

Sīmāvicāraṇa

A Pali letter on monastic boundaries
by King Rāma IV of Siam

Petra Kieffer-Pülz



Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka Volume 7

ข้อมูลพระไตรปิฎกศึกษา เล่ม ๗

PHOTO: DHANAKRIT LAOSUWAN



Sīmāvīcāraṇa presents an annotated romanized edition of a letter composed in Pali by Thera Vajirāñāna – that is, by King Mongkut (Rāma IV) of Siam when he was a monk before he took the throne. Sent in 1844 to Thera Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda in Sri Lanka, the long and learned letter is effectively a monograph on practical aspects of ceremonial monastic boundaries. The letter is supplemented by a shorter letter on the same subject. The volume includes a bibliography, an index locorum, and an index of names, titles, and place names.

“*Sīmāvīcāraṇa*, here superbly edited and introduced to the west for the first time by Petra Kieffer-Püllz, is one example of the great wealth of Pali works composed by King Rāma IV of Siam (Thailand) [...] The corpus of King Rāma IV’s Pāli works takes up more than two hundred printed pages, or more than five hundred pages together with Thai translations [...] but] despite the fact that the royal monk was international in outlook, and that works like *Sīmāvīcāraṇa* itself were international in scope, these works are scarcely known to international scholarship –

and without a knowledge of these works, the understanding of Thailand’s Pali literary heritage may be deemed incomplete. Petra Kieffer-Püllz has performed a great service to the academic world by editing the *Sīmāvīcāraṇa* and providing it with a thorough introduction and detailed annotations. She has opened a new window into the Pali scholarship of Siam.” [from the Preface by Assistant Professor Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakam, Dean, The Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok]

Petra Kieffer-Püllz studied Indology, Classical Archaeology and Tibetology in Germany and Switzerland. In 1989 she received her Ph.D. from the University of Göttingen with a thesis on the Buddhist ceremonial boundary (*Die Sīmā*, Berlin 1992). From 2001–2010 she worked on the Pāli Gaṇḍhapāda literature (Seminar for Indology, Halle-Wittenberg) a project funded by the German Research Foundation (*Die Gaṇḍhapādas in der Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, to appear). She currently investigates scholastic Pāli, a project of the German Research Foundation at the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Mainz. Her research centers on historical, cultural and legal aspects of Buddhism.

Front cover: Illustration from *Sīmākathā*, a Thai paper manuscript (courtesy Muang Boran, Bangkok).

Back cover: Boundary stone from Wat Rājapradīṣṭha (Wat Ratchapradit), Bangkok, which was founded by King Rāma IV in 1864. The boundary stones carry Pali inscriptions.

ສຶມາຈິວາຮຣໍ ພຣະຫ້າພັນສົມຄະສົບກາຍາບາສີໃນປະເທດສອນໄຕ ເຊື່ອກະບຽດເຂົ້າຫຼຸ້ງຫ້າ ເຊື່ອກາງຜົນວະໃນສັນຍະກາລີ່ ๓ ເພີ່ພະສົມຄະກຳສົນເພື່ອກາງດອບແສດງລັກຂະນະຂອງສຶມາ ພຣະຫ້າພານແພ່ພະອິ່ນພະທິແຮຣ ພຣະເດຣໃນສັກພາກວິປ ເຊື່ອ ພ.ສ. ໄກສດ

ສຶມາຈິວາຮຣໍ ຈັບນີ້ Dr. Petra Kieffer-Püllz ໄດ້ເປົ້າວົດເປັນອັກຊ່າໂຮມັນ ຕວລຈອນຂະໜາດ ເພີ່ນບໍາຫຼັກ ແລະກໍາດວຍກໍາຕົ້ນຄຳ ພ້ອມຄວບຄ້າດໍາເສນໂດຍ ຖຸ້ວ່າຍສາສຕຣຈາຮຣໍ ດຣ. ປະປະຈົນ ຢັກຕະວຸກທິກາກ ຄົມບົດຕົມອັກຊ່າສາດວິຈ ຈູ່ພາງກຣມທ້າວິກຍາລັບ ກຽງເຖິງເພົ່າ

Dr. Petra Kieffer-Püllz ສຶກຂາວຕະຫຼາກ ໂບຮາຍຄະດີສັບຍົດສັດຖິກ ແລະບົບຕົກທາໃນປະເທດເຢອຣັນ ແລະວົດວິເຊຣແນັດ ປັ້ງຈຸບັນ ທຳນານລົງໄລ່ເຖິງກັບພຸຖອສາສຕຣຈິກາ ທາງດ້ານປະວັດສາສຕຣ ວັນດອຽມ ແລະອຽມສາສຕຣ

ປົກໜ້າ ອິຈຸກຮ່ວມເອົ້າສຶກດາກາກສຸດໃຫຍ່ (ກັບພາກ ສຳນັກພິທີເນື້ອໂບຮານ ກຽງເຖິງ)

ປົກໜ້າ ສຶກວັດຈາກປະຕິຍູສສົດທາເສີ່ນຮາມ ກຽງເຖິງ

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Sīmāvīcāraṇa
ຂໍ້ມູນພະໄຕຮູກສົກ ເລີ່ມ 7



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Bangkok and Lumbini 2011

Sīmāvicārana

Cover The *sīmā* or monastic boundary is a key element in Theravāda monasticism, defining the ceremonial space in which monastic rites and acts can be properly conducted. The importance of the *sīmā* is reflected in the considerable exegetical literature that has been produced in Pali and vernaculars for nearly two thousand years. One especially interesting genre consists of illustrated manuals that depict different types of *sīmās* as described in the fifth-century commentary on the *Vinaya*, the *Samantapāsādikā* ascribed to Buddhaghosa. Examples of such illustrated manuscripts are known from Burmese, Mon, Northern Thai, Central Thai, Northeastern Thai, and Khmer versions; the manuals are based on Pali texts, mainly on the *Sīmā* portion of the *Samantapāsādikā*, called *Sīmākathā*, which they cite *in extenso*, accompanied by translations in local languages. The example shown here gives the Pali text of the commentary on the *Parivāra* (*Samantapāsādikā*, PTS edition, p. 1401,3–9) in the Khom script and Thai in Khom-Thai script. It illustrates two of the eleven invalid forms of monastic boundaries mentioned in the *Parivāra*, namely a boundary too small (*atikkhuddakasīmā*), i.e. where there is not enough space for twenty-one monks to assemble, and one too large (*atimahatīsīmā*), that is, one larger than three *yojana*.

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for Florian

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2. Wat Bovoranives, Bangkok: Phra Panyah, a three-storey western-style building constructed by King Rāma III and offered to Prince Mongkut when he was a *bhikkhu* as his royal residence.
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6. First page of Letter 2, the *Sīmāvicāraṇa*, Sinhala script edition (from *Pālisandesāvalī*, vol. 1, ed. by A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1962, p. 152).
7. Title page of the 1925 Thai-script edition (S^{e1}), from *Samana san phra thera thammayutika mi pai yang lankathawip*, composed in Pāli by King Rāma IV when he was a monk, printed with translations for the funeral of Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krommaluang Phromworanurak at the Sanam Luang Cremation Ground, BE 2468.
8. First page of Letter 2, *Sīmāvicāraṇa*, 1925 Thai-script edition (S^{e1}), from *Samana san phra thera thammayutika mi pai yang lankathawip* (as preceding), p. 57.



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4. Laṅkāgoda Dhīrānanda's last living place: Jayasekarārāma (Temple Road, Colombo 10), a monastery founded in the middle of the 19th century. (Photo courtesy Nanda Senanayaka.)

පාලිසන්දේසාවලි

අවුරුදු 200 ක් පමණ කාලයෙහු ගත් දෙනුම්
පාලිලිපිවල සංශෝධනය.

ඡායාචිත්‍ය සිංහලාභාධයකින් පූජාගැසී

ප්‍රථමගායය

දේශීකරිතය (Ph. D.) මහාච්ච
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කළුනාභාධයක් වෘත්තියෙන්
මහාච්ච යාචිත්‍ය විධින් ඡායාගැසී

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ආම්. ට්‍යිල්‍රි. ඩෙන්ඩ්‍ර විධින් ප්‍රකාශනයි

මරදයේ
අනුලයන්ත්‍රාලුමෙහි
ලුදිගසී

1962

5. Title page of the *Pālisandesāvalī*, vol. 1, ed. by A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1962. A Collection of Thirty Pāli Documents and Letters.

24. වැඩිහිටිමලිපි.

(පොකීමකු බි දිරින්දුමිහාදේරයා පවත්වාරවසෙන
සාමූහික විෂේෂිකාණ්ඩාරාජතා පෙරිහිං.)

1. නම්තු තුළියා සිහුපෑදීනා,
නම්තු බ්‍රම්සා සිඹුලතිසාරිනා,
නම්තු සම්බාධ ව බ්‍රම්සාරිනා,
නම්තු කාලීනා මියම් සෙරිනා.
2. මුලේ නි බොහෝම පැස්සෙසෙනා,
බලම්, ව සැස්සිනාදුදුනා,
සංස්සා නි සංස්සා අනුචාරාම,
වැඩිහිටියා නි රඟනා අනුයා.
3. තැසම් දුඛබෙනා දුඛපුද්‍රිනාමිර,
පැස්සාවනා දැන පෙරෙසෙනා,
පැස්සා දැන්සා මිය මිහුත්,
දුඛබෙනා අනාත් අනිසම්බුනාම්.
4. මෙහෙත් කාලීයාම විදාසිනෙකු
දේරුන්දේරුදා දිවාලුන්
ශ්‍රී දිව්‍යත්වයන්-මැමෙකු
බලම්, මියෙන් පැවිත්තාගා.
5. විරෝධ දිය් ව පුද්‍ර ව එන්
ස්‍රීදුලුම්පෙන් පැන්දීපම්, සි
අලම්පෙන් බැවෙන ඇම්හාමිම්,
දුර්දාන්ත්ව පියායෙන්ති.
6. එව් කන් මෙහෙත් සැන්මිඩ එස්,
විරුදියා නෙහු නෑප්පිම්ය.
රෙකුනා නෙයා පි ව සිහුලා කෙ,
මෙහෙත් සුප්‍රේක්ෂණදායමින්ලත්.
7. දුඛ් නාහාදායාදාන - රාසිහුත්‍යය කාදීනා,
ශ්‍රීයෙන්ව ගැට්ටෙනා යාසනාදායාවනිය,
8. පැන්දුපැදෙසෙනා සාමූහික දුම්ගලු
රම්ම රෙකුනාසිනා - මානාරුප්‍රේර දුගේ
9. උඩාම්ගල්වීමින් පිරියා සුම්බෝධාවෙ
මිය පාරිජ් විස්දා - රාජකාරුම්බාසිනා.

6. First page of Letter 2, the *Siṃāvicāraṇa*, Sinhala script edition (from *Pālisandesāvali*, vol. 1, ed. by A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1962, p. 152).



สมานสาสนา

พระเดชธรรมบุคคล มีปัจจังกาทวีป
พระบากนิมิต ๑ พระกอมเกต้าเชื้อหัว
ทรงพระราชนิพนธ์เป็นภาษาไทย เมืองทรงผนวช

พิมพ์พระอัมคัตยคำแปล

ในงานพระราชพิธีเจ้าบรมวงศ์ที่教程 กรมหลวงพรหมราชนรักษ์
ณ พระเมรุท้องส้านมหาดลวย

พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๘

พิมพ์ที่โรงพิมพ์บ้านขุโภกฯ

7. Title page of the 1925 Thai-script edition (S^{c1}), from *Samanasan phra thera thammayutika mi pai yang lankathawip*, composed in Pāli by King Rāma IV when he was a monk, printed with translations for the funeral of Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krommaluang Phromworanurak at the Sanam Luang Cremation Ground, BE 2468.

ສມານປະກິສາສັນ (ฉบับທີ ២)

(ເງື່ອງສົ່ມວິກາຮັນ)

ສູນກຸດ

- (១) ນມຖຸ ທຸກຸຊີສ ວິກສູຫວາກໃນ
ນມຖຸ ລາມມັສສ ວິນຫຼຸດສາວໃນ
ນມຖຸ ຊັນຊີສ ຈ ລາມນອກໃນ
ນໄມ ກົດວາງ ມຍມຸນ ເຕີໃນ
- (២) ພຸໂສ ທີ ໂພຣຸມາ ອ ປັດຄຸດເຫຼື້ອໄຈ
ໜີໄມ ຈ ສຸນທູອີຈິກກາຍຫຼຸກ
ສີໄມ ທີ ດົກທີ ອພຸດໄວງ
ວຄດຄຸດຍຸດຕໍ່ ລັດນ ຂອບໆ
- (៣) ຕົກນີ້ ຖຸວຸດກ ສຸນວຸດກວ່າ
ປັດມີຄຸກາ ກສ ເກຣເຫຼື້ອຈາ
ນ້ຳດັນ ລາມເມັສສ ມໍ ອົງກີ້
ທຸກຸຊີສ ດັບຕໍ່ ອົດນມຸນເມັນ
- (៤) ເນັດຕີ ກົດສູງສັນ ວິກສິກີ
ເຕຣາມຸເຕຣາກທີ່ທັນເກີ

8. First page of Letter 2, *Sīmāvicāraṇa*, 1925 Thai-script edition (S^{e1}), from *Samanasan phra thera thammayutika mi pai yang lankathawip* (as preceding), p. 57.

PREFACE

Sīmāvicāraṇa, here superbly edited and introduced to the academic world for the first time by Petra Kieffer-Pülz, is one example of the great wealth of Pali works composed by King Rāma IV of Siam (Thailand).

It is generally agreed that Ayutthaya and early Bangkok were not flourishing centres of Pali literary composition compared to the North, where enduring works like *Mangalatthadīpanī*, *Jinakālamālinī*, and *Cāmadevīvāṃsa* were produced. Ayutthaya does not seem to have produced much beyond a few inscriptions and the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, a history of Pali scriptures, unless we are permitted to venture that the various Pali versions of Thai tales that are loosely designated as “*Paññasajātaka* collections” were composed in Central Thailand, since these Pali versions are not found anywhere else. In the early Bangkok period, three rather substantial works were composed by Phra Vimaladhamma: *Culayuddhakālavāṃsa* (a history of Ayutthaya), *Mahāyuddhakālavāṃsa* (a history of the Mon), and *Sangītiyavaṇāṃsa* (a history of the Buddhist councils from the first council in India to the ninth council during the reign of King Rāma I). All of these works composed in Central Thailand, considered from the point of view of grammar and style, are not without blemishes.

With King Rāma IV’s earnest research and his sustained efforts to promote Pali grammar and Pali studies, central Siam became the seat of Pali scholarship and literary activity. It is reported that when Rāma IV was the abbot of Wat Bovoranives, Pali was used as a spoken language. At that time, Pali was a living language, at least within the walls of the temple.

The Pali works of King Rāma IV span a wide range of subjects and genres. He used a variety of metres and he had a very good command of elegant prose, as is evident in the *Sīmāvicāraṇa*. His Pali compositions include prayers, journals, travel accounts, historical works, correspondence, and religious expositions and explanations. All these works demonstrate his skill in handling diverse subjects and

literary styles. His expositions and explanations are well researched and abound with references to canonical texts and other treatises as we would expect in modern scholarship.

King Rāma IV's Pali *oeuvre* inspired his contemporaries and students to study and compose in Pali. One of his followers, his own son, Prince Patriarch Vajirañānavarorosa, stands out as one of the great successes in Rāma IV's efforts to promote Pali scholarship.

The corpus of King Rāma IV's Pali works takes up more than two hundred printed pages, or more than five hundred pages together with Thai translations. The corpus has been published several times, most recently in 2004 to celebrate Rāma IV's two-hundredth birth anniversary. However, despite the fact that the royal monk was international in outlook, and that works like *Sīmāvicāraṇa* itself were international in scope, these works are scarcely known to international scholarship – and without a knowledge of these works, the understanding of Thailand's Pali literary heritage may be deemed incomplete.

Petra Kieffer-Pülz has performed a great service to the academic world by editing the *Sīmāvicāraṇa* and providing it with a thorough introduction and detailed annotations. She has opened a new window into the Pali scholarship of Siam. We hope that her work and fine scholarship will inspire a new generation in the study of the Pali literature of Siam.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Text

The text edited here as Letter 2 (below, pp. 3–47) belongs to the literary category of letters (*sandesa*) sent to spiritual friends. It is a reply by Thera Vajirañāṇa Makuṭa Sammata (Deva)vāṇsa¹ of Siam (the later King Mongkut, Rāma IV) to Thera Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda in Sri Lanka. This letter is supplemented by a short letter (Letter 1; below, pp. 1–2) dated to the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Migasira in the year BE 2387/1844 CE² corresponding to December 14th, 1844³, which gives the names of the writer and the recipient, lists the ten presents sent together with the letters and, finally, announces a reply connected with the discussion of ceremonial monastic boundaries (*sīmākathā-paṭisamyuttam paṭisāsanam*). Letter 2 is undated, but quotes the same writer and recipient⁴ and consists of a thorough investigation into the *visumgāmasīmā* as used in Siam and the neighbouring countries.

¹ In all letters by Thera Vajirañāṇa known to me *vāṇsa* is given, in one we find *devavāṇsa*. So also in the *Sīmānayadappana*, p. xvi.

² Letter 1 (Se¹ IV, Se² III): *Buddhassa Bhagavato parinibbānato sattāsityādhikatisatuttara dvīshassasāsanāyumhi Migasira-māsassa juñhapakkhapañcamiyam Soravārāya pahitam idam.* “This [reply] was sent on Saturday, the fifth [day] of the bright half of the month of Migasira while the teaching of the Buddha lasted two thousand three hundred and eighty-seven [2387 years] since the Parinibbana of the Buddha, the Blessed One.”

Soravāra is the Pāli name for Saturday (not listed in Pāli dictionaries). It reflects modern Thai, where Saturday is named Wan Saura/Sora after Saturn the last of the tutelary planets that rule the days of the week [Information P.S.].

³ My thanks go to Dr. Karl-Heinz Golzio (Bonn), who was so kind as to convert that date from the Buddhist Era into the Christian.

⁴ Here the information is not given in the way writers and recipients are in general named at the beginning or end of letters, but as the ones responsible for the research paper which follows.

In Letter 2 the writers explain that they want to show their own considerations on the “discussion of boundaries” (*sīmākathā*, Letter 2, S^{e1} XXXI; S^{e2} IX) and state that the reply is one “that explains the decision with respect to the definitions in the Vinaya” (*Vinayalakkhana-vinicchaya-dīpakam*, S^{e1+2}), or “that explains the definitions in the Vinaya” (*Vinayalakkhana-dīpakam*, Ce). In verses 6, 73, 80, 81 they call their letter *kathā*. Letter 2 is probably mentioned in another letter by the ten Dhammayuttika monks written to Sobhita Siridhamma at the same time as Letter 1 and 2,⁵ where it is described as a *sāsanapañña* for Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda “explaining the definitions of *gāmasīmā*” (*gāmasīmālakkhanaparidīpikam*).⁶

The title given to Letter 2 in the introduction to the Siamese edition (S^{e1}, pp. *ka-dha*) and as a heading in S^{e1}, i.e., *sīmāvicāraṇa*, “Investigation on boundaries”, is not to be found in the text itself, but seems to be current in Siam.⁷

In the Siamese editions the two letters are thought of as belonging together. The Ceylonese edition prints only Letter 2. In the preface to the Siamese edition (S^{e1}, pp. *ka-dha*) Prince Damrong Rajanubhap writes that Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja-chao Krommamuen Jinavarasirivadhana⁸ obtained them [*i.e.*, the letters] from Sri Lanka, translated them and presented them to the National Library that they might be published when the occasion arose.⁹

In an introduction to these two letters Krommluang Jinavarasirivadhana Luang Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja-chao wrote:

The Ecclesiastical Correspondence on the royal gift of ten items, etc. (Letter 1), and the Ecclesiastical Response regarding the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of the monastic boundary (Letter 2) are both in Pāli (*Magadha-bhāṣā*). King Rāma IV when he was still a monk sent them

⁵ From 2387 + 7 months, *i.e.*, written in the month of Migasira.

⁶ S^{e1}, Letter 5, § 14.

⁷ So also Peter Skilling, Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*, Bangkok 2002 (Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka Volume 1), p. 31 (no. 1.49).

⁸ 2402–2480 (1859–1937) later raised to Krommluang Jinavarasirivadhana, was appointed the eleventh Saṅgharāja of the Ratanakosin period in the twelfth year of the reign of Rāma VI, 20 August 2464 (1921). [Information P.S.]

⁹ Information P.S.

to Dhīrānanda Thera, head (*nāyaka*) of one group of Gaṇācāryas in Laṅkādvīpa.

Sudassana Thera, the head (*nāyaka*) of one group of Gaṇācāryas in Laṅkādvīpa and the sixth successor in the lineage of Dhīrānanda Thera, sent the two letters to me, stating that he had inherited the duty to preserve them. When I saw them I was pleased; I borrowed them and copied them, and then returned them. Both letters are in the Khom script. The first letter lists the ten gifts and is the introduction to the second letter, the Ecclesiastical Response on the nature of monastic boundaries, which is in a separate notebook.

The first letter is written on European paper, stamped with “Pavaraniveso” in Khom letters. It is folded but not placed in an envelope, and stamped in lac over the fold with the royal Mahāmoñkuṭa seal.

The other letter, dealing with monastic boundaries (*sīmakathā*), I call the Ecclesiastical Response (*samaṇapaṭīśāsana*). It is written in a European notebook (*samut farang*); each page is embossed with a seal which appears to contain letters which I was unable to read, although I did not really try. The royal Mahāmoñkuṭa seal is stamped in sealing lac on the back of the notebook and at the end of the verses with “*lākhātale makuṭa-rūpalañcanena*” (on p. 99, line 12 of the notebook).

The two letters are written continuously, [but] with breaks at the end of finite verbs, etc. in the style of [writing] on palm leaf. I copied them as they are with the aim of publishing them. Later I separated the words according to prevailing style, word-separation being convenient for readers and translators. There are many mistakes, presumably scribal errors, which I carefully corrected according to Pāli. I translated them into Siamese (*syāmabhāṣā*) with affection and respect for His Majesty King Rāma IV, the lion-like founder (*pūrbācāryasīha*) of the Gaṇa Dhammayuttikanikāya, of whom I am a lineal descendant (*anuśiṣya*), in order to make known his genius (*phra gunasampatti mahāścarrya*) as a foremost intellectual (*ekagra mahāpañḍita*) of Buddhism, that his fame might endure for a long time. Readers may reflect for themselves on the value of the two letters; there is no need for me to explain.

I asked Phra Thepkavī (Cattasallo¹⁰) of Wat Makuṭa-kṣatriyārāma, another lineal descendant of His Majesty, to help proofread since I am

¹⁰ Cattasallo (Chaem) (2418–2488 = 1875–1945) was abbot of Wat Makuṭakṣatriyārāma from 2462–2488 (1919–1945). He produced many important sermons (*deśanā*) and edited Pāli texts such as *Anumodanāvidhī*

not confident in myself and dread making mistakes. When the work was checked I offered it to the National Library.

Krommamuen Jinavarasirivadhana
Wat Rājapabidha, 3. September, 2466 (1923).¹¹

This information tallies with that given at the end of Letter 2, that the *Kathā* was written on white European paper (*yoropyasetapataka*) in Cambodian letters (*kambojakakkhara*) and in the Māgadha dialect as used in Siam (*Syāmesu Māgadhaniruttivalañjita*), that the pages were evened by sewing (*sibbāpanena paṭakāni samāṇ karitvā*) and binding (*bandhāpitūna*), and sealed on lac with the seal having the form of a crest (*lākhātale makutārūpakalañcanena*), in order to show the former family's name and in order to cause people to trust the writer/the letter (vss. 81–83).

The letters were entrusted to a group of Lankan monks who were returning home from Siam. One was Subhūti Thera (Letter 2, vs. 22; S^{e1} CXXXVII, S^{e2} L), who, taking his age into account, cannot be the same as the well-known Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1833/5?–1917). The group had the duty to deliver the letter first to Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda (Letter 2, vs. 23), who was asked to show it to others too. The monks in Sri Lanka then were requested to indicate any fault that they might find to the writers (Letter 2, vss. 25–26), or, if they do not find faults, to keep the teaching (Letter 2, vs. 27) and to copy it on palm leaves for further examination (Letter 2, vs. 28).

2. The writers

The writer, Thera Vajirañāṇa Makuṭa Sammata (Deva)vamṣa (1804–1868) is a descendant of the royal family of Siam. Before he himself became a king (reigning 1851–1868) he lived for twenty-seven years as a Buddhist monk (1824–1851) and as such had the

lae Gāthābidhī, published by the National Library (then the “Ho Phra Samut Watchirayan samrap Phra Nakhon”) in 2468 (1925). His final ecclesiastical title was Phra Śāsanaśobhana (granted in 2471 [1928]). [Information P.S.].

