Samatha-yāna and Vipassanā-yāna

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Asking about samatha (calm) and vipassanā (insight) meditation, a well-known contemporary Thai meditation teacher commented at the end of his reply:

"These days many people cling to the words. They call their practice vipassanā. Samatha is looked down on. Or they call their practice samatha. It is essential to do samatha before vipassanā, they say."

This summarizes quite exactly a debate which is frequently encountered in Thailand and, using a slightly different terminology, in Sri Lanka also.

It seemed therefore useful to re-examine the use of these two terms in the earlier Pali literature, hoping to see exactly how ancient this kind of usage is and whether there is any clear position on the matter in the classical texts.

For the purposes of this investigation I shall treat the earliest stratum of Pali literature as consisting of the Vinaya texts (excluding the Parivāra), the first four Nikāyas and the Sutta-Nipāta. It is, of course, obvious that there is some historical stratification within these works. However, I do not accept that there are adequate criteria available for a convincing analysis into distinct periods. Nor is sufficient historical information available to determine the likely time-scale for such periods.

The earlier literature

First of all we must notice some senses of the word samatha, which do not concern us here. In many passages it is used rather generally and must be rendered in its ordinary meaning of peace or calm. Occasionally it is difficult to tell whether a more technical sense is intended. Related to this general usage is its use as a Vinaya term in the list of the seven rules for the appeasement of issues (adhikaraṇa-samatha).

More significant is the use of samatha as a synonym for nibbāna. This occurs in two main contexts. Quite frequent is the ‘calming of all activities’ (sabba-saṅkhāra-samatha). Twice also we find the passage:

"(himself) awakened the Lord teaches Dhamma for awakening, (self-) mastered the Lord teaches Dhamma for (self-) mastery, (himself) at peace the Lord teaches Dhamma for peace (samatha)...."

Our main concern, however, is with the use of samatha as equivalent to samādhi and of vipassanā as equivalent to paññā. Not surprisingly this generally falls into the context of descriptions of the Buddhist path. Sometimes we find the two terms as part of a sequence outlining the stages of the path in general. Or sometimes they occur in descriptions of the Fourth
Noble Truth or its expansion in the grouping of seven lists known later as the bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammas. Before examining the main formulae I will turn first to certain aspects of the standard accounts of the path in the Nikāyas. These will provide some background to the use of samatha and vipassanā.

The structure of the path

Among the most elaborate accounts of the path found in the Pali Canon are those found in the Silakkhandha. In fact it is perhaps more correct to speak of a single account, repeated with slight modifications in many of the suttas of this first third of the Dīgha-nikāya. Since the main changes are to the way in which the path as a whole is structured, it seems to me that this is mainly a question of ‘ringing the changes’ to prevent too rigid a view of the stages of the path. For the present purpose we need not take account of the arrangements which divide the path into two (e.g. carana/vijjā; sīla/paññā), nor of those which do not make any division at all. Our concern is with those which divide into three—notably the Subha-sutta, which divides into sīla, samādhi and paññā and the Kassapa-sīhanāda-sutta, which gives sīla-sampadā, citta-sampadā and paññā-sampadā.

By the end of the Nikāya period, if not earlier, this three-fold structure had been applied to the stages of the ariya path. In this application, the stream-enterer has fulfilled the sīlas, the never-returner has mastered samādhi, while the arahat has mastered paññā. Of course this is only new as a specific structure. The stream-enterer is frequently seen in terms of perfecting the precepts—hence his non-rebirth in an inferior destiny such as would be the consequence of breach of the precepts. The never-returner does not return precisely because he has freed himself from attachment to the sense sphere—he is reborn in the Brahma realm. In this he is parallel to the jhāna attainer except that his achievement is permanent. The association of arahatship with superior wisdom is, of course, obvious.

