

IV

ABHIDHAMMA LITERATURE IN BURMA.¹

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THE Rev. Bhikkhu Ānanda Metteyya, the Director of the International Buddhist Society of the Buddhasāsana Samāgama, urged me long ago to write a paper on the Abhidhamma literature of Burma. After the appearance of "The Pali Literature of Burma," by Mrs. Bode, Ph.D., I thought that the Bhikkhu's request had become wholly superfluous. At first sight it would appear that the learned authoress gave greater prominence to grammarians than to our philosophers; but after a careful reading, I came to the conclusion that she left very little to be desired. Although the Abhidhamma has been most cultivated in Burma, original indigenous works on the subject in Pali constitute a mere handful. The reason for this paucity is not far to seek: Buddhist philosophers are, as a rule, most conservative, and would on no account add to the canon. Their critical and comparative study of the texts is not with a view to strike out "new departures of thought," nor even to make philosophy "move in a circle," as in the West, but to preserving the pristine beauty of the doctrine. Their object is better to understand and expound it to the people in their own vernacular. Hence we have more Burmese works than pure Pali. And if we leave the former out of account, the latter, which may be counted

¹ Laid before the Congress of Orientalists at Athens, 1912.

on one's fingers, will scarcely, in a superficial review, afford sufficient materials for a paper.

A short time ago, Mrs. Rhys Davids suggested that I should give an account of the books now studied by eminent Theras of Burma. I have, therefore, changed the preposition "of" into "in," in the title of this paper. But as a busy official, I can find no time for a treatment in detail of the works herein enumerated.

A word more before I begin my subject. It is most fitting to hold a Congress of Orientalists at Athens, an ancient seat of civilization, once the "eye of Europe." But whence its philosophy?

Thales, the father of Greek speculation, was born at Miletus, a Greek colony in Asia Minor, about 640 B.C.—*i.e.*, seventeen years before the *traditional* date of the Buddha's birth. But Indian philosophy began long before that event. Apart from the fact that the real founders of Indian mediæval logic were Buddhists,¹ we have reason to believe that ancient logic was regularly taught at ancient Takkasilā (the Greek Taxila) long before the father of logic was born at Stagira in 384 B.C. Again, there is much in common between the Buddhist and the Heraclitean theory of *flux*. The celebrated phrase of the Ephesian philosopher, "All is and is not; for, though in truth it does come into being, yet it forthwith ceases to be,"² is entirely Buddhistic. The Heraclitean Fire,³ ever enkindled and ever extinguished, is no less Buddhistic than his illustration of the theory of flux by a river.⁴ The greatest Indian Sage, who brought down philosophy from the heaven of Tāvātimsa as from the Olympus, elaborated the Philosophy of Association two centuries before Aristotle

¹ See Prof. S. Ch. Vidyabhusana's *History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic*.

² See p. 83, Lewes's *History of Philosophy*.

³ "Like the flame of a lamp" (*jālā viya*). See p. 166, *Compd. Phil.*, by S. Z. Aung and C. Rhys Davids.

⁴ "Like the current of a river" (*nadisoto viya*). See p. 9, n. 1, and p. 166, *ibid.*

laid the germs of it.¹ The Asiatic invasion of Alexander the Great served for the first time to connect the East and the West more intimately than before.

Dhammarakkhita (the Greek Demetrius) was a Bactrian,² and Mahārakkhita was sent by Tissa as a missionary to Yonaloka.³ Then, again, Buddhists are proud of King Milinda (the Greek Menander).

The mention of Tissa's missionaries brings me directly to the subject of my paper.⁴ The method adopted in the present paper is not historical,⁵ as it is considered desirable to keep together similar works of each class of Buddhist literature. Nevertheless, the starting-point of this paper must be the traditional Asokan mission of Sona and Uttara to Thaton about 308 B.C.⁶ Buddhist philosophy, which they are supposed to have introduced into Burma, had then been already collected⁷ into its present form, though it was not reduced to writing till the Fourth Council.

A. THE CANONICAL BOOKS.

There are seven books on the Abhidhamma—namely: (1) The Dhammasaṅgani; (2) The Vibhaṅga; (3) The Dhātukathā; (4) The Puggala-paññatti; (5) The Kathāvattu; (6) The Yamaka; and (7) The Paṭṭhāna.

¹ See p. 7, *ibid.* ² See p. 227, Rhys Davids's *Manual of Buddhism*.

³ This name was evidently derived from Ionia.

⁴ The materials for this paper are chiefly drawn from the *Pitkat Thonbôn Sadan*, a bibliographical work of great authority, compiled in 1886 by Mingyi Mahāthiri Zeyathu, the Maing-gaing Myoza, who was the royal librarian and of deep erudition. King Mindoon used to remark that this author "lived in his library." This work is published by the Pyigyī Mandain Press, Rangoon.

⁵ Much as I wish to draw upon the *Sāsanūlankāra* (an historical sketch of Buddhism in Burma, written by Mingyi Thiri Mahā Nanda Thingyan, the Saw Myoza, in 1831, at the special request of King Bagyidaw, and published by the Hanthawaddy Press), for the biographical sketches of Chapada, Taungbila Sadaw, Kyazwa, Ariyavamsa, etc., I do not wish to repeat what has already been well said about them by Mrs. Bode in her *Pali Literature of Burma*.

⁶ This is according to the Buddhist tradition. Western authorities have fixed 250 B.C. ⁷ See p. 188, Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*.

