

The Case of the *Sārasaṅgaha*: Reflections on the Reuse of Texts in Medieval Sinhalese Pāli Literature

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Abstract The *Sārasangaha* is a Pāli text of XIIth–XIIIth century by the Sinhalese monk Siddhattha Thera. Its themes include the aspiration to become a Buddha, shrines, meditation, theories on rain, wind, gender and more. The main body consists of citations from the Nikāyas, the Jātakas, the *Visuddhimagga* and above all, from commentarial literature. By analysing the way the *Sārasangaha* refers to and establishes a dialogue with the quoted works, this paper promotes a new assessment of the cultural and textual tendencies that influenced the development of Buddhist literature especially in the Middle Ages. In particular, the analysis of this text and the quotations of which it is composed reveals the importance of commentarial literature, a literary genre that only recently has attracted the attention of Pāli scholars.

Keywords Theravāda tradition \cdot Pāli canon \cdot Canonical commentarial literature \cdot *Visuddhimagga* \cdot *Sārasangaha* \cdot Textual reuse

Thus, as when we put parts together we can call them a 'cart', it is convention to talk of a 'living being' when there are (only) the constituent parts (khandha).¹

When I began translating a few chapters of the *Sārasangaha* for my Ph.D. thesis, I discovered that it was made up almost exclusively of quotations. This made me reflect on the nature of this work, its function, its originality and on whether or not this type of work, consisting of a collection of fragments, could be considered to be an

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¹ Mil 28 = S I 135: Yathā hi angasambhārā hoti saddo ratho iti; evam khandhesu santesu, hoti satto ti sammutīti. Unless explicitly indicated, all translations are my own.

independent text. Whilst I was considering this, *Milindapañha*'s famous story about the monk Nāgasena showing King Milinda that the individual does not exist in its own right came to my mind.

When the learned monk, Nāgasena, met the Indo-Greek King Milinda and was asked his name, Nāgasena, introducing himself, added that proper names are only designations used in everyday life, but that there is no attributable existence or individual (*puggala*) corresponding to them. Nāgasena clarified his point of view by using a simile. The monk asked King Milinda which means of transport he had used to come to meet him and when he replied that he had come by cart, Nāgasena tested him by asking him if, that which he referred to as a cart, could be identified by one of the parts of which it was constituted: wheels, shaft, chassis, yoke, etc. When the king denied this, the monk came to the conclusion that the cart was only a name, commonly used to designate an object made up of multiple parts and explained that the same reasoning could be applied to that which we call an "individual', nothing other than a compilation of hair, a beard, nails, teeth etc. Thus the king came to understand that there is a conventional identity, but that from an absolute point of view (*paramattha*), individuals do not exist, only the parts that make them up.²

Reflecting on this explanation of conventional reality, I came to a better understanding of the complex nature of the *Sārasaṅgaha*. Even though it is made up almost exclusively of a collection of quotations, it has its own nominal identity, like a cart, despite having been made of parts. This identity is what we would conventionally call a "literary work".

1 Introduction

In Theravāda³ Buddhist literature and in particular the Pāli Canon (*Tipiṭaka*), the hermeneutics of the quotations is a complex issue. The drafting of the canonical texts was a gradual process, which began with the first Buddhist Council and continued in the following centuries.⁴ This collection of works is the fruit of multiple stratification and presents a continual reference to the stages of its formulation. For this reason, it is almost impossible to determine which are the oldest parts and which the most recent, which is the quoting text and which the quoted one. The exegesis of these works is thus closely related to the issue of the quotations and the technique used to arrange them.⁵

In this paper, I have focused on the *Sārasangaha* (Ss) by Siddhattha Thera. This is a minor text, a "late" Sinhalese work, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

² For the full text, see Mil 25–28.

³ The term Theravāda is used in the conventional sense and according to the distinctions proposed by Skilling (2009).

⁴ According to tradition, the written form of the Canon was initiated after the Buddha's death during the first Buddhist Council at Rājagaha, in the fifth century BC. It was continued through the following centuries until the first century AD. The Pāli version which has come down to us, however, is thought to date from the fifth century AD.

⁵ Consider, for example, the composition of the Udāna, which seems to have been created by adding sections in prose, a quarter of which can be found in other parts of the Canon, in particular in the Vinaya, to the verses, which were probably originally the only nucleus of the work, see von Hinüber (1996, p. 46).

Little studied by academics and yet to be translated into a European language, the Ss offers many points to reflect upon related to the reuse of text and the evolution of medieval Pāli literature, its peculiarity being that it is almost entirely made up of quotations. These quotations are partly declared and partly hidden. They vary in length, and the type of work from which they are taken varies enormously. My aim is, therefore, to try to clarify why some texts are used more than others and to understand what function a work of collation like the Ss had, how its composer imagined his role and what lessons the contemporary Pāli scholar can draw from works of this genre.

To this end, I have carried out a philological analysis, which sought to identify and collate as many quotations as possible. In order to give a schematic, transparent representation of the sources used in the text, the paper is accompanied by a document appendix, where I have traced the origins of as many as possible of the quotations (direct or parallel) present in the work.⁶ I then carried out a short comparative analysis between the *Sārasaṅgaha* and a text of the same age, the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (Uj), which presents similar characteristics and analogous pointers as far as the quotations are concerned. However, the most significant assistance came from the interpretation of a few precious clues regarding the motivation behind the choices about the composition of his work, which the author himself worked into the text.

2 The Sārasangaha by Siddhattha Thera

The *Sārasangaha* (Ss) or "Collection of the Essence" is a compendium of numerous teachings of the Theravāda Buddhist tradition. There have been brief mentions of this text in books on the history of Pāli literature⁷ and a specific interest shown by Professor Sasaki's School based in Japan, involving his students Yoshimoto (1995) and Nobuaki (1998), but there is still no complete translation of the work or a dedicated monographic study in a European language.⁸

⁶ In the Appendix I have listed all the quotations or allusions, whether acknowledged by Siddhattha or not. They were included in the critical edition of the text compiled by Sasaki (1992) and in Yoshimoto (1995). I have added to this material the quotations I discovered whilst translating a few chapters of the Ss for my Ph.D. thesis. Even though there are still more quotations to be found, this paper can give a preliminary idea of the major sources used in the Ss.

⁷ See Malalasekera (1928, pp. 228–229), Norman (1983, pp. 162, 173), von Hinüber (1996, pp. 177–178), Geiger (1968, p. 45).

⁸ The best known manuscripts of the Ss available today are those used by Prof. Sasaki (1992, p. V) for his critical edition. However, there are a few manuscripts which until now have never been studied like the one von Hinüber (1996, p. 177) considers the most ancient. It is held at Wat Viang of Thön (Thailand). Others are held in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, see Filliozat (1993, p. 41); in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, see Feer (1882, p. 34); in the Śrī Lańka Government Oriental Library, Colombo, see De Zoysa (1882, p. 51); and in the Library of Vijayasundararamaya Asgiriya, Kandy, see Filliozat (1995, p. 159).

As far as printed editions of the work are concerned, a limited section of the first chapter of the Ss was edited by von Spiegel (1845). Godakumbura (1980, pp. 60–61) supplies us with only a short list of its contents and Oldenberg (1882, pp. 125–126) edits the beginning and the conclusion of the text along with the index of the chapters. Somananda (1898) edited an edition in Sinhalese and Neumann (1891)

In the colophon of the Ss, it is stated that the work has been composed by a monk, Siddhattha, the pupil of Buddhappiya Thera.⁹ According to Matsumura (1999, p. 158), there are two Buddhappiyas who both had a teacher named Ānanda. The two figures have generally been identified as a single person by scholars, and this has caused confusion in the history of Sri Lankan Pāli literature. One of these two Buddhappiyas may well be the pupil of Ānanda Tambapaṇṇiddhaja dated to the Twelfth century; the other one, the pupil of Ānanda of Forest Fraternity, who is dated to the Thirteenth century (see Matsumura 1999, p. 159).

When Siddhattha said he was the pupil of Buddhappiya it is difficult to determine which of the two Buddhiappiyas he meant. In dating the Ss, we can use the clear references to texts written after 1200 AD, e.g. the *Sāratthadīpanī* and the *Abhidhammat-tha-vibhāvinī-attayojanā* (cf. v. Hinüber 1996, p. 177). A cut off date *ante quem* is 1457 or even 1415 because the Ss is cited in other texts, namely the *Moggallānapañcakāpadīpa* and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* (cf. Geiger 1968, pp. 45, 292).

The text is defined as a kind of "encyclopaedic handbook",¹⁰ composed of forty chapters¹¹ covering a wide variety of topics, ranging from issues amply covered in Theravāda literature, for example, the stages of the meditative process, the aspiration to become a Buddha or the previous lives of the Buddha, to much less well known, sometimes unusual subjects like the causes of atmospheric phenomena, explanations of theories in the fields of nutrition, biology and cosmology, etc.

At first sight, the order of the topics does not appear to obey any rules, except in the case of a few "twin" chapters (for example one about dreams following one about sleep).¹² The work's fragmentary aspect extends to the single chapters, to the point that Malalasekera (1928, p. 288) suspected that the original text had been corrupted¹³ or had been altered extensively. Nonetheless, Nobuaki (1998, p. 2) tries to identify the rules of composition, the "*ratio*" which the author probably followed. He identifies five macro subjects in the chapters of the Ss: Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*; spiritual exercises; problems linked to *kamma* in the *samsaric* life; the various types of sentient beings; issues concerning the natural world.

