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An Edition and Critical Study
of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* in the *Samyuttanikāya* of
the Pali Canon

Volume 1

(Materials and methods, characteristics and features of
manuscripts and editions including structure and content)

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Abstract

This thesis presents a new edition of a section of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, which forms part of the *Samyuttanikāya* in the Pali canon, and documents the basic principles that should be used for producing a critical edition. It discusses the manuscripts and associated commentaries of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* that are listed in manuscript catalogues and describes the characteristics of the manuscripts and printed editions used for editing this text. The thesis also provides a critical study of the structure and content of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* as a whole. The new edition shows that, as is the case with other *saṃyuttas* and *nikāyas*, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is structured to ensure faithful preservation and transmission. In addition, this text contains the major theme of Buddhist teachings, namely, the Four Noble Truths and dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*).

The new edition is based on a greater number and range of witnesses than those used in Feer's 1894 PTS edition. It also records the significant information contained in the colophons of the manuscripts, which Feer omitted, and corrects numerous errors in Feer's edition. Although it is common practice to abbreviate repetitive passages in manuscripts and editions, the current edition always gives the text in full so that the original form of each *sutta* can be easily ascertained. All variant readings, both valid and invalid, are recorded in the critical apparatus and appendices, respectively. Unless there is sufficient supporting evidence, the present edition does not change or correct the text. The best reading is evaluated from both internal (the intrinsic value of the readings) and external (date, number of witness, etc.) forms of evidence. By displaying the unabbreviated text, this edition makes a

significant contribution to the preservation of the text and the prevention of future corruption and loss.

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Abbreviations

Manuscripts

- B¹ Burmese manuscript preserved in the Fragile Palm Leaf Project at Manuscript House, Thailand (No. 7436)
- B² Burmese manuscript preserved in the Fragile Palm Leaf Project at Manuscript House, Thailand (No. 1550)
- C¹ Sinhalese manuscript preserved in the Colombo National Museum, Sri Lanka (No. 69 G 1)
- C² Sinhalese manuscript preserved in Bingiriya temple in Kandy, Sri Lanka
- S¹ Khom manuscript preserved in the Thai National Library, Thailand (No. 8219)
- S² Khom manuscript preserved in the Thai National Library, Thailand (No. 8242)

Editions

- B^e Burmese edition: *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭakaṃ: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 2. Rangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1957.
- C^e Sinhalese edition: *Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka Series: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 16, edited by the Editorial Board of the Tripiṭaka Translation Committee. Democratic Socialist Republican Government of Sri Lanka, 1981.
- E^e European edition: *Pali Text Society: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894.
- K^e Cambodian [Khmer] edition: *Brah Tripiṭaka Pāli: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 35. Phnom Penh: Institut Bouddhique du Cambodge, 1958.

- N^e Indian edition: *Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 2, edited by Sri Birbal Sharma and associates. Patna: Pāli Publication (Board Bihar Government), 1959.
- S^{e1} Thai edition: *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18, edited by Medhādhammarasādhībikkhus, Dhammakosācariyo Bhikkhu, and Mahamakutrajavityalayaganthādhikārabhikkhus. Bangkok: Mahamakut University, 1927.
- S^{e2} Thai edition: *Deyyaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ - Bhumiphalo: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18, edited by Pālivisodhikattherabhikkhus. Bangkok: Kurusapha, 1988.
- S^{e3} Thai edition: *Mahācuḷā Tepiṭakaṃ: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18, edited by Mahaculalangkararajavityalai. Bangkok: Mahacula University, 1957.
- Spk-B^e *Sāratthappakāsinī Nāma Saṃyuttaṭṭhakathā*. Vol. 3. Rangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 2004.
- Spk-C^e *Sāratthappakāsinī: Commentary of the Saṃyuttanikāya*. Vol. 8, Part. 3, edited by Venerable Pandit Widurupola Piyatissa Maha Thera. Colombo: the Tripitaka Publication Press, 1924.
- Spk-E^e *Sāratthappakāsinī: Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Saṃyuttanikāya on Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga, Saḷāyatanavagga, and Mahāvagga*. Vols. 2-3, edited by F.L. Woodward. London: Pali Text Society, 1932-1937.
- Spk-S^e *Sāratthappakāsinī Nāma Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā Saḷāyatanavagga-mahāvāravaggavaṇṇanā: Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā*. Vol. 3 edited by Rājasuddhi Bhikkhu and Mahātherasamāgamaganthādhikārabhikkhus.

Texts (references are to PTS editions)

A	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i>
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
Ap-a	<i>Visuddhajanavilāsinī (Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
As	<i>Atthasālinī</i>
Bv	<i>Buddhavaṃsa</i>
Bv-a	<i>Madhuratthavilāsinī</i>
Cp	<i>Cariyāpiṭaka</i>
Cp-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
D	<i>Dīghanikāya</i>
Dhp	<i>Dhammapada</i>
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Dhs	<i>Dhammasaṅganī</i>
Dīp	<i>Dīpavaṃsa</i>
It	<i>Itivuttaka</i>
It-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Ja	<i>Jātaka</i> together with its commentary
Khp	<i>Khuddakapāṭha</i>
Kv	<i>Kathāvatthu</i>
Kv-a	<i>Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā</i>
M	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>
Mhv	<i>Mahāvaṃsa</i>
Mp	<i>Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Nett	<i>Nettipakaraṇa</i>

Nidd I	<i>Mahāniddesa</i>
Nidd II	<i>Cullaniddesa</i>
Nidd-a I	<i>Saddhammapajjotikā (Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Nidd-a II	<i>Saddhammapajjotikā (Cullaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Paṭis	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>
Paṭis-a	<i>Saddhammappakāsinī (Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pj I	<i>Paramatthajotikā I (Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pj II	<i>Paramatthajotikā II (Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pp	<i>Puggalapaññatti</i>
Pp-a	<i>Puggalapaññatti (Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pv	<i>Petavatthu</i>
Pv-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
S	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i>
Sadd	<i>Saddanīti</i>
Sn	<i>Suttanipāta</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Spk	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī (Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Sās	<i>Sāsanavaṃsa</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Thī	<i>Therīgāthā</i>
Th-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Thī-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā)</i>

Ud	<i>Udāna</i>
Ud-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Udāna-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Vibh	<i>Vibhaṅga</i>
Vibh-a	<i>Sammohavinodanī (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Vin	<i>Vinayapiṭaka</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
Vv	<i>Vimānavatthu</i>
Vv-a	<i>Paramatthadīpanī (Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Yam	<i>Yamakapakaṇḍa</i>

Dictionaries and other sources

BHSG & BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, 2 Vols., Vol. 1 Grammar; Vol. 2 Dictionary (Franklin Edgerton, 1953)</i>
BSA	Bieyi Za Ahan Jing (T. 2 no. 100)
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen Vols. 1-2 (a-u) (Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, 1924): Vol. 3 (k) (Oskar von Hinüber, 2011)</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyamāgama (T 1, no. 26)</i>
MW	<i>A Sankrit English Dictionary (M. Monier Williams, 1899)</i>
PED	<i>Pāli-English Dictionary (T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, 1921-25)</i>
PM	<i>Pāli Metre (A.K. Warder, 1967)</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
SĀ	<i>Samyuktāgama (T 2, no. 99)</i>

T J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, 100 vols.
(Tokyo, 1924–34)

General

adj.	adjective
em	emendation
m.c.	metri causa
ms	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
˘	read as short metrically
-	read as long metrically
˘ˉ	read as short or long metrically
×	the syllable may be naturally short or long, but it is always taken as long
⌘	one short or one long or two short syllables
⌘	resolution; two shorts are equivalent to one long

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis, the purpose of which is discussed below, presents findings from a detailed study of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, including critical assessment of a selection of extant manuscripts, all published editions, and related sources. Based on this research, I have proposed a methodology for producing an edition of this text and have developed a new edition of the first two sections (*pañṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*. I also discuss the characteristics of the manuscripts and printed editions used for editing this text and present a critical study of the structure and content of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*.

1.1 Background: The *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* in the *Samyuttanikāya*

The *Samyuttanikāya* (Connected Discourses) is the third great collection of the Buddha's discourses in the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Pali canon. Its significant characteristic is the grouping together of *suttas* by content or topic. It consists of 56 *saṃyuttas* (sections) containing 2,889 *suttas* in the Pali Text Society (PTS) version edited by Léon Feer (1894). There are 2,904 *suttas* in the new translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000), compared to 7,762 *suttas* in Buddhaghosa.¹ The Asian editions each count the number of *suttas* differently. The Cambodian (K^e) and Thai (S^{e1-3}) editions count 2,752 *suttas* while the Burmese (B^e) and Nālandā (N^e) editions both count 2,854 *suttas*. The Sinhalese edition (C^e) has 7,656 *suttas*, which is higher than other editions. The *Samyuttanikāya* is divided into five major sections

¹ Sp I 18; Sv I 23; Spk I 2.

called *vaggas*. These are the *Sagāthāvagga*, *Nidānavagga*, *Khandhavagga*, *Salāyatanavagga* and *Mahāvagga*, named after the first *saṃyutta* of each *vagga*.

The *Salāyatanavagga*, the fourth section of the *Samyuttanikāya*, consists of 10 sections or *saṃyuttas*. The first section, *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, comprises four *pañṇāsakas* (sets of “50” *suttas*): (1) *paṭhamapañṇāsaka*, containing 52 *suttas* divided into five *vaggas*; (2) *dutiyapañṇāsaka*, containing 51 *suttas* divided into five *vaggas*; (3) *tatiyapañṇāsaka*, containing 52 *suttas* divided into five *vaggas*; and (4) *catutthapañṇāsaka*, containing 93 *suttas* divided into four *vaggas*. The number of *suttas* is not reflected in the name, since each *pañṇāsaka* contains more than 50 *suttas*.

This discrepancy in the number of *suttas* appears in each edition of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*. The PTS edition (Feer 1894) counts 207 *suttas* while the translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000) and other Asian editions (B^e C^e K^e N^e S^{e1-3}) counts 248. Feer evidently counts the *suttas* in a different way to other editions, particularly in the fourth *pañṇāsaka*. He identifies a problem with the reckoning of the *suttas* in the third *vagga* of the fourth *pañṇāsaka*, the *Saṭṭhipeyyālavagga* (the sixtyfold repetition series). By his reckoning, this *vagga* contains 20 *suttas* rather than 60 because he combines three *suttas* into a single *sutta* whereas other editions count them as three individual *suttas*. For example, the *suttas* numbered 168-170 of the Asian editions are counted as *sutta* number 167 in the PTS edition, *suttas* 171-173 are counted as 168, *suttas* 174-176 are counted as 169, *suttas* 177-179 are counted as 170, and *suttas* 180-182 are counted as 171.²

² S IV viii.

There are deficiencies in Feer's approach. He takes it upon himself to cut down the number of *suttas* despite the fact that, as he himself admits, the Burmese manuscripts give the title *suttantāṇi saṭṭhi* (sixty *suttas*) for *Saṭṭhipeyyāla*.³ It is obvious that this *vagga* should have 60 *suttas*, as indicated in the *vagga*'s title. Further, Bhikkhu Bodhi makes the reasonable suggestion that Feer should not combine the third and the fourth *sutta* of the *Devadahavagga*, which should clearly be separated.⁴ It should be borne in mind that Feer's text is constructed from limited manuscripts that are of poor quality and from which some folios are missing. As a result, it is highly likely that his reckoning is flawed.⁵ Therefore, in the present study, the number of *suttas* will be mainly based on the Asian editions and Bhikkhu Bodhi's (2000) translation.

The meaning of the title *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* is "Connected Discourses on the Six Sense Bases" (*āyatana*). The six sense bases here refer to both the six internal and the six external sense bases. The six internal sense bases are eye (*cakkhu*), ear (*sota*), nose (*ghāna*), tongue (*jivhā*), body (*kāya*) and mind (*mana*). The six external sense bases are form (*rūpa*), sound (*sadda*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), tactile object (*phoṭṭhabba*) and mental object (*dhamma*). The *suttas* of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* comprise short discourses that deal with the six sense bases, which is one of the significant themes in the Buddhist teachings.

1.2 Aim and significance of the study

In 1894, Léon Feer produced the first European edition of the Pali *Śaṃyuttanikāya*, which contains the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, and provided variant readings. As invaluable as this edition

³ S IV viii.

⁴ Bodhi, Bhikkhu. *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Śaṃyutta Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000, p. 1122.

⁵ See comments in Hinüber. O. von. *A Handbook of Pali Literature*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996b, p. 36.

has been, it has a number of shortcomings: it is based on limited materials from few traditions; it does not include the colophons found in the manuscripts used; it contains many errors, particularly typographic errors; his editorial system is inconsistent; it contains too many textual abridgements; and it offers no criteria for critical assessment.

In Feer's time, which was the very beginning of Pali scholarship in the West, it was difficult to access materials. As a result, he used only four manuscripts: a Sinhalese manuscript preserved in Copenhagen (S¹), the Sinhalese manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (S³), a Burmese manuscript kept in Paris (id. id.) (B¹) and a Burmese manuscript purchased from a man who brought it directly from Myanmar (B²). This latter Burmese manuscript (B²) is not in good condition. Some folios are missing or torn, and there are many scribal errors and pencilled-in corrections.⁶ Clearly, his edition was produced from manuscripts that represent only two traditions and does not draw on other sources where the teaching has been transmitted. In particular, like other PTS editions, his edition does not use manuscripts from the Thai tradition, which are mainly based on material from Sri Lanka and Myanmar that was later transcribed into Khom script.⁷ Moreover, no printed edition and no commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya* (*Sāratthappakāsinī*) are used in Feer's edition. Therefore, it is difficult to describe his work as a critical edition.

In addition, as von Hinüber has noted, Feer did not concern himself with the valuable historical and other information contained in the colophons of a manuscript,⁸ which can

⁶ S IV xii.

⁷ Hinüber, O. von. "Lān Nā as a Centre of Pali Literature during the Late 15th Century." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 26. 2000, pp. 119-20.

⁸ Hinüber, O. von. *Die Sprachgeschichte Des Pali Im Spiegel Der Südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung (Untersuchungen Zur Sprachgeschichte Und Handschriftenkunde Des Pali I)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988a, p. 7.

greatly assist the interpretation and evaluation of readings. Again, Feer's edition gives no details of the date of completion of the writing, the scribe, or the process and purpose of producing the manuscript. His edition also contains many scribal and grammatical errors. Wright has identified a number of inadequacies in Feer's work⁹, while Gethin¹⁰ suggests that the edition appears to have been printed without the benefit of proofreading, since there is inconsistent use of *-m/ -ṃ* throughout. Both correct and incorrect readings are used interchangeably and there are a great many misspellings in the main text (for example, *-ṭha* is spelled *tha*, *-n* is spelled *-ṇ* and *-ñ* is spelled *-n*). Incorrect words are also found (for example, *cakkuṣmiṃ* for *manasmiṃ*, *cakkuṃ* for *manaṃ* and *assādo* for *ādīnavo*), as well as grammatical errors (for example, *nabhinandati* for *nābhinandati* and *pavuccatā ti* for *pavuccatī ti*).

Moreover, Feer's editorial system is inconsistent. A variety of abbreviations are used throughout the work. The repetitive passages are abbreviated using different words (such as *pe*, *pa*, *la*, or *gha*) and these words are employed interchangeably throughout the text. Feer states that *pe* is normally presented in the Sinhalese manuscripts and *pa*, *la*, or *gha* are abridgements of the Burmese manuscripts. In addition to *pe*, *pa*, *la*, or *gha*, the punctuation || or symbol ² is regularly used for abridgements in his work.

As a way of dealing with the tedium of repetitive passages, Feer introduces many abbreviations. In addition to *pe*, *pa*, *la*, *gha* and punctuation symbols being used to indicate abbreviation, the whole or parts of the *sutta* are also shortened with the statement: "It is the same as the preceding *sutta*" (e.g. *sutta* nos. 75, 80 and 102). In some cases, despite his claim

⁹ Wright, J.C. *Review of the Saṃyuttanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka Vol. 1. The Sagāthavagga: A Critical Apparatus Edited by G.A. Somaratne*. In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 1999, p. 570.

¹⁰ Gethin, Preface to the edition of S I.

that the original form of the text has not been changed,¹¹ some words are replaced by the symbol ^o of his own invention. In relation to the frequent occurrence of discrepant abridgments in his manuscripts, he expressed his preference for the shortest arrangement.¹² In my view, this approach to editing is the main reason for the incompleteness of subsequent Pali texts. It also devalues the repetitive style, which can serve as a useful aid for memorisation and the cultivation of mindfulness and concentration through repetition of the same passages of teachings. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Overall, it is unlikely that his editorial approach provides an appropriate method of reconstructing and preserving the Pali *Tipiṭaka*. As Norman has noted, a Pali text edited by a European scholar in such a way cannot be published because it would be open to criticism.¹³ Finally, Feer does not describe the methodology he used in his determination of variant readings. This may suggest that he simply adopted the version that he personally liked the best.

Despite these deficiencies, Feer's edition (produced when access to manuscripts was more limited than it is today) was a pioneering work from which scholars and Buddhists have derived considerable benefit up to the present day. Since materials and facilities are now more readily available, it has become possible to construct a much improved text.

In view of the poor state of the PTS edition of the *Samyuttanikāya*, which is still used as the primary edition by scholars today, a new edition of this important text is a desideratum.

However, given the size of the *Samyuttanikāya*, such a task is not achievable within the limits

¹¹ S II xiv.

¹² S II xiii.

¹³ Norman, K.R. *Collected Papers*. Vol. 2, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1991, p. 194.

of a doctoral thesis. As discussed below, I have therefore confined myself to a section of it. Thus, the primary aim of this research project is to produce an edition of the first two *paṇṇāsa* of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*. The intention is to produce text that is correct, consistent, and closest to the original form, using various manuscripts and printed editions from several traditions, parallel passages in other texts, the commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya* (*Sāratthappakāsinī*), as well as all the information contained in the colophons of the manuscripts. A second aim is to develop a methodology and set of guidelines for producing a critical edition of a Pali canonical text. The third aim is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the structure and content of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* as a whole. Thus it is hoped that this thesis will significantly enhance our understanding of this text and the ideas it contains and will provide a valuable resource for scholars and Buddhists alike.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

Apart from the Introduction (Chapter 1), this thesis is presented in three sections. The first section (Chapter 2) discusses the manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, and *Sāratthappakāsinī* (the commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya*) listed in catalogues of manuscripts found in monasteries and educational institutions. Attention is paid to a variety of elements, including the type of text, catalogue number, script, the number of folios/leaves (including line number), folio numbering, the size of the manuscript, the qualities and characteristics of the manuscript, copyist, date and place of production, current location, and accessibility. Details of the manuscripts, published editions, and commentaries consulted for the present edition are provided. The methodology used to produce a critical edition is discussed in general terms and specifically in relation to the present edition. This includes issues such as the preparation of materials for editing, the qualifications of editors, the

document setting, the format of the critical apparatus, the system of abbreviations, the selection of the best reading, and the rectifications of text.

The second section (Chapter 3) is divided into two volumes for ease of printing. Volume 2 contains the edition (3.1) of the first two *paṇṇāsa* of the *Salāyatanaśāmyutta*, which contain 103 *suttas*. The limited timeframe of this research project meant that further sections of the *Salāyatanaśāmyutta* could not be included. In establishing this text, I have used six manuscripts: two Khom manuscripts preserved in the Thai National Library, two Burmese manuscripts preserved in the Fragile Palm Leaf Project at Manuscript House, Bangkok, Thailand, and two Sinhalese manuscripts preserved in the Colombo National Museum, Sri Lanka and in the Bingiriya temple in Kandy, Sri Lanka. In addition to the PTS edition, I have also consulted a number of printed editions from various traditions, namely: the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (1957), the Sinhalese *Buddha Jayanti* edition (1981), the Cambodian *Braḥ Tripiṭaka* edition (1958), the Indian *Nālandā* edition (1959), the Thai *Syāmaratṭhassa* edition (1927), the Thai *Deyyaratṭhassa* edition (1988), and the Thai *Mahācuḷā* edition (1957). In addition, four printed editions of the *Sāratthappakāsini* (Burmese, Sinhalese, European, and Thai) were consulted to facilitate the evaluation of reading in cases of discrepancies in variant readings. Following close comparative study of each extant manuscript and published edition, I noted the best reading in the main text, while other valid variant readings in the manuscripts and printed editions are given in footnotes. The readings that show scribal errors, incorrect grammar, and wording errors, including the titles and *uddānas* that have a high level of difference in reading, format and sequence, are listed in Appendices to the edition (3.2). The notes contain commentary on the readings and metres (3.3). Volume 1 (3.4) discusses the characteristics of the manuscripts and editions in

relation to the use of punctuation marks, capital letters, titles and summary verses (*uddāna*), the system of abbreviation, the orthography and variant readings, grammatical accuracy, wording errors, and the information contained in the colophons of all the manuscripts.

The third section (Chapter 4) presents a discussion of the structure and content of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*. Structural elements include the settings (*nidāna*), the grouping of *suttas* into *vaggas*, metres of verses, fluidity and metrical license for the sake of metre, prose/verse occurrences elsewhere in the Pali canon, and possible reasons for the composition of the text. The importance of the six internal and six external sense bases in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is analysed in relation to the main theme of Buddhist teaching through a discussion of the relationship of the sense bases to the aetiology and cessation of suffering.

1.4 Limitations of the study

The study has two limitations. First, only six manuscripts were used for the present edition because of the high cost of photographing digital images, the considerable time involved in accessing manuscripts in some libraries and the timeframe for the project. It should be noted, however, that an attempt was made to use manuscripts from various traditions in equal number— particularly manuscripts from the Thai tradition, which have rarely been used in previous PTS editions. Printed editions of the *Sāratthappakāsinī* were only consulted in cases of particularly difficult and doubtful readings. Secondly, the study of text structure was only based on the first 103 *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* (as edited in this thesis) due to time constraints.

Chapter 2

Materials and Methods

This edition of the first ten *vaggas*, or first two *paṇṇāsa*, of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* of the *Śaṃyuttanikāya* is based on manuscripts and printed editions. In section 1 of this chapter (2.1) manuscripts of the *Śaṃyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, and *Sāratthappakāsinī*, the commentary on the *Śaṃyuttanikāya*, that are listed in catalogues of manuscripts found in libraries of monasteries and public institutions will be listed along with the following information: type of text, catalogue number, script, the number of folios/leaves including line number, folio numbering, the size of the manuscript, the completion and the condition of the manuscript, and other additional information such as copyist, edition, date, the access to manuscript, and so on, where it is known. In section 2, 3 and 4, the manuscripts (2.2), printed editions (2.3) of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* and *Sāratthappakāsinī* and consulted commentaries (2.4) used in the current edition will be listed. Section 5 (2.5) will present a discussion of the methodology of producing a critical edition in general and that adopted for this edition more specifically.

2.1 Manuscripts of the *Śaṃyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* and *Sāratthappakāsinī* listed in catalogues

2.1.1 Manuscript catalogues: *Śaṃyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, *Sāratthappakāsinī*

Adikaram, E.W. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pali Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*. Adyar Library Series 62. Adyar: Madras, 1947.

1. *Śaṃyuttanikāya*

- Sinhalese script
- 511 folios with 9 lines per folio; Size of folio: 22 ½ in x 2 ½ in

- Folios are marked from *ka* to *hā*; *ch!* and *ch!* are marked on the same folio; Two folios are marked *tha*; *d̄r* is not marked, but sequence of folios is correct; *hdl*, *dh!* and *dhe* are marked on the same page
- Complete; new; good condition; good medium writing
- Inked (faint); some folios are discoloured.

Blackburn, Anne. “Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 27, 2002: 1-59.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

1.1 Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva (the library in the Temple of the Tooth)

- Sinhalese script
- 3 manuscripts.

1.2 Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya in Kandy

- Catalogue number 3 and 4
- Sinhalese script
- The following list is taken from the custodian’s handwritten list, entitled “Puskoḷa Pot Nāmāvaliya”
- During my survey on 24th June 2009, only *Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā* ms was found.

1.3 Ridī Rajamahavihāraya in Kandy

- Catalogue number 80
- Sinhalese script
- The manuscripts are kept in a locked chest in an anteroom of the image hall; access to the manuscripts requires the permission of the custodian
- I did not find any manuscripts of the S when I visited the monastery on Wed. 24th June 2009 and there was no list of names of the *Samyuttanikāya* manuscripts inside the lid of the wooden chest; these manuscripts may have been lost or moved to another location.

1.4 Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya in Kandy

- Catalogue number 74 and 64
- In my survey of the collection on Thursday 25th June 2009, no *Samyuttanikāya* was found.

1.5 Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya in Kandy

- 1 Sinhalese manuscript (other details are not indicated).

2. *Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā*

2.1 Śrī Daḷadā Māligāva in Kandy

- 14 Sinhalese manuscripts (other details are not indicated).

Braun, Heinz. *Burmese Manuscripts. Pt. 3: Catalogue Numbers 432-735.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996.

1. *Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number 471 Hs or 6973 SB
- Burmese script
- 430 folios with 9-10 lines per folio; size of folio: 47.4 x 5.7 5.9 cm 37 - 39.5 x 5.3 cm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *gyō*; 61 blank folios
- Complete text; fairly good handwriting
- Wooden covers, gilded and partially painted red.

2. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number 473 Hs or 6977 SB
- Burmese script
- 134 folios with 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 39.5 42 x 5 cm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *thā*
- Fairly good handwriting
- Red painted wooden covers.

3. *Salāyatanavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number 474 Hs or 6977 SB
- Burmese script
- 62 folios with 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 39.5 - 40 x 5 cm
- Folios are marked from *thi* to *thī*
- Fairly good handwriting
- Red painted wooden covers.

4. *Khandhavagga*

- Catalogue number 475 Hs or 6977 SB
- Burmese script
- 100 folios with 10 lines per folio; size of folio: 37 38 x 4.5 5 cm
- Folios are marked from *je* to *tō*
- Fairly good handwriting
- Red painted wooden covers.

5. *Khandhavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number 476 Hs or 6977 SB
- Burmese script
- 45 folios with 10 lines per folio; size of folio: 38.3 38.5 x 5 cm
- Folios are marked from *taṃ* to *ne*
- Fairly good handwriting
- Red painted wooden covers.

6. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number Hs or 6977 SB
- Burmese script
- 9 lines per folio.

De Silva, W.A. *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum. Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A No. 4. Vol. 1. Colombo: Ceylon Government Printer, 1938.*

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 70
- According to my survey (2nd July 2009), it does not have this catalogue number
- Sinhalese script
- 510 folios with 9-10 lines per folio; size of folio: 23 in. x 2 in., 20 ¼ in
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *sā*
- Complete; letters well-formed; medium size
- Manuscript was copied by a learned Buddhist Maha Thera named Mangala Thera of Sunētra Dēvi Privena of Pepiliyana built by Parākrama Bahu (VI)
- Copied in 1412 C.E.

2. *Sagāthavagga, Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga, and Saḷāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number 71
- Sinhalese script
- 344 folios with 8-11 lines per folio; size of folio: 24 1/5 in x 2 1/5 in, 22½ in
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *me*
- Incomplete and old manuscript; writing illegible; letters badly formed; large size; a number of leaves are missing
- The ms ends with the beginning of the *Mahāvagga*.

3. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 72
- Sinhalese script
- 366 folios with 10 lines per folio; size of folio: 28 ¼ in x 2 ½ in, 25 ¾ in
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *me*
- Letters well-formed; small size
- Manuscript copied by Vature Dhammarakkhita Unnānse in the Saka Era 1767 [1845 C.E.]

4. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 1764
- Burmese script
- 98 folios with 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 19 ¾ in x 2 ½ in, 15 ¾ in
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *chā*
- Incomplete; letters well-formed; medium size
- This ms was presented by the King of Myanmar.

5. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 1765
- Burmese script
- 406 folios with 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 20 ½ in x 2 ½ in, 16 ½ in
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *sū*
- Complete; letters well-formed; medium size

- This ms was presented by the King of Myanmar.

6. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 1766
- Burmese script
- 196 folios with 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 20 ¼ in x 2 ½ in, 16 ¾ in
- Incomplete; letters well-formed; small size
- This ms was presented by the King of Myanmar.

De Zoysa, L. “List of Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1882: 46-58.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Sinhalese script (other details are not indicated).

Fausböll, V. “Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS in the India Office Library (formerly part of the King’s Library at Mandalay).” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 4, 1894-6: 1-52.

1. *Sagāthavagga* and *Nidānavagga*

- Catalogue number 100
- Burmese script
- 244 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *pī*.

2. *Sagāthavagga*, *Nidānavagga*, *Khandhavagga* and *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number 103
- Burmese script
- 334 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *lau*
- This ms was used by Léon Feer in his edition of the *Samyuttanikāya*, Vols. 1-4, published by the PTS in 1884, 1888, 1890, and 1894.

3. *Mahāvagga*

- Catalogue number 106
- Burmese script
- 236 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *nai*.

4. *Sagāthavagga* and *Nidānavagga*

- Catalogue number 101
- Burmese script
- 209 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *du*.

5. *Khandhavagga* and *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number 104
- Burmese script

- 302 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *yā*.

6. *Mahāvagga*

- Catalogue number 107
- Burmese script
- 237 folios with 9 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *no*.

Filliozat, J. “A Survey of the Burmese and Siamese Pali Manuscript Collections in the Wellcome Institute.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 19, 1993: 1-41.

1. *Salāyatanasamṃyutta*

- Catalogue number 56
- Burmese script
- 235 folios with 7 lines per folio; size of folio: 490 x 50 mm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *dē*
- Gilded edges with a middle band of vermilion; two cord holes; two wooden covers
- Date: 1784 C.E.

Godakumbura, C.E. *Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections 1. Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1980.*

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number PA (Sinh.)12 (Cod. Pal. XIII)
- Sinhalese script
- 346 folios with 10 lines per folio; size of folio: 72 x 6.5 cm
- Folios are marked from *kā* to *phl*
- Very well-formed writing throughout; three extra leaves in front, the first of them being a folio from a *Samyuttanikāya* copy, abandoned after writing on one side; the second is also a folio, abandoned just after the copying of the *sutta* had begun; the third is completely blank; one blank folio at the back
- The text was copied at the request of Darmitipola Sāmaṇera Sāmī of Vālivīṭa, in the Śaka year 1658 (1736 C.E.) during the reign of King Śrī Viraparākramanarendrasimha
- Feer used this manuscript for his edition of the *Samyuttanikāya*.

Hinüber, O. von. “Chips from Buddhist Workshops Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand.” *Journal of the Siam Society* 22, 1996: 35-57.

1. *Samyuttanikāya (Sagāthavagga)*

- Catalogue number CS 905
- The copy is dated 1543 C.E.

2. *Samyuttanikāya (Sagāthavagga)* together with its commentaries (*Sāratthappakāsinī*)

- Catalogue number CS 911

- The copy is dated 1549 C.E.

Hinüber, O. von. “The Pali Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok: A Short Catalogue.” *Journal of the Siam Society* 75, 1987: 9-74.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 70
- Khmer script
- 5 lines per folio; size of folio: 5.1 x 36.5 cm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *ko*
- Gilt edged
- The copy is dated B.S. 2404 = 1861 C.E.
- The donor is Nāy Nān.

2. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 74
- Khmer script
- 5 lines per folio; size of folio: 5.2 x 37.4 cm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *ko*
- Gilt edged (faded)
- Note: The last folio (without pagination) has Pali text written in ink; remark on an otherwise blank folio: ได้ทานแล้วถูกต้องกับแบบฉบับพิมพ์หลวงแล้ว จงพิจารณาดูเถอญ (The readings contained in this copy have been checked against those in the Royal printed edition and were found to be identical. Please consider.).

Hoeming, Dr. “List of manuscripts in the British Museum.” *Journal of the the Pali Text Society* 1, 1883: 133-144.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number Orient. 2344
- Sinhalese script
- 235 folios
- Defective at the end.

According to staff at the British Museum, there are two copies of the Pali manuscripts:

1. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number Man/Bur 50
- Burmese script
- 334 folios.

2. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number IO P
- Burmese script
- 192 folios.

Jayawickrama, N.A. “Pali Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester.” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University of Manchester* 55, 1972-73: 146-176.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number 17[R38609]
- Sinhalese script
- 484 folios with 9 lines per folio; folios written on both sides; size of folio: 21 2/5 in x 2 1/5 in with margins of 1 2/5 in on left and right
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *hī*
- Complete text; good state of preservation; handwriting clear and large
- This ms was used by Léon Feer for his edition of S, 1884, onwards (5 vols. and index vol. by Mrs. Rhys Davids)
- I contacted Anne M. Clarkson and received the following reply on 3 March 2008: “This ms is on thin strips of Ola leaves stacked between two end-pieces. This kind of ms is not suitable at all for scanning. It needs to reproduce leaves from photographs, a process, which is very expensive as the cheapest price for a single image, is £15.00.”

Liyanaratne, J. “Pali Manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18, 1993: 131-141.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Sinhalese script
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *bū* and one fly folio at the beginning; folio *khām* bears the numbering *ka*; from folio *ju*, Arabic numerals are inscribed in parallel, starting with 1; Arabic numeral 243 in folio *bū* at the end is not the exact number of the last folio, as two consecutive folios are numbered *the*
- Size of folio: 620 x 65 mm
- Complete.

Oldenberg, H. “Catalogue of the Pali Manuscripts in the India Office Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1882: 59-128.

1. *Sagāthavagga, Nidānavagga and Khandhavagga*

- Burmese script
- 264 folios with 10 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *phāḥ*.

2. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Burmese script
- 192 folios with 8 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *tāḥ*.

3. *Mahāvaggasamyutta*

- Burmese script
- 218 folios with 8 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *tha* to *khyā*.

Pruitt, W. and Bischoff, R. *Catalogue of the Burmese-Pali and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*. London, 1998.

1. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number 56
- Burmese script
- 213 folios with 7 lines per folio
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *dè*; two folios marked *tū* and four folios are blank
- Gilded edges with a middle band of vermilion; two plain wooden covers; printed on paper sticker on front cover: “Lot 211”; a stamped number is illegible.

2. *Salāyatanasam̐yutta*

- Library access number 91553
- Burmese script
- 238 folios
- The ms was written in 1784 C.E.
- Remarks: Purchased at Stevens’ auction house, June 29, 1920
- Title in margins: *Salāyatanasam̐yut Pali*
- Remarks: The left side of folio *ṇè* is broken off (the number and some text missing).

Rhys Davids, T.W. “List of Pali Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1883: 145-146.

1. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Library Mark: 986
- Burmese character
- 200 folios.

Rhys Davids, T.W. “List of Pali Manuscripts in the Copenhagen Royal Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1883: 147-149.

1. *Sam̐yuttanikāya*

- Sinhalese script
- 346 folios.

Santi Pakdeekham. *Piṭakamālā ‘The Garland of the Piṭaka’*: ปิฎกมลา บัญชีคัมภีร์พระไตรปิฎก ล้านนา. Bangkok: Darnsutha Press Co. Ltd, 2011.

1. *Salāyatanasam̐yutta-suḍ 1 S XXXV*

- Lānnā script

1.1 The *Piṭakamālā* of Wat Pa Duea

- *Sam̐yuttanikāya* 55 titles
- *Sam̐yuttanikāya (aṭṭhakathā, ṭikā)* 15 titles

1.2 The *Piṭakamālā* of Wat Nandārāna

- *Sagāthāvagga* 11 titles
- *Nidānavagga* 13 titles
- *Khandhakavagga* 18 titles
- *Salāyatanavagga* 26 titles

Skilling, Peter and Santi Pakdeekham. *Pali Literature Transmitted in Central Siam: A Catalogue Based on the Sap Songkhro*. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002.

1. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number B.2.8.4
- Khom script
- 15 bundles (phūk).

2. *Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number B.2.9, HPL 229-244 (Spk: 2.3, 1)
- Khom script
- 15 bundles (phūk) for the *Sagāthavagga-aṭṭhakathā*
10 bundles (phūk) for the *Nidānavagga-aṭṭhakathā*
4 bundles (phūk) for the *Khandhavagga-aṭṭhakathā*
6 bundles (phūk) for the *Salāyatanavagga-aṭṭhakathā*
9 bundles (phūk) for the *Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā*.

Skilling, Peter and Santi Pakdeekham. *Pali and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004.

1. *Sagāthavagga*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.253
- Khom script
- 9 bundles (phūk).

2. *Sagāthavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.231
- Khom script
- 15 bundles (phūk).

3. *Nidānavagga*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.253
- Khom script
- 10 bundles (phūk).

4. *Nidānavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.231
- Khom script
- 11 bundles (phūk).

5. *Khandhavagga*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.253
- Khom script
- 10 bundles (phūk).

6. *Khandhavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.231
- Khom script
- 4 bundles (phūk).

7. *Salāyatanavagga*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.253
- Khom script
- 15 bundles (phūk).

8. *Salāyatanavagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.231
- Khom script
- 6 bundles (phūk).

9. *Mahāvagga*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.253
- Khom script
- 17 bundles (phūk).

10. *Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā*

- Catalogue number PLCS § 2.231
- Khom script
- 9 bundles (phūk).

Somadasa, K.D. *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. 1. London and Henley-on-Thames: British Library and Pali Text Society, 1987.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*

- Catalogue number Or.6599 (40)
- Sinhalese script
- 454 folios with 10, later 9 lines per folio; size of folio: 5.9 x 61.5 cm; 55.5 cm
- Folios are marked from *ka* to *vu*; the letters *i* and *na* are repeated on folios 305, 306
- Neat hand varying from medium-small to medium; good punctuation and orthography; wooden covers, good specimen of a bold twin floral liyavāla; embossed sakiya; traditional plaited cord in red, white and blue
- The copy is dated B.E. 2434 = 1891 C.E.
- The scribe is Dambaliyadde Rājagurumudiyanselāge Ukkurāla Nākatirāla.

Given the origin of these catalogues, it is not surprising that most of these manuscripts are kept in temples, public libraries and institutes in Sri Lanka, Thailand and England. Of course, manuscripts of these texts are found with equal frequency in Myanmar, for example, but the catalogues for these collections either do not exist or are currently inaccessible. Complete manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya* are not the norm whereas the manuscripts of the *Salāyatanavagga*, *Salāyatanaśamyutta* and *Sāratthappakāsinī* are commonly complete. The catalogue numbers of most of these manuscripts are assigned by archivists or those who collect the particular manuscript. They are written in various scripts (Sinhalese, Burmese, Khom and Lānnā) with 7 to 10 lines per folio or, rarely, 5 or 11 lines. The folios are usually marked from the letter *ka* to *kya*. This depends on the number of folios. A manuscript of the full *Samyuttanikāya* must have many more folios than *ka* to *kya*. The number of folios depends on the size of the folios and the text involved. Most manuscripts date to the 18th or 19th centuries. Some catalogues indicate the names of the scribes or donors of a given manuscript. In my search of manuscripts preserved in a number of temples in Kandy, Sri Lanka (2009), I found that some manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya* had been lost or relocated. For example, the oldest manuscript (15th century) listed in the catalogue of De Silva was no longer part of that collection.¹⁴

Access to manuscripts kept in the monasteries requires permission from custodians. Manuscripts kept in public libraries in Thailand and England could be called up and consulted in the reading room. In some cases, nevertheless, it is difficult for a foreigner to access a manuscript in this way in the Thai National Library. The manuscripts preserved in

¹⁴ De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, pp. 19-20.

the Fragile Palm Leaf Project, which was founded in Bangkok, Thailand in 1994¹⁵, were available at no cost since the aim of the Project is to collect, catalogue and preserve Southeast Asian manuscripts, edit and publish previously unpublished texts in Pali and vernaculars, exchange information with other projects in the region, and enhance the study of the history of the Buddhist literature of Southeast Asia.

2.1.2 Catalogues consulted that do not contain manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, or *Sāratthappakāsinī*

Abbott, T.K. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1900.

Bechert, Heinz, Daw Khin Khin Su, and Daw Tin Tin Myint. *Burmese Manuscripts. Pt. 1. Verzeichnis des orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 23.1*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlage, 1978.

Bechert, Heinz and Maria Bidoli. *Singhalesische Handschriften. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 22. Vol. 1*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969.

Bechert, Heinz. *Singhalesische Handschriften. Verzeichnis des Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Vol. 2*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997.

Blackmore, Thaug. *Catalogue of the Burney Parabeiks in the Indian Office Library*. London: British Library, 1985.

Braun, H., and Myint, D.T.T. *Burmese Manuscripts. Pt. 2*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985.

De Alwis, J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese Literary Works of Ceylon*. Vol. 1. Colombo: W. Skeen Government Printer Ceylon, 1870.

Filliozat, J. "Survey of the Pali Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 24, 1998: 1-80.

Frankfurter, O. "List of Pali MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1, 1882: 30-31.

Godakumbura, C.E. *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pali Manuscripts*. Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1983.

¹⁵ For further information on the Project, see <http://fpl.tusita.org>.

Hoeming, Dr. “Supplementary Catalogue of Pali Manuscripts in the British Museum Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 7, 1888: 108-111.

Liyanaratne, J. “Pali Manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18, 1993: 131-147.

Pruitt, W. “Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 24, 1998: 171-183.

Pruitt, W. “Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 13, 1989: 1-31.

Somadasa, K.D. *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1996.

U Pe Maung Tin. “Burma Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.” *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 15, 1925: 145-147.

Warren, H.C. “Pali MSS in the Brown University Library at Providence, R.I., U.S.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 2, 1885: 1-4.

Wickremasinghe, D.M. and De Z. *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London, 1900.

Wijayaratne, D.J. Kulasuriya, A.S. and Reynolds, C.H.B. *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the India Office Library*. London: India Office Library and Records, 1981.

2.2 Manuscripts used for this edition

The following manuscripts are used in the current edition:

- B¹** A Burmese palm leaf manuscript preserved in the Fragile Palm Leaf Project at Manuscript House, Bangkok, Thailand¹⁶
- Catalogue number: ID 7436 Room 2A
 - Contains the complete *Salāyatanasamyutta* consisting of 314 folios with 9 lines per folio
 - Folios are marked from *ka* to *dha*¹⁷

¹⁶ Two Burmese manuscripts used in the current edition were kindly supplied by Prof. Peter Skilling, the Head of the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript Preservation Project. Dr. Peter Nyunt, a Burmese scholar, kindly checked and chose these manuscripts for me.

¹⁷According to the Burmese manuscripts (Heinz Bechert, Daw Tin Tin Myint, and Daw Khin Khin Su 1979: xviii), “For the foliation of palm leaf manuscripts of Burma. The use of the consonants of the Burmese script along with vowels in the following alphabetical order is the almost exclusively used system: *ka, k̄ā, ki, k̄ī, ku,*

- Digital images were supplied by the Fragile Palm Leaf Project; their colour is dark; the manuscript is in good condition; unclear handwriting makes it difficult to read and identify letters
- The *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text starts at file no. 101, page no. 1/1 and ends at file no. 134, page no. 2/9
- Begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- Ends: *abyākatasaṃyuttaṃ samattaṃ. salāyatanaṣaṃyuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ*
- Colophon: “*akkharā ekamekañca buddharūpaṃ samaṃ siyā tasmā hi paṇḍito poso likheyya piṭakattayaṃ*”

Translation: “The letters would each be like an image of the Buddha. Therefore, a wise man should write the three *Piṭakas*”¹⁸

“*pu di ā nhaṇ praññ cuṃ pā lui sov*”

Translation: “May the knowledge of remembrance of the former existence, the divine eye and the destruction of influx [in me] be completely accomplished”

“*sakkarāj 1210 khu nac prāsuil la chanḥ 8 rak ne ne 3 khak tī athak tvaṇ re kuḥ rve prīḥ saññ*”

Translation: “The writing down (of this manuscript) was completed in the 8th day of the half month the waxing moon (10th month of Myanmar or January) after 3 p.m. in 1210 M.E. (1848 C.E.)”

- Remarks: The title *salāyatanaṣaṃyuttapālito* (from the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta Pali*) is added in the margin of the recto of odd numbered folios.

B² A Burmese palm leaf manuscript preserved in the Fragile Palm Leaf Project at Manuscript House, Bangkok, Thailand

- Catalogue number: ID 1550 Room 3A
- Contains the complete *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* consisting of 314 folios with 8 lines per folio
- Folios are numbered from *thai* to *he*

kū, ke, kai, ko, ko, kaṃ, kā. After *kā, kha* and the other consonants follow in the same combinations with vowels. In this order, all consonants used for the writing of Pali are included, i.e., *ma* is followed by *ya...*, *ra...*, *la...*, *va...*, *sa...*, *ha...*, *ḷa...* and finally *a, ā, i* etc. until *ā*. If there are more than the 396 folios numbered in this way, another series begins with combinations of the consonants with *y, r, h, and v...*”

¹⁸ Venerable Ashin Vasava, Burmese monk, kindly helped me to check Burmese readings and provide the translation of readings contained in all Burmese manuscripts used in the present edition.

- Digital images were supplied by the Fragile Palm Leaf Project; they are of good quality; the manuscript is in good condition; large and clear handwriting
- The *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text starts at file no. 101, page no. 1/1 and ends at file no. 135, page no 2/1
- Begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- Ends: *abyākatasaṃyuttaṃ samattaṃ. saḷāyatanavaggasaṃyuttaṃ sattamaṃ*
- Colophon: *“ī cā prīḥlac sakkarāj kāḥ tvak cac reso thoṇpo tarā cvan pā 60. 6 khukay lyak suiḥ svay utu khyin khārūso rok mhusvera vācholakvayne netak takhyak tī akhyin tvaṇ saḷāyatanavārasaṃyutpāḷito kui rekū prīsaññ”*

Translation: “As far as [the year of] Burmese chronology in which the setting down of this work was completed is concerned, the writing down of this *Salayatanavarasamyatta pali* was completed on new moon day of Vācho (*vassa* in the 4th month of Myanmar or July) at 1 p.m. in 1166 M.E. (1804 C.E.)”

- Remarks: The title *saḷāytatanavārasaṃyut* (“the connected order of the six sense bases”) is added in the margin of the recto of odd numbered folios.

