

## PRIMOZ PECENKO

### THE *ṭĪKĀS* ON THE FOUR NIKĀYAS: *LĪNATTHAPAKĀSINĪ* AND *SĀRATTHAMAÑJŪSĀ*

The *ṭĪkās*<sup>1</sup> on the first four Nikāyas are in Pāli bibliographical sources<sup>2</sup> mentioned either as:

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Abbreviations and quotation system of Pāli sources follow *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Epilegomena to vol. 1, 1948, pp. 5\*-36\*, and vol. 3, 1992, pp. II-VI) and H. Bechert, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). The only exception will be the PTS editions which will be mostly quoted without edition and date, e. g. Sv-ṭ = Sv-ṭ Ee 1970 I-III, edited by Lily de Silva. However, to make the references more accessible all the abbreviations are given at the end of this article. For transliteration of Burmese see “Table of Transliteration” in H. Bechert et al., *Burmese Manuscripts*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 23, 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. xxi.

1. For the etymology of the word *ṭĪkā* see M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches*

(a) two – more or less complete – different sets:

the old set of *purāṇaṭīkās* with a common name *Linatthapakāsini* (i.e. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Paṭhamā Linatthapakāsini*; *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Dutiya Linatthapakāsini*; *Sāratthapakāsini*; *Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Tatiya Linatthapakāsini*; *Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Catutthā Linatthapakāsini*)<sup>3</sup> and

the later set of *ṭīkās* with a common name *Sāratthamañjūsā* (i.e. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīṭīkā*, *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*; *Papañcasūdanīṭīkā*, *Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā*; *Sāratthapakāsiniṭīkā*, *Tatiya Sāratthamañjūsā*; *Manorathapūraṇīṭīkā*, *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*)<sup>4</sup>, or

(b) as a single set consisting of the *ṭīkās* on *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya* and *Samyuttanikāya* called *Linatthapakāsini* (i.e. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Paṭhamā Linatthapakāsini*; *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Dutiya Linatthapakāsini*; *Sāratthapakāsini*; *Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Tatiya Linatthapakāsini*) and a *ṭīkā* on *Anguttaranikāya* called *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*.

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*Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1986 –), s.v. See also PLC, pp. 192-93; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 148-51; W. B. Bollée, “Die Stellung der Vinayaṭīkās in der Pāli-Literatur”, *ZDMG*, Suppl. 1, 17 (1969), pp. 824-35; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 100-101.

2. The following sources will be discussed: *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Saddhamma-s; edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda, *JPTS* 1890, pp. 21-90); Pagan inscription (edition: G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, “A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma” in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume* (Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee, 1976), pp. 203-217); *Gandhavamsa* (Gv; edited by I.P. Minayeff, *JPTS*, 1886, pp. 54-79); *Sāsanaṅgama* (Sās Ne; edited by C.S. Upasak, Nālandā: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 1961); *Sāsanaṅgama* (Sās-dip Ce; edited by Vimalasārathera, Colombo: Sathāloka Press, 1880); *Piṭakat samuīn*<sup>3</sup> (Piṭ-sm; edition: Yangon: Tipi ṭakanikāya Sāsanaṅ Pru Aphvai<sup>1</sup>, 1989); *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD; edited by V. Trenckner et al., Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924 –).

3. From here onwards the following abbreviations will be used: Sv-pt = *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Paṭhamā Linatthapakāsini*; Ps-pt = *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Dutiya Linatthapakāsini*; Spk-pt = *Sāratthapakāsini*; *Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Tatiya Linatthapakāsini*; Mp-pt = *Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Catutthā Linatthapakāsini*.

4. From here onwards the following abbreviations will be used: Sv-ṭ = *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīṭīkā*, *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*; Ps-ṭ = *Papañcasūdanīṭīkā*, *Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā*; Spk-ṭ = *Sāratthapakāsiniṭīkā*, *Tatiya Sāratthamañjūsā*; Mp-ṭ = *Manorathapūraṇīṭīkā*, *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*.

The authorship of the *purāṇaṭṭikās* (called *Linatthapakāsini*) is usually ascribed to Dhammapāla<sup>5</sup> and that of the later *ṭikās* (called *Sāratthamañjūsā*) is ascribed to Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva<sup>6</sup>. Although according to some catalogues<sup>7</sup> of Pāli manuscripts held in various libraries in Myanmar and Sri Lanka, both sets of *ṭikās* exist in manuscript form, only the *ṭikās* belonging to the single set (b) have been published and the remaining ones belonging to the two sets (a) seem to have been ignored.

In this article I will discuss printed editions and manuscripts of the *nikāyaṭṭikās* – with special emphasis on Myanmar and Sinhala manuscripts which have not been researched yet – and the possibility of the existence of two sets of *nikāyaṭṭikās* instead of only one as it is generally accepted by modern Pāli scholarship.

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5. On the date(s) and works of Dhammapāla(s) see Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 167-170; A.P. Buddhadatta, “The Second Great Commentator” in *Corrections to Geiger Mahāvamsa etc.* (Ambalangoda: Ananda Book Company, 1957), pp. 189-97; *Bhāratīya Bauddhācāryayō* (Colombo: K. M. Ratnasiri, 1949), pp. 63-68; *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayō* (Ambalangoda: S. K. Candratilaka, 1960), pp. 54-55; H. Dhammaratana Thera, *Buddhism in South India*, The Wheel Publication No. 124/125 (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1968), pp. 40-41; Lily de Silva, “Introduction” in Sv-pt, pp. xli-lv; Supaphan Na Bangchang, “Introduction” in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathāṭṭikā* (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), pp. xxiv-xxxix; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, pp. 28 foll.; L. S. Cousins, “Dhammapāla and the *Ṭikā* literature” [review of Sv-pt, ed. by Lily de Silva], *Religion* 2, pt. 1 (1972): pp. 159-65; A. Peiris, “The Colophon to the Paramatthamañjūsā and the Discussion on the Date of ācariya Dhammapāla” in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, ed. by H. Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 61-77; EncBuddh, vol. 4, fasc. 4, pp. 501-504; A.K. Warder, “Some Problems of the Later Pali Literature”, *JPTS* 9 (1981): pp. 198-207; P. Jackson, “A Note on Dhammapāla(s)”, *JPTS* 15 (1990): pp. 209-211.

6. On Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva see P. Pecenko, “Sāriputta and his works”, *JPTS* 23 (1997), pp. 159-179; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 172-173.

7. Here I would like to mention in particular two important catalogues: 1) a catalogue of the temple libraries in Sri Lanka: K.D. Sōmadāsa, *Laṅkāyē puskola pot nāmāvaliya*, Vols. I-III (Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1959-64), and 2) a very important Burmese bibliographic work which also refers to the manuscripts held in the National Library, Yangon: *Piṭakat samuīn*<sup>3</sup> (Yangon: Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsana Pru Aphvai<sup>1</sup>, 1989). These two catalogues of course do not list all the Pāli manuscripts held in Burma and Sri Lanka (cf. 2.2 below).

## 1. The *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas in bibliographical sources

### 1.1. *Saddhammasaṅgaha*

*Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Saddhamma-s), the oldest known bibliographical reference work, was compiled in the 14th Century by Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who visited Ceylon and was a pupil of Dhammakitti<sup>8</sup>. After his visit to Ceylon he “returned to his own country, reached the city of *Yodaya* [Ayodaya] and while staying in a great residence called *Lankārāma* built by the king named Paramarājā he wrote *Saddhammasaṅgaha*”<sup>9</sup>. From the colophon to *Saddhamma-s* it seems likely that Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi was a Thai who wrote *Saddhamma-s* in the ancient Siamese kingdom Ayudhyā (also Ayuthya – *Yodaya*)<sup>10</sup> during the rule of king Paramarāja I

8. *Saddhamma-s* 90, 3-8. According to K. R. Norman Dhammakitti was “probably one of the *saṅgharājas* who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century” (*Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 180). C.E. Godakumbura mentions that Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi “received his ordination under the Dhammakīrti’s of Gaḍalādeniya” (“Introduction” in *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts*, Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1980, pp. xxxi-xxxii). See also PLC, p. 245; H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), vol. 1, p. 265; W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), p. 100-102; K.L. Hazra, *The Buddhist Annals and Chronicles of South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), pp. 69-71; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 3.

Although *Saddhamma-s* is taken here as the oldest bibliographical work, a much earlier list of various Pāli texts from an inscription dated A.D. 1223 has been recently discussed by U Than Tun in “An original inscription dated 10 September 1223 that king Badon copied on 27 October 1785”, *Études birmanes* (Paris: EFEO, 1998), pp. 37-55.

