Jātaka and *Paññāsa-jātaka* in South-East Asia*

> The extreme popularity of the *Jātakas* is expressed not only by the large number of manuscripts in which they are recorded—whether as complete collections or separately for the most celebrated—but also by the frequency of their representation in Buddhist art.
>
> *Jean Filliozat*[1]

Introduction: Reflections on Jātaka literature

The *jātaka* is one of the oldest classes of Buddhist literature.[2] As a genre it is unique to Buddhism: it is not found in Jaina or Brahmanical literature.[3] There are specific *jātaka* texts such as the collection of verses included in the Theravādin *Khuddaka-nikāya* under the name *Jātaka*, or the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā* collections, but beyond that the *jātaka* thoroughly pervades Buddhist literature, whether Śrāvakayāna or

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[1]Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat, *L'Inde classique, Manuel des études indiennes*, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1953, § 1967. See also §§ 1972, 1993.

[2]For *jātaka* see M. Winternitz's entry in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, Edinburgh, 1914, pp. 491–494; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (tr. Ketkar & Kahn), Vol. II [Calcutta, 1933] New Delhi, 1991, pp. 113–156; K.R. Norman, *Pali Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 77–84; *Encyclopædia of Buddhism*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 1 (1996), pp. 2–23.

[3]There may be exceptions, such as Hemacandra, *Jaina Jataka or Lord Rshabha's Purvabhavas* (translated by Banarsi Das Jain, The Punjab Sansk. Bk. Depot, Lahore, 1925—not seen: reference courtesy Kazuko Tanabe through Toshiya Unebe), but this late work does not constitute a genre. Nonetheless, further study of the past lives of Tīrthaṃkaras as presented in Jaina literature with the well-developed Buddhist *jātaka* literature would certainly be welcome.

Mahāyāna. It does this *formally*, in the sense that stories of past births are related or alluded to in *Sūtras*—whether Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna—and in *Vinayas*. It does this *ideologically*, in the sense that a career spanning many lives in which one is linked to past and future Buddhas is a presupposition and a precondition of Buddhist practice.

In the mainstream of Buddhism, the past lives during which Śākyamuni fulfilled the perfections are taken for granted.[4] Accounts of these past lives, the *jātakas*, are an essential part of Śākyamuni's bodhisattva career. As such they are inseparable from the biography of the Buddha, as may be seen in the *Jātaka-nidāna*, in the *Mahāvastu*, or in Chapter 13 of the *Lalitavistara*.[5] Narrations of or references to *jātakas* abound in Mahāyāna sūtras. The *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* alludes to many *jātakas* in its exposition of the perfections, and *jātakas* are an integral part of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, an early and important Mahāyāna sūtra. Fifty *jātakas* are summarized in verse in the *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā-sūtra*.[6] The long recension of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts contains an interesting disquisition on the animal births of the bodhisattva from the point of view of *prajñāpāramitā* thought.[7] Examples from the texts of the Śrāvaka schools are given below.

The *Commentary on the Discourse on the Ten Stages*, preserved only in Chinese translation and attributed to Nāgārjuna, gives a list of Great Bodhisattvas to be contemplated. The first twenty-one (preceding Maitreya, no. 22) are names of Śākyamuni during his previous lives, his

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[4]By mainstream I mean the common tradition, the shared heritage, of all Buddhist schools, whether the "eighteen *nikāyas*" of the Śrāvakas or the traditions that came to be grouped under the term Mahāyāna.

[5] See Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka*, Louvain-la-Neuve, repr. 1976, p. 725, for further examples.

[6]L. Finot (ed.), *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, Sūtra du Mahāyāna*, repr. Mouton & Co., 'S-Gravenhage, 1957, introduction pp. vi–viii, text pp. 21–27; Jacob Ensink, *The Question of Rāṣṭrapāla*, translated and annotated, Zwolle, 1952, pp. 21–28.

[7]Edward Conze (tr.), *The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom with the divisions of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Berkeley, 1975, pp. 621–623.

bodhisattva career related in the early *jātakas*.[8] It is with reference to *jātakas* that a verse of the same text states:

> When he was seeking the Path to Buddhahood,
> he performed many marvellous practices
> As described in various sūtras.
> So I prostrate myself and worship him.[9]

In his *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* Asaṅga cites the bodhisattva's "displaying of a diversity of births (*jātakas*)" as an aspect of the profound ethics of a bodhisattva.[10] *Jātakas* are referred to in "apocryphal" Mahāyāna sūtras like the *Prajñāpāramitā for Humane Kings who wish to Protect their States*.[11] In sum, it seems more difficult not to find *jātakas* than to find them.

Jātakas have been popular from the time of the earliest post-Aśokan evidence for Buddhism in India: the stone reliefs at the monuments of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bodh Gayā, Amarāvatī, and elsewhere.[12] The earliest surviving Buddhist painting, at Cave X at Ajaṇṭā, dated by Schlingloff to the 2nd century BCE, depicts two *jātakas—Ṣaḍdanta* and *Śyāma*—along with the life of the Buddha and the legend of Udayana.[13] *Jātakas* continued to be painted at Ajaṇṭā in the following centuries, and no doubt at other monuments that have long succumbed to the law of

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[8]Hisao Inagaki (tr.), *Nāgārjuna's Discourse on the Ten Stages, Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*, Kyoto, 1998 (Ryukoku Literature Series V), p. 158.

[9]Inagaki, *Nāgārjuna's Discourse*, p. 152.

[10]Étienne Lamotte (ed., tr.), *La somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga (Mahāyānasaṃgraha)*, repr. Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1973, Tome I (text) p. 70, Tome II (translation) p. 217.

[11]Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park (Pennsylvania), pp. 246–247.

[12]Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, pp. 443–446.

[13]Dieter Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings: Identifications and Interpretations*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1988, pp. 1–13, 64–72; Monika Zin, "The Oldest Painting of the Udayana Legend", *Berliner Indologische Studien*, 11/12 (1998), pp. 435–448.

impermanence. The earliest inscription from Nepal, the Cābahila inscription, "a fragment dated perhaps to the first half of the fifth century", records a woman's donation of a *caitya* "adorned with illustrations from the *Kinnarī-jātaka*" (*kinnarījātakākīrṇannānācitra-virājitam*).[14]

According to the Sri Lankan chronicles *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Thūpa-vaṃsa*, when King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī built the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura in the first century BCE, he had the relic-chamber decorated with scenes from the life of the Buddha as well as with *jātakas*, including the *Vessantara*, which was depicted in detail (*vitthārena*).[15] Later, in the early 5th century, Fa-hien recorded that on the occasion of the Tooth-relic procession in Anurādhapura, the king had a section of the processional route flanked by "the five hundred different bodily forms in which the Bodhisattva has in the course of his history appeared".[16]

The *jātaka* spread wherever Buddhism travelled. Perhaps we may say the *jātakas* immigrated, since they were quickly localized, as sites of past lives or deeds of the bodhisattva became pilgrimage or cult centres throughout Gandhāra and the North-West,[17] as well as in Nepal, or as *jātaka* murals donned the costumes of the local culture. The cave-

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[14]Theodore Riccardi, Jr., "Buddhism in Ancient and Early Medieval Nepal", in A.K. Narain (ed.), *Studies in History of Buddhism*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1980, p. 273, with reference to Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, *Licchavikālkā Abhilekh*, Kathmandu, B.S. 2030, Inscription 1.

[15]*Mahāvaṃsa* XXX, 87–88, N.A. Jayawickrama (tr., ed.), *The Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa, being a Translation and Edition of Vācissaratthera's Thūpavaṃsa*, Luzac & Co., London, 1971 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXVIII), pp. 116–117 (translation), 234 (text).

[16]James Legge (tr.), *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*, [Oxford, 1886] New York, 1965, p. 106.

[17]Léon Feer, "Les Jâtakas dans les mémoires de Hiouen-Thsang", *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris–1897*, Première section, Langues et archéologie des pays ariens, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1899, pp. 151–169; Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, pp. 365–368.

temples along the Silk Route, such as those at Dun-huang, are rich in *jātaka* murals, especially in the early period. About one hundred *jātakas*, some still unidentified, are depicted in relief on the lower galleries of the great stūpa of Borobudur in Java, which dates to *circa* the 9th century.

Jātakas, originally transmitted in Prakrits, "Buddhist Sanskrit", and Sanskrit, were translated into Central Asian languages like Khotanese, Tocharian, Uighur, and Sogdian.[18] Some of the first texts to be translated into Chinese were *jātakas*. One of the early translators was K'ang Seng-hui (Kang senghui), who was born in Chiao-chih (Giaozhi, the area of modern Hanoi, in Vietnam) of Sogdian extraction and entered the monastic order at the age of ten. In 247 he went to Nanking, where he translated texts into Chinese. Among them is the *Scripture of the Collection of the Six Perfections*,[19] which Tsukamoto describes as "K'ang Seng-hui's principal achievement as a translator", going on to say:

> That scripture is one particularly deserving of note … as an example of Buddhist narrative literature. It contains stories of Gautama's former existences, far antedating the attainment of Buddhahood by Prince Siddhārtha, whether as a king, as a prince, as a rich man, as a poor man, or even as an elephant or deer, existences during the course of which he cultivated the Six Perfections …".[20]

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[18]See e.g. Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd edition, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 1992 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series III); Johan Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature*, Brepols, Turnhout, 1997 (Silk Road Studies I), pp. 32–33, 36–42; E. Benveniste, *Vessantara Jātaka: Texte Sogdien édité, traduit et commenté*, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1946 (Mission Pelliot en Asie central série in-quarto IV).

[19]*Liu tu chi ching*, **Ṣaṭpāramitā-saṅgraha-sūtra* (Korean Tripiṭaka 206, Taishō 152, Nanjio 143).

[20]Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism from its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan* (translated from the Japanese by Leon Hurvitz), Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, New York, San Francisco, Vol. 1, 1985, pp. 151–163. For K'ang Seng-hui see Robert Shih (tr.), *Biographies*

It was from this text that Chavannes drew the first eighty-eight stories of his monumental *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, which remains the classical collection of *jātakas* translated from Chinese sources into a European language.[21] Another early translation into Chinese was the *Avadāna-śataka*, a collection of *avadānas*—a genre related to the *jātaka*, which includes some *jātakas* properly speaking. The translation, done by Chih-chien between 223 and 253, generally agrees with the Sanskrit text which is represented by much later manuscripts.[22] The *Ta chih tu lun*, a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñāpāramitā* translated by Kumārajīva at Chang-an in 404–5, is rich with allusion to and narration of *jātakas*. It has been and remains a reference work for East Asian Buddhists.

In Tibet several classical *jātaka* works were translated, such as Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* and its commentary, or Haribhaṭṭa's work of the same name.[23] Numerous *jātakas* are embedded in other works

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des moines éminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-Kiao, Louvain, 1968, pp. 20–31; Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en chine*, tome 1, Paris, 1927, pp. 304–307; Nguyen Tai Thu (ed.), *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, Hanoi, 1992, pp. 46–51; Minh Chi, Ha Van Tan, Nguyen Tai Thu, *Buddhism in Vietnam*, Hanoi, 1993, p. 13.

[21]Édouard Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, Tome I, repr. Paris, 1962, pp. 1–346. See Chavannes' introduction, pp.i–iv, and Tome IV, pp. 1–16 for summaries of the stories. The second set of translations in *Cinq cents contes* (nos. 89–155) is from the *Chiu tsa p'i yü ching* (**Saṃyuktāvadāna-sūtra*: Korean Tripiṭaka 1005, Taishō 206, Nanjio 1359), which Chavannes believed to have been translated by K'ang Seng-hui. Modern scholarship has questioned the attribution.

[22]Yoshiko K. Dykstra (tr.), *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: The Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki of Priest Chingen*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1983, p. 9, n. 65.

[23]Ārya Śūra's work and commentary (= Peking Kanjur, Otani Reprint, Vol. 128, Nos. 5650, 5651) are conveniently printed in *sKyes rabs so bźi ba'i rtsa 'grel bźugs so*, mTsho sṅon mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1997. The root-texts of Ārya Śūra (Otani No. 5650) and Haribhaṭṭa (Otani No. 5652) are published in *bsTan 'gyur las byuṅ ba'i skyes rabs daṅ rtogs brjod gces bsdus*, Mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1993. For the *jātaka* section of the Tanjur, see Tshul khrims rin chen, *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*, Bod ljoṅs mi dmaṅs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1985,

translated into Tibetan such as the *Vinaya*, the *mDo mdzaṅs blun*, *avadāna* collections, and Mahāyāna sūtras.[24] That the genre captured the Tibetan imagination may be seen from the abridged versions produced by Tibetan writers, such as Karma Raṅ-byuṅ rdo rje's *Hundred Births*,[25] Zhe chen 'gyur med Padma rnam rgyal's *mDo las byuṅ ba'i gtam rgyud sna tshogs*,[26] or Padma Chos 'phel's summary of the *Avadānakalpalatā*.[27] The *jātakas* were one of the six basic texts of the bKa' gdams pas, the forerunners of the dGe lugs pas.

In the 7th century I-ching noted that *jātaka* plays were performed "throughout the five countries of India". The culture of dramatic performances of *jātakas* spread with (or developed naturally within) Buddhism. In Tibet, for example, the *Viśvāntara-jātaka*, somewhat

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pp. 816–817. (I am grateful to Franz-Karl Erhard [Kathmandu] for his indispensable help in collecting Tibetan materials.) For Haribhaṭṭa see Michael Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta, Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra: On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās*, Second edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged, Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992 (Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series I).

[24]See F. Anton von Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources, translated from the Tibetan Kah Gyur* (translated from the German by W.R.S. Ralston), repr. Sri Satguru, Delhi, 1988; William Woodville Rockhill, "Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories: Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XVIII (1897), pp. 1–14; Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya Analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung*, Reiyukai Libarary, Tokyo, 1981 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series III).

[25]Printed in *bCom ldan 'das ston pa śākya thub pa'i rnam thar bźugs so*, mTsho sṅon mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1997, pp. 205–506.

[26]Zhe chen 'gyur med Padma rnam rgyal, *mDo las byuṅ ba'i gtam rgyud sna tshogs*, Kruṅ go'i bod kyi śes rig dpe skrun khaṅ, 1992.

[27]*sKyes rabs dpag bsam 'khri śiṅ*, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 1991; tr. Deborah Black, *Leaves of the Heaven Tree: The Great Compassion of the Buddha*, Dharma Publishing, 1997. For the history of the *Avadānakalpalatā* in Tibet see Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra", in José Ignacio Cabezón & Roger R. Jackson (ed.), *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, Snow Lion, Ithaca, 1996, pp. 401–402.

transformed and under the title *Dri med kun ldan*, became a popular play, according to Bacot "le plus joué de tous les drames tibétains", which could reduce the rough Tibetans to tears.[28] Bacot notes that another play, *'Gro ba bzaṅ mo* (*Djroazanmo*), is related at least in certain episodes to a play known to the Cambodians as *Vorvong and Saurivong* and to the Siamese as *Voravong*.[29] The dramatization of *Nor bzaṅ* or *Sudhana* is well-known both in Tibet and South-East Asia, and in the Malay peninsula it gave birth to a unique dance-form, the Nora. Another adaptation of a *jātaka*—the story of Prince Maṇicūḍa—is the *Lokānanda*, composed by the famous Candragomin and translated into Tibetan.[30] New year performances of plays, including *jātakas*, have been enacted in Tibet since at least the second half of the 15th century.[31]

In Japan *jātakas* were known from the early period, as attested by the famous Tamamushi Shrine in the Hōryū-ji temple, Nara (where the stories depicted are drawn from Mahāyāna sūtras).[32] *Jātakas* arrived, of course, with the *Tripiṭaka* texts brought from China. The Chinese

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[28]See Jacques Bacot, "Drimedkun: Une version tibétaine du Vessantara jātaka", *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.–Oct., 1914; "Tchrimekundan", in Jacques Bacot, *Trois mystères tibétains*, repr. l'Asiathèque, Paris, 1987, pp. 19–131 (citation from p. 23).