C¹ A Sinhalese palm leaf manuscript preserved in the Colombo Museum, Sri Lanka

- Catalogue number: 69 G 1
- Contains the whole *Samyuttanikāya* consisting of 362 folios with 9, 10, and sometimes 11 lines per folio
- Folios are numbered from *ka* to *khau*
- Digital images were obtained when I visited Sri Lanka on 2nd July 2009; the manuscript is of good quality; the cover is beautifully painted; large and clear handwriting
- The *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text starts at file no. 184, page no. 1/2 and ends at file no. 203, page no. 2/1
- Begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- Ends: *saṃyuttanikāyavare gambhīresāgarūpamemaggādisaccasuviḡatto mahāvaggoti vissuto*
- Colophon: *“siddhir astu subham astu ārogham astu śrī sambhavatu”*

Translation: “May there be success. May there be happiness. May there be health. May there be good fortune”¹⁹

¹⁹ Venerable Divulapelesse Wimalananda, Sri Lankan monk, kindly helped me to check Sinhalese readings and provided the translation of readings contained in all Sinhalese manuscripts used in the present edition.

“*sakābdam setusatyam*”

Translation: “1767 (1845 C.E.)”

“*Vature Dhammarakkhita Unnānse visin liyavāpu saṃyutsaṅgiye pat-iru tungsiya haēta dekayi*”

Translation: “Ven. Vature Dhammarakkhita ordered [an unnamed scribe] to write the *Saṃyuttanikāya* that consists of 362 folios”

- Remarks: The title *saṃyutta nikāya sutta pitaka* is written in the middle of the first folio.

C² A Sinhalese palm leaf manuscript kept in the Bingiriya temple, Sri Lanka

- Contains the whole *Saṃyuttanikāya* consisting of 437 folios with 8 or 9 lines per folio
- Folios are numbered from *ka* to *li*
- Digital images were obtained when I visited Sri Lanka on 7th July 2009; the manuscript is of good quality; the cover is made of wood; clear handwriting
- The *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text starts at file no. 219, page no. 2/7 and ends at file no. 247, page no. 1/4
- Begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- Ends: *saṃyuttanikāyavare gambhīre sāgarūpame maggādi saccasuvibhatte mahāvaggo ti vissuto*
- Colophon: “*imaṃ likhitapuññaena gantvā tusitapuruttame metteyyasabhā gantvā ketumatyā purevare uppajjivā mahābhogokule issaratam gate paññābalasampanno abhirūpo mahāyaso abhinikkamanāpena saddhiṃ cā pi mahassave pabbajivā mahāpañño sāriputto ’va sāsane mahākassapathero ’va dhutavādidhute rato moggallāno ’va hessāmi chaḷabhiñño mahiddhiko*”

Translation: “As a result of the merit acquired from writing this, I would be born in the company of Metteyya in the noble city Ketumati of the realm of Tusita heaven, having gone to the state of being wealthy in a great, wealthy family, possessed of the power of wisdom, possessed of great beauty, possessed of great fame, with the intention of the renouncing (mundane world) and ordained in the dispensation (of the Buddha), illuminating the order just as Sāriputta, the possessor of the great wisdom, just as the elder Mahākassapa, who devoted to the practice of the *dhutaṅgas*, just as Moggallāna, the possessor of six supernormal knowledges (and) the great power”

- Remarks: The title *saṃyuttakanikāyo* is written in the middle of the first and the last folio.

- S¹ A Khom palm leaf manuscript preserved in the Thai National Library²⁰
- Catalogue number: 8219
 - Contains the complete *Salāyatanavagga* consisting of 15 phūk or 800 folios with 5 lines per folio
 - Folios are marked from *ka* to *hī*²¹
 - Digital images were supplied by the Thai National Library; they are of very good quality; the manuscript is in a good state of preservation; the handwriting is very clear throughout
 - The *Salāyatanasamyutta* text starts at phūk 1, file no. 4309, page no. 1/2 and ends at phūk 4, file no. 2412, page no. 2/1
 - Begins: *namo tasssa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
 - Ends: *abyākatasamyuttaṃ. salāyatanavaggasamyuttaṃ samataṃ. catutthaṃ*
 - Remarks: The letters of the last palm leaf are blurred; it is uncertain whether the colophon is given on that leaf or not; the manuscript's title *brasalāyatanasamyuttachavāta* or *-chavāta phūk...* is written at the beginning of each phūk (phūk 1-15) and the name of the donor กรมหมื่นมเหศวรศิววิลาส [Krommuenmahesuansivavilas] is given at the righthand corner of the beginning of each phūk (next to the *brasalāyatanasamyuttachavāta*).

- S² A Khom palm leaf manuscript preserved in the Thai National Library
- Catalogue number: 8242
 - Contains the complete *Salāyatanavagga* consisting of 16 phūk or 810 folios with 5 lines per folio
 - Folios are marked from *ka* to *ī*
 - Digital images were supplied by the Thai National Library; they are of good quality; the manuscript is in good condition; good medium-sized writing
 - The *Salāyatanasamyutta* text starts at phūk 1, file no. 8242-101, page no. 1/2 and ends at phūk 4, file no. 8242-405, page no. 10/1
 - Begins: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
 - Ends: *abyākatasamyuttaṃ. salāyatanavaggasamyuttaṃ samataṃ. catutthaṃ*

²⁰ To access manuscripts preserved in the Thai National Library, it is necessary to contact the library in person. The manuscripts are generally available in three ways: they can be read in the library, photocopied, and made as digital images. Ordering photocopies or digital images normally takes at least 2-3 weeks. In fact it took 4-5 months to obtain these two manuscripts due to problems with the library's system.

²¹ According to Kaungkeaw and Virat (1984: 7-8), the pagination of Siamese manuscripts follows the Pali alphabetical order by combining the thirty-three consonants of Pali letters with vowels as follows: *ka, kā, ki, kī, ku, kū, ke, kai, ko, kau, kaṃ, ka*. After *ka, kha* and the other consonants follow in the same combinations with vowels. One letter will be used from 12 palm leaves. Two letters (21 palm leaves) are called one phūk. If the text is so long that the letters are insufficient, the pagination will start again by writing the consonants along with *ya* as follows: *kya, khya, gya, ñya ...sya, hya, aya*. Similarly, they will be combined with vowels as follows: *kya, kyā, kyī, kyī, kyu, kyū, kye, kyai, kyo, kyau, kyaṃ, kya*.

- Remarks: No colophon. The title *Salāyatanaśaṃyuttachavāta or -chavāṭṭa phūk...* is written at the beginning of each phūk (phūk 1-16).

2.3 Editions used for this edition

The current edition is based on the following printed editions:

- B^e** Burmese edition: *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 2. Rangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1957. No details are given concerning the editions used to produce this edition. Based on the symbols given in the footnotes to this edition, the following editions appear to have been used: a Sinhalese edition or editions, the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894, the Cambodian edition, the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ* and Burmese manuscripts (*katthaci Marammapotthake*)²²
- C^e** Sinhalese edition: *Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka Series: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 16. Democratic Socialist Republican Government of Sri Lanka, 1981. This edition is based on the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ* (further details are not given), two Sinhalese mss (further details are not given), two Sinhalese editions (further details are not given), the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894 and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ*
- E^e** European edition: *Pali Text Society: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4. London: Pali Text Society, 1894. This edition is based on four manuscripts, namely, the Sinhalese manuscript of Copenhagen, the Sinhalese manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, a Burmese manuscript in Paris (id. id.) and a Burmese manuscript from Myanmar.²³ The last manuscript was bought by Léon Feer from a man who brought it directly from Myanmar²⁴

²² Hamm, Frank Richard. "On Some Recent Editions of the Pali Tipiṭaka." *German Scholars on India* 1 Varanasi. 1973, p. 126.

²³ S IV xiii.

²⁴ S IV xii.

- K^e** Cambodian [Khmer] edition: *Brah̄ Tripiṭaka Pali: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 35. Phnom Penh: Institut Bouddhique du Cambodge, 1958. This edition is based on the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ* (other details are not given), the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894 and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ*
- N^e** Indian edition: *Nālandā Devanāgarī Pali: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 2. Patna: Pali Publication (Board Bihar Government), 1959. This edition is based on the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ*, a Sinhalese edition edited by Rev. Walitārā Ñāṇātiloka Nāyaka Thera, 1941, the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894 and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ*
- S^{e1}** Thai edition: *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ - Mahamakut University: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18. Bangkok: Mahamakut University, 1927. This text is edited on the basis of the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ*, a Sinhalese edition (no further information is given), the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894 and Siamese manuscripts (no further information is given)
- S^{e2}** Thai edition: *Deyyaraṭṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ - Bhumiphalo: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18. Bangkok: Kurusapha, 1988. This edition is based on the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ*, the *Mahāculā Tepiṭakaṃ*, the *Porāṇa Tepiṭakaṃ* (no further information is given), the Burmese edition (no further information is given), the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana] Piṭakaṃ*, the PTS edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894, a Sinhalese edition (no further information is given) and an Indian edition
- S^{e3}** Thai edition: *Mahāculā Tepiṭakaṃ - Mahacula University: Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 18. Bangkok: Mahacula University, 1957. According to the list given at the beginning of this book, this edition is based on the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ*, the Cambodian [Khmer] edition, the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti [Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana]*

Piṭakam, the Burmese edition (no further information is given), a Sinhalese edition (no further information is given) and the PTS edition of the *Samyuttanikāya* Vol. 4, edited by Léon Feer. London: Pali Text Society, 1894

2.4 Commentaries consulted

- Spk-B^e** Burmese edition: *Sāratthappakāsinī Nāma Samyuttaṭṭhakathā*. Vol. 3. Rangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 2004
- Spk-C^e** Sinhalese edition: *Sāratthappakāsinī: Commentary of the Samyuttanikāya*. Vol. 8, Part. 3, edited by Venerable Pandit Widurupola Piyatissa Maha Thera. Colombo: the Tripitaka Publication Press, 1924
- Spk-E^e** European edition: *Sāratthappakāsinī: Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Samyuttanikāya on Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga, Saḷāyatanavagga and Mahāvagga*. Vols. 2-3, edited by F.L. Woodward. London: Pali Text Society, 1932-1937
- Spk-S^e** Thai edition: *Sāratthappakāsinī Nāma Samyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā Saḷāyatanavagga-Mahāvāravaggavaṇṇanā: Syāmaratṭhassa Tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā*. Vol. 3, edited by Rājasuddhi Bhikkhu and Mahātherasamāgamaganthādhikāra-bhikkhus, 1992

2.5 Methodology of producing a critical edition

Theravāda Buddhist teachings have been orally transmitted within South and Southeast Asia for a long period of time. Pali Buddhist texts have been copied in manuscript form for centuries in an attempt to preserve the Buddha's teachings and the ideas of subsequent Buddhist authors, a process that inevitably involved the introduction of scribal errors,

corruptions and corrections. All manuscripts include some errors, most contain numerous errors. Textual criticism is therefore indispensable for the creation of a reliable text.

Paul Mass proposes that “The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*).”²⁵ Vaganay offers a similar definition: “By ‘textual criticism’ is meant any methodical and objective study that aims to retrieve the original form of a text or at least the form closest to the original.”²⁶ According to McCarter,²⁷ textual criticism is “an enterprise that has as its objective enhancement of the integrity of a text. It is based on the study of the extant copies of the text. The critic compares those copies and attempts to draw conclusions about the divergences between them. The goal is the recovery of an earlier, more authentic and therefore superior form of the text.” According to Kelemen, “The traditional understanding of textual criticism is that it is the practice of identifying and correcting - emending errors in the text.”²⁸ In summary, textual criticism is the technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to the original form.

Scholars who have published their editions of Pali texts with the Pali Text Society (PTS) have made considerable contributions to improving the reading of Pali canonical texts. Their works are invaluable for students, scholars and all Buddhists in terms of studying, learning and practising. However, as Norman commented, there is currently no standard methodology for producing a critical edition of a Pali text.²⁹ In my view, it is difficult to set up a fixed

²⁵ Mass, Paul. *Textual Criticism (Translated from the German by Barbara Flower)*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958, p. 1.

²⁶ Vaganay, Leon. *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Second Edition)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 1.

²⁷ McCarter, P.K. *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986, p. 12.

²⁸ Kelemen, Erick. *Textual Editing and Criticism: An Introduction*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2009, p. 5.

²⁹ Norman, K.R. "Pali Philology and the Study of Buddhism." *The Buddhist Forum* 1. 1990, p. 32.

standard or universal principle for editing Pali texts because the more sources we have, the more approaches are possible. Therefore, the appropriate methodology for producing a critical edition depends on the type of text, witnesses and issues we encounter at that time.

In this section, I will give an account and outline of the general methodology, some of which I use in my edition. The process of editing text will be categorised into four main parts.

These include the preparation for a critical edition, the setting up of document formats, the evaluation of variant readings, and the emendation. The preparation comprises the method of selecting materials and assessing the qualifications of editors. Following preparation, it is necessary to arrange the document format in such a way that the text is easily read and understood. The most significant task is to evaluate the reading on the basis of the reliability of external and internal evidence, such as the age and number of witnesses and the accuracy of grammar and metrical rules. When the reading cannot be decided on the basis of witnesses, emendation may be employed based on the accuracy of grammar and metrical rules, the meaning of text, the consistency of reading, and the degree of difficulty and complexity of the reading.

2.5.1 Preparation for a critical edition

Preparation of materials for editing is the first important stage in the creation of a critical edition. This thesis identifies two main areas of preparation: collection of materials and qualifications of editors.

2.5.1.1 Selection of materials for editing

The quality of materials selected is significant when producing a Pali text. The better the quality of materials we have, the more likely it is that valuable and diverse readings are captured. Texts have been transmitted in manuscript form in different locations throughout Asia for centuries. The consequence is that it is not uncommon to find many manuscript witnesses for a given text preserved in different scripts, originating from different locations, and dating from different periods. It is extremely difficult to access and use all of them in editing a Pali text. In order to ensure the highest quality of editorial work, the selection of material is therefore paramount. The general principles of selecting materials for the present edition are discussed below:³⁰

2.5.1.1.1 The editing process should be based on several manuscripts from each tradition. The history of the European PTS editions shows that they have been based on a very limited number of manuscripts from only a few traditions, with the manuscripts being of mixed quality. In some cases only a single manuscript has been used, which could result in inferior readings. As far as can be determined, the number of manuscript witnesses used for PTS editions of Pali texts is as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

³⁰ Dr Mark Allon, *pers. comm.*

Table 1
Number of manuscripts and editions used for PTS editions of the Pali texts

Texts	Sinhalese mss	Burmese mss	Lānā mss	Sinhalese comm. mss	Burmese comm. mss	Lānā comm. mss	Burmese edition	Sinhalese edition	Thai edition	Indian edition	European edition	Comm. edition	Others
D I	1	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D II	1	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
D III	3	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2 transcripts (script type not indicated)
M I	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M II	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
S I <i>Sgāḍḍhavaḅḅa</i> edited by G.A. Somaratne	2	2	2	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	1 Roman script (PTS)	-
A I	5	1	-	3 1 transcript	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 sub-commentary (<i>ṭṭkā</i>)
A II	6	3	-	3 1 transcript	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 sub-commentary (<i>ṭṭkā</i>)
A III, IV	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
A V	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Ap	1 1 transcript	- 2 transcripts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 comm. (script type not indicated)
Bv	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
Nidd I	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Nidd II	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Ud	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
It	3	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Dhp	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	6 Lānā scripts 1 (script type not indicated)

Table 1 (cont.)

Texts	Sinhalese mss	Burmese mss	Lānā mss	Sinhalese commss. mss	Burmese commss. mss	Lānā commss. mss	Burmese edition	Sinhalese edition	Thai edition	Indian edition	European edition	Comms. edition	Others
Ja I	1 2 transcripts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ja II	1 1 transcript	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ja III	1 2 transcripts	2 1 transcript	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ja IV	1 1 transcript	2 1 transcript	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 Siamese mss
Ja VI	1 1 transcript	1 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vv and Pv	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1 Burmese 1 Sinhalese 1 Roman (PTS)	The comparative notes between PTS comm. and the Sinhalese editions of Dhammananda
Kv	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Vibh	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1 transcript	-	-	-	-
Paṭis	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Dhs	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SI	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SII	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SIII	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SIV	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sn	2	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 Sinhalese mss (M) 1 Sinhalese transcript (Ps) 1 Siamese edition (Nidd)
Th	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thī	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2
Number of manuscripts and editions used for PTS editions of the commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*)

texts	Sinhalese mss	Burmese mss	Lānā mss	Burmese edition	Sinhalese edition	Thai edition	Indian edition	European edition	Canon	Tīkā	Others
Pj I	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sv I	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sv II	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1 Roman (PTS)	-	1 transcript (script type not indicated)
Mp I	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mp II	2	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Mp III	2	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Mp IV	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2 transcripts (script type not indicated)
Mp V	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Paṭi-a I	1	2 transcripts	-	-	1	1	-	-	1 Roman (PTS)	-	2 Burmese transcripts
Vjhb-a	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	1 Mūla-tīkā (script type not indicated)	-
Ps I	1 transcript	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1 Burmese	1 Sinhalese transcript
Ps II, III, IV, V	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ap-a	-	2 transcripts	-	-	1	-	-	-	1 Roman (PTS) 1 Sinhalese	-	-
As	2 transcripts	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cp-a	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	<i>Buddha-vaṃsa</i> <i>Jātakatha-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Dhp-a I	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fragments of Cambodian mss
Dhp-a I new edition	6	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	Fragments of Cambodian mss and other sources
Th-a I	2	1 transcript	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Th-a	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	Various editions of the <i>Apadzana</i> verses

Table 2 (cont.)

texts	Sinhalese mss	Burmese mss	Lāmnā mss	Burmese edition	Sinhalese edition	Thai edition	Indian edition	European edition	Canon	Tīkā	Others
It-a	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ud-a	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-The portions of a Sinhalese Pāli commentary given in Steinthal's notes - the corrections of Steinthal's edition
Nidd-a 1	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pp and Pp-a	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kv-a	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1 Cambodian edition

According to my survey, the majority of materials utilised in editing Pali texts are more likely to be based on Sinhalese manuscripts. For example, the PTS editions of the *Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthajotikā*) and *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*) and *Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*) are based on five Sinhalese manuscripts and only one Burmese manuscript.³¹ Likewise, three Sinhalese manuscripts and one Burmese manuscript are employed for the PTS edition of the *Manorathapūraṇī I* (the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*), *Puggalapaññatti* and *Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā*.³² In these cases, it is likely that the Sinhalese manuscripts were relied on because they are better represented in European libraries. Moreover, it is incredible that volume 1 of both the *Majjhimanikāya* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* were created on the basis of only one Sinhalese and one Burmese manuscript.³³ Most surprisingly, although the manuscripts are significant witnesses, the *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Papañcasūdanī* (the commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*) and *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*) are based solely on printed editions. Importantly, only a small number of the published Asian editions are used in these works. In particular, the edition of the *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā* is based on only one Sinhalese and one Burmese printed edition.³⁴ Such works cannot be regarded as critical editions.

A high dependence on Sinhalese manuscripts in the PTS editions indicates that the editors have few options available to them on which to base their decisions about proper readings. It is also likely that the resulting edition might more accurately be described as a Sinhalese

³¹ Pj I vii; Sv I v.

³² Mp I iii; Pp and Pp-a xiv.

³³ M I Preface; Dhs v.

³⁴ Vv and Pv vii; Ps II vii; Ps III vii; Ps IV-V vii; Thī-a vi.

Tipiṭaka redaction rather than a critical edition. Robert Chalmers³⁵ noted that the King of Thailand ordered the printing and circulation of the *Tipiṭaka* for the purpose of cultivating the Buddhist faith in the future. This edition was established with manuscripts from various traditions, including the PTS edition. However, the variant readings from these sources do not seem to have been adopted. This edition cannot be called a critical edition but is, rather, a redaction of the Thai tradition. In this context, von Hinüber noted that all these Thai editions³⁶, which are undoubtedly beneficial to the propagation of Buddhism, are produced for the sake of merit rather than for the purpose of producing a critical edition.³⁷

Texts established on the basis of a limited number of source materials are unreliable because they are more likely to contain many errors and doubtful readings. This is strongly supported by Cone³⁸ who noted that the PTS editions contain many mistakes, such as misspelling and misreading, because they have been produced with one or two manuscripts and mainly represent only one tradition, Sinhalese. Even Fausbøll, the great editor of the *Jātakas*, produced texts with questionable readings. As Cone³⁹ has observed, only one or a few manuscripts are insufficient for making decisions about original readings and the consequence of this is a great number of questionable readings. In her own work, she frequently quotes alternate readings from the Burmese, Sinhalese and Thai editions to

³⁵ Chalmers, Robert. "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipitaka." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 1898, pp. 8-9.

³⁶ The first printed edition appeared in 39 volumes in 1893, and was revised and expanded into 45 volumes in 1925-1928 and reprinted in 1955-1960 and 1980. The commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) were published by royal command in 1920 under the supervision of the *saṃgharāja* Vajirañāṇa. The new edition of some of the *aṭṭhakathā* was published by the Mahāmakūṭa University, Bangkok, in 1982 (2525). The entire *Tipiṭaka*, together with *aṭṭhakathā*, *ṭīkā*, and *gaṇṭhipadas* was published by the Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Foundation, Wat Saket, Bangkok.

³⁷ Hinüber, O. von. "The Pali Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok: A Short Catalogue." *Journal of the Siam Society* 75. 1987, p. 10.

³⁸ Cone, Margaret. "Caveat Lector." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29. 2007, pp. 96-7.

³⁹ Cone, Margaret. *A Dictionary of Pali (A-Kh)*. Vol. 1, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2001: ix.

indicate the incompleteness of all editions. De Jong⁴⁰ further argues that the only way to understand the complicated history of a text in the course of its transmission through different scripts is to study as many copies of manuscripts as possible.

In the second edition of the *Āṅguttaranikāya*, Warder⁴¹ pointed out that it is difficult to restore the original reading because there are many misprints. For example, there is disagreement between *paṭi* and *pati* in some words, but it is not clear which is a misprint and which is the original reading. I agree with him that more manuscripts are needed to address this problem because this provides more options when considering the consistency and correctness of a reading. It is therefore essential to employ as many manuscripts as possible in restoring the original text.

2.5.1.1.2 The manuscripts and printed editions should derive from different geographical provenances or traditions since the value of the readings preserved in one provenance or tradition could help to enhance the accuracy and completeness of the readings preserved in another tradition. Chalmers⁴² pointed out that the King of Thailand's edition of the Pali *Tipiṭaka*⁴³ holds an intermediate position between the Burmese and Sinhalese traditions and the text agrees with the reading of Buddhaghosa's commentary on difficult passages or a rare word. From a comparison of some hundreds of pages of the *Majjhimanikāya*, Chalmers⁴⁴ shows that the Thai text gives readings that are nearer to the original than any other text available at that time (Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts). The Thai edition of the 83rd *sutta*

⁴⁰ De Jong, J.W. "Recent Buddhist Studies in Europe and America 1973-1983." *The Eastern Buddhist* 17. 1984, p. 82.

⁴¹ Warder, Preface to the second edition of A I, xi-xii.

⁴² Chalmers, "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipitaka," p. 9.

⁴³ This version of the *Tipiṭaka* comprises thirty-nine volumes which was published and circulated by king Culalongkorn/Chulalongkorn (Rama V).

⁴⁴ Chalmers, "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipitaka," p. 9.

of the *Majjhimanikāya* (like the ninth *Jātaka*) agrees with the Bharhut inscription in spelling the king's name as *Maghadeva* whereas the spelling is *Makhadeva* in Sinhalese manuscripts and *Magghadeva* in Burmese manuscripts.

According to von Hinüber, the Thai tradition may have preserved a text better than other local traditions. An example is illustrated in the list of the CPD as follows: 's.vv. *ajjha* (at the end) and *atha* under "Rem." from L^k. Under *appabhīta* quoted from S^{e1} (M XIII 78) corresponding to E^e *appahīnassa* (M I 386), the CPD suspects a Thai conjecture. However, the Sanskrit parallel edited by E. Waldschmidt from Central Asian fragments found at Turfan has *aprabhīta*, which proves S^{e1} to be correct against the rest of the tradition.'⁴⁵ In order to evaluate the value of Pali manuscripts from northern Thailand, von Hinüber compares two Lānnā manuscripts, one from Lampang province written in 1549 (L) and another from Chiang Saen copied in 1602 (C). He makes a number of significant points. For example, the word *addhagu* occurs as *anvagū* (S I 39) without any variant noted in E^e. B^e also has *anvagu*, but refers to *addhagu* in 'ka' here evidently signifying older prints such as B^e 1939. The Lānnā manuscripts C and L both have *annagu* throughout. This is indeed the form to be expected in Pali, where *-nva-* regularly develops into *-nna-*, cf. *samannāgata* < *samanvāgata*. The preservation of the historically correct reading *annagu* in this passage demonstrates the great value of comparing these manuscripts with the rest of the published tradition. It is all the more remarkable that C and L retain *annagu* in spite of the fact that, in the 12th century, the *Saddanīti* already accepted *anvagaṃ* in a passage where the excellent

⁴⁵ Hinüber, O. von. "Pali Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand - a Preliminary Report." *Journal of the Siam Society* 71 1983b, p. 77.

Sinhalese *Jātaka* manuscript C^k has *annagā* (CPD s.v. *anugacchati*). Like C^k, C and L have not been affected by modernisation.⁴⁶

von Hinüber⁴⁷ presents another example of preservation of an old writing in C and L. In the sentences *ahaṃ āvuso navo acirapabbajito adhunāgato imaṃ dhammavinayaṃ. na khvahaṃ sakkomi vittharena ācikkhituṃ*, S I 9, 19-21, C and L have *na vo'ham* and B^e 1939, B^e, B *na t'āham* for *na khvāham*. In the repetition S I 11, 5, L joins BB (the whole Burmese tradition) in reading *na t'āham*, while C reads *nāham*. The form *khvāham*, which contradicts the phonetic pattern of Pali, again owes its existence to the Sanskritising redaction of Pali. The starting point of all variants should be *na khāham*, *na vo'ham*, *na t'āham* or even *nāham*.

In the editing of the *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Kopp⁴⁸ points out that a great number of syllables, words or whole sentences that are missed out at the end of the ninth *nipāta* of the Sinhalese text have been reconstructed with the help of the Burmese and Thai traditions. In particular, the Thai edition has allowed many deficiencies in the third and fourth *paṇṇāsaka* of the tenth *nipāta* to be corrected more completely.

According to Jayawickrama, the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Tipiṭaka* is invaluable because it reports the significant variant readings of both Cambodian and Sinhalese versions.⁴⁹

George Turnour also reported that a great number of errors in his copy of the *Mahāvamsa*, obtained from the old temple at Mulgirigalla near Tangalle, could be perfectly corrected with

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 82-3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 84.

⁴⁸ Mp V vii.

⁴⁹ Vv and Pv vii.

the aid of the Burmese version of the *Ṭīkā* of the *Mahāvamsa*.⁵⁰ Further, the PTS edition of the *Kathāvatthu* illustrates the correction of a corrupt reading of the three Sinhalese manuscripts through the use of a Burmese (Mandalay) manuscript.⁵¹ Clearly, the value of contributions from different provenances or traditions should be recognised in reconstructing the Pali texts.

2.5.1.1.3 Manuscripts employed in editing should derive from different monastic lineages.

The monasteries in Sri Lanka, for example, preserved manuscripts of their *nikāya* that were not shared with monasteries of other *nikāyas* and therefore may preserve different readings. In Sri Lanka, each monastery is associated with a different sect (*nikāya*), such as *Syāmnikāya*, *Amarapurānikāya* and *Rāmaññānikāya*. For example, during the reign of king Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha, the *Syāmnikāya* had significant influence on textual practices and educational systems in Sri Lankan monasteries. As Blackburn⁵² has noted, the Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya was substantially renovated after 1753, and this coincided with the arrival of the *Syāmnikāya*. The educational curriculum and practice of the Mādavela temple were transformed in accordance with the practice of the *Syāmnikāya*. Therefore, the manuscripts kept in this temple reflected the practices connected with the *Syāmnikāya*. The Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya was another temple that was influenced by the textual practices of the *Syāmnikāya*. During the transformation of Buddhism, many manuscripts containing the *Tipiṭaka* commentaries and *Abhidhamma* texts and grammar books were written and preserved in this temple. An article in the Buddhist newspaper *Budusaraṇa* (15 May 1988) stated that some of the manuscripts kept in this temple had been brought by Thai monks who

⁵⁰ Cf., Mason, Francis. "The Pali Language from a Burmese Point of View." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 10. 1872, pp. 178-79.

⁵¹ Kv x.

⁵² Blackburn, A.M. "Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 27. 2002, pp. 17-8.

visited the Kandyan and Kuruṇāgala temples during the configuration of the *Syāmnikāya* and the establishment of *upasampadā* when the *Syāmnikāya* was present.⁵³

According to Bhikkhu Nyanatusita's study of the *Pātimokkha* text,⁵⁴ the manuscript tradition corresponds to the *nikāya* of the monastery. The text in the *Syāmnikāya* is close to the Thai tradition. For example, the introductory statement of the *Pātimokkha* manuscripts of the *Syāmnikāya* temple usually reads 'ukāsa', the typical Thai reading, instead of 'okāsa'.

Similarly, the *Amarapurānikāya* normally preserves the Burmese manuscript tradition. This is evident from the similarities in the introduction, chapter titles, readings, etc., between the *Pātimokkha* manuscript in the *Amarapurānikāya* temple and the Burmese tradition.

Therefore, manuscripts deriving from different monastic lineages enable us to utilise a wider selection of evidence in restoring the original reading.

2.5.1.1.4 The editor should employ manuscripts removed from or exchanged between each country, particularly manuscripts presented by the king. In early times, Buddhist countries such as Thailand, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia were independent. The king of each country was Buddhist and strongly supported Buddhism. Later, some portions of the canon of those countries were destroyed for a variety of reasons, such as invasion, attack from other religions and lack of support from royalty and other rich benefactors. To overcome this, many Buddhist countries borrowed texts from fellow Buddhist countries to restore their lost texts. Therefore, exchange of Buddhist canonical texts was a regular occurrence between Buddhist countries. The Buddhist traditions of each country have consequently become interconnected.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 33.

⁵⁴ Nyanatusita's unpublished article "Mainland South-East Asian manuscripts found in Sri Lankan Libraries," p. 3.

In 1767, the Ayutthaya kingdom in what is now Thailand was devastated. A great number of manuscripts were destroyed and many Pali texts were lost. Prior to this, in around 1750, many Pali texts had already been exported to Sri Lanka at the request of king Kīrtisiddhi.⁵⁵ We also learn from a Pali letter sent by the *Aggamahāsenāpati* of Thailand to the Royal Court at Kandy in 1756 that, during the reign of *Vīraparakkamanarindasīha* (1707-1739), the Buddhist order in Sri Lanka had ceased to exist. The next king, *Sirivijayarājasīha* (1739-1747), tried to re-establish the *upasampadā* by inviting monks from abroad. He sent different missions to Southeast Asia, including one to Thailand in 1745, asking for help in restoring Buddhism. The king of Thailand, *Borommakot* (1733-1758), sent the *theras Upali, Ariyamuni, Mahānāma* and some junior *bhikkhus* in 1752. In the same year, the king of Thailand sent a second group of monks to Sri Lanka under the leadership of the elders *Visuddhācāra* and *Varaṇṇaṇamuni*. Later King Rama V, while visiting the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, saw “two of the golden books on *dhamma* sent by king *Borommakot*” and had them copied.⁵⁶ Moreover, *Saddhātissa*⁵⁷ stated that the capital Lānnā was founded in 1296 in Chiangmai. In 1423, 25 monks from Chiangmai, eight from Cambodia and six from the Burmese Mon kingdom received *upasampadā* ordination in Sri Lanka. Two years later, monks from Chiangmai came back and stayed at the Pā Deng temple, two miles west of Chiangmai, and spread *dhamma* around Chiengrai, Lampoon, Lampāng and Chiengsen provinces. They subsequently established the Sīhala sect, or *Lankāvaṃsa*, which led to the flourishing of Pali literature and learning. During the early period of the *Lankāvaṃsa*, monk scholars in Thailand used Sinhalese scripts. *Saddhātissa* also noted that, during the reign of

⁵⁵ Hinüber, "Pali Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand - a Preliminary Report," p. 75.

⁵⁶ Na Bangchang, Supaphan. "A Pali Letter Sent by the Aggamahāsenāpati of Siam to the Royal Court at Kandy in 1756." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 12. 1988, p. 185.

⁵⁷ *Saddhātissa*, H. "Pali Literature of Thailand." In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L. Cousins et al. Dordrecht Holland: D. Reidel, 1974, pp. 211-12.

the king Ramkhamhaeng, the Thais transcribed the Sinhalese *Tipiṭaka* brought from Sri Lanka into Khmer characters.⁵⁸

Apart from Thailand, there is evidence of an interrelationship between Myanmar and Sri Lanka. It has been recorded that in the 11th century C.E. King Anuruddha of Myanmar sent 20 senior ordained monks and sacred texts to the king Vijayabāhu I for the unification of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, in 1170 C.E., Chapaṭa ordained learning of the *Tipiṭaka* and its commentaries in Sri Lanka and, ten years later, established the Sinhalese *Saṅgha* in Myanmar.⁵⁹ These historical events appear to explain why mainland Southeast Asian manuscripts (i.e. Burmese, Khom and Cambodian manuscripts) are kept in various places in Sri Lanka. For example, the Colombo museum preserves Burmese and Khom manuscripts.⁶⁰ Khom manuscripts can be found in the library of the Vijayasundara Purāṇavihāra at Asgiriya, Kandy; Burmese and Khom manuscripts are in the library of the Temple of the Tooth; and Burmese manuscripts are found in the Vidyodaya Pirivena library.⁶¹

Colonial influence is also reflected in the fact that a great number of Southeast Asian Pali manuscripts were taken to European countries. Evidence from the catalogues of manuscripts indicates that 106 Burmese and Thai Pali manuscripts are preserved in the Wellcome Institute. Some of these are regarded as rare materials, and are unique to the European

⁵⁸ Saddhātissa, H. *Pali Literature of South-East Asia*. Singapore: Singapore Buddhist Meditation Centre, 1990, p. 37.

⁵⁹ Hazra, Kanai Lal. *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South East Asia*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981, pp. 87, 93.

⁶⁰ De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, 1.

⁶¹ Cf., Nyanatusita's unpublished article "Mainland South-East Asian manuscripts found in Sri Lankan Libraries."

collections.⁶² The British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and the Copenhagen Royal Library also house significant collections of Sinhalese, Burmese and Cambodian Pali manuscripts.⁶³

The manuscripts kept in these countries are valuable because they may contain old, rare texts that have been lost in their countries of origin. For example, the 97 Thai texts exported to Sri Lanka in the 18th century no longer exist in Sri Lanka.⁶⁴ In addition to this, these manuscripts may contain historical colophons and significant variant readings that cannot be found in manuscripts located in their countries of origin. Among mainland Southeast Asian manuscripts, those relating to the king should be considered particularly important. This kind of manuscript is usually found in the royal temples of each country, such as the Temple of the Tooth in Sri Lanka. According to the results of Blackburn's research, all of the manuscripts kept there are well preserved, typically in glass cases.⁶⁵ There is also evidence to show that the manuscripts in the Colombo museum, given by the king of Myanmar, are of excellent quality overall. Most are written with well-formed letters.⁶⁶ Generally speaking, therefore, there is a higher likelihood that the manuscripts exchanged between countries will contain fewer mistakes because they have been carefully selected and written and are well preserved. There is evidence that all the Mandalay manuscripts belonging to the king of Myanmar that are kept in the Indian Office Library, despite being well written on long palm

⁶² Filliozat, Jacqueline. "A Survey of the Burmese and Siamese Pali Manuscript Collections in the Wellcome Institute." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 19. 1993: 1-41.

⁶³ Hoerning, Dr. "List of Manuscripts in the British Museum." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1. 1883, pp. 133-44; see also Feer, Léon. "List of Pāli Mss in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1. 1882: 32-7; Jayawickrama, N.A. "Pali Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University of Manchester* 55. 1972-3: 146-76; and Rhys Davids, T.W. "List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Copenhagen Royal Library." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1. 1883: 147-49.

⁶⁴ Hinüber, O. von. "Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th Century." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 12. 1988b: 175-82.

⁶⁵ Blackburn, "Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections," p. 6.

⁶⁶ De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, 1.

leaves, contained some errors such as *brahmaṇa* for *brāhmaṇa*, *gandha* for *gantha*, *niṭhita* for *niṭṭhita*, etc.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, in my view, priority should be given to the royal manuscripts, since it would be impossible for no corruption to occur over such a long period of repeated copying. While every text is likely to contain some errors, these materials (particularly the royal manuscripts, which have been carefully written and well preserved) are more reliable as sources for reconstructing the Pali canonical text.

2.5.1.1.5 Manuscripts should be selected from a range of dates, not simply the oldest ones. During the long course of transmission, the Pali Buddhist texts have been copied repeatedly. In the past, the intention behind this was to preserve the Buddhist texts. A great many old manuscripts, however, have been lost as the result of destruction by insects, climatic factors, social unrest and lack of support to the institutions that housed them, to name but a few. The extant Pali manuscripts generally date from the 18th to 19th centuries, and it is difficult to locate any manuscript dating from before the 15th century. As far as we know, the oldest (8th - 10th century) is a fragment of the *Vinayapīṭaka* that was discovered in Nepal.⁶⁸ As Balbir⁶⁹ has noted, there is a great chronological gap between the Buddha's original teaching and the texts that have been handed down to us in the copied manuscripts that were sent from South to Southeast Asia. It is difficult to trace, let alone compare them.

⁶⁷ Fausböll, V. "Catalogue of the Mandalay Mss in the India Office Library." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 4. 1896, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁸ Hinüber, O. von. *The Oldest Pali Manuscript. Four Folios of the Vinayapīṭaka from the National Archives, Kathmandu*. Kathmandu: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1991, Nr. 9, 1991.

⁶⁹ Balbir, Nalini. "Thoughts About "European Editions" of Pali Texts." *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies* 1. 2009, p. 13.

The process for the transmission of Sanskrit *Purāṇa* texts is likely to be identical to that of the Buddhist texts. Bonazzoli⁷⁰ points out that the transmission of the *Purāṇa* texts involved a combination of oral and written traditions. The extant *Purāṇa* texts have been added to or changed in accordance with each editor's particular style. Therefore, although the most recent version of the *Purāṇas* differs from previous ones, it can still be regarded as an authoritative starting point for critical edition and research. Bonazzoli's argument is a reasonable one, since it is possible that every extant manuscript contains original readings. As previously mentioned, the copied texts contained many mistakes and were undoubtedly corrected, changed or emended by successive editors or scribes. It is impossible to know which contains the old reading and which has been copied from the original. A younger manuscript may well be a faithful copy of an older one that has been lost. In editing the texts, therefore, we should employ manuscripts that have a wide range of dates rather than limiting ourselves to the oldest. This increases the chances of being able to access the oldest readings.

2.5.1.1.6 Manuscripts containing colophons, such as the date and location of writing, the scribe, and purpose of writing, should be the primary sources for editing Pali texts. As West⁷¹ has noted, the information contained in the colophons is invaluable because it provides a useful guide for determining the quality of manuscripts and their interrelationships and affinities before they are actually collated. This information helps to identify readings more accurately and efficiently when a great many different manuscripts need to be considered. Most importantly, the specific intentions of the scribe and the process of transcribing the texts noted in the colophon also help us to assess the value of the reading. In Pali

⁷⁰ Bonazzoli, G. "Composition, Transmission and Recitation of the Purāṇas." *Purāṇas* 25 no. 2. 1983, pp. 263-77.

⁷¹ West, M.L. *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973, pp. 65-7.

manuscripts, it is common to find scribes' remarks at the end of the work. From his study of the colophons of the Lānnā manuscripts, Veidlinger⁷² noted that scribes recorded many different intentions, such as: may this be for the worship (*prasong* or *pūjā*), may the manuscript lead to *Nibbāna*, may the donor be born in Metteyya's time [and reach *Nibbāna* then], may the manuscript support the *sāsana* [for 5,000 years], may we gain merit, may someone not try to alter the manuscript or may any writing not be added into the manuscript, may the manuscript lead to wisdom and knowledge [of the *dhamma/Tiṭṭaka/Arahattamagga*].

In his study of the Lānnā manuscripts kept in Vat Lai Hin near Lampang, von Hinüber identified two main purposes for copying the text—merit and preservation of Buddhist teachings.⁷³ The purposes stated in the colophon help us to determine the quality of the reading. For example, the colophon of the oldest Sinhalese manuscript, a manuscript containing the *Cullavagga*, which is preserved in the Colombo Museum, tells us that this text was copied and given to every monk in the community in the hope that they would be able to acquire specialist knowledge of its content. The transcription process involved close examination of its relationship to other canonical texts and consultation with expert scholars on any issues that arose. It is also stated that, in the course of copying the text onto palm leaf, a Mahāsvāmi named Medhaṅkara requested a Mahāthera named Sumedha of Beligala to copy the text, paying particular attention to the accuracy of the copying.⁷⁴ Such information confirms the antiquity, reliability and quality of reading contained in the manuscripts.

⁷² Veidlinger, D.M. *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*. Bangkok: O.S. Printing House, 2006, pp. 197-98.

⁷³ Hinüber, O. von. "Chips from Buddhist Workshops Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 22. 1996a, pp. 47-53.

⁷⁴ Fernando, P.E.E. "A Note on Three Old Sinhalese Palm-Leaf Manuscripts." *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 8, no. 1/2. 1982, p. 149.

Another example is provided by the colophons found in the Lānnā manuscripts. We learn from them that these texts were copied for the sake of merit, not for the purpose of textual accuracy. It is also noted that the scribes were less skilful in their writing, since they normally worked at night which resulted in a great many mistakes. It therefore warned readers to take care.⁷⁵ In addition, scribes frequently remind the reader that they do not have a good command of Pali. Therefore, the text should be read critically because some mistakes have probably occurred.⁷⁶ On the other hand, scribes can seek to make the reader feel more confident by emphasising the accuracy of the reading, for example, “Monk X wrote it all by himself.”⁷⁷ In many cases, particularly in the Lānnā manuscript, the colophon expresses concern about potential loss of the teachings. For example, the colophon of a manuscript of the *Dhammapada* (Catalogue no. 50, CS 973) written in 1611 C.E. states, “I have deposited (this manuscript) for use as a root of the teaching of our Exalted Buddha that it may eventually reach 5000 years.”⁷⁸ There are, moreover, many Lānnā manuscripts which suggest that “[if you do] not clearly know the meaning and the wording do not [try to] make any corrections...”⁷⁹ This clearly demonstrates the intention of the scribe to preserve the original text without any corrections or alterations.

Clearly, a manuscript that explicitly refers to an intention to preserve the text or expresses concern about the quality of the reading is likely to be more reliable. Therefore, such a manuscript should be highly regarded as a source, since it has been written or copied with all

⁷⁵ Skilling, Peter. "An Impossible Task? The Classical 'Edition' and Thai Pali Literature." *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies* 1. 2009a, p. 33.

⁷⁶ Hundius, Harald. "The Colophons of Thirty Pali Manuscripts from Northern Thailand." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 14. 1990, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷⁸ Hinüber, "Chips from Buddhist Workshops Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand," p. 48.

⁷⁹ Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, pp. 197-98.

possible care. It is also highly likely that the readings contained in this kind of manuscript will be of better quality than those found in manuscripts produced merely for the sake of merit. Therefore, before manuscripts are used to edit the text, the colophons should be read as a necessary first step in evaluating the manuscript and determining the readings.

2.5.1.1.7 Editors should try to include manuscripts in which the desired text is complete and presented in the form of an individual text or as a text bound with other texts (anthologies). Both individual texts and anthologies are generally created for a specific purpose and are widely used in each Buddhist community. In the course of her research, Anne Blackburn paid particular attention to manuscripts kept in specific temples because these kinds of manuscripts provide important information about the characteristics of the “practical canon”⁸⁰ in each Buddhist community. The “practical canon”, according to Blackburn, refers to the units of text selected from the canonical texts for daily learning and practice by both monks and laity. Manuscripts containing this kind of text are useful for understanding the practice of Buddhists in each community.

In medieval Sri Lanka, for instance, it was not customary to learn long sections of the *Vinaya*. Junior monks were normally encouraged to study monastic disciplines through particular *suttas* extracted from the canonical texts, such as *Anumānasutta* in the *Majjhimanikāya* (M I 15), *Dasadhammasutta* in the *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A V 48), and

⁸⁰ Blackburn, "Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections," pp. 2-3. According to the same author (Blackburn 1999: 284), there are two kinds of canon: formal canon and practical canon. The formal canon comprises the authoritative texts of the Theravāda tradition that have been preserved and transmitted to the present day. The practical canon comprises text selected from the Pali *Tipiṭaka* tradition and its commentaries for the purpose of collecting manuscripts, copying them, reading them, commenting on them, listening to them and preaching *dhamma*.

Karaṇīyamettasutta from the *Khuddakapāṭha* (Khp 9).⁸¹ As Hallisey⁸² has commented, Theravadins regarded the *Vinayaṭṭhaka* as excessively long and difficult to memorise. As a result, they reproduced various works, either compendiums or handbooks, as practical *Vinaya* guides, such as Buddhadatta's *Vinayavinicchaya*, Sāriputta's *Muttakavinaya-vinicchaya*, *Khuddasikhā*, *Mūlasikhā*, *Herāṇasikya* and the *katikavattas*. Collins has also noted that the *Abhidhamma* texts are found more frequently in the temples of Laos and Cambodia than are the *Vinaya* and the *Suttapiṭakas* because they are usually employed for reciting at funeral ceremonies.⁸³

Anne Blackburn's research showed that many manuscripts containing individual *suttas* are kept in Sri Lankan temples. Some *suttas* are copied and donated repeatedly such as the (*Mahā-*) *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* and *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta* found at Hanguranketa Rajamahavihāraya and the Daḷadā Māligāva collections, respectively.⁸⁴ In particular, the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* is produced in multiple copies that are preserved not only in the Daḷadā Māligāva, but in many other locations in Sri Lanka, such as Mādavela Rajamahavihāraya, Malvatu Vihārayē Saṃgharāja Pansala, Ridī Rajamahavihāraya, Pādeniya Rajamahavihāraya and Hanguranketa Potgul Rajamahavihāraya.⁸⁵ Furthermore, as, Peter Skilling has remarked, sections of the *Tipiṭaka* [the *rakṣā* literature (*paritta*), *Prātimokṣāsūtras* and *Karmavākyas* (disciplinary rules), *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*] are actually recited, memorised and studied by both monks and laypeople up to the present day.⁸⁶ Similarly, evidence from catalogues of

⁸¹ Blackburn, A.M. "Looking for the *Vinaya*: Monastic Discipline in the Practical Canons of the Theravāda." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 2. 1999, pp. 289-93.