Whether or not there is structure, or a precise plan followed when the order of the chapters was conceived, Siddhattha's interest in the natural world is revealed by the many pages he dedicates to this theme.¹⁴ It is possible to hypothesize that such interest could have arisen from the influence on the monks by scholars who came to Sri Lanka from southern India during the 12th and 13th century. They rekindled the

Footnote 8 continued

published a translation of the first chapter into German. Finally, the full text was edited by Smith (1961) and then by Sasaki (1992).

⁹ See Ss 334. Only Supaphan (1990, p. 258) follows the Thön manuscript, which assigns the Ss to a certain Nandācariya, cf. von Hinüber (1996, p. 178).

¹⁰ Cf. von Hinüber (1996, p. 177).

¹¹ Neumann (1891, p. 6) asserts that there are thirty-nine chapters. He studied the manuscripts from Copenhagen and London which join the fourth and fifth chapters.

¹² Cf. Ss chapters IX and X.

¹³ For information on the deterioration of palm leaf manuscripts and the difficulties associated with producing them in Sri Lanka, see Berkwitz (2004, pp. 65, 188) and Piyadasa (1995, pp. 21–22).

¹⁴ E.g. Ss chapters: XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, etc.

monastic community's interest for medicine, astrology and demonology with an extensive production of volumes.¹⁵ This meant that the monastic community had to add these subjects into the framework of Buddhist thought¹⁶ and Siddhattha could have played his part in this process by trying to find references to these theories in the commentaries and canonical sources.

Furthermore, in the Ss there are few passages concerning subtle philosophical questions. Siddhattha's main aim seems to be to collect material which could be of interest to his community, or rather to answer those questions which are most frequently put to monks: the possibility of becoming a Buddha,¹⁷ the possibility for a layman to reach the *arahant*¹⁸ stage, the nature of *nibbāna*,¹⁹ the approval for and promotion of pilgrimages to shrines (*cetiya*).²⁰

Therefore, it can be maintained that the subjects covered in the Ss are not only those that play a prominent role in Buddhist literature (where they are present, they are treated in compendium form), but that ample space is also given to less common subjects, thus giving the work, viewed as a whole, an almost encyclopaedic quality.²¹

3 The Question of the Quotations

This work's peculiarity is that it is made up almost entirely of passages taken from other texts. This makes the Ss nothing more than a collection of citations, a cento. Usually every chapter begins with a short sentence presenting the subject to be discussed, followed by a series of quotations. As we shall see, these quotations may or may not be declared.²² The parts the author has written himself are limited, reduced to notes to such a point that the Ss cannot be considered to have an individual style or register. In order to observe more specifically how the chapters of the Ss are developed, I would like to analyse a few passages to see how the quotations are juxtaposed and thus to evaluate if it is possible that Siddhattha followed certain criteria when he arranged the work.

For example, in the fourteenth chapter, he incorporates and collects copious material on meditative practices scattered throughout canonical and commentarial

¹⁵ Panabokke (1993, p. 197): "The impact of South Indian scholars inhabiting the monasteries of Sri Lanka made the monks come into more contact with other secular branches of learning. From now on there was a prolific output of literary works by monks on subjects such as medicine, astrology and demonology. Access to these fields was possible since these works were written in Sanskrit". The text continues with a detailed list of such works. The presence and importance of the Brahmins in the Thirteenth Century, during the reign of Parakrama-bāhu II, is attested by literary sources but also in inscriptions, cf. Holt (2004, p. 48).

¹⁶ See Holt (2004, pp. 58-60).

¹⁷ Cf. Ss 2-6.

¹⁸ Cf. Ss 118.

¹⁹ Cf. Ss 124-125.

²⁰ Cf. Ss 40-41.

²¹ Even so, as will be explained, this work does not have the true characteristics of an encyclopaedia.

 $^{^{22}}$ When a quotation is declared, it usually finishes with *iti* or *ti* and the title of the collection the text is taken from, see, e.g. footnote 39.

literature. To create this section, he mainly used the *Visuddhimagga*,²³ varying it slightly: by omitting subjects, adding short explanations, negatives, etc. but hardly ever distorting the quoted text:

tadanantaram [Vism 677] "vuttanayen'eva phala-cittāni veditabbāni. ettāvatā c'esa sakadāgāmī nāma²⁴ hoti. sakid eva imam lokam āgantvā dukkhassa antakaranasamattho. tato param paccavekkhanam vuttanayam eva. evam paccavekkhitvā so sakadāgāmī ariyasāvako tasmim yeva vā āsane nisinno aparena vā samayena kāmarāga-vyāpādānam anavasesappahānāva tatiyāya bhūmiyā pattiyā yogam karoti. so²⁵ tad eva sankhāragatam aniccam dukkham anattā ti ñāņena parimaddati, parivatteti, vipassanā-vīthim ogāhati. tass'evam paţipannassa vuttanayen'eva sankhārūpekkhāvasāne ekāvajjanena anulomagotrabhūñāņesu uppannesu gotrabhū-anantaram anāgāmimaggo uppajjati". tadanantaram [Vism 677–678] "vuttanaven'eva phalacittāni veditabbāni. ettāvatā c'esa anāgāmī nāma²⁶ hoti. opapātiko tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo patisandhivasena na²⁷ imam lokam punā-gantā. tato param paccavekkhanam vuttanayam eva. evam paccavekkhitva²⁸ so anāgāmī ariyasāvako tasmim yeva vā āsane nisinno, aparena vā samayena rūparāgaarūparāga-māna-uddhacca-avijjānam anavasesappahānāya catutthāya bhūmiyā pattiyā yogam karoti. so²⁹ tad eva sankhāragatam aniccam dukkham anattā ti ñāņena parimaddati, parivatteti, vipassanā-vīthim ogāhati. tass' evam pațipannassa vuttanayen' eva sankhārūpekkhāvasāne ekāvajjanena anulomagotrabhūñāņesu uppannesu gotrabhū-anantaram arahattamaggo uppajjati".³⁰

Alternating with the *Visuddhimagga*, this section contains citations from canonical texts like the *Anguttaranikāya*, *Nettipakaraņa*, and *Majjhimanikāya*, from a manual of *Abhidhamma* like the *Abhidhammattha-sangaha* and its commentary, the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī*, and quotations from commentaries like the *Samantapāsādikā*, *Pañcappakaraṇa-atțthakathā*, *Sumangalavilāsinī*, etc.³¹ Thus, even though it can be affirmed that the *Visuddhimagga* is the main source for this chapter, quotations are taken from at least sixteen other books from the canonical works, commentaries, etc. These quotations undoubtedly supply a network of reference texts for anyone who wanted to make further study of meditative practices in the Theravāda tradition.

²³ The *Visuddhimagga*, or Path of Purification, is a very important compendium of the Theravāda Buddhist philosophy and meditation, written by Buddhaghosa in the early fifth century AD.

²⁴ chattho ariya-puggalo omitted.

²⁵ indriya-bala-bojjhangāni samodhānetvā omitted.

²⁶ chattho ariyapuggalo omitted.

²⁷ na added.

²⁸ va omitted.

²⁹ indriya-bala-bojjhangāni samodhānetvā omitted.

³⁰ Ss 112–113.

³¹ For more detailed references on these quotations cf. Appendix.

Furthermore, by observing the way in which the chapter is structured, it appears the Ss has a diverging vision of meditative practice. Through analysis of the contents of the text, it could ideally be divided into three parts:

- An explanation of meditative practices: how preparatory and neighbourhood concentration (*parikamma-samādhi* and *upacāra-samādhi*) function, the stabilization of *samādhi* (*appanā-samādhi*), the illustration of the eight *jhānas*, etc.³²
- (2) An explanation of the seven stages of purification in line with physical and psychic behavior.³³
- (3) An explanation of the supermundane path (*lokuttara-magga*) and the four types of people who follow it: the path of he who has entered into the stream (*sotāpanna*), of he who will be reborn only once (*sakadāgāmī*), of he who never returns (*anāgāmi*) and of the *arahant*, he who has attained full enlightenment.³⁴

In these three subdivisions, we can trace the same divisions present in the *Visuddhimagga*, but they have an inverted order. Instead of dedicating the first part to ethical behavior $(s\bar{\imath}la)$, followed by concentration $(sam\bar{a}dhi)$ and then wisdom $(pa\tilde{n}na)$, the Ss deals first with $sam\bar{a}dhi$, then with $s\bar{\imath}la$ and then with $pa\tilde{n}na$. The fact that the traditional order of the *Visuddhimagga* has been inverted could be an indication that the Ss suggests that it is not possible to purify behavior (except for the elimination of "small hindrances") without having first learnt the *jhānas*. Only after having acquired these, is it possible to accede to the purification stages, to $s\bar{\imath}la$, to enter the supermundane path, and finally to reach $pa\tilde{n}na$. The Ss thus appears to be a cento, but not without its own originality. The order in which the sections of a book are laid out plays an essential role in the interpretation of a work. Aware of this, Siddhattha uses a precise strategy when putting the quoted passages together. He applies his own exegetic key to the topics he is discussing.

In passing from an analysis of the way the quotations are juxtaposed to that of how they are presented, I find that they can be categorized into three different groups:

- word for word quotations;
- adapted quotations;
- rewritten quotations alluding in part or in whole to the original.

