

Online Lecture Series: Buddhism in Myanmar

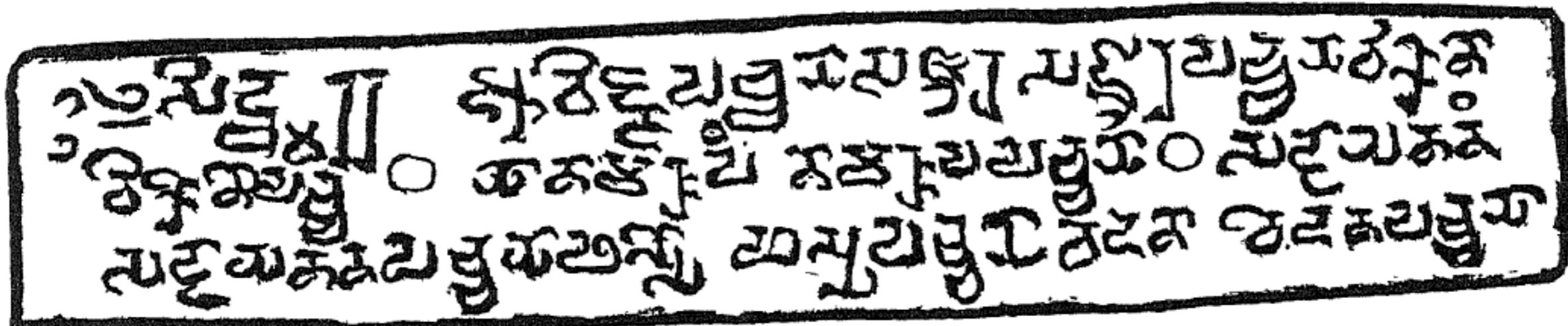
# Pali Scholarship in Myanmar

Aleix Ruiz-Falqués  
(Shan State Buddhist University)  
*aleix.ssbu@gmail.com*

Organized by HKU Centre of Buddhist Studies  
Sponsored by Buddhist Lodge of Laity (居士林)

What do we find when we look for Pali scholarship, or traces of Pali scholarship, in the early history of Myanmar?

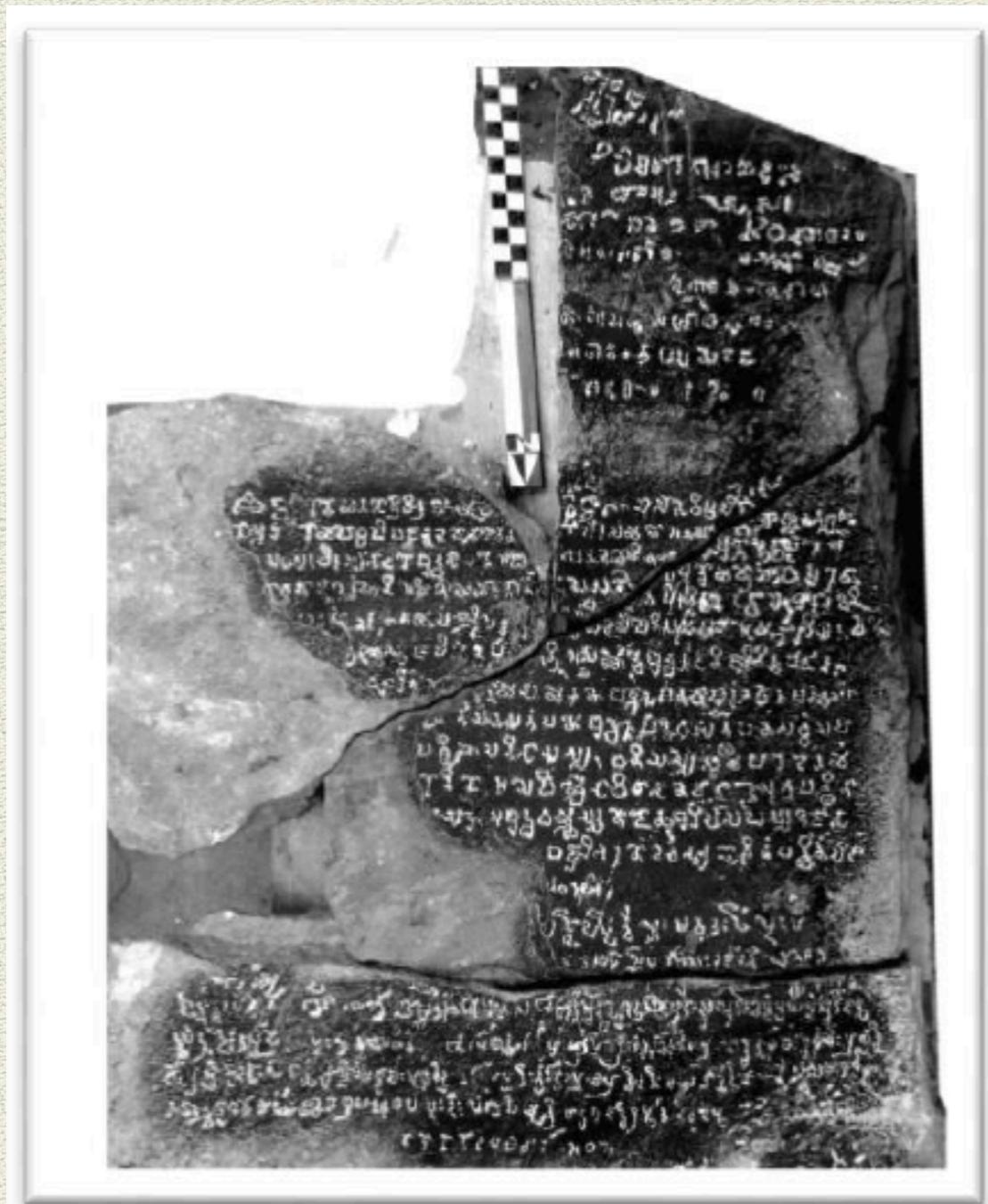
Śrī Kṣetra Gold Plates, ca. 5th c. CE  
 Containing the *paṭiccasamuppāda* formula



- (1) <2> <Spirale> *siddham* || *āvijjapaccayā saṅkhāra saṅkhārapaccayā viññāṇa*
- (2) *viññāṇāpaccā*<Loch>*yā nāmarūpaṃ nāmarūpapaccayā* <Loch> *salāyatanaṃ*
- (3) *salāyatana**paccayā phasso phassapaccayā vedanā vedanapaccayā*

(Falk 1997: 57)

King Saw Lu's "Myittha Inscription", 11th c. CE  
Containing an original record in Pali, irregular orthography



(Handlin 2018: 6)



Rājakumāra Inscription,  
Pagan, early 12th c. CE  
Containing an original  
record in four languages  
(Mon, Burmese, Pyu and  
Pali)

The Pali is grammatically  
regular

# Grammar and the Early Scholastic Literature of Myanmar

The *Kārikā* by Dhammasenāpati Thera  
 From the Nanda (Ānanda?) monastery of Pagan  
 ca. 12th c. CE (?)  
 Earliest Pali Treatise in Myanmar

