

Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism

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Lives

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Scholars of Premodern Pali Buddhism

According to the Pali Buddhist tradition, the Buddha taught the Dhamma in 84,000 parts. Over more than two and a half thousand years these diverse teachings have further proliferated in countless languages, texts, and discourses. Yet within this diversity, a number of the monastic lineages that spread throughout Southern Asia – the so-called Theravāda – hold one language, Pali, as the only one in which the Buddha taught, and as the principle sacred language of their tradition (On the problem of defining “Theravāda,” see Skilling *et al.*, 2012; Crosby, 2014, 2–5). As well as being the exclusive language of the Buddha’s teachings or *buddhavacana*, from around the 4th century onwards Pali became the privileged language used to comment on and propagate those teachings. Pali Buddhism refers, in this view, not only to early Buddhism – for the Buddha’s three baskets of teachings, the Tipiṭaka, represent a fraction of what is written in Pali – but to the entire history of Pali literature.

Many figures contributed to this literary tradition throughout its long history, of whom only a few can be discussed here. This overview is organized according to author and region, rather than as a modular, genre-based account, in order to expose the changing scope of scholarly erudition, how this reflected shifts in the perceived authority of different Pali texts, and how scholars were represented in histories, hagiographies, and eulogistic colophons. This survey extends up to around 1800, which marks the beginning of a renaissance in Pali scholarship in the 19th century, during which the modern forces of colonialism, capitalism, and nationalism particularly shaped Pali literature.

Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta

Buddhaghosa is the archetypal commentator in the Pali Buddhist imagination. His authority is felt in all regional traditions of Pali Buddhism, and his writings were formative in shaping Pali scholarly practice more broadly. His commentaries were preceded by a number of other Pali works, many of which were likely composed in early post-Aśokan India. These texts can roughly be divided into those that narrate

the past, including histories and biographies, and those that are concerned with textual exegesis. Representing the former, for instance, we have the *Apadāna*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Buddhavaṃsa* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§121–128). We might also add the *Dīpavaṃsa*, a history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka up until the 4th century and possibly the first Pali work composed on the island (von Hinüber, 1996, §183). The earliest exegetical literature is represented by the *Suttavibhaṅga*, a commentary contained in the Vinaya on the *Pātimokkhasutta* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§22–27); the *Suttaniddeśa*, a commentary on selected chapters of the *Suttanipāta* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§116–118); and two exegetical manuals, the *Nettipakaraṇa* and the later *Peṭakopadesa*, both of which are likely of north Indian origin (von Hinüber, 1996, §§158–166, §§167–171).

According to the Pali tradition, relying on older Sinhala antecedents, Buddhaghosa wrote Pali commentaries on the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*, two commentaries on the Vinaya, commentaries on the seven books of the Abhidhamma, and a comprehensive summary of Buddhist practice, the *Visuddhimagga* (Norman, 1983, 121). Modern scholarship has rightly questioned this view, however, and attributes to Buddhaghosa only the *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries on the first four *nikāyas* (von Hinüber, 1996, §207, §226). The author of these works was likely of South Indian origin and can be dated to between 370 and 450 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, §207). The major commentary on the Vinaya attributed to Buddhaghosa, the *Samantapāsādikā*, was composed in the 20th or 21st regnal year of King Sirinivāsa, who is often, but not without problem (Kieffer-Pülz, 1992, 162–167), identified with King Mahānāma, that is, in either 369/370 or 429/430 CE (von Hinüber, 1996, §209). The anonymous commentary on the *Pātimokkhasutta*, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, was composed after the *Samantapāsādikā*, since it often cites the latter (von Hinüber, 1996, §224). The Abhidhamma commentaries, the *Atthasālinī*, *Sammohavinodanī*, and *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*, refer to Buddhaghosa as their initiator and frequently quote the *Visuddhimagga*. As such, they are likely contemporary with Buddhaghosa, author of four *nikāya* commentaries and the *Visuddhimagga*

(von Hinüber, 1996, §312–§313). The commentaries on the *Khuddakanikāya*, namely, the *Paramatthajotikā* I on the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Paramatthajotikā* II on the *Suttanipāta*, the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakavaṇṇanā*, are of uncertain date, though all presuppose Buddhaghosa's *nikāya* works (von Hinüber, 1996, §§252–269). The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* was likely composed after the *Jātakavaṇṇanā* (von Hinüber, 1996, §269).

The Buddhist tradition regards all of these commentaries to be the work of a single genius, Buddhaghosa, in part due to later eulogistic postscripts that were attached to many of these works citing Buddhaghosa as author and praising his qualities and attributes as a scholar. As might be expected, in these postscripts Buddhaghosa is praised for his embodiment of Buddhist virtues, such as faith and wisdom, but he is also lauded more generally as a fine orator “gifted with sweet and noble speech that springs from the ease born of perfection of the vocal instrument, a speaker of what is appropriately said, a superlative speaker, a great poet” (Ñāṇamoli, 1999, 837). This scholarly portrait develops even further in a 13th-century account of the composition of Buddhaghosa's commentaries contained in the extension to the *Mahāvamsa* known as the *Cūlavamsa*. There, Buddhaghosa is depicted as a Brahmin born near Bodh Gaya who in his early years wandered India engaging in philosophical debates. After turning to Buddhism under the tutorship of the Elder Revata he received the name “Buddhaghosa” since his speech was profound like that of the Buddha. His teacher entreated him to translate back into the “language of Magadha” Sinhala commentaries on the canon that were themselves said to be based on a lost Pali original brought to Sri Lanka by the monk Mahinda, Aśoka's son.

According to the narrative, Buddhaghosa then traveled from India to Sri Lanka and studied the Sinhala commentaries while staying in the Mahāvihāra during the reign of Mahānāma. Before beginning his Pali commentaries, the Saṅgha gave him two Pali verses and entreated him to demonstrate his potent learning by commenting on them in public. From those two verses he composed the *Visuddhimagga*. As he was about to read the work before the assembled Saṅgha, deities hid the book and he had to go back and compose it again. When about to recite the work a second time, the same deities hid the book once more. Having composed the *Visuddhimagga* for a third time, Buddhaghosa again began to recite the work, at which point the deities

appeared with the previous two copies. His monastic audience inspected all three copies and, having found them to be identical, declared in delight that Buddhaghosa must be the future Buddha Maitreya (Mhv 37.215–247).

Buddhadatta, another major commentator, was contemporary with Buddhaghosa, and according to tradition authored two handbooks summarizing the Vinaya, two summarizing the Abhidhamma, and a commentary on the *Buddhavamsa* (Norman, 1983, 131). The two works on the Vinaya, the *Vinayavinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya*, are later than the *Samantapāsādikā* since they probably relied on it as a source (von Hinüber, 1996, §326). The two handbooks on the Abhidhamma, the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, however, do not refer to the Abhidhamma commentaries or the *Visuddhimagga* (von Hinüber, 1996, §341). According to his *Vinayavinicchaya*, Buddhadatta worked in the Coḷa country during the reign of Accutavikanta of the Kalambas, an obscure clan who held power in the region sometime between the 3rd and 6th centuries (von Hinüber, 1996, §329). Dimitrov confirmed the hypothesis that the author of these handbooks did not compose the commentary on the *Buddhavamsa*, the *Madhurattappakāsini*. He plausibly dates this work on stylistic grounds to the 10th century, though far more speculatively attributes the authorship of the commentary to the scholar-monk Ratnamati (Dimitrov, 2016, 239–326).

Eulogistic postscripts were likewise appended to Buddhadatta's works, and similarly much is made of Buddhadatta's skill as a poet (Buddhadatta, 1980, 230). Vācissara, the 13th-century commentator on his *Vinayavinicchaya*, relates a story of a meeting between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, traditionally viewed as the former's elder contemporary. This meeting supposedly took place when the boats of the two collided as they traveled between India and Sri Lanka. During this encounter Buddhadatta asked Buddhaghosa to send his Pali commentaries to him once written, so that he might summarize them (Buddhadatta, 1945, 34). The same episode is recounted in the later *Buddhaghosuppatti* or “Story of Buddhaghosa,” a 15th-century (?) Burmese work composed by a certain Mahāmaṅgala (von Hinüber, 1996, §207, n369). There, Buddhadatta is depicted rather as a failed scholar who traveled to Sri Lanka intending to compose Pali commentaries for the canon, which he was however unable to do. During the meeting Buddhadatta handed over his iron

stylus, writing stone, and myrobalan given to him by the God Sakka, and encouraged Buddhaghosa to complete the task (Gray, 1892, 17–19, 49–51).