¹¹ Translation P.S.

monastic name Vajirañāṇa. He reformed the Siamese saṅgha in founding the Dhammayuttika-Nikāya or, as it is also named in Letter 2, the Saddhammayuttika-Nikāya (vss. 72, 78), while the majority of Siamese saṅghas belong to the Mahānikāya also called the “Nikāya following the customary practice” (*āciṇṇakappikanikāya*) by the Dhammayuttikas.¹² From 1837–1851 Vajirañāṇa Thera was head of the royal monastery, Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). From 1840 on, when a delegation consisting of five Sinhalese monks arrived in Bangkok and lived in Wat Bovornivet, he had contact with the Sinhalese clergy. In 1843 five Siamese monks were sent to Sri Lanka, in 1844 a second delegation this time only with members of the Dhammayuttika-Nikāya left for Sri Lanka. These Dhammayuttika monks returned with forty Sinhalese – monks and laymen – and part of Wat Bovornivet was reserved for them.¹³

As with most of his letters, here as well Vajirañāṇa Thera does not sign as a single writer, but together with nine other Dhammayuttika monks, each of them a leader of a gana (vss. 13–15), forming together the ten highest Dhammayuttika monks. These ten theras are:¹⁴

1. **Vajirañāṇa** Thera, later King Mongkut (= Rāma IV).¹⁵
2. **Brahma(s)sara** (Thai: Phromasaro) Thera: Phra Ṇāparakkhita “Suk”, Wat Boromnivat (= Paramanivesa). Later, after he left

¹² S^{el}, Letter 5, § 3.

¹³ Lingat 1933: 82. According to the Sīmānayadappana, p. xvii, Vajirañāṇa and Laṅkāgoḍa had an unbroken correspondence in Pāli.

¹⁴ A first list with identifications I owe to Peter Skilling, who names the following sources: Phra Pariyatti Thamthada in his translation of the first Siamese edition (S^{el}), Wat Bovaraniwet Wihan, *Tamnan Wat Bovaraniwet*, Bangkok 2540 [1997], p. 45; Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Wiwathanakan ngan khian phasa bali nai prathet thai: caruk tamnan phongsawadan san prakat*, Bangkok 2529 [1986], p. 497. Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1979: contains information on nos. 4 (p. 79) and 5 (p. 78).

¹⁵ Taylor 1993: 42, erroneously identifies Vajirañāṇa with Vajirañāṇavarorasa, King Mongkut’s son, and later Saṅgharāja. For biographies of King Mongkut see A.B. Griswold, “King Mongkut in Perspective”, *JSS* 45,1 (BE 2500/1957), 1–41; R. Lingat, “La vie religieuse du roi Mongkut”, *JSS* 20 (1926–27), repr. in *The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication*, Vol. 1 (1904–1929), 18–37. Cf. Taylor 1993, 69 n. 2 for further literature.

monkhood, he was Phra Thammakanbodi (Dharmakārapatī). In Letter 11 from the Dhammayuttika Theras to Sri Lankan monks (BE 2387/1844 CE) he is listed as “Brahmasara Ṇāṇarakkhita Thera”.¹⁶ In Letter 3 (BE 2387/1843 CE) by Vajirañāṇa Thera to Kahavē Saddhātissa he is mentioned as Brahmassara Thera, an inhabitant of Paramanivesa who was ill at that time.¹⁷

3. **Dhammasiri** (Thai: Thammasiri) Thera: Phra Thepmoli/Debamolī “Iam” or “Phum”, Wat Khrūa Wan/Khreua Wan [in Thonburi]. In Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE) he is listed as **Dhammasiri Ratanamuni Thera**.¹⁸
4. **Buddhasiri** (Thai: Phutthasiri) Thera: Somdet Phra Vanaratana “Thap” (1806–91), ordained at Wat Thewaratkunchorn (Devarājakuñjara) in 1823 with Phra Thammawirot as preceptor (*upajjhāya*).¹⁹ A pupil of Vajirañāṇa Thera he resided at Wat Rachathiwat (Rājādhivāsa) and remained there when Thera Vajirañāṇa became abbot of Wat Bovornivet. He administered the chapter of [reform] monks at Wat Rachathiwat,²⁰ and was appointed abbot of Wat Somanat Wihan (Somanasavihāra) in 1856. He was a teacher of Vajirañāṇavarorasa and a member of the gremium which examined him.²¹ He was a “Grade Nine Pali (parian) scholar” and highly regarded as an exemplary, individualistic, ascetic monk.²² He is listed as **Buddhasiri Ariyamuni Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE).²³
5. **Paññagga/Paññāgga** (Thai: Panya-akkho) Thera: Somdet Krom Phraya Pavareśvariyañākarāṇa (1809–1892), Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). He was the twenty-first child of the second king in Rāma II’s reign. Referred to as “Prince-preceptor” by Chulalongkorn, his sons and brothers, he was ordained as a monk in 1821, and remained in the monkhood for the rest of his life. He

¹⁶ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

¹⁷ Pālisandesāvalī: 19.

¹⁸ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

¹⁹ Taylor 1993: 42f.

²⁰ Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1979: 43.

²¹ Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1979: 30, 58.

²² For more information see Taylor 1993: 42ff.

²³ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

was the second abbot of Wat Bovornivet, succeeding Mongkut, when the latter ascended the throne in 1851.²⁴ He was the eighth Saṅgharāja of Ratanakosin period, and upajjhāya of Rāma V when the latter ordained. In Letter 11 (2387 BE/1844 CE) he is mentioned as **Paññāga Varamgasāmika Thera**.²⁵

6. **Dhammarakkhita** (Thai: Thammarakhita) Thera: Phra Khru Palat “That”, Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). He is mentioned as **Anukaravara Dhammarakkhita Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE)²⁶, and as an inhabitant of Pavaraniveśa and as being ill in Letter 3 (CE 1843).²⁷ Later, after leaving the monkhood, he was Phra Śrī Bhūripriṭchā/Bhūripriṭjā (That).
7. **Sobhita** (Thai: Sophito) Thera: Phra Si Wisutthiwong (Śrī Visuddhivāṇī) “Fak Sālak”, Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). He is mentioned as **Sobhitasiri Visuddhavaṇḍa Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE).²⁸ Later, after leaving the monkhood, he was Phraya Si Sunthon Wohan (Śrī Sundaravohāra, that is, head of the Krom Alak).
8. **Buddhisañha** (Thai: Phutthisanho) Thera: Phra Amaramoli “Nop”, Wat Buppharam (Pupphārāma). He is mentioned as **Vinayadhara Buddhisañha Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE).²⁹
9. **Pussa Thera** (2356–2442; CE 1813–1899), Somdet Phra Sangharāja “Pusso Saa”, Wat Ratpradit (Rājapratīṣṭha). At the time of the letter he was a Phra Rājagana with the rank Phra Amaramoli, residing at Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). At age eighteen he attained the Parian 9 Grade in Pāli, becoming the Sāmañera Parian Ek of the Third Reign. At twenty-one he was ordained as bhikkhu at Wat Samorai (Wat Rachathiwat, Rājādhivāsa), receiving the ordination name “Pusso”. Later he disrobed, but reordained with

²⁴ Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1979: 78.

²⁵ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

²⁶ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

²⁷ Pālisandesāvalī: 19.

²⁸ Pālisandesāvalī: 59. He is the author of Letter 12 (BE 2388/1845 CE) to Thera Saddhātissa in Colombo (see Pālisandesāvalī: 67–70).

²⁹ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

the name Pussadeva at age thirty-nine at the request of King Rāma IV, now on the throne. His *upajjhāya* was Khromphraya Pavareśa (no. 5 on the list), his *kammavācācariya* Phra Visuddhivāṇa (no. 7 on the list). He again passed Parian 9 and was called “Phra Mahā (*Saa*) Parian 18 Prayok”. When Rāma IV built Wat Rajapradit (Rājapratīṣṭha) in BE 2408 (1865 CE), he invited Pussadeva to be the first abbot, inviting twenty monks from Wat Bovornivet to join him at the new temple. In BE 2436 (1893 CE) he was appointed ninth Saṅgharāja of the Ratanakosin period by King Rāma V.³⁰ He passed away in BE 2442 (1899 CE) at the age of eighty-six. He is referred to as **Phussābhidhānāmaramoli Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE).³¹

10. **Suvadḍhana** (Thai: Suwathano) Thera: Phra Palat “Rüang”, Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa). He is mentioned as **Medhādhammarāsa Suvaḍḍhana Thera** in Letter 11 (BE 2387/1844 CE).³²

3. The recipient

The recipient of Vajirañāṇa Thera’s letter was Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda (1808/11?–1871) in Sri Lanka, who bore the title *Siri-saddhammavaṇsapāla*, received from the Burmese king. He was born at Mādampe in the Vellaboda Pattu of the Southern Province to a family of the Salāgama caste, and entered the Buddhist saṅgha in the local village *vihāra* under the guidance of a monk named Dhammarakkhita. Later he was sent to Galle, where he studied under Nāṇālānkāra Sirisumana of the Daḍalla Vihāra.³³ Still later he became a pupil of Bōpāgoḍa Sumana (1784–1864), head of the Amarapuranikāya (1835–1864) in Sri Lanka. Thera Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda wrote a Sinhalese paraphrase of Buddhadatta’s *Vinayavinicchaya* (completed in about

³⁰ According to Lingat 1933: 100, this was merely honorary. In fact Prince Vajirañāṇa despite his youth, was the actual head of the Church.

³¹ Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

³² Pālisandesāvalī: 59.

³³ Sīmānayadappana, xvi (English summary of the Introduction).

1844).³⁴ Regarded as a leading Vinaya expert in Sri Lanka³⁵ he played a central role in the quarrel within the Amarapuranikāya about the validity of the monastic boundary of Balapitiya,³⁶ which started with the enlargement of the platform of this *udakukkhepasīmā* in BE 2389/1845 CE.³⁷ Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda was initiator and head of the faction called “confusionists” (*samkaravādin*)³⁸ who doubted the validity of this *sīmā*, and founder of the sub-sect called *Saddhammavāṃsa* after Lamkāgoḍa’s title *Saddhammavāṃsapāla*.³⁹ In the latter part of his life Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda moved to the Jayasēkhārārāma at Dematagoḍa in Colombo until his demise in 1871.⁴⁰ From Letter 2 we learn that the Dhammadayuttika monks esteemed him as a renowned poet (*kavi*) and as a Vinaya expert (vs. 17), and that he lived in Gālūtittha at the time of the letter (Letter 2, vs. 23), in the Vālukārāma (Letter 1, S^{e1+2} I⁴¹).

Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda’s letter to Vajirañāṇa Thera has not been published. Nevertheless, we know from Letter 2 that it was written completely in verse,⁴² and that Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda dealt with the specific characteristics/definitions (*lakkhana*) of monastic boundaries (*sīmālakkhaṇam ārabba vuttam ganthāpadesato*, Letter 2, vss. 17f.), or more specifically with the Siamese custom of using a so-called *visuṅgāmasīmā*, (lit. “boundary of a separate village”) as the base for a monastic boundary for legal procedures of the community.⁴³ The *visuṅgāmasīmā* in Siam is explained as

³⁴ Sīmānayadappana, xviii; Malalgoda 1976: 155 with n. 36.

³⁵ Below, Letter 2, vs. 17; cf. Malalgoda 1976: 155.

³⁶ For details see Malalgoda 1976: 151–161; cf. Kieffer-Pülz 1998: 210–218.

³⁷ Sīmānayadappana: xv. The challenge of the validity of this enlarged Sīmā by Lamkāgoḍa dates from 1851 according to Malalgoda 1976: 153.

³⁸ Malalgoda 1976: 153.

³⁹ Malalgoda 1976: 161.

⁴⁰ Sīmānayadappana: xviii.

⁴¹ Compare S^{e1}, Letter 5, § 14

⁴² Vs. 18; S^{e1} Xff., S^{e2} VI, with Thera Vajirañāṇa’s remarks about the use of verse and prose.

⁴³ As can be learned from the initial part of the third letter in Pālisandesāvalī (pp. 15–17) written by Thera Vajirañāṇa and the other nine leading Dhammadayuttika Theras to the Ven. Saddhātissa (dated to BE 2387/1844 CE, by the editor), Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda seems to have written at least twice with respect to the *visuṅgāmasīmā*. The Ven. Saddhātissa, who lived in Siam for several years, had been orally informed by Thera Vajirañāṇa about the

... given to the Sangha as *visuṅgāma* land, – removed from the status of government land, being a special place devoted to Sangha ceremonies according to the Vinaya.”⁴⁴

Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda seems to have been of the opinion that all Siamese monks followed this practice. It is one of the aims of Vajirañāṇa Thera’s letter to show that this is not the case with the Dhammayuttika monks (see below, Intro. § 6).

Three verses of Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda’s letter are quoted and answered in the reply by Vajirañāṇa Thera. In vs. 32.1 (S^{e1} XXI; S^{e2} VII) Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda asks the monks who are inhabitants of Sāmendapura to listen to his epistle. Vajirañāṇa Thera seizes this opportunity to ask to whom Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda refers – the recipients of his letter, the Dhammayuttikas, or the others, the Mahānikāyikas. In vs. 32.2 (S^{e1} CVI; S^{e2} XXXIII) Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda asks the addressees of his letter to write and send him a decision/investigation (*vinicchaya*), if they reach a better one. Finally in vs. 32.3 (S^{e1} CVII; S^{e2} XXXVI) he declares that learned men who live among the ignorant, themselves become ignorant. This Vajirañāṇa Thera relates to the situation of the Dhammayuttikas who live among the Mahānikāyikas without even making the attempt to convince them.

4. Form of Letter 2

The letter by Vajirañāṇa Thera and the nine other Dhammayuttika monks is written mainly in prose with some 31 verses at the beginning of the text and 53 verses at the end. Verses 32.1–3 quoted in the middle

practice of *visuṅgāmasīmā* and the attitude of the Dhammayuttikas towards this practice. The Dhammayuttika Theras now blame him for not having informed Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda properly, not only with respect to the usage of *visuṅgāmasīmā*, but also regarding the fact that the Dhammayuttikas did not try to convince the Mahānikāyikas. Then they tell Saddhātissa that they sent a corresponding letter to Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda (*i.e.*, our Letter 2).

⁴⁴ Wells 1975: 179.

of the text (*śloka*), are quotations from Laṅkāgoḍa Dhīrānandas letter.

The following metres are used:

vs. 1	Jagatī (Vamśasthavila)
vss. 2, 4	Triṣṭubh (Indravajrā)
vss. 3,5–6	Triṣṭubh (Upajāti)
vss. 7–72	Anuṣṭubh (Śloka)
vss. 73–85	Vasantatilakā.

Hyper-metric *pādas* are 9c, 29c and 49d.

5. Summary of the contents of Letter 2

From Letter 2 we learn that the main topic of Laṅkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda's letter was the Siamese use of the so-called *visumgāmasīmā*.⁴⁵ In Siam and adjacent states this *visumgāmasīmā* describes a piece of land removed from the status of government land, and given to the Buddhist sangha to serve as a ceremonial boundary. It is generally a small piece of land (260 x 130 feet) on which the saṅgha carries out procedures of the community. At the time of Vajirañāṇa Thera this idea of *visumgāmasīmā* was followed by all Mahānikāyikas and by the old Ramaññavaṁsikas in Siam.⁴⁶ Nowadays only a monastic compound with a royal grant of *visumgāmasīmā* has the permission to establish a *sīmā* and build an uposatha house within its boundaries.⁴⁷ Though the *visumgāmasīmā* is named and defined in Pāli legal commentarial literature⁴⁸ as a piece of land within a village (*gāma*), legally removed from that village district by having been transferred to someone else either to exploit the land or to receive tax, the phenomenon that land has to be removed from the status of government land in order to be

⁴⁵ This is also confirmed by Letter 3 of the Pālisandesāvalī (see above, n. 43).

⁴⁶ Pālisandesavatī, Letter 3, p. 16: *Sabbe mahānikāyikā tad eva dhammato gaṇhanti. porāṇakā Rāmaññavaṁsikā Syāmaratīhe nivāsino pi ten' anuvattanti.*

⁴⁷ Wells 1975: 27; Ishii 1986: 104.

⁴⁸ Sp V 1052,1–4.

used as a ceremonial boundary for the Buddhist saṅgha does not go back to the Pāli texts.⁴⁹ Thus the Thai practice cannot be directly linked to the commentarial or canonical Vinaya texts.

Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda obviously imputes this Thai usage of *visumgāmasīmā* to all theras in Siam (below S^{el} X; S^{el} VI: *Syāmaratthe therānam rājūhi paricchinnabhūmi visumgāmasīmā hoti*). From Vajirañāṇa Thera's reaction, however, it is clear that the Dhammayuttikas did not accept and adopt this practice, since they declare that they fully concur with Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda's view as stated in his letter (S^{el} XXII: *sabbe va mayam tam āyasmatā tasmin pāṇe vuttattham sabbaso pi anumodāma, na mayam kiñci garahāma. ...*)⁵⁰ and ask if the Ven. Saddhātissa, a Sinhalese monk of the Amarapuranikāya, who lived in Siam for some time and returned to Sri Lanka two years earlier,⁵¹ did not see and hear how they, *i.e.*, the Dhammayuttikas, spoke and practiced. It becomes evident in the further discussion that the majority in Siam, the Mahānikāya, still used the *visumgāmasīmā*, and that the

⁴⁹ Cf. Kieffer-Pülz 1997: 147ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1979: 45, who writes that the Dhammayuttika monks "did not place any confidence in the *visumgāmasīmā* boundary markers, since the latter were not to be found in the Pāli canon."

⁵¹ Ven. Saddhātissa is mentioned in a letter from the ten Dhammayuttika monks to Bōpagoḍa (Mahā)Sumana dating from BE 2385/1842 CE as one of the Theras from the Burmese branch, who wanted to return from Siam to their home country, Sri Lanka (S^{el}, Letter 4, § 1), and further as a follower of Bōpagoḍa Mahāsumana Thera in two letters by the ten Dhammayuttika monks to Bōpagoḍa (Mahā)Sumana (S^{el}, Letter 4, § 40; S^{el}, Letter 6, § 1).

In Letter 2, edited here, he is named three times (S^{el} XXIV, S^{el} VII; S^{el} XXVI, S^{el} VIII; S^{el} CXIV, S^{el} XXXVII), *i.e.*, as a member of the Burmese saṅgha in Sri Lanka (*i.e.*, of the Amarapuranikāya; the Rāmaññanikāya did not yet exist there), and as living in Siam for some time, informing the Dhammayuttikas that the Burmese saṅgha in Sri Lanka performs important *kammas* exclusively within *udakukkhepasīmās*.

Ven. Saddhātissa further is the recipient of a letter by Thera Vajirañāṇa Makutā Sammata (BE 2387/1844 CE), where he is named as the Thera known as "Kahāvela", and in which Thera Vajirañāṇa blames him for not having informed Lamkāgoda Dhīrānanda correctly about the situation in Siam with respect to the *visumgāmasīmā* (Pālisandesāvalī, Letter 3, pp. 15–19; see n. 43); furthermore he is the recipient of a letter by Sobhita Siri Visuddhivapsa (Intro. § 2, no. 7) who wrote at the request of Thera Vajirañāṇa in BE 2388/1845 CE (Pālisandesāvalī, Letter 12, 67–69).

Dhammadayuttikas did not try to convert them to their opinion, since they suspected that the Mahānikāyikas would accuse them of trying to split – together with the foreigners, *i.e.*, the Sinhalese, – the old *vamsa*, *i.e.*, the Mahānikāya (S^{e1} XXVIII: *ime porāṇam ariyavāmṣam bhinditukāmā videsavāsihi ekato hutvā amhe codentūti*).⁵²

Vajirañāna Thera takes the reply as an opportunity to explain to Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda the Dhammadayuttikanikāya's own considerations on the discussion of boundaries (*sīmākathā*), which are, as he explains, very similar to those of Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda (S^{e1} XXXI; S^{e2} IX: *api c' ettha mayam sīmākatham ārabhya āyasmato vinayaladdhiyā sabhāgā bhiyyo pi attano vitakkam dassetum okāsam yācāma*). At first he asks where the definition of *gāmasīmā* quoted as authoritative by Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda in his letter, *i.e.*, Sp V 1051³¹⁻⁴, comes from, if one leaves the commentary aside. And he declares that the compilers of the Dhamma (*dhammasaṅgāhakas*) who carried out the first Council concluded that with as many texts as they, the *dhammasaṅgāhakas*, had recited one who has entered the Path will be able to follow the [right] practice (S^{e1} XXXII–XXXIII, S^{e2} IX). Thus he shows that a thorough investigation of the topic has to start with the canonical texts, *i.e.*, the Vinaya, and that it should be possible to reach a final decision based on this material. For that reason he deals at length with the various definitions of “village” (*gāma*), “wilderness” (*arañña*), and “village boundary” (*gāmasīmā*), scattered throughout the different portions of the Vinaya, evaluating them by paying regard to the age of the respective portions of the Vinaya. Thus he explains

⁵² In Letter 3 from Thera Vajirañāna Makuṭa to the Ven. Saddhātissa the ten Dhammadayuttika leaders seem to be annoyed by the request of Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda that Vajirañāna Thera might explain in detail the contents of Lamkāgoḍa's letter to the king, and they declare that this would not effect anything, except leading to non-belief (Pālisandesāvalī, Letter 3, p. 15,30–16,2: *bahinālīyam idam likhanam “idam Vajirañānattherena paramadhammikamahārājassa vithārena kathetabbaṃ” ti. kasmā idam Dhīranandattherapāṇṇam pi rañño ārocetabbaṃ nu kho ti? tato amhākam evam hoti: “tam sāsanapaṇṇam ārociyamānam pi na kiñci attaṇam sādhessati. porāṇarājakālato paṭṭhāya Syāmānaṃ sīmāya valañjanapaveṇi Atthakathāya vuttanayassa ekadesaṃ apadisitvā lesaṇ gahetvā rājaparicchinnabhumiwasena ciram va lañjītā. ārocite tasmiṃ sāsane rañño c' eva aññesam sotunam ca appasādāya samvatteyyā” ‘ti.)*

that because the Vibhaṅga is older than the Kandhaka, the readings of the Vibhaṅga are more important, that the Parivāra is younger and thus weaker than the readings of both Vibhaṅgas and the Kandhakas (S^{e1} LXII). Furthermore Vajirañāṇa Thera also discusses the respective explanations and definitions in the Aṭṭhakathā,⁵³ incidentally referring to Tīkās (Vimativinodanītīkā and Vinayālankāratīkā), too. He concludes that the meaning resulting from a thorough study of the definitions in the Vinaya has not been correctly grasped by the Aṭṭhakathācariyas, and that they gave definitions of *gāma*- and *visumgāmasīmā*, which, in the long run, led to the practice of *visumgāmasīmā* in Siam.

The Dhammayuttikas in this letter want to examine how the intention of the canonical writings differs from that of the Aṭṭhakathā (S^{e1} LXXXIV, S^{e2} XXIV). Thus they draw a detailed picture of the likely development and of various possible constructions with respect to *gāma* and *gāmakkhetta* (S^{e1} LXXX–CIII; S^{e2} XXIII–XXXI). In this connection they state that all Pañdits they have ever heard of – which certainly included Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda – based themselves on the reading of the Aṭṭhakathā without even hinting at the canonical texts. The Dhammayuttikas then give reasons why they do not try to spread their correct understanding of the case beyond their own Nikāya in Siam (S^{e1} CV; S^{e2} XXXII), but on the other hand do not hesitate to send a letter explaining their intention to Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda (S^{e1} CVI; S^{e2} XXXIII). Then they discuss the twofold method with respect to the Vinaya, *i.e.*, the method which originates from the foundation which accompanies the branch, *i.e.*, the nikāya, to which one belongs (*vamśānugamūlasambhava*) and the method which is only conform to how one knows the respective thing (*kevalaṁ yathāñātānurūpikā*), *i.e.*, a method being independent from the position of one's nikāya (S^{e2} XXXIV). To know this differentiation is especially relevant regarding the determination of *sīmās* and the ordination of bhikkhus. Since the validity of an ordination depends *inter alia* on the validity of the *sīmā* within which the procedure has been carried out, and on an uninterrupted

⁵³ To these are added new definitions in the Aṭṭhakathā, especially the definition from an administrative point of view as a district from which taxes are taken (Sp V 1051^{31–3}, cf. Kieffer-Pülz 1992: § § B 15.1.1; 15.1.2), as well as two contradictory definitions of *gāma* and *gāmūpacāra* in Pār 2 M, Pāc 85 M contra Sgh 3 N and the Abaddhasīmākathā (Kieffer-Pülz 1992, § B 13.3.2.1).

chain of valid ordinations from the time of the Buddha onwards, the question arose whether the ordinations in nineteenth century Siam were still valid or not. This all the more because it was an attested fact that ordination had been carried out within boundaries determined on firm ground from the time of the Buddha onwards, which meant that many faults could have arisen in determining *sīmās* during the past centuries. Thus the condition of *sīmās* in a country is highly relevant. In this context the Dhammayuttikas refer to the practice in Burma and elsewhere to ordain in old *sīmās*, which presumably were determined at the time of the Theras who established the base for the Buddhist Sāsana there, and to the custom to ordain one and the same person several times, *i.e.*, to perform so-called “strengthening procedures” (*daṭṭhikamma*) in various *sīmās* in order to finally have at least one valid ordination.⁵⁴ These *daṭṭhikammas* are accepted by Vajirañāna Thera, although he declares that they are not mentioned directly in the canonical scriptures and in the Aṭṭhakathā. He comes to the conclusion that an ordination carried out within an *udakkukkhepasīmā*, *i.e.*, a boundary within bodies of water, which consists of a line constituted by throwing water or sand in all directions around the assembled saṅgha, is unsuspicious from the point of view of *sīmā*.⁵⁵ Hence with respect to a procedure carried out within an *udakkukkhepasīmā* the necessity to perform a *daṭṭhikamma* should – following the doctrin of the ācariyas and *upajjhāyas* of the Dhammayuttikanikāya – only arise on account of the formula (*kammavāca*) – in case of bad or wrong pronunciation – or on account of the assembly – in case a bhikkhu attending to the procedure had been impure (S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV).

