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PROHIBITED SPEECH AND SUBHASITA IN THE THERAVADA TRADITION **

e keci... bhagavatā budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite vā 1.

Whatever the society or communities they wished to enlighten, all Indian legislators and teachers have laid great emphasis on the rules concerning speech and truthfulness. I propose to examine here some of the views expressed on this subject by the Theravadins in various Sutta and KhuddakaNikāya texts, and to investigate how they extend the concept of musāvāda or lie, and define subhāsita. From even a cursory

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1. ASOKA, Calcutta-Bairāt. Cf. the editions by E. Hultzsch, CII, I, Oxford, 1925; and K. L. Janert, in Abstände und Schlussvokalverzeichnungen in Asoka-Inschriften, Wiesbaden, 1972 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 10).

Falsehood is always strongly condemned, e.g. Sn 664:

mukha-dugga vibhūta-m-anariya bhūnahu pāpaka dukķata-kāri puris'anta kali avajāta

mā bahu bhān' idha, nerayiko 'si, « O foul-mouthed, false, ignoble man,

Truth's murderer, ill-doer, vile:

Thou ill-born, least of men, woe's seed, Speak here not much! Hell's man art thou!» (Hare's transl.). See also

M I.415.16-19; It 18.8-18; etc. On « truthfulness » in the « Jātaka Stories », see John Garrett Jones, Tales and Teachings of the Buddha. The Jātaka Stories in Relation to the Pali Canon, London, 1979, passim, especially 138 ff.; cf. index, s.v.

I thank Mr. K.R. Norman who was kind enough to amend the English text. ** Abbreviations. For Pāli texts, as in A Critical Pāli Dictionary, cf. Epilegomena to Vol. I, by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen, 1948. For Jaina texts, as in Walther Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas..., Berlin und Leipzig, 1935 (Gundriss der Indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 3.7) = The Doctrine of the Jainas..., translated from the revised German edition by Wolfgang Beurlen, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1962. $T = Tik\bar{a}$.

comparison with the precepts handed down in other communities, it appears that, among the Buddhists, a shift of emphasis had very early taken place, and the new attitude they developed never lost ground: though always highly praised, exactitude and accuracy have nevertheless been supplemented by other much valued virtues.

Bearing in mind the fact that Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist circles share an important background, I shall here consider the Buddhists'

opinions on three points.

First: like the other communities, the Buddhists consider vāc as belonging to the well-known triad kāya, vāc, manas2, in which vāc is clearly a prominent item 3: A II.51.29 * f. states that

nâbhāsamānam jānanti missam bālehi panditam bhāsamānam ca jānanti desentam amatam padam,

Perhaps it is not out of place here to recall Asoka's views on the subject. Several Minor Rock Edicts recommend telling the truth: II (B) sace vataviye (Eṛṛaguḍi; cf. Brahmagiri, Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, Siddāpura); sacca is one of the components of dhamma, according to Pillar 2 (C) and 7 (EE); and, as is well-known, the Calcutta-Bairāt edict enjoins the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs to listen to and meditate upon several texts, among which e cā Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya, Lāghulovāda concerning lying. On the other hand, in the XII Rock Edict, vaca-gu(t)ti is extolled and defined as « neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects », a vaca-guti kiti ata-pāsamda-pūjā va pala-pāsamda-galahā vā no siyā (Erraugdi, D), cf. Hultztsch's transl. Compare infra.

In a recent paper (The Calcutta-Bairāt Edict of Asoka, in the «Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong... », edited by L. A. Hercus et al., Canberra, 1982, 491-498), U. Schneider has commented upon these recommendations emphasizing the fact that the Calcutta-Bairāt edict especially condemns lie and liars. It seems to me that, in fact, the above formula, e keci... Bhagavatā bu(d)dhena bhāsite sa(v)ve se subhāsite vā, « all that has been spoken by the Blessed (One, the) Buddha is well spoken indeed », cannot be separated from the Buddhists' definition of su-bhāsita (infra, 70 ff.). In this connexion, Professor E. Lamotte kindly reminds me of the reverse phrase, A IV, 164, 7 ff., yam kim ci subhāsitam sabbam tam tassa bhagavato vacanam arahato sammāsambuddhassa, « whatsoever be well spoken, all that is the word of the Exalted One...' (Hare's translation): a formula which, as he informs me, has no counterpart in the Ekottarāgama, though it occurs in a Mahāyānasūtra, the Madhyāsayasamcodanasūtra, the Sanskrit text of which is quoted in the Sikṣāsamuccaya (p. 15) and the Panjikā (p. 431 f.; cf. the discussions in E. LAMOTTE, Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, Louvain, 1949, in « Bibliothèque du Muséon », 18, I, pp. 80-4, and notes; II, p. 1070 f.).
2. For references in Pāli texts, see PED, s.v. kāya III. « (Ethical) ... kāya as one

of a triad »; cf. the definition of vinaya, Pj I, 134, 15: kāya-vācā-citta-vinayana; etc. As for the Jainas, they teach three guptis (W. Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas,

Berlin-Leipzig, 1935 = The Doctrine of the Jainas, Delhi..., 1962, § 173.

But, according to L. Renou, this triad, well-known in Avestic, is absent in Vedic (Canon bouddhique pāli, II [in the press], see the note to I, Paris, 1949, p. 53.27 f. = D I 60.21 f.).

3. J.G. Jones emphasizes the «typically Buddhist attitude to right speech as being of paramount importance », loc. cit., 60 f.; cf. 122 f., etc. He assumes that in Ja nº 56, guarding the voice is the first to be recommended. Actually, though Chalmers translates « do no evil whether in word, or thought, or act », the pa. text uses the usual phrase: kāya-dvāram vacī-dvāram mano-dvāram ti tīṇi dvārāni rakkha, mā kāyena pāpa-kammam kari mā vācāya mā manasā, I, 276, 27-29.