South India and Sri Lanka, 500–900 CE

Following the composition of the first Pali commentaries, a constellation of scholars continued to write expositions on the remaining books of the canon that had yet to be commented upon. Alongside commentarial writing, we see the continuation of the Pali historiographic tradition and the composition of the first Pali grammatical works. A burgeoning scholarly ideal emerges during this period due to the authority of Buddhaghosa's commentarial style, but this ideal was not consciously theorized in eulogistic colophons and hagiographies in the same way as we find in the later works of the 2nd millennium.

The earliest subsequent commentator was Mahānāma, who composed a commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the 12th book of the *Khuddakanikāya*. In its colophon Mahānāma writes that he composed his work three years after the death of “King Moggallāna,” who can tentatively be identified with Moggallāna II (r. 537–556), that is, in 559 (von Hinüber, 1996, §291). Another commentator, Upasena, composed the *Saddhammapajjotikā* as a commentary on the *Suttaniddesa* of the *Khuddakanikāya* in the 26th regnal year of King Sirinivāsa Sirisaṅghabodhi, who is often identified with Sena II (von Hinüber, 1996, §287), that is, in 877, according to Kieffer-Pülz (Kieffer-Pülz, 2009, 144n4). Dimitrov has contended recently, however, that the commentary should be dated to the late 10th century, since it cites a variant verse from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, which he argues was first introduced by the *Amatarasadhārā*, a commentary on the *Anāgatavaṃsa* that he believes can be dated to the 960s (Dimitrov, 2016, 449–501). The career of Upasena is intimately linked with the author of a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, the so-called *Vajirabuddhiṭikā*, since the former's commentary shares a number of parallel passages with the latter (Kieffer-Pülz, 2009, 163–164). Kieffer-Pülz argues that the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* likely borrowed from Upasena's work and can be dated in the 10th century (Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I, 70ff.). Dimitrov agrees with this general date for the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* but disagrees on the directionality of influence

between it and Upasena's commentary (Dimitrov, 2016, 501).

Foremost among Buddhaghosa's successors was Dhammapāla who, according to tradition, commented on seven books of the *Khuddakanikāya* and the *Nettipakaraṇa* (von Hinüber, 1996, §§272–286). The colophon appended to Dhammapāla's *Khuddakanikāya* commentaries states that he was affiliated with the otherwise unknown Badaratiṭṭhavihāra (von Hinüber, 1996, §274). At least since the 12th century (De Silva, 1970; Cousins, 1972, 161), this Dhammapāla has been regarded as identical with another Dhammapāla (II), who composed subcommentaries on the first four *nikāyas* of the canon, a commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, a subcommentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa*, and further expositions (*anuṭikā*) on Ānanda's earlier commentaries on Buddhaghosa's Abhidhamma works (von Hinüber, 1996, §§357–366). There is continued debate whether Dhammapāla (I) is in fact identical with Dhammapāla (II). A significant piece of evidence in favor of their unity is that the former, in his commentary on the *Udāna* (94, 9 = *Nettipakaraṇaṭikā* 67), quotes the subcommentary of the latter on the *Kathāvatthu* (122,14f.) (von Hinüber, 1996, §360, §364). Cousins has variously argued that Dhammapāla (I) here is quoting Ānanda's *mūlaṭikā* on the *Vibhaṅga* (Cousins, 1972, 162) or Dhammapāla (II)'s *anuṭikā* (Cousins, 2011, n61). Neither assertion can be substantiated, however, and it is likely that the *anuṭikā* on the *Kathāvatthu* was intended, which Cousins argues may have been composed by a certain Jotipāla and not Dhammapāla (II) (see also Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I, 80).

There is little we can say about the scholar Ānanda, who composed commentaries on Buddhaghosa's Abhidhamma works. Kieffer-Pülz has proved that he cannot be identified with another Ānanda who resided in a certain Kalasapura (Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I 149–150, also 149n363, 150n364; pace von Hinüber, 1996, §356). Other late medieval Pali texts quote another commentary on Ānanda's works attributed to a scholar known as Jotipāla, who was likely of Indian origin (Cousins, 2011, 3). The extant quotations of these works are often critical of Ānanda, and many of his views are echoed in the subcommentaries ascribed to Dhammapāla (II). For this reason, Cousins has suggested that either the Abhidhamma subcommentaries ascribed to Dhammapāla (II) may actually be Jotipāla's or, more likely, that Jotipāla composed earlier

subcommentaries to Ānanda's Abhidhamma works that were then used by Dhammapāla (II) (Cousins, 2011, 23–24).

Jotipāla is significant since he is the only commentator of this period, other than Buddhaghosa, who is likely eulogized in the *Cūlavamsa*, where he is depicted as defeating in debate a Vetullavāda opponent called Dāṭhāpabhuti. The narrative states that, humiliated in defeat, Dāṭhāpabhuti attempted to strike Jotipāla and, as a result, an ulcer miraculously appeared on his hand, from which he died (Mhv 42, 35–38 cited in Cousins, 2011, 2–3). If this narrative does indeed refer to Jotipāla the commentator, we can date the scholar to the reign of Aggabodhi (r. 571–604) and thus to the early 7th century. Ānanda would then have composed his commentaries in the 6th century (Cousins, 2011, 25–26). If Dhammapāla relied upon Jotipāla's works, this would further push the *terminus post quem* of Dhammapāla from around 500 (von Hinüber, 1996, §365) to the 7th century at the earliest (Cousins, 2011, 25).

Towards the end of this period we begin to see the revival of the production of handbooks, in particular, on the Abhidhamma and Vinaya. Foremost among the authors of handbooks during this period was Anuruddha, who is said to have composed three works on the Abhidhamma, namely, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *Paramatthavinicchaya*, and *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (von Hinüber, 1996, §354). Anuruddha is often dated to the 10th or 11th century largely due to the Sanskrit style of his writing (von Hinüber, 1996, §354; Malalasekera, 1958 [1928], 168–169). Gethin, however, suggests a date in the 6th or 7th century (Wijeratne & Gethin 2002, xiv; Kerr, 2012, 13–17). In the colophon to his *Paramatthavinicchaya* he states that he was from Kāverinagara (Kāveriṭṭana) in the district of Kāñcī, and that he was residing in the town of Tañja in the district of Tamba (von Hinüber, 1996, §348), which was almost certainly in South India (Gunawardana, 1967, 11–17). Like his predecessor Buddhadatta, Anuruddha is known for his literary eloquence and he often incorporates highly poetic versified summaries of particular Abhidhamma topics in his works (Kerr, 2012, 14–15, 28–49). Other handbooks that were composed in the second half of the 1st millennium include the *Saccasaṅkhepa*, a work on Abhidhamma possibly composed by Jotipāla (Cousins, forthcoming), often incorrectly attributed to either Ānanda or Dhammapāla (von Hinüber, 1996, §351), and the *Khuddasikkhā*, a Vinaya manual composed

by a certain Dhammasiri, possibly in the 5th or 6th century (Kieffer-Pülz 2013, vol. I, 194–197; →BEB I: Vinaya Commentarial Literature in Pali, 435).

While Pali scholarship during this period was largely restricted to commentarial writing, it also witnessed the continuation of Pali historiography and the beginning of the Pali grammatical tradition. A certain Mahānāma (II), for instance, composed the *Mahāvamsa* at the end of the 5th century, though there is no evidence to suggest he is the same author as the commentator (von Hinüber, 1996, §185; *contra* Paranavitana, 1962). The scholar Kaccāyana authored the first Pali grammar – his eponymous *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* – possibly in the 7th century (Pind, 2012, 73). The earliest commentators, such as Vimalabuddhi, also known as Vajirabuddhi (c. 10th cent.), claim, on the basis of a passage in the *Apadānattakathā*, that the author of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* was none other than the Buddha's disciple Mahākaccāyana (Pind, 2012, 71). A 15th-century Burmese Pali grammar, the *Suttaniddesa* of Chapāṭa, further relates a traditional account that ascribes the first grammatical aphorism in the work to the Buddha himself (Subhūti, 1876, vii; Pind, 1996, 67–72; Ruiz-Falqués, 2015, 155).