⁸² Hallisey, Charles. "Apropos the Pali Vinaya as a Historical Document." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15. 1990, p. 207.

⁸³ Collins, Steven. "On the Very Idea of a Pali Canon." In *Critical Concepts in Religious Studies* edited by Paul Williams. New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 91.

⁸⁴ Blackburn, "Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections," p. 58.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-55.

⁸⁶ Skilling, Peter. "The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16. 1992, p. 113.

manuscripts from Sri Lanka suggests that only sections of the *Tipiṭaka* collection were widely used in the monastery.

Canonical and non-canonical texts are frequently found together in the same manuscript.⁸⁷

This clearly shows that the canonical texts were well known and extensively studied or utilised in certain Buddhist communities. The fact that those particular *suttas* were repeatedly copied and donated is evidence of their importance and popularity. It is therefore plausible to conclude that manuscripts containing this kind of text will be complete and contain few mistakes because they are to be recited, memorised, learned and carefully preserved.

For example, among the Pali manuscripts in the British Library, a particular *sutta* that appears in the anthology has a more complete text than the *sutta* in the main canonical text. There is other evidence from segments of *suttas* in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* found in the Pali manuscripts from the British Library. For example, the manuscript number Or. 6599(25) has the following six *Aṅguttaranikāya* *suttas* or sections of *suttas*: *sutta* 156 and the first section of *sutta* 157 of the *Catukkanipāta* (nos. 4.156 and 4.157.1); *sutta* 19 of the *Aṭṭhakanipāta* (no. 8.19); *sutta* 17 of the same *nipāta* (no. 8.17); *sutta* 42 of the *Tikanipāta* (no. 3.42), minus the verse; and the second part of *sutta* 129 of the *Tikanipāta* (no. 3.192.2).⁸⁸ Allon⁸⁹ has noted that, according to the E° numbering, among 271 *suttas* of the *Catukkanipāta*, only 31 give *nidāna*. Of these, only seven are of the *Sāvatti Jetavana* type (*suttas* 21, 45, 48, 51, 67, 101, 197) and three begin *vaggas* (21, 51, and 101). The *suttas* without settings (*nidāna*)⁹⁰ in the

⁸⁷ See notes pp. 90-1 in Collins, Steven. "On the Very Idea of a Pali Canon."

⁸⁸ Cf., Allon, Mark. *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras, British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14 (Gāndhāran Buddhist Texts 2)*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 23.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁹⁰ The full form of the *Sāvatti-Jetavana nidāna* is following:

“*evaṃ me suttaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattiyāṃ viharati jetavane*

printed editions and manuscripts would have the *Sāvatti Jetavana nidāna* re-established when the *sutta* is chanted or when it is located in a particular collection. For example, the *Dasadhammasutta* (A V 87-8) has no *nidāna* (including a concluding statement) but whenever this particular *sutta* appears in manuscripts as part of an anthology, the *Sāvatti Jatavana* setting, together with the conclusion, is given in full. Similar examples are found in the two Sinhalese manuscripts Or.6599 (10) and Or.6601 (22) in the British Library that are listed in Somadasa's catalogue (Somadasa 1987: 22, 277). Therefore, it is preferable to select materials containing these kinds of texts for editing purposes because the original Pali text can be restored.

2.5.1.2 Qualifications of editors

To produce a good critical edition, the editors should be appropriately qualified to work on the texts. Generalist editors often appear to lack expert knowledge of the languages associated with the texts. Biblical scholars often encounter difficulties in locating and evaluating significant data from many scattered materials because they lack expertise in ancient languages.⁹¹ According to West,⁹² new editions of Greek and Latin texts are unlikely to be superior to existing editions. He argues that this is due, in part, to inaccurate presentation or rectification of the evidence that results from a lack of basic ability in languages, style and metre.

Similar issues have affected the PTS edition which, as Margaret Cone has remarked, contains unreliable texts because the editors are not sufficiently competent in reading scripts and have

anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca. (e.g. A II 102.2-5)."

⁹¹ Tov, Emanuel. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Assen: Fortress Press, 1992, p. 371.

⁹² West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, p. 61.

inadequate knowledge of the Pali and Sanskrit languages. According to Cone,⁹³ the editors are sometimes unable to distinguish between Burmese and Sinhalese scripts, whose characters are quite similar, particularly *kha* and *ba*, *ta* and *na*, *bha*, *ha* and *ga*, *pa*, *ya* and *sa*, *va* and *ca*. In addition, the *Dīghanikāya* and its commentary are silently emended under the influence of Sanskrit grammatical rules, particularly in the case of *sandhi*. As a result, the PTS editions contain many mistakes and suspicious readings. Therefore, editors of editions should be thoroughly and appropriately prepared for the work through a command of both the scripts and language(s).

In addition to knowledge of Sinhalese and Burmese scripts, editors should be familiar with other scripts associated with Theravāda Buddhist transmission. As Peter Skilling⁹⁴ points out, Pali does not relate to any single script. In the first century B.C.E, the Pali texts of the *Mahāvihāra* School were primarily written down in Sri Lanka. It is assumed that they were written in the Brāhmī or the early Prakrit (Old Sinhala) script used on the island at that time. Then, in the first millennium C.E., they were written in Southeast Asia in the Pallava and Post-Pallava scripts. Various scripts appear to have been employed in Thailand in the second millennium: Khom script, including Khom Sukhothai, Khom Ayutthaya, and Khom Ratankosin; Khmer script (in Cambodia); Mon and Burmese script (in Myanmar); and various kinds of Tham script (in Lānnā and Lao). The ability to read the scripts is a fundamental prerequisite for understanding and editing the texts. Therefore, editors should learn how to read these scripts correctly.

⁹³ Cone, "Caveat Lector," pp. 96-7.

⁹⁴ Skilling, Peter. "Language and Writing in South-East Asia and in Sukhothai." In *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, edited by Claudio Cicuzza. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009b, p. 21.

2.5.2 Document format

In my edition, the document format was created to facilitate reading and understanding.

Specific features are described in this section.

2.5.2.1 Punctuation

Punctuation has been introduced into the Pali texts to clarify the grammatical construction, as described below.

2.5.2.1.1 Full stop

A full stop is used to indicate the ending of sentences. Commas have not been employed.

2.5.2.1.2 Parentheses

Square brackets generally indicate that the word is not found in any of the manuscripts. For example, the titles of *vaggas* or *suttas* of the *Salāyatanavagga* in my edition are as follows:

[saṃyuttanikāya
salāyatanavaggo
namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa
salāyatanaṣaṃyutta]
[aniccavaggo paṭhamo]
[1. ajjhattāniccasuttaṃ]

2.5.2.1.3 Apostrophes

An apostrophe has been used when the vowel is elided according to the vowel *sandhi*. It is placed close to a contracted vowel. For example, *vata + ime = vat' ime*, *tena + upasaṅkamaṃ = ten' upasaṅkamaṃ*, *yassa + atthāya = yass' atthāya*, *eso + ahaṃ = eso 'haṃ*, *ce + idaṃ = ce 'daṃ* and *hi + assa = hi 'ssa*.

2.5.2.1.4 Hyphens

Hyphens have been inserted:

1. In the position of consonant *sandhi*, e.g. *na-y-ime*, *tasmā-t-iha*, *cha-y-ime*, *cha-ḷ-eva*, *vatthu-d-eva*, *samma-d-eva* and *sammukhā-y-eva*.
2. Between two vowels in compounds, e.g. *sa-upavajja*, *paṭhama-ejāsuttaṃ*, *vayo-anupatto* and *adanta-aguttasuttaṃ*.

2.5.2.2 Capital letters

Capital letters are peculiar to Western writing. In PTS editions, they are usually employed at the beginning of sentences or proper names. In the reprinted edition of the *Samyuttanikāya*, the capital letters have been removed at the beginning of sentences but are retained for proper names.⁹⁵ Asian Pali manuscripts and editions do not employ capital letters. In keeping with the practice of Asian manuscripts and editions, no capital letters are employed in the present edition.

2.5.2.3 Miscellaneous

2.5.2.3.1 The word will be separated from the preceding word:

1. When *ti* closes a citation, e.g. *punabbhavo ti*, *pahīyantī ti*, *itthattāyā ti* and *mano ti*, *attā ti*.
2. When the preceding word closes with a nasal vowel or two words are assimilated with the *anusvāra sandhi*, e.g. *etad avoca*, *yam antimā*, *pattacīvaram ādāya*, *cakkhuñ ca*, *ahañ hi*, *evam pi*, and *tad ajjhagamaṃ*.

⁹⁵ S I viii.

2.5.2.3.2 The page number of the PTS edition of the *Samyuttanikāya* has been inserted into the Pali text page by page to facilitate cross-referencing.

2.5.3 The critical apparatus

In this edition, a significant number of variant readings are shown. The format of the critical apparatus is described below.

2.5.3.1 The adopted reading followed by *so*, indicates that other valid variant readings will be listed after *so*, e.g. C^e N^e S^{e2} *so*; B¹⁻² C¹⁻² K^e S¹⁻² S^{e1} *omit*, B^e S^{e3} *ajjhattāniccasutta*, E^e (1) *aniccam 1; ajjhattam (sutta no. 1)*.

2.5.3.2 The sigla are shown in the following order: the alphabetical order of the manuscripts, the number of manuscripts, the alphabetical order of printed editions and the number of printed editions.

2.5.3.3 Only the potential and valid variant readings are shown in the critical apparatus. All invalid variant readings, i.e. minor incorrect spellings, incorrect orthographic variant readings, incorrect grammar and errors of wording, are included in the appendices.

2.5.3.4 Variant readings that seem to have historical value and which have a high degree of variation (indicating confusion in traditional and scribal practice) are listed in the critical apparatus, e.g. *seyyathā pi āvuso balavā puriso tiṅhena sikharena muddhānaṃ abhimattheyya* in the *Channavagga*. B² gives *tikhiṅena pi* for *tiṅhena* and *khaggena* for *sikharena (sutta no. 87, line 15)*.

2.5.3.5 The omission or addition of an indeclinable that does not affect the meaning of the text is noted in the critical apparatus, e.g. *ca*, *pi*, *kho*, *va* and *eva*.

2.5.3.6 Details of abbreviations used in all manuscripts and printed editions are listed in the critical apparatus so that readers can examine these for themselves.

2.5.4 Abbreviations

Repetitive styles are characteristic of Pali literature, particularly in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and *Saṃyuttanikāya*. Due to a great number of repetitive words or passages, scribes in the past have abbreviated the repetitive passages and indicated such abbreviations by the word *peyyāla*, an abbreviation of it (e.g. *pe*, *la*), or a punctuation mark. Although editors to date have tended to reproduce the abbreviations employed in the manuscripts, they have sometimes further abbreviated the text under the belief that the repetitions are monotonous and in order to save space. There are some disadvantages, however, in the use of too many abbreviations. In my edition, therefore, the text has been restored to the full form and does not contain abbreviations of the repetitive passages. There are three main reasons for this: for convenience of the textual restoration and facilitation of reading, understanding of the texts, including searching for words or phrases; to prevent any textual loss; and to preserve the characteristics of Pali literature.

The primary reason for giving the full version of the text is to facilitate editing, reading and understanding of the texts, including searching for words and phrases. As mentioned earlier, there are discrepancies in the form of abbreviated passages between different traditions. In my edition, each tradition of abbreviated passages is indicated by a different type, e.g. *pe*, *pa*,

la, *gha*, or by punctuation marks. The abridgment *pe* is generally employed in the Sinhalese tradition. The Burmese tradition mostly gives *pa* or *gha* whereas the Thai tradition has *la* throughout. In editing the *Samyuttanikāya*, Feer uses all of them side by side throughout the texts. In addition, punctuation marks such as || and the symbol ° are regularly used for abridgements in many places in each tradition, particularly in the PTS edition. On some occasions, both *peyyālas* and punctuation marks are omitted in abbreviated passages.

Moreover, it often appears that each tradition abbreviates the passages in different positions. For example, in *sutta* number 11, line 4-14 of the *Aniccavagga* in my edition, C¹⁻² E^e abbreviate from *dukkhā* to *gandhā* to *rasā* to *phoṭṭhabbā* to *hoti* with punctuation. C^e abbreviates from *dukkhā* to *gandhā* to *rasā* to *phoṭṭhabbā* to *hoti* with *pe* whereas B¹⁻² B^e N^e S² S^{e1-3} abbreviates from *saddā* to *hotī ti* with *pe*, *pa*, *la* or punctuation. In all cases, however, the *peyyālas* and punctuation of K^e S¹ are omitted from *saddā* to *hotī ti*. With these exceptions, the oldest Pali manuscript of the *Vinaya* from Nepal, which dates to about 1,000 years ago, agrees with the PTS edition in writing *pe* or *la* in certain positions while, in other locations, there is no indication of abbreviations despite the fact that the PTS edition utilises *la*.⁹⁶

Those discrepancies often lead to difficulty and confusion for scholars and editors. Such problems are resolved in different ways. European scholars, particularly Feer, seem to prefer a high level of abridgement of the text. Like other scholars, Feer regards repetitions as tedious. He noted that the different abridgements in all the manuscripts lead to difficulty and

⁹⁶ Norman, K.R. *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. Lancaster: The Pali Text Society, 2006, p. 113.

delay in producing the text, so his editorial technique in regards to repetitive passages was to select the shortest arrangement of text.⁹⁷

Feer used *pe*, *pa*, *la* or *gha*, as well as the punctuation || or the symbol °, to abbreviate repetitive passages throughout his work. The formula and strings, which are regarded as significant characteristics of Pali literature, are usually shortened in his edition. An example of the former that appears frequently in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is the abbreviation “The *Arahant* Formula” or the formula of one who attains enlightenment. The passage *evaṃ passaṃ bhikkhave sutavā ariyasāvako cakkhusmim pi nibbindati. sotasmim pi nibbindati. ghānasmim pi nibbindati. jivhāya pi nibbindati. kāyasmim pi nibbindati. manasmim pi nibbindati. nibbindaṃ virajjati. virāgā vimuccati. vimuttasmiṃ vimuttamhī ti nāṇaṃ hoti. khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti* is abbreviated by Feer to *evaṃ passaṃ ...la... nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti*.⁹⁸ As noted above, strings are a common feature of Pali Buddhist literature. They are composed by aggregating similar word elements and units of meaning. There are many instances of the abridgement of strings in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text, such as sequences of a noun modifying the same verb *jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanasehi upāyasehi andhabhūtan ti vadāmi*, which are compressed by Feer with the symbol ° as *jātiyā jarāya° °upāyāsehi andhabhūtan ti vadāmi*.⁹⁹

Despite this extensive abridgement, Feer still seemed to be dissatisfied. In the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text, he always tried to reduce the text as much as possible until the stylistic features of the early Pali text could no longer be discerned. Rather than giving an

⁹⁷ S II xiii.

⁹⁸ S IV 2.

⁹⁹ S IV 21.

abbreviation of the text in Pali, he often chose to make it even shorter by presenting the text in English. For instance, he cropped the following lines with these English phrases: “1-10 [Exactly the same as in the preceding *sutta*],”¹⁰⁰ “13-14 [As in the preceding],”¹⁰¹ “1-5 [As in preceding *sutta*],”¹⁰² and “[The same as 2-9 of the preceding *sutta*].”¹⁰³ Clearly, if readers want to study the text, they must refer back to the previous *sutta*. There they will encounter the same dilemma. It is necessary to go even further back to find what is to be repeated because the previous *sutta* was itself regularly abbreviated with *pe*, *pa*, *la* or *gha*, and with punctuation as well.

In my view, Feer’s abbreviation style significantly increases the difficulty of editing, reading and understanding the text for new learners, particularly those who have limited knowledge of Pali. In addition, it is possible that some abbreviated passages contain significant and interesting readings that were previously unknown. As Windisch¹⁰⁴ complained, “I repeat that I cannot approve of the practices of our editors, who imitate some scribes and mutilate the text to spare a few pages. Sometimes, also, those sections of repetition contain different readings or curious words. In such cases it is important to know whether the same appears again and again or not.” In other words, it is far more appropriate to restore the text in full because this reduces the difficulty of editing the texts and facilitates reading and understanding of the texts for new learners. Since it is often unclear what wording has been abbreviated in manuscripts and editions, and since abbreviating is the norm in manuscripts and editions, producing an edition of the full text will make clear for the first time the full wording of the text as it was initially composed. It also enables a more accurate search of

¹⁰⁰ S IV 47.

¹⁰¹ S IV 48.

¹⁰² S IV 50.

¹⁰³ S IV 82.

¹⁰⁴ Windisch, E. "Notes on the Edition of the Udāna." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 4. 1890, pp. 91-2.

words and phrases; when you search an abbreviated text, you will not realise that the word you seek occurs in more than the first full *sutta*.

Moreover, such editorial methods may help to prevent future loss of texts. There is evidence that the number of *suttas* in the *Samyuttanikāya* differs greatly from one printed edition to another. This may be due in part to the practice of abbreviating repetitive passages. As mentioned earlier, Feer attempts to group the *suttas* that qualify as repetitions into a single *sutta*. It is likely that reckoning the *suttas* in this way is the principal cause of the great discrepancy in the number of *suttas* between Buddhaghosa's and Feer's work (the PTS edition). Buddhaghosa's edition contains 7,762 *suttas* while the PTS edition has only 2,889. Moreover, his method of reckoning the *suttas* cannot be guaranteed to be completely accurate because he himself accepted that his manuscripts presented difficulties for counting the *suttas*.¹⁰⁵ As mentioned earlier, he began his work with inadequate materials and his manuscripts were not in good condition. Therefore, the considerable reduction in the number of *suttas* implied by the repetitions may have contributed to the loss of textual parts.

It has also been claimed that Buddhaghosa's count for the number of *suttas* differs from Feer's because Buddhaghosa counted the abbreviated *suttas*.¹⁰⁶ This is unlikely since Gethin was unable to obtain the same number as Buddhaghosa had, despite calculating the highest number of repetitions as *suttas*. He produced 6,696 *suttas*, meaning that 1,066 have been lost. He suggested that this might reflect a counting error on his part, or that the materials he used

¹⁰⁵ S IV ix.

¹⁰⁶ Hazra, Kanai Lal. *Pali Language and Literature: A Systematic Survey and Historical Study*. Vol. 1. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1994, p. 177; see also Akira, Hiraakawa. "Survey of Texts." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Lindsay Jones, 509-29. USA: Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 1987, p. 512.

differed from those that Buddhaghosa used to produce his *Samyuttanikāya* text.¹⁰⁷ Gethin's assumption is probably correct on this point.

Another possible reason is that the ancient scribes also preferred to shorten the text. If one person reduced the text, it is plausible to suggest that the next person may have preferred to abbreviate it even more. However one counts, there are still discrepancies in the counting of *suttas* and loss of a great number of *suttas* if there were indeed as many as Buddhaghosa counted. Not only has this abbreviation practice possibly resulted in the loss of *suttas*, but the Buddhist teachings contained in the *suttas* would also have disappeared. Restoring the text to the fullest extent possible could at least help to prevent further losses.

This editorial method has also contributed to the preservation of significant characteristics of Pali literature. Repetition had an important function in early Pali Buddhist literature as an aid to memorisation. According to Allon,¹⁰⁸ a repetitive passage enables learners to become more familiar with the text and this in turn facilitates recitation and recollection. The more the texts are repeated, the more easily the contents can be remembered. From his study of the text in the *Dīghanikāya*, Allon¹⁰⁹ stated that the formula was composed with fixed units of meaning and that the diction was fixed and standardised. Therefore, like repetitiveness, the formula plays an important role in helping learners to remember large amounts of fixed text. As well as repetition and formulae, the similar sounds and metrical patterns of strings or

¹⁰⁷ Gethin, R.M.L. "What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29. 2007, pp. 381-82.

¹⁰⁸ Allon, Mark. *Style and Function: A Study of the Dominant Stylistic Features of the Prose Portions of Pali Canonical Sutta Texts and Their Mnemonic Function*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1997, pp. 357-63.

¹⁰⁹ Allon, Mark. "The Oral Composition and Transmission of Early Buddhist Texts." In *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti; Papers from the Annual Spalding Symposium on Indian Religions Edited by Peter Connolly and Sue Hamilton*. 39-61. London: Luzac Oriental, 1997, pp. 43-9.

sequences facilitate memorisation and recitation of the texts. Gethin¹¹⁰ also points out that the repetitive style was considered to be a method of cultivating mindfulness and concentration. According to him, it gave learners more time and opportunity to read, contemplate and practise the teachings slowly, thus leading more easily to a peaceful mind. Readers are certainly unable to gain such benefits if they only read text that has already been abbreviated.

In my opinion, therefore, shorter abridgements tend to devalue the text. Readers will see only *peyyāla*, a symbol, or a punctuation mark used to indicate abbreviation and it is naturally difficult for them to try to expand the text while reading. As a result, they are less able to absorb and study the teaching of the Buddha as transmitted in these texts because of the omission of the particular characteristics of the literature that facilitate learning, remembering, contemplating and practising the Buddhist teachings. If those characteristics are repeatedly shortened, then it impoverishes the reader's experience and understanding of the text. It is also uncertain whether the next generation of readers will know what is abbreviated and what is of importance in the repetitive passages.

In summary, the text is given in full throughout my edition in order to reduce the difficulties involved in editing the text in the case of discrepancies in abbreviations between different manuscripts and printed editions. It also facilitates reading and understanding of the texts, including searching of words and phrases. This editorial practice further helps to prevent textual loss and preserve the important structure and features of early Pali literature as completely as possible for the next generation.

¹¹⁰ Gethin, "What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya," p. 382.

2.5.5 Evaluation of variant readings

In general, the variant readings are evaluated on the basis of both external and internal evidence. The external evidence involves consideration of the materials with which the readings are found, such as the date of the manuscripts, the geographical provenances and the textual types. The internal evidence focuses on the intrinsic value of the readings themselves. Editors examine the readings in terms of palaeographical features, orthography and syntax, metrical and grammatical rules and corresponding passages. In my experience, no one criterion is applicable in every case. Some readings can be judged by only one criterion. But in the case of many valid variant readings, several approaches can be applied. This section explains the general principles for selecting the best reading, some of which have been applied in my edition.

2.5.5.1 The reading that conforms to grammatical and metrical rules is considered to be the superior reading. This criterion, commonly employed by editors as the first step in determining the accuracy of a reading, generally applies to uncomplicated readings in which spelling, grammar and metre can be easily identified. However, if grammatically wrong readings repeatedly occur in many places, further inquiries should be made to determine whether they are correct readings or not.

In evaluating the reading, grammatical and metrical works such as dictionaries are useful tools for editors. Although some scholars express concern about deficiencies and lack of reliability in European grammatical reference books and dictionaries, they are still valuable resources for a critical edition. They should be critically evaluated rather than abandoned.

These materials and other works compiled from various traditions can help to assess the accuracy of the readings.

According to Cone,¹¹¹ the most widely used apparatuses for producing the PTS edition are Geiger's grammar, Rhys Davids' and Stede's *Pali-English Dictionary* (PED), and Warder's *Introduction to Pali*. These materials, however, should not be accepted uncritically. Wilhelm Geiger's *Pali Grammar*, which describes Pali grammatical forms, is comprehensive and clearly explains the regulations and paradigms but it lacks supporting evidence. Although the *Pali-English Dictionary* is useful, it is unclear about the derivation or Sanskrit equivalent of wordings. The verification of readings, particularly in relation to rare words, needs to be performed through comparison with other editions. Cone also points out that the *Critical Pali Dictionary* (the dictionary produced by the great scholars, Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith) is imperfect and that Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, though useful, is over-reliant on the PED. In addition, two volumes of Margaret Cone's dictionary help the reader consider and select the best reading since they provide variant readings from the Burmese, Sinhalese and Thai editions as well as the PTS editions.¹¹² Oberlies's *Pali Grammar* is also very useful. For example, it gives meanings to all words and references that are not provided in CPD or PED.¹¹³

As well as grammatical texts, dictionaries and various Pali works composed by Europeans, there are other Pali works that should also be employed for evaluation of a reading. This is because such works may reflect the indigenous view and document the evolution of the Pali

¹¹¹ Cone, "Caveat Lector," pp. 98-100.

¹¹² Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli (A-Kh)*, ix; Cone, Margaret. *A Dictionary of Pāli (G-N)*. Vol. 2, Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 2010.

¹¹³ Oberlies, Thomas. *Pāli: A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001: Forward.

language and its use in different traditions. An example is the Pali *Saddanīti*, which was written by a Burmese monk, Aggavaṃsa, in the 12th century. Quotations found in the *Saddanīti* are made from the texts earlier than the available manuscript tradition and provide an important aspect of the discussion of the wording.¹¹⁴ A quotation from the *Saddanīti* also illustrates the influence of Sanskrit on the Burmese manuscript. There is evidence in the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti* [*Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana*] edition that the word *krubbasi*, “you perform” in the verse *tapo idha krubbasi* is quoted from the *Saddanīti* 118 = S I 181. It does not appear in either the Sinhalese or the Burmese manuscripts that were used in Feer’s PTS edition. The word *krubbasi* is not associated with the Pali phonetic system, in which the cluster should not be *kr-*. This strongly suggests that *krubbasi* in the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti* edition is a substitution from the new tradition. Another example is the word *bārasa*, “twelfth”. The Middle Indo-Aryan manuscripts, as well as *Kaccāyana* (the oldest Pali grammar), write *bārasa* whereas Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa adopt *dvādasa*. It is clear that *bārasa* has been superseded by the Sanskritised form *dvādasa* during the second half of the first millennium C.E.¹¹⁵

In summary, comparison of readings with other Pali works composed by Burmese scholars is one method for determining which tradition preserves the original readings and which has been modernised. Therefore, as well as consulting modern grammatical works and dictionaries, an editor should not overlook traditional sources, such as the *Saddanīti*. Through these, we can observe the development of the Pali language in each tradition and enhance our understanding of the underlying principles which, in turn, is of great assistance in determining the best reading.

¹¹⁴ Balbir, "Thoughts About "European Editions" of Pali Texts," p. 11.

¹¹⁵ Hinüber, O. von. *Notes on the Pali Tradition in Burma*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983a, pp. 74-5 [12-3].

2.5.5.2 The best reading is judged on the quality rather than quantity of witnesses. In the case of several valid variant readings, editors may choose the best reading on the basis of consensus among the majority of witnesses. Most editors of the Pali texts apply this principle. As Vaganay¹¹⁶ suggests, the external evidence can be significant and useful in evaluating a reading, but such criteria are insufficient to restore the original text. At times, the commentaries appear to say that the best reading has been determined on the basis that the manuscripts in question are the most numerous, the oldest and the best. Because this cannot be proven, evaluation of the reading should involve careful consideration of the value of the reading itself.

Selection of the best reading should be determined by the intrinsic value of the witnesses rather than majority vote as the saying “A manuscript must be weighed, not counted,” which is popular among editors, attests. It is possible that most readings have been derived from the same textual traditions in which readings are copied from primary or secondary sources. The readings may be right or wrong and need careful examination. As Vaganay has remarked:

Copies have to be considered as representatives of a group and not as separate witnesses. That immediately weakens any argument based on their number. But there is more to it than that: even when the main manuscript groups agree on a variant, it is still essential to check whether there is not a divergent reading attested by any of the other documents of authority; for it is a simple fact that the original reading may be found in only a few scattered documents while the majority contain an early correction.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Second Edition)*, pp. 62-4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

Similarly, Gombrich argues that the best reading should not be judged on democratic principles because the majority of readings might have been copied from inferior witnesses. He gives the following example:

If you have a hundred versions of a text, and at a certain point one of them reads X and the other ninety-nine read Y, that by itself is no proof that Y was the original reading. All of the 99 that read the Y text may have read copies derived from one single source. That applies no matter what the medium. It comes up very often in the context of printing. For instance, when the Pali canonical texts were first printed, sometimes the printer was asked to work from a single manuscript. Therefore, if he produced an edition of a thousand copies, the readings of that manuscript were rapidly reproduced a thousand times. That does not do anything whatever to prove that they were the correct readings.¹¹⁸

In his view, it is possible that the correct reading was preserved in only one manuscript.¹¹⁹ There is evidence, for example, in the edition of the New Testament that most errors are contained in all of the good manuscripts and the good readings have been preserved in the bad witnesses. Apart from Luke 20.1 and Matt. 12. 47, which are the superior Alexandrian witnesses, a whole verse has been unintentionally omitted. The wording at the end of verse 47 is identical to that at the end of verse 46 due to a misreading.¹²⁰ In another example, one reading in the New Testament text has been selected because it was found in the majority of materials. On close examination, however, it was found to be a conflation of two separate readings.¹²¹ Therefore, it is safer to rely on the quality rather than the quantity of witnesses.

¹¹⁸ Gombrich, R.F. "Why Textual Studies Are Necessary If We Are to Understand Buddhism." *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies* 1. 2009, p. 28.

¹¹⁹ See the same point of view in McCarter 1986: 71.

¹²⁰ Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (Fourth Edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 336.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

Feer's editorial method of adopting the best reading, regardless of its derivation, is reasonable.¹²² It is not necessary to depend on the number of witnesses or to follow the reading of only one tradition. In my edition, the actual value of the reading takes priority. The reading will be adopted from various traditions. In some cases, the Burmese reading is accepted as the best. In others, the Sinhalese reading has been adopted. At times, the superior reading has been chosen from a minority of witnesses. It is reasonable to describe this method as the creation of a new text that does not reflect a single manuscript tradition. The text will not be contaminated because the sources of all variant readings can be listed in the critical apparatus. My editorial principle, therefore, is not generally based on majority vote but on the actual value of the reading itself.

2.5.5.3 The superior reading is not evaluated on the basis of the age of manuscripts. As mentioned earlier, the dates of the surviving manuscripts are very late, mostly between the 18th and 19th centuries. Only a few manuscripts are prior to the 15th century. Therefore, the reading cannot be determined on the basis of its age. As von Hinüber points out:

The continuous manuscript tradition with complete texts began only during the late 15th century. Thus, the sources immediately available for Theravāda literature are separated from the Buddha by almost 2000 years. It should be kept in mind, however, that the age of the manuscripts has little to do with the age of the texts they contain.¹²³

Balbir is correct in asserting that the oldest manuscript does not necessarily contain the best reading.¹²⁴ Examples of old manuscripts that contain corrupt readings can be found in any

¹²² S I xiii.

¹²³ Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, p. 4.

¹²⁴ Balbir, "Thoughts About "European Editions" of Pali Texts," p. 6.

edition of the Bible. According to West,¹²⁵ the quality of a manuscript depends on the reading itself, not the age of the manuscript. Occasionally, texts in the medieval tradition have contributed better readings than old manuscripts such as papyri. Bruce states that even early manuscripts of the New Testament sometimes contain conflated readings.¹²⁶

Furthermore, the surviving manuscripts of Pali texts, regardless of their age, are full of errors. During the long course of Buddhist transmissions within South and Southeast Asia, some Pali texts were destroyed for a variety of reasons, as mentioned earlier. Therefore, many copies were made in different regions to restore and preserve the texts. Consequently, all manuscripts from each region and tradition are extensively contaminated by recensions, changes and emendations by editors or scribes. Since one textual family might contaminate another, it is possible that the text preserved in the old manuscript might have been copied from an inferior one. It is difficult to search for actual archetypes of texts. Overall, it is unsafe to assume that the reading preserved in the oldest manuscript is better than the one in the latest manuscript.

2.5.5.4 The readings judged on the basis of the scribes' predilections could not be proved as superior. Generally, inferior readings in the manuscripts result from scribal errors. Some scholars determine the quality of readings by examining the habits of different scribes and a number of editorial rules related to scribal habits have been created to assist with the evaluation of readings. Examples of well-known rules include: "The more difficult reading is preferable" and "The shorter reading is to be preferred." The "more difficult" reading rule reflects the view that ancient scribes tended to replace an unfamiliar word with a more

¹²⁵ West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, p. 50.

¹²⁶ Bruce and Bart, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (Fourth Edition)*, p. 265.

familiar one.¹²⁷ The “shorter reading” rule derives from the fact that, in order to make the texts more complete and easier to understand, the scribes normally added explanatory text.¹²⁸

In theory, these rules may be useful for a critical edition, but it is not possible in practice to use these principles as evidence of a superior reading. There are two main reasons for this. First, these rules cannot be applied to texts that contain many scribal errors. The “more difficult” reading would be invalid when the text produced a strange or impossible reading,¹²⁹ while the “shorter reading” rule could not apply to scribal omissions.¹³⁰ During the copying process, scribes could deliberately change the text whenever they wished. They may, for instance, intentionally change a difficult reading into an easier one or vice versa. There is evidence in the edition of the New Testament to indicate that readings were sometimes shortened by the omission of a word or part of a sentence when the scribe was distracted. At times, they corrected the texts and made them more obscure because they themselves misunderstood the meaning of a passage or did not know the importance of certain contexts. Even the most skilful scribe may have occasionally produced imprecise readings. Thus, it is unreasonable to claim that the readings arising from the inadequacies of scribes are original.¹³¹

Overall, there is no evidence that the more difficult reading or the shorter reading is correct. These rules would be practical if the reading happened to be exact. In the case of scribal errors, they are clearly impractical. As Cone has observed, “‘The more difficult reading’ could not be applied with Pali texts because both manuscripts and editions in each tradition

¹²⁷ McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 73.

¹²⁸ Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Second Edition)*, p. 80.

¹²⁹ McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 73.

¹³⁰ Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 306.

¹³¹ Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Second Edition)*, pp. 80-1.

were inconsistent and adulterated.”¹³² Moreover, these rules are subjective. Everyone’s experiences, knowledge and thought processes are different. What one person finds difficult, another may find easy. How can we know which reading is the more difficult or easier reading? Thus, the best reading cannot be conclusively determined by scribal predilections.

2.5.5.5 The genealogical method facilitates the evaluation of reading when several witnesses are employed in editing the text. In general, when there are more witnesses, the number of variant readings increases as well. Classifying them into their own families saves time and reduces the difficulty of determining the reading. In simple terms, classification involves identifying similarities and differences in the common errors made by each witness. The presence of common mistakes indicates that the witnesses come from the same family. This method has been criticised by some scholars, who argue that it cannot appropriately be applied to a text in which the reading is a mixture of many families, as in the case of the New Testament manuscripts.¹³³ It is, however, a useful method of determining how groups of manuscripts are interrelated. Therefore, this principle could be used to some extent in editing the text.

2.5.5.6 Commentaries and parallel passages should be consulted in determining the best reading.

2.5.5.6.1 Commentaries

¹³² Cone, "Caveat Lector," p. 97.

¹³³ Bruce and Bart, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (Fourth Edition)*, p. 212.

Most editors and scholars agree that the commentaries contain suspicious readings and lack explanation of some difficult wordings. They are, nonetheless, of great value with regard to the selection of readings on the basis of ancient evidence and clarification of readings.

The imperfections of commentaries have been remarked upon by editors and scholars.

Jayawikrama,¹³⁴ for example, points out that some readings of Dhammapāla's commentary (the commentary on the *Vimānavatthu* called *Paramatthadīpanī*) are questionably sourced and some difficult readings are often unexplained. Gombrich states that some commentators give vast numbers of alternative readings while others quote only a few words and provide limited commentary.¹³⁵ Hardy¹³⁶ notes that the reckoning of the *suttas* in the commentary differs from that used in the current edition of *Aṅguttaranikāya*. It is obvious that the sections of the commentary are incorrectly divided.

In the process of creating the current edition of the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, I found that the commentaries were sometimes of no help. They may, for instance, provide a reading that differs from that in the canonical text. The word *vimariyādikatena* in the *sutta* no. 17, line 40 in the *Yamakavagga* is given in the Thai edition of the root text as *vipariyādikatena* while the Thai edition of the commentary adopts a different spelling, *vipariyādikatena*.¹³⁷ In this case, it is likely that the commentator used different materials from those employed in the Thai edition or that some scribal mistakes had occurred over the long course of transmission. Moreover, the commentaries preserve the reading from their traditional texts. Let us suppose that there are three variant but equally good readings deriving from three traditions:

Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai. When these are collated with commentaries, they give the

¹³⁴ Vv and Pv viii; see also Preface to the edition of M I.

¹³⁵ Gombrich, R.F. *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997, p. 9.

¹³⁶ A V vi.

¹³⁷ See more instances in notes to the edition in Chapter 3 (Volume 2).

Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai reading separately according to their own tradition. The words *vācā vatthu-d-ev' assa* in the *sutta* no. 23, line 4-5 in the *Sabbavagga* provides an example. While the Sinhalese tradition adopts *vācā vatthu-r-ev' assa*, the Burmese edition gives *vācā vatthukam ev' assa* and the Thai has *vācā vatthu-d-ev' assa*. The commentaries from these three traditions have the same reading as the root text as transmitted by their tradition.

Commentaries are useful, however, for assessing the antiquity and reliability of material and for clarifying readings. von Hinüber points out that the commentaries preserve old variant readings,¹³⁸ while Trenckner notes in the preface of the *Majjhimanikāya* (1888) that Buddhaghosa employs manuscripts that are older than those we have.¹³⁹ According to Gombrich,¹⁴⁰ despite the fact that there is no longer evidence of the old Pali manuscripts, much can be gained from cross-checking between the commentaries and the Pali canonical texts. We can assume that the readings in the commentaries date back to the 5th or 6th century, which can be regarded as early evidence. Buddhist tradition has been continuously preserved since the 6th century B.C. The preface to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* specifically refers to old materials employed by the commentators:

... All that we know is that when Buddhaghosa wrote, about A.D. 430, he had older materials before him. In the opening words of this commentary on the *Vinaya*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, he mentions by name three previous works, and refers also to others without naming them – “the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccaṛī*, the *Kurundi*, and others.” Professor Minayeff, at p. vii of this edition of the *Pātimokkha*, quoted from the *Vajira Buddha Ṭīkā* an explanation of the word ‘others,’ which makes it include the *Culla Paccaṛī* and the *Andha-aṭṭhakathā*; and according to Corneille Wijesinha Mudaliyar’s article in the ‘Journal of the Royal Asiatic

¹³⁸ Hinüber, O. von. "On the Tradition of Pali Texts in India, Ceylon and Burma." In *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, edited by H. Bechert. Göttingen, 1978, pp. 50-1.

¹³⁹ Preface to the edition of M I.

¹⁴⁰ Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*, p. 9.

Society' for 1871, two other sub-commentaries, the *Sāratthadīpanī* and the *Vimativinodanī*, explain it as meaning the *Samkhepa-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Andha-aṭṭhakathā*. In the Kambojian ms. quoted by Professor Fausböll in his preface to the fourth volume of the *Jātaka* commentary a lost *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* is referred to, and Wijesinha says (*loc. cit.*) that another lost commentary, the *Mūla-aṭṭhakathā*, is mentioned 'at the end of the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhimanikāyas*.¹⁴¹

This clearly shows that the current commentaries were edited and translated into Pali based upon the old commentaries, which have perhaps been used to explain the earlier canonical texts. It is therefore not surprising as commented upon in the preface of *Itivuttaka* (vi) and *Udāna* (vii), that various readings that do not exist in the manuscripts of the root text are frequently given in the commentary. As well, the commentary occasionally preserves more superior readings than the main canonical text.¹⁴² Given the antiquity of the commentaries, it is possible that they contain significant variant readings that we have never seen before and that their readings may be more accurate and reliable than those in the received manuscripts.

Explanations in the commentaries also contribute to the clarification of textual meaning. Balbir provides interesting examples of explanations in the commentary that enhance comprehension of the text. For example, the PTS edition of *Theragāthā* 842-843 reads

*yā taṃ me hatthi-gīvāya sukhumā vatthā padhāritā
sālīnaṃ odano bhutto sucimaṃsūpasecano,
so 'jja bhaddo sātātiko uñchāpattāgate rato
jhāyati anupādāno putto godhāya bhaddiyo.*

¹⁴¹ Sv I ix-x.

¹⁴² A I vi.

Norman¹⁴³ suggests that there are probably two meanings of *yā taṃ* [*taṃ* used as *tadā* and *taṃ* used as a relative clause]. According to the commentary, *yā taṃ* should be read as *yātaṃ* as follows:

*yātaṃ me hatthigīvāyā ti, bhante, pubbe mayā gacchantenāpi hatthigīvāyā hatthikkhandhe
nisīdivā yātaṃ caritaṃ, vatthāni pariharantenāpi sukhumā.*

Here *yātaṃ* means “wandered or roamed.” This shows that the confusion in the text results from misunderstanding the separation of syllables. In this case, the commentary is a significant resource for addressing the problem. In editing his work *Itivuttaka*, Ireland¹⁴⁴ noted that the commentary of the *Paramatthadīpanī* of *Ācariya Dhammapāla* always helped him to prepare his notes and deal with many problems that arose. The original meaning and importance of passages can also be evaluated through the commentary. In addition, as Gombrich has indicated, the commentaries may contain useful discussion of variant readings of the Pali texts.¹⁴⁵

In summary, although the commentaries have some deficiencies, their value for an edition should not be ignored. They should be consulted whenever some difficult or questionable readings are encountered. Importantly, if the commentary gives a reading that differs from the canonical text, its variant reading should be recorded in notes or footnotes.

¹⁴³ Cf., Balbir, "Thoughts About "European Editions" of Pali Texts," pp. 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ Ireland, J.D. *The Udāna: Inspired Utterances of the Buddha & the Itivuttaka: The Buddha's Sayings*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1997, pp. 4, 155.

¹⁴⁵ Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*, p. 8.

2.5.5.6.2 Parallel passages

There are sometimes disadvantages in consulting parallel passages. For example, some parallels rely on a small number of sources and there may be discrepancies between the different *nikāya*.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, they contribute greatly to the clarification of textual meaning and increase confidence in the selection of readings. Balbir¹⁴⁷ gives an example of how parallel passages can shed light on discrepancies in words from the ‘European’ edition of *Dhammapada* 393. One passage reads:

*na jaṭāhi na gottena
na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo
yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca
so sukhī so ca brāhmaṇo*

Two manuscripts give “*sucī*” instead of “*sukhī*.” Norman translates “*sukhī*” in this verse as “pure.”¹⁴⁸ This interpretation is supported in following verse from the *Udāna*:

*na udakena suci hoti, bahv ettha nhāyati jano
yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca, so **suci** so ca brāhmaṇo (Ud I 9).*

von Hinüber provides another example of the contribution of parallel passages to the determination of readings. He points out¹⁴⁹ that the word *krubbetha* in the phrase *tādisaṃ mittam krubbetha* (Vin IV 203 = It 87) is found in the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition and in all Burmese manuscripts, whereas the Sinhalese manuscripts and the Thai editions of the *Vinaya*, as well as the corresponding passages in the *Itivuttaka*, commonly give *kubbetha*.

¹⁴⁶ Preface to the edition of M I.

¹⁴⁷ Balbir, "Thoughts About "European Editions" of Pali Texts," p. 15.

¹⁴⁸ Norman, K.R. *The Word of the Doctrine (Dhammapada)*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1997, p. 56.

¹⁴⁹ Hinüber, *Notes on the Pali Tradition in Burma*, p. 70 [8].

Cross-checking with the parallel passages shows that the Burmese manuscript tradition is more likely to have been influenced by Sanskrit.

In some cases, as Müller notes in his preface to the *Aṭṭhasālinī* (the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*), parallel passages can assist in the selection of readings. When a passage contains too many mistakes, he sometimes incorporates a different reading from corresponding passages into his text. In my edition of the *Mālukyaputtasutta* in the *Saḷāyatanaśamyutta* (*sutta* no. 95, line 36), there are two equally valid readings [*assupahaññati* and *assūpahaññati*]. B¹⁻² C¹ E^e S¹⁻² give *assupahaññati* whereas B^e C² C^e K^e N^e S^{e1-2} have *assūpahaññati*. Both are correct in terms of grammatical rules, *-a + u- > -u-* and *-a + u- > ū¹⁵⁰* and there seems to be close agreement on these two readings between a number of witnesses, i.e. 6 and 7, respectively. Consulting the parallel passages in the *Theragāthā* 794-817 shows clearly that *assūpahaññati* is the more appropriate reading here. Therefore, parallel passages are a useful apparatus for the selection of readings.

2.5.5.7 The determination of alternative variant readings that are equally valid should mainly be based on the strength of supporting witnesses, consideration of the original features of the Pali language, compatibility of meaning, sense and style, reliability of witnesses and comparison with non-Pali witnesses, such as parallel passages in other languages. Many editors have regularly encountered difficulty when there are two or more good readings available for determination. As Cone¹⁵¹ points out, different variant readings are inconsistently given in all editions. For example, sometimes all editions give *cattārīsa*,

¹⁵⁰ Norman, K.R. "External Sandhi in Pali with Special Reference to the Suttanipāta." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 19. 1993b: 203-13.

¹⁵¹ Cone, "Caveat Lector," p. 103.

sometimes all give *cattālīsa*, and sometimes only one edition has *cattālīsa*, which makes it difficult to determine the reading. I encountered the same issue when editing my text. What follows is a discussion of possible methods for selecting the best reading from alternative readings based on some examples from my edition.

2.5.5.7.1 Assessment of readings based on the number of witnesses and the balance of supporting traditions

The reading that is supported by a sufficient number of witnesses that represent each tradition should be accepted. In editing texts from several manuscripts or printed editions that come from different traditions, the judgment is relatively easy if a particular reading is supported by most of the witnesses. For example, in editing the *Aniccavagga*, it occasionally appeared that both the singular and plural forms of some words were possible readings in the context, e.g. *rūpā aniccā* and *rūpaṃ aniccaṃ* in the *sutta* no. 4, line 1, *anāgate rūpe* and *anāgatesu rūpesu* in the *sutta* no. 10, line 2.¹⁵² These cases were uncomplicated. A basic examination showed that *rūpaṃ aniccaṃ* and *anāgatesu rūpesu* are unacceptable because each reading is supported by only one witness from one tradition. Thus, they have been listed in the critical apparatus.

It is also important to consider the weight of each witness. For example, the word *navavādañ* in *atha kho bhagavā navavādañ ca sutvā gilānavādañ ca appaññāto bhikkhū ti* in the *sutta* no. 75, line 5. The form *navavādañ* is adopted here because it is preserved in four witnesses: Burmese (B¹⁻² B^e), Sinhalese (C² C^e), Indian (N^e) and Thai (S^{e3}), whereas the PTS edition (E^c)

¹⁵² The number and line of *sutta* refers to the present edition.

gives *navakavādañ* and two witnesses [Cambodian (K^e) and Thai (S¹⁻² S^{e1-2})] have *navatarañ*.