« If he utter no word men know him not — A wise man mixed with fools. If he open his mouth men know him

When he teaches the Deathless Way... » 4.

As a matter of fact, the fool is characterized, in contradistinction to the wise man, by his bad behaviour as far as action, speech, mind, are concerned 5. On the other hand, the Pabbajjā-sutta describes « the seer » (cakkhumā) thus:

pabbajitvāna kāyena pāpa-kammam vivajjayī, vacī-duccaritam hitvā ājīvam parisodhayi, « Gone forth, he wholly shunned In body evil deeds, And rid of wrongful talk. He cleansed his way of life » 6.

In the relevant commentary 7, vacī-duccarita is said to be fourfold, a remark which agrees with many canonical passages 8 and with what is said in the Hemavata-sutta; here, yakkha Hemavata asks several questions about Gotama, among which we find:

« Say, doth he never speak false words?

Doth he not use provoking speech? Say, is his talk not slanderous? Speaketh he never emptily?»,

to which yakkha Sātāgira's answer is the following: musā ca so na bhanati

atho na khīna-vyappatho atho vebhūtiyam nâha, mantā attham so bhāsati9, « Nay, he doth never speak false words,

Nor speaketh he provokingly; His talk is never slanderous;

With insight speaks he of the goal » 10.

^{4. =} S II 280.28* f. = Ja V 509.27* f.; Gāndhārī Dharmapada (ed. J. Brough) 235; Udānavarga (ed. F. Bernhard) 29.43.

Woodward's translation. 5. Tīhi... dhammehi samannāgato bālo veditabbo... Kāya-duccaritena, vacī-duccaritena, mano-duccaritena, A I, 102, 3 f.; tīhi... dhammehi samannāgato paṇḍito veditabbo... Kāya-sucaritena, vacī-sucaritena, mano-sucaritena, ib., 7 f.; bālo duccintitacintī ca hoti, dubbhāsita-bhāsī, dukkaṭakamma-kārī, ib., 19 f.; pandito sucintita-cintī ca hoti, subhāsita-bhāsī, sukaṭakamma-kārī, ib., 30 f.

^{6.} Sn 405-407, Hare's translation.

^{7.} Pj II, 382, 14: catubbidham vacī-duccaritam. Cf. infra.

^{8.} Cattār' imāni... vacī-duccaritāni... Musā-vādo, pisuņā vācā, pharusā vācā, samphappalāpo, A II, 141, 2-5. Also see D III, 170, 13-175, 27*, infra. 9. Sn 158-159.

^{10.} Hare's translation.

On khina-vyappatha, K. R. Norman, in BSOAS, 42.2 (1979), 324 ff.

It can be seen that, as well as untruth and frivolous talk, harshness and slander are also vigorously condemned here: I shall revert to this fourfold condemnation in my third point.

But now, my second point. The Buddhists share the general Indian conviction that $v\bar{a}c$ is an active force ¹¹, and a sort of weapon; therefore, it can be dangerous, it can imply violence, and, if misused, it can hurt the man who handles it. Hence the rules which everyone, and more particularly consecrated individuals, should observe regarding speech. In a śloka concerning the $sn\bar{a}taka$, Manu summarizes them as follows:

satyam brūyāt priyam brūyāt na brūyāt satyam apriyam priyam ca nânṛtam brūyād, eṣa dharmah sanātanah, «Let him say what is true, let him say what is pleasing, let him utter no disagreeable truth, and let him utter no pleasant falsehood; that is the eternal law » ¹².

So saying, Manu follows — or rather encapsulates — various teachings of the Dharmaśāstras; for there also it is prescribed that one must abide by truth, and speak no harsh words, for they are liable to create enmity ¹³.

The Dhp has the same warning:

mā voca pharusaṃ kaṃci, vuttā paṭivadeyyu taṃ;

dukkhā hi sârambha-kathā, paṭidaṇḍā phuseyyu taṃ (133),

« Speak not harshly to anyone; those you address may answer you;

For angry words bring trouble; blows for blows may touch you » ¹⁴. Now, the terrible consequences brought about by cruel words and reprehensible speech are illustrated by the fate which Kokālika (alias Kokāliya) had to suffer after his deaths; they are alluded to in several

^{11.} Cf. J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I. Veda und älterer Hinduismus (Die Religionen der Menschheit. Herausgegeben von C. M. Schröder, 11), Stuttgart, 1960, p. 21 ff. (« Das Wort »); tejo-mayī vāg iti, ChUp 6.5.4; 7; infra, n. 20; further the « victory by speech(es) »; subhāsita[m]-jaya, S I 222.20-224.15 (infra, n. 59); etc. Compare, metaphorically, « the capacity of the language as a weapon », M. M. Deshande, Sociolinguistic attitudes in India. An historical reconstruction, Ann Arbor, 1979 (Linguistica Extranea. Studia 5), 94.

^{12.} Mn 4, 138; Bühler's translation (SBE 25).

^{13.} Cf. ĀpastambaDharmaSūtra, ed. Bühler, Bombay, 1868, 1.11.31.17: nāsau «me sapatna» iti brūyāt; yady «asau me sapatna» iti brūyād dviṣantam bhrātrvyam janayet, «(In company) he shall not say, "This person is my enemy". If he says, "This person is my enemy", he will raise for himself an enemy, who will show his hatred », Bühler's translation (SBE 2: 1.11.31.15!); cf. Arthaśāstra, 8.3.25 f.

^{14.} BURLINGAME's translation, in *Buddhist Legends* (HOS 29, part 2). Fausböll notes a parallel saying, in *Mahābhārata* (SBE 10, p. 37 note); cf. « *Patna* » *Dharmapada* (ed. G. Roth) 198; *Udānavarga* 26.3.