[29]Ibid, p. 133. For "Drowazangmo" see Marion H. Duncan, *Harvest Festival Dramas of Tibet*, Orient Publishing, Hong Kong, 1955. For "Vorvong and Sauriwong" see *Vorvong et Sauriwong*, Séries de Culture et Civilisation Khmères, Tome 5, Institut Bouddhique, Phnom Penh, 1971. "Voravong" (Varavaṃsa) is no. 45 in the Thai National Library printed edition of the *Paññāsajātaka*. For the place of Voravong in Southern Thai literature see the entry by Udom Nuthong in *Saranukrom Watthanatham Phaktai pho so 2529*, Vol. 8, pp. 3296–3302.

[30]Michael Hahn (tr.), *Joy for the World: A Buddhist Play by Candragomin*, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1987.

[31]R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1972, p. 278.

[32]See Seiichi Mizuno, *Asuka Buddhist Art: Horyu-ji*, Weatherhill/Heibonsha, New York & Tokyo, 1974 (The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, Vol. 4), pp. 40–52.

translation of the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*, a collection of sermons from Khotan very much built around *jātakas*, was copied and gilt by Emperor Shōmu in his own hand.[33] *Jātakas* were adapted into Japanese literature, such as in the *Sambō ekotoba* written in 984 by Minamoto no Tamenori, or later works like the *Shishū hyaku-innen shū* of Jūshin, completed in 1257, or the *Sangoku denki* of Gentō, dating perhaps to the first part of the 14th century or to the 15th century.[34] In popular Japanese literature *jātakas* may be mentioned in passing, as, for example, in *Soga Monogatari*,[35] in a manner which suggests that the readers or audience would understand the reference. In the modern period, many studies and translations of *jātakas* and *avadānas* have been made by Japanese scholars.[36]

Jātaka in South-East Asia

When and how were *jātakas* introduced to South-East Asia? By whom, and in what language? No answer can be made. No texts, chronicles, or histories survive from the earliest period of Buddhism in the region, that is, the first millenium of the Christian Era. All we have is iconographic and archæological evidence, starting from about the 7th

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[33]Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Köln, *Im Licht des Grossen Buddha: Schätze des Tôdaiji-Tempels, Nara*, Köln, 1999, p. 194.

[34]Douglas E. Mills, "Récits du genre *jātaka* dans la littérature japonaise", in Jacqueline Pigeot & Hartmut O. Rotermund (ed.), *Le Vase de béryl: Études sur le Japon et la Chine en hommage à Bernard Frank*, Éditions Philippe Picquier, Paris, 1997, pp. 161–172. The best account that I know of in English is in Edward Kamens, *The Three Jewels: A Study and Translation of Minamoto Tamenori's Sanbōe*, Ann Arbor, 1988 (Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies No. 2), pp. 50 foll. The 14th century date for the *Sangoku Denki* is suggested by Mills (p. 165). Japanese scholars usually date the work to the 15th century.

[35]See Thomas J. Cogan (tr.), *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, 1987, p. 86: reference to Dīpaṃkara, "Prince Sattva", and King Śivi.

[36]See Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, Hirakata City, 1980, pp. 46–48 for the former and pp. 137–140 for the latter.

century, from the so-called Dvāravatī state or culture of the Mons, a "lost civilization" possessing a vital, original "Indicized" culture that must have had a flourishing literature. The earliest representations of *jātaka* from this period are at Chula Pathon Cetiya in Nakhon Pathom.[37] Somewhat later are the so-called *sīmā* stones in North-Eastern Siam, which belong to a Mon culture which I call the "Chi Valley culture".[38]

From Chinese sources we learn that Buddhism was established in the kingdom of Chiao-chih (Giaozhi) in the Red River valley (the vicinity of modern Hanoi) by the 1st or 2nd century. In the 3rd century foreign monks resided in or passed through the area. We have referred above to K'ang Seng-hui of Chiao-chih, translator into Chinese of the *Scripture of the Collection of the Six Perfections*, an early and representative collection of *jātakas*. It is not clear, however, whether K'ang Seng-hui studied the text in Chiao-chih and carried it with him to

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[37]Piriya Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi*, Bangkok, 1974; Nandana Chutiwongs, "The Relief of Jataka (Buddha's Life Episodes) at Chula-Pathon Chedi", *Silpākon* 21.4 (November, 1977), pp. 28–56 [review of preceding, Thai version]; Nandana Chutiwongs, "On the Jātaka Reliefs at Cula Pathon Cetiya", *Journal of the Siam Society* 66.1 (January, 1978), pp. 133–151 [review of Piriya, English version].

[38]Piriya Krairiksh, "Semas with Scenes from the Mahānipāta-Jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen", in *Art and Archaeology in Thailand*, published by the Fine Arts Department in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the National Museum, September 19, 1974. For two recently discovered examples see Arunsak Kingmanee, "Suvannakakkata-Jataka on the Bai Sema of Wat Non Sila-atwararam", *Muang Boran*, Vol. 22 No. 2, April–June 1996, pp. 133–138; Arunsak Kingmanee, "Bhuridatta-Jataka on the Carved Sema in Kalasin", *Muang Boran*, Vol. 23 No. 4, October–December 1997, pp. 104–109 (I am grateful to Justin McDaniel for these references); Suganya Nounnard, "A Newly Found Sima Stone in the Ancient Town of Fa Daet Song Yang", *Silpakorn Journal* 45.8 (Nov.–Dec. 2000), pp. 52–74. Note that in Thai the stones are regularly called *bai semā*, and hence in English "sema stones". The "Chi Valley culture" is usually classed as part of a monolithic Dvāravatī culture. But there is no basis for such a classification, whether politically (we know nothing about the state[s] in the Chi or middle Mekhong valleys) or culturally (the artefacts are distinctive). I therefore provisionally use the description "Chi Valley culture".

Nanking, where he did his work, or whether he obtained the text in China.

In 484 the King of Funan, Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman, sent the Indian monk Nāgasena with a petition to the Song court. As was customary, the monk presented items of tribute, among which were two ivory *stūpas*. In addition to Jayavarman's petition, Nāgasena presented a written account of Funan to the Emperor. The report contains the following passage:[39]

> Le bodhisattva pratique la miséricorde. Originairement, il est issu de la souche ordinaire, mais, dès qu'il a manifesté un cœur (digne de la) bodhi, (il est arrivé) là où les deux véhicules ne pourraient atteindre. Pendant des existences successives, il a amassé des mérites; avec les six pārāmitā, il a pratiqué une grande compassion; ardemment, il a franchi tout un nombre de kalpas. Ses trésors et sa vie, il les a donnés jusqu'au bout; il ne s'est pas dégoûté de la vie et de la mort.

Perhaps this passage does not tell us anything about the actual state of Buddhism in Funan, in that it is entirely normative, giving a condensed account of the spiritual career of the bodhisattva according to general Mahāyāna doctrine. But it does suggest that the "*jātaka* ideology" was current in Funan.

It is with the flourishing of Theravādin Buddhist culture in the states of Pagan from the 11th century and Sukhothai from the 13th century that we find abundant evidence for *jātakas*. Here we limit our discussion to the latter, where we find that *jātakas* are referred to in inscriptions, and represented on the famous stone slabs of Wat Sichum, which are inscribed with the names of the *jātakas*.

Our discussion of *jātaka* in Siam may be presented under two categories: classical *jātaka* and non-classical *jātaka*.

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[39]Paul Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* III, 249–303, especially pp. 257–270. The reconstruction of Sanskrit terms is Pelliot's.

1. Classical jātaka

By classical *jātaka* I refer to the *Jātaka* of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* together with its commentary, the *Jātaka-aṭṭhavaṇṇanā*. These *jātakas* are classical within the Theravādin tradition in that they are transmitted as part of the Tipiṭaka and that as such they are part of the common heritage of "Theravādin Buddhism", wherever it spread. I use "classical" and "non-classical" in place of the more common "canonical" and "non-canonical". The term "classical" has, of course, a relative value: for example, *Vessantara* and certain other *jātakas* are classical to all Buddhist traditions, not just the Theravādin, and different "non-classical" *jātakas* are "classical" to vernacular literatures or cultures: Thai, Lao, Khün, Khmer, etc., all having their own "classics". Here I restrict the term "classical" to the 547 *jātakas*, verse and prose, as transmitted in the *Jātaka* of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the Pāli canon together with its commentary, the *Jātaka-aṭṭhavaṇṇanā*. (The Pāli *Jātaka* collection challenges the concept of canonicity in that only the verses, and not the prose, belong to the "canon". The Theravādin collection of *Jātaka* verses without narrative prose is unique, the only one known among the various schools. The antiquity of the stories themselves is proven by their representation in the earliest surviving Buddhist art of India, mentioned above, which predates any of our surviving literary texts.)[40]

In his *Samantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa defines *jātaka*, one of the nine component genres (*aṅga*) of the Buddha's teaching (*navaṅga-buddhasāsana*), as "the five hundred and fifty birth stories commencing with *Apaṇṇaka*". This is not a definition of the term *jātaka* as such: rather, it is simply an equation of the *jātaka-aṅga* with the classical Pāli *jātaka* collection. This deficiency has been pointed out by Jayawickrama:

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[40]There are, of course, *jātakas* incorporated within the *Sutta-piṭaka* itself, or in other works like the *Cariyā-piṭaka* or *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* commentaries. These are beyond the scope of this paper.

> There is no justification for equating the Aṅga called Jātaka with the extant Jātaka collection numbering about 550 stories. Firstly, the stories themselves have no Canonical status, which is reserved for the Jātakapāli, the stanzas, only. Secondly, there is no reason why Jātakas of Canonical antiquity such as those incorporated in other suttantas, e.g. Kūṭadanta and Mahāgovinda Suttas in D[īgha Nikāya], should be excluded. The definition given here is highly arbitrary.[41]

A good working definition of *jātaka* is given by Asaṅga in the first *yogasthāna* of his *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

> What is *jātaka*? That which relates the austere practices and bodhisattva practices of the Blessed One in various past births: this is called *jātaka*.[42]

The narrative aspect is emphasized in the definition in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*:[43]

> What is *jātaka*? This is as in the case in which the World-honoured One, in the days gone by, becomes a bodhisattva and practises the Way, as: "O bhikṣus! Know that, in the days gone by, I gained life as a deer, a brown bear, a reindeer, a hare, a king of a small state, a cakravartin, a *nāga*, and a garuda. Such are all the bodies one receives when one practises the Way of a bodhisattva." This is *jātaka*.

For the later scholastic tradition, the *jātakas*, as accounts of the past deeds of the bodhisattva, are illustrations of the perfections, the *pāramī* or *pāramitā*. Adopted by the *pāramitā* ideology, the *jātakas* both

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[41]N.A. Jayawickrama, *The Inception of Discipline and the Vinaya Nidāna, being a Translation and Edition of the Bāhiranidāna of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya Commentary, Luzac & Co., London, 1962 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. XXI), p. 102, n. 6.

[42]Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group, *Śrāvakabhūmi: Revised Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation*, The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University, The Sankibo Press, Tokyo, 1998 (Taishō Univeristy Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo Series IV), p. 230: *jātakaṃ katamat / yad atītam adhvānam upādāya tatra tatra bhagavataś cyutyupapādeṣu bodhisattacaryā duṣkaracaryākhyātā / idam ucyate jātakam //.*

[43]Kosho Yamamoto, *The Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutra: A Complete Translation from the Classical Chinese Language in 3 volumes*, The Karinbunko, Ube City, Volume Two, p. 361.

exemplify the virtue of Śākyamuni and and provide inspiration for those who aspire to Buddhahood in future lives, the bodhisattvas.

In Siam the classical *Jātaka* is often referred to as *Aṭṭhakathā-jātaka* or *Nipāta-jātaka*: that is, the collection of *jātakas* organized according to chapters of the canonical *Jātaka* book of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, from chapters with one verse (*Ekanipāta*) up to the Great Chapter (*Mahānipāta*).[44] Another term is *Phra chao ha roi chat*, which means "[stories] about the Lord [bodhisattva] in five hundred births". The last ten births are often transmitted separately as *Dasajāti*, *Dasajāti-jātaka*, or *Phra chao sip chat*, "the ten births" or "[stories] about the Lord [bodhisattva] in [the last] ten births", or also the *Mahānipāta-jātaka*, "the *jātaka* of the Great Chapter".

The perennially popular *Vessantara-jātaka* is transmitted in its own right as "Phra Wetsandon", *Mahachat* (the "Great Birth"), or—when the verses alone are recited—*Katha [Gāthā] phan*, the "Thousand Stanzas".[45] The recitation of the *Mahachat* was an important ceremony in pre-modern times and remains so today.[46] Another ceremony, the

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[44]See Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Walter de Gruyter: Berlin & New York, 1996, §§ 109–115. See also the same author's *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung* (Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus I), Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1998.

[45]For the *Vessantara-jātaka* see Steven Collins, *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali imaginaire*, Cambridge University Press, 1998. The Thai pronunciation of *Mahājāti* is "Mahachat", of *jāti* is *chat*, of *jātaka* is *chadok*, of *deśanā* is *thet*. In romanizing the titles I follow the *Romanization Guide for Thai Script*, The Royal Institute, Bangkok, July, 1982.

[46]The classical study is G.E. Gerini's *A Retrospective View and Account of the Origin of the Thet Mahâ Ch'at Ceremony (Mahâ Jâti Desanâ) or Exposition of the Tale of the Great Birth as Performed in Siam*, [1892] repr. Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation, Bangkok, 27th May 1976. See also Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Thet Mahā Chāt*, The Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, BE 2512 [1969] (Thai Culture New Series No. 21), repr. in Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Essays on Thai Folklore*, Editions Duang Kamol, Bangkok, n.d., pp. 164–177; Lucien Fournereau, *Bangkok in 1892*, White Lotus Press, Bangkok, 1988 (translated by Walter E.J. Tips from *Le Tour du Monde*, Vol. 68 [1894], pp. 1–64), pp. 122–125. In Thai see Dhanit Yupho, *Tamnan thet mahachat*, The

"Phra Vessantara Merit-making Festival" (*bun phra wet = puñ[ña] braḥ ves[antara]*) is an intergal part of the annual ritual calendar in the North-East of Siam and in Laos.[47] Recitation and enactment is part of the fabric of merit-making.

Many different versions of the *Vessantara* exist in Thai. These include the *Mahachat kham luang*, the "Royal Recension" composed at the court of King Paramatrailokanātha in BE 2025 (1482), the *Kap mahachat*, believed to have been composed during the reign of King Song Tham (r. 1610–1628), and the *Mahachat kham chan* composed by Krommamun Kawiphot Supreecha in the 19th century.[48] There are numerous "sermon" versions, such as *Mahachat klon thet* (or *Ray yao mahachat*)[49] and so on.[50] Regional and vernacular versions of the *Vessantara* abound, such as the various Lan Na *Mahachat*-s, the Phetchaburi *Mahachat* (*Mahāchat muang phet*), the North-Eastern

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Prime Minister's Office, Bangkok, 2524 [1981]; Sathirakoses, "Prapheni mi ngan thet mahachat", in *Prapheni tang tang khong thai*, Bangkok, 2540, pp. 1–41; Chuan Khreuawichayachan, *Prapheni mon ti samkhan*, SAC Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, Bangkok, 2543 [2000], Chap. 11; brief note at Term Wiphakphotchanakit, *Prawatsat isan*, Third printing, Thammasat University Press, 2542 [1999], p. 567 (reference courtesy Justin McDaniel).