9. *Saddhamma-s* 90, 10-14: ...*punāgato sakaṃ desaṃ sampatto ‘Yodayaṃ [= sampatto Ayodayaṃ] puraṃ, Paramarājābhīdhānena mahārājena kārīte, Lankārā-mamahāvāse vasatā santavuttinā, Dhammakittiyorosāminā ...racitaṃ idaṃ Saddhammasaṅgahan nāma sabbaso parinī hitaṃ.*

10. This was first suggested by G. Coedès, “Note sur les ouvrages pālis composés en pays Thai”, *BEFEO* XV, 3, p. 43. In the “Introduction” in *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1980) C.E. Godakumbura mentions the author of *Saddhamma-s* first as a “Siamese monk who wrote at Gaḍalādeniya in Ceylon during the 14th century A.D.” (p. xxvii, n. 1) and a few pages later as a “*thera* from India who also bore the name Dhammakitti” (p. xxxii). See also A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ānanda Potsamāgama, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 383-86.

(Borommoracha I – 1370-1388)<sup>11</sup>. Paramarāja I was “a contemporary of the [author’s teacher] Dhammakitti who lived during the reign of [Sinhala king] Bhuvanaikabāhu V (1372-1408)”<sup>12</sup>. It is also known that the Buddhism practised in Ayudhyā at that time was the *theravāda* of the Sinhala tradition<sup>13</sup>.

In Saddhamma-s two sets of *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas are mentioned: *Linatthapakāsini* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*.

*Linatthapakāsini* was written by the *porāṇas*<sup>14</sup> and was a subcommentary (*atthavaṇṇanā*) on the *atthakathās* of the entire *tipiṭaka*<sup>15</sup>.

The second set of *ṭikās* on the first four Nikāyas was called *Sāratthamañjūsā* and was compiled – as a part of the “new” compilation of *ṭikās* on the entire canon – during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-86) by the convocation of “elders” (*therā bhikkhū*)<sup>16</sup> presided over by Diṃbulāgala Mahākassapathera, who was the first *saṅgharāja*

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11. D.K. Wyatt, *Thailand, A Short History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 312.

12. W.M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), pp. 101-102. According to G. Coedès (“Note sur les ouvrages pâlis composés en pays Thai”, *BEFEO* XV, 3, p. 43) “il est impossible de fixer la date à laquelle ce texte fut compilé, ce nom de Paramarāja ayant été porté par plusieurs souverains d’Ayuthya”.

13. EncBuddh, vol. 2, fasc. 3, p. 474; D.K. Wyatt, *Thailand, A Short History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 61-98; K.L. Hazra, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982), pp. 152-153.

14. On *porāṇas* see Adikaram, EHBC, pp. 16-18; F. Lottermoser, *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa: Contributions towards the Study of the Lost Siḥatthakathā Literature* (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Göttingen, 1982), pp. 209-13.

15. Saddhamma-s 58, 29-30: *piṭakattayaṭṭhakathāya linatthappakāsanantham atthavaṇṇanam purāṇehi kamaṃ*. Although in this reference the *ṭikās* on the first four Nikāyas are not listed explicitly it seems probable that they were called *Linatthappakāsini*. H. Saddhatissa (“Introduction” in *Upās*, p. 47, n. 154) explains: “The *Linatthavaṇṇanā* is also called *Linatthappakāsini*... The *Saddhammasaṅgha* has freely used the word *atthavaṇṇanā* for *ṭikā* and further amplified it as the *Atthavaṇṇanā* for the purpose of elucidating the hidden meanings (*Linatthappakāsanantham atthavaṇṇanam*)”. Cf. the title of Sv-pt, ed. by Lily de Silva: *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭikā Linatthavaṇṇanā*.

16. Cf. Saddhamma-s 59, 14-18: *atha kho therā bhikkhū... atthavaṇṇanam thapesum*; 62, 13: *piṭakattayaṭṭikā ca ṭikācariyehi bhāsītā* [v. 7].

The date of the assembly “is tentatively fixed at A.D. 1165” (V. Panditha, “Buddhism During the Polonnaruva Period” in *The Polonnaruva Period*, Dehiwala: Tisara Prakashakayo, 1973, p. 137). See also Mhv LXXII 2 foll.; LXXVIII 1-30; W. Geiger, “Introduction” in Mhv Trsl., pp. 28-29; Geiger, § 31, n. 4.

in Ceylon and the most senior monk from Udumbaragīrivihāra<sup>17</sup>. The entire compilation was accomplished within one year.

While the individual *ṭikās* of the first set are not explicitly mentioned, Saddhamma-s lists the four *ṭikās* of the second set as follows:

*tadanantaram suttantapiṭake Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā atthavaṇṇanaṃ ārabhitvā mūlabhāsāya Māgadhikāya niruttiyā paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Papañcasūdanīyā... dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sāratthappakāsaniyā... tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāya Manorathapūraṇīyā... catuttha-Sārattha-mañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanam ṭhapesuṃ*<sup>19</sup>.

Saddhamma-s explains that the second set of *ṭikās* (*Sāratthamañjūsā*) was written because the existing set (*Līnatthapakāsini*) “did not serve the purpose of bhikkhus residing in different countries”<sup>20</sup>, the reason being that “some [*ṭikās*] were written in many terse expressions according to the grammar of the Sinhala language, some were written in the dialect of Magadha, which is the basic language, but they have been confused and twisted by translation”<sup>21</sup>. The *Līnatthapakāsini* set was nevertheless used

17. Saddhamma-s 59, 7: *Mahākassapattherapamukhaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ*; on Mahākassapatthera of Udumbaragīrivihāra see also P. Pecenko, “Notes” in *Aṅguttaranikāya ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ Ee), vol. I, pp. 106-107, n. 1,5; PLC, pp. 176-77, 192-94; PPN s. v. 2. Mahā Kassapa; A. P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), pp. 75-77; H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), vol. 1, p. 265.

18. Saddhamma-s 60, 25-27: *ayaṃ piṭakaṭṭhakathāya atthavaṇṇanā ekasaṃvaccharen’ eva ni hīta*.

19. Saddhamma-s 59, 23-35; cf. Saddhamma-s 61, 21-23: *piṭakattayavaṇṇanā ca līnatthassa pakāsana, Sāratthadīpanī nāma Sāratthamañjūsā pi ca* [v. 18], *Paramatthappakāsani mahātherehi bhāsītā, sattānaṃ sabba-bhāsānaṃ sā ahoṣi hitāvahā* [v. 19].

20. Saddhamma-s 58, 30-31: *taṃ sabbaṃ desantarāvāsinaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ na sādheti*; translation B.C. Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941), p. 84. Cf. Saddhamma-s 61, 9-10: *piṭakaṭṭhakathāyāhaṃ līnatthassa pakāsanaṃ, na taṃ sabbattha bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ sādheti sabbaso* [v. 12].

21. Saddhamma-s 58, 31 – 59, 2: *kattha ci anekesu gaṇṭhipadesu Sīhalabhāsāya niruttiyā likhitaṃ ca kattha ci mūlabhāsāya Māgadhikāya bhāsantarena sammissaṃ*

as a basis for the new “complete and clear *atthavaṇṇanā*”<sup>22</sup>, the mistakes in the old *ṭikās* were removed but their essence was kept in its entirety<sup>23</sup>.

## 1.2. The Pagan inscription

The second important source of information about the *ṭikās* on the four *Nikāyas* is the Pagan inscription of 1442 A.D. (804 B.E.), inscribed in the beginning of the rule of Narapati (1442-68)<sup>24</sup>, less than three centuries after Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186). The inscription gives a list of 299 manuscripts<sup>25</sup>, amongst which the *ṭikās* on the four *Nikāyas* are also mentioned.

The titles of the *ṭikās* given in this inscription are very similar to the titles given in *Piṭakat samuiṅ*<sup>3</sup> (*Piṭ-sm*)<sup>26</sup>, which in turn are also very similar to the titles of the *Chatṭhasaṅgāyana* editions of these *ṭikās*.

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*ākulāṅ ca katvā likhitaṅ ca*; translation B.C. Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941), p. 84. See also Saddhamma-s 61, 9-18 and a similar passage in Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 2, 5-16.

22. Saddhamma-s 59, 2-3: *mayam bhāsantaraṃ apānetvā paripuṇṇaṃ anākulaṃ atthavaṇṇanaṃ kareyyāmaṃ ti*.

23. Saddhamma-s 61, 19-20 = Sp-ṭ Be 1960 I 2, 15-16: *bhāsantaraṃ tato hitvā sāraṃ ādāya sabbaso, anākulaṃ karissāmi paripuṇṇavinicchayaṃ*. The introductory passages of the existing printed editions of Sv-pṭ Ee, Ps-pṭ Be 1961, Spk-pṭ Be 1961, which belong to the old *Linatthapakāsini* set, are, with the exception of minor orthographic differences, practically identical; the introduction in Mp-ṭ Ee 1996, which is the fourth (*catutthā*) *ṭikā* of the later *Sāratthamañjūsā* set, is – although similar to Sv-pṭ Ee, Ps-pṭ Be 1961, Spk-pṭ Be 1961 – much closer to Sp-ṭ Be 1960 and Sv-ṅ Be 1961. See P. Pecenko, “Table of Parallel Passages” in Mp-ṭ I.; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in *Upās*, p. 47, n. 154.

