ed.]
- 1966: The Nan Chronicle. Translated by Prasert Churatana,
Ithaca (New York).
- WYATT, D. K.
- 1969: The Politics of Reform in Thailand,
Bangkok (Thai Watana Panich), B.E. 2512.
- 1975: The Crystal Sands. The Chronicles of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja,
Data Paper: No. 98, Southeast Asia Program,
Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New
York.
- 1984: Thailand. A Short History, Bangkok (Thai Watana Panich).

STUDIES IN THE PĀLI GRAMMARIANS

II.1

- [A] Buddhaghosa on *itthambhūtakkyāna*, *itthambhūtalakkhaṇa*, *accanta-sanyoga*, *adhikaraṇa*, *bhāvalakkhaṇa*, *kaṇa*, *nimitta*, and *samīpa*.
[B] Grammatical References in Paramatthajotikā I–II.
[C] Mahānāma and Buddhadatta on Grammar.

Introduction

In Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I¹ I have shown that whenever Buddhaghosa refers to grammar or grammarians in support of his analysis of a grammatical or semantical problem in the Pāli, he is referring to Pāṇinian grammar. This apparently is also the case in those instances where he deals with a number of syntactical problems, without mentioning the source upon which his analysis is based. These analyses constitute a valuable complement to those I have dealt with in the previous article, and I have therefore found it worthwhile to focus on them in this paper, so as to present a more complete picture of Buddhaghosa as a grammarian. Since almost all of the examples occur in identical form in his Aṭṭhakathās, I have taken Samantapāsādikā as the primary source, being historically the first among the commentaries allegedly written by Buddhaghosa. In addition, I have dealt with a number of interesting grammatical comments found in Paramatthajotikā I–II, which are both traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, although his authorship has been disputed.² In each case it has been possible to identify the source as Pāṇinian grammar.

Although the majority of grammatical references in the Pāli. Aṭṭhakathās are found in the writings attributed to Buddhaghosa, he is not the only Buddhist Pāli scholar who occasionally focuses on topics of grammatical interest. In Mahānāma's and Buddhadatta's commentaries on

¹ Cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, *JPTS* 1989 pp. 33–81.

² They are probably both post-Buddhaghosa, but historically they cannot be far removed in time from him. Whoever was the actual author of these two Aṭṭhakathās [for a discussion of this problem, cf. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 129], internal evidence shows beyond doubt that they were written by the same person since there are several references in Pj II to topics which the author intends to deal with in detail in Pj I [cf., for example, Pj II 136,20: *ayam ettha samkhepo, vitthāraṃ pana Maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanāyaṃ* (= Pj I 111,6 foll.) *vakkhāma*]; consequently Pj II must have been written first.

Paṭisambhidhāmagga and Buddhavaṃsa, respectively, we come across a number of similar references. Since both authors belong to the post-Buddhaghosa generation of Pāli scholars, I have for historical reasons found it interesting to study these references in order to decide whether one can trace, through their grammatical comments, a development toward a distinctively Buddhist Pāli grammatical tradition.

Mahānāma [first half of the 6th century A.D.]³ and Buddhadatta [8th century A.D. ?]⁴ apparently follow Buddhaghosa's example by taking Pāṇinian grammar as their main reference grammar, but in a few interesting cases they deviate from the strict Pāṇinian tradition.

Mahānāma rarely discusses questions of grammar. There are, in fact, only four grammatical references in Paṭis-a, but all of them are interesting.⁵ One of them is found in his commentary on the Suññakathā [= Paṭis II 177–84]. Commenting upon the meaning of the word “empty” (*suñña*), Mahānāma not only refers to grammar (*Saddagantha*), but also to *pramāṇavāda* (*Ñāyagantha*). Since this text raises a number of questions that are only remotely connected with the rise of the Pāli grammatical tradition, I have found it appropriate to deal with this text in a separate paper.⁶ Another reference seems to indicate that Mahānāma may well have been acquainted with another grammatical source in addition to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. If so, his source is no doubt identical with Candravyākaraṇa.

In contrast to Mahānāma, Buddhadatta refers more often to the rules of grammar (*lakkhana*). Although his grammatical statements ultimately would seem to derive from Pāṇinian grammar, it is nonetheless clear that in a few cases they reflect a distinctively Buddhist grammatical tradition. This, for instance, is evident in the case where Buddhadatta lays out alternative ways of analysing the word “*Buddha*”. There are indications that his source may

³ Cf. Norman, *Pāli Lit.*, p. 132.

⁴ The date of Buddhadatta has not yet been fixed definitively. He may belong to the period after Dhammapāla, to whose Vv-a he appears to refer. Cf. Norman, *Pāli Lit.*, p. 146.

⁵ The reference to *saddavidū* at Paṭis-a 645,3 [qu. Nidd-a 293,22] is not a genuine grammatical reference like some of those found in Buddhaghosa's writings [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I], being a mere gloss on the term *mahaddhano*. It has not been possible to identify Mahānāma's source, but it is probably not wrong to assume that he draws his information from a Pāli *kośa*. The passage reads: *dhanavā ti pasamsitabbapaññāddhanavattā niccayuttapaññāddhanavattā atisayabhūtapaññāddhanavattā dhanavā. etesu tīsu atthesu idam vacanam saddavidū icchanti*. In one place [v. Paṭis-a 569,19] he deals with a grammatical problem: the interpretation of the compound *vimokkhamukha*, which he interprets as a *karmadhāraya*, without referring to any grammatical source.

⁶ Cf. Mahānāma on the Interpretation of Emptiness (forthcoming).

have been identical with Kaccāyana's grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The nature of the grammatical references that occur in the post-Buddhaghosa Pāli. Aṭṭhakathās would thus seem to reflect a wider variety of sources and influences than in the case of Buddhaghosa's grammatical comments.

[A]

1.1 *itthambhūtakḥhyāna* [Sp 111,30–112,3 ad Vin III 1,12–13]

Buddhaghosa only uses the term *itthambhūtakḥhyāna* sparingly and almost always in similar contexts. In Sp it occurs twice, the first time in connection with his exegesis of Vin III 1,12-13:

*taṃ kho pana bhagavantam Gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo
kittisaddo abbhuggato: ...*

However, as regards him, the Lord Gotama, the highest praise (*kalyāṇo kittisaddo*) was spread (*abbhuggato*) in the following words (*evaṃ*): ...

On this clause Buddhaghosa writes the following comment:

*taṃ kho panā ti itthambhūtakḥhyānathe upayogavacanam:
tassa kho pana bhoto Gotamassā ti attho.*⁷

[In the clause] “however, as regards him, [etc.,]” the accusative is used in the sense of a statement of circumstance. The meaning is “however, with respect to him, the lord Gotama.”

The question with which Buddhaghosa deals here is the function of the preposition *abhi* [in *abbhuggata*] when it is used as a *karmapravacanīya* [= Pāli *kammavacanīya*],⁸ i.e., a preposition used independently of an

⁷ For identical analyses, cf. Ps II 327,34 (ad M I 285,8); Mp II 286,22 (ad A I 180,20); Pj II 441,2 (ad Sn 103,6).

⁸ For this technical term, cf. Renou, *Terminologie*, s.v.

explicit verb form, which is to be complemented from the context. Pāṇini deals with these particles in Pāṇ I 4 83 foll. In Pāṇ I 4 [90+] 91, which is the sūtra Buddhaghosa has in mind, he describes the function of *abhi* as a *karmapravacanīya*: *abhir abhāge*: “*abhi*” [is a *karmapravacanīya* used in the sense of a sign (i.e., “in the direction of”), a statement of circumstance (i.e., “as regards; with respect to”), and of distribution (i.e., “separately; one after another”)] but not in the sense of division.

According to Pāṇini such *karmapravacanīyas* are regularly constructed with the accusative [cf. Pāṇ II 3 8: *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*]. In Pāli the usage differs from Sanskrit since *abbhuggacchati* is constructed both with acc. and gen. in analogous contexts [v. CPD s.v. *abbhuggacchati*]. The construction with the gen. is no doubt reflected in Buddhaghosa’s paraphrase, which in addition conveys the particular semantic value of *abhi* when used in the sense of *itthambhūtakḥhyāna*.⁹

It is, of course, questionable whether the Pāṇinian description of the category of *karmapravacanīya* is applicable to Pāli *abbhuggacchati* as suggested by Buddhaghosa. As a matter of fact, there is no clear case of a *karmapravacanīya* in Pāli. The verb *abbhuggacchati* is rather to be interpreted as a regular verbal compound with two *upasargas*, as indicated by the *sandhi*. The particle *abhi* therefore has no independent syntactical function in the same way that a *karmapravacanīya* is supposed to have according to the Pāṇinian definition. That which suggested to Buddhaghosa to interpret *abhi* as a *karmapravacanīya* and to take it in the sense of *itthambhūtakḥhyāna* was no doubt the fact that in this particular case, which represents an old canonical stereotype, the verb *abbhuggacchati* is constructed with the acc. However, as mentioned before, there are several instances in canonical Pāli where it is constructed with the gen. This shows clearly that we are dealing with a regularly compounded verb that optionally may be constructed with the acc. or the gen. This represents a peculiarity of the Pāli, for which there is no parallel in Sanskrit. It is therefore justified to conclude that the linguistic category of *karmapravacanīya* in its Pāṇinian form is obsolete in Pāli.¹⁰

⁹ Buddhaghosa apparently never comments upon those instances where *abbhuggacchati* is constructed with the genitive. This situation is typical of the way in which he applies his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar to clarify grammatical features of the Pāli: he seems to consciously avoid dealing with those instances which contradict Sanskrit usage as defined by Pāṇini.

¹⁰ For an analogous example of the usage of the category of *karmapravacanīya* for exegetical purposes, cf. Buddhadatta’s analysis of *anupabajjati* ad Bv XX 5, q.v. infra.

Both Vjb [Be 1960 38,4-7] and Sp-ṭ [Be 1960 I 214,19-215,11] comment upon Buddhaghosa's explanation. Sāriputta's lengthy exegesis in Sp-ṭ, which he illustrates with examples quoted from either Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 54 or the Kāśikā ad Pāṇ I 4 91, displays his usual mastery of grammatical issues and thus confirms the Pāṇinian background of Buddhaghosa's analysis.¹¹ Kacc-v ad Kacc 301 [= Sadd 586] quotes the example upon which Buddhaghosa comments, and adds another example taken from D II 30,11: *pabbajitaṃ anu pabbajjimsu*, that is analogous to the clauses at Bv II 47 and Bv XX 5, with which Buddhadatta deals in his commentary ad loc. [v. infra].

[Sp 622,11-12 ad Vin III 181,3-4]

Buddhaghosa's reference to *itthambhūtakkhyaṇa* in this case is clearly a slip of the pen for *itthambhūtalakkhāṇa* [on which v. infra], which the context shows that he must have had in mind. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in Sp he defines a similar usage, with reference to *itthambhūtalakkhāṇa*.¹² The syntactical problem with which he deals in his comment is a series of instrumental forms that occur in the following sentence: *atha kho so bhikkhu ... Kiṭṭāgiriṃ piṇḍāya pāvīsi pāsādikena abhikkantena paṭikantena ālokitena vilokitena sammiñjitena pasāritena okkhittacakkhu iriyāpathasampanno*. After having commented on the meaning of each instrumental form, he concludes: *sabbattha itthambhūtakkhyaṇatthe karanavacanāṃ*: in all [the above-mentioned cases] the instrumental is used in the sense of a statement of circumstances [correct

¹¹ Because of its intrinsic interest I quote the relevant part of Sāriputta's *ṭīkā*: "*itthambhūtakkhyaṇatthe upayogavacanan*" *ti itthaṃ imaṃ pakāraṃ bhūto āpanno to itthambhūto. tassākhyānaṃ itthambhūtakkhyaṇaṃ so yeva attho itthambhūtakkhyaṇattho. athavā itthaṃ evaṃ pakāro bhūto jāto ti evaṃ kathanattho itthambhūtakkhyaṇattho. tasmim upayogavacanan ti attho. ettha ca "abbhuggato" ti ettha abhisaddo itthambhūtakkhyaṇatthajotako abhibhavivā uggamanappakārassa dipanato. tena yogato "taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ" ti idaṃ upayogavacanaṃ sāmīatthe visamānaṃ itthambhūtakkhyaṇadīpanato itthambhūtakkhyaṇatthe ti vuttaṃ. ten' evāha: "tassa kho pana bhoto Gotamassā" ti attho ti. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti: yathā sādhu Devadatto mātaram abhi [= sādhu Devadatto mātaram abhi, Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 54 and Kāś ad Pāṇ I 4 91] *ti attho abhisaddayogato itthambhūtakkhyaṇe upayogavacanaṃ kataṃ. evaṃ idhāpi taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ gotamaṃ abhi evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo uggato ti abhisaddayogato itthambhūtakkhyaṇe upayogavacanan ti, Sp-ṭ I 214,19 foll.**

¹² Cf. Sp 974,31.

to read *itthambhūtalakkhaṇe*: in the sense of an indication of a particular state or condition].

Although the usage of the instr. case is clearly modal in this case, the very fact that we are dealing with instrumental forms excludes the existence of the category of *karmapravacanīya*, of which *itthambhūtātkhyāna* is a subset, being constructed with the acc. The corresponding modal usage of the instrumental is denoted *itthambhūtalakṣaṇa* in Pāṇini's technical vocabulary [cf. Pāṇ II 3 21 and v. infra]. And this usage is the subject of the following discussion.

1.2 *itthambhūtalakkhaṇa* [Sp 891,8-9 ad Vin IV 187,4]

In this example Buddhaghosa is concerned with a particular usage of the instrumental case. The vinaya text on which he comments is the following: *na ukkhittakāya antaraghare gamissāmī ti*: "I shall not walk between the houses with [the robe] lifted up," on which he writes the following concise comment:

ukkhittakāyā ti ukkhepena, itthambhūtalakkhaṇe karaṇavacanam.

[The expression] "with [the robe] lifted up" means "by lifting up [the robe]." The instrumental (*karaṇavacanam*) is used in the sense of an indication of [someone or something being in] this or that state or condition.

This exegesis presupposes Pāṇ II 3 [18+] 21 which gives a concise definition of the modal usage of the instrumental: *itthambhūtalakṣaṇe*: [The third case, i.e., the instrumental case] is used in the sense of an indication of [someone or something being in] this or that state or condition. Buddhaghosa's identification of this particular usage of the instrumental is precise and to the point because, from a syntactical point of view, there is complete agreement between Sanskrit and Pāli usage in this case.

1.3 *accantasam̐yoga* [Sp 107, 27-31 ad Vin III 1,6]

The technical term *accantasam̐yoga* is rarely found in Buddhaghosa's Aṭṭhakathās. It is, however, an inseparable part of his elaborate discussion — reproduced, with minor changes according to the context, in his commentaries on the nikāyas — of the case syntax and meaning of the word *samaya*, which throughout the canonical literature is used either in the accusative, the instrumental or the locative. In this context Buddhaghosa addresses the usage of *samaya* in the accusative. The relevant passage reads:

*kathaṃ suttante tāva accantasam̐yogattho sambhavati ? yaṃ
hi samayaṃ bhagavā Brahmajālādīni suttantāni desesi
accantaṃ eva taṃ samayaṃ karuṇāvihārena vihāsi, tasmā
tadatthajotanatthaṃ tatha upayoganiddeso kato.*¹³

How can it be that it is first of all (*tāva*) in the sutta(s) that the meaning of uninterrupted connection (*accantasam̐yoga*) [in time] occurs ? Because (*hi*) Bhagavan, during the time (*samayaṃ*) when he taught suttas such as Brahmajāla, uninterruptedly (*accantaṃ*)¹⁴ remained in a state of compassion, (*tasmā*) the specification [of circumstances] in them (*tatha*) is put (*kato*) in the accusative (*upayoganiddesa*) in order to make this meaning clear.