[47]For Laos see Marcel Zago, *Rites et cérémonies en milieu bouddhiste lao*, Rome, 1972 (Documenta Missionalia 6), pp. 290–97, with further bibliography in n. 32, p. 290; Kideng Phonkaseumsouk, "Tradition of Bounphravet in Laos", in *Sarup phon kan sammana tang wicchakan ruang watthanatham asia akhane: khwam khlai khleung nai withi chiwit*, The Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2540 [1997], pp. 150–158.

[48]*Kap* is *kāby*, Sanskrit *kāvya*; *chan* is *chand*, Sanskrit *chandas*: the terms refer to Thai metres.

[49]*Sinlapawatthanatham thai*, Vol. 3, Bangkok, BE 2525 [1982], pp. 163–165

[50]See for example *Mahachat 6 thamat reu thet 6 ong*, in *Chumnum nungseu thet*, Part 1, Bangkok, Rongphim Tai, 2472. Note that the "sermon" (*thet* = *deśana*), performed in a range of lively vocal styles and punctuated or accompanied by music, was not only the main vehicle for the teaching of Buddhism in pre-modern times, but also the inspiration for pre-modern narrative literature.

Mahachat (*Mahājāti samnuan isan*), the Korat *Mahachat* (*Mahājāti korat*), and so on. The prevalence of *jātakas* is demonstrated by a manuscript survey conducted in the North, which recorded *inter alia*: the *Mahachat* in 1,424 texts in more than eighty literary styles, and general *jātaka* stories in 907 texts, "many composed by local monks". The next largest group was "general Dhamma", in 472 texts.[51] Udom Rungruangsri refers to 130 versions of *Vessantara-jātaka* composed by different authors.[52]

One reason for the popularity of the *Vessantara-jātaka* was the pervasive belief, spread through the *Māleyya-sutta* and related literature, that by listening to this *jātaka* one could be assured of meeting the next Buddha, Metteya, often called Phra Si An (Phra Śrī Ārya Maitreya) in Thai.[53] The recitation of *Māleyya* followed by the *Vessantara* is mentioned in an inscription from Pagan dated to CE 1201.[54] A Northern Thai text on *The Benefits of the Mahāvessantara-jātaka* states:[55]

> Whoever … wants to see the glorious Metteyya Bodhisatta, let him bring the following propitiatory elements, such as 1000 lamps, 1000 candles and joss-sticks, 1000 lumps of (glutinous) rice … worship and listen to the *Mahāvessantara* sermon finishing it in one day with great respect … his

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[51]Sommai Premchit, "Palm Leaf Manuscripts and Traditional Sermon", in *Buddhism in Northern Thailand*, The 13th Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, Chiang Mai, 1980, p. 83.

[52]Udom Rungruangsri, *Wannakam lanna*, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Second printing, 2528 [1985], pp. 126–127.

[53]For the story of Māleyya, see Bonnie Pacala Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, 1995, and Collins, *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*. A Pāli version with translation has been published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (Vol. XVIII, 1993). There are many vernacular versions.

[54]See Than Thun, "History of Buddhism in Burma A.D. 1000–1300", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* LXI (Dec., 1978), pp. 85–86.

[55]*Ānisaṃsa of the Mahāvessantara-jātaka* from Wat Nong Phaek, Tambon Nong Phaek, Amphoe Saraphee, cited in Premchit, "Palm Leaf Manuscripts and Traditional Sermon", p. 86 (with some alteration).

> wishes will all be fulfilled … in the future he will attain nibbāna … in front of that Buddha.

Other reasons include the wish to gain merit by listening to or sponsoring the sermon, or, in rural practice, to bring rain.[56] The sermons were presented in various ways, with great pomp and ritual, and many sorts of offerings and musical accompaniment. In the early Bangkok period it was a court custom for princes, during their period of ordination, to offer a sermon on the *Vessantara-jātaka* to their father the King. In 2360 [1817], during the Second Reign, for example, Prince Mongkut (the future King Rama IV), ordained as a novice (*sāmaṇera*) offered a sermon on the *Madri Chapter* to King Rama II. In 2409 [1866], during the Fourth Reign, Prince Chulalongkorn (the future King Rama V) offered the *Sakkapabba Chapter*, in a version composed by his father the King. In the Fifth Reign, Prince Mahavajiraunhis offered the *Sakkapabba Chapter* in 2434 [1891] and Prince Krommaluang Nakhon Rajasima offered the *Chakasat Chapter*.[57]

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[56]Did the recitation of the *Vessantara* have any connection with consecration of Buddha images? The *Jinakālamālinī* (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, The Pali Text Society, London, 1962, p. 120) reports that when the "Sinhalese image" (Sīhala-paṭimā) was installed at Wat Pa Daeng in Chiang Mai in CE 1519, the *Mahāvessantara-nidāna* and *Mahāvessantara-nāma-dhammapariyāya* were recited in the first stage, and the *Buddhavaṃsa* at a later stage. Among the chants recited in consecration ceremonies in Thailand is a verse summary of the last ten births followed by the life of the Buddha. It seems, then, that the *jātakas* and the life empower the image with the *tejas* of the bodhisattva.

[57]See *Chao nai thet mahachat* in Dhanit Yupho, *Tamnan thet mahachat*, pp. 28–30. For the ordination and sermon of Prince Chulalongkorn, see *Phra Ratchaphongsawadan krung ratanakosin ratchakan ti si*, tr. Chadin (Kanjanavanit) Flood, *The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era: The Fourth Reign, B.E. 2394–2411 (A.D. 1851–1868)*, Volume Two: Text, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1966, pp. 361–364. In the Fourth Reign during the "ceremony of the Sermons with the Great Alms Baskets" monks from leading temples preached the thirteen chapters of the *Vessantara* along with other sermons over a period of five days: Flood, op. cit., Vol. One (1965), pp. 73–76.

The tradition of rendering *jātakas* into Thai verse continues to this day. Most recently, the *Thotsachat kham chan* (Ten Jātakas in verse) was produced in honour of His Majesty the King's sixth cycle (that is, 72nd birthday).[58]

2. Non-classical *jātaka*.

> The *Paññāsa-jātaka* as a whole should prove to have a value far beyond the sphere of comparative philology, particularly with reference to the Sanskrit Avadāna literature and to various aspects of popular Southeast Asian Buddhism.
>
> *P.S. Jaini*[59]

Non-classical *jātakas* are "birth-stories" modelled on the classical stories but, unlike the latter, transmitted outside of the canon and only in certain regions. There is a great mass of such texts in South-East Asia—some known (in diverse recensions) throughout the region, some specific to one or the other region, culture, or vernacular. Non-classical *jātaka* is called *bāhiraka-jātaka* or *chadok nok nibat*, "*jātaka* outside the *nipāta*", in Thai. It is not clear when these terms came into use; the latter was used if not coined by H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in the early 20th century. The Northern Thai *Piṭakamālā* calls the *Paññāsa-jātaka* "the fifty births outside the *saṅgāyanā*".[60] This might approach the concept of "non-canonical", but the relation between text and *saṅgāyanā* is complex. This complexity may be seen in the *Sārasaṅgaha*, whose compiler appears to accept texts like the *Nandopanandadamana* even though they were not "handed down at the three Councils" (*saṅgītittayam anārūḷhaṃ*). It is noteworthy that two of these texts are described as "sutta": *Kulumbasutta*, *Rājovādasutta*. In contrast, the *Sārasaṅgaha* rejects other texts, incuding Mahāyāna sūtras

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[58] *Thotsachat kham chan*, Bangkok, 2542 [1999].

[59] Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Paññāsa-jātaka or Zimmè Paṇṇāsa (in the Burmese Recension)*, Vol. I, Jātakas 1–25, London, 1981 (Pāli Text Society, Text Series No. 172), p. vi.

[60] *A Critical Study of Northern Thai Version of Panyasa Jātaka*, Chiang Mai, 2541, Introduction, p. 19.

and Tantras, as "not the word of the Buddha" (*abuddhavacana*).[61]

Non-classical *jātakas* may be transmitted separately, in their own right, and remain independent or "uncollected", or they may be collected with other texts into anthologies. The same story may be transmitted in several contexts: singly, or as part of collection *a*, or as part of collection *b*, and so on.[62] One common type of anthology contains (ideally) fifty stories, and bears the title *Paññāsa-jātaka.* The *Paññāsa-jātaka* cannot be viewed apart from the body of non-classical *jātaka* literature, whether Pāli or vernacular, of South-East Asia, for reasons that will be seen below. That is, it depends on and draws on this literature, rather than vice-versa.

The independent *jātakas* include "local *jātakas*", stories cast in the *jātaka* narrative structure and transmitted in regional vernacular traditions. There are far too many to enumerate here.[63] Moreover, one *jātaka* may be transmitted in several recensions in the same region. Popular stories include *Brahmacakra* in the North, *Sang Sinchai* in the North-East, *Nok Krachap* in the Centre, and *Subin* in the South.[64] In his

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[61]Genjun H. Sasaki (ed.), *Sārasaṅgaha*, The Pali Text Society, Oxford, 1992, pp. 45–46.

[62]For example, the *Samudaghosa-jātaka* is included in most known *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections, as well as independently in regional vernacular versions including verse compositions. It is also a puppet play.

[63]For studies and translations of texts in the Khün and Lao traditions see Anatole-Roger Peltier, *Chao Bun Hlong*, Chiang Mai, 1992; *Sujavaṇṇa*, Chiang Mai, 1993; *Nang Phom Hom, "La Femme aux cheveux parfumés"*, Chiang Mai, 1995; *L'Engoulevent Blanc*, Chiang Mai, 1995; *Kalè Ok Hno: Tai Khün Classical Tale*, SAC Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, Bangkok, July 1999.

[64]Sueppong Thammachat, *Wannakhadi Chadok (Jataka Literature),* Odeon Store, Bangkok, 2542 [1999], pp. 188–218. Many of the these *jātakas* are described in the newly published *Saranukrom Watthanatham Thai*, which devotes fifteen volumes to each of the four regions of modern Thailand (North, North-East, and Centre, with eighteen volumes for the South). For Subin see *Subin samnuan kao: wannakam khong kawi chao muang nakhon si thammarat*, Nakhon Si Thammarat Teachers' College, Nakhon Si Thammarat, 2520 [1977]. For the relation between Southern literature and that of other

Lan Na Literature Udom Rungruangsri lists one hundred titles of Northern *jātakas* out of over two hundred registered by Harald Hundius.[65] Some are quite long, in ten or fifteen bundles (*phuk*). Udom gives summaries of *Horaman* (a story of Hanuman), *Phrommachak* (*Brahmacakra*: based on the Rāma story), and *Ussabarot*, which he describes as influenced by Brahmanical literature. These texts are in Lan Na language but mixed with Pāli. Whether they all had Pāli originals remains to be seen. There is a Lao *Rāma-jātaka*, related to the South-East Asian *Ramakien*.[66] This vast literature is outside the scope of this study—let me simply stress that the number of such *jātakas* is in the hundreds and that this *jātaka* literature was a vital part of pre-

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regions of Thailand see Udom Nuthong, "Wannakam phak tai: khwam samphan kap wannakam thong thin uen", in Sukanya Succhaya (ed.), *Wannakhadi thong thin phinit*, Chulalongkorn University Press, Bangkok, 2543 [2000], pp. 77–95.

[65]Udom Rungruangsri, *Wannakam lanna*, pp.141–143.

[66]H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, "The Rama Jataka (A Lao version of the story of Rama)", in *Collected Articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamun Bidayalabh Brdhihyakorn Reprinted from the Journal of the Siam Society on the Occasion of his Eighty-Fourth Birthday*, The Siam Society, 2512/1969, Bangkok, pp. 73–90; Vo Thu Tinh, *Phra Lak Phra Lam ou le Ramayana Lao*, Éditions Vithagna, Vientiane, 1972 (Collection "Littérature Lao", volume premier); Sahai Sachchidanand, *The Rama Jataka in Laos: A Study in the Phra Lak Phra Lam*, B.R. Pub. Corp., Delhi, 1996 (2 vols.) (not seen). The Rāma story was also presented as a *jātaka* in Khotan: see Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd edition, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 1992 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series III), § 19.2, and "Polyandry in the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa*", in Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Volker M. Tschannerl (ed.), *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka, Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Swisttal-Odendorf, 2000 (Indica et Tibetica 37), p. 233. For the text see H.W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies, being Khotanese Texts Volume III*, Cambridge, 1969, § 26, pp. 65–76. See also Frank E. Reynolds, "*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Rāma Jātaka*, and *Ramakien*: A Comparative Study of Hindu and Buddhist Traditions", in Paula Richman (ed.), *Many Rāmāyaṇas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 50–63.

modern culture.[67]

We should bear in mind that *jātaka* is not an inflexible category. The same narrative can fulfill different functions, at one and the same time or at different times, as a *jātaka*, a *deśanā*, an *ānisaṃsa*, a *paritta*, or a *sūtra*. The *Khandhavatta-jātaka* belongs to *Jātaka* (No. 203), to *Vinaya* (*Cullavagga*, II 110), to *Sutta* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya* II 72–73), and to *Paritta* (*Khandha-paritta*). Verses from other classical *jātakas* are recited for protection and blessing, for example in the *Mora-paritta*,[68] *Chaddanta-paritta*,[69] and *Vaṭṭaka-paritta*.[70] The key verse of the latter, the *saccakiriyā*, is known from two inscriptions in Sri Lanka. It was found inscribed on a copper-plate in Nāgarī characters of about the tenth century in the ruins of the Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anurādhapura,[71] and inscribed "in shallowly incised and badly formed Sinhalese characters of the twelfth century" on the underside of the covering slab of the third relic chamber of the main *cetiya* at the Koṭavehera at Dedigama.[72] It has been suggested the verse was intended as a protection against fire. The use of verses from the *jātakas* as *parittas* demonstrates the power of the speech of the bodhisattva—even in his births as a peacock, an elephant, or a quail.

The non-canonical texts of South-East Asia are equally multifunctional. The Pāli *Uṇhissa-vijaya*—a narrative related to the

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[67]See Wajuppa Tossa, *Phya Khankhaak, The Toad King: A Translation of an Isan Fertility Myth into English Verse*, Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, 1996, for a North-Eastern "folk-*jātaka*".

[68]*Jātaka* No. 159, which lies at the heart of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, which came to be included in the *Pañcarakṣā*.

[69]*Jātaka* No. 514, Vol. V, v. 121.

[70]*Jātaka* No. 35, *Cariyā-piṭaka* p. 31, *Jātakamālā* No. 16.

[71]*Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, No. 3 (and Pl. 11); revised reading by S. Paranavitana in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, No. 16; *Ancient Ceylon* I (January 1971), pp. 106–109.

[72]C.E. Godakumbura, *The Koṭavehera at Dedigama*, The Department of Archæology, Colombo, 1969 (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Volume VII), pp. 40–42.

North Indian *Uṣṇīṣavijaya*—occurs in its own right as a protective chant, a *sūtra*, an *ānisaṃsa*, a *jātaka*, and a *Kham lilit* (Thai verse version), and is embedded in longer texts like the *Paramattha-maṅgala* and the *Mahādibbamantra*. The *Jambūpati-sūtra* contains a *jātaka* and an *ānisaṃsa*, and is incorporated in summary in "the *ānisaṃsa* of offering a needle".