24. G.H. Luce and Tin Htway, “A 15th Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma” in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume* (Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee, 1976), pp. 203-217; PLB, p. 41. Cf. also an article about a 13th Century inscription from Pagan: U Than Tun, “An original inscription dated 10 September 1223 that king Badon copied on 27 October 1785”, *Études birmanes* (Paris: EFEO, 1998), pp. 37-55.

25. Catalogue in G. H. Luce and Tin Htway, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-248. The *ṭikās* in this article are quoted according to their numbers in the Catalogue with the same transliteration of their titles. Cf. PLB, pp. 102-109; Niharranjan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), pp. 193-195.

26. Also *Piṭakat to<sup>2</sup> samuiṅ<sup>3</sup>* or *Piṭakat suṃ<sup>3</sup> puṃ<sup>3</sup> cā tam<sup>3</sup>*. I consulted the edition published by *Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsanaṅ Pru Aphvai*<sup>1</sup> in Yangon, 1989. On *Piṭ-sm* see 1.6 below.

The *ṭikās* on DN, MN and SN are listed as follows:

- the *ṭikā* on DN has three entries: *ṭīgā sīlakkhandhavā dīghanikāy* (no. 44), *ṭīgā mahāvā dīghanikāy* (no. 45) and *ṭīgā pādheyyavā dīghanikāy* (no. 46)<sup>27</sup>;
- the *ṭikā* on MN also has three entries: *ṭikā mūlapaṇṇāsa* (no. 53), *ṭikā majjhima-paṇṇāsa* (no. 54) and *ṭīgā upariṇṇāsa* (no. 55)<sup>28</sup>;
- and the *ṭikā* on SN has two entries: *ṭīgā sagāthavā saṇyut* (no. 63) and *ṭīgā khandhavaggādi saṇyut* (no. 65)<sup>29</sup>.

In the section on AN (List 934b<sup>45</sup>) two different *ṭikās* are listed: *ṭīgā aṅguttuiw krī [mahā]* (no. 75)<sup>30</sup> which is translated by G.H. Luce and Tin Htway: “Greater Aṅguttara sub-commentary” and further identified as *Sāratthamañjūsā*, and *ṭīgā aṅguttuiw ṇay [culla]* (no. 76)<sup>31</sup> which is translated: “Lesser Aṅguttara subcommentary”.

27. Cf. Piṭ-sm 187: *Sutsīlakkhanṭikā hon*<sup>3</sup>, 189: *Sutmahāvāṭikā*, 190: *Sutpātheyyaṭikā*; Sv-pt Be 1961 I: *Sīlakkhandhavaggaṭikā*, II: *Mahāvaggaṭikā*, III: *Pāthikavaggaṭikā*.

28. Cf. Piṭ-sm 191: *Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭikā*, 192: *Majjhimpaṇṇāsaṭikā*, 193: *Upariṇṇāsaṭikā*; Ps-p Be 1961 I-II: *Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭikā*, III: *Majjhimpaṇṇāsaṭikā* and *Upariṇṇāsaṭikā*.

29. Cf. Piṭ-sm 194: *Sagāthāvaggasaṃyuttikā*, 195: *Nidānavaggasaṃyuttikā*, 196: *Khandhavaggasaṃyuttikā*, 197: *Salāyatanaṃvaggasaṃyuttikā*, 198: *Mahāvaggasaṃyuttikā*; Spk-pt Be 1961 I: *Sagāthāvaggassa atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Saṃyuttaṭikā*, II: *Nidāna-Khandha-Salāyatana-Mahāvaggānaṃ atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Saṃyuttaṭikā*. (If the sequence of *vaggas* of Spk-pt given in the inscription was the same as in Piṭ-sm and in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition the second entry should read *ṭīgā nidānavaggādi saṇyut* and not *ṭīgā khandhavaggādi saṇyut*).

30. The title written on the first folio of the Ms. of Mp-ṭ held in the British Library (Or 2089) is very similar: *ṭikā ekkaniṭāt aṅgutra krī*. Cf. Pi -sm 202-212: *Ekaṅguttaraṭikāsac*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭikāsac*,... , *Dasāṅguttaraṭikāsac*, *Ekādasāṅguttaraṭikāsac*; Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I-III: *Sāratthamañjūsā nāma Aṅguttaraṭikā*. In Burmese *sac* means “new, revised”, *ṭikāsac* therefore means the “new *ṭikā*”, i. e. Mp-ṭ, *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*. In Piṭ-sm 202 it is also called *Mahāṭikā*. (All the Burmese words and sentences from Piṭ-sm which I quote here were translated into English by Elisabeth Lawrence, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University).

31. Cf. Piṭ-sm 199: *Ekaṅguttaraṭikāhoṇ*<sup>3</sup>, 200: *Dukaṅguttaraṭikāhoṇ*<sup>3</sup>, 201: *Tikaṅguttaraṭikāhoṇ*<sup>3</sup>. *hoṇ*<sup>3</sup> in Burmese means “old, ancient”, *ṭikāhoṇ*<sup>3</sup> therefore means the “old *ṭikā*”, i. e. Mp-pt, *Catutthā Linatthapakāsini*.

The names of the two sets of *ṭikās* are not mentioned in the inscription.

### 1.3. *Gandhavaṃsa*

*Gandhavaṃsa* (Gv), a much later work written by a Burmese *araññavāsīn* Nandapaññā<sup>32</sup> probably in the 17th Century<sup>33</sup>, lists both *Linatthapakāsini* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*. The first one is mentioned as: *Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ Linatthapakāsini nāma ṭikā*<sup>34</sup>, and was according to Gv written independently by *Dhammapālācariya*<sup>35</sup>.

*Sāratthamañjūsā* is mentioned only as *Āṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya Sāratthamañjūsā nāma ṭikā*<sup>36</sup>, a work written by *Sāriputta*<sup>37</sup>. Further on this work of *Sāriputta*, which was written at the request of *Parakkamabāhu*, king of *Laṅkā*, is also referred to as *Āṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ikāgandho*<sup>38</sup>.

According to Gv, the *Linatthapakāsini* set consisted of the *ṭikās* on all the four Nikāyas and *Sāratthamañjūsā* was the name of the *ṭikā* on AN only. To distinguish it from the older *ṭikā* on AN, *Catutthā*

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32. Gv 80, 5-6: *iti pāmojjatthāyāraññavāsīnā Nandapaññācariyena kato Cullagandhavaṃso*; Gv 79, 26: *Haṃsāraṭṭhajāto Nandapañño ti visuto. Haṃsāraṭṭha* is the Pāli name for the kingdom of Pegu the capital of which was *Haṃsavaṭī*. See PLB, p. 36.

33. PLB, p. x. According to Oskar von Hinüber this is “a later systematic survey of unknown date” (*A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 3). See also Winternitz, HIL, vol. 2, p. 176, n. 4; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ānanda Potsamāgama, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 410-11; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 180-81; K.L. Hazra, *The Buddhist Annals and Chronicles of South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), pp. 89-91.

34. Gv 60, 11-12.

35. Gv 69, 30-34: *Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ ṭikā-gandho... attano matiṃ Dhammapālācariyena katā*.

36. Gv 61, 32-33.

37. Gv 61, 30. Cf. H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in *Upās*, p. 47, n. 154.

38. Gv 71, 10-14: *Sāratthadīpanī nāma... Āṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ṭikā-gandho ti ime cattāro gandhā Parakkamabāhunāmena Laṅkāḍīpissarena raññā āyācītena Sāriputtācariyena katā*. Cf. Piṭ-sm 202 where the later *ṭikā* on Mp (Mp-ṭ) is mentioned as “new greater *ṭikā*” (*ṭikā sac krī*).

*Linatthapakāsinī*, *Sāratthamañjūsā* was also classified as a *navā ṭikā*. This confirms the information given in the Pagan inscription where these two *ṭikās* are mentioned as the “lesser” (*ñay*) and the “greater” (*krī*) *ṭikā*<sup>39</sup>. The other three *ṭikās* of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set (*Paṭhamā*, *Dutiyā* and *Tatīyā Sāratthamañjūsā*) are – as in the Pagan inscription – not mentioned at all.

#### 1.4. Sāsanavaṃsa

*Sāsanavaṃsa* (Sās), a work “written in Burma in AD 1861 by Paññāsāmi, tutor of King Min-dōn-min who held the fifth council a few years later”<sup>40</sup>, does not give the names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (*Linatthapakāsinī* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*); it simply states that *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā* and *Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā* were written by *ācariya* Dhammapāla<sup>41</sup>, and *Ānguttaranikāyaṭṭikā* was written by *Sāriputta* *thera* at the request of the king Parakkamabāhu<sup>42</sup>.

The distinction between the two sets of *ṭikās* mentioned in Saddhamma-s, and in the case of AN also in the Pagan inscription and Gv, is not mentioned in Sās. The two authors are nevertheless clearly stated and this indicates that in the year 1861, when Sās was compiled, the only known set of *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas consisted of two kinds of *ṭikās* – the older three on DN, MN and SN written by Dhammapāla, and the later one on AN written by *Sāriputta*.