If reading A is retained by ten Burmese witnesses, while reading B is found in only one of the other witnesses, this does not necessarily imply that reading A will be the best reading because it comes from only one witness and (as mentioned earlier) might have been copied from inferior materials. Thus, the number of supporting witnesses should be considered along with the weight of witnesses from each tradition.

2.5.5.7.2 Consideration of the original features of the Pali language

Pali can be regarded as an artificial language because it has been changed due to the influence of Sanskrit.¹⁵³ Rahula¹⁵⁴ also points out that Pali is derived from a combination of several dialects. It may be the Māgadhī, which was spoken by the Buddha, or a new language that developed later. There is much debate about where Pali originated, but no conclusion has been reached. Scholars assume that the existing Pali texts do not specifically represent the Buddha's language or the earliest tradition of Buddhism. Given the differences in the linguistic forms of Pali, it is possible that the texts were changed from one linguistic form to another through translation or oral transmission.¹⁵⁵ The history of transmission of the Pali texts strongly suggests that they were influenced both by vernaculars in the countries to which they were transmitted and by the impact of Sanskrit.

The form of Pali changed as the texts were transmitted to other Buddhist countries. Norman notes that the orthography, grammar and syntax of the Pali texts changed when they were

¹⁵³ Hinüber, O. von. "Pāli as an Artificial Language." *Indologica Taurinensia* 10. 1982, p. 138; Norman, K.R. *Collected Papers*. Vol. 4, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1993, p. 111.

¹⁵⁴ Rahula, Walpola. "Pali as a Language for Transmitting an Authentic Religious Tradition." In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Hammalava Saddhātissa*, edited by Richard Gombrich, Gatara Dhammapala, K.R. Norman. Nugegoda: Buddhist Research Library Trust, 1984, p. 211.

¹⁵⁵ Bechert, Heinz. "Methodological Considerations Concerning the Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition." *Buddhist Studies Review* 8, no. 1-2. 1991, p. 6.

written in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand.¹⁵⁶ For instance, a Thai Pali text, *Jambupatisutta*, differs considerably from the classical Pali works of Sri Lanka in terms of syntax, vocabulary and orthography. Consequently, as noted by Pakdeekham who edited the text, it was not possible to apply the general principles of an edition to this text, so another method had to be found.¹⁵⁷

Pali texts, as noted above, have been strongly influenced by Sanskrit. During the long course of textual transmission, the texts were inevitably altered for various reasons. According to Norman,¹⁵⁸ Pali texts were modified by “[a] further restoration, often incorrect, of consonant groups containing *-r-*; various elisions of vowels explained by non-historic *sandhi* forms; various consonant groups explained by faulty back-formations; the normalization of metrical passages, to avoid seeming irregularities; and the elimination of Middle Indo-Aryan forms indefinitely in favor of their Sanskrit equivalents.” von Hinüber¹⁵⁹ agrees that the Middle Indic forms, particularly in orthography, have been changed to new words that correspond to the Sanskrit. Grammarians with knowledge of Sanskrit played a significant role in this process by gradually inserting the Sanskrit into the Pali texts. Both morphology and phonology have been converted following Sanskrit rules. Overall, Sanskrit has had the greatest influence on Pali texts. As Smith¹⁶⁰ observed, our Pali reflects the form of the language used in the 12th century. Given these alterations, it is not surprising that Pali texts contain many regional variations of reading and Sanskrit form. Such readings seem to be equally valid, which often leads to difficulty in determining the proper reading.

¹⁵⁶ Norman, *Collected Papers*, 4, p. 110.

¹⁵⁷ Pakdeekham, Santi. *Jambūpati-Sūtra: A Synoptic Romanized Edition*. Vol. 4, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009: xi.

¹⁵⁸ Norman, *Collected Papers*, 4, p. 112.

¹⁵⁹ Hinüber, "Pali as an Artificial Language," p. 138.

¹⁶⁰ Sadd vi.

In my view, the easiest way to select the best reading is an attempt to choose the one that is closest to the Middle Indo-Aryan or the reading that lacks Sanskrit influence. An example is the use of the word *duve* as it appears in the following verse in the *uddāna* of the

Yamakavagga:

<i>sambodhena <u>duve</u> vuttā</i>	<i>assādena pare <u>duve</u></i>
<i>no cetena <u>duve</u> vuttā</i>	<i>abhinandena pare <u>duve</u></i>
<i>uppādena <u>duve</u> vuttā</i>	<i>vaggo tena pavuccatī ti.</i>

Despite the fact that the majority of witnesses have used *dve* in this example, *duve* is adopted here due to the correct scansion of metre and the absence of influence from Sanskrit.¹⁶¹

Another example is *kho 'haṃ* in *yato ca kho 'haṃ bhikkhave...*, B¹⁻² B^e N^e S¹⁻² give *khvāhaṃ* whereas C¹⁻² C^e E^e K^e S^{e1-3} have *kho 'haṃ* (*sutta* no. 14, line 27). Here *kho 'haṃ* was thus chosen as the best reading because, as von Hinüber points out, the form *khvāham* does not conform to the phonetic pattern of Pali due to the Sanskritising redaction of Pali by scribes or redactors.¹⁶²

In the case of regional variation in readings that are entirely in Sanskrit form, the best option is to consider the antiquity of the reading and the agreement of the majority of witnesses. In my edition, the Sinhalese traditions were found to use both *-vy-* and *-by-* side by side (mostly *-vy-*) whereas all Southeast Asian traditions have *-by-* throughout. An example is the word *byādhidhammaṃ* in *sabbaṃ bhikkhave byādhidhammaṃ* (*sutta* no. 35, line 1) in the *Jātidhammavagga*. Here C¹⁻² C^e E^e give *vyādhidhammaṃ* whereas B¹⁻² B^e K^e N^e S¹⁻² S^{e1-3} have *byādhidhammaṃ*. In editing the *Kathāvatthu*, Taylor¹⁶³ found that all manuscripts gave *-by-*

¹⁶¹ Hinüber, "Pali as an Artificial Language," p. 134.

¹⁶² Hinüber, "Pali Manuscripts of Canonical Texts from North Thailand - a Preliminary Report," p. 84.

¹⁶³ K_V x-xi.

rather than -vy-. In the preface to his edition of the *Milindapañhā*, Trencker noted that -by- is employed in the oldest Sinhalese manuscripts whereas -vy- is used in Childers's Dictionary and in most *Piṭaka* texts. Both *Kathāvatthu* and *Milindapañhā* were composed in the early period, the former during the reign of Aśoka and the latter at a later date. This evidence suggests that -by- represents the oldest form of Pali and has been adopted by most traditions. Therefore, *byādhidhammaṃ* rather than *vyādhidhammaṃ* is adopted.

2.5.5.7.3 Compatibility with meaning, sense and style

The best reading should be compatible with the contextual meaning, sense and style of text. As Jayawikrama observed,¹⁶⁴ the reading that gives the intended meaning is preferable. For example, in the *sutta* no. 17, line 44, the word *vimariyādikatena* is accepted in *atha bhikkhave sattā sadevakā lokā samārakā sabrahmakā sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya nissaṭṭā visaññuttā vipparamuttā vimariyādikatena*. In this context, the reading *vimariyādikatena* is adopted in spite of having fewer supporting witnesses than *vipariyādikatena* because the meaning better suits the context. According to PED, *vimariyādikatena* (s.v.) (adj.) [*vi + mariyādā + kata*) means “made unrestricted, delivered, set free” whereas *vipariyādikatena* (s.v.) (adj.) means “thrown out of its course, upset, destroyed.” *Vimariyādikatena* is likely to be closer in meaning to the string words: *nissaṭṭā visaññuttā vipparamuttā*.

In the case of close similarity between variant readings, editors' decisions need to be guided by what makes most sense in that context. In the *sutta* no. 26, line 21 of the *Sabbavagga*, both *jivhaṃ* and *jivhā* in the sentence *jivhaṃ anabhijānaṃ aparijānaṃ avirājayaṃ appajahaṃ abhabbo dukkhakkhayāya* are valid readings based on correct spelling, grammar and

¹⁶⁴ Vv and Pv viii.

meaning. The majority of witnesses adopt *jivhā* because it is evident in three traditions (B¹⁻² C¹ K^e S¹⁻² S^{e1-2}), but *jivham* is more appropriate in terms of sense since the word *abhabbo* indicates a singular person and a human being has only one tongue. A final example is the word *rasa* in the sentences *rase na maññati. rasesu na maññati. rasato na maññati* (*sutta* no. 30, line 25). S¹⁻² give *rasam* in the first sentence where all other versions have *rase*. In addition to having the agreement of the majority of witnesses, *rase* is adopted due to its compatibility with the plural form of the word *rasesu*.

2.5.5.7.4 Assessment of reading from reliable witnesses

Where there are many potential variant readings, the reading from reliable witnesses is regarded as the best reading. An assessment of the reliability of witnesses can be undertaken in two main ways: by studying the information in the colophon and comparing the number of mistakes contained in each witness. The colophon contains most of the information that is useful for determining the reading. As West noted, scribes occasionally recorded the date, earliest provenance of witnesses, the time of writing and the history of textual transmission.¹⁶⁵ In addition, the quality of witnesses can be inferred by collating and comparing the number of errors they contain. The witness containing more mistakes than others is unreliable because the text may have been copied from second-hand rather than primary sources and been contaminated by scribal alterations and corrections. The source of corruptions is also significant in assessing the reliability of witnesses, since a reading that has been intentionally changed by scribes is likely to be worse than one that has been altered accidentally. Although the quality of witness is an important criterion in the evaluation of readings, it is best used in combination with other editorial methods.

¹⁶⁵ West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts*, pp. 30-1.

2.5.5.7.5 Comparison with non-Pali versions

Most Pali *sutta* and *vinaya* texts have parallels preserved in Chinese, Sanskrit, Gāndhārī and/or Tibetan. Comparison with these versions is another good option for selecting the best reading. As Norman¹⁶⁶ points out, non-Pali versions can help us to restore the original reading in the Pali. The Sanskrit in particular has proved valuable for correcting mistakes, filling gaps in the manuscripts and organising fragments systematically. There is evidence to show that a Sanskrit or Prakrit manuscript from Chinese Turkestan gives a reading that is quite close to that in Pali manuscripts from Myanmar and Thailand.¹⁶⁷ For example, the *Udānavarga* verse XII, 9-10 corresponding to *Dhammapada* 275 gives *kṛntana* in the verse. The Sinhalese version gives *santhana* whereas *kantana* is given in the Burmese version. Similarly, the Sanskrit *Upalisūtra* has *aprabhītasya* which is quite close to *appabhītassa* in the Thai edition, whereas the Sinhalese and Burmese versions of the *Majjhimanikāya* give *appahīnassa*.¹⁶⁸ In some cases, when compared to the Sanskrit, the Pali version of a text appears to be incomplete. For example, the regulations for *kaṭhina* robe in the *Kaṭhinakhandhaka* were often unclear and difficult to understand if they were not compared with other versions or reference to the *Parivāra*. This suggests that, if two versions agree on the reading, that reading is in the original form and probably dates back to early Buddhism.¹⁶⁹ Cone agrees that a critical edition should be based on good witnesses from various traditions, particularly non-Pali ones, because this makes the text more meaningful.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Norman, "Pali Philology and the Study of Buddhism," p. 35.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁶⁹ Norman, K.R. *Collected Papers*. Vol. 3, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 1992, pp. 41-2.

¹⁷⁰ Cone, "Caveat Lector," pp. 102-3.

The Chinese parallel version is also helpful in the evaluation of readings, including in relation to critical study of early Buddhist doctrine. Choong¹⁷¹ gives an interesting example of the contribution of the Chinese version to the restoration of a lost section from the *sutta* in the Pali *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A X 208). In this *sutta*, the Buddha said that the results of *kamma* are inevitable. He goes on to say that, “Monks, that noble disciple, thus free from desire and ill-will, not bewildered but thoughtful and mindful, remains pervading one quarter (of the world) with a heart possessed of loving-kindness, likewise the second, third and fourth quarters.” According to Choong,¹⁷² this sentence is probably incomplete. The unexpected switch from the topic of *kamma* (= Skt *karma*) to the consequence of loving-kindness meditation is confusing. In the Chinese version, however, the reference to the outcome of *karma* is followed by the explanation that the noble disciple who abstains from ten types of wrong action will gain energy and virtue. Then he will be free from desire and ill-will.

In his study of the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta/Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta* in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Bingenheimer¹⁷³ notes that there are some unresolved issues regarding the names of the nuns. In the case of the name *Vīrā*, the Pali manuscript tradition has both *vīrā* and *cīrā*. Geiger et al. (1997) and Bodhi (2000) give *cīrā* whereas Rhys Davids (1917: 275) adopts *vīrā*. The *Saṃyuttanikāya* commentary is unable to determine the correct spelling, but the evidence from the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (BSA 219 and 326) suggests that *Vīrā* is the correct name.

¹⁷¹ Choong, Mun-Keat. "The Importance of Pali-Chinese Comparison in the Study of Pali Suttas." *KHŒHÓNIOS* 2, no. 2. 2005, pp. 21-2.

¹⁷² Ibid., pp. 22. For examples of the contribution of the Chinese *Āgama* in complementing and clarifying the Pali versions, see Anālayo, Bhikkhu. "Some Pali Discourses in the Light of Their Chinese Parallels." *Buddhist Studies Review* 22, no. 1. 2005, pp. 1-13.

¹⁷³ Bingenheimer, Marcus. "The Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta in the Shorter Chinese Saṃyukta Āgama." *Buddhist Studies Review* 25, no. 1. 2008, p. 9.

In the second advisory board meeting of the Dhammachai *Tipiṭaka* Project (DTP) on 22nd February 2013, Bhikkhu Anālayo provided other interesting examples of the contribution of Chinese *Āgama* in the determination of reading. For example, in the *Salāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* (M no. 137), the PTS edition reads *na c'eva attamano hoti na ca attamanatam paṭisaṃvedeti* (M III 221, 10) whereas B^e gives the opposite meaning: *na c'eva anattamano hoti na ca anattamanatam paṭisaṃvedeti*. The Chinese parallel MĀ 163 at T I 693c29 translates this as “he is not sad because of this.” This meaning supports the reading of B^e which is compatible with the context. There are also numerous differences in relation to doctrinal topics between the Pali and Chinese parallel versions. For example, SĀ 1063 and BSA 2 record that the Buddha is a special individual with supernormal powers, whereas the S II 279 presents the Buddha as simply a monk and teacher of other monks.¹⁷⁴ This kind of difference enhances our understanding of the correct evaluation of variant readings that have a high degree of variation or arbitrariness. By following this principle, we can restore lost sections of the Pali texts and identify the readings that reflect the common source of text in the early period, perhaps before schisms occurred.

¹⁷⁴ Choong, Mun-Keat. "A Comparison of the Pali and Chinese Versions of the Bhikkhu Saṃyutta, a Collection of Early Buddhist Discourses on Monks." *Buddhist Studies Review* 23, no. 1. 2006a, pp. 64-5. For more examples of differences in the doctrinal teachings, see Choong, Mun-Keat. *Annotated Translation of Sūtras from the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama Relevant to the Early Buddhist Teachings on Emptiness and the Middle Way*. Penang: Chee Khoo Printings, 2004, pp. 90-6; Choong, Mun-Keat. "A Comparison of the Pali and Chinese Versions of the Kosala Saṃyutta, an Early Buddhist Discourse on King Pasenadi of Kosala." *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 7. 2006b, pp. 24-34; Choong, Mun-Keat. "A Comparison of the Pāli and Chinese Versions of the Vaṅgīsa-Thera Saṃyutta, a Collection of Early Buddhist Discourses on the Venerable Vaṅgīsa." *Buddhist Studies Review* 24, no. 1. 2007, pp. 38-44; Choong, Mun-Keat. "A Comparison of the Pāli and Chinese Versions of the Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta, a Collection of Early Buddhist Discourses on the Priestly Brāhmaṇas." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Series* 3, 19, 3. 2009a, pp. 374-80; and Choong, Mun-Keat. "A Comparison of the Pāli and Chinese Versions of the Māra Saṃyutta, a Collection of Early Buddhist Discourses on Māra, the Evil One." *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 10. 2009b, pp. 42-50.

2.5.6 Emendations

Whenever an editor encounters an impossible reading, emendations can be applied where appropriate. In general, three main types of emendations are employed by most scholars: contextual emendations, linguistic emendations and emendations for metrical reasons.¹⁷⁵ All of these are useful for a critical edition, but need to be treated with caution since they depend on the judgment of editors rather than textual evidence. The emendations should be based on the principles described below.

2.5.6.1 The reading can be emended when there are obvious grammatical mistakes or misspellings that can be systematically corrected and standardised by consulting Pali dictionaries, grammatical works, commentaries and parallel passages.

2.5.6.2 The reading can be emended when it does not fit the metrical rules.

2.5.6.3 The emended reading must not change the meaning of the text.

2.5.6.4 Emendations can sometimes be made to improve the consistency of reading, e.g. the re-creation of the name of *suttas* so that it has the same termination *-am* as other *suttas* (*suttas* nos. 35, 38). As Gombrich¹⁷⁶ suggested, editors should perform the emendation confidently. After that, the emended reading should be put in the main text and all variant readings should be provided in the critical apparatus. This approach makes the text more meaningful. In addition, the editor should inform readers about the emended readings by

¹⁷⁵ Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 357-69.

¹⁷⁶ Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*, p. 11.

using the abbreviation *em*, e.g. *saṅkilesikadhammasuttaṃ em*; B¹⁻² B^e C¹⁻² K^e N^e S¹⁻² S^{e1-3} *omit*, C^e *saṅkilesadhammsuttaṃ*, E^e *saṅkilesa* (*sutta* no. 38; S IV 27).

2.5.6.5 Further to this, all actual forms of readings should be listed so that the reader can clearly see the readings that exist in all materials. Peter Skilling¹⁷⁷ has suggested that the general principles of an edition are inadequate when one is working with several witnesses. When a great many witnesses are employed, the footnotes become over-long and difficult to manage. As a result, readers may encounter difficulty reading back from the footnotes in order to see the original reading given by the manuscripts. On the other hand, if editors attempt to reduce the number of variant readings, the real nature of the manuscripts is obscured.

He therefore decided to produce a synoptic edition when dealing with the *Jambūpatīsūtra*, a Pali work produced in Thailand. Although such an approach uses considerable space, it makes it easy for readers to compare the original reading of each manuscript tradition. In editing this *sutta*, every manuscript reading is recorded in the columns exactly as it is, line by line, without any correction. The reader can see the selected versions of the text together, as shown in the following example:

A. [ka/r]	<i>evam me suttaṃ</i>	<i>ekaṃ sammayam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharati</i>	<i>veḷuvanne /</i>
B. [ka/r]	<i>evame suttaṃ</i>	<i>ekaṃ समयam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharati</i>	<i>veḷuvane /</i>
C.	<i>evam me sutam</i>	<i>ekaṃ समयam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharati</i>	<i>veḷuvane /</i>
D.	<i>evam me sutam</i>	<i>ekaṃ समयam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharanto</i>	<i>veḷuvane /</i>
E. [l/r]	<i>eva me suttaṃ</i>	<i>ekaṃ समयam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharati</i>	<i>veḷuvane /</i>
F. [l]	<i>evaṃ me suttaṃ</i>	<i>ekaṃ समयam</i>	<i>bhagavā</i>	<i>rājagahe viharati</i>	<i>veḷuvane /</i> ¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Skilling, "An Impossible Task? The Classical 'Edition' and Thai Pali Literature," pp. 35-6.

¹⁷⁸ Pakdeekham, *Jambūpati-Sūtra: A Synoptic Romanized Edition*, 4, p. 3.

The synoptic edition is a good way of presenting the actual readings without correction and contamination of text. I have applied this editorial method in the editing of titles and *uddānas* that have no standardisation in each tradition in terms of spelling, wording, and number and order of words and syllables in each *pāda*. The readings contained in the *uddānas* of each textual witness are particularly error-prone and occasionally do not conform to the metrical rules. Although all valid variant readings are inserted in the footnotes, it is still difficult to read back from the footnotes to see the original reading in a single tradition. This can create difficulty and confusion for readers and editors alike. In order to avoid textual corruption and inventions, I have kept the possible readings in the main text and all difficult problems (such as metrical conformity) have been left without any correction. The complete titles and *uddānas* of each witness are included in Appendices 3.2.1 and 3.2.6 (Volume 2), respectively.

Chapter 3

Edition

3.1-3.3 See Volume 2 for edition, appendices, and notes to the edition

3.4 Characteristics and features of manuscripts and editions

In order to preserve and propagate the teachings of the Buddha, Buddhists in many *Theravāda* countries have repeatedly copied the manuscripts and published editions of the *Tiṭṭaka*. Each manuscript and edition exhibits distinctive features, influenced by the culture, the language, writing practices, purpose of the production and the material used by those who produced it. This section discusses the characteristics and features of manuscripts and published editions including formats, systems of abbreviation, orthography and variant readings, the accuracy of grammar, errors in wording and colophons.

3.4.1 Document formats

The document formats will be briefly considered in relation to three aspects: use of punctuation marks, capital letters, and titles and summary verses (*uddānas*).

3.4.1.1 Punctuation marks

The punctuation marks encountered in the manuscripts and editions are as follows:

B¹⁻² The *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa* is commonly used at the end of sentences and in abbreviations.

- B^e** Like B¹⁻², B^e employs *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa* at the end of sentences and in abbreviations. The dash is also used to separate parts of a sentence and quotation marks are used for direct speech.
- C¹⁻²** The *kuṇḍalī* is a special characteristic of the punctuation mark of Sinhalese manuscripts. The *kuṇḍalī* is “a spiral shape in the form of a cowry shell, generally used as a full stop. Several *kuṇḍalī* are used to indicate the separation of sections in a text.”¹⁷⁹ In Sinhalese manuscripts, it is also used to indicate abbreviation.
- C^e** A full stop is used at the end of sentences, commas are used to separate words, dashes and colons are used to separate parts of a sentence. Quotation marks are used for direct speech, thoughts and the isolation of concepts. An apostrophe is used when the vowel is elided according to the vowel *sandhi* when it is placed to the left of the elided vowel, e.g. *attā’ ti*.
- E^e** The *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa* is used at the end of sentences and in abbreviations. Sentences are sometimes separated with a dash.
- K^e** The symbol 𑀧 is used at the end of sentences and a double space is used for separating the subordinate clause or relative clause, e.g. *yā ca jivhā ye ca rasā yañ ca jivhāviññāṇaṃ*.
- N^e** The *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa* is used at the end of sentences, the dash and semi colon are used to separate parts of a sentence, quotation marks are used for indirect speech. Commas are used to separate words, exclamation and question marks are used for questions, e.g. *ko pana vādo paccupannāya?*
- S¹⁻²** The symbol 𑀧 is used at the end of sentences and in abbreviations.

¹⁷⁹ Liyanaratne, Jinadasa. "Sri Lankan Manuscriptology." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 28. 2006, p. 47; see also De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, 1, xix-xx.

S^{e1} The format of punctuation marks is nearly identical to K^e. The symbol ๑ is used at the end of sentences and a double space is used for separating the subordinate clause or relative clause, e.g. *yā ca jivhā ye ca rasā yañ ca jivhāviññāṇaṃ*. What differs from K^e is the use of parentheses or square brackets to separate the sections that do not appear in the main text.

S^{e2-3} A full stop is used at the end of sentences. The dash and colon are used to separate parts of a sentence. Quotation marks are used for direct speech, thoughts and the isolation of concepts. Commas are used to separate words. Question marks are used to mark questions, e.g. *kena ādittaṃ?* Parentheses or square brackets are used to separate the sections that do not appear in the main text.

The manuscripts of all traditions employ only a few punctuation marks. The format of punctuation marks of B^e E^e K^e S^{e1} is similar to that used in manuscripts. The use of *daṇḍa* or double *daṇḍa* in E^e follows the practice of the Burmese manuscripts and edition. In the case of K^e, the symbol ๑ is adopted from the Thai tradition. This suggests that E^e and K^e adopt the document format of the original manuscript. On the other hand, C^e N^e S^{e2} S^{e3} have introduced many Western punctuation marks. The use of punctuation marks in S^{e2} is identical with S^{e3} and it is clear that the former has copied the latter. These Western punctuation marks have clearly been employed by these Asian editions to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text.

3.4.1.2 Capital letters

Capital letters are not used in manuscripts as Asian scripts do not have the equivalent of Western capitals. The only edition to use capitals is the PTS editions which employs them at the beginning of sentences and for proper nouns.

3.4.1.3 Titles and summary verses (*uddāna*)

Titles

According to the research undertaken for this thesis (see sections 3.1 and 3.2 in Volume 2), there is no standardisation of titles given to the *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, which indicates that *sutta* titles are a later invention.

Manuscripts of the *Śaṃyuttanikāya* do not head the *sutta* with a title. Rather a reference to the *sutta* is given in the *uddāna* that appears at the end of each *vagga*. Of the editions, K^e and S^{e1} have no title, which follows the practice of the manuscript traditions in contrast to the other editions which create their own titles. The titles existing in other printed editions are basically created from a short key word contained in the *uddāna*, e.g., in *sutta* no. 23 in this edition, C^e N^e S^{e2} gives *sabbasuttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *sabbasutta*, and E^e has *sabba* where the *uddāna* entry is *sabbañ*. Sometimes, the title given in the edition is based on a combination of the *uddāna* entry and another word from the *sutta*, e.g. in *sutta* no. 53, C^e N^e S^{e2} gives *avijjāpahānasuttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *avijjāpahānasutta*, and E^e has *avijjā* where the *uddāna* entry is *avijjā*. Occasionally, several word elements in the *sutta* are combined to form the title, e.g., in *sutta* no. 25, N^e S^{e2} give *abhiññāpariññāpahānāya-suttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *abhiññāpariññāpahānāyasutta*, C^e has *dutiya pahānasuttaṃ* and E^e has *pahānā 2*. This title is based on the phrase *sabbaṃ abhiññā pariññā pahānāya vo bhikkhave dhammaṃ desissāmi* in the *sutta*,

where the *uddāna* entry is *pahānā*. In the *suttas* containing narrative passages, the titles given to the *suttas* by the editions (B^e C^e N^e S^{e2-3}) except E^e are commonly created by combining the name of a main character and the doctrinal topic, e.g., in *sutta* nos. 65, 66, 67, 68, N^e S^{e2} *paṭhamasamiddhimārapañhā-suttaṃ*, *samiddhisattapañhā-suttaṃ*, *samiddhidukkha-pañhāsuttaṃ*, and *samiddhilokapañhā-suttaṃ* whereas B^e S^{e3} give *paṭhamasamiddhimārapañhāsutta*, *samiddhisattapañhāsutta*, *samiddhidukkhapañhāsutta*, and *samiddhilokapañhāsutta*, respectively. C^e has *samiddhimārapañhāsuttaṃ*, *samiddhisatta-pañhasuttaṃ*, *samiddhidukkhapañhasuttaṃ*, and *samiddhilokapañhasuttaṃ* while the PTS edition (E^e) gives the name followed by the number of *sutta*, i.e. *samiddhi* (1), *samiddhi* (2), *samiddhi* (3), *samiddhi* (4), respectively. Here *samiddhi* is the entry for these *suttas* in the *uddānas* whereas the words *mārapañhā*, *sattapañhā*, *dukkhapañhā*, and *lokapañhā* are taken from the subject matter of the *suttas*. This reflects the wording of the *uddānas*, which commonly note multiple *suttas* dealing with the same topic with cardinal or ordinal words, e.g., *paṭhamapubbesambodhasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-pubbesambodhasuttaṃ* (*sutta* nos. 13, 14)¹⁸⁰ and *paṭhama-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ* (*sutta* nos. 15, 16)¹⁸¹ are taken from *sambodhena duve vuttā*, *assādena pare duve*. All of these examples clearly demonstrate that the titles are mainly drawn from the *uddānas*. Other additional components, which are taken from the key elements existing in the *suttas*, depend on the decisions of compilers and editors in each printed edition.

¹⁸⁰ B^e S^{e3} *paṭhamapubbesambodhasutta* and *dutiya-pubbesambodhasutta*, C^e *sambodhasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-sambodhasuttaṃ*, E^e *sambodhena 1* and *sambodhena 2*, N^e S^{e2} *paṭhamapubbesambodhasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-pubbesambodhasuttaṃ*.

¹⁸¹ B^e S^{e3} *paṭhama-assādapariyesanasutta* and *dutiya-assādapariyesanasutta*, C^e *assādapariyesanasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ*, E^e *assādena 1* and *assādena 2*, N^e S^{e2} *paṭhama-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ* and *dutiya-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ*, *paṭhama-assādapariyesanasuttaṃ*.

In this study, nearly 100% of the titles of the printed editions have a close relationship with the corresponding *uddāna* entry. S^{e3} mostly agrees with the titles of B^e while the titles of S^{e2} are always similar to the ones from N^e. The only distinction between B^e S^{e3} and N^e S^{e2} is in the termination used in the title. For example, B^e S^{e3} give *ajjhattānattātītānāgatasuttaṃ* whereas N^e S^{e2} have *ajjhattānattātītā-nāgatasutta*. C^e sometimes agrees with N^e S^{e2} and at other times differs from them, agreeing with other editions. It is especially the case with the PTS edition, which merely repeats the *uddāna* entry, using numbers where the *uddāna* has these, rather than creating a title, e.g. in *sutta* nos. 94 and 95, E^e gives *saṃgayha 1* and *saṃgayha 2*, respectively, which correspond to the *uddāna* entry *dve saṅgayhā* whereas N^e S^{e2} have *adanta-aguttasuttaṃ* and *mālukyaputtasuttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *adanta-aguttasuttaṃ* and *mālukyaputtasutta*, and C^e has *chaphassāyatanasuttaṃ* and *mālūṅkyaputtasuttaṃ*, which are taken directly from the doctrinal subject and a main character of the *suttas*. The use of alternative titles is also found in other collections, e.g. in *sutta* no. 87 in the *Samyuttanikāya*, C^e N^e S^{e2} uses *channasuttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *channasutta*, and E^e has *channa* while the title in the *Majjhimanikāya* is *channovādasuttaṃ*.¹⁸² In *sutta* no. 88 in the *Samyuttanikāya*, C^e N^e S^{e2} has *puṇṇasuttaṃ*, B^e S^{e3} have *puṇṇasutta*, E^e has *puṇṇa* whereas the title of the *Majjhimanikāya* is *puṇṇovādasuttaṃ*.¹⁸³ This clearly shows that the titles are devised later by editors to facilitate referencing, reading and understanding of the text.

Summary verses (*uddāna*)

Uddānas are the verses that provide a mnemonic key to the sequence of *suttas* found in each *vagga*, or collection of usually 10 *suttas*. They are usually placed at the end of each *vagga*

¹⁸² M III 262.

¹⁸³ M III 266.

and were possibly created as a technique for helping recitation and memorisation in the oral tradition.¹⁸⁴

In the section of the *Samyuttanikāya* covered by this study, each *vagga* consists of 10-12 *suttas*. In approximately 95% of the *suttas*, the *uddāna* entry is derived from the subject matter, e.g., *anicca*, *dukkha*, *anattā*, *avijjā*, and *saṃyojana*. In approximately 5% of the *suttas*, the *uddāna* repeats the key word from the name of a main character or refers to the main character(s), e.g., *migajāla*, *channa*, *puṇṇa*, *bāhiya*, *sambahulabhikkhu*, and *mālukyaputta*. On some occasions, the relationship between the *uddāna* and the *sutta* is unclear. In *suttas* no. 94 and 95, the *uddāna* entry is *dve saṅgayhā* whereas this key word does not appear anywhere in the *suttas* being referenced. In this case, it could be assumed that the author of the colophon may have personally interpreted the meanings of the subject matters of two *suttas* as *dve saṅgayhā*.

A shared feature of all manuscripts and printed editions used for this edition is the inclusion of an *uddāna* after each *vagga*. The wordings contained in the *uddānas* are arranged in the same sequence in each manuscript and printed edition. In general, the *uddānas* of N^e agree in reading with those of B^e whereas E^e and K^e mostly follow the *uddānas* of C¹⁻² C^e and S¹⁻² S^{e1-3}, respectively. However, some distinctions between them are discernible, for instance in grammatical form and spelling. For example, there is the use of different case of noun in the *Yamakavagga*, e.g. B¹⁻² S¹⁻² give *abhinadane* whereas B^e C^e E^e K^e S^{e1-3} N^e *abhinandena*. The various ways of spelling and the use of different words also occur in the *Jātidhammavagga*, e.g. B¹ N^e *saṅkilesikaṃ*, B² *saṅkilesiyaṃ*, B^e C^e *saṅkilesikaṃ*, C¹⁻² *saṅkilesa*, E^e *saṅkilesa*, K^e

¹⁸⁴ Ireland, *The Udāna: Inspired Utterances of the Buddha & the Itivuttaka: The Buddha's Sayings*, p. 156.

S^{e1-3} *saṅkilesā*, S¹⁻² *saṅkilesā*, in the *Chalavagga*, we found: B¹ B^e N^e *saṅgayhā*, B² *saṅgayha*, C¹ *saṅghe*, C² *saṅgayha*, C^e E^e K^e S^{e1-3} *saṅgayhā*, S¹ *pa taṅhā*, S² *sagaṅhā*. Moreover, it appears that the *uddānas* in C¹ and C² are omitted in the *Aniccavagga* and *Yamakavagga* whereas they are still preserved in other *vaggas*.

Vagguddānas

Vagguddānas are verses that reference each *vagga* and their sequence within a *pañṇāsa* (sets of 50). The entry for each *vagga* is based on the *uddāna* entry for the first *sutta* of each *vagga*. In the study of two *vagguddānas* in two *pañṇasas*, the Sinhalese manuscripts (C¹⁻²) have no *vagguddānas* whereas other manuscripts and printed editions occasionally use various wordings, e.g. C^e *aniccavaggo*, B¹ *sudavaggaṃ ca*, B² *sutavaggaṃ ca*, B^e N^e *aniccavaggaṃ*, C¹⁻² omit *vagguddāna*, E^e *sutavaggaṃ*, K^e S^{e1-3} *suddhavaggo*, S¹ *saddhavaggo*, S² *saddavaggo*. This clearly shows that each tradition has remembered and transmitted both *uddānas* and *vagguddānas* separately. All of these distinctions may have also resulted from a looser attitude towards the wording of the *uddānas* because it was realised that they are not the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), but merely a textual feature.

3.4.2 Abbreviation system

Each version has a different style of abbreviating the text, as described below.

- B¹** The text is generally abbreviated with *la*, *gha*, *pa*, *daṅḍa* and double *daṅḍa*. Sometimes an abbreviation is indicated by omission. Mostly, *la* and *gha* are used interchangeably in this manuscript.

- B²** The text is abbreviated with *la*, *pa*, *daṇḍa* and double *daṇḍa*. Like B¹, an abbreviation is sometimes indicated by omission. Mostly, *la* is employed in this manuscript.
- B^e** The text is abbreviated with *pa* or double *daṇḍa*. Like B¹⁻², an abbreviation is indicated by omission.
- C¹⁻²** The text is abbreviated with the symbol *kuṇḍalī pe kuṇḍalī* or only punctuation *kuṇḍalī*. Sometimes an abbreviation is indicated by omission.
- C^e** The text is normally abbreviated with *-pe-*. Most generally the full form is preferable.
- E^e** This version contains a great number of abridgements. The abbreviations with *pe*, *pa*, *la*, *gha*, *daṇḍa*, double *daṇḍa* or *_° °_* are interchangeable throughout the text. This version frequently abbreviates the repetitive *suttas* with the English word, e.g. 13-14 [As in the preceding] (*Gilānavagga, sutta* no. 48), 1-5 [As in preceding *sutta*] (*Gilānavagga, sutta* no. 80) and [The same as 2-9 of the preceding *sutta*] (*Chalāvagga, sutta* no. 102).
- K^e S^{e1}** The text is generally abbreviated with *ᵃpe ᵃ, ᵃ* and omission.
- N^e** The text is usually abridged with *...peᵃ...* (*peāram*: so on) and three dots ...
- S¹** The text is abridged with *ᵃpa ᵃ, ᵃla ᵃ, ᵃghe ᵃ, ᵃgha ᵃ, ᵃ* and omission. *ᵃla ᵃ* is most generally found throughout the text.
- S²** Like S¹, the text is abridged with *ᵃpa ᵃ, ᵃla ᵃ, ᵃghe ᵃ, ᵃgha ᵃ, ᵃ* and omission. Both *ᵃpa ᵃ* and *ᵃla ᵃ* are most generally found side by side throughout the text.
- S^{e2-3}** Like N^e, the text is abridged with *ᵃpe ᵃ* and three dots ...

With regard to this, C¹⁻² C^e K^e N^e S^{e1-3} consistently employs ...*pe*... for an abbreviation whereas B^e abbreviates the text with ...*pa*... throughout the text. B¹⁻² S¹⁻² inconsistently use many types of abbreviation, but all of them most generally agree in the use of ...*la*... in many places. There is also inconsistency in syllable used in E^e to indicate abbreviation, with *pe*, *pa*, *la*, and *gha* being used interchangeably throughout the text. In addition, E^e has a tendency to abbreviate a greater number of repetitive passages than other versions, C¹⁻² C^e tend to give passages in full. It has also been found that the position of abridgments is different in each manuscript and printed edition. This frequently leads to the difficulty and delay in editing the Pali text. For example, in line 21-26 of *sutta* no. 15, B¹⁻² B^e K^e N^e S¹⁻² S^{e1-3} abbreviate from *kāyassāhaṃ* to *sudittḥaṃ* with *pe*, *pa* or *la*, C¹ abbreviates from *bhikkhave* after *kāyassāhaṃ* to *sudittḥaṃ* with *pe*, C² E^e abbreviate from *ahaṃ* after *kāyassa* to *sudittḥaṃ* with *pe*, and C^e abbreviates from *assādapariyesanaṃ* to *sudittḥaṃ* with *pe*. However, B¹⁻² B^e N^e S^{e2-3}, C¹⁻² C^e E^e and K^e S¹⁻² S^{e1} tend to abbreviate the text in the same place each time. The great diversity in abbreviation practices indicates that abbreviation is merely a scribal and editorial convention.

3.4.3 Orthography and variant readings

Manuscripts

B¹⁻² Both Burmese manuscripts contain many incorrect orthographic variant readings. Nevertheless, it appears that B² has a larger number of scribal errors than B¹. The general characteristics of incorrect spellings of B¹⁻² that are most frequently found throughout the text are as follows:

1. *-i-* is mostly given instead of *-ī-*, e.g. *khinā* for *khīnā*, *karaṇiyaṃ* for *karaṇīyaṃ*, *atitānāgataṃ* for *atītānāgataṃ*, *ādinavato* for *ādīnavato*, *atitāya* for *atītāya*, *rajanīyā* for *rajanīyā* and *pahinaṃ* for *pahīnaṃ*.
2. *-ī-* is sometimes given instead of *-i-*, e.g. *asmī* for *asmi*, *jīvhāya* for *jivhāya* and *bāhīrānaṃ* for *bāhirānaṃ*.
3. *-iṃ* is normally spelt with *-i/-ī-*, e.g. *cakkhusmī* for *cakkhusmiṃ*, *manasmī* for *manasmīṃ*, *veyyākaraṇasmi* for *veyyākaraṇasmīṃ* and *āyati* for *āyatiṃ*.
4. The dental consonants are occasionally used instead of retroflexes, e.g. *paṭirūpā* for *paṭirūpā*, *paṭissato* for *paṭissato*, *chinnavatume* for *chinnavaṭume*, *pariyādinnavatte* for *pariyādinnavatte* and *pathamaṃ* for *paṭhamaṃ*.
5. The unaspirate consonant is occasionally used instead of the aspirate consonant, e.g. *abhijjā* for *abhijjhā*, *ajjosāya* for *ajjhosāya* and *majje* for *majjhe*.
6. The double consonants are inconsistently used, e.g. *nappajānāmi* for *na pajānāmi* and *nappajjahati* for *na pajjahati*.

In relation to the readings given by B¹⁻², B² has a unique feature that differentiates it from B¹ and other versions. For example, the readings *tikhiṇena* and *khaggena* are given whereas all other versions have *tiṇhena* and *sikharena* respectively (*sutta* no. 87, line 15). Sometimes B² uses the alternative pronoun *assa* whereas all other versions give *tassa* (*sutta* no. 63, line 18). On some occasions, B² prefers to separate words that appear in compound (*samāsa*) in other versions, e.g. *dukkhassa samudayo* instead of *dukkhasamudayo* (*sutta* no. 64, line 6). Other instances are *rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ* for *rūpā dukkhā* (*sutta* no. 5, line 1), *anāgatesu rūpesu* for *anāgate rūpe* (*sutta* no. 12, line 2), *na aññāsuṃ* for *nābhaññāsuṃ* (*sutta* no. 17, line 38),

miggajālo for *migajālo* (*sutta* no. 63, line 1), *appaññatto* for *appaññāto* (*sutta* no. 74, line 4), *sīlavisuddhaṃ* for *sīlavisuddhatthaṃ* (*sutta* no. 74, line 22) and *na pi kaṅkhāmi* for *nāvakaṅkhāmi* (*sutta* no. 87, line 29). In other words, B² seems to have attempted to create an alternative reading, which suggests that B² may have been copied from another archetype which differs from B¹ and all other versions. It is possible that a scribe intentionally changed the readings for reasons of his own. Comparison of additional manuscripts may help to resolve this issue.

C¹⁻² Among all manuscripts, it seems that C¹⁻² contain the largest number of incorrect orthographic variant readings. The particular characteristic of the readings of C¹⁻² is the inconsistent use of retroflexes and dentals. For example, *-n-* is frequently spelt with *-ṇ-* throughout the text, e.g. *ṇ' eso* for *n' eso*, *ṇibbindati* for *nibbindati*, *ghāṇaṃ* for *ghānaṃ*, *maṇaṃ* for *manaṃ*, *sadevamaṇussāya* for *sadevamanussāya*, *dhammāṇaṃ* for *dhammānaṃ*, *ṇāparaṃ* for *nāparaṃ* and *aṇṭimā* for *antimā*. On the other hand, *-ṇ-* is sometimes written with *-n-*, e.g. *punno* for *puṇṇa*, *paricinno* for *pariciṇṇo*, *tiṇhena* for *tiṇhena*, *cakkhuvīṇṇānaṃ* for *cakkhuvīññānaṃ*, *tinnaṃ* for *tiṇṇaṃ* and *jinno* for *jiṇṇo*. In addition, *anusvāra* is often inserted into the word, e.g. *jīvhāvīṇṇānaṃ* for *jīvhāvīññānaṃ*, *dukkhaṃdhivāhā* for *dukkhadhivāhā*, *cakkhuṃvīṇṇānaṃ* for *cakkhuvīññānaṃ*, *manosamphassaṃpaccayā* for *manosamphassapaccayā*, *manoviṇṇānato* for *manoviññānato* and *paccataṃṇ eva* for *paccataññ eva*. Occasionally, the given reading obviously differs from that of other versions. For instance, the Sinhalese reading is mostly spelt with *-vy-* throughout the text whereas *-by-* is most often employed in the Burmese and Thai editions, e.g. *vyākoroma* is given instead of *byākaroma*. The alternative pronoun *imamhā* is given whereas other versions have *imasmā* (*sutta* no. 71, line 3). Sometimes, *samuppannaṃ* is adopted whereas other traditions have

uppannaṃ (*sutta* no. 93, line 7) and *rūpaṃ aniccaṃ* are adopted whereas other traditions have *rūpā aniccā* (*sutta* no. 4, line 2). Such peculiar readings of two Sinhalese manuscripts may result from non-interchange of this text between each tradition. There is evidence to indicate that Sri Lanka has never asked for *Samyuttanikāya* or *Sāratthappakāsinī* from Thailand.¹⁸⁵ This suggests that the *Samyuttanikāya* texts must have still existed in Sri Lanka; therefore, there is less possibility that they will have been influenced by the reading of other traditions.

S¹⁻² Two Khom manuscripts contain a great number of readings which do not conform to the normal standard Pali spellings as follows:

1. An unaspirate consonant is sometimes employed instead of an aspirate consonant, e.g. *bhaddhante* for *bhaddante*, *saddhā* for *saddā*, *uddhānaṃ* for *uddānaṃ* and *nibbidhāya* for *nibbidāya*.
2. *-ī-* is frequently spelt with *-i-*, e.g. *karaṇiyaṃ* for *karaṇīyaṃ*, *yāvakivañ* for *yāvakīvañ*, *pahiyanti* for *pahīyanti*, *ekavihāri* for *ekavihārī*, *pahinā* for *pahīnā*, *niharatha* for *nīharatha*, *ādinavañ* for *ādīnavañ*, *khiṇā* for *khiṇī*, *khamaniyaṃ* for *khamanīyaṃ*, *yāpaniyaṃ* for *yāpanīyaṃ*, *silato* for *sīlato*, *atite* for *atīte*, *vitassallo* for *vītassallo*, *pamādavihāri* for *pamādavihārī*, *gayāsise* for *gayāsīse* and *āsiviso* for *āsīviso*.
3. *-i-* is spelt with *-ī-*, e.g. *ṭhīti* for *ṭhiti*. This kind of reading mostly occurs in S², i.e. *rāgaggīnā* for *rāgagginā*, *dosaggīnā* for *dosagginā*, *mohaggīnā* for *mohagginā*, *indrīyānaṃ* for *indriyānaṃ* and *atthī* for *atthi*.
4. Retroflex consonants are sometimes spelt with dentals and vice versa, e.g. *paṭhamaṃ* for *paṭhamam*, *vippatisāro* for *vippaṭisāro* and *paṭisevati* for *paṭisevati*.

¹⁸⁵ Hinüber, "Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the 18th Century," p. 148.

5. *anusvāra* is often used instead of nasal class, e.g. *saṅkilesā* for *saṅkilesā* and *saṅgati* for *saṅgati*.
6. Double consonants are occasionally used instead of single consonants, e.g. *uppādiyati* for *upādiyati*, *anuppādiyaṃ* for *anupādiyaṃ*, *rajjaniyā* for *rajanīyā*, *pajjahatha* for *pajahatha*, *arahattaṃ* for *arahataṃ* and *asaṃvuttā* for *asaṃvutā*.