Though the fourth book has been considered¹ as probably the earliest, it will not be amiss briefly to notice them in the order in which we find them given to us by a line of philosophers from the Buddha down to the present day.

The first book² is a compendium of things. By "things" (*dhammā*) are meant mind and body; therefore, it deals concisely with different states and classes of consciousness and qualities of body or properties of matter. These two ultimate facts (*paramatthadhamma's*) form the basis of Buddhist philosophy. This work is so important to students that a knowledge of a digest of it, called *Mātikā*, is considered by scholars as indispensable to the study of the remaining six books. The importance of the digest may be inferred from the fact that there are no less than six Burmese *Akauks* (analytic works) on it. The first analysis of it was made by *Tipiṭakālaṅkāra*, alias *Taungbila Pôkgôgyaw*, *Munidhaghosa* (born 1575)³ during the reign of *Thalun Mindaya*, who came to the throne in 1629. The second analysis, by *Myauk-nangyaung Sadaw*, *Aggadhammālaṅkāra*, appeared during the reign of *Ngadatkyi Dayaka* of *Sagaing*, who ascended the throne in 1648. The third was written by *Taungbilu Sadaw* during the reign of *Wunbe-Insan Min*, who became king in 1672. A fourth was added by *Tantabin Sadaw Nandamedhā*, during the reign of *Ngasingu Min*, who succeeded to the throne in 1776. The first *Bagaya Sadaw* wrote the fifth during the reign of *Bodawpaya* (1781); and the last was contributed by a relative of the two *Nyaungan Sadaws*, *U Po* and *U Pôk*, during the reign of *Bagyidaw* (1819).

Besides these *Akauks*,⁴ a work, entitled *Mātikāgaṇṭhi*, was prepared on "knotty" points in the *Mātikā* by *Ñāṇā-*

¹ See Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*.

² This is the only book that has yet been translated into English—viz., by Mrs. Rhys Davids. See her *Buddhist Psychology*.

³ See p. 53, Bode's *Pali Lit.*

⁴ The *Mātikatthadīpanī*, ascribed to *Chapada* on p. 19, Bode's *Pali Lit.*, is not in the *Pitakat Thonbôn Sadan*.

bhivaṃsa of Maungdaung, who became the Thathanabaing of Bodawpaya.

The Vibhaṅga classifies things already dealt with in the first book (Dhs). It is divided into eighteen¹ sections, into the details of which I cannot here enter. The comments² of Sumaṅgalamahāsāmi, the author of the Tikagyaw, on the order of the first four sections will, however, be interesting to students. According to him, things are first classified under the five Khandhas for the benefit of those students who have not a very clear idea of mind; next under the twelve Āyatana's for those who are not clear about body; and then under the eighteen Dhātu's ("elements") for those who are hazy about both mind and body. The Khandha-classification is suitable for those who are quick of intellect, and therefore need but an outline to grasp the doctrine; the Āyatana-classification, for the average class of students, who are in need of the medium discourse; and the Dhātu-classification, for those who are slow and require a detailed exposition. Now, each of these heads of classification constitutes the "whole of what we know."³ This universe of existence is next viewed under aspects of the four Noble Truths (Ariya-saccāni),⁴ because it is not profitable simply to know mind and body without also knowing their "cause."

The relation of this book to the first is explained by Sadhammajotipāla, *alias* Chapada, the author of the Saṅkhepavannanā, as that of the "branches-and-leaves" to the "root-and-stem" of the Buddhist philosophical tree.⁵

¹ (1) Khandha; (2) Āyatana; (3) Dhātu; (4) Sacca; (5) Indriya; (6) Paṭiccasamuppāda; (7) Satippaṭṭhāna; (8) Sammappadhāna; (9) Iddhipāda; (10) Bojjhaṅga; (11) Maggaṅga; (12) Jhāna; (13) Appamaññā; (14) Sikkhāpada; (15) Paṭisambhidā; (16) Ñāna; (17) Khuddaka-vatthu; and (18) Dhammahadaya. On the first thirteen, the reader is referred to the *Compd. Phil.*

² See pp. 200, 201, *The Three Tikūs*, edited by Saya Pye.

³ See pp. 182-184, *Compd. Phil.*

⁴ *I.e.*, the *What*, the *How arisen*, the *Ceasing to be*, the *Means for causing ceasing to be*.

⁵ See p. 248, *The Three Tikūs*.

In the third book (Dhātukathā) the Buddha amplified the Dhātu-section of the second (Vibhaṅga) in relation to the first two books. Why he developed these three, and only these three, sections may be inferred from Sumaṅgala's comments already referred to.

The analysis of mind and body into either the five Khandhas, or the twelve Āyatana's, or the eighteen "Elements," is intended to show that there is no conscious subject behind consciousness, that there is no noumenon behind phenomenon; in other words, that there is no metaphysical entity called "soul."

Now, the term "puggala" has a double meaning. In the orthodox sense it means "personality,"¹ and as such it is but a concept (*paññatti*). But in the heterodox view it means "a soul." The very title of the fourth book (Puggala-Paññatti) shows that it treats of different concepts of personalities. It merely states the Buddhist position with reference to the question of soul; but it does not support it with any arguments. These are left over for the fifth book on controversial doctrines.