⁵⁴ The fact that Somdet Phra Vanarat Buddhasiri (Thap) (see above § 2, no. 4) ordained seven times reveals the uncertainty with respect to the validity of the ordinations (Taylor 1993: 43). Vajirañānavarorasa tells of his *daṭṭhikamma*-ordination, very important for him, performed within an *udakkukkhepasīmā* (Vajirañānavarorasa 1979: 46).

⁵⁵ This also Vajirañānavarorasa writes in his Autobiography: “From the time my father had been in the monkhood Dhammayut monks regarded boundary markers defined over water as pure and beyond question” (Vajirañānavarorasa 1929: 45). As the quarrel about the Balapitiya-Sīmā of the Amarapuranikāya in Sri Lanka some years later shows, this was a fallacy (see above n. 38).

As a response to another verse by Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda (vs. 32.3), the Dhammayuttikas explain the reasons why they live among the Mahānikāyikas without even trying to convince them of their view (S^{e1} CVII–CXII; S^{e2} XXXVI). It seems that the Dhammayuttikas felt obliged to defend themselves for this attitude, since they compare their situation to that of the righteous monks during the Second council (S^{e1} CVIII; S^{e2} XXXVII).

Referring to the fact that the branch to which the Sinhalese monks belong had been brought to Sri Lanka from Burma, he mentions the practices of the Burmese branch in Sri Lanka as they learned them from the Sinhalese monk Saddhātissa (S^{e1} CXII–CXVI). Vajirañāṇa Thera then hints at the fact that the various *sīmās* in countries like Tambadīparatṭha, Pokāmaratṭha, Talaṅgarattha and Pegudesa (various parts of Burma), which are said to be of old, are not trusted by many of the inhabitants, and that therefore these determined new *sīmās*, as for instance the Kalyāṇīsīmā fixed by the Sinhalese Vāṁśas at the time of King Dharmaceti (1476 CE) in Hamṣavati (Pegu). Furthermore, Vajirañāṇa refers Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda to the Vinayālaṅkārapakaraṇa for a description of the quarrel about the various teachings with regard to the rules for determining *sīmās* and for the statement that great boundaries (*mahāsīmā*)⁵⁶ did not exist at all in some of these countries (S^{e1} CXVII–CXX; S^{e2} XXXVIII).

The next paragraph deals with the pronunciation as used by various traditions, and explains that from the adherents to the Buddhasāsana the Sīhaḷa have the best pronunciation, but that the old Sinhalese vāṁśa is interrupted since long, and the traditions in Sri Lanka stem from Siam and Burma (S^{e1} CXXI–CXXIV; S^{e2} XLI–XLIII). Then Vajirañāṇa Thera proceeds with the information that now also monks from Burma live in Siam, but that their pronunciation is such that the Dhammayuttikas do not even want to receive a *daṭṭhikamma* by them. Dhammayuttikas would like to fetch an old Sīhaḷavāṁśa from Sri Lanka if there existed one, but since such a one is not existent

⁵⁶ Mahāsīmās mentioned from the Pāli commentaries onwards were the usual forms of determined *sīmās* (*baddhasīmā*). They enclosed the whole area of the monasteries (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: § B Einl. 11). It is well known that in Siam this type of *sīmā* is rare (Kieffer-Pülz 1997: 149).

they keep to the Rāmaññavamsa, which had been brought to Burma originally from Sri Lanka (S^{e1} CXXV–CXXIX; S^{e2} XLIV–XLVII).

The Dhammayuttikas then ask the Sīhalas to spread their teaching, i.e. that of the Dhammayuttikas in Letter 2, only according to the true Dhamma, but not in order to overpower others (S^{e1} CXIII–CXIII; S^{e2} XLVII). It follows an exhortation on the twofold Dhamma (S^{e1} CXXXII–CXXXVI; S^{e2} XLIX) and the concluding passage with verses 33–85 summarising the outlines of Letter 2 (S^{e1} CXXXVII–CXL; S^{e2} L–LI).

6. Sources for the present edition

S^{e1} First Thai edition: *Samanaśāsana* [Samanaśāsana] phra therā thammayutika mi pai yang lankathawip (Ecclesiastical Correspondence Sent [in the name of] Dhammayutika Theras to Laikādvīpa), composed in Pāli by King Rāma IV when he was a monk, printed with translations for the funeral of Phra Chao Boromawong Thoe Krommaluang Phromworanarak (Brahmavarānurakṣ) at the Sanam Luang Cremation Ground, BE 2468 [1925], *ka-dha*, 259 p.⁵⁷

[For each letter the Thai translation is given first, followed by the Pāli text].

Letter 1 has the opening title: Samanaśāsana (Chabap ti 1) (Ruang song khruang bannakan pai hai Phra Thiranān ti Langka), Ecclesiastical Response (First Document) (On sending presents to Phra Dhīrānanda in Lanka)," pp. 1–2 (Thai), 3–4 (Pāli);

⁵⁷ This work contains nine samanaśāsana in Pāli (Thai script) with Thai translation. In his introduction (pp. *ka-dha*) Prince Damrong Rajanubhab states that the originals of the *samanaśāsana* 3 to 9 come from Wat Bovornivet (Pavaraniveśa), from the collection made by Somdet Phra Mahā Samanā Chao Krom Phraya Pavareśvariyalakaṇṭakaṇa and that they were given to Phraya Pariyati Thamthada (Pae Talalak) Parian for translation. Contrary to these *samanaśāsana* 1 and 2 (which are edited here) were obtained from Sri Lanka. [Information P.S.].

Letter 2 has the opening title: Samanapatiśāsana (Chabap ti 2) (Ruang Sīmāvicāraṇa). “Ecclesiastical Response (Second Document) (About Sīmāvicāraṇa),” pp. 5–56 (Thai), 57–100 (Pāli).

The forward (pp. *ka-dha*) contains some information on the sources for this edition (see Intro., § 1).

S^{e2} Second Thai edition: *Phrachum phra ratchaniphon phasa bali nai ratchakan ti 4, phak 2* (*Corpus of Royal Compositions in Pāli of King Rāma IV, Part 2*), published by the Dhammayut Gaṇa as a complement to the royal merit at the cremation of Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja Sakalamahāsaṅghaparināyaka (Chuan Uṭṭhāyī) at Wat Thepsirinharawat on 17 June BE 2512 [1972], [25]+[18]+619 pp.

[For each letter the Thai translation follows side by side.]

Letter 1 has the opening title: Phra Samanāśāsana, Chabap ti 1 (Ruang song khruang taiya tham lae top ruang sima pai phra ratchatan dae Phra Thirananta ti Langka), “Ecclesiastical Response (First Document) (On sending offerings and answering [questions] about sīmā, to Phra Dhīrānanda in Laṅka),” 338, 340 (Pāli), 339, 341 (Thai).

Letter 2 has the opening title: Phra Paṭiśāsana. Nap pen chabap ti 2 (Top ruang sīmā), “Answering about Sima”.

The brief foreword (pp. *ka-gha*) is a paraphrase-cum-citation of the foreword to S^{e1}. At the end it states that “for this printing we assigned Captain Mekh Ampaicharit Parian Tham 9 to edit the Pāli and produce a new translation conforming with current taste”. The text does not say what editing was done and on what basis.⁵⁸

C^e **Letter 2:** A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisandesāvalī*, Koḷamba 1962, 152–176 (Letter 24).

This edition does not contain Letter 1. There is no information regarding the sources for this edition.

⁵⁸ Information P.S.

7. Relation between the three editions

S^{e1} in general agrees with S^{e2} against C^e . The Siamese and Ceylonese traditions deviate from each other in orthography. Constant orthographic variants are not noted in the notes, but listed below (Intro. § 9).

In case a reading is only found in S^{e1} it often is a printing error or a fault corrected in S^{e2} or an orthographic variant not followed by S^{e2} . The few cases in which S^{e1} goes along with C^e against S^{e2} give possible variants.

In case a reading is only found in S^{e2} it is in most instances a printing error or an omission or is wrong, and only in few cases is it an alternative reading. There are only few instances where S^{e2} goes with C^e against S^{e1} . In those cases the reading of S^{e1} is mostly wrong. S^{e2} in a few cases makes conjectures, some of which are confirmed by the reading of C^e , some of which, however, are not necessary.

C^e deviates from S^{e1+2} in many cases, most of these variants are of orthographic nature, or are compound formations where S^{e1+2} separate the words and vice versa. C^e however also offers real variants, and sometimes wrong readings.

8. Conventions adopted

S^{e1} , S^{e2} and C^e divide the text distinctly in paragraphs. C^e does not number the paragraphs, but the verses; S^{e1} and S^{e2} number the paragraphs (S^{e1} 140 paragraphs, S^{e2} 51) but not the verses. Paragraphs numbered in S^{e1} are often kept in S^{e2} as beginning in a new line, but without a number. In order to keep the information about this diverging subdivisions, the paragraph numbers of the Siamese editions are given in the text with the siglum for the edition (S^{e1} or S^{e2}) and a Roman number for the paragraphs in round brackets.

The verse numbers are given as Arabic numbers. The three verses from Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda's letter of which only two are numbered in C^e (both as vs. 32) are given the numbers 32.1–3 to keep to the verse numbering of C^e .

The pagination of C^e, S^{e1} and S^{e2} is given in the text by the siglum for the edition (C^e, S^{e1}, S^{e2}) with the page number as Arabic number in square brackets at the beginning of a page.

Since the text of S^{e2} was already available in an electronic file, the present edition primarily follows the writing tradition of the Siamese editions. When the reading of S^{e1+2} is wrong or a form is not used otherwise in Pāli, and the reading of C^e seemed better, this has been put in the text.

No new paragraphing system has been introduced. For references, also in the indices, the paragraph numbers of S^{e1+2} have been used and in case of the verses the verse numbers.

Quotations are put in italics and the reference is given in the notes. As far as mere references without quotations could be identified they are also given in the notes. Names of persons, texts and places are put in bold type.

9. Variants generally not noted

C ^e	S ^{e1+2}
mramma°	maramma°
<i>Anusvāra</i>	<i>Class nasal</i>
°am before p	°am before p
<i>Short</i>	<i>Long vowel</i>
°ādinam	°ādīnam
°bahusu	°bahūsu
°bhuta°	°bhūta°
bhumi°	bhūmi°
rāsi°	rāśī°
<i>etc.</i>	

C ^e	S ^{e1+2}
<i>Long</i>	<i>Short vowel</i>
olīy°	oliy°
ohīy°	ohiy°
karīy°	kariy°
tunħi°	tunħi°
mūlħā	mulħā
rūlh°	rulħ°
rūh°	ruh°
likħiħy°	likhiy°
vīm°	vim°
hari°	hari°
<i>Long vowel + single cons.</i>	<i>Short vowel + double cons.</i>
dīy°	diyy°
nīy°	niyy°
bħiyyo	bħiyyo
<i>Double</i>	<i>Single consonants</i>
°cħhind°	°ħind°
°tħāna°	°ħāna°
°ppades°	°pades°
<i>Cerebral</i>	<i>Dental</i>
pāl°	pāl°
°savān°	°savān°
kaniṭħa°	kaniṭħa°
Vajirañān°	Vajirañān°
<i>etc.</i>	

C ^e	S ^{e1+2}
<i>Dental</i>	<i>Cerebral</i>
pati°	paṭi°
parināyaka	parināyaka
Gālu°	Gālu°

10. Indices

The Index locorum lists all quotations (q) and references (r) in Letter 2 that could be identified.

The Index of names gives all names of places, persons, texts and Vinaya rules used in the two letters and in the Introduction.



Sīmā illustration, Northern Thai (after *Samutphab traiphum, chabab akson tham lanna lae akson khom*, Bangkok, The Fine Arts Department, 547 [2004], Pl. 4).

LETTER I¹

[S^{e1} 3; S^{e2} 138] (S^{e1} I; S^{e2} I) Visuddhabuddhādiratanattayābhāvabhāsite² Syāmaratthe Ratanakosında-devamahānagararājadhāniyam Pavaranivesādigaṇissarehi dasahi Dhammayuttikanikāyikatheravarehi idam sāsanapanñam Vālukārāme Dhīrānandatherassa Mrammavaṁśika-saṅghanāyaka-sissabhūtassa jānāpanatthāya pahitam. idāni Syāmādiratthādhipatissarindassa paramadhammimahārājassa rañño kaniṭhabhātubhūta-Vajirañāpa-Makuṭa-Sammata-Vaṁsa-mahātheravaro āyasmato veyyattiyyena abhippasanno

- (1) ekā hiraññapaṭimā
- (2) sugandhamasighaṭikā
- (3) koseyyacīvaraṁ
- (4) koseyyantaravāsakaṁ
- (5) bahalakambalanisīdanam
- (6) niguyhiyavijjani³
- (7) ariyakkhararūpanitisamuttam
- (8) silālekhanīnāli
- (9) dve kālasamuttāni
- (10) cammamayamañjusā [S^{e2} 140]

ime deyyadhamme pahiṇi [S^{e1} 4]

(S^{e1} II) sādh' āyasmā tassa sabbe te deyyadhamme paṭiggaṇhātū tassa dīgharattam hitāya sukhāya.

(S^{e1} III; S^{e2} II) Sīmakathā-paṭisāmyuttam paṭisāsanam vitthārato amhākam sabbesam anumatiyā therena ganthitam paṭakesu likhāpetvā⁴

¹ S^{e1}: Samanaśāsana (Chabap ti 1) (Ruang song khruang bannakan pai hai Phra Thiranānāti Langka), “Ecclesiastical Response (First Document) (On Sending Presents to Phra Dhīrānanda in Lančka);” Se2: Phra Samanaśāsana, Chabap ti 1 (Ruang song khruang taiya tham lae top ruang sima pai phra ratchatan dae Phra Thirananta ti Langka), “Ecclesiastical Response (First Document) (On sending offerings and answering [questions] about sīmā to Phra Dhīrānanda in Lančka).”

² S^{e1} visuddhabuddhāratana^o

³ S^{e2} niguyahiyavijjanī

⁴ S^{e1} likhāpatvā, probably fault of the copy.

ekato bandham mañjusāya pakkhittam tadaññā ca theren' eva ito pubbe ganthitasikkhattayadīpikā gāthāyo sajjhāyitabbapāṭhabhūtā likhitvā pahitā sādh' āyasma sukhumena nāñēna attham upaparikkhitvā oloketu aññesam pi dassetabbam maññatu yadi paṭippharitabbam hoti aparisaṅkitvā paṭisāsanam hotu.

(Se¹ IV; Se² III) buddhassa bhagavato parinibbānato sattāsītyādhika tisatuttaradvisahassāsāsanāyumhi Migasira-māsassa juṇhapakkha-pañcamiyam soravārāya pahitam idam.

LETTER 2¹
[S^{e1} 57; S^{e2} 342; C^e 152]

2⁻subham atthu⁻² (S^{e1}I; S^{e2} I)

1. nam' atthu buddhassa vibhajjavādino
nam' atthu dhammassa vimuttisārino
nam' atthu saṅghassa ca dhammadhārino
namo karitvāna mayamha³ serino. (S^{e1} II)
2. buddho hi bojjhā va pasatthaseṭṭho
dhammo ca sandīṭṭhikatādiyutto
saṅgho hi saṅghehi anuttaro va
vatthuttayan tam ratanam anaggham. (S^{e1} III)
3. tasmiñ sukhette supavuttavījā⁴
pasannacittā dasa theraseṭṭhā
patthema ḥaṇassa mayam vibhūtim
dukkhassa antam abhisambhuñemu.⁵
[S^{e2} 344] (S^{e1} IV; S^{e2} II)
4. mettiñ karissāma videsikehi
therānutherādikasīhalehi [S^{e1} 58]
buddhādivatthuttayamāmakehi
dhammāmisehī paṭisantharantā.⁶ (S^{e1} V)

¹ C^e: “24. Catuvīsatimalipi. (Lamkāgoḍa Dhīrānandamahātherassa paccuttaravasena Syāmaratthe Vajirañāṇasaṅgharājena pesitā.”); S^{e1} Samanapatiśāsana (Chabap ti 2) (Ruang Sīmāvicāraṇa). “Ecclesiastical Response (Second Document (About Sīmāvicāraṇa);” S^{e2} Phra Paṭīśāsana nap pen chabap ti 2 (Top ruang sīmā), “Answering about Sīmā”.

²⁻² Ce om.

³ = mayam amha

⁴ C^e °bījā

⁵ C^e abhisambhuñoma

⁶ S^{e1+2} dhammāmiseh' eva pasantharantā

5. cirena diṭṭhā ca sutā ca ete
samuddamajjhe patidīpavāsī
amhehi dhammena samānadhammā
dūratṭhañātīva piyāyitabbā. (**S^{e1} VI**)
6. evam katā metti sakim pi esā
ciraṭṭhitā¹ hotu ²kathāy' imāya²
rakkhantu bhiyyo pi ca sīhaṭā no
mettim supuññodayamaṅgalatthaṁ. (**S^{e1} VII; S^{e2} III**)
7. suddhānantadayāñānarāsībhūtassa tādino
³buddhass' eva³ bhagavato sāsanānupavattiyā
8. paṭīrūpapadesattā **Syāmaratthe** sumaṅgale
ramme **Ratanakosindamahārājapure** subhe,
9. uttamaggamaṇibimbasiriyā suvirocīte
mayam **Pavaranivesādirājakārāmavāsino** [**C^e 153; S^{e2} 346**]
10. rañño jeṭṭhādhipatindanāmino sādhusīlino
mahādhammikarājā ti vissutassa tahim tahim
11. kulūpakā niccabhattavatthādīh' ābhipūjitā⁴ [**S^{e1} 59**]
dasa gaṇissarā therā **Dhammayuttikavaṇṇsikā**,⁵
12. tannikāyikasaṅghena sabbakiccesu sammatā
anekabhikkhusatānam pitaro pariṇāyakā (**S^{e1} VIII**)
13. tass' eva bhūpatindassa piyo kaniṭṭhabhātuko
thero **Vajirañāṇo**⁶ ca pāmokkho gaṇajeṭṭhako,

¹ **S^{e1+2}** *ciranṭhitā* (from *ciram ṛhitā*).

²⁻² **S^{e1}** *kathāyimāya*; **C^e** *kathāyi 'māya*

³⁻³ **S^{e1}** *buddhassaseva*

⁴ **C^e** *abhipūjitā*

⁵ **C^e** *°vāsiṇī*

⁶ Vajirañāṇa, the later King Mongkut; see Intro. § 2.

14. thero **Brahmasaro**¹ c' eva thero **Dhammasirivhayo**
thero **Buddhasiri**² c' eva thero **Paññagganāmako**,³
15. thero **Dhammarakkhito**⁴ ca thero ca **Sobhita**⁵vhayo thero
Buddhisañhanāmo thero **Pussābhidhānako**⁶
thero **Suvadḍhano** cāpi sabbe samānachandakā
16. **Sirisaddhammavamsādi**⁷ **Dhīrānandābhidhānino**⁸
āyasmato **Mrammavamsatherassa** piyasīlino,
17. kavino vinayaññussa **Tambapanñinivāsino**
sīmālakkhaṇam ārabbhā ⁹vuttamī ganthāpadesato⁹
18. gāthābandhehi subandha¹⁰satuppādanasāsanam
sutvā attham pajānitvā haṭṭhatutṭhā pamoditā
19. amhākam pi adhippāyam ciram pi suvinicchitam
sabbaso ñāpanatthāya ganthitum paṭisāsanam, [**S^{e2} 348**]
20. therassa **Vajirañāṇanāmino** paṭibhāṇino
sammābhāraṇ karitvāna ganthāpetvā yathārahām, [**S^{e1} 60**]
21. likhāpetvā karadāsapatakeṣv ānurūpato¹¹
theramuddāya¹² lañcetvā saddahāpetave bhusam,

¹ C^e *Brahmassaro*. See Intro. § 2.

² C^e °*sirī*; see Intro. § 2.

³ S^{e1+2} *Paññāgga*[°]; see Intro. § 2.

⁴ See Intro. § 2.

⁵ See Intro. § 2.

⁶ In the Sinhalese summary of C^e (p. 280) he is named *Phussa*. See Intro. § 2.

⁷ Founded in 1855 as a subsect of the Amarapuranikāya.

⁸ See Intro. § 2.

⁹⁻⁹ C^e *vuttaganthā*[°]

¹⁰ C^e *subandham*

¹¹ C^e, S^{e1} °*dāsi*; it remains unclear to me, which reading is correct; C^e *patakeṣvā 'nurūpato*.

¹² S^{e1+2} °*muddhāya*

22. **Subhūtyādīnam** bhikkhūnam **Tambapaṇṇiyagāminam**
hatthe niyyādayitvāna uddissa pesayāmase.

23. **Dhīrānandassa** therassa pubbe sāsanadāyino
Gālūtitthanivāsissa appetum paṭhamam idam.
[S^{e2} 350] (S^{e2} IV)

24. sādhū kho vata so thero laddhā ñatvāna sāsanaṁ
¹-aññesam pi⁻¹ ca dasseyya sādhūnam dhammadāyinaṁ.
[C^e 154]

25. koci doso ²yady etthatthi² codayantu yathāsukham
amhe mā parisaṅkantu yuttakāraṇagāhake.³

26. vuttañ h' etaṁ bhagavatā jānatā passatā idha
“sudassam⁴ vajjam aññesaṁ attano pana⁵ duddasam” iti.⁶

27. yadi pan' etha yo koci doso natthīdha sāsane
dhārayantu imass' attham vicārayantu uttarim.

28. tato pi paṭilikhitvā tālapanñesu⁷ sādhukam
sakaṭṭhāne pi ṭhapentu ciram upaparikkhitum.⁸

29. evañ ca mayam vadantā viññūnam sādhusīlinam⁹
dhammadāyādānam vasena vadāma sādhū gāravā.

30. addhā āmisadāyādā mūlhā vā thaddhamānino

¹⁻¹ S^{e1} aññe sampi

²⁻² C^e yadeththa'thi

³ S^{e1} yuttam kāraṇagāhake; C^e vuttakāraṇagāhane

⁴ S^{e1+2} sudasam.

⁵ S^{e1+2} om.

⁶ C^e ti; S^{e1+2} omit *pana* (see p. 6, n. 5) to include *iti* at the end of the quotation into the metre, whereas normally *iti* is excluded.

Quotation from Dhp vs. 252; Jā III 223²⁰.

⁷ S^{e1+2} tāli^o

⁸ S^{e1+2} pupa^o

⁹ C^e piyasīlinam

imam̄ na rocayissanti uppādessimanti rosanam̄.
[S^{e1} 61; S^{e2} 352]

31. tehi kinti¹ karissāma nindantu no yathāsukham̄ tesam̄ nindā pasam̄sā ca appamāṇā va sabbaso.

(S^{e1} IX; S^{e2} V) idam̄ **Vinayalakkhaṇavinicchayadīpakam̄²** paṭisāsanam̄ rājānuja**VajirañānaMakuṭaSammata-**vam̄satheravarena sesānam̄ navannaṁ **Dhammayuttikatherānam̄** anumatiyā sāmām ganthitam̄ **Laṅkādīpe SirisaddhammavaṇsaDhīrānandatherassa** pahitam̄.

(S^{e1} X; S^{e2} VI) yan̄ āyasmatā gāthābandhehi bandhitvā **Syāmarat̄he** therānam̄ rājūhi paricchinhabhūmi visumgāmasimā hotīti daļham̄ gahevā nirāsaṅko³ hutvā tatth' eva saṅghakammam̄ valañjentānam tam̄ tam̄ **Atṭhakathādīsu**⁴ āgataṁ kāraṇaṁ⁴ ca yuttīñ ca gahevā satuppādakaraṇavasena pahitam̄⁵ tam̄ sabbam̄ amhehi oloketvā attatho viññātam̄. (S^{e1} XI) kevalam̄ gāthābandhavasena bandhitattā⁶ katthaci ālulitam̄⁷ pi hoti. gāthāvasena hi bandhāya kathāya ānisamso pi atthi, ādīnavo pi atthi: [S^{e2} 354]

(S^{e1} XII) yo yo hi attho gāthābandhena bandhito, so so attho gāthābandhaniguļho pi; tehi tehi sarabhaññam̄ bhanitukāmehi⁸ adhāretukāmehi pi⁸ punappunam̄ sajjhāyito,⁹ ayan̄ tattha ānisamso.

(S^{e1} XIII) chandānurakkhanathāya akkharapadesu nigulhīkatesu apākatikat̄hāne vā vihitesu atthe ca atisaṅkhittam̄ katvā vuccamāne sotuhī¹⁰ cintetvā upaparikkhítvā jānitabbam hoti, na pākatikena ñāñena. [S^{e1} 62] (S^{e1} XIV) evam̄ sante¹¹ kesañci¹¹ katthaci vipariñtagāho¹² hoti,

¹ C^e *kintu*

² C^e *vinayalakkhaṇadīpakam̄*

³ S^{e1+2} *nirāsaṅkānam̄*

⁴⁻⁴ C^e *āgatakāraṇam̄*

⁵ C^e *pesitam̄*

⁶ S^{e1} *bandhitataṭā*

⁷ C^e *ālulitam̄*

⁸⁻⁸ C^e om.