39. Cf. nn. 29-30 above.

40. K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 181-82. King Min-dōn (1852-1877), also called the “Convener of the Fifth Council”, held the council in Mandalay in 1868-71 (PLB, pp. 92-94). On Sās see also A.P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potasamāgama, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 407-409; V.B. Lieberman, “A new look at the Sāsanavaṃsa”, *BSOAS* 39 (1976): pp. 137-49; K.L. Hazra, *The Buddhist Annals and Chronicles of South-East Asia* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), pp. 91-94.

41. Sās Ne 1961 31, 10-12: *Visuddhimaggassa mahāṭikā*, *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā* *sā ti imāyo ācariya-Dhammapālathero akāsi*.

42. Sās Ne 1961 31, 13-14: *Sāratthadīpanim nāma ṭikaṃ*, *Ānguttaranikāyaṭṭikāṃ ca Parakkamabāhuraññā yācito Sāriputtathero akāsi*.

Sās lists also another much later *ṭikā* on DN called *Sādhujana-vilāsini* (Sv-nt)<sup>43</sup> written by the *saṅgharāja* Nāṇābhivamsa<sup>44</sup>.

### 1.5. *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*

*Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* (Sās-dip) is a work “comparable” to Sās, but “devoted to the authors and books of Ceylon”<sup>45</sup>. It was completed in 1879 by *ācariya* Vimalasāra *thera*, published in 1880 in Colombo<sup>46</sup> and covers “the history of Buddhism in Ceylon down to the time of the introduction of the Burmese upasampadā in 1802 A.D.”<sup>47</sup>. The information about the *ṭikās* on the four *Nikāyas* in Sās-dip is the same

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43. Sās Ne 1961 124, 7-8: *saṅgharājā hutvā Sādhujjanavilāsiniṃ nāma Dīghanikāyaṭṭikaṃ akāsi*. Cf. the title of Sv-nt Be 1961 I-II: *Silakkhandhavaggaṭṭhakaṭṭhāya atthavaṇṇanābhūtā Nāṇābhivamsa-dhammasenāpatināmena mahātherena katā Sādhuvilāsiniṃ nāma Silakkhandhavagga-abhinava-ṭikā*.

44. Nāṇābhivamsa, also mentioned as Nāṇābhīsāsanaadhajamahādhammarājaguruthera or Nāṇābhivamsadhammasenāpatimahādhammarājadhīrājagurū (Sās Ne 1961 123, 13-14 and 25-26) was a *saṅgharājā* of Burma during the rule of king Bodōpayā (1782-1819) and also wrote, among several other works, *Sādhu-(jana)-vilāsini* (Sv-nt) and *Peṭakālaṃkāra*, *Netti-(nava)-mahāṭikā* (Nett-mḥṭ). See PLB, pp. 77-78; A.P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Baudhācāryayō* (Ambalamgoḍa: S.K. Candratilaka, 1960), pp. 175-78; Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 176.

45. K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 182. Although most of the authors and books mentioned in Sās-dip Ce 1880 are from Ceylon there are nevertheless also quite a few references to authors from India and Burma, e. g.: Aggavaṃsa (v. 1238), Buddhappiya (v. 1239), Dāṭhānāga (v. 1241), Coḷiyācariya Sāriputtathera (v. 1244), Chappaṭa (v. 1247), Nāṇābhivamsa (v. 1215), etc. See also the “Contents”, “*Vijānāpanaṃ*” and “*Sūcīpattaṃ*” (pp. i-vii) in Sās-dip Ce 1880; PLC, p. 311; A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pālisāhityaya* (Ambalamgoḍa: Ananda Potasamāgama, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 409-410.

46. The book has two title pages: the first one in Sinhala letters and the second in Roman letters. The Sinhala title page reads: *Sakyamunivasse 2423 [1879 A.D.] – Sāsanavaṃsadīpo – ācariya-Vimalasārattherapādena viracito – tassānumatiya Balanāsara Virasīhāmacceṇa c’ eva tadaññehi ca budhikehi janehi Koḷamba-ṭhānīyasmim Sathhālokayantasālāyaṃ muddapito – Saugate samvacchare 2424 [1880 A.D.]*; the second title page reads: *The Sasanavansa dipo or The History of the Buddhist Church in Pali verse, compiled from Buddhist Holy Scriptures, Commentaries, Histories, & c., & c. by Acariya Vimalasara Thera. AB 2423. Colombo. Printed at the Satthaloka Press for Balatasara Virasinha Amacca and others. AB 2424.*

47. K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 182.

as in Sās. The names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (*Līnatthapakāsinī* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*) given in Saddhamma-s and Gv are not mentioned at all. Only one set of *ṭikās* is listed and it does not have any special name; the *ṭikās* on DN, MN, and SN are ascribed to Dhammapāla<sup>48</sup>, and a *ṭikā* on AN is ascribed to Sāriputta<sup>49</sup>.

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, who wrote *Sādhujanavilāsinī*, *Silakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭṭikā* (Sv-nt), is mentioned as the author of “several books beginning with *Nettiṭṭikā*”<sup>50</sup>.

### 1.6. *Piṭakat samuiṅ*<sup>3</sup>

*Piṭakat samuiṅ*<sup>3</sup> (Piṭ-sm) “was composed in 1888 A.D. by Maṅ<sup>3</sup> krī<sup>3</sup> Mahāsiriṅjeyasū alias Ū<sup>3</sup> Yaṃ, Ū<sup>3</sup> Yam or Ū<sup>3</sup> Ran, who had been the Royal Librarian of the last Burmese king”, and “represents an attempt to collect whatever information was available in Burma at that time on literary works in Pāli and Burmese and on their authors”<sup>51</sup>. Piṭ-sm is “the largest and the best work of its kind”; the author “lists 2047 titles, and he provides additional knowledge on most of the works listed”<sup>52</sup>.

48. Sās-dīp Ce 1880, vv. 1231-1232: ...*ṭikā Dighāgamassa ca, Majjhimaṭṭhakathāṭṭikā Sāṅyuttaṭṭhakathāya ca,...* *Dhammapālena dhīmatā racitā therapādena suttantanayadassinā.*

49. Sās-dīp Ce 1880, vv. 1201-1203: *Āṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāṭṭikā... therena Sāriputtena katā.*

50. Sās-dīp Ce 1880, v. 1215: *Ñāṇābhivaṃsadhammādīsenāpatiyatissaro, Nettiṭṭikādayo neke gandhe viracayi sudhī.*

51. H. Bechert et al., *Burmese Manuscripts*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 23, 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. xiii. The last Burmese king was Thibaw (1878-1885), who was the successor of king Min-dōn (1852-1877). See H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 6-7; also Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), p. 3.

52. H. Bechert et al., *op. cit.*, p. xiii. In the edition of Piṭ-sm that I consulted (published in Yangon by Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsanaṅ Pru Aphvai<sup>1</sup>, 1989) it is also mentioned (Piṭ-sm, p. 111, fn. \*) that the reference numbers of the texts are marked with asterisks, if their manuscripts are held in the National Library (previously Bernard Free Library), Yangon – “so that the *Piṭakat samuiṅ*<sup>3</sup> represents a rather complete catalogue of the Burmese National Library too” (H. Bechert et al., *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv). Cf. also U Thaw Kaung, “Bibliographies Compiled in Myanmar”, *Études birmanes* (Paris: EFEO, 1998), pp. 403-414.

Piṭ-sm lists the same *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas as the Pagan inscription and Gv and, as already mentioned, the titles of the *ṭikās* given in all three sources are very similar<sup>53</sup>. The names of the two sets, *Linatthapakāsinī* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*, and the two authors, Dhammapāla and Sāriputta, are mentioned as in Gv. The reference numbers of all the *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas listed in Piṭ-sm<sup>54</sup> are marked with asteriks which means that, according to the 1989 edition of Piṭ-sm, the manuscripts of all these *ṭikās* are held in the National Library, Yangon.

The *Linatthapakāsinīṭikās* on DN, MM and SN, written by Dhammapāla, are listed as follows:

- the *Linatthapakāsinī* on DN is listed under three entries: *Sutsīlakkhanṭikā hoṅ<sup>3</sup>*, *Sutmahāvāṭṭikā* and *Sutpātheyyaṭṭikā*<sup>55</sup>;
- the *Linatthapakāsinī* on MN is also listed under three entries: *Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭṭikā*, *Majjhimaṇṇāsaṭṭikā* and *Uparipaṇṇāsaṭṭikā*<sup>56</sup>;
- the *Linatthapakāsinī* on SN has five entries: *Sagāthavagga-saṃyutṭikā*, *Nidānavagga-saṃyutṭikā*, *Khandhavagga-saṃyutṭikā*, *Salāyatanavagga-saṃyutṭikā* and *Mahāvagga-saṃyutṭikā*<sup>57</sup>.

Piṭ-sm lists two *ṭikās* on AN: a *ṭikā* written by Dhammapāla and a *ṭikā* written by Sāriputta.