According to a quotation from the *porāṇas* [= *aṭṭhakathācariyās*] which Buddhaghosa invariably quotes in this context, it makes no difference if *samaya* is put in the acc., instr. or loc.¹⁵ since the meaning is locatival in any case. There is therefore good cause to believe that Buddhaghosa's elaborate exegesis represents a later attempt to relate the usage of the word *samaya*, in acc., instr., and loc., to distinct syntactical categories as defined by Pāṇinian grammar, while at the same time attempting to interpret a purely grammatical problem in the context of Buddhist hermeneutics.

¹³ The same text occurs also, with minor changes, at Sv I 33,23–25; Ps I 9,26–29; Spk I 11,28–31; Mp I 13,20–23.

¹⁴ Cf. Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I 188,5–7: *accantaṃ evā ti ārambhato paṭṭhāya yāva desanāññihānaṃ tāva accantaṃ eva: nirantaram evā ti*; Vjb Be 1960 34,26–27.

¹⁵ For a translation of this quotation, v. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, p. 36.

It is, of course, not possible to decide whether Buddhaghosa himself is responsible for this attempt, or whether his analysis merely reflects contemporary Theravāda exegesis. In any case, the context in which the above passage occurs — it represents one of the most complex sections of Buddhaghosa's *Aṭṭhakathās* — displays considerable knowledge of Pāṇinian grammar.¹⁶ For instance, his usage of the term *accantasamyoga* [= Sanskrit *atyantasamyoga*] for explaining the usage of *taṃ samayaṃ* is dependent on Pāṇ II 3 [2+] 5, which defines this particular usage of the acc. as follows: *kālādhanor atyantasaṃyoge*: [The second case, i.e., the acc. is used] after [words expressing] temporal or spatial extension, when [the sense is] uninterrupted connection [in time or space].

1.4 *adhikaraṇa* and *bhāvalakkhaṇa* [Sp 107,31–108,5 ad Vin III 1,6]

This text is, like the one analysed above [v. supra 1.3], part of Buddhaghosa's exegesis of the syntax of the word *samaya*. This time he deals with the locative:

*Abhidhamme ca adhikaraṇattho bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho ca sambhavati. [so punctuate] adhikaraṇaṃ hi kālattho samūhattho ca samayo tattha vuttānaṃ phassādidhammānaṃ khaṇasamavāyahaṭṭhasāṅkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena tesāṃ bhāvo lakkhīyati, tasmā tadatthajotanattham tattha bhumma-vacanena niddeso kato.*¹⁷

In the *Abhidhamma* [the word “*samaya*”] occurs with the meaning of locus (*adhikaraṇattho*) and with the meaning of qualification of [one] action through [another] action (*bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho*). Because (*hi*) the locus (*adhikaraṇaṃ*) is

¹⁶ For another part of the same section, cf. the analysis of the text on *adhikaraṇa* and *bhāvalakkhaṇa*, q.v. infra.

¹⁷ The same text occurs with minor changes at Sv I 33,10–15; Ps I 9,14–19; Spk I 11,15–21; Mp I 13,7–13; cf. As 61,27–32 [one does not usually find statements with grammatical implications in As]: *adhikaraṇaṃ hi kālasāṅkhāto samūhasāṅkhāto samayo tattha vuttadhammānaṃ ti adhikaraṇavāsen' ettha bhummaṃ. khaṇasamavāyahaṭṭhasāṅkhātassa ca samayassa bhāvena tesāṃ bhāvo lakkhīyati ti bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇavāsen' ettha bhummaṃ.* The whole passage looks very much like a grammatical afterthought added as a note to the otherwise detailed exegesis of Dhs § 1, to which also Buddhaghosa's exegesis relates. The passage is perhaps a slightly edited quotation from Buddhaghosa.

the occasion in the sense of the time and collection of the dhammas as explained therein [i.e. in the Abhidhamma] like, e.g. touch (*phassādidhammānaṃ*), and because their action is qualified through the action of the occasion which is denoted moment, combination, and cause (*khaṇasamavāyahu-tu-saṅkhātassa ca samayaassa bhāvena*),¹⁸ (*tasmā*) the specific-ation [of circumstances] is made therein [i.e. in the Abhi-dhamma] in the locative.¹⁹

In order to understand the scope of Buddhaghosa's rather complex exegesis, it is necessary to know the grammatical background of his argument. Buddhaghosa takes his point of departure in two well-known functions of the locative as defined by Pāṇini. The basic usage of the loc. is to denote any given locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of an action. Pāṇini defines this locus in Pāṇ I 4 45 in terms of being the support or substratum (*ādihāra*) of an action: *ādihāro 'dhikaraṇam*.²⁰ Another syntactical function of the locative is the so-called absolute locative. Pāṇini describes this usage in Pāṇ II 3 [+36] 37: *yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*: moreover, the thing, due to whose action some other action is qualified, stands in [the seventh case, i.e. the locative]. Buddhaghosa's technical vocabulary, as it appears from his exegesis, is completely identical with Pāṇini's. He even seems to quote Pāṇ II 3 37 in a slightly edited Pāli version.²¹

The canonical Abhidhamma passage, which Buddhaghosa interprets in the light of Pāṇinian grammar, is Dhs § 1, defining the particular occasion (*samaya*) on which certain dhammas are to be considered good (*kusala*). I quote only the part that is necessary for understanding Buddhaghosa's interpretation:

¹⁸ Cf. the verse — probably stemming from an unknown Pāli *kośa* — which Buddhaghosa quotes in Sp 107,1-2:

*samavāye khaṇe kāle samūhe hetudīṭṭhisu
paṭilābhe pahāne ca paṭivedhe ca dissati.*

¹⁹ In his translation of the same passage, as quoted in Pj I, Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli takes *bhāva* to mean substantive, and thus misinterprets the issue under discussion; cf. Pj I-trsl. (*Illustrator*) p. 114.

²⁰ Cf. Dhammapāla's Ud-a 22,5-8 which quotes Buddhaghosa's explanation interspersed with glosses: *Abhidhamme ... ādhārabhāvasaṅkhāto* [so read; Ee *ādhārassa visayasaṅkhāto*] *adhikaraṇattho. kiriyāya kiriyantaralakkhaṇasaṅkhātena bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇattho ca sambhavati*; cf. also Dhammapāla's Sv-pt qu. n. 23 infra, which alludes to this Pāṇini sūtra.

²¹ The *yasya ca* of II 3 37 only makes sense in connection with the preceding sūtra and was therefore omitted by Buddhaghosa.

yasmim samaye kāmâvacaram kusalam cittam uppannam hoti ... tasmim samaye phasso hoti, vedanā hoti, saññā hoti, cetanā hoti ... : ime dhammā kusalā.

On which occasion (*yasmim samaye*) a good thought that is active within the sphere of the sensuous universe, has originated ... on this occasion (*tasmim samaye*) there is contact, feeling, perception, volition ... : these dhammas are good.

According to Buddhaghosa there are two ideas underlying the usage of the locatives *yasmim samaye ... tasmim samaye*. One is that the word *samaya* denotes the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of action, in terms of a particular time (*kālattha*) and a particular collection (*samūhattha*) being the basis of the action, of certain dhammas [= *phassa, vedanā, saññā, cetanā*, etc.]. The implied action is in this particular case expressed through the two verbs *uppannam (hoti)* and *hoti*. This is the strict locatival interpretation of *samaya*. It is understandable that time, as such, should be interpreted as the locus of an action. It is less obvious how a collection of certain dhammas [i.e. conditions] could be taken, in a strict locatival sense, as the locus of an action. It would seem more straightforward to interpret this usage of the loc. in the sense of the aggregate being the cause [= *nimittasaptamī*] of the existence of other dhammas. The strict locatival interpretation would thus seem to be somewhat forced. However, when Buddhaghosa takes *samaya* in the sense of time (*kāla*) and a collection (*samūha*) [of dhammas], he draws on a tradition which is reflected in the verse defining the various meanings of *samaya*, which he quotes whenever he deals with the word *samaya*.²²

The other function which Buddhaghosa attributes to the locative is more difficult to understand, because it is far from obvious how one could possibly interpret the grammatical structure of *yasmim samaye ... uppannam hoti ... tasmim samaye ... hoti* according to the Pāṇinian definition of the locativus absolutus.

The phrase *samayassa bhāvena* [cf. Sp 108,4 qu. above], however, gives a clue to what Buddhaghosa had in mind. The underlying idea is — as Dhammapāla explains in a similar context in Sv-pt, illustrating the syntactical properties of the absolute locative with a citation, in Pāli transla-

²² Cf. the verse quoted above and v. the detailed exegesis at As 61,27–32 which clarifies the intention underlying Buddhaghosa's concise explanation.

tion, from Candravṛtti [ad Candra II 1 90] or the Kāśikā [ad Pāṇ II 3 37]²³ — that one should complement the locative phrases *yasmim samaye ... tasmim samaye* with the appropriate form of the pr. part. *sat* so as to read *yasmim samaye sati ... tasmim samaye sati*. The reason is that the verb *hoti* in the phrase *uppannaṃ hoti* [q.v. supra] necessitates the complementation of existence (*sattā*) to *samaya* (*hotipadatthassa sattāviraḥābhāvato*) so as to form a regular absolute locative. In other words, the action of the origination of the mind (*cittassa uppādakiriyā*) and the action of the coming into existence of contact, etc. (*phassādināṃ bhavanakiriyā*) are both qualified by the existence of the occasion (*samayassa sattākiriyāya ... lakkhīyati*). Dhammapāla's explanation thus gives a clear exposition of the idea underlying Buddhaghosa's application of the Pāṇinian definition of the locativus absolutus to the phrases *yasmim samaye ... tasmim samaye*. The three meanings of moment, combination, and cause (*khaṇa*, *samavāya*, and *hetu*) which he ascribes to *samaya* are, in this case as well, related to the verse mentioned above, in which the various meanings of the word *samaya* are defined.

1.5 *karāṇa* and *hetu* [Sp 108,5–11 ad Vin III 1,6]

This text continues the exegesis of the phrase *tena samayena*, as it occurs in Vin III 1,6. Buddhaghosa writes:

²³ Cf. his elaborate commentary at Sv-pt I 58,30 foll.: *adhikaraṇattho = ādhārattho. bhāva nāmo kiriyā, kiriyāya kiriyantaralakkhaṇaṃ = bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇaṃ. yathā kālo sabhāvadhammaparichinno sayāṃ paramatthato avijjamāno pi ādhārabhāvena paññāto taṅkhaṇappavattānaṃ tato pubbe parato ca abhāvato: pubbaṅhe jāto, sāyaṅhe gacchatī ti ca ādisu, samūho ca avayavavinimutto avijjamāno pi kappanāmettasiddho avayavānaṃ ādhārabhāvena paññāpiyati: rukkhe sākā, yavarāsiyaṃ sambhūto ti ādisu; evam idhāpi ti dassento āha "adhikaraṇaṃ hi ... dhammānaṃ" ti. yasmim kāle dhammapuñje vā kāmāvacaraṃ kusalaṃ cittaṃ uppannaṃ hoti, tasmim yeva kāle dhammapuñje vā [so read; Ee va] phassādayo pi hotī ti ayaṃ hi tattha attho. yathā ca "gāvisu duyhamānāsu gato, duddhāsu āgato" [= Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 90 and Kāś ad Pāṇ II 2 37] ti dohanakiriyāya gamanakiriyā lakkhīyati, evam idhāpi: yasmim samaye, tasmim samaye ti ca vutte satī ti ayaṃ attho viññāyamāno eva hotipadatthassa [so read; Ee hoti padatthassa] sattāviraḥābhāvato ti samayassa sattākiriyāya [so read; Ee sattā kiriyāya] cittassa uppādakiriyā phassādināṃ bhavanakiriyā ca lakkhīyati. yasmim samaye ti yasmim navame khāṇe, yasmim yonisomanasikārādīhetumhi paccayasamavāye vā sati kāmāvacaraṃ kusalaṃ cittaṃ uppannaṃ hoti, tasmim yeva khāṇe, hetumhi, paccayasamavāye ca phassādayo pi hotī ti ubhayattha samayasaddena [so read with v.l.; Ee -sadde] bhūmaniddeso kato lakkhaṇabhūtabhāvayutto ti dassento āha: khāṇa- ... lakkhīyatī ti.*

*idha pana hetuattho karaṇattho ca sambhavati. yo hi so sikkhāpadapaññattisamayo Sāriputtādīhi pi dubbhiññeyyo, tena samayena hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena ca sikkhāpadāni paññāpayanto sikkhāpadapaññattihetuñ ca avekkhamāno bhagavā tattha tattha vihāsi, tasmā tadatthajotanattham idha karaṇavacanena niddeso kato ti veditabbo.*²⁴

In this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya], however, [the word “*samaya*”] occurs with the meaning of cause and with the meaning of instrument. Because (*hi*) the occasion for [Bhagavan’s] discoursing on the precepts was difficult to understand even for Sāriputta, etc., [and because] Bhagavan, while setting forth, through that [specific] occasion as a cause and an instrument (*hetubhūtena karaṇabhūtena*), the precepts and paying attention to the cause for discoursing on the precepts, lived in this or that [place], (*tasmā*) one should know that the indication [of circumstances] in this context [i.e., in the context of the Vinaya] is made by [using] the instrumental case (*karaṇavacanena*).

There is no grammatical subtlety involved in this comment. Buddhaghosa’s terminology shows that he has in mind Pāṇini’s definitions of the usage of the instrument *kāraka*, in Pāṇ II 3 18: *karṭṛkaraṇayoḥ tṛtīyā*, and II 3 23: *hetau*. In these sūtras Pāṇini explains that the instrument *kāraka* is used in the sense of an instrument or a cause of something. The identification of the relevant Pāṇini sūtras is corroborated by Buddhaghosa’s usage of the terms *hetubhūta* and *karaṇabhūta*.

It is noteworthy that some of the examples which Sāriputta and Dhammapāla quote in their respective commentaries on Buddhaghosa’s text appear to be quoted from Candragomin’s commentary on his grammar. This commentary was evidently used by the authors of the Kāśikā, which in many cases is indistinguishable from Candravṛtti.²⁵

²⁴ An expanded version of the same text is found at Ud-a 23,3–11.

²⁵ Cf. *annena vasati vijjāya vasatī ti ādisu viya hetuattho. pharasunā chindati. kuddālena khaṇatī ti ādisu viya karaṇattho ca sambhavati* [Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I p. 186,27–28] ≠ Dhammapāla Sv-ṭ I 559,23–24 [cf. Ud-a 22,32–23,3]. These examples are partly identical with Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 68: *hetau: ... annena vasati. vidyayā yaśaḥ* [cf. Kāś ad Pāṇ II 3 23: *dhanena kulaṃ. kanyayā śokaḥ. vidyayā yaśaḥ*; for Sv-ṭ *ajjhena vasati*, read *vijjāya vasati*] and 63: *karaṇe: ... dātrena lunāti, paraśunā chinatti* [= Kāś ad Pāṇ II 3 18]. Note that the examples

1.6 *nimitta*

[Sp 189,7–28 ad Vin III 8,30–33]

The Vinaya passage which Buddhaghosa attempts to interpret is syntactically ambiguous and difficult to construe. This fact leads him to suggest two alternative solutions to the problem, neither of which, however, is satisfactory. The passage reads:

tatra sudam̐ Sariputta bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim̐ hoti yo koci avītarāgo taṃ vanasaṇḍam̐ pavisati yebhuyyena lomāni haṃsanti.