From comparison of the texts, it appears that both S¹ and S² share the characteristics of this kind of irregular spelling. However, it seems that S² has a greater number of these features than S¹ which suggests that S¹ and S² possibly derive from the same archetype. They generally agree with the readings of B¹⁻².

In relation to the special characteristics of the readings in all these above-mentioned manuscripts, it is clear that the writing has been influenced by local pronunciation, language skill and attention of the scribe. The spellings which do not conform to the normal standard of Pali suggest that the writing of Pali language was probably influenced by the pronunciation of vernacular languages. For example, some Pali words like *saddā* are incorrectly spelt, as Thai *saddhā* and *sāriputto* is written as Thai *sārīputto*. These manuscripts may have been written down from dictation or from the scribe's memory according to the local pronunciation, or it may simply be the case that the scribe's orthographic practices were influenced by his native language. We know that each country exchanged Pali manuscripts in the past. Buddhist texts are sometimes exported from one country to another and later brought back again because that text has been lost in the original donor country. When manuscripts are transmitted from one country to another and copied, the text is commonly

transposed into another script. As Norman¹⁸⁶ notes, it is difficult to know what the relationship is between the pronunciation and the orthography of Pali texts in various Southeast Asian countries. It is possible that the correct form of Pali has been changed due to local pronunciation or the tendency to Sanskritise. In studying the Khom Pali manuscripts, Masefield notes that the consonants have been changed in the pronunciation of Pali such as *k(h)* for *g(h)*, *g(h)* for *k(h)*, *c(h)* for *j(jh)* and *j(h)* for *c(h)*.¹⁸⁷ Two Khom manuscripts used in this edition share these particular irregular spellings, which have been also been found in other Thai manuscripts. According to Cicuzza, this is evidence for the impact of the Thai language on the Pali literature.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, Peter Skilling has noted that there is a close relationship between Pali and vernacular Buddhist literature of Thailand. It is evident in the opening verse of Thai chronicles like the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* and *Ratanabimbavaṃsa* that Pali texts have been translated into Thai and the Thai language has been found in Pali texts. Therefore, the Pali of Southeast Asian manuscripts has been influenced by the vernacular (s) of the region of transmission.¹⁸⁹ The same author confirms that Pali was correctly written in the early Thai inscriptions but was subsequently changed under the impact of Thai pronunciation and orthography.¹⁹⁰ He also points out that Buddhist communities in Sri Lanka, for instance, also transmitted Buddhist texts in Pali including vernaculars such as Arakanese, Burmese, Khmer, Thai, Lao and so on from very early times.¹⁹¹ Therefore, it

¹⁸⁶ Norman, K.R. "Review: Oskar von Hinüber: Die Sprachgeschichte Des Pali Im Spiegel Der Südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung (Untersuchungen Zur Sprachgeschichte Und Handschriftenkunde Des Pali I) Pp. 29. Akademie Der Wissenschaften Und Der Literatur, Mainz. 1988. Dm 12.60." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 34. 1991, pp. 206-9.

¹⁸⁷ Masefield, Peter. "Indo-Chinese Pali." *Mahachulalongkorn Journal of Buddhist Studies* 1. 2008, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Cicuzza, Claudio. *A Mirror Reflecting the Entire World: Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka*. Vol. 6, Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2011: xlv-xlvi.

¹⁸⁹ Skilling, Peter. "Manuscripts and Inscriptions, Languages and Letters." In *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, edited by Claudio Cicuzza. Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009, pp. 5-6.

¹⁹⁰ Skilling, "Language and Writing in South-East Asia and in Sukhothai," p. 21.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-9.

could be assumed that the particular characteristics of orthography of B¹⁻² and C¹⁻² discussed above have also been influenced by the local pronunciation and orthography.

The confusion in vowel lengths and similar sounding letters leads to misspelling of Pali. In the examples of readings given above, there is inconsistency in the use of vowels such as *-i-* or *-ī-* and *-u-* or *-ū-* and vice versa. Frequently, similar sounding letters are inconsistently substituted, for example *-t-* for *-ṭ-*, *-d-* for *-dh-*, *-ṇ-* for *-n-* or vice versa. Sometimes, *ṃ* is used instead of *ṇ*, for example *saṃkilesā* for *saṅkilesā*. Sometimes, *-m-* is replaced by *-ṃ-*, for example *cakḥusaṃphassapaccayā* for *cakḥusamphassapaccayā*. This inconsistency suggests that the original text may have been written from dictation. The scribe writes down the text as he hears it, so the spelling is phonologically determined. If the scribe hears incorrectly, it is possible that *-i-/u-* may be written instead of *-ī-/ū-* or vice versa. Moreover, when the consonants are phonologically similar, i.e. *-t-/ṭ-* and *-n-/ṇ-*, it is difficult for the scribe to identify them if he has insufficient knowledge of the language or is insufficiently attentive to the task, as Windisch has suggested.¹⁹² The use of *saṃkilesā* for *saṅkilesā* is a clear example of how the scribe would have written down the text according to the pronunciation, without consideration of the accuracy of the Pali grammar. Therefore, it can be assumed that the particular characteristics of incorrect readings contained in all manuscripts are influenced by the local language and pronunciation, insufficient knowledge of Pali language and/or a scribe's carelessness.

B^c After editing two sections (*paṇṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, I found that the readings of B^c (*Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti* [*Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana*] edition) are of good quality. Incorrect

¹⁹² Windisch, Preface to the edition of It, vii.

orthographic variant readings only occur in a few places; namely *sutta* no. 7, line 15 gives *abhītānāgato* instead of *atītānāgato*, *sutta* no. 10, line 1 gives *atītānāgabhā* instead of *atītānāgatā*, and the *uddāna* of *jātidhammavagga* gives *saṅkilesikaṃ* instead of *saṅkilesikaṃ*. From consideration of the variant readings given in footnotes, it appears that B^e is more likely to adopt the readings from their own tradition. As documented in the present edition, it is evident that B^e frequently agrees with the readings of the Burmese manuscripts B¹⁻², e.g. *anassasaṃ* in *sutta* no. 71, line 4, *varattakkhaṇḍena* in *sutta* no. 87, line 18 and *vacanaṃ* in *sutta* no. 88, line 80.

C^e From a comparison of two sections (*pañṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text, it appears that C^e (*Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka* series edition) contains a greater number of irregular readings than other published editions. Sometimes, a double consonant is adopted instead of a single consonant, e.g. *ariyassāvako* for *ariyasāvako* (*sutta* no. 32, line 101). Frequently, *anusvāra* is written instead of nasal class, e.g. *ten' upasaṅkami* for *ten' upasaṅkami* (*sutta* no. 65, line 2) and *saṅkilesikaṃ* for *saṅkilesikaṃ* (*uddāna* of *jātidhammavagga*). Occasionally, *-i-* is spelt with *-ī-*, e.g. *sabbamaññītasamugghātasappāyaṃ* for *sabbamaññīta-* (*sutta* no. 32, line 2) and *asmī* for *asmi* (*sutta* no. 32, line 8). The retroflex is sometimes spelt with dental, e.g. *paṭissato* for *paṭissato* throughout (*sutta* no. 95, line 63) and *-i-* is sometimes spelt with *-iṃ-*, e.g. *asmiṃ* for *asmi* (*sutta* no. 32, line 51, 61). Furthermore, C^e has many incorrect spellings, e.g. *phassaṃ* for *passaṃ*, *nīharatha* for *nīharatha*, *heti* for *hoti*, *veḍhavane* for *veḷuvane*, *bhikkha* for *bhikkhu*, *mañcate* for *mañcake* and *saditañ* for *sāditañ*. According to the variant readings given in footnotes, the reading of C^e seems to be mostly adopted from the reading of their own tradition. The characteristics of the reading of C^e are identical to those of C¹⁻² in general.

Only the consistent use of spelling distinguishes the edition and manuscripts. C¹⁻² use with -vy- rather than -by- whereas C^e use -vy- and -by- interchangeably. For example, *vyākaroma* is used instead of *byākaroma* in the *sutta* no. 81, line 6 whereas *sutta* no. 97, line 3 gives *byāsiccati* for *vyāsiccati*. In this case, it is plausible that C^e was produced under the influence of Southeast Asian manuscripts. In addition, it is noticeable that C^e occasionally uses a verb that differs from other versions, e.g. *ceteti* for *sañjānāti* (*sutta* 93, line 69).

E^e The PTS edition is based on only two Sinhalese and two Burmese manuscripts. No printed edition is employed. Its readings are regularly accepted from both Sinhalese and Burmese traditions. Comparison of this text shows that the adopted readings mostly agree with those of the Sinhalese tradition. For example, E^e agrees with C¹⁻² C^e for *atthagamo* whereas other versions have *atthaṅgamo* throughout (e.g. *sutta* no. 21, line 9). Another obvious instance is illustrated in *sutta* no. 71, line 4. E^e agrees with C¹⁻² C^e for *anassāsīṃ* whereas B¹⁻² B^e N^e and K^e S¹ S^{e1-3} have *anassasaṃ* and *anassāsaṃ*, respectively. Although E^e is based on only a few manuscripts, the quality of reading is generally good. Only a few misspellings and misprints were found. They are:

1. -am is most frequently employed instead of -aṃ throughout the text, e.g. *samayam* for *samayaṃ*, *cakkhum* for *cakkhuṃ*, *daṭṭhabbam* for *daṭṭhabbaṃ* and *evam* for *evaṃ*.
2. The dentals are sometimes employed instead of retroflexes, e.g. *pathamo* for *paṭṭhamo*.
3. Wrong *sandhi* or misprints, e.g. *kin ci* for *kiñ ci*, *sarasankappā* for *sarasaṅkappā* and *āthi* for *atthi*.
4. The unaspirate consonant is occasionally used for the aspirate consonant, e.g. *majje* for *majjhe*.

K^e The Cambodian [Khmer] edition is produced on the basis of only three printed editions; namely, the Burmese (*Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti* [*Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana*] edition), the PTS edition, and the *Syāmaratṭha Tipītakam* (S^{e1}). It cannot be considered a critical edition because it is only based on printed editions and, even then, not on all available printed editions. Nor does it utilise any manuscripts. In relation to the particular characteristic of spellings, K^e consistently uses the double consonant instead of the single consonant throughout the text, e.g. *ariyassāvako* for *ariyasāvako*, *cakkkhusamphassappaccayā* for *cakkkhusamphassa-paccayā*, *mārappaññatti* for *mārapaññatti* and *rūppapaṭisaṃvedī* for *rūpapaṭisaṃvedī*. In addition, it contains eight instances of incorrect spelling. For example, *-i-* is sometimes spelt with *-ī-* throughout, e.g. *attanīyena* for *attaniyena* (*sutta* no. 85, line 4) and *attanīyaṃ* for *attaniyaṃ* (*sutta* no. 101, line 40). Sometimes *-ī-* is spelt with *-i-*, e.g. *sabbaji* for *sabbajī* (*sutta* no. 103, line 2). In another five misspellings, the errors might result from inadvertences or misprints, e.g. *marayona* for *maraṇena*, *bhikkha* for *bhikkhu*, *pariyādinnavatte* for *pariyādinnavatte*, *leṇḍunā* for *leḍḍunā* and *khiyati* for *khīyati*. Only a small number of variant readings is given in footnotes and most of these are taken from the Burmese tradition and the PTS edition. This suggests that K^e agrees with the readings of S^{e1}. From my editing of the text, it is evident that K^e gives readings that are identical to those given by the Thai traditions (S¹⁻² and S^{e1-3}). This similarity of the readings between the Cambodian and Thai traditions may reflect the political influence of Thailand on Cambodia. A Pali inscription dated 1308 indicates that, during the reign of King Śrīndravāmadeva, the Buddhism of Cambodia was gradually transformed by Thailand. Pali was adopted as their religious language. Many Sanskrit and Pali books were brought from Thailand and copied by Cambodians in the 12th century.¹⁹³ It is possible that Cambodians learned or copied some

¹⁹³ Saddhatissa, H. "Pali Literature in Cambodia." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 9. 1981, p. 179.

characteristics of the readings from Thailand. However, it could not be concluded that the Cambodian edition is a new production of S^{e1} because some characteristics of spelling in the Cambodian edition still differ from the Thai tradition, such as the preference for writing double consonants instead of the single consonant, as mentioned earlier.

N^e The Indian *Nālandā* edition was produced on the basis of four published editions: the Burmese *Chatṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (B^e) edition, a Sinhalese edition edited by Rev. Walitārā Ñāṇātiloka Thera, the PTS edition (E^e), and the *Syāmaratṭha Tipiṭakaṃ* (S^{e1}). Like K^e, no original manuscript was employed, Although N^e was produced on the basis of these four editions, a comparison of two sections (*paṇṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* and the variant readings given in footnotes in this section shows that nearly 100% of the readings adopted by N^e are in agreement with B^e. Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that it is a faithful new production of B^e because some differences remain. The most common difference is the use of *anusvāra*. B^e prefers to use the class nasal whereas N^e still retains *anusvāra* throughout the text. For example, N^e gives *migajālaṃ ca* whereas B^e has *migajālañ ca*. Although the class nasal makes it softer, which facilitates recitation, the use of *anusvāra* may merely be orthographic, that is, the class nasal is pronounced even though *anusvāra* is employed throughout. It is possible that N^e employs *anusvāra* throughout in order to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text. Another difference between the two editions is in the titles given to *suttas* and in the patterns of abbreviation. For example, N^e occasionally gives an abbreviation in a position which differs from B^e and the other versions (see example in *sutta* no. 76, line 10), or N^e sometimes gives all the passages in full whereas B^e abbreviates the text (see example in *sutta* no. 74, line 48). Again, N^e occasionally disagrees with the readings of B^e, e.g. N^e gives *asādusu* whereas B^e has *āsādusu* (*sutta* no. 94, line 41).

S^{e1} The *Syāmaratthassa Tipitakaṃ* was produced on the basis of the Burmese *Chatthasaṅgāyana* edition, a Sinhalese edition (no further information is given), the PTS edition and Thai manuscripts (the number of manuscripts used is not listed). The quality of reading is quite good. In the section utilised for the present edition, only a few errors were found, e.g. *cikkhum* for *cakkhum*, *rajanīyā* for *rajanīyā*, and *pabbaji* for *pabbajī*. Occasionally, a Pali word is spelt as it is in Thai, e.g. *sārīputto* for *sāriputto* throughout the text. Only a few variant readings are given in footnotes and most of these are readings found in the Burmese and European editions. Only a few variant readings of the Sinhalese edition are noted. It is noteworthy that no variant readings of the Siamese manuscripts are given in footnotes. From the comparison of two sections (*paṇṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta*, it also appears that the readings of S^{e1} mostly agree with those of the Thai manuscripts S¹⁻². For example, S¹⁻² and S^e give a similar reading, i.e. *phoṭṭhabbasambhavā* instead of *phassasambhavā* (*sutta* no. 95, line 55). This suggests that S^{e1} represents Thai reading, being, as Chalmers noted, a Thai national redaction.¹⁹⁴

S^{e2} The reading of *Deyyaratthassa Tepitakaṃ* is of a decent standard, with only a few misspellings encountered in the edited section of the *Samyuttanikāya*. Examination of the variant readings given in the footnotes of this edition shows that S^{e2} generally disagrees with the reading of Burmese traditions (manuscripts and printed edition) and the Indian *Nālandā* edition. From comparison of two sections (*paṇṇāsa*) of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta*, it is also evident that S^{e2} mostly agrees with the readings of S^{e1} in many places (see edition section in this paper). Apart from the agreement of readings, it is obvious that S^{e2} copies the incorrect orthographic variant readings from S^{e1} as well, e.g. *rajanīyā* for *rajanīyā* (*sutta* no. 63, line

¹⁹⁴ Chalmers, "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipitaka," pp. 8-9.

27), *catūpapāto* for *cutūpapāto* (*sutta* no. 87, line 102), *rajanīyā* for *rajanīyā* (*sutta* no. 88, line 21), *leṇḍunā* for *leḍḍunā* (*sutta* no. 88, line 55), *nopaciyati* for *nopacīyati* (*sutta* no. 95, line 66) and *pabbaji* for *pabbajī* (*sutta* no. 103, line 2). This suggests that S^{e2} is generally based on the readings of S^{e1}.

S^{e3} The *Mahācuḷā Tepiṭakaṃ* generally gives a good reading, with only a few instances of incorrect spellings being found, e.g. *maññata* for *maññati* (*sutta* 91, line 58), *majje* for *majjhe* (*sutta* 94, line 42) and *bhakkhu* for *bhikkhu* (*sutta* 96, line 26). Comparative study clearly shows that S^{e3} frequently agrees with the readings of both the Sinhalese and Burmese traditions, particularly the latter. For example, B^e C² C^e N^e S^{e3} give *navavādañ* whereas S^{e1-2} have *navatarañ* throughout (*sutta* no. 74, line 6). Another example is in *sutta* no. 94, line 30. B^e C¹⁻² N^e S^{e3} accept *dubhayaṃ* whereas S^{e1-2} give *dutiyaṃ*. This shows that S^{e3} accepts the reading from both the Burmese and Sinhalese traditions, particularly B^e as well as the reading of the Thai tradition.

3.4.4 Accuracy of grammar

All manuscripts and printed editions contain grammatical errors, with the manuscripts containing a larger number of grammatical errors than the printed editions. Of the manuscripts, C² contains the greatest number of grammatical errors (186), whereas C¹ and B² have 139 and 110, respectively. B¹ and S¹⁻² have comparatively few grammatical errors; B¹ has 57 whereas S¹ and S² each contain 31 and 54, respectively. This shows that S¹ has the smallest number of grammatical errors. Of the printed editions, C^e contains the largest amount of grammatical errors, 19 instances, whereas S^{e1-2} both have 12. K^e E^e N^e S^{e3} each contain 9, whereas B^e has 7. This suggests that B^e was produced with care.

In the case of manuscripts, the grammatical errors mostly consist of incorrect use of number, case, gender, *sandhi* and conjugation. Incorrect number (pl. or sing.) is most common, e.g. *bhikkhu* for *bhikkhū* (*sutta* no. 81, line 1), *atitānāgatā* for *atitānāgato* (*sutta* no. 9, line 15), *dukkhanirodhā* for *dukkhanirodho* (*sutta* no. 64, line 26) and *dukkho* for *dukkhā* (*sutta* no. 75, line 10). Instances of incorrect grammatical case are less common. Examples are *jivhā* for *jivhaṃ* (*sutta* no. 7, line 11), *manasmiṃ* for *manasmā* (*sutta* no. 17, line 35), *aññāya* for *aññaṃ* (*sutta* no. 23, line 4), *tassa* for *tasmā* (*sutta* no. 63, line 6), *indriyāni* for *indriyānaṃ* (*sutta* no. 69, line 12) and *kāyassa* for *kāyaṃ* (*sutta* no. 69, line 21). Examples of the incorrect *sandhi* are *dukkhakkhayāya ti* for *dukkhakkhayāyā ti* (*sutta* no. 26, line 80), *bhāsisāmi ti* for *bhāsisāmī ti* (*sutta* no. 30, line 2), *viññūhi ti* for *viññūhī ti* (*sutta* no. 70, line 4) and *abhinivesāya ti* for *abhinivesāyā ti* (*sutta* no. 80, line 10). Sometimes there is lack of agreement between the verb and the subject, e.g. *nappajānāmi* for *nappajānāti* (*sutta* no. 73, line 2), *puccheyya* for *puccheyyuṃ* (*sutta* no. 81, line 14) and *parikanteyyuṃ* for *parikanteyya* (*sutta* no. 87, line 22). All of these mistakes could result from limitations of the scribe or editor.

In the case of printed editions, C^e has many instances of incorrect readings not shared by the other printed editions, for example, errors in number, e.g. *bhikkhū* for *bhikkhu* (*sutta* no. 74, line 1, 3, 50) and *bhikkhu* for *bhikkhū* (*sutta* no. 88, line 87), gender, e.g. *tassā* for *tassa* (*sutta* no. 23, line 4) and *yā* for *yaṃ* (*sutta* no. 32, line 86) and case, e.g. *jivhāsamphasso* for *jivhāsamphasse* (*sutta* no. 28, line 37), *sabbamaññitasamugghātasappāyaṃ* for *sabbamaññitasamugghātasappāyā* (*sutta* no. 31, line 2), *kanta* for *kantā* (*sutta* no. 88, line 5), *cakkhundriyā* for *cakkhundriyaṃ* (*sutta* no. 97, line 2). This suggests that the editors of C^e were not influenced by other traditions.

Of all editions, E^e contains the greatest number and variety of grammatical errors. This includes errors in gender, e.g. *veditabbaṃ* for *veditabbo* (*sutta* no. 70, line 4), *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭhā* (*sutta* no. 72, line 20) and *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭho* (*sutta* no. 72, line 28), case, e.g. *dukkhaṃ* for *dukkhā* (*sutta* no. 2, line 6) and *bhagavā ti* for *bhagavatā ti* (*sutta* no. 96, line 13), wrong *sandhi*, e.g. *nabhinandati* for *nābhinandati* (*sutta* no. 11, line 16), *pavuccatā ti* for *pavuccatī ti* (*uddāna* of *yamakavagga*) and *nāmahaṃ* for *nāmāhaṃ* (*sutta* no. 95, line 10), and instances of the verb not agreeing with the subject, e.g. *uppajjati* for *uppajjanti* (*sutta* no. 96, line 14). Of these, the *sandhi* errors and disagreement in number do not occur in other printed editions.

B^e and N^e contain similar types of grammatical errors, namely, errors in gender and case. Errors in gender are found in the same place in both editions, e.g. *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭhā* (*sutta* no. 71, line 18, *sutta* no. 72, line 20) and *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭho* (*sutta* no. 72, line 28). N^e has two instance of errors of case not found in B^e, i.e. *adhimatto* for *adhimattā* (*sutta* 87, line 16) and *cakkhuvīññāṇe* for *cakkhuvīññāṇaṃ* (*sutta* no. 93, line 4). However, the overall sharing of grammatical mistakes between B^e and N^e suggests that N^e is based on B^e.

Similarly, K^e S^{e1-3} generally share the same incorrect readings, though S^{e1} seems to be more closely associated with S^{e2} because most of the errors are exactly the same in all of them. These include errors in number, e.g. *dhammo* for *dhammā* (*sutta* no. 76, line 26), gender, e.g. *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭhā* (*sutta* no. 71, line 18, *sutta* no. 72, line 20) and *sudittṭhaṃ* for *sudittṭho* (*sutta* no. 72, line 28) and case, e.g. *vipariṇāmo* for *vipariṇāmaṃ* (*sutta* no. 69, line 6) and *me* for *maṃ* (*sutta* no. 88, line 70, 73). Of these editions, S^{e3} has fewer mistakes than K^e and S^{e1-2}.

3.4.5 Errors of wording

Many types of errors in wording are found in the manuscripts and printed editions used for the current edition, including addition, omission, dittography, and negative or positive wordings. The addition or omission of words, phrases, sentences, and passages is common in all manuscripts, particularly in C¹⁻², with C¹ containing the most examples. Another form of error is the accidental act of repeating a letter, word, or phrase (dittography). Most manuscripts contain only a small number of examples of dittography. Of the manuscripts consulted, C¹⁻² contain the largest number of instances of dittography. C¹ has 13 examples and C² has 15. B² contains the greatest number of instances (47) of the use of an incorrect word of any manuscript or edition. Wrong wordings result from deliberate alteration of the meaning of the text. For example, *sotaṃ* for *ghānaṃ* (*sutta* no. 1, line 7), *aniccā* for *dukkhā* (*sutta* no. 11, line 15), *sukhaṃ* for *sabbaṃ* (*sutta* no. 30, line 45), *dhammaṃ* for *mama* (*sutta* no. 32, line 100), *āyatanāni* for *āsanāni* (*sutta* no. 74, line 9), *rūpesu* for *rasesu* (*sutta* no. 70, line 24), *dukkhaṃ* for *cakkhuṃ* (*sutta* no. 76, line 6) and *paññāya* for *pariññāya* (*sutta* no. 80, line 12). Sometimes, the word is given in a different order, e.g. *rūpā atthi cakkhu* for *cakkhu atthi rūpā* (*sutta* no. 68, line 2) and *dukkhaṃ vā sukhaṃ vā* for *sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā* (*sutta* no. 25, line 5). Instances of the writing of the negative or positive of an intended word occurs in all manuscripts, particularly in B². Examples are *saṃvutassa* for *asaṃvutassa* (*sutta* no. 97, line 2), *adukkaṃ* for *dukkhaṃ* (*sutta* no. 86, line 7), *aparijānaṃ* for *parijānaṃ* (*sutta* no. 26, line 42) and *avirājayaṃ* for *virājayaṃ* (*sutta* no. 26, line 42). These mistakes probably result from the scribe misreading the exemplar, mishearing the recited text, or from inadequacies of the scribe or editor.

From a comparison of the reading between manuscripts in the same tradition, it appears that C¹ and C² produce the same error in the same location only occasionally. Nevertheless, there is insufficient evidence to assume that they are copied from different archetypes. Of the two Burmese manuscripts used (B¹⁻²), B² contains a larger number of errors than B¹. In many places, B² adds long passages and gives incorrect readings that differ from B¹. Only a few mistakes are shared by B¹ and B² (2 or 3 instances). This may indicate that B¹ and B² are probably copied from different archetypes. Of the two Khom manuscripts used (S¹⁻²), S² seems to have a greater number of wording errors than S¹. However, in comparison with other manuscripts, they share similar types of errors. For example, S¹⁻² both add long passages in the same place (*sutta* no. 88, line 44), indicating that they are most likely copied from the same archetype.

Of the manuscripts and published editions used in this study, C¹ has the greatest number of wording errors (147 places) whereas C², B², and S² contain 120, 113 and 93, respectively. In the published editions, only a few instances of errors in wording are found in B^e C^e E^e K^e N^e S^{e1-3}. Of these, K^e has the greatest number of mistakes. K^e contains mistakes in 12 places whereas C^e has 11. N^e contains the fewest number of errors. N^e has mistakes in 5 places whereas B^e and S^{e3} have 7 and 6, respectively. This suggests that B^e, N^e, and S^{e3} have been produced more carefully than other versions.

3.4.6 Colophons

Colophons furnish information provided by the scribe on the production of the manuscript, e.g. when and where it was written, who commissioned and paid for it, and the purpose of writing it. Most generally, colophons appear at the beginning or the end of the text. Although

they provide valuable information, they are rarely if ever mentioned or reproduced in published editions, as pointed out by von Hinüber.¹⁹⁵ From an extensive survey of Pali editions and the catalogues of manuscripts from Theravāda Buddhist countries, Braun¹⁹⁶ also found that the colophons in the Burmese manuscripts have been ignored due to the inability of the editor to read the Burmese language or reluctance to waste time on explanation of the information in the colophons. Consequently, it is common practice to only note the most fundamental information preserved in the colophon, namely, the title and the date of completion of the manuscript. Although few in number, the four colophons found in the manuscripts used in this edition have certainly been useful, throwing light on aspects of the culture, beliefs, attitudes, and general practice of Buddhist communities at the time of the production of each manuscript. As noted earlier, the colophons also contribute to the evaluation of the quality of reading of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the two Khom manuscripts (S¹⁻²) used for this edition do not contain colophons, only the name of the sponsor or scribe กรมหมื่นมเหศวรศิววิลาส (Krommuenmahesuansivavilas), which is written in the Thai language at the righthand corner of the first palm leaf of each phūk of S¹ while there is no such information for S². Therefore, the following discussion is based on the four colophons of the Burmese and Sinhalese manuscripts only, which admittedly provides insufficient data from which to draw firm conclusions.

In the four manuscripts (B¹⁻² C¹⁻²) used for this edition, the colophon occurs at the end of the text.

¹⁹⁵ Hinüber, *Die Sprachgeschichte Des Pāli Im Spiegel Der Südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung (Untersuchungen Zur Sprachgeschichte Und Handschriftenkunde Des Pāli I*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶ Braun, Heinz. "The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 27. 2002, p. 147.

B¹ The concluding statement in the colophon of B¹ comprises an opening verse, an expression of aspiration, and the date of completion of the writing of the manuscript. The information from the colophon suggests that, in Myanmar, the act of writing *Tipiṭaka* onto a palm leaf manuscript is seen as a religiously significant activity (the performance of a meritorious deed) and the person undertaking it will reap an appropriate reward. This manuscript opens with the following verse:

“*akkharā ekam ekañ ca buddharūpaṃ samaṃ siyā
tasmā hi paṇḍito poso likheyya piṭakattayaṃ.*”

Translation: “The letters would each be like an image of the Buddha, therefore, a wise man should write the three *Piṭakas*.”

This verse is taken exactly from the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, a history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. It is believed that the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* was composed by Dhammakitti at the end of the 14th century, after he undertook *upasampadā* ordination in Sri Lanka and thereafter returned to Ayodhya, where this important work was composed.¹⁹⁷ Malalasekera states that Dhammakitti was originally Indian.¹⁹⁸ Opposing this view, Law argues that he was a Sri Lankan monk, while Permchit claims that he was a Thai Buddhist monk who lived in Northern Thailand.¹⁹⁹ According to Veidlinger, however, Lānnā (Northern Kingdom of Thailand) was not greatly influenced by the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* because no evidence of this literature has been found there. It is certainly more widespread and popular in Myanmar²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Saddhātissa, "Pali Literature of Thailand." In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L.Cousins et al. Dordrecht Holland, p. 213; see also Law, B.C. *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhamma-Saṅgaha)*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1941, pp. 135-36.

¹⁹⁸ Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 245.

¹⁹⁹ Cf., Penth, Hans. "Reflections on the Saddhammasaṅgaha." *Journal of the Siam Society* 65. 1977, pp. 262-63.

²⁰⁰ Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, p. 177.

although it is noteworthy that Bode does not include it in her list of the Pali literature of Myanmar.²⁰¹

This verse is the first verse in chapter 10 of the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* that equates the merit gained by writing down the *Tipiṭaka* to the merit gained from making images of Buddha.²⁰² From an examination of the colophons of Burmese manuscripts using the catalogues kept in German libraries, Braun concluded that, of 735 catalogue numbers of Burmese manuscripts, almost all contain this kind of verse at the end of the text.²⁰³ This shows that the Burmese scribes preferred to quote well-known Pali verses or passages rather than composing new ones themselves. It is possible that they were also motivated by the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, that is, to obtain merit by writing down the *Tipiṭaka*. Penth has suggested that Burmese people at that time may have paid less attention to writing down the *Tipiṭaka* because they did not know that merit could be gained in this way.²⁰⁴ Therefore, the scribe inserted this verse at the end of the text in order to motivate Burmese people to preserve the Buddhist teachings and to gain merit by supporting or undertaking this activity.

The insertion of this verse at the end of the text also demonstrates the belief, faith, and high respect held by Burmese towards the Buddhist teachings. Every letter is likened to an image of the Buddha himself, a practice that possibly derives from the following saying of the Buddha, which was made before he passed away and recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāsutta*:

²⁰¹ Bode, M.H. *The Pali Literature of Burma*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1966.

²⁰² Saddhānanda, Nedimāle. "Saddhamma-Saṅgaho." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 4. 1890: 21-90; Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions (Saddhamma Saṅgaha)*.

²⁰³ Braun, "The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts," p. 150.

²⁰⁴ Penth, "Reflections on the Saddhammasaṅgaha," p. 275.

*yo vo ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mam' accayena satthā.*²⁰⁵

“The doctrine and discipline taught and declared by me will be your teacher after my passing away, Ānanda.”²⁰⁶

As previously mentioned, the writing down of the *Tipiṭaka* onto palm leaf manuscripts is considered a religiously significant act in Myanmar, as it is in other Buddhist countries. In the past, newly consecrated Burmese kings were traditionally required to present a set of the *Tipiṭaka* to a temple or shrine within a pagoda. Close attention was paid to every stage of the manuscript's production. The process of writing began with the construction of a temporary building for the monks and scribes. The king's preceptor confirmed the original copy of the texts and the scribe was expected to work all day. After the writing was completed, its accuracy was carefully checked page by page. The texts were then stored in the library to await the dedication ceremony. Good food was prepared for all those who had contributed to the preparation of the manuscripts. Finally, festivities were held for seven days.²⁰⁷

When the teaching was regarded as being as important as the Buddha himself, the scribe who had the major role in the writing was expected to be well versed in Buddhist teachings. As the verse above states, a wise man should write down the *Tipiṭaka*. In the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (77), it is stated that a Burmese monk needs to demonstrate his competence in composing the text *Kaccāyana Abhidhammatthasaṃgahapakaraṇaṃ* before he obtains permission from the king to write down the teachings on stone. This shows that the Buddhist manuscripts in Myanmar

²⁰⁵ D II 154.

²⁰⁶ Rhys Davids, T.W. *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Vol. 2, London: Oxford University Press, 1910, p. 171.

²⁰⁷ Singer, N. F. "Palm Leaf Manuscripts of Myanmar (Burma)." *Arts of Asia (Hong Kong)* 21, no. 1. 1991, pp. 137-38.

had to be treated as sacred objects that were related to the presence, power and knowledge of the Buddha. They would also have functioned as *Dhamma* relics, which represent the words of the Buddha. Accordingly, the process of writing Buddhist manuscripts was venerated by Buddhists in Myanmar.

Another statement found in B¹ is

“*pu di ā nhañ praññ cuṃ pā lui sov.*”

The meaning of each word is as follows: *pu*, is the abbreviation of *pubbenivāsānussati* (the knowledge of remembrance of the former existence); *di*, “*dibbacakkhu* (the divine eye)”; *ā*, is the abbreviation of *āsavakkhaya* (the destruction of influx);²⁰⁸ *nhañ*, “with”; *praññcuṃ*, “fulfill”; and *pā lui sov*, “may I.”

Translation: “May the knowledge of remembrance of the former existence, the divine eye, and the destruction of influx [in me] be completely accomplished.”

This statement reveals two aspects of Burmese tradition. First, abbreviation was a widespread practice in Myanmar. As Heinz Bechert has pointed out, a great many abbreviations were normally used by the Burmese and this has created difficulties in comprehension.²⁰⁹ This suggests that recitation and memorisation were an important part of traditional study and learning in Myanmar. The abbreviations were possibly designed as aids for memorisation. Secondly, this passage clearly shows that the writing down of the *Tipiṭaka* onto palm leaf manuscripts was an activity associated with belief in the acquisition of merit and its benefits. In the societies dominated by *Theravāda* Buddhism, the performance of meritorious deeds is followed by wishes for one’s own benefit in this world and the next life.

²⁰⁸ Braun, "The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts," p. 151.

²⁰⁹ Heinz, Daw Tin Tin Myint, and Daw Khin Khin Su. *Burmese Manuscripts*, xiv.

This passage presents an aspiration for three higher spiritual powers (*abhiññā*). Such conventional wishes are commonly found in the colophons of Burmese manuscripts examined by Heinz Braun.²¹⁰ As stated above, this shows that the scribes preferred to repeat the conventional aspiration rather than state their own personal desire though, of course, such personal desire may well have been that expressed by the conventional. Its presence, however, shows that belief in merit and its results was part of the culture and religious knowledge of the Buddhist community in Myanmar. The belief in merit gained by writing down the teachings is still evident not only in *Theravāda* Buddhist countries, but also in other Buddhist countries such as India, Nepal, Tibet, and so on. Pal noted that many colophons from India and Nepal state that the writer and other people will obtain various good things.²¹¹ The pot containing the Senior manuscripts that was found in Eastern Afghanistan, along with its lid, carry an inscription which says that the creation and interment of these manuscripts in a *stūpa* are meritorious deeds.²¹²

The last statement given in the first Burmese manuscript (B¹) refers to the date of completion of the text. This manuscript contains the complete formula of date and time in order, i.e. year, month, fortnight, day in the fortnight and its corresponding designation, the time of day and the time of the completion of work, respectively:

“*sakkarāj 1210 khu nac prāsuil la chanḥ 8 rak ne
ne 3 khak tī athak tvaṅ re kuḥ rve prīḥ saññ.*”

²¹⁰ Braun, "The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts," p. 151.

²¹¹ Pal, Pratapaditya. *Buddhist Book Illuminations*. New York: Ravi Kumar, 1988, pp. 37-8.

²¹² Andrew Glass, Mark Allon. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Khārosthī Fragment 5*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007, p. 4.

The meaning of each word is as follows: *sakkarāj*²¹³ 1210 *khu nac*, is the year 1210 of the Burmese chronology; *prāsui*, “month”; *la chanh*, “the half month of the waxing moon”; 8 *rak*, “the 8th day”; *ne*, indicate verse break or full stop; *ne*, “afternoon”, 3 *khak tī*, “3 o’clock”; *athak tvañ*, “after”; *rekuḥ rve*, “write down”; and *prīḥsaññ*, “complete or finish.”

Translation: “The writing down (of this manuscript) was completed on the 8th day of the half month of the waxing moon (10th month of Myanmar or January) after 3 p.m. in 1210 M.E. (1848 C.E.).”

The second Burmese manuscript (B²) contains no auspicious wish. The year, month, fortnight, day in the fortnight and the time of completion of the text are given as follows:

“ī cā prīḥlac sakkarāj kāḥ tvak cac reso thoṅpo tarā cvan pā 60. 6 khukay lyak suiḥ svay utu khyin khārūso rok mhusvera vācholakvayne netak takhyak tī akhyin tvañ saḷāyatanavārasaṃyutpālito kui rekū prīsaññ.”

The meaning of each word is as follows: *ī cā prīḥlac*, “As far as [the year of] Burmese chronology in which the setting down of this work was completed is concerned”; *sakkarāj kāḥ*, “the year”; *tvak cac reso*, “count or calculate”; *thoṅpo tarā cvan pā 60*, “100 and 60 over 1000 = 1160 (*thoṅpo* - 1000; *tarā* - 100)”; 6 *khukay lyak*, “6 more (*thoṅpo tarā cvan pā 60. 6 khukay lyak* - 1166)”; *suiḥ svay utu khyin khārūso*, “when looking at three seasons”; *rok mhusvera*, “arriving”; *vācholakvayne*, “on new moon day of *Vācho*”; *netak*, “after the sun’s arising”; *takhyak tī akhyin tvañ*, “1 o’clock”; *saḷāyatanavārasaṃyutpālito kui*, “*saḷāyatanavārasaṃyutpālī*”; *rekū*, “written down”; and *prīsaññ*, “finished or completed.”

²¹³ According to the Burmese manuscripts (Heinz Bechert, Daw Tin Tin Myint, and Daw Khin Khin Su 1979: xix), “*Sakkarāj* (also called *Dīghasakkarāj* or *Arhaññsakkarāj* era; in modern terminology *Kojā sakkarāj*, *Gocā sakkarāj* or *Gojā sakkarāj*)... This is the commonly used Burmese era. It is said to have been established by king Puppā Co Rahan of Pagan in 638 A.D., and it is identical with the era called *Cūlasakarāja* by G.H. Luce (loc. cit., p. 330).”

Translation: “As far as [the year of] Burmese chronology in which the setting down of this work was completed is concerned, the writing down of this *Salayatanavarasamyatta Pali* was completed on new moon day of *Vācho* (*vassa* in the 4th month of Myanmar or July) at 1 p.m. in 1166 M.E. (1804 C.E).”

In the two Burmese manuscripts used for this edition, the order of dates and times is standardised. Each is composed according to a formula in either verse or prose. The first Burmese manuscript is composed in verse whereas the second is written in prose. The verse always begins with *sakkarāj*... and the prose begins with *ī cā prīḥ lac sakkarāj kāḥ*... According to Braun’s survey,²¹⁴ at least 83 colophons of Burmese manuscripts contain the prose type but the verse format seems to be more popular, being found in 491 colophons. The final remarks in Burmese manuscripts are generally written in the local language. This may reflect the fact that, at that time, not everyone in Myanmar, particularly a donor of manuscripts, would have been able to read and understand Pali. It is likely that such a donor would prefer to read the messages contained in the final remarks rather than the Pali text itself. On the other hand, it could also be the case a scribe with insufficient knowledge of Pali would feel uneasy about composing the final remarks in Pali language.

C¹ The first Sinhalese manuscript contains the blessing, the date when the manuscript was written, the name of the scribe, and the title of the text, including the number of folios, in that order. This manuscript begins with the blessings, which are a very common feature of Sri Lankan palm leaf manuscripts:

“*siddhir astu. subham astu. ārogham astu. śrī sambhavatu.*”

²¹⁴ Braun, "The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts," pp. 149-50.

The meaning of each word is as follows: *siddhir*, “success”; *subham*, “happiness”; *ārogham*, “health”; *śrī*, “good fortune”; *astu* and *sambhavatu*, “may there be.”

Translation: “May there be success. May there be happiness. May there be health. May there be good fortune.”

It is noteworthy that these blessings are given in Sanskrit rather than Sinhala or Pali. This shows that Sanskrit had a strong influence in Sri Lanka at the time this manuscript was written. According to Hallisey, Sanskrit was regularly used in spoken language alongside the Sinhala language and in Sinhala Buddhist teaching.²¹⁵ He²¹⁶ further notes that many prose Sinhala works, particularly Buddhist literature, such as the *Abhidharmarthasangrahasannaya* (educational commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, a Pali manual on Buddhist philosophy) composed in the 12th century and the *Viśuddhimārga(mahā)sannaya* (educational commentary on the *Viśuddhimagga*) composed in the 13th century, contain a great many Sanskrit words and derivatives (*tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*), including Sanskritised ways of thinking. It is also possible, as noted by Berkwitz, that the blessings given in Sanskrit reflect the belief of Sri Lankan people in the power of the Sanskrit language itself to contribute to the scribe’s success in achieving his desires by writing a Buddhist text.²¹⁷ Such power may also assist a scribe in the difficult task of copying a text.²¹⁸ Hence it is not surprising that a scribe would prefer to use Sanskrit for the blessings. These passages of blessings appear at

²¹⁵ Hallisey, Charles. "Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture." In *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by S. Pollock. 689-746. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 695.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 697.

²¹⁷ Berkwitz, S.C. "Materiality and Merit in Sri Lankan Buddhist Manuscripts." In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, edited by Juliane Schober, Stephen C. Berkwitz, and Claudia Brown. London: Routledge, 2009, p. 44.

²¹⁸ Berkwitz, S.C. *Buddhist History in the Vernacular: The Power of the Past in Late Medieval Sri Lanka*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, p. 212.

the end of most Sinhalese manuscripts.²¹⁹ This shows that the statements of blessing follow a conventional style. As in the Burmese manuscript tradition, it is common practice for a scribe to select and insert popular sayings into the text rather than compose his own. This would explain the prevalence of this type of passage. For whatever reason, these words of blessing demonstrate the great importance assigned to writing or copying the manuscripts in Sri Lanka. They further reflect the respect and faith that Sri Lankan people have for the Buddhist teachings, including belief that merit is gained by undertaking this writing.

In addition to the blessings, the date of manuscript is briefly given in the Sinhala language as follows:

“*sakābdam setusatyam.*”

The meaning of each word is as follows: *sakābdam*, “Saka Era”; and *setusatyam*, “sa-7, ta-6, sa-7, ya-1 = 7671.”

Translation: “1767 = (1845 C.E.).”

This is the method used in Sri Lanka to calculate the date of manuscripts.²²⁰ The date of completion is followed by the name of the scribe, the title and the number of folios, also given in the Sinhala language:

²¹⁹ Berkwiz, "Materiality and Merit in Sri Lankan Buddhist Manuscripts," In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, p. 44.

²²⁰ According to De Silva 1938: xxiii, “The figures used in the dating of ms are sometimes found in a system of letters which allows the writers to give a phrase or word conveying the desired numerals. This system is known as ‘*ka ta pa ya*’ from the initial letters of the series, the following is a table of *ka ta pa ya* equivalents:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
<i>ka</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>ṅa</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jha</i>	<i>ṅa</i>
<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭha</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>ṇa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bha</i>	<i>ma</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>śa</i>	<i>sha</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ḷa</i>	x

In a word or a phrase indicating a date, the vowels and mute consonants (m, n, p etc.) and combination of consonants (mm, nn, pp ...etc) except with ‘A’ are not taken into account. Writers have a choice of letters which enables them to indicate the year with a word or phrase conveying some meaning. The numeral equivalents are read from end to beginning.”

“*Vature Dhammarakkhita unnānse visin liyavāpu saṃyutsaṅgiye pat-iru tungsiya hæṭṭa dekayi.*”

The meaning of each word is as follows: *Vature*, “his village”; *Dhammarakkhita*, “his name”; *unnānse*, “venerable”; *visin*, “by”; *liyavāpu*, “caused to write”; *saṃyutsaṅgiye*, “*saṃyuttanikāya*”; *pat-iru*, “folios”; *tungsiya hæṭṭa dekayi*, “three hundred sixty-two.”

Translation: “Ven. Vature Dhammarakkhita ordered (unnamed scribe) to write the *Saṃyuttanikāya* which consists of 362 folios.”

In the case of this manuscript, a scribe was assigned by a monk to write down the text. This shows that the monk played a significant role in writing, copying, or preserving Buddhist manuscripts. The process of writing could have been undertaken in two possible ways: either the scribe writes the text down from dictation or copies it directly from the original manuscript that has been selected by the monk. While the Sinhala language would normally be used in general communication, Sanskrit was considered a sacred language with the intrinsic power to generate desired outcomes for scribes after they had finished copying manuscripts.²²¹

C² The second Sinhalese manuscript only gives an aspiration at the end of the manuscript in Pali:

- “*imaṃ likhitapuñña gantvā tusitapuruttame metteyyasabhā gantvā ketumatyā purevare uppajjitvā mahābhogokule issarataṃ gate paññābalasampanno abhirūpo mahāyaso abhinikkamanāpena saddhiṃ cā pi mahassave pabbajitvā*

²²¹ Berkwiz, "Materiality and Merit in Sri Lankan Buddhist Manuscripts." In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, p. 44.

*mahāpañño sārīputto 'va sāsane mahākassapathero 'va dhutavādidhute rato
moggallāno 'va hessāmi chaḷabhiñño mahiddhiko*"

Translation: "As a result of the merit acquired from writing this, I would be born in the company of Metteyya in the noble city Ketumati of the realm of Tusita heaven, having gone to the state of being wealthy in a great, wealthy family, possessed of the power of wisdom, possessed of great beauty, possessed of great fame, with the intention of the renouncing (mundane world) and ordained in the dispensation (of the Buddha), illuminating the order just as Sāriputta, the possessor of the great wisdom, just as the elder Mahākassapa, who devoted to the practice of the *dhutaṅgas*, just as Moggallāna, the possessor of six supernormal knowledges (and) the great power."