၁၂-ကာရိကာပါဠိ ၁၇၃

၁၂-ကာရိကာပါဠိ

၁။ သိဒ္ဓသဒ္ဓတ္ထ သမ္ဗန္ဓ၊ ဒေသကံ ဇိနပုဂံဝံ။  
 \* တပုကာသိတဓမ္မဉ္စ၊ ဂဏဉ္စ ဂုဏသာဂရံ။

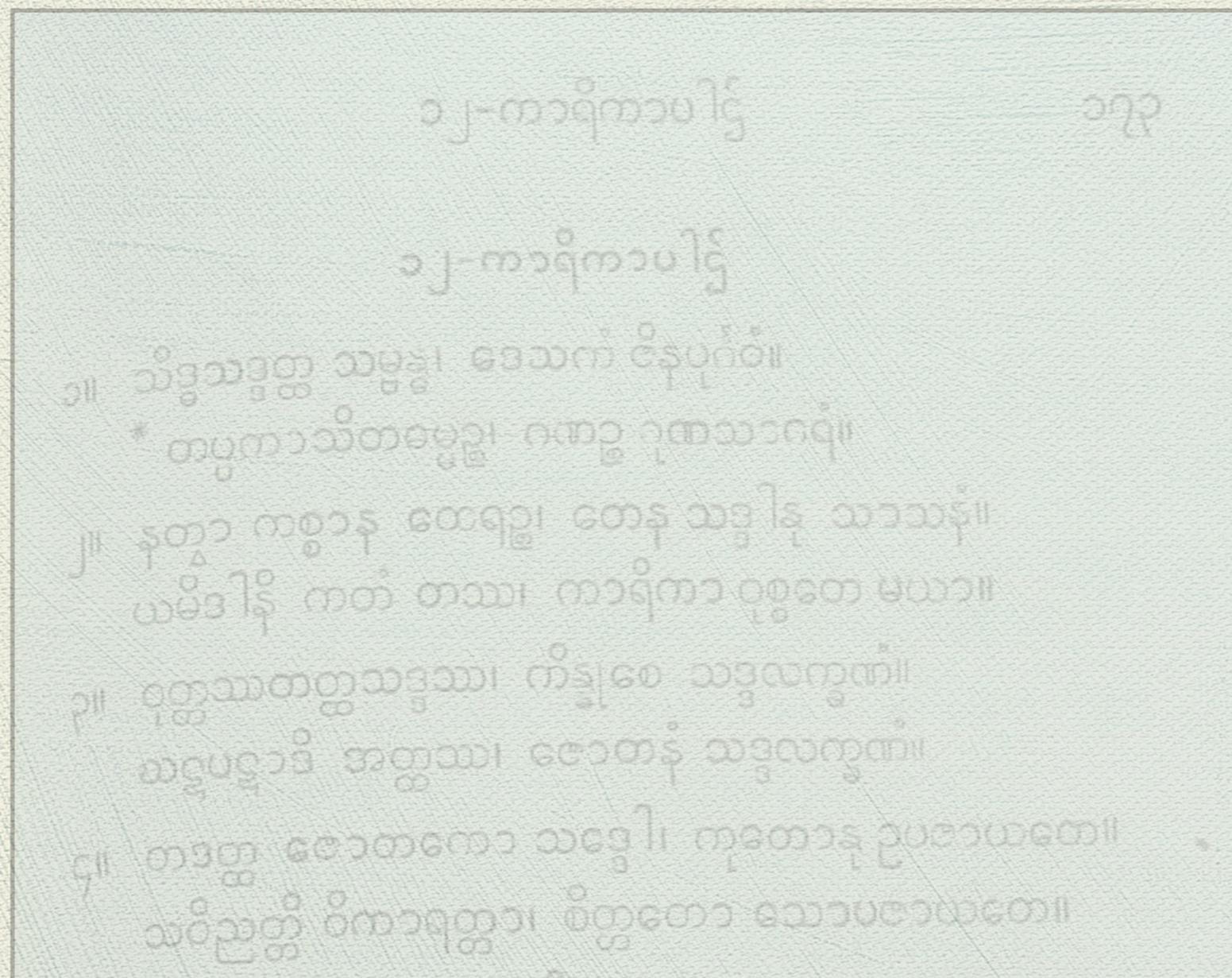
၂။ နတော ကစ္စာန ထေရဉ္စ၊ တေန သဒ္ဓါနု သာသနံ။  
 ယမိဒါနိ ကတံ တဿ၊ ကာရိကာ ဝုစ္စတေ မယာ။

၃။ ဝုတ္တဿတတ္ထသဒ္ဓဿ၊ ကိန္ဒုစေ သဒ္ဓလက္ခဏံ။  
 ဗဒ္ဓုပဋ္ဌာဒိ အတ္ထဿ၊ ဇောတနံ သဒ္ဓလက္ခဏံ။

၄။ တဒတ္ထ ဇောတကော သဒ္ဓေါ၊ ကုတောနု ဥပဇာယတေ။  
 သဝိညတ္တိ ဝိကာရတ္တာ၊ စိတ္တတော သောပဇာယတေ။

The *Kārikā* by Dhammasenāpati Thera  
From the Nanda (Ānanda?) monastery of Pagan  
ca. 12th c. CE (?)

Earliest Pali Treatise in Myanmar



siddhasaddatthasambandhadesakam jinapuṅgavam ||  
tappakāsītadhammañ ca gaṇañ ca guṇasāgaram || 1 ||

natvā kaccāna therañ ca tena saddānusāsanam ||  
yam idāni kataṃ tassa kāritā vuccate mayā || 2 ||

vuttassa tattha saddassa kinnuce saddalakkhaṇam ||  
ghaṭapaṭādi atthassa jotanam saddalakkhaṇam || 3 ||

tadatthajotako saddo kuto nu upajāyate ||  
saviññattivikārattā cittato so 'pajāyate || 4 ||

siddhasaddatthasambandhadesakam jinapuṅgavam ||  
tappakāsītadhammañ ca gaṇañ ca guṇasāgaram || 1 ||

natvā kaccāna therañ ca tena saddānusāsanam ||  
yam idāni kataṃ tassa kāritā vuccate mayā || 2 ||

vuttassa tattha saddassa kinnuce saddalakkhaṇam ||  
ghaṭapaṭādi atthassa jotanam saddalakkhaṇam || 3 ||

tadatthajotako saddo kuto nu upajāyate ||  
saviññattivikārattā cittato so 'pajāyate || 4 ||

siddhasaddatthasambandhadesakaṃ jinapuṅgavaṃ ||  
tappakāsitadhammañ ca gaṇañ ca guṇasāgaram || 1 ||



*siddhe śabdārthasambandhe*

Kātyāyana Vārttikakāra, ca. 2nd c. BCE (?)

## Dragomir Dimitrov and Mahesh Deokar

Ratnamati's *Śabdārthacintā* > Dhammasenāpati's *Kārikā*  
ca. 10th c. Nālandā / Sri Lanka

## Dragomir Dimitrov and Mahesh Deokar

Ratnamati's *Śabdārthacintā* > Dhammasenāpati's *Kārikā*  
ca. 10th c. Nālandā / Sri Lanka



Cāndra School



Kaccāyana School

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI "L'ORIENTALE"  
DIPARTIMENTO ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO  
*Series Minor*  
LXXXII

DRAGOMIR DIMITROV

## THE LEGACY OF THE JEWEL MIND

On the Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese Works by Ratnamati

A Philological Chronicle  
(*Phullalocanavaṃsa*)



Napoli 2016

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI "L'ORIENTALE"  
DIPARTIMENTO ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO  
*Series Minor*  
LXXXII

DRAGOMIR DIMITROV

## THE LEGACY OF THE JEWEL MIND

On the Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese Works by Ratnamati

A Philological Chronicle  
(*Phullalocanavaṃsa*)



Napoli 2016



Nālandā

Pagan

Laṅkā



Nālandā

Pagan

Lañkā



Nālandā

Pagan

Lañkā



Nālandā

?