The object of the fifth book, the Kathāvatthu ("The Book of Controversies"), is to "convert" heterodox believers to the orthodox view,² and the book begins with the Puggalakathā, a controversy on the question of the soul between

¹ On "Personal Identity," see p. 11, *Compd. Phil.* Hume accounts for the idea of identity by the easiness of the transition of the mind from one idea to another in the series. "The smooth and uninterrupted progress of thought readily deceives the mind and makes us ascribe our identity to the changeable succession of connected qualities." *Treatise of Human Nature*, Part IV., sec. iii. "Nor is there any single power of the soul which remains unalterably the same, perhaps for one moment. . . . There is properly no simplicity in it at one time, nor identity in difference . . . memory does not so much produce, as discover personal identity, by showing us the relation of cause and effect among our different perceptions." *Ibid.*, p. 534, Green and Grote's edition.

On the sense in which Buddhists admit personal identity, see the beautiful article, entitled "Thinking of Something Else," by Mrs. Rhys Davids, in the *Buddhist Review*, vol. iv., No. 1.

² See the *Mūlaṭīkā* and the *Anuṭīkā*.

an adherent of Buddhism (*sakavādi*) and an imaginary opponent (*paravādi*). The opponent in the first controversy is, therefore, the Attavādi, with whom the "puggala" is the "attā" (self), "satta" (sentient being), or "jiva" (living thing) of current metaphysics.

It is generally believed that the whole book was added by Tissa at the Third Council; but the traditional view is that the Buddha Himself left an outline¹ (*Mātikā*) to be elaborated by a later genius on the lines laid down by Him. Anyway, it is the first of the three principal landmarks² in the history of Buddhist philosophy. The Kathāvattu was taught regularly before, but not after, Ariyāvamsa of the fifteenth century.³

The object of the sixth book, the Yamaka ("The Book of Pairs"),⁴ is to "convince" the convert⁵ on doubtful points already dealt with in the earlier books. The Yamaka is not to be committed to memory either by the stupid, or by the intelligent. The intelligent once versed in its *method*, can recite the text without any difficulty; but the stupid would make no head or tail out of it, even if it were committed to memory.⁶

The Paṭṭhāna is the last, but not the least, of the series. It sets forth all the possible laws of relation obtaining among things; that is, it treats not only of the "related modes of consciousness," to use Mansel's descriptive phrase,

¹ Buddhaghosa writes: "The Buddha began with *eight* 'causes of views' (aṭṭhamukhā vādayutti's) by way of *two* 'fivefolds' in *four* questions on the subject of the soul, and left an outline in a text of one short recital (bhaṇavāra), in the series of all controversies." See pp. 1, 2, the *Cy. on the Kathāvattu*.

² The two other landmarks being the *Milindapañhā* and the *Visuddhimagga*.

³ I owe this information to the late Payagyi Sadaw of Henzada.

⁴ One of the "pairs" is "conviction" (*sanniṭṭhāna*) and "doubt" (*samsaya*).

⁵ See the *Mūlaṭṭikā* and the *Anutikā*.

⁶ This from Aletawya Sadaw, U Kosalla of Rangoon. But it seems to me that the remark equally applies to the Paṭṭhāna, of which only a small portion, the Paṇṇattivāra, otherwise called the Pucchāvāra, is committed to memory in Burma.

but also of those of all the modes of existence in the universe.¹ Western Associationists seem to have been concerned about the empirical phenomena of accidental suggestion of *ideas*, in association with the past experience of one or other individual thinker. And it is not surprising that some prominence has been given to these phenomena by ancient, as well as by modern philosophers, among whom are Hartley and Condillac, when we know that the Buddha Himself attached a degree of importance to them. The very fact that these principles are embodied in the Paṭṭhāna, entitled the Mahāpakaraṇa ("The Great Book"), as distinguished from its predecessors, the lesser six, is a clear proof that the Buddha, too, was in favour of the Association Philosophy. A thorough-going Associationist philosopher would say: "Give me mind and a few principles of association, and I will construct the entire universe."² The relative importance of "The Great Book" among the seven books of the Abhidhamma may be judged from the Buddhist tradition that all the "six rays of human aura" were simultaneously omitted from the Buddha's body when He expounded the principles of relation. The method of "The Great Book," from its universality of application, has received two epithets—"infinite" (*anan-tanaya*) and "universal" (*samantanaya*). This book has been likened by Buddhists to a bottomless ocean fathomed only by the Buddha's omniscience. To this simile we may add another modern illustration—that the Paṭṭhāna and the Buddha's intellect ran in parallels, meeting only in the depth of infinity, even as parallel rays do in distant stars.

On the twenty-four modes³ of relation dealt with in this crowning portion of the Abhidhamma, I cannot touch here.

¹ See p. 2, *Compd. Phil.*

² Cf. . . . "nothing is requisite to make a man what he is, but a sentient principle with this single property—*i.e.*, the association of ideas." Priestley, Hartley's Theory, Introductory Essays, quoted on p. 245, Mansel's *Metaphysics*.

³ See pp. 191, 192, *Compd. Phil.*

Before closing this part of the paper, I may add that night lectures in Burmese (*nyawās*) are given in the Viharas of Burma on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Dhātukathā, Yamaka, and Paṭṭhāna.

Among anthological works bearing on the subject of Abhidhamma may be mentioned the *Netti* ("On Methods"), by Kaccāna, son of the Brahmin Tiritivaccha, who first became an adviser to King Sucandapajjota, and afterwards the Arahant pre-eminent in the method of exposition;¹ the *Peṭakopadesa*² ("The Rules of the Tipiṭaka"), compiled by the Arahants on the basis of the *Netti*; and the well-known *Milindapañha*,³ written by the Venerable Nāgasena in the first century A.D.