⁹ S^{e2} *sajjhāyitum̄*

¹⁰ C^e *sotuhī*

¹¹⁻¹¹ C^e *kevalam̄ hi*

¹² S^{e1} *ad pi*

¹-dvidhā gamanam pi hoti;¹ sotūnam dveļhakatāpi hoti. (**S^{e1} XV**) yena tā gāthāyo ganthitā, tass' ev' ekassa tāsam attho supaññāto hoti. ayam ādīnavo. [C^e 155]

(**S^{e1} XVI**) tasmā amhākam ayam pakatipavenī² ṭhapitā: “yo yo attho bahunnam sajjhāyitvā dhāraṇattham yeva vattabbo, (**S^{e1} XVII**) so sukham dhāraṇattham adhāretukāmānam sajjhāyārambhanatthañ ca gāthābandhehi bandhitabbo hoti. (**S^{e1} XVIII**) bahūsu sajjhāyitvā dhārentesu ye ye attham na jānanti,³ te jānante pucchitvā paccakkham karissanti. (**S^{e1} XIX**) yo pana videsikānam pāhetabbapaññādīsu vattabbo paccakkhatto viññāpetabbattho, so cunniyapadeh' eva valañjitabbo,⁴ gāthābandhehi bandhiyamāno⁵ kīlādhippāyena katasadiso hutvā yathādhippetam payojanam pariḥapeyyā” ti. [**S^{e2} 356**]

(**S^{e1} XX**) tasmā āyasmā khamatu; mā amhe garahatu: “sabbaso gāthābandhabhūtassa amhākam sāsanassa thokam ādimhi gāthābandhavasena ārabhītvā aṭṭhāne vitthāritacuṇṇiyapadavasen’ eva paṭisāsanam denti”ti. mayam hi cirassam sāsanapaññehi yeva āyasmatā saddhiṃ samāgacchāma.

(**S^{e1} XXI; S^{e2} VII**) tasmiṃ āyasmato sāsanapaññe

32.1⁶

“Khantiparā mahātherā buddha[**S^{e1} 63**]sāsanasodhakā suṇantu vuccamānam me **Sāmendapuravāsino**” ti

idam sāmaññena vuttam. (**S^{e1} XXII**) amhe nu kho sandhāya vuttam udāhu amhe ṭhapetvā aññe there⁷ yadi amhe yeva sandhāya vuttam, sabbe va mayam tam āyasmatā tasmiṃ paññe⁸ vuttattham

¹⁻¹ C^e om.

² C^e °paveni

³ S^{e2} jānanta

⁴ C^e lañjitabbo.

⁵ C^e °māne

⁶ C^e erroneously gives the verse number 32 to two different verses (numbered here as 32.1 and 32.3), and misses to number a third (here 32.2). All three are from Dhīrānanda Thera's letter.

⁷ C^e Syāminda°

⁸ C^e add ti

⁹ S^{e2} paññe

[S^{e2} 358] sabbaso pi anumodāma, na mayam kiñci garahāma. (S^{e1} XXIII) amhākam hi¹ sīmāya valañjanapatipattiladdhi² āyasmata vuttalakkhañena sadisā va hoti.

(S^{e1} XXIV) yathā yathā mayam vadāma mahantāmahantam garukāgarukam sañghakammam karontā vinayapañcipattim pañcipajjāma, nanu³⁻³ tam sabbam³ āyasmā **Saddhatisso**⁴ idhāgantvā ciram vasamāno sunñati c' eva passati ca? natthi sīmāya gahañaladdhiñ pañcica codetabbatā sāretabbatā.

(S^{e1} XXV) api ca mayam appakā katipayā kiñ karissāma sakalena **Syāmaratthena?** ajānanta hi anupaparikkhakā⁵ atidukkhena saññāpetabbā honti.

(S^{e1} XXVI; S^{e2} VIII) yadi etam paññam āyasmata **Mahānikāyikatherānam**⁶ dassevā⁷ te saññāpetum⁷ pahitam hoti, tiñthatu so chando sā ruci. nanu tasmiñ nikāye therānutherā yādisā, te sabbe āyasmata **Saddhatisseñ**⁸ dīñhā.

(S^{e1} XXVII) ayañ ca nesam sīmālakkhañe sithilagāhaladdhi⁹ anekāni purisayugāni gahitā parāmatthā atthānādhimokkhā anūpaparikkhanasañjanitamohehi¹⁰ [S^{e1} 64] pariggahitā, antarantarā upaparikkhāya thokam thokam ñāñobhāse uppanne pi [S^{e2} 360] mānathaddhiyapamādadośādīhi¹¹ upatthambhitā hoti.

(S^{e1} XXVIII) yadi mayam tam āyasmantānam paññam tesam dasseyyāma, na tam kiñci attham sādheyya; aññadatthum¹² te amhe maññeyyum: “ime porānam¹³ [C^e 156] ariyavamṣam bhinditukāmā videsavāsihi ekato hutvā amhe¹⁴ codentī”ti.

¹ C^e om

² S^{e1} °pañcipatti laddhi

³⁻³ C^e om.

⁴ See Intro. § 5.

⁵ S^{e1} anū°

⁶ C^e *Mahānikāyikānam*

⁷⁻⁷ C^e tesam ñāpetum

⁸ See Intro. § 5, n. 51.

⁹ S^{e1} sithilla°

¹⁰ C^e °kkhanā°

¹¹ C^e mānattha°

¹² C^e °datthu

¹³ C^e porānakam

¹⁴ S^{e1} amhā; S^{e2} amhākam

(S^{e1} XXIX) esā hi tesam laddhi amhādisānam satena pi sahassena pi dubbimocanīyā tasmā tuṇhī homa. (S^{e1} XXX) yathā buddhasāsanikā kismiñci dese bahūhi abuddhasāsanikehi saddhim dubbalā hutvā vasamānā, itare saññāpetum na vāyamanti, appossukkā viharanti, evam̄ mayam̄ imesam antare ṭhitā **Atṭhakathādīsu** āgatesu ¹paccakkhesu kārañesu¹ sati pi itare saññāpetum avāyamitvā kevalam̄ attānam̄ sodhetvā sakapakkhe yeva viharāma. edisasmim² hi³ kāle dhammāmisadāyādavasena dvidhā bhūtesu buddhasāsanikesu kecid eva dhammadāyādā. atha kho āmisadāyādā bahutarā. tesam ekaccānam̄ paññavatam pi paññā dhammadchandato atigarukatarāmisachandena dubbalīkatā, balavattī pi nivāritā akiccaṅkarinī hoti, tasmā tiṭṭhatu āyasmato te saññāpetukāmatā. [S^{e2} 362]

(S^{e1} XXXI; S^{e2} IX) api c' ettha mayam̄ sīmākatham ārabbha āyasmato vinayaladdhiyā sabhāgā bhiyyo pi attano vitakkam̄ dassetum okāsam̄ yācāma.

(S^{e1} XXXII) yam̄ āyasmata “yattakesu padesu gāmabhojakādayo balim̄ gan[S^{e1} 65]hanti” ti-ādi⁴ **Atṭhakathā**vacanam̄ pamāṇam̄ katvā gāmasīmāya lakkhaṇam̄ vuttam̄, tam̄ **Atṭhakathāya** asati kuto laddhabbam? (S^{e1} XXXIII) **Atṭhakathā** hi **Paññam** saṅgītikālato pacchā katā. dhammasaṅgāhakehi ca pāṭhasaṅgītiṁ niṭṭhapente hi sannīṭṭhanam̄ kataṁ: ettakehi pāṭhehi paṭipannakā sakkhissanti, tam̄ tam̄ vinayalakkhaṇam̄ nātvā anupaṭipajjituṁ ti.

(S^{e1} XXXIV; S^{e2} X) yam̄ pana **Vimativinodaniyam**⁵ “yā tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā gāmasīmā nigamasīmā” ti⁶ evam̄ **Pāliyam**

¹⁻¹ C^e paccakkhakārañesu

² C^e edisasmim

³ C^e om.

⁴ This is a non-literal quotation from Sp V 1051³¹⁻⁴: *tattha yattake padese tassa gāmassa bhojakā balim labhanti, so padeso appo vā hotu mahanto vā, gāmasīmā tveva saṅkhaṇ gacchatī, nagaranigamasīmāsu pi es 'eva nayo*. See Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 328f. This passage is quoted in younger texts with smaller variants. In all cases the reading is *yattake padese*.

⁵ C^e °yam̄; S^{e1} °vinodanīyam

⁶ Non-literal quotation from Vin I 110³⁷⁻⁸: *yā tassa vā gāmassa gāmasīmā nigamassa vā nigamasīmā*.

gāmanigamasambandhena vuttattā tannivāsīhi bali-ādigahaṇattham
ṭhapito bhūmipadeso vidito ti **Aṭṭhakathāya¹** [S^{e2} 364]
vuttalakkhaṇasādhakavacanam vuttam,² tam pi vicāretabbam hoti.

(S^{e1} XXXV) kiṃ **Suttantapāṭhesu** “tathāgatassa tathāgatabalānī”³
“bālassa bālalakkhaṇānī”,⁴ “pañḍitassa pañḍitalakkhaṇānī”⁵ ti etha
tathāgatabalāpanḍitehi balādīgahaṇattham⁶ thapitabalalakkhaṇānī⁷
tathāgatabalādīnī nāma honti tathāgatādisambandhena vuttattā ti?

(S^{e1} XXXVI; S^{e2} XI) **AṭṭhakathāTikāsu** hi tattha tattha **Pālipadese**
āgatassa ekasadisass’ eva saddassa so so ⁸-ativiya sadiso⁸ attho vutto.
gāmāraññānam gāmasadda-araññasaddehi tattha tattha vuttānam
lakkhaṇam ekattha aññathā, ekattha aññathā vuttam. (S^{e1} XXXVII)
tatthā hi **AdinnādānaVikālagāmapavesanādīsu**⁹ bahūsu ṭhānesu
[S^{e1} 66] paricchedaledḍupātupacāravasena¹⁰ gāmalakkhaṇam vuttam.
(S^{e1} XXXVIII) idha pana gāmato [C^e 157] bahi gāmavāsīhi bali-
ādīgahaṇattham¹¹ paricchinnam; araññapabbatasusānādipa[S^{e2}
366]desam pi gahetvā gāmalakkhaṇam vuttam.¹² (S^{e1} XXXIX)
agāmakāraññalakkhaṇam¹³ pi ticīvarāvippavāsasamānasamvāsa-
sīmākathāyam migaluddakamacchabandhānam¹⁴ agamanapatha-

¹ No literal quotation, but refers to the above-quoted passage from Sp 1051³¹⁻⁴ (see p. 10, n. 4).

² Vmv II 157⁵⁻²⁶, comments at length on the definition of *gāma/nigama* etc.

³ MN I 71¹⁸; AN III 9¹⁶; 419¹; V 36¹⁶; 38²⁹; Vibh 317⁸; 344²⁸.

⁴ MN III 163^{3,7}; AN I 102¹⁸, etc.

⁵ MN III 170¹⁸; AN I 102²⁹.

⁶ C^e *bala-ādi*^o

⁷ C^e *°bālala*^o

⁸⁻⁸ S^{e1+2} *ativisadiso*

⁹ **Adinnādāna** [Pār 2 M]; **vikālagāmapavesana** [Pāc 85 M]. *gāma* is defined in Pār 2 M (Vin III 46²³⁻³⁰). According to Sp II 3012 this definition is also valid for Pāc 85 M.

¹⁰ S^{e1} *°pāt-ū*^o

¹¹ C^e *baliādiharanattham*

¹² Compare Vmv II 157⁸⁻¹⁰: ... *yasmim yasmiñ taññakamātikāsusānapabbatādike padese baliñ na ganhanti, so pi gāmasīmā eva.*

¹³ C^e *agāmaka arañña*^o.

¹⁴ C^e *°bandhādīnam*.

bhūmipadesa¹ samuddamajjhadīpakavasena² vuttam. (S^{e1} XL) bhikkhunīnam³ saṅghādisesesu gaṇa-ohiyana-sikkhāpadavaṇṇanāya⁴ pana “nikkhamityā bahi-indakhilā sabbam etam araññan ti”⁵ iminā lakkhaṇena vuttam.

(S^{e1} XLI; S^{e2} XII) ⁶sabbo so⁶ viseso santīsu pi Pālīsu Aṭṭhakathām vinā kuto laddhabbo? (S^{e1} XLII) tasmā pāṭhāpadiṭṭhakāraṇarahitam Aṭṭhakathāvādaṇam vā Tīkāvādaṇam vā daḷhaṇ ādāya vuttam pi dukkaram pageva tesam̄ tesam̄ pacchācariyānam⁷ paṭipattim paṭiggahetum.⁸ atha kho Pālī va pamāṇatarā. tattha balavakāraṇāni laddhā vuccamāno vinayavinicchayo sudaḷhaṇ saddhātabbo hoti.

(S^{e1} XLIII; S^{e2} XIII) aññattha Pālī yeva aññattha vaṇṇanā hoti. (S^{e1} XLIV) tena amhākaṇ tam̄ piṭakānaṇ tam tam pāṭham upaparikkhatam ayam Aṭṭhakathāvādavinimutto vinicchayo yutto viya dissati. (S^{e1} XLV) katham? bhikkhunīsaṃvidhāna⁹-theyyasatthasaṃvidhāna¹⁰-mātugāmasaṃvidhānādīnam¹¹ sikkhā-padānaṇ āpattivāra Vibhaṅgesu tāva idam vuttam: “kukkuṭasampāte gāme gāmantare gāmantare āpatti pācittiyassa, agāmake araññe addhayojane addhayojane¹² āpatti pācittiyassā” ‘ti¹³ [S^{e1} 67; S^{e2} 368] (S^{e1} XLVI) tattha “kukkuṭasampāte” ti padassa

¹ C^e *agamanapathe bhumiippadesa*^o

² See Sp III 655¹¹⁻³; *agāmake araññe ti agāmakam nāma araññam Viñjhātavī-ādīsu vā samuddamajhe vā macchabandhānaṇ agamanapathe dīpakesu labbhati*. V 1055¹²⁻³: *Dīpako vā pabbato vā hoti, so ce dūre hoti macchabandhānaṇ agamanapathe, araññasīmāsañkhyam eva gacchati*.

³ C^e *bhikkhūnīnam*

⁴ Sp IV 911¹⁻²-913²⁵, commentary on Vin IV 227¹⁹-230²⁵ [Sgh 3 N].

⁵ In Sp II 301¹¹⁻³ [Pār 2 M] and 407¹¹⁻² [Pār 3 M] quoted as definition from the Abhidhamma (= Vibh 251¹⁷⁻⁸); in Sp IV 912³⁰ (Sgh 3 N) this definition is quoted again, however without the source being mentioned.

⁶⁻⁶ S^{e1+2} *sabbaso so*

⁷ C^e *pacchamā*^o

⁸ S^{e1+2} om.

⁹ Vin IV 62¹³⁻¹⁴-64¹³ [Pāc 27 M; *saṃvidhānasikkhāpadam*].

¹⁰ Vin IV 131¹⁻²-132¹¹ [Pāc 66 M; *theyyasatthasikkhāpadam*].

¹¹ Vin IV 132^{13-133²⁹} [Pāc 67 M, *saṃvidhānasikkhāpadam*].

¹² S^{e1+2} omit one *addhayojane*. The reading of C^e corresponds to the Vinaya.

¹³ Vin IV 6328-30 [Pāc 27 M; *saṃvidhānasikkhāpadam*]; 65³³⁻⁵ [Pāc 28 M; *nāvabhiruhanasikkhāpadam*]; 131³³⁻⁵ [Pāc 66 M; *theyyasatthasikkhāpadam*];

byañjanachāyāvasena¹ ekagehachadanato aññagehachadanasmiñ kukkuṭānam uppatanārahavasena² vā kukkuṭānam eva gocaracaratam³ sampāpuṇitabbaṭhānavasena vā vuccamānam ekasmiñ suttante ekadā sakalajambūdīpo paripuṇṇamanussībhūte kukkuṭasampātānam gāmanigamānam vacanato⁴ manussānam mahāsamudde yeva sassakaraṇassa icchitabbattā avahasanīyam, sārabhūtatthagavesakehi akotuhalikehi pañḍitehi agahañīyam attham agahetvā manussānam carane pi gocaravacanam viya āsannacaraṇapakatikānamukukkuṭānam sampāpuṇitabbaṭhānasadisatāya pakatiyā āsannacarakehi manussehi⁵pāpuṇitabbe gāme ti⁶ nayato vuttam sārabhūtam attham gahetvā tāsam tissannam⁶ pācittiyāpattīnam janakabhūmipadeso duvidho yeva hoti: kukkuṭasampātagāmadeso⁷ ca agāmakam araññam cā ‘ti. (**S^{e1} XLVII**) aññathā hi akukkuṭasampātē gāme agāmakāraññalakkhaṇam asampatte kathañ āpatti hotīti pucchitabbato. (**S^{e1} XLVIII**) na c’ etam pucchitabbam ettakass’ eva vuttattā. (**S^{e1} XLIX**) tasmā tesam gāmāraññānam lakkhaṇam [**C^e 158**] ito yev’ evam gahetabbam: (**S^{e1} L**) ye ye gāmā adhoyojanam asampattam agāmapadesam antare karitvā aññamaññassa nātidūrā, aññagāmamhā adhoyojanam anatikkamitvā ti hanti, ete kukkuṭasampātā gāmanigamā nāma honti. (**S^{e1} LI**) evañ ca sati, gāmavāsīnam sassakaraṇokāso bhaveyya, yan te upajīveyyum. [**S^{e1} 68; S^{e2} 370**]

(**S^{e1} LII; S^{e2} XIV) Adinnādānavibhaṅge** (Pār 2 M) ca vuttaleddupātupacārena⁸ paricchinna nānāgāmanigamā “gāmantare gāmantare” ti vacanārahā assu, aññathā hi kukkuṭa-pātanassa ledḍupātato onataratāya ekagāmabhāvato. yam pana manussānam

^{13¹⁵} [Pāc 67 M; sañvidhānasikkhāpadam]; 295³⁰⁻² [Pāc 37 N; antorāṭhasikkhāpadam]; 297⁴⁻⁵ [Pāc 39 N; antovassasikkhāpadam].

¹ C^e yvañjanacchāyāya; S^{e1} byañjanachāyāva

² S^{e1+2} °ārahatāvasena; cf. Sp IV 806²⁻¹¹.

³ C^e gocaram caratañ

⁴ Probably reference to DN III 75⁸⁻¹⁰: ... ayam jambudīpo iddho c’ eva bhavissati phīto ca, kukkuṭasampātikā gāmanigamarājadhāniyo.

⁵⁻⁵ C^e pāpuṇitabbagāme

⁶ C^e tiṇṇam

⁷ C^e kukkuṭasampātō gāmadeso

⁸ S^{e1} °pātū°

anivāsanathānam,¹ gāmato adḍhayojanam atikkamitvā ṭhitam, tattha nivāśinam pabbajitānam atirekaḍḍhayojanikagāme gāmikajanapātarāsavelāya piṇḍāya caraṇena gāmūpanissayassa anaraharūpam hoti. (**S^{e1} LIII**) tad eva agāmakasaddena visesetabbam araññam nāma hoti, sabbatha “*agāmake araññe*” ti vuttesu adhippetabbesu thānesu. [**S^{e2} 372**]

(**S^{e1} LIV**) tad itaram **Jhānavibhaṅge**² “*araññagato vā*” ti pade “*nikkhamityā (bahi)*³ *indakhīlā*⁴ *sabbam etam araññan ti ca*,⁵ **Adinnādānavibhaṅge** “*araññā*⁶ *vā*” ti⁷ pade “*ṭhapetvā gāmañ ca gāmūpacārañ ca avasesam araññam nāmā*” ti⁸ ca, ekūnatim̄satima**Nissaggiya**⁹-catuttha**Pātidesaniyavibhaṅgesu**¹⁰ “*āraññakāni senāsanāti*”¹¹ ti¹² pade “*āraññakam*¹² *nāma senāsanam pañcadhanusatikam pacchiman*¹³ *ti cā ‘ti*¹⁴ imesu thānesu vuttāraññalakkhaṇappattam pi agāmakasaddena avisesetabbam tesv eva thānesu “*araññan*” ti adhippetabbam. idha kukkuṭasampātagāmapariyāpannam gāmantaram nāma hoti.

¹ C^e *anivāsaṭṭhānam*

² Vibh 243–271, chapter 12.

³ *Bahi* missing in S^{e1+2} and C^e, is attested, however, in the texts from which this passage is quoted.

⁴ C^e °*khīlam*

⁵ Sp II 407¹⁰⁻²: *tattha “araññagato vā” ti* (Vin III 70³¹) *araññam nāma nikkhamityā bahi indakhīlā sabbam etam araññan ti ca, ...* The reference to the twelfth chapter refers to the explanation given in Vibh 251¹⁷⁻⁸: **araññan** *ti nikkhamityā bahi indakhīlā sabbam etam araññam*.

⁶ C^e *araññam*; the reading of Ce is wrong since the Pātimokkha rule in fact has *araññā* vā. However the explanation in the word-for-word-commentary is given to *araññam nāma*. The reading of Ce takes up this reading.

⁷ Vin III 46¹⁶ [Pātimokkha rule].

⁸ Vin III 46³⁰⁻¹ (Pār 2 M) explanation of *arañña* by the word-for-word-commentary.

⁹ C^e *ekunavīsatimanissaggiya*, i.e. the nineteenth Nissaggiya. This is wrong.

¹⁰ Vin III 262²⁵–264³⁵ [Niss 29 M] and Vin IV 181²⁸–184²⁵ [Pāt 4 M].

¹¹ Vin III 263²⁰ [Niss 29 M] Pātimokkha rule; 263³⁰, word-for-word-commentary. Vin IV 182¹³ [Pāt 4 M] Pātimokkha rule; 183⁶, word-for-word-commentary.

¹² S^{e1+2} *araññakam*; Vin has *āraññakam*.

¹³ Vin III 263³⁰⁻¹ [Niss 29 M]; IV 183⁶⁻⁷ [Pāt 4 M].

¹⁴ Quoted in Sp II 407¹²⁻³ [Pār 3 M].

¹-yam ca gāmātikkame¹ tīhi Saṃvidhānasikkhāpadehi² pācittiyam vuttam, (Se¹ LV) agāmake pana araññe aḍḍhaḍḍhayojanātikkame pi gāmantarārahaṭhānatāya pācittiyam eva vuttam.

(Se¹ LVI; Se² XV) iminā pāṭhanayato yeva labbhamānena adhippāyena **Aṭṭhakathāyam** [Se¹ 69] cīvaravippavāsagaṇa-ohiyanaSaṅghādi-sesa³sattabbhantarābaddhasīmāsu aññamaññaviruddham katvā vuttam. pāṭhāpadesarahitatāya c' eva anacchariyaṁ lokasañṭhānādinirattha-pakaraṇesu⁴ **Himavantādīvannānākathā** saddhāmattakena [Se² 374] atth' evā 'ti gahitam, kenaci kadāci apāpuṇitabbaṭhānabhūtam, pubbe amhehi dassitam agāmakāraññalakkhaṇam paṭisedhitam dūrasamussitaṁ viya hoti.

(Se¹ LVII; Se² XVI) yasmā **Vibhaṅgo Khandhakato** paṭhamam saṅgīto, tasmā idam eva **Khandhake āgate**⁵ **Abaddhasīmākathāyam**⁶ gāmasīmā-agāmakāraññasīmābhede netabbam viya hoti. (Se¹ LVIII) tatthāpi hi⁷ ṭhapetvā udakukkhepena parichinditabbasīme nadī[C^e 159]samuddajātassare avaseso abaddhasīmānam visesa-paricchedārahabhūmipadeso saṃvidhānasikkhāpadesu viya gāmāraññabhedena⁸ duvidho va hoti.

(Se¹ LIX) evam sante kathaṁ idha kāyena apattabbam kevalam sotena sutam agāmakāraññalakkhaṇam⁹ ca, rājagāmabhojakādimanussānam icchāya aññathā paricchinditvā puna aññathā¹⁰ paricchinnena, ¹¹kehicid eva¹¹ viññātena, sabbesam sampattasampattānam apaññātena, atimahantena vā atikhuddakena¹² vā “amhākam rattham, amhākam

¹⁻¹ Se¹⁺² yaññamātikkame

² I.e. bhikkhunīs°, theyyasatthas°, mātugāmas° [Pāc 27, 66, 67 M], see above, p. 12, n. 9-11.

³ C^e °gaṇā-ohiyana°

⁴ C^e °niratthaka°

⁵ C^e āgata°

⁶ Refers to Sp V 105^{127ff.} or Vin I 110^{36ff.}

⁷ C^e om.

⁸ C^e gāmāraññavasena

⁹ Se¹⁺² agāmāraññalakkhaṇañ

¹⁰ C^e ad pi

¹¹⁻¹¹ C^e kehici deva.

¹² Se² °khaddakena

vijitam, amhākam bhāgo” iti pariggahitamattabhūmipadesena gāmalakkhaṇañ ca adhippetabbam siyā? (S^{e1} LX) sabbo so¹ adhippāyo Pāliyam katthac’ eva² na dissati. [S^{e2} 376]

(S^{e1} LXI; S^{e2} XVII) yo Parivāre Sedamocanagāthāsu dvādasayojanāvasāne pi ṭhitassa bhikkhuno vaggapaccayā kammakopanapañho³ vutto,⁴ so Jātakabhāṇakehi⁵ [S^{e1} 70] vaṇṇitam dvādasayojanikapākāraparikkhepena ekagamībhūtam Bārāṇasīmahānagaram yeva sandhāya vutto. (S^{e1} LXII) Parivārapātho ca Sīhaladipe paramparācariyānam nāmapatipātidassanato tath’ eva porāñācariyehi majjhimapadesam⁶ apassantehi Jātakādisotujanatosanapakaraṇasavane kataparicayehi⁷ vadḍhetvā vadḍhetvā⁸ likhito bhaveyyā ‘ti parisaṅkitabbattā⁹ UbhatovibhaṅgaKhandhakapāthato dubbalataro ti.