The adapted quotations are none other than those modified as far as the context is concerned: plurals become singular and *vice versa*; invariable particles (*ca*, *pi*, *vā*, etc.) are omitted or added and sometimes a word or complete phrases are added so as to explain the meaning of the context.³⁵ Where the extract has been rewritten, the aim is to refer to teachings or concepts expressed in the borrowed text, and the piece is then

³² Cf. Ss 103–107.

³³ Cf. Ss 107–111.

³⁴ Cf. Ss 111–223.

 $^{^{35}}$ For example, in Ss 3–5 there is a long quotation of Pj II 49-50 = Ap-a 140–141 with lots of omissions, and in Ss 25 there is a quotation of Sv I 248 in which sentences that do not exist in the critical edition we have of this text are inserted.

reworked according to Siddhattha's need.³⁶ Thus, often the knowledge of the quoted texts, or sources related to them, is of fundamental importance when interpreting the sense of many of the passages of the Ss^{37} and understanding how much this work departs from, or in what measure it reinterprets the sources from which it draws.

The fact that there are many variants between the quoted passages in the Ss and the original texts could also be ascribed to the tradition of reciting books from memory, a practice that can give rise to oversights, errors and omissions. However, we cannot rule out the fact that Siddhattha may have had access to manuscripts unknown to us. This would show how relevant the Ss could be as far as creating new critical editions of these texts.³⁸

It is also important to note that often Siddhattha purposely indicates the source he has used,³⁹ thus confirming the credibility of the quoted passage based on the authority of the text from which it is taken, but also with the aim of guiding the reader or audience towards its source and more detailed works. Siddhattha took pains to cite the original texts of his quotations, so that his readers could refer back to the full source work and use it to further their learning:

It is necessary to refer back [to the quoted texts] continually so as to understand the true essence $(s\bar{a}ra)$ [of these teachings] and furthermore to understand the essence [of the teachings] not explained here.⁴⁰

I also considered which texts Siddhattha turned to more frequently. The answer is remarkable and guides us back in time. By analyzing all the quotations present, it is clear from the list and from the outline in the Appendix, that Siddhattha uses the commentaries rather than the Canon itself, and, in particular, the *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries on the four *Nikāyas*, all works ascribed to Buddhaghosa, created under the auspices of the Mahāvihāra school.

4 Quoted Texts, Hidden Texts

It can be assumed that there is a special connection between the Mahāvihāra school and Siddhattha. But to surmise as to what the matrix of this connection may be, we need to take a step back.

³⁶ For example, Ss 16 presents many differences compared to the Mil 167. A further example is Ss 23, which after a quotation from Vibh-a 454, continues with a passage only inspired by Vibh-a 455.

³⁷ As, for example, in the case of the Ss 224 where the subject is hermaphrodites (*ubhatobyanjanaka*): it is stated that they only have one sexual power (*indriya*) like other people, but this affirmation is obscure. The list of the twenty-two powers (*bāvīsati indriyāni*) that make up the human body in the *Abhidhamma* (cf. Vibh 122) throws some light on it. It is explained that two of these powers (*itthindriya* and *purisaindriya*) cause individual manliness or womanliness.

³⁸ Cf. Norman (1997, p. 190).

³⁹ Often expressions such as: vuttam etam majjimanikāye mahāsīhanādasuttavannanāyam, "This is said in the commentary to Mahāsīhanādasutta in the Majjimanikāya" (e.g. Ss 11); idam pana abhidhammavannanāya vuttam, "But it is said in the commentary to Abhidhamma" (e.g. Ss 114); ayam ettha tīkā, "This here in the Tīkā" (e.g. Ss 8) show which collection of texts the quotation was taken from.

⁴⁰ Ss 278: sāram imaņ gahetvā katvā avuttaņ pi idh'eva sāraņ sāraņ gahetuņ satataņ yateyya.

The Theravāda literary production in Sri Lanka⁴¹ can be said to be made up of two groupings: on one side the Pāli Canon,⁴² on the other the commentaries on this, written originally in Sīhala, Pāli and other Dravidian languages, the so - called *Atthakathā*s and $T\bar{i}k\bar{a}s$.⁴³

The compilation of the *Atthakathās* was laborious and relied on two types of source, *Sīlha* and *Thera*, the one written, the other oral. As far as the first is concerned, tradition has it that the proto-commentaries $(Mahātthakathās)^{44}$ were recited during the Buddhist council of Rajaghra, and later, in the Third Century, they were translated into Sīhala, when Buddhism was introduced into Sri Lanka.⁴⁵ Newly translated, this time from Sīhala into Pāli, between the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, they were a source of material for the *Atthakathās* and for the *Tīkās*, and went under the name of *Sīhalātthakathās*, "lost literature or *Sīhala* source".⁴⁶ As far as the second type, the oral source, is concerned, this is made up of the opinions of the *Thera*, the ancients, or rather the authoritative, Indian and Sinhalese monks questioned on doctrinal and disciplinary issues. Obviously these monks' opinions were not always accepted by the various subgroups within the powerful Mahāvihāra community,⁴⁷ the school responsible for the original drafting of the commentaries.

As is known, traditionally, the authorship of the four *Nikāyas* commentaries (excluding the commentaries to the *Khuddhaka-nikāya*) is attributed to Buddhaghosa,⁴⁸ who would have compiled them during the reign of the King Mahānāma (406–428 AD).⁴⁹ As far as the remaining commentaries are concerned, there are various hypotheses regarding their authorship⁵⁰: Buddhadatta, Upasena and Mahānāma⁵¹ are put forward. The seven commentaries of the *Khuddhaka-nikāya* and probably a few texts of the $T\bar{t}k\bar{a}s^{52}$ should be attributed to Dhammapāla. Buddhaghosa and other men of learning are mentioned as having translated

⁴¹ For the development of the Pāli Canon in Sri Lanka, cf. Abeynayake (2000).

 $^{^{42}}$ It is traditionally believed to have been compiled at the time of the restoration of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (29–17 BC) by a Council which met in the Aluvihāra monastery, see Panabokke (1993, pp. 106–107).

⁴³ There are many other texts classified as $Anut\bar{i}k\bar{a}$, $M\bar{u}lat\bar{i}k\bar{a}$, Ganthipada, etc. within the commentary category.

⁴⁴ Cf. Goonasekere (1967, p. 6).

⁴⁵ This happened during the reign of Devānampiyatissa (250–210 BC) or one of his successors when Buddhism was officially introduced into Sri Lanka by Mahinda, son of Aśoka. See Mori (1989, pp. 98– 99).

⁴⁶ Mori (1989, p. 99).

⁴⁷ In Mori's opinion (1989, p. 110), the sources identified not attributable to the Mahāvihāra school can be divided into three groups: the Abhayagirivihāra school and its derivations, a few deviant groups from the Mahāvihāra; and finally, the Mahāyāna school or at least one with an orientation diverging from that of the Theravādin.

⁴⁸ For information about his life see Ñāņamoli (1956, pp. X–XIV), Law (1997, pp. 1–47). For the sources used by Buddhaghosa, see Mori (1989, pp. 127–177).

⁴⁹ Cf. Goonasekere (1967, p. 15).

⁵⁰ Cf. Ñāņamoli (1956, pp. XV–XVI) and Goonasekere (1967, p. 16). Concerning the structure and the topics studied in the commentaries, see Law (2000, pp. 398–509).

⁵¹ See von Hinüber (1996, pp. 166–176).

⁵² Cf. von Hinüber (1996, p. 167).

preexisting material and they brought the various explanations together in a single Pāli text without giving too many personal opinions,⁵³ preferring to follow the Mahāvihāra community's views, judged orthodox.⁵⁴

The case of the sub-commentaries $(T\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s)^{55}$ is different. They are dated to the beginning of the Twelfth Century and were compiled under the auspices of Mahākassapa Thera, head of the Council called by Pakkama-bāhu I.⁵⁶ These can also be traced back to the Mahāvihāra school, but they take the opinions of other religious schools into consideration and try to find them a place in a common Buddhist teaching. Sometimes the effort to conciliate contrasting opinions is evident and aimed at avoiding recriminations between members of rival schools. Thus, even though the main interpretation of the teachings is always Mahāvihāra, less orthodox opinions have been incorporated into some passages.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the decision to use Pāli in a bilingual context (Pāli and Sīhaļa), like medieval Sri Lanka is an important consideration and shows that the Ss is part of a conservative, respected tradition, like that of the Mahāvihāra, intent on spreading Buddhism.⁵⁸ In fact, the Mahāvihāra community favoured the use of Pāli as a *lingua franca* in the Theravāda world.

The reason that Siddhattha felt justified in specifically quoting the *Atthakathā*s and, in particular, Buddhaghosa's works, could thus be this: they corresponded fully to the orthodox views of the Mahāvihāra school to which Siddhattha belonged. The sub-commentary works are quoted less frequently and in any case such texts were more recent and perhaps less well known and assimilated and did not always follow the rule of strict orthodoxy to which he adhered. Obviously this is only a hypothesis, because the selection of sources could easily have been made according to Siddhattha's personal preferences or simply because they were more relevant to the topics discussed. Whatever the case, the hypothesis I suggest would have to be verified by a study including the complete translation of the Ss and the identification of all the quotations present in it.