Pagan

Laṅkā

## Dhammasenāpati's Kārikā

*vuttinyāsesu neruttimañjūsārūpasiddhisu ||  
atthabyākhyānasatthe ca kāsikāvuttiyam pi ca || 47 ||*

*tadaññasaddasatthesu āgamaṭṭhakathāsu ca ||  
vippariṇāssa tantassa kārikā sārasaṅgahā || 48 ||*

## Dhammasenāpati's *Kārikā*

Sources of the *Kārikā*, a compendium of the essence of multiple treatises:

- Kaccāyanavutti
- Nyāsa
- Neruttimañjūsā
- Rūpasiddhi
- Atthabyākhyāna
- Kāsikāvutti
- + *other śāstras*
- āgama
- aṭṭhakathā

# Dhammasenāpati's *Kārikā*

Sources of the *Kārikā*, a compendium of the essence of multiple treatises:

- Kaccāyanavutti
  - Nyāsa
  - Neruttimañjūsā
  - Rūpasiddhi
  - Atthabyākhyāna
  - Kāsikāvutti
- + *other śāstras*
  - āgama
  - aṭṭhakathā
- Lost treatises
- 

*Nyāsappadīpa* or *Samṛpṇāṅ-ṭīkā*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

- Commentary on the Nyāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī

## *Nyāsappadīpa* or *Samṛpṣaṅ-ṭīkā*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

- Commentary on the Nyāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī
- Anonymous author, perhaps *damnatio memoriae*?

## *Nyāsappadīpa* or *Samṛpṛāṅ-ṭīkā*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

- Commentary on the Nyāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī
- Anonymous author, perhaps *damnatio memoriae*?
- Unknown date, but probably later than the Kārikā and earlier than the Saddanīti

## *Nyāsappadīpa or Saṃpyañ-ṭīkā, ca. 12th c., Pagan*

Manuscripts containing grammatical texts donated to the  
Siṅghavīr Sujjabuil Monastery in 1227 CE

*kāccāy mahānirut [kaccāyana mahānirutti]  
ṭīkā mahāther  
ṭīkā mahāsampeñ  
mahārūpasiddhī [mahārūpasiddhi]  
ṭīkā mahārūpasiddhī  
maññjūssaṭīkā  
byākhyān mahānirut [vyākaraṇa mahānirutti]  
ṭīkā byākhyā(...) [ṭīkā vyākaraṇa]  
nirut [nirutti]  
cūlasandhi  
sandhivīsodhanā ku ṭīkā*

Lammerts 2010: 97–98

## *Nyāsappadīpa or Saṃpyaṅ-ṭīkā, ca. 12th c., Pagan*

Manuscripts containing grammatical texts donated to the  
Siṅghavīr Sujjabuil Monastery in 1227 CE

*kāccāy mahānirut [kaccāyana mahānirutti]  
ṭīkā mahāther  
ṭīkā mahāsampeṅ  
mahārūpasiddhī [mahārūpasiddhi]  
ṭīkā mahārūpasiddhī  
maññjūssaṭīkā  
byākhyān mahānirut [vyākaraṇa mahānirutti]  
ṭīkā byākhyā(...) [ṭīkā vyākaraṇa]  
nirut [nirutti]  
cūlasandhi  
sandhivīsodhanā ku ṭīkā*

Lammerts 2010: 97–98

## *Nyāsappadīpa* or *Samṛpṇāṅ-ṭīkā*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

- Commentary on the Nyāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī
- Anonymous author, perhaps *damnatio memoriae*?
- Unknown date, but probably later than the Kārikā and earlier than the Saddanīti
- Epitome of the scholastic dialogic style

*Nyāsapadīpa or Saṃpāñ-ṭīkā, ca. 12th c., Pagan*

*dosahīnassa satthassa codanā tu na vijjate ||  
dosayuttam asatthañ ca nālaṃ ten' idha codanā ti || ||*

“No objection is there for a scientific treatise that is without faults; and if it has faults, then it is not a scientific treatise, therefore there is no point in objection either.”

*Nyāsappadīpa or Saṃpṛāṇ-ṭīkā, ca. 12th c., Pagan*

*n' āyaṃ pakaraṇadosāvikārikā codanā, kin tu  
kattuno adhippāyāvikārikā ca sissānaṃ  
buddhisampañipādikā ca.*

“This objection is not to show a fault in the scientific treatise, but rather to show the implied meaning (*adhippāya*) of the author and to foster a thorough intellectual development of the students.”

*Nyāsappadīpa or Saṃpyaṅ-ṭīkā, ca. 12th c., Pagan*

*asati hi codanāya saṅhasukhumaññāvacarānaṃ  
atiguḷhasuttapadānaṃ adhippāyatthādhigamo na  
siyā. sissānañ ca codanādhigatānisamsā  
buddhisamsiddhi ca.*

“Because, if there is no objection, the understanding of the exceedingly profound words of the sutra treatise which pertain to the sphere of subtle and refined knowledge is not there, nor the students’ benefit in understanding the objection and their intellectual perfection.”

## *Nyāsappadīpa* or *Samṛpṇāṅ-ṭīkā*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

- Commentary on the Nyāsa or Mukhamattadīpanī
- Anonymous author, perhaps *damnatio memoriae*?
- Unknown date, but probably later than the Kārikā and earlier than the Saddanīti
- Epitome of the scholastic dialogic style
- Criticised by the 17th-century *Niruttisāramañjūsā* of Dāṭhanāga, but used, together with that work, in the

*Nyāsa-nissaya*

## Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

### AUTHOR

- Name: Aggavaṃsa of Arimaddanapura (Pagan)
- Title: Tatiya Aggapaṇḍita
- Lineage: Maternal Nephew of Samantabhadda Aggapaṇḍita, disciple of Samantabhadda Mahā Aggapaṇḍita

## COLOPHON

*iti samantabhaddassa mahā aggapaṇḍitassa santike  
gahitupajjhena taṃsissassa samantabhaddassa aggapaṇḍitassa  
bhāgineyyena paṭiladdhatamṇāmadheyena susampadāyena  
karaṇasampattijanitaniravajjavacanena arimaddanapuravāsina  
aggavaṃsācariyena kataṃ saddanītippakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ*

“Here ends the Saddanīti treatise, composed by **Ācariya Aggavaṃsa**, of good lineage, whose flawless speech originated from the perfection of his vocal organ, a dweller of Arimaddanapura, who obtained his preceptorship from **Samantabhadda Mahā Aggapaṇḍita**, who was a nephew of *his* disciple **Samantabhadda Aggapaṇḍita**, who obtained his *name/title* from *him/them*.”

Samantabhadra Mahā Aggapaṇḍita



Samantabhadra Aggapaṇḍita, author of the *Lokuppatti*



Tatiya Aggapaṇḍita, Aggavaṃsa, author of the *Saddanīti*

## LOKUPPATTI'S COLOPHON

*iti bhaddantassa sīrisamantabhadda-  
aggamahāpaṇḍitassa sissena paṭiladdhanāmadheyena  
sīrisamantabhaddapaṇḍitena katā lokuppattipakāsanī  
samattā.*

“Thus is completed the *Lokuppattipakāsanī*  
(‘Illustrator of the Origination of the Worlds’),  
composed by the disciple of Sīri Samantabhadda  
Agga Mahā Paṇḍita, called Sīri Samantabhadda  
Paṇḍita.”

Credit: Ven. Nyanasamilankara, PhD Cand. SSBU

thero Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ akāsi. Arimaddananagare hi Uttarājīvatherādīnaṃ Sīhaḷadīpaṃ gamanato pubbe yeva tayo mahātherā pariyattivīsārādā Mahā-Aggapaṇḍito, tassa saddhivihāriko Dutīya-Aggapaṇḍito, tassa bhāgineyyo Tatiya-Aggapaṇḍito ti. Tatiya-Aggapaṇḍito pana Aggavaṃso ti pi vohāriyati.

Tasmiṃ ca kāle Arimaddananagaravāsīno saddakovidā bahavo santī ti yāva Laṅkādīpā kittighoso patthari.

