

## The History of the Nikāya Subcommentaries (*ṭikās*) in Pāli Bibliographic Sources\*

In this article I will discuss the history of Pāli subcommentaries (*ṭikā*<sup>1</sup>) on the first four *nikāyas* as it is presented in traditional Theravāda bibliographic texts. My investigation will show that there exist two sets of *nikāya* subcommentaries and not just a single set, which we have in printed form published as a part of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition. The works of modern Pāli scholarship,<sup>2</sup> which in this case agree with the Theravāda tradition, also usually mention only one set of subcommentaries. However, according to some Pāli bibliographic sources and catalogues of Pāli manuscripts<sup>3</sup> held in various libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka, there seems to exist another set of the subcommentaries on the four *nikāyas* which has been ignored or omitted by the Theravāda tradition and considered either “lost” or “non-existent” by modern Pāli scholarship.

My recent discovery of an important Pāli manuscript of one of the “lost” subcommentaries in Burma<sup>4</sup> gives a completely new perspective on the historical development of the two sets of the subcommentaries and, in a wider sense, also on our understanding of the available information about the history of Pāli literature. Here the following important issues which resulted from this discovery will be discussed:

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\*This article is a continuation of my earlier research of the subcommentaries on the four *nikāyas* (*nikāyaṭṭikās*) (Pecenko 2002), and is part of a larger research of the Pāli *ṭikā* literature funded by the Australian Research Council.

<sup>1</sup>For the etymology of the word *ṭikā* see Mayrhofer, 1986, s.v. See also *PLC*, pp. 192–93; Norman, 1983, pp. 148–51; Bollée, 1969; von Hinüber, 1996B, pp. 100–101.

<sup>2</sup>For example, von Hinüber, 1996B.

<sup>3</sup>For bibliographic sources see Table 2.1 below; I mainly used the following two catalogues of Pāli manuscripts: Somadasa, 1959–64, and *Piṭ-sm*, which is both a bibliographic source and a catalogue (see Part 2, 2.6, and Part 3 below).

<sup>4</sup>The manuscript is described in detail in Pecenko, 2002, pp. 82–85.

The existence of the “lost” manuscript proves that the information in some older Pāli bibliographic sources — where such manuscripts are mentioned — is correct and that both the Theravāda tradition as well as modern Pāli scholarship ignored the “lost” texts and the bibliographic information about them.

The analysis of the available printed editions and catalogued manuscripts also indicates that the information about the subcommentaries given in the works of modern Pali scholarship seems to be influenced by the traditional Theravāda scholarship — both mention only one set — although the information about the “lost” texts was easily available.

My discovery of the above mentioned Pāli manuscript, which is listed in the older Pāli bibliographic texts (e.g. *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, *Pagan inscription*), also proves that these bibliographic sources — often considered less reliable by modern Pāli scholarship — seem to be much more reliable than the later bibliographic sources (e.g. *Sāsanavaṃsa*) which have been used as the main sources for the modern history of Pāli literature. Therefore the sources for the available history of Pāli literature need to be re-examined in the light of the information given in the older bibliographic texts, catalogues of Pāli manuscripts, inscriptions, and the texts which — although existing in manuscript form — have not been researched yet.

Considering all this, the history of the traditional Theravāda transmission of Pāli texts will have to be re-examined as well.

#### **Part 1. The *aṭṭhakathās* and *ṭīkās* on the four *nikāyas***

Each of the four *nikāyas* has a commentary (*aṭṭhakathā*) compiled by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century C.E. in Sri Lanka (see Table 1.1 below), and the four commentaries have two sets of subcommentaries: the older subcommentaries (*purāṇaṭīkā*), collectively called *Līnatthapakāsinī* (see Table 1.2 below), and the later subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*), collectively called *Sāratthamañjūsā* (see Table 1.3 below).

**Table 1.1. Commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) on the four *nikāyas***

Pāli canon: four <i>nikāyas</i> First written down first cent. B.C.E. in Sri Lanka	Commentaries ( <i>aṭṭhakathā</i> ) Compiled fifth cent. C.E. by Buddhaghosa
Dīghanikāya (D)	Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Sv)
Majjhimanikāya (M)	Papañcasūdanī (Ps)
Samyuttanikāya (S)	Sāratthapakāsini (Spk)
Aṅguttaranikāya (A)	Manorathapūraṇī (Mp)

**Table 1.2. The old subcommentaries (*purāṇaṭṭikā*) on the four *nikāyas***

<i>nikāyas</i> / <i>aṭṭhakathās</i>	Old subcommentaries ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt) Compiled sixth–ninth century C.E. by Dhammapāla
Dīghanikāya / Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Sumaṅgalavilāsini-purāṇaṭṭikā (Sv-pt), Paṭhamā Līnatthapakāsini [I]
Majjhimanikāya / Papañcasūdanī	Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭṭikā (Ps-pt), Dutiyā Līnatthapakāsini [II]
Samyuttanikāya / Sāratthapakāsini	Sāratthapakāsini-purāṇaṭṭikā (Spk-pt), Tatiyā Līnatthapakāsini [III]
Aṅguttaranikāya / Manorathapūraṇī	Manorathapūraṇī-purāṇaṭṭikā (Mp-pt), Catutthā Līnatthapakāsini [IV]

**Table 1.3. The (later) subcommentaries (*ṭṭikā*) on the four *nikāyas***

<i>nikāyas</i> / <i>aṭṭhakathās</i>	(Later) subcommentaries ( <i>ṭṭikā</i> = t) Compiled twelfth century C.E. by Sāriputta
Dīghanikāya / Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Sumaṅgalavilāsini-ṭṭikā (Sv-t), Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā [I]
Majjhimanikāya / Papañcasūdanī	Papañcasūdanī-ṭṭikā (Ps-t), Dutiyā Sāratthamañjūsā [II]
Samyuttanikāya / Sāratthapakāsini	Sāratthapakāsini-ṭṭikā (Spk-t), Tatiyā Sāratthamañjūsā [III]
Aṅguttaranikāya / Manorathapūraṇī	Manorathapūraṇī-ṭṭikā (Mp-t), Catutthā Sāratthamañjūsā [IV]

The authorship of the *purāṇaṭṭikās* (Līnatthapakāsini) is usually ascribed to Dhammapāla<sup>5</sup> and that of the later *ṭṭikās* (Sāratthamañjūsā) is

<sup>5</sup>On the date(s) and works of Dhammapāla(s) see von Hinüber, 1996B, pp. 167–70; Buddhadatta, 1957, pp. 189–97; *Bhāratīya Bauddhācāryayō*, pp. 63–68; *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayō*, pp. 54–55; Dhammaratana Thera, 1968, pp. 40–41; Lily de Silva, “Introduction” in Sv-pt, pp. xli–lv; Bangchang, 1981, pp. xxiv–xxxix; H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, pp. 28 ff.; Cousins,

ascribed to Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva.<sup>6</sup> Although according to some catalogues<sup>7</sup> of Pāli manuscripts held in various libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka, both sets of *ṭīkās* exist in manuscript form, only the *ṭīkās* belonging to the single combined set (see Table 2.9 below) have been published and the remaining ones (see Tables 2.10–11 below) have not been investigated at all. The only exception is the above mentioned Burmese Pāli manuscript of the old Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭikā (*Catuttha Līnatthapakāsini*).<sup>8</sup>

### Part 2. The *ṭīkās* in Pāli bibliographic sources

In Part 2, information about the subcommentaries on the first four *nikāyas* given in the following bibliographic sources will be analysed:

**Table 2.1. Pāli Bibliographic Sources**

<i>Bibliographic source</i>	<i>Authorship</i>	<i>Date</i>
Saddhammasaṅgaha <sup>9</sup> (Saddhamma-s)	Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi	fourteenth century
Pagan inscription <sup>10</sup>	————	1442

1972; Pieris, 1978, pp. 61–77; *EncBuddh*, Vol. 4, fasc. 4, pp. 501–504; Warder, 1981, pp. 198–207; Jackson, 1990, pp. 209–211.

