

EARLY PALI GRAMMARIANS IN BURMA

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I.

THAT there is a Pali literature indigenous to Burma has long been known to Palists. The results achieved by Forchhammer, Minayeff, and others in their researches, the literary material contained in the Pali chronicle *Sāsanavaṅsa*, and the 'Book History,' or *Gandhavaṅsa*, suffice for a useful, if very summary, record of that literature. The Burmese tradition as to date and authorship of a great number of Pali works is summed up in a modern book, the *Piṭakatthamain*.* But there will soon be much new material to add, for Burmese Buddhist scholars have been busy of late years republishing ancient works and producing new ones. And in these times of printing-presses and educational associations it is interesting to look back to the days before Burmese was employed as a literary language, and when a knowledge of Pali grammar was a prize that the few only could hope to win.

Towards the end of the twelfth century two monks of Burma proudly bore a text of Burmese authorship to Ceylon. It was a treatise on Pali grammar, the *Saddanīti*. Thus began the first chapter in the history of Burmese scholarship.

* Rangoon, 1905-1906. This useful work of reference was first shown to me by Dr. Barnett, of the British Museum, who has kindly given me much help in the following article, and in a sketch, now in preparation, of the later literature.

Some obscurity hangs over the beginnings of this Buddhist culture in Burma. According to a well-established tradition, Indian Buddhism moved from the south coast—that is, from the region called in the ancient chronicles Suvannabhūmi—northwards, while some scanty archaeological evidence allows us to suppose that it also found its way through the mountain passes of the north.* But it was certainly not in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy that the Pali literature of Burma had its origin. This gift the Burmese owe to their more advanced neighbours, the Talaings of Rāmaññadesa, now called Lower Burma.

The origin and history of the Mōn or Talaing people, who were to be (unwillingly as it happened) the messengers of the purer Buddhism, need not be discussed here.† The point from which we start is their acceptance of Buddhist teaching from India and the rise of a body of learned monks in Rāmañña who preserved the ancient Doctrine and Discipline, and conveyed them to Upper Burma, where both had long been forgotten.‡ We say 'forgotten,' for this much even Burmese authors admit. But their tradition that no less than three out of the nine missions sent forth by Asoka in the third century B.C. went to Upper

* See Taw Sein Ko, 'The Origin of the Burmese Race': Buddhism, vol. i., No. 3, p. 455. 'Preliminary Study of the Po ။ U ။ Daung Inscription': *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii., p. 7. Phayre, 'History of Burma,' p. 14. R. C. Temple, 'Notes on Antiquities in Ramannadesa,' *Ind. Ant.*, xxii., pp. 37 *fol.* A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst.*, pp. 132, 136, 138.

† For views of different authorities on this subject, see Reports on the Census of Burma (Eales), 1891 and (Lowin), 1901. The Talaing chronicles and inscriptions are rich in material for study, material which we are less and less likely to unearth as time goes on, for this ancient language is fast disappearing from Burma, and students of it are very few.

‡ 'It is difficult to judge the degree of culture reached by the Burmese before their conquest of the Talaing country in the eleventh century. Forchhammer believed that there was no Burmese civilization to speak of till the two countries came under one rule, and the people of Upper Burma became partakers in the culture of the Southern Provinces' (Jardine Prize Essay, p. 15).

Burma* looks like a piece of the national pride that is so inventive in these matters, and can only be quoted as 'an uncorroborated legend.'†

We can be clear at least as to the starting-point. The Pali scriptures by Buddhism became known to Burma in the eleventh century A.D., and were known through Talaing teachers. The existence of a strong Buddhist community in the maritime provinces (Rāmaññadesa) long before this date is not surprising. It has been supposed that Indian colonies were flourishing in Talaing territory‡ at the time of the Asokan mission. If so, the missionaries brought the teaching of Gotama to a country where Indian religion and customs had already made a home, and, whether they were opposed or not,§ they could be understood; and in time the doctrine of the Buddha prevailed.

There is no elaborated and ancient Pali chronicle for Further India to be compared with the Mahāvāṅsa and Dipavāṅsa of Ceylon, but there are allusions in these works which throw some light on the religious history of Pegu and Arakan. The Burmese and Talaing chronicles are of more recent date, and help must be sought from monuments which do not always yield up their secret readily. But we may safely say that events in India and Ceylon greatly affected religion in the maritime provinces, otherwise Rāmaññadesa. Refugees from the countries where Buddhism was persecuted or declining, as in India after the eighth century, strengthened the Buddhist element in the Talaing country. Captain Forbes, who follows the Talaing record, says of the early days following the Indian

* Or, rather, Upper Burma and the Shān States. See Sāsanavāṅsa, Introduction, pp. 5-10, and note by Dr. Burgess, 'Fabricated Geography,' in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx., 1901, pp. 387 ff.

† Forbes, 'Legendary History of Burma and Arakan,' p. 10.

‡ 'From Chittagong to the Straits,' see Forchhammer Essay, p. 22.

