

THE COLOPHONS OF THIRTY PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS FROM NORTHERN THAILAND

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

contained in the colophons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chiang Mai, April 1990

Harald Hundius

Note on Transcriptions.

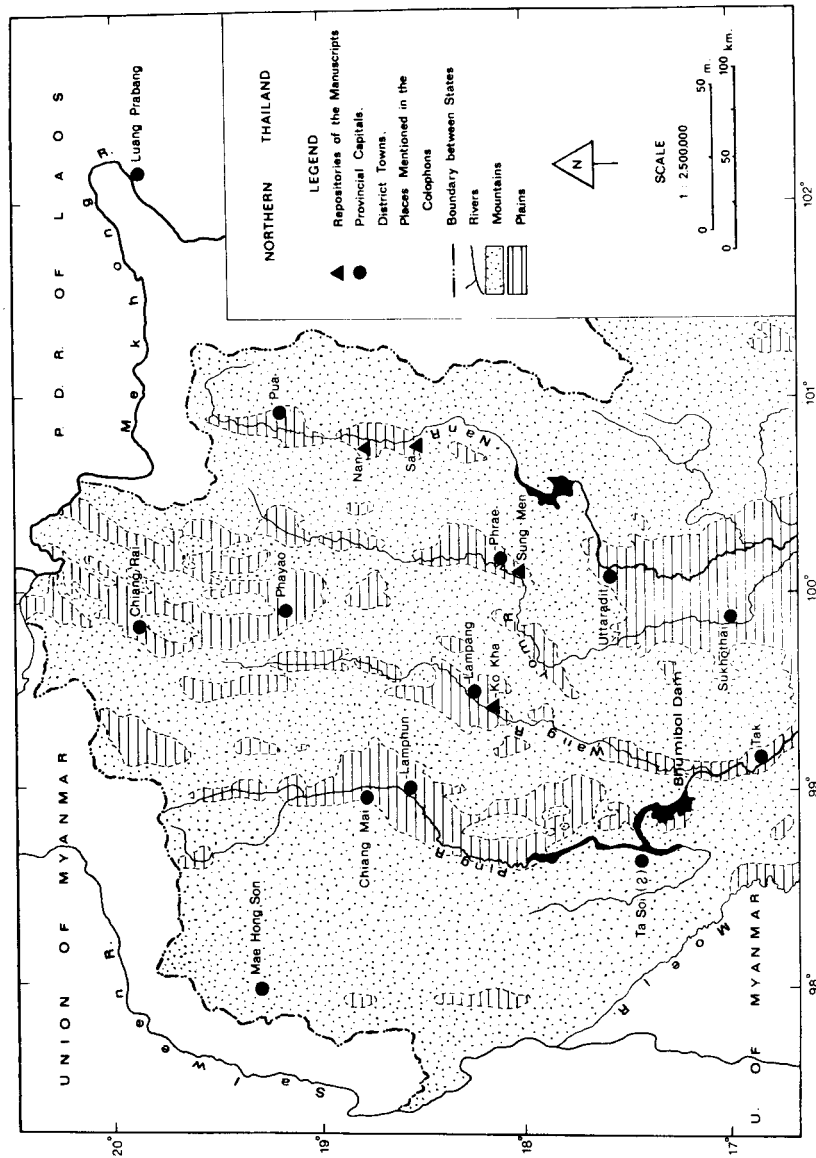
1. For the edition of the Colophons the Transliteration System as introduced in HUNDIUS 1990 (pp. 215 foll) is used. Its main features are explained in Part B, 1.1, below.
2. For phonematic transcriptions the system introduced by Mary R. Haas (see HAAS 1964 [for Central Thai], 1958 [for Northern Thai];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

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

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

List of Abbreviations* and Signs

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



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

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

The following signs have been used:

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

PART A : INTRODUCTION

1. Background: The Sources.

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

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

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

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

During this period, while numerous texts belonging to the Theravāda tradition were copied from foreign sources, the script that had come to be used for Pāli texts was adapted to be used for writing Northern Thai (NT), as well.¹ It is this type of script, the "Lan Na Dhamma Script" or /t̄ua m̄aŋ/, 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 |Waŋ Jiiān "Hman|, /wāt cīaŋ m̄ān/), 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. Pent 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 Müüān| (/khōm m̄uān/) by such scholars as Singkha Wannasai and which is nowadays mostly referred to as |Daiy Nideeś| (/thaj n̄thēet/), 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 Kāo (r. 1495–1526).

The colophons in four of the eleven holographs originating from this period, state that they were written in 'Daa "Sṛṣṣy (NT /tāa sṛṣṣj/, CT /thāa sṛṣṣj/; 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 troops. Cf. Keyes 1970:232. In fact, 'Daa "Sṛṣṣy 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 (|Khṛṣṣm|) or Siamese (Central Thai), and advancement in the Saṅgha, as well as admission to the Buddhist Universities which had been established in the capital, Bangkok, became tied up with the passing of centralized examinations based on those

⁶ The last major effort to keep alive the scholarly Pāli tradition of the North was undertaken, as it seems, in the twenties and thirties under the leadership of |Gruu Paa Siiwijeeyy| (/khuu baa siiwīcaj/) [AD 1878–1938], a charismatic Northern Thai monk scholar and fervent preserver of Lan Na literary and cultural traditions who copied a number of Pāli manuscripts by himself, e.g. the *Khuddakanikāya* comprising 16 phuuk, dating from AD 1926. On the gilded "mai hlaap of this neatly written manuscript a colophon is engraved similar to those found on the manuscripts made under |Gruu Paa Kañcana| in the previous century. This manuscript which belongs to the holdings of |Gruu Paa Siiwijeeyya's| home monastery at a village called /bañ paay/ (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 Hundijs 1976b) and is available upon request from the author.

Foundation and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. This led to the establishment of microfilm documentations which, taken over in 1981 by the newly established Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai University, comprises by now some 4,000 texts, the majority belonging to secular fields of knowledge such as traditional law, customs, astrology, history, medicine, etc. A selection of about a hundred texts written entirely in Pāli is also included.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 Cœdès, had given proof of the existence of a significant Pāli tradition in the area of the former Kingdom of Lan Na. His "Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés

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-vaṇṇanā*), written in AD 1471 (CS 833), is also the second oldest known in Thailand (the oldest one, a copy of the *Sāratthapakāsini*, dates from AD 1440; see v. Hinüber 1985:3). According to figures mentioned in the printed catalogue of 1986a (Foreword, without pagination), a total of 13,726 phuuk comprising 3,694 texts, including an unknown number of parallel versions, had been photographed, as of March, 1986, on 145 reels of microfilm. In the meantime, they have increased, as Acham Phanphen Khruathai (M.A.) kindly informs me (May, 1989), by an additional twenty reels. The titles of the texts recorded, together with some basic additional data covering the contents of 145 reels, have been published in successive inventory lists or short catalogues (see Social Research Institute [ed.] 1986a-b).

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 *Cāmadevivaṇsa* 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 "Khṛom", 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 "Khṛom" 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 "Khṛom" 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 tōn 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 Hundijs 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 (*Paramatṭhavibhūsanī*), 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 Sinhalese monk, which exerted a strong influence on the poetic tradition of Thailand and neighbouring countries (Saṅgharakkhita's *Vuttodaya* [26]).
- (2) Lan Na's contribution to cosmological Pāli literature is exemplified by Sirimaṅgala's *Cakkavāḍadīpanī* (Nos. 15 and 16; possibly also by no. 22 [*Lokasaṅṭhāna*] which is of as yet unknown origin).
- (3) Literature pertaining to the political and religious history of the region is represented by two works composed in the 15th c. by Bodhiramsi, 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-Sivijāyājātaka* (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 phonematic transcription,

(3) in translation.

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

ad 1:

The transliteration system used here was developed on the basis of a detailed study of the phonological and the writing system of Northern Thai.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. Hundijs 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 /aa/ and its phonetically related monophthong /əə/ is of significantly higher frequency in manuscripts from areas with large numbers of people from Khün and Lü descent (such as large areas in Lamphun, Phayao or Chiang Rai provinces) than in those from districts with predominantly Tai Yuan population: in Khün and Lü ancient /ia, ŋa, ua/ were monophthongized to /ee, əə, 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. Cœdès (1966), to quote an eminent example, in his catalogue of Pāli, Northern Thai and Siamese (Central Thai) Manuscripts kept at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, gives translations only of the concluding Pāli words which are used to 'seal off' the text proper, contenting himself with giving a summary description of different areas of content that may be expected to be covered in the vernacular colophons, without hinting at the informational value contained in many of them.

Nowadays, however, awareness has grown of the fact that the information contained in colophons can be of considerable importance. This holds true, for example, when manuscripts are evaluated for the editing of texts, especially so when the principles of textual criticism are to be applied.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 khiar 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 |"ṇṇy| 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 (*kṛṇe kâa mṇu*) for the scribes, by doing the writing itself, or by initiating and helping to organize the task, like the 'leading monastic supporters' as they are called in the colophons — yet there is no indication to be found of any tendency to differentiate the value of these different contributions in correlation to the merit acquired.

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

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

³⁸ In an anthropological study of present-day Thai society, the suggestion is made that everyday concerns, like securing "good fortune" and "protection", are generally dealt with on the plane of spirits (cf. Mulder 2.1985:40, and *passim*). In fact, numerous indications can be found in Thai literature which appear to be in line with such an interpretation; see for instance Sunthṇ Phu's travel poems, in particular his *Nirat 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 |Mañdharaa maa rop Jiañ 'Hmai| (Wannasai 1979).

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

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

"... whoever takes [this manuscript out for] worship, ... do not add any writing on it, do not [try to] make any corrections; if [you do] not follow [my advice, you will] be [reborn as] a *petā* ("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 Waḍ Wijuur (mostly written as Vat Visoun or Vixun), Luang Prabang, in CS 1198, Year of the Monkey |pii rwaay san| (AD 1836) to commemorate the accomplishment of his historic 99-manuscript copying endeavour. In the inscription which has been published, in facsimile, transliteration and French translation, by Father Schmitt in: Mission PAVIE, II, 1898:357–363, it is stated in detail how much money was spent, and by whom, for the making of the manuscripts: the King of Luang Prabang (i.e. Mangthaturat, r. 1817–1836, called |Mañdhaa| in the inscription) is said to have contributed 85 |"tañ| of silver, the |"Cau Raajjawañ| spent purified silver (|ñöön "laañ|) weighing 18,202 Baht, = 7 |"kaa|, 2 |ḍääñ|; and the lay people of Phrae contributed silver weighing 1 |"jañ|, 10 |taamlüñ|, 10 |slüñ|. For the gilding of the palm-leaves 2,800 gold leaves were used. The King of Luang Prabang sponsored the making of 34 bundles, the Prince Raajjawañ 177, and 31 were made through contributions from the people of Phrae. (Father Schmitt's transliteration and translation, admirable as they remain after almost a century, need a few corrections).

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 Raajawoñ, 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 /tāa 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 Raajawoñ of Luang Prabang in which the Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana may have played a mediating role.

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

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|" (/pēn phatcāj lḡḡj nāṅ/) is mentioned; on several phuuk of another holograph (no. 61.), a split-up sum is given, viz. fifty /bāat/ for the writing (/kāa laaj mæḡ/), one /fūaṅ/ for the palm-leaves (/kāa laan/). In another colophon (front cover of no. 54., dated CS 923 [AD 1561]), the scribe speaks of gilded manuscript caskets /hīit kham/ made for a monastery named /wāt pāa 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).

The colophons may be broken down into the following components:

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

- b. 'pḷ "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. 'gḷ 'yaa plāān siia 'ḍāā "
- (10) a. 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām "do not add any writing on it ..."
 b. 'gḷ 'yaa nap khiian 'sai thāām 'ḍāā "
 c. 'yaa khiian 'sai thāām "
- (11) a. 'pḷ dii "[that is an] evil [deed]..."
 b. 'pḷ au "[if you] do not follow [my advice]..."
- (12) a. peen phreeṭ "[you will be reborn] as a peta ("hungry ghost ...")
 b. peen phreeṭ jaam "
- (13) a. prasoṇ "lāāw "after worship ..."
 b. 'mūūa 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. "sañ yaak nak 'kāā "it was very hard to make it ..."
 b. "sañ yaak nak 'kāā naa jḷāā " (= a.)
 c. "sañ yaak nak 'kāā jḷāā " (= a.)
- (16) a. jāān "ḍuuay dūūn "do take good care!"
 b. 'gḷy jāān "ḍuuay dūūn "
 c. 'gḷy jāān "ḍuuay 'ḍāā "
- (17) a. "hūū puñ caaṃrōōn 'kāā "phuu peen daayaka "nan 'ṭṭḷ "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 "nan̐ 't̐oḡ
"dau thōñ̐ amaṭanibbaan̐ dōñ̐

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

- c. 'cuñ "hūū peen pracaiy 'kää an "ḍai lookiya l̐ää
lookuttarasampatti 'kää upaasikaa "phuu "saan̐ "nii dūūn rau 'gḡ
anumoodanaa "ḍuuy l̐ää

"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: |prasoñ| "to worship"; |jaam| "to try"; |nap| (lit.:) "to count"; |yia| (lit.:) "to make" (cf. German: "*mach*, daß du sie [die Handschrift] schleunigst wieder zurückbringst!"); |sapdaa| < Skt/P śabda, sadda "sound, word, grammar": a form up to now only found in a number of colophons from 'Daa "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 /ʔɔʔ ʔaŋ/]; 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 /tɔʔ tɔw/, since [t] is reserved for the equivalent of CT /dɔʔ dɛk/ which is not represented in the Dhamma Script (where [d] is used instead), but is in others, e.g. the [Fak Khaam] and the [Daiy Nidees] scripts as well as in the traditional secular Laotian (and Northeastern Thai) alphabets often called [Daiy "Nḡy] 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 /ʔɔɔ ʔàaŋ/) 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 /ɛ, ɛɛ/, |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 HUNDIJS 1990: 215 foll.⁵⁵ To give an example, the adhortative particle /tṣʔ/ 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 |deiðah, deīðah, deið, deīð, deiððah, deīððah| etc., if transliterated according to the Pāli (or Sanskrit) value of each of its graphic elements, will be rendered as |dö, 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| (/ua/), and |uua| (/ua/) whose short variants are accordingly rendered as |ia| (/ia?), |üa| (/ua?), |ua| (/ua?).
- §20 Written long vowels in closed "live syllables", i.e. those ending in a continuant (some of which have been shortened secondarily under conditions determined by tonal influences), are maintained as long, e.g. |peen| /pĕn/ "to be", |ñöön| /ṅən/ silver", |"ṭṭṭñ| /tṭṭñ/ "must", etc., as well as |-aaṃ| 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 |kōöḍ|, for example, must be interpreted either as /kəət/ "to be born" or as /kət/ "to intercept" etc. If the context leaves no doubt that the first is meant, it would be rendered |kōöḍ|, if the second one is meant, it would be written |kōḍḍ| (here the index number is used to indicate that in the original the symbol normally representing a long vowel is written).
- §26 Underlining of certain vowels (especially syllable final |-ḍ|, but also word initial |ḍ-|, |ḍ-| 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 |oḍ| 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/, /uḥ/ instead of /y/, /yy/. The corresponding diphthong is written /ua/ instead of /ya/.

1.3 Note on the Pronunciation.

1.3.1 General Remarks.

Consonants and vowels are generally pronounced similar to their CT cognates; with most speakers, however, /kh-/ sounds more like the fricative [x]. Some vowels, especially /e, eḥ/ 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, -ṅ, -w, -j/.

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

Dead Syllables**

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

Abbreviations:

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

1.3.3 Ambiguities of Pronunciation.

1.3.3.1 Loss of /-ʔ/ in connected speech.

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

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

generally lose their final glottal component, as well as their tonal quality to be heard in isolative (syllable-per-syllable) speech style. Such syllables will be transcribed accordingly, i.e. /unmarked/ without /-ʔ/. Since the loosening of glottal 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>ṭikā</i> >	/tiʔ kǎa/	/tikǎa/	/tikkǎa/
<i>dīpanī</i> >	/tīʔ paʔ nii/	/tīpanii/	/tīppanii/
<i>jotaka</i> >	/coo taʔ kaʔ/	/cootakaʔ/	/cootakkaʔ/
<i>śakarāja</i> >	/saʔ kaʔ laa cǎʔ/	/sakalaacǎʔ/	/sakkalaacǎʔ/
<i>likhita</i> >	/līʔ khiʔ taʔ/	/līkhitaʔ/	/līkhitaʔ/
	/līkkhittaʔ/sobhatiʔ	/sōo phāʔ tiʔ/	/sōophātiʔ/
	/sōophātiʔ/sthitaʔ	/saʔ thit/	/sathit/
	/satthit/		

etc.

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

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

/dèɛ, dĕɛ, dɛɛ/;
/hǎəj, həəj, hǎ(ə)j/;
/naa/
/nĕə, "nĕə/;
/nôɔ, "nôɔ, nô, nǒ/
/lǎ, lɔ, lǎ/
/?əə/
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"
/*pampeŋ/ >	/pàmpeŋ/	"to perform, pursue"
/*lampəəŋ/ >	/làmpeəŋ/	"to contemplate"
/lambàak/ >	/lámjàak/	"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, kyī, kyī, kyu, kyū*, etc., followed by *khya, khyā, khyī, khyī, khyu, khyū; gya, gyā, gyī, 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.

'bɔɔ ɔɔk	lay sponsor or supporter of a monk or novice
capap (chapap) 'kau	"original manuscript" (lit.: "old ms") from which a copy is made
capap hnūua	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 /pàmpeŋ/, /làmpeəŋ/ or /lámjàak/ 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.

'dooñ, dhaan	Siamese supremacy
'ḍää	to make a thorough check
ḍii-hlii	final particle; emphasiser
dö	lit.: "good, good; splendid!"
ḍii-hlii dö	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)aan	second bundle [of a set of three]
maḍ plaay	last bundle
"mai hlaap	wooden wedge of a palm-leaf manuscript, mostly indicating title(s), no. of phuuk, date of writing, name of monastery to which the ms belongs etc.
müüañ	(fortified) settlement or township, urban living-place, city, city state, principality, kingdom, land*
muulasaddhaa	same as "gau saddhaa (q.v.)
"nḡy	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.

saddhaa	years ago. This, however, is only a guess. (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 nḡk	"external", i.e. lay supporter(s) or sponsor(s) of common religious efforts
sissa	follower(s) of a senior or learned monk (Pāli: pupil, student)
wiiañ	area within city walls or fortification; sometimes synonymous with müüañ
yaam kḡñ ṇaay	7.30–9.00; translated as "at the time of the morning drum"
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai 'ḍiiañ	9.00–10.30; "at the time of the forenoon horn"
yaam 'ḍiiañ	10.30–12.00; "at noon"
yaam ṭuḍ "jaay	12.00–13.30; "in the afternoon"
yaam kḡñ lään	13.30–15.00; "at the time of the sunset drum"
yaam trää (thää) "k(l)ai 'gaaṃ	15.00–16.30; "at the time of the evening horn"

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

1.6 Remarks on Dates and Calendrical Systems.

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

systems, see v. HINÜBER 1987b:15.