(S^{e1} LXIII; S^{e2} XVIII) Saṃvidhānasikkhāpadesu (Pāc 27, 66, 67 M) vuttagāmāraññalakkhaṇasadisalakkhaṇe idhādhippiyamāne¹⁰

¹ S^{e1+2} om.

² C^e katthaci

³ C^e °pañhe

⁴ This refers to Vin V 217²⁰⁻³: *bhikkhū siyā vīsatiyā samāgatā, kammañ ca kareyyūm samaggasaññino, bhikkhū siyā dvādasayojane ṭhito, kammañ ca tam kuppeyya vaggapaccayā: pañhā mesā kusalehi cintitā*. “Twenty monks might be assembled thinking that, complete, they could carry out a formal act. A monk might be standing twelve *yojanas* (away), and that formal act could be reversed because (the Order) was incomplete. these questions were thought out by those of skill.” (BD VI 353). Sp VII 1392²⁵⁻⁸ (*ayam pañhā dvādasa yojanappamāñnesu Bārāṇasi-ādīsu nagaresu gāmasīmam sandhāya vuttā*) relates this to a *gāmasīmā* (that of Benares), i.e. a boundary of a village (not determined in a formal act). It certainly cannot be related to a fixed ceremonial boundary (*baddhasīmā*) of a local community, since the maximum size of such a *sīmā* is limited to three *yojana* (Vin I 106²⁰⁻⁹).

⁵ Jā II 18²⁻³, 252^{25-253¹; 402²⁵; III 87¹; 410¹¹; IV 136⁸⁻⁹, 148⁶; etc. mention the dvādasayojanika bārāṇasinagara.}

⁶ C^e majjhimadesam

⁷ S^{e1+2} °paricayehi

⁸ C^e om.

⁹ S^{e1+2} parisaṅkitabbattā

¹⁰ C^e °ppiro

samānasamvāsasīmāparicchedo agāmake araññe sattahi bhagavato dharamānakale, idāni yojanagāvutosabhādiparicchedā viya paññāyamānattā, **Pāliyam** adassitavibhāgehi **Atṭhakathāsu**¹ atṭhavīsahatthan² ti³ vuttehi abbhantaranāmakehi pamāṇavisesehi paricchinditabbo. (**S^{e1} LXIV**) so **Pāliyam** ujukam⁴ vuttattā supaccakkho tiṭṭhatu. [**S^{e2} 378**]

(**S^{e1} LXV**) gāmanigamesu samānasamvāsasīmāparicchedo⁵ pana **Atṭhakathādīsu** pi balihaṇādīvasena, **SyāmaLāvādyĀcariyehi**⁶ sāsane raññā paricchinditvā⁷ dinnabhūmi-ādīvasena tathā tathā lesānulomena anulometvā ākulāyitvā vuttattā, tadanugehi dubbiññeyyo, sabbāni **SuttantaVinayāgatapālipadāni**⁸ sukhumena ñāñena ogayaha veditabbo.⁹

Vinayasmim pi abaddhasīmālakkhaṇe tāva idam vuttam: “asamatāya bhikkhave sīmāya aṭhapitāya yan gāmaṇi vā nigamaṇi vā upanissāya viharanti,^{10 11} yā tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā gāmasīmā nigamasīmā,¹¹ ayam tattha samānasamvāsā ekuposathā” ti¹² tattha **Vimati**[**S^{e1} 71**]vinodanīvādasmim¹³ gāmanigamasambandhāpadeso pubbe [**C^e 160**] amhehi nicchito, idha upanissayavihāravacanam¹⁴ yeva upaparikkhitabbaṃ.¹⁵ bahigāmato yeva hi piṇḍāya caritvā

¹ C^e om

² S^{e1} *atṭaṭha*^o

³ I.e. Kkh 10²⁵ = Sp V 1052¹²⁻¹³, Vin-vn, vs. 2577.

⁴ S^{e2} ad va

⁵ C^e °paricchado

⁶ Syāma for Siam, Lāva probably for Laos.

⁷ S^{e1} *paricchitvā*

⁸ S^{e1} °pālī-°

⁹ C^e veditabbā ti

¹⁰ Vin viharati

¹¹⁻¹¹ Vin yā tassa vā gāmassa gāmasīmā nigamassa vā nigamasīmā.

¹² Vin I 110³⁶-111¹.

¹³ Refers to Vmv II 157⁵⁻²⁶, see p. 11, n. 2, 12.

¹⁴ C^e *upanissāya* v° throughout; C^e alway uses the absolutive form *upanissāya* used in connection with the verb *viharati* in the Vinaya. However, in a nominal construction only *upanissaya* is possible, which then has to be in compound with *vihāra*. This is the reading of S^{e2} throughout, and of S^{e1} in all instances but one.

¹⁵ S^{e1} *upaparikkhipitabbaṃ*

upajīvanavasena gāmūpanissayārahaṭhānesu bhikkhū pakatiyā viharanti; katthaci pana nagararājadhānī-ādibhūtamahāgāme¹ antarārāmesu na ca gāmato addhayojanam [S^{e2} 380] atikkamitvā,² vuttanayena agāmūpanissayārahabhāvato.

(S^{e1} LXVI; S^{e2} XIX) ye ye **Adinnādānavibhaṅge**³ vuttalakkhanā ekakuṭikādīgāmā antamaso gonisādinivitṭhāpi,⁴ ekamekagehabhūtāpi aññamaññassa āsannā, tattha vuttaledḍupātupacāram⁵ anatikkamitvā tiṭṭhanti, tesam ekagāmabhāvo yeva veditabbo. (S^{e1} LXVII) ye panaññamaññassa⁶ tam upacāram atikkamitvā yojanam anatikkamitvā tiṭṭhanti, tesam gāmānam antarabhuṭo bhūmipadeso upaḍḍhupadḍhabhāgena sallakkhetvā tassa tassa āsannagāmassa gāmakhettan ti veditabbo. (S^{e1} LXVIII) addhā hi bhagavato dharamānakālādīsu anāgāriyadhammapūrakā⁷ sallahukavuttikā yathāsukhacārino vihārasannivesādivasena⁸ adaḷhanivitṭhā, attano attano sabhāgāmānam⁹ āsannabhūtasaṅghikavihārarukkha-mūlādīsu

¹ C^e rājadadhānibhuta°

² S^{e2}, n.* explains: “We understand that this was copied incorrectly. The correct form is *atikkamitabba*. ” The text as it is, however, is intelligible: “For, bhikkhus regularly live in fact outside of settlements, in places fit on account of their vicinity to settlements by virtue of the living upon [them] in going [there] for alms; but in some places [bhikkhus live] in monasteries within [settlements] (*antarārāmesu*), in large settlements (*gāma*) as towns (*nagara*), royal cities, etc., but not [in places] beyond [a distance of] half a *yojana* from settlements, because in accordance with the maxim mentioned [such places] are not fit [for monks] on account of [their] vicinity to non-settlements (*agāmūpanissayārahabhāvato*) [which implies that they are not fit for monks, because they are outside of settlements and outside of the vicinity to settlements].”

³ Vin III 46^{23ff}. [Pār 2 M].

⁴ C^e °sādi°

⁵ S^{e1} °pātū°

⁶ C^e pana añña°

⁷ C^e anagāriya°

⁸ S^{e1} va is missing, but space shows letter was intended.

⁹ C^e sabhāgatamānam

vāsam kappentā¹ tam tam āsannagāmam upanissāya ²-vihariṁsu” ‘ti:² [S^{e1} 382]

(S^{e1} LXIX) yassa pana gāmassa ekissaṁ disāyam añño yojanabbhantare gāmo natthi, tassa gāmassa tassam disāyam addhayojanamatto va³ bhūmipadeso⁴ gāmakhettam.⁵ ettakam yeva hi vuttanayena tassa gāmassa upanissayārahaṭṭhānam hoti; tato param pana agāmakam nāma araññam bhavissati. [S^{e1} 72]

(S^{e1} LXX) tassam hi Pāliyam gāmanigamasambandhavacanam kevalam tamtamgāmāsannabhūmipadesassa gāmasīmānigamasīmā-sāmaññena vā pathavitalabhbhāvena vā paricchedarahitatāya, aññehi bhūmipadesehi ⁶sadisehi bhūtassāpi⁶ upanissayārahāsannagāma-nigamaṭibaddhatāya anaññasammissabhāvena paricchinditvā⁷ dassetum vuttam, “tathāgatassa tathāgatabalāni”ti-ādīsu⁸ tathāgatabalabhūtatāya tannāmikānam pacceka buddhādisādhāraṇānam pi pubbe nivāsānussati-ādīnaṁ tathāgatasantāne pavattiyā asammissabhāvena dassanattham “tathāgatassā” ‘ti sambandhavacanādikam anekesu ṭhānesu dissamānam tamtaṁsambandhavacanam iminā samānetabbam.

(S^{e1} LXXI) aññamanidassanaṁ manudāharanam visesaparikappavacanam ayuttaṁ viya dissatīti. [S^{e2} 384]

(S^{e1} LXXII; S^{e2} XX) tattha yathāvuttesu ekamekagāmakhettesu thiteh’ eva bhikkhūhi hatthapāsānayanachandāharāṇādi-vasena sīmāsodhanaṁ katvā⁹ gāmantarapadesānam vemajjhahbhūta[C^e 161]gāmakhetṭāsannaṭṭhānesu nivāsino¹⁰ vā cārino vā bhikkhū pi

¹ S^{e2} kapupentā

²⁻² S^{e1+2} viharissanti⁷ ti

³ C^e vā

⁴ C^e oppadeyo

⁵ S^{e2} gāmakkhetta

⁶⁻⁶ S^{e2} + n. * explains, that this should be understood as *sadisabhūtassāpi*. This to my opinion is correct.

⁷ S^{e1+2} paricchityā

⁸ See above (S^{e1} XXXV, S^{e2} X).

⁹ See for the purification of a *sīmā*, Sp V 1041¹³ (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: § B 8.6).

¹⁰ S^{e2} navāsino

asaṅkābhāvatthañ¹ ca ²-vinayagarukabhāvatthañ ca² sodhetvā ekasmiṁ ṭhāne sannipatitvā nissañcārasamaye³ va⁴ ārakkham vā ṭhapetvā yam kiñci uposathādikam saṅghakammañ kātum pi yathicchitañ sīmañ bandhitum pi vatteyya, sabbo cāyam attho **Majjhimanikāye Uparipaṇṇāsakassa** paṭhamavagge atṭhamasutta-bhūta**Gopakamoggallānasuttapāṭhesu**⁵ paññātataro hoti. tattha hi āyasmatā Ānandena **Vassakārassa brāhmaṇassa** kathentena idam vuttam: “*atthi kho, brāhmaṇa [S^{e1} 73], tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena bhikkhūnañ sikkhāpadañ paññattamañ, pātimokkhañ uddiṭṭham. tena⁶ mayañ tadauposathe yāvatikā ekam gāmakhettañ upanissāya viharāma, te sabbe ekajjhām sannipatāma; sannipatitvā yassa tam vaṭṭati,⁶ tam ajjhesāma. tasmiñ ce bhaññamāne hoti bhikkhussa āpatti hoti, vītikkamo, tam mayañ yathādhammam yathānusīṭṭham kāremā’ ti*”⁷ [S^{e2} 386] (S^{e1} LXXIII) evarūpe pana atthe gayhmāne **Vinayapāṭhe UposathakhandhakaPavāraṇakkhandhakādīsu**⁸ tāni tāni ṭhānāni samatthitāni viya dissanti.

(S^{e1} LXXIV) tathā hi bhagavatā “*na bhikkhave sabhikkukā āvāsā abhikkhuko āvāso gantabbo*” ti⁹ ādinā vitthārato vutte sabhikkukābhikkukāvāsānāvāsa¹⁰-paṭisamयुत्ते vitthārapāṭhe uposathādisaṅghakammāya sāmaggikāraṇārahābhūmipadesā¹¹ tattha tattha sulabha viya honti. tesu hi **āvāso** nāma manussānañ āvāsabhāvena ekam ekam gāmakhettañ eva siyā. (S^{e1} LXXV) **anāvāso** nāma manussānañ anāvāsabhāvena sattahi abbhantarehi gahetabbasīmañ agāmakāraññam eva siyā.

¹ C^e āsaṅkāpahānattham

²⁻² S^{e1} om.

³ S^{e1} nisañcāra°

⁴ C^e vā

⁵ S^{e1} Goppaka°

⁶ MN *te* for *tena*; *vattati* for *vaṭṭati*

⁷ MN III 10^{8-15.}

⁸ S^{e1+2} °pavāraṇākkh°

⁹ Vin I 134²³⁻⁴; II 32²³⁻⁴, etc.

¹⁰ S^{e1+2} sabhikkukāvāsānāvāsa°

¹¹ C^e °arahabhumippa°, S^{e2} °ārahā bhūmi°

tad ubhayam eva sabhikkhukam pi abhikkhukam pi, nānāsañvāsakehi sabhikkhukam pi, iminā pabhedena dassitam.¹

(S^{e1} LXXVI; S^{e2} XXI) paññaraso pātipado ti visesagāha²bhañḍana-kārakūpaddavādīsu paccayesu sati āgantukehi vā āvāsikehi vā nissīmam gantvā [S^{e1} 74] uposatho kātabbo, nissīmam gantvā pavāretabban ti ca punappunam vuttavidhānena pi saṅghasāmagyārahabhūmipadesā³ sulabhbā viya honti. [S^{e2} 388]

(S^{e1} LXXVII) ūnavīsativassūpasampadasikkhāpadādīnam⁴ Vibhaṅge ca Bhikkhunīvibhaṅge corīvuṭṭhāpanukkhittosāraṇasikkhāpadādīsu⁵ ca sabbesu⁶ vuṭṭhāpanapaccayā āpattipatiſam�uttesu⁶ ca punappunam tathā tathā vītikkamassa pubbapayogabhūte⁷ tadathāya sīmāsammannane dukkaṭāpattivacanenāpi, tadā tattha tattha samānasamvāsasīmā tam tam vītikkammaṁ kattukāmehi paresam paṭikkko[C^e 162]sanūpacchedanatham⁸lesam oḍdetukāmehi⁹katipayehi bhikkhūhi bhikkhunihi vā attano tabbatthuvītikkamitukāmatam¹⁰ ajānante kecid eva tam¹¹tamgāmakhettagate bhikkhū vā bhikkhuniyo vā chandaṁ dāpetvā sukhen' eva sammannitabbā viya honti.

¹ In detail in Vin I 134²³–135²⁴. The respective passage concerning *pavāraṇā* is abbreviated in Vin I 167^{26–30}, the respective passage for monks under probation is to be found in Vin II 32²²–33¹².

² C^e visesagāham

³ C^e °sāmaggyā°

⁴ S^{e1+2} onavīsativassūpasampada°; Vin IV 130^{15ff.} [Pāc 65 M].

⁵ S^{e1+2} °okkhi°; This refers to Vin IV 226^{18–22} [Sgh 2N; corīvuṭṭhāpikāsikkhāpadam]; Vin IV 231^{30–4} [Sgh 4 N; ukhittaka-osāraṇasikkhāpadam].

^{6–6} S^{e2} °paccayāpatti°; refers to offences committed by bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs during the preparation for the ordination of persons unworthy of ordination (Vin IV 130^{20–2}; 227⁵; 317⁵; etc. Kieffer-Pülz 1992: § A 10.3.2).

⁷ C^e pubbayoga°

⁸ C^e °sanu°

⁹ S^{e1+2} oḍetu°

¹⁰ S^{e1+2} tambatthuvītikkamanam

¹¹ C^e om.

(S^{e1} LXXVIII; S^{e2} XXII) yan tu **Āṭṭhakathāyam**¹ ““*sīmam sam-mannati āpatti dukkaṭassā*” ‘ti² ettha ‘udakukkhepasīmāparicchindane³ pi⁴ dukkaṭan’’ ti⁵ vuttam, tam pacchā baligahaṇabhūmyādivasena evarūpaladdhiyā avattharitahadayehi parivitakketvā attano gāhassa yuttim āpādanakāmatāya pi saddayojanālesena⁶ vuttamattattā⁷ asādhakam eva siyā ti vicāretabbam hoti.

iti kho ayaṁ amhākam adhippāyo tena tena **Pāliyam** āgataṭhānena dassitāya buddhakāle pavattiyā samāniyamāno yutto samo viya dissati. [S^{e2} 390] atha pana bhiyyo pi sādhūhi attano mūlagāhe dalham aṭhatvā dhammadvinaye mahantam gāravam purakkhitvā sukhumena ñāñena sukhumāya satiyā sakalam api⁸ **Vinayam** ogayha punappunam upaparikkhitabbo va; sace yujjati sameti, anupaṭipajjitatabbo.⁹ evam sante [S^{e1} 75] anupaṭipajjatum asakkontehi pi buddhass’ evāyam bhagavato adhippāyo¹⁰ anumoditabbo.

(S^{e1} LXXIX) yadi upaparikkhiyamāno pāṭhato sundarakāraṇalābhena na yujjati na sametīti dissati, evam sante duggahitam imehīti chaddetabbo.

amhākam santikam¹¹ sayam vā āgantvā sāsanam vā pahiṇītvā satuppādo karaṇīyo: sundaram kāraṇam laddhā¹² anuvattissāma.

¹ This refers to Sp IV 867¹³⁻⁵ [Pāc 65 M] where the opinion of Kurundī is quoted (see p. 22, n. 5).

² Vin IV 130²²; 227⁵ etc.: *sīmam vā sammannati, āpatti dukkaṭassa*. See for further references Kieffer-Pülz 1992: §§ A 10.3.1; 10.3.2.

³ S^{e1} °sīma°; C^e *udakukkheparicchindane*; C^e corresponds to the reading of Sp IV 867¹⁴⁻⁵ (see p. 22, n. 5).

⁴ C^e *ti*

⁵ Sp IV 867¹³⁻⁵: *sīmam sammannatti* (Vin IV 130²²) *navam sīmam bandhati. Kurundiyam pana udakukkheparicchindane pi dukkaṭam vuttam.* “[If] he determines a monastic boundary [means, if] he fixes a new monastic boundary. In the Kurundī, however, an offence of wrong doing is taught also in determining an *udakukkhepa*. ”

⁶ S^{e1} *saddayojanā lesena*

⁷ C^e *vuttamaggattā*

⁸ S^{e1} *pi*

⁹ C^e om.

¹⁰ C^e ad *ti*

¹¹ S^{e2} om.

¹² C^e *labhitvā*

(S^{e1} LXXX; S^{e2} XXIII) evarūpe kho pana **Pālinayayutte** pi adhippāye nānappakārehi puttāpadesehi sudaļham gahetabbe sati kiṁ **Atṭhakathācariyādayo** na jāniṁsu, yena ito viparītam aññathā adhippāyam vadimṣū ‘ti? addhā keci evam cinteyyum: hotu tādisī cintā. (S^{e1} LXXXI) amhākam pi sā ciram ahosi. (S^{e1} LXXXII) atha tāya cintāya **Atṭhakathācariyādīsv** eva pacchĀcariyesu saddhā dhammasaṅgāhakānam saddhāto¹ balavatārā.² (S^{e1} LXXXIII) evam sante satthubhūte bhagavati c’ eva buddhānubuddha[S^{e2} 392]bhūtesu dhammasaṅgāhakesu ca saddhā anukkamena³ pariḥāyitvā tesam nāmuccāranamattasanṭhananena⁴ dubbalībhūta; pacchā yeva jātesu **Atṭhakathācariyādīsu** katthaci aññamaññavirodhādidosayutta-vādesu pi ṭhatvā tato tato pi osakkivā⁵ “tehi diṭṭham bhavissati,⁵ tehi diṭṭham bhavissati”ti evam pavattamānā avasāne gotrabhūsamāṇakesu pi tiṭṭheyya.⁶ mahanto puthujjanabhāvassa doso va oloketabbo” ti. [S^{e1} 76]

(S^{e1} LXXXIV; S^{e2} XXIV) evam mayam imam saṁvegam paṭilabhitvā sayam eva upaparikkhimhā: ayam pāṭhānugādhippāyo kena pakārena **Atṭhakathādikāle** [C 163] aññathā hotīti?

(S^{e1} LXXXV) tato **Lāvādīnam** rājadinnabhūmisīmāvādādy-uppattisallakkhaṇam nissāya nayagāhen’ evam maññimhā: **Vinayādhippāyaviparītakālo** nām’ esa uppajjamāno dvīh’ ākārehi uppajjati, **Vinayalakkhaṇātidhāvanagāravena**⁷ vā, sethīllāsayalesena⁸ vā. tasmā idha paṭhamena ākārena so adhippāyo aññathā thokam viparīto hutvā pacchā tam viparītam⁹ pi nissāya dutiyen’ eva ākārena

¹ C^e *saddhato*

² S^{e2} *balavatā*; S^{e1} *balavatā bhavissati*; S^{e2} n.* explains: “We understand that this was copied incorrectly. The correct form is *balavatī* because *saddhā* is feminine.”

³ C^e om.

⁴ S^{e1+2} *nāmamuccā*^o

⁵⁻⁵ S^{e2} om.

⁶ S^{e2} *tiṭṭheyam*

⁷ S^{e1} *olakkhaṇa*^o

⁸ C^e *sethīllāsaya*^o; S^{e1+2} also read *ālasya* (p. 23, n. 8), *ālasa* (p. 29, n. 1); C^e *ālassa* (pp. 23, n. 8; 28, n. 3).

⁹ S^{e2} *vipari*^o; S^{e1} *viparittam*

parihāyitvā yāva **Lāvaraṭṭhe** uppāditenā “saṅghakammāya raññā dinnabhūmi yeva sīmā hotīti gāhenā tiṭṭhatīti. [S^{e2} 394]

(S^{e1}**LXXXVI**; S^{e2}**XXV**) katham? (S^{e1}**LXXVII**) pubbetasmimadhippāye parisuddham katvā valañjiyamāne pi keci upanissayavihāralakkhaṇam¹ paṭicca puccheyyum: “yadi gāmo mahā hoti, yojanam pi tad atirekam pi pharitvā tiṭho, nirantaragehasanniveso vā pākārādiparikkhitto vā, tassa gāmassa samantato hitavihārvāsino bhikkhū vihārāsannagehesu piñḍaya caraṇena tāni yeva upanissāya vihareyyum, na ²sakalam gāmam; ² evam̄ sante kathan” ti?

(S^{e1} **LXXXVIII**) tato ekābaddhatāya parikkhittatāya vā nirūpacārattā eko gāmo yeva hoti, sabbe pi te bhikkhū ekadesūpacāranayena³ ekam eva gāmakhettaṁ upanissāya viharanti yeva nāmā ‘ti. ubhayāni pi [S^{e1} 77] gāmekattanānattalakkhaṇūpanissaya⁴ vihār-lakkhaṇāni pariggahetvā, sammā visajjanāya vattabbāya,⁵ ekacce aññathā manasikatvā “adinnādānavibhanganayena ekattā ekam̄ yeva⁶ gāmakhettaṁ hoti, upanissayavihāro⁷ pana appamāṇan” ti evam̄ upanissayavihāralakkhaṇam⁸ apanetvā ekacce⁹ visajjeyyum. [S^{e2} 396]

(S^{e1} **LXXXIX**) tam vādam nissāya gāmato sabbadisāhi aḍḍha-yojanātikkantaṭhānasañkhātānupanissayavihārūpaga-desassa gāmakāraññatālakkhaṇe tāva anādarokāso kato hoti. yathā aparena samayena aññoñnaviruddhā yathicchāya nirapadesā¹⁰ agāmakāraññapaññatti uppajjeyyā ‘ti.

¹ S^{e1} *upanissāya*^o; C^e *upanissāya vihāra*^o

²⁻² C^e *sakalagāmam*

³ C^e *ekadeso*^o

⁴ S^{e2} °*unissaya*^o

⁵ In other instances *visajjanāya kātabbāya*, see p. 25 (S^e XCI), 26 and n. 9.

⁶ C^e *eva*

⁷ C^e *upanissāya vihāro*

⁸ C^e *upanissāya v*^o; see above p. 17, n. 14.

⁹ S^{e2} n.* explains: “We understand that this is an extra word [probably means interpolation]”. To my opinion this *ekacce* duplicates the *ekacce*, with which the possible answer of others starts, and it probably was inserted because the original *ekacce* is so remote from *visajjeyum*.

¹⁰ S^{e1+2} *nirāpadeso*; S^{e2} n. 1 explains: “It should be *nirapadesā*, a modifier (*visesana*) of the following word.” C^e confirms that suggestion.

(S^{e1} XC; S^{e2} XXVI) puna keci gāmekattanānattalakkhaṇam ārabbhā evam puccheyyum: “yadi bahūsu gāmesu aññamaññassa upacāraṁ vijahitvā nātidūre yeva ṭhitesu adāyakagāmāsannanivāsā¹ bhikkhū attano gāmesu piṇḍam alabhamānā katipayāni gāmantarāni pi atikkamitvā ekasmiṁ vā dvīsu vā dūragāmesu piṇḍāya caritvā upajīveyyum, ettha kathan” ti?