§ 'According to the Talaing legend the Buddhist missionaries on their arrival met with great opposition from the local teachers—probably Brahmins—being denounced and reviled by them as heretics' (Forbes, 'Leg. Hist.,' p. 10).

mission : 'Gradually the new doctrines gained ground, pagodas arose, and the faith of Buddha or Gaudama established itself in Thatone, to flourish amid all vicissitudes for over two thousand years to the present day, on the spot where the great Thagya pagoda lifts its worn and ancient head, probably the oldest architectural monument of Buddhism in Burma.*'

When a religious reform in the eleventh century drew Ceylon and Burma together, Anorahta, King of Burma, fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country, agreed with Vijayabāhu of Ceylon on the Pali texts, which were to be accepted as representing the true teaching of the Buddha. Afterwards, in the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I., a Council was held (A.D. 1165) in Ceylon to revise this agreement and settle all such questions.†

We shall see that from the twelfth century onwards new recruits press into Pali scholarship. And whence? Not only from the Talaing country, but from Upper Burma, an advance which was directly due to the action of the strenuous Burmese King.

The reforms with which Anorahta's name is associated were greatly needed.‡

* 'Leg. Hist.,' p. 10.

† Kern, 'Manual of Indian Buddhism,' p. 132 (Grundriss, vol. iii., part 8).

‡ See *Sāsanavaṅsa*, p. 56. In full agreement with Forbes' account drawn from Burman chronicles, says : 'It would be difficult to decide what the system of religion that at this time prevailed in Burma can be termed. It was certainly not Brahmanism. The native records state that King Sawlahan built five hollow temples. In each temple was placed an image resembling neither nat nor para. To these, morning and evening, food and spirits were offered, and so they were worshipped and propitiated. The priests or teachers of this religion are called the thirty great Arees, and their disciples. Their doctrines are represented as a complete subversion of all moral law. They taught, it is said, whosoever shall commit murder, he is freed from his sins by repeating a prayer or invocation ; whosoever shall kill his parents, by repeating a prayer he is freed from the punishment due to the five greatest sins. These teachers also were addicted to the practice of gross immorality' ('Legendary History,' p. 22).

A religion * which a Buddhist from the south would have scorned to call 'religion' completely possessed the region over which Anorahta ruled; and the Burmese King himself, with mistaken piety, supported it in default of a better. A community numbering many thousands of monks, with their disciples, flourished on the popularity of their debased doctrine, teaching the laity that the worst crimes need bring no retribution, if the guilty man recited (or engaged some one to recite) an appropriate paritta.† The tyranny of these monks went so far as to exact from parents the handing over of either sons or daughters to the teacher before giving them in marriage.‡

But in course of time a Buddhist from the South was in Anorahta's counsels, and a sweeping change was brought about. Arahanta, a Talaing monk from Thatôn (Sudhamapura), became the King's preceptor and adviser, and used all his great influence to break up the supposed order of Samaṇas (ascetics). In spite of the credulity of the people, he succeeded, for he had convinced the King. But

* As to the corruption of Buddhism in Upper Burma before the conquest of the Talaings in the eleventh century, 'Burmese history relates that on the accession of Thaik taing, the thirteenth King of Pagan, who began his reign in 513 A.D., the Nāga worship, with the Aris as its priests, arose at Pagan. It lasted for over five centuries, till it was finally suppressed by Anawrata. . . . At about the same period in Northern India Buddhism had lost its vigour and force of expansion, and Indian Buddhists had migrated to China and neighbouring countries. Buddhism itself had been corrupted by the Tantric system, which is a mixture of magic, witchcraft, and Siva-worship; and this Tantric Buddhism apparently percolated into Burma through Bengal, Assam, and Manipur, and allied itself with the northern school prevailing at Pagan' (Taw Sein Ko, 'Introduction of Buddhism into Burma': Buddhism, vol. i., No. 4, p. 589).

† The legitimate use of the paritta is instanced in the Sāsanavaṃsa, pp. 38, 101. Compare also Milindapañha (ed. Trenckner, p. 150) and Rhys Davids' translation (S.B.E. xxxv., pp. 213 ff.).

‡ I do not yet understand this curious passage. The mention of sons as well as daughters prevents our concluding the custom mentioned to be that prevailing in Cambodia where marriageable virgins were yielded up to a *bonze* before the marriage ceremony (see article in *B.E.F.E.O.*, by P. Pelliot, tome ii., p. 153: 'Mémoires sur les contumes du Cambodge').

even when the communities were dissolved, and the 'false Samanas'* reduced to the state of 'ownerless dogs,' confusion, heresy, and ignorance still reigned in the land; and Arahanta pointed earnestly to the only means of putting religion beyond all danger: The true doctrine must be obtained and guarded (he preached) with the sacred texts. They were not to be had in Burma, but existed in abundance in Sudhammapura, besides relics of the Buddha. Anorahta was full of faith, and he was not a man to believe passively. He sent an embassy to the Talaing King, Manohari, to ask, as a believer having the right to ask, for relics and copies of the scriptures.

But Manohari was, or chose to appear, too strict a Buddhist to allow holy relics and texts to go to a country with such an indifferent religious reputation as Burma. He refused Anorahta's request, and refused in wounding and contemptuous terms. The King of Burma, outraged and furious, descended the river with his armies and laid siege to Sudhammapura. In the year 1058 the Talaing capital fell before the besiegers. Spoils and prisoners, among whom were Manohari and a number of learned monks, were carried off to Pagán. Anorahta's end was gained, and the Pali Tipiṭaka came to Burma.

II.