<sup>6</sup>On Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva see Pecenko, 1997; von Hinüber, 1996B, pp. 172–73.

<sup>7</sup>Here I mean the following two catalogues: (1) Somadasa, 1959–64, and (2) a very important Burmese bibliographic work which also refers to the manuscripts held in the National Library, Rangoon: *Piṭ-sm*. Of course, these two catalogues, although sufficient for the topic of this article, do not list all the Pāli manuscripts that have not been investigated yet. Further research of old inscriptions and Pāli manuscripts is needed here and some work has already been done, see for example: Than Tun, 1998; Blackburn, 2002; von Hinüber, 1996A; von Hinüber, 1988.

<sup>8</sup>A critical edition of this manuscript will be published by the Pali Text Society. Three selected chapters from the manuscript were published in Pecenko, 2002, pp. 87–103.

<sup>9</sup>Edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda, *JPTS* 1890, pp. 21–90 (= N<sup>c</sup> 1961)

<sup>10</sup>Edition: G. H. Luce and Tin Htway, “A Fifth Century Inscription and Library at Pagan, Burma” in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume* (Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee, 1976), pp. 203–17.

Gandhavaṃsa <sup>11</sup> (Gv)	Araññavāsī Nandapaññā	seventeenth century
Sāsanavaṃsa <sup>12</sup> (Sās)	Paññāsāmi	1861
Sāsanavaṃsadīpa <sup>13</sup> (Sās-dīp)	Vimalasāra Thera	1880
<i>Piṭakat samuṇi</i> : <sup>14</sup> (Piṭ-sm)	Maṅḡ-Kriḡ Mahāsiriḡyasū	1888

### 2.1. Saddhammasaṅgaha

In Saddhamma-s two sets of *ṭīkās* on the four *nikāyas* are mentioned: *Līnatthapakāsīnī* and *Sāratthamañjūsā*. According to Saddhamma-s *Līnatthapakāsīnī* was written by the *porāṇas*<sup>15</sup> and was a sub-commentary (*atthavaṇṇanā*) on the *atthakathās* of the entire canon.<sup>16</sup> The second set of *ṭīkās* on the first four *nikāyas*, called *Sāratthamañjūsā*, was compiled — as a part of the “new” compilation of *ṭīkās* on the entire canon — during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86) by the convocation of “elders” (*therā bhikkhū*)<sup>17</sup> presided over by Dimbulāgala Mahākassapaththera, who was the first *saṅgharāja* in Ceylon and the

<sup>11</sup>Edited by I.P. Minayeff, *JPTS*, 1886, pp. 54–79.

<sup>12</sup>Edited by C.S. Upasak (Nālandā: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 1961).

<sup>13</sup>Colombo: Sathāloka Press, 1880.

<sup>14</sup>Edition: Rangoon: Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsanaṅ Pru Aphvè, 1989

<sup>15</sup>On *porāṇas* see Adikaram, *EHBC*, pp. 16–18; Lottermoser, 1982, pp. 209–13.

<sup>16</sup>Saddhamma-s 58,28–29: *piṭakattayaṭṭhakathāya līnatthappakāsanaṭṭhaṃ atthavaṇṇanaṃ purāṇehi* [sic] *kataṃ*. Although in this reference the *ṭīkās* on the first four *nikāyas* are not listed explicitly, it seems probable that they were called *Līnatthappakāsīnī*. H. Saddhatissa (“Introduction” in *Upās*, p. 47, n. 154) explains: “The *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* is also called *Līnatthappakāsīnī*.... The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* has freely used the word *atthavaṇṇanā* for *ṭīkā* and further amplified it as the *Atthavaṇṇanā* for the purpose of elucidating the hidden meanings (*Līnatthappakāsanaṭṭhaṃ atthavaṇṇanaṃ*)”. Cf. the title of Sv-pt, ed. by Lily de Silva: *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Saddhamma-s 59,14–18: *atha kho therā bhikkhū ... atthavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapesuṃ*; 62,13: *piṭakattayaṭṭīkā ca ṭīkācariyehi bhāsītā* [v. 7].

The date of the assembly “is tentatively fixed at A.D. 1165” (Panditha, 1973, p. 137). See also Mhv LXXII 2 foll.; LXXVIII 1–30; W. Geiger, “Introduction” in Mhv Trsl., pp. 28–29; Geiger, § 31 (literature), n. 4.

most senior monk from Udumbaragirivihāra.<sup>18</sup> The entire compilation was accomplished within one year.<sup>19</sup>

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

Tadanantaraṃ suttantapiṭake Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā atthavaṇṇanaṃ ārabhitvā mūlabhāsāya Māgadhiyā niruttiyā paṭhama-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Papañcasūdanīyā ... dutiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Saṃyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya Sāratthappakāsaniyā ... tatiya-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapesuṃ. tathā Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāya Manorathapūraṇīyā ... catuttha-Sāratthamañjūsā nāma atthavaṇṇanaṃ ṭhapesuṃ.<sup>20</sup>

**Table 2.2. Two complete sets in Saddhammasaṅgaha (fourteenth cent.)**

Canon: Four nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pṭ) sixth–ninth century C.E. Authorship: <i>porāṇas</i>	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = ṭ) twelfth century C.E. Authorship: <i>theras</i>
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Līnatthapakāsini	Sāratthamañjūsā I
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdanī	Līnatthapakāsini	Sāratthamañjūsā II
Saṃyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Līnatthapakāsini	Sāratthamañjūsā III
Aṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇī	Līnatthapakāsini	Sāratthamañjūsā IV

Saddhamma-s explains that the second set of *ṭikās* (*Sāratthamañjūsā*)

<sup>18</sup>Saddhamma-s 59,7: *Mahākassapattherapamukhaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ*; on Mahākassapatthera of Udumbaragirivihāra see also P. Pecenko, “Notes” in *Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭikā* (Mp-ṭ E<sup>c</sup>), Vol. I, pp. 106–107, n. 1,5; *PLC*, pp. 176–77, 192–94; *DPPN* s.v. 2. Mahā Kassapa; Buddhadatta, 1960, pp. 75–77; H. Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1966), Vol. I, p. 265.

<sup>19</sup>Saddhamma-s 60,25–27: *ayaṃ piṭakaṭṭhakathāya atthavaṇṇanā ekasaṃvaccharen’ eva niṭṭhitā*.

