# The Earliest *Pāli Ṭīkā*: A Review on Controversial Opinions of Modern Pāli Scholars

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## Introduction

The  $P\bar{a}li\ t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  literature is a long and continuous tradition of the  $Therav\bar{a}da$  school. However, modern  $P\bar{a}li$  scholars have not identified the earliest  $P\bar{a}li\ t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  among the early  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$ . They assume that the  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  was either one of the  $M\bar{u}la-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  and the  $Visuddhimaggamah\bar{a}-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$ . On the contrary, Jayawardhana Somapāla is of an opinion that the first  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$  is the  $Visuddhimaggamah\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$ . In recent years, K Arunasiri and Vijitadhamma have referred to both assumptions. This paper therefore, attempts to review those scholars' assumptions on the earliest  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$  with reference to the early  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$  still extant today.

# **Research Objectives**

This review on controversial opinions of modern  $P\bar{a}li$  scholars aims to identify the earliest  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  composed at the dawn of  $P\bar{a}li$   $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  literature. Besides, this is to reconstruct the chronology of early  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s in comparing the early  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s.

# Research Methodology

This paper attempts to review those scholars' assumptions on the earliest  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  with reference to the early  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s still extant today: the  $T\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s contain the several references or cross references, which indicate their historicity and hierarchy. Thus, the comparative method is utilized with textual or internal readings.

#### Research Problems

Modern  $P\bar{a}li$  scholars have not identified the earliest  $P\bar{a}li$   $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  among the early  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$ . They assume that the  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  was either one of the  $M\bar{u}la-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  and the  $Visuddhimaggamah\bar{a}-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ . Some scholars, G.P. Malalasekera, Walpola Rahula and Lily de Silva consider that the earliest  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  was the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  compiled by Ācariya Ānanda as reported in the  $P\bar{a}li$  chronicles. On the contrary, Jayawardhana Somapāla is of an opinion that the first  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  is the  $Visuddhimaggamah\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  by

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Ācariya Dhammapāla. In recent years, K Arunasiri and Vijitadhamma have referred to both assumptions.

# Research Background

The  $P\bar{a}li\ t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  literature, firstly originated from South India around the sixth century C.E. while Buddhism was declining there. Secondly, it was strengthened by the  $Mah\bar{a}vih\bar{a}ra$  tradition of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka. The dawn of the  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  literature in Sri Lanka started with the late Anuradhapura period, in the approximately sixth century C.E. During the period, major  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$  appeared and led to develop for later  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$  compositions. Most well-known  $t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}s$  were written in Sri Lanka. Within this period, the following sub-commentaries the  $M\bar{u}la-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ , the  $Vajirabuddhi-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ , and the the  $Vajirabuddhi-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ , were early and influential exegeses preserving in the  $Vajirabuadhi-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ 

## **Research Discussion**

In the  $P\bar{a}li$  tradition, the earliest  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  is the Linatthapadavannana on the  $Atthas\bar{a}lin\bar{t}$  or a set of Abhidhammic commentaries. It is ascribed to  $\bar{A}$  cariya  $\bar{A}$  nanda Vanaratanatissa who lived in south India. This  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  was first renamed ' $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ ' instead of the Linatthapadavannana by the Gandhavannana. In this regard, the Sasanavanana gives a reason of the renaming that 'as it was written prior to all the  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s, it is called as the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ '. Indeed, the author had not designated his work as a  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ . Currently, the title of the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  has been well-known due to the title in the Gandhavannana.

Modern scholars, namely, G.P. Malalasekera, Walpola Rahula and Lily de Silva accept that the earliest  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  was the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  as reported in the  $Therav\bar{a}da$  tradition. Of them, Walpola Rāhula observes thus; 'so far as we know Ānanda's  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  was the first  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ . It was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.C'. (Rāhula p. xxviii) Similarly, Lily De Silva follows that 'in  $P\bar{a}li$  the oldest  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  is said to be the  $Abhidhammatthakath\bar{a}$   $L\bar{t}natthavannana$ , better known as Abhidhamma  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  compiled by  $\bar{A}nanda$ ' and 'this AbhT is called the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  as it is recognized to be the first  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  written in  $P\bar{a}li$ '. According to Lily de Silva, the traditional assumption is approved by a quotation in the  $D\bar{t}ghanik\bar{a}yat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  of  $\bar{A}cariya$  Dhammapāla that was taken from the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ . Concurrently, she also points out that the  $D\bar{t}ghanik\bar{a}yat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  frequently refers to the  $Paramatthamanj\bar{u}s\bar{a}$  known as the Visuddhimaggamahatthamanta by  $\bar{A}cariya$ 

Dhammapāla. It shows that both the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  and the  $Visuddhimaggamah\bar{a}t\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  are anterior to the  $D\bar{i}ghanik\bar{a}yat\bar{i}k\bar{a}$ . She has not identified the senior  $t\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  out of the two, which would decide what the first  $t\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  was written apparently. However, she seems to uphold the traditional assumption that the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{i}k\bar{a}$  was the first work.