The first *ṭikā* is listed as incomplete and has three entries: *Ekaṅguttaraṭṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup>*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup>* and *Tikaṅguttaraṭṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup>*. Although it is called the “old” (*hoṅ<sup>3</sup>*) *ṭikā* the common name *Linatthapakāsinī* is not mentioned at all<sup>58</sup>. According to Piṭ-sm 199

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53. Cf. nn. 26-30 above.

54. Piṭ-sm 187-212.

55. Piṭ-sm 187, 189-90. *Sīlakkhandhavaggaṭṭikā* is listed as the “old” (*hoṅ<sup>3</sup>*) *ṭikā*, i. e. Sv-pt, *Paṭhamā Linatthapakāsinī*, not to distinguish it from Sv-t, *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*, but from *Sādhujanavilāsiniṭṭikā* (Sv-nt) which is in Piṭ-sm 188 listed as the “new” (*sac*) *ṭikā*.

56. Piṭ-sm 191-193.

57. Piṭ-sm 194-198.

58. Piṭ-sm 199-201.

“the remaining 8 manuscripts of the old *ṭikā*, i.e. the *ṭikā* on *Catukaṅguttara*, *Pañcaṅguttara*,... *Ekādasāṅguttara*, cannot be found anywhere in Burma”<sup>59</sup>.

The second *ṭikā* on AN is mentioned as a “new, revised” *ṭikā* (*sac*) and it has the following eleven entries<sup>60</sup>: *Ekaṅguttaraṭṭikāsac*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭṭikāsac*, *Tikaṅguttaraṭṭikāsac*,... *Dasāṅguttaraṭṭikāsac*, *Ekādasāṅguttaraṭṭikāsac*. The entry under Piṭ-sm 202 gives some additional information about this *ṭikā*:

It was obtained by the king Narapati of Pagan from Tamba[paṇṇi]dīpa in Jambūdīpa and was written during the reign of the king Sirimahāparakkama-bāhu by a monk who was an expert in *dhamma* and had 3 names: Sāriputta, Sāritanuja and Mahāsāmi. This new greater *ṭikā* (*ṭikā sac kri*) has 11 manuscripts/bundles; it called *Sāratthamañjūsā* and also *Mahāṭṭikā*<sup>61</sup>.

Although Piṭ-sm gives essentially the same information about the *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas as the Pagan inscription and Gv, it is interesting to note that the old *ṭikā* on AN written by Dhammapāla is not mentioned as a part of *Linatthapakāsini* set. Piṭ-sm also does not list any of the first three *ṭikās* of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ).

59. Translated by Elisabeth Lawrence. Piṭ-sm 199 reads: *ekaṅguttara ṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup> – mhā/ sīhuilkyvan<sup>3</sup> anurādhamru<sup>1</sup> anok bādaratitthakyoṅ<sup>3</sup> ne rhaṅdhammapālaprusaṅṅ<sup>1</sup>// thuiṭikā hoṅ<sup>3</sup>kā<sup>3</sup> ekaṅguttara/ dukaṅguttara/ tikaṅguttara 3-kyam<sup>3</sup>sā aphvaṅ<sup>1</sup> ṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup> rhiṣaṅṅ<sup>1</sup>// kyancatukaṅguttara/ pañcaṅguttara/ chakkaṅguttara/ sattaṅguttara/ aṭṭhaṅguttara/ navaṅguttara/ dasāṅguttara/ ekādasāṅguttaratuiṅ aphvaṅ<sup>1</sup> ṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup> 8-coṅkā<sup>3</sup> yakhumranmātuiṅ<sup>3</sup>nuiṅṅaṅkvaṅmarhihu mhatle//* (word division as in Piṭ-sm).

60. Piṭ-sm 202-212.

61. Translated by Elisabeth Lawrence. Piṭ-sm 202 reads: *ekaṅguttaraṭṭikāsac – mhā/ jambūdipkyvan<sup>3</sup>-tambādīpatuiṅ<sup>3</sup> pugam praṅṅ narapaticāṅṅsūmaṅ<sup>3</sup>nhaṅ<sup>1</sup>-apruṅṅsīhuilkyvan<sup>3</sup>siri-mahāparakkamabāhu-maṅ<sup>3</sup> lakhak rhaṅsāriputtarā/ rhaṅsāritanuja/ rhaṅmahāsāmiṅpāsāda 3-maṅṅ raso matherprusaṅṅ/ thuirhaṅsāriputtarākā<sup>3</sup> buddhadāsamaṅ<sup>3</sup> sā<sup>3</sup>to<sup>2</sup>taṅṅ<sup>3</sup>// aṅguttaranikāy 11-kyam<sup>3</sup> ṭikāsackri<sup>3</sup>kuilaṅṅ<sup>3</sup> sāratthamañjūsāṭṭikā amaṅṅmhaṅṅ<sup>1</sup>saṅṅ/ mahāṭṭikālaṅṅ<sup>3</sup>kho<sup>2</sup>saṅṅ//* (word division as in Piṭ-sm).

### 1.7. Critical Pāli Dictionary

The last bibliographical source I would like to discuss is *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD), Epilegomena to vol. I, pp. 40\*-41\*, which was published in 1948. Essentially it is very similar to the earliest bibliographical work, *Saddhamma-s*, because both sources mention two complete sets of *ṭikās*, *Linatthapakāsinī* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*. According to CPD the first set was written by Dhammapāla, and the second one by Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva. The *ṭikās* of the *Linatthapakāsinī* set are also called *pūraṇaṭikās* (pṭ), while the *ṭikās* of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set are called just *ṭikās* (ṭ). *Sādhujanavilāsinī*, a later *ṭikā* written by Ñāṇābhivamsa, is called *navatīkā* (nṭ). For the first three *ṭikās* of the older set (Sv-pṭ, Ps-pṭ, Spk-pṭ), for the fourth *ṭikā* of the later set (Mp-ṭ), and for the new *ṭikā* on DN (Sv-nṭ) some references are given to existing published editions or manuscripts<sup>62</sup>. For the first three *ṭikās* of the later set (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ)<sup>63</sup> no manuscripts or editions are mentioned, and the fourth *ṭikā* of the older set (Mp-pṭ) is referred to Piṭ-sm 199-201<sup>64</sup>. This indicates that although in CPD both sets of *ṭikās* are listed, only four *ṭikās* were actually available to the editor of CPD: the first three of the *Linatthapakāsinī* set and the fourth of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set.

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62. In CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, pp. 40\*-41\* the following sources are given: for Sv-pṭ: Be 1924 I-III (2.1,11); for Ps-pṭ and Spk-pṭ: the transcripts (1934) from Burmese manuscripts of the National Library (former Bernard Free Library), Yangon (2.2,11; 2.3,11; cf. Piṭ-sm 191-198); for Mp-ṭ: Be 1910 I-II (2.4,12); for Sv-nṭ: Be 1913-23 I-II (2.1,13). CPD, vol. III, p. iv mentions also Sv-ṭ as “*Ṣilakkandhavaggaṭikā* by Dhammapāla, Be, Vol. I-II, (*Buddhasāsanasamiti*), Rangoon, 1961” which is a mistake; this could be either Sv-pṭ Be 1961 I by Dhammapāla, or Sv-nṭ Be 1961 I-II by Ñāṇābhivamsa. Other editions and manuscripts of these *ṭikās* will be discussed below.

63. CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, pp. 40\*-41\*: 2.1,12; 2.2,12; 2.3,12. The manuscripts of these *ṭikās* listed in Sōmadāsa’s catalogue *Laṅkāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya* (LPP) will be discussed below.

64. CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, pp. 41\*: 2.4,11.

The above discussion of the bibliographical references can be presented as follows:

Table I: The *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas in bibliographical works

Source	DN/Sv	MN/Ps	SN/Spk	AN/Mp	Authorship
1.1. Sad-s <sup>65</sup> (14. cent.)	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup>	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup>	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup>	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup>	<i>porāṇas</i> <i>theras</i>
1.2. Pagan (1442)	(p)ṭ -	(p)ṭ -	(p)ṭ -	pt ṭ	- -
1.3. Gv (17. cent.)	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> -	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> -	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> -	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> (n)ṭ <sup>*</sup>	Dhammapāla Sāriputta
1.4. Sās (1861)	(p)ṭ - (n)ṭ	(p)ṭ - -	(p)ṭ - -	- ṭ -	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇābhivamsa
1.5. Sās-dip (1880)	(p)ṭ - (n)ṭ	(p)ṭ - -	(p)ṭ - -	- ṭ -	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇābhivamsa
1.6. Pi -sm (1888)	(p)ṭ <sup>*</sup> - nṭ	(p)ṭ <sup>*</sup> - -	(p)ṭ <sup>*</sup> - -	pt ṭ <sup>*</sup> -	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇābhivamsa
1.7. CPD (1948)	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup> nṭ	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup> -	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup> -	pt <sup>ṭ*</sup> ṭ <sup>*</sup> -	Dhammapāla Sāriputta Ñāṇābhivamsa

## 2. Manuscripts and editions of the *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas

The bibliographical sources in Table I can be divided into three groups: works which mention only one set of *nikāyaṭikās* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-ṭ), works which list an additional *Āṅguttaraṭikā* (i.e. Mp-pt) and works which list two complete sets of *nikāyaṭikās* (the old

65. Sad-s=Saddhamma-s.

66. The *ṭikās* listed with the titles *Linathapakāsīnī* (pt) or *Sāratthamañjūsā* (ṭ) are marked with \*.

set: Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ, and the later set: Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ). Here I would like to discuss manuscripts and printed editions of the *nikāyaṭikās* belonging to the both sets.