Though the Burmese began their literary history with borrowing from their conquered neighbours, the Talaings, and not till the eleventh century, the growth of Pali scholarship among them was so rapid that the epoch following close on this tardy beginning is considered one of the best that Burma has seen. The works then produced supplied the material or afforded the favourite models for much of the Pali-Burmese literature of later times.

The causes of this speedy maturity are easy to trace. Ramañña was conquered. Relics, books, and teachers had been forcibly carried to Burma. Instead of suffering by

* *Samaṇakuṭṭakā*.

transplantation, the religion of the Buddha seems to have flourished more vigorously in its new centre. The Burmese King had conveyed the whole state and dignity of the conquered Sudhammapura to his own capital, and even his captive Manohari helped to add to the religious splendour of Pagân.* About Manohari a curious little legend is related,† perhaps to show that his religion needed purifying, notwithstanding that he had scorned the Burmese as heretics. It is said that he possessed a magical power by which fire issued from his mouth when he spoke. Thus, whenever he came to pay a vassal's duty to Anorahta, the flames burst forth, to the great terror of his liege, who anxiously applied a religious cure to the dreadful prodigy. Food was taken from a holy shrine, and after due homage it was given to Manohari to eat. The flames appeared no more. Manohari, filled with awe at the loss of his magical attribute, sold one of his royal gems, and devoted the price to two great images of the Buddha, which are said to exist to the present day.‡

Anorahta, mindful of Arahanta's counsels, was, above all, eager to enrich his city with the sacred texts. Those brought from Thatôn had been stored in a splendid pavilion,§ and placed at the disposal of the Saṅgha for study. Not content with his large spoils, the king sent to Ceylon for more copies of the Tipiṭaka, which Arahanta afterwards examined and compared with the Thatôn collection.|| So the ground was prepared for the harvest that soon followed.

* Called Arimaddana in the Pali chronicles. A temple exists at Myin Pagân, two miles south of Pagân, built by Manohari (or Manuha) in 1059 A.D. (see note by M. Finot, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, tome iii., p. 677).

† *Sāsanavaṅsa*, p. 64.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

§ *Ratanamaye-pāsāde* (*Sās.*, p. 63). The libraries of the ancient monasteries were mostly buildings apart.

|| *Sās.*, p. 64. The Sinhalese chronicles say that a common canon for Burma and Ceylon was arranged by Anorahta and Vijāyabāhu the Great (see Appendix to Mr. Nevill's manuscript catalogue of his collection now at the British Museum).

Anorahta did not live to see the first-fruits of his husbandry,* but during the reigns of his immediate successors, learning took firm root at Pagân, and in the year 1154 the monk Aggavaṅsa completed the Saddanīti, a grammar of the Tipiṭaka described as 'the most comprehensive in existence.'† It established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and of the author to the present day, for the Saddanīti is still republished in Burma as a classic. It consists of aphorisms on Pali grammar divided into twenty-five paricchēdas, or sections. It is very interesting to see that in the second part of the work (the Dhātumālā) the grammarian gives the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms.

Aggavaṅsa was tutor to King Narapatisithu [1167-1204], a powerful and peaceable monarch whose reign was the most prosperous epoch in the history of the kingdom of Pagân.‡ According to the Gandhavaṅsa, Aggavaṅsa was of Jambudīpa (strictly meaning India, but with Burmese writers often Burma).§ Forchhammer mentions him among the famous residents in the retired monastery on the northern plateau above Pagân, 'the cradle of Pali-Burmese literature.'¶

The Saddanīti was the first return-gift of Burma to Ceylon. A few years after its completion the thera Uttarājīva left Pagân and crossed the sea to visit the celebrated Mahāvihāra, taking with him a copy of the Saddanīti, which was received with enthusiastic admiration, and

* M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions which confirm the date A.D. 1059 as the year of Anorahta's death (*B.E.F.E.O.*, tome v., p. 150: 'Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie').

† C. Duroiselle, *B.E.F.E.O.*, tome v., p. 147, note. The Sāsana-vaṅsa mentions that another learned monk of Pagân, Aggapaṇḍita, third of that name, was also called Aggavaṅsa. Aggapaṇḍita, who belongs to the thirteenth century, wrote the *Lokuppattipakāsanī* (see the *Piṭakattamaṅgala*, pp. 60, 66).

‡ Forbes, 'Leg. Hist.', p. 24.

§ G.V., pp. 67, 72; see also S.V.D., verse 1238; Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 49.

¶ Forchhammer, Report, Pagan, p. 2.

declared superior to any work of the kind written by Siñhalese scholars.*

Uttarājīva was accompanied by his pupil, the novice Chapāṭa,† whose name was destined to eclipse, for a time at least, even that of Aggavaṅsa. He received ordination from the Sangha in Ceylon, and lived in its midst for some years, ardently studying the doctrine as handed down in the Mahāvihāra, and, we may suppose, mastering many ancient texts of high authority which had not yet found their way to Burma. His talents and forcible personality were just the other elements needed to make his stay in the sacred island important for the literary history of Burma.

The works usually ascribed to Saddhammajotipāla, otherwise Chapāṭa, are:

The Suttaniddesa, or Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa, a grammatical treatise explaining the sūtras of Kaccāyana.‡ Forchhammer§ mentions the work so called as one originally ascribed to Kaccāyana, and introduced by Chapāṭa into Burma. The Sāsanavaṅsa, Gandhavaṅsa, and Sāsana-vaṅsadīpa give Chapāṭa as the author, and say that he wrote at Arimaddana (Pagān).|| The Gandhavaṅsa adds that it was composed at the request of his pupil Dhamma-cāri.

