

**Putting *smṛti* back into *sati***  
**(Putting remembrance back into mindfulness)**

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*Dutiyavibhaṅghasuttaṃ* (SN 5, 198<sup>16-22</sup>): *katamañ ca bhikkhave satindriyaṃ. idha bhikkhave ariyasāvako satimā hoti paramena satinepakkena samannāgato, cirakatam pi cirabhāsitam pi saritā anussaritā. so kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ. vedanāsu ... pe ... idaṃ vuccati satindriyaṃ. “And what, monks, is the faculty of memory? Here monks, a noble disciple who possesses recollection is endowed with the highest memory and wisdom, he remembers and recollects what was said and what was done a long time ago. He abides reflecting on the body as a body, ardent, perfectly knowing, remembering, having done away with covetousness and distress in regards to the world. He abides reflecting on feelings... this is called the faculty of memory.”*

*Saranti tāya, sayam vā sarati, saraṇamattam eva vā, esā ti sati. Sā apilāpanalakkhaṇā, asammoharasā... Vsm 464<sup>25-26</sup>*

“With it (*sati*), he remembers, or it itself remembers or it is just mere remembering, that is *sati*. *Sati*’s characteristic is to call to mind, to memorize, not to forget (*apilāpana*), its essence is absence of confusion”

## Abstract

The word *sati* today is usually translated as “mindfulness”, despite the fact that it is derived from the Old Indic word *smṛti* meaning “remembrance”, “memory”, and “tradition”. Some scholars even distinguish between the two words as different in meaning, suggesting that *sati* usually refers to present awareness in the Pali scriptures, not to the past, as the word *smṛti* does. Since the Buddha was familiar with the Brahmanical teachings, including the six *Vedāṅgas* (linguistic analysis, etymology, etc.) which are part of the *smṛti* tradition, it is unlikely that he would have used the vernacular form of the word (*sati*) in a way inconsistent with its heritage. This article argues that the word *sati* incorporates the meaning of “memory” and “remembrance” in much of its usage in both the *suttas* and the commentary, and suggests that without the memory component, the notion of mindfulness cannot be properly understood or applied, as mindfulness requires memory for its effectiveness. Although *sati* is a polysemous word whose semantic field extends beyond mere memory (with overtones of mindfulness, wisdom, awareness, restraint, equanimity, etc.), the notion of memory is central to the denotative and connotative core of the word.

## Introduction

It is quite common today for the word *sati* to be translated as “mindfulness”, despite the fact that its pedigree derives from the Old Indic (OI) word *smṛti*, “remembrance”, “memory”, “the whole body of sacred tradition or what is remembered by human teachers (distinguished from *śruti*, or what is directly heard” (MW). Many scholars even go so far as to distinguish between the two words as different in meaning. For example, Bhikkhu Nyanaponika in his well-known book *Heart of Buddhist Meditation*:

In the compound Pāli term *sati-paṭṭhāna*, the first word, *sati* (Sanskrit: *smṛti*), had originally the meaning of ‘memory’ ‘remembrance’. In Buddhist usage, however, and particularly in the Pāli scriptures, it has only occasionally retained that meaning of remembering past events. It mostly refers there to the present, and as a general psychological term, it carries the meaning of ‘attention’ or ‘awareness’. But still more frequently, its use in the Pāli scriptures is restricted to a kind of attentiveness that, in the sense of the Buddhist doctrine, is good, skilful or right (*kusala*). It

should be noted that we have reserved the rendering ‘mindfulness’, for this latter use only. *Sati* in this sense is the seventh factor of the Noble Eightfold Path, under the name of *Sammā-sati*, i. e. Right Mindfulness, being expressly explained as the fourfold ‘Foundations of Mindfulness’ (*Satipaṭṭhāna*). pp. 9-10.

Ven. Nyanaponika’s well-known student Bhikkhu Bodhi treats *sati* in a similar fashion, in the *Majjhima Nikāya* translation he wrote with Ven. Ñāṇamoli: “The first part (of the compound), *sati*, originally meant “memory”, but In Pali Buddhist usage it far more frequently bears the meaning of attentiveness directed to the present – hence the makeshift rendering “mindfulness” (1995: 1188, footnote 136). In a later article (2011: 22) he argues that *sati* “no longer means memory. Rather, the Buddha assigned the word a new meaning [“watchfulness,” “lucid awareness,” p. 21] consonant with his own system of psychology and meditation.” Bhikkhu Bodhi translates *sati* as “mindfulness” throughout his influential English translations of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Samyutta Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Most non-specialists might assume that the equivalence of *sati* = mindfulness is established, and that indeed mindfulness and remembrance have little to do with each other. But this would be a mistake, as the above quotes from the *Samyutta Nikāya* and the commentator Buddhaghosa would indicate. Nor is this an isolated incident in the *suttas*. The definition of *sati* as “memory” attributed to the Buddha in the *Dutiyavibhaṅhasuttaṃ* (above) occurs thirteen times in the *suttas* in various forms.<sup>1</sup> There are also many references to *sati* and memory in the commentaries which we will be examining below, including an old definition from the *Niddesa*, an early canonical commentary on parts of the *Sutta Nipāta* (Sn) from about the third century BCE (Norman 1983: 86) which was repeated several times by Buddhaghosa and others.<sup>2</sup> Although some scholars