Generally speaking, compare, on *The origin of ahimsā* (and its « magico-ritualistic background »), H.-P. Schmidt, in *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968 (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 28), pp. 625-55.

Jātakas: he was punished because he spoke without considering circumstances and place, and without moderation and reflexion... ¹⁵; and in addition, in his last rebirth, because of the calumnies and harsh words he uttered and the malevolent thoughts he nurtured against Sāriputta and Moggallāna ¹⁶. The consequences are serious illness, death, and hell ¹⁷.

It should be observed that (1) Kokkālika's words are condemned as being an act of cruelty, « $ph\bar{a}rusam$ te kammam katam »; (2) it seems to be accepted that aggressive speech normally meets with retribution; for instance, Kokālika is told: « may you be tormented according to your own word », « tava $v\bar{a}c\bar{a}ya$ tvam eva $paccass\bar{u}$ » ti ¹⁸.

The same view is stated, although in other words, in Sn, where the opening stanza of the Kokāliya-sutta compares dubbhāsita with an axe...

« Wherewith the fool doth cut himself Whenas he speaketh evilly », purisassa hi jātassa kuṭhārī jāyate mukhe yāya chindati attānaṃ bālo dubbhāsitaṃ bhaṇaṃ ¹⁹,

that is atta-cchedak'atthena kuṭhāri-sadisā pharusa-vācā ²⁰. This saying, it should be noted, is repeated twice in S I, as well as in A V ²¹; it also occurs at the beginning of the Lokapaññatti ²².

(3) It is remarkable that the Buddhists pay great attention to the feelings underlying the words that are actually uttered: Kokālika's thoughts are not separated from his words; he is told: « pasādehi Kokālika Sāriputta-Moggallāṇesu cittaṃ », « let your heart be in charity with Sāriputta and Moggallāṇa » ²³.

I now come to my third point: the general acceptance, in India, of the value of asceticism, discipline and self-control. In this connection,

^{15.} Cf. Ja III.103.12*-19*; II.177.8*-11*; etc.

^{16.} Cf. Takkāriya-Jātaka IV, 242 ff.; «Kokālikena dve agga-sāvakā akkuṭṭhā» ti, 244.30.

^{17.} Compare supra, n. 1, Sn 664; or the dramatic narrative of the first lie, Ja III 454 461...

^{18.} Ja IV 245.2; 7. - Conversely, kind words are rewarded, Ja IV 448 ff. (to which Mlle. Nalini Balbir draws my attention).

^{19.} Sn 657; Hare's translation.

^{20.} Pj II.477.15: it will be observed that dubbhāsita is equated with pharusavācā, which is « similar to an axe in the sense that it cuts (the user him)self. Cf. the Mahābhāsya on duṣṭa sabda: sa vāg-vajro yajamānam hinasti (The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāsya of Patañjali, ed. F. Kielhorn, Poona, 1962, third ed. by K. V. Abhyankar, 2.10.14); compare the heated axe in the ordeal ChUp 6.16.1 f.

^{21.} S I.149.17* ff., 152.22* ff.; A V.171.12*-13*, 174.1*-2*.

^{22.} Cf. Eugene Denis, La Lokapaññatti et les idées cosmologiques du bouddhisme ancien, Lille-Paris, 1977, I (text), p. 3; II (notes), pp. 5-6. It recurs in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (Etienne Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse, II, Louvain, 1949, repr. 1967, Biblithèque du Muséon, 18, p. 812 [precisely, in the development concerning Kokālika, pp. 806-13]).

^{23.} Ja IV.244.22; cf. Sv I.74.6 ff., infra.

the Buddhists, as is well-known, define ten śiksāpadas ²⁴, the first four of which are closely related to the first four (mahā-)vratas of the Jainas and the first four vows of the Brahmanic ascetics ²⁵. The Buddhist list is often mentioned and the wording of the formula is quoted, e.g. in the Dasasikkhāpada of Khp:

- 1. pāṇâtipātā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi,
- 2. adinnâdānā veramaņī-sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi,
- 3. abrahmacariyā veramaņī-sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi,
- 4. musāvādā veramanī-sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi... 26.

The first mahāvratas of the Jaina monk are: (1) not to destroy life, (2) not to lie, (3) not to take what is not given, (4) to abstain from sexual intercourse ²⁷. Jacobi rightly observed that the corresponding « Buddhist vows... agree with those of the Jaina ascetics » ²⁸ — except that the order of the enumeration is slightly different: with the Buddhists the pledge not to lie comes not as the second, but as the fourth vow ²⁹. Can the reason for this change be surmised? And is the difference between the Brahmanic and Jaina communities on the one hand, and the Buddhist community, on the other hand, not more important than would seem at first sight?

^{24.} Vin I.83.31-84.2: anujānāmi... sāmaņerānam dasa sikkhāpadāni...: pānātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, abrahmacariyā veramaṇī, musāvādā veramaṇī..., referred to in E. Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien..., Louvain, 1958 (Bibl. du Muséon 43), p. 59, observing that all possible infringements are detailed in the Prātimokṣa. It is noteworthy that, in the Vin, « telling a conscious lie » is generally atoned for by a pācittiya, thus in Vin IV.2.14**, etc.; cf. the discussion by I.B. Horner, The Book of the Discipline, I (SBB 10), p. XXV; II (SBB 11), p. 166, n. 1, also referring to Kkh.

The atonements imposed on those who infringe the second śikṣāpada (i.e. taking what is not given) appear to be harder, cf. Marcel Hofinger, Le vol dans la morale bouddhique, in « Indianisme et Bouddhisme », Mélanges offerts à Mgr Etienne Lamotte, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 23), p. 177 ff.