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

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

The following information is given:

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

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

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

13. Name of the monastery where the original was found (in 1974).
14. Location of the repository, i.e. district (Amphoe /ʔamphəə/) and province (/caŋwät/).
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 /wāt làj 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 "ruuañ₃ "sai" sakraaja 883 tuua dhammapada "nii₂ mahaatheen suuar₃ prahyaa "cau₁₀ "saan^o "wai" peen muulasaasnaa bra gootama₂ "cau₁₀ 5 ban pii₄ (...)|

/p̄i lúaŋ sāj sakalaacã?* p̄et lɔɔj p̄et sip sãam tũa thammã?patã? ní mahãath̄een sũan phãñña cãw sãaŋ wáj p̄en muulãsaasanaa phã? kootamã? cãw hãa pan p̄i (...)/

* Possibly the form |sakraaja| may have been read /sakhàatcã?/. To my knowledge, this particular writing has been found up to now only in manuscripts written in 'Daa "Sɔɔy; 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 prajñaa| is mentioned as the first of a number of scholars (CT /nák praàt/); 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 *Samacittasuut*, 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 tvaṃ pakkosāpito 'ti āha mahārāja kiṃ te saddo suto 'ti,
Dhp-a II 6,8

Ends: p 46 = *jaḥ v*, line 5

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

Colophons.

(1) p 3 = *hā r*, on left margin

|dhammapada lāa sundarapañño "saan° |
/thammāpatā? lee sūntālā?pāñño sāaŋ/

Translation.

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

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

|"wai° kap bra dhaaḍ "cau°_{io} lambaan lāa|
/wāj kap phā thāt cāw lampaŋ/

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°_{io} laambaan|
/thammāpatā? sūntālā? sāaŋ wāj kap phā thāt cāw lampaŋ/

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 lampaŋ lūaŋ/), 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).

[māhoosathā māhaatheen (p)aa "cau^o (riiañ) suuñ, "wai^o kap waḍ (un?) müüa^ñ, nai wiiāñ]

/mahōosatha? mahāathēen baa(?) cāw liaṅ(?) sūuṅ wāj kap wāt (?un?)
muṅ naj wiṅ/

Translation.

Mahosatha[-Jātaka]. The Venerable Mahaatheen Paa (?) * Riiāñ Suuñ [had this manuscript made] for Waḍ (..) Müüa^ñ in the city [of 'Daa "Sḡḡy?].

* 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 "ḍai^ḡ 857 t₂uuā nā₂ pii ḍap "hmau^o milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saan^o "wai^ḡ kap ḥḡḡ, piṭaka 'daa^o "sḡḡy^o lää]

/sakalaacā? * ḍāḡ pēet l^oḡḡ hāa sip cet tūa naj pī ḍap māw mīlintā?pañhāa naaj sīn phāññāa sāṅ wāj kap ḥḡḡ pitaka? tāa sḡḡy lē/

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

Translation.

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

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

[milindapañhaa naay sin prahyaa "saan^o "wai^ḡ kap ḥḡḡ, piṭaka 'daa^o "sḡḡy^o |

/mīlintā?pañhāa naaj sīn phāññāa sāṅ wāj kap ḥḡḡ pitaka? tāa sḡḡy/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

05. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Paṇṇāsanipāta

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

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

Ends: p 46, line 5

datvā piyaṃ ummadanti adiṭṭhā

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

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, on left margin.

[kap waṣ srii 'u₃r₃ müüa₃ [3] yo₂ṣṣā "dau₁₀ "faa nai müüa₃ [3] 'daa° "sḡḡy° lää|

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

Translation.

[Made] for Waḍ Sree 'Ur Müüa₃ {Yossa "Dau "Faa} in Müüa₃ 'Daa "Sḡḡy.

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

[paṇṇāsaṇipāta jaatāka mahaasaṅgharaajaa "cau₁₀ "saa₄n₄ nai₄ pii ko₂ḍ se₃ṣ cuḷasakraaja [2] "ḍai° 912 tuua lää "phuu° ḍai au pra₂so₂n₂ 'pḡ° "ruu° aṭṭhā lää sapdaa "cāān° "dāā° 'yaa° nap khiian [3] 'sai° thāām 'gḡ° 'yaa° plāān₄ siia₄ 'ḍāā° 'pḡ° au peen phreeḍ, (müüa₃) pra₂so₂n₂ "läāw° yia₄ blan au [4] maa 'so₂n₂° 'ḍa₂n° 'kau° 'ḍāā° "saa₄n° [yaak] nak 'kāā° naa jlāā jāān "ḍuuy° (düün)|

/pānnaasa? nīpāata? caataka? mahāsaṅghā?laacaa cāw sāṅ naj pīi kot set cūnlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lóḷj sip ?et túa lee phūu₄ daj ?aw phasōḡ bḡ lúu ?attha? lē? saptaa cēṅ tēe jāa nāp khiān sāj thēem kō jāa pēṅ sīa dēe bḡ ?aw pēn phēet mūa phasōḡ léew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ dāṅ kàw dēe sāṅ nīāk nāk kēe naa calee cēṅ dōj tuun/

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

This phuuk obviously belongs to the same manuscript as 07. For a similar colophon, see v. Hinüber 1987b:48. The toponym 'Daa "Sṛṣṣy 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 "Sṛṣṣy 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 Müüiañ Sään which, according to Professor Saeng, was being called Müüiañ "Sṛṣṣy '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 "Sṛṣṣy 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 |müüiañ| or |wiiiañ| is used when referring to 'Daa Sṛṣṣy, 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 Milindapañña manuscript was donated, 'Daa "Sṛṣṣy 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 (/phráʔ rāatchachaaajaa câw daaraarātsamñi/), travelled by boat up the River Ping to Chiang Mai, in AD 1908, the name |wiiiañ "srṣṣy| (NT /wiiiañ sṣṣj/) is placed at an ancient site on the west bank of the /mêe piŋ/, opposite to a once well-known rapid called /kèŋ 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 /kèŋ 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.

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

/pīi kàap set sakalaacā? dāj pèet lóoj cet sip hok [tūa] tīṅsa?nīpāata?
mahāa ?ubaasaka? pua kham tàaṅ m̄aṅ s̄aṅ wáj kap wāt s̄an khūa
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 Tañ Müüañ.

Remarks.

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

07. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Sattatinipāta

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

Begins: p 1 = ka r, line 1
devatānusi gandhabbo 'ti, Ja V 312,15

Ends: p 41, line 5b - p 42, line 1a
Soṇananda-jātakaṃ dutiyaṃ. iti jātakatṭhakathāyavijātaka-
paṭimaṇḍitassa Sattatinipātassa [42.1]tṭhavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā, Ja V 332,26

Colophons.

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

|sattatinipaata jaatakā an "niiḥ māhaasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° nai, pii
koḍ se,ṣ [2] cuḷasakraaja "ḍai 912 tuua lāā "phuu° ḍai, au bai praṣo,ṅ
'yaa° nap khiian 's[3]ai° thāām 'yaa° plāān, sīa, 'ḍāā° 'pḷ° ḍii, peen
phreed jaam praṣo,ṅ "lāāw° [4] yia, blan au maa 'so,ṅ° 'ḍañ° 'kau,° 'ḍāā°
"saan° yaak nak 'kāā° 'gḷḷy° jāān "ḍuuaḷ° dūūn|

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

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

|ga ka ka kha kap waṣ srii, 'ur, müüañ yo,ṣ "dau,° "faa° nai müüañ,
'daa° "sḷḷy° "hni, lāā|

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

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

|māhaasaṅgharaajaa "cau° "saan° lāā|
/mahāasaṅkhālaacaa cāw s̄aṅ lē/

Translation.

Made at the behest of the Venerable Mahaasaṅgharaajaa.

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

|kap waṣ māhaasro,hmaṇṇa srii, 'ur, müüañ yo,ṣ "dau,° "faa° 'daa°
"sḷḷy° "hni, lāā|

/kap wāt mahāasalōmmanā? salīi ?ùn m̄aṅ ñōt táw fáa tâa s̄oj nīi lē/

Translation.

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

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 = *ṅa* r, line 1
pavi]vitto bhante āyasmā sārīputto, SNI 63,28

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

Colophons.

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

|"saañ° "wai° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ₃ yo₂ssa "dau₁₀° "faa° nai müüañ₃
'daa° "sḡḡy° "hniī° lää|

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

Translation.

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

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

traa "saañ° nai pii kaḍ "rau₁₀° cuḷasakraaja "ḍai° 911 tuua lää [2b] kulaputt
ṭo₂n ḍai au bai pra₂o₂n "läaw° yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂n° "wai° 'ḍañ° 'kau₁₀
'ḍää° "saañ° yaak nak 'kää° [3b] jlää jāñ "ḍuuay° düün "hüü° puñ₃
caamröön 'kää "phuu peen daayaka "nan° 'ṭḡḡ° "dau₁₀° nibbaan düün|

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

Translation.

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

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

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

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

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

Translation.

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

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

|"wai" kap waṣ srii 'un₃ müüan₃ yo₂ṣṣa [2] "dau₁₀ "faa" nai müüan₃ 'daa' "ṣṣṣy" "hnii₃ lāā|

/wáj kap wāt salīi ?ùn muṅ ṇōtsa? táw fáa naj muṅ tâa ṣṣṣj nīi lee/

Translation.

[Made] for Waṣ Srii 'Un Müüan {Yossa "Dau "Faa}, here in Müüan 'Daa "Ṣṣṣy.

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

|paalīi sagaathawagga saṃyuttanikaay an "nii₃ naan gaam baa miia, 'hmüün" "nṣṣy" traā "saan" nai pii kaṣ "rau₁₀ cuḷa[2]ṣakraaja "ḍai" 911 tuua lāā kulaputt ton ḍai au bai praṣo₂n 'yaa' nap plāān₃ siia₄ 'gṣ' [3] 'yaa' nap khiian 'sai' thāām 'ḍāā' 'pṣ' ḍii₃ peen phreed jaam praṣo₂n "lāāw" yia₄ blan au maa 'so₂n" "wai" [4] 'ḍan' 'kau₁₀ 'ḍāā' "saan" yaak nak 'kāā' 'gṣṣy' jāān "ḍuuy" dūūn 'cuṇ₃ "hūū" peen praṣaiy 'kāā' an "ḍai" yañ lookiyā lāā lookuttara sampatti 'kāā' upaasikaa "phuu" "saan" "nii" dūūn rau₁₀ 'gṣ' anumoo[6]ḍanaa "ḍuuy" lāā|

/baalii sakaatha?wākkā? sāṅñūtta?nikāaj ?an nīi naṅ kham paa mia mūūn nṣṣj thalāā sāṅ naj pii kat lāw cunlāsakalaacā? ḍāj kāw lṣṣj sip ?et tūa lee kūnlābut tōn daj ?aw paj phasōṅ jāa nāp pēṅ sīa kṣ jāa nāp khiān sāj thēem dēe bṣ dii pēn phēet caam phasōṅ léew nīa? pan ?aw maa sōṅ wāj ḍāṅ kàw dēe sāṅ nīāk nāk kēe kṣj cēṅ ḍōj tūūn cūṅ hūū pēn phatcāj kēe ?an ḍāj nīṅ lookiñā? lē? lookuttalā?sampatti? kēe ?ubaasikāā phūū sāṅ nīi tūūn law kṣ ?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 Gaam Baa, the wife of 'Hmüün "Nṣṣy Traa, in the Year of the Cock (|pii kaṣ "rau|), CS 911. Whoever [among you], sons of good family, takes [this manuscript out for] worship, do not [try to] make any corrections; do not add any writing on [it]; [that is an] evil [deed; you will] be [reborn as a] *peta*! After worship, see to it that it is brought back again quickly, [for] hard work it

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

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

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

[same as (2), above, until ---] |911 tuua lāā "phuu" ḍai au praṣo₂n 'pṣ' "ruu" aṭṭha lāā sapdaa "cāān" 'yaa' nap plāān siia₄ 'yaa' khiian 'sai' thāām 'pṣ' ḍii peen phreed jaam ... 'gṣṣy' jāān "ḍuuy" dūūn 'cuṇ₃ peen praṣaiy "gaam juu daayakā "phuu" "saan" "nan" 'ṣṣ' "dau₁₀ thōōn amatani[5]bbaan dōōn|

/... kāw lṣṣj sip ?et tūa lee phūū daj ?aw phasōṅ bṣ lūu ?attha? lē? saptaa cēṅ jàa nāp pēṅ sīa jàa khiān sāj thēem bṣ dii pēn phēet caam ... kṣj cēṅ ḍōj tūūn cūṅ pēn phatcāj kām cuu taañāka? phūū sāṅ nān tṣṣ táw thōṅ ?amātanīppaan tṣṣn/

Translation.

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

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

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

(7) *ibid.*, on left margin

|"saañ° kap waṣ srii 'un° müüañ, yo₂ṣṣa "dau₁₀ "faa° nai müüañ, 'daa° "sṣṣy° "hnii° lää|

/sāṅ kap wāt salī ?ùn maṅ ñōtsa? táw fáa naj maṅ tâa sṣṣj nīi lee/

Translation.

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

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 /kḗew/ "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 ?āaj/ 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.?)

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 tasmi vāre patikkhitteso vāro parihāyati evam idhā 'pi aññamaññapaccayadhamavasena sahaajātādihi pavattisabbhāvato tasmim paṭi[2]kkhitte so (v)āro parihāyati, *Tikap-a* (N° 1972) 213,5=(B° 1956)471,21.

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

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

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio.

" 5 *Paṭṭhānamahāpakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* "

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

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

/hāa sakalaacā? kāw lōj sīi sip hāa mā?mee sanām patthāanā?
mahāapakalānā? ?atthakathāa ?ubaasikāa mēe cīam pēn
phatñāñā?taañikāa/

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-Aṭṭhakathā, vol. III Yamaka-Paṭṭhāna-Aṭṭhakathā, ed. by M. Tiwary. Nalanda 1972 (N^o). (O. v. Hinüber). Note the Sanskrit form *pratyayadāyikā* (instead of the Pāli word *paccayadāyikā* also used in the colophons) which appears to be rather unique.

10. ABHIDHAMMA-GUḶHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 3.9.3

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

Begins:

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

Ends: p 47, line 4b-5

aṭṭhakathācariyassa hi nāma kattā Buddhaghosena 'ti vuttaṃ. samattan ti dhammasamma[5]taṃ paṭiccasamuppādadhammatṭaṃ paṭi vijjhatū 'ti attho majjhimam vā paṭipadam ariyam aṭṭhamgikamaggaṃ. sammohavinodaniyā vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya guḷhaditṭhadipa[48.1] nā(!) niṭṭhitā

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover, r

|nāk puñ₃ †juuañja† "tāam° "saan° lāā
mahāa ṇāaṇasaṃmuddamaṅgala- meedhaawii "cau₂ peen upathambhaka
"saan|

/nāk bun (cuṅcā?) tēem sāṅ lee
mahāa ṇāaṇasaṃmūtā?maṅkālā?meethaawii cāw pēn ?upathāmphāka?
sāṅ/

Translation.

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

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

(2) *ibid.*, rear side

|Sammohavinodaniya Guḷhatthakathā lāā "saan° "wai° 'būia₃ "hūū°
jōotaka buddhāsaasanaa traap₃ 'tōō₃ "dau₂ jaraa lāā|

/sāmmooha?wīnootāññā? kunhatthakathā lee sāṅ wāj pūa hūū
cootaka? pūthā?sāasanaa thalāap tōō tāw calaa lee/

Translation.

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

(3) p 48, line 1

|mahāa ṇāaṇasaṃmuddamaṅgala "cau₂ uppathambhaka "saan
Sammohavinodaniyā Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathāya Guḷhatthadīpanā(!) niṭṭhitā |

/mahāa ṇāaṇasaṃmūtāmaṅkālā? cāw ?uppathāmphāka? sāṅ .../

Translation.

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

(4) Back Cover, r

|guḥḍadiipānii lāā "saañ" "wai" 'būūā; "hūū" jootakā buddhāsaasānaa
lāā|

/kunhatiipānii lee sāaṅ wáj pāa hūū 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 sutāṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā, DNI 47,2

Ends: p 75, line 5a

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

Colophon [in Pāli].

p 76, line 1a

[Sāmaññapha]lasuttaṃ dutiyaṃ

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

Begins: phuuk 8, p 1, line 1a

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

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

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

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 8, Front Cover Folio, r

|cuḷasaṅkraaja "ḍai; 9°(2)3 tuua sre;ḥ naū pii, rakaa dai,ya bhaasaa
'waa' pii, "ruuañ; "rau, saddanītti phuuk, 8 luu;ka, naañ khaaw srii,
'y;uu" "paan 'daa' huua rūūan (sic!) ban "hūū" "saañ" kap
buddhāsaasānaa lāā|

/cūnlāsāṅkhāatcā? ḍāj kāw ló;ḥ saaw (?) sāam tūa salet naj pii lākāa
tajñā?phaasāa wāa pii lú;ḥ lāv sattānītti? phūuk pèet lūuk naaṅ khāaw
salī jūū bāan tāa hūa luan pan hūū sāaṅ 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 Naan Khaaw Srii who lives in "Paan 'Daa Huua Rūūan Ban.

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

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

(2) phuuk 24, Front Cover Folio, r

|phuuk₄ 24 cuḷasaṅk₁kraajjā "ḍai° 9(2)3 tuua sre₃jh naü pii, rakaa dai₄ya bhaasaa 'waa° pii, "ruuañ₃ "rau₂ saddan₁ṭṭi luuk₄ naañ₄ khaaw srii₅ mii 'y₄uu° 'daa" huua rüüan ban mii kusala₁chan "haü° "saan° "wai₄ kap saasnaa bra buddha "cau° 'ṭṭo₃ "dau° 5000 wassaa phuuk₄ 24|

/phùuk saaw s̄i c̄unlāsāṅkhàatcā? dāj kāw lōj saaw (?) s̄am t̄ua salet naj p̄i lākāa tajñā?phaasāa wāa p̄i lūaṅ lāv sattānīti? lūuk naaṅ khaaw salī mii jūu t̄aa h̄ua luan pan mii kutsala?sān h̄aj s̄aṅ wāj kap s̄asanaa phā? p̄tthā c̄aw tō tāv h̄aa pan wātsāa phùuk saaw s̄i/

Translation.

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

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

(3) phuuk 33, Front Cover Folio, r

|... "hūü° "saan° mii mahaa wajirapañño "cau₂ peen upathambhaka : 33|

/... hūü s̄aṅ mii mahāa wātcilā?pañño c̄aw p̄n ?uppathāmphāka? s̄ām sip s̄ām/

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† cuḷasaṅk₁kraaj "ḍai° 9°53 tuua sre₃jh (written: srajhee) saddan₁ṭṭi phuuk₄ 22 luuk₄ naañ khaaw srii₅ 'y₄uu° "paan° 'daa° huua rüüan ban "hūü° "saan° peen praṇṇaya 'kāa° ñaana(...)|

/nāmātthu? c̄inā?wālāpawālā ... c̄unlāsāṅkhàat dāj kāw lōj h̄aa sip s̄ām t̄ua salet sattānīti? phùuk saaw s̄ōṅ lūuk naaṅ khaaw salī jūu b̄aan t̄aa h̄ua luan pan hūü s̄aṅ p̄n phatcañā? k̄e ñaanā(...)/

Translation (last part).

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

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

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

|saddanīti maḍ plaay saddanīti phuuk₄ 8 luuk₄ naañ₄ khaaw srii,
'y₄uu° 'daa huua rūūan ban "hūū° "saan° kap buddhaṣaṣṇaa|

/sattānīti? māt pāj sattānīti? phūuk pēt lūuk naṅ khāaw salī jūu
bāan taa hūa luan pan hūu sāṅ kap pūthā?śāasanaa/

Translation.