The same with his other well-known work, the Sankhepavaṅṇanā. According to Forchhammer's sources,¶ Chapāṭa introduced the Sankhepavaṅṇanā from Ceylon, and transcribed it from the Siñhalese into the Burmese-Talaing alphabet, but the Sāsanavaṅsa, Sāsana-vaṅsadīpa,

* Sās., p. 74.

† Or Chapada, so called after the village where he was born, near Bassein (Kusimanagara). In religion his name was Saddhammajotipāla (Sās., p. 74).

‡ For Kaccāyana, see the edition of E. Senart, Paris, 1871; for MSS., Fausböll's Catalogue of Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library, pp. 45, 46, 47, 48; Forchhammer, List, pp. xx, xxi.

§ Essay, p. 34.

|| Sās., p. 74; Gandhavaṅsa (ed. Minayeff), *J.P.T.S.*, 1886, pp. 64, 74; Sāsana-vaṅsadīpa, verses 1247-48; cf. Piṭakatthamain, p. 66.

¶ See Essay, p. 35.

and Gandhavaṅsa say that he composed it; according to the Gandhavaṅsa, it was the only one of his eight works that was written in Ceylon.*

His *Sīmālanakara*, or *Sīmālanakaraṭīkā*, a treatise on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, is a commentary on a work by the Siṅhalese thera *Vācissara*.†

Another work on monastic topics is the *Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī*, written, as the favourite formula has it, at the request of *Chapaṭa*'s preceptor.‡

The *Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī*, again, is an explanation of difficult passages in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

The *Nāmacāradīpanī*, on ethics, may be of *Chapaṭa*'s composition. It was, at all events, introduced by him into Burma.§ The *Gaṇḍhisāra*|| is evidently an anthology or manual for study condensed from important texts. The remaining works¶ ascribed to *Chapaṭa*, the *Mātikatthadīpanī* and *Paṭṭhānagaṇānaya*, treat of *Abhidhamma* subjects.

It would be rash to say, without careful comparison of texts of the same epoch, that even at that early period the Burmese Sangha showed a deeper interest in the *Abhidhamma* than the Siṅhalese, as was certainly the case

* As to the basis of this work, it appears from the title given in the MSS. to be a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* of *Anuruddha*. In arrangement it follows the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, being divided into nine *paricchedas*, or sections. Oldenberg, *Catalogue of Pali MSS. in the India Office, J.P.T.S.*, 1882, p. 85; Fausböll, *Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. at the India Office, J.P.T.S.*, 1896. The *Piṭakatthamain* only says that *Sankhepa vaṅṅanaṅā* and *Sīmālanakāra* were written by *Saddhammajotipāla* of *Pagān P.th.*, pp. 49, 50.

† *Gandhavaṅsa*, p. 62; *Sāsanavaṅsadīpa*, verses 12, 13.

‡ *Gandhavaṅsa*, pp. 64, 74.

§ *Forchhammer, Essay*, p. 35. The *Piṭakatthamain* gives *Nāmacāradīpaka* (under the heading *Abhidhamma*) as *Saddhammajotipāla*'s work (*P.th.*, p. 45).

|| *Gaṇḍhisāra*, *Gandhavaṅsa*, p. 74.

¶ The *Piṭakatthamain* mentions another, the *Viśuddhimaggagaṇṭhi* (on different passages in *Buddhaghosa*'s *Viśuddhimaggā*) (*P.th.*, p. 37).

later.* In Chapata's day, the school or sect he founded, which was known as the Siḥālasaṅgha of Burma, was probably absorbed by monastic questions. For Chapata had returned to Pagan a missionary of Siṅhalese orthodoxy. Deeply imbued with the belief that the Mahāvihāra alone had kept the legitimate 'line of descent'† unbroken from teacher to teacher, and that valid ordination could only be received in Ceylon, he wished to confer the upasampadā on the Pagan brethren still outside the pale. To fulfil all conditions required by the Vinaya, he brought with him four companions‡ qualified like himself. The little group was to be the nucleus of the new Order, the rightful heirs of the one tradition.

But this claim was stoutly opposed in some of the monasteries of Pagan. The traditions of the South Country and Anorahta's great Talaing teacher were still flourishing. Arahanta, they claimed, had been in the 'direct line' from the ancient missionaries Sona and Uttara; his disciples had been qualified to receive and hand on the Upasampadā, and the Mahāvihāra itself could confer no better title. The older community, therefore, declined to be drawn into Chapata's fold, and he, having the then reigning King on his side, was powerful enough to make them appear the seceders, while his followers refused all association with them in ceremonies.§

But King Narapatisithu was a Buddhist of the old magnificent school, and though he believed devoutly in Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, he neither persecuted nor neglected the communities that denied it. The ruins of old

* An observation to this effect is made by Mr. Nevill, whose information was supplied, for the most part, by Siṅhalese monks, well versed in the Pali literature of their country.

† This line is established by the reception of right doctrine from a duly ordained teacher, who has been the pupil of another, and so on in direct ascent to one of the fathers of the Buddhist Church.

‡ Rāhula, Ānanda, Sivali, and Tamalinda (Sās., p. 65). Five was the smallest number of which a chapter for Acts of the Sangha could consist, according to the Vinaya.