^{25.} H. JACOBI, Jaina Sūtras (SBE 22), p. XXII ff. - Cf., among the eight angas of the classical yoga, the first four yamas.

^{26.} Khp 1.15-8.

^{27.} On the Jaina monk's maha-vvayas, Schubring, loc. cit., § 171; the Dasaveyā-liya-sutta quotes them thus: padha:ne bhante mahavvae pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ...; ahāvare docce bhante mahavvae musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ...; ahāvare tacce... mahavvae adinn'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ...; ahāvare cautthe... mahavvae mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ... (chapter 4, cf. ed. E. Leumann, ZDMG 46 [1892], p. 615.20 ff.).

^{28.} Loc. cit.

^{29.} Could this fourth position point to the fourfold content of musāvāda-veramanī? In any case, there seems to be some traditional association between the number «four» and items concerning speech, cf. the four Jaina bhāsā-jāyā, not to speak of the well-known catvāri pada-jātāni, nāmākhyātôpasarga-nipātās ca, name, verb, prefix, particule, of the Mahābhāṣya Paspasā (ed. Kielhorn, p. 3.26) and the Sanskrit grammarians, and ultimately, of RV 1.164.45. See, on the semantic development of the word pada, and related problems, L. Renou, Les connexions entre le rituel et la grammaire en sanskrit, in JA 233 (1941-42), pp. 134-37; 161 ff. Recent observations by Ch. Malamoud, in «Arch. europ. sociol.», 23 (1982), 219-220.

From Manu's śloka satyam brūyāt priyam brūyāt...30, it appears that there is a tendency to distinguish between different aspects of speech, of which, by means of permutations, Manu defines four varieties. In the canonical scriptures of the Svetāmbara Jainas also, $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ is analyzed into four main varieties (the so-called $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ - $j\bar{a}y\bar{a}$) 31. They are: (1) truth, (2) untruth, (3) truth mixed with untruth, (4) what is neither truth nor untruth, nor truth mixed with untruth: bhikkhū jānejjā cattāri bhāsā-jāyāim, tam-jahā: saccam egam padhamam bhāsā-jāyam, bīyam mosam, taiyam saccā-mosam, jam n'eva saccam n'eva mosam n'eva saccāmosam asaccā-mosam tam cauttham bhāsā-jāyam 32. In the first variety, there are two subvarieties: truth which should not be uttered because it hurts; truth which can be spoken, as it is « not to be blamed and is not rough »,

... saccam ca an-avajjam a-kakkasam 33 giram bhāseija...

Thus, the Jainas insist on the absolute necessity of refraining from directly or indirectly aggressive speech 34; but, though they do examine this problem in detail, the main emphasis, in this second mahāvrata, is

often on truth and accuracy.

With the Buddhists, the outlook seems somewhat different. For, when pure religious life is described — for instance, when the life led by «Samana Gotama» is detailed, and this in his own words — the report begins with the first three siksāpadas (abstaining from destroying life, from stealing, from impurity), but, when it comes to the fourth śikṣāpada, the texts mention not one, but four items, viz., together with abstaining from falsehood, also abstaining from slander, from cruel talk, from frivolous talk: pāṇâtipātam pahāya pāṇâtipātā paṭivirato Samano Gotamo... viharatîti...; adinnâdānam pahāya adinnâdānā paţivirato S. G.

^{30.} Cf. supra. A parallel recommendation occurs in Mahābhārata (BhORI ed.) 12.288.38 (quoted in CAHLAT, Rules concerning bhasa in the Ayaranga- and Dasaveyaliya-suttas in the light of their Brahmanic counterparts, in « Volume in honour of Dalsukh Malvania », in the press (ubi alia).

^{31.} Cf. Ayāranga-sutta book 2, lesson 4; Viyāhapannatti chapter 13, ed. Suttāgame, Gurgaon, 1953, vol. 1.692.4 ff.; Pannavaṇā, ed. Puṇyavijaya, etc. (Jaina-Agama-Series 9.1), p. 215, §§ 870-876; Thānanga chapter 4.1, ed. Suttāgame, 223.8 (cattāri bhāsā-jāyā).

^{32.} Āyāranga-sutta, ed. Jacobi, 2.4.1.4 (p. 91). 33. Dasaveyāliya-sutta chapter 7, st. 3*.

Cf. Āyāranga-sutta 2.4.1.6: se bhikkhū vā 2 jā ya bhāsā saccā, jā ya bhāsā mosā..., tahāppagāram bhāsam savajjam sa-kiriyam kakkasam sakaduyam niṭṭhuram pharusam anhaya-karim cheyana-karim bheyana-karim pariyavana-karim uddavanakarim bhūôvaghāiyam abhikankha no bhāsam bhāsejjā, « a monk or a nun, having well considered..., should not use speech which is blamable, sinful, rough, stinging, coarse, hard, leading to sins, discord, factions, grief, outrage, to destruction of living beings » (translation mostly following Jacobi, SBE 22, p. 151). The *Tikā*'s gloss for pharusam is marmôdghāṭana-parām (cf. ed. AgS, p. 387). 34. Cf. note 30.

viharatîti...; abrahmacariyam pahāya brahmacārī S. G. ...; further: musāvādam pahāya musāvādā pativirato S. G. ...; pisunāvācam (v.l. pisunam v.) pahāya pisunāya vācāya pativirato S.G. ...; pharusāvācam (v.l. pharusam v.) pahāya pharusāya vācāya pativirato S. G. ...; samphappalāpam pahāya samphappalāpā pativirato S. G. ... 35. More or less the same pattern is-also followed elsewhere, for instance in the Sallekha-sutta 36. Moreover, it will be remembered that several of the Tathāgata's Mahāpurisa-lakkhanas are due to his having abstained from the above four vacī-duccaritas 37. On the other hand, these four abstentions, from false, slanderous, brutal, and frivolous words, musā-vādā veramanī, pisunāya vācāya veramanī, pharusāya vācāya veramanī, samphappalāpā veramanī, constitute a set group, listed among the « Fours in the Dhamma », which are enumerated in the Sangīti-sutta of the DīghaNikāya 38, and there called ariya-vohāra, « the noble usage », or « noble mode » of speech, whereas not abstaining from the above mentioned faults is said to be an-ariya-vohāra 39.