South India and Sri Lanka after 900

From around 900 we begin to see a diversification in the types of text scholar monks composed in Pali, as well as the increasing influence of Sanskrit writings on these new Pali works (Bechert, 1976, 1987, 1998, 2005; Collins, 2003; Pollock, 2006, 386; Gornall & Henry, 2017). We see a proliferation in handbooks, commentaries on handbooks, new histories of the Buddha's relics, related literary works such as Buddha biographies and other devotional poems, as well as large numbers of Pali philological works dealing with grammar, lexicography, poetics, and prosody. The new scope of erudition was accompanied by an increase in eulogistic colophons praising authors for their various scholarly virtues and their mastery of Pali and Sanskrit systematic thought, in particular the language sciences.

One of the most important scholars to shape the literary culture of this period was Ratnamati or Ratnaśrījñāna, as he is known in his Sanskrit works. Dimitrov identified these two authors and has argued that this Sri Lankan monk composed a number of influential Sanskrit philological works, including the *Ratnaśrīṭikā*, a Sanskrit commentary

on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, the *Cāndrapaṅcīkā*, a commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, and the *Śabdārthacintā*, a study of semantic and syntactic relations (Dimitrov, 2016, 51–76, 557–708). Dimitrov further claims that Ratnamati composed a number of Pali and Sinhala works. The Pali works include the *Anāgatavaṃsa*; its commentary, the *Amatarasadhārā*; the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*; its commentary, the *Madhurathappakāsīnī*; a commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vamsatthappakāsīnī*; a Vinaya subcommentary, the *Vajirabuddhiṅgikā*; and the *Jinacarita*, a biography of the Buddha. His theory relies upon the evidence that all these works share a discernible influence from Sanskrit literary culture and that many are connected by a number of intertextual references. He does not provide, however, conclusive or direct evidence linking these works to those certainly composed by Ratnamati or Ratnaśrījñāna.

Ratnamati's Sanskrit philological works greatly influenced the development of the Pali grammatical tradition and the composition of the first and only treatise on Pali poetics. Using the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, Ratnamati's *Cāndrapaṅcīkā* and Sāriputta's *Candrālaṅkāra*, in Anurādhapura in the second half of the 12th century Moggallāna composed a new Pali grammar, the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, a gloss or *vṛtti* for its rules, and an elaborate commentary on the gloss known as the *paṅcīkā*. His work is very often critical of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* and its tradition (Gornall, 2013, 68–136), in particular its 10th-century commentary, the *Mukhamattadīpanī* or *Nyāsa* composed by Vimalabuddhi (Pind, 2012, 117–120) and a grammatical handbook called the *Rūpasiddhi* authored by a South Indian monk Buddhappiya, probably in the early 12th century (Gornall, 2014, 521). A number of eulogistic verses are found in the works of Moggallāna's pupils praising their teacher's vast erudition. One Sanskrit verse in particular found quoted in Śrī Rāhula's *Moggallānapaṅcīkāpradīpaya* praises Moggallāna as having the same power (*śakti*) as the three great Sanskrit grammarians Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Candragomin (Dharmārāma, 1896, 3). Moggallāna had a number of pupils including Piyadassi, who composed a grammatical handbook, the *Padasādhana*, Saṅgharakkhita, who wrote a commentary on Moggallāna's *paṅcīkā*, and Medhaṅkara, who authored another handbook, entitled the *Payogasiddhi* (Subhūti, 1876, xxxiii–xxxiv, xxxviii–xli, xliv–xlviii; Franke 1902, 44–45). Another Moggallāna (II), the grammarian's junior contemporary, composed

the first Pali lexicon, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, based on Amarasimha's *Amarakośa* (Franke, 1902, 68–83; Yamanaka, 2008).

A few scholars of this period undertook enormous intellectual feats, composing a remarkable number of works in a variety of different genres and fields of expertise. Not unlike the postscripts attached to Buddhaghosa's works, their scholarly and spiritual achievements are often eulogized in elaborate and lengthy colophons. These colophons combine images of kingship, ascetic power, and intellectual virtuosity to create a complex scholarly ideal that reflects the close connection between monastic and royal power in this period (on grammarians in particular, see Gornall, 2013, 36–67). The 12th-century scholar Sāriputta, for instance, a leading intellectual in the aftermath of Parākramabāhu I's saṅgha reforms (c. 1165), composed the aforementioned *Candrālaṅkāra*, a Sanskrit commentary on Ratnamati's *Cāndrapaṅcīkā* (Dimitrov, 2010), a Sinhala commentary on Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Pali subcommentaries on the Vinaya and *Āṅguttaranikāya*, a Pali handbook on the Vinaya with autocommentary, a commentary on the *Maṅgalasutta*, a meditation manual (*kammaṭṭhānasaṅgaha*), and possibly a work on astrology (Pecenko, 1997; Crosby, 2006; Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I, 22ff.).

At the end of the colophon of his commentary on Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Sāriputta is depicted both as “the lord of ascetics” (*yatissara*) and as a noble (*parisuddhakulodaya*) who dwelt in a splendid palace in Poḷonnaruva built for him by Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–1186). He is further compared as an author with the Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini and Candragomin, the best minds in the field of philosophy, and with the poet Kālidāsa in literary skill (Pannamoli, 1925, 257). Sāriputta was the first to hold the title of grandmaster (*mahāsāmi*) (Rohanadeera, 1985) and inherited the leadership of the Saṅgha from his forest-dwelling teacher, Kassapa of Dimbulāgala, who composed a Sanskrit grammatical handbook, the *Bālāvabodhana* (Bechert, 1987, 11). While the intellectual imagery in these portraits is often cosmopolitan and transregional in reference, expressions of monastic lineage during this period became increasingly localized with authors often referring to each other as “Coḷiya” (“from Coḷa country”) or “Sīhaḷa” (“from Sri Lanka”), respectively (Monius, 2001, 123–128; Liyanagamage, 1978). Soon after Sāriputta composed his Vinaya works, for instance, a certain Coḷiya Kassapa wrote

another commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vimativinodanīṭikā*, from the perspective of the Coḷiya monastic community in which Sāriputta's commentary is often dealt with critically (von Hinüber, 1996, §338; Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I, 67, 121). The same author also composed a commentary on the Abhidhamma *mātikās*, entitled the *Mohavicchedanī* (Crosby & Skilton, 1999; von Hinüber, 1996, §354).

One of Sāriputta's most prolific students was Saṅgharakkhita, who composed a number of important works of Pali systematic thought. Alongside his aforementioned commentary on Moggallāna's *pañcīkā*, Saṅgharakkhita further composed the first treatise on Pali poetics, his *Subodhālaṅkāra*, an autocommentary on this work (the so-called *mahāsāmitīkā*), the first Pali work on metrics, the *Vuttodaya*, a work on syntax, the *Sambandhacintā*, and another grammatical handbook, the *Yogavinicchaya* (Kieffer-Pülz, 2017). Saṅgharakkhita's philological works relied upon a large number of Sanskrit sources. His *Subodhālaṅkāra* in particular is heavily reliant upon Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (c. 8th cent., Bronner, 2012) among others, and his *Vuttodaya* is essentially a translation of Kedāra Bhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* (c. 11th cent.) (Siddharatha, 1981; Jaini, 2000). In addition to his works on the language sciences, Saṅgharakkhita composed a commentary on a Vinaya handbook, the *Khuddasikkhā* (Kieffer-Pülz, 2017). It is worth mentioning in the context of 13th-century scholarship on Pali *śāstra* that an anonymous author, a monk of Brahmin descent (*brahmanvaya*) and head of a "group of five monastic colleges," composed the only known Pali treatise on medicine, the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*, in 1261 CE (Liyanaratne, 1996, 1). In general, however, Sinhala and occasionally Sanskrit were the preferred media for works of medicine and astronomy/astrology (Bechert, 1976, 1998). The scholar monk Anomadassi, for instance, composed in Sanskrit a compendium of astronomy/astrology for the court of Parākramabāhu II, the *Daivajñākāmadhenu* (Bechert, 1978, 2005, 155).