These last three have no commentaries; but all the canonical books have been studied with the aid of commentaries called *Atthakathās*, and sub-commentaries (*Ṭikās*, *Anuṭikās*, etc.).

B. COMMENTARIES AND SUB-COMMENTARIES.

The commentaries in use in Burma are those of Buddhaghosa, written during the reign of Mahānāma in Ceylon (A.D. 412).⁴ The *Atthasālini* ("The Essence of Meanings")⁵ is the commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, and the *Sammohavinodani*⁶ ("The Dispelling of Ignorance") is that on the *Vibhaṅga*. That a great deal of Buddhist philosophy may be learnt from these two commentaries may be inferred from the fact that the great Divine wrote only a single commentary, entitled the *Pañcappakaraṇa-Atthakathā*, on the next five books of the Abhidhamma.

A *Ṭikā* on these three was written by Vanaratana-tissa, *alias* Ānanda of the "Great Monastery" in Anurādhapura. It is known as *Mūlaṭikā*; its author occasionally dissented

¹ Cf. n. 2, p. 5, Bode's *Pali Lit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ See the *Milinda Questions* in the Sacred Books of the East series

⁴ Said to have been a contemporary of King Thinlingyaung Pagan A.D. (441).

⁵ See *B. Psy.*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

⁶ See n. 1, p. 22, *Compd. Phil.*

from Buddhaghosa.¹ An Anuṭikā, written by Dhammapāla of Kañcipura (Conjevaram) while residing in the Badaratittha monastery in Anurādhapura, is a sub-commentary on the Mūlaṭikā.

Buddhaghosa's monumental work, the Visuddhimagga ("The Path of Purity"), is an anthological Aṭṭhakathā, and forms an indispensable textbook in Burma. Dhammapāla wrote a sub-commentary on this; it is known as Mahāṭikā, or Paramatthamañjūsā² ("The Casket of Philosophy"), and is largely quoted by Ledi Sadaw. The fact that his commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka is called Paramatthadīpanī ("The Lamp of Philosophy") shows that it also bears on the subject of Abhidhamma. He is also the author of a commentary on the Netti, as well as of a sub-commentary on this. The latter is now known as the old Netti Ṭikā.

Sirimaṅgala wrote two Yojanas (Pali paraphrases) on the Aṭṭhasālinī and the Samohavinodanī during the reign of Lezishin³ Thihathu of Pinya.

The Peṭakālaṅkāra⁴ ("The Progress⁵ of the Piṭaka"), by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa,⁶ is a modern Ṭikā on the Netti. Another sub-commentary, entitled Nettivibhāvanī ("The Netti Made Clear"), was written by Saddhammapālasiri at the request of the Minister Senāpati, during the reign of Naraṭigyi, *alias* Thupārāma Zedi Dayaka, who became king in 1442.

The Visuddhimagga also has a short Ṭikā, the Visuddhimaggasaṅkhepa ("The Epitome of the Visuddhimagga"), written by the author of the Mahāthupavaṃsa while residing in the Mahindasena monastery in Anurādhapura. Chapada, who visited Ceylon with his master Uttarājīva,⁷

¹ *E.g.*, see p. 26, *Compd. Phil.*

² A work with similar title ascribed to Vepullabuddhi of Pagan, on p. 28, Bode's *Pali Lit.*, is not found in the *Pitakat Thonbôn Sadan*.

³ Tazishin, Thihathu, became king in 1298.

⁴ *Cf.* p. 78, Bode's *Pali Lit.* ⁵ Meaning here "pleasing rhythmic flow."

⁶ See p. 115, above.

⁷ See p. 116 above, and p. 17, Bode's *Pali Lit.* Vajira Uttama on p. ix. *Compd. Phil.*, is a misreading.

contributed another, entitled *Visuddhimagga-gaṇṭhipada* ("The Difficult Terms in the *Visuddhimagga*").

The *Maṇḍipā* ("The Lamp of Gems"), a sub-commentary on the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, written by Ariyāvamsa¹ of Pinya during the reign of Narapatigyi of Sagaing, was not completed. The *Madhusāratthadīpanī* ("The Sweet Essence of Meanings"), written by Mahanāma² during the reign of Bayin Naung, who became king of Hamsavati (Pegu) in 1550, is a sub-commentary on the *Mūlatīkā*. The *Paṭṭhānasāradīpanī* ("Lights on the Essence of the *Paṭṭhāna*"),³ based on previous comments, is the work of Saddhammalaṅkāra of Hamsavati (1580). Tilokaguru⁴ of Pakangyi, who flourished in Sagaing, wrote two sub-commentaries—*Ṭīkāvaṇṇanā* and *Anuṭīkāvaṇṇanā*—on the *Dhātukathā* during the reign of Anaukpetlun Mindaya, who became king in 1605. In 1615 he wrote a *Vaṇṇanā-ṭīkā* on the *Yamaka*. The *Paṭṭhānavāṇṇanā-ṭīkā* was also written by him. The *Dhātukathāyojanā* was written by Pubbārāma Sadaw, Sāradassi⁵ of Pakangyi during the reign of Hanthawaddy-yauk Min, who succeeded to the throne in 1733. The *Viśatīvaṇṇanā* ("The Exposition of the Twenty"), by Tipitakālaṅkāra,⁶ is on the first twenty stanzas of the *Aṭṭhasālinī*. Mahākassapa of the "Great Monastery," is the author of the *Abhidhammatthagaṇṭhipada* ("The Difficult Terms in the *Abhidhamma*").