## 2.1. One set of *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas

Sās and Sās-dip mention only one set of *ṭikās*<sup>67</sup> consisting of the three “older” *ṭikās* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ) written by Dhammapāla and the fourth “later” *ṭikā* (Mp-ṭ) written by Sāriputta. There is no distinction between *Linatthapakāsini* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*; all are called just *ṭikās*. Besides the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana editions<sup>68</sup> there exist also several other editions<sup>69</sup> and manuscripts of these *ṭikās*<sup>70</sup>. Because these *ṭikās*

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67. Sv-ṇ compiled by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, a much later work, will not be discussed from here onwards. There exists a Chatṭhasaṅgāyana ed.: Sv-ṇ Be 1961 I-II; CPD, Epilegomena to vol. 1, p. 40\* mentions also Sv-ṇ Be 1913-23 I-II (2.1,13). The Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition of this *ṭikā* is available also on *Chatṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM* (Versions: 1.1, 2.0, 3.0) published by Vipassana Research Institute (Website: <www.vri.dhamma.org>).

68. Sv-ṭ Be 1961 I-III; Ps-ṭ Be 1961 I-III; Spk-ṭ Be 1961 I-II; Mp-ṭ Be 1961 I-III. The Chatṭha-saṅgāyana editions of this *ṭikās* are available also on *Chatṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM* (Versions: 1.1, 2.0, 3.0) published by Vipassana Research Institute (Website: <www.vri.dhamma.org>).

69. **Sv-ṭ**: Ee 1970 I-III, ed. by Lily de Silva; Be 1904-06 I-III, ed. by U Hpye; Be 1912 I-III, ed. by Hsaya Tin of Nanmadaw; Be 1915 I-III, ed. by Hsayas Kyī, Kyaw, Thein and Hba Kyaw (all the Be are called *Linatthappakāsana*, see T.C.H. Raper, M.J.C. O’ Keefe, eds., *Catalogue of the Pāli printed books in the India Office Library* (London: The British Library, 1983, p. 34); Be 1924 I-III (see A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1980, p. 529); Ce 1967, ed. by H. Kalyāṇasiri and H. Kalyāṇadhamma, Somavaṭṭi Hēvāvitāraṇa ṭikāganthamālā, Colombo: Anula Press.

**Ps-ṭ**: Supaphan Na Bangchang mentions a very old Be published in 1853 (see “Introduction” in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathāṭikā* (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), p. xi).

**Spk-ṭ**: Besides the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition (Spk-ṭ Be 1961 I-II) I am not aware of any other edition of Spk-ṭ.

**Mp-ṭ**: Ee I (1996), II (1998), III (1999) – PTS edition by P. Pecenko, vols. I-III contain *Eka-* and *Dukanipāṭaṭikā*; Be 1910 I-II (see CPD, Epilegomena to vol. I, p. 41\*); Ce 1907 (see W. A. de Silva, “A List of Pali Books Printed in Ceylon in Sinhalese Characters”, *JPTS* (1910-12), p. 150); Ce 1930 (see EncBuddh, vol. 1, fasc. 4, p. 629, s. v. *Aṅguttara-nava-ṭikā*). Mp-ṭ Ce 1907 and 1930 contain only *Ekanipāṭaṭikā*. For a detailed description of Ce 1907, Be 1910 and Ce 1930, see Primoz Pecenko, “Introduction” in Mp-ṭ Ee (1996) I, pp. xxxvii-xlii.

70. **Mss. of Sv-ṭ** are listed in: Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-ṭ Ee,

have printed editions they are often considered to be the only existing *īkās* on the four Nikāyas.

## 2.2. Two *Ānguttaraṭīkās*

In the Pagan inscription, Gv and Piṭ-sm an additional *īkā* – not mentioned in Sās and Sās-dip – is added: the old *īkā* on AN (Mp-pt), also called *Catutthā Līnatthapakāsinī*.

According to one of the latest editions of Piṭ-sm (published 1989, §§199-201) an incomplete manuscript of Mp-pt – containing the old *īkā* on the first three *nipātas* – is now held in the National Library, Yangon<sup>71</sup>.

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pp. xi-xii (7 C Mss.); LPP, vol. 1, p. 39 (16 C Mss.); V. Fausböll, “Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library (Formerly Part of the King’s Library at Mandalay)”, *JPTS* (1894-96): p. 28 (1 B Ms.); H. Braun et al., *Burmese Manuscripts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), pt. 2, pp. 126-28 (1 B Ms.); T.W. Rhys Davids, “List of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum”, *JPTS* (1882), p. 52 (1 C Ms.); Piṭ-sm 187, 189-90 (1B Ms.).

**Mss. of Ps-pt** are listed in: Supaphan Na Bangchang, “Introduction” in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathāṭīkā* (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), p. xi (1 K Ms., 4 C Mss.); LPP, vol. 1, p. 71 (8 C Mss.), vol. 2, p. 53 (6 C Mss.) [In a letter dated 18.9.95 Mr. Wan Doo Kim informed me that he visited all the temples mentioned in LPP and was able to find 5 Mss. of Ps-pt]; T.W. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (1 C Ms.); V. Fausböll, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29 (1 B Ms.); T.W. Rhys Davids, “List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Copenhagen Royal Library”, *JPTS* (1883), p. 147 (1 B Ms.); Piṭ-sm 191-93 (1 B Ms.).

**Mss. of Spk-pt** are listed in: LPP, vol. 1, p. 93 (1 B, 11 C Mss.), vol. 2, p. 71 (7 C Mss.); W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), vol. I, pp. 36-37 (1 C Ms.); Piṭ-sm 194-198 (1B Ms.).

**Mss. of Mp-ṭ** are listed in: LPP, vol 1, p. 2 (5 C Mss.), vol. 2, p. 1 (7 C Mss.), vol. 3, p. 164 (1 B Ms. from British Museum, Or 2089); W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), vol. I, p. 37 (1 C Ms.); Piṭ-sm 202-212 (1 B Ms.); Fragile Palm Leaves project, Thailand (4 B Mss; Ms ID Nos.: 906, 949, 983, 1645); National Library, Yangon (3 B Mss; Acc. Nos.: 800, 1846, 1937); Universities Central Library, University of Yangon (2 B Mss; Acc. Nos.: 7691, 9816/10095).

This list is, of course, not exhaustive; I am convinced that many more manuscripts of the above mentioned *īkās* can be found in Myanmar and possibly also in Thailand.

71. In May 1999 I met in Canberra U Thaw Kaung, retired Chief Librarian of Universities Central Library, Yangon, who confirmed that this manuscript could be held in the National Library, Yangon. Cf. also 1.6 and n. 52 above.

During my stay in Myanmar in December 1999 I visited the National Library, Yangon, and the Universities Central Library, Yangon University Campus. In both libraries I searched for manuscripts of *Manorathapūraṇipurāṇaṭṭikā*, *Catutthā Linatthapakāsini* (Mp-pt); in the National Library, which was in a process of moving into a new building, I was not able find any manuscript of Mp-pt, but in the Universities Central Library I found – with kind help of U Thaw Kaung – a manuscript (Acc. No. 10095) which contained both *Āṅguttaraṭṭikās*, Mp-pt and Mp-t, in one bundle.

The titles on the cover of this manuscript read *Āṅguttuirṭikāsac / [Āṅguttuirṭikā]hoṇ<sup>3</sup>*, the same titles as used in Piṭ-sm (§§ 199–201, 202–212) for describing the “old” (*hoṇ<sup>3</sup>*) and the “new” (*sac*) *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā*. The manuscript has two parts:

I. Part I (folios *ka – thai*) contains seven *nipātaṭṭikās* of Mp-t; it begins with *Pañcakanipātaṭṭikā* and ends with *Ekādasanipātaṭṭikā*; the first four *nipātaṭṭikās*, *Ekanipātaṭṭikā – Catukkanipātaṭṭikā*, are in another manuscript held in the same library (Acc. No. 9816). The foliation is on the right margin verso and on the left margin verso of each folio is written *Āṅguttuirṭikāsac pāth (du[tiya])*. Each folio has eleven lines written in small round Burmese letters. On the last folio of Part I (*thai*) the name of the text is given: *Āṅguttaramahāṭṭikā*, that is, Mp-t. The manuscript was edited by Paññājotābhidhaja<sup>72</sup> in 1219 BE (1857 A.D.) in Bākārā monastery in Mandalay and copied in 1254 BE (1892 A.D.).