A number of scholars focused their efforts on producing Pali commentaries for the Vinaya and Abhidhamma handbooks. In the 12th century, Buddhanāga, a pupil of Sāriputta, composed a commentary on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (von Hinüber, 1996, §378; Kieffer-Pülz, 2013, vol. I 67) and it was possibly the same Buddhanāga who wrote a Sanskrit commentary on a grammatical handbook of the Cāndra school, the *Pātrikaraṇa* of Guṇākara (Bechert, 1987,

11–12; Dimitrov, 2016, 565–6). Another pupil of Sāriputta, the forest monk Sumaṅgala composed commentaries on the *Abhidhammāvātāra* and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (von Hinüber, 1996, §343; §346). He was the head of his own branch monastery at Jambudoṇi (Dambadeṇiya), and was possibly the brother of Mayūrapāda Thera, author of the *Pūjāvaliya* (1266) (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming, n16).

One of the last major pupils of Sāriputta was Vācissara who, in the second quarter of the 13th century, composed commentaries on Buddha-datta's *Vinayavinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya*, the *Saccasaṅkhepa*, as well as the *Thūpavaṃsa*, a history of the construction of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapūra (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming; see also von Hinüber, 1996, §192, §330). It is possible that this Vācissara was the author of a handbook of Vinaya rules concerning monastery ritual boundaries or *sīmā*, namely, the *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha* (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming).

A number of these works were translations from Sinhala antecedents in order, they state, to make these works accessible to monks from India. Sumaṅgala's commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, for instance, is based on Sāriputta's Sinhala commentary on the same work, and Vācissara explicitly mentions in his commentary on the *Vinayavinicchaya* and in his *Thūpavaṃsa* that these works are based on older Sinhala versions (Kieffer-Pülz, forthcoming). Finally, to this list of handbook authors we should add Ānanda, who composed in South India a treatise for the laity, the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (von Hinüber, 1996, §386; Young, 2011, 23–31; Agostini, 2015), which can be dated to first part of the 13th century (Kieffer-Pülz, 2015, 632), and a certain Siddhattha who composed the *Sārasaṅgaha*, a compendium of teachings from the canon and its commentaries, probably in the late 13th century (Neri, 2014, 337–339).

The Pali historiographical tradition flourished during this period, and a number of scholars composed histories of the Buddha's relics, biographies of the Buddha, and other devotional literary works often focused on the Buddha's past lives. A certain Upatissa composed the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, a history of the Bodhi tree, possibly in the 10th century (von Hinüber, 1996, §191; Dimitrov, 2016, 160–161). In 1211/1212, another pupil of Sāriputta, Dhammakitti, composed the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, a history of the Buddha's tooth relic. Dhammakitti states in his opening verses that his history is based on an older Sinhala work (von Hinüber, 1996, §193). It is perhaps the

same Dhammakitti who composed the *Cūlavamsa* to include all the monarchs from the 4th century onwards, ending with an elaborate, eulogistic account of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–86) (Geiger, 1930, 206–208). This work was further extended in the 14th, 18th, and 19th centuries (von Hinüber, 1996, §182). In the 13th century, the scholar Vedeha composed the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, a history of the Buddha's visits to Sri Lanka, in particular his third visit where he left a footprint on Mt. Samanta (von Hinüber, 1996, §198); the *Rasavāhīnī*, an eloquent narrative work that ostensibly revises older Pali tales found in the *Sahassavatthu* (Matsumura, 1992, xxviff.; von Hinüber, 1996, §413); and possibly the *Sidatsaṅgarāva*, the first grammar of Sinhala (Gair & Karunatilake, 2013, xiiiff.).

Important Buddha biographies and devotional works include Buddharakkhita's *Jinālankāra*, composed in 1156 (von Hinüber, 1996, §406), the *Jinacarita*, usually attributed to the 13th-century grammarian Medhaṅkara (von Hinüber, 1996, §405; but see Dimitrov, 2016, 515ff.), and Buddhappiya's *Pajjamadhu*, a description of the Buddha's body composed in the 13th century (von Hinüber, 1996, §403; Matsumura, 1999, 157–159). In the middle of the 14th century, the head of the saṅgha (*saṅgharāja*) Devarakkhita Jayabāhu Dhammakitti of Gaḍalādeṇiya composed the *Jinabodhāvatī*, a Pali poem listing the previous Buddhas and their bodhi trees (von Hinüber, 1996, §408a), and the *Bālāvatāra*, a handbook for the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* (Subhūti, 1876, xxiv; Franke, 1902, 24). He further composed in Sinhala the *Saddharmālankāraya*, a narrative work based in part on the *Rasavāhīnī*, and the *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya*, a history of the Buddhist monastic order (Liyanaratne, 1983, 51–52). He should not be confused with his late 13th-century teacher, Dhammakitti (I), who also held the position of *saṅgharāja* and composed three Pali poems, namely, the *Janānurāgacarita*, *Pāramisataka* (Liyanaratne, 1983, 53), and *Suvisivāraṇa* (Deepankara, 1921). Due to the focus of much of this literature on the previous lives of Gotama Buddha and his predecessors, it is perhaps not surprising that the scholars who authored these works often make resolutions in their colophons to become future buddhas themselves.

While Sinhala and Pali literary production coexisted from at least the 10th century onwards, beginning in the 15th century there was an increasing preference for writing in Sinhala rather than Pali. The famed scholar monk Śrī

Rāhula of Toṭagamuva, for instance, composed a number of Sinhala works, namely, the *Kāvyaśēkharaya* (1449), an epic poem based on the *Sattabhattajātaka*, two messenger poems, the *Parevisandēśaya* and the *Sāḷalihinisandēśaya* (1450), and a commentary on Moggallāna's *pañcīkā*, the *Moggallānapañcīkāpradīpaya* (1458) (Godakumbara, 1955, 152–154, 191–195, 316–317). Other works traditionally ascribed to him include the *Pārākumbāsīrita*, a biography of Parākramabāhu VI, the *Kuvēnīasna*, a work of magical rituals composed for Parākramabāhu VI of Koṭṭē, and the *Toṭagamunimitta*, a work on divination (Godakumbara, 1955, 290–291, 294, 339). Śrī Rāhula only composed one Pali work, an important but minor Pali grammatical commentary on Piyadassi's *Padasādhana* known as the *Buddhippasādanī* (Subhūti, 1876, xli–xliv; Franke, 1902, 45). Unlike the case in previous centuries, in which celebrations of scholarly erudition extend beyond Pali works only to the Sanskrit *śāstras*, depictions of Śrī Rāhula, which may be in part rhetorical, also praise him for his knowledge of Sinhala and Tamil, his mastery of the six literary languages of classical India, and for his association with various deities more usually associated with the Hindu pantheon, such as Skanda (Hallisey, 2003, 707–721).

In this context we should mention the 18th-century *saṅgharāja* Saraṇaṅkara, who composed a number of important works in Sinhala, such as, the *Madhurārthaprakāśinī*, a commentary on the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, the *Sārārthasaṅgrahaya*, a compilation of Buddhist doctrine, and the *Sārārthadīpanī*, a commentary on the Pali *paritta* texts. Saraṇaṅkara further completed an old Sinhala commentary on the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*, of which half had been lost (Godakumbara, 1955, 33, 66, 333, 353; see also Blackburn, 2001). His pupils composed a number of works in Sinhala including many Sinhala commentaries on *suttas* from the *Suttaṭīṭaka* (Godakumbara, 1955, 22). The only two works he composed in Pali were the *Rūpamālā*, a grammatical work on nominal declension, and the *Abhisambodhialankāra*, a biography of the Buddha Gotama (Malalasekera, 1958, 281). Despite this, works of Saraṇaṅkara's pupils and their successors often eulogize his scholarly achievements in terms that reflect the old scholarly ideal of the 10th to 13th centuries centered on Pali scripture and *śāstra*, in particular the language sciences. An 18th-century Sinhala commentary on the *Bālāvatāra*, the so-called *Liyanasannaya*, for instance, describes

Saraṇāṅkara as one “who had risen to the position of *saṅgharāja* and who had thoroughly understood metrics, lexicography, grammar, Dhamma, and Vinaya, who possessed such virtues as moral behavior, and who was renowned in his own country and abroad” (Gornall & Gunasena, 2018, 39, trans. of Subhūti, 1876, lv).