Paññāsa-jātaka[73]

There are several collections of *jātakas* in South-East Asia which bear the name *Paññāsa-jātaka*. The title varies, and occurs in vernacular forms like *Phra chao ha sip chat*, "[stories] of the Lord [bodhisattva] in fifty births". For the most part—though not exclusively—the *jātakas* in these collections are non-classical. Although the tales are diverse, many deal with giving or charity (*dāna*)—not only the relinquishing of material goods but also the ultimate sacrifice, that of body and life—and with ethical conduct (*sīla*) and their benefits (*ānisaṃsa*). The truth-vow (*saccakiriyā*) figures prominently. The hero, the bodhisattva, is often a prince, and many of the tales may be described as romances. The sources of the stories are varied, some going back to India, others being local compositions. The collections are transmitted in a variety of scripts and languages, from "local" Pāli to *nisay* style (Pāli mixed with Tai dialects) to vernaculars.[74]

Léon Feer was the first European scholar to discuss the *Paññāsa-jātaka*, in an article published in *Journal Asiatique* in 1875.[75] He was followed by Louis Finot, who in his classic *Recherches sur le littérature*

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[73]I am profoundly indebted in my research to the work of several generations of Siamese scholars, from Prince Damrong to Niyada, and to Western scholars from Feer to Finot to Fickle. I regret that I cannot do justice to research done in Japanese, and can mention only the pioneering work of Kazuko Tanabe and the current project of the Paññāsa-jātaka Study Group at Otani University under the leadership of Shingyo Yoshimoto.

[74]The word *nisay* is variously spelt in the T(h)ai languages: *nisaya*, *nissaya*, *nisraya*, etc. As a narrative genre it differs in many ways from the technical Burmese *nissayas* on classical Pāli literature.

[75]Léon Feer, "Les Jātakas", *Journal Asiatique* 7e Sér., v, 1875, pp. 417 foll.

laotien, published in 1917, introduced the subject in some detail.[76] French scholars such as Terral[-Martini],[77] Deydier,[78] Schweisguth, [79] and Jacqueline Filliozat[80] have continued to make important contributions. In English, Dorothy Fickle produced a thesis, unfortunately not published, based largely on the National Library printed edition,[81] and Padmanabh S. Jaini published several articles followed by an edition and translation of the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*.[82] In Thailand pioneering work has been done by Prince Damrong, Niyada, and others.[83]

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[76]Louis Finot, "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* XVII, 5.

[77]Ginette Terral, "Samuddhaghosajātaka", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* XLVIII, 1 (1956), pp. 249–351; Ginette Terral-Martini, "Les Jātaka et la littérature de l'Indochine bouddhique", in René de Berval, *Présence du bouddhisme* (special issue of *France-Asie, Revue mensuelle de culture et de synthèse*, tome XVI), pp. 483–492.

[78]Henri Deydier, *Introduction à la connaissance du Laos*, Saigon, 1952, pp. 28–29. For a necrology of Deydier by Jean Filliozat see *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 48 (1956), pp. 603–606.

[79] P. Schweisguth, *Étude sur la littérature siamoise*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1951. Schweisguth does not deal with the *Paññāsajātaka* in general (except with its translation into Thai, very briefly, pp. 318, 357) but gives summaries of some of the popular tales that were circulated both independently and in *Paññāsajātaka* collections.

[80]These include both her identification of *Paññāsa-jātaka* texts in the course of cataloguing numerous manuscript collections, and her work on Deydier forthcoming, for which see below.

[81]Dorothy M. Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study of the Paññāsa Jātaka*, 1979 (doctoral dissertation consulted in the Siam Society Library).

[82]Padmanabh S. Jaini, "The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā: an analysis of the texts and the Borobudur reliefs", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxix, 3 (1966), 533–558; "The Apocryphal Jātakas of Southeast Asian Buddhism", *The Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1989, pp. 22–39.

[83]For Prince Damrong see below. For Niyada see Niyada (Sarikabhuti) Lausunthorn, *Paññāsa Jātaka: Its Genesis and Significance to Thai Poetical Works* [in Thai], Bangkok, 2538 [1995].

Paññāsa-jātaka collections are known only in mainland South-East Asia. They are not known in India or Sri Lanka (although a few manuscripts found their way to the latter in recent centuries).[84] I use the plural, "*Paññāsa-jātaka* collections", for a reason, and this is that none of the available collections (whether in Pāli, or in vernaculars, whether from Burma, Siam, Laos, Lan Na, or Cambodia) are the same: they are disparate assemblages of varying numbers of texts in different sequences. Even when the same text is included in two collections, the recension may be different, as Terral has shown for the *Samudaghosa-jātaka* and Yoshimoto has shown for the *Surūpa-jātaka.* There is no evidence at present as to which collection, if any, is standard, and therefore I avoid referring to "the *Paññāsa-jātaka*" in the singular.

It may be the norm for tale collections to exist in widely discrepant recensions. The classical Pāli *Jātaka* itself is not stable: titles vary in different recensions and inscriptions, and the order of the last ten tales is not consistent.[85] Tatelman writes the following about the *Divyāvadāna*, well-known today in the "standard" edition of thirty-eight tales edited by Cowell and Neil in 1886:

> …[T]he several manuscripts entitled *Divyāvadāna* diverge widely from each other. Yutaka Iwamoto observed that there are only seven stories which occur in every manuscript and that, of these, only two, the *Koṭikarṇāvadāna* and the *Pūrṇāvadāna*, always occur in the same place, as the first and second stories respectively. In fact, Iwamoto defines *Divyāvadāna* as a collection of Sanskrit *avadānas* the first two stories of

[84]See for example the stray *phūk* 17 among the Siamese manuscripts at Asgiriya in Kandy: Jacqueline Filliozat, "Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscript Collection in Burmese & Siamese Characters kept in the Library of Vijayasundararamaya Asgiriya: A historical *bibliotheca sacra siamica* in Kandy, Sri Lanka", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XXI (1995), p. 151 (Asgiriya Siamese 4).

[85]See Ginette Martini, "Les titres des jātaka dans les manuscrits pāli de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* LI, Fasc. 1 (1963), pp. 79–93.

which are the *Koṭikarṇāvadāna* and the *Pūrṇāvadāna*.[86]

The *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* is a collection of narratives known through translations into Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian. The collection is believed to go back to a single source, in Chinese, but it exists in two Chinese versions. The Tibetan is said to be have been translated from "the" Chinese, but its contents do not correspond to either Chinese version. The Mongolian, said to be translated from the Tibetan, has 52 tales against the 51 of the latter. Mair writes:[87]

> While there is no doubt that the Chinese and the Tibetan versions are indeed related in some fashion, the number of stories that are included, the order in which they are given, and the style in which they are written all differ markedly. Furthermore, three stories that occur in the Tibetan and Mongolian versions were not even present in the earliest known integral printed Chinese edition … of the sūtra.

The *Ming-pao chi*, a Buddhist tale collection compiled in the middle of the 7th century by Tang Lin, survives in a confused state. Gjertson writes of the Kōzan-ji and Maeda manuscripts:

> The order of the tales in the first *chüan* [roll] is the same in both manuscripts, but differs in the second and third *chüan*, with two of the additional tales [out of four tales found in the Maeda manuscript but not in the Kōzan-ji manuscript] found in the second and two in the third. … Since … some tales almost certainly forming part of the original *Ming-pao chi* are found in various collectanea but in neither of these manuscripts, it is also apparent that they do not represent the original state of the collection.[88]

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[86]Joel Tatelman, *The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa: A Translation and Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna*, Curzon Press, Richmond (Surrey), 2000, p. 13. Tatelman is referring to Yutaka Iwamoto, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josets*u ["An Introduction to the Study of Buddhist Legends"], Kamei Shoi, Tokyo, 1978, pp. 143–148.

[87]Victor H. Mair, "The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and Foolish*", *Sino-Platonic Papers*, Number 38, April, 1993, p. 15.

[88]Donald E. Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T'ang Lin's Ming-pao chi*, University of California at Berkeley, 1989 (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 8), pp. 101, 103.

The original order of the twenty-seven tales collected in the *Kara Monogatari* ("Tales of China"), a work either of the late Heian or early Kamakura period (12th to 13th century), is not certain.[89] Similar discrepancies occur in the available versions of the *Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki* of Priest Chingen, a collection of "Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sūtra".[90] The *Paññāsa-jātaka* is not alone in being a fluid collection.

The fact that several *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections are available (and that others will become available) raises problems of terminology. "National" descriptions—Burmese, Lao, Thai—are misleading, and I have chosen to refer to available editions as specifically as possible, by their location or place of publication. Again, because these collections differ in contents, organization, and language, they cannot be called recensions, redactions, or editions, and I have chosen to call them "collections", as does Fickle, for similar reasons.[91]

Like the classical *jātakas*, the stories of *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections contain verses interspersed with prose. Were the verses of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* ever transmitted separately from the stories, like the verses of the Theravādin *Jātaka*? No such collection of verses has survived. It is true that each story of the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* (and most stories of the Thai National Library *Paññāsa-jātaka*) opens with the first line of the first verse of the story in question. I cite as example the first *jātaka* in of the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*, *Ādittarāja*:

> *yadā bhonto supino me ti. idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto attano pubbakatadānapāramim ārabbha kathesi.*

Yadā bhonto supino me is the first line of the first verse. But in the absence of any other evidence, it seems more likely that this opening is

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[89]Ward Geddes, *Kara Monogatari: Tales of China*, Arizona State University, 1984 (Center for Asian Studies, Occasional Paper No. 16), p. 27.

[90]Yoshiko K. Dykstra (tr.), *Miraculous Tales of the Lotus Sutra from Ancient Japan: The Dainihonkoku Hokekyōkenki of Priest Chingen*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1983, p. 9.

[91]*An Historical and Structural Study*, p. 10.

simply an imitation of the classical *Jātaka* opening, which starts with a citation of the verse followed by the *satthā … viharanto … ārabbha kathesi* formula.[92]

An even more striking point is that the verses of the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* often differ from those of the Thai National Library collection. That is, the same idea, or progression of ideas, is expressed, with some of the same vocabulary, but the composition (phrasing, metre) is quite different. I cite an example from the *Samudaghosajātaka*:[93]

Khmer/Siamese text

Taṃ sutvā bodhisatto anantaraṃ gāthām āha:

Yadā pucchāmi brāhmaṇe taṃ pavuttiṃ suṇomi 'haṃ
Tañ c'eva me cintayato ummatako jāto mano
Tasmā cajeyyaṃ attānaṃ tava saṃgammakātaṇā
Cajetvā mātapitaro āgato tava santike ti.

Zimmè Paṇṇāsa

Taṃ sutvā bodhisatto somanassapatto imaṃ gāthadvayam āha

Bhadde pucchāmi brāhmaṇe tuyhaṃ guṇaṃ suṇāmi 'haṃ
Ahaṃ taṃ cintayanto so ummato jāyate sadā (20)
Tasmā pahāya me raṭṭhaṃ karomidha tayā vāsaṃ
Chaṭṭevā mātapitaro āgatāsmi tavantike ti. (21)

In some cases verses found in one version of a story are not found in another version.[94] We may therefore suggest that an important distinction between the classical *Jātaka* and the *Paññāsa-jātaka* is that while the former is a fixed collection of *verses* around which prose

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[92]The formula is also used in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, and a text or texts using the same formula was known to Prajñāvarman, North-East Indian commentator on the *Udānavarga*: see Peter Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan translation", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XIX (1993), pp. 143–153.

[93]Ginette Terral, "Samuddhaghosajātaka", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XLVIII, 1 (1956), pp. 282–283.

[94]See Terral, op. cit., pp. 276–279: *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* verse nos. 11–13 have no counterparts in the Khmer/Siamese text, which is in prose.

narratives were composed, the latter is a collection of *stories*, of *narratives*, accompanied by and in part expressed in verse. Another difference is that the *Paññāsa-jātaka* verses are themselves often

narrative: this is the case for only some of the classical *Jātaka*s, such as the final stories.

The verses have not been numbered consecutively in any editions, Pāli or vernacular, so we cannot state how many there are. An absolute desideratum for further studies of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections is a *pāda* index of the verses in published editions, whether Pāli or vernacular. This will help to determine the relation between the *Paññāsa-jātaka* and other Buddhist and indeed non-Buddhist literature. For example, certain verses of the apocryphal *Jambūpati-sutta* have parallels in the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (and there are also stylistic or phraseological similarities). In the *Lokaneyyappakaraṇaṃ*, a long and important Siamese Pāli text, Jaini found twelve verses paralleling the Thai National Library edition of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* and two verses paralleling the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*.[95]

Paññāsa-jātaka collections may be classed under two broad categories: Pāli and vernacular. At present two main Pāli traditions are known—one from Burma and one from Siam—but only the former has been published. No Pāli *Paññāsa-jātaka* manuscripts have come to light in Lan Na and Lan Chang so far (although it will be seen below that the Wat Sung Men Lan Na Thai *nisay* embeds an almost complete Pāli text).[96] Scholars have traditionally accorded primacy to the Pāli, but the relationship between the vernacular and Pāli versions must be examined carefully, story by story. We must bear in mind that some stories may

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[95]Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Lokaneyyappakaraṇaṃ*, The Pali Text Society, London, p. 203.

[96]The status of the Cambodian Pāli collection and its relation to the Siamese collection remains unclear. In Chapter III of *An Historical and Structural Study* Fickle gives romanized texts of two *jātakas*—*Kanakavaṇṇarāja* and *Dhammasoṇḍaka*—each based on the Institut Bouddhique Khmer-script printed version compared with a microfilm of a single Khom-script manuscript from the National Library, Bangkok. The variants recorded in her notes are minor and scribal. Thus the Institut Bouddhique and National Library versions of these two *jātakas* belong to the same textual tradition. If it does turn out that Cambodia has an independent manuscript tradition this would make a third Pāli tradition.

have been translated from vernacular to Pāli. Such is, after all, the case with some of the classical narrative literature of Sri Lankan Theravāda. The *Dhammapada* stories were translated into Pāli from Sinhalese Prakrit in the 5th century, and then back into Sinhalese in an expanded version in the 13th century. The new Sinhalese version took on "an identity and life of its own".[97]

Pāli is a literary language used by people who spoke, and speak, different languages. A significant difference between South-East Asian Pāli compositions and the classical works is that for the most part the latter were translated into Pāli from other Prakrits, while South-East Asian narratives were translated from very different language families such as Mon or Thai. The 15th century Chiang Mai monk Bodhiraṃsi states at the beginning of his *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* that it was translated from Thai (*deyya-bhāsā*). It is, therefore, a misconception to have a fixed idea of the Pāli as the "original text", and the history of each text must be carefully examined.[98]

Jaini and others have traced some of the sources of the stories in the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*. Here we may again compare the case of the Japanese tale collection *Kara Monogatari*. Geddes writes:

> All but two of the twenty-seven tales of the *Kara Monogatari* can readily be found in early Chinese sources. However, the question of whether the compiler relied on Chinese works or on Japanese versions of the tales existent prior to the appearance of the *Kara Monogatari* seems impossible to resolve. A number of tales appear in more than one Chinese work; here too it is impossible to state categorically that one or another work is the source of the Japanese version of a tale. In addition … when the possibility is considered that the *Kara Monogatari* may be closely related to Chinese

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[97] See Ranjini Obeyesekere (tr.), *Jewels of the Doctrine: Stories of the Saddharma Ratnāvaliya*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991, Introduction.

[98] On the value of vernacular *vis-à-vis* Pāli literature, see Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism", in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1995, pp. 31–61.

or Japanese works now lost, the task of tracing and sorting out sources must be seen as having no ultimate resolution.[99]

This assessment applies equally to the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections.