What is more, it is quite clear, from several passages, that each of these «fours» is counted as an independent item: when analyzing «failure in morals», sīla-vipatti, or «success in morals», sīla-sampatti, which lead to bad destiny and niraya, or to good destiny and sagga-loka respectively, the AnguttaraNikāya enumerates seven different sorts of individuals, each in his own right: ekacco pāṇâtipātī hoti, adinnâdāyī

^{35.} D I.4.13-29.

From the attached reflections in D, it is clear that pisuṇā vācā leads to the disunion of friends and discord; that pharusā vācā wounds, while a-pharusā vācā is neļā kaṇṇa-sukhā pemanīyā hadaya-gamā, porī bahujana-kantā bahujana-maṇāpā, « harmless, pleasant to the ear, agreeable, touching the heart, courteous, delightful to many folk, pleasant to many folk » (Woodward's transl., of A I.128.23-25); as for samphappalāpa, it is futile (see D ib.). According to Sv. I.74.14, pisuṇā vācā fills the heart of the person with whom one is conversing with amicable dispositions towards oneself, but estranges him from other people, yāya vācāṇay yassa taṃ vācaṃ bhāsati, tassa hadaye attano piya-bhāvaṃ parassa ca suṇña-bhāvaṃ karoti, sā pisuṇā vācā; whereas pharusā vācā makes both oneself and others hurtful, is hurtful in itself, yāya pana attānaṃ pi paraṃ pi pharusaṃ karoti, yā vācā sayaṃ pi pharusā, n' eva kaṇṇa-sukhā na hadaya-sukhā vācā, ayaṃ pharusā vācā.

Compare Āyār T, note 33. supra.

^{36.} M I.42.9-15.

^{37.} D III.170.13-175.27*: ... musā-vādā pativirato ahosi... ekeka-lomo ca hoti unnā ca bhamuk'antare jātā hoti...; pisuņāya vācāya pativirato ahosi... cattārīsa-danto hoti avivara-danto ca...; pharusāya vācāya pativirato ahosi... pahūta-jivho ca hoti Brahmassaro ca karavīka-bhāṇī...; samphappalāpā pativirato ahosi... sīha-hanu hoti.

^{38.} D III.232.7-8; 5-6; 7-8:

Cattāro an-ariya-vohārā: musā-vādo, pisuņā vācā pharusā vācā, samphappalāpo. Cattāro ariya-vohārā: musā-vādā veramaņī, pisuņāya vācāya veramaņī, pharusāya vācāya veramaņī, samphappalāpā veramaņī.

^{39.} For a different definition of (an-)ariya-vohāra, ib., 10-21; A II.246.4 ff. = Vin V.125.9 ff. (adiţthe adiţtha-vāditā...).

On the compound ariya-vohāra used to refer to « the vernacular speech of the Aryans », viz. pa., CPD I s.v.; on the implication of the word, (« langue noble »), L. Renou, Histoire de la langue sanskrite, Lyon, 1956 (Les langues du monde), p. 6 and n. 1.

hoti, kāmesu micchā-cārī hoti, further mūsā-vādī hoti, pisuņā-vāco hoti, pharusā-vāco hoti, samphappalāpī hoti...: sīla-vipatti-hetu vā... sattā kāyassa bhedā param maranā apāyam duggatim vinipātam nirayam uppajjanti 40. Thus, the four constituents of ariya-vohāra are all equally important, and each tends to be regarded as equivalent to each of the previous sikkhā-padas.

It could even be asked whether the Buddhists do not, in fact, more or less establish the superiority of a-pharusā-vācā; for the Anguttara-Nikāya introduces a threefold distinction: between the gūtha-bhāṇī, « who speaks filth », that is untruth 41, on one side, and, on the other side, the puppha-bhānī, « flower-tongued », who speaks the truth, and madhu-bhāṇī, or « honey-tongued », who has abandoned all harsh speech 42. It thus appears that amiable speech is given special importance — provided that it is prompted by equally amiable feelings 43.

To return to the fourfold ariya-vohāra: the commentaries do not hesitate to recognize its four constituents whenever four aspects of speech are mentioned, e.g., when the Buddha's behaviour is extolled by

cf. his note, Gradual Sayings I, p. 110, n. 3.

^{40.} A I.268.23 ff. « And of what sort is failure in morals? Herein... a certain one takes life, steals, is a wrong-doer in sensual desires, a liar, a slanderer, of bitter speech, an idle babbler. This is called «failure in morals »... it is due to failure in morals... that beings, when body breaks up, after death are reborn in the Waste, the Way of Woe, in the Downfall, in Purgatory », Woodward's transl.; compare III.433.3-11.

^{41.} Or kūṭa-bhāṇī? (Kern); hence Woodward's translation «tricky tongued»;

^{42.} A I.127.33-128.28.

Tayo 'me... puggalā santo samvijjamānā lokasmim. Katame tayo? Gūtha-bhānī puppha-bhāṇī, madhu-bhāṇī...

Katamo ca puggalo puppha-bhāṇī? Idha... ekacco puggalo sabha-ggato vā parisaggato vā... So... na sampajāna-musā-bhāsitā hoti... (128.12-20; cf. Pp 29.26-34);

Katamo ca... puggalo madhu-bhānī? Idha... ekacco puggalo pharusā-vācam pahāya pharusāya vācāya pativirato hoti.