Burma/Myanmar

What we know about the lives of early Burmese Pali scholars greatly depends on late chronicles and reports, especially from the Konbaung period (1752–1885), as well as the colophons of the few edited works we possess. Nevertheless, the image of early Burmese Pali literary culture that emerges from these sources, however accurate, depicts a scholarly community focused on composing doctrinal commentaries on Pali handbooks, in particular, and on writing Pali grammatical works.

Sāgara or Guṇasāgara of Pagan was the author of a grammatical treatise in verse called the *Mukhamattasāra* (Bode, 1897, 76; Kumar, 1992, 11). The work is an abbreviated versified version of the *Mukhamattadīpanī* or *Nyāsa* of Vimalabuddhi (for excerpts, see Ruiz-Falqués, 2014b). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (written in 1861 on the basis of older historical materials), Guṇasāgara composed this work during the reign of King Kyau Cvā (r. c. 1235–1249) (Bode, 1909, 25). Indeed, according to the internal evidence, the *Mukhamattasāra* must date to later than the 12th century since it refers by name both to Buddhappiya and his *Rūpasiddhi*. In the colophon of his work we learn that Guṇasāgara was not a monastic, but probably a member of the royal family (Ruiz-Falqués, forthcoming, v. 925). Guṇasāgara further states in the colophon that he has a close relationship with the monks of Arimaddana (Pagan) and adds that “on account of having taken up the lifestyle of the *theras*, I am also known as *thera*” (Ruiz-Falqués, forthcoming, v. 926).

King Kyau Cvā is sometimes stated to be the author of the grammatical versified treatise called the *Saddabindu* “A Drop of Sound” and the Abhidhamma (?) treatise *Paramatthabindu* “A Drop of the Sublime” (Franke, 1902, 55; Bode, 1909, 25; Lottermoser, 1987, 77; Kumar, 1992, 25). The *Saddabindu*’s earliest commentary composed by Ñāṇavilāsa from Pagan, however, interprets the work’s colophon as indicating that the author was a certain Rājaguru (Subhūti, 1876, xcii; Lottermoser, 1987, 105n9).

Another well-known scholar is the author of the grammatical commentary on the *Nyāsa*, called *Nyāsappadīpa*, *Nyāsaṭīkā*, or more commonly *Sam pyaṅ ṭīkā* (Subhūti, 1876, xiv–xv; Franke, 1902, 23). There is no firm evidence that corroborates its attribution to Pagan (Nyunt, 2012, 76), but a legend preserved in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* tells us that the author was a certain minister (*saṃ pyaṅ*) of the Pagan court during the reign of King Narapati. This minister wanted to marry a princess and the king requested him to prove his value first. The minister ordained as a monk and displayed his intellectual skills by composing the *Nyāsa* commentary. Afterwards, he disrobed and married the princess (Bode, 1897, 75; 1909, 21). This work contains parallel verses with the *Mukhamattasāra* and it is further possible to speculate that the *Sam pyaṅ ṭīkā* and the *Mukhamattasāra* were composed by the same author, at different time periods, the former being a commentary or extended version of the latter. The *Gandhavaṃsa*, for instance, states that Guṇasāgara wrote a *ṭīkā* on his own work at the request of the Saṅgharāja of Pagan (Kumar, 1992, 73), and we find important similarities between the *Mukhamattasāra* and the *Sam pyaṅ ṭīkā* in terms of their structure, content, and the pseudomonastic status of their author (Ruiz-Falqués, forthcoming).

The main contribution of the *Sam pyaṅ ṭīkā* is to clarify the turns of debate in the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, which is written in the style of a scholastic debate. The author of the *Sam pyaṅ ṭīkā*, who, as we said, was allegedly not a monk, was familiar with Sanskrit systems of *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), as well as *śāstra*, as he refers to the Pāṇini school of grammarians. He calls Vimalabuddhi, author of the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, an expert in the entire *kalāpavyākaraṇa*, that is, expert in the Sanskrit Kātantra grammatical system (Maung Lin, 1913, 11). The author resorts to Abhidhamma philosophy in order to explain certain linguistic problems and displays a tendency to merge Abhidhamma and *vyākaraṇa*, which is already attested in Vimalabuddhi’s *Mukhamattadīpanī* and continues in the works of subsequent Pali grammarians in Burma.

The most influential Pali scholar in Burma, allegedly from the Pagan Period (c. 1054–1287), is Aggavaṃsa, author of the *Saddanīti* (Smith, 1928; von Hinüber, 1982; Kahrs, 1992; Kumar, 1992, 18, 23; Deokar, 2008, 2012; Pind, 2012). Information about the date and place of Aggavaṃsa derives from late literature, especially the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which

tells us that the *Saddanīti* was composed in 1154 in Pagan (Bode, 1897, 74). According to Nyunt in his edition of the late 19th-century bibliographical treatise *Piṭakat-tō-samuñ* (Nyunt, 2012, 77n89), Aggavaṃsa was known as Tatiya-aggapaṇḍita or Pugaṃ Sayadaw and was the preceptor of King Alaungsithu (r. c. 1112/1113–1160). Tin Lwin (1991, 124ff.), however, proposes that Aggavaṃsa worked in the 13th century, during the reign of King Kyau Cvā, though the epigraphical evidence he presents is inconclusive. In the colophon of the *Saddanīti* the author is designated as the “Third Mahāggapaṇḍita” and as the nephew of another Aggapaṇḍita, which perhaps implies his membership of a succession of royal advisers related by kinship (the name Aggavaṃsa literally means “supreme lineage” or “supreme in the lineage”). The *Saddanīti* must be earlier than the *Saddatthabhedacintā* (c. 13th cent.), which cites it on three occasions (Tvanḥ Sinh, 1964, vv. 295, 325, 343). It must also be earlier than the *Mukhamattasāra*, which refers to the author of *Saddanīti* as “the master who was the nephew of Bhadanta Agga” (Ruiz-Falqués, forthcoming, v. 543). It seems clear that Guṇasāgara considers Aggavaṃsa a *bhadanta*, that is to say a member of the order.

Dhammasenāpati is the well-known author of the *Kārikā*, a versified text on Pali grammar and philosophical topics. According to the colophon of this work, Dhammasenāpati resided at the Ānanda temple in Pagan (Bode, 1909, 16; Kumar, 1992, 11, 18, 24). Probably influenced by the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1876, lxix) suggests a date of around 1056/7 for the work. The *Kārikā* was allegedly composed at the request of a monk called Nāṇagambhīra, perhaps the author of the *Tathāgatuppatti* (Bode, 1909, 16). A remarkable influence of Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya* can be traced in the *Kārikā*, but with much modification, which sees all Brahmanic/Vedic references made Buddhist (for examples, Ruiz-Falqués, 2017, 65ff.). According to Dimitrov and Deokar (2017), at least half of the *Kārikā* may well be a Pali adaptation of Ratnamati’s *Śabdārthacintā*. Dhammasenāpati allegedly composed two other works that are now lost, the *Etimāsamidīpikā*, presumably a grammatical commentary on *Kaccāyanasutta* 63 (“*etimāsam ī*”), and the *Manohāra*, the topic of which is unknown (Bode, 1909, 16).