1. Paññāsa-jātaka in Siam

The National Library edition

Kazuko Tanabe has published romanized Pāli editions of several *jātakas* from the *Paññāsa-jātaka* manuscripts in the National Library, Bangkok, but no study or edition has been made of the Pāli collection as a whole. The collection consists of Khom script palm-leaf manuscripts in the National Library, Bangkok, in the Wat Bovoranivet and other temple libraries, and in foreign libraries such as the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and the Otani University Library in Kyoto.[100]

In BE 2466 (CE 1923) the National Library published a Thai translation of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* in twenty-eight fascicles under the direction of Prince Damrong. Different translators were responsible for different *jātakas*.[101] This collection was reprinted in two volumes in 2499 [1956].[102] It contains a total of 61 stories, without any

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[99]Ward Geddes, *Kara Monogatari: Tales of China*, Arizona State University, 1984 (Center for Asian Studies, Occasional Paper No. 16), p. 45 (see also p. 46, where Geddes concludes that the "task of tracing the influences and sources … appears hopeless").

[100]The giant of Buddhist studies Léon Feer prepared a list of the contents of the *jātaka* manuscripts, including *Paññāsa-jātaka*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale but it remains unpublished, preserved with his papers: see A. Cabaton, "Papiers de Léon Feer", in *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits sanscrits et pālis*, 2e fascicule—manuscrits pālis, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1908, p. 175.

[101]See Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka: Its Genesis and Significance to Thai Poetical Works* [1995], Appendix *ka*, pp. 302–304 for the list.

[102]*Paññāsajātaka chabap ho samut heng chat*, Sinlapabannakan Press, Bangkok, 2499: Part I, *ka–ṅa* + 1040 pp., stories 1–48; Part II, stories 49–50 plus *Pacchimabhāga*, stories 1–11, followed by *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa*, *Pañcabuddhaśakarājavarṛnanā*, and *Ānisaṅs pha paṅsukula*, 982 pp., with alphabetical list of titles at end, pp. *ka–kha*. I am grateful to Santi Pakdeekham

arrangement into *vaggas.*[103] It is divided into a "first part" with 50 stories (48 in the first volume, two in the second) and a later part (*pacchimabhāga*) with another 11 stories followed by three short supplementary texts, the *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa*, *Pañcabuddhaśaka-rājavarrṇanā*, and *Ānisaṅs pha paṅsukula.*[104] The Thai translation retains many verses in Pāli, which show signs of editing and standardization.

In his introduction to the translation of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* Prince Damrong states that for some years it was impossible to find a complete set in Pāli, and that finally one was put together from several different temple collections, completed in 2466 (1923) with a manuscript from Wat Pathumkhonkha. Niyada has done a great service by listing the contents of 35 manuscripts in the National Library, by title and bundle (*phūk*).[105] Her list reveals the complexity of the transmission of the *Paññāsa-jātaka*. It is clear that one of the common sets started with *Samudaghosa-jātaka*. But while the same texts occur in the same order in many manuscripts, the distribution of titles into bundles differs. Furthermore, this same common set is sometimes described as *Paññāsa-jātaka ban ton* (beginning) and sometimes as *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* (end). Other groups of miscellaneous *jātakas* are also described

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for obtaining a copy of Part II for me. Both volumes are rare. For a translation (from Thai to German to English) of No. 29, *Bahalagāvī*, see "The Striped Tiger Prince and Pahala, the Portly Cow", *Tai Culture*, Vol. V, No. 1 (June 2000), pp. 135–139.

[103]The contents are listed in Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, Table I, p. 16.

[104]*Paññāsajātaka*, Part 28 (cf. Supaphan na Bangchang, *Wiwatthanakan vannakhadi sai phra suttantapidok ti taeng nai prathaet thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990] pp. 17–18). For the Pāli *Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa* with French translation see G. Martini, in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 55 (1969), pp. 125–145; for an English translation from the Thai by Bruce Evans and further references see *Fragile Palm Leaves Newsletter* No. 5 (May 2542/1999), pp. 8–12.

[105]See Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka: Its Genesis and Significance*, Appendix *kha*, pp. 305–319.

as *Paññāsa-jātaka*. That is, it is not clear at all what "complete set" should mean.

There is a note on the problem of *ban ton* and *ban plai* by Phra Phinit Wannakan (Braḥ Binic Varrṇakāra) in a footnote to the introduction in the later volumes of the National Library edition:

> This *Paññāsa-jātaka*, according to the manuscripts that have been examined, may be divided into two categories: one category is called *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* [*Paññāsa-jātaka,* last part], but without, it seems, any *ban ton* [first part]. Another category is called *Paññāsa-jātaka-paṭhamabhāga* (that is, the first part), or *Paññāsa-jātaka-pacchimabhāga* (that is, the last part). The *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* is widespread, while manuscripts of the *Paññāsa-jātaka-paṭhamabhāga* and *Pacchimabhāga* are rare. On reading [the titles] for the first time, one assumes that *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* and *Paññāsa-jātaka-pacchimabhāga* would be the same text [since both names mean "last part", the one in Thai, the other in Pāli], but upon examination the correspondence is the opposite of what one would expect: *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* corresponds to *Paññāsa-jātaka-paṭhamabhāga*, a complete work with just fifty stories. This leads one to hypothesize that originally the author of *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* intended it to fit into the *Paññāsa-nipāta* [in the classical Pāli *Jātaka*]. Later someone composed an additional fourteen stories; intending [to make the whole] into an independent work, not included in the *Nipāta* [that is, not included in the *Paññāsa-nipāta* of the classical *Jātaka* just mentioned], he [combined the two, the old and the new] changing the name of the *Paññāsa-jātaka ban plai* to *Paññāsa-jātaka-paṭhamabhāga*, and calling the newly added section *Paññāsa-jātaka-pacchimabhāga*.

Phra Phinit's theory starts with an explanation of the name, *Paññāsa-jātaka*, suggesting that the collection was meant to be attached to the *Paññāsa-nipāta* of the classical collection. This theory is not tenable, since the "fifty" of the title *Paññāsa-nipāta* means that the chapter is made up of *jātakas* that contain fifty verses. It does not mean that the chapter contains or ought to contain fifty *jātakas*, and in fact the *Paññāsa-nipāta* contains only three *jātakas*.

Another problem lies in the fact that Phra Phinit treats the *Paṭhamabhāga* and *Pacchimabhāga* of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* as if each were composed by a single author. Given not only the multiple origins

of the stories but also the diversity of contents of the different collections, this cannot be realistic, even if we stretch the word *teng* to mean "compile". Further, the terms *ban ton* and *ban plai* are commonly used to describe other long manuscripts (and even printed books), such as the *Visuddhimagga* and *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, and may rather be book-makers' conventions than those of the editors. That is, the large collections were too big to be contained in a single wrapper, and had to be divided into two.

Whatever the origin of the collection, it is certain that individual stories included in the *Paññāsa-jātaka* had an enormous influence on Siamese literature. This was noted in the introduction (*kham nam*) to the Fine Arts Department reprint:

> Sinlapabannakhan Printers requested permission to print and distribute the *Paññāsa-jātaka*. The Fine Arts Department feels that this book, even though it is classed as religious literature [*dhammagatī*], is different from most religious books in that it contains stories which are quite readable. Some of the stories have been used as sources for the composition of *khlong*, *chan*, and drama, and many have become well-known literary works, such as the poem *Samuttakhot kham chan*, the plays *Phra Sudhana and Lady Manora*, *Sang Thong*, *Khawi*, and the story of *Phra Rothasen*.

In his *Nithan wannakhadi* Dhanit Yupho compared the *Paññāsa-jātaka* to an artery running through the entire body of Thai literature. The influence of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* on Thai poetical literature is the main subject of Niyada's work (originally a thesis for Chulalongkorn University).[106] Niyada lists and discusses twenty-one *jātakas* that functioned as sources for sixty-three Thai poetic works in the genres *kham kap*, *kham khlon*, *kham chan*, *lilit*, drama, *bot khap mai* and *bot mahori*.

Important verse versions include the *Samuttakhot kham chan*, begun by Maharatchakhru (Mahārājagarū) in the court of King Narai (1655–1688), continued by King Narai himself, and completed by

[106]Cited in Niyada op. cit., p. 133.

Supreme Patriarch Prince Paramanuchit (1790–1853).[107] This story is well-known, and depicted in 19th century mural paintings in Wat Dusitaram in Thonburi. There are also *kham chan* versions of *Sudhanu* and *Sabbasiddhi.* Three stories from *Paññāsa-jātaka* are embedded in the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā* composed by Phraya Thampreecha (Kaew) at the behest of King Rāma I: *Samudaghosa*,[108] *Sumbhamitra* (for which *Paññāsa-jātaka* is specified as source),[109] and *Bahalagāvī*.[110] One of the famous works of King Rāma II is a dramatic version of the *Suvaṇṇasaṅkha-jātaka*, the play *Sang thong*.[111] Adaptations of *Sang thong* and other *jātakas* like *Manoharā* and *Rathasena* continue to be performed,[112] and at the time of writing

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[107]See Thomas John Hudak, *The Tale of Prince Samuttakote: A Buddhist Epic from Thailand*, Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series Number 90, Athens, Ohio; "From Prose to Poetry: The Literary Development of *Samuttakote*", in Juliane Schober (ed.), *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, pp. 218–231.

[108]*Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā chabap ti 2 (Traibhūmi chabap luang)*, Vol. 1, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2520, p. 249, *samdaeng wai nai samuttakhot-chadok nan wa* …; noted by Dhanit Yupho, Introduction to *Samudraghoṣa kham chan*, 2503, repr. in *Kham nam lae bot khwam bang ruang khong Dhanit Yupho*, Bangkok, 2510, p. 79.

[109]*Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā chabap ti 2 (Traibhūmi chabap luang)*, Vol. 1, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2520, p. 453, *phra sangkhitikachan (saṅgītikācārya) wisatchana wai nai paññāsajātaka wa* …. Does the reference to *saṅgītikācārya* suggest that for Braḥyā Dharrmaprījā the collection had canonical status? This depends on one's definition of canonicity.

[110] *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā chabap ti 2 (Traibhūmi chabap luang)*, Vol. 2, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2520, p. 304.

[111]See Fern S. Ingersoll (tr.), *Sang Thong: A Dance-Drama from Thailand written by King Rama II & the Poets of His Court*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland Vermont & Tokyo, 1973; Prince Chula Chakrabongse (tr.), *The Story of Sangha, published in commemoration of the bi-centenary anniversary of the birth of King Rama II*, [Bangkok], 24th February, 1968.

[112] Dhanit Yupho, *The Khōn and Lakon: Dance Dramas presented by the Department of Fine Arts*, The Department of Fine Arts, Bangkok, 1963, pp. 121–135 (Sang Thong), 77–83 (Manoh'rā), 85–90 (Rothasen).

(2001) Sudhana-Manoharā was running in a popular television adaptation.

An understanding of *jātakas*, their interrelation, and their relation to the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections is essential to the understanding of Thai literature. It is important to understand that the influence is that of *individual stories* of *Paññāsa-jātaka*, and not of the *set* as a whole. That is, classical Siamese literature does not treat the stories as extracts from the set of fifty: each story exists in its own right.

Indeed, it is remarkable that no old vernacular Central Thai collection is known or listed in any manuscript collections. That is, there is no Central Thai counterpart to the several Northern Thai and Laotian vernacular collections to be discussed below. Individual *jātakas* were transmitted, told and retold, and performed in Central Siam, but there is only one *collection*, and that is in Pāli, and even its history, structure, and contents are not clear. Reference in Central Thai literature to the set of fifty, to *Paññāsa-jātaka* by title, is rare. One example is in the verse *kolabot* (riddle) version of *Sirivipulakitti*, composed by Luang Śrī Prījā. Near the beginning the author states that he is translating from the Jātaka, from the "Fifty Births of the Bodhisattva" (*paññāsa-jāti-bodhisattva*).[113] There is some debate over when the work was composed, whether in the late Ayutthaya or early Bangkok period.

Lan Na and the Wat Sung Men collection

Paññāsa-jātaka collections were widespread in Northern Siam, in Lan Na and other states like Nan and Phrae. King Anantaworarit of Nan, who was a generous sponsor of the writing down of scriptures, had a *Paññāsa-jātaka* in ten bundles copied in CS 1223 [1861/62] and again in CS 1225 [1863/64], the latter along with a *nisay*.[114] Lan Na

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[113]*Sirivipulakitti*, in *Wannakam samai ayutthaya*, Vol. 3, The Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2531 [1988], p. 368.

[114]*Prachum phongsawadan* Vol. 10, Bangkok, 2507 [1964], pp. 86, 95, 96; David K. Wyatt (tr.), *The Nan Chronicle*, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1994, pp. 121–122. (CS = Culaśakarāja, the Lesser Saka Era.)

collections drew on the rich local literature, the "Lan Na *jātakas*", largely vernacular, referred to above.[115]

Paññāsa-jātaka manuscripts are kept in the following temples in the North:

> Wat Muang Mo, Rong Kwang District, Phrae Province
> Wat Phra Luang, Sung Men District, Phrae Province
> Wat Ton Leng, Pua District, Nan Province
> Wat Klang, Song District, Phrae Province
> Wat Pa Muet, Pua District, Nan Province
> Wat Phya Phu, Muang District, Nan Province
> Wat Chang Kham, Muang District, Nan Province.[116]

But none of these is complete: the only complete manuscript is from Wat Sung Men, Amphoe Sung Men, in Phrae Province. The Wat Sung Men manuscript is complete in nine volumes (*mat*) written down between CS 1196 (BE 2377 = CE 1834) and CS 1198 (BE 2379 = 1836). It has recently been published in the central Thai script.[117] This collection has fifty *jātakas* plus six more given as an appendix.

The final colophon in Pāli with Lan Na Thai gloss (p. 987) reads:

> *Kukkurajātakaṃ* the Kukkura-jātaka *patamānaṃ* which falls *paññāsa-jātake* in the 50 births *paññāsajātakaṃ* the full 50 births *samattaṃ* is completed.

The titles of the fifty are very close in order and contents to the "Luang Prabang" manuscript described by Finot (1917, pp. 45–46), but they are

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[115]See Udom Rungreungsri, "Wannakam chadok ti mi laksana pen 'lanna'", in Panphen Khreuthai (ed.), *Wannakam phutthasasana nai lanna*, Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, 2540 [1997], pp. 51–60, and for the related Khün culture, Anatole-Roger Peltier, *La littérature Tai Khoeun/Tai Khoeun Literature*, École française d'Extrême-Orient & Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai, 1987.

[116]List from *A Critical Study*, Introduction, p. 25, with some additional information kindly supplied by Dr. Balee Buddharaksa, Chiang Mai.

[117]*A Critical Study of Northern Thai Version of Panyasa Jātaka*, Chiang Mai, 2541, 1150 pp.

not quite identical.[118] There is good reason for this. The Wat Sung Men manuscript was copied in Luang Prabang at Wat Wisun at the behest of Mahākāñcana Thera, an Araññavāsi monk from Phrae who travelled to the neighbouring state with his disciples to collect copies of scriptures. The names of two of the monk-copyists are recorded: Thula (Dhulā) Bhikkhu and Srīvijaiya Bhikkhu.