Yā sā vācā neļā kanna-sukhā pemanīyā hadayam-gamā porī bahujana-kantā bahujana-manāpā tathā-rūpim vācam bhasitā hoti (A ib., 21-26; cf. Pp 29.35-30.3). [« Sweet(ness) » or « honey » (mádhu-), and « words », vácas-, are seen to be

more than once associated in the Rksamhitā: ávocāma... Agnáye mádhumad vácah..., 1.78.5; túbhyedám Ágne mádhumattamam vácah, 5.11.5;

vácah / ghrtát svádíyo mádhunas ca vocata, « sweeter than ghee and honey », 8.24.20; etc.; cf. K.F. Geldner, Der Rigveda, ... Vierter Teil. Namen- und Sachregister... von Johannes Nobel, Cambridge, Mass., 1957 (HOS 36), p. 197, s.v. Rede. Compare TaittirīyaSaṃhtiā, 3.3.2 (éd. B I, III, p. 273): mádhu manisye, mádhu janişye mádhu vakşyāmi, mádhu vadişyāmi, « sweetness shall I think, sweetness shall I beget, sweetness shall I tell, sweetness shall I speak...» (madhuvat priyam, Commentary). This association is admittedly Prearyan, cf. Marcello Durante, Ricerche sulla preistoria della lingua poetica greca, in «Rendiconti, Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei », 357 (1960) = Indogermanische Dichtersprache, herausgegeben von Rüdiger Schmitt, Darmstadt, 1968 (Wege der Forschung 165), p. 264, n. 10, comparing μελί-γηρυν όπα, μ 187; also Greek μελί-γλωσσος and Vedic mádhu-jihva-].

^{43.} Cf. Sv I.74.6 ff. (yā tesam [scil. mūsāvāda, etc.] mūla-bhūtā cetanā pi pisunāvācâdi-nāmam eva labhati...).

yakkha Sātāgira 44. Again, they are said to define su-bhāsita, in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Subhāsita-sutta of the SamyuttaNikāya 45 and the parallel explanation given by the Paramatthajotika on the identical sutta of the SuttaNipāta 46. The prose introduction of the sutta specifies that speech is well spoken if provided with four elements: catūhi... angehi samannāgatā vācā subhāsitā hoti na dubbhāsitā: which four? Idha... bhikkhu subhāsitam yeva bhāsati no dubbhāsitam; dhammam yeva bhāsati, no adhammam; piyam yeva bhāsati, no appiyam; saccam yeva bhāsati, no alikam 47. In the same way, the following tristubh of the sutta mentions successively subhāsita, dhamma, piya, and sacca, which, according to the commentaries, mean abstaining from pisunā vācā, samphappalāpa, apharusā vācā, and musā-vāda 48. I shall not question the details of the equation; but attention must be drawn to the commentaries' opinion concerning the conclusion of the prose passage of the sutta, viz., imehi kho bhikkhave catūhi angehi samannāgatā vācā subhāsitā hoti na dubbhāsitā anavajjā ca ananuvajjā ca viñnūnam ti 49, « when a word has these four qualities (anga), it is well-spoken, not ill-spoken, it is not blameworthy, nor blamed by the wise » 50.

From Buddhaghosa's discussion of this passage, it can be surmised that some understood the phrase *imehi...* catūhi angehi as referring to

Four stanzas (= Sn 451-454) recur in Th (1227-1230); Sn 450 and 454 are also quoted in Pj I, 135 f., commenting upon the pāda subhāsitā ca yā vācā (= pāda c in the 4th śloka of Mangala-sutta, Khp 3.7*-8*).

The wording of the two commentaries is very similar. For discussions on the authorship of Pj I and II, E. W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, 1946, p. 7 f.; Nanamoli, The Minor Readings and Illustrator, London, 1960 (PTS Transl. Series 32), X ff.; remarks by K. R. Norman, in The Role of Pāli in early Sinhalese Buddhism, in «Buddhism in Ceylon...» (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung I), ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen, Abh. der Ak. der Wiss. Philol.-Hist. Kl. Dritte Folge n° 108), p. 42; ID., in Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula, 1890, p. 177, § 6.1.

saccam bhane nâlikam, tam catuttham » ti, S I.189.7*-10* = Sn 450:

^{44.} Cf. supra, Sn 158 f.; Pj II, 203 f.: na khīna-vyappatho ti na pharusa-vāco ti vuttam hoti...

^{45.} S I.188.25-189.25*; Spk I.272.8-275.24.

^{46.} Sn p. 78 f., 450-454; Pj II, 394.9-400.5.

^{47.} S I.188.31-189.2 = Sn p. 78.8-13.

^{48. «}Subhāsitam uttamam āhu santo dhammam bhane, nâdhammam, tam dutiyam piyam bhane nâpiyam, tam tatiyam, saccam bhane nâpiyam tam tatiyam,

[«] The goodly word calm men proclaim supreme; And second, speak ye Dharma not elsewise;

Third, speak kindly, not unkindly words;

And fourth, say ye what is true, not false» (translation following Hare and C. Rhys Davids). Spk I.272.8-10 = Pj II.395.20-23 run: angehī ti, kāraņehi avayavehi vā, musā-vāda-veramaṇī-ādīni hi cattāri subhāsita-vācāya kāraṇāni, sacca-vacanâdayo cattāro avayavā.

^{49.} S I.189.2-4 = Sn 78.14-16.