This might be better expressed by saying that all ariya disciples have mastered the precepts; the never-returner has mastered both sīla and samādhi; while the arahat has mastered wisdom as well. This corresponds quite closely to the structure of the Buddhist cosmos. One is reborn as a deva through generosity and keeping the precepts, as a brahma through developing samādhi and in the Pure Abodes by developing wisdom. Quite logically all brahmās are also devas but not vice versa, while all those resident in the Pure Abodes are both devas and brahmās.

This may be termed the vertical structure of the path. An alternative view becomes very important in the Abhidhamma. The whole of the path is seen as arising together in unity at the moment of attainment. This we will call the horizontal structure. It is applied, for example, to the bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammas in relation to each of the four paths (magga). On a lesser level it is applied to the five faculties (indriya) in relation to jhāna.
Finally we must note that some of these canonical sequences function as if they were *sliding scales*. In the present case Buddhaghosa, following other canonical models, applies the series *sīla* > *samādhi* > *pāñña* not to the path from its beginning up to arahatship, but instead to the path up to stream-entry. Indeed both the horizontal and the vertical structures can be utilized in this way. So, for the commentarial tradition, the stage of powerful insight prior to stream-entry is as much the level of the ordinary (*lokiya*) bodhi-pakkhiya-dhammas as of insight in the prior stage (*pubba-bhāga*). In other words, on the larger (i.e. *ariya*) scale the vertical structure of the path extending over a period of time tends to culminate in the path moment with the horizontal structure. On the smaller scale it equally tends to culminate in strong insight with a similar horizontal structure.

Obviously these three approaches involve a measure of surface incompatibility. Any attempt to reconcile them would require a fairly sophisticated system. No doubt one could be devised. Perhaps more to the point is the type of function which is fulfilled by his sort of ‘over-determination’. It gives a sense of multiple dimensions to the Dhamma and a feeling of its intricate and harmonious balance. This after all is the teaching which is ‘beautiful in its beginning, beautiful in its middle, beautiful in its ending’.

**Samatha and vipassanā**

The main uses of the two terms *samatha* and *vipassanā* in the Nikāya literature are precisely within these path structures. We find them, for example, in sequences setting out the vertical structure of the path. Some examples may make this clear. One passage runs:

‘... he should be one who performs fully in respect of precepts (*sīlas*), devoted to peace (*samatha*) of mind within, not having rejected *jhāna*, endowed with insight (*vipassanā*), one who increases empty houses’.

Here the succession is: *sīla* > *samatha* > *vipassanā* with *jhāna* apparently identified with *samatha* and ‘empty houses’ following *vipassanā*, perhaps seen as related to *suññatā*.

Another passage refers to right view as resulting in liberation of heart (ceto-vimutti) and having the advantage of resulting in liberation of heart, resulting in liberation of understanding (pañña-vimutti) and having the advantage of resulting in liberation of understanding, when accompanied by five factors. The five are in the sequence: *sīla* > learning (*sūta*) > discussion > *samatha* > *vipassanā*. Elsewhere we find the series: faithful > possessing *sīla* > one who obtains peace of mind within > one who obtains insight into Dhamma through higher wisdom.

In numerous passages *samatha* and *vipassanā* are clearly identified either with the eightfold path or with the fourth noble truth. Sometimes this is explicit. Sometimes it is intended by the use of some form of the causative of *bhavati* i.e. ‘bringing into being’ (*bhāvanā*) — the function of the fourth noble truth. No doubt such a use is intended also in most of those cases
in which the two occur with little explanation or context. In a few passages there is some connection with either the arīya disciple or the transcendent (lokuttara) mind. Presumably this is because the stream-enterer has already mastered the precepts; so he has only to develop samādhi and paññā.

Identification of the two terms with samādhi and paññā in the context of the horizontal structure of the path is less frequent in the Nikāyas. In one verse passage the five indriyas are given as: faith, mindfulness, strength, samatha and vipassanā. Of course such an identification is standard in the Abhidhamma texts where samatha is included in the register for samādhi and vipassanā is given in that for paññā.