<sup>1</sup> *Sekkhassuttaṃ* MN 1, 356<sup>17-19</sup>; *Saṅgītisuttaṃ* DN 3, 268<sup>10-14</sup>; *Dasauttarasuttaṃ* DN 3, 286<sup>2-4</sup>; *Pathamavibhaṅgasuttaṃ* SN 5, 197<sup>10-14</sup>; *Dutiyavibhaṅhasuttaṃ* SN 5, 198<sup>16-22</sup>; *Āpaṇasuttaṃ* SN 225<sup>20-22</sup>; *Vitathasuttaṃ* AN 3, 11<sup>8-10</sup>; *Vitathabalasuttaṃ* AN 4, 4<sup>9-11</sup>; *Nagaropamasuttaṃ* AN 4, 111<sup>1-3</sup>; *Anuruddhamahāvitakkasuttaṃ* AN 4, 234<sup>16-18</sup>; *Paṭhamanāthasuttaṃ* AN 5, 25<sup>6-8</sup>; *Dutiyānāthasuttaṃ* AN 5, 28<sup>18-22</sup>; *Bhaṇḍanasuttaṃ* AN 5, 91<sup>12-16</sup>; and twice in the *Niddesa II* (p. 263 ad *Khaggavisāṇasutta* 45, 70)

<sup>2</sup> This passage also directly equates *sati* with memory (*yā sati anussati paṭissati saraṇatā...* see below page 134). It occurs three times in Nidd I Commentary on Sn’s *Aṭṭhakavagga*, four times in Nidd II (commentary on Sn’s *Pārāyanavagga*), once each in the commentary on the *Mahāsatiṭṭhānasuttaṃ* and the *Satiṭṭhānasuttaṃ*, and was quoted 17 times in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, so it was very well known.

downgrade the value of the commentaries as late additions from Buddhaghosa's time or after, much of the material is very early and some (like the *Pātimokkha* or the *Niddesa*) may go back to the Buddha's time (Norman 1997 [2006]: 206).

Anālayo recognizes that there are a "plurality of conceptions of mindfulness" (2017:20), and argues against a direct equivalence of mindfulness (*sati*) and memory in early Buddhism (pp. 26-34). Mindfulness, he maintains, cannot be directly equated with memory, citing "semantic memory" – that facility which allows us to understand a language – as present all the time, and not something to be brought into being like mindfulness (27), and "episodic memory" – remembering things from one's past, as in daydreaming – as sometimes the "very opposite of being mindful" (30). He concludes that mindfulness "strengthens and enhances memory" but it is not equivalent (32). Yet in the *Dutiyavibhaṅghasuttam* cited at the head of this article, the Buddha is quoted as indeed equating *sati* with "remembering and recollecting what was said and done a long time ago" (*cirakatam pi cirabhāsitam pi saritā anussaritā*). What Anālayo has failed to take into consideration is the Buddha's statement that the one who possesses *sati* (*satimā*) is "endowed with the highest memory and wisdom" (*satimā hoti paramena satinepakkena samannāgato*); *sati* is not any memory – semantic, episodic or otherwise – but that special faculty which is also united with wisdom. More on this below.

The word mindfulness is itself ambiguous in English. "Mindful" (Old English *gemyndful*) translates Latin *memoriosus*, "having a good memory" *per* the *OED*, and originally had that meaning, as well as "having recollection and remembrance", and "to remember to do something"; today these meanings are largely obsolete and have been replaced by the Buddhist meaning, "fully aware of the moment, whilst self-conscious and attentive to this awareness" (*OED*). Perhaps a better definition, without the self-referentiality element (which is contentious) is "thoughtful, heedful, attentive, being conscious or aware". Whether it is possible to be attentive and heedful without memory is something we will discuss below. This paper argues, if not for the equivalence of *sati* and memory, at least for the centrality of memory and remembering to the denotative and connotative core of the word.

### ***Smṛti***

The Prakrit word *sati* derives straightforwardly from OI *smṛti* with the loss of the conjunct *sm-* > *s-* and the change of vocalic *-ṛ-* > *a*. *smṛti* > *sati*. It

occurs in the Gāndhārī dialect as *svadi* where *sm-* > *sv-*, where a bilabial nasal changes to a labiodental glide, a characteristic of the NW dialect and the intervocalic unvoiced stop *-t-* is voiced to *-d-*, and it occurs in other Prakrits as *sai* (Mahāraṣṭī, Ardha-Māgadhī) with the loss of the intervocalic stop altogether, or *samii* with the insertion of an epenthetic *-a-* between *s-* and *-m*. There does not appear to be any doubt that *sati* in its various forms derives from OI *smṛti* (Turner, entry 13868). Originally it meant “remembrance” and in the Prakrits including Pali it took on the additional connotation of “lucidity of mind”, which it does not have in Sanskrit. In his BHS dictionary, Edgerton defines it exclusively in the second meaning “mindfulness, (full) consciousness or awareness,” although he does say that is “hardly distinguishable from some aspects of Skt. id.”