§ See 'Kalyāṇi Inscriptions,' *Indian Antiquary*, xxii., p. 30

Pagân still witness to his bounty towards the different Sanghas,* of which the Arahanta sect (called the Mramma or Burma Sangha) was the most important.

Narapati was the greatest, or most fortunate, patron of Buddhist learning in Burma from Anorahta's time till the fourteenth century; but one of his predecessors, Kyansitthâ, † a son of Anorahta, had made his name memorable by building the celebrated Ānanda temple and vihāra at Pagân. At this monastery Dhammasenāpati ‡ wrote the Kārikā—a grammatical work of far less importance than the Saddanīti, but interesting as preceding Aggavaṇṣa's work by nearly a century—if, indeed, we can accept this early date, as the Piṭakatthamain does, which places the Kārikā at A.D. 1064.

Like the Saddanīti, the Kārikā—a modest little metrical treatise—has lived bravely through some eight centuries, and was last republished a few years ago.

Dhammasenāpati composed two other works, the Etimāsamidīpanī (or Etimāsamidīpikā) and the Mandhāra.§ Beyond the bare mention of the titles and of the fact that the author wrote the Kārikā at the request of the monk Ñāṇagambhira and the two others on his own

* 'Fraternities from Ceylon, from the conquered Haṅsāvati, from Siam, Camboja, and probably Nepal and China, sojourned in Pagan' (Forchhammer, Report, Pagân, p. 2).

† Kyansitthâ's religious foundations are dated A.D. 1059 (*B.E.F.E.O.*, tome iii., p. 676). His Pali name is Chattaguhinda (*Sās.*, p. 75; Forbes' 'Leg. Hist.', p. 23; Phayre's 'History of Burma,' pp. 39, 281). M. Duroiselle expresses some doubt as to the exactness of Phayre's dates for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, since the Burmese chroniclers themselves are not in agreement on chronological points (*B.E.F.E.O.*, tome v., p. 150; cf. Piṭakatthamain, p. 68).

‡ Dhammasenāpati is called an ācariya in Gandhavaṇṣa (pp. 63, 73), but in Forchhammer's List the author of Kārikā and Kārikā Ṭikā is put down as a Burmese nobleman of Pagan bearing the honorary title of Dhammasenāpati. It is likely that he was known as a man of rank and importance before he entered the Order, and perhaps he threw himself into serious studies while still a layman. We shall find such cases later.

§ G.V., pp. 64, 73. The Gandhavaṇṣa is my only authority here.

initiative, the Gandhavaṅsa leaves us without information. Ñāṇagambhīra, of Pagān, appears in the Piṭakatthamaīn as the author of the Tathāgatuppatti.

Other names of grammarians follow close on one another in this period. Schisms had indeed arisen, but the time had not yet come for works of *polemik*, and the good monks of Pagān were busy laying the foundations of learning in the country. In the work of Saddhammasiri, the author of the grammatical treatise Saddatthabhedacintā,* we catch a glimpse of a culture that recalls Aggavaṅsa. Saddhammasiri's grammar is based partly on Kaccāyana and partly on Sanskrit authorities. The Sāsanavaṅsa tells us that Saddhammasiri also translated the Brihaja(?) into the Burmese language.† He was, probably, one of the first to use Burmese as a literary instrument.‡ If this was the Brihajjātaka, an astrological work, it could not put a great strain on the resources of the Burmese idiom, even before the immense body of Pali words, probably added later, had come to its aid; so the feat is not a surprising one. But the thera's knowledge of Sanskrit is an interesting point. It is curious, too, to find him busied with one of the Brahmanic works known as 'Vedas' in Burma. Another grammatical work of some importance is the commentary generally known as Nyāsa, but sometimes as Mukhamattadīpanī, on the Kaccāyanayoga. The author was Vimalabuddhi,§ who is claimed by the Sāsanavaṅsa as a thera of

* G.V., pp. 62, 72; Fausböll, Cat. Mand. MSS., pp. 47, 48; Forchhammer, List, p. xix.

† Sās., p. 75. So yeva thera Brihajam nama Vedasattham pi Maramabhāsāya parivattasi (cf. Piṭakatthamaīn, p. 68).

‡ M. Duroiselle mentions inscriptions in Burmese of the tenth and eleventh centuries, containing words of Sanskrit derivation, and he expresses the belief that Sanskrit was known in Burma before Pali, which then, so shortly after its importation from Thatōn, 'n'était connu que de l'élite des moines' (B.E.F.E.O., v., p. 154.)

§ Mahā - Vimalabuddhi, to distinguish him from a later writer (cf. Piṭakatthamaīn, p. 63).

Pagân,* but is said by some authorities to be of Ceylon.† A *ṭikā* on the *Nyāsa* was written by the author himself,‡ to whom a *ṭikā* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* is also ascribed.§

The *Nyāsa* was glossed by another commentator in the reign of *Narapatisithu*. The scholiast this time was a man of high rank, who addressed himself to the task for love of one of the King's daughters. At least, the story as related by the *Sāsana-vaṅsa* is that *Narapati*, knowing this nobleman to be violently in love with one of the princesses, promised him her hand on condition that he should produce a work of profound learning.||

He undertook a scholium on the *Nyāsa*. The *Sāsana-vaṅsa* does not make it clear whether he was an official at the Court first, and entered the Order on purpose to write his book, or whether he was of the Order when he fell in love. We are only told that when he 'returned to the lay life' the King conferred on him the title of *rajjuggāhā-macca*. The Burmese title under which his work is sometimes met is *Thanbyin*.¶

A treatise, entitled *Lokuppatti*, by *Aggapaṇḍita*,** was written at Pagân. The author was a native of Burma.