⁵³ Buddhaghosa's main task was not to compile an innovative work, but to put all the pre-existing material together into a single volume in Pāli, cf. Goonasekere (1967, pp. 18–20), but Ñāṇamoli (1956, p. XIX) shows that there are also sections where, with an opportune introductory warning, Buddhaghosa himself indicates that in the passage he is expressing his own point of view (even if he believes that personal opinions are barely creditworthy and should only be accepted if the *suttas* are in agreement). Hence, it is simplistic to criticize these works for lacking originality.

⁵⁴ It is a characteristic of the commentaries that they should "destroy heretic thought", even though often heterodox opinions are quoted and not discussed. cf. von Hinüber (1996, pp. 113–114).

⁵⁵ For a list of the attributions and the reference editions of the sub-commentaries cf. von Hinüber (1996, pp. 166–176). A recent and interesting study maintains the existence of two sets of subcommentaries on the four *Nikāyas* which have been ignored by Theravāda tradition and Pāli scholarship, see Pecenko (2007).

⁵⁶ Cf. Perera (1988, pp. 59–60).

⁵⁷ For example, Panabokke (1993, p. 165) maintains: "Views contrary to orthodox Theravāda opinion were incorporated in some of these works, as is evidenced from the *Sāratthadīpanī* which adopted a mild view towards use of liquor".

⁵⁸ The target audience of a work written in Pāli could also be a non-local or more distant community, one in South East Asia for instance. Cf. Piyadasa (1985, p. 13).

5 A Parallel to the Upāsakajanālankāra

Pāli medieval literature includes multiple summaries and critical works like the *Abhidhammāvatāra-tīkā*, the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī* and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-saṅkhepa-tīkā*, compiled in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.⁵⁹ At the time, there was a tendency to insist on using extracts and quotations from other works.⁶⁰ However, there is a text which is very similar to the Ss and it is useful to compare the two. The aim of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (Uj)⁶¹ by Vanarata Ānanda,⁶² a text compiled between 1150 and 1200, is to collect and summarize Buddhist teaching for the layman.

Siddhattha almost certainly knew it because he names it as a source,⁶³ and it is possible he used it as his model. In fact, not only are the two works compiled in the same way but they are also very similar in their choice of topics.

The Uj, which is much shorter than the Ss, is divided into nine chapters and discusses many subjects: the aspiration to become a Buddha, how to keep the faith, practices which endorse rightful conduct and spiritual life, nutrition, worthy actions, methods to use to overcome obstacles, rebirth, etc.⁶⁴ Many of these same questions are discussed in the Ss.⁶⁵

What differentiates the two is Ānanda's intention to compile a systematic and useful work dealing with doctrinal problems, whilst, as has already been said, Siddhattha is more concerned with tangible problems, often related to life as lived in the monastery or as a layman.

The most significant fact concerning this comparison is that both texts make widespread use of quotations from literary works of commentary.⁶⁶ For a long time, especially in West, the *Atthakathās* were used only as an explanation of the Canon, so much so that many of them have been introduced in passing but few have been translated or studied in their own right. However, these works manifest a significant historical and religious viewpoint.⁶⁷ Their value is in no way diminished by the fact that they are commentaries. This is the case for many works of the kind in Sanskrit literature, too.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ss 314.

⁶⁰ Cf. Yoshimoto (1995, p. 129).

⁶¹ Edited by Saddhatissa (1965).

⁶² For the various hypotheses regarding the authorship see Saddhatissa (1965, pp. 28–45). Vanaranta Ānanda was the teacher of one of the two Buddhappiyas already mentioned (see Matsumura 1999, pp.157–158).

 $^{^{63}}$ See Ss 314. It is always possible that this quotation has been added at a later date by a scribe, but there is no reason to think so.

⁶⁴ Saddhatissa (1965, pp. 6–27) contains a detailed summary of the topics discussed in the Uj.

⁶⁵ For example, the topics that the Ss covers in the first chapter, like the long cycles of rebirth necessary to obtain *bodhi*, are dealt with in the Uj in the eighth; criticism of actions against the "saints" to which the Ss dedicates the twentieth chapter, is found in the Uj in the sixth; topics relating to meditative practices which in the Ss are discussed in the fourteenth chapter, are scattered throughout the Uj, but are all present: some can be found in the fifth and seventh chapters and the description of the four stages for reaching the Path are found in the Uj in the eighth chapter. This list could be extended much further. It can be added that recourse to stories, anecdotes and extracts from the *Milindapañha* is common to both works.

⁶⁶ For a list of all the quotations present in the Uj, see Saddhatissa (1965, pp. 115-122).

⁶⁷ For the value of the commentaries as a resource for the study of the history, linguistics, geography and culture of the time see Mori (1989, pp. 5–6).

How much does the point of view of the *Atthakathā*s diverge from that of the Canon? In trying to answer this difficult question, a precious perspective could come from texts like the Uj and the Ss^{68} which offer us a selection of the *Atthakathā*s' most interesting passages, thus, the Ss becomes an authentic manual for the commentaries, a further reason for us to give it more respect.

6 The Relationship Between the Author and His Work

Recently Berkwitz (2004, p. 95) drew attention to the final verses of the Ss:

This *Sārasaǹgaha* mosaic was compiled (*likhito*) by a *thera*, a wise and upright man, named Siddhattha. This Buddhist monk is the last remaining disciple of Buddhappiya *thera*,

lord of Dakkhiņārāma, an expert scholar of the Three Pițaka.69

These lines offer us a precious clue as to how the author conceived his writings. In declaring himself "maker" of the text, Siddhattha uses the term *likhito*, "written", which could also mean "inscribed, to cut, scratched".⁷⁰

According to Berkwitz, this refers to the act of transcribing that which was written elsewhere and constitutes an admission of the way the text has been assembled and compiled. The use of this term could refer to the procedure used for compiling the manuscripts or, as Berkwitz suggests, the work is the result of a physical act of transcription. As a final proof, Berkwitz cites the colophon of the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* by Vācissara Thera, another work of assemblage similar to the Ss, where the same verb is used:

This *Thūpavamsa* was compiled (*likhito*) by the Venerable Vācissara Thera.⁷¹

This is significant, but not particularly convincing. Before declaring agreement with Berkwitz, I would need to study more colophons of the period. In that of the *Visuddhimagga*, for example, the term *kato*, made⁷² is used, but that is not sufficient for deducing that Buddhaghosa thought of himself as an "original" author. Furthermore, in earlier literary traditions of both Asia and Europe, to compile meant "to repropose existing literature": in choosing the pertinent reference, the pertinent interpretation was revealed, for example that which was referred to, was important to learn. However, the term adopted in the colophon is not necessarily a determining element in defining the perception of the "*status* of the author". This is certainly a modern conception created by the concept of copyright.

⁶⁸ Nobuaki (1998, p. 11) goes as far as to say that most of the doctrine and philosophy of the whole of the vast commentary collection is included in these two works.

⁶⁹ Ss 344: Dakkhinārāmapatino piţakattayadhārino Buddhappiyavha therassa yo sissānantimo yati. tena Siddhatthanāmena dhīmatā sucivuttinā, therena likhito eso vicitto Sārasangaha.

⁷⁰ For further comments on the use of this term in the commentarial literature see in this volume Kieffer-Pülz's contribution.

⁷¹ Thūp 255.

⁷² Cf. Vism 710.

It is also possible to adhere to the argument put forward by some scholars⁷³ who believe that epitomes and centones are the fruit of decadence. That does not mean denying them the utility for which they were conceived. Let us consider Siddhattha's objective when he wrote the Ss. As already said, the text is full of unusual arguments. Since it is full of narrative and is rich in passages which are impossible to understand unless you have studied other texts, it is difficult to say that it is a mere manual or small encyclopedia.

The purpose of the work is made clear by a declaration within the text of the Ss:

What is the purpose if what we say is here and there, in this discourse and in that one? Since the perfect Buddha only gave the three baskets and then there is also the sequence of explanations, miscellaneous speeches made by the Blessed one. Sometimes these [texts] are only called commentaries (*atthakathā*), but, generally, in some [cases] they are called commentaries (*atthakathā*) and in others glossaries (*tīkā*). Since wise men understand well that which has been put into a single text (*thāna*),⁷⁴ this is thus the aim [of this work]: to gather into one work [the many teachings that are found in various texts].⁷⁵

Thus, the purpose of the Ss is to gather teachings spread across other works, and in particular, those present in the commentaries and sub-commentaries. Given this assumption, I hypothesize that the Ss was born with the purpose of being a guide to the study of the commentaries, a genre that was produced in vast quantities but that was difficult to understand. It would be made up of the most significant passages and doctrines of these commentaries. By considering how much even the two most ancient chronicles of Sri Lanka,⁷⁶ the $D\bar{p}avamsa$ and $Mah\bar{a}vamsa$, drew from the commentaries, we can appreciate just how vast and varied their value was and still is.

It is not only today's scholars who have not yet taken on the vast and complex content of these texts. Their vastness renders it impossible for their translation to be undertaken by one person alone. The *bhikkhus* of the past were most probably faced with today's impasse. Siddhattha's proposal was to study the commentaries from his text. He arranged them in order, summarized them and organized the doctrine in a way that released it from the Canon. The Ss is thus the result of Siddhattha's research on the Canon and especially on the commentaries. In it, he has presented the world of the commentaries as he understood it.