The two contrasted

In a few places the two are differentiated more specifically. At A I 61 we find that development of samatha leads to developing citta, which leads to the abandoning of desire (rāga) by means of liberation of heart. Development of vipassanā by contrast leads to developing wisdom and then to the abandoning of ignorance and liberation of understanding. The two are referred to as dhammas connected with knowledge (vijjābhāgiya). At A I 140 we learn that there is a time for hearing Dhamma, a time for Dhamma discussion, a time for samatha and a time for vipassanā. If each of these is practised from time to time, arahatship will surely be reached—just as rain which falls on the mountains goes stage by stage to the ocean. We may note also that at A I 1 449 development of samatha is seen as overcoming excitement (uddhacca).

Several passages contrast the one who obtains peace of mind with the one who obtains insight into Dhamma through higher wisdom. Interestingly both are required. Whichever of the two is lacking should be developed. The individual who already obtains both should make effort (yoga) to obtain arahatship. This last suggests that the Puggalapaññatti is correct in interpreting inner peace of mind as jhāna and Dhamma insight through higher wisdom as the transcendent paths and fruits.

Perhaps more significant for later interpretation is the declaration of Ānanda (A II 157). This must be given in full:

“Sirs, whatever bhikkhu or bhikkhunī declares in my presence the attainment of arahatship, does so in four ways or by one of the four. By which four?

(a) Here, sirs, a bhikkhu brings into being (bhāveti) insight preceded by peace. As he is bringing into being insight preceded by peace, the path (magga) is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies (anusaya) are destroyed.
(b) Again, sirs, a bhikkhu brings into being peace preceded by insight. As he is bringing into being peace preceded by insight, the path is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies are destroyed.

(c) Again, sirs, a bhikkhu brings into being peace and insight yoked as a pair. As he is bringing into being peace and insight yoked as a pair, the path is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies are destroyed.

(d) Again, sirs, the mind of a bhikkhu is gripped by Dhamma excitement. On the occasion, sirs, when the mind stabilizes within, settles down, becomes one-pointed and enters concentration (sāmaññāyati), the path is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies are destroyed. Sirs, whatever, bhikkhu or bhikkhūli; declares in my presence the attainment of arahatship, does so in these four ways or by one of them."

The later canonical texts

The Paṭisambhidāmagga quotes this sutta in full and comments upon it.16 Significantly it is included in the Yuganandha-vagga—the section concerned with transcendent dhammas ‘yoked as a pair’. The Paṭisambhidāmagga is an ekābhīsamaya work, which lays great stress on the unity, harmony and balance of the path at every level. Naturally this emphasis affects its interpretation of this sutta, particularly in regard to the third alternative.

In the first of the four ways samatha is explained as one-pointedness of mind, non-distraction, concentration due to freedom from sensuality (nekkhamma). Vipassanā is seen as contemplating as impermanent, suffering and without self the dhammas arisen in that peaceful state. In the second way vipassanā is contemplating as impermanent, suffering and without self, while samatha is one-pointedness of mind, non-distraction, concentration based upon the relinquishing of the dhammas arisen in that contemplation. More exactly, a state which has as its object or support (ārammaṇa) such a relinquishing leads to concentration i.e. peace. The commentary interprets this as referring to nibbedha-bhāgiya-saṃādhi, the concentration associated with powerful insight leading to the path. The Aṅguttara Commentary sees it as the case of one who naturally obtains insight.17

With the third alternative the Paṭisambhidāmagga goes its own way. As the commentary points out, it concentrates upon the actual path moment itself as exemplifying the perfect unity of samatha and vipassanā. Of course the sutta itself was really more concerned with the process by which that moment is reached. So the Aṅguttara Commentary rightly interprets the
third way as the case in which someone attains successive levels of *samatha* (i.e. *jhāna*), applying insight to each one before developing the next.