The syntax of this sentence raises several problems of interpretation. It is, in the first place, not clear how we are to construe *tatra*. Buddhaghosa suggests that it be taken as an anaphora, referring back to what has been said in the previous sentence (*tatrā ti purimavacanāpekkham̐*). He interprets *sudam̐* as an expletive particle (*sudan ti padapūraṇamatte nipāto*), and construes the sentence as follows (*ayam̐ pan' ettha atthayojanā*):

tatrā ti yaṃ vuttam̐ aññatarasmim̐ bhimsanake vanasaṇḍe ti. tatra yo so bhimsanako ti vanasaṇḍo vutto tassa bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim̐ hoti, bhimsanakiriyāya hoti ti attho. kim̐ hoti ? idam̐ hoti: yo koci ... lomāni haṃsanti ti.

The expression “therein (*tatra*)” [refers back to the clause] “in a horrifying jungle-thicket [= Vin III 8,23].” In this case the jungle-thicket is explained (*vutto*) by the word “horrifying (*bhimsako*).” It happens (*hoti*), on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket’s creating horror (*bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim̐*), that ... , i.e. (*iti attho*), it happens, because of its action of [creating] horror (*bhimsanakiriyāya*), that ... What happens ? It happens that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end (*haṃsanti*).

pharasunā chindati and *kuddālena khaṇati* have a parallel in Kacc-v ad Kacc 281: *yena vā kariyate taṃ karaṇam̐: ... pharasunā rukkham̐ chindati. kuddālena rukkham̐ khaṇati.*

From this exegetical tour de force it becomes clear that Buddhaghosa interprets *bhimsanakatasmim* as a compound, which he apparently derives from *bhimsana* + *kata*. According to Sāriputta, *kata* (n.) is to be interpreted as an action noun (*bhāvasādhana*),²⁶ but apart from that he makes no suggestion for the derivation of *kata*, about which Buddhaghosa also leaves us in the dark. The gloss *bhimsanakiriyāya*, however, would seem to indicate that he took *kata* as a pp. [$< \sqrt{kr}$], and that he interpreted it as a neuter noun, equivalent to *kiriyā* in the compound *bhimsanakiriyā*. As indicated by Buddhaghosa's gloss, he interpreted the locative in a causal sense (*nimitta* = *nimittasaptamī*).²⁷

In the second alternative he returns more explicitly to this interpretation of the locative. First he suggests taking the locatival *tatra* in the sense of the genitive (*tatrā ti sāmīatthe bhummaṃ*). He interprets *sudaṃ* as a sandhi form of the particle (*nipāta*) *su* and the pronoun *idaṃ*, with elision of the *-i-* (*sandhivasena ikāralopo veditabbo*), and he finally construes the sentence as follows (*ayaṃ pan' ettha atthayojanā*):

tassa Sāriputta bhimsanakassa vanasaṇḍassa bhimsanakatasmim idaṃ su hoti. bhimsanakatasmin ti bhimsanakabhāve ti attho. ekassa takārassa lopo daṭṭhabbo. bhimsanakakattasmim yeva vā pātho, bhimsanakatāya iti vā vattabbo, liṅgavipallāso kato. nimittatthe c' etaṃ bhummavacanam, tasmā evaṃ sambandho veditabbo: bhimsanakabhāve idaṃ su hoti; bhimsanakabhāvanimittam, bhimsanakabhāvahetu, bhimsanakabhāvapaccayā idaṃ su hoti: yo koci ... lomāni haṃsantī ti.

This, Sāriputta, surely happens on account of this horrifying jungle-thicket's causing horror. [The word] *bhimsanakatasmim* means "on account of being horrifying." One should observe that a *-t-* [in *bhimsanakatasmim*] has been elided [from *bhimsanakat(t)asmim*]. Either the [correct] reading is

²⁶ Cf. Sp-ṭ Be 1903 I 406,10–12: *katan ti bhāvasādhanavāci idaṃ padan ti āha bhimsanakatasmim bhimsanakakiriyāya ti. bhimsanassa karaṇam kriyā bhimsanakatam. tasmim bhimsanakatasmim.*

²⁷ The interpretation of the locative (*bhummaṃ*) in a causal sense (*nimittatthe*) is rarely met with in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās. Apart from this example, I can only refer to Pj II 321,9 and 433,23 for similar interpretations of the locative in Pāli.

bhimsanakattasmim, or one should read [as if it were] *bhimsanakatāya*, a change of gender (*liṅgavipallāso*) being made [of the abs. suffix *-tā* (f.) to *-ta* (m. or n.)]. Also (*ca*) this locative is used in the sense of a cause (*nimittatthe*). Therefore one should know that the connection (*sambandho*) [between the terms in the sentence, i.e., the syntax] is as follows: on account of being terrifying this surely happens, i.e., because of being terrifying, due to being terrifying, by reason of being terrifying this happens viz. that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.

This interpretation would seem to create as many problems as it tries to solve. Buddhaghosa is no doubt correct in suggesting the emendation *bhimsanakattasmim*, which makes better sense than the unusual compound *bhimsana + kata*. His gloss *bhimsanakabhāve* shows that he interprets, as one would assume, the abstract suffix *-tta* (n.) [*< *tva*] according to Pāṇ V 1 119: *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*.²⁸ There is no reason to believe, however, that he is right in claiming that the locative *tatra* = *tassa*. Nor is Buddhaghosa's derivation of the particle *sudam* from the particle *su* [*< *sma*] + *idam* correct. It is rather to be derived from *su + tam* > *sudam* [= Sanskrit *sma tad*].²⁹ The reason is no doubt that he felt the need for a pronoun in construction with the relative pronoun *ya*, introducing the subordinate clause. In the case of *sudam*, however, canonical usage shows that it is exclusively used adverbially, i.e. as a particle (*nipāta*), which Buddhaghosa correctly suggests in the first alternative. The phrase *tatra sudam* or *tatra pi sudam* is often found in canonical narrative prose.³⁰ In every single case *tatra* has a locative sense and *sudam* is merely used as an emphatic, often untranslatable, particle. It is clear that Buddhaghosa's interpretation is a result of a desperate attempt to construe an otherwise syntactically ambiguous sentence. First of all, he is forced to find a solution to the locative *bhimsanakatasmim*. Although he is probably correct in assuming that this form has to be

²⁸ There are many allusions to this Pāṇinian sūtra in the Aṭṭhakathās, e.g. Spk II 12,33 (ad S II 3,1): *cavanatā ti bhāvavacanena lakkhaṇanidassanaṃ* = Vibh-a 100,20; *māyāvino bhāvo māyāvītā*, Vibh-a 493,16.

²⁹ Cf. O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 134.

³⁰ For *tatra sudam*, cf. D I 1,10; M I 473,19; M II 164,5; for *tatra pi sudam*, cf. D I 119,1; II 91,6; II 126,6.

amended to read *bhīṃsanakattasmim*, it is nonetheless questionable whether his interpretation of the locative in a causal sense is correct. It is understandable, however, that Buddhaghosa, whose knowledge of grammar was largely, or perhaps exclusively, dependent upon Pāṇinian grammar, would try to find a solution to the problem of the locative *bhīṃsanakatasim* in Pāṇinian grammar. He probably found it in Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ II 3 36 [+vārttika 6 ad loc.].³¹ Vajirabuddhiṭikā confirms this assumption by quoting a slightly edited Pāli version of a Sanskrit verse which Patañjali quotes ad loc. as an illustration of *nimittasaptamī*.³²

It is not possible to find an absolutely satisfactory solution to the syntactical problem of the sentence causing Buddhaghosa to write such an elaborate grammatical analysis. The locative *tatra* is probably to be construed with the *yo* of the relative clause, and can, in fact, be interpreted in the sense of a *nimittasaptamī*. As for the locative *bhīṃsanakattasmim* (adopting Buddhaghosa's emendation), I would suggest interpreting it in a predicative sense³³ — for which there are a few interesting canonical examples [v. infra] — and translating the sentence in the following way:

This indeed, Sāriputta, is the reason why the horrifying jungle-thicket is called horrifying, namely, that whoever enters this jungle-thicket without being devoid of passion, [his] hair as a rule stands on end.³⁴

The whole purpose of the sentence is obviously to give an "etymology" of the word *bhīṃsanaka*, which is here explained with reference

³¹ Cf. Mahā-bh and vārt. 6 ad loc.: *nimittāt karmasāmyoge* [= vārt 6]. *nimittāt karmasāmyoge saptamī vaktavyā*.

*carmaṇi dvīpinam hanti dantayor hanti kuṅjaram
keṣesu camariṃ hanti simni puṣkalako hataḥ.*

³² Cf.: *nimittatthe ti ettha*

*cammaṇi dipinaṃ hanti, dantesu hanti kuṅjaraṃ
vālesu cāmariṃ hanti, siṅgesu saraso hato.*

ti adhikaraṇaṃ [Vjb Be 1960 57,26–27]; cf. Ja VI 61,3 foll. ≠ 78,17.

³³ This particular usage of the loc. in Pāli is normally found with verba sentiendi et dicendi [cf. O. von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli*, § 294]. The present usage differs syntactically from the few examples quoted in op. cit. § 294, in that it is not constructed with a verbum sentiendi et dicendi.

³⁴ In I. B. Horner's translation the sentence reads: Moreover, Sāriputta, whoever not devoid of passion, is in a terror of the awe-inspiring jungle-thicket, and enters the jungle-thicket, as a rule his hair stands on end [*Book of the Discipline*, I, p. 16].

to the root \sqrt{ham} s [$< * \sqrt{hrs}$] \neq the stem \sqrt{bhims} - [$< bhī$ śma deriv. $< * \sqrt{bhī}$].³⁵ Fanciful etymologies of this type, being based upon a superficial phonetic similarity, are a well-known feature in Indian literature.³⁶ They are, for instance, to be found in great number in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the early Upaniṣads, not to mention Yāska's Nirukta. The way in which they are formulated, e.g. in the early Upaniṣads, would seem to lend support to Buddhaghosa's correction *bhimsanakatta*. In the majority of cases the reason for the nature or particular form of any given word x is explained there in terms of its x-ness.³⁷ This fits very well into the present context, where the word *bhimsanaka* is explained in terms of its *bhimsanaka*-ness, which is due to the fact that it makes people's hair stand on end (*hamsanti*).

The predicative usage of the loc. is rarely met with in the canon. As a matter of fact, I have only been able to identify two canonical examples, both from the Dīghanikāya. One example is D I 63,22: *idam pi 'ssa hoti silasmim*: this is what he has as virtue. The other example is D II 221,7: *idam tesam hoti āsanasmim*: this is what they have as seat.³⁸ It is clear that Buddhaghosa was ignorant of this function of the loc. because in Sv 182,14–18 ad D I 63,22 he quotes the view of the Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā as an alternative to his own explanation according to which the loc. has a partitive sense [cf. Pāṇ II 3 41]. The Aṭṭhakathā, however, is correct in interpreting the loc. as equivalent to the nominative (= *pacattavacanatthe*) as shown by the quote *idam pi tassa samanassa silam*, which simply is one way of saying that the loc. has a predicative function.³⁹

Buddhaghosa's alternative suggestions for interpreting the above Vinaya passage are ingenious, but certainly wrong. The main reason is that in general his grammatical analyses are dependent on whether he can find a paragraph in Pāṇinian grammar that is applicable to the problem in question. This obviously is not the case in this context, and his failure to interpret the

³⁵ The association of \sqrt{ham} s- and \sqrt{bhims} - is common in the canon. Cf., for example, the canonical juxtaposition of *lomahaṃsa* and *bhimsanaka* in D II 106,23.

³⁶ For examples from Pāli canonical lit., cf. Norman, "Four Etymologies from the Sabhiya-sutta", *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980, pp. 173–84.

³⁷ Cf., for example, Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaṇiṣad I 2.1: *so 'rcann acarat. tasyārcata āpo 'jāyanta. arcate vai me kam abhūd iti. tad evārkaśyārkatvam*; v. ibid. I 2.5.

³⁸ Buddhaghosa does not comment on this clause. Perhaps the reason is that he did not find any suggestions in the old Aṭṭhakathā as to its interpretation.

³⁹ Cf. Sv loc. cit.: *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathāyam hi idam pi tassa samanassa silan ti ayam eva attho vutto*, which indicates that, in the commentarial tradition, there was a clear understanding of the predicative function of the locative.

sentence correctly can be ascribed to the fact that Pāṇinian grammar does not recognize a similar function of the locative.

1.6 *samīpa*

[Sp 108,21–22 ad Vin III 1,6]

As appears from his reference to the usage of the loc. in the sense of cause (*nimitta*), Buddhaghosa must have been conversant with the Pāṇinian tradition as a whole. This is also the case in the context where he claims that the loc. is used in the sense of being close to or nearby something (*samīpattha*), although in this particular case he may rely on grammatical sources that are no longer accessible. In Sp 108,21–22,⁴⁰ commenting upon the loc. *Verañjāyaṃ* in the clause *Verañjāyaṃ ... viharati*, he writes: *Verañjāyaṃ samīpatthe bhumavacanaṃ*: “by *Verañjā*” is a locative in the sense of vicinity (*samīpa*). Buddhaghosa illustrates the meaning of this particular usage with the following example: *yathā Gaṅgayamunādīnaṃ samīpe goyūthāni carantāni Gaṅgāya caranti Yamunāya caranti ti vuccanti evam idhāpi* [= Sp 109,18–19]: just as the cowherds that graze in the vicinity of [the rivers] Ganges and Yamuna are said to graze by the Ganges and the Yamuna, so also in this context.

Although there is no mention of this usage of the loc. in Pāṇini, it can be traced to Mahā-bh II 218,14–19 where it is used in a context analogous to the one with which Buddhaghosa is dealing: *tatsāmīpyāt: Gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* [= Mahā-bh loc. cit.]. Elsewhere Patañjali mentions three types of locative *kāraka* relations: *adhikaraṇaṃ nāma triprakāraṃ vyāpakam aupaslesikam vaiṣayikam iti* [= Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ VI 1 72]. To these the Pāli grammarians add *sāmīpika*.⁴¹ Although there can be no doubt that the use of *sāmīpika* has its origin in Mahā-bh — Aggavaṃsa’s citation of Mahā-bh loc. cit. in connection with his discussion of *sāmīpika* proves this beyond doubt — it has not been possible to find a justification, in contemporary Sanskrit grammatical sources, for the inclusion of *samīpa* in the locative *kāraka* relations; therefore its historical background remains unclear.⁴² Buddhaghosa’s

⁴⁰ For other references to *samīpattha*, cf. Sv I 132,23; Spk I 12,31 = Mp I 15,1 = Pj I 111,5.

⁴¹ Cf. the *kārikā* qu. in Rūp Ce 1897 113,29–30:

vyāpiko : tilakhīrādi; kaṭo : opasilesiko
sāmīpiko : gaṅgādi; ākāso : visayo mato.

⁴² It is noteworthy that the examples of the usage of the locative that are quoted in Candravṛtti ad Candra II 1 88 (*kaṭe āste. ākāse kunayah. tileṣu tailam. Gaṅgāyāṃ gāvah*) are used as illustrations of the various types of locative relations that are mentioned in the verse

example illustrating the *samīpattha* is analogous to the one used by Candragomin in Candravṛtti [ad II 1 88]: *gaṅgāyāṃ gāvah*, but Candragomin does not use the corresponding technical term for defining the nature of the locative. One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that Buddhaghosa has taken his example from a common stock of examples illustrating *sāmīpya* and that he applied it ad hoc. For instance, one finds the following illustration of *sāmīpya* in Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 62: *sāmīpyād — gaṅgāyāṃ gāvāś caranti*.