The value of Siddhattha's work was great and has remained so over the years. On the one hand, it includes relevant documentation regarding the history of Theravāda Buddhism in Thirteenth Century Sri Lanka. On the other hand, the *Sārasangaha* is also a valuable guide to Buddhist literature that has been forgotten or "lost", because it has been hidden in thousands of pages which are difficult to comprehend.

⁷³ E.g. Law (1986, p. VI).

 $^{^{74}}$ The term *thāna* literally means "place, point, post", but I have translated "text", since I believe that here it is used to indicate that Siddhattha has gathered information and teachings from many sources and put it together in one place (e.g. his text).

⁷⁵ Ss 26: kim ettham idam asukathāne vuttan ti kathane payojanan ti ce. sammāsambuddhen'eva hi tiņņam pi piţakānam atthavaņņanākkamo bhāsito. tattha tattha Bhagavatā pavattitā pakiņņakadesanā yeva hi aţţhakathā nāma. yabhuyyena pana aññattha aţţhakathā, aññattha tīkā nāma. tasmā ţhānaniyame kate medhāvino idam suţţhu gaņhantī ti. idam ettha thānaniyame prayojanan ti.

⁷⁶ Cf. Oldenberg (1882, pp. 7-8).

7 Conclusion

Layered quotations are used to compile the Ss, and, more generally, various works of Pāli medieval literature. The reason for this is probably to collect cited works' teachings in one single text and then to divulge them. However, this rich network of quotations gives rise to many interpretations.

Even though the work is made up almost entirely of quoted texts, Siddhattha makes it more than just an anthology. It still brings its own viewpoint in that the content of the extracts chosen and the order in which they are arranged, suggest an original treatment of the subject, and thus, restore dignity to the "author".

Rather than giving a new interpretation of teachings, like Nāgārjuna, Siddhattha is closer to Buddhaghosa, in that he is a "systematiser" of Buddhist thought, because with his collection, he chooses to give his attention to certain Buddhist teachings rather than others, or we might say that the Ss was proposed as a kind of guide to the study of these works.

Furthermore, a particularly indicative clue that emerges from the analysis of the quotations in the Ss is that the sources mostly drawn from in the making of this volume, are not the Canonical works, but the *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries on the Canon (*Atthakathās*). The motivation behind this choice is not clear. It could be due to the fact that these sources are judged to be more orthodox than other texts (e.g. the subcommentaries or $T\bar{t}k\bar{a}s$) or that the Ss was proposed as a kind of guide to the study of these works. In any case, the emphasis given to the commentaries is an element that is important to reflect upon as far as studies in Pāli literature are concerned, because these works, which in the past were considered the custodians of authoritative teaching, have not yet received enough attention from modern Pāli scholarship.⁷⁷

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Appendix

A List of the Ss' Quotations and References⁷⁸

⁷⁷ All the quotations I could identify are listed below followed by a synoptic view of the results.

 $^{^{78}}$ This is a list of all the quotations or allusions I have found in the Ss. A lot of these were identified by Sasaki (1992) and collected by Yoshimoto (1995) in the hope of creating a database. I have added to this list the quotations I discovered whilst translating a few chapters of the Ss for my Ph.D. thesis. There are certainly more quotations to be found, but the purpose of this appendix is to give a preliminary but realistic idea of the major sources used for the compilation of the Ss.

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
1	2	Pj II	Ι	47	49
1	2	Cp-a		329	
1	2	Ap-a		139	140
1	3	Pj II	Ι	49	
1	3	Ap-a		140	
1	4	Pj II	Ι	49	
1	4	Ap-a		141	
1	5	Pj II	Ι	50	
1	5	Ap-a		141	142
1	5	Pj II	Ι	50	
1	5	Ap-a		142	
1	5	Pj II	Ι	51	52
1	5	Ap-a		142	143
2	7	Sv	III	919	920
2	7	Ps	IV	169	
2	7	Sv-pț	Π	25	
2	8	Ps	IV	181	
2	8	Sv	III	886	
2	8	Sv	II	436	
2	9	Sv	III	886	
2	9	Sv-pț	II	27	
2	10	Мр	III	77	78
2	10	Ps	II	26	
2	10	Vibh-a		397	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
2	10	Vjb		415	
2	11	Ud-a		143	
2	11	Mil		107	113
2	11	Ps	П	31	
2	11	Mil		107	113
2	11	Patis	Ι	131	
2	11	Vibh-a		464	
2	14	Mil		102	
2	14	Mil		106	108
2	15	D	Π	109	110
2	15	Sv	Π	560	
2	16	Sv-pț	П	204	
2	16	Sv	Ι	275	
2	16	Ps	III	369	
2	16	Pj II	П	452	
2	17	Ps	Π	53	
2	17	Ps	Π	203	
2	17	Ps	Π	292	
2	17	Sv	Π	574	575
2	17	Vibh-a		345	346
2	17	М	Ι	179	
2	18	D	П	138	
2	18	Sv	П	577	578
2	19	Sv	П	578	579

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
2	20	Sv	П	594	595
2	20	Bv-a		298	299
2	21	Bv-a		299	
2	21	Bv-a		297	298
2	21	Ps	V	37	38
2	21	Ps	V	60	61
2	22	Ps	П	294	295
2	22	М	П	139	
2	23	Vibh-a		456	
2	23	Мр	Ι	115	
2	24	Vibh-a		456	457
2	25	Vibh-a		456	457
2	25	Sv		284	285
2	25	Sv	Ι	285	
2	26	Ppk-a		230	
2	26	Мр	Ш	102	
3	27	А	Ι	27	
3	27	Мр	П	1	
3	27	Мр	П	9	10
3	28	Vibh-a		431	432
3	28	Мр	Ι	88	
3	28	Sv	III	898	
3	29	Мр	Ι	89	
3	29	Vibh-a		432	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
3	30	Мр	Ι	87	
3	30	Мр	Ι	87	
3	30	Мр	Ι	90	
3	31	Мр	Ι	91	
3	31	Vibh-a		433	
3	32	Мр	Ι	91	
3	33	Mil		133	
3	34	А	Ι	22	
3	34	А	Ι	27	
3	34	Мр	II	10	14
3	34	Mil		236	239
3	36	Sp	VI	1291	
3	37	Sv	III	899	
3	37	Spk	Π	202	
3	37	Мр	Ι	87	
4	38	А	Ι	28	
4	38	Мр	II	14	
4	38	Мр	Π	14	15
4	38	Spk	III	152	
4	38	Vibh-a		436	
4	38	Vibh-a		436	437
4	38	Sv	III	848	
5	40	Мр	II	150	
5	40	D	II	141	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
5	40	Sv	Π	582	
5	40	Sp-ț	Ι	172	
5	41	Ps	V	92	
6	42	Vin	V	130	
6	42	Sp	VII	1335	1337
7	45	Sp	IV	742	
7	45	Sp	IV	742	
7	47	Dhp		153	154
7	47	D	П	156	
7	47	As		21	
7	47	As		22	
7	48	Ps	П	106	
7	49	As		23	
7	49	Ps	П	107	
7	49	А	Π	132	
7	49	D	Π	145	
7	50	Ps	Π	159	
7	50	Sv	Π	530	
7	51	А	Ι	23	
7	51	Ps	Π	335	337
7	52	А	Ι	24	
7	52	Patis	Ι	4	
7	52	It-a	Π	131	132
7	53	Dhp		354	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
7	53	It-a	Ш	132	
7	53	Sv	II	529	530
7	53	Ps	Ι	140	
7	54	А	Ι	283	
7	54	Мр	Ι	28	
7	54	As		25	
7	55	А	III	248	
7	55	Мр	Ι	28	
7	55	Spk		247	
7	55	S	II	284	
7	56	Spk	II	247	
8	57	Vism		47	
8	57	Vism		46	
8	57	Pj II	Ι	194	
8	57	Pm	Ι	109	110
8	58	Мр	II	59	65
8	62	Мр	II	247	248
8	63	Spk	Ι	85	86
8	64	А	Ι	183	
8	64	Мр	IV	6	
8	64	Vibh-a		489	490
8	64	Spk	Ι	183	184
8	65	Sv	III	748	749
8	66	Sv	III	773	774