The Paṭisambhidāmagga explanation is crucial in the fourth case. Without it the passage would not really be explicable. It explains that while paying attention to the aggregates, elements, bases and so on as manifesting impermanence, etc., there arises one of ten *dhammas*. These are then listed. This is the earliest occurrence of the list so important in later tradition, of the ten defilements of insight. (Here the order differs slightly from later versions.) In fact the list is formed from the usual materials descriptive of the path. Indeed, of the seven *bojjhāngas* only *samādhi* is absent. This is not perhaps surprising, since *samādhi* is the opposite of excitement (*uddhacca*), even so, it is replaced by two terms of closely related usage: happiness (*sukha*) and commitment (*adhimokkha*). The two remaining terms are radiance (*obhiśa*) and *nikanti* (attachment to the prior state), first and last in the list respectively.

The point of the Paṭisambhidāmagga explanation is clear. States similar to those of *bodhi* itself are reached, but become the cause of excitement. This obstructs the clarity and onward development of insight. The commentary interprets this fourth way as that of the pure insight follower (*sukkha-vipassaka*). This seems very plausible in view of the emphasis on the mind settling down and becoming concentrated which follows.

Passing over some other references in the Paṭisambhidāmagga, in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka and in the Mahāniddesa, it seems worthwhile to take note of one particular passage in the last of these. Commenting on the lines: “There are no bonds for one detached from conceiving. There are no delusions for one freed by wisdom.” (Sn 847) the Mahāniddesa explains the first line as referring to one who develops the ariyā path preceded by *samatha*; from the very beginning his bonds (*gantha*) are suppressed. The second line is taken to refer to one who develops the ariyā path preceded by *vipassanā*; from the very beginning his delusions are suppressed.

The semi-canonical works

The inclusion of *samatha* and *vipassanā* in the *suttantika* couplets of the Dhammasaṅgani perhaps indicates that they were already considered an important part of *suttanta* teaching. Yet it is only in the semicanonical works—the older Paṭakopadesa and the influential Nettipakaraṇa that we find them playing a really major role.

In these works the path is considered from the standpoint of various methods (*naya*). The first of these, the *nandiyāvatta* method, views the way as composed of *samatha* and *vipassanā*, overcoming craving and ignorance respectively. This is then the basis for an intricate set of relationships, potentially involving almost everything in Buddhist teaching which can be
expressed in pairs. Indeed by this method almost anything in Buddhist teaching could be expressed as a pair! Some examples may be of interest.

Samatha is explained as the medicine for craving, bringing freedom from sickness by liberation of heart, while vipassanā is the medicine for the sickness of ignorance, bringing freedom from sickness in liberation of understanding.\(^\text{22}\)

One developing samatha (fourth noble truth), comprehends matter (first truth), abandons craving (second truth) and realizes liberation of heart (third truth). One developing vipassanā (fourth truth), comprehends the immaterial (first truth), abandons ignorance (second truth) and realizes liberation of understanding (third truth).

Or, those whose character-type is prone to views (diṭṭhicarita), due to the hindrance of ignorance, may incline to the extreme of practising self-mortification or tend to the annihilationist view. One whose character-type is prone to craving may incline to the extreme of practising sensual enjoyment or tend to the eternalist view.\(^\text{23}\) The former will practise samatha preceded by vipassanā abandon ignorance and attain liberation of understanding. The latter will practise vipassanā preceded by samatha, abandon craving and attain liberation of heart.\(^\text{24}\)

Many other such classifications and groupings are offered in these two works. The five hindrances,\(^\text{25}\) the five faculties,\(^\text{26}\) the eightfold path,\(^\text{27}\) conditioned origination,\(^\text{27\text{a}}\) factors of samādhi,\(^\text{28}\) the kasiṇāyatanas,\(^\text{28\text{a}}\) etc.—all are similarly analysed. Indeed such divisions are precisely the nandiyāvatta method.

Moreover, since the different methods are intricately connected, others may also involve samatha and vipassanā. Let us take the case of the triple lotus method: threefold analysis of the path. Here we find training in higher morality recommended for one who learns only by detailed explanation; he will develop peace and insight yoked as a pair. Training in higher consciousness (adhicitta) is for one who needs guiding; he will develop peace preceded by insight. Training in higher wisdom is for one who can learn from a brief explanation; he will develop insight preceded by peace.\(^\text{29}\)

The commentarial literature

The terms samatha and vipassanā occur quite frequently in the aṭṭhakathā literature. A detailed study of all the references which are found would be beyond the scope of this article.\(^\text{30}\) We will confine ourselves here to usages closely related to descriptions of the stages of the path.