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

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

(6) phuuk 21, Front Cover Folio, r

|sakkāraaja 953 pii, tho₄ daiyābhaasaa 'waa° pii, "ruuañ° "hmau°
gimhantaraḍuu dūūa₃n 7 "khūn° 15 'gaam° (sic!) saddanītipakaraṇa maḍ
plaay mahaa aggasaamii, "cau₂ waḍ candamoḷii, srii, saddhammakitti
"saan° ka kha ko |

/sakkalaacā? kāw lōj hāa sip sāam pīi tho? tajñā?phaasā wāa pīi
lūaṅ māw kimhānta?lāduu dūan cet khūn sip hāa khām
sattānīti?pakalānā? māt pāj mahāa ?akkāsāamii cāw wāt cāntā?moolii
salī satthammākitti? sāṅ/

Translation.

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

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

(7) phuuk 32, Front Cover Folio, r

|saddanītipakaraṇa somḍe₂cch "cau₂ waḍ candamuḷii, srii,
saddhammakitti "cau₂ "saan° phuuk₄ 32|

/sattānīti?pakalānā? sōmdet cāw wāt cāntāmuḷii salī
satthammākitti?cāw sāṅ phūuk sāam sip sōḅ/

Translation.

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

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

|saddanītipakaraṇa "dai° (... .. 'hmau°) hnañsūū hnūūa capap 'nūn°
'daan° khiian pii sakkāraaja 855 (tuua)|

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

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

The mention of the date of writing the original manuscript, from which the present one was copied, is very rare. As for the date of the manuscript found at Wat Phumin, two conflicting years are given: CS 9(2)3, Year of the Goat [pii rakaa], and CS 9(5)3, Year of the Hare [pii thəl] (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 |ḷ₄| 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 HUNDIJS 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 ñuən/). Amphoe Sa (/sǎa/), 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 puttasañkhāta 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 aññaṇṇīti vuttattā ca. mando bhogavināse cāḍhake muj(j)ā paṭusvā 'pi abhidhānappakaraṇe vuttattā ca. kiṃ nu jhāyasi kiṃ kāraṇāma yasi (adā?) [commentary on *Ja* VI 565,5*]

Colophons.

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

|kap waṣ paak₄ ṇuua|

/kap wāt pàak ṇua/

Translation.

[Made for] Waḍ Paak Ṇuua.

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

|ṭikāa mahāweessantarajātaka an "nii" "saan̄, nai pii, plöök, yii
cuḷasakraaj "ḍai" 940 tuua |lää|

/tikāa mahāwēetsāntalā? caataka? ?an nī sāṅ naj pii pēak nīi
cūnlāsakhāat dāḷ kāw lōḷ sī sip tūa lee/

Translation.

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

* ṭikā (P): 'subcommentary'

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

Remarks.

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

14. JĀTAKA 2.5.10.1; Vessantarajātaka-Aṭṭhakathā

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

Begins: p 1 = *tha r*

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

Ends: p 48 = *caḷ v*, line 6

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

Colophons.

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

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

Translation.

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

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

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

|"saan̄" "wai" kap waṣ paak, ṇuua|
/sāṅ wāj kap wāt pāk ṇua/

Translation.

Made for Waḍ Paak Ṇuua.

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

Remarks.

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

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

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

Begins:

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

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2c–4

yaṃ manussakaṃ vassa[3]sattaṃ t[ā]vatimsānaṃ eso eko rattindivo |pe| tena saṃvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesāṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ. manussagaṇaṃ[4]ya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭiyo saṭṭhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni. yāni manussakāni dve vassasatāni. yāmānaṃ eso eko, *Cakkav* (S^c 1980) 188,20.

Colophons.

(1) Front Side of "mai hlaap.

[tuua paaḷii cakkawaalādipañii mii sip phuuk, lāā gruū paa "cau kañcanaṃ araññāwaa[2]sii müüa,ñ 'brāā peen "glau" saddhaa lāā sissa "cau dañ muuar, saddhaa baay noḡk, mii maḡhaaraaj "cau" müüa,ñ 'brāā lāā maḡhaaraaj "cau" müüa,ñ 'naan peen "glau" [3] lāā pajaanaarattha dañ muuar, "brōḡm kan "saan yañ akkhradhāmm, kambii an "nii "waiy joodhaka (!) buddhasaasnaa 5 ban braṃ wassaa lāā "saan nai müüa,ñ 'naan lāā]

/tūa baalii cakkawaalātīpanii mii sip phūuk lee khuu baa cāw kāncanā? ?alanñāwaaṣii muaḡ phēe pēn kāv satthaa lē? sitsa? cāw taḡ muan satthaa paaḷ nōk mii mahāalāat cāw muaḡ phēe lē? mahāalāat cāw muaḡ nāan pēn kāv lē? pacaanaalāttha? taḡ muan phōcm kān sāḡ ñaḡ ?akkhalātham kāmpii ?an nū wāj coothāka? pūthā?śāasanaa hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee sāḡ naj muaḡ nāan lee/

Translation.

The Pāli text of C^o - consisting of 10 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dweller Gruū Paa Kañcana, Müüaṃ 'Brāā, as initiating monastic supporter together with his followers, and the Royal Ruler of Müüaṃ 'Brāā as well as the Royal Ruler of Müüaṃ '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 Müüaṃ 'Naan.

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

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

/baalii cakkawaalātīpanii phūuk tōn taḡ muan mii sip phūuk cūnlāsakhāat dāḡ pan nūḡ lōḡj kāv sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāḡ/

Translation.

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

(3) "mai hlaap, reverse side.

|"saan 'müüa,ḡ sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai lāā /sāḡ mūa sakhāat dāḡ pan nūḡ lōḡj kāv sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāḡ lee/

Translation.

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

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

[tuua paali c° phuuk, "ton lāā somḍe, ch mahaaraaj müüa,ñ 'naan "saan
 "gaam juu gruu paa kañcanaṇa araññāwaasii müüa,ñ, 'brāā nibbāna paccayo
 hotu |

/tūa baalii cakkawaalātipanii phūuk tōn lee sōmdet mahāalāat muaṇ
 nāan sāaṇ kām cuu khuu baa kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasii mūaṇ phēe.../

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 'Brāā.

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

[paali c° phuuk, "thuar, sōṇ, cu|asakhraaj ... (s. above, colophon [2],
 line 2) "saan nai müüa,ñ, 'naan' lāā 'thōṇ, dhaan (sic!) "lāāw° taam capap
 'klau° |

/baalii cakkawaalātipanii phūuk thūan sōṇ cūnlāsakhāat dāṇ pan nāṇ
 lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāṇ sāaṇ naj mūaṇ nāan lee thōṇ thaan
 léew tām 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

[mahaawan bhikkhu rikkhitta "waiy "gaam juu warabuddhasaasanaa
 bra goodom "cau, tōṇ "dau, pañcasahassa wassaa traap
 phoṭṭhakapatta aayu pamaana "dāā 'cin° lāā |

/mahāawan phīkkhu? līkkhitta? wāj kām cuu walā? pūthā? sāasanaa
 phā? koodom cāw tōw taw pānca? sahasa? wātsāa thalāap
 phōṭṭhakapatta? ?aanū? pamaanā? tēe cīṇ lee/

Translation.

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

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

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

/palīpunnā? léew nāam tīaṇ kēe khāa nōj lee nā? sōphāti? sak jāat lee
 mahāawan phīkkhu? khīan pāaṇ mūa jūu wāt tōn nūn nām sāa lee bō
 cāaṇ lāaj lee/

Translation.

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

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

[80000 4000 "khaa khōṇ "hūū° naa puñ, "gaam juu tuua "khaa peen "glau°
 lāā guu paa aacaan 'bōṇ 'māā 'bīi "nōṇ, 'juu° gon "dāā ḍīi-hlīi dō [2] puglā
 "phuu ḍai "ḍai 'lau, 'gōṇ" biccarānaa bai" dō tuua 'pō nāam heeṭ cai 'pō
 "tañ lāā |

/pēt mēṇ sīi pan khāa khōṇ hūu naa bun kām cuu tūa khāa pēn kāv
 lē? khuu baa ?aacāan pōw mēe pīi nōṇ cūu khon tēe dīi līi tē? pukkālā?
 phūu daj dāṇ lāw kōj pīcalanaa paj tē? tūa bō ṇaam hēt cāṇ bō tāṇ 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]sakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai rikkhitta paan 'müüa; sathi[t] saamraar waş nuua dāān 'daan "tai wiañ, (written: wiar₃) "nan lāā paarii, cakkaawaḷadipañii, phuuk₄ (.) lāā dūüa, n 12 oḷk, 6 'gaam 'braam° 'waa "dai wan meeñ-'maan° deey₂ (sic!) lāā|

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj līkkhitta? pāṅ mūa sathit sāmraan wāt gwa deṅ dāan tāj wiaṅ nán lee baalii cakkawaalātipañii phūuk (?) lee dūan sip sōṅ ḷōk hok khām phām wāa dāj wan meṅ māan taj lee/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. Written while I was staying happily at Waḷ Nūua Dāān* [situated to the] South of the city [of Müüiañ '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)

[sakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai somḍe,cc ma[2]haaraaj anantaraya raajaadhiraaj "cau droñ raaja[3]saddhaa ton swöy nai nandapurii "dai "saan yañ dhāmm tuua paa[4]ii c° an "nii° "waiy jootakkā wārabuddhaśaa[5]ssnaa 5 ban wāssaa nibb[ā]napac[c]ayo hotu me|

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet mahāalāat ?anantalīñā? laacaathīlāat cāw thalog laacāsathaa tōn sawōḷ naj nantāpuli dāj sāṅ ṅaṅ tham tūa baalii cakkawaalātipañii ?an nīi wāj cootakka? walāpūthā?śāasanaa hāa pan wātsāa nīppaanā? patcañoo hōotu? mee/

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj ["Cau]*, Great Royal Ruler of Nandapurii [Müüiañ '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

[sakkaraaja "dai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy somḍe,cc parammapobbitt sihaa anantaraya raajaadhiraas "cau droñ raajasaddhaa jootakka buddhaśaassnaa nibbānapac[c]ayo hotu nic[c]am [2] dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ|

/sakkalaacā? dāj pan nūṅ lóṅ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj sōmdet palammābōpīt sihaa ?anantalīñā? laacaathīlāat cāw thalog laacāsathaa cootakka? pūthā?śāasanaa .../

Translation.

CS 1195 - Year of the Snake. His Majesty Somḍec Parammapobbitt Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraaj*, [Royal Ruler of Müüiañ '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 pa₂ra₂m₂ma₂p₂ḡḡbbitt₂ a₂na₂nta₂ra₂ya₂ ra₂ja₂addhira₂as "cau droṅ ra₂ja₂s°...]

(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 (l₂p₂i₂ p₂öök seḍ₂), i.e. only 18 years after the original work was completed by its author! This manuscript (made at the behest of the Saṅgharaajaa Candaraṃsii Araññawaasii) which is regrettably not complete, will soon be available on microfilm; a photograph of its first phuuk Cover Folio can be found in PENTH 1983:88.- The *Cakkavāladīpanī* is not mentioned in CŒDÈS (1915) and in the CPD.

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

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

Begins:

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

gahetabbaṃ samadiya (!) karissāhaṃ subodhatthaṃ
cakkavāla [la] dipani a[2] nusuyyā nissametha ...

Ends: phuuk 10, p 47, line 2b

eso eko rattindivo tāyaratti[3]yo māso tena māsenā dvādasamāsiyo saṃvaccharo (bhū)tena saṃvaccharena dibbānīpañcavassasatāni tesāṃ āyuppaṃāṇaṃ. manussagaṇaṇā yanavuti [4] vassasatasahassāni. yaṃ manussakaṃ vassasataṃ tāvatimsānaṃ eso eko rattindivo [pe] tenu saṃvaccharena dibbavassasahassa tesāṃ āyuppaṃāṇaṃ. manussagaṇaṇāya tisso tisso ca vassakoṭṭiyo saṭṭhiñ 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° 'gaam 1 'braam 'waa "ḍaiy wan 1 daiy "ruuañ₃ me₃ṣ (...) "ḍaiy 11 tuua pa₂ripunṇa "lāāw° yaam (...) teeja phla pur₃ an "khaa "ḍaiy "tāam dhammaḍaan an" 'juū°- 'waa° paa[2] (...) "waiy "gaam juu saasnaa gootama "cau traap 'ṭṭṭ "ḍau 5000 bra wassaa "nii "dāā ḍii-hlii nibbāna[m] paramaṃ su[k]kham nic[c]aṃ dhuvam dhuvam (...) phla pur₃ an "khaa "ḍai tāam dhammaḍaan an "nii 'cuñ₃ "hūū peen (...) pattha uppa[3](...) tuua "khaa lāā 'bḡḡ° 'māā 'bii "noḡṅ₃ 'juu gon "hūū "ḍaiy "hwaay ṛḡḡ₃ ḡḡḡ₃ müūa₃ñ neeraḡbaan nai aṇaagatakaan an" cak₄ maa baay "hnaa "nan 'cuñ₃ cak₄ mii "dāā ḍii-hlii nic[c]aṃ dhuvam dhuvam 'ciñ° dö]

/(...) sāj saladet khāw maa naj duan sip ?et khūn khām nūṅ phām wāa ḍāj wan nūṅ taj luṅ mēt (...) ḍāj sip ?et tūa palīpūnñā? lēew ṇāam (...) tēecā? phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem thammātaan ?an cūu wāa baa[līi cakkawaalātīpanii] wāj kām cuu sāasanaa kootamā? cāw thalāap tōḡ táw hāa pan phā? wātsāa ní tēe dii līi (...) phala? bun ?an khāa ḍāj tēem thammātaan ?an níi cūṅ hūu pēn (...) pattha? ?uppa(...) tūa khāa lē? pōḡ mēe pīi nōḡṅ cūu khon hūu ḍāj wāj lōḡ tōḡ muaṅ neelāppaan naj ?anaakātākāan ?an cak maa paaj nāa nán cūṅ cak mii tēe dii līi nītcāṅ thūwaṅ thūwaṅ cūṅ tō?/

Translation.

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

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

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

|cu|asakkaraaja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍūūa₃n sraawaṇṇ gūū-'waa° ḍūūa₃n 10 hooraa rāam 2 'gaam° 'braam 'waa "ḍai wan kuñ(ja)waa|ḍa thñai daiy 'waa wan aṅgaan yaam cak₄ kḥḥṇ, lāān 'klāā "khaa |ḍā dhammajee₂ bhikkhu rikkhitta wiggaha "tāam khiiar₃ plaan 'mūūa₃ 'yuu meetṭaa peen "cau aaraamḍhi[2]patti waḍ 'daa' mahimsaa 'dii° 'nan 'ciñ° cak₄ rap raajani₄mon 'hāān mahaaraaj rikkhitta paali dhamm₂ an" 'jūū°-'waa° cak₄ka₄waa|ḍipani an" "nii "waiy "hūū° peen 'dii° "hwai saa sak₄ka₄ puujaa "waiy kap saasnaa bra₃ goot₄ma₃ traap 5,000 bra wassaa |ḍā]

/cūnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sōḥ lōḥ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj duan salaawan kuu wāa duan sip hōolaa lāam sōḥ khām phām wāa ḍāj wan kūncā?waa|ḍ? thaḅāj taj wāa wan ?aṅkaan ñaam cak kōḥ leḅ kē khāa lee thammacaj phīkkhu? likkhitta? wīkkāha? tēem khīan pāṅ mūa jūū mēettāa pēn cāw ?aalaammāthīpati? wāt taa mahīṣāa tīi nān cīḅ cak lāp laacānimon hēḅ mahāalāat likkhitta? baali₂ tham ?an cūu wāa cakkawaalātīpanii ?an nīi wāj hūū pēn tīi wāj sāa sakkalā? pūuca wāj kap sāasnaa phā? kootamā? thalāap hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake, in the month [called] |sraawaṇa| [according to the Khmer tradition], i.e. the 10th lunar month, on the 2nd day of the waning moon, i.e. the day called |kuñjawaara| [in the Khmer tradition], |wan 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 Mūūañ 'Naan] to join in making a manuscript of the Pāli work named C°, in order to enable people to pay their worship to it, and enhance the Teachings of Lord Gotama throughout the 5,000 years of [their predicted duration].

(3) phuuk 5, p 41, line 4

|sraḍe₃jh "lāaw° yaam tuuḍ₃ "jaay 'kāā "khaa |ḍā bindaa bhikkhu |ḍā khiiar₃ "ḍuuay ton eēñ ḍiiaw₃ "cau |ḍā-naa|

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

Translation.

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

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

|"khaa khiiar₃ "gaam₃ juu du 'bii° hluuañ "cau dhammajee₂y₂ waḍ "paan 'daa mahimsaa 'kāā "khaa |ḍā "khaa khiiar₃ paan 'mūūa₃ 'yuu° meet_ṭaa s_ḍadhaa "paan hnaaḍ tuua 'pḥ ñaam sak glaay khau₂ 'daan gūḍ yaak₄ ja (!) 'aan teem dhii (!) 'hḷ° 'nḥḥ° öö, öö, [2] cuṅḍasakkab_ḍa "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "khii "gaan "tāam haa"|

/khāa khīan kām cuu tū? pīi lūḅ cāw thammacaj wāt bāan taa mahīṣāa kē khāa lee khāa khīan pāṅ mūa jūū mēettāa sathaa bāan nāt tūa bō

ɣaam sak kaaj khǎw tǎan kǔt nǎak ca ʔàan tǎm thii lǝ "nôc* ʔəə ʔəə [2] cǔndaʔsakkaptǎʔ dǎj pan sǝɔŋ lǝɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa pǐi kat sǎj khǐi kháan tǎem haa/

- * The use of the tone marker 2 in the manuscript (transliterated as |'nɔɔ'|) 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 /nɔɔ/, /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 Waɣ "Paan 'Daa Mahimsaa. I did the writing while spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of "Paan Hnaaɣ. 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 saamañeer|
/tǐppǎwoŋ sǎamaneen/

Translation.

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

*dibbawoñ: < P *dibbavamsa*

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

|cu|asakkaraaja "ɖai 1231 tuua plii kaɣ "sai ɖüüa₃n 11 ɔɔk₃ 10 'gaam
'braam° 'waa° "ɖai meen wan 4 daiy" pǝɔk₃ san 'kǎä "khaa lǎä 'jüü "khaa

'waa° ariya bhikkhu paan 'müüa₃ 'yuu [48.1] meettaa saddhaa waɣ "paan
khɔɔr₃ müüa₃ buua wan "nan lǎä|

/cǔnlǎsakkalaacǎʔ dǎj pan sǝɔŋ lǝɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa pǐi kat sǎj ɖuan sip
ʔet ʔɔɔk sip khǎm phǎm wǎa dǎj meŋ wan sǐi taj pǝək sǎn kǎe khǎa lee
cǎu wǎa ʔalǐñǎʔ phǐkkhuʔ pǎaŋ müa jüü meettaa satthaa wǎt bǎan
khǝɔn mǎaŋ pua wan nǎn lee/

Translation.

CS 1231 - Year of the Snake (|pii kaɣ "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] |pǝək san| [in the] Dai [tradition]. My name is Ariya-Bhikkhu. [Written] while I was spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of Waɣ "Paan Khɔɔr, Müüa₃ Buua, on that very day.