As with Pali manuscripts in other *Theravāda* lands, the production of the Sinhalese manuscripts was motivated by the belief in merit and its beneficial outcomes. The whole passage of the aspiration appearing in C² is written in Pali. It begins with *imaṃ likhitapuñña* [as a result of the merit acquired from writing this] and is followed by the statement of aspirations mentioned above. According to Karunatilake,²²² the accumulation of merit was a common practice in Sri Lanka. Buddhists should voluntarily perform meritorious actions with belief and faith in order to gain benefits in this world and to attain the highest goal in the next life. After performing meritorious deeds, Buddhists usually made a wish in Pali. Pali words were mainly used to refer to all actions related to merit which could explain why this aspiration is written in the Pali language. From the colophons contained in the catalogue of Sinhalese manuscripts in the Hugh Nevill Collection at the British Library, it appears that a great many manuscripts contain this type of opening statement.²²³ This suggests that there is a conventional form for such statements of aspiration. It is possible that

²²² Karunatilake, W.S. "The Religiousness of Buddhists in Sri Lanka through Belief and Practice." In *Religiousness in Sri Lanka*, edited by J.R. Carter. 1-34. Colombo: Marga Institute, 1979, pp. 19-23.

²²³ Berkwitz, *Buddhist History in the Vernacular: The Power of the Past in Late Medieval Sri Lanka*, p. 196.

the scribe is repeating the aspiration found in the colophons of other manuscripts, some of which may be derived from Pali texts.

This statement also confirms the Sri Lankan people's belief and confidence that merit can be gained from writing the text. In addition to this collection, other Buddhist manuscripts from Sri Lanka generally contain sermons about the benefits of hearing or writing the *dhamma*.²²⁴ The Pali literary work *Kosalabimbavaṇṇanā* (The Laudatory Account of the Kosala Image), written in Sri Lanka during the 13th and 14th centuries, also emphasises that merit-related rewards will accrue to the person who constructs an image of Buddha, who copies a text or who causes a text to be produced or copied.²²⁵ This shows that the belief in merit and its rewards from writing manuscripts was deeply rooted in Sri Lanka over a long period of time. It is possible, as Hartmann suggests, that the motivation for copying the text is merit rather than a desire to preserve the text itself.²²⁶

In summary, writing or copying Buddhist manuscripts is a significant activity in *Theravāda* Buddhist countries, particularly in Myanmar. The manuscript is considered to be a sacred object relating to the Buddha and his teachings, which Buddhists treat with great respect. The brief information in the colophons of two Burmese and two Sinhalese manuscripts shows that merit and its rewards were the main motivation for their production in the 18th and 19th centuries. The statements of blessing and aspiration reveal belief in the power of merit to enable people to achieve whatever they wish for in this world and the next life. The

²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 196-205.

²²⁵ Swearer, D.K. *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, pp. 19-20.

²²⁶ Hartmann, Jens-Uwe. "From Words to Books: Indian Buddhist Manuscripts in the First Millennium CE." In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, edited by Juliane Schober, Stephen C. Berkwitz, and Claudia Brown. London: Routledge, 2009, p. 103.

statements of both blessing and aspiration normally follow a standardised formula. Scribes tended to copy such statements from other manuscripts or from literary sources rather than compose their own. The colophons further suggest that Pali and Sanskrit words were usually employed as sacred words in the aspirations and blessings whereas the local language was used in statements of lesser significance.

3.4.7 Miscellaneous

The covers of palm leaf manuscripts are generally made to protect the palm leaves from humidity, rats, insects, dust, handling, and so on. The cover of each manuscript is normally decorated in a style that is characteristic of the culture and time in which it was produced. In Thai culture, for instance, the covers of the manuscripts that were produced at the order of the king were beautifully decorated with his particular symbol.

Of the manuscripts used for this edition, only the two Sinhalese manuscripts preserve covers, with each designed in a different style. The cover of Sinhalese manuscript C² is made of hardwood showing no signs of colour or decoration; only the title of the text is written in the middle. This may not be the original cover. It may have been produced in more recent times. By contrast, the cover of Sinhalese manuscript C¹, which is kept in the Colombo Museum, is painted with floral motifs. It is possible that these motifs are a unique feature of Sinhalese manuscripts. According to Nandadeva,²²⁷ the oldest Sinhalese manuscripts decorated with floral motifs date from the 13th and 14th centuries, a motif that became more common during the Buddhist revival in Kandy in the mid-18th century. At the later time, a great many

²²⁷ Nandadeva, Bilinda Devage. "Flowers for the Dhamma: Painted Buddhist Palm Leaf Manuscript Covers (Kamba) of Sri Lanka." In *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, edited by Juliane Schober, Stephen C. Berkwitz, and Claudia Brown. London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 159-69.

Buddhist manuscripts were produced by laypeople for educational and merit purposes. She also suggests that it is plausible that the flowers painted on the covers of manuscripts were not there only for decoration or beautification but may have represented the real flowers offered to the Buddha and the disciples who preserved and transmitted his teachings (*Tiratana*).

Suttas in the *Therāpadāna*, for example, contain several passages that proclaim the huge merit that is to be gained by offering flowers to the Buddha, his relics, or his stūpa, including rebirth in heavenly realms, great wealth, and the destruction of the influxes.²²⁸ This suggests that the flowers on the manuscript cover were regarded as offerings to the Buddha and his teaching in the form of the manuscript.

²²⁸ Ap II 370-72, 374-75, 382-83, 388-89, 398-99, 405-7, 412, 416, 433-36, 449-451, 453-54, 457.

Chapter 4

The Structure and Content of the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta*

In this chapter, discussion of the structure of the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta* is based on the first 103 *suttas* edited for the current project, whereas comments on the content of the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta* are based on the entire *samṃyutta*. Section 1 (4.1) examines the occurrence of prose in relation to settings (*nidāna*) and the grouping of *suttas* into *vaggas*. Section 2 (4.2) focuses on metre, fluidity and metrical license, and the occurrence of verses elsewhere in the Pali canon. Section 3 (4.3) describes the occurrence of *suttas* elsewhere in the Pali canon. This is followed by a discussion of the purpose of the text (section 4 (4.4)). The last section (4.5), attention is paid to the importance of sense bases in the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta* in the main theme of the Buddhist teachings.

4.1 The occurrence of prose

4.1.1 Settings (*nidāna*)

In the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta*, *suttas* are introduced with minimal scene-setting. Only a simple statement of the location is provided. Analysis of the 103 *suttas* in the first 10 *vaggas* of the *Salāyatanasamṃyutta* showed that the *Sāvatti* setting is always given in the first *sutta* of each *vagga*. The full wording of the *Sāvatti* setting²²⁹ only occurs in *sutta* no. 1 (*ajjhatāniccasutta*) of the first *vagga*. In the 2nd to the 10th *vaggas*, an abbreviated form is commonly used in each initial *sutta* of each *vagga*, i.e., *sāvattiyaṃ*, *sāvatti*, *sāvattinidānaṃ*, *peyyālas*, or punctuations. The full setting is usually given again when the

²²⁹ *evaṃ me suttaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme (sutta no. 1).*

setting of the *sutta* is different, e.g., *Gayāsīsa* and *Rājagaha*.²³⁰ Most often, it is located in other *suttas* within a *vagga* but is not found in the first *sutta* of a *vagga*.

After the first *sutta* of each *vagga*, remaining *suttas* generally omit the setting. Only the Sinhalese edition (C^e) usually gives an abbreviated form of the *Sāvatti* setting. It is likely that all of the remaining *suttas* are also set in *Sāvatti*, since there is a close connection between the content and structure of the doctrinal teachings in the first *sutta* and that of the following *suttas*. For example, *sutta* no. 1 is related to *sutta* nos. 2-12 through the three characteristics of impermanence, suffering and not-self. As well, the sentences of these *suttas* are always structured in the same way. Only the key elements (internal and external sense bases and three characteristics) are replaced, e.g., *cakkhum bhikkhave aniccam* (*sutta* no. 1), *cakkhum bhikkhave dukkham* (*sutta* no. 2) and *cakkhum bhikkhave anattā* (*sutta* no. 3). This suggests that these *suttas* were originally the same *sutta*, but were separated into three *suttas* for editorial purposes. Therefore, although the location is not stated, we can deduce that these following *suttas* are located in the same place as the first *sutta*.

Difficulties arise, however, in identifying the setting of some *suttas* in other locations. The settings are omitted from the *suttas* (nos. 88-93) that come after the *Rājagaha* setting (*sutta* no. 87). Although the doctrinal principles and sentence structures of *sutta* nos. 88-93 are quite close to those in *sutta* no. 87, it cannot be concluded that *sutta* nos. 88-93 occurred in *Rājagaha* (the setting of *sutta* no. 87) since there is no supporting evidence from any manuscripts or printed editions. Nevertheless, the location appears to be *Sāvatti* since this is

²³⁰ *evam me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā gayāvā viharati gayāsīse saddhiṃ bhikkhusahassena* (*sutta* no. 28); *evam me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati veluvane kalandakanivāpe* (*sutta* no. 29); *ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati veluvane kalandakanivāpe* (*sutta* no. 65); and *ekaṃ samayaṃ āyasmā ca sārīputto āyasmā ca upaseno rājagahe viharanti sītavane sappasonḍikapabbhāre* (*sutta* no. 69).

the location given in the Pali *Majjhimanikāya* (*Puṇṇasutta*) parallel and its corresponding Sanskrit version.²³¹ *Sāvatti* was a significant city where the Buddha spent 25 years of rains retreats (*vassa*), so it is reasonable to assume that a great number of his teachings were given there during and outside the periods of the *vassas*.²³² Accordingly, *sutta* nos. 89-93 were probably located in *Sāvatti* as well. In summary, the 103 *suttas* of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are predominantly set in *Sāvatti*. When the location is other than *Sāvatti*, and the location is not given, it is probably *Sāvatti*. Perhaps, as Schopen pointed out, it was common practice, if the actual location of *suttas* was unknown or forgotten, to give *Sāvatti* as the location for the *suttas*.²³³

4.1.2 Grouping of *suttas* into *vaggas*

The rationale for grouping *suttas* into *vaggas* is unclear. On some occasions, a *sutta* with the same structure and doctrinal content appears in different *vaggas*. For example, the passages of questions and answers about the contemplation of impermanence, suffering, and not-self contained in *sutta* no. 32 in the *Sabbavagga*²³⁴ also occur in *sutta* no. 62 in the *Avijjāvagga*, *sutta* no. 73 in the *Migajālāvagga*, *sutta* nos. 74 and 75 in the *Gilānavagga*, and *sutta* nos. 86

²³¹ *evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattiyāṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme* (M III 267-70); *bhagavān chrāvastiyāṃ viharati sma jetavane nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme. tena khalu samayena sūrpārake nagare bhavo nāma gṛhipatīḥ prativasaty ādhyo mahādhanō mahābhogo vistīrṇaviśālāparigraho. vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito vaiśravaṇadhanapratispardhī* (Cowell and Neil 1970: 24). See also Divy 25 for Sanskrit text and Rotman, Andy. *Divine Stories Divyāvādāna*. Vol. 1, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008, p. 71 for translation.

²³² Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. "Early Buddhism and the Urban Revolution." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5, no. 2. 1982, pp. 10, 20.

²³³ Schopen, Gregory. "If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up: Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts." *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. Indica et Tibetica 30*. Ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann.. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1997. 574-77.

²³⁴ *cakkhuṃ niccaṃ vā aniccaṃ vā ti. aniccaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā ti. dukkhaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso 'ham asmi eso me attā ti. no h' etaṃ bhante... rūpā... cakkhuvīññānaṃ... cakkhusamphasso... yaṃ p' idaṃ cakkhusamphassapaccayā uppañjati vedayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vā taṃ pi niccaṃ vā aniccaṃ vā ti. aniccaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā ti. dukkhaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso 'ham asmi eso me attā ti. no h' etaṃ bhante.*

and 89 in the *Channavagga*. It is possible that this *sutta* was added to each *vagga* in order to make the connection between *suttas* within each *vagga* more complete and meaningful.

In some *vaggas*, such as the *Jātidhammavagga* and the *Sabba-aniccavagga*, the *suttas* within each *vagga* share the same structure and much of the same wording; only the key wording is different. In the *Jātidhammavagga*, the word *jātidhammaṃ* in the phrase *sabbaṃ bhikkhave jātidhammaṃ* of *sutta* no. 33 is replaced by *jarādhammaṃ*, *byādhidhammaṃ*, *maraṇadhammaṃ*, *sokadhammaṃ*, *saṅkilesikadhammaṃ*, *khayadhammaṃ*, *vayadhammaṃ*, *samudayadhammaṃ* and *nirodhadhammaṃ*, respectively, in the following *suttas* (nos. 34-42). Similarly, in the *Sabba-aniccavagga*, the word *aniccaṃ* in the phrase *sabbaṃ bhikkhave aniccaṃ* of *sutta* no. 43 is replaced by *dukkhaṃ*, *anattā*, *abhiññeyyaṃ*, *pariññeyyaṃ*, *pahātabbaṃ*, *sacchikātabbaṃ*, *abhiññā pariññeyyaṃ*, *upaddutaṃ*, and *upassaṭṭhaṃ*, respectively, in the following *suttas* (nos. 44-52). It is possible in this case that all of the *suttas* within each *vagga* are the same *sutta*, but are divided into 10 *suttas* to facilitate learning and memorisation.

For the most part, however, it appears that *suttas* are arranged in the same *vagga* according to the nature of the topic and the *suttas* within a *vagga* are connected on the basis of the principle of the Four Noble Truths (suffering, arising of suffering, cessation of suffering, and paths that lead to the cessation of suffering).

In some instances, *suttas* within a *vagga* are connected by the idea of suffering and arising of suffering. The clearest examples are found in the *Aniccavagga* and the *Jātidhammavagga*. In the *Aniccavagga*, the main topic of all the *suttas* is the three characteristics of real things, i.e.,

impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*), and not-self (*anattā*). All the *suttas* are linked together through the topic of suffering. The six internal and six external sense bases refer to suffering. The cause of suffering is the impermanence and changeability of those sense bases. Similarly, the *suttas* in the *Jātidhammavagga* are linked by the idea of suffering and the cause of suffering. The eye, forms, eye-consciousness, eye-contact, and whatever feelings that arise with eye-contact as condition, as well as the mind, mental phenomena, mind consciousness, mind-contact, and whatever feelings that arise with mind-contact as condition are suffering. The cause of suffering is birth (*jāti*), ageing (*jarā*), sickness (*byādhi*), death (*maraṇa*), sorrow (*soka*), defilement (*saṅkilesika*), destruction (*khaya*), vanishing (*vaya*), origination (*samudaya*), and cessation (*nirodha*). The real nature of these things is the main topic of this *vagga*.

On some occasions, the connection between *suttas* within a *vagga* is emphasised according to three principles: arising, cessation, and practices for the cessation of suffering. A clear example appears in the *Chalāvagga*. The main topic of this *vagga* is the sense restraints. The arising and cessation of suffering are described in *sutta* nos. 94-98. It is said in *sutta* no. 94 that the sense bases that are untamed (*adanta*), unguarded (*agutta*), unprotected (*arakkhita*), and unrestrained (*asaṃvuta*) bring suffering. Their absence brings happiness. *Sutta* no. 95 states that desire (*chanda*), lust (*rāga*), or affection (*pema*) is the cause of suffering. If there is no desire, lust, or affection, this is the end of suffering. *Sutta* no. 96 shows that the cause of suffering is being of a nature to fall away (*parihānadhamma*) from wholesome states that results from failure to abandon evil unwholesome states, memories and intentions connected with the fetters arising from seeing a form with the eye or mental phenomena with the mind. If a monk does the opposite, suffering ceases and he should be understood as not being of a

nature to fall away (*aparihānadhamma*) from wholesome states. This sense base has been mastered. *Sutta* no. 97 states that the cause of suffering is non-restraint over the sense faculties, which leads to the absence of *dhammas*. Therefore, a monk is reckoned to dwell with negligence (*pamādavihārī*). The cessation of suffering comes with restraint over the sense faculties. Because of that, *dhammas* appear and the monk is reckoned as dwelling with diligence (*appamādavihārī*). In *sutta* no. 98, the cause of suffering is delight, welcome and holding to the sense bases. Where these exist, a monk should be understood as departing from wholesome states and dwelling with non-restraint. The cessation of suffering results from the absence of these states. References to the practices that lead to the cessation of suffering occur in *sutta* nos. 99-103. These are that the monk should meditate (*sutta* no. 99), should practise exertion in seclusion (*sutta* no. 100), should abandon whatever is not his for his welfare and happiness (*sutta* nos. 101-2), and should, in regard to the sense bases, know gratification (*assāda*), danger (*ādīnava*), and escape (*nissaraṇa*) as they really are since this can lead to liberation without clinging (*sutta* no. 103).

Moreover, *suttas* within a *vagga* are sometimes linked together according to the principles of the Four Noble Truths. A clear example is shown in the *Migajālavagga*. In this *vagga*, *sutta* nos. 63-68 describe delight (*nandi*) and infatuation (*sārāgo*) in the six internal sense bases and the six external sense bases as leading to fetters (*saṃyojana*) and suffering (*dukkha*). Without delight and infatuation, suffering ceases. *Sutta* no. 67 states that the six internal and the six external sense bases themselves are suffering; suffering is also presented as *Māra*, beings (*satta*), and the world (*loka*) in *sutta* nos. 65, 66, and 68, respectively. The last five *suttas* (*sutta* nos. 69-73) describe the practices that lead to the cessation of suffering: the

monk should clearly see the sense bases as they really are: ‘This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self. This itself is the end of suffering’.

It is plausible that this text was designed as *dhamma* lessons for Buddhist students, particularly monks and novices. These lessons will be divided into many sections or *vaggas* for students to learn each day. The grouping of *suttas* within a *vagga* in this way facilitates learning and understanding the theme of the teaching. Even if students do not read all the chapters of *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, they can understand the main idea contained in a *vagga*, memorise it, and effectively apply it in daily life.

With regard to the connections between *vaggas*, we can assume that each *vagga* is connected by some key words or word elements that provide information or explain the meaning of words or word elements contained in the last three *suttas* of the previous *vagga*. The first or second *sutta* of the next *vagga* gives additional information or explanation of the word contained in the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth *sutta* of the previous *vagga*. For example, *sutta* no. 32, the last *sutta* of the *Sabbavagga*, states that the sense bases are impermanent and subject to change. *Sutta* no. 33, the first *sutta* of the *Jātidhammavagga*, adds that, as well as being subject to change, the sense bases are also subject to birth. Another clear example is found in the *Gilānavagga* and *Channavagga*. *Sutta* no. 83, the last *sutta* of the *Gilānavagga*, states that there are no sense bases to describe the Buddhas of the past who have attained final *Nibbāna* (*parinibbuta*), cut through proliferation (*chinnapapañca*), cut through the rut (*chinnavaṭṭuma*), exhausted the round (*pariyādinnavatṭa*), and transcended all suffering (*sabbadukkhavītivatṭa*). *Sutta* no. 84, the first *sutta* of the *Channavagga*, further explains that there are no sense bases because they are subject to disintegration (*palokadhamma*) and emptying of self or of what

belongs to self (*suññā attena vā attaniyena vā*) (*sutta* no. 85). Connecting *vaggas* in this way facilitates learning and memorisation. It helps students to recollect or follow up the lesson in a kind of continuous review process.

4.2 The occurrence of verses

4.2.1 The metres of verses

Of the 103 *suttas* of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* edited in the current work, only two (*sutta* nos. 74 and 75) contain verses. The metres of the verses in *sutta* no. 74, the *Adanta-aguttasutta* of the *Chalavagga*, are as follows:

cha-!-eva phassāyatanāni bhikkhavo (jagatī)
asaṃvuto yattha dukkhaṃ nigacchati (jagatī)
tesañ ca ye saṃvaraṇaṃ avedisuṃ (jagatī)
saddhādutiya viharantā na vassutā. (does not conform to jagatī)
disvāna rūpāni manoramāni (tuṭṭhubha)
atho pi disvā amanoramāni (tuṭṭhubha)
manorame rāgapathaṃ vinodaye (jagatī)
na cāppiyaṃ me ti manaṃ padosaye. (jagatī)
saddaṅ ca sutvā dubhayaṃ piyāppiyaṃ (jagatī)
piyamhi sadde na samucchito siyā (jagatī)
athoppiye dosagataṃ vinodaye (jagatī)
na cāppiyaṃ me ti manaṃ padosaye. (jagatī)
gandhaṅ ca ghātvā surabhiṃ manoramaṃ (jagatī)
atho pi ghātvā asuciṃ akantiyaṃ (jagatī)
akantiyasmim paṭighaṃ vinodaye (jagatī)
chandānunīto na ca kantiye siyā. (jagatī)
rasañ ca bhotvā asāditaṅ ca sādum (does not conform to jagatī)
atho pi bhotvāna asādum ekadā (jagatī)
sādum rasaṃ nājjhosāya bhuñjati (does not conform to jagatī)
virodham āsādusu no padaṃsaye. (jagatī)

phassena phutṭho na sukkena majjhe (tuṭṭhubha)
dukkhena phutṭho pi na sampavedhe (tuṭṭhubha)
phassadvayaṃ sukhadukkhaṃ upekkhe (does not conform to tuṭṭhubha)
anānuruddho aviruddha kenaci. (jagatī)
papañcasaññā itaritarā narā (jagatī)
papañcayantā upayanti saññino (jagatī)
manomayaṃ gehasitañ ca sabbaṃ (tuṭṭhubha)
panujja nekkhammasitaṃ irīyati. (jagatī)
evaṃ mano chassu yadā subhāvito (jagatī)
phutṭhassa cittaṃ na vikampate kvaci (jagatī)
te rāgadose abhibhuyya bhikkhavo (jagatī)
bhavattha jātimaraṇassa pāragā ti. (jagatī)

This verse is a combination of *Tuṭṭhubha* and *Jagatī*. According to Ānandajoti, although the forms of *Tuṭṭhubha* and *Jagatī* are more or less identical to those of *Upajāti* and the *Vaṃsaṭṭha*, the former two metres were adopted here because they are more flexible.²³⁵ This can be seen from the second *pāda*: *asaṃvuto yattha dukkhaṃ nigacchati* (line 23). In syllable 7, the *Vaṃsaṭṭha* gives the pattern ∪ only, whereas the *Jagatī* can be both ∪ or ∪̄.²³⁶

Approximately 80% of the openings of both metres are ∪∪∪. About 20% open with the pattern ∪∪̄∪. Only around 1% open with ∪∪̄∪̄ and ∪̄∪̄∪̄, which do not conform to the regular pattern of the *Tuṭṭhubha* and the *Jagatī* ∪̄∪̄∪̄.²³⁷ In the break (syllables 5-7), the pattern ∪̄∪̄∪̄ is the most common in approximately 90% of cases. About 9% has the pattern ∪̄∪̄∪̄ and 1% contains the patterns ∪̄∪̄∪̄ and ∪̄∪̄∪̄. Only one pattern ∪̄∪̄∪̄ does not conform to the normal cadence of the *Tuṭṭhubha* ∪̄∪̄∪̄.²³⁸ In line 4, *saddhādutiya viharantā na vassutā* is the only *pāda* consisting of 13 syllables, which does not match any metre. It is difficult to

²³⁵ Ānandajoti, Bhikkhu. *Pāli Prosody: Texts and Studies*. Torino: Indologica Taurinensia, 2000, p. 57.

²³⁶ Ibid., pp. 27, 29.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

identify the type of metre that is appropriate for this *pāda*. It is more likely that the metrical rules were broken in order to maintain the textual meaning or that the text needs amending. It was also found that syllables 8-12 of *rasañ ca bhotvā asāditañ ca sādum* (line 38) present scansion (◡-◡-◡-◡) that are opposite to those in the normal pattern of the *Jagatī* -◡-◡-◡×.²³⁹

The second collection of verse is found in the *Mālukyaputtasutta* of the *Chalavagga* (*sutta* no. 75):

rūpaṃ disvā sati muṭṭhā
sārattacitto vedeti
tassa vaḍḍhanti vedanā
abhijjhā ca vihesā ca

piyaṃ nimittaṃ manasikaroto
tañ ca ajjhosa tiṭṭhati.
anekā rūpasambhavā
cittam assūpahaññati...

dhammaṃ ñatvā sati muṭṭhā
sārattacitto vedeti
tassa vaḍḍhanti vedanā
abhijjhā ca vihesā ca
evaṃ ācīnato dukkhaṃ
na so rajjati rūpesu
virattacitto vedeti
yathāssa passato rūpaṃ
khīyati nopacīyati
evaṃ apacīnato dukkhaṃ

piyaṃ nimittaṃ manasikaroto
tañ ca ajjhosa tiṭṭhati.
anekā dhammasambhavā
cittam assūpahaññati
ārā nibbāna vuccati.
rūpaṃ disvā paṭissato
tañ ca nājjhosa tiṭṭhati.
sevato cāpi vedanaṃ
evaṃ so caratī sato
santike nibbāna vuccati...

na so rajjati dhammesu
virattacitto vedeti
yathāssa jānato dhammaṃ
khīyati nopacīyati
evaṃ apacīnato dukkhaṃ

dhammaṃ ñatvā paṭissato
tañ ca nājjhosa tiṭṭhati.
sevato cāpi vedanaṃ
evaṃ so caratī sato
santike nibbāna vuccatī ti.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

This metre is *pathyā vatta*. This verse occurs twice. The first occurrence is spoken by Mālukiyaputta, and this is then repeated by the Buddha. The verses generally conform to the normal cadence of *pathyā vatta*. Three kinds of *vipulā* are found: the third *vipulā* (*sārattacitto vedeti* and *virattacitto vedeti*), the fifth *vipulā* (*rūpaṃ disvā sati muṭṭhā*) and the *anuṭṭhubha* (*tassa vaḍḍhanti vedanā*). Only two *pādas* in the even lines do not show the normal pattern of *pathyā vatta* ∪--∪×, i.e., *piyaṃ nimittaṃ masasikaroto* (11 syllables) and *santike nibbāna vuccati* (9 syllables).

The repetitive style of these verses is a common feature of prose. It can be classified as structural repetition with the substitution of key elements to produce differences of meaning.²⁴⁰ In these verses, the units of meaning concerning the six internal and six external sense bases are replaced by *rūpaṃ disvā*, *rūpasambhavā*, *rūpesu*, *rūpaṃ disvā* and *passato rūpaṃ*. For example, *rūpaṃ disvā* is replaced by *saddaṃ sutvā*, *gandhaṃ ghātvā*, *rasaṃ bhotvā*, *phassaṃ phussa* and *dhammaṃ ñatvā*, respectively. The repetitive style no doubt facilitates recitation and memorisation. In particular, as Stede²⁴¹ noted, such characteristics are essential to poetical works. The stock phrases are not only constructed in order to prevent modification to the text, but are also aesthetically pleasing and likely to impress large groups of listeners.

Finally, although not part of the *suttas*, the *uddānas* are verses. At the end of *vaggas* 5 and 10, two more verses (*vagguddāna*) are added to give a summary of all the doctrinal subjects in each *paññāsa* (sets of 50). The ten verses and the two *vagguddānas* are as follows:

²⁴⁰ For the classification of types of repetition, see Allon, *Style and Function: A Study of the Dominant Stylistic Features of the Prose Portions of Pāli Canonical Sutta Texts and Their Mnemonic Function*, p. 287 and Gethin, "What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya," p. 365.

²⁴¹ Stede, W. "The Pādas of Thera- and Therī-Gāthā." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 8. 1924-1927, p. 34.

1. *aniccam dukkham anattā ca tayo ajjhatabāhirā*
yad aniccena tayo vuttā te te ajjhatabāhirā ti.
2. *sambodhena duve vuttā assādena pare duve*
no cetena duve vuttā abhinandena pare duve
uppādena duve vuttā vaggo tena pavuccatī ti.
3. *sabbañ ca dve pi pahānā pariḥānāpare duve*
ādittam andhabhūtañ ca sārubbā dve ca sappāyā
vaggo tena pavuccatī ti.
4. *jātijarābyādhimaraṇam soko ca saṅkilesikaṇ*
khayavayasamudayaṇ nirodhadhammena te dasā ti.
5. *aniccam dukkham anattā abhiññeyyam pariññeyyam*
pahātabbam sacchikātabbam abhiññeyyam pariññeyyam
upaddutam upassattham vaggo tena pavuccatī ti.

saḷāyatanavagge paṭhamapaṇṇāsako samatto

tassa vagg' uddānam

- aniccavaggo yamako ca sabbavaggo jātidhammo*
sabbāniccena paññāsaṇ pañcamo tena pavuccatī ti.
6. *avijjā saṃyojanā dve āsavā apare duve*
anussayā apare dve pariññā dve pariyaḍinnā
vaggo tena pavuccatī ti.
7. *migajālena dve vuttā cattāro ca samiddhinā*
upaseno upavāṇo ca chaphassāyatanikā tayo ti.
8. *gilānena duve vuttā rādhena apare tayo*
avijjāya ca dve vuttā bhikkhu loko ca phagguno ti.
9. *palokasuññā saṅkhittam channo puṇṇo ca bāhiyo*
ejena ca duve vuttā dvayehi apare duve ti.
10. *dve saṅgayhā pariḥānaṇ pamādavihārī ca saṃvaro*
samādhi paṭisallānaṇ natumhākena uddako ti.

chaḷāyatanavagge dutiyapaṇṇāsako samatto.

tassa vagguddānam

- avijjā migajālañ ca gilānaṇ channaṇ catutthakaṇ*
chaḷavaggena paññāsaṇ dutiyo paññāsako ayan ti.
paṭhamasatakaṇ.

Besides the normal *pathyā* structure of the *siloka* metre of these verses, three variations (*vipulā*) occur in the odd lines, i.e., the third, the fourth, and the fifth *vipulā*. Of these *vipulās*, the fourth is the most common. It occurs in *uddānas* 4, 5, 6, and 10. The third *vipulā* is found in *uddānas* 5, 9, and 10, while the fifth occurs in *uddāna* 3 and 4. *Uddāna* 4 contains both the fourth and fifth *vipulā* whereas the third and the fifth *vipulās* occur in *uddāna* 10. Apart from those two *uddānas*, *uddānas* 5, 6 and 9 have only one type of *vipulā*. As previously mentioned (section 3 of Volume 2 of this thesis), *aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ anattā ca*—found in the first *pāda* of the *Aniccavagga*—does not conform to the normal structure of *pathyā vatta*. However, if *ca* were omitted, it could be scanned as the fourth *vipulā*. There are also instances of syllables being resolved in order to observe the rules of *vipulās*. The resolution of syllables 6 and 7 is found in *uddāna* 4 of the *Jātidhammavagga*, where *maraṇaṃ* ∪∪– is resolved into ∪∪– and in *Uddānavagga* 5 of the *Sabba-aniccavagga* where *yamako* ∪∪– is resolved into ∪∪–. Two shorts ∪∪ are replaced by one long – in order to meet the fourth *vipulā* and the third *vipulā*, respectively. In the third *pāda* of *uddāna* 10, syllables 4 and 5 are resolved. As above, two shorts ∪∪ are replaced by one long – in order to observe the third *vipulā*. In the third *pāda* of *uddāna* 7 of *Miggajālavagga*, *upaseno* ∪∪– is resolved into ∪∪– to observe the *pathyā* structure of the *siloka*.

In addition, it is frequently found that some *pādas* among these verses do not show the standard cadence of the *pathyā vatta* in the prior and posterior *pāda*. In the case of posterior *pādas*, there are nine *pādas* that do not conform to the normal cadence, i.e., *sāruppā dve ca sappāyā* (*uddāna* 3), *nirodhadhammena te dasa* (*uddāna* 4), *abhiññeyyaṃ pariññeyyaṃ* (*pādas* 2 and 4 of *uddāna* 5), *sabbavaggo jātidhammo* (*uddāna* 5), *pariññā dve pariyādinnā* (*uddāna* 6) and *chaphassāyatānikā tayo* (*uddāna* 7). There is only one case of the prior *pāda*,

i.e., *pahātabbaṃ sacchikātabbaṃ* (*uddāna* 5). Due to a lack of understanding of the metre of *uddānas* and any external witnesses, it is not possible to amend these verses. In this case, we can assume that the author(s) of these *uddānas* prioritised the referencing of *suttas* and meaning over metrical concerns.

4.2.2 Fluidity and metrical license for the sake of metre

Verses in the *Adanta-aguttasutta* display a variety of ways of modifying the wording in order to preserve the metre. This includes lengthening or shortening of vowels, e.g., *āsādusu* for *āsādūsu* (line 41) and *irīyati* for *iriyati* (line 49). A change in verbal form is used (stem, voice, etc.), e.g., *avedisuṃ* for *avediṃsu* (line 24), *padosaye* for *padoseyya* (line 29), *vinodaye* for *vinodeyya* (line 36), *padamaṃsaye* for *padamaṃseyya* (line 41), *sampavedhe* for *sampavedheyya* (line 43), *vikampate* for *vikampati* (line 51), and *disvāna* for *disvā* (line 26). Other means include the non-writing of geminates or the doubling of a consonant, e.g., *chassu* for *chasu* (line 50).

The verses in the *Mālukiyaṃputtasutta* contain only a few examples of the application of fluidity and metrical license. Nasal vowels are denasalised to observe the normal cadence of *pathyā vatta*, i.e., *nibbāna* for *nibbānaṃ* (lines 37, 42, 47, 52, 57, 62). Development of the consonants is also found, i.e., *paṭissato* for *paṭisato* (lines 63, 68, 73, 78, 83, 88). The vowels are sometimes lengthened, e.g., *khīyatī* for *khīyati* and *nopacīyatī* for *nopaciyati* (lines 66, 71, 76, 81, 86, 91). On some occasions, the final syllable is elided by shortening the resulting final syllable, e.g., *ajjhosa* for *ajjhosāya* (lines 34, 39, 44, 49, 54, 59), and *nājjhosa* for *nājjhosāya* (lines 64, 69, 74, 79, 84, 89).

In the *uddāna* verses, there is only one example of fluidity and metrical license, i.e. *uddako* m.c. for *udako* in order to observe the normal structure of *pathyā vatta* (10d).

4.2.3 The occurrence of verses elsewhere in the Pali canon

Some verses in the *Samyuttanikāya* are found in other texts of the canon. In the two collections of verses found in the first 103 *suttas* of the *Salāyatanaśamyutta* (discussed above), several of those found in the *Mālukiyaṭṭasutta* (*sutta* no. 75) are also found in the *Therīgāthā*, verses 399-404 and 794-817. The occurrence of the same verses in a different collection suggests that these verses must be quite significant and may have been recited, memorised, preserved or used by different individuals or groups over a long period of time. At the time of the arrangement of texts into a particular collection, they may have been separately redacted without consultation or collation of texts between each group of reciters. This is evident from discrepancies between the speaker and the time of the utterances attributed to the same verse or group of verses found in different texts. For instance, the verses that are attributed to the monk Kāmabhū in the *Cittasamyutta*,²⁴² are attributed to the Buddha in the *Udāna*.²⁴³ Furthermore, it is stated that the verses that are found in the *Mālukiyaṭṭasutta* in both the *Samyuttanikāya* (S IV 72-6) and the *Therīgāthā* (399-404) were spoken on a different occasion to the same verses found at Th 794-817. The commentary on the *Therīgāthā* (Thī-a III 42) states that the verses 399-404 were uttered after Mālukiyaṭṭa had attained Arahantship, whereas they previously were voiced while he had not yet reached Arahantship.²⁴⁴

²⁴² S IV 291.

²⁴³ Ud 76.

²⁴⁴ Norman, K.R. *The Elders's Verses I: Therīgāthā*. Lancaster: The Pali Text Society, 2007: xxix.

In some cases, some parts of *pādas* of a verse in the *Samyuttanikāya* are found elsewhere in the canon. For example, four *pādas* of verses in the *Mālukyaṭṭasutta* are found in two different verses in the *Theragāthā*:

<i>rūpaṃ disvā sati muṭṭhā</i>	<i>piyaṃ nimittaṃ manasikaroto</i>
<i>sārattacitto vedeti</i>	<i>tañ ca ajjhosa tiṭṭhati</i>
<u><i>tassa vaddanti āsavā</i></u>	<u><i>bhavamūlopagāmino ti.</i></u> ²⁴⁵
<i>saddaṃ sutvā sati muṭṭhā</i>	<i>piyaṃ nimittaṃ manasikaroto</i>
<i>sārattacitto vedeti</i>	<i>tañ ca ajjhosa tiṭṭhati</i>
<u><i>tassa vaddhanti āsavā</i></u>	<u><i>samsāram upagāmino ti.</i></u> ²⁴⁶

The similarities and differences in some *pādas* of verses suggest that narrators or reciters have the freedom to choose any verses or borrow some *pādas* from existing stock verses or, as Brough refers to them, “the treasure-house of versified tags.”²⁴⁷ They can then apply them anywhere they like. In this example, the narrators borrowed four *pādas* and composed two other *pādas*.

Based on an analysis of similarities of verses and differences in the prose sections between two collections, e.g., the *Mālukyaṭṭasutta* (no. 95; S IV 72-6) and the *Theragāthā* 794-817, S IV 158-59 and It 57-8,²⁴⁸ S IV 127 and Sn 759-65, S IV 157 and Nett 155 and S IV 291 and

²⁴⁵ Th 98.

²⁴⁶ Th 99.

²⁴⁷ Brough, John. *The Gandhari Dharmapada*. London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962: xxi.

²⁴⁸ *yassa rāgo ca doso ca* *avijjā va virājitā*
so imaṃ samuddaṃ sagāhaṃ sarakkhasaṃ *saūmibhayaṃ duttaram accatari*
saṅgātiko muccuḥjaho nirūpadhi *pahāya dukkham apunabbhavāya*
atthaṅgato so napamāṇam eti *amohayi maccurājan ti brūmī ti.*

seyyathā pi bhikkhave bālasiko āmisagataṃ baḷisaṃ gambhīre udakarahade pakkhipeyya. tam enam aññataro āmisacakkhu maccho gileyya. evaṃ hi so bhikkhave maccho gilītabaḷiso bālīsikassa anayam āpanno vyaśanam

Ud 76, we can assume that narrators or reciters have borrowed the same verses from stock phrases and have created the prose portions later, when the text was compiled in their own collections.

4.3 The occurrence of *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* elsewhere in the Pali canon

Many *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are found in other collections of the canon. In this study of 103 *suttas* of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, three *suttas* have parallels in the *Vinaya* and *Majjhimanikāya*. These are the *Ādittapariyāyasutta* (*sutta* no. 28 in this edition, S IV 19-20; Vin I 34-35), the *Channasutta* (*sutta* no. 87 in this edition; S IV 55-60; M III 263-66) and the *Puññasutta* (*sutta* no. 88 in this edition; S IV 60-63; M III 267-70). Comparative study of these three parallel *suttas* shows that all contain similar doctrinal content, differing only in some narrative sections, sequences of wordings, or additions and omissions. The differences (underlined) are as follows:

āpanno yathākāmakaraṇīyo bālīsikassa. evam eva kho bhikkhave cha-y-ime baḷisā lokasmiṃ anayāya sattānaṃ vyābādhāya paṇīnaṃ. katame cha. santi bhikkhave cakkhuvīñṇeyyā rūpā iṭṭhā kantā maṇāpā piyarūpā kāmūpasamaḥhitā rajanīyā. tañ ce bhikkhu abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave bhikkhu gilitabaliso mārasa anayam āpanno vyasanam āpanno yathākāmakaraṇīyo pāpimato ...pa... santi bhikkhave manovīñṇeyyā dhammā...pāpimato ti (S IV 158-59).

vuttaṃ hetam bhagavā vuttam arahatā ti me sutam. yassa kassaci bhikkhave bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā rāgo appahīno doso appahīno moho appahīno ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave na atari samuddaṃ saūmiṃ sāvīciṃ sāvaṭṭaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ. yassa kassaci bhikkhave bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā rāgo pahīno doso pahīno moho pahīno ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave atari samuddaṃ saūmiṃ sāvīciṃ sāvaṭṭaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ tiṇṇo pāraṃgato thale tiṭṭhati brāhmaṇo ti. etam atthaṃ bhagavā avoca. tattiṭṭh' etam iti vuccati:

*yassa rāgo ca doso ca
so maṃ samuddaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ
saṅgātigo maccujaho nirūpadhi
atthaṅgato so na samānam eti
ayam pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan ti (It 57-8).*

*avijjā ca virājitā
ūmibhayaṃ duttaram accatāri
pahāsi dukkhaṃ apunabbhavāya
amohayi maccurājan ti brūmī ti.*

(1) the *Ādittapariyāyasutta* (sutta no. 28 in this edition; S IV 19-20) and its *Vinaya* parallel (Vin I 34-35):

<i>Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta</i>	<i>Vinaya</i>
<i>evam me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā gayāyaṃ viharati gayāsīse saddhiṃ bhikkhusahassena. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi...</i>	<i>atha kho bhagavā uruvelāyaṃ yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā yena gayāsīsam tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi mahatā bhikkhusamghena saddhiṃ bhikkhusahassena sabbe h' eva purānajaṭilehi. tatra sudam bhagavā gayāyaṃ viharati gayāsīse saddhiṃ bhikkhusahassena. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi...</i>
<i>khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti. nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti. idam avoca bhagavā attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandum. imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmim bhanñāmaṇe tassa bhikkhusahassassa anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccisū ti.</i>	<i>khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti. imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmim bhanñāmaṇe tassa bhikkhusahassassa anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccisū.</i>

(2) *Channasutta* (sutta no. 87 in this edition; S IV 55-60) and its *Majjhimanikāya* parallel (M III 262-66):

<i>Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta</i>	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>
<i>ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati veḷuvane kalandakanivāpe.</i>	<i>evam me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati veḷuvane kalandakanivāpe.</i>
<i>atha kho āyasmā ca sārīputto āyasmā ca mahācundo yenāyasmā channo ten' upasaṅkamisū. upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdīsū. nisajja kho āyasmā sārīputto āyasmantaṃ channaṃ etad avoca.</i>	<i>atha kho āyasmā ca sārīputto āyasmā ca mahācundo yenāyasmā channo ten' upasaṅkamisū. upasaṅkamitvā āyasmatā channena saddhiṃ sammodīsū. sammodanīyaṃ katham sārānīyaṃ vītīsāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīsū. ekamantaṃ nisīno kho āyasmā sārīputto āyasmantaṃ channaṃ etad avoca.</i>
<i>atha kho āyasmā channo acirapakkantesu tesu āyasmantesu satthaṃ āhāresi.</i>	<i>atha kho āyasmā channo acirapakkante āyasmante ca sārīputte āyasmante ca mahācunde satthaṃ āhāresi.</i>
<i>anupavajjaṃ channena bhikkhunā satthaṃ āharitan ti evam etaṃ sārīputta dhārehī ti.</i>	<i>anupavajjo channo bhikkhu satthaṃ āhāresī ti.</i>
-	End the sutta with <i>idam avoca bhagavā. attamano āyasmā sārīputto bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandī ti.</i>

<p><i>na me āvuso sārīputta n' atthi sappāyāni bhojanāni. <u>atthi me sappāyāni bhojanāni. na pi me n' atthi sappāyāni bhesajjāni atthi me sappāyāni bhesajjāni. na pi me n' atthi patirūpā upatthākā atthi me patirūpā upatthākā. api ca me āvuso satthā paricinno dīgharattaṃ manāpen' eva no amanāpena.</u></i></p>	<p><i>na <u>pi</u> me āvuso sārīputta n' atthi sappāyāni bhojanāni. <u>na pi n'</u> atthi sappāyāni bhesajjāni. na pi me n' atthi <u>patirūpo upatthāko. api cāvuso sārīputta paricinno me satthā dīgharattaṃ manāpen' eva no amanāpena.</u></i></p>
<p>Small differences in details</p> <p>Instances:</p> <p>- <i>upasaṅkamissāma</i> (S IV 56, line 11-12)</p> <p>- <i>pubbavijjhanaṃ</i> (S IV 59, line 133)</p>	<p>- <i>upasaṅkameyyāma</i> (M III 263, line 10)</p> <p>- <i>pubbajiraṃ</i> (M III 266, line 107)</p>

(3) Puṇṇasutta (sutta no. 88 in this edition; S IV 60-63) and its Majjhimanikāya parallel (M III 266-70):

Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta	Majjhimanikāya
<p><i>atha kho āyasmā puṇṇo yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami. upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā puṇṇo bhagavantaṃ etad avoca sādhu maṃ bhante bhagavā saṅkhittena <u>dhammaṃ desetu yam ahaṃ bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto vihareyyan ti.</u></i></p>	<p><i><u>evam me sutam. ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapindikassa ārāme. atha kho āyasmā puṇṇo sāvānhasamayaṃ patisallānā vutthito yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami. upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā puṇṇo bhagavantaṃ etad avoca sādhu maṃ bhante bhagavā saṅkhittena ovādena ovadatu yam ahaṃ bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto vihareyyan ti. tena hi puṇṇa suṇohi sādhukaṃ manasi karohi bhāsissāmī ti. evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā puṇṇo bhagavato paccassosi. bhagavā etad avoca.</u></i></p>
<p><i>iminā tvaṃ puṇṇa mayā saṅkhittena ovādena ovadito katamasmim̃ janapade viharissasī ti. atthi bhante sunāparanto nāma janapado tatthāhaṃ viharissāmī ti.</i></p>	<p><i>iminā ca tvaṃ puṇṇa mayā saṅkhittena ovādena ovadito katarasmim̃ janapade viharissasī ti. <u>imināhaṃ bhante bhagavatā saṅkhittena ovādena ovadito. atthi sunāparanto nāma janapado tatthāhaṃ viharissāmī.</u></i></p>
<p><i>ten' ev' antaravassena tisso vijjā sacchākāsi. <u>ten' ev' antaravassena parinibbāvī.</u></i></p>	<p><i>ten' ev' antaravassena tisso vijjā sacchi-akāsi. <u>atha kho āyasmā puṇṇo aparena samayena parinibbāvī.</u></i></p>
-	End the sutta with <i>idam avoca bhagavā. attamano te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.</i>

<p>Small differences in details</p> <p>Instances:</p> <p>- <i>nirujjhati nandi</i> (S IV 60, line 22-23)</p> <p>- <i>janapade vatthum</i> (S IV 62, line 88-89)</p>	<p>- <i>nandī nirujjhati</i> (M III 267, line 27-28)</p> <p>- <i>janapade viharitum</i> (M III 269, line 83-84)</p>
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The great similarity of doctrinal content reflects Buddhists' concern with accuracy in the transmission of the Buddha's teachings. They did attempt to preserve the basic teaching, and were probably successful, even though the original compositions were not accurately preserved.