Before looking generally at the works attributed to Buddhaghosa, it seems worthwhile to translate one important passage from the Commentary to the Majjhima-nikāya.\(^\text{31}\) This is introduced in a way which suggests it has been taken as a whole from earlier sources, almost certainly the old commentaries of the Mahāvihāra. No doubt this is true of the bulk of Buddhaghosa’s writings, but it is only in such cases as this that we can be fairly sure that we are dealing with an earlier stratum unmixed with later
material. The subject of this passage is given as ‘the method of bringing into being (bhāvanā-naya)’: “Some bring into being insight preceded by peace. Others bring into being peace preceded by insight. How? In regard to this someone first arouses access concentration or absorption concentration. This is peace. He brings into being insight into that and into its conjoined states, which sees them as impermanent and so on. This is insight. So peace is first, afterwards insight. Therefore it is referred to as bringing into being insight preceded by peace. As he is bringing into being insight preceded by peace, the path (magga) is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies are destroyed—in this way he brings into being insight preceded by peace. So peace is first, afterwards insight. Therefore it is referred to as bringing into being peace preceded by insight. As he is bringing into being peace preceded by insight, the path is born to him. He practises, brings into being and makes much of that path. When he practises, brings into being and makes much of that path, his fetters are abandoned, his latent tendencies are destroyed—in this way he brings into being peace preceded by insight. But both for one who brings into being insight preceded by peace and for one who brings into being peace preceded by insight, at the moment of the transcendent path peace and insight are yoked as a pair.

The works of Buddhaghosa

One *sutta* in the Aṅguttara-nikāya (II 155-6) distinguishes the person who reaches the final goal with effort (sa-saṅkhāraparinyāpī) from one who does so with ease (asaṅkhāra). Only the latter attains to the four *jhānas*. Buddhaghosa’s commentary explains that the first individual is one who develops just insight (sukkhā-vipassaka). The person who reaches the goal with ease is explained as one whose vehicle is peace (saṁatha-yāni ka). The term yāna—‘vehicle’ or ‘carriage’—refers in a number of contexts to the eightfold path. This is further developed in the Vibhaṅga Commentary. The vehicle of insight (vipassāni-yāna) is equated with knowledge (vijjā) and the first two items of the eightfold path. The vehicle of peace is identified with conduct (caraṇa) and the remaining six factors of the path. The source must be another *sutta* from the Silakkhandha: the Ambattha-sutta, which gives a description of the path in terms of the well-known phrase ‘endowed with knowledge and conduct’. According to Buddhaghosa, the
vehicle of peace overcomes the extreme of practising self-mortification, while the vehicle of insight overcomes the extreme of practising sensual enjoyment. This must be derived from the Netipakaraṇa.

The precise position of Buddhaghosa is made clear in the Visuddhimagga, when the way to initiate the development of insight is described. One whose vehicle is peace begins by examining the contents of his mind after emerging from jhāna, especially the jhāna factors themselves. Having established that they are nāma (explained as ‘that which bends the mind towards an object’), he seeks the underlying support of nāma—its ‘lair’. He finds it in the heart rūpa. This he discovers to be supported by the four elements and the rūpas derived from them. He establishes that they are in fact rūpa (defined as ‘that which is afflicted’ i.e. capable of being damaged by contact with other rūpa).

Once the precise nature of nāma and rūpa is established, he is able to establish that there is no entity or person or deity apart from nāma and rūpa. In other words he understands the no self teaching and thereby becomes established in right view which sees things as they are. He then avoids the two extremes of affirming a soul not subject to destruction and affirming one subject to destruction, so falling either into eternalism or into annihilationism. This point is reached in a different way by one whose vehicle is purely insight (suddha-vipassanā). He must commence with rūpa. This is also possible as an alternative option for one whose vehicle is peace.37

In the Commentary to the Dhammasaṅgāni we learn that the first path (magga) is of the first jhāna in three cases: one who develops just insight (sukkha-vipassaka), one who has (jhāna) attainments but does not use them as the basis for insight and one who arouses the path using the first jhāna as basis.38 This corresponds almost exactly to the Visuddhimagga account.