Tasmā Sīhaḷadīpikā saddakovidā vīmaṃsetukāmā hutvā Arimaddananagaraṃ agamaṃsu. Tadā Arimaddananagara-  
vāsīno bhikkhū Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ dassesuṃ.

Sīhaḷadīpikā ca taṃ disvā upadhārentā saddavisaye ayaṃ gandho viya Sīhaḷadīpe gandho natthi. Imasmiṃ pakaraṇe āgatavinicchayaṃ pi sakalaṃ na jānimhā ti nānāpakārehi thomesuṃ ti. Yāvajjatanā kathāmaggo na upacchinno ti.

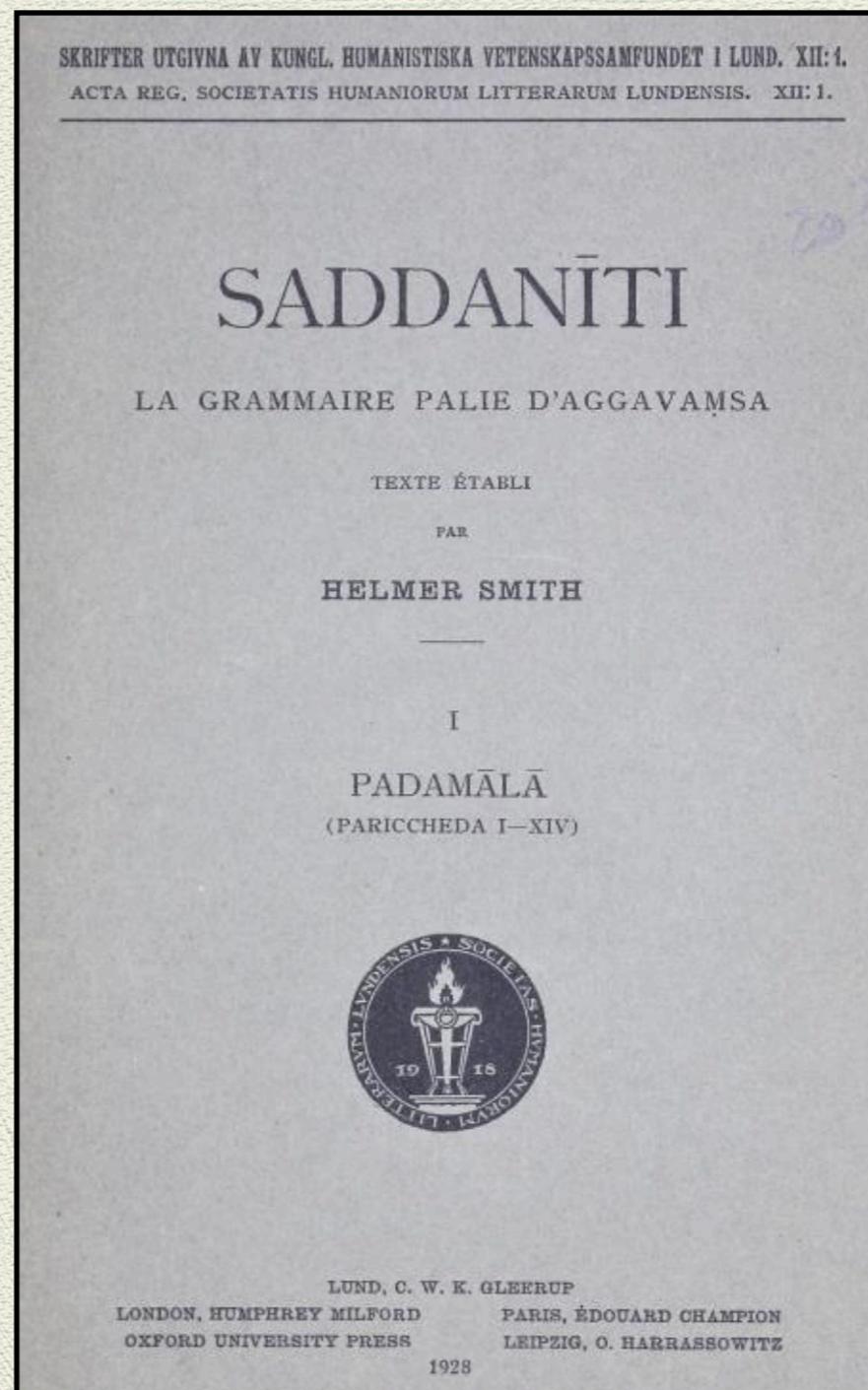
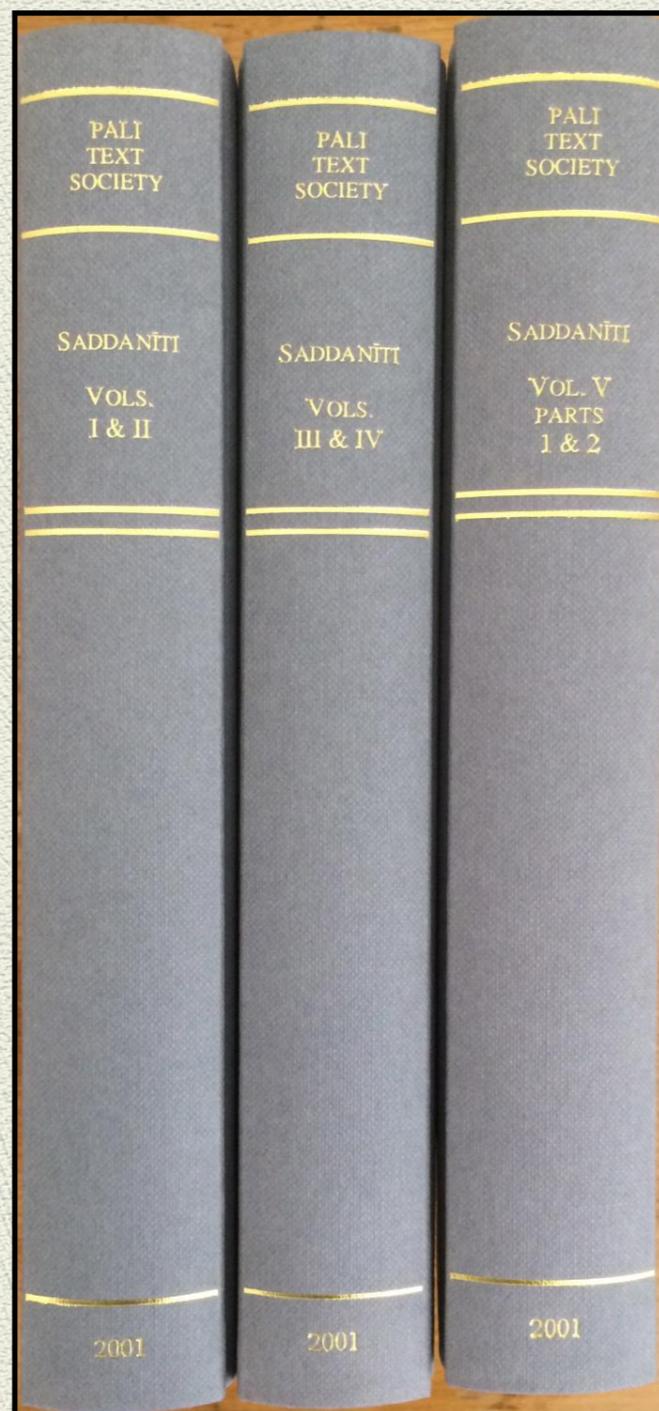
“Indeed, before the journey of Uttarājīva Thera and the others to the island of Sīhaḷa, there were three experts in textual studies in Arimaddana: Mahā Aggapaṇḍita, his assistant Dutīya-Aggapaṇḍita, and his nephew Tatiya-Aggapaṇḍita. The Tatiya-Aggapaṇḍita is also known as Aggavaṃsa. And at that time, there were many dwellers of Arimaddana skilled in grammar, to the point that

*Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. Bode, p. 74*

their fame reached the island of Laṅkā. That is why grammarians of the island of Laṅkā, wishing to investigate the matter, travelled to Arimaddana city. Then the bhikkhus of Arimaddana showed them the Saddanīti. And in seeing it, the sīhaḷa bhikkhus examined it carefully, and they praised it, saying that there was no equal treatise on grammar in the island of Laṅkā, and they were not aware of all the discussions contained in that manual. This story is still circulating today.”