On the contrary, Jayawardhana Somapāla is of the opinion that the first  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  is the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* compiled by Ācariya Dhammapāla at the *Badaratittha-vihāra* in South India. Somapāla further asserts his position as follows: 'The first  $p\bar{a}li$   $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  is not the *Līnatthapadavaṇṇanā* which is sometimes called *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā* by Ven. Ācariya Ānanda Vanaratanatissa but the *Paramatthamanjūsā* written by Ven. Acariya Dhammapāla'. (Somapāla p. 288) According to his argument, the earliest *Pāli ṭīkā* is the *Paramatthamanjūsā* composed by Ācariya Dhammapāla of *Badaratittha* in South India. As a result, later scholars controversially hold both opinions discussed. For instance, Sri Lankan *Pāli* scholar, K Arunasiri and Vijitadhamma recently state both opinions. (Vijita, 2016, p.99)

In fact, the first tīkā was the Mūlatīkā of Ācariya Ānanda but not the Paramatthamanjūsā of Acariya Dhammapāla. The Mūlatīkā was written by Ācariya Ānanda vanaratanatissa at the request of Dhammamitta or Buddhamitta. In his work, Ācariya Ānanda argued with Ācariya Dhammasiri by the use of 'keci' measing 'someone'.( Anutīkā, vol- II, p.26 ) Ācariya Dhammasiri was one of the three students of Buddhaghosa, namely, Buddhamitta, Dhammasiri and Upatissa of Ācariya Buddhaghosa. In Pāli exegetical tradition, the term 'Keci' refers to a contemporary author and the Abhayagiri residents in order to argue with them. In addition, Ācariya Vajirabuddhi, a writer of the Vajirabuddhitīkā, obviously states above three students as his teachers. He repeatedly cites the Ganthipada, a work of Ācariya Dhammasiri. It shows that Ācariya Dhammasiri would be contemporary with Ācariya Ānanda. Therefore, Ācariya Ānanda used the word 'Keci' to indicate Ācariya Dhammasiri.

Ācariya Ānanda was also one of the teachers of Ācariya Vajirabuddhi. All references as 'teacher reads' or 'teacher's opinion' found in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* refer to single Ācariya Ānanda. It manifests that Ācariya Ānanda was not only a contemporary with Ācariya Dhammasiri but also one of teachers of Ācariya Vajirabuddhi. Besides, Ācariya Dhammapāla's contributions were later than the *Mūlaṭikā*. In this case, the three sub-commentaries such as the *Anuṭīkā*, the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* and the *Dighanikāyaṭikā* are sufficient to take examples. Firstly, in his

Anuţīkā, Ācariya Dhammapāla often called Ācariya Ānada of the Mūlaṭīkā as 'a Composer of the tīkā' (tīkākārena or tīkākārehi).(Ānuṭīkā, vol- I, p.185; vol-III, p.43) Secondly, the Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā argues the opinions expounded in the Mūlaṭīkā as it is an opinion of someone (Keci) (Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā, Vol-II, p.134). Again, the Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā disagrees with the conception of the following four groups; the eye sevenfold group (Cakkhusattakakalāpa), the ear sevenfold group (Sotasattaka-kalāpa), the heart-base sevenfold group (Vutthusattaka-kalāpa) and the life sevenfold group (jīviatachakka-kalāpa). They can be seen in the Mūlaṭīkā. In the above argumentations, Ācariya Dhammapāla called Ācariya Ānada as someone (keci).

Finally, one of his works, the *Dighanikāyaṭikā*, quotes a corresponding passage of the *Mūlaṭīkā* to approve his comment. It certainly guarantees that the reference was taken from the *Mūlaṭīkā*. Ācariya Dhammapāla called Ācariya Ānada as a teacher by name. As to this, Somapāla Jayawadana assumes that the Commentator Dhammapāla was perhaps his pupil.(Somapala, p. 166). Somapāla Jayawadana's statement contrasts with his previous notion that the earliest *Pāli ṭīkā* was the *Paramatthamanjūsā*.

## **Research Conclusion**

As mentioned above, a hierarchy of early authorship can be drawn by four  $\bar{A}cariya$ s in order such as Dhammasiri,  $\bar{A}$ nanda, Vajirabuddhi and Dhammap $\bar{a}$ la. The early  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ s of these four authors have flourished before the convocation of Polonnaruva period in Sri Lanka. Therefore, the earliest was the  $M\bar{u}lat\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  of  $\bar{A}$ cariya  $\bar{A}$ nanda in the early  $6^{th}$  century C.E, but not the  $Paramatthmanj\bar{u}s\bar{a}t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  of  $\bar{A}$ cariya Dhammap $\bar{a}$ la. Consequently, the date of the first  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  shows us the first emergence of the  $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$  literature as well.

**Key words:** Pāli ṭīkā literature, the Earliest Pāli ṭīkā, the Mūla-ṭīkā, the Visuddhimaggamahātīkā

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