Two other passages from Buddhaghosa’s commentaries seem worth mentioning. Discussing the situation of someone with the delusion that he has reached some attainment, it is suggested that one who has purely obtained peace or purely obtained insight would believe that he was a stream-enterer, once-returner or never-returner. One who had obtained both peace and insight would believe he was an arahat.39 Another passage discusses the difference between painful progress and pleasant progress (in suppressing the hindrances) as concerned with the degree of craving and whether the necessary work has been done for samatha. The subsequent difference between slow and rapid acquiring of direct knowledge is concerned with the strength of ignorance and whether the necessary work has been done for vipassanā.40

Conclusion

Returning to the question with which this article began, one thing is clear. Important and continuing traditions in the ancient literature saw the path
as varying significantly in its mode of access. The kind of picture which emerges is best expressed graphically:

Such a graph is, of course, intended only as a visual metaphor. Obviously the ancient Buddhist thinkers did not conceive of the relationships involved in geometric terms. Nevertheless it does clarify some aspects. The goal is seen as a dynamic balance of qualities—in this case peace and insight, but others are also important. The route to that goal may involve the development of some of those qualities before others, but in the longer term none can be neglected. All are essential. Only the order of development is variable. There could be no question of a ‘short cut’, neglecting some aspects.

To this extent the Thai meditation master who was cited initially in this article is not out of tune with the ancient literature. Of course, the works
which we have examined intend more than this. They also envisage a real difference in approach between the individual who works from the side of samatha and one who adopts pure insight as his vehicle. This seems to be partly a matter of what is helpful or natural to an individual of a particular temperament or character type and partly a matter of personal predilection. Each alternative would have advantages and disadvantages. Of course it is to be expected that adherents of a particular approach will tend to stress its advantages and perhaps minimize the disadvantages.
I am, of course, aware that a number of attempts at such historico-critical analysis have been made, some of them involving impressive and detailed scholarship. I remain, as yet, unconvinced. It seems to me that all these attempts suffer from serious flaws. Firstly and most importantly, they do not take sufficient account of the nature of oral literature. See my article on Pali Oral Literature (in P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky Buddhist Studies, Curzon Press, London 1983). Secondly they seem to me to be guilty of an error in method.

In order to construct a chronological analysis of the literature, a series of decisions have to be taken on such matters as the likely dating of particular texts or discourses, their analysis into earlier or later components, the probable stage at which particular formulae came into use, the length of time which it would take for miraculous elements to develop, etc. etc. Unfortunately these elements are often dependent upon one another in complex ways. As a result a series of assumptions have to be made.

The consequence is that later decisions are made upon the basis of earlier ones, which were themselves based upon even earlier decisions. In the present state of our knowledge conclusions reached in this way can have little probability. A mathematical analogy may make my point clear. A series of choices may be made, each having a 70% probability of being correct, but each dependent upon the correctness of previous choices. The likelihood of an accurate end choice is of course not 70%, but far less.

A third objection is that such analyses tend to depend at important points upon the detection of inconsistencies and contradictions in the literature. It seems to me that too much can be made of this. In spiritual traditions the world over, instructors have frequently employed apparent contradiction as part of their teaching methods—perhaps to induce greater awareness in the pupil or to bring about a deeper and wider view of the subject in hand. The Pali Canon contains many explicit examples of such methods. (Indeed much of the Kathavatthu makes better sense in these terms than as sectarian controversy.) There are, undoubtedly, many cases where a different or apparently contradictory statement is simply a more implicit use of them. Any attempt to analyse all such ‘contradictions’ as representing different historical or textual strata is puerile. Such features must have been present from the beginning.