[B]

Grammatical references in Paramatthajotikā I-II

Almost all the references to the views of the grammarians, or occasional allusions to Pāṇini, that are found in Pj I and II have already been identified by Helmer Smith in his careful editions of these important commentaries, but he never attempted a study of them. They are interesting and should be included in a study of the Pāli grammatical tradition as it is reflected in the Aṭṭhakathās. Since Pj II was written before Pj I, it is here treated before Pj I.

[Pj II 23,12-26 ad Sn 14]

In the first example the author deals with two problems. The first is an apparent morphological anomaly: the pp. *samūhatāse* [*< *samud + √han*] that occurs in the clause: *yassa ... mūlā akusalā samūhatāse* "who has destroyed all the evil roots." On this form he writes:

samūhatā icc' eva attho, paccattabahuvacanassa hi (a)sakā-rāgamāṃ⁴³ [so read ? Ee sa-; Be se-] icchanti saddalakkhaṇa-kovidā. aṭṭhakathācariyā pana se ti nipāto ti vaṇṇayanti. yaṃ ruccati, taṃ gahetabbam.

quoted by Buddhapiya in Rūp Ce 1897 113,29-30 [q.v. supra]. Comparatively late Sanskrit grammatical sources mention *sāmīpyaka* (scil. *adhikaraṇa*) as a subset of the locative *kāraka*; v. Renou, *Terminologie*, s.v. *adhikaraṇa*.

⁴³ For this emendation, cf. the discussion infra.

The meaning is the same as (*eva*) [of the form] “*samūhatā*,” because (*hi*) the grammarians claim that the nominative plural (*paccattabahuvacanassa*) gets the augment *as*. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathās, however, comment that *se* is a particle. One may adopt whichever [view] one prefers.

One finds here the same scholarly attitude towards grammatical problems as is normal practice in Buddhagosa [cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I]: first the view of the grammarians is presented and then the view of the aṭṭhakathācariyas.

The reading *sakārāgama*, however, is problematic. One would expect the reading *sekāra*- in accordance with the canonical reading, but the manuscript tradition seems to consistently read *sa* for the expected *se*.⁴⁴ Assuming that the reading *sa* is not an old corruption and that the author is trying to explain the ending *-āse* with reference to the grammarians' view, one might suggest reading *asakārāgama*, from which the *a* was probably elided in conjunction with the immediately preceding *hi*. If this assumption is correct, then the reference to grammarians (*saddalakkhanakovidā*) becomes understandable. As a rule such references are to Sanskrit grammarians. This implies that the author is referring to Sanskrit;⁴⁵ and in this particular case he is probably thinking of those Vedic plural forms ending in *-āsas*, which Pāṇini addresses in Pāṇ VII 1 [38+] 50: *ājjaser asuk*: after stems in *a* or *ā* [the nom. pl. augment *as*] gets [in the Veda the augment denoted] *asuk* [= *as*].⁴⁶ However, the author of Pj was probably not aware of the fact that Sanskrit *-āsas* > Pāli *-āse*.⁴⁷ His primary intention seems to have been to contrast Sanskrit nom. pl. forms in *-āsas* with analogous Pāli nom. pl. forms in *-āse*.⁴⁸ It is therefore surprising that an authority like Aggavaṃsa regards the *se* as not constituting a part of the pl. form itself (*apadāvayava*), and that he thus

⁴⁴ The reading of Be is probably a modern attempt at being consistent.

⁴⁵ He refers explicitly to Vedic Sanskrit (*sakkata*) at Pj II 43,21, q.v. infra.

⁴⁶ One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that the author refers to the normal Sanskrit plural ending *-ās*, and that the *sakārāgama* is to be interpreted with reference to the Pāli plural ending *-ā + s*, which represents the normal Sanskrit nom. pl. ending. If so, it leaves the *-e* in *-āse* unexplained.

⁴⁷ The ending *-āse* is probably a reflex of an eastern Prakrit; cf. O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 312. Analogous nom. pl. forms that occur in Sn are passed over in silence in Pj II, but they are correctly identified as such; cf. Pj II 368,5: *upāsakāse ti upāsakā icc eva vuttaṃ hoti* (ad Sn 376); II 553,28: *paṇḍitāse = paṇḍitā* (ad Sn 875).

⁴⁸ This appears clearly from the way in which he correctly contrasts the form *carāmase* in Sn 32 with Sanskrit *carāmasi* at Pj II 43,21–22; v. infra.

would seem to agree with the aṭṭhakathâcariyâs that *se* is a particle (*nipāta*).⁴⁹

The next problem the author addresses is the present form *jahāti* occurring in the first line of the refrain of the Uragasutta: *so bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ*: this monk abandons this shore and the far shore, on which he writes the following concise comment:

n' eva ādiyati na pajahati, pajahitvā ṭhito ti vutto. tathā pi vattamānasamīpe vattamānavacanalakkhaṇena [≠ Pāṇ III 3 131] jahāti orapāraṃ ti vuccati.

What is meant is that he neither appropriates nor abandons, being in a state where he already has abandoned (*pajahitvā ṭhito*). In the same way also [the present form *jahāti* in the clause] “he abandons (*jahāti*) this and the far shore” is used, according to the rule about the present [being used to express the past or the future time], when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present time (*vattamānasamīpe*).

This interpretation alludes to Pāṇ III 3 131, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that affixes that are employed for denoting the present time may also be used to express the past or future time, provided that they express the immediate past or future: *vattamānasamīpye vattamānavad vā*: optionally, [the affixes that are used to express the present time] may in the same way as when the meaning is that of present time, be used [in the sense of past or future time] when [the past or the future time is] contiguous to the present.

The reason why Buddhaghosa alludes to this sūtra is, of course, that the present form *jahāti* of the refrain follows immediately after the pp. *samūhatāse*. This would seem to create a logical problem, because having given up *mūlā akusalā* is, according to Buddhaghosa, equivalent to having given up “this and the far shore.” He therefore solves the problem with reference to this particular Pāṇini sūtra. In the present context this means that the tense value of the pp. *samūhatāse* takes precedence over the tense value of *jahāti* which thus assumes a past tense value, referring to the

⁴⁹ Cf. Sadd 513,14-15: *apadāvayavo pana ... “mūlā akusalā samūhatā se [= Sn 14].”*

immediate past. Thus, following Buddhaghosa's analysis, one might translate the refrain: he has given up this and the far shore.

In the following example Buddhaghosa addresses the problem of the form *carāmase* that occurs in the verse: *Gopī ca ahañ ca ... brahmacariyaṃ Sugate carāmase* [= Sn 31]. He writes:

carāmase iti carāma yaṃ hi taṃ sakkatena carāmasi ti vuccati, taṃ idha carāmase iti. aṭṭhakathâcariyā pana se iti nipāto ti bhañanti, ten' eva c' ettha āyācanatthaṃ sandhāya carema [v.l. carā-] se iti pi pātham vikappenti. yaṃ ruccati, taṃ gahetabbaṃ.

[The form] *carāmase* = *carāma*, because [the form] which in Sanskrit reads *carāmasi*, in this [verse reads] *carāmase*. The teachers of the Aṭṭhakathā, however, say that *se* is a particle (*nipāto*), and therefore they optionally propose (*vikappenti*) the reading *carema se*, with regard to the meaning of the vow [expressed] therein [i.e. in the verb *carāma se* (*ettha āyācanatthaṃ sandhāya*)]. One may adopt which [view] one prefers.

It appears from Buddhaghosa's commentary that he interprets *carāmase* = *carāmasi* [Vedic ind. pr. 1 pl.]. We may therefore deduce that he also knew Sanskrit (*sakkata*) in its Vedic form, at least to the extent that it is covered by Pāṇini's rules for *chandās*. This fact also lends support to the suggestion [v. supra] that he contrasted Pāli nom. pl. *-āse* with Vedic nom. pl. *-āsas*, and that the proposed emendation therefore may be correct.

It is, of course, another question whether Buddhaghosa is correct in suggesting that *carāmase* = *carāmasi* = *carāma*. The form *carāmase* itself is ambiguous and admits of two interpretations: it may either be interpreted as indicative mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 122, which cites analogous forms that cannot be interpreted as subjunctive forms], the ending *-mase* being the middle counterpart of Vedic *-masi*, or as subjunctive mid. 1 pl. [cf. Geiger § 126 according to which *carāmase* belongs to this category].⁵⁰ In this case there is no reason to doubt that it is a subj. mid. form, and we may therefore translate Sn 31: Gopī and I ... shall practice *brahmacariya* for the sake of

⁵⁰ Cf. also Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, n. ad Th 370–71; O. von Hinüber, *Überblick*, § 433.

Sugata (*sugate* = *nimittasaptamī*). The *aṭṭhakathācariyas* apparently had preserved the tradition that it was a subjunctive⁵¹ [cf. the phrase *āyācanattham sandhāya*], but they clearly were unable to analyse correctly the form itself, which is a Middle Indian innovation. Since Buddhaghosa had no other possibility of identifying the form than to try to find as close a parallel in Sanskrit as possible, he could only suggest that *carāmase* = *carāmasi*.⁵² In those cases where analogous forms occur, he might have been correct [for the present ind. forms, cf. the forms listed in Geiger § 122], but in this context it would seem necessary to interpret *carāmase* as a subjunctive.⁵³

In this example the presence of the ind. mid. 3 sg. *kurute*, in the verse *sante na kurute piyaṃ*:⁵⁴ he does not make good men his friends, gives Buddhaghosa another opportunity to display his knowledge of Pāṇinian grammar. He offers two alternative explanations of this clause, only the first of which can be considered correct: *sante na kurute piyaṃ, attano piye iṭṭhe kante manāpe na kurute iti attho* [= Pj II 169,11–13]. From this paraphrase it appears that he correctly interprets *piyaṃ* [= eastern acc. pl. *piye*], in apposition to *sante* [eastern acc. pl.].⁵⁵ This interpretation probably represents the view of the *aṭṭhakathācariyas*. In the second alternative, however, he suggests interpreting *kurute* according to Pāṇ I 3 32, which lays down the rule that when the verb \sqrt{kr} inter alia means “to revile” or “to serve,” the middle (*ātmanepada*) is used, even though the fruit of the action does not fall to the agent (*gandhanāvakaṣeṇanasevanasāhasikyapratiyatnaprakathanōpayaogeṣu kṛñah*). He therefore suggests the following paraphrase: *sante na sevati ti attho yathā rājānaṃ sevati*: they do not serve the good men, on the grounds that the grammarians take, e.g. the expression “*rājānaṃ pakurute*” in the same meaning (*etasmim atthe “rājānaṃ pakurute” ti saddavidū mantenti*).⁵⁶ The suggestion is ingenious, and it is therefore

⁵¹ This speaks for the historical validity of the *Aṭṭhakathā* tradition, which in many cases has preserved the correct interpretation; cf. n. 39 supra.

⁵² He evidently took *carāmase* = *carāmasi* = *carāma*, because he quotes Ja IV 53,20: *brahmacariyaṃ carāma* as a parallel.

⁵³ This applies *mutatis mutandis* to the interpretation of *bhavāmase* in the following line of Sn 31; cf. Pj II 44,2–4.

⁵⁴ Cf. DhP 217: *taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ*: such a man the world makes its friend.

⁵⁵ For *piyaṃ* = eastern acc. pl., v. Lüders, *Beobachtungen*, § 205.

⁵⁶ Cf. Fausbøll’s translation which tries to do justice to the “Pāṇinian” interpretation: he does not do anything that is dear to the good, which Lüders [op. cit., § 205] incorrectly claims does not do justice to the medium.

surprising that Buddhaghosa did not simply take *piyaṃ* as acc. pl. in apposition to *sante*, but proposed to interpret *piyaṃ* as a part.⁵⁷ Indeed, it cannot be entirely excluded that we have to translate: the good men he does not treat as his friends. Nor is it impossible that the parallel in Dhṛ 217: *taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ*, is to be translated as: such a man the world treats as a friend.

[Pj II 321,10–12 ad Sn 302]

Commenting on the phrase “*pahūtadhanadhañño ’si, yajassu, bahu te vittaṃ, yajassu, bahu te dhanam,*” Buddhaghosa writes:

pahūtadhanadhañño ’sī ti, pahūtadhanadhañño bhavissasi abhisamparāyan ti adhippāyo, āsaṃsāyaṃ hi anāgate pi vat-tamānavacanaṃ icchanti saddakovidā.

The intention (*adhippāyo*) of [the clause] “you become⁵⁸ abundantly rich” is “you shall become abundantly rich in the future,” because (*hi*) those who are well versed in grammar (*saddakovidā*) claim that, in the case of a wish (*āsaṃsā*), the present is also used in the sense of the future.

The grammarians to whom the author refers here are, as one would expect, Pāṇinians. In this case the Pāṇinian rule that justifies his exegesis is found in Pāṇ III 3 [131+] 132: *āsaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavaca ca*: in the case of a wish [the affixes that are used to express the present time or the past time] may [optionally, i.e., instead of the affixes expressing the future time] be used in the same way as when [the meanings are that of present time] and that of past time.

The intention of the reference to the grammarians becomes clear when one takes a look at Buddhaghosa’s paraphrase: *mahārāja, bahu te vittaṃ dhanañ ca, yajassu, āyatim pi pahūtadhanadhañño bhavissasi ti*. He simply wants to show that the Sn clause has the following underlying structure: May you offer [= if you offer] ... then you shall become abundantly rich. It is therefore clear that he is forced to give a reason for why the present form *asi*, which he tacitly interprets as equivalent to *bhavati*, is used instead of the expected future. He consequently turned to the relevant Pāṇini sūtra which would seem to justify his exegesis. However, there is

⁵⁷ Cf. Pj II 169,16–17: *piyaṃ ti piyamāno tussamāno modamāno ti atho.*

⁵⁸ I translate *asi* = *bhavati* in accordance with Buddhaghosa’s intention; v. infra.

nothing in the verse that would support this learned display of Sanskrit grammar. The clause *pahūtadhanadhañño 'si* is clearly syntactically co-ordinated with the clauses *bahu te vittam* and *bahu te dhanam*, and thus one cannot, without distorting the syntax of the verse, attribute the value of *āsamsā* to the usage of *asi*.

[Pj I 17,28–19,22 on “*buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*”]

Nearly all the exegeses of grammatical interest that occur in Paramatthajotikā I are found in identical or slightly edited forms in other commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa. However, in one case where he deals with the controversy over the correct interpretation of the canonical stereotype *buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*, the scope of the discussion goes far beyond the corresponding treatment of the same sentence in his other commentaries.⁵⁹ Buddhaghosa deals briefly with the analogous phrase, *Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi*, in Sv 229,18–23,⁶⁰ but without even touching upon the grammatical question of co-referentiality [= apposition (*samānādhikaraṇatta*)], which is the focal topic of the controversy recorded in Pj I. The following section is the most interesting part of it from a grammatical point of view:⁶¹

codako āha: buddham saraṇam gacchāmi ti ettha, yo buddham saraṇam gacchati, esa buddham vā gaccheyya saraṇam vā. ubhayathā pi ca ekassa vacanam niratthakam. kasmā ? gamanakiriyāya kammadvayābhāvato, na h' ettha “ajam gāmaṇ netī” ti ādisu viya dikammakattam akkharacintakā icchanti, — “gacchat' eva pubbam disam gacchati pacchimaṇ disan” [= S I 122,2] ti ādisu sātthakam evā ti ce, — na: buddhasaraṇānaṇ samānādhikaraṇabhāvassānadhipeṭato, etesaṇ hi samānādhikaraṇabhāve adhippete paṭihatacitto pi buddham upasamkamanto buddham saraṇam gato siyā, yaṇ

⁵⁹ This is one of several indications that Pj I may not be by Buddhaghosa.