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
8	66	Sv	III	774	
8	66	Spk	II	273	274
8	67	Dhp		24	
8	68	Ud-a		231	
8	68	Mil		73	74
8	68	Pj II	Ι	251	
8	69	Mil		196	
8	69	Vism		91	93
8	69	Spk	II	166	167
8	71	А	II	27	
8	71	М	Ι	145	
8	71	Sn	III	11	
8	71	Sn	IV	14	
8	71	А		26	28
8	71	D	III	224	
8	71	Sn	V	701	702
8	72	Pj II	II	500	5001
8	72	Pj II	II	491	
8	72	Pj II	II	491	
8	73	Khp		3	
8	73	Sn	V	226	
8	73	Pj I		150	
8	73	Pj I		151	
8	73	Ps	II	16	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
8	73	Ps	П	17	
8	74	Vibh-a		388	
8	74	Vibh-a		390	
8	74	Мр	III	274	
8	75	Sp	Ι	23	
9	76	А	Ι	261	
9	76	It-a	Π	68	
9	76	М	Ι	249	
9	76	Ps	Π	293	
9	76	Vin	V	205	
9	76	Vin	Ι	295	
9	77	Мр	П	367	
10	78	Vibh-a		405	
10	78	Vibh-a		406	
10	78	Vibh-a		407	
10	78	Мр	III	316	
10	79	Мр	III	317	318
10	79	Vibh-a		408	
10	80	Мр	III	318	
10	80	Mp-ț		69	70
10	80	Vibh-a		408	
10	80	Мр	III	317	
10	80	Mp-ț	III	70	
10	81	Мр	III	318	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
10	81	А	III	240	
10	81	Sp-ț	П	303	
10	81	Мр	III	320	
10	82	Мр	III	318	319
10	82	А	III	240	
11	83	S	III	120	
11	83	Mil		71	
11	83	Vin	Ι	302	
11	83	D	Π	154	
11	83	Sp	Π	358	
12	84	Sv	Ι	231	233
12	84	Ps	Ι	132	134
12	85	Sn		192	
12	85	М	Π	144	
12	85	D	III	188	
12	85	Ps	Ι	134	135
12	85	Sv	Ι	233	234
12	86	Sv	Ι	305	
12	86	D	Π	255	
12	86	S	III	274	275
13	87	Vin	Ι	22	
13	87	Pj I		13	14
13	87	Pj I		22	
13	87	Pj I		23	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
13	87	Pj I		24	
13	87	Pj I		28	
13	88	А	IV	247	
13	88	Pj I		28	
13	88	Pj I		37	
13	88	Pj I		24	
13	88	Pj I		33	
13	88	As		80	
13	89	As		81	
13	89	Pj I		26	
13	90	Sp	III	555	
13	90	Sp	III	556	
13	91	As		81	
13	91	Pj I		26	
13	92	Ps	Ι	203	204
13	92	Vibh		286	
13	93	Pj I		33	34
13	95	Pj I		36	
13	95	Pj I		37	
13	95	А	IV	226	
13	96	Sp	Ι	244	
13	97	Sp	Ι	244	
13	97	Sp	Ι	245	
13	97	Мр	II	345	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
13	97	Sv	III	1003	
13	97	Мр	II	346	
13	98	А	III	208	
13	98	А	IV	220	
13	98	Sv	Ι	234	
13	98	Sv	Ι	234	
13	98	Sv-pț	Ι	367	368
13	98	S	V	395	
13	99	А	III	206	
13	99	Мр	II	113	114
13	99	Sv	Ι	235	
13	99	Spk	III	24	26
13	100	Spk	Ι	54	55
13	101	Spk	Ι	55	
13	102	Spk	Ι	55	
13	102	Spk	Ι	57	
14	103	А	IV	32	
14	103	Sp	II	416	
14	103	Vism		98	
14	103	Nett		164	
14	103	Vism		121	
14	104	Vism		125	
14	104	Vism		126	
14	104	Abhs		42	

14	105			page	page
		Abhv		263	
14	106	Vism		169	
14	107	М	П	231	
14	108	Vism		590	
14	108	Vism		597	
14	108	Abhs		44	
14	109	М	Ι	8	
14	109	Vism		606	
14	111	Abhv		272	
14	112	Vism		676	
14	112	Vism		677	
14	113	Vism		677	
14	113	Vism		678	
14	114	Ppk-a		198	
14	114	Abhv		93	
14	114	Sv	П	514	
14	114	Ppk-a		191	
14	115	Мр	Π	350	351
14	115	Pj I		182	
14	117	As		185	
14	117	Vism		666	
14	117	Dhs		228	
14	117	As		186	
14	117	Vism		667	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
14	118	Vibh-a		521	
14	118	Vibh-a		521	522
14	118	Abhidh-av		138	
14	119	Abhidh-av		138	
14	119	Vism		705	
14	120	Vism		705	706
14	120	Vism		706	
14	120	Vism		706	707
14	121	Vism		707	
14	121	Ps	Π	349	
14	121	Ps	Π	349	350
14	121	Ps	Π	350	
14	121	М	Ι	295	
14	122	Vism		709	
14	122	Ps	II	351	
14	122	Spk	III	95	
14	122	М	Ι	302	
14	122	Ps	П	366	
14	122	М	Ι	296	
14	123	Ps	II	366	367
14	123	Vism		709	
15	124	Mil		268	279
15	124	Mil		69	
15	124	Mil		69	70

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
15	125	Mil		68	69
16	126	Ps	IV	41	42
16	126	Sv	III	1034	
16	126	Vibh-a		507	
16	127	Sp	VIII	1315	
16	127	Spk	II	204	205
16	127	Мр	III	323	
17	129	Мр	II	210	211
17	129	Ps	IV	6	8
17	130	Ps	IV	8	
17	131	Мр	Π	211	212
17	132	Мр	Π	214	216
17	135	Мр	Π	217	218
17	137	Мр	Π	218	
17	138	Мр	Π	218	
17	138	Мр	Π	221	
17	138	Vibh		338	
17	138	Patis	II	78	
17	139	Mil		72	
17	139	Mil		83	84
17	140	Mil		297	
17	140	Mil		84	
17	141	Spk	III	103	104
17	141	Mil		67	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
17	142	Мр	II	317	
17	143	Ps	IV	73	
17	143	As		82	
17	143	Sv	Ι	74	
17	143	Мр	II	317	
17	144	As		82	83
17	144	Sv	Ι	75	
17	144	Sv	Ι	76	
17	145	As		83	
18	146	А	Ι	27	
18	146	Мр	II	3	5
18	146	Ps	IV	108	110
18	146	Vibh-a		424	426
18	147	Vin	V	201	
18	148	Мр	II	5	
18	148	Ps	IV	110	
18	148	Vibh-a		240	
18	148	Sp	II	444	
18	149	Мр	II	6	9
18	149	Ps	IV	110	113
18	149	Vibh-a		426	429
18	151	Vin	II	204	
18	152	Vin	II	204	
19	153	А	Ι	31	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
19	153	А	Ι	33	
19	153	Мр	II	27	
19	154	Sv	Ι	142	143
19	154	Sv	Ι	143	144
19	154	Sv	Ι	144	
19	155	Sv	Ι	102	
19	155	Ps	II	5	
19	155	Ps	Ι	69	
19	155	Sv	Ι	106	107
19	156	Ps	II	5	
19	156	D	II	151	152
19	157	Sv	II	589	
19	157	Ps	II	3	
19	157	Ja	III	128	
19	157	Sv	II	590	
20	159	Ps	II	102	
20	159	Vism		425	
20	160	Vism	425	426	
21	162	Spk	Ι	163	
21	162	Vism		28	29
21	163	Vibh-a		475	
21	163	Vibh-a		475	476
22	165	As		297	
22	165	Sv	III	1026	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
22	165	Sv	III	1027	
22	166	As		297	
22	166	As		298	
22	166	Sv	III	1027	
22	166	Sv-pț	III	318	
23	168	D	III	217	
23	168	Мр	Ι	23	
23	168	Sv	III	994	
23	168	Sv-pț	III	258	
23	169	Ps	II	144	145
23	170	Sv	Ι	144	
23	170	Sv-pț	Ι	208	
23	171	Sv	Ι	113	
23	171	Sv-pț	Ι	207	
23	173	Sv	III	995	996
23	173	Ja	IV	4	
23	173	Мр	IV	29	
23	174	Sv	III	996	
23	174	Sv	III	996	997
23	174	Sv-pț	III	259	
24	176	Мр	IV	185	
24	176	Ap		149	150
24	177	М	III	22	
24	177	А	III	171	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
24	177	Ps	IV	80	81
24	178	Мр	III	257	
24	178	Мр	III	249	
24	178	Мр	III	93	
24	178	Spk	Ι	298	
24	179	Мр	III	145	
24	179	Мр	Π	251	
24	180	Vibh-a		415	
24	180	Vin	Ι	221	
24	180	Dhp-a	Ι	395	
24	181	Sv	III	927	
24	181	Мр	V	50	51
24	182	Мр	IV	175	
24	182	Spk	II	114	
24	182	Ps	IV	147	
24	183	Ps	V	76	
24	184	Ps	V	72	
24	184	Ps	V	73	
24	185	Ps	V	73	
24	185	Ps	V	74	75
24	186	М	III	256	
24	186	Ps	V	75	76
24	186	Sp	V	1142	1143
24	187	Мр	IV	187	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
24	187	Sv	Ι	304	
24	188	Sv	Ι	304	
24	188	Sv	Ι	305	
24	188	Sv	Ι	306	
24	188	D	II	88	89
24	189	J	II	423	426
25	191	Ps	Ι	207	208
25	191	Spk	II	23	24
25	192	Spk	II	24	25
25	192	Spk	II	25	
25	192	Ps	Ι	209	
25	193	Spk	II	25	
25	193	S	II	1	
25	194	Vism		344	
25	194	Vism		345	
25	194	Vism		258	
25	195	Vism		258	259
25	195	Vism		259	
25	195	Vism		345	
25	195	Vism		346	
25	196	Pj II	II	507	
25	196	Мр	V	23	25
25	196	S	II	11	
25	198	Ps	Ι	268	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
25	198	Ja	П	423	426
25	198	Vin	Π	212	
26	199	Abhv		156	
26	199	М	Ι	73	
26	199	Ps	П	36	
26	199	Sv	III	1024	
26	199	Thī-a		206	207
26	200	Ар		613	
26	201	Mhv		49	
26	201	Sv	Ι	244	245
26	202	Sv	Ι	244	
26	202	S	Ι	206	
26	202	Ja	IV	496	
26	202	Vibh-a		21	
26	202	Spk	Ι	300	
26	202	Vibh-a		22	
26	203	Spk	Ι	301	
26	203	S	Ι	206	
26	204	Sp	Ι	213	
26	204	Sp	Ι	214	
26	205	Ap		42	
26	205	Sp	Ι	214	
26	206	Pj II	Ι	76	
26	206	Ps	III	268	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
26	206	Ps	Π	310	
26	206	Sv	Π	437	
26	206	Sv-pț	II	35	
26	206	It-a		42	43
26	206	Ja	Ι	135	
26	207	Vibh-a		387	388
26	207	Sv	II	633	
26	207	Mil		82	83
26	207	Mil		40	
26	208	Mil		40	41
26	208	Mil		65	
26	208	Ps	IV	124	126
26	208	Vibh-a		438	439
26	208	Мр	II	16	18
26	210	Vibh-a		156	
26	210	Vibh-a		521	
26	211	Мр	IV	25	
26	211	Мр	IV	26	
26	211	Мр	IV	26	27
26	212	Мр	IV	28	
27	215	Vin	III	35	
27	215	As		259	
27	217	Abhv		194	
27	217	Spk		159	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
27	217	Spk		157	
27	217	Dhp-a	Ι	327	
28	220	Pj II	Ι	35	
28	220	Pj II	Ι	35	36
28	220	Spk	III	86	87
28	220	Spk	III	87	
28	220	Мр	Π	315	
28	220	Мр	Π	315	317
28	222	It-a	Π	121	
28	222	It-a	Π	121	122
28	222	It-a	П	122	
28	223	It-a	П	122	
28	223	А	Π	62	
29	224	Sp	V	1016	
29	224	Sp	V	1016	
29	224	Sp	V	1024	
29	224	Sp	V	1024	
29	224	Sp-t	Ш	262	
30	226	Spk	Ш	6	8
30	228	Spk	III	8	
30	228	Pj II	Ι	13	
30	228	Pj II	Ι	13	14
30	229	Sp	V	1022	
30	229	Spk	Ι	133	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
31	230	Patis	Ι	351	352
31	230	Spk	Π	88	89
31	230	Spk	II	349	350
31	230	Spk	II	350	
31	230	Ар		41	
31	231	Spk	П	350	
32	232	Sv	Π	509	510
32	232	Ja	IV	99	
32	232	Ps	III	272	273
32	233	Mil		271	272
32	233	Mil		294	
33	235	Sv	III	1061	
33	235	Sv	III	820	
34	236	Sv	III	705	
34	236	Ps	II	301	
34	236	Ps	Ι	35	
34	236	Ps	Ι	35	
34	236	Sv	II	433	
34	236	Ps	IV	177	
34	236	Ja	Ι	60	
34	237	Ps	II	422	
34	237	Ps	II	373	
34	237	Sp		759	
34	237	Dhp-a	Ι	173	174