# H. SMITH'S EDITION

C. W. K. Glerup, Lund, 1928–1966



# Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

## Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma\*

by Oskar von Hinüber

The prominent position of Burmese scholars in the field of Pāli studies is well known for centuries. In the very recent past this has been documented by the monumental text editions prepared on the occasions of the 5th and 6th councils held in Burma in 1871 and 1956 respectively. Especially the Chaṭṭhasaṃgāyana edition (ChS) comprising the whole Tipiṭaka accompanied by its commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) and subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*) together with the Visuddhimagga and the Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā in altogether 117 volumes reaches a very high standard sometimes superior to any other printed edition. In spite of these well known facts, the history of the Pāli tradition in Burma has hardly been investigated, although its influence on the Pāli texts as we read them today has been considerable.

These texts were handed down in those countries, where Theravāda Buddhism prevails. They are generally and correctly believed to rest almost entirely on the tradition as preserved in Ceylon and here again first of all in the Mahāvihāra.<sup>1</sup> Therefore it has been emphasized time and again that, whenever a relatively uncontaminated Sinhalese tradition can be found, a rather old and conservative form of that particular text survives. Unfortunately the number of such texts, which may be classified as being based on an authentic Sinhalese tradition is rather limited. Well known examples are the famous Copenhagen Jātaka-manuscript C<sup>k2</sup> or the Sinhalese manuscripts preserved in Copenhagen and London used by L. Feer for his edition of the Saṃyuttanikāya.<sup>3</sup>

\* Abbreviations follow the system laid down in the Epilegomena to the Critical Pāli Dictionary, if not stated otherwise.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear, how the well known Vinaya fragment found in Nepal fits into this picture, as it may well be a remainder of "continental" Pāli.—Attention to this fragment was drawn by C. Bendall: Note on the history of the Pāli canon in Northern India. In: Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses. Hamburg 1902. Leiden 1904. 58–60, and it has been edited by P. V. Bapat: A Pāli manuscript in an Indian script. ABORI 33. 1952. 197–210.

<sup>2</sup> H. Smith in H. Bechert: Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Sekten in Indien und Ceylon. In: La Nouvelle Clio. VII–VIII–IX (Mélanges C. Courtois et W. Marçais). 1955–1957. p. 347 and C. E. Godakumbura: Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts. Copenhagen 1980 (Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish Collections. Vol. I). p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> There is a manuscript dated AD 1412 in the Colombo Museum: W. A. de Silva: Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum. Vol. I. Colombo 1938 (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum. Series A. No. 4) No. 70.

“The *Saddanīti*, however, does not only attest this occasionally rather far reaching spirit of innovation. For many archaic forms sometimes even lost in the rest of the manuscript tradition are preserved in grammatical literature”

[Von Hinüber 1983: 11]

# Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

## EXPLORING THE *SADDANĪTI*

### 1. Introduction

Grammars may be considered the absolute fringe of literature. Nevertheless, they go straight to the core of language — the medium in which literature is presented — and reveal a great deal about what those who wrote them thought about their own language, about language in general, and about their literature. Moreover, if a grammar becomes influential it will inevitably affect not only the composition of subsequent literature but also the way in which earlier literature is perceived, in much the same manner that David Lodge must have had in mind when he had one of the characters in his novel *Small World* write a thesis on the influence of T.S. Eliot on Shakespeare.

Devoted to the study of their canon, Theravāda Buddhists produced a number of grammars of the Pāli language. The *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* or *Kaccāyanappakarāṇa*, named after its author Kaccāyana about whom we know nothing, was composed in Ceylon some time after Buddhaghosa, who clearly does not know of it, and before its earliest known commentary, the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, written in probably the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> It is obviously influenced by the Pāṇinian

\* First and foremost I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. K.R. Norman who asked me to lecture on the *Saddanīti* during the academic year 1989–90. My sincere thanks are also due to the other two faithful auditors of those lectures, Drs M. Cone and J.D. Smith. The three of them provided extremely valuable criticism, thoughtful suggestions, and indispensable encouragement. Furthermore, I would like to thank Prof. Norman for patiently and generously answering the many queries I have had in the course of writing this essay. Last but not least I gratefully thank Dr J.W. Benson who read through a previous draft and offered valuable comments. The no doubt numerous errors and inaccuracies which still remain are of course my own responsibility, as are the interpretations and views put forward.

<sup>1</sup> K.R. Norman 1983:164.

*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, Vol. XVII, 1992, pp. 1–212

Kahrs 1992

## Some Probable Sanskrit Sources of the Pali Grammarians with special reference to Aggavaṃsa

Mahesh A. Deokar

It is a well known fact that Pali Grammarians have heavily drawn upon the Sanskrit grammatical literature in terms of technical terminology, technique and grammatical explanation. The three major Pali grammars viz. the Kaccāyana Vyākaraṇa (KV) (6th–7th century A.D.),<sup>1</sup> the Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa (MV) (1165 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> and the *Saddanīti* (Sadd) (latter half of the 12th century?)<sup>3</sup> along with the Kaccāyanavutti (KVu), the Moggallānavutti (MVu) and their subsequent sub-commentaries have made ample use of material scattered in the Sanskrit grammatical treatises.

O. H. Pind (1997: 39) identifies the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Kaumārālāta as the probable Sanskrit sources of the KV. He (1997: 48) also points out to the probable connection between the KVu and the Kāśikāvṛtti. A probable Sanskrit source of the MVu is said to be the Cāndravṛtti (CVṛ). Cf. Scharfe (1977: 195). E. G. Kahrs, in his monograph on the *Kāraka* section of the Sadd (1992), tries to trace probable Sanskrit sources of the Sadd. According to him, apart from the non-Vedic rules of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, Patañjali, the author of the Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya (MBh), is a likely source of the Sadd. For Kahrs, influence of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya (VP) on the *Kāraka* section of the Sadd is beyond doubt. According to him, Aggavaṃsa (Agg) was either familiar with Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa or some commentary similar to it. Kahrs also claims that Agg knew of and made use of Helārāja's commentary on the VP. The Kāśikāvṛtti and its sub-commentaries the *Nyāsa* and the *Padamañjarī* are mentioned as some additional sources of the Sadd. According to Kahrs, though Agg knew the Cāndravākaraṇa (CV) of Candragomin (Candra), he did not rely upon Buddhist Sanskrit Grammars in any significant way. Kahrs speaks in passing of the Kātantra (Kt) influence on the KV, but he does not identify any particular commentarial source from that tradition. Thus, scholars have hardly paid any attention to the Durgavṛtti (DV), the Durgatikā (DT) and the Kātantravṛttipañjikā (KVP) on Kt as probable Sanskrit sources of the Pali grammarians.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pind 1997: 34–35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Norman 1983: 165.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kahrs 1992: 2.

Deokar 2012

## Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti*, ca. 12th c., Pagan

Quotation from Puruṣottamadeva's *Ekākṣarakośa* (originally from Orissa) in the *Saddanīti* (Sadd 243 n.8):

“This fact illustrates the penetration and adaptation of Sanskrit technical works in Pali erudite circles at that time.”