(S^{e1} XCI) tato **Adinnādānavibhaṅgādīsu** anekesu ṭhānesu adhippetam gāmagāmūpacāralakkhaṇam appahāya “yam gāmaṁ vā nigamaṁ vā”² ti³ evam vacanena vuttagātām sallakkhetvā tad anurūpena “*upanissāya viharanti*”ti⁴ [S^{e2} 398] padassa yathāvuttam attham agahetvā upanissayavihārāhe⁵ gāmāsannaṭhāne viharantī sabbattha sabbadā [C^e 164] labbhamānam “sāratthañ ñeva⁶ gahetvā nānāgāmakhettāni yeva honti, piṇḍalābhālābhapaccayā bhikkhūnam⁷ yathicchāya [S^{e1} 78] sañcāro⁷ appamāṇan ti ubhayāni pi yathāvuttalakkhaṇāni pariggahetvā, sammā visajjanāya kātabbāya, ekacce ativinayagāraven’ eva kammakopabhīrukataṭyā⁸ gāmagāmūpacāralakkhaṇam atidhāvitvā “*upanissāya viharanti*”ti⁹ neyyatthapadassa nītatthato gahaṇena evam visajjeyyum: “ekam eva gāmakhettam bhaveyya, sabbagāmesu bhikkhū sodhetvā kammaṇi kātabbam; evam sati doso natthi”ti.

(S^{e1} XCII) tam vādaṇi nissāya pacchā jātā patipannakā gāmalakkhaṇam aññathā maññeyyum: “idha sīmādhikāre gāmo nāma sabbo bhikkhūnam gocarabhūmipadeso” ti.

(S^{e1} XCIII; S^{e2} XXVII) evam dvinnam pi yathāvuttanayalakkhaṇānam apanayanokāse uppanne puna keci evam puccheyyum: “dvinnam vā bahunnam vā gāmānam [S^{e2} 400] antare bhūmipadesesu vappakhettaḍīni karontā ekasmiṁ gāme manussā itaragāmavāsino abhibhavitvā

¹ S^{e1} °āsannivāso; S^{e2} °āsannanivāso; S^{e2}, n. 2 explains: “It ought to be *nivāsā*, modifier of the word *bhikkhu*.” This suggestion is confirmed by C^e.

² Vin I 110³⁷.

³ C^e ad ca

⁴ Vin I 110³⁷.

⁵ C^e *upanissāya* v°, see above p. 17, n. 14.

⁶⁻⁶ C^e sārattham yeva

⁷⁻⁷ C^e yathicchāsañcāro

⁸ S^{e1} °bhi°

⁹ Vin I 110³⁷.

saññāpetvā vā yāva itaragāmūpacāram pi āhacca khettādīni karonti. evam sante dūragāmavāsīnam khettavappaṭhānādibhūtam itaragāmāsannaṭhānam katarassa gāmassa gāmasīmā nāma hotī” ti? (**S^{e1} XCIV**) tato “ekakuṭiko pi gāmo” ti-ādi¹ pāṭhāgatagāmalakkhaṇe² ^{3-c}’ eva³ “upanissāya viharanti”⁴ padassa pubbe vuttasārabhūtatthe ca dalham ṛthatvā gehasannivāse asati kevalam bhūmiyā uparopakehi “amhākam santakan⁵” ti pariggahitāya pi agāmabhāvato c’ eva idha upanissayavihārā[**S^{e1} 79**]rahaṭṭhānass⁶ eva adhippetattā ca⁷ gāmānaṁ antare yan ṛthānam yassa gāmassa accāsannam tam tass’ eva gāmasīmā; bahunnam pi gāmānañ c’ eva agāmakāraññassa⁸ ca antare gāmapasse aḍḍhayojanikam pi ṛthānam tesu gāmesu āsannataragāmassa gāmasīmā nāma hotīti sammā visajjanāya kātabbāya⁹ ekacce Vinayagarukā vā yathāvuttam tadubhayalakkhaṇam amanasikaritvā anabhisaddahantā vā khettapariggāhakagāmavāsīnam pariggahitatam¹⁰ eva parisaikitvā tena pariggahena tesam santakatañ neva lakkhaṇato kāraṇato manasikaritvā¹¹ “ekam eva gāmakhettañ siyā” ‘ti vā “pariggāhakagāmass” eva gāmasīmā siyā” ‘ti vā vatvā itaragāmāsannaṭhe pi bhikkhū sodhetvā saṅghakammam kareyyum. [**S^{e2} 402**]

(**S^{e1} XCV; S^{e2} XXVIII**) so ca tesam vādo sā ca paṭipatti aparena samayena ¹²-gāmasīmā nāma¹² bhūmipariggāhaka¹³gāmika-janapaṭibaddhā ‘ti imassa bāhiralakkhaṇagāmassa dvāram hoti. ten’ eva dvārena ¹⁴-pacchimā janatā¹⁴ yan kiñci ekasmiñ ¹-mahāgāme

¹ Vin III 46²³.

² C^e °lakkhaṇam

³⁻³ C^e om.

⁴ Vin I 110³⁷, but there viharati.

⁵ S^{e1} santikan

⁶ C^e upanissāya v°; see above p. 17, n. 14.

⁷ S^{e1+2} om; S^{e2} n.* explains: “We understand that here *ca* has been omitted, because there is c’ eva in the preceding.” C^e confirms that.

⁸ C^e agāmaka-a°

⁹ C^e kātabbā; in one other instance *vattabbāya* (see above p. 24 and n. 5).

¹⁰ C^e °gahitattam

¹¹ S^{e1+2} °katvā

¹²⁻¹² C^e gāmasīmānāmaka

¹³ C^e °paribhogaka°

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ C^e pacchimaja°

vasantam¹ anekesam nānādisāsu paramparāya ṛhitānam pi gāmānam [C^e 165] issarādhipatibhūtam rājānam vā rājaññām vā gāmabhojakam vā attano vase vattante aññagāmavāsike attano atthāya vā udayabali-ādigahanamattathāya² vā khettāni paricchindāpetvā kasanavapanādīni³ kārentam⁴ disvā tass' evāyam⁵ bhūmipadeso pariggaho ti⁵ parisañkitvā “anekāni pi gāmakhettañi ekassa rājādino evam pariggahabhūtāni ekañ ñeva gāmakhettañ” ti gahetvā pubbe vuttāni [S^{e1} 80] dve pamāñabhbūtāpāñhāgatalakkhañāni sakim pi asaritvā rājādivasissariyapavattanakhettagaṇanāya yeva gāmasīmāgaṇanaparicchedam katvā tath’ eva saṅghakammasañmaggiyapañtipattim patipajjeyya.

(S^{e1} XCVI) sā ca pañipatti⁶ kiñci kālam anekapurisayugāni pavattamānā dalhatarā hoti.

(S^{e1} XCVII) idam pāthanayamuttakam pariggāhakissariyapañtipaddham gāmakhettalakkhañām [S^{e2} 404] tasmiñ tasmiñ kāle uppanne lajjino kukkuccake sikkhākāme⁷ analase yeva nissāya Vinayalakkhañāti-dhāvanagāravakārañā uppannam bhavissati.

(S^{e1} XCVIII; S^{e2} XXIX) tenāp’ ettaken’ eva tathānupatipatti⁸ yadi pi amhehi anumatalakkhañām pamāñam eva bhaveyya, evam sante pi, nātiviya viruddhā bhavissati, katthac’ eva kammakopakārā.⁹ sace hi dvinnam rājādīnam pariggahabhūtābhūmipadesaṅghaṭanañthāne ṛhitassa ekass’ eva gāmassa ekasmīm ekassa, itarasmīm itarassā ‘ti dvīsu¹⁰ passesu visum visum dvinnam pariggahabhūtesu ekasmīm

¹⁻¹ S^{e1+2} mahāgāme va santan.

² S^{e1} udrayabaliyādi^o; S^{e2} udrayabalyādi^o

³ S^{e1+2} kasanavappanādīni

⁴ C^e karontam

⁵⁻⁵ C^e bhumiippadesapariggaho

⁶ S^{e2} pañipatta

⁷ S^{e2} sikakhākāme

⁸ C^e °pattiñ

⁹ C^e °karā; S^{e2} n.* explains: “kattha c’ eva kammakopakārā does not mean anything. We understand that it should be katthaci ce na kammakopakārā, as it has been translated.” However, all three editions read katthaceva, and this is intelligible: “the practice ... will not be excessively obstructed, only where it produces a disturbance with respect to the procedure”, viz. in such places the practice will be obstructed.

¹⁰ S^{e2} dvīs

thitā bhikkhū saṅghakammam̄ karontā itarapasse ṭhite āsannaṭthe pi bhikkhū aññagāmakhettatthaññāya¹ asodhetvā va sakalasmiṃ pi sakaṭṭhānena samānapariggahakabhūmipadese anekesu gāmesu thitabhippakkhū yeva sodhetvāpi kammaṃ kareyyum, tam kammaṃ vaggapaccayā kuppeyya.² [S^{e1} 81] (S^{e1} XCIX) pariggahitabhūmimajjhagatagāmesu yattha kattthaci ṭhatvā tena nayena sabbe pi ekapariggāhakakkhettaṭhe bhikkhū sodhetvā kammaṃ karontānam pana vaggakammadoso dūrīkato yeva nāma hoti. (S^{e1} C) atha pana sā laddhi āyatī ālasya³sethillalolatādiyuttānam avinayagāravānam lesoddanassa⁴ mahanto okāso hoti. [S^{e2} 406]

(S^{e1} CI; S^{e2} XXX) tato hi te⁵ tādisā bhikkhū dukkhena sīmam̄ sodhetvā kammaṃ karontā kosajjam̄ uppādetvā **Pāliyam** bhagavatā mahatiyā bhūmiyā mahato saṅghassa mahāsāmaggim icchanten’ eva pubbe samvidahitāya kevalam̄ Sīhaṭadīpādīsu yeva porāṇĀcariyehi mahatiyā sīmāya sodhane kilamatham̄ anicchante hi tathā tathā parivitakketvā nimittaṭhapanākārena sīmantarikāyo katvā avakhaṇdetvā, ekaccehi pi kattabbānam̄ [C^e 166] upasampadādīnam sukhakaraṇattham̄ sammatāya khaṇḍasīmāya kariyamānakammassa viya⁶ sīmāsammatyādīnam gāmasīmāyan kariyamānakammānam pi chandāharanādikiccākaraṇena sukhākiccakaraṇam̄⁷ yeva pariyesantā yaṃ kiñci⁸ ekassa rāñño vā rājaññassa vā pariggahitakkhettabbhantare yeva khuddakabhūmipadesam̄ tena rājādīmulapariggāhakena tato baliādīnam̄ sayam agahanattham̄ vā visum gāhāpanattham̄ vā yassa kassaci paricchinditvā diyyamānam disvā tasmim yeva pacchā uppanne Pālimuttakalakkhaṇe ṭhatvā aññehi attanā sadisajjhāsayeh’ eva bahūhi pi mantetvā “idaṃ visum pariggāhaka[S^{e1} 82]santakattā

¹ S^{e2} °ṭhaññāya

² S^{e2} kppeyya

³ C^e ālassa°; in another instance also āsaya (p. 23, n. 8); S^e in other instances ālasya (p. 28, n. 3), ālasa (pp. 23, n. 8; 29, n. 1).

⁴ S^{e1} lesō dahanassa; S^{e2} lesodahanassa

⁵ S^{e1+2} te for te.

⁶ C^e om.

⁷ S^{e1+2} sukhākicchakaranokāsam

⁸ S^{e2} kañci

visumgāmakhettañ nāma hot' evā" ti sanniṭṭhānam̄ katvā tatth' eva paricchinnabhūmipadese sāmaggiñ paṭipajjeyyum. [S^{e2} 408]

(S^{e1} CII) ayam purimagāhañ nissāya uppanno ¹-sethillālasassa gāho¹ pamānabhūtalakkhañato dūro viruddhataro hutvā bahuso kammakopakaro bhaveyya, kathaci kadāci yeva tādisassa paricchinditvā dinnabhūmipadesassa mahantībhūtassa pubbe vuttalakkhañāni katipayagāmakhettañi avattharitvā ṭhitatāya vā khuddakībhūtassa pi abhikkhuka²gāmakhette ṭhitatāya, akammakopakaro pi bhaveyya;

(S^{e1} CIII; S^{e2} XXXI) evarūpass' eva gāhassa uppajjivtā dve tīni purisayugāni ṭhitakāle yeva maññe Aṭṭhakathā katā; (S^{e1} CIV) ten' ettha³ "yattake padese tassa tassa gāmassa gāmabhojakādayo balīṇ labhanti"ti-ādinā⁴ Pālimuttakam eva mūlalakkhañam ārabhītvā puna "yam pi ekasmīñ yeva gāmakhette ekam padesam, ayam visumgāmo hotū 'ti⁵ rājā kassaci⁶ ... pe⁷ ... sadisā yeva hotī⁸"ti⁹ tad eva pacchā uppannam̄ lakkhañam̄ sudalhañ katvā thokam̄ pi aparisañkitvā vuttam. [S^{e2} 410]

(S^{e1} CV; S^{e2} XXXII) tasmin pana Aṭṭhakathāvāde uppajjivtā ciram tiṭṭhamāne TīkĀcariyakālato paṭṭhāya yāvajjatanā¹⁰ kañci¹¹ pañditam sīsam ukhipantam¹² na passāma, na sunoma; aññadatthum¹³ te te tantankālikatantamdesikā [S^{e1} 83] sāsanakārakā

¹⁻¹ S^{e1+2} sethillālasassagāho; C^e sethilassa gāho; S^e in other instances has ālasaya (p. 28, n. 3) or ālasya (p. 23, n. 8).

² C^e abhikkhūka^o

³ S^{e1} etthā

⁴ Sp V 1051³¹⁻³².

⁵ Sp ad paricchinditvā

⁶ S^{e1} add deti before the abbreviation.

⁷ The abbreviated text is deti, so pi visumgāmasīmā hoti yeva. tasmā sā ca itarā ca pakatigāmanagaranigamasīmā baddhasīmāsadisā (Sp V 1052²⁻⁴).

⁸ Sp honti

⁹ Sp V 1051³⁴-1052⁴. S^{e1} n.* and S^{e2} n.* give the text of respectively the reference to Sp.

¹⁰ S^{e1} yāvajjattanā

¹¹ C^e kiñci pi

¹² C^e upakkhipantam

¹³ C^e °datthu

tam eva **Atthakathāvādaṁ Pālito** pi atibalavataram katvā **Pāliṁ** anuddissitvā va¹ tam eva ukkhipitvā bhiyyo² bhiyyo ummattakā viya hutvā, tathā tathā anekākārasīmālakkhaṇakathāvaṇṇanā-karaṇena³ pi saṅghakammasaṁmaggīsaṁvidhānena pi vippatipajjamānā⁴ va⁵ nirantaram dissanti c' eva suyyanti ca. alam ativisāraṇiyā⁶ viggāhikakathāya.

ayaṁ kho no pāṭhānugo gāmāraññaśīmālakkhaṇapaṭisaṁyuttādhippāyo īdise buddhasāsanassa ciram atikkantakāle evam accādarena tamtaṁsuttāpadesam⁷ katvā vuccamāno pi sīmāya saṅghasāmaggīyā paṭipatiyyā⁸ sāsanamūlakattā tathārūpapaṭipatti[C^e 167]-paṭipannakānam⁹ akhanḍe vamse alabbhamāne anupaṭipajjantānam pi atthasādhanābhāvena sotūnam saddahantānam pi anupaṭipattiyyā anokāso hoti. aññadatthum¹⁰ aṭhānena manasikarontānam vippatīśoro khīyanāpasādādidosappaccayatāya¹¹ ahitakaro pi siyā.

(S^{e1} CVI; S^{e2} XXXIII) evam sante pi amhākaṇī Dhammayuttikānam pakatibhūtāya dhammadvinaye tesu tesu thānesu nāṇasañcārasīlāya¹² pavattiyā ākāradassanatthā [S^{e2} 412] vitthārena yathāññataṁ likhitvā pahito. yato āyasmā tasmiṁ satuppādapanhe imam gāthām alikhī:

32.2¹³

“vinicchayam im¹⁴ āgamma ito yuttataram puna
likhāpetvāna pesentu sāsanassābhivuḍḍhiyā” ti;

¹ S^{e2} om.

² C^e bhīyyo

³ C^e anekakāram s°; S^{e1} anekakāram s°

⁴ C^e vippatijō

⁵ C^e ca

⁶ S^{e1} °sāraṇiyā

⁷ C^e, S^{e1} sutā°

⁸ S^{e2} om.

⁹ S^{e1+2} tathārūpapaṭipannakānam

¹⁰ C^e °datthu

¹¹ S^{e1+2} liyanāpasādādidosappaccayatāya; C^e ad tāya

¹² S^{e1+2} °līlāya

¹³ This verse from Dhīrānanda Thera's letter is not numbered in C^e.

¹⁴ Shortened for imam.

yathā ca idha sīmālakkhaṇe evam **Vinaye** ca **Suttante** ca anekesu ṭhānesu porāṇehi vā ādhunikehi vā āluṭikatesu¹ evarūpo sukhumo [S^{e1} 84] vinicchayo **Dhammayuttikehi** sārabhūtāya agārayahāya **Pāliyā** nayam yeva nissāya kato yeva, kariyati² ca. tattha katthaci sanniṭhānam laddham hoti, katthaci aladdham.

(S^{e2} XXXIV) sabbāpi kho pana **Vinayapaṭipadā** duvidhā hoti vamsānugamūlasambhvā, kevalam yathāññātānurūpikā ca. tattha vamsānugamūlasambhvā nāma: sīmālakkhaṇe c' eva upasampadākamme³ ca sammāpatipatti. ettakā yeva hi patipadā⁴-anukkamāgataporāṇakam vamsam⁴ avikopetvā va⁵ kevalam avikopanāṭhānesu sethillabhūtesu vā adhikikatesu vā yathānurūpam daļhikaraṇanayehi⁶ abhi[S^{e2} 414]saṅkharityāpi paṭipajjitabbā, na sakkā

¹ C^e, S^{e1} āluṭikatesu

² C^e karīyati

³ S^{e1+2} ad va

⁴⁻⁴ C^e °porāṇakavamsā

⁵ C^e vā

⁶ C^e daļhikaraṇāpanayehi; S^{e1} daļhikaraṇāpanayehi; S^{e2} daļhi-karaṇāpanayehi, n.* explains: "This word cannot be translated to mean anything. We understand that it should be *daļhikaraṇanayehi* as it is translated." The reading of C^e, "by the removals of strengthenings [i.e. strengthenings of previous procedures]", does not make sense from the viewpoint of content. In this respect the conjecture of S^{e2} is to be preferred. For, here the twofold method of Vinaya is explained: (1) a method originates from the foundation which accompanies the branch [i.e. nikāya, to which one belongs] (*vamsānugamūlasambhava*) and (2) a method is only conform to how one knows the respective thing (*kevalam yathāññātānurūpikā*, i.e. this method is independent from the position of one's nikāya). The first method is to be applied in determining Buddhist ceremonial boundaries and in ordaining (otherwise the Nikāya would be split). It is essential that this method does not disturb one's *vamsa*, therefore it is only to be followed where it does not disturb a procedure (*kamma*) of one's *vamsa*, in places where there is a lax state or a majority of monks, "even if it is performed/applied with respect to the ways of strengthenings (i.e. procedures which strengthen identical previous procedures) as [they are] conform" (*yathānurūpam daļhikaraṇanayehi abhisaṅkharityāpi*), i.e. even if this method is only used in procedures which are mere strengthening procedures (i.e. a second or third ordination), the rules mentioned before have to be respected.

avipannam sampannam porāṇakavamsam¹ vināsam sampādetum.²
tad avasesā sabbāpi vinayapaṭipatti kevalam yathāñatānurūpikā nāma.

(S^{e2} XXXV) imam kho pana **Simālakkhaṇapatiṭipattividhānam** ārabbhā amhākam Ācariyapācariyupajjhāyā³ MahātherĀnutherā evam āhamsu: upasampadākammam nām etam mūlabhūtatāya atigarukam hoti; yadi bhagavato dharamānakālato paṭṭhāya yāvajjatanā⁴ udakukkhepasīmāyam eva⁴ kataṁ abhavissa, evan tam sīmām paṭicca sabbākārena nirāsaṅkam⁵ yeva siyā. udakukkhepasīmā hi nadiyam⁶ ruhamānatrāpasse, samuddassa ruhamānatrāsammukhagambhīraṭṭhāne, jātassarassa gambhīraṭṭhāne kariyamānā suparisuddhā nirāsaṅkā nāma hoti. evam sante pi etam upasampadākammaṁ bhagavato dharamānakāle pi **Aṭṭhakathācariyakāle** pi thalasīmāya yeva katan⁷ ti sutam. pageva tato pacchā tathāpi **Dhammayuttikehi** daṭṭharasīmato⁸ upasampadāvamso pariyesitabbo. santi hi **TambadīparatṭhaPokāmaratṭhaTalaṅgaratṭhaPegudeśādīsu**⁹ kesuci janapadesu [S^{e1} 85]

¹ C^e *porāṇav*^o

²⁻² C^e *vinā sampādetum*. Both readings are possible. C^e meaning that such a method (*i.e.* one which originates from the foundation accompanying one's *vamsa*) cannot be procured without an old *vamsa* or, following S^e that this method cannot bring ruin to the old *vamsa*.

³ S^{e1} *Ācāriya*^o

⁴⁻⁴ C^e, S^{e1} °*māya yeva*

⁵ C^e °*saṅkā*

⁶ Se2, n.* explains: "This word, when compared with *samuddassa* and *jātassarassa* further on ought to be *nadiyā* as translated."

⁷ S^{e1+2} *kataṁ katan*

⁸ C^e *daṭṭharām s*^o

⁹ S^{e2} 417, n.*: "Tambadīpa literally means 'copper (or bronze?) red metal(?) Island'. I still cannot decide what region it refers to. It is not India or Tambapañnidīpa (the Island of Laṅkā). It could well be northern Burma. Pokāma resembles in sound *Pukāma*, *Pagan*. *Talaṅga* is close to *Talaing* [Mon]. *Pegu* is close to *Pago*. [Rāma IV] probably wrote according to the local pronunciation. He calls the first three 'states' (*ratṭha*), presumably because they were kingdoms (*āñācakra*). As for *Pego* (that is, *Pago*) he calls it *desa* because it was a dependency, that is, a part of the kingdom of *Pagan*(?) at that time." In fact *tambadīpa* is mentioned below with the town Amarapura laying in it (S^{e1} CXIII; S^{e2} XXXVII), thus it is the region around present day Mandalay (Northern Burma). It is severally named in the Sāsanavamsa too (Sās 55, 56, 61, etc.). If the identification of Pokāma with Pagan is correct this

bhikkhūnaṁ avihārabhūte pi tasmiṁ tasmiṁ thāne atirekavassa[C^e 168] sahassam pi tattha sāsanamūlatiṭṭhāpaka therānam kāle sammatā porāṇasīmāyo; katthaci kevalam nimittabhūtapāsāṇathambhehi¹ sākkharasaññāyalekhehi pi paññatā. [S^{e2} 416] tesu ca janapadesu bhikkhū tādisīsu sīmāsu ekissam upasampajjivāpi anekāsu sīmāsu anekakkhattum katadaļhīkamme therānuthere aññissam aññissam porāṇasīmāyam sannipātētvā attano upasampadākammavācākaraṇena daļhīkammaṁ kārāpentī. kiñcapi idam daļhīkammam **PāliyAṭṭhakathāsu** ujukam na āgataṁ, tathāpi anupaṭipajjiyamānam niddosato yeva paññayati. **Pāliyam** adhammena katakammassa puna ukkoṭetabbaṭ² vacanassa c' eva **Parivāratṭhakathāyam** "yam³ akkharaparihīnam vā padaparihīnam vā tam⁴ punappunaṁ vattum⁵ vaṭṭati. idam akuppakammasa daļhīkammaṇ hoti, ⁶kuppe kamme⁶ kammaṇ hutvā tiṭṭhati"⁷ ti⁷ vacanassa ca anulomam yeva dissati, tādisā ca anekakkhattum katadaļhīkammā bhikkhū aññam janapadam gatāpi honti, yattha porāṇasīmāyo na dissanti; evam sante pi nirāsaṅkam upasampadākammam icchante hi kulaputtehi tādise yeva bhikkhū udakukkhepasīmāyam yeva sannipātētvā tesam santike upasampajitabbam, udakukkhepasīmāya sakiṁ katam pi kammaṇ sīmāto nirāsaṅkam pi hoti, kevalam kammavācāparisapārisuddhiyā yeva [S^{e1} 86] atthāya aññattha aññadāpi daļhīkammūpasampadā⁸ pariyesitabbā 'ti ayam amhākam ācariyupajjhāyānam vādo. [S^{e2} 418]

would be only a little more south to the aforementioned district. Pegu probably is Pegu close to present day Rangoon.

¹ S^{e1} °thambhahi

² No literal quotation, but see for the regulation of this subject-matter Vin IV 126³³⁻⁴ [Pāc 63 M], where a bhikkhu who reopens a case which has been settled not according to the law is free of offence.

³ S^{e2} om. Sp VII 1396¹³ sace pana for yam.

⁴ Sp VII 1396¹⁴ duruttapadam vā hoti, tassa sodhanattham for tam; S^{e1} 85, n.* and S^{e2} 416, n.* refer to this deviating reading of Sp.