(7) phuuk 9, p 49.4 - 50.3

|cu|asakkaraaja "ɖai 1231 tuua maroon snaam kambooja khroɔm₂ bhisai
waa[50.1]lǎ thǎai dai bhaasaa 'waa plii kat "sai(...) sudhamma bhikkhu
likkhitta jootaka mahaaraaja müüa₃n 'naan wan "nan lǎä "lǎäw° [2] ɖüüa₃,
10 "khün° 14 'gaam 'braam 'waa° ɖai wan 7 dai 'klaa me_t yaam kɔɔn₃,
naay sraɖe₃h yaam "nan lǎä haañ müüa₃ buua huua müüa₃, nǎän₂ 'don°
"hañ 'dii° 'plaa ma° hyaa 'kɔɔr₃ tuua 'pɔ naam (...) ee 'pɔ naam ee ee 'gɔ°
'pɔ naam [3] hlaay huua faay "naam "lɔɔm₃ "naam wǎäɖ "ɔɔm₃ teem dhii
lǎä naay hǝöy'|

/cǔnlǎsakkalaacǎʔ dǎj pan sǝɔŋ lǝɔj sǎam sip ʔet tǔa maloŋ sanǎm
kǎmpoocǎʔ khǝɔm phǐsǎj waalǎʔ thaŋǎj taj phaasǎa wǎa pǐi kat sǎj(...) suthammǎʔ
phǐkkhuʔ likkhittaʔ cootakaʔ mahǎalaacǎʔ mǎaŋ nǎan wan nǎn lee lee_w ɖuan sip
khǎn sip sǐi khǎm phǎm wǎa dǎj wan cet taj kǎa mǎt nǎam nǎn lee hǎaŋ mǎaŋ
pua hǎa mǎaŋ ɣeeŋ tǝŋ hǎŋ tǐi pǎa mañña kǝn tǔa bǝ ɣaam (...) ʔee bǝ
ɣaam ʔee ʔee kǝ bǝ ɣaam lǎaj hǎa fǎaj nǎm lǝɔm nǎm wǎet ʔǝɔm tǎm
thii lee naaj hǝəj/

Translation.

CS 1231 - In the Year called |maroon| in the Khmer tradition, and |pii kaḍ "sai| [in the] Dai tradition. - Written by Sudhamma-Bhikkhu in support of the Great Royal Ruler of Müüaṅ '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 Müüaṅ Buua, and the first settlements of Müüaṅ Nääṅ, 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,ṅ 9 duṭiya "lääw" lää bhikkhu leekhamatti lää
"cau ḥöy' swaaḍ swaaḍ "hnaa dhap plaay c°|

/sakhàat pan sḍḍḍ lḍḍḍ sām sip ?et tūa ḍuan kâw tūtiññ? léew lee
phīkkhu? léekhamātti? lee cāw hḍḍḍ swāat swāat nāa thāp pāaj
cakkawaalāṭīpanii/

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

|paripuṇṇa sraḍe,ḥ "lääw" yaam kḍḍḍ [2] ṅaay 'kää "khaa läa tuua 'pḍḍ
ṅaam hlaay|

/palīpūnnā? saladet léew ṅaam kḍḍḍ ṅaaj kḍḍ khāa lee tūa bḍḍ ṅaam läaj/

Translation.

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

**17. CĀMADEVIVAṆSA [4.2] Author: Bodhiramṣi
(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. ādiccavaṇso pavaro jino yo manussajāto dipadānam indo
byāmapabhāso asipamāro [read: abhipamāro] maṇipajoto jina[ṃ] taṃ
namāmi gambhiram atthaṃ punaṃ sududdasaṃ sā sappabi
ji[2]vajasinero (?) (h)eṭṭhaṃ nānāyānaṃ munisevitaṃ taṃ sukhumaṃ
dhammaṃ pavaraṃ namāmi

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = *tī v*, line 3b

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

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paaḷii deewantasuṭ mii saam phuuk, lää tuua paaḷii
caamaḍeewiwaṅsa mii "haa phuuk, lää gruū paa kañcaṇa araññaḍaasii
müüa,ṅ 'brāa peen "glau" saddhaa "brḍḍḍ, kap sissā "cau" ḍañ muuar,
"saan yaṅ dhāmm kambii "nii lää "saan nai müüa,ṅ 'naan|

/tũa baalii teewantasuut mii sãam phũuk lee tũa baalii
cãamãteewiwaṅsa? mii hãa phũuk lee khuu baa kãncanã? ?alanããwaasii
muaṅ phẽe pẽn kãw satthaa phóom kap sitsa? cãw taṅ muan sãaṅ ñaṅ
tham kãmpii ní lee sãaṅ naj muaṅ nãan/

Translation.

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

(2) Front Cover Folio:

|phuuk, "ton caamaḍeewiwaṅsa paali c° læa phuuk, "ton 'dõõñ, dhaan
"lããw° taam capap 'klau"|

/phũuk tõn cãamãteewiwaṅsa? baalii cãamãteewiwaṅsa? lee phũuk
tõn tõṅ thaan léew taam cabap kãw/

Translation.

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

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

|"saañ 'mũüa; sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai læã|
/sãaṅ mũa sakhãat ḍãj pan nũṅ lóoj kãw sip hãa tũa pĩ kãa sãj lee/

Translation, see (4)

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

|cuḍassakãbda 1195 tuua plii 'kaa "sai° ḍũüa,ñ 10 huuraa rãam 1 {hok}
'gaam wan aṅṅaan daiy koḍ yii yaam trãã 'suu [?] paripuṅṅa læã
nibbãnapaccayo hotu metteyya santike anãgate nicaṃ dhuvaṃ læã|

/cudãsakãptã? pan nũṅ lóoj kãw sip hãa tũa pĩ kãa sãj ðuan sip
hũlulaa nũṅ khãm wan ?aṅkaan taj kot ñii ñaam thẽe suu [?] palĩpũnnã? lee
nĩppaanã? patcañoo hõotu? mẽettãjñã? sãntikẽe ?anaakãtẽe nĩtcãṅ thũwaṅ
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:

|paalii c° phuuk, 2 'dõõñ, dhaan "lããw° taam capap 'klau°|

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

(6) phuuk 2, p 50 = ghu v

|cuḷasakãbda "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° ḍũüa,ñ 11 daiy ḍap pol (!?)
meeñ wan can paripuṅṅa "lããw° yaam kõõñ, hñaay (sic!) ['kãã] "khaa læã
arahantãmaggayãnaṃ nibbãnapaccayo hontu me læã|

/cũnlã?sakãptã? ḍãj pan nũṅ lóoj kãw sip hãa tũa pĩ kãa sãj ðuan
sip ?et taj ḍap bon (?) meṅ wan cãñ palĩpũnnã? léew ñaam kõõṅ ṅaaj
[kẽe] khãa 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

|Sihĩṅganidãnaṃ niṭṭhitãṃ atthaparicchadavaṅṅanã niṭṭhitã sakkaṅraaja
1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° ḍũüa,ñ 11 õõk, (..) 'gaam daiy rwaay s'ñaã°

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

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

Translation.

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

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

|(...) dūüa,ñ 11 ḡḡk, 12 'gaam̄ 'braam̄ 'waa wan 5 daiy koḡ se,ḡ sraḡe,cc,₂ "lāaw' yaam koḡñ, hñaa" (!) "kää" "khaa lāa khḡḡ suumaa dö, "cau' 'dii' "hwai h,₂öy |

/(...) duan sip ?et ?òḡk sip sḡḡḡ khām phām wāa wan hāa taj kot set saladet léew ñaam kḡḡḡ ḡaaj kèe khāa læ khḡḡ sūumaa tḡ? cāw tīi wāḡ hḡḡ/

Translation.

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

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

|cuḡassḡraaja 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai dūüa,ñ 11 ḡḡk, 4 'gaam̄ meen [wan] aadiḡ daiy' 'tau' s"ñaa' paripuñña "lāaw' yaam 'diiāñ, [kää] "khaa

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

/cudatsalaacā? pan nūḡ lóḡ kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kaa sāḡ duan sip ?et ?òḡk sīi khām meḡ [wan] ?aatit taj taw saḡáa palīpūnnā? léew ñaam tīaḡ wan [kèe] khāa 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|] |aadiḡ| ("Sunday") [in the] Mon [tradition, and] |'tau sa"ñaa| [in the] Dai [tradition]. Accomplished at noon-time ... (For Remarks see 18).

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

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

Begins:

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

Ends: phuuk 5, p 38 = nū v, line 1c

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

Colophons.

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

|... *phuttakaṃ tasmā so sraḍe₂s* "lā_āw" yaam lään rääm 14 'gaam' 'braam' 'waa' "ḍai wan 6 'kää" "khaa lā_ā [4] *nibbānapa[cca]yo hotu me niccaṃ dhuvam dhuvam* ḍii-hlii 'kää" "khaa 'ḍää" dö₂|

/... saladet léew ñaam leej leem sip s̄ii khām phām wāa ḍāj wan hok kèe khāa lee ... ḍii l̄ii kèe khāa dèe t̄ō?/

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(!) atthaṃ paricchadavaṇṇanā nitthitā* sraḍe₃jh "lā_āw" [yaam] kḡḡḡ₃ (written: kḡḡ₃) ñaay wan buḍ₃ 'kää' "khaa lā_ā ḡḡ₄ 4 'gaam' 'kää' "khaa lā_ā|

/... saladet léew [ñaam] kḡḡḡ ḡaaj wan pūt kèe khāa lee ḡḡḡ s̄ii khām kèe khāa lee/

Translation.

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

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

|cu|ṣak₃raaj "ḍai 1204 tuua plii 't̄lau"(!) yii sraḍe₃cc₂ "khaa maa nai ḍiū₃ 11 ḡḡ₄ 9 'gaam' 'braam' 'waa' "ḍai wan 2 daiy" [?] sraḍe₂jh "lā_āw" yaam kḡḡḡ₃ lään 'kää' "khaa lā_ā *nibbānapaccayo hotu me niccaṃ dhuvam dhuvam* [2] 'kää' "khaa ḍii-hlii dö "khaa khiar₃ paañ 'müüa₃ "khaa yuu' paṭipad₃ waṣ buu "kääw srii pur₃ rūüa₄ñ müüa₄ñ 'bää' 'ḍaan' "t̄ai wan "nan lā_ā tuua 'pḡ' ñaam sak "hnḡḡy' 'gḡḡy' bi,ccaraṇaa 'ci₄m' dö, 'ḍii' "hwai hḡḡy|

/cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan sḡḡḡ lḡḡḡ s̄ii t̄ua p̄ii tàw ñii saladet khāw maa naj ḍuan sip ?et ḡḡḡ kāw khām phām wāa ḍāj wan sḡḡḡ taj [?] saladet léew ñaam kḡḡḡ leej kèe khāa lee ... kèe khāa ḍii l̄ii t̄ō? khāa khian p̄aḡ m̄ua khāa j̄u patibat wāt puu k̄ew salii bun laḡḡ muḡḡ p̄e ḍaan t̄āj wan nán lee t̄ua bḡ ḡaam sak nḡḡḡ kḡḡ p̄itcalanaa c̄im t̄ō? t̄ii wāj hḡḡj/

Translation.

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

(4) phuuk 5, p 38 = *nū* v, line 3

|paa|ii caamaḍeewiiwaṃsa "sian" "hnii" lā_ā phuuk₄ plaay 'gḡ' 'waa' lā_ā caamaḍeewii phuuk₄ 5 lā_ā|

/baalii cāamāteewiiwaṃsa? s̄iaḡ n̄ii lee phūuk p̄aaj k̄ō wāa lee cāamāteewii phūuk h̄āa lee/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

The *Cāmadevivāṃsa* ("Chronicle of [Naañ] Caamaḍeewii") 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 Caamaḍeewii (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 Bodhiramsi, at the beginning of the 15th century (cf. CŒDÈS 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 Vajirañāna Library, Bangkok, in 1920, which was however thoroughly collated with a manuscript kept at the same place; see *ibid.*, p. 14–15; as for the Pāli text, see pp. 141–155, for the Translation, pp. 156–171. According to Cœdès (*ibid.*, p. 14) there is a lacuna in all known manuscripts of the C° comprising the text from the end of the IVth to the beginning of the VIIth pariccheda (chapter), corresponding to one phuuk. In manuscript 18, (and, likewise, in another manuscript of the C°, 17, presented above), this part is occupied by the *Buddhasiṅga-Nidāna*, written by the same author. Since later reprints of the C° in Thailand do not include the Pāli text, a new edition making use also of Lan Na manuscripts like the ones included in the present microfilm collection, would be desirable.

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

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

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

Begins:

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

Ends: phuuk 11, p 51, line 2a

iti cuḷavanapabbe pañcapaṇṇāsa gāthāyo honti 'ti sujanapāmojjatthāya katāya Vessantaradīpa[3]nīyaṃ cuḷavanapabbaparicchedo satṭho ḥa, corresponds to *Ja VI 532,10*

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap.

[paalīi, dipaṇīi mahāweessantara maḍ "ton mii sip e,ḍ phuuk, bra māhaatheera "cau° ton 'jūu° kañcana graññāwaasii müüa,ñ 'bräa° [2] peen mullāsaddhaa lāā sissā dañ muuar, saddhaa baay nōok, mii "cau° müüa,ñ [3] 'bräa° lāā "cau° raajawoñ müüa,ñ hluañ bra paañ peen "glau° lāā "saañ nai müüa,ñ hluañ 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 baaj pēn kāv lē? satthaa nāk sīn nāk bun taṅ muan phōom kán sāj lee sāj naj muaṅ lūaṅ phā baaj/

Translation.

The] Pāli [text of] *Dīpanī Mahāvessantara* - First Bundle; comprising 11 phuuk. The Venerable Forest-dwelling Mahaatheera named Kañcana from Müüañ 'Bräa as leading monastic supporter, and his followers, the Ruler of Müüañ 'Bräa and the "Cau Raajawoñ* of Müüañ Hluañ 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 Müüañ Hluañ Bra Paañ.

* [raajawoñ] is an official title for one of the three highest administrative functions under the King or Ruler (|"cau müüañ|) 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

|brạ mahaatheerạ "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcanạ araññawaasii müüa,ñ 'brää°
peen "glaụ läạ̈ sissā daṇ muuar,₃ saddhaa baay noḥk,₄ mii raajjawañ
müüa,ñ, hluuañ brạ paañ peen "glau° "brḥom,₃ kan "saañ läạ̈|

/phã? mahãathēelã? cãw tōn cūw kãncanã? ?alanñãwaasii mwaṅ phêe pēn
kãw lē? sitsa? taṅ muan satthaa paaj nōḥk mii lâatcãwoṅ mwaṅ lūaṅ phã
baaṅ pēn kãw phōm kãñ sãaṅ lē/

Translation.

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

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

|sakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay san paalii mahaaweessantarạ läạ̈
phuuk,₄ 2 24 paü 48 "hnaa [2] dhāmm hluuañ läạ̈ pōrammapubbitt
brạ pe,₂n "cau° "laan° "jaañ 'rom° khaaw läạ̈ [3] paalii dipanii
mahaaweessantarạ phuuk,₄ 2|

/sakhãat dãj pan nūṅ lōj kãw sip pēet tūa pñi lwaaj sãñ baalii
mahãawēetsãntalã? lēe phūuk sōḥṅ saaw sii baj sii sip pēet nãa[2] tham
lūaṅ lēe bōlammābuppit phã? pēn cãw láan cáaṅ lōm khãaw lēe[3] baalii
tīpanii mahãawēetsãntalã? phūuk sōḥṅ/

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 Homkhaio 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 subham̄ as{a}tu brạ mahaa sa(ñkyu!?) "ḍai 1198 tuua plii, rwaay
san ḍüüa,ñ (...) wan (...) yaam (..) luu,₄k,₄ somḍe,cc pōrammapubbitt brạ
pe,₂n "cau,₂ "laan° "jaañ 'rom° khaaw pōrommaseetḥakhattiya suriya brạ
raajjawañsaa brạ mahaa uttamạ oorassaa raajaadhiraas "cau,₂ mii brạ
raajasaddhaa pōromma(.)i(.)aa saü naü brạ raaja[2]hōradai "hlüüam° saü
wōrạ ba buddhāsa[a]ssnaa 'hãñ° brạ mahaakrunṇaadhigur,₃ "cau,₂ an 'yi,ñ
'ci,ñ° "ḍai° nimantanạ brạ wōraji,₄nnaputtā sañghasamaggaa "haü°
"bḥom,₃ kap kan "läaw° 'ciñ° "ḍai (...) "haü° (...) rikkhittā "saañ
yañ brạ saddhammaa gambhiruttamaa nanthaadigur,₃ "cau,₂ ḍuuañ
yuuḍ,₃[3] 'yi,(ñ)° kööt thaawarạ jootanaa "wai° pe,₂n mullasaassnaa süüp
süüp pai baay "hnaa° läạ̈ (jüün) *dānavatthu* daan ḍuuañ "nii° brạ on̄
jaambḥ,₄ "ḍuuañ° puttasañeehaa khḥ[ḥ] uddhisā naa pur,₃ pai thöön
yañ wōraajaputtii mii brạ naamapaññatti 'jüü°-'waa° naañ gaam̄ tan
suwanṇaraajakalyaa (...) [4] (...) cutti pai 'suu° pōralook baay "hnaa°
khḥ[ḥ] teeja puñaa(..)sandarạ (...) 'yüüa,ñ° "nii° con̄ "haü° pe,₂n yaan
"kääw° yaa[n] gaam̄ naam̄ pai rḥḥ,₃ "khaü,₂ bai(!) cḥḥ,₃ (...) con̄ "haü°
pe,₂n watthaa baḷanaa aahaan dibb an bi,₄seed° con̄ "haü° pai thöön
'kää° brạ kaṣattii on̄ "nan con̄ "haü° "ḍai° "bon° caak,₄ heed°
gaam̄ "yaan° con̄ "haü° pe,₂n sra[5]baan gaam̄ 'soñ° "khün° thöön 'hãñ°
"hḥḥ,₃ "taü (...) ḍää "dau,₂ wan prakaañ 1 khḥḥ teeja brạ raaja(k)ḥḥson
(written: °som) phallạ naa pur,₃ gunṇ wi,₄seed° an "nii° (... ..) [5b] an "nii°
khḥ[ḥ] con̄ "haü° (...) naam̄ on̄ brạ pe,₂n "cau,₂ "haü° "ḍai° "hwaï° 'yaan°
"naam̄ "kwaañ° güü-'waa° ooghasonsaan khḥ[ḥ] "haü° "ḍai swöy yañ
sampatti suk,₄ 3 'siñ° güü-'waa° "hḥḥ,₃ "jan° "faa° (yiñ) pe,₂n brạ int̄ suk,₄
ḍai manussalookaa|

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

Translation.

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

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

Remarks.

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

As for the making of this manuscript, two supporters from the ruling Royalty of Luang Prabang appear to have joined in the meritorious action. The first is called |"Cau 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 Raajjawañ, it seems safe to assume that the >Most Exalted Son of His Majesty the King of "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw< mentioned in (4) and the ("Cau) Raajjawañ 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 Raajjawañ 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 Raajjawañ) can fit with the fact of joint sponsoring of certain manuscripts. -

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

20. LOKADĪPA 2.9.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara

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

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

Begins:

namo tassa bhaga[va]to arahato sammāsambuddhassa 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 (!) araññāvāsinaṃ pasatṭhamahātherāṇaṃ
vaṃsālaṃkārabhūtena medhaṃka[1]ra mahātherakhyappati tena
sa[ñ]gharañ[ñ]ā kato yaṃ loka[m]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° dūüa₃n ciiāñ ɔɔk₄ 5 'gaam° wan 5 cuḷasakraaj "ḍai° 943
tuua 'daan° naay puñ₃ waḍhana_ṅ naañ "kääw° miia₄ gaa(m) "lääw°
"saan° "wai° peen muulāsāasnaa brā "cau° 'tɔɔ₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wassaa gaam
(written: gaam) prathnaa 'cuñ° somriddhi₄[2] ka kha phuuk₄ 'nüñ°|*

/pʰi lúaŋ sǎj dʰan cǎŋ ʔòk hǎa khâm wan hǎa cǔnlāsakhàat dǎj kǎw
lɔɔj sʰi sip sǎam túa tâan naaj bun wǎtthanǎ? naaŋ kǎew mia kham
léew sǎaŋ wáj pǎn muulāsāasanaa phǎ cǎw tòɔ táw hǎa pan wǎtsǎa kam
phǎathanaa cùŋ sǔmlitthii ka? kha? phùuk nūŋ/

* 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/, /ɨ/, /ɛ/, and mostly also /ii/ (transliterated as |ii.4|). Since the homography between the vowels /i/ and /ɨ/ (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° dūüa₃n ciiāñ ɔɔk₄ 5 gaam wan 5 cuḷasakraaj "ḍai° 943
tuua 'daan° naay puñ₃ waḍhana_ṅ jaayaa naañ "kääw° miia₄ gaam (written:
gaam) "lääw° "kau°(!) "saan° "wai° peen muulāsāasnaa (written: °lāsnaa)
brā "cau° 'tɔɔ₃ "dau₂ 5 ban wassaa gaam praathnaa "cuñ° somriddhi₄
duk₄ an|

/pʰi lúaŋ sǎj dʰan cǎŋ ʔòk hǎa khâm wan hǎa cǔnlāsakhàat dǎj kǎw
lɔɔj sʰi sip sǎam túa tâan naaj bun wǎtthanǎ? caañaa naaŋ kǎew mia
kham léew kàw (= kòɔ?) sǎaŋ wáj pǎn muulāsāasanaa phǎ cǎw tòɔ táw
hǎa pan wǎtsǎa kam phǎathanaa cùŋ sǔmlitthii tūk ʔan/

(For translation, see [1]).