Another important Pali scholar of Pagan is Saddhammasiri, the author of the influential grammatical and philosophical treatise the *Saddatthabhedacintā*,

and allegedly the author of a Burmese translation of a Sanskrit astronomical treatise called “*Brihaja*”, which is most likely the *Bṛhadjātaka* (Subhūti, 1876, xlvii–xlviii; Bode, 1897, 75; 1909, 20; Kumar, 1992, 10; Nyunt, 2012, 78). In the colophon of the *Saddatthabhedacintā*, Saddhammasiri states that he composed a treatise that analyzes the hidden essence of sound and meaning in the country known as Tambadīpa, in the city of Arimaddana, that is to say, Pagan (Tvanḥ Sinh, 1964, 32). Little is known about the author. According to Luce and Tin Htway (1976, 207), a certain Dhammasiri is mentioned in an inscription from 1237 (?), together with two other leading monks, Mahākassapa and Subhūticanda. These three monks are said to have witnessed a dedication at Pagan. Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda are also mentioned in a verse inscription found near the Dhammarājaka Pagoda, dated 1248 (Luce & Tin Htway, 1976, 207). According to Subhūti, the anonymous *Kaccāyanasāraṭīkā* states that Saddhammasiri’s treatise was translated into Pali from various Sanskrit works (Subhūti, 1876, xlvi). Dimitrov provided conclusive evidence that the *Saddatthabhedacintā* used Ratnamati’s *Śabdārthacintā* as a source (Dimitrov 2016, 594–596; see also Subhūti, 1876, lxix).

At the Shwe Gu Kyi Monastery of Pagan, the learned monk Abhaya Thera wrote a commentary on Saṅgharakkhita’s *Sambandhacintā* and a commentary on Saddhammasiri’s *Saddatthabhedacintā*. This commentary is commonly known as the *porāṇaṭīkā* “old commentary,” although the colophon gives its original name as *Sāratthasaṅgha*. In the same colophon, Abhaya is described as *tipītakadhara* “holder of the Tipītika.” From the quotations in Abhaya’s commentary we can surmise that he was familiar with the Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* tradition, especially Buddhist authors such as Candragomin, Dharmadāsa, and Jinendrabuddhi (Ruiz-Falqués, 2017, 33ff.).

The so-called *navāṭīkā* “new commentary” on the *Saddatthabhedacintā*, otherwise known as the *Dīpanī*, of unknown authorship, was written, according to the Pali colophon, at the Shwe Gu Kyi Monastery of Pagan, in 724 Sakkarāj (1362/3). This date roughly coincides with the accession of King Thado Minbya, founder of Ava, in 1360 (Bode, 1897, 90), and it is not implausible that the composition of the *Dīpanī* was conceived as an act of merit, part of the celebrations in Pagan of the new overlord of Ava. This date represents the most reliable *terminus ante quem* for Saddhammasiri.

Two Pali scholars particularly stand out in 15th-century Burma, Chapaṭa (or Chapada) Saddhammajotipāla of Pagan and Mahā Ariyavaṃsa of Ava. Saddhammajotipāla was a cosmopolitan monk of the Mahāvihāra lineage. In the colophons to his *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* and *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, he says that he traveled to Sri Lanka and participated in royally sponsored ceremonies during the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI of Kottē (Buddhadatta, 1957; Godakumbura, 1969; Ruiz-Falqués, 2014a, 2015, 97). In Sri Lanka Saddhammajotipāla was presumably involved in the establishment of monastic boundaries and monastic ordinations. An inscription originally found at the Chapada (or Sapada) Stūpa in Pagan seems to refer to a monk of this name who had returned with relics from Sri Lanka in 1441 and who received the patronage of the Queen of Khūkan, present-day Pakhangyi (Frasch, 1996, 331; Win Than Tun, 2002, 203; Ruiz-Falqués, 2015, 100). His most extensive scholarly work (larger than all the rest combined) is the *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*, an erudite commentary on the *Kaccāyanavāyākaraṇa*. The *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* includes a detailed revision of other commentaries, such as the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, *Saddanīti*, *Rūpasiddhi*, and lesser-known treatises allegedly of Burmese origin, such as the *Atthabyākhyāna* and *Mukhamattasāra*. The work is “the most important source of information on grammatical literature in the fifteenth century A.D.” (Pind, 2012, 59).

Saddhammajotipāla’s major Abhidhamma contribution is the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, a commentary on Sumaṅgala’s exposition of Anuruddha’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. In the introductory stanzas of the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* the author describes himself as a minor author, stating that, “[e]ven though there are many commentaries composed by the older masters, they are like the moon, unable to shine inside [hidden places] such as the bamboo reed. Therefore, I will compose a commentary which, like a firefly, [is able to shine inside hidden places such as a bamboo reed]” (Sumanasāra, 1930, 1). It is not clear whether Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla composed all of his works in Pagan. The colophons of the *Suttaniddesa* and *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* date the work to 1446/7, making it roughly coincident with Mahā Narapati of Ava’s coronation in 1442 (the same date when a large library was donated to the *saṅgha*; see Luce & Tin Htway, 1976, for the library inscription). Saddhammajotipāla seems to return to Pagan one year before the coronation. Some traditions

report that some works of Saddhammajotipāla, such as the *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, could have been originally composed in Sri Lanka (Subhūti, 1876, xvii; Bode, 1909, 18). Chapaṭa composed another short, versified treatise on the Abhidhamma, the *Nāmacāradīpikā* (or *-dīpaka*) (Saddhātissa, 1990, 1–28; von Hinüber, 1996, §353). The rest of Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s works remain to be properly identified and studied (Ruiz-Falqués, 2015, 105ff.).

During the Konbaung period, the figure of Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla was identified with a legendary 12th-century Chapaṭa Thera, an allegedly historical character whose first attestation is not found in a document of Burmese origin, but of Mon origin, namely the *Kalyāṇī Inscriptions* of King Dhammaceti of Pegu, commissioned in 1476 (Taw Sein Ko, 1892, 4). Chapaṭa Thera, who is said to be a Mon by birth, is presented in that story as the founder of the Sīhaḷa lineage of Pagan (Burma). From what we know, he did not leave any writings (Buddhadatta, 1957; Godakumbura, 1969). His legend, however, was incorporated in the Burmese chronicles of the Konbaung Period, notably in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*. Since then, the monastic name “Chapaṭa” has been associated with the Sri Lankan Mahāvihāra tradition and seems to be a title conferred to some text oriented monks who were ordained or educated in Sri Lanka.

Perhaps the greatest name in Pali Abhidhamma studies during the 15th century is Mahā Ariyavaṃsa, author of the *Maṇisāramaṅjūsā*, a voluminous and detailed exposition of Sumaṅgala’s commentary on Anuruddha’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. Ariyavaṃsa, whose monastic affiliation is ambiguous in the chronicles (Mendelson, 1975, 45), composed this commentary at the Dhammakapabbata in Sagaing in 1466 (von Hinüber, 1996, §347). The *Maṇisāramaṅjūsā* is abundant in grammatical points of analysis of the Abhidhamma text, a salient feature of Burmese scholasticism. The author was also skilled in *kāvya* poetry as we can see from the colophon of his commentary (Ariyavaṃsa, 1930, 459–460). According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (Bode, 1897, 95ff.), Ariyavaṃsa studied first in Panyā and later moved to Sagaing to study Abhidhamma. The same account tells us that Ariyavaṃsa had to struggle in order to obtain the teachings of a certain monk, named *Re Ṇuṃ* (“Water-in-Mouth”), who kept his mouth full of water in order to avoid idle talk. With much insistence, Ariyavaṃsa was trained

in Abhidhamma by *Re Ñuṃ*. After receiving a full course on Sumaṅgala's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* commentary, Ariyavaṃsa was requested by the teacher to write a commentary on it, which would become the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*. "While writing it" says Bode (1909, 42) "he submitted it, chapter by chapter, to the criticism of his fellow-monks, reading it aloud to them as they sat assembled on uposatha days in the courtyard of the Puññacetiya [of Sagaing]."

While Ariyavaṃsa does not figure in the chronicle *Vaṃsadīpanī* (c. 1795), allegedly one of several sources used for the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (Lieberman, 1976; see also Kirichenko, 2009), the latter history mentions a 15th-century scholar-monk of Sagaing named Dhammaketu, also known as "the Second Chapaṭa," whose biography is reminiscent of Ariyavaṃsa's (Pranke, 2004, 165ff.).

Ariyavaṃsa wrote another Abhidhamma work in Pali, the *Maṇidīpaṭīkā*, a commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālinī* (Bode, 1909, 42; Kumar, 1992, 37; von Hinüber, 1996, §308n513; Nyunt, 2012, 62). Ariyavaṃsa states that he composed this commentary in order to clarify difficult points in the *Mūlaṭīkā* of Ānanda (Charā Ñāṇa, 1928, 2). His commentary only extends up to the *Dvārakathā* section of the *Atthasālinī*.