II. Part II (folios *tho – po*) contains the “old” *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā (Āṅguttuirṭikāhoṇ<sup>3</sup>)*, that is, Mp-pt. The foliation is, as in Part I, on the right margin verso and on the left margin verso of each folio is written *Āṅguttuirṭikāhoṇ<sup>3</sup> pāth*. Each folio has eleven lines written in small round Burmese letters. This is the first manuscript of Mp-pt that is known to me<sup>73</sup>; I am also not aware of any printed edition of the “old” *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā*.

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72. On Paññājotābhidhaja, see Primoz Pecenko, “Introduction” in Mp-t Ee 1996 I, pp. xxxix-xl.

73. According to U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre, Yangon, it is possible that more Mss. of Mp-pt are held in the temple libraries in Myanmar. But because of the extensive use of the later *ṭikā* (Mp-t), which replaced the older one, these manuscripts were probably not used

The manuscript contains the *ṭikā* on the first three *nipātas* only<sup>74</sup>: it contains most of the *Ekanipātaṭikā* (folios *ṭho* – V, 1. 1 – *dho* – R, 1. 10)<sup>75</sup> and longer passages from *Dukanipātaṭikā* (folios *dho* – R, 1. 10 – *na*–R, 1. 8)<sup>76</sup> and *Tikanipātaṭikā* (folios *na* – R, 1. 8 – *po* – R, 1. 4)<sup>77</sup>.

The text on the first few folios is exactly the same (with minor orthographic differences) as in the other three “old” *ṭikās*<sup>78</sup> (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ) and in this respect differs considerably from Mp-ṭ<sup>79</sup>.

The text on the last folio (*po*) ends abruptly in the middle of *Tikanipātaṭikā*<sup>80</sup> and then follows the colophon. The title given in the colophon is *Āṅguttuirṭikāhoṅ<sup>3</sup>pāṭh*, the editor (*visodhaka*) who “col-lated” the text from “different readings” (*saṃsandiṃ’ añṇapāṭhehi*) is

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much. In a letter dated 10 October 1995 Prof. U Ko Lay writes that “the *bhikkhu* teachers of advanced *Piṭakas* at the [Buddhist] University are not sure whether the old *ṭikās* of *Āṅguttara* [Mp-ṭ] are still extant at all. ...teachers in various monasteries have ... always used the new *ṭikā*, the *Sāratthamañjūsā* of Sāriputta [Mp-ṭ], also called *Mahāṭikā*, because ... the expositions therein are, according to them, much better and preferable. The old *Āṅguttaraṭikās* appear to be out of use in Myanma monasteries for a long time ... for two reasons: only three *ṭikās* have been listed in their libraries [cf. Piṭ-sm 199-201]; the remaining eight were never existent in Myanma and ... [even] the first three are not too well known amongst present day *bhikkhu* scholars. For the same reasons, the Sixth Council completely ignored the old *Āṅguttaraṭikās* and recited only the new *ṭikās* [cf. Piṭ-sm 202–212], the complete set of which was also published [i.e. Mp-ṭ Be 1961]...”. The situation in Sri Lanka and Thailand seems to be quite different. In an email dated 22 October 1999 L.S. Cousins writes: “I am not at all clear as to the *Āṅguttaraṭikā* ascribed to Dhammapāla (Mp-ṭ). I could not find any copy in Ceylon or Thailand in the 1970s. In fact, I am reasonably sure that there is no copy in Ceylon. Some are listed in various sources, but I believe that all have turned out to be mistakes, when checked.”

74. Cf. Piṭ-sm 199 and 1.6. above.

75. The text of *Ekanipātaṭikā* corresponds approximately to Mp-ṭ Ee I 1, 1 – III 163, 8. There are considerable differences between Mp-ṭ and Mp-ṭ; most of the chapters of the *Ekanipātaṭikā* of Mp-ṭ are, compared to the same chapters in Mp-ṭ, much shorter, e.g. *Nettinayavaṇṇanā* on *Rūpādivagga* is much longer in Mp-ṭ (cf. Mp-ṭ Ee I 76, 1 – 97, 7) than in the Ms. of Mp-ṭ where it is given on three folios only (*ḍhū* – V, 1. 9 – *ḍho* – V, 1. 8).

76. This corresponds approximately to Mp-ṭ Ee III 195, 5 – 253, 7 (the folios *dho* – R, 1. 10 – *na* – R, 1. 8 actually contain much less text, since on the folio *dham* – R, 1. 6 is a lacuna corresponding to Mp-ṭ Ee III 204, 3 – 241, 12).

77. This corresponds approximately to Mp-ṭ Be II 83, 16 – 148, 2.

78. Cf. Sv-ṭ Ee I 1, 1 foll.; Ps-ṭ Be I 1, 1 foll.; Spk-ṭ Be I 1, 1, 1 foll.

79. Cf. Mp-ṭ Ee I 1, 1 foll.

80. Cf. Mp-ṭ Be II 148, 2.

Jotābhināmathera, who lived in Maṇipupphara monastery. The date of editing is not given and the date of copying is 1254 BE (1892 A.D.)<sup>81</sup>.

Although Mp-pṭ is – as stated in Saddhamma-s – a basis for Mp-ṭ, the text in this manuscript is in many respects essentially different from the parallel text of Mp-ṭ. It is also interesting to note that in this manuscript both *ṭikās*, Mp-pṭ and Mp-ṭ, are in the same bundle, which could indicate that these two *ṭikās* were in certain period in the past probably consulted together, complementing each other.

### 2.3. Two complete sets of *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas

Saddhamma-s and CPD mention two complete sets, *Līnatthapakāsini* (Sv-pṭ, Ps-pṭ, Spk-pṭ, Mp-pṭ) and *Sāratthamañjūsā* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ). Here three later *ṭikās* are added: a *ṭikā* on DN (Sv-ṭ) called *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*, a *ṭikā* on MN (Ps-ṭ) called *Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā* and a *ṭikā* on SN (Spk-ṭ) called *Tatiya Sāratthamañjūsā*.

I am not aware of any printed edition of these three later *ṭikās* (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ); it is also interesting that they are not mentioned in the Burmese bibliographical works discussed above. Sōmadāsa's catalogue *Laṅkāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya* (LPP), on the other hand, lists quite a few manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ<sup>82</sup>. Since the catalogue also clearly distinguishes the *purāṇaṭikās* (*Līnatthapakāsini*) from the later *ṭikās* (*navāṭikā*, *dutiyaṭikā*) called *Sāratthamañjūsā*, it seems that Sōmadāsa as well as the temple librarians, who gave him information about the manuscripts held in their temples, were clearly aware of the difference between these two sets of *ṭikās*. In LPP the manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ are listed as follows:

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81. Folio po-R, ll. 9-11 reads: *Jotābhināmatherena // Maṇipuppharavāsini // samsandiy' añṇapāthehi // sādhuḱāyaṃ 'bhisaṅkhatā // Sakkarāja 1254 //*. Jotābhināmathera is [Pañṇā]jotābhi-[dhaja]nāmathera who also edited the portion of Mp-ṭ in the same bundle (see the description of Part I of this manuscript above) and the editing probably took place approximately at the same time, i.e. around 1219 BE (1857 A.D.). According to U Nyunt Maung, Manuscript Consultant, Universities Historical Research Centre, University of Yangon, Maṇipupphara was a name of a temple belonging to a larger monastic complex in Mandalay called Bākara.

82. See LPP, vol. 1, pp. 39, 71, 93. (In 1995 I sent letters to all the temples listed in LPP enquiring about the *ṭikās* held in their libraries but I received no reply).

**Sv-ṭ:** six manuscripts s. v. *Dīghanikāyadutiyaṭīkā*, *Paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā*<sup>83</sup>:

- 1 C Ms. in Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kāṭapaḷagoḍa, Karadeniya, Vatugedara, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 348);
- 1 C Ms. in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doḍandūva (temple no. 365);
- 1 C Ms. in Sundarārāma Mahāvihāraya (Dhammānanda Pustakālaya), Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 371);
- 1 C Ms. in Gaṅgārāma Mahāvihāraya, Padavtoṭa, Māhālla, Gālla (temple no. 381);
- 1 C Ms. in Subhadrārāma Vihāraya, Murutamurē, Hakmana (temple no. 487);
- 1 C Ms. in Kasāgal Rajamahāvihāraya, Uḍayāḷa, Hakuruvela (temple no. 717).

**Ps-ṭ:** eight manuscripts s.v. *Majjhimanikāyanaṭīkā*, *Dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā*<sup>84</sup>:

- 1 C Ms. in Tapassarārāmaya, Moraṭumulla, Moraṭuva (temple no. 64)<sup>85</sup>;
- 1 C Ms. in Saddharmākara Pirivena, Pinvatta, Pāṇaduraya (temple no. 153);
- 1 B Ms. in Vanavāsa Rajamahāvihāraya (Paṇḍitaratna Pirivena), Yātrāmulla, Bentara, Bentoṭa (temple no. 326)<sup>86</sup>;
- 1 C Ms. in Tapodhanārāma Purāṇa Mahāvihāraya, Kāṭapaḷagoḍa, Karadeniya, Vatugedara, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 348);

83. LPP, vol. 1, p. 39 (cf. below this entry s. v. *Dīghanikāyapaṭhama-(purāṇa)-ṭīkā*, *Paṭhama-Līnatthappakāsīnī*, *Līnatthapakāsānā*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* where 16 Mss. of Sv-ṭ are listed).