<sup>20</sup>Saddhamma-s 59,23–35; cf. Saddhamma-s 61,21–23: *piṭakattayaṇṇanā ca līnatthassa pakāsanaṃ, Sāratthadīpanī nāma Sāratthamañjūsā pi ca* [v. 18], *Paramatthappakāsani mahātherehi bhāsītā, sattānaṃ sabbabhāsānaṃ sā ahoṣi hitāvahā* [v. 19].

was written because the existing set (*Līnatthapakāsīnī*) “did not serve the purpose of bhikkhus residing in different countries”,<sup>21</sup> the reason being that many Gaṇṭhipadas (explanatory works which dealt with difficult expressions and passages) that belonged to the old set were written in Sinhala language and what was written in Māgadhī had been mixed and confused with (Pāli) translations (*bhāsantara*) of the Gaṇṭhipadas.<sup>22</sup> The *Līnatthapakāsīnī* set was nevertheless used as a basis for the new “complete and clear *atthavaṇṇanā*”,<sup>23</sup> the mistakes (*bhāsantara*: “versions, translations”) in the old *ṭīkā*s were removed but their essence was kept in its entirety.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Saddhamma-s 58,30–31: *taṃ sabbaṃ desantarāvāsīnaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ na sādheti*; translation Law, 1941, p. 84. Cf. Saddhamma-s 61,9–10: *piṭakaṭṭhakathāyāhaṃ līnatthassa pakāsanāṃ, na taṃ sabbattha bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ sādheti sabbaso* [v. 12]; also von Hinüber, *HPL*, pp. 172–173, § 374: “... older works no longer served the purpose of the monks in the 12th century”.

<sup>22</sup>Saddhamma-s 58,31–59,2: *kattha ci anekesu gaṇṭhipadesu Sihalabhāsāya niruttiyā likhitaṃ ca kattha ci mūlabhāsāya Māgadhikāya bhāsantarena sammissaṃ ākulaṃ ca katvā likhitaṃ ca*. Law’s translation (1941), p. 84: “Some were written in many terse expressions (*gaṇṭhipada*) 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”; cf. von Hinüber, *HPL*, p. 173, § 374: “Particularly the Gaṇṭhipadas written in Sinhalese are difficult to understand (Sp-ṭ [B<sup>c</sup> 1960] I 2,5–8) and [were] therefore summarized in Pāli”. On Gaṇṭhipadas, see Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-pṭ, pp. xxxii–xxxviii; von Hinüber, *HPL*, p. 170–71, §§ 367–71.

See also Saddhamma-s 61,9–20 where the details of the *Līnatthapakāsīnī* set are described in more detail. These two passages from Saddhamma-s (fourteenth century), especially Saddhamma-s 61,9–20, are most probably based on a very similar passage from Sp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1960 I 2,5–16 ascribed to Sāriputta of Polonnaruva who lived about two centuries earlier — at the time of the compilation of the *Sāratthamañjūsā* set.

<sup>23</sup>Saddhamma-s 59,2–3: *mayam bhāsantaraṃ apanetvā paripuṇṇaṃ anākulaṃ atthavaṇṇanaṃ kareyyāmaṃ ti*.

<sup>24</sup>Saddhamma-s 61,19–20 = Sp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1960 I 2,15–16: *bhāsantaraṃ tato hitvā sāraṃ ādāya sabbaso, anākulaṃ karissāmi paripuṇṇavinicchayaṃ*. The intro-

## 2.2. The Pagan inscription

The second important source of information about the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* is the Pagan inscription of 1442 (804 B.E.), inscribed at the beginning of the rule of Narapati (1442–68),<sup>25</sup> less than three centuries after Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86). The inscription gives a list of 299 manuscripts,<sup>26</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 the *Piṭakat samuiṅ*: (see 2.6 below),<sup>27</sup> which in turn are also very similar to the titles of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions of these *ṭikās*.

In the section on A (List 934b45) two different *ṭikās* are listed: *ṭigā aṅguttuiw krī [mahā]* (no. 75)<sup>28</sup> which is translated by G. H. Luce and

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ductory passages in the existing printed editions of Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, Ps-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961, Spk-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 and in the recently discovered manuscript of Mp-pt (see Part 3, Table 3.2 below), which all belong to the old Līnathapakāsīnī set, are, with the exception of minor orthographic differences, practically identical. The introduction in Mp-pt E<sup>c</sup> 1996, which is the fourth (*catutthā*) *ṭikā* of the later Sāratthamañjūsā set, is considerably different from Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, Ps-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961, Spk-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 and the text in the manuscript of Mp-pt is much closer to Sp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1960 and Sv-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1961. See P. Pecenko, “Table of Parallel Passages” in Mp-ṭ I; also H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154.

<sup>25</sup>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. 203–17; *PLB*, p. 41. Cf. also 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.

<sup>26</sup>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. 193–95.

<sup>27</sup>Also *Piṭakat tō samuiṅ*: or *Piṭakat suṃ: puṃ cā tam*:. I consulted the edition published by Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsana Pru Aphvē in Rangoon, 1989.

<sup>28</sup>The title written on the first folio of the ms of Mp-ṭ held in the British Library (Or 2089) is very similar: *ṭikā ekkaniṭā aṅguttra krī*. Cf. *Piṭ-sm* 202–12:



Tin Htway: “Greater Aṅguttara sub-commentary”, and further identified as Sāratthamañjūsā, and *ṭigā aṅguttuiw ṇay [culla]* (no. 76)<sup>29</sup> which is translated: “Lesser Aṅguttara subcommentary”.

**Table 2.2. The ṭikās in the Pagan Inscription (1442 C.E.)**

Canon: Four nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭikā</i> = pṭ) sixth–ninth cent. C.E. Authorship: unknown	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = t) twelfth century C.E. Authorship: unknown
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilasini	[Linatthapakāsini I]: 1. <i>ṭigā silakkhandhavā dīghanikāy</i> , 2. <i>ṭigā mahāvā dīghanikāy</i> , 3. <i>ṭigā pādheyavā dīghanikāy</i>	
Majjhima-nikāya	Papañcasūdanī	[Linatthapakāsini II]: 1. <i>ṭikā mūlappaṇṇāsa</i> , 2. <i>ṭikā majjhimpaṇṇāsa</i> , 3. <i>ṭigā uparipaṇṇāsa</i>	
Samyutta-nikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	[Linatthapakāsini III]: 1. <i>ṭigā sagāthavā saṅyut</i> , 2. <i>ṭigā khandhavaggādi saṅyut</i>	
Aṅguttara-nikāya	Manorathapūraṇī	[Linatthapakāsini IV]: <i>ṭigā aṅguttuiw ṇay [culla]</i>	[Sāratthamañjūsā IV]: <i>ṭigā aṅguttuiw krī [mahā]</i>

*Ekaṅguttaraṭikā-sac*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭikā-sac*, ..., *Dasāṅguttaraṭikā-sac*, *Ekādasāṅguttaraṭikā-sac*; Mp-ṭ B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–III: *Sāratthamañjūsā nāma Aṅguttaraṭikā*. In Burmese *sac* means “new, revised”, *ṭikā-sac* 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.)

<sup>29</sup>Cf. *Piṭ-sm* 199: *Ekaṅguttaraṭikā-hoṇ*; 200: *Dukaṅguttaraṭikā-hoṇ*; 201: *Tikaṅguttaraṭikā-hoṇ*. *hoṇ* in Burmese means “old, ancient”, *ṭikā-hoṇ* therefore means the “old *ṭikā*”, i.e. Mp-pṭ, *Catutthā Linatthapakāsini*.