Slight variations in content may have occurred due to the influence of *bhāṇakas* and from copying and editing errors. As shown in Table 1-3, there are some minor discrepancies in doctrinal content. Wordings are sometimes arranged in a different order. For example, in the *Puṇṇasutta*, the *Majjhimanikāya* has *nandī nirujjati*, whereas the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* uses *nirujjhati nandi*. In the *Channasutta*, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* has *api ca me āvuso satthā paricīṇṇo*, whereas the *Majjhimanikāya* gives *api cāvuso sārīputta paricīṇṇo me satthā*. At times, a similar word element is given in a different grammatical form. For example, in the *Channasutta*, the *Majjhimanikāya* uses an optative *upasaṅkameyyāma*, whereas the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* gives the future tense *upasaṅkamissāma*. Some words in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are shown in the plural as *paṭirūpā upatṭhākā*, whereas the single form *paṭirūpo upatṭhāko* is given by the *Majjhimanikāya*. Some words, phrases or sentences appear in one collection only. For example, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* has *atthi me sappāyāni bhojanāni...atthi me sappāyāni bhesajjāni*, but this does not occur in the *Majjhimanikāya*. These additional passages do not affect the meaning of the texts but have merely been inserted to clarify the meaning. This suggests that each collection uses a different style in

presenting the same text. The village is sometimes given a different name: the *Majjhimanikāya* gives *pubbajiraṃ*, whereas the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* has *pubbavijjanaṃ*.

These small differences in content may have arisen from the practical use of the text in each school of *bhāṇakas*. Adikaram²⁴⁹ notes that after the compilation of the Buddha's teachings in the first Council at *Rājagaha*, different sections of the canon were entrusted to different groups of monks or *bhāṇakas*. Upāli and his pupils were assigned to memorise the *Vinaya*. Ānanda, pupils of Sāriputta, Mahākassapa and Anuruddha, were assigned to memorise the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Samyutta-* and *Aṅguttaranikāya*, respectively. Apart from the *Vinaya* and the first four *Nikāya*, the Pali commentaries also mention the *bhāṇakas* of two *Vibhaṅgas* (*Ubhato Vibhaṅga*), the *Dhammapada*, and the *Mahā-Ariyavaṃsa*. The word *Khuddakabhāṇaka* also appears in the *Milindapañhā*, which pre-dates Buddhaghosa's commentaries.²⁵⁰ Clearly, the *bhāṇakas* played an important role in the earliest preservation and transmission of the Buddha's teachings.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*) notes that the earth quaked after the *Dīghabhāṇaka theras* finished reciting the *Brahmajālasutta*.²⁵¹ In this commentary, king Vasabha was very happy when he listened to the *Mahāsudassanasutta* recited by some *Dīghabhāṇaka theras*.²⁵² The *Samantapāsādikā* (commentary on the *Vinaya*) records that, while coming to plunder the *Cetiyaṭṭhāra*, a group of thieves had changed their mind due to a kind reception of the *Dīghabhāṇaka Mahā-abhaya*. The *Dīghabhāṇaka* taught them

²⁴⁹ Adikaram, E.W. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Democratic Socialist Republican Government of Sri Lanka, 1946, pp. 24-5.

²⁵⁰ The reference in the *Milindapañhā* reveals that the *bhāṇaka* system originated in India, not Sri Lanka.

²⁵¹ Sv I 131.

²⁵² Sv II 635.

by giving food to them.²⁵³ The *Papañcasūdanī* (commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*) mentions that both well- and less-educated *Jātakabhāṇakas* told the *Jātaka* to the Blessed One.²⁵⁴ It is also recorded in the *Manorathapūraṇī* (commentary on the *Aṅuttaranikāya*) that a young monk travelled for a day, for a distance of nine *yojanas*, in order to listen to the preaching of the Great *Vessantara Jātaka* by a *Mahājātakabhāṇakathera* who lived in *Dīghavāpī*.²⁵⁵ Therefore, it can be seen that *bhāṇakas* were not only preservers and reciters, but were also preachers of the *dhamma*.²⁵⁶

After his enlightenment, the Buddha sent his main disciples to various countries to propagate his teachings.²⁵⁷ Preaching has been regarded as a major means of disseminating the *dhamma* since ancient times. Preaching is also very common in South and Southeast Asian Buddhist countries. In various parts of Sri Lanka, the village temple became the centre of religious education while the monk acted as a religious teacher who shared his memorised knowledge with his students.²⁵⁸ This shows that the *dhamma* was not only recited or kept, but the texts were also circulated and used for educational and religious purposes. The same *suttas* may have been used by different preachers for groups of people with different backgrounds, knowledge and beliefs. To facilitate learning and teaching, some words, phrases or sentences may have been adapted for specific audiences, activities or events. Occasionally, preachers may have expanded the passages to explain or clarify the teachings, although the textual

²⁵³ Sp II 474.

²⁵⁴ Ps II 305.

²⁵⁵ Mp II 249.

²⁵⁶ According to the PED (501), the term *bhāṇaka* (adj., noun) means “a reciter, repeater or preacher (of sections of the Scriptures).” The word “*Dharma-bhāṇaka*” is also translated in the BHSD (280) as “a preacher of the doctrine and a religious preacher.”

²⁵⁷ Dutt, Nalinaksha. *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*. New Delhi: Rajesh Publications, 1925 [1980, the first Indian Edition], pp. 24-5.

²⁵⁸ Malalasekera, G.P. *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994, pp. 38-9.

meanings were never changed, although evidence for this have not been found in the course of editing the present section of the *Samyuttanikāya*.

Other differences in doctrinal content may have resulted from faulty memory. As Gombrich has observed, “Even with the Councils that convened for redactions of the Buddha’s teachings, a new text could be accidentally inserted at any time due to failures of monks’ memories.”²⁵⁹ In addition, as Anālayo²⁶⁰ has pointed out, the Buddhist reciters were not as well-trained in memorising the texts as the Vedic reciters were. The early Buddhists basically imitated the form of oral transmission practised by the Vedic reciters, but there were slight differences between the two traditions in their approach to learning and memorising. In the Vedic tradition, considerable weight was attached to accurate wording. The Brahmin reciters were trained from a very early age to memorise texts without understanding their meaning. In contrast, due to an emphasis on *dhamma* practice, the Buddhist reciters emphasised comprehension of doctrinal content rather than correct wording. The Vedic method of training seems to have been more effective because it provided less opportunity for reciters to insert their own interpretations or to produce accidental changes. The texts could be precisely transmitted over a long period of time. In contrast, the technique of memorisation based on understanding presents greater opportunity for individual interpretation. In the absence of rigorous training, reciters may well have suffered memory lapses in relation, for instance, to the names of villages or the sequences of words.

²⁵⁹ Gombrich, R.F. "How the Mahāyāna Began." *The Buddhist Forum* 1. 1990, p. 26.

²⁶⁰ Anālayo, Bhikkhu. "The Vicissitudes of Memory and Early Buddhist Oral Transmission." *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 5. 2009, pp. 6-13; see also Anālayo, Bhikkhu. "The Verses on an Auspicious Night, Explained by Mahākaccāna—a Study and Translation of the Chinese Version." *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 4. 2008, p. 6.

Other discrepancies may have resulted from copying and editing errors. As Lopez noted, only the words of the Buddha express the true *dhamma*, while writing moves the *dhamma* far away from the truth.²⁶¹ Similarly, McMahan²⁶² asserts that writing can eliminate the original words of the Lord Buddha from the text.

Ultimately, however, writing is indispensable for the preservation of the *dhamma* teachings now and into the future. Human memory is limited, and the number of reciters with specialised knowledge of particular sections may decline. There is evidence in the commentary that, at one time, there was only one monk who had memorised the *Niddesa*. In order to increase its longevity, other monks were encouraged to learn that text from him.²⁶³ Such situations highlight the importance of writing. It seems, however, that the introduction of writing made it easier for scribes to insert alterations and corrections than was the case in the oral tradition, where communal recitations served to reinforce accurate memorisation and prevent disagreements about the *dhamma*, as Tilakaratne has commented.²⁶⁴ According to Coward, such practices seem to be effective, and continue to exist among rural Indians today.²⁶⁵

The earliest clear evidence about discrepant readings comes from written versions of the *Tipiṭaka*. In order to preserve the teachings, manuscripts were repeatedly written down or copied from one generation to the next or from one tradition to another. It is highly likely that the texts were unintentionally altered as the result of errors during the processes of

²⁶¹ Lopez, D.S. "Authority and Orality in the Mahāyāna." *Numen* 42, no. 1. 1995, p. 39.

²⁶² McMahan, David. "Orality, Writing, and Authority in South Asian Buddhism: Visionary Literature and the Struggle for Legitimacy in the Mahāyāna." *History of Religions* 37 no. 3. 1998, pp. 253-54.

²⁶³ Sp III 695-96.

²⁶⁴ Tilakaratne, Asaṅga. "Saṅgīti and Sāmaggī: Communal Recitation and the Unity of the Saṅgha." *Buddhist Studies Review* 17, no. 2. 2000, pp. 195-96.

²⁶⁵ Coward, Harold. "Oral and Written Texts in Buddhism." *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 50. 1986, p. 300.

writing, copying or editing. This is apparent from the frequency of mistakes I observed in my editorial work, such as misspellings, incorrect grammar and errors of vocabulary. Some minor differences between parallel *suttas*, additions and omissions provide further evidence of scribal and editorial shortcomings in this respect.

Some discrepancies in the narrative sections may be attributed to the different styles and purposes of the textual compilations in each collection. There was evidence that the texts had been compiled in different ways in each collection. Among the three *suttas* discussed above, in the *Puṇṇasutta*, the redactors of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* employed *dhammaṃ desetu* whereas the redactors of the *Majjhimanikāya* use *ovādena ovadatu*. The *Majjhimanikāya* has *janapade viharituṃ* whereas the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* gives *janapade vatthuṃ*. In the same *sutta*, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* has *ten' ev' antaravassena parinibbāyi*, whereas the *Majjhimanikāya* gives *atha kho āyasmā puṇṇo aparena samayena parinibbāyi*. Even within formulaic approaches, a number of alternative fixed patterns seems to have been available for use. In the *Channasutta*, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* gives *atha kho āyasmā ca sārīputto āyasmā ca mahācundo yenāyasmā channo ten' upasaṅkamiṃsu. upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdīmsu. nisajja kho āyasmā sārīputto āyasmantaṃ channaṃ etad avoca*, whereas the *Majjhimanikāya* has a longer version, *atha kho āyasmā ca sārīputto āyasmā ca mahācundo yenāyasmā channo ten' upasaṅkamiṃsu. upasaṅkamitvā āyasmatā channena saddhiṃ sammodīmsu. sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīmsu. ekamantaṃ nisīno kho āyasmā sārīputto āyasmantaṃ channaṃ etad avoca*. Despite the differences in wording, the meaning remains the same. Thus, the narrators of each collection were able to compose the texts in their own style.

There are many examples to indicate that the form of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text is considerably shorter than that of the *Vinaya* and *Majjhimanikāya*. Nevertheless, it is not possible to conclude that the text in each collection was arranged according to size, as some scholars have argued. From the comparative tables of the *Channasutta* above, it is clear that some arrangements of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are longer than those in the *Majjhimanikāya*. For example, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* gives *anupavajjaṃ channena bhikkhunā satthaṃ āharitan ti evam etaṃ sārīputta dhārehī ti*, whereas the *Majjhimanikāya* has *anupavajjo channo bhikkhu satthaṃ āhasesī ti*. However, the most popular shorter arrangement of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text may reflect the purpose of the textual composition, which differs from that of other collections. In the *Dīghanikāya* and *Majjhimanikāya*, as Manné noted, a story or event is an essential part of the text since redactors were trying to convert people to the Buddhist pathway and wanted to present the character of the Buddha, respectively.²⁶⁶ The main emphasis of the *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, by contrast, was on the importance of doctrinal topics and the rewards to be gained from knowing and seeing the *dhamma*. Presumably, most audiences were made up of Buddhist monks or lay people who were already interested in Buddhism, so it was unnecessary for the narrators to provide a long description of a story or experience, as occurs in the *Dīghanikāya* and *Majjhimanikāya* (See Section 4.4 below for a discussion of the purposes of composition).

4.4 The purpose of composition

In order to understand the actual purpose of composition, four main features of the text were analysed: repetitions and sequences or strings; the arrangement of subjects; the structures of *suttas* and sentences; and the formulas. Each is discussed in more detail below.

²⁶⁶ Manné, Joy. "Categories of Sutta in the Pāli Nikāyas and Their Implications for Our Appreciation of the Buddhist Teaching and Literature." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15. 1990, p. 29.

4.4.1 Repetitions and sequences or strings

Frequent repetitions and sequences or strings show that the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text was composed with primary emphasis on the importance of preserving the Buddha's teachings. In this text, a great many repetitions occur and nearly all of them can be classified as structural repetitions with the substitution of key elements to produce differences in meaning.²⁶⁷

Repetition is an effective tool to help reciters and audiences memorise a large quantity of texts accurately. As Allon has observed, the more that words, units of meaning or passages are repeated, the more likely it is that they will be remembered.²⁶⁸ Further, as Rhys Davids points out, repetition is useful in the editorial process for checking the accuracy of readings and preventing errors and inventions in the text.²⁶⁹

Frequent reminders of the doctrines and practices also increase the likelihood that both reciters and listeners will reflect on the *dhamma*, which leads to the development of mindfulness and concentration. As Syrkin has observed, a repeated sound facilitates concentration among listeners.²⁷⁰ Kwella adds that repetition is an excellent means of preventing the mind from wandering during scriptural study.²⁷¹ Gethin notes that the replacement of various key elements in the structural repetition helps to cultivate

²⁶⁷ In his study of the repetition in the *Udumbarikasīhanāda-sutta* in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, Mark Allon (1997: 287) categorised the repetition into five types: verbatim repetition, repetition with minor modifications, repetition with important modifications, and repetition of structure types 1 and 2. Gethin (2007: 365) arranges Allon's first three categories into "narrative repetition" and his last two into "structural repetition."

²⁶⁸ Allon, *Style and Function: A Study of the Dominant Stylistic Features of the Prose Portions of Pali Canonical Sutta Texts and Their Mnemonic Function*, pp. 357-62.

²⁶⁹ Rhys Davids, T.W. *Buddhist Suttas Translated from the Pali*. London: Forgotten Books, 1881, p. 17; see also Anālayo, Bhikkhu. "Oral Dimensions of Pāli Discourses: Pericopes, Other Mnemonic Techniques and the Oral Performance Context." *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 3. 2007, p. 9 and McMahan, "Orality, Writing, and Authority in South Asian Buddhism: Visionary Literature and the Struggle for Legitimacy in the Mahāyāna," p. 253.

²⁷⁰ Syrkin, A. "Notes on Pali Canonic Style." *Buddhist Studies Review* 6, no. 2. 1981-2, p. 75.

²⁷¹ Kwella, Peter. "Some Remarks on the Style of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Texts." *Indologica Taurinensia* 6. 1978, p. 172.

mindfulness and concentration.²⁷² Reciters must always concentrate on what is to be replaced if they are to execute the text correctly. Collins further proposes that repeated recitations can lead to deeper understanding and the attainment of liberation.²⁷³ Overall, then, the repetitive style contributes significantly to the cultivation of mindfulness and concentration, which in turn are prerequisites for the attainment of liberation, which is the highest goal of Buddhists. It thus plays a major role in maintaining the longevity of the teachings.

As well as repetitions, the text contains many types of sequences or strings. Examples are given below. The following classification comes from Allon 1997: 230-35.

Sequences of nouns

*rāgagginā dosagginā mohagginā ādittañ. jātiyā jarāya maranena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi somanassehi upāyāsehi ādittan ti vadāmi*²⁷⁴ (sutta nos. 28, 29).

*yā kho bhikkhave imesaṃ tiṇṇaṃ dhammānaṃ saṅgati sannipāto samavāyo ayaṃ vuccati cakkhusamphasso*²⁷⁵ (sutta no. 93).

Sequences of nouns as members of compounds

*yo cakkhusmiṃ chandarāgavinayo chandarāgappahānaṃ idaṃ cakkhussa nissaraṇaṃ*²⁷⁶ (sutta nos. 13, 14).

*tatthāyasmato channassa mittakulāni suhajjakulāni upavajjakulāni ti*²⁷⁷ (sutta no. 87).

²⁷² Gethin, "What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya," p. 382.

²⁷³ Collins, Steven. "Notes on Some Oral Aspects of Pali Literature." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35. 1992, pp. 126-27.

²⁷⁴ "Burning with the fire of lust, with the fire of hatred, with the fire of delusion; burning with birth, aging and death; with sorrow, lamentation, pain, displeasure and despair, I say" (Bodhi 2000: 1143).

²⁷⁵ "Bhikkhus, the meeting, the encounter, the concurrence of these three things is called eye contact" (Bodhi 2000: 1172).

²⁷⁶ The removal and abandonment of desire and lust for the eye: this is the escape from the eye (Bodhi 2000: 1137).

Sequences of adjectives

*evaṃvihārī ca migajāla bhikkhu kiñcāpi araññavanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevati appasaddāni appanigghosāni vijanavātāni manussarāhasseyyakāni paṭisallānasārubbāni. atha kho sadutiyavihārī ti vuccati*²⁷⁸ (sutta no. 63).

Sequences of predicative attributes

*atha bhikkhave sattā sadevakā lokā samārakā sabrahmakā sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya nissatā visaññuttā vipbamuttā vimariyādikatena cetasā viharantī ti*²⁷⁹ (sutta nos. 17, 18).

*santi kho cakkhuvīñṇeyyā rūpā ittā kantā manāpā piyarūpā kāmūpasamhitā rajanīyā*²⁸⁰ (sutta nos. 63, 64, 88, 98).

These sequences are created by the proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning. If one word element is unclear, or has been lost for some reason, readers can understand the real meaning of the text from the remaining wordings. It is clear that this type of text has been composed in an attempt to prevent corruption and loss of teachings.

4.4.2 The arrangement of subjects

From the arrangement of subjects, we can assume that the *Salāyatanaṣaṇyutta* was compiled for the purpose of both preservation and transmission of teachings. In this text, the *suttas* are concerned with the six internal and six external sense bases that are systematically grouped

²⁷⁷ “The Venerable Channa did indeed have friendly families, intimate families and hospitable families” (Bodhi 2000: 1167).

²⁷⁸ “Migajāla, even though a *Bhikkhu* who dwells thus resorts to forests and groves, to remote lodgings where there are few sounds and little noise, desolate, hidden from people, appropriate for seclusion, he is still called one dwelling with a partner” (Bodhi 2000: 1151).

²⁷⁹ “So long, *Bhikkhus*, beings have escaped, have become detached (and) have released from this world with its *devas*, *Māra* and *Brahmā*, from this generation with its ascetics and Brahmins, its *devas* and humans; they dwell with a mind rid of barriers” (Bodhi 2000: 1139).

²⁸⁰ “There are forms cognizable by the eye that are desirable, lovely, agreeable, pleasing, sensually enticing, tantalizing” (Bodhi 2000: 1150-51, 1167, 1180).

together. Such arrangements are peculiar to the *Samyuttanikāya*.²⁸¹ The whole set of subjects around the *Samyuttanikāya* is arranged on the basis of the *mātikās* (Sanskrit *mātrkā*), which are the list of *dhamma* topics that form the basis of the *Abhidhamma* texts.²⁸² The *Vibhaṅga*, the second book of the *Abhidhamma*, contains the 18 treatises on the analysis of doctrinal topics, which are related to the *dhamma* subjects in the *Samyuttanikāya*, i.e., *Khandhavibhaṅga*, *Salāyatanavibhaṅga* and *Dhātuvibhaṅga*. We can deduce from this that the *Samyuttanikāya* may be the first attempt to systematically organise the teachings in the *Tipiṭaka* in the form that is characteristic of the *Abhidhamma*.²⁸³ This may have been inspired by the form of the *Saṅgītisutta*, which illustrates a concern for accuracy in the transmission of the Buddha's teachings. After the death of Mahāvīra, the leader of Jainism, his disciples disagreed about his teachings. The Buddhist tradition maintains that in order to avoid the doctrinal disagreements that troubled the Jain community upon Mahāvīra's death, Sārīputta articulated the basic categories of the Buddha's teachings in numerical order, from one to ten, in the form of the *Saṅgītisutta*.²⁸⁴ Hence it is possible that the *Samyuttanikāya* may have originally been constructed to address this concern.

The grouping together of *suttas* dealing with a particular topic, such as we find in the *Samyuttanikāya*, was especially designed to facilitate learning and preaching. Lamotte notes that the name of the *Tipiṭaka* appeared in the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions from the 2nd century

²⁸¹ Geiger, Wilhelm. *Pali Literature and Language*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1943, p. 18. See also Norman, K.R. *Pāli Literature*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 30 and Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, p. 37.

²⁸² (1) the five aggregates, (2) the six sense bases, (3) dependent origination, (4) the four foundations of mindfulness, (5) the four right exertions, (6) the four bases of success, (7) the five faculties, (8) the five powers, (9) the seven factors of awakening, (10) the Noble Eightfold Path (Gethin 1992: 162).

²⁸³ Bronkhorst, Johannes. "Dharma and Abhidharma." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 no.2. 1985, p. 316.

²⁸⁴ D II 211.

C.E.²⁸⁵ Before the compilation of the *Tipiṭaka*, the Buddha's teachings were possibly preserved in the form of *Aṅgas* or *Navāṅgasatthusāsana* (the nine-fold teachings of the Lord Buddha) which is frequently mentioned in the Pali canon as *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthā udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ jātakaṃ abbhutadhammaṃ vedallaṃ*.²⁸⁶ According to the Pali commentaries,²⁸⁷ “*Sutta* is the twofold *Vinayavibhaṅga*, the *Niddesa*, the *Khandhaka*, the *Parivāra*, the *Maṅgala*, *Ratana*, *Nālaka* and *Tuvaṭṭaka sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*, and all the other discourses of the Buddha which bear the name of *Sutta*. *Geyya* is all *suttas* with verses. *Veyyākaraṇa* is all the *Sagāthavagga* in the *Samyuttanikāya*, the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. *Suttas* without verses and all the discourses of the Buddha not included in the other eight *Aṅgas*. *Gāthā* refers to the *Dhammapada*, the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā* and the sections of the *Suttanipāta* which do not bear the title of *sutta*. *Udāna* is eighty-two *suttantas* embellished with verses expressing intellectual joy (section no. 3 of the *Khuddakanikāya*). *Itivuttaka* is the 112 *suttas* (of the 4th section of the *Khuddakanikāya*) which begin with the formula: *vuttaṃ h' etaṃ bhagavatā*. *Jātaka* is the 500 *Jātakas*, *Apaṇṇaka*, etc., contained in section 10 of the *Khuddakanikāya*. *Abbhutadhamma* is all the *suttas* recording marvellous and extraordinary feats, for example A II 132. *Vedalla* is all *suttas* in the form of questions which provoke joy and satisfaction, for example *Cūlavedalla* (M I 299), *Mahāvedalla* (M I 292), *Sammādiṭṭhi* (M I 46), *Sakkapañha* (D II 263), *Samkhārabhājaniya* (M III 99), *Mahāpuṇṇama* (M III

²⁸⁵ Lamotte, Étienne. *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Paris: Institut Orientaliste Louvain-La-Neuve, 1988, p. 150.

²⁸⁶ Vin III 8, 9; A II 7, 103, 178; A III 86-7, 177, 361-62; A IV 113; Vibh 294.

²⁸⁷ *tattha ubhatovibhaṅganiddesakhandhakaparivārā, suttanipāte maṅgalasuttaratanasuttanālakasutta-tuvaṭṭakasuttāni aññaṃ pi ca suttanāmakam tathāgatavacanamaṃ **suttan** ti veditabbaṃ. sabbam pi sagāthakam suttaṃ **geyyan** ti veditabbaṃ. visesena samyuttake sakalo pi sagāthakavaggo sakalam abhidhammapiṭakam nigāthakam suttaṃ, yañ ca aññaṃ pi aṭṭhahi aṅgehi asaṅgahitaṃ buddhavacanamaṃ taṃ **veyyākaraṇan** ti veditabbaṃ. dhammapadam theragāthā therīgāthā suttanipāte nosuttanāmikā suddhikagāthā ca **gāthā** ti veditabbā. somanassaññānamayikagāthā paṭisaṃyuttā dve asīti suttantā **udānan** ti veditabbaṃ. vuttaṃ h' etaṃ bhagavatāti ādinayappavattā dvādasuttarasatasuttantā **itivuttakan** ti veditabbaṃ. apaṇṇakajātakādīni paññāsādhikāni pañca jātakasatāni **jātakan** ti veditabbaṃ. cattāro 'me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā dhammā ānande ti ādinayappavattā. sabbe pi acchariya-abbhutadhammapaṭisaṃyuttasuttantā **abbhutadhamman** ti veditabbaṃ. cūlavedalla-mahāvedalla-sammādiṭṭhi-sakkapañha-samkhārabhājaniya-mahāpuṇṇamasuttādayo sabbe pi vedaṃ ca tuṭṭhiṃ ca laddhā laddhā pucchitasuttantā **vedallan** ti veditabbaṃ (Sv I 23; Sp I 27).*

15).”²⁸⁸ All of these are representatives of the whole teachings. Each of these is grouped according to the type of text or style of composition. Such arrangements may not have been effective for the purposes of reciters, learners and preachers. As Bhikkhu Anālayo²⁸⁹ pointed out, the unequal size of each *Aṅga* and a great amount of overlap in meaning between them make it difficult to divide them for a particular group of reciters. In some *Aṅgas*, such as the *abbhūtaḍḍhamma*, the main teachings are not covered, which leads to difficulty of understanding. In practice, monks may have needed only small sections of the major teachings for certain religious activities or for some audiences. A text like this may have been specifically created to facilitate recitation, learning, understanding and memorisation.

4.4.3 The structure of *suttas* and sentences

The structure of *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is built around the list of the six internal and six external sense bases. This allows the six internal and six external sense bases to be combined with the main component of Buddhist teachings, the Four Noble Truths. The most common paradigm involves the three characteristics of reality: impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and not-self (*anattā*). For example:

*cakkhuṃ niccaṃ vā aniccaṃ vā ti. aniccaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā ti. dukkhaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso ’ham asmi eso me attā ti. no h’ etaṃ bhante*²⁹⁰ (*sutta* nos. 32, 62, 74, 75, 86, 89).

²⁸⁸ Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*, p. 144.

²⁸⁹ Anālayo, Bhikkhu. *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-Nikāya*. Vol. 1&2, Taipei: Dharma Drum, 2011, p. 866.

²⁹⁰ “Is the eye permanent or impermanent? Impermanent, venerable sir. Is what is impermanent suffering or happiness? Suffering, venerable sir. Is what is impermanent, suffering and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: ‘This is mine, this I am, this is my self’? No, Venerable sir.” (Bodhi 2000: 1146, 1150, 1158-59, 1164, 1169).

Another significant pattern is the recognition of gratification (*assāda*), danger (*ādīnava*) and escape (*nissaraṇa*) from the sense bases, which represents the path that leads to liberation.

For example:

*yo hi koci bhikkhave bhikkhu channaṃ phassāyatanānaṃ samudayañ ca atthaṅgamañ ca
assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇañ ca yathābhūtaṃ nappajānāti avusitaṃ tena
brahmacariyaṃ ārakā so imasmā dhammavinayā ti²⁹¹ (sutta nos. 71, 72, 73).*

These paradigms seem to have been designed to help students and teachers accurately preserve the dominant theme of Buddhist teachings.

There are many sentences constructed from *dhamma* dialogue between the Buddha and the monks (*bhikkhu*). In the vast majority of cases, the discourse is initiated by questions and answers. It is common for the Buddha to ask questions and explain the *dhamma* subjects himself. For example:

*pubb' eva me bhikkhave sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass' eva sato etad aho si ko
nu kho cakkhussa assādo ko ādīnavo kiṃ nissaraṇaṃ. . .tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etad aho si
yaṃ kho cakkhuṃ paṭicca uppajjati sukhaṃ somanassaṃ ayaṃ cakkhussa assādo. yaṃ cakkhu
aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ viparināmadhammaṃ ayaṃ cakkhussa ādīnavo. yo cakkhusmiṃ
chandarāgavinayo chandarāgappahānaṃ idaṃ cakkhussa nissaraṇaṃ*²⁹² (sutta no. 13).

sabbaṃ bhikkhave ādittaṃ. kiñ ca bhikkhave sabbaṃ ādittaṃ. cakkhuṃ bhikkhave

²⁹¹ “*Bhikkhus*, if a *bhikkhu* does not understand as they really are the origin, the passing away, the gratification, the danger and the escape, in the case of these six bases for contact, then he has not lived the holy life; he is far away from this *Dhamma* and Discipline” (Bodhi 2000: 1155-57).

²⁹² “*Bhikkhus*, before my enlightenment, while I was still a *bodhisatta*, not yet fully enlightened, it occurred to me: “What is the gratification, what is the danger, what is the escape in the case of the eye?...Then, *bhikkhus*, it occurred to me: ‘The pleasure and joy that arise in dependence on the eye: this is the gratification in the eye. That the eye is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change; this is the danger in the eye. The removal and abandonment of desire and lust for the eye: that is the escape from the eye’” (Bodhi 2000: 1137).

*ādittaṃ...yam p' idaṃ cakkhusamphassapaccayā uppajjati vedayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vā tam pi ādittaṃ. kena ādittaṃ. rāgagginā...upāyāsehi ādittan ti vadāmi*²⁹³ (sutta no. 28).

On some occasions, the Buddha initiates the teaching by encouraging his disciples to answer the questions He has posed. For example:

*tam kiṃ maññatha (maññasi) bhikkhu. cakkhuṃ niccaṃ vā aniccaṃ vā ti. aniccaṃ bhante. yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā ti. dukkhaṃ bhante.yaṃ panāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ nu taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso 'ham asmi eso me attā ti. no h' etaṃ bhante*²⁹⁴ (sutta nos. 32, 72, 73, 74, 75).

*tam kiṃ maññasi mālukyaputta ye te cakkhuvīñṇeyyā rūpā adiṭṭhā adiṭṭhapubbā na ca passasi na ca te hoti passeyyan ti. atthi te tattha chando vā rāgo vā pemaṃ vā ti. no h' etaṃ bhante*²⁹⁵ (sutta no. 95).

The style of questions and answers is close to that of the *Abhidhamma*. The headings of the *dhamma* are set up at the beginning as teaching notes. Then they are systematically analysed and explained through the question and answer format.²⁹⁶ This may indicate that the text was deliberately composed as a religious exercise to be used for learning and teaching among monks.

²⁹³ “*Bhikkhus*, all is burning. And what, *bhikkhus*, is the all that is burning? The eye is burning...whatever feeling arises with eye-contact as condition— whether pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant—that too is burning. Burning with what? Burning with the fire of lust...despair, I say” (Bodhi 2000: 1143).

²⁹⁴ “What do you think, *bhikkhus*, is the eye permanent or impermanent? Impermanent, venerable sir. Is what is impermanent, suffering or happiness? Suffering, venerable sir. Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: ‘This is mine, this I am, this is my self’? No, venerable sir.” (Bodhi 2000: 1146, 1156-59).

²⁹⁵ “What do you think, Mālukyaputta, do you have any desire, lust, or affection for those forms cognizable by the eye that you have not seen and never saw before, that you do not see and would not think might be seen? No, venerable sir.” (Bodhi 2000: 1175).

²⁹⁶ Warder, A.K. *Indian Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, pp. 212-13.

4.4.4 Formulas

Four types of formulas²⁹⁷ were used to indicate the category of sermons to which the text belongs, namely, opening and setting formulas, introductory formulas, approach formulas and attainment formulas.

4.4.4.1 Opening and setting formulas

Example:

*evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme*²⁹⁸ (sutta no. 1).

According to the tradition, the statement *evaṃ me sutaṃ* confirms the authenticity of the Buddha's discourse that Ānanda Bhikkhu, the Buddha's cousin and attendant, had heard and then shared with other *Bhikkhus* in the First Buddhist Council.²⁹⁹ The setting (time and place) shows when and where the discourse was given.

4.4.4.2 Introductory formulas

Examples:

*tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca*³⁰⁰ (sutta no. 1).

The verbs *āmantesi* and *avoca* indicate the beginning of a discourse.

²⁹⁷ The formula is the use of standardised phrases or passages to express or depict a given concept, action or event (Allon 1997: 9).

²⁹⁸ "Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Blessed One was dwelling at Sāvatti, in Anāthapiṇḍika's Park in Jeta's Grove."

²⁹⁹ Sv I 26; Ps I 2; Spk I 3; Mp I 3. For discussion, see Fernando Tola, Carmen Dragonetti. "Ekaṃ Samayaṃ." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 42. 1999, p. 54; Lamotte, Étienne. "The Assessment of Textual Authenticity in Buddhism." In *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, edited by Paul Williams. London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p. 190; and Gómez, Luis O. "Exegesis and Hermeneutics." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Lindsay Jones, 529-40. USA: Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 1987, pp. 529-30.

³⁰⁰ "There the Blessed One addressed the *bhikkhus* thus: "Bhikkhus." "Venerable sir" those *bhikkhus* replied. The Blessed One said this:" (Bodhi 2000: 1133).

sabbam [topic] *vo bhikkhave desissāmi. taṃ sunātha*³⁰¹ (*sutta* nos. 23, 96, 97, 98).

sabbamaññītasamugghātasārūppam [something that qualifies the topic] *vo bhikkhave dhammam* [topic] *desissāmi. taṃ sunātha. sādhuḥkaṃ manasi karoṭha bhāsisāmi ti*³⁰² (*sutta* no. 30) See also *sutta* nos. 24, 25, 31, 32, 60, 61, 62).

The verbs *desissāmi*, *sunātha*, *sādhuḥkaṃ manasi karoṭha* and *bhāsisāmi* indicate that the speaker (the Buddha or a monk or nun) is exhorting the audience to remember and pay attention to the discourse that is to follow.

*sādhu me bhante bhagavā saṅkhittena dhammam desetu yam ahaṃ bhagavato dhammam sutvā eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto vihareyyan ti*³⁰³ (*sutta* nos. 64, 76, 78, 86, 88, 89, 95).

The words *dhammam desetu* indicate a request for someone to present the *dhamma*.

4.4.4.3 Approach formulas

An approach formula follows the standardised pattern: [one approaching] + *yena* [one approached] + *tena*... Other word elements reflect the individual practices of narrators or compilers (This classification of approach formulas follows Allon 1997: 18-111).

Examples:

*atha kho aññataro bhikkhu yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami. upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi*³⁰⁴ (*sutta* nos. 53, 63-65, 70, 74-76, 78, 79, 80-86, 88, 89, 95).

³⁰¹ “*Bhikkhus*, I will teach you the all. Listen to that” (Bodhi 2000: 1140).

³⁰² “*Bhikkhus*, I will teach you the way that is appropriate for uprooting all conceivings. Listen to that and attain closely. I will speak.” (Bodhi 2000: 1144).

³⁰³ “Venerable sir, it would be good if the Blessed One would teach me the *Dhamma* in brief so that having heard the *dhamma* of the Blessed One, I might dwell alone, withdrawn, diligent, ardent and resolute” (Bodhi 2000: 1151, 1159, 1164, 1167, 1169).

This first example is a standard approach formula, which describes the manner of approaching the Blessed One in order to ask the Buddha about the *dhamma*.

*sādhu bhante bhagavā yena so bhikkhu ten' upasaṅkamati anukampaṃ upādāyā ti*³⁰⁵ (*sutta* nos. 74, 75).

This second example demonstrates how a sermon is initiated by asking the Buddha to preach the *dhamma* to another monk.

4.4.4.4 Attainment formulas

In approximately four out of five cases, the *suttas* contain attainment formulas at the end of each discourse. Two main types of attainment formulas are found: the *Arahant* formula and the *Sotāpanna* (Stream Enterer) formula. Most monks can attain *Arahantship* as a result of hearing a discourse by the Buddha; there are only a few instances of *Sotāpanna*.

Examples of *Arahant* formula

*ñāṇañ ca pana me dassanaṃ udapādi akuppā me vimutti ayam antimā jāti n' atthi dāni punabbhavo ti*³⁰⁶ (*sutta* nos. 13-16).

*khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyā ti pajānāti ti*³⁰⁷ (*sutta* nos. 1-6, 29, 30-32 - 52, 62, 64, 73, 86, 89, 90, 91, 95).

³⁰⁴ Then a certain *bhikkhu* approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side (See also Bodhi 2000: 1148).

³⁰⁵ “It would be good, venerable sir, if the Blessed One approached that *bhikkhu* out of compassion” (Bodhi 2000: 1157).

³⁰⁶ The knowledge and vision arose in me: ‘unshakeable is my liberation of mind; this is my last birth; now there is no more renewed existence’ (Bodhi 2000: 1137).

³⁰⁷ “He understands: ‘Destroyed is birth, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more for this state of being’ (Bodhi 2000: 1134).

Example of *Sotāpanna* formula

*idam avoca bhagavā. attamano so bhikkhu bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi. imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne tassa bhikkhuno virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi yaṃ kiṃ ci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ ti*³⁰⁸ (sutta no. 74).

From these examples, we can assume that this text was specifically designed as a *dhamma* lesson.

4.4.5 Summary

This text was composed for two main purposes: preservation of the teachings and transmission through the activity of learning and preaching. Repetitions and sequences or strings are specifically designed for the preservation of teachings. Repetition functions as a mnemonic device and to protect texts from errors and inconsistencies. It also helps to cultivate mindfulness and concentration, which lead to liberation, and is the most effective way of maintaining the teachings as long as possible. The frequent use of similar word components and units of meaning helps to prevent errors and loss of teachings. In relation to subject arrangement, the compiler of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* has attempted to group the teachings systematically following the form of the *Saṅgītisutta* in order to prevent future disagreements about the teachings. It is also possible that the same subjects are deliberately grouped into the same sections since the *Aṅga*, an older style of textual compilation, may not have been suitable for recitation, learning and preaching. The *Aṅga* has unequal sections and many discrepant meanings. Some sections, such as the *abbhūtaḍḍhamma*, do not cover the major aspects of the teachings. These may be difficult to recite, learn, understand, or

³⁰⁸ “This is what the Blessed One said. Elated, that *bhikkhu* delighted in the Blessed One’s statement. And while this discourse was being spoken, there arose in that *bhikkhu* the dust-free, stainless vision of the *Dhamma*: “Whatever is subject to origination is all subject to cessation” (Bodhi 2000: 1158).

remember. In relation to the structure of the *suttas*, paradigms, such as the three characteristics of reality, have been intentionally created to help learners and preachers to receive the main points of the *dhamma* accurately and efficiently. Much of the sentence structure takes the form of questions and answers and contains formulas (such as Arahant formulas) which clearly indicate that the text is designed as a *dhamma* lesson.

4.5 The importance of the sense bases (*āyatana*) in the main teaching of Buddhism

In the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, the sense bases (*āyatana*) refer to the six internal and six external sense bases. The six internal sense bases are eye (*cakkhu*), ear (*sota*), nose (*ghāna*), tongue (*jivhā*), body (*kāya*) and mind (*mana*). The six external sense bases are form (*rūpa*), sound (*saddā*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), tactile object (*phoṭṭhabba*) and mental object (*dhamma*). The following analysis shows that the teachings about these sense bases are associated with the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths and dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), which are significant themes in Buddhist teaching that can lead practitioners to liberation.

4.5.1 The sense bases and suffering

Many *suttas* in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* indicate that the sense bases and items concerning the sense bases are suffering. A clear example appears in *sutta* no. 67³⁰⁹ which states that, where there is eye (*cakkhu*), forms (*rūpā*), eye-consciousness (*cakkhuvīññāṇa*), or things to be apprehended by eye-consciousness (*cakkhuvīññāṇaviññātabbā*), this is where suffering (*dukkha*) exists or is described (*dukkhapaññatti*)...where there is the mind (*mana*), mental

³⁰⁹ In this part, the number of *suttas* refers to Asian editions and Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation (2000).

phenomena (*dhammā*), mind-consciousness (*manoviññāṇa*), or things to be apprehended by mind-consciousness (*manoviññāṇaviññātabbā*), this is where suffering (*dukkha*) exists or is described (*dukkhapāññatti*). Suffering is also presented as *Māra* (the tempter), Being (*satta*) and the world (*loka*) in *sutta* nos. 65, 66, and 68, respectively. Suffering is also described as burning (*āditta*) in *sutta* no. 28. That is: the eyes are burning (*āditta*), forms (*rūpā*) are burning, eye-consciousness (*cakkhuvīññāṇa*) is burning, eye-contact (*cakkhusamphassa*) is burning, and whatever feeling (*vedanā*) arises from eye-contact—whether pleasant (*sukha*) or suffering (*dukkha*), or neither painful nor pleasant (*adukkhamasukha*)—that too is burning. That burning or suffering arises from the fires of lust (*rāgaggi*), the fires of hatred (*dosaggi*), the fires of delusion (*mohaggi*), birth (*jāti*), ageing (*jarā*), death (*maraṇa*), sorrow (*soka*), lamentation (*parideva*), suffering (*dukkha*), displeasure (*domanassa*) and despair (*upāyāsa*).

4.5.2 The sense bases and dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*)

In the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta*, the origin and cessation of suffering is explained, as it is elsewhere in the canon, in a short version of the doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), also known as dependent arising. “In dependence on the eye and forms, eye-consciousness arises...In dependence on the mind and the mental phenomena, mind-consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as a condition, feeling [comes to be]. With feeling as a condition, craving [comes to be]. *Bhikkhus*, this is the origin of suffering. On the other hand, in dependence on the eye and forms, eye-consciousness arises...In dependence on the mind and the mental phenomena, mind consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as condition, feeling [comes to be]. With feeling as condition, craving [comes to be]. But with remainderless fading away and

cessation of that same craving, comes cessation of clinging. With the cessation of clinging, the cessation of existence. With the cessation of existence, cessation of birth. With the cessation of birth, ageing and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, displeasure and despair cease. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering. This is the passing away of suffering” (Bodhi 2000: 580-81).³¹⁰

In other words, the six internal and six external sense bases are the starting points for the arising of suffering. The sense bases are naturally desirable (*iṭṭha*), lovely (*kanta*), agreeable (*manāpa*), pleasing (*piyarūpa*), sensually enticing (*kāmūpasāñhita*), and tantalising (*rajanīya*). If desire (*chanda*) and lust (*rāga*) or cravings (*taṇhā*) for those sense bases arise in the mind of a monk, he cannot escape from suffering and gain liberation. The suffering here is described as *Māra* in *sutta* no. 114: “If a bhikkhu seeks delight in them, welcomes them in, and remains holding on to them (those sense bases), he is called a *bhikkhu* who has entered *Māra*’s lair, who has come under *Māra*’s control, *Māra*’s snare has been fastened to him so that he is bound by the bondage of *Māra* and the Evil One can do with him as he wishes” (Bodhi 2000: 1187).³¹¹ It is also stated that a monk who has craving (*taṇhā*) for and attachment (*upadāna*) to those sense bases cannot attain *Nibbāna* (*sutta* nos. 118, 119, 124-126, 128). In order for suffering to cease, it is necessary to eradicate cravings for and attachments to those sense bases.

³¹⁰ *cakkhuñ ca paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuvīññānaṃ... manañ paṭicca dhamme ca uppajjati manovīññānaṃ. tiṇṇañ saṅgati phasso. phassapaccayā vedanā. vedanāpaccayā taṇhā. ayaṃ kho bhikkhave dukkhassa samudayo. cakkhuñ ca paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuvīññānaṃ...manañ paṭicca dhamme ca uppajjati manovīññānaṃ tiṇṇañ saṅgati phasso. phassapaccayā vedanā. vedanāpaccayā taṇhā. tassā-y-eva taṇhāya asesavirāgaṇirodhā upādānaṇirodhā bhavanīrodho. bhavanīrodhā jātinīrodho. jātinīrodhā jarāmaṇañ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti. evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hoti. ayaṃ dukkhassa attthagamo (sutta no. 106, 113; S IV 86-7, 90).*

³¹¹ *tañ ce bhikkhu abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati. ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave bhikkhu āvāsagato mārassa. mārassa vasaṅgato. paṭimukkassa mārapāso. baddho so mārabandhanena. yathākāmakaraṇīyo pāpimato (S IV 91-2).*

4.5.3 The sense bases and the path (*magga*) that leads to the cessation of suffering

In the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta*, the path that leads to the cessation of suffering is to purify the mind through restraint of the six internal and six external sense bases and the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path.

4.5.3.1 Sense restraint (*indriyaśamvara*)

The practice of sense restraint can be grouped into four main categories: guard the doors of your sense faculties (*indriyaśamvara*), establish mindfulness in the body (*kāyagatāsati*), exercise moderation in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*), and have devotion to wakefulness (*jāgariyānuyoga*).

Learning to guard the doors of your sense faculties forms the initial training and is intended to protect the mind from the wandering that arises from cognition through the sense bases. The method of training is shown in two main formulas. The first formula appears in *sutta* no. 95:

Here, Māluṅkyaputta, regarding things seen, heard, sensed, and cognised by you: in the seen there will be merely the seen; in the heard there will be merely the heard; in the sensed there will be merely the sensed; in the cognised there will be merely the cognised. When, Māluṅkyaputta, regarding things seen, heard, sensed, and cognised by you, in the seen there will be merely the seen, in the heard there will be merely the heard, in the sensed there will be merely the sensed, in the cognised there will be merely the cognised, then, Māluṅkyaputta, you will not be ‘by that.’ When, Māluṅkyaputta, you are not ‘by that,’ then you will not be ‘therein.’ When, Māluṅkyaputta, you are not ‘therein,’ then you will be neither here nor beyond nor in between the two. This itself is the end of suffering (Bodhi 2000: 1175-1176).³¹²

³¹² *ettha ca te mālūkyaputta diṭṭhasutamutaviññātabbesu dhammesu diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattaṃ bhavissati sute sutamattaṃ bhavissati mute mutamattaṃ bhavissati viññāte viññātamattaṃ bhavissati. yato kho te mālūkyaputta diṭṭhasutamutaviññātabbesu dhammesu diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattaṃ bhavissati sute sutamattaṃ bhavissati mute mutamattaṃ bhavissati viññāte viññātamattaṃ bhavissati tato tvaṃ mālūkyaputta na tena. yato tvaṃ*

The above formula occurs in the *Salāyatanavagga* in the *Samyuttanikāya* and the *Udāna* (Ud 8).