⁵ Sp VII 1396¹⁵ E^e vatthuṇ

⁶⁻⁶ Sp VII 1396¹⁶ kuppakamme

⁷ Sp VII 1396¹³⁻¹⁶.

⁸ C^e °upa°

(S^{e1} CVII; S^{e2} XXXVI) yathābhūtaṁ āyasmato ārocema, no ¹-mudhā va kathema:¹ amhesu evarūpo pi vamso ciram pi atth' eva, kehici jānantehi niguļham̄ viya katvā anupaṭipattiyā hariyamāno rakkhiyamāno. apaṭirūpadesam panāgamma na sakkā tādisam mahājanam saññāpetum; kim ettha vitthāravacanena oloketāyasmā imam̄ gātham:

32.3²

“paṇḍitā bālakāsannā³ ⁴-mohummattā ca⁴ dissare
dese appaṭirūpamhi⁵ dhīrāpi⁶ bālakā siyun” ti.

[S^{e2} 420] (S^{e1} CVIII; S^{e2} XXXVII) nanu dutiyasaṅgītikāle khīñāsavabhūtāpi Sabbakāmīthera-Sālhatherādayo⁷ pācīnakesu adhammavādīnaṁ Vajjiputtakānam⁸ antare vasamānā attano dhammadīṭhim anāvikatvā⁹ parehi puṭṭhāpi “na tāva diṭṭhim āvikaromi,¹⁰ appeva nāma maññi imasmiñ adhikaraṇe sammanneyyun”¹¹ ti¹² vadim̄. (S^{e1} CIX) amhādisesu kiñ vattabbam? (S^{e1} CX) ten’ amhādisehi¹³ vinayaññūhi na codetabbo, na sāretabbo.¹⁴

(S^{e1} CXI) kasmā? sabbam raṭṭham na saññāpentīti.

(S^{e1} CXII) amhādisānam hi ekaccānam atthi[C^e 169]bhāvena pi, ekacce buddhasāsanapavattiyā sampattiñ maññanti, ekacce tu asampattin ti.

¹⁻¹ S^{e1} mudhā vikathema; S^{e2} vikadhema, n.* explains: “We understand that it is *vikatthema* as translated”. This conjecture is superfluous if we follow the reading of C^e.

² This verse numbered as the second 32 in C^e (see p. 8, n. 6), stems from the letter of Dhīrānanda Thera.

³ C^e bālakā santā; S^{e1+2} bālatāsannā

⁴⁻⁴ S^{e1+2} mūgummattā va

⁵ S^{e1+2} apati^o

⁶ C^e dhīrāpi

⁷ S^{e1+2} Sabbakāmī^o-^oSaṭha^o

⁸ C^e °puttānam

⁹ S^{e1} anāvīkatvā

¹⁰ S^{e1} āvīkaromi

¹¹ S^{e2} sammanneyayun; Vin II 302¹⁸ sammanneyyā

¹² Vin II 302¹⁷⁻⁸.

¹³ C^e amha

¹⁴ C^e sāretabba

(S^{e1} CXIII) āyasmantānam pi maññekamarammavaṁsikasīhalānam sīmāvasena āgatavamso evarūpo va bhavissati, yo kira **Tambadīparatṭhe Amarapurato** haṭo.¹ [S^{e1} 87]

(S^{e1} CXIV) āyasmatāpi **Saddhātissea** idhāgatena amhākam kathitam: “**Sīhaladīpe Marammavaṁse** upasampadā c’ eva abbhānañ cā ‘ti imāni dve kammāni udakukkhepasīmāyañ ñeva katāni; na kadāci thale” ti. [S^{e2} 422]

(S^{e1} CXV) tattha upasampadākammañ tathā kariyamānam ekantapāsamsañ hoti: (S^{e1} CXVI) abbhānakammañ pana mānattē vā mānattavāsadvaye vā thalasīmāya kate udakukkhepasīmāya kariyamānam pi kiñ karissati. tiṭṭhate tam.

(S^{e1} CXVII; S^{e2} XXXVIII) yā kho pana **Tambadīparatṭha Pokāma-raṭṭha Talaṅgaratṭha Pegudeſeu** porāṇasīmāyo tannivāsihi atirekavassasahassamañ mūlabhūtārahantasammatā ti vuttā tāpi bahūhi tathā asaddahitā. **Syāmaratṭha Lāvaraṭṭhadīsu** sīmāsadiſā yevā ‘ti maññitā yadi hi tā sīmāyo arahantakāle sammatā yeva siyum, atha bhagavato dharamānakālato paṭṭhāya yāva tatiyasāngītikālā² valañjītā viya mahāsīmāyo pi paññāyeyyūm; atha vā pana **Aṭṭhakathācariyānam** kāle viya khaṇḍasīmāmahāsīmābhedenā vavatthitā sīmāyo bhaveyyūm; na ca tattha mahāsīmāyo dissanti; sesaratṭhesu viya catukkoñāpi catūhi akone ṛhitatāya niratthakehi kotuhalamaṅgalikanimittehi saha catunnām koṇaṭhitasāttakanimittānam vasena aṭṭhanimittayuttā khaṇḍasīmāyo yeva dissanti. tāsu kāci tasmiñ tasmiñ³ rājakāle⁴ acirasammatā ti⁴ sutā, **Hamsavatiyām**⁵ ito catunnām vassasatānam⁶ upari **Dhammacetiyarājakāle**⁷ **Sīhalavaṁsikehi** sammata **Kalyāñīsīmādikā**⁸ viya. [S^{e1} 88; S^{e2} 424]

¹ S^{e1+2} hato

² C^e °kālāñ

³ C^e om.

⁴⁻⁴ C^e, S^{e1} °sammatāpi; but see above, (S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV, p. 32), where *ti sutam* is used according to all three editions.

⁵ Pegu, Southern Burma.

⁶ S^{e1} vassatānam

⁷ 15th cent. AD; mentioned in Pālim-nṭ I 264^{2ff}.

⁸ C^e °sīmādikāle; a description of how this *sīmā* was determined is to be found in Taw Sein Ko, “A Preliminary Study of the Kalyāñī Inscriptions of Dhammacheti 1476 A.D.”, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 22 (1893), pp. 11–17, 29–53,

(S^{e1} CXVIII; S^{e2} XXXIX) tesu ca desesu sīmālakkhanakatham ārabbha pavattā, tesam tesam pañditānam kathāpi ciram eva nānāvidhā hoti. idāni āyasmatā anicchitassa rājadattiyabhūmividhānādikassa anulomikāpi patikkhepakāpi¹ ath' eva.

(S^{e1} CXIX; S^{e2} XL) sabbo so tattha pañditānam nānāvādavivādo² c' eva mahāsīmāya tattha sabbaso abhāvo ca, ito sātirekānam tiṇnam vassasatānam upari ekena **Marammatherena Tambadīparatṭhe Ratanapure Mbanagara**³ samīpe Tiriyapabbatavāsinā⁴ vitthāretvā ganthite Pālimuttakavinayasaṅgahapakaraṇassa vanṇanābhūte Vinayālaṅkārapakaraṇe vitthārato vutto.⁵ Yadi tam pakaranam Sīhaṭadipe haṭam atthi, tam āyasmatā oloketabbam. iti pañditā⁶ tathā tathā⁶ ñatvā **Rāmaññamarammadesato** āgatasīmāvamsam pi kañkhant' eva. (S^{e1} CXX) atha ito visesatarābhāvena keci apanṇakapatipadam paṭipajjantā, olīyitum pamajjitum na seyyo ti [C^e 170] sanniṭṭhānam gantvā yathāladdham anupaṭipajjanti yeva.

(S^{e1} CXXI; S^{e2} XLI) yathā sīmālakkhaṇe attakāmā kulaputtā lajjino kukkuccakā sikkhākāmā anekākārena vicāretvā vinicchinivā⁷ kukkuccāyanti pi⁸ evam akkharuccāraṇavidhāne pi pabbajjūpasampadākammādīsu kammavācākaranaṭthāya

85–89, 150–159, 206–213, 236–243; vol. 23 (1894), pp. 100–103, 222–224, 255–259; vol. 24 (1895), pp. 301–303, 331–332.

¹ S^{e1+2} °kkhepikaṇi

² C^e °vivāde

³ C^e Makhanagara^o; perhaps Ambanagara(?); S^{e2} 425 n.* explains: "This state (*muang*) is the same as that called *Muang Ratanapura Anva*" in the Mon chronicle(s). Here it becomes clearer that *Tambadīparatṭha* is northern Burma."

⁴ The author is Tipitakālaṅkāra, and he lived in Ratanapura (Ava) in 17th century Burma under King Sirisudhamma, see von Hinüber 1996: § 337. Since he for some time lived in the Tiriyapabbatavihāra he was also called Tiriyapabbata Thera (Sās 162^{4–5}).

⁵ The reference to the non-existence of *mahāsīmās* in Burma is to Pālim-nṭ I 365^{15ff.}; the reference to the different opinions to Pālim-nṭ I 349^{24ff.}.

^{6–6} C^e tadā tadā

⁷ C^e, S^{e1} om.

⁸ C^e, S^{e1} ad vinicchinivā

c' eva āhaccapadabhūtapāṭhasajjhāyādi-atthāya¹ ca taṁtam-akkharapabhedādīpakam saddasatthādipakaraṇam² oloketvā thāna[S^{e2} 426]karaṇādisabbavisesalakkhaṇāni sallakkhetvā tāya tāya nānābhāsikajanapadesu³ pubbācariyehi valañjita-uccāraṇapaveniyāpi abuddhasāsanikadesesu yebhuyyena [S^{e1} 89] Māgadhikāya sarikkhakānam HindūbhāsāLatinnabhāsā⁴Malāyūbhāsādīnam ekaccehi vacanehi pi saṁsandetvā samānetvā akkharāni sodhentā upasampadākammavācāpāṭhe yeva taṁtaṁdesikācariyehi tato tato⁵ āñītavamsehi valañjitaṁ uccāraṇavattam yathāñātavidhānena samānetvā tesam tesam tam tam nikāyikānam paripuṇnam katvā uccāretum asakkunānena pi ajānanatāya aññathā gahetvā valañjanena pi anādayitvā⁶ yathā tathā vatvā sanniṭṭhāpanamattena⁷ pi anekavihitam⁸ vippaṭipattiṁ⁹ disvā kukkuccāyanti yeva, kukkuccāyitvā pana keci saddasatthādilakkhaṇayuttiyāpi anukkamāgatadalhatarapaveniyāpi sundaratarām upasampadāvāṁsaṁ pariyesanti accābhiruccanakam¹⁰ alabhanṭāpi dīṭṭhadīṭṭhesu tam tam nikāyikesu sabbaseṭṭhato pañḍitehi vicāretvā vimamsitvā pasam̄site vamse yeva tiṭṭhanti, uttarim¹¹sundaratarām pariyesane¹¹ dhuram anikkhipitvā va bhiyyo bhiyyo pariyesamānā. [S^{e2} 428]

(S^{e1} CXXII; S^{e2} XLII) idāni kho pana Dhammayuttikāpaṇḍitā nānābhāsāsu¹² Hindūbhāsāya¹³ c' eva buddhasāsanikesu Sīhalānam ca

¹ S^{e1} āhacca pada^o; S^{e2} p. 427, n.*, obviously mistakes āhaccapada^o “canonical authoritative statement” (CPD s.v. āhaccapada; DOP s.v. āhanati) for āhaccapāda^o, “couch with removable or insertable legs” (CPD s.v. āhaccapāda; DOP s.v. āharati).

² C^e saddatthā^o

³ C^e nānādesikajanapadesu

⁴ C^e °Latinbhāsā^o

⁵ C^e om.

⁶ C^e anādiyitvā

⁷ C^e nitthāpanamattena

⁸ S^{e1} anekam vihitam

⁹ S^{e2} n.* explains: “We understand that it is vipattiṁ.” To my opinion there is no necessity for this conjecture.

¹⁰ S^{e1+2} uccābhiruccanakam

¹¹⁻¹¹ C^e sundaratarap^o

¹² S^{e1} adds c'eva

¹³ C^e Hindu^o

akkharuccāraṇam sabbasetṭhato pasāṃsanti. evam̄ sante pi **Sīhalānam** sake dīpe porāṇako vaṃso ciram̄ upacchinno.

(S^{e1} CXXIII) ādhunikānam̄ **Sīhalānam** idāni¹ muddha-jadantajakkharānaṃ uccāraṇe viseso na suṭṭhu paññāto hoti. ettako yeva doso nesam̄ akkharuccāraṇe;² tad añño suparisuddho pāsaṃso. [S^{e1} 90]

(S^{e1} CXXIV; S^{e2} XLIII) Mūlavam̄so pana tesam̄ kesañci **Syāmaratṭhe** Mahānikāyikāgato³, kesañci **Tambadīparatṭhe** **Maramma-**vaṃsikāgato.⁴

(S^{e1} CXXV; S^{e2} XLIV) **Amarapurana**gare kammavācākārakāpi **Marammācariyā** Syāmaratṭham̄ āgatāpi santi. (S^{e1} CXXVI) idāni **Syāmaratṭhe marammāpi** bhikkhū vasanti yeva. atha pana **Dhammayuttikā** paṇḍitā tesam̄ kammavācākaraṇavattam̄ akkharuccāraṇavattam̄ suṭṭhusikkhitvāpi ekasadisam̄kātum̄ samaththāpi, “cīvaraṇ yācati upajjhāyenā”⁵ iccādīnam̄ vacanānam̄ “sīvayanam̄ yāsatī upasshāyenā”⁶ “ti⁶ ādikaraṇādidosam̄ sampassamānā na keci daļhīkammamattam⁷ pi icchanti.

(S^{e1} CXXVII; S^{e2} XLV) idam̄ pi kho [C^e 171] lakkhaṇam̄ paṇḍitehi⁸ viditaṇ hoti. yassam⁹ [S^{e2} 430] bhāsāyam̄ **Māgadhikāya** bhāsāya upasampadākamme vattabbakkharesu eko vā dve vā akkharā natthi, tambhāsikā vata Ācariyā tam̄ vaṃsam¹⁰ ciram̄ sammānessantī ti dukkaram etam.

(S^{e1} CXXVIII; S^{e2} XLVI) ito bhiyyo vitthārena **SyāmaLāvaRāmañña-maramma-YonakaKhemarādīnam**¹¹ akkharuccāraṇa-vidhānenāpi

¹ C^e *dāni*

² S^{e1} *akkharuccāraṇena*

³ S^{e1+2} *Mahānikāyiko gato*

⁴ S^{e1+2} *Mrammasantikā gato*

⁵ S^{e1+2} *upisshāyenā*

⁶ The same sentence as before, but wrongly pronounced.

⁷ S^{e1} *daļhīkammappattam*

⁸ S^{e2} *paṇḍiteha*

⁹ S^{e2} *yassa*

¹⁰ C^e °*vaṇṣā*

¹¹ Syāma (Siam); Lāvā (Laos); Rāmañña-Maramma (Rāmaññadesa(?); in the 15th cent. this “extended from the Arakan Yoma on the west to the Salween river on the east, and from Kudut, now called Myānaung, on the north to

upasampadākammavācākarāṇakāle vipattisampatti-vasenāpi
nānappakāraviseso vattabbo hoti. so pana imasmīm paṭake likhiyamāno
kadā avasānam gamissati?

(S^{e1} CXXIX; S^{e2} XLVII) api c' ettha saṅkhepena yathābhūtam Dhammayuttikapaṇḍitānam adhippāyam ārocema: yadi porāṇako Sīhaļavāmṣo Sīhaļadīpe yāvajjatanā tiṭṭheyya, addhā Dhamma-yuttikā keci attano Mūlavaṃṣam pahāya pi keci dalhīkammaṇ [S^{e1} 91] kārāpetvāpi tam vāṃsam harissanti. tathārūpaṇ¹-porāṇakam vāṃsam¹ aladdhā pana aññam sundarataram adisvā porāṇaka Sīhaļavaṃṣato hate² yeva Rāmaññaavaṃṣe tiṭṭhanti. tad eva vāṃsam pubbe Sīhaļadīpato hārakabhāvena pi idāni tesam akkharuccāraṇavidhino sīhaļāsannatāya pi sabbaseṭṭhataram maññamāna.

(S^{e1} CXXX; S^{e2} XLVIII) buddhasāsanapaṭipattito olīyane ādīnavam disvā buddhasāsanato aññam avassam pattabbe maccumukhe ṭhitakāle patiṭṭhānārahaṇ patiṭṭham asampassantā na olīyanti; tasmā ye ye imam kukkuccāvahaṇ [S^{e2} 432] vippaṭisārakaram sīmālakkhaṇ-akkharuccāraṇalakkhaṇakathaṇ sunānti te sutvā anabhisaddahantā arocentā:³ mā andhakasadisā⁴ pasamsantu; andhā nāma purisā parehi kathitapathe ṭhatvā maggo yevāyan ti abhisaddahantāpi maggen' eva gamissanti, no amaggenā 'ti aṭṭhānam etam; na ca jayādhippāyena⁵ amhākam vādo aṭṭhānenā paṭippharitabbo; sahadhammen' eva paṭippharitukāmānam paṭippharanokāsam dema, no kevalam aṭṭhānenā sakam vādam vā vāmsam vā⁶ rakkhitum vā amhe jinītum

Maulmain on the South" (Taw Sein Ko, *Indian Antiquary*, April 1894, p. 100); Yonakaraṭṭha ("country of the Shan"; Chien-Mai), but in the Sās still more accurately defined as extending along the valleys of the Me-nam and Me-ping rivers (Sās, Intro. p. 5). Khemavara, according to Sās, Intro., p. 6, is the region including Kaongton and Kyaing-Kaung, and lies between the Salween and Me-kong.

¹⁻¹ C^e °rāṇakava°

² One would expect hate.

³ C^e, S^{e1} rocentā

⁴ S^{e1+2} andhakasaddham

⁵ C^e °ppayena

⁶ C^e om.

vā icchantānam, sutvā abhisaddahantā pana yonisomanasikāram¹ uppādetvā olīyanam mā karontu.² sāsanapaṭipattito³ vimukhatā-nivattiyā⁴ vā sethillāmisadāyajjūpagamena⁵ vā (**S^{e1} CXXXI**) tathārūpam olīyanam hi sādhūnam amaggo, evam jānataṁ passatam na hi olīyanam nissāya evarūpam jānanaṁ sambhavati. katham hi kicchena kasirena ciram ratanāni ekamek'uccinanena pariyesitvā ratanabhāvam⁶ karitvā [**S^{e1} 92**] bhāradhāraṇakilamatham⁷ ārabha ekappahāren' eva chāḍdeyyum? pañditānam h' etāni ratanāni, yadidam nānena nātabbasukhumāthānānīti.⁸ [**S^{e2} 434**]

(**S^{e1} CXXXII; S^{e2} XLIX**) [**C^e 172**] edise pi ca kāle buddhasāsanasmīm sāro atth' eva yo jānantānam avasānakāle patiṭṭhānāraho; api ca so sāro anantāparimāṇehi pheggumalabhūtehi pacchā pacchā uppannehi dosehi paṭicchanno āluṭīkato. evam sante p' eso akāmāpi pariyesitabbo apariyesantānam kā aññā pataṭṭhā? so kho pana sāro saṅkhepena duvidho hoti: sandīṭhiko ca dhammo, apanṇako ca dhammo.

(**S^{e1} CXXXIII**) tathā sandīṭhiko dhammo nāma: cittabhbāvanā-okaśūpacāratthaṁ tamtaṁvinayaniyamena niyamitasīlabhūmiyam thatvā ekasmiṁ sappāyārammaṇe cittasanṭhapanasaṅkhātam samādhiṁ bhāvetvā nāmarūpaparicchedādimukhena sukhumaññam uppādetvā tilakkhaṇasammasanādi-upāyena tadaṅgavasenāpi⁹ cittavisuddhikaraṇam; eso dhammo imasmiṁ attabhāve cittavisuddhi-saṅkhātānisamsassa¹⁰ daṭṭhabbattā sandīṭhiko dhammo nāma.

(**S^{e1} CXXXIV**) apanṇako dhammo nāma yo paccakkhato ajānantehi apassantehi okappetvā anurūpānanurūpamattam upaparikkhitvā

¹ C^e *panā'yoniyo*^o

² C^e fullstop and new paragraph. S^{e1+2} continue the sentence.

³ C^e °*papatittito*

⁴ S^{e1} *vimukhatā nivattiyā*

⁵ S^{e2} *sethilaṭā*^o

⁶ S^{e2} °*bhāram*

⁷ S^{e1} *bhāva*^o

⁸ C^e °*ṭṭhānānīti*

⁹ C^e *tadaṭṭha*^o

¹⁰ C^e °*samkhāta*^o

anurūpamattena anupaṭipajjiyamāno¹ ekantahitatthāvaho atatho² pi nirādīnavo, tatho ce sānisamso.

(S^{e1} CXXXV) sabbo apanṇakassa dhammassa vitthāro **Majjhimanikāyassa Majjhimapaññāsakamhi** āgate Apanṇakasutte³ oloketabbo. [S^{e1} 93] (S^{e1} CXXXVI) na sakkā [S^{e2} 436] idha vitthārena likhitum.

(S^{e1} CXXXVII; S^{e2} L) mayam⁴ pi āyasmato gāthābandhabhūtasāsanapaññadassanena nīṇavilāsagatiñ ca disvā **Subhūti**-ādīnam pubbe gatabhikkhūnam santikā dhammadvinayakosallādigunakathañ ca sutvā āyasmato sammukhādassanam abhikañkhamānā sayam vā **Sīhañadīp**agamanam āyasmato vā **Syāmarañṭhā**gamanam abhipatthema, tam kut' ettha labbhā.

(S^{e1} CXXXVIII; S^{e2} LI) api ca āyasmatāpi⁵ aññehi pi amhehi saddhim sammukhā asamāgatehi imā amhākam parivitakkasanniñṭhānapari-dīpakā gāthāyo sotabbā: (S^{e1} CXXXIX)

33. idam pāvacanam satthu⁶ lokekuttamatādino
dayāññānoghapuññassa⁷ dhamme vibhajjavādino,

34. opāyikam susīlādisaṅghaṁ amatāvaham
dukkhaniyyānanibbāna-dvārabhūtaṁ⁸ anītiham,

35. āññāvohārasabhāvadesanāhi sudesitam
pacchimājanatābhūta-sattānam⁹ suhitāvaham,

36. sammāññāyena patiñṭhā hoti yeva asaṁhirā [S^{e2} 438]
tañ ca tasmiṁ bhagavati acirām parinibbute, [C^e 173]

¹ C^e °pajjamāno

² S^{e1} attho

³ MN I 401ff.

⁴ C^e yyam

⁵ S^{e1} āyasmato

⁶ C^e satthū

⁷ S^{e2} dy°

⁸ C^e °nīyānanibbāna-

⁹ C^e °janātā°

37. buddhānubuddhabhūtehi **Kassapādīhi** ādito
sabbasaṅghasammatehi susaṅgītaṁ samāsato, [S^{e1} 94]
38. anantatthapāṭhabhūtaṁ sukhena dhāraṇārahāmaṁ
pubbācariyasīhehi ābhataṁ paṭipātiyā,¹
39. pubbe mukhapāṭhen² eva pacchā tu potthakehi pi
yāvamhākaṁ pi pāpetvā yathā kathañci tiṭṭhati.
40. yo so no bhagavā satthā yam mayam saranam gatā
yassa dhammaṁ rocayitvā homa pabbajitā idha,
41. so ca kho araham sammāsambuddho iti vissuto
tathattāya ca maggo pi yāvajjāpi suto va no,
42. so kho samsandati c³ eva sameti ca anaññatho
²yadi so² araham sammāsambuddho aputhujjano,
43. setughāto bhaveyyassa sadā anatthasañhite³
atthānatthakusalo so dīghadassī dayāluko,
44. pacchimajanatathāya⁴ ṭhāpayamaṁ dhammasāsanam
addhā asaṁhiramaṁ katvā suddham anītihītiham⁵
45. ṭhapeyya cirakālāya yathā tam anukampako [S^{e2} 440]
yamaṁ santamaṁ anumāneyyamaṁ⁶ loke ananumānitamaṁ
46. jarāmaraṇadukkhādianiccatādikam pi vā
manasikriyamānan tam sace hitāya vattati,

¹ S^{e1+2} °pātiyā²⁻² S^{e2} so yadi³ C^e °hito⁴ S^{e1+2} pacchimājanatāthāya⁵ C^e anītihītiham.⁶ C^e °eyya

47. yañ ca sakkhi adañhabbam gañheyya¹ parikappato
paralokasukhadukkhaparamatthasukhādikam² [S^{e1} 95]
48. okappetvā gayhamānam tam vattati hitāya ce³
ante cāvippañisārañhānatāya⁴ apaññakam. [S^{e2} 442]
49. tesam ubhinnam athānam dīpikā dhammadesañ
tass' evarūpabuddhassa sāsanañ hotum arahati.
50. kathetūnam⁵ matānam pi kilesadīpikāya tu
savane kotuhalassa⁶ ṭhānikāya kathāya kim.
51. tiracchānakathā sā hi bāleḥ' evābhipatthitā
rāgādivatthubhūtā ca vikatthikā ca tādisī [C^e 174]
52. anacchariyā va sādhūnam lokikānam pamohanī,
bahū pi nānappakārakathetāro⁷ kathentidha:
53. “iccāsi iti hessati⁸ iti aññattha hoti ca”
apaccakkhānānumeyyam⁹ sabban tam itihītiham,
54. kevalam takkavañdhanañ rucceyya kassa viññuno?
evarūpo kathādoso dissat' ev' ettha sāsane.
55. yato āmisadāyādā supamattā¹⁰ puthujjanā
ciram pi nissayamānarūpā viharanti sāsane,

¹ S^{e1+2} °eyyam

² C^e °-dukkham para°

³ C^e vo

⁴ S^{e1+2} antepāvippañisārañhānatāya

⁵ C^e kathetūnam

⁶ S^{e1+2} °hallassa

⁷ S^{e2} nānappakāre

⁸ S^{e1+2} bhossati; the canonical texts read bhavissati (*i.e.* Sn vs. 1084), thus the reading of S^{e1+2} could be an attempt to render bhavissati into a form fitting the metre.