The names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (Līnatthapakāsīnī and Sāratthamañjūsā) are not mentioned in the inscription.

### 2.3. Gandhavaṃsa

Gandhavaṃsa (Gv), a much later work written probably in the seventeenth century,<sup>30</sup> lists both Līnatthapakāsīnī and Sāratthamañjūsā. The first one is mentioned as:

*Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ Līnatthapakāsīnī nāma ṭikā*,<sup>31</sup>

and was according to Gv written by Dhammapālācariya.<sup>32</sup>

Sāratthamañjūsā is mentioned only as *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya Sāratthamañjūsā nāma ṭikā*,<sup>33</sup> a work written by Sāriputta.<sup>34</sup> Further on this work of Sāriputta, which was written at the request of Parakkama-bāhu, king of Lanḱā, is also referred to as *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ṭikāgandho*.<sup>35</sup>

According to Gv, the Līnatthapakāsīnī set consisted of the *ṭikās* on all the four *nikāyas* and Sāratthamañjūsā was the name of the *ṭikā* on A only. To distinguish it from the older *ṭikā* on A (*Catutthā Līnatthapakāsīnī*), Sāratthamañjūsā was also classified as a “new subcommentary” (*navā ṭikā*).

<sup>30</sup>PLB, p. x. According to Oskar von Hinüber this is “a later systematic survey of unknown date” (von Hinüber, 1996B, p. 3). See also Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. 2, p. 176, n. 4; Buddhadatta 1962, pp. 410–11; Norman, 1983, pp. 180–81; Hazra 1986, pp. 89–91.

<sup>31</sup>Gv 60, 11–12.

<sup>32</sup>Gv 69, 30–34: *Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ ṭikāgandho ... attano matiyā Dhammapālācariyena katā*.

<sup>33</sup>Gv 61, 32–33.

<sup>34</sup>Gv 61, 30. Cf. H. Saddhatissa, “Introduction” in Upās, p. 47, n. 154.

<sup>35</sup>Gv 71, 10–14: *Sāratthadīpanī nāma ... Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathāya navā ṭikāgandho ti ime cattāro gandhā Parakkamabāhunāmena Lanḱādīpissarena rañṇā āyācītena Sāriputtācariyena katā*. Cf. *Piṭ-sm* 202 where the later *ṭikā* on Mp (Mp-ṭ) is mentioned as “new greater *ṭikā*” (*ṭikā sac krī*).

**Table 2.4. The *ṭikās* in Gandhavaṃsa (seventeenth cent.)**

Canon: 4 nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt) sixth–ninth century C.E. Author: Dhammapāla	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = t) twelfth century C.E. Author: Sāriputta
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Linatthapakāsini	
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdani	Linatthapakāsini	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Linatthapakāsini	
Aṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇi	Linatthapakāsini	Sāratthamañjūsā navā ṭikāgandho

**2.4. Sāsanavaṃsa**

Sāsanavaṃsa (Sās), a work “written in Burma in 1861 by Paññāsāmi, tutor of King Min-dōn-min who held the fifth council a few years later”,<sup>36</sup> does not give the names of the two sets of *ṭikās* (Linatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā); it simply states that *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā* and *Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā* were written by Ācariya Dhammapāla,<sup>37</sup> and *Aṅguttara-nikāyaṭṭikā* was written by Sāriputta Thera at the request of the king Parakkamabāhu.<sup>38</sup>

**Table 2.5. The *ṭikās* in Sāsanavaṃsa (1861)**

Canon: Four nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt) sixth–ninth century C.E. Author: Dhammapāla	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = t) twelfth century C.E. Author: Sāriputta
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	[Linatthapakāsini ] Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā	

<sup>36</sup>Norman, 1983, pp. 181–82. King Min-dōn (1852–77), also called the “Convener of the Fifth Council”, held the council in Mandalay in 1868–71 (PLB, pp. 92–94). On Sās see also Buddhadatta 1962, pp. 407–409; Lieberman, 1976; Hazra 1986, pp. 91–94.

<sup>37</sup>Sās N<sup>c</sup> 1961 31,10–12: *Visuddhimagga mahāṭṭikā*, *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Majjhima-nikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā*, *Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathāya ṭikā sāti imāyo ācariya-Dhammapālathero akāsi*.

<sup>38</sup>Sās N<sup>c</sup> 1961 31,13–14: *Sāratthadīpaniṃ nāma ṭikaṃ*, *Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭikaṃ ca Parakkama-bāhuraññā yācito Sāriputtathero akāsi*.

Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdanī	[Līnatthapakāsini ] Majjhimanikāyaṭṭha- kathāya tīkā	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	[Līnatthapakāsini] Samyuttanikāyaṭṭha- kathāya tīkā	
Āṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇī		[Sāratthamañjūsā] Āṅguttaranikāya- tīkā

The distinction between the two sets of *ṭīkās* mentioned in Saddhamma-s, and in the case of A also in the Pagan inscription and Gv, is not made 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 *ṭīkās* on the four *nikāyas* consisted of two kinds of *ṭīkās* — the older three on D, M, and S written by Dhammapāla, and the later one on A written by Sāriputta.

### 2.5. Sāsanavaṃsadīpa

Sāsanavaṃsadīpa (Sās-dīp) was completed in 1879 by Ācariya Vimalasāra Thera and published in 1880 in Colombo.<sup>39</sup> Sās-dīp covers “the history of Buddhism in Ceylon down to the time of the introduction of the Burmese *upasampadā* in A.D. 1802”.<sup>40</sup> The information about the *ṭīkās* on the four *nikāyas* in Sās-dīp is the same as in Sās. The names of the two sets of *ṭīkās* (Līnatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā) given in Saddhamma-s and Gv are not mentioned at all. Only one set of *ṭīkās* is listed and it does not have any special name; the *ṭīkās* on D, M, and S

<sup>39</sup>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 C.E.] — Sāsanavaṃsadīpo — ācariya-Vimalasārattherapādena viracito — tassānumatiya Balatāsara Virasīhāmaccena c’ eva tadaññehi ca budhikehi janehi Koḷambaḥhānīyasmiṃ Satthālokayantasālāyaṃ muddāpito — Saugate saṃvacchare 2424 [1880 C.E.]*; the second title page reads: *The Sasanavansa dīpo* 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 — A.B. 2424.*

<sup>40</sup>Norman, 1983, p. 182.

are ascribed to Dhammapāla,<sup>41</sup> and a *ṭikā* on A is ascribed to Sāriputta.<sup>42</sup>

**Table 2.6. The *ṭikās* in Sāsanaṅgaṣṭhāna (1880)**

Canon: Four nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt) sixth–ninth century C.E. Author: Dhammapāla	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = t) twelfth century C.E. Author: Sāriputta
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	[Linatthapakāsini] Dīghāgamassa <i>ṭikā</i>	
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdani	[Linatthapakāsini] Majjhimaṭṭhakathā- <i>ṭikā</i>	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	[Linatthapakāsini] Samyuttaṭṭhakathā- <i>ṭikā</i>	
Aṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇi		[Sāratthamañjūsā] Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā- <i>ṭikā</i>

### 2.6. *Piṭakat samuīṇi*:

The *Piṭakat samuīṇi* 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>43</sup> The names of the two sets, Linatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā, and the two authors, Dhammapāla and Sāriputta, are mentioned as in Gv.<sup>44</sup>

*Piṭ-sm* lists two *ṭikās* on A: a *ṭikā* written by Dhammapāla and a

<sup>41</sup>Sās-dīp C<sup>e</sup> 1880, vv. 1231–32: ... *ṭikā Dīghāgamassa ca, Majjhim'-aṭṭhakathāṭṭikā Samyuttaṭṭha-kathāya ca, ... Dhammapālena dhīmatā racitā therapādena suttantaṇṇāyadassina*.