An account of the commentaries and sub-commentaries

¹ See p. 41, Bode's *Pali Lit.*

² See p. 47, *ibid.*

³ The *Paṭṭhānagaṇṇanāya*, ascribed to Chapada, on p. 19, *ibid.*, is not traceable in the *Pitakat Thonbôn Sadan*.

⁴ See p. 54, *ibid.*

⁵ Mrs. Bode, on p. 67, thought that this might be a grammatical work. The *Gulhatthadīpanī* ("Light on Hidden Meanings"), ascribed to this author on p. 56 by Mrs. Bode, probably deals with the *Aṭṭhasālinī* and the *Samohavinodanī*; for it is said that Sagu Sadaw, U Pandicca, the teacher of Ledi Sadaw, added to it his expositions on hidden meanings in the *Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*. The only work with this title that appears in the *Pitakat Thonbôn Sadan* is the one by Upatissa of Ava on the *Jinālaṅkāra*, by Buddhārakkhita, wrongly ascribed to Buddhādatta. Therefore, the *Abhidhamma Gulhattha* itself remains hidden somewhere.

⁶ See p. 115 above.

on Abhidhamma topics will be incomplete without also mentioning the following :

The commentary on the Khuddakapāṭha, by an anonymous writer, and that by Buddhaghosa on the Suttanipāta, are both called Paramatthajotikā ("Lights on Philosophy"). Dhammapāla's commentaries on the Udāna, Vimāna-Vatthu, Peta-Vatthu, Theragāthā, and Therīgāthā, all bear the proud title of Paramatthadīpanī ("The Light-giving Lamps of Philosophy"). A Ṭikā, by Ngakhôn Sadaw, Ādiccavaṃsa, on the Khuddakapāṭha, has also been given the title of Paramatthasūdanī ("The Distillation of Extract of Philosophy").

C. LITTLE-FINGER MANUALS.

We now come to the class of commentaries called *Lethan*¹ in Burma. Buddhadatta, said to be a native of the Coḷa province towards the east of Anurādhapura,² wrote the Abhidhammāvatāra ("Introductory Philosophy") and the Rūpārūpavibhāga ("A Division between Mind and Body") while residing in a monastery in the port of Kavirapaṭṭana. The former was studied here certainly prior to the fifteenth century, and is quoted by Ariyāvaṃsa in his Maṇisāramañjūsā.³ Similarly, the Saccasaṅkhepa ("The Outlines of Truth"), by Dhammapāla, used to be a textbook in Pagan before it was superseded by the Compendium of Philosophy.⁴ Anuruddha is said, in the concluding verse of his well-known Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha,⁵ to have written it at the request of his lay supporter Nampa, while residing by turn in the two monasteries built by Somadevī, queen of Vaṭṭagāmini, and the Minister Mūla. Anuruddha is also the author of two other works—the Paramatthavinicchaya ("The Solutions of Philosophical Problems") and the Nāmarūpapariccheda

¹ See p. viii, *Compd. Phil.*

² See n. 5, p. 122, above. This contemporary of Buddhaghosa is generally believed to be a native of Jambudīpa.

³ See p. 23, *Compd. Phil.*, n. 2.

⁴ See p. viii, *Compd. Phil.* I owe this to U Candima of Bahan.

⁵ See *Compendium of Philosophy*, by the writer and Mrs. Rhys Davids.

("The Distinction between Mind and Body"). Khema of Anurādhapura gave his name to the title of a manual which he wrote. The Mohavicchedanī ("The Dispelling of Ignorance") is the work of Mahākassapa of the Coḷa province. The Nāmacāradīpaka ("The Actions of Mind"), by Chapada,¹ is not an *ethical* treatise, as classified by Dr. Forchhammer.² The Sucittalaṅkāra ("The Progress of Thought") is the work of a native of Pakangyi. The royal author of the Paramatthabindu³ ("The Drop of Philosophy"), who became king of Pagan in A.D. 1234, was a deep student of philosophy. It is said that he went through the Tipiṭaka nine times. His knowledge of the doctrine was so accurate that he earned the name of Kyazwa.

Ancillary literature has grown round the nucleus of each of these manuals.

The Abhidhammāvatāra has two ṭikās. The older one was written by Vācissaramahāsāmi of the "Great Monastery" of Anurādhā; the later, by Sumaṅgalamahāsāmi, the author of the well-known Ṭikagyaw, is entitled Abhidhammatthavikāsinī ("The Blossoms of Philosophy"). A ṭikā on the Rūpārūpavibhāga was written by an anonymous writer of the Mahāvihāra. Vācissaramahāsāmi also wrote the older ṭikā on the Saccasaṅkhepa. Its new ṭikā, by an anonymous writer, is called Sāratthasālinī ("The Very Essence of Meanings"). There are five⁴ ṭikās on the Compendium of Philosophy. The eldest of them was written by Navavimala;⁵ the second ṭikā, entitled Abhid-

¹ See p. 116 above.