This edition includes, mixed with others, thirteen stories from the classical collection and one—not named *jātaka* in its title at all—from the *Dhammapada Commentary*, the *Tissathera-vatthu*.[119] Unlike the *Zimmè Jātaka* (for which see below), the collection is not divided into *vagga*s.The colophons of occasional individual *jātakas*, however, show traces of an earlier division into *kaṇḍa* and *vagga*:

No. 7	Candaghāta	Viriyakaṇḍo paṭhamo
No. 11	Magha	Mettāya kaṇḍo … dutiyo
No. 14	Sonanda	Nekkhammakaṇḍo … dutiyo
App. No. 5	Duṭṭharāja	Khantikaṇḍo … chaṭṭho
No. 23	Campeyya	Sīlavaggo … pañcamo

If we correct *Mettāya* to *Mettā,* we see that the four *kaṇḍa* and one *vagga* all bear names of perfections, *pāramī*. This suggests that there may once have been a collection that classed the stories according to the perfections that they illustrated, like classical works such as the Pāli *Cariyā-piṭaka* or the *Scripture of the Collection of the Six Perfections* referred to above. It may be that the closing Pāli number (*paṭhama*, *dutiya*, etc.) is not that of the section itself but of the text within the section: that, for example, the *Sonanda-jātaka* was the second *jātaka* in the section on *Nekkhama*. However, the order of the perfections is quite different from that of the traditional list, and the nature of these sections is not at all clear. It may be that the names were carried over when copying from different examplars. Perhaps further clues may be found

[118]The "Luang Prabang" manuscript itself is closer, but not quite identical, to Niyada's list of 50 *jātakas* from the Institute for Buddhist Studies edition published in Vientiane (see below).

[119]See Table II.

in the incomplete collections from other temples.

Out of the fifty-six *jātakas*, twenty-five give their sequential number at the end of the story. The remaining thirty-one do not.[120] Out of those that do give their number, the number is not always the same as that in the current collection, but is off by one or more. For example, No. 11 describes itself as *dvādasama*, 12. Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21 state at the end that they are Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 22, respectively.[121] This suggests that at some stage of copying the order was changed.

A list of locations of the "account of the present" (*paccuppanna-vatthu*) of the *jātakas* is given in the introduction to the edition.[122] The sites are traditional: for example forty-seven open in the Jetavana, three in the Nigrodhārāma, and one in the Veḷuvana. The style is for the most part *nisay*—a phrase of Pāli followed by a translation or gloss in Thai Yuan—or *vohāra* (which has less Pāli than the *nisay*, giving only intermittent phrases).[123] Some verses are given in full in Pāli. The vernacular is Thai Yuan, and in some cases Lao, evidence for the close links between the two cultures.

Other vernacular collections

Niyada describes the contents of a *Paññāsa-jātaka* from Chiang Tung (Kengtung, Shan State, Burma), an old state with close historical and cultural links to Lan Na. The manuscript, called *Paññāsa-jāti*, belongs to Venerable Thip Chutithammo, abbot of Wat Min, Chiang Tung, who reports that the *Paññāsa-jātaka* has long been popular in Chiang Tung and that the stories are related in sermons. The collection described by

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[120]For details see *A Critical Study*, Introduction, p. 29 (which gives the figure "twenty-four" but lists twenty-five).

[121]For details see *A Critical Study*, Introduction, p. 29.

[122]*A Critical Study*, Introduction, pp. 29–31: romanized here as Table I.

[123]"Thai Yuan" is one of the several names for "Northern Thai" (*kham muang*, *phasa lanna*).

Niyada is divided into 26 sections or *kaṇḍa*.[124]

It is not clear whether distinctive *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections were compiled or transmitted in other regions or vernaculars, such as the North-East or the South of Thailand. The term *Phra chao ha sip chat* was certainly known, and individual *jātakas* were transmitted in regional literatures. For example in the North-East *Thau Siton* (*Sudhana-jātaka*), *Thau Suphamit* (*Subhamita-jātaka*), and *Thau Sowat* (*Suvatra-jātaka*) exist in vernacular versions,[125] while in the South there are versions of *Rotmeri* and other *jātakas*. The ubiquitous *Suvaṇṇasaṅkha* (*Sang thong*) is known in versions from the North-East and South.[126] But no *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection as such has come to light.

The same may be said for Mon versions. While individual *jātakas* and verse adaptations exist in Mon—of *Samudaghosa*, *Varavarṇa*, and other stories—I have not seen any reference to a Mon collection. All of this needs further research.

2. Paññāsa-jātaka in Laos

From Laos we have information about two different vernacular manuscript collections, one from Luang Prabang, the other from Vientiane. For the study of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* in Laos, we are indebted to the pioneering work of Finot and of Henri Deydier, the latter both for his published works and for an unpublished work being prepared for publication by Jacqueline Filliozat and Anatole-Roger Peltier under the title *Un fragment inconnu du Paññāsa-jātaka laotien*, which includes summaries of fifty stories.[127]

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[124]See Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 57–58. I assume the stories are in the local vernacular, Tai Khün.

[125]*Saranukrom watthanatham thai phak isan*, Vol. 4 (Bangkok, 2542 [1999]), pp. 1678–1682, 1684–1686, 1687–1694.

[126]*Saranukrom watthanatham thai phak isan*, Vol. 14 (Bangkok, 2542 [1999]), pp. 4762–4771.

[127]I am grateful to Madame Jacqueline Filliozat for giving me a copy of the work.

Finot described a collection from the north of Laos, from the "royal capital" of Luang Prabang, which I shall refer to as "Finot's list". A printed edition, *Phra Chao Sip Chat*, published in Vientiane by the Committee of the Institute for Buddhist Studies (Khana kammakar pracham sathaban kan suksa phutthasasana) agrees closely in contents to Finot's list and to the Wat Sung Men collection.[128] This edition I will call the Institute for Buddhist Studies edition.[129] Like Finot's list and the Wat Sung Men *Paññāsa-jātaka*, the Institute for Buddhist Studies collection includes *jātakas* from the classical collection (14 according to Deydier). Deydier has noted that of the fifty stories in the Lao collection, twenty-seven are not found in the other collections: "Ces 27 récits sont absolument originaux".[130]

The introduction to the Institute for Buddhist Studies edition states:

> The *Phra Chao Ha Sip Chat* is [a collection of] outstanding stories. It is a work that the older generation used to listen to. Professional entertainers-cum-reciters (*mo lam ruang*) would perform recitations which were heard

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[128]It is not clear to me how many volumes of the *Phra Chao Ha Hip Chat* were published. Niyada (*Paññāsa Jātaka: Its Genesis and Significance*, p. 58, n. 1) refers to two volumes published 2517 [1974]. Fortunately Vol. 1 gives a list of all fifty. I have not seen the original, and refer to the list as given by Niyada, pp. 58–63. A precise concordance cannot be made until all stories are accessible, since some discrepancies may be apparent rather than real, arising simply from variant titles. Even if the collections are identical in contents, that does not mean the recensions of the stories will be identical. The sequence of the stories common to Wat Sung Men and *Phra Chao Ha Sip Chat* is identical, and at most nine titles are different. A list given without naming the source by P.V. Bapat in "Buddhist Studies in Recent Times", in P.V. Bapat (ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Delhi (1956: repr. 1959), "Laos", pp. 431–432 seems the same as the Institute for Buddhist Studies edition, when different names (vernacular vs. Pāli, etc.) are taken into account. Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, gives a list of fifty "titles in Laotian Collection" in Table III, p. 18.

[129] Note that my translation of the name of the Institute is tentative: I have been unable to find an official translation.

[130]Henri Deydier, *Introduction à la connaissance du Laos*, Saigon, 1952, p. 29. This statement must, of course, be revised in the light of the publication of the Wat Sung Men manuscript.

> regularly. There were also many palm-leaf manuscripts to be read at home.[131]

In the forthcoming work Deydier describes an incomplete "Ha sip chat" manuscript in the library of Wat Phra Kaew, Vientiane. The manuscript has nine bundles containing eleven stories (the last not complete). On the basis of internal evidence Deydier concluded that these are Nos. 39 to 49 of the collection. Only three correspond to *jātakas* of the Bangkok National Library edition, in a quite different order. In contents and order the collection does not resemble the Finot, Institute for Buddhist Studies, or Wat Sung Men collections, or the Institut Bouddhique or *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* collections. Indeed some of the eleven stories are not found in any other collection.

Paññāsa-jātaka manuscripts are kept in the National Library of Laos in Vientiane,[132] but their contents have not, to my knowledge, been analysed. For the time being we can only say that Laos shares in the rich tradition of *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections.[133]

3. Paññāsa-jātaka in Cambodia

Pāli *Paññāsa-jātaka* manuscripts exist in Cambodia, but the relation between the Khmer and the Siamese Pāli collections is not known since neither has been studied thoroughly. Finot's list of the contents of a Khmer-script Pāli manuscript collection differs from the Bangkok National Library and other collections available.[134] Terral's study (1956) shows that the Khmer-script *Samuddaghosa-jātaka* differs radically from the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* version.[135] But, while one of her

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[131]Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 58–59

[132]Jacqueline Filliozat's Preface to Deydier forthcoming, p. 3.

[133]For one popular story see Thao Nhouy Abhaya, "Sin Xay", *France-Asie: Revue mensuelle de culture et de synthèse franco-asiatique*, 118–119 (Mars-Avril 1956), Numéro spécial, *Présence du Royaume Lao*, pp. 1028–42.

[134]See Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, Table II, p. 17.

[135]She concludes: "Notons que les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque national de Paris, aussi bien que la traduction siamoise présentée par le prince Damrong, montrent l'identité des versions conservées au Siam et au Cambodge, par opposition à celle du Jaṅ:may [Chiang Mai] paṇṇāsa que nous ne connaissons,

manuscripts (K3) was copied in Cambodia, it is not clear whether it or the other manuscripts originated from Cambodia or Siam. One manuscript (K4) has Siamese writing on the cover folios. In the National Library in Phnom Penh today there is a *Paññāsa-jātaka* "*ban ton*" in 17 bundles,[136] which almost certainly comes from Siam.

Twenty-five *jātakas* were published by the Institut bouddhique in Phnom Penh in five fascicules between 1953 and 1962 (for the contents, see Table III).[137] Khmer translations of the same twenty-five were published separately between 1944 and 1962 under the title *Paññāsajātak samrāy*, also in five fascicules.[138] In both cases publication stopped with twenty-five stories. In 1963 abridged Khmer versions of a full fifty stories by Nhok Thèm were published by the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines of the University of Phnom Penh under the title *Paññāsajātak saṅkhep* (see Table IV for the contents).[139] The first 20 titles are the same and in the same order as those of the Institut Bouddhique edition. The first 35 titles are the same and in the same order as those of the Thai National Library edition, after

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jusqu'à présent, que par l'exemplaire de Rangoun" ("Samuddaghosajātaka", p. 254).

[136]Fonds pour l'édition des manuscrits du Cambodge, Inventaire des manuscrits khmers, pāli et thai de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Phnom Penh, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1999, p. 6, Cat. No. B 36.

[137]*Ganthamālā*, Publications de l'école supérieure de pāli éditées par les soins de l'Institut Bouddhique X, *Paññāsajātaka*, Texte pālī, Phnom-Penh, Éditions de l'Institut Bouddhique, 1953–62. The set is very rare. I was able to consult it in the library of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, in November 2000. (The French title page of Tome 1 describes it as "Deuxième Édition". I have not seen the first edition.)

[138]Not seen: see Jacobs' bibliography (below, n. 138), p. 209.

[139]Nhok Thèm, *Paññāsajātaka saṅkhep*, Phnom Penh, 1963, 556 pp. I am grateful to Olivier de Bernon for informing me of the existence of this work and providing me with a copy. M. de Bernon notes that "cet ouvrage a fait l'objet d'une réédition, assez fautive, en deux volumes à Phnom Penh en 1999" (personal communication, December 2000). (The work is included in Jacobs' comprehensive bibliography, p. 252, under the orthography Nhok-Thaem.)

which order and titles diverge.[140]

Non-classical *jātakas* were recast in popular verse narratives. Some of the stories are told in Auguste Pavie's *Contes du Cambodge*.[141] Pavie decribes "Varavong et Saurivong", of which he provides a complete translation, as "le roman de mœurs et d'aventures le plus aimé du Cambodge". Many of the stories summarized by Judith Jacobs in her *Traditional Literature of Cambodia* are non-classical *jātakas* often included in *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections.[142]

4. Paññāsa-jātaka in Burma

A Pāli *Paññāsa-jātaka* transmitted in Burma gives a full fifty stories arranged in five sections (*vagga*) of ten stories each.[143] It is the only known collection to have exactly fifty stories tidily organized into *vaggas*. According to Jaini, in Burma palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* are rare.[144] For his edition he consulted two sources: a complete manuscript in 324 leaves from the Zetawun (Jetavana) monastery in Monywe (Monywa district, near Mandalay) and a

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[140]Niyada (*Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 63–69) gives a list from the introduction to Fascicle 1 of *Paññāsajātak samrāy*. The first 35 agree in the main on contents and order with *Paññāsajātak saṅkhep*, after which they diverge.

[141]Auguste Pavie *Contes du Cambodge*, Repr. Éditions Sudestasie, Paris, 1988.

[142]Judith Jacobs, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996. For mention of *Paññāsa-jātaka* see pp. 37 foll. and 50–51.

[143]A list of titles, without division into sections, is given by Fickle in her Table IV. Her thesis was written before the publication of the Pāli *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* and English translation by the Pali Text Society. The titles given by Fickle, based on Finot ("Recherches", p. 45), Terral ("Samuddaghosajātaka", p. 341), and two other sources agree with those of the PTS edition with one exception, No. 13. This is not surprising since her sources all derive from the printed Hanthawaddy Press 1911 edition. No. 13 has two titles, *Suvaṇṇakumāra* and *Dasapañhavisajjana*.

[144]A story recounted by Prince Damrong and repeated by Jaini has it that a Burmese king considered the work to be apocryphal, and had all copies burnt. This was strongly denied by U Bo Kay in a letter to Niyada (*Paññāsa Jātaka*, p. 36, n. 1).

Burmese-script printed edition published by the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, in 1911, in 685 pages. The Hanthawaddy edition does not give any information about the editor(s) or manuscript(s) consulted.[145] This edition was the base-text for Padmanabh S. Jaini's roman-script edition published in two volumes by the Pali Text Society in 1981 and 1983,[146] which is available in English translation by Horner and Jaini.[147] The Hanthawaddy edition has recently been translated into Thai.[148]

This collection is known in Burma as the "Chiang Mai *Jātaka*", and it was under this title (*Zimmè Jātaka*) that it was published by the Hanthawaddy Press. But this is a popular title, as is another nickname, the "Yuan Paṇṇāsa". Is there any other, more formal title? The closing colophon gives the titles *Paṇṇāsajāt* (in the manuscript) and *Paṇṇāsapāḷi* (in the printed edition). A colophon at the end of each

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[145]It is probable that the manuscript was that purchased by Charles Duroiselle for the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. A letter from Duroiselle to Louis Finot, dated Mandalay, 6 June 1917, refers to "un volume du Zimmè Paṇṇāsa" sent by him to the latter. Duroiselle states that "ce volume fut imprimé sur la copie en feuilles de palmier que j'ai réussi à acheter pour la Bernard Free Library après plusieurs années de recherches. C'est la seule copie qui me soit connue en Birmanie." (Letter cited in n. 4 of Jacqueline Filliozat's Preface to Deydier forthcoming).

[146]Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Paññāsa-jātaka or Zimmè Paṇṇāsa (in the Burmese Recension)*: Vol. I, Jātakas 1–25, London, 1981 (Pāli Text Society, Text Series No. 172); Vol. II, Jātakas 26–50, London, 1983 (Pāli Text Society, Text Series No. 173). Jaini published some preliminary remarks, dated 1978, in Vol. I (pp. v–vi) and an introduction, dated Vesak 1981, was published in 1983 in Vol. II of the PTS edition of the Pāli (pp. xi–xliii). Jaini summarized each of the stories, referring to parallels and possible sources, and discussed "place, date, and authorship" and "linguistic peculiarities" of the collection as a whole.

[147] I.B. Horner & Padmanabh S. Jaini (tr.), *Apocryphal Birth-Stories (Paññāsa-jātaka)*, Vol. I, London, 1985, xiii + 316 pp. (stories 1–25); Padmanabh S. Jaini (tr.), Vol. II, London, 1986, 257 pp. (stories 26–50).