Schnake 2021: 121

# Grammar, Philosophy of Language, Buddhist Exegesis

Yasa Thera's *Kaccāyanasāra*, Pagan, Burma, 13th c. CE (?)



Caṅgadāsa's *Sambandhoddeśa*

**Note:** This has been corrected from the earliest version of the presentation [see video recording], where I mistakenly wrote *Saddavutti* instead of *Kaccāyanasāra*.

Bhartrhari *Jāṭisamuddeśa*

*yathā rakte guṇe tattvaṃ kaṣāye vyapadiśyate ||  
saṃyogisannikarṣāc ca vastrādiṣv api gr̥hyate || 3,1.7 ||  
tathā śabdārthasaṃbandhāc chabde jātir avasthitā ||  
vyapadeśe 'rthajātīnāṃ jātikāryāya kalpate || 3,1.8 ||*

7-8. Just as 'redness', residing in the quality red is attributed to the substance 'lac' and then, on account of its intimate union with the intimately united, it is perceived in clothes etc., in the same way, on account of the intimate connection between word and meaning, the universal residing in the word performs the function of universal for the universals of objects also. (trans. Iyer)

Saddhammaguru *Saddavutti*, Panyā, Burma, 14th c. CE (?)

*vuttiyaṃ guṇasaddānaṃ guṇajātyaṃ sarūpakaṃ  
vutte guṇe guṇajāti, dabbe guṇo nimittakaṃ || 21 ||*

“With regard to the cause for application of words that express quality, the form itself is the cause for application when one expresses quality as a class; quality as a class is the cause for application when one expresses a quality; the quality is the cause for application when one expresses a substance.”

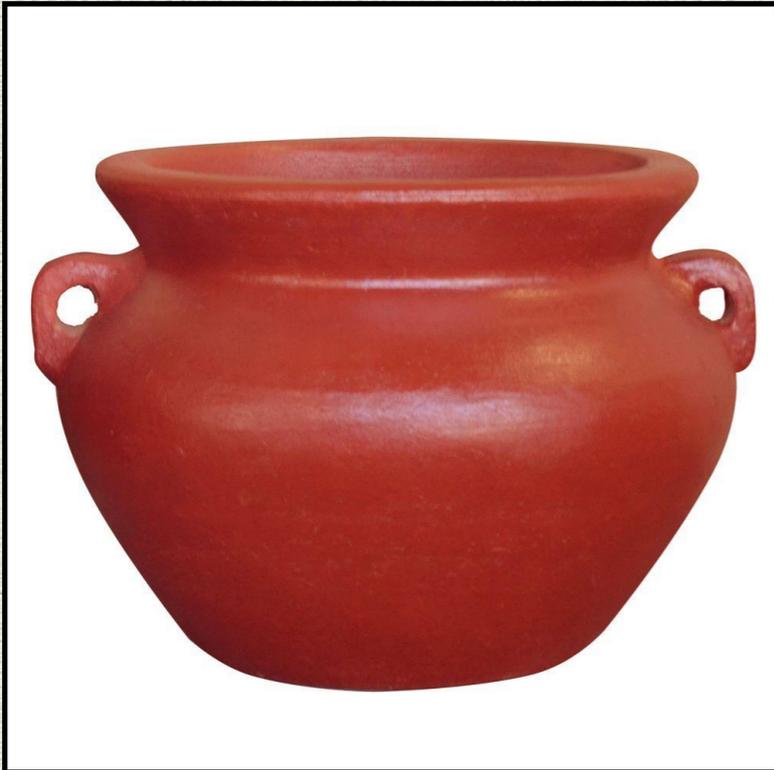
redness = jāti “universal” or “class”



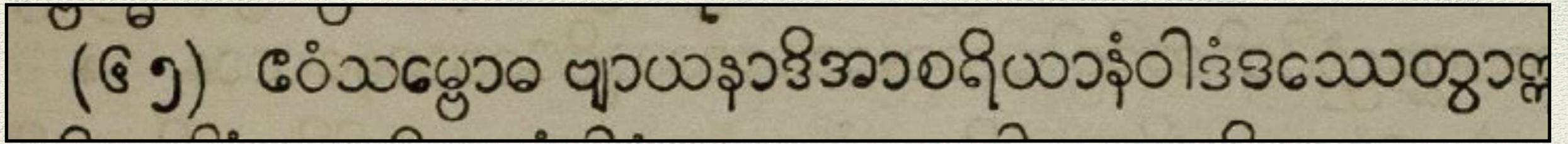
red = guṇa “quality”



red pot = dravya / dabba “substance”



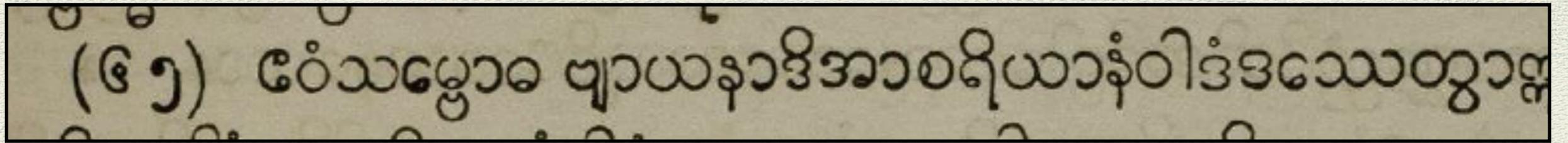
Saddavutti-porāṇa-ṭīkā, ca. 15th c.?



*evaṃ sambodhabyāyanādiācariyānaṃ vādaṃ dassetvā...*

“After having thus presented the theory of **Sambodhabyāyana** and other teachers...”

Saddavutti-porāṇa-ṭīkā, ca. 15th c.?



*evaṃ sambodhabyāyanādiācariyānaṃ vādaṃ dassetvā...*

wrong reading

“After having thus presented the theory of **Sambodhabyāyana** and other teachers...”



**Vājapyāyana:** main proponent of the theory that words mainly indicate jāti “class”

Sambodhabyāyana = Vājapyāyana

Words express *jāti* “universal class”

Byādhi = Vyāḍi

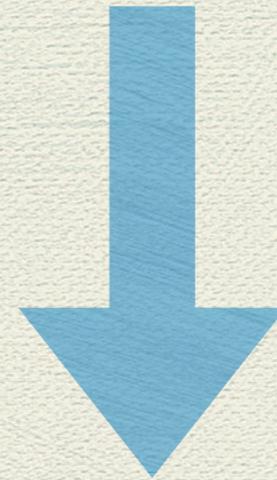
Words express *dabba* “particular substance”

# Saddavutti (14th c. Panyā)



Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa  
by Saddhammajotipāla  
(15th c. Pagan)