<sup>42</sup>Sās-dīp C<sup>e</sup> 1880, vv. 1201–203: *Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathāṭṭikā ... therena Sāriputtana katā*.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. 2.2. and 2.3. above.

<sup>44</sup>The reference numbers of all the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* listed in *Piṭ-sm* 187–212 are marked with asterisks which means that, according to the 1989 edition of *Piṭ-sm*, the manuscripts of all these *ṭikās* are held in the National Library, Rangoon.

*ṭikā* written by Sāriputta. The first *ṭikā* is listed as incomplete and has three entries: *Ekaṅguttaraṭṭikā-hoṇṇi*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭṭikā-hoṇṇi*, and *Tikaṅguttaraṭṭikā-hoṇṇi*. Although it is called the “old” (*hoṇṇi*) *ṭikā* the common name *Linatthapakāsini* is not mentioned at all.<sup>45</sup> According to *Piṭ-sm* 199 “the remaining eight parts of the old *ṭikā*, i.e. the *ṭikā* on *Catukaṅguttara*, *Pañcaṅguttara*, ... *Ekādasāṅguttara*, cannot be found anywhere in Burma”.<sup>46</sup>

The second *ṭikā* on A is mentioned as a “new, revised” *ṭikā* (*sac*) and it has the following eleven entries:<sup>47</sup> *Ekaṅguttaraṭṭikā-sac*, *Dukaṅguttaraṭṭikā-sac*, *Tikaṅguttara-ṭṭikā-sac*, ... *Dasāṅguttaraṭṭikā-sac*, *Ekādasāṅguttaraṭṭikā-sac*.

**Table 2.7. The *ṭikās* in *Piṭakat samuīṇi*: (1888)**

Canon: Four nikāyas first written in the first century B.C.E.	Commentaries fifth century C.E.	Old sub-comment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt) sixth–ninth century C.E. Author: Dhammapāla	Later subcomment. ( <i>ṭikā</i> = t) twelfth cent. C.E. Author: Sāriputta
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Linatthapakāsini: Sutsilakkhaṅṭikā hoṇṇi, Sutmahāvāṭṭikā, Sutpātheyyāṭṭikā <sup>48</sup>	
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdanī	Linatthapakāsini : Mūlapaṇṇāsaṭṭikā, Majjhimapañṇāsa-ṭṭikā, Uparipaṇṇāsaṭṭikā <sup>49</sup>	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Linatthapakāsini : Sagāthavagga-samyuttikā, Nidānavagga- ... Khandhavagga- ... Saḷāyatanavagga-...	

<sup>45</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 199–201.

<sup>46</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 199 (translated by Elisabeth Lawrence).

<sup>47</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 202–12.

<sup>48</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 187, 189–90. Silakkhandhavaggaṭṭikā is listed as the “old” (*hoṇṇi*) *ṭikā*, i.e. Sv-pt, Paṭhamā Linatthapakāsini, not to distinguish it from Sv-t, Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsa, but to distinguish it from Sādhujanavilāsiniṭṭikā (Sv-nt) which is in *Piṭ-sm* 188 listed as the “new” (*sac*) *ṭikā*.

<sup>49</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 191–93.

		Mahāvaggasamyut- tikā <sup>50</sup>	
Āṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇī	Ekaṅguttaraṭīkā-hoṇḥ Dukaṅguttaraṭīkā-hoṇḥ Tikaṅguttaraṭīkā-hoṇḥ	Sāratthamañjūsā: Ekaṅguttaraṭīkā- sac Dukaṅguttaraṭīkā- sac Tika- ... Dasa- ... Ekādasāṅguttara- ṭīkā-sac

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

### 2.7. Summary

The above analysis of the old and later subcommentaries (*purāṇa-ṭīkā*s and *ṭīkā*s, see Tables 1.2 and 1.3 above) in bibliographical sources can be presented as follows:<sup>51</sup>

**Table 2.8. The subcommentaries in the Pāli bibliographic sources**

Bib. sources	Dīgha- nikāya	Majjhima- nikāya	Samyutta- nikāya	Āṅguttara- nikāya
Saddhammasaṅgaha fourteenth century	old subcom./ later subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.
Pagan inscription 1442	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.
Gandhavaṃsa seventeenth century	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.
Sāsanavaṃsa 1861	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom.	later subcom.
Sāsanavaṃsadīpa 1880	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom.	later subcom.
<i>Piṭakat samuṇḥ</i> : 1888	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom.	old subcom./ later subcom.

<sup>50</sup>*Piṭ-sm* 194–98.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. Pecenko, 2002, p. 76 (Table I).

The two sets of subcommentaries on the first four *nikāyas* are mentioned in Pāli bibliographical sources in the following three ways:

- (a) as a single set consisting of the first three *ṭīkās* from the old set, called *Linatthapakāsini*, and the fourth *ṭīkā* from the later set, called *Sāratthamañjūsā*.

**Table 2.9. One combined set of subcommentaries (Sās, Sās-dīp)**

Pāli Canon: four <i>nikāyas</i>	Commentaries	Old subcomment. ( <i>purāṇaṭīkā</i> = pt)	(Later) subcomment. ( <i>ṭīkā</i> = t)
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Linatthapakāsini I	
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdani	Linatthapakāsini II	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Linatthapakāsini III	
Ānguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇi		Sāratthamañjūsā IV

The set in Table 2.9 above was approved and published by the Sixth Council (Chatthasaṅgāyana) and this is the only set existing in printed form.

- (b) as one complete set of the old *ṭīkās* with an additional later *ṭīkā* on *Ānguttara-nikāya*.

**Table 2.10. A set of old subcommentaries with a later subcommentary (Pagan inscription, Gv and Piṭ-sm)**

Pāli Canon: four <i>nikāyas</i>	Commentaries	Old subcomment. ( <i>purāṇaṭīkā</i> = pt)	(Later) subcomment. ( <i>ṭīkā</i> = t)
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Linatthapakāsini I	
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdani	Linatthapakāsini II	
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Linatthapakāsini III	
Ānguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇi	Linatthapakāsini IV	Sāratthamañjūsā IV

Here *Linatthapakāsini* IV, the old subcommentary on *Ānguttara-nikāya*, a manuscript of which I discovered in Burma in 1999, is added to the Sixth Council's set.