34 238 Sv II 427 428 34 238 Sv III 732 35 239 Ps III 203 35 239 S I 190 191 35 239 S II 190 191 35 240 S II 190 191 35 240 S II 190 191 35 240 S II 192 100 191 35 240 S II 160 100 100 100 36 243 D II 170 100 <td< th=""><th>Ss chap.</th><th>Ss page</th><th>Text</th><th>Volume</th><th>Initial page</th><th>End page</th></td<>	Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
35 239 Ps III 203 35 239 S I 190 191 35 240 S II 190 191 35 240 S II 191 35 240 S II 192 35 240 S II 160 35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 36 244 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36	34	238	Sv	Π	427	428
35 239 S II 190 191 35 240 S II 191 35 240 S II 192 35 240 Spk II 160 35 240 Spk II 160 35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 36 244 Sv II 559 36 244 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Ja	34	238	Sv	III	732	
35 240 S II 191 35 240 S II 192 35 240 Spk II 160 35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Sv II 558 36 244 Sv II 559 36 244 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 155 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Ja I 30 131 <td>35</td> <td>239</td> <td>Ps</td> <td>III</td> <td>203</td> <td></td>	35	239	Ps	III	203	
35 240 S II 192 35 240 Spk II 160 35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 36 244 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 155 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 36 245 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja 1 25 36 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I <	35	239	S	II	190	191
35 240 Spk II 160 35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 244 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131	35	240	S	Π	191	
35 241 Ja I 70 36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I	35	240	S	Π	192	
36 243 D II 170 36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 244 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Ja I 30 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 <td>35</td> <td>240</td> <td>Spk</td> <td>Π</td> <td>160</td> <td></td>	35	240	Spk	Π	160	
36 243 Sv II 558 36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	35	241	Ja	Ι	70	
36 243 Mp IV 155 36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Mp IV 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 243 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351 351	36	243	D	Π	170	
36 244 Sv II 558 559 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Mp IV 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 25 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351 351	36	243	Sv	Π	558	
36 245 Sv II 559 36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Mp IV 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 243 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 230 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351 351	36	243	Мр	IV	155	
36 245 Sv II 559 560 36 245 Mp IV 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 36 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 230 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351 351	36	244	Sv	Π	558	559
36 245 Mp IV 155 156 36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	245	Sv	Π	559	
36 245 Sv-pt II 198 199 36 246 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 230 131 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	245	Sv	Π	559	560
36 246 Sv-pt II 201 36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 247 Sv I 244 245 36 248 Sv-pt I 230 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 351	36	245	Мр	IV	155	156
36 246 Sv-pt II 202 203 36 247 Ja I 25 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	245	Sv-pț	Π	198	199
36 247 Ja I 25 36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	246	Sv-pț	Π	201	
36 247 Ja I 47 36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	246	Sv-pț	Π	202	203
36 247 Sv I 130 131 36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	247	Ja	Ι	25	
36 248 Sv-pt I 244 245 37 250 Spk II 351	36	247	Ja	Ι	47	
37 250 Spk II 351	36	247	Sv	Ι	130	131
	36	248	Sv-pț	Ι	244	245
37 251 Spk II 351 352	37	250	Spk	Π	351	
	37	251	Spk	II	351	352

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
37	252	Pj II	Ι	27	
37	252	Sv	II	569	
37	252	Sv-pț	II	219	220
37	253	А	III	243	
37	254	Mil		258	262
37	255	Mil		85	86
37	256	Mil		68	
38	257	Ja	Ι	172	
38	257	Bv-a		34	
38	258	Pj II	Ι	223	
38	258	Pj II	Ι	225	
38	259	Ps	II	52	
38	259	Spk	Ι	48	
38	259	Sp	IV	858	859
38	260	Мр	III	131	
38	260	Мр	IV	119	
38	261	Мр	IV	119	
38	261	As		10	
38	261	Ps	Ι	224	
38	261	Spk	Ι	31	
38	262	А	II	230	
38	262	Pj II	II	317	
38	262	Мр	III	211	
38	262	Vv-a	Ι	23	24

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
38	263	А	Π	80	
38	263	Sp	Ι	122	
38	263	Vism		209	210
38	263	А	II	80	
38	263	Мр	III	108	
38	264	Мр	III	108	
38	264	Мр	III	109	
38	264	Vism		143	144
38	265	Vism		144	
38	266	As		220	
38	266	Spk	Ι	432	
38	267	Vin	Π	137	
38	267	Vin	Π	137	138
38	267	Sp	VI	1213	
38	267	А	III	250	
38	268	А	III	29	
38	268	А	III	254	
38	268	А	III	256	
38	269	Мр	III	236	
38	269	А	IV	10	
38	269	А	IV	31	
38	270	А	IV	223	
38	270	Spk	Ι	144	146
38	270	Sp	Ι	321	322