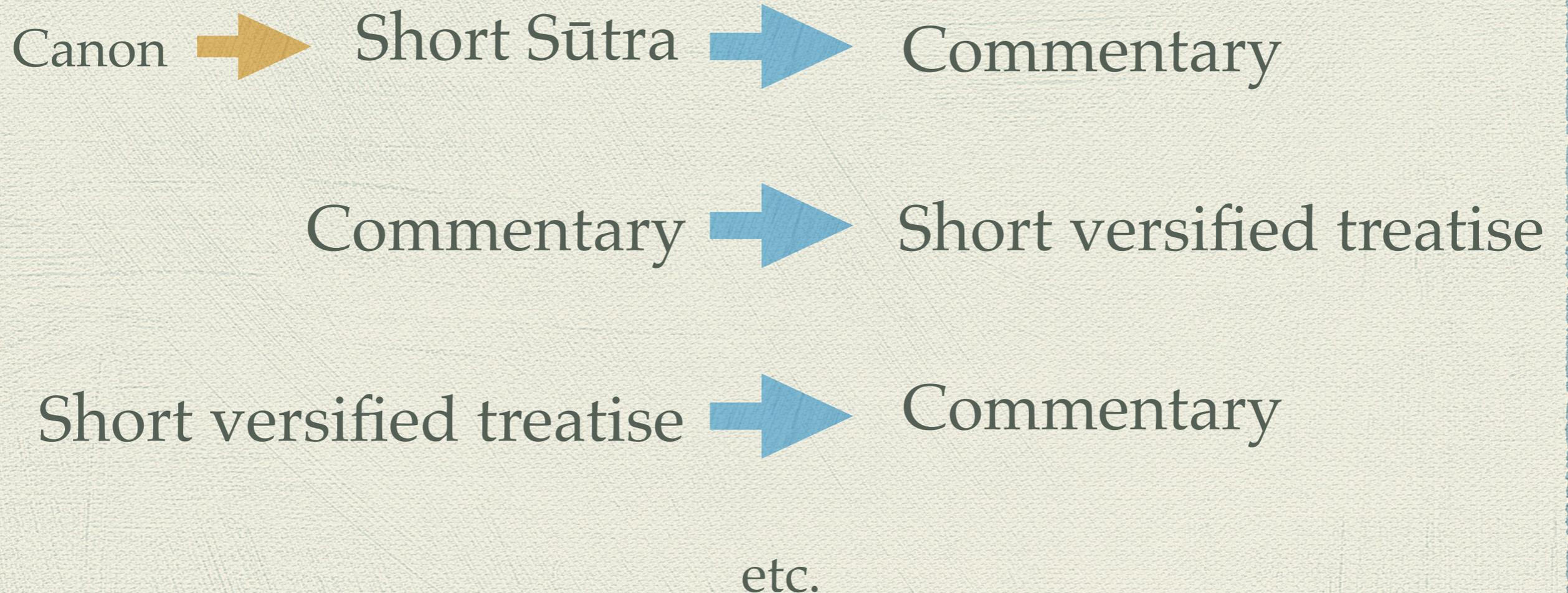
Ruiz-Falqués 2015



Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā  
by Mahāvijitāvī  
(16th c. Panyā)

Currently being researched by Ms Linda Cha,  
PhD Cand., Mahidol University, Bangkok

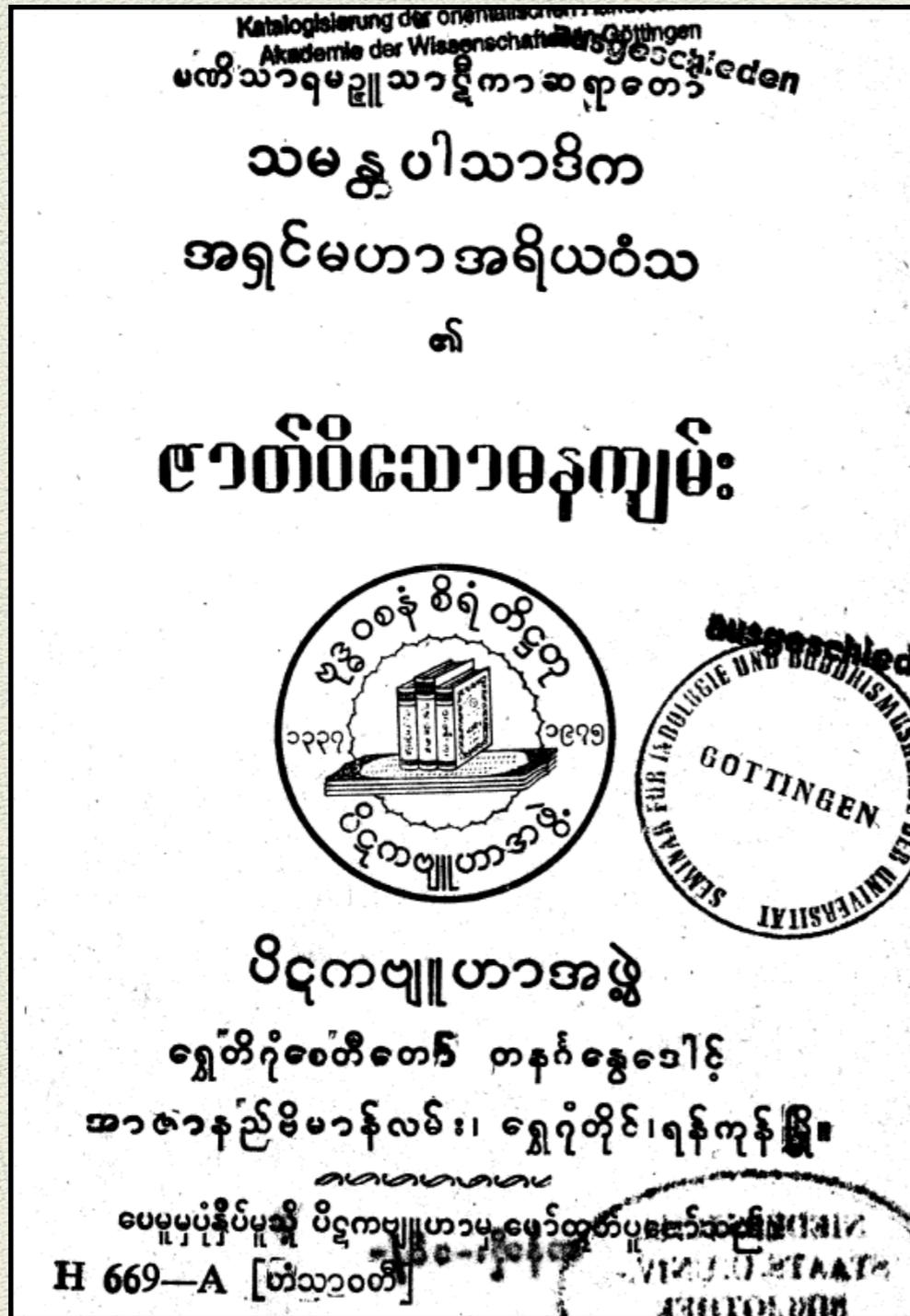
# The *saṅkhepa-vitthāra* Scholastic Cycle



# Development of Burmese-Pali Literature

- Epigraphy (Inscriptions) [ca. ?12th c. onwards]
- *nissaya* [ca. ?14th c. onwards]
- Embellished poetic translations [ca. ?14th c. onwards]
- Chronicles (*rājavaṃsa*, *sāsanavaṃsa*) [ca. ?14th c. onwards]

# Development of Burmese-Pali Literature



Mahā Ariyavaṃsa  
*Jātakavisodhana*  
 “Philological Notes  
 to the Ten Major Jātakas”  
 mid. 15th c. CE,  
 Sagaing

# Development of Burmese-Pali Literature

Currently being edited and translated by  
Ven. Kondaññaakitti,  
PhD Cand., Shan State Buddhist University

၂

ဇာတ်ဝိသောနေကျမ်း

ဇာတ်၊ ဖြစ်ဘူးလေပြီးသော အဖြစ်ကို။ ကိယတိ ကထိယတိ၊ ဆိုအပ်၏။ ဣတိ၊ ကြောင့်။ ဇာတကံ၊ မည်၏။ ဒေသနာပါဠိ ရ၏။ ဇာတကံ သမောဓာ နေသိ-ဝယ်သော်ကား ဇာတမေဝ ဇာတကံ-ပူ။