⁶⁰ Cf.: *bhagavā me saraṇam parāyaṇam, aghassa tāṭā hitassa ca vidhātā ti iminā adhippāyena etaṇ gacchāmi bhajāmi sevāmi payirupāsāmi ti evaṇ vā jānāmi, bujjhāmi ti, yesaṇ hi dhātūnaṇ gati attho, buddhi pi tesam attho*, Sv 229,20–22 ≠ Pj I 19,1–3.

⁶¹ Unfortunately the purport of the entire passage was misunderstood by Ñāṇamoli who translated *samānādhikaraṇabhāva* as “identical causativity” [v. *Illustrator*, p. 10 foll.].

hi taṃ “buddho” ti visesitaṃ saraṇaṃ, taṃ ev’ esa gato ti [= Pj I 17,29–18,6].

The objector (*codako*) says: In the [proposition] “I go to the Buddha, [to] protection,” the one who goes to Buddha, [to] protection, may either go to the Buddha or to the protection. In either case (*ubhayathā pi*), however, the word [that denotes] one [of them, i.e. *Buddhaṃ* or *saraṇaṃ*] is meaningless. — How can that be? — Because the verbal action of going does not take two object [*kāraṅga* (*kammaadvaya*)]; for in this case the grammarians do not claim that there are two object [*kāraṅga*], in the same way as in [the proposition] “he takes the goat to the village.” Suppose you object that [the word that denotes one of them] is meaningful, in the same way as, for instance, [the word *pubbaṃ* or *disaṃ* in the phrase from S I 122,2]: “he goes to the eastern region, he goes to the western region.” This [assumption] is wrong (*na*), because it is not intended that [the word] Buddha and [the word] protection be co-referential [i.e., in apposition (*buddhasaraṇānaṃ samānādhikaraṇabhāvassānadhivetato*)]; for (*hi*) if it were intended that they be co-referential, even a depraved person who approached the Buddha would come to the Buddha as protection, because he has come to precisely that protection which is qualified as “Buddha” (*buddho ti visesitaṃ*).

The first objection is based upon the grammarians’ assumption that \sqrt{gam} cannot be constructed with two accusatives — except in its causative form — in the same way as \sqrt{ni} .⁶² The example used for illustrating the opposition between \sqrt{ni} and \sqrt{gam} : *ajaṃ gāmaṃ neti*, is quoted from a related discussion in Mahā-bh [= *ajāṃ nayati grāmaṃ*, Mahā-bh I 335,13 ad Pāṇ I 4 51].

The next objection starts from the assumption that *Buddhaṃ* and *saraṇaṃ* are in apposition (*samānādhikaraṇabhāva*). The idea is that *saraṇaṃ* qualifies *Buddhaṃ* in the same way as the two adjectives *pubbaṃ* or *pacchimaṃ* qualify *disaṃ*. In his *ṭīkā* [ad Sv 229,18–23] Dhammapāla claims

⁶² Cf. the corresponding discussion at Sv-pt I 357,19–20 [ad Sv 229,18–23]: *ettha ca nāyaṃ gamusaddo nisaddādayo viya dvikammaṃko*.

that it is necessary to complement the sentence according to its underlying syntax. In his view an *iti*, showing the apposition, has been elided after *saraṇaṃ*. The correct reading, according to Dhammapāla, should therefore be: *bhagavantāṃ saraṇaṃ iti gacchāmi*.⁶³ The author of Pj I objects to a similar view by pointing to the fact that, for instance, at S III 57,7: *aniccaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ rūpaṃ ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*, there is no *iti* found after *aniccaṃ*, as one would expect.⁶⁴ Consequently there is no need for complementing the sentence, which simply has to be interpreted as if an *iti* had been applied (*payutto viya*).⁶⁵ The claim that *saraṇaṃ* stands in apposition to *Buddhaṃ* or *Bhagavantāṃ* would seem to be grammatically sound. Accordingly we should translate the canonical stereotype: I go to the Buddha as [my] protection.

[B]

1 [Paṭis-a 538,6–8 ad Paṭis II 4,4–6]

In this grammatical note Mahānāma deals with the semantical and syntactical conditions under which the past participle in *-ta* is constructed with the genitive. The passage commented upon reads:

na m' ete bhikkhave samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā samaṇesu c' eva samaṇasammatā brāhmaṇesu ca brāhmaṇasammatā.

I do not, monks, consider these recluses or brāhmaṇas to be recluses among recluses and brāhmaṇas among brāhmaṇas.

In this clause *samaṇasammatā* is to be construed with *me*, and Mahānāma therefore comments:

samaṇasammatā ti na mayā samaṇā ti sammatā. sammatā ti vattamānakālavasena vuccamāne saddalakkhaṇavasena me ti ettha sāmivacanam eva hoti.

⁶³ Cf. Sv-pt I 357,21–23: *bhagavantāṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ti vattuṃ na sakkā; saraṇaṃ ti gacchāmi ti pa vattabbaṃ. itisaddo c' ettha luttaniddiṭṭho.*

⁶⁴ The author evidently interprets the syntactical function of *niccaṃ* as equivalent with, e.g., the predicative usage of ablatives in *-to* [*< *-tas*] used at S III 57,5 (*attato*).

⁶⁵ Cf. Pj I 19,4 foll.

samaṇasammata, i.e. I do not consider them as recluses. When [the past participle] *sammata* is used in terms of the present tense, then (*ettha*) according to the grammatical rule, [the personal pronoun] *me* stands exclusively (*eva*) in the genitive.

Although Mahānāma refers to a specific Pāṇinian rule codified in Pāṇ II 3 67, his explanation also presupposes Pāṇ III 2 188. In this sūtra Pāṇini defines the semantical conditions under which the past participle in *-ta* is present in meaning: *matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca*: And after [the roots] that denote thought, understanding or respect [the past participle affix denoted *ktā* is used in the sense of the present tense].⁶⁶ This rule applies to the past participle *sammata* [*< sam + √man*] which is subsumed under the Pāṇinian *matī* [*< √man*].

The rule that applies to the construction with *me* is found in Pāṇ II 3 67 where Pāṇini lays out the conditions under which a past participle in *-ta* is constructed with the genitive: *ktasya ca vartamāne*: And [the past participle affix denoted] *ktā* (= *-ta*), when it is used in the sense of the present tense, takes [the genitive of the agent in construction].⁶⁷ Since the enclitic form *me*, from a purely morphological point of view, is equivalent to the three case forms *mayā* [= instr.], *mayhaṃ* [= dat.], and *mama* [= gen.], Mahānāma uses the delimitative particle *eva* in order to emphasise that in this particular syntactical construction it is only possible to interpret *me* as genitive.⁶⁸

2 [Paṭis-a 481,26–32 ad Paṭis I 172,34]

This reference takes its point of departure in a pun based upon the phonological affinity of \sqrt{ci} with \sqrt{ji} . Commenting upon the word *paricitā* at Paṭis I 172,5: *ānāpānasati yassa ... anupubbam paricitā yathā Buddhena desitā*, Paṭis explains that *sati* is called *paricitā* [*< √ci*] because it conquers [*jināti < √ji*] bad and evil dhammas (*satiyā pariggaṇhanto jināti pāpake akusale dhamme, tena vuccati paricitā*). On this text Mahānāma writes inter alia the following commentary:

⁶⁶ Cf. Kās ad loc.: *etadarthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo vartamānārthe ktapratyayo bhavati: rājñām mataḥ, rājñām iṣṭaḥ, rājñām buddhaḥ, rājñām jñātaḥ, rājñām pūjitaḥ, rājñām arcitaḥ.*

⁶⁷ Cf. Kās ad loc.: *ktasya vartamānakālavihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati: rājñām mataḥ, rājñām buddhaḥ.*

⁶⁸ Cf. Buddhaghosa's grammatical observations in Sv 28,8 foll. about the three meanings of *me*.

te ca dhammā satim avihāya attano pavattikkhaṇe jinitum āradhā 'jitā' ti vuccanti, yathā bhuñjitum āradhho 'bhutto' ti vuccati. lakkhaṇam paṇ' ettha saddasatthato veditabbam. evaṃ sante 'pi parijitā ti vattabbe ja-kārassa ca-kāraṃ katvā paricitā ti vuttam ... imasmim atthavikappe paricitā ti padam kattusādhanam.

And these [evil] dhammas that have started being conquered (*jinitum āradhā*) at the moment, when he, without forsaking being mindful, applies himself [to the destruction of them], are said to have been conquered, in the same way as [someone who] has started eating (*bhuñjitum āradhho*) is said to have eaten. The rule, moreover, [that applies] in this case (*ettha*) should be known according to grammar (*saddasatthato*). Even though [the word *paricitā*] in those circumstances ought to read *parijitā*, [the reading] *paricitā* is used by substituting the letter *c* for the letter *j* ... In this alternative meaning the word *paricitā* [in its identity with *parijitā*] is active (*kattusādhanam*).⁶⁹

There is no need to go into all the details of this exegetical tour de force: the basic intention is to show that *paricitā* = *parijitā* as a qualifier of *sati* [mindfulness] points to the fact that *sati* when practised properly (= *paricita*) annihilates the evil dhammas. The reading *paricitā* is well attested in canonical Pāli where it occurs in similar contexts.⁷⁰ Mahānāma obviously took the pun of Paṭi as an occasion for displaying his knowledge of grammar.

The reference itself is rather obscure, but from the context it seems clear that he must have thought of those cases — as shown by his remark that the word *paricitā* is active (*kattusādhana*) — where a *-ta* participle [= *cta*] is used in an active sense, while at the same time having an inchoative sense, as indicated by the paraphrase *jinitum āradhā* or *bhuñjitum āradhho*. A past participle in *-ta* is normally not used in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, i.e. in an active sense. In Pāṇ III 4 71, however, Pāṇini defines the semantical and syntactical conditions under which this is possible: *ādikarmaṇi ctaḥ*

⁶⁹ Cf. the corresponding technical term of Sanskrit grammar *karṣṣādhana*, on which see Renou, *Vocabulaire*, s.v.

⁷⁰ Cf., for example, S I 116,30; II 264,15.

kartari ca: the suffix “*ka*” is also used in the sense of the agent [*kāra*ka], in the case of an inchoative action (*ādikarmaṇi*). The Kāśikā [q.v. ad loc.] illustrates this rule by the following examples: *prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattaḥ*: D. has started making a mat, and *prabhukta odanaṃ devadattaḥ*: D. has started eating. In this example the word *prakṛtaḥ* or *prabhuktaḥ* is in agreement with the agent [*kāra*ka] Devadatta, and it is therefore, according to Pāṇinian syntactical theory, used in the sense of the agent [*kāra*ka]. As shown by the example, the *ka* participle is constructed with the object *kāra*ka [= *kaṭam* or *odanaṃ*].

Although one would have expected Mahānāma to illustrate his analysis with a more appropriate example (the context requires *pabhutto*, with the preposition *pa* [*< *pra*] indicating the inchoative aspect of the action,⁷¹ instead of *bhutto*), there is no reason to doubt that he refers to a grammatical rule similar to Pāṇ III 4 71. It is therefore surprising that his grammatical analysis does not reflect the Pāṇinian technical vocabulary. For instance, he uses *ārambh-* for the Pāṇinian *ādi*. This would indicate that he may well be referring to Candravyākaraṇa which substitutes *kriyārambha* [cf. Candra I 3 28]⁷² for the Pāṇinian *ādikarma(n)*, because the strict Pāṇinian tradition, from the Kāśikā and onwards, does not use a similar technical term.

Although Candragomin’s grammar is written in the Pāṇinian tradition and does not deviate substantially from Pāṇini, it exhibits nonetheless noticeable innovations in its technical vocabulary. It is difficult to explain Mahānāma’s usage of *ārambh-* in this particular context unless we assume that he is dependent on a Sanskrit model, which in the present case is probably identical with Candravyākaraṇa: it would only be natural for a Buddhist scholar to avail himself of the grammar of a fellow Buddhist scholar.

3 [Paṭis-a 567,12–16 ad Paṭis II 63,34–35]

This discussion shows that Mahānāma knew of the controversy over the semantical properties of the absolutive suffix. I have dealt with Buddhaghosa’s treatment of this question in *Studies in the Pāli Grammarians*

⁷¹ Cf. Jinendrabuddhi’s Nyāsa ad Kāśikā ad Pāṇ III 4 71: *sarvatra praśabda ādikarma dyotayati*.

⁷² Cf. Mogg-v ad V 58: *kattari cārambhe. kriyārambhe kattari kto hoti ... pakato bhavaṃ kaṭam*. Moggalāna, as is well-known, has to a large extent based his grammar upon Candravyākaraṇa.

I, and I therefore refer the reader to the previous article in this series.⁷³ I should add, however, that Buddhaghosa actually does seem to be aware of the problems involved in putting a strict Pāṇinian interpretation on certain constructions with the absolutive, although it is difficult to decide from what he says whether or not he draws upon the grammarians' discussion of the problem.

The text in question occurs in Vism 653,21–28 where Buddhaghosa comments upon the same Paṭis passage as Mahānāma. Mahānāma copied verbatim most of Buddhaghosa's commentary. He deleted the introductory clause and inserted a reference to the grammarians' view before the concluding passage, where Buddhaghosa explains that the origination process of knowledge has to be taken as a unity. Mahānāma's intention was probably to complement Buddhaghosa's explanation by showing that it was also supported by the authority of the grammarians.

"nimittam paṭisaṅkhā ñāṇam uppajjati [= Paṭis loc. cit.]."⁷⁴ kāmañ ca na paṭhamam jānitvā pacchā ñāṇam uppajjati. vo-hāravasena pana "manañ [Ee w.r. mā-] ca paṭicca dhamme ca uppajjati manoviññāṇan [= S IV 33,32]" ti ādīni viya evaṃ vuccati [= Vism loc. cit.]."⁷⁵ Saddasatthavidū 'pi ca "ādiccam pāpūnitvā tamo vigacchati" ti ādīsū viya samānakāle 'pi imam padaṃ icchanti. ekattanayena vā purimañ ca pacchimañ ca ekaṃ katvā evaṃ vuttan ti veditabbaṃ [= Vism loc. cit.].

"Knowledge arises by reflecting (*paṭisaṅkhā*) upon the object (*nimittam*)." And it is by no means the case (*kāmañ ca na*) that, after having previously become known, knowledge subsequently arises. The [above passage] is propounded in accordance with common usage (*vo-hāravasena*), in the same way as the [canonical proposition] "In dependence on the mind and the mental objects (*dhamme*) mental cognition arises," and the like. The grammarians, moreover, acknowledge (*icchanti*)

⁷³ Cf. Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I, p. 51 foll.

⁷⁴ Mahānāma has deleted the following passage from Vism 653,21: *saṅkhāranimittam adhuvaṃ tāvakālikan ti aniccalakkhaṇavasena jānitvā*.

⁷⁵ Here ends the first part of the quotation from Vism. The second part begins with the concluding clause *ekattanayena ... veditabbaṃ*.

this [type of] inflected word (*padam*)⁷⁶ [= *paṭisaṅkhā*] even when [the absolutive affix attached to the verb *paṭisaṅkhāti* expressing one action] is used in the sense of being simultaneous in time (*samānakāle 'pi*) [with the other action expressed by the verb *uppajjati*] as, for instance, in the [proposition] “Darkness disappears in contact with the sun.”⁷⁷ Optionally (*vā*), one should know, according to the unity method (*ekattanayena*),⁷⁸ that it is expressed in this way by taking the preceding [action] and the subsequent [action] as one (*ekaṃ katvā*).