^{50.} Hare's translation.

grammatical elements, and to grammatical niceties 51. In the present context, however, this interpretation is evidently untenable. But it was not irrelevant to raise the question. For, as is well-known, the Brahmanic tradition did consider grammar to be vedānām veda, as the Chāndogya-Upanisad puts it 52; and, according to the Sanskrit grammarians, correct speech is of religious value 53. As for the Jainas, it is noteworthy that, in the Ayaranga-chapter which deals with the four « bhāsā-jāyā », they quote a list of grammatical items, and recommend abiding by grammatical rules — for this means speaking with accuracy and due circumspection, thus conforming to ascetics' standards 54. Thus, the Jainas both

52. ChUp 7.1.2; but, ib. 3, grammatical and similar knowledge is said to be

« mere name », nāmaivaitat.

53. Cf. Mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, p. 2, 19*-20* ff.:

yas tu prayunkte kuśalo viśese śabdān yathāvad vyavahāra-kāle so 'nantam āpnoti jayam paratra vāg-yoga-vid, dusyati câpasabdaih,

« the learned grammarian who uses the words correctly... gets unlimited success in the other world; but one fares ill by the use of incorrect words... Cf. L. Renou, in JA (1941-42), 160 ff.; ID., Histoire de la langue sanskrite, Lyon, 1956, p. 6: «L'idée de la grammaire comme instrument de purification est présente dans le plus ancien commentaire grammatical, la Paspasa du Mahabhasya, comme à travers toute la Mimāmsā. Also see P. Thieme, Meaning and form of the « grammar » of Pâṇini, Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik 8/9 (1982-83), 3-34 (especially §§ 22; 26; 30 ff.); M. M. Deshpande, loc. cit., 7 ff. (ch. II, «Brahmanical Puritanism»).

54. anuvīi niṭṭhā-bhāsī samiyāe samjae bhāsam bhāsejjā, tam-jahā: ega-vayanam 1, du-vayanam (!) 2, bahu-v. 3, itthī-v. 4, purisa-v. 5, napumsaga-v. 6, ajjhattha-v. 7, uvanīya-v. 8, avanīya-v. 9, uvanīya-avanīya-v. 10, avanīya-uvanīya-v. 11, tīya-v. 12, paduppanna-v. 13, anāgaya-v. 14, paccakkha-v. 15, parokkha-v. 16... Āyār 2.4.1.3: « well considering (what one is to say), speaking with precision, one should employ language in moderation and restraint: the singular, dual, plural; feminine, masculine, neuter gender...; past, present, or future (tenses), the first and second, or third

(person) », Jacobi's translation. The importance of self-control (i.e. religious life) is emphasized in Pannavanā: in § 899, it is asked whether one who uses the four bhāsa-jjāyas reaches the goal or fails to do so, icc'eyāim... cattāri bhāsa-jjāyāim bhāsamāne kim ārāhae virāhae? Answer: only he who speaks with due attention can reach the goal; otherwise, « if one is not self-controlled, has not totally ceased, desisted from, renounced, bad deeds, whether one speaks truth or lie, or truth mixed with lie, or neither truth nor lie, one does not reach the goal, but misses it »: icc'eyāim cattāri bhāsa-jjāyāim bhāsamāne ārāhae. no virāhae; tena param assamjayavirayapadihayapaccakkhāyapāvakamme saccam vā bhāsam bhāsanto mosam vā saccā-mosam vā asaccā-mosam vā bhāsam bhāsamāṇe no ārāhae, virāhae.

But, in the Samayasāra (one of the early « procanonical » books of the Digambaras) 1.8, Kundakunda (quoted by M. M. Deshpande, loc. cit., 55) writes:

aṇajja-bhāsaṃ viṇā u gāhedum jaha na vi sakkam anajjo

taha vavahāreņa viņā param'atth'uvadesaņam asakkam, « just as a non-Aryan (foreigner) cannot be made to understand anything except through the medium of his non-Aryan language, so the knowledge of the Absolute cannot be communicated to the ordinary people except through the vyavahāra point of view » (transl. A. Chakravarti, also see his commentary, based upon Amrtacandra's Atmakhyāti, Delhi, 1971, 2d ed., Bhāratīya Jñānapītha Publication).

^{51.} Yan ca aññe paţiññâdīhi avayavehi, nāmâdihi padehi, linga-vacana-vibhattikāla-kāraka-sampattīhi ca samannāgatam musā-vādâdi-vācam pi « subhāsitā » ti maññanti, tam dhammato patisedheti, Spk I.273.14-18 = Pj II.397.2-4.

enhance spiritual values and consider grammatical correction to be an integral part of their religious rules.

The Buddhists certainly do not disregard grammar and lexicography: in a paracanonical treatise like the Nettipakaraṇa, the « phrasing or wording of ideas » (vyanjana), is connected with nerutta, etc. ⁵⁵, which is included in one of the sixteen hāras or « modes of conveying » used for the communication of dhamma ⁵⁶. But they have no hesitation in stating that the phrase subhāsitā ca yā vācā (used in Khp 3, 8*) « should be understood as [speech] devoid of the defects of lying, [harsh speech, malicious speech, and gossip]... or else speech simply without gossip... since it brings welfare and pleasure in both worlds » ⁵⁷.

Still more drastically, commenting on this fourth stanza of the Mangala-sutta, Pj adds: paresam dhamma-desanā vācā idha subhāsitā vācā ti veditabbā; sā hi... sattānam ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nibbānâdhigama-paccayato mangalam ti vuccati, « what is to be understood here as "well-spokenness" is the words [used] in teaching the True Idea to others; for that... is called a good omen since it is a condition for creatures to attain welfare and pleasure in both worlds and also extinction as well » 58. Buddhaghosa even appears to consider grammatical purity as irrelevant as far as Dhamma is concerned: provided that a discourse is free from the four blemishes, slander, idle talk, harshness, untruth, — and even though it contains milakkha-bhāsā, barbarian's words, and words sung by a humble servant — it is nevertheless su-bhāsita « as far as it conveys bliss for this and the other world » 59. Examples

^{55.} Nett 32.30 ff.