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
38	271	Sp	Π	323	
38	272	Vibh-a		64	
38	272	Vv-a		13	
38	272	Spk	II	202	
38	272	Ps	IV	147	
38	272	Мр	II	329cf	
38	273	Мр	Π	329 cf	
38	274	Pj II	Π	459	
38	274	Spk	Ι	38	
38	274	Th-a	III	153	
38	275	Sv	II	433	434
38	276	Sv-pț	II	33	
38	276	Pj II	Ι	198	
38	276	Ps	II	292	293
38	276	Ja	Ι	243	
38	276	Ja	Ι	486	
38	277	Vin	II	188	
38	277	Vism		260	
38	278	Vism		256	
39	279	Vism		378	
39	279	Patis	Π	205	
39	279	Patis	Π	207	
39	279	Patis	Π	210	
39	280	Vism		379	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
39	280	Vism		379	380
39	281	Vism		380	
39	281	Vism		380	381
39	283	Vism		382	
39	283	Vism		383	
39	284	Patis	Π	213	
39	284	Vism		384	
39	285	Vism		389	
39	285	Vism		389	390
39	285	Vism		390	
39	286	Vism		392	
39	286	Vism		393	
39	287	Vism		394	
39	287	Vism		395	
39	287	Vism		395	396
39	288	Vism		396	
39	288	Vism		396	397
39	288	Vism		397	
39	288	Patis	II	208	
39	289	Vism		398	
39	289	Vism		398	400
39	291	Vism		400	401
39	293	Vism		402	403
39	293	Vism		403	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
39	293	Vism		403	404
39	294	Vism		411	
39	294	Vism		411	412
39	296	Ps	III	244	247
39	299	Ps	III	247	249
40	301	As		240	241
40	301	Vism		414	
40	302	Vism		414	
40	302	Pm	Π	317	
40	302	Pm		317	318
40	303	А	IV	100	
40	303	Vism		414	
40	303	Vism		414	415
40	304	Pm	Π	318	
40	304	Pm	Π	318	319
40	304	Pm	Π	319	
40	304	Vism		415	
40	304	Vism		415	416
40	304	Vism		416	
40	305	Pm	Π	319	
40	305	Vism		416	
40	306	As		243	
40	306	Vism		416	417
40	306	Vism		417	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
40	306	Pm	Π	320	
40	307	Sv	Π	412	
40	307	Vism		417	
40	307	D	III	84	85
40	307	Vism		417	418
40	307	D	III	84	88
40	308	Vism		418	
40	308	Pm	П	321	
40	309	Pm	П	321	322
40	309	Vism		418	419
40	309	Pm	П	321	322
40	309	Vism		419	
40	310	Vism		419	
40	310	Bv-a		191	
40	311	Vism		419	420
40	311	Vism		420	
40	312	Vism		420	
40	312	Vism		420	421
40	312	As		249	
40	313	As		243	
40	313	Vism		421	
40	314	Vism		421	
40	314	Vism		421	422
40	314	Abhv		162	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
40	314	AbhsS		140	
40	314	Uj		335	
40	314	Su		64	
40	314	Sv	III	866	
40	315	Sv	III	867	
40	315	Sv-pț	III	54	
40	316	Sv	III	867	
40	316	Sv-pț	III	54	
40	316	Sv	III	867	
40	317	Sv		867	
40	317	Sv-pț	III	55	56
40	318	Sv	III	867	868
40	318	Sv	III	868	
40	318	Sv-pț	III	56	
40	321	Spk	Ι	108	109
40	321	А	IV	100	
40	322	Spk	Π	157	
40	322	Spk	Π	157	
40	322	As		241	
40	322	Pj II		442	443
40	323	As		241	
40	323	Vism		206	
40	323	Pj II	Π	443	
40	323	Ja	VI	125	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
40	323	Ja	VI	139	141
40	324	Th-a	III	153	
40	324	А	IV	206	
40	324	Vin	Π	237	
40	324	Spk	IV	107	
40	325	Dhp-a	П	152	153
40	325	Vibh-a		502	
40	325	Spk	IV	107	
40	325	Spk	Π	88	
40	325	Sv	III	487	
40	325	Мр	IV	110	
40	325	Мр	IV	110	111
40	326	Spk	Ι	338	
40	327	Spk	Ι	338	
40	327	Spk	Ι	339	
40	327	Spk	Ι	339	340
40	328	Pj II	Π	485	
40	328	S	Ι	221	
40	328	Spk	Ι	342	
40	328	Spk	Ι	342	
40	329	Spk	Ι	342	
40	329	Spk	Ι	221	222
40	329	S	Ι	225	
40	329	S	Ι	345	

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
40	330	Spk	Ι	346	
40	330	S	Ι	227	
40	330	Spk	Ι	347	
40	331	Spk	Ι	347	
40	331	Spk	Ι	335	
40	331	S	Ι	239	
40	332	Spk	Ι	335	
40	332	Vism		207	
40	332	Pj II	II	443	
40	332	Мр	IV	107	
40	332	Pj II	II	437	
40	332	Ud-a		300	
40	332	Vism		206	
40	332	As		241	
40	332	Pj II	II	443	
40	333	Pj II	II	437	438
40	333	Pj II	II	438	
40	333	Pj II	Ι	66	67
40	334	Мр	IV	108	
40	334	Pj II	II	438	
40	334	Ud-a		300	
40	334	Ud-a		301	
40	334	Ud-a		301	302
40	334	Мр	IV	109	110

Ss chap.	Ss page	Text	Volume	Initial page	End page
40	335	Ja	V	37	38
40	336	Spk	Ι	281	
40	337	Spk	Ι	281	
40	337	Spk	II	283	
40	338	Spk	II	284	
40	338	Spk	II	285	
40	339	Spk	II	284	285
40	339	Sv	II	453	
40	339	Ps	III	382	383
40	339	Sv	II	453	
40	339	Ps	III	383	
40	340	Ps	IV	147	148
40	340	Vism		206	
40	340	As		241	
40	340	Vism		206	
40	340	As		241	
40	340	Vism		206	
40	340	As		242	
40	340	Sv	III	201	202
40	341	Sv	II	965	
40	341	Sv-pț	III	202	204
40	343	Vism		206	
40	343	As		242	
40	343	Pj II	II	443	

Text	Number of quotations
AbhsS	1
Cp-a	1
Dhs	1
Khp	1
Su	1
Mhv	1
Nett	1
Thī-a	1
Uj	1
Vjb	1
Vibh	2
Mp-t	2
Abhs	2
Ppk-a	2
Th-a	2
Vv-a	2
Abhidh-av	2
Sp-ț	3
Dhp	3
Ap	4
Bv-a	5
Dhp-a	5
Sn	5
Abhv	6
Ud-a	6
Ap-a	6
Patis	8
It-a	8
Pm	11
Vin	14
М	14
S	15
D	15
J	16
Pj I	17
Sv-pț	21
Mil	27
Sp	29
As	33

Synoptic Table Which Indicates the Number of Times Every Text is Quoted in Rising Order

Text	Number of quotations
Pj II	35
Vibh-a	36
А	40
Spk	70
Ps	75
Мр	85
Sv	86
Vism	96

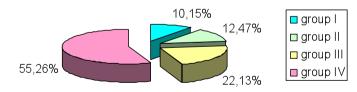
Analysis of the data allows us to point out the following main points:

- The Ss contains in total 818 quotations taken from 47 texts.
- Based on the number of times they are used, the sources can be divided into four groups:
 - Group I: *corpus* of 28 texts from various collections quoted at least 10 times.
 - Group II: *corpus* of 7 texts including three texts from the *Nikāya*s, quoted between 10 and 20 times.
 - Group III: corpus of 6 texts quoted between 20 and 29 times.
 - Group IV: *corpus* of 6 texts which, except for the A, are commentaries to the *Nikāyas* and the Vism, quoted between 40 and 96 times.

The result is that the texts in the Ss most frequently quoted are those in group IV, which, excepting the A, are the Vism and the commentaries on the four *Nikāyas*, all works attributed to Buddhaghosa.

The results are portrayed in the following pie chart:

Groups of texts in the Ss most frequently quoted



Abbreviations and Conspectus Siglorum

Unless Otherwise Stated Editions of Pāli Texts are Those of the Pāli Text Society

A Anguttaranikāya Abh Abhidhānappadīpikā

Abhv	Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī
Abhidh-av	Abhidhammāvatāra
Abhs	Abhiadhammattha-sangaha
AbhsS	Abhiadhammattha-sangaha-sanne
Ар	Apadāna
As	Ațțhasālinī
BEFEO	 Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
Bv	Buddhavamsa
Bv-a	Madhuratthavilāsinī (Buddhavamsa-atthakathā)
Ср	Cariyāpitaka
Cp-a	Paramatthadīpanī
CSCD	Chattha Sangāyana CD-ROM (version 3) Vipassanā Research Institute
D	Dīghanikāya
Dhp	Dhammapada
Dhp-a	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā
Dhs	Dhammasanganī
Dīp	Dīpavamsa
It	Itivuttaka
It-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Itivuttaka-atthakathā)
Ja	Jātaka
JIP	Journal of Indian Philosophy
JPTS	Journal of Pāli Text Society
Khp	Khuddakapāṭha
Khp-a	Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā
Kv	Kathāvatthu
Kv-a	Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā
Μ	Majjhimanikāya
Mhv	Mahavamsa
Mil	Milindapañho
Мр	Manorathapūraņī (Anguttaranikāya-atthakathā)
Mvu	Mahāvastu
Nett	Nettipakarana
Pațis	Pațisambhidāmagga
Pațis - a	Pațisambhidāmagga-ațțhakathā
Pj	Pajjamadhu
Pj I	Paramatthajotikā I (Khuddakapāțha-ațțhakathā)
Pj II	Paramatthajotikā II (Suttanipāta-atthakathā)
Pm	Paramatthamañjūsā
Рр	Puggalapaññatti
Ppk-a	Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā
PTS	Pali Text Society
Pv	Petavathu
Pv-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā)
Ps	Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)

S	Saṃyuttanikāya
Sn	Suttanipāta
S.o.a.s	School of Oriental and African Studies
Sp	Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā)
Spk	Sāratthappakāsinī (Samyuttanikāya-atthakathā)
Spk-ț	Līnatthappakāsinī
Sp-ț	Sāratthadīpanī
Ss	Sārasangaha
Su	Suttasangaha-atthakathā
Sv	Sumangalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya-atthakathā)
Sv-pț	Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā
Th, Thī	Theragāthā and Therīgāthā
Th-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā-atthakathā)
Thī-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā)
Thūp	Thūpavaṃsa
Ud	Udāna
Ud-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Udāna-aṭṭhakathā)
Udāna-v	Udānavarga
Uj	Upāsakajanālaṅkāra
Vibh	Vibhanga
Vibh-a	Sammohavinodanī
Vin	Vinayapiṭaka
Vism	Visuddhimagga
Vjb	Vajirabuddhitīkā (tīkā of the Sp)
Vv	Vimānavatthu
Vv-a	Paramatthadīpanī (Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā)

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