There is no way of explaining why Buddhaghosa, who obviously knew that the absolutive in certain cases admits of being interpreted in the sense of *samānakāla*, did not refer to the grammarians in this case. The definition laid out in Pāṇ III 4 21: *samānakarṭṭkayoḥ pūrvakāle*, clearly does not apply, and one would have expected him to point that out. Mahānāma, however, interprets Buddhaghosa’s explanation in the light of Kātyāyana’s supplement to Pāṇ III 4 21.⁷⁹

Although the discussion of the semantics of the absolutive suffix can be traced back to Kātyāyana and Mahā-bh ad Pāṇ III 4 21, Kacc⁸⁰ and its main source, the Kātantra, take no notice of it. Nor do Vajirabuddhi [in Mmd ad Kacc 566] or Buddhapiya [ad Rūp 624 = Kacc 566], who copied almost verbatim the relevant passage from Mmd, go into a discussion of the problem. The same is the case with Moggallāna ad Mogg V 64. Aggavaṃsa, however, deals with it, and he may well be one of the first Pāli grammarians to have done so.⁸¹

II

1 [Bv-a 25,26–30 ad Bv I 4b]

In this example, the most discursive of his grammatical analyses, Buddhadatta exhibits three ways of analysing the word “*buddha*” [formally a

⁷⁶ Cf. the Pāṇinian definition of *pada* (n.) in Pāṇ. I 4 14: *suptiṅantaṃ padam*.

⁷⁷ For analogous examples, cf. AkBhāṣ 455,7-8: *sahabhāve 'pi ca ktvāsti dīpaṃ prāpya tamo gatam*; Vism-sn p. 1254,12: *dīpaṃ prāpya tamo vigacchati*.

⁷⁸ For this term, cf. CPD s.v. *ekattanaya*.

⁷⁹ Cf. vārtika 5 and Mahā-bh ad loc.

⁸⁰ Cf. Kacc 566: *pubbakālekakattukānaṃ tun-tvāna-tvā vā*.

⁸¹ Cf. the discussion at Sadd 312,22–313,30.

past participle in *-ta*], as it occurs in Bv I 4b (*buddho ayam idisako naruttamo*):

*Buddho ti catusaccadhamme buddho anubuddho ti buddho,
yathâha:*

*abhiññeyyaṃ abhiññātaṃ
bhāvetabbañ ca bhāvitaṃ
pahātabbaṃ pahīnaṃ me
tasmā buddho 'smi brāhmaṇa [= Sn 558]*

Idha pana kattukārake buddhasaddasiddhi daṭṭhabbā. (so punctuate) adhigatavisesehi devamanussehi sammāsambuddho vata so bhagavā ti evaṃ buddhattā ñātattā buddho. idha kammakārake buddhasaddasiddhi daṭṭhabbā. buddham assa atthi ti vā buddho buddhavanto ti attho. taṃ sabbam saddasatthānusārena veditabbaṃ.

Buddha means [one who has] undertaken to know, [one who has] undertaken to recollect,⁸² the norms of the four truths. As he says [in Sn 558]:

I have obtained insight into that into which one should obtain insight, and realised what has to be realised, and rejected what has to be rejected, therefore, brāhmaṇa, I am a Buddha.

In this [verse] the formation (*siddhi*) of the word “*buddha*” should be taken in the sense of the agent *kāraka* (*kattukāraka*), [i.e. in a transitive/active sense]. [Or, alternatively,] he is [called] Buddha because he is recognised and acknowledged by gods and men who have obtained eminence, in the following words: “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened.” In this case the formation of the word “*buddha*” should be taken in the sense of the object *kāraka*. Or (*vā*), he is Buddha because (*iti*) he has (*assa atthi*) awakening (*buddha* [n.]),⁸³ that is, he is “one who possesses awakening

⁸² The reason for this translation will appear from the analysis below.

⁸³ Formally *buddha* (n.) is a neuter pp. used as a noun by analogy with neuter pp. forms in Sanskrit. Cf. Nidd 458,7 and 459,7 [ad Sn 957] and Pj I 16,2: *buddhi, buddham, bodho ti pariyāvacanaṃ*.

(*buddhavanta*).”⁸⁴ All this should be known according to grammar.

Each of the three explanations which Buddhadatta suggests here would seem to depend on Pāṇinian grammar, although it is obvious that he has to some extent reinterpreted the scope of the relevant Pāṇinian rules so as to justify his grammatical analysis.

[i]

In the first alternative Buddhadatta ascribes a transitive value to *buddha*. It is clear, that this explanation — illustrated with the quotation of Sn 558 — has canonical support, because the Niddesa, in its comment upon the meaning of the word *buddha* in Sn 957, uses two nominal derivatives from \sqrt{budh} , with a transitive [+ causative] value, to explain its meaning:

*buddho ti ken' atthena buddho ? bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho, bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho.*⁸⁵

In what sense is he a Buddha ? He is a Buddha because (*iti*) he [himself] knows the [four] truths, and he is a Buddha because he makes [them] known to mankind.⁸⁶

In this gloss *bujjhitā* is a derivative in *-tr* from \sqrt{bujjh} [$<$ passive stem $\sqrt{budhya-}$] to be construed with *saccāni* [= acc.], whereas *bodhetā* is an analogous causative derivative [$<$ causative stem $\sqrt{bodhe-}$] in *-tr*, to be construed with *saccāni* [= acc.] and *pajāyā* [= dat./gen.].⁸⁷

⁸⁴ I.B. Homer's translation is based upon a wrong punctuation of the text and thus confuses the point at issue.

⁸⁵ Qu. Paṭi I 174,7; Vism 209,21; Sadd 481,28; cf. Paṭi-a 485,5: *tattha yathā loke avagantā avagato ti vuccati, evaṃ bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho; yathā paṇṇasosā vātā paṇṇasusā ti vuccanti evaṃ bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho.*

⁸⁶ Cf.: *yasmā vā cattāri saccāni attanā pi bujji, aññe pi satte bodhesi, tasmā evaṃ ādīhi kāraṇehi buddho* [Vism 209,18–20]; *yathā loke avagantā “avagato” ti vuccati, evaṃ bujjhitā saccāni ti buddho; yathā paṇṇasosā vātā “paṇṇasusā”* [cf. Ujval. ad Uṇādis II 22] *ti vuccanti, evaṃ bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho* [Pj I 15,10–13].

⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that Nidd is the only canonical text in which the two terms are recorded. Their formation clearly presupposes more than just basic knowledge of Pāli nominal derivation. Thus, for instance, we cannot exclude the possibility that, for example, the term *bodhetar* is coined by analogy with Sanskrit *bodhayitr*.

A past participle in *-ta* [= *kta*] is normally not used in the sense of agent *kāraka*. In Pāṇ III 4 71, however, Pāṇini lays down the semantical and syntactical conditions under which this is possible: *ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ kartari ca*: the suffix “*kta*” is also used in the sense of the agent, when it is used in the sense of an inchoative action. The Kāśikā illustrates this rule by the following example: *prakṛtaḥ kaṭam devadattaḥ*: Devadatta has undertaken to make a mat. In this example the word *prakṛtaḥ* is in agreement with the agent Devadatta and is therefore, according to Pāṇinian syntactical theory, used in the sense of the agent. As shown by the example the *-ta* participle is constructed with the object *kāraka* [= *kaṭam*]. We find an exact parallel to this syntactical structure in Buddhadatta’s initial remarks about the meaning of “*buddha*”: *catusaccadhamme* [= acc.] *buddho ... ti buddho*. There is thus no reason to doubt that his analysis presupposes Pāṇinian grammar.

In the Pāli grammatical literature we find a reflex of this analysis in Kacc [558+] 559 and Kacc-v ad loc.:

budhagamādyatthe kattari. budha gama icc evam ādīnaṃ atthe tapaccayo hoti kattari sabbakāle. yathā saṅkhatāsaṅkhate dhamme bujjhati, abujjhi, bujjhissatī ti, buddho. saraṇaṃ gato, samathaṃ gato iccevaṃ mādi.

[The suffix denoted *kta* is used] in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, when [the verbal root to which it is joined] has the meanings of the roots $\sqrt{\text{budh}}$, and $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$, etc.

The suffix denoted *kta* is used in all times in the sense of the agent *kāraka*, when it is joined to verbal roots that have the meaning of such roots as $\sqrt{\text{budh}}$, and $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$. For instance, [the word] *buddha*: who knows, has known and will know the dhammas that are conditioned and not conditioned. *saraṇaṃ gata*: who has found refuge, *samathaṃ gata*: who has found peace.

This analysis obviously presupposes that in Pāli — as in Sanskrit literature — one finds instances where a *-ta* participle is constructed with the accusative of goal, as in the above examples from Kacc-v. It clearly must rely on a distinctly Buddhist tradition because there is nothing in Pāṇinian grammar that justifies the interpretation of *buddha* and *gata* in this sense. Buddhapiya may have realised that Kacc departed from the tradition of

Sanskrit grammar, because he quotes the illustration of the meaning of *buddha* in Kacc-v with the remark that the *tapaccaya* is here used in the sense of the present (*ta iti vattamāne*), which, of course, reflects Pāṇinian theory (cf. Pāṇ III 2 188). In the following [Rūp 592 = Kacc 559], however, he quotes a slightly edited version of Kacc-v ad Kacc 559, with the remark that the *ta* suffix also occurs in the sense of *sabbakāla*. This clearly has no support in Pāṇinian grammar. Kaccāyana's rule may ultimately derive from a commentarial tradition connecting \sqrt{budh} and \sqrt{gam} , which can be traced back to Buddhaghosa.

In connection with the interpretation of the Buddhist stereotype *Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi*, Buddhaghosa suggests taking \sqrt{gam} in the sense of \sqrt{budh} :

yesam hi dhātūnam gati attho buddhi pi tesam attho, tasmā gacchāmi ti imassa jānāmi, bujjhāmi ti ayam attho vutto [Sv 229,22–24 = Ps I 131,4; qu. Nidd-a 442,6].⁸⁸

Because (*hi*) the verbal roots that have the meaning of movement also have the meaning of understanding, (*tasmā*)⁸⁹ the [word] *gacchāmi* is said to have the meaning “I know”, “I recognize”.

A Sanskrit verse ascribed to a certain Rāhulapāda by Prakramabāhu II in Vism-sn 479,19–20 evidently reflects the same tradition, although it has not been possible to trace the discussion to any known Sanskrit source:

budha ity avagamane yo dhātuḥ paripaṭhyate yatas tajjñaiḥ, gatyartha ity ato 'smāt kartary api yujyate 'yam ktaḥ.

Since (*yatas*) the verbal root \sqrt{budh} is enumerated [in the dhātupāṭha] by those who know it, in the sense of understanding (*avagamane*),⁹⁰ (*atas*) the *kta* suffix [= *-ta*] is also correctly used (*yujyate*), in the sense of the agent

⁸⁸ Cf. Paṭis-a 485,25–26: *gamanathānaṃ dhātūnaṃ bujjhanatthattā, bujjhanathāpi dhātuyo gamanathā honti tasmā...*

⁸⁹ *tasmā* is to be construed with *hi* [= *yasmā*].

⁹⁰ This is a reference to sa-Dhātup I 911: *budhā avagamane.*

[*kāra*ka, i.e., in an active sense] after [the verbal root \sqrt{budh}] when it has the meaning of movement.

It is no doubt the affinity between \sqrt{budh} as defined by *ava* + \sqrt{gam} and the fact that Pāṇini in III 4 72 ascribes an active meaning to *kta* when attached to verbs expressing movement. This may very well have suggested the particular treatment of *buddha* in the grammatical literature.

Rāhulapāda is not known from other source. His date and the nature of his work therefore remain uncertain. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhadatta has based his analysis on a similar tradition. Since there is a striking similarity between Buddhadatta's text and a text dealing with the same topic, which Aggavaṃsa quotes in Saddanīti [see below], there is reason to believe that Buddhadatta has utilised material from a Pāli source which may well be a post-Kaccāyana source.

[ii]

Buddhadatta's second alternative, according to which "*buddha*" has an passive value (*kamma*), would also seem to be supported by Pāṇinian grammar. In Pāṇini III 4 [69 +] 70: *tayor eva kṛtya-kta-khalarthāḥ*: [the suffixes whose meaning is denoted by] "*kṛtya* [= *-tava*, *-anīya* and *-ya*]," [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] "*kta* [= *-ta*]" and [the suffix whose meaning is denoted by] "*khal*" are only used in the sense of these two [i.e. action (= *bhāva*) and object *kāra*ka (= *karma*)].

According to Pāṇinian grammatical theory, a *-ta* participle is used in the sense of the object *kāra*ka when it occurs in a passive construction, in agreement with the [theoretical] object, which itself is identical with the grammatical subject of the sentence. The example used by the Kāśikā for illustrating this particular syntactical function of "*kta*" [ad loc.]: *ktaḥ karmani: kṛtaḥ kato bhavata* "a mat [= *karma*] is made by you," shows clearly the theoretical presupposition that underlies Buddhadatta's explanation: in the same way as the word *kṛtaḥ* qualifies the object *kataḥ* as made by someone, the word *buddha* qualifies the object Buddha as recognised by gods and men (*devamanussehi*), and therefore it can be interpreted as the object *kāra*ka.

There is reason to believe that Buddhadatta's explanation is based upon a source which was also known to Aggavaṃsa. In Saddanīti he refers to the view of certain [grammarians ?] according to whom the formation of "*buddha*" can be interpreted in terms of the object *kāra*ka. In support of this

theory, he quotes a text which is almost identical with Buddhadatta's explanation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Buddhadatta and Aggavaṃsa utilised the same source:

*keci pana kammaṇa*⁹¹ *pi buddhasaddassa siddhiṃ icchantā evaṃ nibbacanaṃ karonti: sammāsambuddho vata so Bhagavā ti adhiḡatagunavisehehi khīṇāsavehi bujḡhitabbo ti buddho ti*
[Sadd 482,1-4]

Some [grammarians ?], however, taking the formation of the word “*buddha*” in the sense of the object [*kāraka*, i.e. in a passive sense], analyse it as follows: *buddha* means that he should be recognised (*bujḡhitabbo*)⁹² by those persons whose defilements have been annihilated and who have obtained distinctive qualities, in the words “the Bhagavan, indeed, is fully awakened”!

Unfortunately it has not been possible to trace the quotation to the work from which it was taken. It therefore remains unclear whether it is a purely grammatical source — which Aggavaṃsa's way of quoting it would indicate — or whether it is an unknown piece of canonical exegesis. If it should be the latter, it must be fairly late because Buddhadatta is the only Pāli commentator to mention it. In similar contexts in *Vism*, *Paṭis-a*, etc. we find nothing of the same nature. It probably stems from a Pāli source. If this were not the case, Aggavaṃsa surely would not have failed to identify it. It is remarkable that he does not refer to *Bv-a* [quoted in several places in *Sadd*], since he is conscientious in supporting his grammatical statements with quotations from the *cts* and *ṭīkās*.

The last alternative would seem to be based upon an extension of the scope of *Pāṇ V 2* [94+] 127: *arśa-ādibhyo 'c*: the [*taddhita*] affix *ac* [= *-a*] is [used in the sense of the suffix denoted *matup*, i.e. in the sense of “whose it is” or “in which or in whom it is”] after [the class of words = *ākṛtiḡaṇa*] beginning with *arśaḡ*. We can safely assume that Buddhadatta had this particular *sūtra* in mind because *Mahānāma*, in a context where he addresses

⁹¹ The reading *kammaṇa* is problematic. It might be suggested that *kamme* [loc.] is read for *kammaṇa* which is difficult to construe.