² See p. 18, Bode's *Pali Lit.*

³ This is not a grammatical work. See p. 25, *ibid.*

⁴ One was omitted in the preface to the *Compd. Phil.*

⁵ This author is said to be a disciple of Sariputtarā, who is the author of the Sāratthadīpanī, a sub-commentary on the Vinayapitaka. The latter, otherwise known as Sāritānuja or Mahāsāmpāda, was the son of King Buddhādāsa of Ceylon. He flourished during the reign of Sīrimahāparakkamabāhu (1164), a contemporary of Narapatisithu of Pagan (1174). But it is not likely that two ṭikās would be written simultaneously by the pupils of a common teacher. Cf. p. 19, Bode's *Pali Lit.*

hammatthavibhāvanī (“Philosophy made Clear”), by Sumaṅgalamahāsāmī, a pupil of Sāriputta[ra], was formerly known in Burma as Tikahla (“The Beautiful Ṭikā”), because the comments in it are so very apt. But when Ariyāvamsa became proficient in the Buddhist scriptures after a study of it, the “Tikahla” changed itself to “Tikagyaw” (the famous Ṭikā). The Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā,¹ by Chapada, is the third Ṭikā on the Compendium. This author is believed to have visited Ceylon in *Anno Buddhi*, 1714² (sakkaraj A.D. 532 or 1170). In his introductory verse, he describes himself as one who had been to Ceylon three times. He says he wrote it at the request of Mahāvijayabāhu, who was “conspicuous in the Island, even as the moon in the sky of the ‘sarada’ or autumnal season, by the royal arms which had been and would be attained.” He refers to the existence of the earlier ṭikās on the Compendium, and compares the Tikagyaw to the “moon which cannot shine within bamboos, etc.,” and his own work to the “firefly which can.” This pretty simile will give the reader an idea of the scope of the work in question. In the conclusion of the work, the year A.B. 1990 is mentioned. The author of the Sāsanaṅkāra³ draws attention to the discrepancy between this date and that given in the Kalyani inscriptions. Chapada is an apologist for the method and arrangement adopted in the Compendium. While the Saccasaṅkhepa begins with an exposition on the body, Anuruddha sets out with an inquiry into the mind. Why? Because he had the Dhamma-saṅgaṇi, instead of the Vibhaṅga, in his mind when he wrote the Compendium. If so, why did he not follow the arrangement adopted in his prototype? Why begin with evil thoughts instead of with good thoughts? Chapada gives a reason which is, however, not very convincing. He would have been nearer the truth had he adopted the Huxleyan phrase and said: “Because the evil ‘knocks at

¹ I notice that Mrs. Bode has made a correct guess on p. 18 that this is a work on the Compendium.

² See pp. 49, 50 of the *Kalyani Inscriptions* (Rangoon Edition).

³ See n. 5, p. 114, above.

our door more loudly than the good.'” The apologist goes into very minute details, into which I can hardly be expected to enter.

A fourth *ṭikā* was added by Gaing-ók Sadaw, *Silācāra*, of Salin, but when it was written is not stated. The *Paramatthadīpanī*, the fifth and the last *ṭikā* on the Compendium, by Ledi Sadaw of to-day, is by far the most important contribution to the Buddhist literature of Burma. He himself calls it *Tikagyī* (the great *ṭikā*), but his pupils call it *Tikamaw* (the proud *ṭikā*). On the authority of the *Mahāṭikā*, by Dhammapāla, he took exceptions to the accepted views of the *Tikagyaw*. Hence his work has not yet gained the popularity it deserves, especially among older generations steeped in commentarial traditions of the *Tikagyaw*, which he criticizes.

The *Paramatthavinicchaya* has two *ṭikās*, the earlier by Mahābodhi, and the later by an anonymous writer, both of the “Great Monastery.” Similarly, the *Nāmarūpapariccheda* has two, the earlier by *Vācissaramahāsāmi*, and the later by an anonymous writer, both of Anurādhapura. Mahābodhi also appears as the author of a *ṭikā* on the *Khema*.¹ Mahākassapa of Ceylon wrote a *ṭikā* on his own work, the *Mohavicchedanī*. A *ṭikā* on the *Nāmacāradīpaka* was also supplied by its own author, Chapada. Mahākassapa of Pagan wrote a *ṭikā* on the *Paramatthabindu*.

The *Maṇisāramañjūsā* (“The Casket of Genuine Gems”), a sub-commentary on the *Tikagyaw*, was written by Ariyāvamsa at the special request of his master, Ye-ngôn² Sadaw of Sagaing, to satisfy the latter with the former’s profound scholarship. But Tipiṭakadhara, the teacher of Siladevī, daughter of Bayin Naung, at Hamsavatī, wrote a sub-*ṭikā* on the *Tikagyaw*, and called it *Appheggusārādīpanī*, otherwise known as *Cūlatikā*. The former title suggests that it contains nothing but “the pith without the bark” of philosophy and mocks,³ by implication, the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*.

¹ See p. 124, above. ² Yedin Sadaw of Mrs. Bode, p. 41, *Pali Lit.*

³ I owe this to Aleytawya Sadaw U Kosalla. Mrs. Bode has noticed the later work before the former. See p. 36, *ibid.*

D. BURMESE TRANSLATIONS (NISSAYAS).

It is not known when and by whom the first two books of the Abhidhamma were translated. Judging from the several analyses¹ made on the Mātikā of the former, it appears that these *Akauks* were used as substitutes for the translations. They could not have been translated earlier than 1698, when Sane Min came to the throne and ordered the translation of the canonical texts, commentaries, and sub-commentaries, etc. The Dhātukathā, however, appears to have received earlier attention from translators.² No less than five translations of it exist. The first translation was made by Tipitakālaṅkāra (1629); the second, by Nangyaung Sadaw, Aggadhammālaṅkāra (1648); the third, by Taungbilu Sadaw, Anatadhaja (1672); the fourth, by Tantabin Sadaw, Nandamedhābhisiri, Saddhammadhaja (1776); and the fifth, by an anonymous relative of the two Nyaung-gan Sadaws, U Po and U Pôk (1819).