- (c) as two complete different sets:



**Table 2.11. The two complete sets of subcommentaries on four nikāyas (Saddhamma-s)**

Pāli Canon: four nikāyas	Commentaries	Old subcomment. ( <i>purāṇaṭṭikā</i> = pt)	(Later) subcomment. ( <i>ṭṭikā</i> = t)
Dīghanikāya	Sumaṅgalavilāsini	Linatthapakāsini I	Sāratthamañjūsā I
Majjhimanikāya	Papañcasūdani	Linatthapakāsini II	Sāratthamañjūsā II
Samyuttanikāya	Sāratthapakāsini	Linatthapakāsini III	Sāratthamañjūsā III
Aṅguttaranikāya	Manorathapūraṇi	Linatthapakāsini IV	Sāratthamañjūsā IV

Here three later subcommentaries on Dīgha-nikāya, Majjhima-nikāya and Samyutta-nikāya (Sāratthamañjūsā I–III), which are still in manuscript form, are added and thus we have two complete sets, a very different situation from the single set approved by the Sixth Council (see Table 2.9. above). In Part 3 below printed editions and manuscripts of the texts given in the Tables 2.9–11 above will be discussed.

### Part 3. Printed editions and manuscripts of the ṭṭikās

The subcommentaries discussed above can be divided into two groups: those which have been published in printed editions and those which have remained only in manuscript form.<sup>52</sup> The printed editions are shown in Table 3.1 below:

**Table 3.1. Printed editions of the subcommentaries**

Two sets	<i>Dīghanikāya/ Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>	<i>Majjhima-nikāya/ Papañcasūdani</i>	<i>Samyutta-nikāya/ Sāratthapakāsini</i>	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya/ Manorathapūraṇi</i>
Old subcom.: <i>Linatthapakāsini</i> set	Editions: Burmese: 1904–6, 1912, 1915, 1924, 1961; Sinhala: 1967 Roman script: 1970 Indian: 1993	Editions: Burmese: 1853, 1961 Indian: 1995	Editions: Burmese: 1961 Indian: 1994	
Later subcom.: <i>Sāratthamañjūsā</i> set				Editions: Burmese: 1910, 1961; Sinhala: 1907, 1930; Indian: 1996; Roman: 1996, 1997, 1999

<sup>52</sup>For details, see Pecenko, 2002, pp. 76–86.

The *ṭikās* in Table 3.1 are listed in *Sās* and *Sās-dīp* as the only existing set (Tables 2.4–2.5); this set, which has been also approved by the Theravāda tradition, consists of the three “older” *ṭikās* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt) ascribed to Dhammapāla and the fourth “later” *ṭikā* (Mp-t) ascribed to Sāriputta. Besides the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions<sup>53</sup> there exist several other editions<sup>54</sup> and manuscripts of these *ṭikās*.<sup>55</sup> Because

<sup>53</sup>Sv-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–III; Ps-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–III; Spk-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–II; Mp-t B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–III. The Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana editions of these *ṭikās* were transcribed by Vipassana Research Institute, Igatpuri, India, (Sv-pt N<sup>c</sup> 1993 I–III; Ps-pt N<sup>c</sup> 1995 I–IV; Spk-pt N<sup>c</sup> 1994 I–III; Mp-t N<sup>c</sup> 1996 I–III) and are available also on *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM* (Versions: 1.1, 2.0, 3.0) published by Vipassana Research Institute (Web site: <www.vri.dhamma.org>).

<sup>54</sup>Sv-pt: E<sup>c</sup> 1970 I–III, ed. by Lily de Silva; B<sup>c</sup> 1904–1906 I–III, ed. by U Hpye; B<sup>c</sup> 1912 I–III, ed. by Hsaya Tin of Nanmadaw; B<sup>c</sup> 1915 I–III, ed. by Hsayas Kyi, Kyaw, Thein and Hba Kyaw (all the B<sup>c</sup> are called *Linathappakāsānā*, see Raper and O’Keefe, 1983, p. 34); B<sup>c</sup> 1924 I–III (see Warder, 1980, p. 529); C<sup>c</sup>, H. Kalyāṇasiri and H. Kalyāṇadhamma, eds., 1967.

Ps-pt: Bangchang, 1981, p. xi, mentions a very old B<sup>c</sup> published in 1853.

Spk-pt: Besides the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (Spk-pt B<sup>c</sup> 1961 I–II = N<sup>c</sup> 1994 I–III) I am not aware of any other edition of Spk-pt.

Mp-t: E<sup>c</sup> I (1996), II (1998), III (1999) — PTS edition by P. Pecenko, Vols. I–III contain *Eka-* and *Dukanipāṭaṭikā*; B<sup>c</sup> 1910 I–II (see *CPD*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, p. 41\*); C<sup>c</sup> 1907 (see de Silva, 1910–12, p. 150); C<sup>c</sup> 1930 (see *EncBuddh*, Vol. I, fasc. 4, p. 629, s. v. *Āṅuttara-nava-ṭikā*). Mp-t C<sup>c</sup> 1907 and 1930 contain only *Ekanipāṭaṭikā*. For a detailed description of C<sup>c</sup> 1907, B<sup>c</sup> 1910 and C<sup>c</sup> 1930, see Primoz Pecenko, “Introduction” in Mp-t E<sup>c</sup> (1996) I, pp. xxxvii–xlii.

<sup>55</sup>Mss of Sv-pt are listed in: Lily de Silva, “General Introduction” in Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup>, pp. xi–xii (7 C<sup>c</sup> mss; these mss are listed in *LPP*); *LPP*, Vol. 1, p. 39 (16 C<sup>c</sup> mss); Fausbøll 1894–96, p. 28 (1 B ms); Braun et al., 1985, pp. 126–28 (1 B ms); Rhys Davids, 1882, p. 52 (one C ms); *Piṭ-sm* 187, 189–90 (1 B ms).

Mss of Ps-pt are listed in: Bangchang, 1981, p. xi (1 K ms, 4 C mss; these 4 C mss are listed in *LPP*); *LPP*, Vol. 1, p. 71 (8 C mss), Vol. 2, p. 53 (6 C mss); Rhys Davids 1882, p. 51 (1 C ms); Fausbøll, 1894–96., pp. 28–29 (1 B ms); Rhys Davids 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); de Silva, 1938, pp. 36–37 (1 C ms); *Piṭ-sm* 194–198 (1 B ms).

these are the only subcommentaries on the four *nikāyas* that have printed editions they have been often considered to be the only existing *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas*.<sup>56</sup>

In my earlier research I have also investigated the *ṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* which have never been published in a book form; these texts are listed in some catalogues of Pāli manuscripts and are held in various libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka. According to my research a number of these manuscripts still exist (see Table 3.2 below) and one of them — the old *ṭikā* on Aṅguttaranikāya — was recently discovered in Burma.<sup>57</sup> This discovery shows that the bibliographic information in earlier texts like Saddhammasaṅgaha is very reliable and needs further investigation.

**Table 3.2. The sub-commentaries existing in manuscript form**

Two sets	<i>Dīgha-nikāya/ Sumanāgala- vilāsini</i>	<i>Majjhima-nikāya/ Papañca-sūdanī</i>	<i>Samyutta-nikāya/ Sārattha-pakāsini</i>	<i>Aṅguttara- nikāya/ Manoratha- pūraṇī</i>
Līnattha- pakāsini set				Manuscripts: Burm. script: 3 (1 ms microfilmed, Burma 1999)
Sārattha- mañjūsā set	Manuscripts: Sinhala script: 7	Manuscripts: Burm. script: 1 Sinh. script: 7	Manuscripts: Burmese script: 1 Sinhala script: 2	

The information about the available manuscripts given in Table 3.2

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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); de Silva, 1938, 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, Rangoon (3 B mss; Acc. Nos.: 800, 1846, 1937); Universities Central Library, University of Rangoon (2 B Mss; Acc. Nos.: 7691, 9816/10095).