⁹ S^{e1+2} °kkhānumāneyyam

¹⁰ C^e suppa°

56. bāhullikā sethillaikkā saddhammena anatthikā
kevalam lābhasakkāra-silokānam va kāmino [S^{e2} 444]
57. nameyyum te yathicchāya dhammam bālā apesalā
buddhanāma-padesena¹ sambuddhavacanam iti. [S^{e1} 96]
58. sadosam attano vādaṇam bhīruke² saddahāpayum
ten' eva kathādosena uppannena anukkamā
59. malapheggusadisena dukkaran dāni nātave
sāsanam padissa³ vuttam saccan ti⁴ vā musā ti vā.
60. evam sante pi amhākaṇḍ **Dhammayuttikavādinam**
patiṭṭhānārahām ante sāram atthaṇam gavesatam
61. nānātitthāyatanesu⁵ viññātesu anekadhā
nānappakārake dhamme sammā copaparikkhatam⁶
62. aññā patiṭṭhā natth' eva huram gotamasāsanā.
taṁ evam pi bhūtasmiṁ tasmiṁ cirena ābhate,
63. sāraññevatthamattam⁷ pi pubbe dassitalakkhaṇam
sandiṭṭhikāni-saṁsaṁ vā atha vāpi apanṇakam
64. niccam pi pariyesāma nicchayāma yathārahām
sanniṭṭhānam sace laddham **Pāliyam**⁸ yattha katthaci.

¹ S^{e2} buddhanāmādesena

² S^{e1+2} bhiruke

³ C^e sāsanam apadissa

⁴ S^{e2} saccantiṁ

⁵ S^{e2} °tenesu

⁶ S^{e1+2} vopaparikkhatam

⁷ C^e °vatthi°

⁸ C^e Pāliya

65. kāyavācāmaneh' etam paṭipajjāma sāsanam
puthujjanānurūpehi yathāsattim¹ yathābalam. [S^{e2} 446]
66. tass' evārahato sammāsambuddhassa sirīmato
āhaccapada-sambhūtam² nibbidādiguṇāvaham. [C^e 175]
67. lokuttarasuññatāya yogena vuttalakkhaṇam
suttaṁ sabbehi vādehi pamāṇam buddhabhāsitam. [S^{e1} 97]
68. saṅgītiyo samāruļham bahuṁ atthi anappakam
tatthaññam thānam aññassa thānassa hoti vaṇṇanā,
69. aññamaññasarikkhāni pāṭhudāharanāni ca
thānāṭhānikaññāṇena sukhumen' eva sabbaso
70. sallakkhetvā samānetvā vicāretvā tathā tathā
Pāliyo yeva nissāya kātabbo dhammanicchayo.
71. sammohatuṇhibhāvasmā aṭṭhānatussanāpi³ ca
evaṁ visodhanam seyyo; kathaṁ muļhā bhavāmase?
72. evaṁ vihārino buddhasāsane sādhupaṇḍitā
sakapakkhe pavuccanti Saddhammayuttikā iti. (S^{e1} CXL)
73. ettāvatā suracitāya kathāy' imāya
gāthāhi cuṇṇiyapadehi ca niṭhitāya
sambodhiññākaruṇādiguṇoghabhūta-
buddhassa no bhagavato parisāya tesu [S^{e2} 448]
74. Syāmesu kho marakatena⁴ sunimmitāya
sambuddhaseṭṭhapatiṁyā sadhātukāya

¹ S^{e1+2} °sati; canonical passages mostly read yathāsatti

² C^e °pāṭha°

³ S^{e1+2} °tusa°

⁴ S^{e1} marakaṭena

nāmavhite¹ **Ratanakosapurindanāme**
Rammamhi Devanagare va mahāpurasmim [S^{e1} 98]

75. **Pañcaggajendaratanissararājaputto**²
jetṭhādhipendapatirājakaniṭṭhabhātā
thero aham **Vajirañāṇasamaññayutto**
anto pure **Varanivesavihārvāsi**³
76. suttābhidhammadvinayesu sucimetañāno,
nānāpadesikamatīsu susikkhito ca
saddhammapotthakavisodhanakicca kārī
dhammānu-sāsanakaro sakabhāturañño
77. ten' eva dhammakusalena tulopamena
nissāya samvidahanañ sukatham pi raññā
dhammānudhammapati pannakabhikkhusaṅgha-
pāmokkhapācariyatāya yasaggapatto [C^e 176]
78. **Saddhammayuttikanikāyagaṇissarānam**
sesehi no navahi theravarehi pubbe
Saddhammavaṁsaparipālakadhīrakādi⁴-
Ānanda-savhayatisīhaṭatheravādañ
79. gāthāhi suṭṭhu racitam vividhāhi tena [S^{e2} 450]
sete paṭamhi likhitūn⁵ idha pesayitvā
jānāpitam **Vinayalakkhaṇasārayuttam**
sutvāna tassa paṭisāsanapesanāya [S^{e1} 99]
80. paccakkhato samatidipanakāmakehi
ajjhesito supaṭibhāṇagunam paṭicca

¹ C^e *nāmavhaye*

² C^e *pañcaggibhindaratanissararājaputto*, n. 1 *pañca-agga-ibha inda* = *sudu* *ātun pas denekunṭa adhipati vū;* S^{e1} *Pañcaggibhendaratanissararājaputto*

³ C^e *pavaranivesavihārvāsi*, this is the correct name of the Vihāra, but it does not fit the metre.

⁴ C^e *dhīra-ādi-*

⁵ C^e *likhitun*

tesānulomamatiyā va dhuram̄ vahanto
vitthārato katham imam̄ pavicintayitvā⁶

81. therehi tehi saha mantayitūna⁷ cāpi
tehī ānumoditakatho va likhāpayitvā
yoropyasetapatakesu⁸ ⁶-bahūsv imesu⁹
Kambojakakkharavidhāna-nayena ettha
82. **Syāmesu Māgadhaniruttivalañjitenā**
sibbāpanena paṭakāni samam̄ karitvā
bandhāpitūna¹⁰ patisāsanapanṇam etam̄
lākhātale makuṭarūpakalañcanena
83. pubbe kulamhi sakanāmapadīpakena
saddhāpanāya bhusam eva ca lañcayitvā
therassa tassa kavivādavisāradassā
dūre ¹¹-thitassa pati**Sīhaladīpikassa**¹¹
84. pāhemi sāsanahitam abhipathayanto
¹²-aññehi vā pana kavīhi pi mantayanto¹²
Lañkātale sugatasāsanamāmakā ye [S^{e2} 452]
paññāya te pi sukhumāya vicārayantu. [S^{e1} 100]
85. sabbe pi **Sīhalajanā** sukhitā va hontu
dhammam sudullabham imam̄ paripālayantā
amhehi kho dasahi theryatīhi niccaṁ
mettiṁ karontu satataṁ manasāpi bhiyyo.

⁶ C^e *pati*^o

⁷ C^e *tuna*

⁸ C^e *yoroppa*^o “Europe”

⁹⁻¹⁰ S^{e1} *bahuśimesu*; C^e *bahuśinesu*

¹⁰ C^e *pituna*

¹¹⁻¹¹ C^e *thitassapi ti*^o

¹²⁻¹² S^{e2} om.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

References to Pāli literature are to the editions of the Pali Text Society. For bibliographical details see *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen *et alii*, Vol. 1, *Epilegomena*, Copenhagen 1948, and the lists of abbreviations in Vols. 2–3.

AN = Aṅguttaranikāya (PTS)

BD = I. B. Horner (transl.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*.

6 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1938–1966 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25).

BE = Buddhist Era

CE = Christian Era

C^e = Sinhalese edition of the present text (see Intro. § 6)

ChS = Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Edition, Rangoon

CPD = *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, H. Hendriksen, vols. 1, 2, 3, fasc. 1ff. Copenhagen 1924ff.

CSCD = CDRom, Version 3, by the Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, India. Databank of canonical and post-canonical Pāli texts according to the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Edition.

Dhp = Dhammapada (PTS)

DN = Dīghanikāya (PTS)

DOP = Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, part I: *a-kh*. Oxford 2001 (PTS).

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Jā = Jātaka (PTS)

JSS = Journal of the Siam Society

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Kkh = Buddhaghosa, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, ed. K. R. Norman, William Pruitt. Oxford 2003 (PTS).

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M = Monks

Malalgoda 1976 = Kitsiri Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society 1750–1900. A Study of Religious Revival and Change*. Berkeley.

MN = Majjhimanikāya (PTS)

N = Nuns

Niss = Nissaggiya rule

Pāc = Pācittiya rule

Pār = Pārājika rule

Pāṭ = Pātidesanīya rule

Pālim-nṭ = Toṇ-phī-lā-charā tō Munindaghosa (= Tipiṭakālāṅkāra), *Pālimuttaka-vinayavicchayanavaṭīkā* (= *Vinayālarikāraṭīkā*), 2 vols. Rangoon 1962 (ChS).

Pālisandesāvalī = A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisandesāvalī*. Kolamba 1962.

PTS = Pali Text Society.

Sās = Mabel Bode [ed.], *Sāsanavamsa*. London 1897 (PTS).

S^{e1} = Siamese edition 1 of the present text (see Intro. § 6)

S^{e2} = Siamese edition 2 of the present text (see Intro. § 6)

Sgh = Saṅghādisesa rule

Sīmānayadappana = Dhammālaṅkāra Thera, *Sīmānayadappana. A Mirror of the Consecrated Boundaries*. Published by Kolambanagare Tōmas Mändis Vijayavikkama Sirivadḍhana and Vālukātitthagāme Ārondābrev Vijayasiha. With an English summary of the introduction, by L. Corneille Wijesinha Mudaliyar. 2428 (1885).

Skilling, Peter; Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*. Bangkok 2002 (Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka Volume 1).

Sn = Suttanipāta (PTS)

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Sp-ṭ = Sāriputta [from Polonnaruva], *Sāratthadīpanī*. 3 vols. Rangoon 1960 (ChS).

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Vibh = C. A. F. Rhys Davids [ed.], *Vibhaṅga*. London 1904 (PTS).

Vin = Hermann Oldenberg [ed.], *Vinaya Piṭaka*. 5 vols. London 1879–1883 (PTS).

Vin-vn = Vinayavinicchaya

vs(s) = verse(s)

Vmv = Coliya Kassapa, *Vimativinodaniṭīkā*. 2 vols. Rangoon 1960 (ChS).

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(p) = place

Atṭhakathā **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} X, S^{e2} VI; S^{e1} XXX, S^{e2} VIII; S^{e1} XXXII, S^{e2} IX; S^{e1} XXXIII, S^{e2} IX; S^{e1} XXXIV, S^{e2} X; S^{e1} XXXVI, S^{e2} XI; S^{e1} XLI, S^{e2} XII; S^{e1} XLII, S^{e2} XIII; S^{e1} XLIV, S^{e2} XIII; S^{e1} LVI, S^{e2} XV; S^{e1} LXIII, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXXVIII, S^{e2} XXII; S^{e1} LXXXIV, S^{e2} XXIV; S^{e1} CIII, S^{e2} XXXI; S^{e1} CV, S^{e2} XXXII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXX

Adinnādāna[sikkhāpada; Pār 2 M/N] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXVII, S^{e2} XI; °vibhaṅga S^{e1} LII, S^{e2} XIV; S^{e1} LIV, S^{e2} XIV; S^{e1} LXVI, S^{e2} XIX; S^{e1} XCI, S^{e2} XXVI; p. 11, n. 9

Antoratṭhasikkhāpadam [Pāc 37 N] **Letter 2:** p. 12, n. 13

Antovassasikkhāpadam [Pāc 39 N] **Letter 2:** p. 12, n. 13

Apaṇṇakasutta **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXXV, S^{e2} XLIX

Abaddhasīmākathā **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LVII, S^{e2} XVI

Amarapura (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIII, S^{e2} XXXVII; °nikāya **Intro.** §§ 3, 5

Ānanda **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXII, S^{e2} XX

Ukkhittosāraṇasikkhāpadam [Sgh 4 N] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXVII, S^{e2} XXI

Upasathakkhandhaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXXIII, S^{e2} XX

Ubhatovibhaṅga **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXII, S^{e2} XVII; see also Vibhaṅga

Ūnavīsativassūpasampadasikkhāpadam [Pāc 65 M] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXVII, S^{e2} XXI

Kambojaka-akkhara **Intro.** § 1; **Letter 2:** vs. 81

Kalyāṇīśīmā **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII

Kassapa **Letter 2:** vs. 37

Kahavē Saddhātissa see Saddhātissa

Kurundī **Letter 2:** p. 22, n. 5

Khandhaka **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LVII, S^{e2} XVI; S^{e1} LXII, S^{e2} XVII

Khemara (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXVIII, S^{e2} XLVI

Khom script **Intro.** § 1

Gālūtittha (p) **Intro.** § 3; **Letter 2:** vs. 23

Gopakamogallānasutta **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXII, S^{e2} XX

Cattasallo (Chaem), Phra Thepkavī **Intro.** § 1

Corīvutthāpana[sikkhāpadam; Sgh 2 N] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXVII, S^{e2} XXI

Chao Krommamuen (later: Krommaluang) Jinavarasirivaḍhana,
Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja (11th saṅgharāja of Ratankosin period)
Intro. § 1

Jātaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXII, S^{e2} XVII

Jātakabhāṇaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXI, S^{e2} XVII

Jhānavibhaṅga **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LIV, S^{e2} XIV

Tīkā **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXVI, S^{e2} XI; S^{e1} XLII, S^{e2} XII

Tambadīparatṭha (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; S^{e1} CXIII, S^{e2} XXXVII; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII; S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL; S^{e1} CXXIV, S^{e2} XLIII

Tambapaṇñī (p) **Letter 2:** vss. 17, 22

Talaṅgaratṭha (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII

Tipiṭakālāṅkāra **Letter 2:** p. 36, n. 4

Tiriyapabbata (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL; °vihāra **Letter 2:** p. 36, n. 4

Thammakanbodi (Dharmakārapatī), Phra see Brahma(s)sara

Thammawirot, Phra **Intro.** § 2

Theyyasatthasaṃvidhāna[sikkhāpada; Pāc 66 M] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XLV, S^{e2} XIII

Theyyasatthasikkhāpada [Pāc 66 M] **Letter 2:** p. 12, n. 10, 13

Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince **Intro.** § 1

Dhammadetiyarāja, king **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII

- Dhammadayuttika **Intro.** §§ 1, 2, 3, 5; **Letter 2:** vs. 11; S^{e1} IX, S^{e2} V; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXIII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; S^{e1} CXXII, S^{e2} XLII; S^{e1} CXXVI, S^{e2} XLIV; S^{e1} CXXIX, S^{e2} XLVII; vs. 60; °nikāya **Intro.** §§ 1, 2, 5; °nikāyika **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I
- Dhammarakkhita Thera, (Ankuravara); (Phra Khru Palat “That”); later Phra Śrī Bhūripričhā/Bhūriprijā “That”) **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 15
- Dhammasiri (Ratanamuni) Thera (Phra Thepmoli/Debamoli “Iam” or “Phum”) **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 14
- Dhīrānanda see Lañkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda, Thera
- Nāvabhiruhanasikkhāpadam [Pāc 28 M] **Letter 2:** p. 12, n. 13
- Nissaggiya 29 M **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LIV, S^{e2} XIV
- Pañcaggajendaratanissararāja, king **Letter 2:** vs. 75
- Pañcaggibhindaratanissararāja (°bhenda°), king **Letter 2:** p. 46, n. 1
- Paññaṅga (Varaṅgasāmika) Thera (Somdet Phraya Pavareśvariyalāṅkāraṇa): 8th Saṅgharāja of Ratankosin period **Intro:** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 14
- Parivāra **Intro.** § 5; Letter 2: S^{e1} LXI, S^{e2} XVII; S^{e1} LXII, S^{e2} XVII
- Parivāraṭṭhakathā **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV
- Pavaranivesa (p) **Intro.** §§ 1, 2; **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I; **Letter 2:** vs. 9
- Pavāraṇakkhandhaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXIII, S^{e2} XX
- Pāṭidesanīya 4 **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LIV, S^{e2} XIV
- Pāli (canonical text, mostly Vinaya) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXIII, S^{e2} IX; S^{e1} XXXIV, S^{e2} X; S^{e1} XXXVI, S^{e2} XI; S^{e1} XLI, S^{e2} XII; S^{e1} XLII, S^{e2} XII; S^{e1} XLIII, S^{e2} XIII; S^{e1} LX, S^{e2} XVI; S^{e1} LXIII, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXIV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXX, S^{e2} XIX; S^{e1} LXXVIII, S^{e2} XXII; S^{e1} LXXX, S^{e2} XXIII; S^{e1} CI, S^{e2} XXX; S^{e1} CV, S^{e2} XXXII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXIII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; vss. 64, 70
- Pālimuttakavinayasaṅgahapakaraṇa **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL
- Pussa/Pussābhidhānaka (Phussābhidhānāmaramoli) Thera (Somdet Phra Saṅgharāja “Pusso Saa”) **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 15
- Pegudeса (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII
- Pokāmaratṭha (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXV; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII
- Balapiṭīya, sīmā of **Intro.** § 3

Bārāṇasī (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXI, S^{e2} XVII

Buddhasiri (Ariyamuni) Thera (Somdet Phra Vanaratana “Thap”)

Intro. § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 14

Buddhisanha Thera, (Vinayadhara) (Phra Amaramoli “Nop”) **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 15

Bōpāgoda Sumana **Intro.** § 3

Brahma(s)sara (Ñāṇarajjhita) Thera (Phra Ñāṇarakkhita “Suk”), later Phra Thammakanbodi (Dharmakārapati) **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 14

Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXVII, S^{e2} XXI, see also Vibhaṅga

Bhikkhunīsaṃvidhāna[sikkhāpada, Pāc 27 M] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XLV, S^{e2} XIII

Makhanagara (p) **Letter 2:** p. 36, n. 3

Majjhimanikāya, Uparipaññāsaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXII, S^{e2} XX;

Majjhimapaññāsaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXXV, S^{e2} XLIX

Mahānikāya **Intro.** §§ 2, 5

Mahānikāyika **Intro.** §§ 3, 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXVI, S^{e2} VIII; S^{e1} CXXIV, S^{e2} XLIII

Magadha-bhāṣā **Intro.** § 1

Marammavamsa/Mrammavaṃsa **Letter 2:** vs. 16; S^{e1} CXIV, S^{e2} XXXVII; °vaṃsika **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXIV, S^{e2} XLIII

Māgadhanirutti **Letter 2:** vs. 82

Māgadhikā bhāṣā **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXVII, S^{e2} XLV

Mātugāmasaṃvidhāna[sikkhāpada, Pāc 67 M] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XLV, S^{e2} XIII

Muang Ratanapura Añña (p) **Letter 2:** p. 36, n. 3

Mongkut, king **Intro.** § 1; see also Vajirāññā

Mbanagara (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL

Yonaka (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXVIII, S^{e2} XLVI

Ratanakosapurinda **Letter 2:** vs. 74

Ratanakosindadevamahānagara **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I

Ratanakosindamahārājapura **Letter 2:** vs. 8

Ratanapura (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL; p. 36, n. 3

Rāma IV, king see Mongkut

Rāmañña-maramma (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL; S^{e1} CXXVIII, S^{e2} XLVI

Rāmaññavamṣa **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXIX, S^{e2} XLVII

Laṅka **Letter 2:** vs. 84

Laṅkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda Sirisaddhammavamṣa **Intro.** §§ 1, 3, 5; **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I; **Letter 2:** vss. 16, 23; S^{e1} IX, S^{e2} V; n. 1

Lāva[raṭṭha] (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXXXV, S^{e2} XXIV; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII; S^{e1} CXXVIII, S^{e2} XLVI

Vajirañāna Makuṭa Sammata (Deva)vamsa, Thera **Intro.** §§ 1, 2, 3, 5;

Letter 1: S^{e1+2} I; **Letter 2:** vss. 13, 20; S^{e1} IX, S^{e2} V; vs. 75

Vajirañāṇavarorasa **Intro.** § 2

Vajjīputtaka **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVIII, S^{e2} XXXVII

Varanivesavihāra **Letter 2:** vs. 75, see Pavaranivesavihāra

Vassakāra **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXXII, S^{e2} XX

Vālukārāma **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I

Vikālagāmapavesana[sikkhāpada; Pāc 85 M] **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXVII, S^{e2} XI

Vinaya **Intro.** § 1; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} LXXIII, S^{e2} XX; S^{e1} LXXVIII, S^{e2} XXII; S^{e1} LXXXV, S^{e2} XXIV; S^{e1} XCIV, S^{e2} XXVII; S^{e1} XCVII, S^{e2} XXVIII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXIV; vs. 79

Vinayalakkhanavinicchayadīpakam paṭisāsanam **Intro.** § 1; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} IX, S^{e2} V

Vinayavinicchaya, Sinhalese paraphrase on **Intro.** § 3

Vinayālaṅkāra(pakaraṇa/^ṭikā) **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL

Vibhaṅga **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XLIII, S^{e2} XV; S^{e1} LVII, S^{e2} XVI; S^{e1} LXXVII, S^{e2} XXI

Vimatativinodanī **Intro.** § 5; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXIV, S^{e2} X; S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII

Saṃvidhānasikkhāpadam **Letter 2:** p. 12, n. 9-11; S^{e1} LIV, S^{e2} XIV; S^{e1} LVIII, S^{e2} XVI; LXIII, S^{e2} XVIII

Saddhammayuttika[nikāya] **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 78, see also Dhammayuttika

Saddhammavaṇṭsa **Letter 2:** vs. 78

Saddhātissa, Kahavē (bhikkhu) **Intro.** §§ 2, 3, 5; n. 51; **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXIV, S^{e2} VII; S^{e1} XXVI, S^{e2} VIII; S^{e1} CXIV, S^{e2} XXXVII

Sabbakāmi, Thera **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CVIII, S^{e2} XXXVII

Sāmendapura (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXI, S^{e2} VII (vs. 32.1)

Sālha, Thera S^{e1} CVIII, S^{e2} XXXVII

Sirisaddhammavaṇṭsa see Laṅkāgoda Dhīrānanda, Thera

Sirīsuddhamma, king **Letter 2:** p. 36, n. 4

Sīmākathā **Intro.** § 1

Sīmāvicārana **Intro.** § 1

Sīhaṭa **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXII, S^{e2} XLII; S^{e1} CXXIII, S^{e2} XLII; vs. 85: °dīpa

(p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXII, S^{e2} XVII; S^{e1} CI, S^{e2} XXX; S^{e1} CXIV, S^{e2} XXXVII; S^{e1} CXIX, S^{e2} XL; S^{e1} CXXIX, S^{e2} XLVII; S^{e1} CXXXVII,

S^{e2} L; vs. 83; °vamsa **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXXIX, S^{e2} XLVII; °vamsika

Letter 2: S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII

Suttanta **Letter 2:** S^{e1} XXXV, S^{e2} X; S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} CVI, S^{e2} XXXIII

Sudassana, Thera **Intro.** § 1

Subhūti, Bhikkhu **Letter 2:** vs. 22; S^{e1} CXXXVII, S^{e2} L

Suvaḍḍhana Thera, Medhādhamarasa (Phra Palat Rüang) **Intro** § 2;

Letter 2: vs. 15

Sedamocanagāthā **Letter 2:** S^{e1} LXI, S^{e2} XVII

Sobhita Siridhamma **Intro** § 1

Sobhita(siri Visuddhavaṇṭsa) Thera (Phra Si Wisutthiwong “Fak Sālak”); later Phraya Si Sunthon Wohan **Intro.** § 2; **Letter 2:** vs. 15

Syāma[rattha] (p) **Letter 1:** S^{e1+2} I; **Letter 2:** vs. 8; S^{e1} X, S^{e2} VI; S^{e1}

XXV, S^{e2} VII; S^{e1} LXV, S^{e2} XVIII; S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII; S^{e1}

CXXIV, S^{e2} XLIII; S^{e1} CXXV, S^{e2} XLIV; S^{e1} CXXVI, S^{e2} XLIV;

S^{e1} CXXVIII, S^{e2} XLVI; S^{e1} CXXXVII, S^{e2} L; vs. 74; p. 17, n. 6; p.

38, n. 11

Haṃsavatī (p) **Letter 2:** S^{e1} CXVII, S^{e2} XXXVIII



sabbapāpassa akaranam
kusalassūpasampadā
sacittapariyodapanam
etam buddhāna sāsanam

ye dhammā hetuppabhavā
tesam hetum tathāgato āha
tesañ ca yo nirodho ca
evamvādī mahāsamaṇo

maṅgalaṁ lekhakānam ca
pāṭhakānam ca maṅgalaṁ
maṅgalaṁ sabbabhūtānam
bhūmibhūpatimaṅgalaṁ

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