The second formula is found in *sutta* nos. 120 and 127:

Here having seen a form with the eye...having cognized a mental phenomenon with the mind, a *bhikkhu* does not grasp its signs and features. Since if he left the mind faculty unrestrained, evil unwholesome states of covetousness and displeasure might invade him. He practises the way of its restraint, he guards the mind faculty, he understakes the restraint of the mind faculty (Bodhi 2000: 1193-94).³¹³

This formula is common in the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, particularly in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (D I 70; D III 225-26; M I 180, 346; A I 113; A III 99; A V 206; Dhs 231; Vibh 248; Kv 426; Pp 20). Among *vaggas* in the *Samyuttanikāya*, it occurs only in the *Salāyatanavagga*.

And when desire (*chanda*), lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), or aversion (*paṭigha*) arise in the mind due to forms cognisable by the eyes...a mental phenomenon cognisable by the mind, one should control the mind by thinking:

This path is fearful, dangerous, strewn with thorns, covered by jungle, a deviant path, an evil path, a way beset by scarcity. This is a path followed by inferior people; it is not the path followed by superior people. This is not for you (Bodhi 2000: 1253).³¹⁴

mālukyaputta na tena tato tvaṃ mālukyaputta na tattha. yato tvaṃ mālukyaputta na tattha tato tvaṃ mālukyaputta n' ev' idha na huraṃ na ubhayamantarena. es' ev' anto dukkhassā ti (S IV 73).

³¹³ *idhāvuso bhikkhu cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā...manasā dhammaṃ viññāya na nimittaggāhī hoti nānuyyañjanaggāhī. yatodhikaraṇaṃ enaṃ manindriyaṃ asaṅvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhiññā domanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāsaveyyuṃ. tassa saṅvaraṃ paṭipajjati. rakkhati manindriyaṃ manindriye saṅvaram āpajjati* (S IV 104, 112, 176, 178).

³¹⁴ *sabhayo c' eso maggo sappatibhayo ca sakaṅṭako ca sagahano ca ummaggo ca kummaggo ca duhitiko ca. asappurisasevito c' eso maggo na c' eso maggo sappurisehi sevito. na tvam etam arahasi* (S IV 195).

When a monk can control his mind in this way, his mind is subdued, regarding the six bases for contact, it then becomes inwardly steady, settled, unified, and concentrated.³¹⁵

Cultivating mindfulness of the body (*kāyagatāsati*) is a significant training to protect the mind from desire (*chanda*) and lust (*rāga*) in the sense bases. It begins with contemplation of the body's impurities:

Come, *bhikkhus*, review this very body upwards from the soles of the feet, downwards from the tips of the hairs, enclosed in the skin, as full of many kinds of impurities: There are, in this body, head-hairs, body-hairs, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, bone-marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, intestines, mesentery, contents of the stomach, excrement, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, grease, saliva, mucus, fluid of the joints, and urine (Bodhi 2000: 1198).³¹⁶

This formula is common in the five *nikāyas* (D II 293; D III 105; M I 57; M III 90; S V 278; A III 323; A V 109) and the *Vibhaṅga* (193).

Another way of contemplating is to categorise mindfulness towards women:

Come, *bhikkhus*, towards women old enough to be your mother set up the idea that they are your mother; towards those of an age to be your sisters set up the idea that they are your sisters; towards those young enough to be your daughters set up the idea that they are your daughters (Bodhi 2000: 1197).³¹⁷

³¹⁵ *evam eva kho bhikkhave yato kho bhikkhuno chasu phassāyatanesu cittam ujujātaṃ hoti saṃmujujātāṃ ajjhattam eva santiṭṭhati sannisīdati ekodihoti samādhiyati* (S IV 196).

³¹⁶ *etha tumhe bhikkhave imam eva kāyam uddham pādatalā adho kesamatthakā tacapariyantam pūraṃ nānappakārassa asucino paccavekkhatha. atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ naharu aṭṭhī aṭṭhimīṇjā vakkāṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilomakaṃ pihakaṃ papphāsam antam antaguṇam udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittam semham pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo singhāṇikā lasikā muttan ti* (S IV 111).

³¹⁷ *etha tumhe bhikkhave mātumattīsu mātucittam upaṭṭhapetha bhaginīmattīsu bhaginīcittam upaṭṭhapetha dhītumattīsu dhītucittam upaṭṭhapethā ti* (S IV 110-11).

This formula is found only in the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta*. *Suttas* state that with those contemplations, young monks can live the holy life all of their lives.

Moderation in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*) is a means to develop mindfulness and eradicate cravings, which are the cause of suffering. It is also a way to encourage young monks to live the holy life for a longer time. The formula for contemplation is given in *sutta* no. 120:

Here, reflecting carefully, a *Bhikkhu* takes food neither for amusement nor for intoxication nor for the sake of physical beauty and attractiveness, but only for the support and maintenance of his body, for ending discomfort, and for assisting the holy life, considering: Thus I shall terminate the old feeling and not arouse a new feeling, and I shall be healthy and blameless and live in comfort (Bodhi 2000: 1194).³¹⁸

This formula is found elsewhere in the canon, except in the *Dīghananikāya* (M I 10, 355; M III 2; A I 114; A II 40; A III 388; Dhs 231-32; Vibh 249).

Finally, having devotion to wakefulness (*jāgariyānuyoga*) involved in purifying the mind protects the mind from attachment to all phenomena associated with the sense bases, which pose an obstacle to a complete and pure holy life. This is illustrated in *sutta* no. 120:

Here, during the day, while walking back and forth and sitting, a *Bhikkhu* purifies his mind from obstructive states. In the first watch of the night, while walking back and forth and sitting, he purifies his mind from obstructive states. In the middle watch of the night he lies down on his right side in the lion's posture with one foot overlapping the other, mindful and clearly comprehending, after noting in his mind the idea of rising. After rising, in the last watch of the night, while walking back and forth and sitting, he purifies his mind from

³¹⁸ *idhāvuso bhikkhu paṭisaṅkhāyoniso āhāram āhāreti. n' eva davāya na madāya na maṇḍanāya na vibhūsanāya yāvad eva imassa kāyassa tṭhitiyā yāpanāya vihiṃsuparatiyā brahmacariyānuggahāya iti purāṇañ ca vedanaṃ paṭihankhāmi navañ ca vedanaṃ na uppādessāmi yātrā ca me bhavissati anavajjatā ca phāsuvihāro cā ti* (S IV 104, 176).

obstructive states. It is in this way, friend, that one is devoted to wakefulness (Bodhi 2000: 1194, 1240).³¹⁹

This formula is mainly found in the *Salāyatanavagga* in the *Samyuttanikāya*. It occurs in few places in the *Majjhimanikāya* and *Anguttaranikāya* (e.g., M I 273-74, 355; M III 3; A I 114; A II 40; A IV 168) and one place in the *Abhidhamma* (Vibh 249).

Training of the mind through restraint of the sense faculties is a significant measure that leads to the appearance of the *dhammas*, the attainment of liberation or *Nibbāna*, and knowing and seeing things as they really are. It is stated that, “*Bhikkhus*, if one dwells with restraint over the eye faculty, the eye is not soiled...if one dwells with restraint over the mind faculty, the mind is not soiled among mental phenomena cognizable by the mind. If the mind is not soiled, gladness is born. When one is gladdened, rapture is born. When the mind is uplifted by rapture, the body becomes tranquil. One tranquil in body experiences happiness. The mind of one who is happy becomes concentrated. When the mind is concentrated, *dhammas* manifest. Due to the manifestation of *dhammas*, one is reckoned as ‘one who dwells diligently.’³²⁰

These *dhammas* are similar to the ones that arose when the Buddha attained the first enlightenment at the root of Bodhi tree. There the Buddha sat cross-legged and experienced

³¹⁹ *idhāvuso bhikkhu divasaṃ caṅkamaṇa nisajjāya āvaraṇīyehi dhammehi cittaṃ parisodheti. rattiyā pathamaṃ yāmaṃ caṅkamaṇa nisajjāya āvaraṇīyehi dhammehi cittaṃ parisodheti. ratthiyā majjhimaṃ yāmaṃ dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappeti pāde pādam accādhāya sato sampajāno uṭṭhānasaññam manasikarivā rattiyā pacchimaṃ yāmaṃ paccutthāya caṅkamaṇa nisajjāya āvaraṇīyehi dhammehi cittaṃ parisodheti* (S IV 104-5, 177).

³²⁰ *cakkhundriyaṃ saṃvutassa bhikkhave viharato cittaṃ na byāsiṅcati...manindriyaṃ saṃvutassa bhikkhave viharato cittaṃ na byāsiṅcati. manoviññeyyesu dhammesu tassa abyāsittacittassa pāmuḍḍaṃ jāyati. pamudḍitassa pīti jāyati. pīti manassa kāyo passambhati. passaddhakāyo sukhaṃ viharati. sukhino cittaṃ samādhīyati. samāhite citte dhammā pātubhavanti. dhammānaṃ pātubhāvā appamādavihārī tv’ eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati. evaṃ kho bhikkhave appamādavihārī hotī ti* (S IV 78).

the happiness of liberation (*vimuttisukkhā*) for seven days. After seven days, with those *dhammas*, He contemplated the dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) by direct order (*anuloma*) and reversed order (*paṭiloma*). After that, He uttered the following verses:

Whenever the *dhammas* manifest to the Brahman who is ardent and meditative, all doubts of him (who has manifested *dhammas*) are vanished. He knows the *dhamma* together with its causes.³²¹ (See other translations in Horner 1951: 2; Masefield 1994: 1; Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids 1915: 118).

Whenever the *dhammas* manifest to the Brahman who is ardent and meditative, all doubts of him (who has manifested *dhammas*) are vanished. He knows the cessation of conditions.³²² (See other translations in Horner 1951: 2; Masefield 1994: 2; Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids 1915: 118).

Whenever the *dhammas* manifest to the Brahman who is ardent and meditative, all doubts of him (who has manifested *dhammas*) are vanished. He ceases (with those *dhammas*) demolishing the *Māra* together with its army, as if the sun shines in the sky destroying the darkness by its self-radiance.³²³ (See other translations in Horner 1951: 3; Masefield 1994: 3; Aung and C. A.F. Rhys Davids 1915: 118).

These verses show some characteristics of *dhammas*. First, these *dhammas* appear to a Brahman who is ardent (*ātāpino*) and meditative (*jhāyato*). The word Brahman is explained in the commentary (Sp V 954) as *bāhitapāpassa khñāsavassa*, “whose evil is removed and whose influxes/taints are exhausted.” This shows that these *dhammas* arise in a meditative

³²¹ *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā
ātāpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa,
atha ’ssa kaṅkhā vapayanti sabbā,
yato pajānāti sahetudhamman ti* (Vin I 2; Ud 1; Kv 186).

³²² *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā
ātāpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa,
atha ’ssa kaṅkhā vapayanti sabbā,
yato khayam paccayānaṃ aveḍī ti* (Vin I 2; Ud 2; Kv 186).

³²³ *yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā
ātāpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa,
vidhūpayam tiṭṭhati mārasenaṃ,
sūriyo ’va obhāsavam antalikkhan ti* (Vin I 2; Ud 3; Kv 186).

and liberated person. Secondly, with the manifestation of these *dhammas*, all doubts of that (Brahman) who has the manifested *dhamma* vanish.³²⁴ One knows the arising and cessation of conditions (*paccaya*); that is the dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). Finally, these *dhammas* are bright or shining like the sun. One who is possessed of these *dhammas* ceases (with those *dhammas*) demolishing *Māra* together with its army as if the sun shines in the sky destroying the darkness by self-radiance. According to PED (s.v. *tiṭṭhati*), *tiṭṭhati* literally means “to stand, stop, stay, and remain in.” Here it is translated as stop or cease. When the mind stops or ceases with those *dhammas*, he can destroy *Māra* with its army. In the commentary (Sp V 954), the word *dhamma* is explained as *anulomapaccayākāra-paṭivedhasādhakā bodhipakkhiyadhammā* “*dhammas* that are part of enlightenment accomplished by the insight into the mode of causes³²⁵ by direct order and is explained as *catu-ariyasaccadhammā*³²⁶: *dhammas* that cause beings to know the Four Noble Truths. In sum, these *dhammas* are not a group of teachings, but inner experiences arising from meditation. When one attains these *dhammas*, one is liberated and knows the arising and cessation of conditions and the Four Noble Truths.

Besides a manifestation of *dhammas*, a monk can attain liberation through the practice of sense controlling. It is stated in *sutta* no. 94 that a monk who tames, guards, protects, and restrains the sense faculties does not tremble in the face of either delightful or disagreeable sense bases. From an unshakeable mind, he is able to eliminate both lust (*rāga*) and hatred (*dosa*) and go to the shore of *Nibbāna*, which is beyond birth and death.³²⁷ The liberation of mind (*cetovimutti*) and liberation of wisdom (*paññāvimutti*) arising from non attachment

³²⁴ *atha 'ssa kaṅkhā vapayanti ti atha assa evaṃ pātubhūtaḍḍhammassa kaṅkhā vapayanti* (Sp V 954).

³²⁵ According to PED (s.v. *paccaya*), *paccaya* + *ākāra* means “the mode of causes, i.e. the *paṭiccasamuppāda*.”

³²⁶ Sp V 954.

³²⁷ S IV 70-1.

towards the sense bases are also described in *sutta* nos. 132, 243, 244, 247: “Having seen a form with the eye...having seen mental phenomena with the mind, someone is not intent upon a pleasing form and not repelled by a displeasing form. He dwells having set up mindfulness of the body, with a measureless mind, and he understands as it really is that liberation of mind, liberation by wisdom, wherein those evil unwholesome states cease without remainder” (Bodhi 2000: 1204).³²⁸

Around 95 percent of all the *suttas* in the *Saḷāyatanaṣaṃyutta* suggest that the state of liberation or Arahantship is to know and see things as they really are. The real things here are: the six internal and six external sense bases, which are impermanence, suffering, and not-self (*sutta* nos. 1-6, 74, 75, 105, 108, 140-45, 147-50); the six internal and six external sense bases in the past, the present, and the future are impermanence, suffering and not-self (*sutta* nos. 7-12, 186-227); the six internal and six external sense bases, eye-consciousness, eye-contact and whatever feelings arise from eye-contact as the condition are impermanence, suffering and not-self (*sutta* nos. 32, 33-42, 43-52, 53-59, 76, 79, 80, 86, 89, 235); the eye, forms, eye-consciousness, eye-contact, whatever feelings arise from eye-contact, perception (*saññā*), volitional formations (*saṅkhāra*) and consciousness arising with eye-contact as the condition are impermanence, suffering and not-self (*sutta* no. 121); the six internal and six external sense bases, the cause (*hetu*) and the factor (*pacaya*) for the arising of those sense bases are impermanence, suffering and not-self (*sutta* nos. 140-45); and the aggregates (*khandha*), elements (*dhātu*), the sense bases and things concerning sense bases are not-self (*sutta* nos. 90 and 91). As mentioned earlier, a monk would know and see as they really are

³²⁸ *cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā piyarūpe rūpe nādhimuccati. apiyarūpe rūpe na vyāpajjati. upaṭṭhikāya satiyā ca viharati appamānacetaso. tañ ca cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. yathāssa te uppannā pāpakā akusalā dhammā aparisesā nirujjhanti* (S IV 120, 184, 186, 189, 199-200).

gratification (*assāda*), danger (*ādīnava*) and escape (*nissaraṇa*) in relation to these six internal and six external sense bases (*sutta* nos. 13-18, 71-73).

Such knowing and seeing of the three real characteristics of the sense bases does not arise from external experiences or cognitions, but can only arise from wisdom or insight. This is clear in *sutta* no. 153, which states that, “Having seen a form with the eyes...having seen a mental phenomenon with the mind, if there is lust, hatred, or delusion internally, a *bhikkhu* knows that there is lust, hatred, or delusion internally; or if there is no lust, hatred, or delusion internally, he knows that there is no lust, hatred, or delusion internally. Since this is so, are these things to be known by faith, or by personal preference, or by oral tradition, or by reasoned reflection, or by acceptance of a view after pondering it? No, venerable sir. Aren’t these things to be known by seeing them with wisdom? Yes, venerable sir. This, *bhikkhus*, is the method of exposition by means of which a *bhikkhu*—apart from faith, apart from personal preference, apart from oral tradition, apart from reasoned reflection, apart from acceptance of a view after pondering it— can declare final knowledge thus: ‘Destroyed is birth, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more for this state of being’” (Bodhi 2000: 1215).³²⁹ The *suttas* also suggest that such wisdom arises only from the development of concentration and from exertion practised in seclusion. One who has a concentrated and secluded mind knows things as they really are.³³⁰

³²⁹ *cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā...manasā dhammaṃ viññāya santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ rāgadosamohaṃ atthi me ajjhataṃ rāgadosamoho ti pajānāti. asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ rāgadosamohaṃ n’ atthi me ajjhataṃ rāgadosamoho ti pajānāti. yaṃ taṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu manasā dhammaṃ viññāya santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ rāgadosamohaṃ atthi me ajjhataṃ rāgadosamoho ti pajānāti. asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ rāgadosamohaṃ n’ atthi me ajjhataṃ rāgadosamoho ti pajānāti. api nu me bhikkhave dhammā saddhāya vā veditabbā ruciya vā veditabbā anussavena vā veditabbā ākāraparivitakkena vā veditabbā diṭṭhinijjhānakhantiyā vā veditabbā ti. no h’ etaṃ bhante. nanu me bhikkhave dhammā **paññāya** disvā veditabbā ti. evaṃ bhante. ayaṃ kho bhikkhave pariyaṇāyaṃ pariyaṇāyaṃ āgamma bhikkhu aññatr’ eva saddhāya aññatra ruciya aññatrānussavā aññatrākāraparivitakkā aññatraditṭhinijjhānakhantiyā aññaṃ vyākaroṭi khūṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya ti pajānāti (S IV 139-40).*

³³⁰ S IV 80-1, 143-44.

The frequent emphasis on impermanence, suffering, and not-self of the sense bases seems to be a means by which the Buddha urges a monk to think and seek for permanence, happiness, and self. Those things possibly arise from meditation until he can attain inner experiences, know and see things as they really are, and attain the Arahantship or *Nibbāna* which is real happiness and deathlessness.

4.5.3.2 The Practice of the Noble Eightfold Path

Besides training the mind through sense restraint, the Noble Eightfold path is reckoned as a significant pathway to the cessation of suffering. It is clearly described in *sutta* no. 146 that the suffering is compared to action (*kamma*). The sense bases are called old action (*purāṇakamma*). Whatever action is performed now by body, speech, or mind is called new action (*navakamma*). The cessation of action is to cease bodily action (*kāyakamma*), verbal action (*vacīkamma*), and mental action (*manokamma*). The practice leading to the cessation of action (*kammanirodhaḡāmini*) is the Noble Eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*): right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*), right intention (*sammāsaṅkappa*), right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanta*), right livelihood (*sammā-ājīva*), right effort (*sammāvāyama*), right mindfulness (*sammāsati*), and right concentration (*sammāsamādhi*).³³¹

In relation to the Noble Eightfold path, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* places special emphasis on the importance of the right view. The meaning of the right view is explained in *sutta* nos. 156 and 157: “*Bhikkhus*, a *bhikkhu* sees as impermanent the eye which is actually impermanent... *Bhikkhus*, a *bhikkhu* sees as impermanent the mind which is actually impermanent: that is his right view. Seeing rightly, he experiences revulsion. With the exhaustion of delight, the

³³¹ S IV 132-33.

exhaustion of lust arises; with the exhaustion of lust, the exhaustion of delight arises. With the exhaustion of delight and lust, the mind is said to be well liberated” (Bodhi 2000: 1217).³³² In other words, *suttas* indicate that when a monk knows and sees the eye as impermanent, wrong view (*micchādiṭṭhi*) is abandoned...when a monk knows and sees the mind as impermanent...when a monk knows and sees mental phenomena as impermanent...mind-consciousness as impermanent...mind-contact as impermanent...whatever feeling arises with mind-contact as condition as impermanent, wrong view is abandoned (*sutta* no. 165)³³³; when a monk knows and sees the eye as suffering...identity view (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) is abandoned (*sutta* no. 166)³³⁴; and when a monk knows and sees the eye as not self...the view of self (*attānudiṭṭhi*) is abandoned (*sutta* no. 167).³³⁵

From the *suttas* of the *Saḷāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, we can conclude that the right view is to know and see the impermanence of the sense bases and things concerning them. The sense bases and things concerning them are actually impermanent by nature, but no one recognises them. His mind is thus attached towards those desirable sense bases. As a result, he cannot escape from suffering. It is a fact that the Buddha always teaches his disciples that the sense bases are impermanent. If they listen with their physical ear and do not develop their mind, they cannot attain liberation. Therefore, the right view here signifies knowing and seeing with wisdom or insight, not by external experiences or cognitions. When one knows and sees with wisdom or insight only, one’s mind can be liberated since one can eliminate wrong view,

³³² *aniccaṃ y’ eva bhikkhave cakkhuṃ aniccaṃ ti passati... aniccaṃ y’ eva bhikkhave bhikkhu manaṃ aniccaṃ ti passati. sāyaṃ hoti sammādiṭṭhi. sammāpassaṃ nibbindati. nandikkhayā rāgakkhayo. rāgakkhayā nandikkhayo. nandirāgakkhayā cittaṃ suvimuttan ti vuccatī ti* (S IV 142).

³³³ *cakkhuṃ kho bhikkhu aniccato jānato passato micchādiṭṭhi pahīyati...manaṃ kho bhikkhu aniccato jānato passato...dhamme aniccato jānato passato...manoviññāṇaṃ aniccato jānato passato...manosamphassaṃ aniccato jānato passato...yam p’ idaṃ manosamphassapaccayā uppajjati vedayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vā tam pi aniccato jānato passato micchādiṭṭhi pahīyati* (S IV 147).

³³⁴ *cakkhuṃ kho bhikkhu dukkhato jānato passato... sakkāyadiṭṭhi pahīyati* (S IV 147).

³³⁵ *cakkhuṃ kho bhikkhu anattato jānato passato... attānudiṭṭhi pahīyati* (S IV 148).

identity view, and the view of self completely. Further, as noted earlier, wisdom or insight will arise when one practises meditation until one's mind is pure and internally steady.

4.6 Summary

The statement that gives the setting of each *sutta* in the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* is short and simple. The full setting is always provided when the location of the *sutta* differs from that of the preceding *sutta* and generally also for the first *sutta* of each *vagga*, while an abbreviation of the setting formula (*nidāna*) is given in many other cases. When no setting is given, we can assert that it occurs in *Sāvatti*, for two reasons. First, the content and doctrinal structure of the first *sutta* and the following *suttas* are similar, so it is plausible to suggest that all of them are the same *suttas*. Second, there are a few instances where the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* *sutta* lacks a setting where its *Majjhimanikāya* and Sankhrit parallels have *Sāvatti*. In this case, as suggested by Schopen, *Sāvatti* may function as a default setting where the actually setting was not recorded or has been forgotten.³³⁶

The method of arranging *suttas* into a *vagga* is unclear. Different *vaggas* sometimes contain a *sutta* with the same structure and content. This *sutta* is possibly inserted into each *vagga* to make the connection between *suttas* within each *vagga* more complete and meaningful. Sometimes, the similarity of structure and wording of the *suttas* within each *vagga* suggests that those *suttas* are the same, but are possibly separated into 10 *suttas* for the benefit of learning and memorisation. In general, however, *suttas* are mostly grouped within a *vagga* according to subject matter. For example, *suttas* dealing with the three characteristics of real

³³⁶ Schopen, Gregory. "If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up: Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts." *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. Indica et Tibetica 30*. Ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann.. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1997. 574-77.

things are grouped together in the *Aniccavagga* and those dealing with restraint of the senses are grouped in the *Chalavagga*. It is likely that arranging material according to the nature of the topic facilitates learning, understanding, and remembering the main teaching.

In addition, *suttas* within a *vagga* are linked together on the basis of the principle of the Four Noble Truths. In some cases, it appears that *suttas* are linked within a *vagga* on the basis of only one factor, in others there appear to be several factors. For example, the *suttas* in the *Aniccavagga* all share the truth of suffering in common, while the *suttas* in the *Chalavagga* have suffering, arising of suffering, and cessation of suffering in common. Without reading all the chapters of *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*, the arrangement of *suttas* with a *vagga* in this way helps Buddhist students learn, understand, memorise, and apply the significant point of the teaching effectively in daily life.

It was also found that *vaggas* are linked together by some key words or word elements that provide additional information or explain the meaning of words or word elements contained in the last three *suttas* of the previous *vagga*. The key words or word elements contained in the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth *sutta* of the previous *vagga* is more extensively elaborated in the first or second *sutta* of the next *vagga*. This method is also beneficial for learning, reviewing, and remembering the *dhamma* lessons.

The repetitive style is used in verses as well as in prose sections in order to facilitate recitation and memorisation, prevent alteration to the text, and be aesthetically pleasing. The existence of parallel verses in other collections within the canon shows the significance of these verses that have been mostly recited, memorised, maintained or employed by different

group of reciters over a long period of time. During the textual redaction, nevertheless, there was no consultation between them, which has resulted in some differences between the same verse in different texts. The similarities and differences in some *pādas* of verses reflect the existence of stock verses that can be applied by narrators or reciters anywhere they like. The similarities of verses and differences in the prose sections between two collections, e.g., the *Mālukyaputtasutta* (no. 95; S IV 72-6) and the *Theragāthā* 794-817, S IV 158-59 and It 57-8,³³⁷ S IV 127 and Sn 759-65, S IV 157 and Nett 155 and S IV 291 and Ud 76, also suggest the use of verses existing in stock phrases and the later composition of prose portions, when the text was redacted in a particular collection.

The three *suttas* of the 103 edited in this thesis which have parallels in other sections of the canon, namely, the *Ādittapariyāyasutta*, *Channasutta* and *Puññasutta*, showed the most similarity of doctrinal content. This reflects Buddhists' concern with accuracy in the transmission of the Buddha's teachings.

³³⁷ *yassa rāgo ca doso ca
so imaṃ samuddaṃ sagāhaṃ sarakkhasaṃ
saṅgātiko mucujaho nirūpadhi
atthaṅgato so napamāṇam eti*

*avijjā va virājitā
saūmibhayaṃ duttaram accatari
pahāya dukkham apunabbhavāya
amohayi maccurājan ti brūmī ti.*

seyyathā pi bhikkhave bālasiko āmisagataṃ baḷisaṃ gambhīre udakarahade pakkhipeyya. tam enam aññataro āmisacakkhu maccho gileyya. evaṃ hi so bhikkhave maccho gilītabaḷiso bāllisikassa anayam āpanno vyaanam āpanno yathākāmakaraṇīyo bāllisikassa. evam eva kho bhikkhave cha-y-ime baḷisā lokasmiṃ anayāya sattānaṃ vyābādhāya paṇīnaṃ. katame cha. santi bhikkhave cakkhuvīñṇeyyā rūpā iṭṭhā kantā maṇāpā piyarūpā kāmūpasamhitā rajanīyā. tañ ce bhikkhu abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave bhikkhu gilītabaḷiso mārasa anayam āpanno vyaanam āpanno yathākāmakaraṇīyo pāpimato ..pa..santi bhikkhave manoviñṇeyyā dhammā...pāpimato ti (S IV 158-59).

vuttaṃ hetam bhagavā vuttam arahatā ti me sutam. yassa kassaci bhikkhave bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā rāgo appahīno doso appahīno moho appahīno ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave na atari samuddaṃ saūmiṃ sāvīciṃ sāvaṭṭaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ. yassa kassaci bhikkhave bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā rāgo pahīno doso pahīno moho pahīno ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave atari samuddaṃ saūmiṃ sāvīciṃ sāvaṭṭaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ tiṇṇo pāraṅgato thale tiṭṭhati brāhmaṇo ti. etam atthaṃ bhagavā avoca. tattth' etam iti vuccati:

*yassa rāgo ca doso ca
so maṃ samuddaṃ sagahaṃ sarakkhasaṃ
saṅgātigo maccujaho nirūpadhi
atthaṅgato so na samānam eti
ayam pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan ti (It 57-8).*

*avijjā ca virājitā
ūmibhayaṃ duttaram accatāri
pahāsi dukkhaṃ apunabbhavāya
amohayi maccurājan ti brūmī ti.*

Small differences in other details of content may reflect the influence of the *bhāṇaka* tradition and errors in the copying and editing processes. Preaching has been an important duty of the Buddha and his disciples since the earliest period of Buddhist dissemination. It seems reasonable to suggest that teachers would adapt a lesson to suit the level of attainment of their students. There are many examples of this, such as changes in the sequence of wording that do not alter the original meaning of the discourse.

Other variations in content, such as place names, may have resulted from faulty human memories and lack of appropriate training in memorisation. The Vedic reciters put great emphasis on exact wording. From an early age, they are taught to memorise the texts without understanding their meaning. The training of Buddhist reciters, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of understanding. It thus involves a higher risk of memory lapses and greater opportunity for individual interpretation.

Frequent copying and re-editing are also likely to have been responsible for differences between parallel *suttas*. Texts can be more easily corrected and altered than can an oral tradition. This is apparent from the number of errors found in these editions, such as incorrect orthography and grammatical form. Some discrepancies between parallel *suttas*, such as omissions and additions, provide clear evidence of errors that have occurred during the copying and editing process.

Finally, it is possible that the narrative sections differ because each collection has a different approach and purpose. The *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta* text is mostly narrated in a shorter and simpler form than that found in other collections. This does not necessarily mean, however,

that the *suttas* in these texts are grouped together according to size, since their arrangement is sometimes longer than that in the *Majjhimanikāya*. The use of different words with the same meaning indicates that the arrangement of texts depends on the style of narrators or compilers rather than size. It is possible that a shorter form of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is preferred since its main purpose was to group teachings of Buddhist monks or lay people who already have a background knowledge and understanding of Buddhism. It is therefore unnecessary for narrators to use lengthy descriptions.

It is also apparent that these texts are specifically compiled for doctrinal preservation and to support learning and preaching. This can be seen in the great number of repetitions and sequences or strings, which are designed as aids for memorisation and for ensuring the accuracy of readings, and for preventing errors and new inventions in the editorial process. Frequent emphasis on the doctrines and practices also contributes to the development of mindfulness and concentration. Furthermore, sequences and strings have been created to protect teachings from corruption and loss. The same doctrinal subjects are grouped together to facilitate recitation, learning and teaching, including memorisation of the main themes of Buddhist teaching. Sentences containing questions and answers, including formulas, indicate that the text is created as *dhamma* lessons.

The teachings in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are closely related to the principles of the Four Noble Truths and dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). Suffering is the first major point discussed in this text. The sense bases and things concerning the sense bases are described as suffering. The suffering is compared to *Māra* (the tempter), Being (*satta*) and the world (*loka*). It is also described as burning due to the fires of lust (*rāgaggi*), the fires of

hatred (*dosaggi*), the fires of delusion (*mohaggi*), birth (*jāti*), ageing (*jarā*), death (*maraṇa*), sorrow (*soka*), lamentation (*parideva*), suffering (*dukkha*), displeasure (*domanassa*) and despair (*upāyāsa*).

The doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) teaches that suffering originates from craving and attachment towards those sense bases. If a monk wishes to escape from that suffering, it is necessary to eliminate those cravings and attachments.

The path leading to the cessation of suffering is to clean the mind through sense restraint and the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path. Training to guard the doors of sense faculties (*indriyaṣaṃvara*) is a means to bring the mind back to the centre of the body, not wandering due to cognition through the sense bases. While recognising things through the six internal and six external sense bases, one should not grasp the signs (*nimitta*) and features (*anuvyañjana*). This training prevents the occurrence of covetousness (*abhijjhā*) and displeasure (*domanassa*). If desire (*chanda*), lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), or aversion (*paṭigha*) arises in the mind due to forms cognisable by the sense bases, one should control the mind by thinking that this path is fearful, dangerous, strewn with thorns, and so on. . Mindfulness of the body (*kāyagatāsati*) is developed by contemplating the body's impurities and regarding women as our relatives. This training protects the mind from desire (*chanda*) and lust (*rāga*) towards those sense bases. Moderation in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*) is practised by thinking that we have this food for support and maintenance of the body, for ending discomfort, and for assisting the holy life. This training is intended to develop mindfulness and eliminate cravings (*taṇhā*) which are the cause of suffering. Devotion to wakefulness is another important aspect of training to keep the mind away from

desire and lust from those sense bases. With such aims, monks can live longer in the holy life. At the upper level, the mind of practitioners is calm, pure, settled and concentrated, resulting in the manifestation of the *dhammas*. *Dhammas* only manifest to one whose mind is concentrated and liberated. One who is possessed of these *dhammas* lives without doubt and knows the dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) and the Four Noble Truths by wisdom or insight. Moreover, the mind of one who controls the sense faculties is unshakeable. He can eliminate both lust (*rāga*) and hatred (*dosa*) and reach *Nibbāna*. He knows things as they really are by the liberation of the mind (*cetovimutti*) and the deliverance of wisdom (*paññāvimutti*) due to no attachment towards those sense bases. One who is liberated knows and sees the six internal and six external sense bases, all phenomena originated from those sense bases, aggregates and elements, as impermanence, suffering, and not-self. Such knowing and seeing only arise from inner experiences acquired from concentration and exertion practised in seclusion. Besides sense restraint, the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path is another pathway to the cessation of suffering. In this text, the significance of the right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) is emphasised. Here the right view is to know and see the sense bases and things associated with those sense bases as impermanent by wisdom or insight arising from meditation.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This research project has produced a new edition and critical study of the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* in the *Samyuttanikāya* of the Pali canon. In this chapter, the study is summarised and recommendations are presented.

Section 1 of Chapter 2 (2.1) discusses the manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*, and *Sāratthappakāsinī* that are listed in catalogues of manuscripts. The study concluded that although it is not difficult to find manuscripts of the *Samyuttanikāya*, *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*, and *Sāratthappakāsinī*, it is not always easy to access the better quality manuscripts and the ones that are most desirable to consult. In fact, the oldest manuscript (15th century) listed in the catalogue of De Silva has been lost or relocated.³³⁸ In some cases, such as British libraries, the cost of acquiring photocopies or scans of manuscripts is extremely high. In other cases, such as the Thai National Library, it is not easy for a foreigner to consult manuscripts in person.

Section 1-3 of Chapter 3 (3.1-3.3) (Volume 2) presents a new edition of the first 103 *suttas* in the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* text and section 5 of Chapter 2 (2.5) proposes basic principles for producing the present edition. While Feer's pioneering work continues to be a valuable resource for scholars and Buddhists, it cannot be called a critical edition since it is only based on a few manuscripts from a limited number of script traditions. As the basis of a critical

³³⁸ De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*, pp. 19-20.

edition, the present work utilises witnesses (both manuscripts and printed editions) from a diversity of traditions (Sinhalese, Burmese, Thai, Cambodian, and Indian).

Further, Feer's edition does not include the significant information that is found in the colophons of manuscripts, while the numerous misprints and misspellings found throughout the edition suggest that it was never proofread. In order to assist the interpretation and evaluation of the reading, the present edition shows all of the information found in the colophons of the manuscripts used. It also eliminates scribal errors, misprints, and incorrect orthographic variant readings found in the previous edition.

In dealing with the issues of abbreviating repetitive passages and the frequent discrepancies between abbreviations in manuscripts, Feer opted to produce a heavily abbreviated text with the abbreviation often indicated through English expressions. This editorial method leads to difficulty in understanding the form of the complete text and could lead to future corruptions. In order to preserve the text more faithfully, *suttas* are given in full form throughout the edition. Details of the abbreviation strategies employed by the manuscripts and printed editions used for the present edition are also listed in the critical apparatus. Presenting the complete, unabbreviated text eliminates the need to deal with disagreements about abridgements used in each manuscript and printed edition. It also avoids ambiguity as to the correct reading of the complete text and how abbreviations should be filled out. It also makes the text easier to read and understand. It is, moreover, the best way to prevent loss of text and to maintain the significant characteristics of early Pali literature for future generations.

In order to prevent corruptions of text, emendations are applied with caution. Without sufficient supporting evidence, the readings are not corrected or altered. In the present work,

they are made only to improve the consistency of reading. The emended reading is put in the main text and all variant readings are provided in the footnotes. The abbreviation *em* is used to inform readers of an emended reading.

Feer did not describe his method for dealing with variant readings. The present edition proposes an appropriate method for identifying and assessing variant readings. The best reading is basically evaluated from the accuracy of spelling, grammar, and metrical rules. The *Sāratthappakāsinī* (the commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya*) belonging to different script traditions (Sinhalese, Burmese, Thai, and European) was consulted in the case of difficult or questionable readings. Whenever the reading given in the commentary differs from that in the canonical text, the commentarial reading is recorded in notes to the edition. When there are many equally valid readings, the best reading is determined from collating the readings with the parallel passages, the weight of witnesses, and the balance of supporting traditions. In the case of regional variation in readings that are entirely influenced by Sanskrit such as *vy-* and *by-*, the best reading is determined from the antiquity of the reading and the agreement of the majority of witnesses. The reading that gives the intended meaning is preferable. In the case of close similarity between variant readings, the best reading is determined by meaning. All Asian printed editions are considered to be national redactions since the adopted reading is selected only from sources belonging to that tradition. In order to produce a critical edition, the present edition evaluates the variant readings from the intrinsic value of the readings themselves regardless of its derivation. In addition, all variant readings in all manuscripts, both valid and invalid, are recorded in the critical apparatus and appendices, respectively, so that readers are able to see the transmission history of the text.

Section 4 of Chapter 3 (3.4) (Volume 1) discussed the characteristics and features of the manuscripts and printed editions used for the present edition. The study of these sources concluded that the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ* edition (S^{e1}) provides a good editorial style that has contributed to the preservation of the original form of manuscripts used. The formatting of the S^{e1} edition exactly follows the practice of manuscripts used for editing S^{e1}. The punctuation marks are used to indicate the end of sentences and abbreviations only. Unlike most other editions, *sutta* titles were not created. Regarding an abbreviation system, only the ...*la*... and the symbol ...ṛ... are utilised to indicate repetitive passages. The editorial style of the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (B^e) and the PTS edition (E^e) are quite close to S^{e1}. The difference is in the creation of titles. B^e often forms the titles through combination of the *uddāna* entry with other words from the *sutta* whereas like S^{e1}, E^e may not have created new titles since the given name of *suttas* is closest to the *uddāna* entry.

In examining the materials used in the creation of each printed edition, it was found that no printed edition can be described as a critical edition. As mentioned earlier, Feer's PTS edition (E^e) is based on only a small number of manuscripts from a very limited number of script traditions. Feer tended to adopt the readings of the Sinhalese tradition. The Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (B^e), the Sinhalese *Buddha Jayanti* edition (C^e), and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ* edition (S^{e1}) consulted and recorded readings from a variety of traditions. Nevertheless, they always adopt the readings from their own tradition. The Indian *Nālandā* edition (N^e) is based on the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (B^e), the Sinhalese edition edited by Rev. Walitārā Ñāṇātiloka Nāyaka Thera, the PTS edition (E^e), and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ* (S^{e1}). However, the readings of N^e mostly agree with those of B^e. Some minor differences between B^e and N^e are the use of *anusvāra*, the names of *suttas*, the

patterns of abbreviation, and the spelling of some words. Even though three printed editions (the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition (B^e), the PTS edition (E^e), and the *Syāmaratṭhassa Tipiṭakaṃ* (S^{e1})) are used for producing the Cambodian [Khmer] edition (K^e), the readings of K^e clearly agree with those of S^{e1}. Furthermore, it is remarkable that both N^e and K^e are produced without any manuscripts. The Thai *Deyyaraṭṭhassa Tepiṭakaṃ* edition (S^{e2}) is produced by various materials from various traditions. Nevertheless, the adopted readings are generally in agreement with the readings of S^{e1}. In particular, the incorrect orthographic variant readings are clearly copied from S^{e1}. The Thai *Mahācuḷā Tepiṭakaṃ* edition (S^{e3}) is similarly based on materials from a variety of traditions. However, it tends to adopt the reading of B^e.

Of the manuscripts, the quality of production of the Sinhalese manuscripts (C¹⁻²) is worse than that of other manuscripts (B¹⁻² S¹⁻²) in that they contain the greatest number of incorrect orthographic variant readings, grammatical mistakes, and errors of wording. Some *vaggas* of C¹⁻² also miss the *vagguddānas*. The readings of manuscripts S¹⁻² are mostly in agreement with B¹⁻². However, it seems that S¹⁻² contains fewer errors than B¹⁻². The major reasons for mistakes of readings in all manuscripts are the inadequacies of scribes and the impact of local language in creating phonological confusion. The scribe listens, remembers, and writes down the text in the phonological form in which he hears it, but if he has inadequate knowledge of the Pali language, or becomes distracted, errors are likely to occur.

Of the printed editions used in the present edition, B^e N^e S^{e3} are produced more carefully than other versions. In particular, the quality of the readings of B^e is superior to that of other editions in terms of the accuracy of spellings and grammar and the consistency of word use.

The readings of N^e and S^{e3} mostly agree with B^e, but not in every case. C^e is produced without care since it contains a larger number of incorrect spellings and grammatical mistakes than other printed editions. Sometimes, it gives a peculiar reading that is not shared by other versions. This indicates that C^e is independently produced and is not influenced by the readings of other traditions.

Examination of the four colophons preserved in the manuscripts used for the edition showed that writing and copying of manuscripts are significant activities that show respect to the Buddha and his teachings. The major aim of producing manuscripts is to gain merit and its results in this world and in the next life. The statements of both blessing and aspiration found in colophons are commonly copied from other manuscripts or from literary sources rather than composed by scribes themselves. In the blessings and aspirations, Pali and Sanskrit words are normally utilised as sacred words relating to the power of merit and success, whereas the local language is used for general statements such as the date and time of completion of the text. The cover of the Sinhalese manuscripts used in this edition, which is decorated with floral motifs, apparently represents veneration of the Buddha and his teachings, as well as the belief that merit can be obtained from the act of representation of such veneration.

Chapter 4 examined the structure and content of the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* text. Analysis of the structure showed that, like other *saṃyuttas* or *nikāyas*, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is structured to ensure faithful preservation and transmission. The *suttas* dealing with the same topic are systematically grouped together in order to facilitate memorisation, learning, understanding, and application in daily life. Repetitions and sequences or strings of words are a common

feature of canonical prose, functioning to aid memorisation, ensure the accuracy of readings and prevent textual loss in the editorial process, cultivate mindfulness and concentration, and protect teachings from corruption and loss.

Such arrangement of text is effective. It can be seen that the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* has been well preserved and well transmitted up to the present day. In comparing the main sections of three parallel *suttas* of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* that are found in other sections of the Pali canon (the *Ādittapariyāyasutta*, *Channasutta* and *Puṇṇasutta*), it was found that although there are some differences in word order and grammatical form of the same word, the meaning of the text rarely differs. Such variations may be due to the *bhāṇaka* tradition. Other minor differences in wording, such as different place names, may be due to errors in memorisation, while misspellings are generally due to scribal error (in the case of manuscripts) or editorial error or misprints (in the case of printed editions).

Analysis of the content of the *Salāyatanasaṃyutta* showed that this text contains the main theme of Buddhist teachings, namely, the Four Noble Truths and dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). The six internal and the six external sense bases are identified as suffering, which is the first Truth. The main cause of suffering, the second Truth, is craving (*taṇhā*) and attachment (*upadāna*) towards those sense bases. The elimination of those cravings and attachments is the third Truth. The origin and cessation of suffering are explained, as it is elsewhere in the canon, in a short version of the doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). And the path that leads to the cessation of suffering, the fourth Truth, is to restrain the six internal and six external sense bases and to practise the Noble Eightfold Path.

Restraint of the senses is a major training described in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta*. This practice directly relates to the development of mindfulness and concentration. To guard the doors of the sense faculties protects the mind from the wandering that arises from cognition through the sense bases. Cultivating mindfulness of the body (*kāyagatāsati*) protects the mind from desire (*chanda*) and lust (*rāga*) regarding the sense bases. Moderation in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*) is a means to develop mindfulness and eradicate cravings, which are the cause of suffering. Having devotion to wakefulness (*jāgariyānuṃyoga*) involved in purifying the mind protects the mind from attachment to all phenomena associated with the sense bases, which pose an obstacle to a complete and pure holy life.

Moreover, the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* is an important text that provides a clear explanation of the practice of the right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*), which is the first path in the Noble Eightfold Path. It is clearly stated that the right view cannot be obtained by external experiences or cognitions, but is to be obtained only by developing concentration and practising exertion in seclusion until one gains wisdom or insight. Through such wisdom or insight, one can know and see the Four Noble Truths, the dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), and the reality of things; that is, impermanence, suffering, and non-self of the sense bases and things associated with them. All of these practices contained in the *Salāyatanaṣaṃyutta* are significant trainings that lead practitioners to the cessation of suffering and the attainment of *Nibbāna*, which is the highest goal of the Buddhist path.

As stated, eight manuscripts from four script traditions were used to create the current edition. The resulting edition could be improved by utilising more manuscripts from each script tradition. Particularly desirable would be manuscripts containing colophons, since they

provide information relevant to understanding the history of the transmission of the text and assist evaluation of the readings.

While this study has focused on the *Salāyatanaśaṃyutta*, the whole *Śaṃyuttanikāya* should be re-edited and studied further in order to address a number of unanswered questions. For example: Why is the number of *suttas* different in each edition? Has there been loss of *suttas* from the *Śaṃyuttanikāya*? What is the original form of the text or is it, in fact, possible to identify it? Do other manuscripts contain significant and historically valuable readings? These questions should also be addressed through comparative studies of the *suttas* in the Pali *Śaṃyuttanikāya* with their parallels preserved in other languages, such as Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, and Gāndhārī. This in turn will enhance efforts to better understand the Pali readings and possibly help restore, as closely as possible, the earliest form of the Pali text.

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