[148]*Chiang Mai Paṇṇāsajātaka*, 2 vols., Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2540 [1997], 698 pp. (Vol. I, stories 1–25, pp. 1–378; Vol. II, stories 26–50, pp. 379–698).

vagga as published by Jaini gives the title of the *vagga* (which is simply the title of the first story in the section) and a verse table of contents (*uddāna*) listing the ten titles, along with the prose statement:

> *iti imehi dasajātakehi paṭimaṇḍito paññāsajātakasaṅgahe vijamāno [x]-vaggo … niṭṭhito.*
>
> Thus: The [such-and-such] chapter ornamented with these ten *jātakas* which exists in the *Paññāsa-jātaka-saṅgaha* is finished.

Can it be that the original name of the text is *Paññāsa-jātaka-saṅgaha*, the title given in the *vagga* colophons? That is, did the author or compiler of this "Burmese collection" name his work *Paññāsa-jātaka-saṅgaha* to show that it was a specific collection of apocryphal Pāli *jātakas*, edited and arranged in *vaggas* by himself, in order to distinguish it from other collections named simply *Paññāsa-jātaka*? Since the title is not consistent in all the colophons in Jaini's two sources, and is not confirmed by the final colophon, further manuscripts need to be consulted before an answer can be given.

The *Piṭakat samuiṅ*, an inventory of titles compiled in 1888 by U Yan (Maṅ krī Mahāsirijeyasū, 1815–1891), the last Royal Librarian of the Palace Library at Mandalay (which was dispersed with the British annexation in 1885), does not use the name *Paññāsa-jātaka-saṅgaha*, but rather lists the text under a further title, *Lokīpaṇṇāsa-jāt*. The *Piṭakat samuiṅ* lists two works of this title, a Pāli text and a *nissaya*:[149]

> § 369. *Lokīpaṇṇāsa-jāt:* by a *rhaṅ sāmaṇera* who was very skillful in religious and worldly affairs (*lokadhamma*), and who lived in Jaṅ: may [Chiang Mai], Ayuddhaya division, Yui:dayā: ([Thailand].
>
> § 898. *Lokīpaṇṇāsajāt-nisya*: by Ku gyi Sayadaw (*gū krī charā-tō*) in the

[149] *Piṭakat samuiṅ*, § 369 *jaṅ: maypaṇṇāsajāt*; § 898 *jaṅ: maypaṇṇāsajāt nissaya*. For the *Piṭakat samuiṅ* see Oskar von Hinüber, *Handbook of Pāli Literature*, p. 3 and U Thaw Kaung, "Bibliographies compiled in Myanmar", in Pierre Pichard & François Robinne (ed.), *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques 9, Paris, 1998, pp. 405–406. I am grateful to Peter Nyunt for summarizing the relevant passages and to Dr. Sunait Chutindaranon for his comments.

reign of the first king who founded the first city of Amarapura (*amarapūra paṭhama mrui tañ nan: tañ ma:*). The *nisya* has three volumes.

This king should be Bodawpaya, who moved the capital to Amarapura in May 1783.[150] A palm-leaf manuscript containing a section of a Burmese translation in the Fragile Palm Leaves collection in Bangkok also bears the title *Lokīpaṇṇāsa*. The manuscript contains the stories of the second chapter, *Sudhanuvagga*, in the same order as the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*. The name of the translator and date of translation are unknown. On the evidence of U Yan and the Burmese-language manuscript another title of the work is *Lokīpaṇṇāsa-jāt*.[151] But this title is not given anywhere in the Pāli version. Can it first have been supplied by the author of the *Nissaya*, or by an early translator?

The contents and arrangement of the stories in the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* differ from other known collections, such as the National Library and Wat Sung Men editions. Even the verses are frequently different, as shown above. So far the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* collection is known only in Burma: no corresponding manuscript collection, Pāli or vernacular, is known in Lan Na or elsewhere. However, a Northern Thai *Piṭakamālā* written down in CS 1181 (BE 2367 = CE 1824) describes a "50 *chat*" in five *vaggas* which is identical in contents and arrangement to the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* (barring the usual differences in spelling and details of titles). To date this is the only evidence for the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* in Lan Na itself.

Can the *Piṭakamālā* reference be interpreted as a confirmation of the Burmese tradition that connects the *Paññāsa-jātaka* with Chiang Mai? It cannot, since the collection may have found its way from Burma to Chiang Mai rather than the other way around, perhaps during the long period of Burmese rule (1558–1775). After all, as noted in the

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[150] D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, Fourth Edition, Macmillan, Houndmills & London, 1981 (repr. 1985), p. 625.

[151] The table of contents of the modern printed edition of the *Piṭakat samuiṅ* uses the nicknames, listing the root-text as "Chiang Mai *Paṇṇāsa-jātaka*" and the *Nissaya* as "Chiang Mai *Paṇṇāsa-jātaka-nissaya*".

introduction to the printed edition of the Wat Sung Men *Paññāsa-jātaka*, the *Piṭakamālā* was written down seventeen years later than Jaini's Wat Jetavana manuscript, which bears a date corresponding to 1808. All the reference really tells us is that the collection was known to the unknown author of the *Piṭakamālā*.

Is there is any truth, then, in the story of Chiang Mai origins? It is possible, but cannot be proven. At any rate the story should only be applied to the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*, the (purported) "*Paññāsa-jātaka-saṅgaha*". No such story is transmitted in Siam, Laos, or Cambodia for the other collections, and it would be odd indeed if the widely divergent collections in several languages were all composed by a single novice in Chiang Mai.

The date of the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* is not known. An upper date is that of the *Nissaya*, composed in the reign of Bodawpaya, that is between 1783 and 1826. Further research into Burmese sources, including the *Nissaya*, is needed, since this may uncover new information. Another question is whether there are any other collections in Burma.

Prince Damrong's account of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* is worth citing at length:

> There is a report that once, when the *Paññāsa-jātaka* had spread to Burma, the Burmese called it "Chiang Mai *Paṇṇāsa*". But a king of Burma declared that it was apocryphal (*teng plom phra phutthawacana*) and ordered it to be burnt. As a result no copy of *Paññāsa-jātaka* is extant in Burma.[152]
>
> The king described the *Paññāsa-jātaka* as an apocryphal teaching ascribed to the Buddha because he misconstrued the *Nipāta-jātaka* (or what we call in Thai the "Stories of the Five Hundred Fifty Births of the Lord"), taking it to be the word of the Buddha when in fact it is not. The truth of the matter is as explained by King Phrabat Somdet Phra Chula Chom Klao [Rāma V] in his introduction to the [Thai translation of] the *Nipāta-jātaka* which was printed in the Fifth Reign. [He wrote that] the stories of the *Nipāta-jātaka* were probably fables that had been popularly recited long before the time of the Buddha. When the Lord Buddha taught

[152] For U Bo Kay's reaction to this story, see above, n. 143.

the beings to be trained (*venaiyasatva*) he chose some of these stories to illustrate certain points of his sermon. It was natural that in the stories there would be a hero and a villain. The exemplary figure might be a human or an animal, but in any case was called the "great being" (*mahāsattva*). Later, after the time of the Buddha, the idea arose that the "great being" in those *jātaka* stories was the Lord Buddha in previous lives. Later still, when the *Tripiṭaka* was compiled, the editors sought to instill a firm faith in accordance with their own beliefs, and therefore composed the "identification of the characters of the *jātaka*" (*prachum chadok* = Pāli *samodhāna*), as if Lord Buddha had clearly explained that this *mahāsattva* had later been born as the Buddha himself, and other people or animals came to be this or that person in the present [that is, in the time of the Buddha]. This explains the origin of the structure of the *jātaka* stories as they appear in the *Nipāta-jātaka*. When members of the *saṅgha* of Chiang Mai took local stories and composed them as *jātakas* they simply followed the model of the ancient literature composed in former times by the respected commentators (*phra gantharacanācārya*)—they had no intention whatsoever of deceiving anyone that this was the word of the Buddha. The king of Burma misunderstood the matter.

Questions: Origins, authenticity, date and place of compilation

Why were the *Paññāsa-jātaka* stories and collections so popular that they spread throughout mainland South-East Asia? What did they offer, besides good stories? Several answers come to mind. Like the classical *Jātaka* stories, they could function as sermons (*deśanā*), offering both moral instruction and explanations of *ānisaṃsa*, the benefits that accrue from the practices and deeds of the faithful such as giving (*dāna*) and ethics (*sīla*). The stories glorify the bodhisattva. That is, they are expressions of the "Theravādin cult of the bodhisattva" which is an outstanding feature of South-East Asian Buddhism, in which the bodhisattva acts as exemplar, transmitter of folk-wisdom, sanctifier, and embodiment of power and *pāramī*.

The problem of origins is complex. We have seen above that a Burmese tradition associates the *Paññāsa-jātaka* with Chiang Mai. Neither the antiquity or source of this tradition are clear. At one time Prince Damrong believed the collection to come from Vientiane in Laos, but later he held that it came from Chiang Mai. Niyada has

suggested that the *Paññāsa-jātaka* originated in Hariphunchai (Lamphun), but on the whole the connection with Chiang Mai has been widely and uncritically accepted: it is given by Prince Damrong in his introduction and even used as the title of the recent Thai translation of the Burmese collection. *Individual jātakas* cannot have their origin in one place alone, whether Chiang Mai or anywhere else. Some, like *Sudhana*, *Surūpa*, and *Kanakavaṇṇarāja*, have Sanskrit parallels in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Avadānaśataka*.[153] Others may have originated anywhere in the region. Some have been localized, but this does not (necessarily) say anything about their origins but only about their history. For example, in Surat Thani in Southern Thailand *Voravong* is associated with Chaiya and it is believed the events took place nearby.[154] In sum, it is possible that one of the *collections*—such as the *Zimmè Jātaka*—was compiled in Chiang Mai, but it is not possible that *all* of them were.

Since the time of Prince Damrong a number of dates have been proposed for "the" *Paññāsa-jātaka*. The Prince proposed the date 2000–2200 BE (CE 1457–1657) for the Pāli National Library collection. This date was followed by Phra Khru Ariyasatthā Jhim Sun Saddharrmapaññācārya in his introduction to the Institut Bouddhique edition. Jaini suggested a 13th to 14th century dating for the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*. Fickle reviewed available theories and concluded:

> With the realization that any date can be only tentative, we shall assign this text to the reign periods of King Tiloka and King Muang Keo (A.D. 1442–1525). The fact that these stories can be found on earlier monuments in Java and Pagan indicates that versions of some of the tales were circulating in Southeast Asia before the composition of the *P[aññāsa] J[ātaka]* collections.[155]

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[153]For the first two see Jaini, *Paññāsa-jātaka or Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. xli. For the last see Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, pp. 63–137. See also Fickle pp. 49–54 and Table VIII.

[154]Udom Nuthong, in *Saranukrom watthanatham phak tai pho so 2529*, Vol. 8, p. 3296.

[155]Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, pp. 8–9.

Niyada has proposed before BE 1808 (CE 1265), the date of the Thawkuthathamuti or Kusa-samuti inscription (for which see below). Classical Thai poems allude to several *jātakas*: *Kamsuan khlong dan* to *Samuttakhot* and *Sudhanu*, *Dvādasamāsa* to *Samuttakhot*, *Sudhanu*, and *Pācittakumāra*. *Nirat Haribhuñjaya*, dated to BE 2060 (CE 1517), alludes to *Rathasena*, *Sudhanu*, and *Samudaghosa*.[156] The poets compare the sorrow of lovers separated from each other with the sorrow experienced by characters in the stories in question.

In the library of Wat Sung Men is a *Samudaghosa-jātaka* translated from Pāli into Thai Yuan by Phra Ratanapañña.[157] If this is the same Ratanapañña who composed the *Jinakālamālī*, completed in about 1528, this gives us a rare instance of a datable translation from Pāli. But there may have been several Ratanapañña, and the identification remains tentative. The *Chiang Mai Chronicle* states that in CE 1288/89 a Mahāthera named Mahākassapa gave a sermon to King Mangrai based on the *Vaṭṭaṅguli-jātaka* (*Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* no. 37, Bangkok National Library no. 20).[158] The same story is told in the *Northern Chronicle* (*Phongsawadan Yonok*).[159] The *Chiang Mai Chronicle* dates from the beginning of the 19th century, although the section in question is based on ancient sources. The *Northern Chronicle* is even later, dating from

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[156]The references are given in Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 42–43.

[157]Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 36–37.

[158]*Tamnan pun muang chiang mai chabap chiang mai 700 pi*, Chiang Mai, 2538, pp. 26–27; David K. Wyatt & Aroonrut Wichienkeeo (tr.), *The Chiang Mai Chronicle*, Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai, 1995, pp. 34–35; Camille Notton, *Annales du Siam*, Vol. III, *Chronique de Xieng Mai*, Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1932, p. 46.

[159]Phraya Prachakichakornchak, *Phongsawadan Yonok [Bańśāvatāra yonaka] chabap Ho samut heng chat*, repr. Khlang vitthaya, Bangkok, 2516 [1973], pp. 260–261. I owe the reference to Anatole Roger Peltier, *Le roman classique lao*, Paris, PÉFEO, 1988, p. 29, through Peter Koret's unpublished thesis, *Whispered So Softly It Resounds Through the Forest, Spoken So Loudly It Can Hardly Be Heard: The Art of Parallelism in Traditional Lao Literature*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of London, 1994, p. 25, n. 94.

the late 19th century, although based, as is seen in the present case, on earlier materials.

Several stories were known in Burma from an early date. An inscription from Thawkuthathamuti temple at Pwazaw (about four miles south-east of Pagan) dated to 627 (BE 1808 = CE 1265) gives the following curse: "In this life may he be separated from his beloved wife and son like King Thombameik was separated from his queen and prince". As Fickle notes, "Thombameik is the Burmese rendition of Subhamitta, the hero of a tale which appears in all the *P[aññāsa] J[ātaka]* collections [e.g. *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* no. 5, Bangkok National Library no. 9], a tale which hinges upon the separation of the hero from his wife and children".[160] Two other stories were known in 15th century Burma: *Sudhana* and *Sudhanu*, which were adapted in his *Thanhmya Pyitsan Pyo* by Shin Agga, who flourished between BE 2023 and 2044 (CE 1480–1501).[161]

Generally speaking the discussions of place and date have ignored several fundamental facts. As we have seen, there is no single *Paññāsa-jātaka*: there are several distinct collections, in different languages. The question of date and place of composition is therefore different for each collection: When and where was the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* compiled, when the Bangkok National Library collection? When and where were the Wat Sung Men collection, the collections on which Finot's list, the Institute for Buddhist Studies, or the Deydier version were based, compiled? When and where were the Khmer, Tai Khün, etc. collections compiled?

There are no ancient references to supply a ready answer. In central Siamese literature, the earliest reference to a collection seems to be the *Traibhūmilokavinicchayakathā*, mentioned earlier. For Burma the earliest broadly datable reference to the collection is to the *Lokīpaṇṇāsajāt Nissaya*. Both references date to the end of the 18th

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[160]Fickle, *An Historical and Structural Study*, p. 8; Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, pp. 37–38.

[161]Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, p. 36, referring to U San Tun.

century. There is no earlier evidence for the collection in ancient times, although there is literary or inscriptional evidence for some *jātakas*. That is, regardless of the date of their components, the dates of the collections may be late. This, however, remains to be proven.

These *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections are not original, unitary compositions (with the possible exception of the Burmese Pāli collection). They are collections, assemblages, accumulations, anthologies. Each story has its own history. Some may be, or certainly are, ancient. Some, such as *Sudhana*, go back to India; these may even be relics of the early period, Dvāravatī or Funan, when the literature of schools other than the Theravāda, and also of the Mahāyāna, circulated in the region.