All these five translations have also been called *Akauks*, confirming the view that in the case of the Dhammasaṅgani, the Mātikā-akauks served as substitutes for the translations.

The Puggala-paññatti has two translations, the first by an anonymous, and the second by Sinda Sadaw (1859). When the Kathāvatthu was first translated is not known, but a second translation was made by Jambudīpadhaja, a disciple of the Thè-in Thathanabaing (1837).

The Yamaka was translated by the five translators of the Dhātukathā, but a sixth translation by Jambudīpadhaja appeared in 1837. The Paṭṭhāna can also boast of six translations by the same translators as the Yamaka.

All these translations, also called *Akauks*, show successive efforts on the part of the learned to present the doctrine to the people in the vernacular garb.

¹ See p. 115, above.

² This is quite in accordance with the view expressed that the Dhātu analysis of mind and body is most suitable for the mass. See p. 116 above.

The *Netti* was first translated by *Silavaṃsa* during the reign of *Shwenangyawshin*, King *Narapati* (1501). The author, who was a native of *Taungdwingyi*, was the greatest epic poet. Another translation of it was made by *Sāradassī* during the reign of *Taninganwe Min* (1714). A third translation was supplied by *Ngataraw Sadaw* in *Sagaing*. A new translation by *Jāgara* of *Dakkhiṇārāma*, near the *Arakan Pagoda*, appeared in 1859.

When the *Peṭakopadesa* was translated is not known, but the *Milinda* was translated by *Dandaing Sadaw*, *Guṇaṅkāra* of *Pindale*, in 1763.

The *Aṭṭhasālinī* appears to have been translated as early as 1442; it was subsequently translated by *Ariyālaṅkāra* of *Pakangyi* during the reign of *Taninganwe Min* and again by *Pye Sadaw* during *Mindoon's* reign.¹ *Sōnda Sadaw*, *Nandamālā*, translated the *Visuddhimagga* during the reign of *Ngasingu Min* (1776). A translation of the *Pañcappakaranatṭhakathā* was made by *Gūgyi Sadaw*, *Paññasīha*, a disciple of the first *Bagaya Sadaw* (1782). He also translated the *Mūlaṭikā*. The commentary on the *Netti* was translated by *Saddhammanandi* of *Pakangyi* (1782). A joint translation of the sub-commentary on the *Visuddhimagga* was made by the *Maing-gaing* and *Nemyodhammakyawthu* (1859).

The "door" theory seems to have received special attention in *Burma*, for the *Dvārakathā* of the *Mūlaṭika* was translated by *Nangyaung² Sadaw*, *Aggadhammālaṅkāra*, as far back as 1648. It was translated a second time by *Bagaya Sadaw* during the reign of *Bodawpaya* (1782). A third translation of it, by *Khinmagan Sadaw*, appeared during King *Tharawaddy's* reign (1837). The last-mentioned *Sadaw* was noted for his complete knowledge of the canonical texts. It is said that he used to exclaim: "Burn all your manuscripts, and I will reproduce them out of my memory."

Dhammapāla's Anuṭikā was translated by *Ariyavaṃsa*,

¹ See the inscriptions of *Pagan*, *Pinya*, and *Ava*.

² Described as *Myauk-nangyaung* on p. 115 above.

the author of the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, during the reign of Mahāthihathūra, otherwise known in history as Pyizon Min (1648). This translation is generally known as *Mahānissaya* (the great translation). From this it looks as if Burmese translators tackled the sub-commentaries first. We may form a fair idea as to the extent of the study of the Compendium of Philosophy from the twenty-two translations of it. It was translated by :

1. An anonymous writer at the request of Prince Sithu, grandson of Bayin Naung (1550).
2. Taungbilu Sadaw, Anantadhaja of Sagaing.
3. Nangyaung Sadaw, Aggadhammālaṅkāra.
4. Palaing Sadaw, Ariyālaṅkāra of the Dakkhiṇāvamsa monastery in Sagaing, which gave the name of Dakkhiṇāwan Nissaya to the translation.
5. An anonymous disciple of both Nangyaung and Taungbilu Sadaws.
6. Sonda Sadaw of Kangyi.
7. Wetkhok Sadaw, Maṇisāra.
8. The first Bagaya Sadaw, Tipiṭakālaṅkāra.
9. Munindasāra of Myedu.
10. Ōk-kyauṅ Sadaw, U Po during the reign of Bagyidaw (1819).
11. Vicittālaṅkāra of Salin.
12. Panhwa Sadaw, Silācāra.
13. Sudhammālaṅkāra during the reign of Tharrawaddy (1837).
14. Vāyāma of Legaing.
15. Thetkegyin Sadaw of Alon.
16. Medi Sadaw, Kavidhaja.
17. Mahābodhi Sadaw of Amarapura.
18. An anonymous thera of Pakangyi.
19. A native of Pindale.
20. Ye-u Sadaw of Sagaing.
21. Paññāsīha, a disciple of Thitsein Sadaw, at the request of Princess Patein, during the reign of Tharrawaddy; and
22. The Maing-gaing Myoza, during Mindoon's reign.

The Abhidhammāvatāra was first translated by Ṇāṇa during Alaungpaya's reign (1753), and again by the Salin Thathanabaing during Bagyidaw's reign. It is not known when and by whom the Saccasaṅkhepa was first translated, but a second translation of it was made by Ôk-kyauṅ Sadaw during the same reign. Neither do we know when the translation of the Sucittālaṅkāra was made, but the Paramatthabindu was translated by the first Bagaya Sadaw during Bodaw's reign (1782). The first Sindè Sadaw, Ṇāṇālaṅkāra of Tharrawaddy's reign, translated both the Paramatthavinicchaya and the Nāmarūpapariccheda.