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

|pii₄ "ruuañ₃ "sai° sakraaj "ḍai° [9]44 tuua hnañ₃süü (written: °si)
'daan° puñ₃ waḍhana_ṅ jaayaa 'jüü°-'waa° (written: ji-waa) "kääw° miia₄
(written, only this time, as what could be interpreted as 'mäa") gaam
"lääw° "saan° "wai° kap [waḍ] srii₄ 'un₃ müüa₃ñ 'daa° "sɔɔy° peen praçai
"gaam° (written: gaam) 'tɔɔ₃ "dau₁₀ 5 ban wassaa|

/pʰi lúaŋ sǎj sakhàat dǎj [kǎw lɔɔj] sʰi sip sʰi túa nǎŋsǔu tâan bun
wǎtthanǎ? caañaa cǔu wǎa kǎew mia kham léew sǎaŋ wáj kap [wǎt]
salii ʔùn mʰaŋ tâa sɔɔj pǎn phatcǎj kám tòɔ táw hǎa pan wǎtsǎa/

Translation.

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

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

[a[n] "nii° 'daan° saddhaa 'jüü° 'waa°[2] puñ, waḍhāṇa jaayaa 'jüü° 'waa°
kammaraanan, "cau° 'hmüün, liiap 'jüü° 'waa° {'jüü°-'waa°} sään gaam daa
"saan° "wai° peen muulāsāsanāa (written °lāsnaa) brā buddhā "cau°[3]
"hüü° ḍap duk, dañ muuan, siia, 'pō° seeḍ sala düün lää|

/ʔan ní tãan satthaa cūw wâa bun wãthhãñã? caañaa cūw wâa
kãmmalaanan cãw mēun liiap cūw wâa {cūw wâa} sēen kham taa sãaṅ
wáj pēn muulāsāsanāa phã? pūthhã cãw hūw dap tūk taḅ muan sã
bò sèet sala? tuun læ/

Translation.

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

Remarks.

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

21. LOKADĪPA 2.5.17 Author: Nava-Medhamkara

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

Begins:

namo tassa bhagavato arhato samm[ā]sambuddhassa seṭṭham
seṭṭhandadam buddham loke lokattanāyakaṃ lokabandham mahāviraṃ
lokanātham namāmy aham. lokanāthena tenāpi lokekācariyena [2] yo
pūjito tatthā (!) saddhammaṃ vande gambhiram uttamaṃ ...

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

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

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

[paal]i lookadiipa mii sip phuuk, brā mahaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü°
kañcaṇa araññawaasii müüañ, 'brää° peen mullāsaddhaa lää sissā dañ[2]
muuar, saddhaa baay nōk, mii "cau° müüañ, 'brää° lää "cau°
raajjwoñmüüañ, hluuañ brā paañ peen "glau°[3] lää saddhaa nak sil nak
puñ, dañ muuar, "brōm, kan "saan° lää "saan° nai müüañ, hluuañ brā
paañ|

/lookadiipa? mii sip phùuk .../

Translation.

Lokadīpa - comprising 10 phuuk ...

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

(2) phuuk 1, Title Folio

|paali lookadiipa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ton sakraaj "dai 1198 tuua plii
rwaay san paali lookadiipa (= °dipa) phuuk, "ton|

/baalii lookatipa? phùuk tòn sakhàat dāj pan nūḡ lóḡ kǎw sip pèet túa
pii lwaaj sǎn baalii lookatipa? phùuk tòn/

Translation.

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

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

|saddhaa baay nai mii bra mahaatheera "cau ton 'jūu' kañcana
araññawaasii müüa,ñ 'brää' peen "glau lää sissā "cau" dañ muuar,
saddhaa baay nōḡk, mii raajjawañ müüa,ñ hluuañ bra paan peen "glau
"brōm, kan "saan°|

/satthaa paaj naj mii phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā?
?alanñāwaasii muay phēe pēn káw lē? sitsa? cāw taḡ muan satthaa paaj
nōḡk mii láatcāwoḡ muay lūaḡ phā baay pēn káw phōm kǎn sāaḡ/

Translation.

The Venerable Forest-dweller named Mahaatheera Kañcana, Müüañ 'Brää,
as the leading monastic supporter, and his followers, together with the
Raajjawañ of Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paan 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 sirasā lo[4]kajotikaṃ bhāsisaṃ tatrāyaṃ
mātikāsaṃkheyya[5]kathā kappakathā kappavināso
saṃvaṭṭavivaḍhakathā sattasuriyācakkavāḷakathā[1.5.1a] sinerukathā
catumahādipakathā himavantakathā candimasuriyagatikathā
saggakathā niri[2]yakathāpetavisayañ ca tiracchānakathā
pakiṇṇakakathā 'ti[3] tattha 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:

|paali lookasaṅṭhaana jotaratanagaṅṭhii mii 5 phuuk, bra mahaatheera
"cau" ton 'jūu' kañcana[2] araññawaasii müüa,ñ 'brää' peen
muula[3]saddhaa lää sissā dañ muuar, "cau" müüa,ñ hluuañ bra paan peen
saddhaa baay nōḡk, "saan° nai müüa,ñ hluuañ bra paan|

/baalii looka?sānthāanā? coota?lāttanā?kanthīi mii hāa phùuk phā?
mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasii muay phēe pēn
muulāsathaa lē? sitsa? taḡ muan cāw muay lūaḡ phā baay pēn satthaa
paaj nōḡk sāaḡ naj muay lūaḡ phā baay/

Translation.

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

(2) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|paa|ii l° j° phuuk₄ "ton[2] cu|sa|sakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii₅ rwaay san
|lää|[3] (s. line 1)

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

Translation.

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

(3) phuuk 1, p 1.

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

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

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

|bra māhaatheera "cau° ton 'jüü° kañcana araṅṅāwaasii 'yuu müüa₃n
'bräa° peen "glau lää sissa ḍañ muuar₃ saddhaa baay ṅoḅk₄ mii raajjawoṅ
müüa₃n hluuaṅ bra paaṅ peen "glau° "brōḅm₃ kan "saaṅ|

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cāu kāncanā? ?alanāwaasīi jūu muṅ phēe
pēn káw lē? sitsa? taṅ muan sathaa paaj nōḅk mii lâatcāwoṅ muṅ lūṅ
phā baṅ pēn káw phōm kǎn sāṅ/

Translation.

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

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

|bra buddhaṣakkaraaja 1198 tuua pii rwaay san ḍüüa₃n 10 6 (hok)
'gaam wan (6?) "müü° möön "gäu° yaam koḅṅ₄ náay ...|

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. MAṆIPADĪPA 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)tttha ca saddonaṃ yaṃ anatto hoti 'ti yojanaṃ karoti. sā na yuttā iti saddassa vamaṭṭha yojanā kātābatti [2] iminā sampajjato. ayaṅ

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

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

idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti sotāpattimagge sotāpattimaggaṭṭhassa' ev' ass' eva sekkhassa dhārako nāñassa sotāpattithalaṭṭhassa sekkha[2]ssa sotāpattithalaṃ sotāpattaṭṭhalaṭṭhassa' eva sekkhassa sādharmaṇāñesaṃ sakadāg(g)amiṭaṭṭhaṃ anāgāmittha[3]lathānaṃ sekkhānaṃ paggeva arahattathalaṭṭhassa asekkhassa.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|tuua paaḷii maṇii₃padip (*Maṇipadīpa*) mii₃ sip hok phuuk₄ lāā gruū paa "cau° kañcana arañña[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 maniiatīp mii sip hok phūuk lee .../

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

Translation.

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

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

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

|{b}bhikkhu ri[khi][t][a] attano° 'dōṇ₃ dhaan (...) taam capap 'klau lāā maḍ klaañ phuuk₄ "ton lāā uppānaamoo rikkhita "gaam juu 'bōḷ₂ ḷoḷ₂k₄ māhaaraaṣ {lāā} hluañ lāā|

/phīkkhu? līkhita? ?attanoo tōṅ than (...) tāam cabap kàw lee māt kāṅ phūuk tōn lee ?uppānaamoo līkkhita? kām cuu pōc ?ōc mahāalāat lūaṅ lee/

Translation.

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

* |'bōḷ Ḷoḷ| "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 'müüa₃ sakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "sai° lāā|
/sāṅ mēa sakhāat ḍāj pan nēṅ lōc kāw 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

|pathamamuu₅lasaddhaa naamapaññatti 'jūū°-'waa° māhaa kañcana theera arañña₂waasii aaraam 'suuñ "hmeer' müüa₃ñ, 'brāā 'ḍaan "tai "saan "waiy "gaam juu buddhaasnaa traap 'ṭoḷ° "dau° 5 ban bra wassaa lāā [2] cuḷasakraaj "ḍai 1195 tuua plii, 'klaa "sai māhaaraaj hluañ müüa₃ñ, 'naan "saan° "gaam juu māhaa kañcana theera|

/pathamā? muulāsathaa naamā?paññatti? cūu wāa mahāa kāncanā? thēelā? ?alanñāwaasii ?aalam sūṅ mēn mwaṅ phēe daan tāj sāṅ wāj kām cuu pūthā?sāasanaa thalaap tōc tāw hāa pan phā? wātsāa lee cūnlāsakhāat ḍāj pan nēṅ lōc kāw sip hāa tūa pīi kàa sāj mahāalāat lūaṅ mwaṅ nāan sāṅ kām cuu mahāa kāncanā? thēelā?/

Translation.

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

(5) phuuk 5, Front Cover Folio

[1] s. colophon (1), supra

[2] saṅkhaṣ 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy lää arahantāmaggañānaṃ dinnam nibbānapaccayo hotu [3] me nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ 'dḥḥḥ dhaan "lääw° taam capap 'klau°|

/... sṅkhàat pan nḥḥ lóḥ kḥw sip hḥa túa pḥi kḥa sḥj lee ... tḥḥ than leew táam cabap kḥw/

Translation.

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

(6) phuuk 5, p 38

|bhikkhu jeeyyānaam khiiar, paan 'müüa, 'yuu° meetta waṣ "paar° dḥḥḥ (!) müüañ, jlääñ, "bol lää "yḥḥḥ tuua 'pḥ° 'naay° sak yaad° lää[2] "ḥai khiiar, "dää dhāmm 4 phuuk, 'pḥ° ḥaay 'gḥḥḥ° biccaṇaṇaa ḥuu dö saadhu "cau° ton "ḥai riiar, "ḥai 'aan" 'gḥ°-ḥii biccaṇaṇaa "hüü° 'thii° "yḥḥḥ 'pḥ° smöḥ, kan hnai lää|

/phḥkkhu? cajñānaam khīan pḥaṅ mḥa jḥu mḥettā wḥt bḥān tuun mḥaṅ caleḥḥ pón lee ḥḥḥḥn túa bḥḥ ḥḥāj sak jḥat lee[2] ḥḥj khīan tḥe tham sḥi phḥuk bḥḥ ḥḥj pḥḥcalanaa duu tḥḥ? sḥḥathḥḥ? cḥw tḥn ḥḥj lian ḥḥj ḥḥān kḥḥ dii pḥḥcalanaa hḥḥ thii ḥḥḥḥn bḥḥ samḥḥ kḥn ḥḥj lee/

Translation.

Written by Bhikkhu Jeeyyanaam while he stayed spreading Loving-Kindness at Waḥ "Paan Düün, in a village that is part of remote Müüañ 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

|paripuṇṇa "lääw° yaam kḥḥḥ, ḥaay 'kḥā "khaa lää sakkabḥ{d}a "ḥai 1195 tuua plii 'klaa "saiy ḥḥḥḥn sip 2 ḥḥḥ, 3 gaam "braam 'waa "ḥai wan 2 daiy "ruuañ, "pau° lää [2] iminā dhammarikkhattadānena yathā yathā bhavē jāto m[ā] rogā mā dalado bhavāmi 'haṅ saḥsāre saḥsāran ta metteyyasanti[38.1]ke anāgate nic[c]aṃ dhuvaṃ ha|

/palḥpḥnnḥ? leew ḥḥam kḥḥḥ ḥaaj kḥe khḥa lee sakkaptḥ? ḥḥj pan nḥḥ lóḥ kḥw sip hḥa túa pḥi kḥa sḥj duan sip sḥḥḥ ḥḥḥḥ sḥām khḥm phḥm wḥa ḥḥj wan sḥḥḥ taj lúḥḥ pḥw lee[2] ḥi?mḥḥnaa .../

Translation.

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

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

|cu|assakābadd "ḥai 1195 tuua plii māseñ snaam (written: smaam)

kamboojjha khom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa plii 'klaa "saiy "khau
 maa nai wasaana utu "khau maa nai sraawann guu-'waa' duua,n[4] 11
 huulwaa ook, 13 'gaam meen [wan] 1 daiy "ruuan, "saiy yaam koon,
 naay laa 'goy' bidcaranaa "huu' 'thii' do 'po' "ruu' cak, tuua 'ton 'thii' |

/cunlasakkapāt dāj pan nūṅ lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēṅ sanām
 kām̄poočā? khōm phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa pīi kàa sāj khāw maa naj
 wātsāanā? ?utu? khāw maa naj salaawan kuu wāa duan sip ?et
 huulwaa ?ōk sip sām khām meṅ [wan] nūṅ taj luāṅ sāj nāam kōṅ ṅaaj
 lee kōj pītcalaanaa hūu thii tō? bō lūu cak tūa tōn thii/

Translation.

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

(9) phuuk 8, p 44

|culassakkabadd 1195 tuua plii, maseen snaam (written: smaam)
 kaamboojjha khom, bhisai daiy b[h]aasaa 'waa' 'klaa "sai sraawann
 daiy rau 'waa' duua,n (11) huulwaa ook (.) [2] 'gaam meen wan 5 daiy
 rwaay "cai yaam koon, laan laa likkhitta paan 'muua,' 'yu meeṣṭaa
 muua,n jān nai cakkhawaar muua,n nandapurii, srii, muua,n 'naan'
 "buur' laa... (Pāli)|

/cunlasakkapāt pan nūṅ lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi māsēṅ sanām
 kām̄poočā? khōm phīsāj taj phaasāa wāa kàa sāj salaawan taj law
 wāa duan sip ?et(?) huulwaa ?ōk [.] khām meṅ wan hāa taj lwaaj cāj
 nāam kōṅ leeṅ lee likkhitta? pāṅ mēa jūu mēettāa mēaṅ cēṅ naj
 cakkhawaan mēaṅ nantāpulii salīi mēaṅ nāan pūun lee/

Translation.

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

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

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

|saṅkraaṣ 1195 plii 'klaa "saiy meen wan 6 daiy" pōök (written: pōök)
 sii duua,n rāam 13 'gaam' paaṭii maṇii, padip (Maṇipadīpa) phuuk 12
 'dōṅ, dhaan "lāaw' taam capap 'klau|

/sāṅkhàat pan nūṅ lōj kāw sip hāa pīi kàa sāj meṅ wan hok taj pèak sīi
 duan leem sip sām khām baalii maniipaṭī phūuk sip sōṅ tōṅ than
 léew tām cabap kàw/

Translation.

[C] S 1195 - Year of the Snake, on the 6th day [of the] Mon [tradition,
 called] |pōök 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| /sīwīcaj phīkkhu?/ (Pāli Name: Sivijaya-
 Bh°). To my knowledge, this work has not yet been edited.

**24. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA [4.2.] Author:
Bodhiramsi (15th c.)**

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

Begins: p 1 = *ghī* r, line 1a-2b

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

Ends: p 30 = *jhū* v, line 3b-4

iti sisatanāganahuttamahānagare paṭiṭṭhitassa agatassa
su[4]vaṇṇa suvibuddharupassa tatiyavatthu nidāna[m] ssmattaṃ. (!) [in
Northern Thai:] tuua paaḷii *Nidānaṃ Buddhassa* lāā haa

Colophons.

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

[tuua paaḷii nidaanaṃ buddhassa phuuk, ḍiiaw, haa[2] cuḷasakraaj "ḍai
1199 tuua plii möön "rau ḍiiuar, ciiān, rāām 'gaaṃ 1 meeñ wan aadiṭ
daiy "ruuañ, "hmau yaam kḥḥñ, rāāñ pariṇuṇṇa lāā "lāaw" haa |[3]
(s. line 1)

/tūa baalii nītaanā? pūthātsa? phūuk diaw cūnlāsakhàat dāj pan nḥṅ
lōj kāw sip kāw tūa pīi mēṅ lāw ḍuan cīaṅ lēem khām nḥṅ 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

[bra māhaatheera "cau ton 'jūū" kañcanaṃ araṇṇāwaasii 'suuñ, "hmeer,
peen "glau lāā sissā "cau dañ muuar, "brḥm, kan "saan nai müüañ, 'brāā
lāā aḍḍharassabhikkhu khiiar, [2] plaañ 'müüa saṭṭhit 'saamraan wat
hluañ srii jum, wan "nan lāā arahattamaggañāṇaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ
sukkhamaṃ |

/phā? mahāathēelā? cāw tōn cūu kāncanā? ?alanñāwaasīi sūuṅ mēñ pēñ
kāv lē? sitta? cāw taṅ muan phōm kāñ sāaṅ naj mēṅ phēe lēe
?atthālātsa?phīkkhu? khīan pāṅ mūa satthit sāmraan wāt lūaṅ salīi cum
wan nāñ lēe ?alāhatta?mākkāñānaṅ nīppaanaṅ palāmaṅ sukkhāṅ/

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 'Brāā. Written by Aḍḍha-Rassabhikkhu,
while staying happily in Waḍ Hluañ Srii Jum, on that very day ...

Remarks.

Judging from the Pāli colophon (cf. the end of the text), this manuscript
does not seem to be complete. The "Legend of the Buddha Image called
[Bra Buddhasihiñ]" is another work by the Monk Bodhiramsi, the author
of the *Cāmadevivaṇsa* (cf. supra, 17, 18), and was probably written
about the same time, i.e. at the beginning of the 15th c. (Cf. CÆDÈS
1925:13). A copy of the S° is included in the list of manuscripts which
were sent from Siam to Ceylon in the 18th c. (Cf. v. HINÜBER 1988c:176).
There are another two copies of this text included in the present microfilm
collection of manuscripts from Northern Thailand: see Remarks to 17, 18.
This text has not yet been edited.