ဟေ ညံ-သုတ်ကို ထောက်ရှု၍ ကေဒိဝသဦး-လိုသည်။ ဟိ-မလို။ ဤသည် ဟိ-ကား သမတ္တန၊ သမတ္တန-ဟူက တထာ ဟိ-ဖွင့်။ “ဟိတိ သမတ္တနေ။ တထာ ဟိတိ အတ္ထော”-ဟု သုပဓာဓာလင်္ကာရဋီကာ (၂၄၃-ဂါထာဖွင့်)။

နိက္ခမပါရမိံ ဝဏ္ဏယန္တာ-ဟု ကေဝုဏ်သာ လိုသည်။ ပါရမိ-ယော-ဗဟုဝုဏ် မလို။ မဟာဘိနိက္ခမနံ အာရဗ္ဗ၊ န ဘိက္ခဝေ ဣဒါနေဝ။ ပ ။ မဟာဘိနိက္ခမနံ နာမ အနုစ္ဆရိယံ၊ ဤနှစ် ပါးကို ရှု။

ဘိက္ခဝေ၊ ဘိက္ခဝေါ- ဟု ဘုရား အာလုပ်။ ဘိက္ခဝေ-ကား သန္ဓေဖြစ်၊ မဖြစ် နှစ်ပါး။ ဤနှစ်ပါးလည်း စုက္ခိယ ပုဒ်သာ။ ဂါထာဝယ် မရှိရာ။ ဘိက္ခဝေါ-ကား ဂါထာ၊ စုက္ခိယ ပုဒ်နှစ်ပါး ရှိရာ၏။ စုက္ခိယပုဒ်သော်ကား သန္ဓေသာ၊ သန္ဓေမဖြစ်သည် မရှိ။ ဘိက္ခု အာမန္တေသိ၊ သောတုကာမတ္ထ ဘိက္ခဝေတိ။ သန္ဓေဖြစ်။ န ဘိက္ခဝေ ဣဒါနေဝ-ကား သန္ဓေ မဖြစ်။ အရညေ ရုက္ခမူလေ ဝါ၊ သုညာဂါရေဝ ဘိက္ခဝေါ။ ဘဂဝါ ဘိက္ခု အာမန္တေသိ ဘိက္ခဝေါတိ။ ဤသို့ ဂါထာ၊ စုက္ခိယပုဒ် ဘိက္ခဝေါ နှစ်ပါး။ သာဝကတို့အာလုပ် ဘိက္ခဝေ-

# Development of Burmese-Pali Literature

Currently being edited and translated by  
Ven. Kondaññaakitti,  
PhD Cand., Shan State Buddhist University

*Subodhālaṅkāra* →

*Saddanīti* →

၂ ဇာတ်ဝိသောနေကျမ်း

ဇာတ်၊ ဖြစ်ဘူးလေပြီးသော အဖြစ်ကို။ ကိယတိ ကထိယတိ၊ ဆိုအပ်၏။ ဣတိ၊ ကြောင့်။ ဇာတကံ၊ မည်၏။ ဒေသနာပါဠိ ရ၏။ ဇာတကံ သမောဓာ နေသိ-ဝယ်သော်ကား ဇာတမေဝ ဇာတကံ-ပြု။

ဟေ ညံ-သုတ်ကို ထောက်ရှု၍ ကေဒိဝသဦး-လိုသည်။ ဟိ-မလို။ ဤသည် ဟိ-ကား သမတ္တန၊ သမတ္တန-ဟူက တထာ ဟိ-ဖွင့်။ “ဟိတိ သမတ္တနေ။ တထာ ဟိတိ အတ္ထော”-ဟု သုဗောဓာလင်္ကာရဋီကာ (၂၄၃-ဂါထာဖွင့်)။

နိက္ခမပါရမိံ ဝဏ္ဏယန္တာ-ဟု ကေဝုဏ်သာ လိုသည်။ ပါရမိ-ယော-ဗဟုဝုဏ် မလို။ မဟာဘိနိက္ခမနံ အာရဗ္ဗ၊ န ဘိက္ခဝေ ဣဒါနေဝ။ ပ ။ မဟာဘိနိက္ခမနံ နာမ အနုစ္ဆရိယံ၊ ဤနှစ် ပါးကို ရှု။

ဘိက္ခဝေ, ဘိက္ခဝေါ- ဟု ဘုရား အာလုပ်။ ဘိက္ခဝေ-ကား သန္ဓေဖြစ်, မဖြစ် နှစ်ပါး။ ဤနှစ်ပါးလည်း စုဏ္ဏိယ ပုဒ်သာ။ ဂါထာဝယ် မရှိရာ။ ဘိက္ခဝေါ-ကား ဂါထာ, စုဏ္ဏိယ ပုဒ်နှစ်ပါး ရှိရာ၏။ စုဏ္ဏိယပုဒ်သော်ကား သန္ဓေသာ၊ သန္ဓေမဖြစ်သည် မရှိ။ ဘိက္ခု အာမန္တေသိ၊ သောတုကာမတ္ထ ဘိက္ခဝေတိ။ သန္ဓေဖြစ်။ န ဘိက္ခဝေ ဣဒါနေဝ-ကား သန္ဓေ မဖြစ်။ အရညေ ရုက္ခမူလေ ဝါ၊ သုညာဂါရေဝ ဘိက္ခဝေါ။ ဘဂဝါ ဘိက္ခု အာမန္တေသိ ဘိက္ခဝေါတိ။ ဤသို့ ဂါထာ, စုဏ္ဏိယပုဒ် ဘိက္ခဝေါ နှစ်ပါး။ သာဝကတို့အာလုပ် ဘိက္ခဝေ-

# Pali Textual Criticism in early 17th c.

Having bowed down to the Foremost (*pāmokkha*) of all the world [i.e. the Buddha], I will purify the *Pātimokkha* taught by him, [making it] flawless both in words and speech-sounds. In some manuscripts, discrepancy (lit. multiplicity) of speech-sounds is found, and in some places there are extra words as well. I will purify<sup>32</sup> the text without missing any of these cases, carefully observing the words and letters used by the great masters of the past in purified manuscripts, and comparing both [words and letters] with the rules of practice and the word-for-word commentary that are handed down in the *Vibhaṅga* and [also comparing them] with the commentaries.<sup>33</sup>

Ariyālaṅkāra's

*Pātimokkhavevisodhana,*

Purification of the Pātimokkha Text

Haṃsāvātī (Pegu), 1632 CE

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition
- Logic, Epistemology, Hermeneutics are included in Grammar

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition
- Logic, Epistemology, Hermeneutics are included in Grammar
- Dialogic/Dialectic development, not with original works (~ Scholastic Cycle)

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition
- Logic, Epistemology, Hermeneutics are included in Grammar
- Dialogic/Dialectic development, not with original works (~ Scholastic Cycle)
- Textual Criticism

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition
- Logic, Epistemology, Hermeneutics are included in Grammar
- Dialogic/Dialectic development, not with original works (~ Scholastic Cycle)
- Textual Criticism
- Framework for the development of *nissaya* literature

# Concluding Remarks

- Burmese Pali Grammar develops from Indian and Sinhalese sources and builds on this tradition
- Logic, Epistemology, Hermeneutics are included in Grammar
- Dialogic/Dialectic development, not with original works (~ Scholastic Cycle)
- Textual Criticism
- Framework for the development of *nissaya* literature
- Other disciplines apart from Grammar: Law, Poetics / Poetry, Cosmology

# Concluding Remarks

Most importantly: When we look for Pali scholarship in the early history of Myanmar, we do not find textbooks like those that we use today, we do not find translations, we do not find “original” manuals of Theravada Buddhism. We find a living Pali tradition that looks at Pali from the Pali, being the only language of culture, together with Sanskrit.

|| || bhavatu sabbamaṅgalam || ||