Ariyavaṃsa further wrote a grammatical treatise on Pali indeclinables, the *Gandhābharāṇa* (sometimes spelled *Ganthābharāṇa*; Tvanḥ Sinh, 1964, 221), which, according to Subhūti (1876, lxxv) was composed in 1435/6. He also wrote a collection of philological notes on the ten major Jātakas called the *Jātakavisodhana* (Ariyavaṃsa, 1978), and a Burmese commentary or *nissaya* on Dhammapāla (II)'s Abhidhamma *anuṭīkā*, known as the *Mahānissaya* (Nyunt, 2012, 111).

Also to be mentioned is Dhammakitti or Saddhammakitti, a disciple of Ariyavaṃsa. According to Bode (1909, 45) he lived in Ava during turbulent times and had to flee the country. He composed the Pali *Ekakkharakosa* based on a work of the same title in Sanskrit (there are many *ekākṣarakośa*, "one-syllable thesaurus"). Dhammakitti died in exile in Taungū (Ketumatī in Pali), allegedly an independent kingdom that welcomed refugees from the Ava king Thohanbwā (Bode, 1909, 45). According to Subhūti (1876, lxxx–lxxxii), the work's anonymous commentary states that the *Ekakkharakosa* was composed in 1464/5 and that the author composed other grammatical works that are now lost, namely the *Liṅgatthavivarāṇa*, the *Dhāturuṇṇapappakarāṇa*, and a work called the *Atthavisesaṇāpaka*.

In the city of Panyā (Vijayapura in Pali), established by King Sīhasūra in 1312, was the Pali scholar Sirimaṅgala or Sirisumaṅgala (14th century CE, see Bode, 1909, 27), who composed expositions on the commentaries on the Vinaya, *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, and *Vibhaṅga* traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa (see Section 1 in this article). In the same city we find an interesting name in Burmese scholarship, a certain *caturāṅgabālāmacca* "chief counselor of the army," who under King Kittisīhasūra wrote a commentary on Moggallāna's *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (Yamanaka, 2008); a commentary on a certain treatise called "*Koladdhaja*," which most likely refers to the *Golādhyāya* (Chapter on the Sun) in Bhāskara's Sanskrit astronomical work, the *Siddhāntaśīromaṇi* (1150) (Luce & Tin Htway, 1976, 243); and another lost commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* (Bode, 1909, 27). Under the same monarch, there was another scholar named Nāgita originally from Sagu, also known as Khaṅṅtakakhipa ("Thrown into Thorny [Bushes]") since, as a child, his father threw him in thorn bushes due to his reluctance to visit the local vihāra. He wrote a work of grammatical philosophy, the *Saddasāratthajālīnī* (often called *Jālīnī*) (Bode, 1909, 27; Subhūti, 1876, lvii–lx).

Among scholars working under the sponsorship of the later Ava court (16th to 18th centuries) was Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, his full name being the first Thauṅgbhila Sayadaw Tipiṭakālaṅkāra Munindaghosa (1578–1650/1). According to 17th- to 19th-century biographies about him (Lammerts, 2013, 128ff.), he was educated in Pyi (Prome) and at the age of 14 composed a verse adaptation of the *Vesantara Jātaka*. When the Ava king Anaukphetlun (1606–1628) took control of Pyi, Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, who was known then by his ordination name, Upāli, was relocated in Ava. There he studied under the court monk Dhammarājaguru (1551–1641). In 1621 he received the donation of a monastery in Sagaing, and in 1627 the title Tipiṭakālaṅkāra ("Ornament of the Tipiṭaka") was conferred on him. In the Sagaing Hills, some time between 1639 and 1651, Upāli composed the *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā*, a major commentary on Sāriputta's 12th-century Vinaya handbook (von Hinüber 1996, §337). Tipiṭakālaṅkāra also co-authored two legal treatises (*dhammasattha*), in monolingual Pali and Burmese *nissaya*, and to him are attributed "several *nissayas* to Pāli *vinaya* and *abhidhamma* texts, vernacular poems about the former lives of the Buddha, collections of apotropaic verses and mantras and, especially, a number of medical and alchemical treatises" (Lammerts, 2013, 129).

Among the eminent scholars of Ava at the time of Tipiṭakālaṅkāra we can count Ariyālaṅkāra the elder, of whom little is known, apart from the fact that he was supposedly Tipiṭakālaṅkāra's intellectual rival. His pupil, Ariyālaṅkāra the younger, composed *nissayas* on commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa, as well as on local commentaries such as Saddhammajotipāla's *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* (Nyunt, 2012, 78 n.92). He wrote a Pali commentary on the *Kaccāyanabheda*, known as the *Sāratthavikāsinī*, in 1607/8, according to Subhūti's reading of the colophon (1876, lxvi). He worked at the Dakkhīnavanavihāra Monastery near the Rājamaṇicūlacetiya in Sagaing (Bode, 1909, 55).

Another renowned scholar of the 17th century is Tilokaguru of Sagaing (Bode 1909, 53ff.; Nyunt, 2012, 63), who authored a number of *nissayas* on Abhidhamma texts and composed Pali commentaries on the *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna* books of the Abhidhamma. We should also include Dāṭhanāga of Sagaing (Bode 1909, 55; Nyunt, 2012, 76, n.87), royal preceptor of King Thalun (r. 1629–1648), known for his grammatical commentary in Pali, the *Niruttisāramañjūsā*, a voluminous *ṭīkā* on Vimalabuddhi's *Mukhamattadīpanī* composed, according to the work's colophon, in 1647/8 (Subhūti, 1876, xiv; Franke, 1902, 23).

Finally, the 18th-century scholar Ṇāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati Dhammarājādīrajaguru was the *saṅgharāja* in the reign of King Bodawhpaya (r. 1782–1819). Similar to his contemporary Saraṇāṅkara in Sri Lanka, Ṇāṇābhivaṃsa led a revival in the study of Pali texts and oversaw the production of many vernacular commentaries and translations of Pali works. Styling himself a forest monk (*araññavāsi*), he traced his lineage back to Tipiṭakālaṅkāra Munindaghosa, and to a lineage of Lower Chindwin monks, in particular to a certain Aggadhammālaṅkāra (Charney, 2006, 18–49). The Pali works composed by him include a subcommentary on the first part of the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Sādhujanavilāsinī*, a lost commentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa*, the *Peṭakālaṅkāra*, and the *Sandesakathā*, a letter (1801) concerning the ordination of three novice monks and a layman from Sri Lanka (von Hinüber, 1996, §382, §442). In the *Sandesakathā* we read that Ṇāṇābhivaṃsa attached three manuscripts to the letter: Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Sumaṅgala's 13th-century commentary, and its local subcommentary, Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla's *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*. These works were sent as a reminder of the historical and intellectual ties between Burma and Sri Lanka.

As with other scholar-monks of the 18th century, the majority of Ṇāṇābhivaṃsa's works were in Burmese, and he authored or co-authored many vernacular compositions, including two important histories, the *Mhan nanḥ mahārājavan tau krīḥ* (*Glass Palace Chronicle*) and the *Sāsanālaṅkāra cā tamḥ* (*Treatise on the Ornament of the Religion*), which he wrote as a layman after being disrobed by the king (Charney 2006, 108–124).

Thailand

Pali Buddhism was already well established in Thailand by the time of the Sukhothai kingdom of the 13th to 14th centuries, the Lanna kingdom of the 13th to 18th centuries, and the Ayutthaya kingdom of the 14th to 18th centuries. As in Burma, archaeological and epigraphical traces of Pali in the region date to the mid-1st millennium (Skilling, 1997, 98), but no Pali authors or works are known from this early period. While the Pali literature of these three kingdoms has been relatively little studied, we can point out two general trends. First, there was a marked preference for the use of vernacular languages to comment on Pali texts and compose new works. Second, the majority of Pali texts composed in the region were anonymously authored (Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, 2004; Skilling, 2014, 355). The case of Pali in Cambodia and Laos follows a similar pattern (Saddhātissa, 1979, 1980; Harris, 2005, 82; McDaniel, 2008). According to de Bernon (2006, 56), “it seems that before the twentieth century there has never been in Cambodia any renowned Pāli scholar-monk” (see also de Bernon *et al.*, 2004; de Bernon, 2012).