* *Sās.*, p. 75.

† Mentioned *Sās.*, p. 75. *Vimalabuddhi* is Sinhalese in Forchhammer's List, p. xxiii. There is nothing in the India Office MS. apparently to settle the question. *Vide* Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 47.

‡ *G.V.* i., pp. 63, 73.

§ See *S.V.D.*, verse 1223.

|| *Sās.*, p. 75. There is a *ṭikā* called *Nyāsappadīpa* (incomplete) at the India Office. The author's name is missing (see Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 48. It seems that the King's request was not out of the way, for the nobleman was a learned grammarian, according to the *S.V.D.* (verse 1240), where it is said that the *Nyāsappadīpa ṭikā* was written 'ekena amaccena sadattha nayaññunā (*cf.* *Piṭakatthamain.* p. 64).

¶ *Sās.*, p. 75; Forchhammer, List, p. xxiii. *Thanbyin* was a title given to revenue officers, nearly corresponding to the *thugyi* of modern times (see 'Inscriptions of Pagân, Pinyá, and Ava,' p. 128, note.

** *G.V.*, pp. 64, 67; *Sās.*, p. 74. *Nevill* mentions the *Lokuppatti* as a work not easy to find in Ceylon (*Piṭayatthamain*, p. 60).

The Gandhavaṅsa mentions a grammar, *Lingatthavivarāṇa* by Subhūtacandana, who was followed by Nāṇasāgara with *Liṅgatthavivarāṇapakāsaka** and Uttama with *Liṅgatthavivarāṇaṭikā*. These three doctors were all of Pagān.† A *Liṅgatthavivarāṇavinicchaya‡* by an author whose name is not mentioned, is apparently based on Subhūtacandana's treatise, or explains difficult passages in it. Uttama,§ the author of the *Liṅgatthavivarāṇaṭikā*, also wrote a scholium on *Bālāvatāra*, the well-known grammar by Vacissara,|| of Ceylon.

Another of the Pagān grammarians, whose work has been studied for centuries and republished in recent times, was Dhammadassi, a novice (*sāmaṇera*) in the Order (according to the *Sāsanavaṅsa*),¶ when he composed his well-known treatise *Vācavācaka*, or *Vaccavācaka*. A commentary on it was written by Saddhammanandi.**

From the *Saddatthabhedacintā* sprang a number of commentaries, of which the best known is the *Mahāṭikā*†† by the thera Abhaya, of Pagān. Abhaya's name

* G.V., pp. 63, 72, 73.

† G.V., p. 67. The *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 72, ascribes *Liṅgatthavivarāṇa* and *Ṭikā* to Saddhammakitti of Sagaing.

‡ G.V., pp. 65, 75.

§ See G.V., pp. 63, 67; Forchhammer, Report, Pagān, p. 2; Forchhammer, List, p. xxiii; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 70.

|| Dhammakitti in Forchhammer's List.

¶ *Sās.*, p. 75.

** See Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50, for commentary, and *ṭikās* on *Vaccavācaka*. They are entitled *Vaccavācavaṅṇanā*, *Vaccavācakaṭikā*, and *Vaccavācakaḍipani*. Saddhammanandi is the only author mentioned. In Forchhammer's List (p. xxii) these works appear without names of authors. Cf. *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 71, according to which the *Vaccavācaka* was written at Pagān by a thera, 'name unknown,' and the *Ṭikā* by Saddhammanandi.

†† G.V., pp. 63, 73; Forchhammer, Report (Pagān), p. 2; List, p. xix. The commentary in the Mandalay Collection at the India Office is called *Saddatthabhedacintāḍipani* (Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50).

reappears as the author of the *Sambandhacintaṭikā*,* a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṅgharakkhita.

Forchhammer places both Saddhammasiri and Abhaya in the fourteenth century.†

Unfortunately, the *Sāsanavaṅsa* and *Gandhavaṅsa*, usually careful to give us the birthplace or residence of our authors, rarely give us any guide to their exact date. Without a comparison of the texts one with another, or a minute study of the chronicles of monasteries, we must be content with conjectures as to the order in which the scholars of Pagān succeeded each other. But we may, I think, venture to place most of those just mentioned in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Before passing on to the later period of Pali literature at Pagān, it will be well to look for a moment at the state of the Burmese Saṅgha, or rather Saṅghas.

Narapati's impartial benevolence had secured a peaceful life and means of study for all those who sought them, but it could not prevent discord between the communities; and when Chapāṭa died, his school—the *Sīhaḷasaṅgha*—split into four factions, each following one of the four theras who had come with Chapāṭa from Ceylon.

The dissensions (for they can hardly be called schisms in the usual sense of the word) that arose within the *Sīhaḷasaṅgha*, once stronger and more united than the other sects in Pagān, were not, it seems, caused by questions of dogma. At all events, the *Sāsanavaṅsa* tells us only of the personal reasons for which Rāhula separated himself first from his colleagues, and they in their turn parted company.