This list is, of course, not exhaustive; it is possible that more manuscripts of the above mentioned *ṭikās* can be found in Burma and perhaps also in Thailand.

<sup>56</sup>See e.g. O.v. Hinüber, *HPL*, pp. 167, 173.

<sup>57</sup>Pecenko, 2002, pp. 78–86 (the Burmese ms of the old Aṅguttaraṭikā is described on pp. 82–85).

above also agrees with some bibliographical texts. In the Pagan inscription, Gv and *Piṭ-sm* (Tables 2.3, 2.4, 2.7) an additional *ṭikā* — not mentioned in *Sās* and *Sās-dīp* — is mentioned: the old *ṭikā* on A (Mp-pt), called *Catutthā Līnatthapakāsini*. *Saddhamma-s* (Table 2.2) mentions two complete sets of *ṭikās*, *Līnatthapakāsini* set (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt) and *Sāratthamañjūsā* set (Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t, Mp-t). Here three later *ṭikās* — not mentioned in any other bibliographic work — are added: a *ṭikā* on D (Sv-t) called *Paṭhamā Sāratthamañjūsā*,<sup>58</sup> a *ṭikā* on M (Ps-t) called *Dutiya Sāratthamañjūsā* and a *ṭikā* on S (Spk-t) called *Tatiya Sāratthamañjūsā*.

If we combine Tables 3.1 and 3.2 above we get Table 3.3 below in which it is clearly evident that two different sets of *nikāyaṭikās* were in fact compiled: the older set called *Līnatthapakāsini* and the later set called *Sāratthamañjūsā*. This leads to important conclusions which will be discussed below.

**Table 3.3. Manuscripts and editions of the two sets of subcommentaries**

Two sets	<i>Dīgha-nikāya/ Samaṅgala- vilāsini</i>	<i>Majjhima-nikāya/ Papañca-sūdanī</i>	<i>Samyutta- nikāya/ Sārattha- pakāsini</i>	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya/ Manoratha-pūraṇi</i>
Old subcom.: <i>Līnatthapakā- sini</i> set (sixth- ninth century C.E. )	Editions: Burmese: 1904-6, 1912, 1915, 1924, 1961; Sinhala: 1967 Roman script: 1970 Indian: 1993	Editions: Burmese: 1853, 1961 Indian: 1995	Editions: Burmese: 1961 Indian: 1994	Manuscripts: Burmese script: 3 (1 ms discovered and microfilmed in Burma 1999)
Later subcom.: <i>Sārattha- mañjūsā</i> set (twelfth century C.E. )	Manuscripts: Sinhala script: 7	Manuscripts: Burm. script: 1 Sinhala script: 7	Manuscript: Burmese script: 1 Sinhala script: 2	Editions: Burmese: 1910, 1961; Sinhala: 1907, 1930; Indian: 1966; Roman: 1996, 1997, 1999

<sup>58</sup>Another manuscript of the later *ṭikā* on D (Sv-t) with the title *Dīgha-nikāya Dvītiya Ṭikā* held in Saṃgharāja Pansala in Malvatu Vihāraya is mentioned in Blackburn 2002, p. 22 (ms no. 21).

### Conclusions

From the above analysis of the *nikāyaṭīkāś*, their manuscripts and printed editions we can conclude that two different sets of *nikāyaṭīkāś* were in fact compiled: the older set called *Linatthapakāsini* (Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-pt) and the later set called *Sāratthamañjūsā* (Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t, Mp-t). Although the two complete sets are mentioned only in *Saddhamma-s* (see Table 2.2 above), all the eight *ṭīkāś* from the two sets seem to still exist either in printed editions or in manuscript form (see Table 3.3 above). Here it is very interesting to note that the manuscripts in Table 3.2 have never been properly investigated and it also seems that they have been neglected by both the Theravāda tradition<sup>59</sup> as well as modern Pāli scholarship.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup>It is not made explicit why certain *ṭīkāś* (Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t, Mp-pt) were ignored by the Theravāda tradition (see e.g. *Chatthasaṅgāyana* editions) and only some (i.e. Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-t) were published — in spite of the fact that the manuscripts of the unpublished *ṭīkāś* are held in different libraries in Burma and Sri Lanka and according to the introduction in the *Chatthasaṅgāyana* editions “all the existing *ṭīkāś*” were recited. In the *Nidānakathā* of Mp-t B<sup>c</sup> 1961 (p. ca) it is clearly stated that all the existing *ṭīkāś* in Burma and outside Burma were edited and published:

*evaṃ saṅgūṭim āropitassa pana tepītakassa buddhavacanassa attha-saṃvaṇṇanābhūtā yā ca aṭṭhakathāyo saṃvijjanti yā ca tāsaṃ atthappakāsanavasena pavattā ṭīkāyo saṃvijjanti manoramāya tantinayānucchavikāya bhāsāya ācariy’ Ānanda-ācariya-Dhammapālādīhi theravarehi katā,*

*tāsam pi aṭṭhakathāṭīkānaṃ sadesīyamūlehi c’ eva videsīyamūlehi ca saṃsanditvā tepītakassa viya buddhavacanassa visodhanapaṭivisodhanavasena mahātherā pāvacanadassino saṃvaṇṇanā-kovidā pāṭhasodhanam akamsu,*

*icc evam aṭṭhakathāṭīkāyo pamādakhalitādhikaparibhaṭṭhapāṭhānaṃ nīrākaraṇavasena visodhitā c’ eva paṭivisodhitā ca hutvā Buddhasāsana-muddanayantālaye samappitā suṭṭhu muddāpaṇāya.*

This contradicts the information about the manuscripts of the *nikāyaṭīkāś* discussed above (see Table 3.3 above). If the *Chatthasaṅgāyana* edited “all the existing *ṭīkāś*” (*yā ca tāsaṃ attha-ppakāsanavasena pavattā ṭīkāyo saṃvijjanti*) “originating from Burma and from outside” (*sadesīyamūlehi c’*

My recent discovery of a manuscript of the old *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā*, *Catutthā Līnattha-pakāsini*, further proves the existence of two sets of *ṭṭikās* and also throws new light on the development of the *nikāyaṭṭikās* and their Pāli bibliographic information. According to Saddhamma-s (see 2.1 above) the old *nikāyaṭṭikās*, called *Līnatthapakāsini*, were “incomplete” (*aparipuṇṇa*) and had to be replaced by the later set of *ṭṭikās*, called *Sāratthamañjūsā*, which were “comprehensive” (*paripuṇṇa*) and “clear” (*anākula*). My comparative research of three parallel chapters from the older (Mp-pt) and later (Mp-t) *Āṅguttaraṭṭikās* published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*<sup>61</sup> indicates that the description of these two *Āṅguttaraṭṭikās* in Saddhamma-s is very accurate. This is a further indication that the information about the two different sets of *nikāyaṭṭikās* in Saddhamma-s (see 2.1 above) is most probably correct.