⁹² The presence of the *krtya* form [= ger.] of \sqrt{budh} would seem to be an allusion to the Pāṇinian rule in *Pāṇ II 4 70* quoted above.

the meaning and derivation of the word *buddha*, supplies us with the information necessary for identifying it. We find the text in Paṭiṣ-a 486,20–22, which was quoted verbatim by Upasena in Nidd-a 442,33–443,2. The text reads:

buddhi, buddham, bodho ti paryāyavacanam etaṃ. tattha yathā nilarattagūṇayogā “nīlo paṭo,” “ratto paṭo,” ti vuccati, evaṃ buddhigūṇayogā “buddho” ti ñāpetuṃ vuttaṃ hoti [= Pj I 16,2–5].

“*buddhi, buddham, bodho*” are synonyms. In that case, just as one says that a piece of cloth is blue or red on account of the blue or red quality inherent⁹³ [in it], so on account of the quality of illumination inherent [in him], the word “*buddha*” is used to denote [him as “Buddha”].

The idea is basically the same. The only difference is that this text is sufficiently explicit to identify the relevant grammatical context. Among the words included in the *ākṛtiḡana* to which Pāṇini refers, are words denoting colour (*varṇa*),⁹⁴ which is reflected in the two examples used by Mahānāma. The idea that the possessive suffix *matup* is deleted from words denoting colour goes back to Kātyāyana’s *vārttika* 3 (*gūṇavacanēbhyo matupo luk*) on Pāṇ V 2 94.

2 [Bv-a 67,33–68,2]

This etymology of the word *brāhmaṇa* [< *brahma* + √*aṇ*] is basically the same as the one that occurs in Buddhaghosa’s cts. Buddhadatta has only inserted the reference to the grammarians’ view to complement Buddhaghosa’s explanation:⁹⁵

⁹³ The term *yoga*, evidently, belongs to the philosophical context of Nyāyavaiśeṣika ontology; cf., for example, Vātsyāyana ad Nyāyasūtra II 2 61: *yogāt — kṛṣṇena rāgena yuktaḥ śāṭakaḥ kṛṣṇa ity abhidhīyate.*

⁹⁴ Cf. Kāśikā ad Pāṇ V 2 127.

⁹⁵ Cf., for example, Sp 111,12–15 = Sv 244,10 = Ps I 109,23: *brahmaṃ aṇatī ti brāhmaṇo, mante sajjhāyatī ti attho, idam eva hi jātibrahmaṇānaṃ niruttivacanaṃ, ariyā pana bāhitapāpattā brāhmaṇā ti vuccanti.*

brāhmaṇo ti brahmaṃ aṇatī ti brāhmaṇo, mante sajjhāyatī ti attho. akkharacintakā pana brahmaṇo apaccamaṃ brāhmaṇo ti vadanti. ariyā pana bāhitapāpattā brāhmaṇo ti vadanti.

brāhmaṇa means one who recites (*aṇatī*) *brahma* [= *brāhman* = the sacred scriptures, i.e., the Veda], that is, he studies the scriptures (*mante*). The grammarians, however, explain that *brāhmaṇa* means a descendant (*apaccamaṃ*) of a brahmin [= *brahmán*]. The Buddhists (*āryā*) on their side claim that he is a *brāhmaṇa* because he keeps away from sin (*bāhitapāpattā*).

It is not possible to decide which tradition the first etymology belongs to. It probably stems from the commentarial tradition of the *Aṭṭhakathācariyas*. The last one, however, has canonical precedents.⁹⁶ It only makes sense in a context where the actual pronunciation of the Pāli consonant cluster *br-* in *brāhmaṇa* was *b-* as recorded in the reading *baṃhana* of the Aśokan inscriptions. There is no problem in identifying the grammatical reference, which is to Pāṇ IV 1 [83+] 92 defining the formation of patronyms: *tasyāpatyam*: [the suffix denoted *aṇ*, etc. denotes] someone's descendant. In the present case the *vṛddhi* formation *brāhmaṇa* is covered by the scope of the suffix *aṇ*.

3 [Bv-a 89,16–18 ad Bv II 47]

This remark about the case syntax of the preposition *anu* can only be understood in the light of the similar analysis in Bv-a 238,32–35 [see § 6 below].

anuyanti tathāgatan ti tathāgatassa pacchato yanti. [so punctuate] anuyoge sati sāmi-atthe [so read; Ee -attho] upayogavacanamaṃ hotī ti lakkhanaṃ.

[The sentence] “They follow after the tathāgata” means they follow behind the tathāgata. When *anu* is used in composition the acc. is used in the sense of the genitive. This is the rule.

⁹⁶ For references, v. PED s.v. ¹*bāheti*.

There is no rule that justifies Buddhadatta's claim that *anu* governs the acc. in the sense of the genitive. Such a remark is absent from the analogous analysis in Bv-a 238,32–35, and one cannot therefore exclude the possibility that it stems from Buddhadatta himself. He may have based it upon the fact that *pacchato*, in the paraphrase *tathāgatassa pacchato yanti*, is to be constructed with the genitive. As it appears from the way in which the problem is formulated, Buddhadatta deals with the syntactical and semantical properties of the so-called *karmapravacanīyas* [cf. Buddhaghosa on *itthambhūtakhyāna*, q.v. supra; cf. Bv-a 238,32–35 ad Bv XX 5, q.v. infra].

4 [Bv-a 114,12–13]

In this case Buddhadatta deals with the well-known fact that the word *aññatra* [= Sanskrit *anyatra*] is constructed with the ablative.

*n' atthi aññatrā ti aññatralakkhaṇaṃ saddasatthato
gahetabbam. tato dasa pāramito añño buddhakāradhammo
n' atthi ti attho.*

[As regards the clause] “there is no [other] except ...,” the rule concerning the word except (*aññatra*) should be sought in grammar. The meaning is that there is no other norm that creates a buddha, than the ten pāramitās.

It is not clear what rule of grammar Buddhadatta has in mind. In the Pāṇinian tradition there appears to be no explicit rule about the case with which Sanskrit *anyatra* is to be constructed. There is reason to believe, however, that Buddhadatta is thinking of Pāṇ II 3 [28+] 29: *anya- ... -yukte*, in which Pāṇini lays down the rule that a noun, when constructed with *anya*, is put in the ablative. Buddhadatta's own paraphrase [with *añña* + abl.] supports the assumption. He presumably extended the scope of the Pāṇini sūtra so as to cover the usage of *aññatra*, which is treated as a substitute form for the locative. Aggavaṃsa is apparently the only Pāli grammarian to formulate a rule for the case syntax of *aññatra*: *aññatrayoge pañcamī tatiyā ca*: the ablative and the instrumental are used in construction with *aññatra* [Sadd 703,22].

5 [Bv-a 173,21–24 ad Bv]

In this short remark Buddhadatta focuses on a peculiar grammatical construction where an action noun (*dassana*) is to be constructed with a nominal in the accusative:

dassanenā pi taṃ buddhan ti tassa buddhassa dassanenā pī ti attho. idisesu pi sāmivacaṇaṃ payojenti (Be *payujj-*)
saddaviduno (Be *saddasatthavidū*).

By seeing the Buddha: The meaning is “by the sight of the Buddha”. In such cases, however, the grammarians use the genitive.

It is not normal practice in Pāli or Sanskrit to construct an action noun with the accusative. In such a case one would normally expect the genitive (genitivus objectivus) of the nominal that is syntactically dependent on the action noun. The grammarians to whose usage Buddhadatta refers are no doubt, in this as in other cases, identical with the Pāṇinians, because Pāṇini addresses this usage in Pāṇ II 3 65: *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*: when used with a word ending with the suffixes denoted *kṛt* [i.e. primary derivatives], [the genitive] is used in the sense of the agent [*kāraka*] or the object [*kāraka*].

6 [Bv-a 238,32–35 ad Bv XX 5]

In this text Buddhadatta deals with the syntactical peculiarity of the *karmapravacanīya anu*.

tattha caturāsītisahasāni sambuddhaṃ anu pabbajjun ti tattha anunā yogato sambuddhan ti upayogavacaṇaṃ katan ti veditabbaṃ. sambuddhassa pacchā pabbajjimsū ti attho. lakkhaṇaṃ saddasatthato gahetabbaṃ.

In this case one should know that in the verse “eighty-four thousand who had gone forth after The fully Awakened One,” the [word] “*sambuddhaṃ*” is put in the accusative because it is constructed with “*anu*”. The meaning is “they went forth

after the Fully Awakened [had gone forth]”. The rule is to be sought in grammar.

Buddhadatta deals here — like Buddhaghosa in connection with his analysis of the verb *abbhuggacchati* [v. supra] — with the linguistic category *karmapravacanīya*. Pāṇini deals specifically, in Pāṇ I 4 84: *anur lakṣane*, with the usage of *anu* when used in the sense of a sign (*lakṣane*). The idea is that the thing denoted by the word governed by *anu*, assumes the function of the cause of the verbal action. Consequently *anu* means “after” in a logical sense, i.e. in the sense of “as a consequence of”, or “because of.” It is, of course, debatable whether Buddhadatta is correct in assuming that *anu* has this specific force in the verse upon which he comments. However, the relatively few occurrences of the verb *anupabbajati* in Pāli would seem to suggest — in contrast to the usage of *abbhuggacchati* — that we interpret *anu* in the sense of a *karmapravacanīya*, although its usage in the Pāli is not absolutely parallel to the usage defined by Pāṇini. In the Pāli it is questionable if *anu* can be treated as syntactically disjoint from the finite verb. For instance, in Vin II 180,6: *Sakyakumārā bhagavantam pabbajitam anu pabbajjanti*, it would seem to be treated as an ordinary preposition constructed with a noun in the accusative (*bhagavantam*), in agreement with an explicit not finite verb-form (*pabbajitam*). On the other hand, the Pāli grammatical literature would seem to be correct in ascribing a causal function to *anu* in this particular context: Sakyakumārā went forth after [= because] bhagavan had gone forth. Kacc-v ad Kacc 301: *kammappavacanīyayutte* uses an analogous canonical example for illustrating the rule about *kammappavacanīya*: *pabbajitam anu pabbajim-su* [= D II 30,11] = Sadd 716,13 (§ 586).

Buddhadatta noticed that the pp. *pabbajitam* was absent in Bv, and he found a justification for its absence in the grammatical literature. It is not possible to decide whether Buddhadatta relied upon a distinct Pāli grammar, but the nature of his analysis and the context in which it occurs makes it reasonable to assume that he knew Kaccāyana’s grammar and the commentarial tradition attached to it. The example chosen by the authors of the *vutti* in this particular instance is not merely a Pāli reproduction of an example taken from a Sanskrit grammar but is distinctly canonical, and its presence in Kacc-v would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a tradition which aimed at illustrating the rules of Pāli, not merely by means of Pāli translations of examples taken over directly from Sanskrit grammar, but

through genuine canonical quotations. This tendency reached its peak with Aggavaṃsa, who is claimed, by the author of the *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā*, to have based his grammar on the Pāli.⁹⁷

(to be continued)

Copenhagen

Ole Holten Pind

⁹⁷ Cf. *Kacc-vaṇṇ* p. 301,28–30: *Rūpasiddhikāraḷo Candabyākaraṇanissito. Nyāsakāraḷo Kalāpabyākaraṇanissito. Saddanitikāraḷo Pālinissito.*

PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES VII¹

FIVE PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

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

1. *gandhana* “harming”
2. *pāreti* “to be successful”
3. *marissa* “going to die”
4. *vivicca-sayana* “a secluded lodging”
5. *sosinna* “very wet”/*sosīna* “very cold”

1. *gandhana* “harming”

In his investigation of the phrase *vāntam āpātum* “to drink one’s vomit”,³ Alsdorf mentioned the Pāli word *gandhana* found in the compound *kula-gandhana* at It 64,9:

*atijātaṃ anujātaṃ puttaṃ icchanti paṇḍitā,
avajātaṃ na icchanti yo hoti kula-gandhano.*

“Wise men desire a son of higher birth or equal birth; they do not desire a son of lower birth, who harms the family”.

¹ See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies VI”, in *JPTS*, XIII, pp. 219–27.

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: CDIAL = R.L. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*; EWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*; Geiger = W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*; MW = Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pali-English Dictionary*; Pischel = R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*; PSM = Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; Pkt = Prakrit; Skt = Sanskrit; GDhp = *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*; Be = Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition; Ce = Sinhalese edition; Ee = European (PTS) edition; Se = Siamese edition; cty = commentary.

³ L. Alsdorf, “Vāntam āpātum”, *Indian Linguistics*, 16, 1955, 21–28.

This is glossed: *yo hoti kulagandhano ti kulacchedako kulavināsako. chedanattho hi idha gandha-saddo*, “*uppala-gandha-paccatthikā*”⁴ *ti ādisu viya. keci pana kuladhamsano ti paṭhanti. so ev’ attho* (It-a II 57,13–16). For this meaning of *gandhana* the editor of the PTS edition of It-a, M.M. Bose, drew attention to *amhākaṃ gandhana-kilesa palibuddhana-kilesa n’ atthi, kilesa-gaṇṭhi-rahitā mayan ti evaṃ vāditāya laddhanāmasena Nigaṇṭho* (Sv [Ee] 144,24–26), but Be here reads *gaṇṭhana-* and this is probably correct, in view of the fact that it is intended to explain *nigaṇṭha*.

Alsdorf points out that the v.l. *kusajantuno* for *kulagandhano* and the variety of explanations: *kulagandhano ti kulacchedako kulavināsako kuladhamsano* in the cty showed that the word was unfamiliar and obsolete. He rejected the suggestion in PED that it should be “corrected” to *kulaṅgāraka*, basing his rejection on the occurrence of *antima-gandhina* at Ja IV 34,17* (*māhaṃ kule antima-gandhino ahuṃ*, explained: *attano kule sabba-pacchimako c’ eva kulapālāpo ca mā assaṃ*, 34,24’), and *māhaṃ kule antimagandhinī ahuṃ*, 35,19* (explained: *attano kule pacchimiḥā palāpabhūtā mā assaṃ*, 35,27’–28’). CPD explains *gandhina* as a new stem from *gandhinī*, feminine of *gandhi(n)*, and sees *kule antimagandhina* as a blending of *kulagandhana* and *kul’antima*.

Alsdorf rightly saw that the word *gandhana* must mean something like “destroying, spoiling, disgracing”, as does PTC,⁵ but he thought that there must be some connection with *gandha* “smell”, and he suggested that some such meaning for *kula-gandhana* as “one who brings the family into bad odour, who makes the family stink” might not be altogether unacceptable.

I do not know why Alsdorf did not refer to the root *gandh* “to injure, hurt” (Skt Dhātup xxxiii, 11) or the noun *gandhana* “hurting, injury” (Skt lex.). These meanings are attested not only in the Skt grammarians, but also by the Pāli authorities. It is quite clear that this is the meaning we have here. Although it is not wise to accept the existence of all words quoted in the Skt

⁴ See Vin III 33,19 (*gandhan ti hadayaṃ vuccati, taṃ uppātentī ti uppalagandhā, uppalagandhā eva paccatthikā uppalagandhapaccatthikā*, Sp 268,8–10). Cf. Sadd 548,2–3: *gandhasaddo ca uppalagandhatheno ti ettha chedane vattatī ti daṭṭhabbo*; 585,12: *ettha pana gandhasaddassa chedanavācakatte* “...” (quoting It 64,9) *ti ayaṃ pālī nidassanaṃ*.