25. VAṆSAMĀLINĪ

Roll 8, 209". Dc no 0243, ms no 1051. 10 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1198 = AD 1836. Text written in Laotian Dhamma Script (colophons in NT). Wat Sung Men. Amphoe Sung Men, Phrae.

Begins:

vase pi tajje pi avadinātho ñātvā hi te te pavisesato yo desesi moghavatarāya tesaṃ vandāmi nāthaṃ tam anantañānaṃ dhammañ ca saṅghaṃ sirasā 'bhivande vaṃse 'pi ñāte n[ā]ta[2]re ca ñātā (read: ñātāro ca ñātā ?) tasmā hi vaṃsāvāriyānuñātāṃ (read: vaṃsācariy^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 bhavyeṃ 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] yathiritāṃ (?). niddāne Buddhaghosassa pāṭhitatthaṃ yathārahaṃ sādhippāyaṃ pi nissāya Buddhaghosa-Niddānakaṃ vilāsakaraṇaṃ yeva navaniddān' idaṃ mayā racitaṃ ādaren' eva paripunṇaṃ va niṭṭhanti.

Colophons.

(1) "mai hlaap:

|paaḷii waṅsamaalini sip phuuk₄ bra māhaatheera "cau" ton 'jūū' kañcaṇa araññāwaasii müüaṅ₃, 'brāā' peen mulla[2]saddhaa lāā sissā daṅ muuar₃, saddhaa baay noḷk₃ mii "cau" müüaṅ₃, 'brāā lāā "cau raajja[3]woṅ müüaṅ₃, hluaṅ bra paāñ lāā saddhaa nak puñ₂ daṅ muuar₃, "brōm₃ kan "saāñ "saāñ nai müüaṅ₃ hluaṅ bra paāñ|

/baalīi waṅsa?maalīni sip phūuk .../

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] *Vaṅsamālinī* - 10 phuuk ...

NB: The following text is virtually identical with the inscriptions on the "mai hlaap of 19 and 21. For phonematic transcription and translation, see 19 (1).

(2) Front Cover Folio

|cu|saḷakraaj "ḍai 1198 tuua plii rwaay san lāā tuua paaḷii waṅsamaalini₄ phuuk₄ "ton lāā|

/cūnlāsakhāat dāj pan nēg lōj kāw sip hāa tūa pīi lwaaj sǎn lee tūa baalīi waṅsa?maalīni phuuk 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 |Taannaan 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; WICHIEENKEEO [ed.] 1981.

**26. VUTTODAYA (with a commentary) 5.7.1 Author:
Saṅgharakkhita (13th c.)**

Roll 16, 021". Dc no 0572, ms no 837a (= phuuk 13 of ms no 837). 1 phuuk, 5 lines. Complete. CS 1236 = AD 1874. Wat Chang Kham (NT /wāt cáaj kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tass' atthu. namatthujanasanānatamamassantānābhedino ...
(*Vutt* 1,3*)

Ends: p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-3

dviguṇatā ekenāta ekena akkharenañ unabhūtā vitthārāyāmasambhavo 'ti
pujulenā ca dighena ca sambhū[3]to vuttayassa bhaṭṭhapavesanto
anantonāñ ca garulaṃhunam agu bhavati. iti vuttodaye
chaṭṭhamaparichedavannaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

Colophon: p 32, line 4-5

|saḍe,ḍ "lāw" 'dau" "nii, kḥḥ, lāa cuḥsakkalaaj (written: °sakkajlaa)
"ḍai ban 2°3° 6 wan deey, möön sii, meen [wan] 3 yaam taja (?!)
sra{a}ḍe,ḍ (!) "khau maa 'suu° utugimhaa [kḥm]bhoojja khḥm, "khaa
"ḍai khiar, dhamaḍeesnaa phuuk, [5] "nii, "waiy "gaam° juu joottaka
walabuddhaḥsaasnaa (ee yaṃ !?) brā goodom "cau° taap 'ḥḥ° "ḍai 5 ban
brā wassaa khḥḥ suk, 3 prakāan mii nibbaan peen 'dii° "lāw" ḍaṇ pitṭaa
maadaa yaatikaa 'bii° "nḥḥ, 'hān rau" ['juu] gon dö *sudinnaṃ vadā me
tanaṃ āhā hanta makaññā (!)*

/sadet léew taw ní kōn lee cūnlāsakkalāat ḍāj pan sḥḥ lḥḥ sām sip hok
wan taj mḥḥ sī meḥ wan sām ñaam (...) saladet khāw maa sūu
?utu?kimhāa kāmphoocā? khḥḥm khāa ḍāj khīan thammāteesanaa phūuk
nī wāj kām cuu cootaka? walā?pūthā?śāasanaa hēḥ phā? koodom cāw
tāap tḥḥ ḍāj hāa pan phā? wātsāa khḥḥ suk sām phakāan mii nīppaan
pēn tī léew taḥ pitṭāa maadaa ñaatikāa pī nḥḥ hēḥ law [cūu] khon
tḥḥ? .../

Translation.

The end [of the book called V°] CS 1236 = AD 1874, on a day [called] |möön 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 katesi. ath' [2] ekadivassaṃ bhikkhudhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuṭṭhapesuṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 53 = *ṇi* r, line 5b – p 54 = *ṇi* v, line 1

yo rājasetṭho siviṇṇānāmo so dānīnāñño varalokanātho tumhe bhavantā[54.1] amatam paṭhentā dhāretha varavarajātakan tīti. Mahā-Siviṇṇajātakam paṭhamam niṭṭhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Cover Folio, recto side

|sīi,wijayapaṇḥaa 1 "cau" aananda peen "gau" saddhaa rañ "saan" "wai" peen muu[la]saasnaa 'būia, peen paṇḥai 'kāā saḅbaññiṇṇa- ñāṇam traap, dai lāā 'pai' "ḍai" 'yaa (!) peen gon hruu hnuuak taa pḷḷḍ, [rear side] lāā gon byaadhi sak jaaḍ "hūū" peen "phuu" droñ, traipiṭaka 'juu' jaaṭi "hūū" "ḍai" triheetukapaṭisandhipañṇaa yavanto bbhabbapuggala 'yaa' peen gon duk, "rai" kheen cai sak jaaḍ 'yaa' "hai" "ḍai" prahmaḍ bra buddh bra dhamm bra saṅgha "cau" sak jaaṭi 'ḍāā'

/sīiwīcāññāṇāṇā pāṇḥā [phūuk] nēṅ cāw ?aanantā? pēñ kāw satthaa laṅ sāṅ wāj pēñ muulāṇāsaasanaa pā pēñ phatcāj kēe sappanñūtaṇṇaṇ thalāap daj lēe pāj dāj jāa pēñ khon hūū nūak tāā bōot lēe? khon phaṇḥāt sak cāat hūū pēñ phūū thaloṅ thalājpitaka? cūu caati? hūū dāj thali? hēettukka?pati?saññhī?pāñṇāā ñāwantō phāppā?pukkālā? jāa pēñ khon tūk lāj khēñ cāj sak cāat jāa hāj dāj phamāat phā? pūt phā? tham phā? saṅkhā cāw sak caati? dēe/

Translation.

Sīiwijayapaṇḥaa - phuuk one. "Cau Aananda as leading supporter had [this manuscript] made in order to give a foundation to the Teachings of Buddha, so that it may contribute to [my] attainment of Omniscience. As long as [this] is not achieved, may I not be [reborn as] deaf, blind or as a man struck with sickness; [may I be reborn] as a man upholding the Three Baskets in each of his existences; may I be reborn with the consciousness of the Three Noble Root-Conditions (i.e. selflessness, kindness, intelligence); may I above all not be reborn as a poor man; may I not be negligent of Lord Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, in any of my future births.

(2) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 47

[kap "cau" guu dañ hlaay peen "ton" 'waa' bra mahaā swaamii "cau" ḍḍḍ, jai lāā bra mahaā swaa[mii] "cau" raajamo,ndiiian lāā hlaan mahaath[ee]n "cau" 'māā' ki 'māā' kii paansok "paan" ('hmai') 'juuay' kan "saan" "wai" peen muulasaasnaa peen paṇḥai 'kāā maggaḅhala]

/kap cāw kuu taṅ lāj pēñ tōñ wāa phā? mahāā sawāamii cāw dōon caṅ lēe? phā? mahāā sawāamii cāw laacāmontian lēe? lāan mahāathēen cāw mēe ki? mēe kii baansok bāan māj (?) cōj kān sāṅ wāj pēñ muulāṇāsaasanaa pēñ phatcāj kēe mākkāphala?/

Translation.

To all the Venerables, like Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] ḍḍḍ Jai, and Bra Swaamii "Cau [residing at Waḍ] Raajamondiiian.- 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

|sīi,wijayapaṇḥaa phuuk, 2 sakraaj 942 nai plii, ḍap "rau" lāā]

/sīiwīcāññāṇāṇā pāṇḥā phūuk sōṅ sakhāat kāw lōj sīi sip sōṅ naj pīi ḍap lāw lēe/

Translation.

Sīiwijayapaṇḥaa - phuuk two. [C] S 942 (= AD 1580), in the Year of the Cock.

(4) phuuk 1, no no., preceded by p 48

|sii,wijayapañhaa phuuk, 1 pii, dap "rau^o ðüüan, 7 qok, 11 'gaam wan 3 dai "ruuañ^o "sai" sakraaj "ðai 942 rüük 9 tuua "cau^o aananda^o peen "gau^o saddhaa nak jö^o,n, paanso^k paansikaa dan hlaay peen "ton 'waa ratana "paan^o yaam "nii^o]

/süiwicajñã?pãnhãa phũuk nẽŋ pĩ dap lãw ðuan cet ?ðok sip ?et khãm wan sãam taj lúan sãj sakhãt ðãj kãw lóçj sii sip sçõŋ lũuk kãw tũa cãw ?aanantã? pẽn kãw satthaa nãk cœn baansok baansikãa taŋ lãaj pẽn tøn wãa lãttanã? bãan ñaam ní/

Translation.

Siiwijaiyapañhaa - phuuk 1; Year of the Cock, in the 7th [lunar] month, on the 11th day of the waxing moon, [corresponding to] the third day [of the Mon tradition, called] ["ruuañ "sai] [in the Dai tradition], in [C] S 942, at *fkça* 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 ārabba kathesi. ath' ekadivassaṃ bhikkhuddhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuṭṭha[2]pesuṃ ...

Ends: phuuk 7, p 52 = *bhā* v, line 4c – p 53, line 1 (upside down; preceded by p 51)

so nāma nāgo varapāli[5]leyyo sabbe sivrājajanā ca sebhāparissabhūtā tathāgatassa yo rājasetṭho siviḷayanāmo so dānināñño varavarajātakaṃ tī[53.1]ti. Mahā-Sivijayajātakaṃ paṭhamam nitṭhitam.

Colophons.

(1) Front Cover Folio, recto side

|"hnaa rap "glau sii,wijeeyapañhaa phuuk, "ton lãä|
/nãa lãp kãw süiwicajñã?pãnhãa phũuk tøn lee/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio - Siiwijeeyapañhaa (*Sivijayapañha*), first phuuk.

(2) phuuk 1, p 37 = *khe* r, line 3

|paali^o sii,wijeeyapañhaa phuuk, "ton lãä "khaa "tãam plii kaḍ "gai^o ðüüar, 10 duṭiya rãam 11 'gaam 'braam 'waa "ðai wan 2 sraḍe^h "lãäw^o yaam trãä 'gaam sakraaj "ðai 1201 (?) tuua lãä iminã sabbavattudānena sabbaparivāre dānekatapuññe a[4]nāgatakāre arahantā rabheyyaṃ ariyaḥ metteyyasantike ehi bhikkhupaccayabhavāyaṃ paccayo hotu saṃsāle saṃsārato 'pi tikhapaññā visāradā surūpattā bhyāgyaḥ vaṇṇā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahābbalā mahāsattaratanasa samlanān bha[38.1]vā majāṭiloratthi sattasahasu mā daridā bhavāmi 'haṃ 'ðan^o "nii "duuay^o teejã kusla naa pun^o an "khaa "ðai "tãam "ðai khiiar^o, yañ paali^o sii,wijeeyapañhaa "nii^o khõç 'cu^o,ñ "hüü uḍom somriddhi^o ðañ^o gaam praathnaa 'hãñ^o tuua "khaa ju yüüa^o,ñ ju praakaan 'ðãä^o dö|

/baalii süiwicajñã?pãnhãa phũuk tøn lee khãa tẽem pĩ kat kãj ðuan sip tũtiñã? leem sip ?et khãm phãm wãa ðãj wan sçõŋ saladet léew ñaam thalẽe khãm sakhãt ðãj pan sçõŋ lóçj ?et tũa lee ?imĩ?naa phãwaamĩ? hãŋ ðãŋ ní dõj tẽecã? kutsala? naa bun ?an khãa ðãj tẽem ðãj khĩan ñaŋ baalii süiwicajñã?pãnhãa ní khõç cùŋ hũu ?udom sõmlĩtthii ðãŋ kam phãathanaa hẽŋ tũa khãa cũ? ñũaŋ cũ? phakãan ðeè tẽ?/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of] Siiwijeeyapañhaa - 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' dūūar₃ 11 ḡḡk₄ 2 'gaam° 'braam° 'waa° "ḍai wan 2 yaam trää baad (?) sakraaj "ḍai 1201 (?) tuua sraḍe₂jh "lääw° lää 'gḡḡy° biccarānaa (!) duu dö [4] "duuay teeja kusla 'suuar₂ puḡ₂ an "khaa "ḍai "tāām° yañ paajii s° "nii° khḡḡ "hüü "khaa mii pryaa paññaa an sliiaw₃ slaad wiseet sak swaad aad "ruu yañ 8 'hmüür₃ 4 ban khan "cau° ju duuan₄ dhamm 'guu° bhawā jaaḍ traap 'ḡḡḡ° "dau₂ "khau° 'suu neerabbaan "duuay "miar₃ soḡsaan siia "hüü khḡḡaad 'diiāñ₃ "dää° ḍii hlii dö]

/s... phüuk sḡḡḡ khāa tēem pii kat káj duan sip ?et ?ḍok sḡḡḡ khām phām wāa dāj wan sḡḡḡ ñaam thalēe pāt sakhāt dāj pan sḡḡḡ lḡḡḡ ?et tūa saladet léew lee kḡḡ pitcalanaa duu tē? dḡḡ tēecā? kutsala? sūan bun?an khāa dāj tēem ñaḡ baalii s... ní khḡḡ hūū khāa mii phāññāa pāññāa ?an salīaw salāt wīsēt sak swāt ?āt lūu ñaḡ pēt mūn sīi pan khāñ cāw cū? duaḡ tham kūu phāwā? cāt thalāap tḡḡ tāv khāw sūu neelāppaan dḡḡ mīan sḡḡsāan sīa hūū khāt ñaḡ 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 pāt/; 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

[sḡḡe₃c "lääw° dūūa₃n 10 rääm 15 'gaam° dūūa₃n ḍap wan 7 lää "khaa khḡḡ an suk₄ 3 prakāan mii neerabbaan peen yḡḡḡḡ "ḍää° dö dhā "nii₄ hḡḡy lää]

/sadet léew duan sip leem sip hāa khām duan dap wan cet lee khāa khḡḡ ?an suk sām phakāan mii neelāppaan pēn ñḡḡt dēe tē? thā? ní hḡḡj lēe/

Translation.

Accomplished in the tenth [lunar] month, on the 15th day of the waning moon, on the seventh day [in the Mon tradition]. May I [by virtue of the merit acquired] just ask for the Three Kinds of Happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal!

(5) phuuk 4, Cover Folio, no no., preceding p 1

[paajii s° phuuk₄ "thuar₃ 'thii° 4 lää 'nōö° naay hḡḡy "hnaa rap "glau° paarii sii₄wijaiyyapañhaa phuuk₄ "thuar₃ 4 "khaa "ḍai khiiar₃ dhamm phuuk₄ "nii "khaa khḡḡ an suk 3 prakāan mii nibbaan peen yḡḡḡḡ 'ḍää° dö 'nōö° naay[2] naay "hwai° dañ hlaay hḡḡy]

/baalii sīiwīcajñā?pañhāa phüuk thūan thīi sīi lee naaj hḡḡj nāa lāp kāv baalii sīiwīcajñā?pañhāa phüuk thūan sīi khāa dāj khīan tham phüuk ní khāa khḡḡ ?an suk sām phakāan mii nīppaan pēn ñḡḡt dēe tē? nḡḡ naaj naaj wāj taḡ lāj hḡḡj/

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*)

[paa]ii sii₄wijeeyyaṇṇhaa phuuk₄ 4 lāā 'nöö° naay hööy "hnaa' rap plaay paa]ii s° lāā 'nöö° naay 'dii "hwai ton dai liiap leñ 'gö° 'göy" biccarānaa "hüü° 'thii° dö "khaa 'pö° 'kwäär₃ hlaay lāā|

/baalii sīwīcajñāṇṇhāa phūuk sīi leē nēa naaj hōj nāa lāp pāaj baalii s... leē nēa naaj tīi wāj tōn daj dāj liap leṅ kō kōj pīcalanaa hūu thīi tō? khāa bō kwèn lāaj leē/

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

paa]ii lö₃k rāap "luar₃ peen 'klaa° kōr₃ gaṇṇ guuar₃ tuua aḍ qōk₄ bōq "huuar₃ "huuar₃ tok 'dii° dai" 'pö° "cāān "waiy yaiyadhamm lāā naay h₂öy|

'yaa° luar₃ dan 'bōq° waad "waiy haa yaak nak lāā 'cim° "cau ton traḍ

/baalii lōk lēp lúan	
pēn kaa kōon kam kuan	jāa luan tan pōo
tūa ?at ?ōok pōo hūan hūan	wāat wāj
tok tīi daj bō cēṅ wāj	hāa nīāk nāk leē
nājñātham leē naaj hōj/	cim cāw tōn thalat

Translation.

Pāli words are deep and subtle, do not pass them over fast, composed they are as poetry which deserves to be engraved for ever. Elusive is their meaning and often difficult to grasp; if words are dropped, no hint is given — only Enlightened Ones will know.

Dhammas they present which should be known.

(8) phuuk 5, p 43

naarada cak ₄ ri rañ "thōy°	snuk ₃ cai kōr ₃ lāā
'yuu° waty ₂ waad srii paan pai	kōōt "han°
naa "iiañ° "kāaw° raad lūu jaiy	lūu raad mii ₄ lāā
khīar ₃ lāā 'nöö° naay 'dii "hwai	bra 'mōr ₃ 'yaa° grniñ

/naalātā? cak lī? laṅ thōj	sanuk cāj kōon leē
jūu wāt wāat salīi baan baj	kōat hān
naa ?īaṅ kēew lāt lūu caj	lūu lāt mii leē
khīan leē nēa naaj tīi wāj	phā? mōn jāa khanij/

Translation.

Naarada [-Bhikkhu] will tell you some heart-warming words, while staying at Waḍ Srii Paan Pai, in the village of his birth, in a splendid place well-known by all, called Naa "Iiañ; it's there that these words were written, respected reader — do not doubt!

(9) phuuk 5, p 44

|S° phuuk₄ 5 [2] cuḷasakkaraaj "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai sraḍe₃jh
 "lääw° yaam tuuḍ₃ "jaay meen wan 2 daiy möön "rau° "khau nai
 wassa[a]na güü 'waa° ḍüüa₄n 11 ḡḡk₄ 2 'gaam "lääw° 'kaa° "khaa' lāā
 nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkaṃ 'cuñ" cak₄ mii 'diiāñ" "dāā° ḍii-hlii dö₅|

/s... phùuk hãa cūnlāsakhàat ḍāj pan lóḡj saaw ?et túa pñi kat káj
 saladet léew ñaam tūt cáaj meḡ wan sḡḡḡ taj mæḡ lāv khãw naj
 wātsānāñ? kuu wāa ḍuan sip ?et ?ḍok sḡḡḡ khām léew kēe khãa lee
 nīppaanāṃ palāmaṃ sukkaḥḡ cūḡ cak mii tīaḡ tée dii līi tē?/

Translation.