Rāhula's defection was the gravest matter. The story is that he fell desperately in love with an actress at one of

* Fausböll, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi.; *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 69, 71. The *Sambandhacintā*, on syntactical relation, is probably of the twelfth century. The author was a scholar of Ceylon.

† Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 36.

the festivals given by King Narapati. His brother-theras entreated and reasoned with him in vain. Finally, they prayed him to leave the country, and spare his community the scandal of his 'return to the lower life.' He then took ship and went to 'Malayadīpa,'* and in that country became preceptor to the King, who wished to be instructed in the Vinaya. The end of Rāhula's story is curious. Under him the King studied the Khuddasikkhā,† and the ṭikā on the same; afterwards, with the largesse that his grateful pupil bestowed on him, the thera abandoned the Order and lived as a layman.

This little history is no doubt told for edification more than for its human interest, like the story of Ānanda, whose transgression, less dramatic than Rāhula's, was also against monastic discipline. Narapati had presented the three theras, Sīvali, Tāmalinda, and Ānanda, each with an elephant. Ānanda, wishing to give his to his relations in Kañcīpura, was preparing to ship it from Bassein (Kusimanagara), when the others remonstrated with him, pointing out that they, in a spirit more becoming to followers of the Buddha, had turned their elephants loose in the forest. Ānanda argued that kindness to kinsfolk was also preached by the Master. Neither side would be persuaded, and Ānanda was cut off from the community.

Sīvali and Tāmalinda afterwards disagreed on another question of conduct. Tāmalinda had recommended his disciples to the pious laity for gifts and other marks of

* Sās., p. 66. The reading chosen by Minayeff in his transcript of the text, and, after some hesitation, by the present writer in editing the Sāsanavaṅṣa, was 'Mallarudīpa.' The MS. corrects to Malayadīpa. The episode is interesting. The reading Malaya is confirmed by the Kalyāṇi inscriptions. See Taw Sein Ko, 'Remarks on the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions,' *Ind. Ant.*, xxiv., p. 301.

† A compendium of the Vinaya written in Ceylon, edited by Professor E. Müller (*J.P.T.S.*, 1883) Ṭikās on this text were composed by Revata and Saṅgharakhita, both of Ceylon (*vide* Piṭakatthamain, p. 48).

consideration, an action of which the Buddha had strongly disapproved.* After some useless admonishing, Sivali refused to have any further intercourse with Tāmalinda, and formed a sect of his own. This very simple account of the origin of the four factions in the Sīhālasaṅgha is not quite satisfying, but as an example of monastic traditions in Burma, it has a certain interest. Besides, even such fragments of the personal history of theras sometimes give us a glimpse into the course of studies and scholarship in their day.

In the meantime, as our list of authors shows, literary work went on at Pagān. After Narapati, the next keen patron of learning was Kyocvā.† The works produced under his auspices were chiefly grammatical, but the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* was also one of the principal subjects of study.‡ We should expect to hear that the students of Pali grammar were chiefly monks, eager not only to understand the ancient texts thoroughly, but to master the classic language, in order to compose in it themselves. But grammatical knowledge was by no means limited to the monasteries. We have already heard of the learning of Narapati's minister. In the time of Kyocvā, too, there were grammarians at the King's court.§ Indeed, Kyocvā is said to have insisted on general diligence

* Sās., p. 67. It is here called by a technical name, *Vacīviññatti*. For pronouncements in the Vinaya on this subject, see Vinaya v., p. 125 (Oldenberg's edition), and compare iii., p. 227; iii., p. 256, etc.

† Succeeded Jeyyasinkha A.D. 1227 (Phayre), or A.D. 1234 (Barnett). Pagān is described in a florid thirteenth-century poem, the *Manavulu-Sandesaya*, written in Ceylon, ed. L. D. Barnett (*J.R.A.S.*, April, 1905, p. 265).

‡ For an example of studies, see the pathetic little story of the monk *Disāpāmokkha*, who pursued knowledge so fervently in his old age (beginning with *Kaccāyana* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*) that in time he astonished the chief theras by his learning, and was chosen by the King to be his *ja c a r i y a* (Sās., p. 77).

§ Pali grammar was a popular study at that time even among women and young girls. A quaint and interesting passage in the

around him, while he himself set the example by writing the *Saddabindu* and *Paramatthabindu*, both grammatical works.* A little work on Pali cases, entitled *Vibhattyattha*, is ascribed to his daughter.†

The *Mukhamattasāra*,‡ another grammatical work of this epoch, was written by *Sāgara*, called *Guṇasāgara* in the *Gandhavaṅsa*,§ which states that *Sāgara* wrote a *ṭikā* on his own work, at the request of the *Sanḅharājā* (Head of the whole Order), who was King *Kyocvā*'s preceptor.

A *Vibhattyattha* was written, probably at *Pagān*, by the *thera Saddhammaṅaṇa* early in the fourteenth century.|| *Saddhammaṅaṇa* was the author of a more important work on metrics, the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī*¶ (or *Vuttodayapañcika*, being a commentary on *Vuttodaya*),** and the *Chapaccayadīpanī*, also on prosody.†† *Saddhammaṅaṇa* was not only a *Palist*, but a *Sanskrit*

Sāsanavaṅsa, reproduced by *Minayeff* in the 'Recherches' (*Sās.*, p. 78; 'Recherches,' p. 69), describes how busy mothers of families in *Arimaddana* (*Pagān*) snatched time to learn.