^{56.} Cf. the analysis of nerutta, Nett 33.1-11. It implies, among other proficiencies, for the bhikkhu to be « ... skilled in designations of past [tenses], skilled in designations of future [tenses], skilled in designations of presently-arisen [tenses], skilled in designations of the feminine [gender], skilled in designations of the masculine [gender], skilled in designations of the singular [number], skilled in the designations of the plural [number]... » (Nāṇamoli's transl.): ... atītâdhivacana-kusalo anāgatādhivacana-kusalo paccuppannādhivacana-kusalo iithādhivacana-kusalo purisādhivacana-kusalo napuṃsa-kādhivacana-kusalo ekādhivacana-kusalo anekādhivacana-kusalo (6-9); compare Pet 91.24 ff.; for a comparison, and study of the mutual relationship between Nett and Pet, Nāṇamoli, The Guide, London, 1962 (PTS Translation Series 33), p. XIII ff. and passim.

^{57.} Pj I.135.23-136.1, translation by Ñāṇamoli: subhāsitā vācā nāma musāvādâdidosa-virahitā..., asamphappalāpā vācā eva vā...; ayaṃ pi ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhâvaha-nato mangalaṃ ti veditabbā...

^{58.} Pj I.136.4-7 (Nāṇamoli's translation).

^{59.} Imehi pana catūh' angehi samannāgatā, sace pi milakkha-bhāsa-pariyāpannā ghata-ceṭikā-gītaka-pariyāpannā pi hoti, (sā) tathā pi subhāsitā va lokiya-lokuttara-hita-sukh'āvahattā, Spk I.273.20-23 (Ee: -ceṭaka-) = Pj II.397.7-10.

On the contrary, Mahābhāṣya, Paspaśā, p. 2.7-9, recalls the misfortune of the Asuras because of their barbarism (cf. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.2.1.23-24) and concludes: mlecchāḥ mā bhūmēty adhyeyam vyākaraṇam, « to prevent our becoming "mlecchas", grammar is to be studied ».

Did Buddhaghosa have this famous passage in mind? On Buddhaghosa and Pāṇini and the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, Nāṇamoli, Minor Readings and Illu-

are further alleged of bhikkhus attaining arahatta after having heard Sinhalese girl servants singing inspiring words, in the Sinhalese language. In this connexion, the viññus, or experts, are not the grammarians, but those noble people who aim at and look for refuge in the highest goal, atth'atthikanam kula-puttanam attha-patisarananam, no vyanjana-patisaranānam ti 60.

This catholic outlook is all the more remarkable as it is expressed by the revered Buddhist ācārya, alleged to have stemmed from a Brahmin

family, Buddhaghosa 61.

strator, p. XVIII, notes passim (for references see Index of Proper Names s.v. Pānini, Sanskrit allusions); K.R. Norman, The Role of Pāli in early Sinhalese

Buddhism, p. 42 and nn. 22-23. With the above Mahābhāsya (- SBr) passage, contrast the verbal contest between Vepacitti, ruler of the Asuras, and Sakka, sovereign of the devas, in S I 222.20-224.15 (supra n. 11): « the verses spoken by Vepacitti belong to the sphere of force and violence... » (sa-dandâvacarā sa-satthâvacarā iti bhandanam iti viggaho iti kalaho [ti], cf. Ne Se); those spoken by Indra, on the contrary, were « free from force and violence... », and this ensured the latter's victory: a-dandâvacarā a-satthâvacarā... Sakkassa devānam indassa subhāsitena jayo ahosi (224.8-14).

For discussions similar to Spk I 272-275 (and the sociolinguistic attitudes or conflicts they reflect), see the lives of the « Marathi saint-poets », in M. M. Deshpande,

loc cit., 68 ff.

60. Spk I.274-20-23 (Ee att') = Pj II.398.11-12. Such an asseveration clearly is not unlike the Buddha's famous advice « anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyāpunitum» ti, permitting the disciples « to learn the Buddha-word each in (his) own language », Vin II.139.14-16. For a summary of the discussions on the interpretation of this phrase, E. Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien, p. 610 ff.; recently, J. Brough, Sakāya niruttiyā: Cauld kale het, in «The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition » (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, II), ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen, 1980 (Abh. der Ak. der Wiss. in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Kl. Dritte Folge, nº 117), 35-42.

61. I may be permitted to quote what Professor E. Lamotte writes to me in con-

nection with the above remarks:

« Dans la généralité des cas, le subhāṣita est satya, mais pas toujours. Il peut se faire que le Buddha, tenant compte des dispositions et de la mentalité de ses

auditeurs, leur enseigne une erreur, mais ce n'est qu'un artifice salvifique.

Le Buddha a refusé de se prononcer sur les grands problèmes philosophiques qui préoccupent l'humanité: l'éternité des êtres, la survie, les rapports entre le corps et l'esprit (cf. Traité, I, p. 153 sq.), non pas que ce soient des questions insolubles, mais parce que les réponses sont discutables, provoquent des querelles et ne sont d'aucune utilité à la délivrance.

Vu dans ce contexte, le Subhāṣita est au premier chef une parole aboutissant à la destruction des passions, à la fin de la douleur, à l'apaisement de l'esprit, au Nirvāṇa. Tant mieux si cette bonne parole est strictement vraie, agréable à entendre, énoncée selon toutes les règles de la grammaire, mais ce n'est pas nécessaire. La loi bouddhique n'a qu'une saveur (rasa): celle de la Vimukti.

A ce propos,... dire un mot de l'enseignement intentionnel ou énigmatique du Buddha (samdhā-bhāṣya, samdhāya bhāṣita) où le paradoxe tient un grand rôle... »

(16th January, 1983).