S°, phuuk 5. CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant. Accomplished at the time of
 the afternoon horn, on the 2nd day [according to the] Mon [tradition,
 called] |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

|vanakaṇḍam nitthitaṃ [5] cuḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ
 "glai° ḍüüar₃ 10 duṭiya daiy kaap se₃tth meen wan 2 "khaa khiiar₃
 "lääw° ḍüüar₃ 10 duṭiya ḡḡk₄ 9 'gaam 'braam° "ḍai wan sḡḡñ risnaa
 khiiar₃ "lääw° yaam wan 'diiāñ₃ sudinnaṃ vata me dānaṃ dhammajināti|

/... cūnlāsakkalaacāñ? ḍāj pan lóḡj saaw ?et túa pñi kat káj ḍuan sip
 tūtiññāñ? taj kàap set meḡ wan sḡḡḡ khãa khīan léew ḍuan sip tūtiññāñ?
 ?ḍok kãw khām phām wāa wan sḡḡḡ lītsanāa khīan léew ñaam wan
 tīaḡ.../

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)

|cuḷasakkaraaja "ḍai 1121 tuua plii kaḍ "glai° ḍüüar₃ sraawaṇa daiy"[3]
 'tau sii₃ meen wan 6 "khaa risnaa khiiar₃ "lääw°[4] khīiar₃ "waiy
 "gaam' juu buddha₃saassnaa (written °buddha₃ssnaa) traap 'ṭṭṭ° an aayu
 laan peen praḍhaar 'ciñṃ(!) 'ḍāā|

/... (s. above) ... ḍuan salaawan taj tàw sñi meḡ wan hok khãa khīan
 léew ñaam wan tīaḡ khãa lītsanāa khīan léew khīan wáj kám cuu
 pūthāñ?sāasanaa thalāap tḡḡ ?an ?aaññ? laan pēn phathan cūḡ dēe/

Translation.

CS 1121 - Year of the Elephant, in the month |sraawaṇa|*, [on a day
 called] |'tau sii| [in the] Dai [tradition], [corresponding to] the sixth day
 [in the] Mon [tradition]. I completed my writing at noon time. I have now
 completed my writing. I wrote this in order to support Buddha's Teachings
 for as long as the palm-leaves may endure.

* < Skt *śrāvaṇa*

NB: for the last sentence, cf. no. 15 (6), above!

(12) ibid., on left margin

|"khaa "ḍai khiiar₄ dhamm₂ "nii₄ khḡḡ "hüü peen uppanisai praaiy
 "gaam juu' ton[4] tuua 'hāññ "khaa' traap 'ṭṭṭ° "dau' thöön nibbaan dö|

/khãa ḍāj khīan tham nīi khḡḡ hūu pēn ?uppanisāj phatcāj kám cuu tōñ
 túa hēḡ khãa thalāap tḡḡ 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 cáḅ kám/). Amphoe Muang, Nan.

Begins:

namo tassa. karuṇā vissasatte sapaññāyassa mahesino ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavittitha yathā ruci|la|tassa pāde namassivā 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.)

|paali paramatthavibhuṣanī (*Paramatthavibhūsanī*) phuuk₄ "ton dañ muuar₃ mii 12 phuuk₂ |lää "hnaa dhap "glau tuua paali p° phuuk₂ "ton |lää phuuk₃ "ton waḍ huua faay" rikkhitta "gaṃ juu mahaajiiwiḍ |lää-naa|

(on left margin:) |p° phuuk₄ "ton akkhara "tañ [k]a ṛoḍ₃ khā |

/baalii p ... phūuk tōn taṅ muan mii sip sōḅ phūuk lee nāa thāp káw tūa baalii p ... phūuk tōn lee phūuk tōn wāt hūa fāaj līkkhitta? kám cuu mahāaciiwīt lee naa/

(on left margin:) /p... phūuk tōn ?akkhala? tāṅ ka? lōḅ khāa/

Translation.

[The] Pāli [text of the] P°, first phuuk. Altogether there are 12 phuuk.- Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of P°, first phuuk.- The first phuuk was written by [a monk or a novice from] Waḍ Huua Faay in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] the "Lord of Life".*

* This and other similar mentions in the colophons of **29** and **30** refer to Anantaworariththidet who ruled over Nan from AD 1855 to 1893. (For more details, see Remarks to **30**, below).

(On left margin:) P°, first phuuk; from akṣara ka to akṣara khā

(2) phuuk 2, p 38 = kra (!) v, line 1b-3a

|paripuṇṇa "läaw° yaam koṇ₃ lään (?) |lää tuua "khaa 'jüü° (written: ji) hnaa" abhijai" hnii ruk₂ müüa₃ñ 'bää maa 'yuu kap gruu p{r}aa "cau waṣ "paan "kääm° waṣ "paan ṇoḅk₄ "gaṃ juu gruu p{r}aa "cau "waiy "gaṃ juu' saasnaa (written: snaa) 5 ban bhā waṣ[s]aa 'klää "khaa |lää dhāmm somḍe₃jh brā "cau jii₄wiṣ |lää[3] ḍii-hlii dö|

/palīpunnā? léew ñaam kṣōṅ leṅ(?) leē tūa khāa cāw nāan ?apphīcaj nīi
lūk mhaṅ 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 leē tham sōmdet phā cāw ciwīt leē dii lī tē?/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the sunset drum. My name is Hnaan
Abhijaiy. I came over from Müüañ 'Bāa to stay with the Venerable Gruu
Paa "Cau at Waḍ "Paan "Kāām, a rural monastery, wishing to help the
Venerable Gruu Paa "Cau supporting [Buddha's] Teachings throughout
five thousand years.- A Dhamma manuscript made with the support of
His Majesty the Lord of Life.

(3) phuuk 7, p 39, line 2

[cu]abaddasakkaraaja(!) "ḍai 1223 tuua plii "ruaṅ" "rau" diiuar, 4
huulaa oḍk, 12 'gaam meen [wan] 4 daiy kaṣ "gaiy yaam lāan rū, kt, 2 [?]
paripuṇṇa "lāaw" yaam "nan lāā [2] |pa| dhammajñāsuttinaṃ vatta me
dinam nibbānam paramam sukkaṃ nicaṃ dhuvam dhuvam paan(!)
'müüa, 'yuu saṭṭhi[ṭ] saamlaan waḍ loḍñ müüa, n buua wan "nan lāā
saadhu "cau jeeyyaseen lāā|

/cūnlāpāttā?sakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sṣōṅ lóṅ saaw sām tūa pīi lúṅ lāv
ḍuan sīi hūulaa ?ḍok sip sṣōṅ khām meṅ [wan] sīi taj kat káj ñaam
leṅ lēuk [?] palīpunnā? léew ñaam nán leē ... pāṅ mēa jūu satthit
sāmlaan wāt loṅ mhaṅ pua wan nán leē sāthū? cāw cajñāsēen leē/

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 *fkṣa* [?], accomplished in this very moment. [Written] while I
stayed happily at Waḍ Loḍñ, Müüañ Buua, on that very day. [Written by]

the Venerable Jeeyyaseen.*

* (Pāli Name: *Jayasena*).

(4) phuuk 8, p 32 = 16 v, line 2b-4c

[paripuṇṇa "lāaw" {yaam} yaam thāa [?] 'kāa" "khaa lāā cu]asakkaraaja
"ḍai 1223 tuua plii kaḍ "rau 'kāa" "khaa lāā kattiyos(!) bhikkhu "ḍai
khiar, dhāmm phuuk, "nii" "waiy "hūū" peen praḥai bai "hnaa[3] güü
müüa "faa" lāā nibbaan 'kāa" "khaa "dāā ḍii-hlii lāā "khaa khiar,
"gaam" juu yaṅ "cau mahaajiiwiḍ lāā "khaa khiar, "saan' müüa, 'yuu
meetāa sa[d]dhaa "paan "kāām wiiañ, buua waḍ peensakaḍ wan "nan
lāā na sobhati 'gḍ'-'pḍ' duu ñaam hñai lāā du "cau braṅ naay ton ḍai
'aan' 'gḍ' 'gḍḍ' biccā[4]raṅaa duu 'thii' dō, bḍḍ 'yaa' ti, tuua "khaa 'ḍāā"
dō, "khaa 'pḍ' 'jaan' "tāām" 'pḍ' peen "mai peen tuua hñai lāā du "paan
nḍḍk, man 'pḍ' 'jaan' lāā arahantāmagāññam nicaṃ dhuvam dhuvam
"dāā ḍii-hlii lāā dhāmm "cau mahaajiiwiḍ lāā 'nōō, naay 'dii' "hwai|

/palīpunnā? léew ñaam thēe [?] kēe khāa leē cūnlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan
sṣōṅ lóṅ saaw sām tūa pīi kat lāv kēe khāa leē kattiyōñōt phikkhu? ḍāj
khān tham phūuk nīi wáj hūū pēn phatcāj paj nāa[3] kḥu mua fāa lē?
nīppaan kēe khāa tēe dii lī khāa khān kám juu ñaṅ cāw mahāciwīt
leē khāa khān sāṅ mēa jūu mēettāa satthāa bāan kēem wiaṅ pua wāt
beṅsakat wan nán leē nā? sōophāti? kō bō duu ṅaam nāj leē tū? cāw
phā? naaj tōn ḍaj ?āan kō kōj pītcalanaa duu thii tē? pḍḍ jāa ti? tūa khāa
dēe tē? khāa bō cāṅ tēem bō pēn māj pēn tūa nāj leē tū? bāan nōok man
bō cāṅ leē ?alāhāntāa mākkāñāanaṅ nītcāṅ thūwaṅ thūwaṅ tēe dii lī leē
tham cāw mahāciwīt leē nēḍ naaj tūi wāj/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the [forenoon?] horn. CS 1223 - Year of the
Cock. Kattiyos-Bhikkhu* wrote this phuuk as a contribution to future
results, i.e. my ascension to the heavenly worlds, and Nibbāna; oh, may
this wish come true! I wrote this in support of [the meritorious efforts
pursued by] His Majesty the Lord of Life. I did the writing while I stayed,
spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community of [the village

called] "Paan "Kääm, in Wiiañ Buaa, at Wađ Peensakađ, 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

[srađe_jh "lääw° yaam 7 'kää "khaa güü 'waa° yaam 'diiän, wan jriñ ciñ (!) "đuuay teeja naa pur₃ an "khaa "đai[4] khiiar₃ dhamm phuuk₄ "nii₄ khöq "hüü" "đai thoñ wiiañ₄ "kääw yqđ₃ neerabbaan an 'pö° "ruu° "thau 'pö° "ruu° taay sak 'düüa₃ "däǟ dii-hlii präkaan 1 khqđ "hüü" mii pryaa pññaa "ruu° hlwak₃ swak swađ ađ "ruu° "kää peessnaa paṇhaa an" yaak läǟ ađ[45.1] "hüü" "ruu° dhamm brā buddha "cau 8 'hmüür₃ 4 ban khan "nan° 'cuñ₃ cak₄ mii 'diiän° "däǟ dii-hlii 'däǟ dö₃[2] cuḷasakkāraaja "đai 1223 tuua plii "ruuañ₃ "rau peen pii₃ yaacaadhi[kā]mađ meeñ wan 4 dai pöök "caiy dññaa₃n 9 duṭṭiya {'pö°?} hon öqk₄ 'gaam 1 boodhisammaneeñ likkhitta läǟ 'müüa₃ 'yu meettaa saddhaa[3] guu paa rii(ñ) müüa₃n gwaañ wan "nan "kii(!) läǟ khiiar₃ "gaam juu "cau māhaajiiwiđ ton sa-hwöy müüa₃n nandapurii, nagqöř, ton "thuar₃ 5 läǟ "cau höy]

/saladet léew ñaam cet kèe khāa kuu wā ñaam tīaŋ wan caliŋ cīŋ dōj tēcā? naa bun ?an khāa đāj khīan tham phūuk ní khō̄ hū̄ đāj thōŋ wiaŋ kēew ñō̄t neelāppaan ?an bō lūu thāw bō lūu tāj sak tēa tēe dii lī phakaan nūŋ khō̄ hū̄ mii phññāa pññāa lūu lwak swak swāat ?aat lūu kēe petsanaā pñhāa ?an ñāak lē? ?aat[45.1] hū̄ lūu tham phā? pūthā cāw pēt mū̄n si pan khān nán cūŋ cak mii tīaŋ tēe dii lī dē tō[2] cūnlāsakkalaacā? đāj pan sō̄ŋ lō̄ŋ saaw sām tūa pī lūaŋ lāw pēn pī ñaacāathi[kā]māat meŋ wan si taj pəək cāj duan kāw tū̄tiñā? {bō?}

hōon ʔəək khām nūŋ poothi?śammāneen likkhitta? lēe mēa jū̄ mēettāa sathaa[3] khuu baa liaŋ (?) muaŋ khwaŋ wan nán kīi (?) lēe khīan kām cuu cāw mahāaciiwīt tōn sawəj muaŋ nantā?puli nākoon tōn thūan hāa lēe cāw həj/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the 7th watch, that is, at noon, exactly.* May I, by virtue of the merit acquired by writing this manuscript, reach the splendid City of Nibbāna, the peak [of Happiness] where age and death are unknown for ever. Furthermore, I should like [in my future lives] to be bestowed with intelligence, wisdom, and acuteness of mind so that I may know how to solve riddles and answer difficult questions, and will be able to know all the 84,000 khandhas of Lord Buddha's Teachings - oh, may this wish come true! [2] CS 1223 - Year of the Cock, which happens to be a year with a supplementary month, on the 4th day [according to the] Mon [tradition, called] [pöök "cai| [in the] Dai [tradition], in the 9th [lunar] month — the second one** — on the 1st day of the waxing moon. - Written by Boodhi-Sammaṇeeñ (*Bodhi-Sāmaṇera*), while he stayed, spreading Loving-Kindness among the lay community, with the Venerable Gruu Paa Riiañ (?) in Müüañ Gwaañ, on that very day.- Written in support of [the meritorious efforts pursued by] His Majesty the Fifth Lord of Life*** who reigns over Müüañ Nandapurii!

* Counting from 6 a.m. (as is done also in Laos), one would have expected the 4th, not the 7th 'watch' (|yaam|) to be mentioned as equivalent with noon time. Cf. PHETSARAT 1959:99.

** P *adhikamāsa* ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 102.

*** See Remarks to 30, below.

(6) phuuk 12, p 22, line 3a-c

[sakkābdā "đai 1223 tuua plii, "ruuañ, "rau dññaa₃n 11 hoora qđk₄ 4 (?) 'gaam meeñ wan 1 daiy koř san yaam wan 'diiän, pariṇaṇṇa läā̄]

/sakkaptā? dāḅ pan sōḅḅ lōḅḅ saaw sāam tūa pīi lúḅḅ lāw dūan sip ?et
hōolaa ?ḅḅk sīi (?) khām meḅ wan nýḅḅ taj kot sǎn ñāam wan tīaḅ
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] [koḅ 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 cáḅḅ 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' idaḅḅ vihitam kim attham vihitanti ...

Ends: phuuk 12, p 23, line 2b-3c

ime dhammā nivarāḅ avippayuttā nideso dissati 'ti [3] katvā
orambhāḅgiyuddhamhāḅgiyabhāvena (!) samagahitā ricchanā
orambhā(giyuddhā)nivarāḅ gocchakam (!)

Colophons.

(1) phuuk 2, p 34 = 17 v, line 4b-5

|srāḅḅḅḅ |lāw° wan 7 yaam {t}thāa cak "klai 'diian° na sobhati 'gḅ°-'pḅ°
ñāam lāa 'gḅḅḅ" yāān° bai ṭāam 'yūüa,ñ° dhāmm, dö tuua 'gḅ°-'pḅ° smōö
kan [5] kusla "khaa "ḅai "ṭāam dhāmm phuuk, "nii° khḅḅ "hūü° mii phla
ḅnisoñ(!) maak, hlaay "ḅāā dö "ṭāam 'mūüa,ḅḅ ḅüün {'mūüa,ḅḅ wan}

'phḅḅ° 'pḅḅ° [han] sak gaay heeṭu 'waa con "ḅuay dhamm, (!) naa lāa
"ṭāam 'mūüa,ḅḅ wan 'pḅḅ° "ḅai lāa 'dii° "hwai hōöy°|

/saladet léew wan cet ñāam thēe cak kāḅ tīaḅ nā? sōophāti? kōḅ bō ḅaam
lee kōḅ ñēeḅ paj tāam ñūaḅḅ tham tō? tūa kōḅ bō samōö kǎn [5] kutsala?
khāa dāḅ tēem tham phūuk nīi khōö hūü mii phala? ?aanīsōḅḅ māak lāaḅ
tēe tō? tēem mūa khūun phōö bō [hǎn] sak kaaj hēt wāa cōn dōḅḅ tham
naa lee tēem mūa wan bō dāḅ lee tūi wāḅ hōöḅ/

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

|paripuṅḅḅḅ "lāw° yaam kḅḅḅ, ñāay[36.1] (not readable on the
microfilm)[2] lāa bhari,yaa raajapuṭṭaaputtii "cau_{io} ju ton 'yuu paḅanta
'pḅḅ°
'jaañ° "ṭāam tuua paalīi (...)|

/palīpūnnā? léew ñāam kōḅḅ ḅaaj (...) lē? phālīñāa laacāputtāaputtii cāw
cū? tōn jūu paḅanta? bō cáḅḅ tēem tūa baalīi (...)/

Translation.

Completed at the time of the morning drum (...) [2] and [by his] spouse,
as well as his Royal sons and daughters. - Living out in the countryside, I
lack the skill of writing.- The Pāli text [of the P°?] ...

(3) phuuk 7, p 38, line 5b

[cu]ṣakka^{ra}ja "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai "ḍai (...) 'jūū°-'waa°
paramatthawī²bhuu⁴sanii² jootakā kap somḍe³jh {kap} "cau
maḥaajiiwiḍ blōḡ 'cuñ° peen phlā ḍii-hlii nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ]

/cūñlāsakkalaacā? ḍāj pan sōḡ lōḡ sāam sip ?et tūa pī kat sāj ḍāj (...)
cū wā palāmāttha?wīphuusanii cootaka? kap sōmdet mahāaciiwīt pōḡ
cūḡ pēn phala? dii līi nīcāḡ thūwaḡ thūwaḡ/

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

[srāḍe³jh "lāw° yaam thāā cak⁴ "klai° 'dīiañ° pīiañ⁴ (?) kin 'dōḡñ³-'dīiañ³
'kāā "khaa "nōḡy "tāām mā giūūn bai nak lāā biccaṃṇāa au dō tuua
"hyḡḡ teem dhii sakhaaḍ "ḍai [2] 1230(!) tuua plii (kaḍ) "sai° ḍūūar³
10 ḡḡk⁴ 12 'gaam 'braam° 'waa "ḍai wan 2 'kāā "khaa hnaar indasḡḡr³
"tāām tuua 'pḡ° smōḡ kan siia "lāw° "tāām "gaam juu som(baan) "cau⁶
maḥaajiiwiḍ 'daan° "hūū° "kāā' 'gaa müü "tāām "pii³ 1 jalāā]

/saladet léew ñaam thēe cak kāj tīaḡ piḡḡ (?) kīn tōḡ tīaḡ kēe khāa nōḡ
tēem mā khūūn paj nāk lee pītcalanaa ?aw tō? tūa ñōḡ tēm thii sakhaat
ḍāj [2] pan sōḡ lōḡ sāam sip tūa pī kat sāj ḍuan sip ?ḍok sip
sōḡ khām phām wā ḍāj wan sōḡ kēe khāa lee nāan ?intā? sōḡn tēem
tūa bō samāḡ kān sīa léew tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāw mahāaciiwīt
tāan hūū kēe kāa mūū tēem bīi nūḡ calee/

Translation.