Ne-yin Sadaw Ariyālaṅkāra translated the Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā during Tanninganwe Min's reign. The Tikagyaw was first translated by the first Sindè Sadaw, who closely followed the Maṇisāramañjūsā of Ariyāvamsa. Two other translations of this by the Maing-gaṅg Myoza and by a thera of Monywa exist. The Abhidhammatthadīpanī was translated by Panlhwa Sadaw. A translation of the Maṇisāramañjūsā, by Khingyi Pu of Sinbyugyun during Tharrawaddy's reign, was not completed. The Appheggusāradīpanī was translated by the second Ngakhôn Sadaw, Dipalaṅkāra, during Pagan Min's reign (1846). When and by whom the new sub-commentaries on the Abhidhammāvatāra and the Saccasaṅkhepa were translated is not known, but the ṭikā on the Paramatthabindu was translated by the first Bagaya Sadaw.

These numerous translations of the more important works are sufficient to show what books are generally recommended by the learned to the people in general, but scholars did not rest contented with giving them mere translations; they also wrote Burmese works based on traditional comments.

E. BURMESE WORKS.

The Thingyo-kyanyogyi, the oldest Burmese work on the Compendium of Philosophy, was prepared by Nangy-aung Sadaw during Ngadatkyi Dayaka's reign.

Three treatises on "The Processes of Thought," entitled

Vithiletyos,¹ exist. The first was written by Taungdwin Sadaw, *Ñāṇālaṅkāra*, during Naungdawgyi's reign (1760); the second, by Shwedaung Sadaw, during Bodaw's reign; and the third, by The-in Sadaw, during Pagan Min's reign. The *Vithicittapakāsini*, by Ôk-kyauṅ Sadaw, U Pôk, during the last reign, and the *Vithicittavikāsini*, by Nemydhammakyawthu, during Mindoon's reign, are on the same subject. The *Vithimañjarī* ("The Germination of Thoughts"), by Upañḍita, a disciple of Ledi Sadaw, has since been added to the list.

The first Burmese analytical work on the Compendium, called Thingyo-Akauk, was written by the first Bagaya Sadaw. Since then, similar works, too numerous to be named, have been multiplied.

A class of composition, called Gaṅṭhi,² on cruces in philosophy, had also sprung up. There is a Gaṅṭhi on the *Aṭṭhasālinī* by the first Kyaw Aung Sanda Sadaw, written during Hanthawaddypa's reign. The Samohavinodanī also has a Gaṅṭhi by Shwedaung Sadaw. *Ñāṇābhivamsa* prepared three Gaṅṭhis on the *Mātikā*, the *Dhātukathā*, and on the first five sections of the *Yamaka*. The Compendium of Philosophy has two Gaṅṭhis, the first by the first Kyaw Aung Sanda Sadaw, and the second by Dakkhiṇārāma Sadaw during Mindoon's reign. Another Gaṅṭhi on the same, by Payagyi Sadaw,³ was added.

A *Madhu*³ by Mogaung Sadaw, on the same, is so similar to the last that both appear to have been based on a common prototype.

A catechism in Burmese on the *Appheggusāradipani* was prepared by Sōnda Sadaw. The *Paramattharatana-*

¹ See p. 283, *Compd. Phil.*

² The *Gaṅṭhisāra*, ascribed to Chapada on p. 18, Bode's *Pali Lit.*; the *Dasagaṅṭhivaṇṇanā*, Vepullabuddhi of Pagan (p. 28, *ibid.*); the *Visuddhimagga-gaṅṭhipadattha*, to Sāradassī (p. 56), and the *Gaṅṭhipadattha*, to *Ñāṇavara* of Pagan (pp. 66, 67), are not traceable in the *Piṭakat Thonbôn Sadan*. But a Gaṅṭhi on the *Paṭṭhāna* and another on the *Ṭikagyaw*, are given in the list of MSS. in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.

³ See p. x., *Compd. Phil.*

vali ("A Row of Philosophical Gems") was prepared by Dhammathingyan (1831) at the request of the Saw Atunwun.¹ The Paramatthasarūpadīpanī, by Ingan Sadaw, Visuddhārāma, and the Abhidhammatthasarūpadīpanī, by Myobyngyi Sadaw, the author of another well-known *Akaṅk* on the Compendium, have their prototypes in the Visuddhimagga and the Compendium of Philosophy respectively.

Ledi's numerous *dīpanī's* all bear on Abhidhamma topics in plain language. He is the most popular writer of the day.

After a hurried survey of the Abhidhamma literature in Burma, I cannot help concluding this paper with a remark that, like Germans, the Burmese is a nation of philosophers. Here every one philosophizes on any event. Whenever any two men meet on important occasions, philosophy is discussed. The Burmans have succeeded in keeping the "fires" of philosophy alive for twenty-two centuries ever since it was entrusted to their loyal charge by the far-sighted policy of Asoka, the greatest of Buddhist Kings, and his spiritual adviser, Tissa. Thus, with a grateful sense, we look back to India, with which Greece was also connected.²

¹ See p. x., *Compd. Phil.*

² It is regrettable that the publication of the Journal could not be further delayed to permit the author to read the proofs. He must, therefore, not be held responsible for any misprints in Burmese names and titles.—R.H. D.