For fear of misunderstanding, let me add that I by no means wish to wholly deny the value of textual approaches to the literature. It is rather a question of caution in the application of techniques derived from the study of the development of written manuscript literatures to the somewhat different situation of an oral literature and in the absence of a secure external historical context. May I also add that I certainly consider the attempts which have been made to be productive of useful insights (especially in the case of the work of Erich Frauwalner).

1. cf PTC sv adhikaranā; e.g. Vin IV 207, etc.; D III 254; M II 247; A I 99; A IV 144.
2. cf PTC sv nirodho (twenty two passages listed as virāgo —o nibbhānañ); Sii 732c; S III 133.
3. D III 54; M I 235.
5. M I 33-6, 213-16; A v 131; II 39; Nd. I 375, 500; Nd. 2 95.
7. A IV 360; cf note 14 below.
8. e.g. M III 289, 297; S IV 360, 362; V 52; A I 100; II 247; cf S IV 195; Paṭis I 28.
9. e.g. D III 213, 273; A I 95.
10. e.g. M I 494 foll.; A III 116-18; cf also M I 323.
11. A III 373.
12. e.g. Dhs 10-11, etc.; Vbh 107, etc.; 250; Pug 25; Paṭis I 119, 191; Nd. I 45, 77, 334, 365, 456, 501; Nd. 2 190, 268.
13. A II 92-5; IV 360; V 99-104; Pug 7, 8, 61.
15. Paṭis A 586; AA III 143.
17. e.g. Paṭis I 28, 64, 70, 94 foll., 97 ff, 168 ff, 174; II 168, 172; Dhs 8; 10, 11, etc., 232; Nd. I 360, 508; cf also Pet 122; Netti 54, 76.
18. Nd. I 207. I take the Niddesa to be definitely later than the earlier Abhidhamma works, since Nd. I 445-7 shows clear acquaintance with the Buddha’s visit to the Tāvāt㎡sa heaven, intimately bound up with the preaching of the Abhidhamma.
19. Pet 4, 122, 254 foll.; Netti 2-4, 113; 127; cf also Pet 17, 86, 114, 123-4; Netti 42, 48, 110.


26. e.g. Netti 65-6.

27. e.g. Netti 81.


29. Pet 249; cf Netti 101, 125.

30. See for example: VinA 412 f.oll.; MA II 345; SA I 172 (and AA II 201); SA II 53, 235; III 157 (and VbhA 277; Vism 130); AA II 162; III 219; DhsA 144 (and PatisA 522); UdA 153, 196; ItA 104, 170, etc.; II 13, 74; CpA 279, 305-6; PatisA 125, 519, 696.


33. Later tradition sometimes erroneously interprets the word sukkha as meaning ‘dry’. No doubt this is, however, experientially appropriate-compare PatisA 281, which contrasts the roughness and lack of feeling of vipassāṇā with the smoothness and pleasingness of samathā.

34. Elsewhere in the Nikāyas the individual who reaches the goal with effort and the one who does so with ease are two kinds of never returner, cf also ItA 51-2.

35. Sn 139 (deva-yāna) cf SnA 184; S V 5 (dhamma-yāna; brahma-yāna); Th II 389 (maggaṭṭhaṇīka-yāna) cf ThA 257 (ariya-yāna); cf also D I 215, 220.

36. VbhA 122.

37. Vism 537-8.

38. DhsA 228.

39. VinA 488.


PTS editions mentioned in this article and not listed in the GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS are as follows:

CpA Commentary to Cariyāpiṭaka
Dhs Dhammasaṅgani
It Itivuttaka
ItA Commentary to It
Nd.2 Cullaniddeesa
Patisa Patissambhidamagga
PatisA Commentary to Patis
Pet Petakopadesa
PTC Pali Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance
Pug Puggalapaṇṇatti
SnA Commentary to Sn
Th Theragāthā
ThA Commentary to Th
UdA Commentary to Udāna
Vbh Vī Sabbatha
VibhA Commentary to Vibh