* *Saddabindu* is ascribed to *Kyocvā*, and dated 1234 in the *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 45 and 70. See also *G.V.*, pp. 64, 73; *Sās.*, p. 76. *Saddabindu* has been ascribed to *Kyocvā*'s preceptor. A commentary entitled *Līnatthavisodhani* was written by *Ñāṇavilāsa* of *Pagān* (*Nevill*). The *ṭikā* on *Saddabindu*, called *Saddabinduvinicchaya*, in the *India Office*, is by *Sirisaddhammakittimāhāphussadeva* (*vide Fausböll*, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, p. 50). A *ṭikā* on *Paramatthabindu* was written at *Pagān* by the *thera Mahākassapa* (*Piṭakatthamain*, p. 51).

† *Sās.*, p. 77 (see *Preface* to *Subhūti*'s edition of the *Abhidhāna-pādīpikā*, 2nd ed., *Colombo*, 1883).

‡ *Sās.*, p. 76; *G.V.*, pp. 63, 67, 73.

§ *Guṇasara* in *Forchhammer's List*, p. xxiii.

|| *Forchhammer*, *Essay*, p. 36; *Fausböll*, *Cat. Mand. MSS* p. 50.

¶ *Forchhammer*, *Report*, *Pāgan*, p. 2; *Essay*, p. 36; *Fausböll*, *Cat. Mand. MSS.*, pp. 51, 52; *Forchhammer*, *List*, p. xxiii; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 74.

** *Vuttodaya*, a twelfth-century work by *Sanḅharakkhita*, written in *Ceylon*; published by *Fryer* in *J.A.S.*, *Bengal*, 1877.

†† *Forchhammer*, *Essay*, p. 36.

cholar, and translated the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra Kalāpa*) into Pali.

The *Gandhatthi*, by Maṅgala, is a grammatical work, probably of the fourteenth century, and written at Pagān. At somewhat later period, but also at Pagān, Sirisaddhammavilāsa composed a *Kaccāyana Ṭikā*, entitled *Saddhammanāsini*.*

So far, the production of learned works in the communities of Burma seems to have gone on steadily, in spite of sectarian differences, which, after all, would affect grammarians less than experts in the Vinaya. But a change had come over the fortunes of the Order in the thirteenth century. The Pagān dynasty fell in 1285† under the assaults of Mongol invaders from the north, while nearly at the same time a successful revolt in the south completed the overthrow of the Burmese power. Shān rulers established their capital at Myinzaing (*Khandhapura* in Pali), and the glory of Pagān, where the very temples had been torn down to fortify the city against the enemy, was never restored. Later authors wrote afterwards, in or near the old famous monasteries, but a chapter of the literature of Upper Burma closes here. With the downfall of the dynasty that had protected scholarship for so many generations, the first period, the period of the grammarians, comes to an end.

* Forchhammer, Report, Pagān, p. 2, and List, p. xx. The MS. of Sirisaddhammavilāsa's work in the Mandalay collection is called *Kaccāyanasāra Ṭikā* (Fausböll, Cat. Mand. MSS., p. 48). The *Kaccāyanasāra* was composed in the Talaing country.

† Forbes, Leg. Hist., p. 25; Phayre, Hist. Bur., pp. 51, 53, 54; Colonel Burney's translations from Rājavaṅsa, *J.A.S.*, Bengal, vol. iv., pp. 400 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *B.E.F.E.O.*—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.* Hanoi.
2. FAUSBÖLL, CAT. MAND. MSS.—Fausböll (V.), Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1896.
3. FORBES, LEG. HIST.—Forbes (C. J. F. S.), 'Legendary History of Burma and Arakan.' Rangoon, 1882.
4. FORCHHAMMER, ESSAY.—Forchhammer (E.), Essay for the Jardine Prize. Rangoon, 1885.
5. FORCHHAMMER, NOTES.—Forchhammer (E.), 'Notes on the Early History of Geography of British Burma.' Rangoon, 1883.
6. FORCHHAMMER, REPORT.—Forchhammer (E.), Report on the Literary Work performed on behalf of Government during the year 1879-80. Rangoon, 1882.
7. FORCHHAMMER, LIST.—Forchhammer (E.), Appendix K to Report on Literary Work. List of MSS. in the Rangoon High School Pali Library.
8. FORCHHAMMER, REPORT (PAGÂN).—Forchhammer (E.), Archaeological Reports. Pagân.
9. G.V.—Gandhavaṅsa. Ed. Minayeff. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1886.
10. IND. ANT.—*Indian Antiquary*.
11. *J.P.T.S.*—*Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
12. MAN. IND. BUDDH.—Kern (H.), 'Manual of Indian Buddhism.' Grundriss, vol. iii., part viii.
13. OLD. CAT. PALI MSS.—Oldenberg (H.), Pali MSS. in the India Office Library. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1882.
14. P.TH.—Piṭakatthamain. Rangoon, 1905.
15. SĀS.—Sāsanavaṅsa. Ed. Bode. 1897.
16. S.V.D.—'Sāsanavaṅsadīpo; or, History of the Buddhist Church in Pali Verse,' by Ācariya Vimalasāra Thera. Colombo, 1880.
17. BUDDHISTISCHE KUNST.—Grünwedel (A.), *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*. Berlin, 1893.