Accomplished at the time of the forenoon horn, right in time for lunch. A
lot was written at night-time; so make use of your own consideration! The
characters are badly contracted.- CS 1230 (!) Year of the Snake, in the
10th [lunar] month, on the 12th day of the waxing moon, corresponding
to the 2nd day [of the Mon tradition]. Written by Hnaan Indasḡḡr. 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

[paripuṇ[ḡ]ā "lāw° yaam kōḡñ³ ṇaay "khaa "nōḡy° lāā naama
'jūū°-'waa° bhyaa maṅgla³silaa "hnōḡ² "ḍai "tāām "gaam juu sombaan
somḍe³jh "cau° maḥaajiiwiḍ 'daan° "ḍai "kāā' 'gaa° müü "tāām "pii³ 1
[34.1] iminā dhammarikkhattadānaṃ attano yatthā bhava jāto ca
mātāpitā sambandha sahayati kuru uppaṣāyā ca ti ehi bhikkhu vasaṃ
padaṃ antamano ca(..)tta sassane ariyametteyyasantike ānāgate k[ā]le
attabhava[2] kāyajivhā sotāgandhanā saddhā rammā piyāmanusassadda
manoramā vatthā jāta rū[pa] suvaṇṇaherañña bahu honti pacupanā
anāgate pacupanne attāyanaṃ mayaṃ evaṃ nicaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ
'kāā[3] me 'hāāñ "khaa dō]

/palīpūññā? léew ñaam kōḡḡ ḡaaj khāa nōḡ lee naamā? cū wā phaṇāa
maṅkālā?silaa nōḡ ḍāj tēem kām cuu sōmpaan sōmdet cāw mahāaciiwīt
tāan ḍāj kēe kāa mūū tēem bīi nūḡ kēe mee hēḡ 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 paalīi paramatthawībhuusanii phuuk⁴ 11 lāā sāan

raajjasompaṣ müüaṅ, hriṅ 'haaṅ' 'ḍaar "ṭai"(!) khiiar₃[2] braṅ nagḡḡḡ₃
müüaṅ, 'naan ṭāḍ "cau hōöy|

/nāa tāp kāv baalii palāmāttha?wīphusanii phūuk sip ?et sēen
lāatcāsōmbat mwaṅ hīn haṅ ḍaan tāj khīan phā? nākḡḡḡḡ mwaṅ nāan lee
cāv hōḡj/

Translation.

Front Cover Folio of the Pāli text of the P°, phuuk 11. Written by Sään
Raajjasompat, [living in] Müüaṅ Hin 'Haaṅ, to the South of Müüaṅ
'Naan, my dear!

(7) phuuk 11, p 38, line 4b-5

|cuṭṭasakka "ḍai 1231 tuua plii kaḍ "sai ḍüüar₃ 12 "khün 14 'gaam
'braam' 'waa' "ḍai wan 1 "khaa "ḍai "ṭāām[5] dhāmm phuuk₃ "nii'
'gaam hnur₃ sombaar "cau₂ māhaajiiwiṣ nagḡḡḡ₃ müüaṅ, 'naan' wan
'nan ṭāḍ 'ḍaan' "ḍai "klāā 'gaa klaamḍe₃ṣ müü "pii₃ 1 ṭāḍ sään raajjasompat
khiiar, ṭāḍ|

/cūnlāsakka? ḍāj pan sōṅ lōṅ sāam sip ?et tūa pīi kat sāj ḍuan sip sōṅ
khūn sip sīi khām phām wāa ḍāj wan nūṅ khāa ḍāj tēem[5] tham
phūuk nīi kām nūn sōmpaan cāv mahāaciiwīt nākḡḡḡḡ mwaṅ nāan wan
nān lee tāan ḍāj kēe kāa kāmdeṭ muu būi nūṅ lee sēen lāatcāsōmbat
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 Müüaṅ '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 "ṭāām "gaam juu sombaar[4] "cau māhaajiiwiṣ müüaṅ,
nandapulii braṅ nagḡḡḡ₃ müüaṅ, "hnaan(!) ṭāḍ "cau' naay hōöy "khaa
'nḡḡy 'yuu' "paan (...)| [not readable on the microfilm].

/sēen lāttanā? tēem kām cuu sōmpaan cāv mahāaciiwīt mwaṅ nantāpulii
phā? nākḡḡḡḡ mwaṅ nāan lee cāv naaj hōḡj khāa nōṅ jūu bāan (...)

Translation.

Written by Sään Rattana in support of the merit [accumulated by] His
Majesty the Lord of Life of Müüaṅ Nandapurii Bra Nagḡḡḡ 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 'Brāa, by whose successful
efforts he may have been inspired. The "Nan Chronicle", a history of Nan
up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn in an English translation, is
published in: WYATT [ED.] (1966). The *Paramatthavibhūsanī* is another

text which had been previously unheard of; there is no mention of such a work in Pāli and Buddhist studies up to the present.

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B. Repositories of the Manuscripts (1974)

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C. Texts and Authors

(No. in this article, date)

- ABHIDHAMMA-GULHAṬṬHA-DĪPANĪ 10 (n.d.; 16th c.?)
Aggavaṃsa, s. SADDANĪTI
Ariyavaṃsa, s. MAṆIPADĪPA
Bodhirāṃsi, s. BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA ; CĀMADEVIVAṆSA
BUDDHASIHIṄGA-NIDĀNA 24 (AD 1837)
CAKKAVĀLADĪPANĪ 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: Mahosathajāta 03 (n.d.; 16/17th c.?)
JĀTAKA: Paṇṇāsanipāta 05 (AD 1550)
JĀTAKA: Sattatinipāta 07 (AD 1550)
JĀTAKA: Tīnsanipāta 06 (AD 1514)
JĀTAKA: Vessantaradīpanī 19 (AD 1836)
JĀTAKA: Vessantarajāta-Aṭṭhakathā 14 (AD 1578)
JĀTAKA: Vessantarajāta-Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭīkā 13 (AD 1578)
LOKADĪPA (LOKADĪPAKASĀRA) 20 (1581); 21 (AD 1836)

- LOKASANṬHĀNA 22 (AD 1836)
MAHĀ-SIVIJAYAJĀTAKA, s. SIVIJAYAPAÑHA
MAṆIPADĪPA 23 (AD 1833)
MILINDAPAÑHA 04 (AD 1495)
Nava-Medhamkara, s. LOKADĪPA
PARAMAṬṬHAVIBHŪSANĪ 29 (AD 1861); 30 (AD 1869)
PAṬṬHĀNA-MAHĀPAKARAṆA-AṬṬHAKATHĀ 09 (AD 1550)
SADDANĪTI 12 (AD 1591)
SAMṬUTTANIKĀYA: 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: Vessantarajāta-
Aṭṭhavaṇṇanā-ṭīkā
VAṆSAMĀLINĪ 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
Anantaworarithidet (Ruler of Nan), s. "Cau Anantaworarithiddeej
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 [Waḍ] Ḍoḍḍ Jai [spp] 27 (AD 1580) (2)
phuuk 1
Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Waḍ] Raajamondiiian [spp] 27 (AD 1580)
(2) phuuk 1
Bra Mahaatheera "Cau Kañcana Araññawaasii [spp], s. Kañcana ...

- Buaa Gaam 'Taan Müüan, Mahaa-Upaasaka [spp, don] **06** (AD 1514)
Front and Back Cover Folio
- Candamoolii Srii Saddhammakitti, s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau ...
Candamuulii ... s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau ...
"Cau Anantawarariddhiideej (Ruler of Müüan 'Naan; r. 1853-93)
16 (AD 1869) (2) phuuk 2: Mahaaraaj; (7) phuuk 9
Mahaaraaja Müüan '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 Liap Sään {Gaam} Daa, s. {Gaam} Daa, Sään ...
"Cau Mahaayassaraajaa (Ruler of Müüan 'Naan; 1825-35)
15 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap, 23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap:
Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüan 'Naan; (2) ('Bḡḡ Qḡḡ) Mahaaraaj
15 (4) phuuk 1, front cover folio v: Somḍech Mahaaraaj
Müüan 'Naan ; (10) phuuk 9, front cover folio: Somḍecc
Mahaaraaj Anantarraya Raajaadhiraaj "Cau; (11) phuuk 9,
preceded by p 45: Somḍecc Parammapobbitt Sihaa Anantarraya
Raajaadhiraas "Cau (12) phuuk 10, 3rd cover folio: Somḍecc
Parammapobbitt Anantarraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau
"Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantawarariddhiideej
"Cau Müüan 'Brää [spp] 19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap, 21 (AD 1836)
(1) "mai hlaap, 25 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap : "Cau Müüan
'Brää 23 (AD 1833) (1) "mai hlaap: Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüan
'Brää
"Cau Müüan Hluuan Bra Paañ, s. King of Luang Prabang
"Cau Raajjawoñ Müüan Hluuan Bra Paañ, Prince of Luang Prabang [spp]
19 (AD 1836) (1) "mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawoñ (2) phuuk 1,
preceded by p 49: Raajjawoñ (4) phuuk 11:
Pḡrommaseetḥakhattiya Suriya Bra Raajjawoñsaa Bra Mahaa
Uttama Oorassaa Raajaadhiraas" "Cau; 21 (AD 1836) (1)
"mai hlaap: "Cau Raajjawoñ (3) phuuk 1, preceded by p 46:
Raajjawoñ 22 (AD 1836) (3) phuuk 1, p 1 = 19 (4) (4) phuuk
1, Back Cover Folio, preceded by p 50: Raajjawoñ 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
Ḍḡḡr Jai, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Waḍ] Ḍḡḡr Jai
{Gaam} Baa, Naañ (wife of 'Hmüün "Nḡḡy 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 Suwanṇaraajakalyaa, 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 Nḡḡy Traa, s. {Gaam} Baa, Naañ [don]
Hnaan ... s. under the following word
Indasḡḡr, Hnaan [scr] **30** (AD 1869) (4) phuuk 9
[Jayanāma-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu
[Jayasena-Bhikkhu], s. Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu
Jeeyyanaam-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayanāma) [scr] **23** (AD 1833)
(6) phuuk 5
Jeeyyaseen-Bhikkhu (< Pāli: Jayasena) [scr] **29** (AD 1861) (3) phuuk 7
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: Kammaraanan (= Kamalaananda?)
[Kamalaananda?], s. "Kääw, Naañ [spp, don]
Kammaraanan, 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 Srii, Naañ (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 Suvannarajakalya, Nang (Princess of Luang Prabang),
s. Gaṃ Tan Suvaṇṇaraajjakalyaa
Ki, 'Mää ; Kii, 'Mää [spp, don; lay-women of "Paan 'Hmai] **27** (AD 1580)
(2) phuuk 1, preceded by p 47
King of Luang Prabang (Mangthathurat, r. 1817-36)[spp] **19** (AD 1836)
(3) phuuk 2, preceding p 1: Pṛammapubbitt Bra Pen "Cau
"Laan "Jaañ; **22** (AD 1836) **(1)** "mai hlaap: "Cau Müüañ
Hluuañ Bra Paañ; see also **19** (AD 1836) **(4)**.
Luang Prabang, Ruler of, s. King of Luang Prabang
'Mää ... , s. under the following word
Mahaa-Aggasaamii "Cau Waḍ Candamoolii Srii Saddhammakitti
[spp] **12** (AD 1591) **(6)** phuuk 21 **(7)** phuuk 32: °muulii; also
on phuuk 23, front cover folio
Mahaajiiwiḍ, see "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej
Mahaa Ñaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii "Cau [spp] **10**
(n.d.; 16th c.?) **(1)** front cover folio **(3)** p 48
Mahaaraaj "Cau Müüañ 'Brää, s. "Cau Müüañ 'Brää
Mahaaraaj ("Cau) Müüañ 'Naan, s. "Cau , s. "Cau
Mahaayassaraajaa
Mahaasaṅgharaajaa "Cau [spp] **05** (AD 1550) **(2)** front cover folio
07 (AD 1550) **(1)** front cover folio **(3)** phuuk 3
Mahaatheen Paa Riiañ(?) Suuñ [spp] **03** (n.d.; 16th/17th c.?)
Mahaatheen Suar Prahya [spp, don], s. Suar Prahya
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: Mahāvana-Bh.)[scr] **15** (AD 1833) **(6)**
phuuk 2, preceded by p 50, **(7)** ibid., preceded by p 49
Maṅgasiilaa, 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
Ñaṇasamuddamaṅgalameedhaawii, Mahaa, s. Mahaa Ñaṇa...
Phrae, Ruler of, s. "Cau Müüañ 'Brää
Prince of Luang Prabang, s. "Cau Raajawoñ 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
Raajamondiiian, s. Bra Mahaaswaamii "Cau [Waḍ] Raaja...
Raajjasompaṣ, Sään [scr] **30** (1869) **(6)** phuuk 11
Raajawoñ Müüañ Hluuañ Bra Paañ, s. "Cau Raajawoñ ...
Rattana, Sään [scr] **30** (1869) **(8)** phuuk 12
Riiañ(?) Suuñ, s. Mahaatheen Paa ...
Sään ... , (a title preceding the name proper) s. under the following word
Saṅgharāja, s. Mahaasaṅgharaajaa "Cau
Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau, Somḍecc (Parammapobbitt), s.
"Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
Siiwijeey-Bhikkhu [scr] (< Pāli: Sivijaya-Bh.) **23** (1833) **(9)**
phuuk 8, p 44
Sin Prahya, Naay [spp, don] **04** (AD 1495) **(1)** phuuk 15, p 58
(2) phuuk 2, line 1 on left margin; also on phuuk 2, line 48,
phuuk 7, line 28
[Sivijaya-Bhikkhu], s. Siiwijeey-Bhikkhu
Somḍejh Bra "Cau Jiiwiṣ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej
Somḍejh "Cau Mahaajiiwiḍ, s. "Cau Anantawṛariddhideej
Somḍecc "Cau Waḍ Candamoolii (Candamuulii),
s. Mahaa-Aggasaamii ...
Somḍecc Paramapobbitt Sihaa Anantaraya Raajaadhiraas "Cau,
s. "Cau Mahaayassaraajaa
Sudhamma-Bhikkhu [scr] **16** (AD 1869) **(7)** phuuk 9

Sundarapañño [don] **02** (n.d.; 16th c.?) (1) p 3 (3) p 9 (Sundara)
 Suuar Prahya, Mahaatheen [spp, don] **01** (AD 1495), front cover folio
Traa, 'Hmüün "Nṣṣy, 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 Nagṣṣ Müüan 'Naan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Buua, Müüan, s. Müüan Buua
 'Daa "Sṣṣy*, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sṣṣy
 Hin (or Hrin) 'Haañ*, Müüan s. Müüan Hrin 'Haañ*
 Jääñ, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jääñ*, Müüan Jlään*
 Jlään, Müüan*, s. Müüan Jlään* Müüan Jääñ*
 "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw **19** (3) phuuk 2, (4) phuuk 11
 Lambaan, s. Index F: [Waḍ] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan
 Lampang, s. Index F: [Waḍ] Bra Dhaaḍ "Cau Lambaan
 Lan Chang (Lanchang, Lanxang, Lanxang Homkhao, Lan Sang), s.
 "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
 Lan Sang, s. "Laan "Jaañ 'Rom Khaaw
 Luang Prabang, s. Müüan Hluuañ 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 "Sṣṣy **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 Ḡwaañ* (Nan) **29** (5)
 Müüan Hluuañ Bra Paañ **19** (1), (2) **21** (1), (3) **22** (1), (3) **25** (1)
 Müüan Hrin 'Haañ* (Nan) **30** (6)
 Müüan Jääñ* **23** (9); s. also Müüan Jlään*
 Müüan Jlään* **23** (6); s. also Müüan Jääñ*
 Müüan 'Naan **17** (1) **23** (1) **16** (7); **30** (6): Bra Nagṣṣ Müüan 'Naan
 (7): Nagṣṣ Müüan 'Naan (8): Müüan Nandapulii Bra Nagṣṣ
 Müüan "Hnaan **23** (9): Müüan Nandapurii Sree Müüan 'Naan
29 (5): Müüan Nandapurii Nagṣṣ

Müüan Nandapulii Bra Nagṣṣ Müüan "Hnaan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Müüan Nääñ **16** (7)
 Nan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nandapurii Nagṣṣ, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nandapurii Sree Müüan 'Naan, s. Müüan 'Naan
 Nääñ, Müüan, s. Müüan Nääñ
 "Paañ 'Daa Huua Rüüan Ban* (Nan) **12**, passim
 "Paañ 'Hmai* (Lampang?) **27** (2)
 "Paañ Hnaad (Nan) **16** (4)
 "Paañ "Kääw* (Nan) **29** (4)
 "Paañ Yaam (?)* (Lampang) **27** (4)
 Phrae, s. Müüan 'Bää, s. Müüan 'Brää
 Pua, s. Müüan Buua
 Sungmen, Sung Men, s. following entry
 'Suuñ Hmeer (Phrae) **24** (2)
 Ta Soi (or Tha Soi), s. Müüan 'Daa "Sṣṣy
 Wiang Pua, s. Müüan Buua
 Wiang Soi, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sṣṣy
 Wiañ Buua (Pua), s. Müüan Buua
 Wiañ ('Daa) "Sṣṣy, s. Müüan 'Daa "Sṣṣy

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] Ḍḍṣ Jai* (Lampang?) **27** (2)
 Waḍ Hluuañ Sree Jum (Phrae) **24** (2)
 Waḍ Huua Faay* (Nan) **29** (1)
 Waḍ Lḍḍṣ* (Nan) **29** (3)
 Waḍ {Mahaasrohmana} Sree 'Un Müüan* ('Daa "Sṣṣy) **07** (4); s. also
 Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüan*
 Waḍ Naa "Iiañ* (Lampang) **28** (8)
 Waḍ Ńuua Ḍääñ (Nan) **15** (9)
 Waḍ Paak Ńuua* (Lampang) **13** (1) **14** (2); also *ibid.*, on p 3

- Waḍ "Paan Dūūn* (Phrae) 23 (6)
 Waḍ "Paan "Kāām* (Nan) 29 (2)
 Waḍ "Paan Khōḡr* (Nan) 16 (6)
 Waḍ Peeṅsakaḍ (Nan) 29 (4)
 [Waḍ] Raajamondiian* (Lampang?) 27 (2)
 Waḍ Sree 'Un (or 'Ur) Müüāñ* {Yossa "Dau "Faa} ('Daa "Sḡḡy) 05 (1)
 07 (2), (4) 08, (1), (3), (4), (7) 20 (3); probably also colophon
 in 03
 Waḍ 'Suuñ "Hmeer, s. Aaraam 'Suuñ "Hmeer
 Waḍ Suuar Khuua* ('Daa "Sḡḡy [?]) 06
 Waḍ "Ton Hnur {"Naam Saa} (Nan) 15 (7)
 Waḍ 'Un (?) Müüāñ* 03, s. Waḍ Sree 'Un Müüāñ*

NB: Monasteries marked with * could not be located to date. They are not mentioned in the list published by the Social Research Institute [n.d.; 1984?] either. (See Bibliography).

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 BIHP Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology,
 Academia Sinica, Taipei
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society
 JSS Journal of the Siam Society
 VOHD Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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