In the light of the above discussion we can further conclude that the information about the *nikāyaṭṭikās* in Saddhamma-s, the oldest Pāli bibliographical text, is more accurate than in all the other, later Pāli bibliographic sources. Although some of these sources (Pagan inscription, Gv, *Piṭ-sm*) mention the old *Āṅguttaraṭṭikā* (Mp-pt), none of them mentions two complete sets of *nikāyaṭṭikās* (cf. Table 2.9). Saddhamma-s seems therefore the most accurate — although it has been usually considered to be one of the least reliable sources.

The information about the *ṭṭikās* on the four *nikāyas* in modern Pāli scholarship is mostly based on the Pāli bibliographical works, on the existing printed editions, and rarely also on the catalogues<sup>62</sup> of Pāli

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*eva videsīyamūlehi ca saṃsanditvā*), why were the manuscripts of Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t and Mp-pt omitted? Further research is needed here.

<sup>60</sup>Modern Pāli scholarship seems to agree to a great extent with the Theravāda tradition (i.e. the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* editions) that most probably only one set of *nikāyaṭṭikās* (i.e. Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt and Mp-t) still exists at present. Cf. Table 1.4 above; Hinüber, *HPL*, p. 167, §357; p. 173, §§375–76; Buddhadata, 1956, pp. 259–62; Godakumbura, 1980, p. xxvii, n. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Pecenko, 2002, pp. 78–79, 82–105.

<sup>62</sup>For example, in Geiger §31 (literature), nn. 5–6, Fausbøll 1894–96 is cited.

manuscripts. Since we have, as shown above, printed editions of only one “combined” set of *nikāyaṭīkā*s (i.e. Sv-pt, Ps-pt, Spk-pt, Mp-t; see Table 2.9 above), it is often assumed that only one set of *nikāyaṭīkā*s exists at present and that only one complete set was also most probably composed. This approach is also supported by references from the later bibliographic works (e.g. Sās), which are often considered more reliable than the earlier sources (e.g. Saddhamma-s). It also seems clear that this approach has been — perhaps “subconsciously” — influenced by the Theravāda tradition and its Sixth Council (the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) which published exactly the same “combined” set of *ṭīkā*s.

In the case of the two sets of *nikāyaṭīkā*s discussed above — especially considering Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t and Mp-pt which are, although still existing in manuscript form (see Table 3.2), often mentioned as “lost” or “a fiction”<sup>63</sup> — the information in the oldest bibliographic source (Saddhamma-s) appears to be the most reliable of all (cf. Table 2.2).

The above analysis of the *nikāyaṭīkā*s and their manuscripts and printed editions clearly indicates that further research of Pāli subcommentaries and their bibliographic information needs to be done. It is possible that more manuscripts of the less known *nikāyaṭīkā*s (i.e. Sv-t, Ps-t, Spk-t, Mp-pt) are held in various temple libraries in the Theravāda countries. These *ṭīkā*s are an important link in Pāli textual transmission and their further investigation may give us — among many other things — new information about the development of the *ṭīkā* literature and about the editions/versions of the canonical and post-canonical Pāli texts used at the time of their compilation. And this is very important for the history of Pāli literature.

Primoz Pecenko

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<sup>63</sup>Hinüber, *HPL*, p. 167 (§ 357), see also p. 173 (§ 376).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations and the quotation system of Pāli sources follow *A 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: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990). The only exception are the PTS editions which will be cited – unless required for emphasis – without edition and date, e.g. Sv-pt = Sv-pt E<sup>c</sup> 1970 I–III, edited by Lily de Silva. For transliteration of Burmese see “Table of Transliteration” in H. Bechert et al., *Burmese Manuscripts, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Vol. XXIII, 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. xxi.

Adikaram, <i>EHBC</i>	E.W. Adikaram, <i>Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon</i> . Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1953
A	Aṅguttara-nikāya
B	(manuscript) text in Burmese script
B <sup>c</sup>	Burmese edition
B.E.	Burmese era, (Culla-)Sakkarāj, beginning 638 C.E.
<i>BSOAS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
C	(manuscript) text in Sinhala script
C <sup>c</sup>	Ceylonese edition
<i>CPD</i>	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> . V. Trenckner et al., eds. Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1924–.
D	Dīgha-nikāya
<i>DPPN</i>	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i>
ed(s).	edition(s)
E <sup>c</sup>	European (PTS) edition
<i>EncBuddh</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Buddhism</i> . G.P. Malalasekera, ed.
Geiger	W. Geiger, <i>Pāli Literature and Language</i> . Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1956.
Gv	<i>Gandhavaṃsa of Nandapaññā</i> . I.P. Minayeff, ed. <i>JPTS</i> , 1886, pp. 54–79. (see 2.3)
von Hinüber, <i>HPL</i>	Oskar von Hinüber. <i>A Handbook of Pāli Literature</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.
<i>JPTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Pāli Text Society</i>
K	(manuscript) text in Cambodian script
M	Majjhima-nikāya
Mhv	Mahāvamsa of Mahānāma. W. Geiger, ed. London: PTS, 1958; and Cūlavamsa of Dhammakitti. W. Geiger, ed.



	London: PTS, 1980
Mp	Manorathapūraṇī, Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā
Mp-pt	Manorathapūraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā, Līnatthapakāsini IV
Mp-ṭ	Manorathapūraṇīṭīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā IV
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
N <sup>c</sup>	edition in Devanāgarī print
Norman, PL	K.R. Norman, <i>Pāli Literature</i> . Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983
Piṭ-sm	<i>Piṭakat samuṇṇi</i> . Rangoon: Tipiṭakanikāya Sāsana Pruhaphvè 1989. (see 2.6)
PLB	M.H. Bode, <i>The Pāli Literature of Burma</i> . London, 1909.
PLC	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>The Pāli Literature of Ceylon</i> . Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1958.
Ps	Papañcasūdanī, Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā
Ps-pt	Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā, Līnatthapakāsini II
Ps-ṭ	Papañcasūdanīṭīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā II
pṭ	<i>purāṇaṭīkā</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
S	Samyuttanikāya
Saddhamma-s	<i>Saddhammasaṅgaha</i> of <i>Dhammakitti</i> . Nedimāle Saddhānanda, ed. <i>JPTS</i> 1890, pp. 21–90 = N <sup>c</sup> 1961 (see 2.1)
Sās	<i>Sāsanaṅgaṃsa</i> of <i>Paññāsāmi</i> . C.S. Upasak, ed. Nālandā: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 1961 = E <sup>c</sup> 1897 (see 2.4.)
Sās-dīp	<i>Sāsanaṅgasadīpa</i> of <i>Vimalasārathera</i> . Colombo: Sathāloka Press 1880. (see 2.5)
Sp	Samantapāsādikā, Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā
Sp-ṭ	Sāratthadīpanīṭīkā
Spk	Sāratthapakāsini, Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā
Spk-pt	Sāratthapakāsiniṭīkā, Līnatthapakāsini III
Spk-ṭ	Sāratthapakāsiniṭīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā III
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsini, Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā
Sv-nṭ B <sup>c</sup>	Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṭīkā, Silakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭīkā, Sādhujanavilāsini of Nāṇābhivaṃsa
Sv-pt	Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṭīkā, Līnatthapakāsini I
Sv-ṭ	Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṭīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā I
ṭ	<i>ṭīkā</i>
Trsl.	Translation
Upās	Upāsakajanālaṅkāra. H. Saddhatissa, ed. London: PTS, 1965.

- Winternitz, HIL M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 3 vols. Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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