84. LPP, vol. 1, p. 71 (cf. below this entry s. v. *Majjhimanikāyapurāṇaṭīkā*, *Dutiya-Līnatthappakāsīnī*, *Līnatthappakāsīnī*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* where 7 Mss. of Ps-ṭ are listed).

85. There is also a Ms. of Ps-ṭ held in the same temple, see LPP, vol. 1, p. 71, s. v. *Majjhimanikāyapurāṇaṭīkā*, *Dutiya-Līnatthappakāsīnī*, *Līnatthappakāsīnī*, *Līnatthavaṇṇanā*.

86. This could indicate that besides the two manuscripts of Mp-ṭ (one mentioned in Piṭ-sm and the other held in the Universities Central Library, Yangon, see 2.2 above) also other later *nikāyaṭīkās* called *Sāratthamañjūsā* were known in Burma. Cf. the discussion on the Pagan inscription, Gv and Piṭ-sm in 1.2, 1.3, 1.6 above. Here further research of *nikāyaṭīkās* in Myanmar is needed.

- 1 C Ms. in Śailabimbārāmaya, Doḍandūva (temple no. 365);
- 1 C Ms. in Sirivaḍḍhanārāmaya, Dēvagoḍa, Mādampē, Ambalaṃgoḍa (temple no. 367);
- 1 C Ms. in Jinajōtikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Uḍukinda, Forṭ Mekḍonaldḍ (temple no. 807);
- 1 C Ms. in Sunandārāmaya (Sunandodaya Pirivena), Mādampē, Aṭakaḷanpanna (temple no. 860).

W.A. de Silva mentions also a manuscript of *Majjhimanikāyaṭīkā*, *Papañcasūdani-ṭīkā*, *Dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā* (i. e. Ps-ṭ) held in the Library of the Colombo Museum<sup>87</sup>. However, the introductory passage quoted in the catalogue indicates that the manuscript is most probably Ps-pṭ and not Ps-ṭ<sup>88</sup>.

**Spk-ṭ:** two manuscripts:

- 1 C Ms held in Yaṭagala Rajamahāvihāraya (Heṭṭhāvala Pirivena), Uṇavaṭuna (temple no. 435) is listed s. v. *Samyuttanikāyanavaṭīkā*, *Tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā*<sup>89</sup>;
- 1 C Ms. in the same bundle with Spk-pṭ is mentioned s. v. *Samyuttanikāyaṭīkā*<sup>90</sup> and is held in Jinajōtikārāmaya, Mūdavela, Uḍukinda, Forṭ Mekḍonaldḍ (temple no. 807).

The above list of the manuscripts of Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ and Spk-ṭ held in the temple libraries in Sri Lanka indicates that the information given in Saddhamma-s could be correct.

The editions and manuscripts of the two sets of *ṭikās* discussed above can be presented as follows:

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87. W.A. de Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938), vol. I, p. 36, Mss. 108-9.

88. The introductory passage quoted in the catalogue is identical with Ps-pṭ Be 1961 I 1, 5-12. See also Supaphan Na Bangchang, "Introduction" in *A Critical Edition of the Mūlapariyāyavagga of Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathāṭīkā* (Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Peradeniya, 1981), p. xii.

89. LPP, vol. 1, p. 93.

90. LPP, *ibid.* Under the temple entry no. 807 the following note is added: *mehi navaṭīkā, purāṇaṭīkā dekama miṣravī āta*. Cf. the Burmese Ms. with both *Āṅguttaraṭīkā*s (Mp-pṭ / Mp-ṭ) discussed above.

Table II: Manuscripts and printed editions of the *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas

	<i>Linatthapakāsini</i>	<i>Sāratthamañjūsā</i>
DN/Sv	Sv-pt	Sv-ṭ
	Eds.: Be 1904-06, 1912, 1915, 1924, Be 1961, Ce 1967, Ee 1970	Ed.: –
	Mss.: 3 B, 17 C	Mss.: 6 C
MN/Ps	Ps-pt	Ps-ṭ
	Eds.: Be 1853, 1961	Ed.: –
	Mss.: 3 B, 15 C, 1 K	Mss.: 1 B, 2C, 5 C (?)
SN/Spk	Spk-pt	Spk-ṭ
	Ed.: Be 1961	Ed.: –
	Mss.: 2 B, 19 C	Mss.: 2 C
AN/Mp	Mp-pt	Mp-ṭ
	Ed.: –	Eds.: Be 1910, 1961, Ce 1907, 1930 Ee 1996 –
	Mss.: 1 B, 1 B (?)	Mss.: 11 B, 13 C

### Conclusion

This is a preliminary study of Burmese and Sinhala manuscripts and editions of the *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas. The information about the available manuscripts – especially with the recent discovery of the Burmese manuscript of *Aṅguttaranikāyapurāṇaṭikā*, *Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā*, described above – seems to indicate that two sets of *ṭikās* on the four Nikāyas, called *Linatthapakāsini* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*, were probably composed at different times and by different authors. Some of these *ṭikās* have been published (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt) and some are still in manuscript form (Sv-ṭ, Ps-ṭ, Spk-ṭ, Mp-ṭ). It is possible that there are more manuscripts of these *ṭikās* held in various

temple libraries in Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand. These manuscripts are very important documents of the Theravāda tradition. From the texts contained in these manuscripts, which have not been published for various reasons, we may get important new information about the development of the *ṭikā* literature and the transmission of the Tipiṭaka and its commentaries over several centuries.

### Abbreviations

Adikaram, EHBC	E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon
AN	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i>
B	(manuscript) text in Myanmar (Burmese) script
Be	Burmese edition
BE	Burmese era, (Culla-)Sakkarāj, beginning 638 A.D.
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
C	(manuscript) text in Sinhala script
Ce	Ceylonese edition
CPD	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (see 1.7.)
DN	<i>Dīghanikāya</i>
ed(s).	edition(s)
Ee	European (PTS) edition
EncBuddh	<i>Encyclopaedia of Buddhism</i>
Geiger	W. Geiger, <i>Pāli Literature and Language</i>
Gv	<i>Gandhavaṃsa of Nandapaññā</i> (see 1.3.)
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pāli Text Society</i>
K	(manuscript) text in Cambodian script
LPP	K.D. Sōmadāsa, <i>Laṅkāvē puskola pot nāmāvaliya</i>
Mhv	<i>Mahāvamsa of Mahānāma and Cūlavamsa</i> of Dhammakitti
MN	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>
Mp	<i>Manorathapūraṇī, Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i> of Buddhaghosa
Mp-pt	<i>Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭṭikā, Linatthapakāsini IV</i>

Mp-ṭ	<i>Manorathapūraṇīṭikā, Sāratthamañjūsā IV</i> of Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva
Ms(s).	manuscript(s)
Ne	edition in Devanāgarī print
n	navāṭikā
PED	<i>The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary</i>
Piṭ-sm	<i>Piṭakat samuiṅ</i> <sup>3</sup> (see 1.6.)
PLB	M.H. Bode, <i>The Pāli Literature of Burma</i>
PLC	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>The Pāli Literature of Ceylon</i>
PPN	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī, Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i> of Buddhaghosa
Ps-pt	<i>Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭikā, Linatthapakāsini II</i> of Dhammapāla
Ps-ṭ	<i>Papañcasūdanīṭikā, Sāratthamañjūsā II</i>
pt	<i>purāṇaṭikā</i>
PTS	Pāli Text Society
R	recto side of the folio
Saddhamma-s	<i>Saddhammasaṅgha</i> of Dhammakitti (see 1.1.)
Sās	<i>Sāsanavaṃsa</i> of Paññāsāmi (see 1.4.)
Sās-dip	<i>Sāsanavaṃsadīpa</i> of Vimalasārathera (see 1.5.)
Se	edition in Siamese print
SN	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā, Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā</i> of Buddhaghosa
Sp-ṭ	<i>Sāratthadīpanīṭikā</i> of Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva
Spk	<i>Sāratthapakāsini, Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i> of Buddhaghosa
Spk-pt	<i>Sāratthapakāsiniṭikā, Linatthapakāsini III</i> of Dhammapāla
Spk-ṭ	<i>Sāratthapakāsiniṭikā, Sāratthamañjūsā III</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini, Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i> of Buddhaghosa
Sv-ṅ Be	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṇavaṭikā, Silakkhandhavagga-</i> <i>abhinavaṭikā, Sādhujanavilāsini</i> of Nāṇābhivamsa

Sv-ṭ	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā, Linatthapakāsini I</i> of Dhammapāla
Sv-ṭ	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinīṭṭikā, Sāratthamañjūsā I</i>
Trsl.	Translation
ṭ	<i>ṭikā</i>
Upās	<i>Upāsakajanālaṅkāra</i>
V	verso side of the folio
Winternitz, HIL	M. Winternitz, <i>A History of Indian Literature</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