The important point is that references in inscriptions or in datable sources to individual titles, to characters or events in an individual *jātaka*, prove nothing about the date of any *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection. They only prove that the *jātaka*, or a version of the *jātaka*, was known at that time and place. Important references of this nature have been collected by Niyada, and they show that some of the *jātakas* were known at Pagan and at Sukhothai.[162]

The *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections cannot be studied apart from the huge corpus of apocryphal *jātaka* literature of South-East Asia. How did some tales come to be included in *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections, others not? What were the principles of selection? Why did certain popular *jātakas* like *Sivijeyya*, *Lokaneyya*, *Rājovāda*, or *Tiṇapāla* remain "uncollected".[163] The *Sisora-jātaka* is described in its colophon as taken from the *Paññāsa-jātaka*, but is not included in any of the known collections.[164] Does this mean there are other collections, lost or still to be discovered? Why were important and well-known narratives

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[162]Niyada Lausoonthorn, "'Paññāsa Jātaka': A Historical Study", *in Binicvarrṇakarrm (Collections of Academic Essays Based on Manuscripts*), Bangkok, 2535 [1992], pp. 172–180 (in Thai).

[163]For these titles see Suphapan, op. cit., Niyada, *Paññāsa Jātaka*, and *A Critical Study of Northern Thai Version*, Introduction, p. 21.

[164]*A Critical Study of Northern Thai Version*, Introduction, p. 22.

such as the stories of the bodhisattva's self-sacrifice to the hungry tigress or the bodhisattva's last female birth attached to the beginning of the *Mahāsampiṇḍanidāna*, *Sambhāravipāka*, and *Sotatthakīmahānidāna*, but not included in *jātaka* collections, or, it seems, circulated independently? Why was the number fifty chosen? The number does not seem to have any special mystical, cabalistic, historical, or classical significance.

Another methodological problem lies in the quest for a single literary source for individual stories. We are concerned with a narrative literature that was fluid and flexible, and oral/aural. The same story would take on different guises according to function: it could be embellished, expanded, contracted, or abridged according to need or fancy of preacher, editor, or author. We should not think that people learned a story from a single, fixed, literary source: they might learn from a canonical text, an embellishment, a sermon, a teaching, a cloth painting, a temple mural. The story changes with each telling.

What is the origin of the Pāli versions? To what degree do "local Pālis" differ from each other? Prince Damrong and others have noted that the Pāli is poor or substandard. It is, however, uneven from tale to tale, and research into its stylistic peculiarities is in its infancy. The language shares features with other texts from Siam, such as *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa, Lokaneyya-pakaraṇa*, *Jambūpati-sutta*, *Mahā-kappalokasaṇṭhāna*, etc. Useful preliminary studies of the language of individual texts have been made by Cœdès, Martini–Terral, Jaini, and others.[165]

The dates and origins of the vernacular collections are bound up with a greater problem, that of the anonymous translation of anonymous literature. There exists a huge body of translations of suttas, treatises, abhidhamma, commentaries, grammars, in the languages of South-East Asia, but the date of the translation or the identity of the translators is rarely if ever known.

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[165]See especially Terral, "Samuddhaghosajātaka" (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XLVIII, 1, 1956), which compares several texts.

The *Paññāsa-jātaka* is not the only collection of narratives to circulate in South-East Asia: there exist other collections, which remain to be studied. What is the relation between the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections and the other collections? This must be determined both in terms of the collections as a whole, and of individual texts.

The *Suttajātakanidānānisaṃsa*, for example, is an anthology of diverse Pāli texts drawn from diverse sources.[166] Other collections are the *Sotabbamālinī, Sammohanidāna*, *Sāvakanibbāna*, *Bimbānibbāna*, and *Paramatthamaṅgala*. The same text may be found in more than one collection: that is, the contents overlap. The relations between such texts remains to be determined: will the version of a text in one collection be the same as the version(s) transmitted in another?

Another question is that of the "authenticity" of the *Paññāsa-jātaka*. This was addressed by Prince Damrong in the introduction to the Thai translation, cited above. It is not possible to make a categorical statement regarding pre-modern attitudes towards the canonicity of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* and other local texts. We can only suggest that at least for some, perhaps most, the *jātakas* were fully integrated into the tapestry of lives and deeds of the bodhisattva and the Buddha. This is suggested by the importance of murals that depict non-classical *jātakas* or non-classical narratives such as Jambūpati and Phra Maleyya-thera. In the murals they are fully integrated into the history of the Buddha (which is derived primarily from the *Paṭhamasambodhi*) and stand side-by-side with classical *jātakas*. It is true that the *Piṭakamālā* describes the *Paññāsa-jātaka* as "outside the *saṅgāyanā*", but late Theravādin works accept certain works, such as the *Nandopananda-sutta*, as "Buddha-word", even though they were not included in the council (*saṃgītiṃ anāropita*). That is, "Buddhavacana" and "Tipiṭaka" are not necessarily coterminous.

Another example shows how the non-classical *jātakas* were on a par with the classical *jātakas*, and how uses and classifications of texts

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[166]For a list of contents see George Cœdès, "Dhammakāya", *Adyar Library Bulletin* XX.3–4, p. 252, n. 2.

extend into realms beyond the temple library. In a Lan Na tradition called *Dhamma-jātā*, people gain merit by offering texts to a temple according to their own year, month, or day of birth. For example, a person born in the Ox Year offers the *Vessantara ruam*, an abridged *Vessantara-jātaka* in Thai Yuan. (The texts offered are highly abridged, "sermon" versions, in a single bundle [*phuk*].) Texts to be offered according to one's month of birth include non-classical *jātakas*—*Sumbhamitta*, *Sudhanu*, *Padumakumāra*—alongside others from the "Ten Jātakas" (*Daśajāti*).[167] A similar connection between certain texts and the twelve-year cycle is found in Cambodia.[168]

Conclusions

In this paper I have attempted to show the richness and complexity of the *Jātaka* and *Paññāsa-jātaka* traditions. A paper of this size can only skim the surface, and leaves many questions unresolved. It is important at this stage to raise questions, and to examine the subject in all possible aspects: literary, social, historical, functional, with an open mind.

It seems that the stories predate the collections, and that the collections may be late. It is therefore no longer possible to say, without being specific, that such-and-such a story "is from the *Paññāsa-jātaka*", or that such-and-such a story "is not included in the *Paññāsa-jātaka*". One may say that it "is found in the Wat Sungmen *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection", or that "it is found in the Thai National Library edition but not included in the *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*".

In the end it becomes difficult to distinguish between stories included in *Paññāsa-jātaka* collections and non-classical *jātakas* in general. Indeed, texts that are not found in any of the known collections are sometimes described internally as "from the *Paññāsa-jātaka*". For example, the epilogue of the popular North-Eastern Thai tale *Phya*

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[167]Udom Rungreungsri, "Wannakam chadok ti mi laksana pen 'lanna'", pp. 51-–52.

[168]Eveline Porée-Maspero, "Le cycle des douze animaux dans la vie des Cambodgiens", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* L.2 (1962), pp. 316, 331.

Khankhaak, "The Toad King" states:[169]

> This is a true account of Phya Khankhaak,
> Which has been recited
> In the fifty lives of the Buddha-to-be, dear readers …

The mention of "fifty lives" is made by the modern editor, Phra Ariyanuwat, who prepared the work in 1970, but he is following a tradition attested in Lao manuscripts for other tales.[170] In the end the study of *Paññāsa-jātaka* almost merges with the study of traditional narrative literature, and calls for close collaboration between scholars of literature—whether Lao, Khmer, Shan, Khün, Thai, Mon, or Burmese—and scholars of Pāli and of Buddhist studies.

Peter Skilling

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[169]Wajuppa Tossa, *Phya Khankhaak, The Toad King: A Translation of an Isan Fertility Myth into English Verse*, Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, 1996, p. 134.

[170]Peter Koret, oral communication, February 2001.

Table I

Contents of the Wat Sung Men Paññāsajātaka[171]

No.	*Title*	*Location*	*Occasion*
1.	Samuddaghosa	Jetavana	Nang Yasodharā
2.	Sudhanu	Jetavana	Victory over Māra
3.	Sudhana	Jetavana	A monk who wants to disrobe
4.	Sirasākummāra	Veḷuvana	Devadatta
5.	Sumbhamitta	Jetavana	Devadatta
6.	Suvaṇṇasaṅkha	Jetavana	Devadatta
7.	Candaghāta	Nigrodhārāma	Repaying one's father and mother
8.	Kuruṅgamigga	Jetavana	Devadatta
9.	Setapaṇḍita	Nigrodhārāma	Perfections of giving and virtue (*dānasīlapāramī*)
10.	Tulakapaṇḍita	Jetavana	Sacrifice of one's life (*jīvitadāna*)
11.	Magha	—	—
12.	Ariṭṭha	Jetavana	Ariṭṭhakumāra
13.	Ratanapajjota	Jetavana	A monk who takes care of his mother
14.	Sonanda	Jetavana	Kiñcamāṇavikā
15.	Bārāṇasīrāja	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
16.	Dhammadhajja	Veḷuvana	Devadatta
17.	Dukamma	Jetavana	Testing the teachings of one's father
18.	Sabbasiddhi	Jetavana	The state of a miraculous person
19.	Paññābala	Pāsāda of Yasodharā	Yasodharā's devotion to the Buddha
20.	Dadhivāhana	Jetavana	Mixing with people with bad morals
21.	Mahissa	Jetavana	A monk with much property

[171]I am grateful to Santi Pakdeekham for preparing Tables I and II. They are based on *Critical Study of Northern Thai Version of Panyasa Jātaka*, Introduction, pp. 29–31. We have not been able to check the appropriateness of the "occasions".

22.	Chaddanta	Jetavana	A young nun
23.	Campeyya	Jetavana	Uposathakamma
24.	Bahalagāvī	Jetavana	Gratitude to one's mother
25.	Kapirāja	Jetavana	Acting to benefit one's relations (*ñātatthacariyā*)
26.	Narajīva	Jetavana	A monk who takes care of his mother
27.	Siddhisāra	Jetavana	Dhammacakka
28.	Kussarāja	Jetavana	A monk who wants to disrobe
29.	Bhaṇḍāgārika	Jetavana	The power of wisdom (*paññābala*)
30.	Sirivipulakitti	Jetavana	Caring for one's mother
31.	Suvaṇṇakummāra	Jetavana	Wisdom (*paññā*)
32.	Vaṭṭaka	Magadha	A forest fire
33.	Tissatheravatthu	Jetavana	Tissa bhikkhu
34.	Suttasoma	Jetavana	Aṅgulimāla bhikkhu
35.	Mahābala	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
36.	Brahmaghosa	Jetavana	The "equipment of merit" (*puññasambhāra*)
37.	Sādinnarāja	Jetavana	An *upāsaka* who keeps the precepts
38.	Siridhara	Jetavana	An *upāsaka*
39.	Ajittarāja	Jetavana	Renunciation (*cāgadāna*)
40.	Vipularāja	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
41.	Arindumma	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
42.	Viriyapaṇḍita	—	A past event
43.	Ādittarāja	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
44.	Surupparāja	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
45.	Suvaṇṇabrahma-datta	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
46.	Mahāpadumma-kummāra	Jetavana	A monk who cares for his mother
47.	Mahāsurasena	Jetavana	Offering the eight requisites (*aṭṭhaparikhāra*)

48.	Siricuḍāmaṇi	Jetavana	Perfection of giving (*dānapāramī*)
49.	Nalaka	Kosalajanapada	A sugarcane tree
50.	Kukkura	Jetavana	Acting to benefit one's relatives (*ñātatthacariyā*)
		Supplementary stories	
-1.	Suvaṇṇamigga	Jetavana	A daughter of good family (*kuladhitā*)
-2.	Canda	Jetavana	Saving the lives of animals
-3.	Sarabha	Jetavana	Solutions for a crow and a worm
-4.	Porāṇakappila-purinda	Jetavana	Benefits of sponsoring a *Tipiṭaka*
-5.	Duṭṭharāja	Jetavana	Devadatta
-6.	Kanakavaṇṇarāja	Jetavana	—

Table II

List of stories from the classical Pāli Jātaka in the Wat Sung Men Paññāsajātaka[172]

Wat Sung Men no.	*Title*
8.	Kuruṅgamiggajātaka
11.	Maghajātaka
20.	Dadhivāhanajātaka
21.	Mahissajātaka (Devadhammajātaka)
22.	Chaddantajataka
23.	Campeyyajātaka
25.	Kapirājajātaka
28.	Kussarājajātaka
32.	Vaṭṭakajātaka
34.	Suttasomajātaka
49.	Nalakajātaka (Naḷapānajātaka)
50.	Kukkurajātaka
-1.	Suvaṇṇamiggajātaka

[172]List from *A Critical Study of Northern Thai Version*, Introduction, p. 29.

Table III

List of the 25 Jātakas published in five fascicles by l'Institut bouddhique, Phnom Penh.

Fasc. I

1. Samuddaghosa
2. Sudhana
3. Sudhanu
4. Ratanapajota
5. Sirivipulakitti

Fasc. II

6. Vipularāja
7. Sirīcuḍāmaṇi
8. Candarāja
9. Subhamitta
10. Sirīdhara

Fasc. III

11. Dulakapaṇḍita
12. Āditтarāja
13. Dukkammānika
14. Mahāsurasena
15. Suvaṇṇakumāra

Fasc. IV

16. Kanakavaṇṇarāja
17. Vīriyapaṇḍita
18. Dhammasoṇḍaka
19. Sudassanamahārāja
20. Vaṭṭaṅgulīrāja

Fasc. V

21. Sabbasiddhi
22. Akkharalikhitaphala
23. Dhammikapaṇḍita
24. Cāgadāna
25. Dhammarāja

Table IV

List of Jātakas contained in the Nhok Thèm's abridged edition, *Paññāsajātaka Saṅkhep*, published in one volume in 1963 by the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines of the University of Phnom Penh.[173]

1. Samuddaghosa
2. Sudhanakumāra
3. Sudhanukumāra
4. Ratanappajota
5. Sirivipulakitti
6. Vipularāja
7. Siricūḍāmaṇī
8. Candarāja
9. Subhamitta
10. Sirīdhara
11. Dulakapaṇḍita
12. Āditтarāja
13. Dukkammānika
14. Mahāsurasena
15. Suvaṇṇakumāra
16. Kanakavaṇṇarāja
17. Viriyapaṇḍita
18. Dhammasoṇḍaka
19. Sudassanamahārāja
20. Vattaṅgulīrāja
21. Porāṇakapilarāja
22. Dhammikapaṇḍita

[173]I am grateful to Olivier de Bernon for preparing Tables III and IV.

23. Cāgadāna
24. Dhammarāja
25. Narajīva
26. Surūpa
27. Mahāpaduma
28. Bhaṇḍāgāra
29. Bahulagāvī
30. Setapaṇḍita
31. Puppharāja
32. Bārāṇasirāja
33. Brahmaghosarāja
34. Devarukkhakumāra
35. Salabha
36. Sonanda
37. Devanda
38. Narajīvakaṭhina
39. Rathasena
40. Varanetta-varanuja
41. Saṅkhapatta
42. Sabbasiddhi
43. Siddhisāra
44. Sisorarāja
45. Supinakumāra
46. Suvaṇṇakacchapa (dī 1)
47. Suvaṇṇakacchapa (dī 2)
48. Suvaṅṅavaṅsa
49. Sūryavaṅsavaravaṅsa
50. Atidevarāja

Editions of Pāli *jātakas* from the Thai *Paññāsa-jātaka* done in Japan

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