The most important Pali literary personalities in the region came from the Lanna kingdom. During the 15th and 16th centuries, in particular, Lanna became a center for Pali scholarship, and a Sihaḷa monastic lineage was brought to Chiang Mai by a certain Sumana in 1371. From that moment the connection between the Sihaḷa saṅgha and Chiang Mai is relatively well documented (Penth, 2004, 74) and, as such, the local Pali literary culture and the scope of scholarly erudition resembles, to some degree, literary developments found in Sri Lanka in the first half of the 2nd millennium, namely the interest in histories (on Thai “*tamnan*,” see Lagirarde, 2007), handbook commentaries, and grammatical works.

The earliest author writing in Pali in Lanna was Mahāthera Bodhiramaṃsi, the 15th-century compiler

of the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* “Chronicle of Queen Cāmadevī,” which he translated from earlier written or oral Thai version(s) (von Hinüber, 1996, §426; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, §2.47; Veidlinger, 2007, 52). He was also the author of a history of the Phra Singh Buddha image, called the *Sihinga(buddharūpa-)nidāna* (Saddhātissa, 1989, 43; von Hinüber, 1996, §427).

Arguably the most prominent Pali scholar of the Lanna period was Ñāṇakitti, although very little is known about his biography. He composed two commentaries on the Vinaya and “possibly” eight on Abhidhamma texts (von Hinüber, 2000, 124), among these only three are dated: the *Dhātukathā* and *Pātimokkhagaṇṭhipada* composed in 1492/3, and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅghamahāṭīkāyojanā*, also known as the *Pañcīkā*, composed in 1502/3. In terms of relative chronology, Ñāṇakitti’s *Samantapāsādikāttayojanā* was written earlier than the *Pātimokkhagaṇṭhipada* (→BEB I: Vinaya Commentarial Literature in Pali, 434). He further composed a grammatical work called the *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī*, a commentary on Buddhappiya’s *Rūpasiddhi*. Another grammatical work ascribed to him is the *Mūlakaccāyanayojanā* (Saddhātissa, 1989, 43). He was the *rājaguru* “royal preceptor” of King Tiloka (r. 1441–1487) (Saddhātissa, 1989, 41; Ongsakul, 2005, 80). A manuscript of the *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī* dating from 1558 is preserved in Vat Suñ Men in Phrae in Northern Thailand. Its colophon states that the author dwelt in the Panasārāma (Jack-fruit Monastery) situated to the northwest of Abhinavapura (Chiang Mai); this monastery remains unidentified. The author describes himself as well-versed in all branches of grammar, and as having a full command of the Tipiṭaka together with its commentaries (von Hinüber, 2000, 123). Saddhātissa (1989, 43) conjectures that Ñāṇakitti studied in Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākrāmabāhu VI of Koṭṭē (1412–1467).

Another important scholar of Lanna is Ratanapañña, the author of a history of the *sāsana* entitled the *Jinakālamālī*, composed around 1516 to 1517, and a Pali translation of a Thai chronicle entitled the *Mūlasāsana* (Saddhātissa, 1974, 216; 1989, 44; von Hinüber, 1996, §428; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, §2.55). The author lived in a monastery called Wat Pa Daeng (“Red Forest Monastery”), which was associated with the Sihaḷa monastic lineage. The *Jinakālamālī* presents a history of the *sāsana* from the Buddha up to the establishment of the Sihaḷa monastic lineage in Thailand. The same author possibly composed a Pali commentary on the *mātīkā* of

the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, §3.44) and a commentary (1535) on a short cryptic poem, the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgha* of Sirimaṅgala (see below) (Saddhātissa, 1989, 43; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, §4.108).

Sirimaṅgala is another major Pali scholar from Lanna of whom we know very little, apart from the fact that he was the preceptor of King Muang Ketkloa (r. 1495–1525) (Saddhātissa, 1989, 42; Yamanaka, 2010, 2). He belonged to the Sihaḷa monastic lineage in Chiang Mai and may have taken part in the eighth Tipiṭaka Council held at Wat Mahā Bodhārāma, also known as Wat Chet Yot, in 1447, under the aegis of King Tiloka (r. 1441–1487). The assembly of monks revised the Tipiṭaka texts and eliminated discrepancies and errors, eventually producing the recension that has circulated in northern Thailand until today (Ongsakul, 2005, 80). In the colophon of his works Sirimaṅgala is said to have dwelt in Wat Suan Kuan, near Wat Phra Singh in Chiang Mai (Veidlinger, 2007, 94). Sirimaṅgala composed two commentaries on the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the *Vessantaradīpanī* (1517) and the earlier *Gāthādīpaka* (Yamanaka, 2010; Kourilsky, 2014). He is also author of the *Cakkavāla(ttha)dīpanī*, written in 1520 (von Hinüber, 1996, §400), a learned commentary on a work on Buddhist cosmology. In the same year he wrote the *Saṅkhyāppakāsakaṭīkā*, a commentary on Ñāṇavīlāsa’s *Saṅkhyāppakāsaka* (Coëdès, 1915, 39; Skilling & Pakdeekham, 2002, §2.210), a work “explaining the counting and calculating of time, the systems of weights and distances, the seasons, minted currency in Buddha’s time, etc.” (Ongsakul, 2005, 82). Furthermore, in 1524 he composed the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, a commentary on the *Maṅgalasutta* that is the largest and best known of Sirimaṅgala’s works (partial ed. and trans., Yamnada, 1971; Kourilsky, 2014).

Finally, there were a small number of Pali authors active in the late Ayutthaya to early Bangkok periods. As Saddhātissa (1974, 212) has noted, “in the southern capital of Ayodhya (or Ayuthia) ... it would appear that the only scholars present were those who could translate Pāli texts into Thai and no original Pāli studies from this region are known to us.” There are a few exceptions to this general trend, however. A certain Dhammakitti composed the *Saddhammasaṅgha* in 14th-century Ayutthaya (Saddhātissa, 1974, 213) and may have studied in Sri Lanka with Devarakkhita Jayabāhu Dhammakitti of Gaḍalādeṇiya, who held the position of *saṅgharāja* during this period (Goonatilake 2007, 16). In the 17th century a Pali summary of Thai histories of the

Ayutthaya kingdom, the *Saṅkhepa*, was composed at the request of a certain Phra Narai (Saddhātissa, 1974, 218; see Eoseewong, 2005, 292–330, for a list of the Thai chronicles of the Ayutthaya period). In the 18th century, Vanaratana Vimaladhamma (Phra Phonnarat) composed in Bangkok the *Saṅgītvāṃsa* (d. 1789), a history of Buddhist councils up until the Bangkok council of 1767 in which Rāma I united the divided saṅgha after the fall of Ayutthaya (Saddhātissa, 1974, 219; Coëdès, 1914; von Hinüber, 1996, §199; for Vanaratana's historical context, see Eoseewong, 2005, 232–3; Reynolds, 2006, 143–160).

In conclusion, in the foregoing analysis we have described the changing scope of scholarly erudition in Pali Buddhism up until 1800. In the first half of the 1st millennium, scholarly erudition includes the writing of commentaries and histories. Buddhaghosa, in particular, emerges as an archetype for a developing scholarly ideal. For much of the second half of the millennium, there is the gradual inclusion of the study of Pali grammar and the intensified production of handbooks. From around 900, the scope of erudition diversifies significantly to include handbook commentaries, relic histories, poetry, and philological works and we find, for the first time, the emergence of virtuoso scholars who mastered many of these fields and whose achievements are eulogized in colophons. From around the 15th century, the scholarly ideal further incorporated vernacular scholarship relating to the Pali tradition as well as other independent vernacular and Pali disciplines that were not previously included, such as astrology and nonmonastic law (*dhammasattha*). Finally, towards the end of the 18th century, fewer scholar-monks were writing in Pali, though we see an increase in anonymous Pali scholarship from outside traditional centers of power.

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