⁵ s.v. *gandhana*.

Dhātupāṭha or the lexicons, Mayrhofer quotes the possibility of connecting the root with Latin *offendo*.⁶ He does not list the Pāli or Pkt usages. Turner⁷ accepts the connection between Skt *gandhayate* and Pāli *gandhana*.

Alsdorf also wished to see a connection between Pkt *gandhana* and *gandha* in the use of the former as an epithet of families of snakes, and suggested that *gandhana* might represent the snake as sniffing when it sucks back its poison.⁸ I would suggest that there is a more obvious differentiation between snakes which are *gandhana* “harmful” and those which are *agandhana* “harmless”.

PTC also lists *kula-gatthinī* (Ja V 306,14*,21*), but this compound is not included in PED, s.v. *kula*, nor is any word *gatthi(n)* listed. It is glossed: *kulagatthinī ti udāhu tvam kula-dūsikā* (306,16'). Ee gives the v.l. *viddhini* for all places, but the other editions read *kula-gandhinī*.

2. *pāreti* “to be successful”

PED gives only one reference for this word, Ja III 185,2*, and notes that the reading is uncertain. It suggests “to make go through, to bore through, pierce, break (?)” as the meanings, and states that the word is a denominative from *pāra*. PTC notes the v.l. *pādemi* at Ja III 185,2*, and gives another reference⁹ from Ja I 498,22*. It gives the meaning as “break (through)”. It too makes a comparison with *pāra*.

The references are: *oramāma na pārema*, Ja I 498,22*, with the cty: *tucchaṃ pana naṃ kātuṃ na sakkoma* (498,25'); *vikkamāmi na pāremi* (v.l. *pādemi*), Ja III 185,2*, with the cty: *na pāremi ti pāraṃ pana chindituṃ na sakkomi* (185,4'). It is probably the inclusion of *chindituṃ* in the cty which has led to the idea that the word means “break, pierce”.

Both sources are correct to see a connection with *pāra*, but *pāreti* is to be regarded as the equivalent of Skt *pārayati*, which is the causative of the

⁶ EWA, Vol. I, p. 321, s.v. *gandhayate*.

⁷ CDIAL 4016.

⁸ Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n. 5.

⁹ PTC III 268b.

root *pṝ* “to fill”, rather than the denominative of *pāra*.¹⁰ It therefore means “to fulfil, to make full, complete”, i.e. “to be capable of completing, finishing something”, “to do something successfully”. The same meaning is found in Pkt, where Hemacandra (IV.86) teaches *pārei* as the equivalent of *śaknoti*. The same equivalence is given in Pāialacchī-nāmamālā (202), where, however, the editor Bühler was able to see that the word is not of *deśī* origin, but is a development from Skt *pārayati*. PSM, doubtless misled by the fact that Hemacandra teaches it as a *deśī* word, separates it from *pārei* < Skt *pārayati*, although giving the same references there as for the *deśī* word *pārei*.

The meaning of the two references is therefore: (1) Let us give up; we are not successful”, and (2) “I strive, (but) I am not successful”.

The v.l. *pāдеми* is doubtless an example of the not uncommon alternation of *r* and *d*.¹¹

3. *marissa* “going to die”

PED lists this word with the form *marissam*, but strangely states that this is a present participle = future. It occurs at Ja III 214,11*: *matam marissam rodanti ye rudanti lapanti ca*. It is glossed: *ye va loke matañ ca marissantañ ca rodanti*, 214,16'. It is included by Geiger in his section dealing with future participles in *-nt-* from the future stem (§ 193). Geiger gives a cross-reference to § 97.2, from which we can deduce that he is calling attention to the fact that this is a participle which has gone over to the *-a* declension by dropping *-nt-*, i.e. it is accusative and the equivalent of Skt *marīṣyantam*. Geiger refers to Pischel § 560, where *āgamissam* is quoted from Āyāraṅga-sutta I.3.3.3 as being both nominative and accusative. This, then, is another example of a future participle with a short *-a* stem, i.e. in *-issa* rather than *-issanta*.

The other example Geiger gives in § 193 is *paccessam*. PED does not list the form *paccessam* s.v. *pacceti*. It occurs several times in a set of passages in Vin I 255,24–265,20, where a bhikkhu goes away after *kaṭhina*-cloth has been made, saying to himself: *paccessan ti*, or *idh' eva imam cīvaram kāressam na paccessan ti*. The word is glossed: *na paccessan ti na*

¹⁰ See MW, s.vv. *pārayati* and *pṝ*.

¹¹ See Brough, GDhp, p. 255 (ad GDhp 259).

puna āgamissam (Sp 1112,15), i.e. it is a first person single future form, with the secondary ending *-am* instead of the primary ending *-āmi*. This is not uncommon in Pāli.¹²

It is therefore surprising that Geiger lists *paccessam* (§ 193) as an example of the future participle in *-nt* from the future stem. What is even more surprising is that he rejects Müller's suggestion that *karissam* (Dāṭh III 80) is such a participle, on the grounds that it is clearly the first person single = *kariṣyāmi*. This would appear to be precisely the mistake which Geiger is making with *paccessam*.

4. *vivicca-sayana* "a secluded lodging"

In his cty on the reading *vevita-sayanena* at GDhp 65, Brough discussed the compound *vivicca-sayana* at Dh 271. He stated¹³: "The reading *vivicca-* which has become current in the Pali text was doubtless adopted by Fausbøll as a lectio difficilior, but it really has little to commend it. It is apparently unknown to the manuscripts used for the edition of the Pali cty, which have the more natural reading *vivitta-*. The antiquity of the latter is guaranteed by the Pkt, and it therefore seems reasonable to reject *vivicca-*". PED does not list either *vivicca-sayana* or *vivitta-sayana*, nor does it refer to Dh 271 under either *vivicca* or *vivitta*.

In their translation of the Dhammapada and the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, Carter and Palihawadana nevertheless read *vivicca* (although not as a compound with *sayanena*)¹⁴, and note¹⁵ that although PDhp 272 has *vivitta*, Udāna-v XXXII.31 has *vivikta*, GDhp has *vevita* and Dh-a (PTS ed.)¹⁶ has *vivitta*, the Dhammapada pūrāna sannaya (granthipada vivaraṇa sahita) does read *vivicca*.

It would seem, then, that there is rather more support for the reading than Brough thought, and there is no very compelling reason for opposing

¹² See Geiger § 150.

¹³ Brough, GDhp, p. 191.

¹⁴ They are, in general, opposed to Brough's suggestions, and it is possible that their acceptance of this reading is not unconnected with Brough's rejection of it.

¹⁵ Carter and Palihawadana, *The Dhammapada*, p. 482 (n. 20).

¹⁶ Dh-a III 399,12.

Fausbøll's adoption of the reading. From Brough's reference to "the more natural reading *vivitta-*", I assume that he found it difficult to construe the absolutive *vivicca*. This need cause us no difficulty. It is, despite Carter and Palihawadana, to be taken as a compound with *sayana*, and the whole is to be regarded as a syntactical compound. Such compounds, composed of an absolutive and a noun, were discussed by Hendriksen.¹⁷ He pointed out that they were to be interpreted as having developed from combinations of a verb-form and an absolutive belonging to it. He suggested that the syntax of a compound such as *viceyya-dāna* "giving with forethought" is derived from *viceyya dadāti* "he gives with forethought". The syntax of this phrase is taken over, giving the syntactical compound *viceyya-dāna*. In the case of *vicicca-sayana*, we may suppose that the underlying structure is *vivicca sayanaṃ kappeti* "going apart he makes his bed", from which *vivicca-sayana* was extracted.

5. *sosinna* "very wet"/*sosīna* "very cold"

PED suggests¹⁸ these readings at Ja I 390,31* where Ee reads: *sotatto sosīto*, without v.l. The pāda is two syllables short, and Fausbøll suggests adding *ahaṃ* after *sotatto*. The pāda is glossed: *sotatto ti suriyasantāpena sutatto, sosīto ti himodakena susīto suṭṭhu tinto*, 391,1'-2'. Be reads *sotatto sosinno c' eva*, and glosses: *sūriyasantāpena suṭṭhu tatta, sosinno ti himodakena susinno suṭṭhu tinto*. The cty does not explain whether the difference is between day and night or summer and winter.

Although PED does not note it, the verse recurs at M I 79,29-30. There the pāda reads: *so tatta so sīno* (Ee Ce so; Se *sosino*; Be *sosinno c' eva*).¹⁹ The gloss is more detailed than in Ja: *sotatto ti divā ātapena rattim vana-usmāya sutatto. sosino* (Ee so; Be *sosinno*) *ti rattim himena divā himodakena sutinto* (Be *suṭṭhu tinto*), Ps II 48,27. The difference is, therefore, between summer, when it is hot by both day and night, and winter, when the night is cold and the day is both wet and cold.

¹⁷ H. Hendriksen, *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pāli*, Copenhagen 1944, pp. 157-58.

¹⁸ s.v. *sosīta*.

¹⁹ The cadence - - - in a prior śloka pāda is unusual, and we might rather think that the original form of the verse was *so sutatto so susinno*, with *so* and *su-* coalescing.

The inclusion of the word *tinto* in the gloss on both passages shows clearly that the commentators understood a word meaning “wet” rather than one meaning “cold”. If this is so, then we can accept that the correct reading is *-sinno*. We may assume that *-sīna* replaced *-sinna* via a script where long vowels and double consonants were not written, producing **-sina*,²⁰ the scribal change being helped by the presence of *himena* and *hima-* in *himodakena* in the gloss. The alternation between *-sīto* and *-sīno* was probably helped by the similarity between *ta* and *na* in some forms of the Brāhmī script, including the Sinhalese variety, and the near identity of the meanings of the two words.

On the other hand, were it not for the gloss *-tinto*, we might well feel that there was an intended antithesis between being too hot by day and too cold at night because of frost. In that case, the correct reading might be *-sīno* “congealed, frozen” (< Skt *sīna*). We could then assume that the scribal tradition underlying Be had interpreted the received **-sino* in the light of *udaka* in the gloss *himodakena* “sleet (?)” and produced *-sinno*.

Cambridge

K.R. Norman

²⁰ Despite the identity of form, I believe that Se *sino* is an error, not a reminiscence of this ancient reading.

An Index to The Journals of the Pali Text Society (1882-1927 = Volumes I–VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journal since it was revived in 1981.

Bangchang, Supaphan Na: A Pāli letter sent by the Agga-mahāsenāpati of Siam to the royal court at Kandy in 1756	XII.185
Bareau, A.: The Theravādins and East India according to the canonical texts	IX.1
Bechert, H.: The Buddhayāna of Indonesia: a syncretistic form of Theravāda	IX.10
Buddhadatta, A.P.: <i>Paramatthavinicchaya</i> by Anuruddha	X.155
Collins, S.: <i>Kalyānamitta</i> and <i>Kalyānamittatā</i>	XI.51
Cone, M.: Patna Dharmapada I	XIII.101
Cousins, L.S.: The <i>Paṭṭhāna</i> and the development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma	IX.22
Gombrich, R.: A new Theravādin liturgy	IX.47
Gombrich, R.: Old bodies like carts	XI.1
Gombrich, R.: Three souls, one or none: the vagaries of a Pāli pericope	XI.73
Gombrich, R.: Two notes on <i>Visuddhimagga</i> IX	XII.169
Hazlewood, A.A.: <i>Pañcagatīdīpanī</i>	XI.131
Hazlewood, A.A.: <i>Saddhammopāyana</i> Translation	XII.65
Hinüber, O. von: An additional note on the oldest dated manuscript of the <i>Milindapañha</i>	XII.173
Hinüber, O. von: Remarks on a list of books sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th century	XII.175
Hinüber, O. von: The ghost word <i>dvīhitikā</i> and the descriptions of famine in early Buddhist literature	IX.74
Hinüber, O. von: The oldest dated manuscript of the <i>Milindapañha</i>	XI.111
Hinüber, O. von: Two <i>Jātaka</i> manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok	X.1
Horner, I.B.: <i>Keci</i> “some” in the Pali commentaries	X.87
Hundius, H.: The colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts	

from Northern Thailand	XIV.1
Jaini, P.S.: <i>Tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti</i> and the Bodhisattva path	IX.96
Jong, J.W. de: Fa-hsien and Buddhist texts in Ceylon	IX.105
Kalupahana, D.J.: The philosophy of history in early Buddhism	IX.117
Khantipalo, Phra: Where's that sutta ?	X.37
Lamotte, É.: The <i>Gārava-sutta</i> of the <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> and its Mahāyāna developments	IX.127
Lottermoser, F.: Minor Pāli grammar texts: the <i>Saddabindu</i>	XI.79
Mori, Sodō: <i>Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā</i> and <i>Sārasamāsa</i>	XII.1
Norman, K.R.: Devas and adhidevas in Buddhism	IX.145
Norman, K.R.: Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XIV	XIV.227
Norman, K.R.: Pāli lexicographical studies III	X.23
Norman, K.R.: Pāli lexicographical studies IV	XI.33
Norman, K.R.: Pāli lexicographical studies V	XII.49
Norman, K.R.: Pāli lexicographical studies VI	XIII.219
Norman, K.R.: Pāli lexicographical studies VII	XIV.219
Pind, O.H.: Studies in the Pāli Grammarians I	XIII.33
Pind, O.H.: Studies in the Pāli Grammarians II.1	XIV.175
Pruitt, W.: References to Pāli in 17th-century French books	XI.119
Pruitt, W.: Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress	XIII.1
Rahula, W.: Humour in Pali literature	IX.156
Ruegg, D. Seyfort: A further note on Pali <i>gotrabhū</i>	IX.175
Saddhatissa, H.: <i>Nāmarūpasamāso</i> by Khema	XI.5
Saddhatissa, H.: Pali literature in Cambodia	IX.178
Schopen, G.: The Stūpa cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya	XIII.83
Warder, A.K.: Some problems of the later Pali literature	IX.198

Cambridge

K.R. Norman

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

Dr H. Hundius,
Department of Thai,
Faculty of Humanities,
Chiangmai University,
Chiang-Mai,
Thailand 50002.

O.H. Pind,
Critical Pāli Dictionary,
Købmagergade 52³,
DK-1150 Copenhagen K,
Denmark.

K.R. Norman,
Faculty of Oriental Studies,
Sidgwick Avenue,
Cambridge CB3 9DA.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY

Research Fellowships in Pali Studies

The Council of the Pali Text Society invite applications for Research Fellowships from suitably qualified persons, working in the field of Pali studies. Applicants will usually be in the fourth year of a course of graduate research, or its equivalent. The course of research will be expected to lead to a publishable book, on the publication rights of which the Pali Text Society will have first option.

Fellowships will be tenable for one year in the first instance, with a possibility of renewal. The value will be fixed at the appropriate level for a comparable research worker in the applicant's country of domicile. Letters of application and requests for information should be sent to:

Mr K.R. Norman,
Faculty of Oriental Studies,
Sidgwick Avenue,
Cambridge,
England CB3 9DA.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

The Council of the Pali Text Society plan to continue publication of the *Journal* on an *ad hoc* basis, as and when sufficient material of a publishable standard is received.

The *Journal* will publish short Pali texts, translations, and commentaries on texts, catalogues and handlists of Pali books and manuscripts, and similar material.

Papers should be sent to:

Mr K.R. Norman
Faculty of Oriental Studies,
Sidgwick Avenue,
Cambridge,
England CB3 9DA.

To reduce printing costs, contributors are urged, whenever possible, to present their papers in a camera-ready copy form.