In the Brahmanical tradition, *smṛti* included both the 6 *Vedāṅgas* (proper articulation and pronunciation of the Vedas, metre, linguistic analysis and grammar, etymology, astronomy and ceremonial observance), the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhyasūtras*, the law books of Manu, the *Itihāsas*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Nītiśāstras*. If we believe his later biographers like Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita*, the Buddha himself was trained in the Brahmanical tradition; he certainly knew Vedic etymological procedures as he used them himself (Levman 2017: 35), and various scholars have shown that his teachings (like *anattā* reinterpreting *ātman*, and *kamma* as ethical action rather than sacrificial works) were directly responding to Brahmanical notions of the nature of the world (Collins 1982: 40; Gombrich 2009: 29f). So when he talked about *sati* (= *smṛti*) he was certainly aware of the “memory” connotation of the word, as the quote at the head of this paper demonstrates. When people of fifth century BCE India heard *sati*, their first thought was “memory”. Perhaps this fact accounts for the relative paucity of internal definitions of *sati* found in the *suttas* and commentaries.

In what follows it will be necessary to suspend one’s propensity to automatically equate *sati* with mindfulness, and, in examining the context in which the word occurs, to question whether another word (memory, recollection, calling to mind, remembering, keep in mind, think about, retain in mind, reflect on, not to forget, etc.) might be equally or more appropriate. Thus in most cases – except where I am actually quoting a writer or translator – I leave *sati* (and its other nominal form *sato*, “remembering, mindful, recollecting, attentive”) untranslated, in the interests of unbiased critical examination.

## Early translations

The ambiguity of how the word was dealt with in the early English translations reflects *sati*'s polysemous nature. Childers appears to be the first English speaking scholar to use the word “mindful” in his 1875 *Dictionary of Pali* s.v. *sato* (p. 467). Presumably this definition influenced Rhys Davids’ choice of the term “mindful” for *sato* in 1881 when he published his translation of seven *suttas* from the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* (Rhys Davids, 1881: 29, 38; Gethin 2011: 264). Monier Williams, a Sanskritist, was one of the first to use the word “mindfulness” (1890: 44) to translate the nominal form of *sato*, that is *sati*, pointing out that “right mindfulness” (*sammāsati*) is for the purpose of “keeping in mind the impurities and impermanence of the body” (pp. 44-45). “Keeping in mind” is a form of memory, and elsewhere he simply calls *sati* “recollection” when referring to the seven *bojjhaṅgas* or limbs of enlightenment (p. 50); the four *satipaṭṭhānas* (usually translated as “Foundations of Mindfulness” after Vens. Nyanaponika and Bodhi above), he calls “earnest reflections on the body's impurities, on the impermanence of the sensations, of the thoughts, of the conditions of existence” (p. 127). Rhys Davids, in his translation of *Milindapañha*, also in 1890, uses several different words to translate *sati*, and most are associated with memory, both in the English and the Pāli. This translation is well worth taking a further look at, to gain insight into how the word *sati* was understood in the first century BCE (when the *Milindapañha* was thought to have been composed), and later in its first English translation.

The conversation on *sati* starts with King Milinda asking Nāgasena, “What is the characteristic mark of mindfulness?” (1890: 58; *kiṃlakkaṇā sati?* Mil 37<sup>5</sup>); note that here Rhys Davids translates *sati* as “mindfulness” but in a footnote says, “I have sometimes rendered it ‘self-possession’. It means that activity of mind, constant presence of mind, wakefulness of heart which is the foe of carelessness, inadvertence, self-forgetfulness.” Again the theme of memory, of keeping a close eye on oneself so as not to be oblivious of one’s actions.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> In 1910, when Rhys David published his second volume of Buddhist *sutta* translations, he says this about *sati* (p. 322): “Etymologically Sati is Memory. But as happened at the rise of Buddhism to so many other expressions in common use, a new connotation was then attached to the word, a connotation that gave a new meaning to it, and renders ‘memory’ a most inadequate and misleading translation. It became the memory, recollection, calling-to-mind, being-aware-of, certain specified facts. Of these the most important was the impermanence (the coming to be as the result of a cause, and the passing away again) of all phenomena, bodily and mental. And it included the repeated application of this awareness, to each experience of life, from the ethical point of view.”

Nāgasena replies that *apilāpana-lakkhaṇā* and *upagaṇhana-lakkhaṇa* are the two characteristics of *sati*. The word *apilāpana* literally means “not allowing any floating”, that is “not to forget, to call to mind, to remember.” (CPD sv *apilāpeti*).<sup>4</sup> The compound *upagaṇhana-lakkhaṇa* means “having ‘taking up’ as a distinguishing mark” (CPD), and refers to taking up a beneficial meditation subject and avoiding what is unsuitable. In the ensuing dialogue Nāgasena tells the king that the practitioner uses *sati* to call to mind and not forget the four foundations of mindfulness, the five powers, the seven limbs of enlightenment, the noble eightfold path, etc., and to practise what should be practised and avoid what shouldn’t be; that is, to remember the teachings of the Buddha. *Sati* is like the treasurer or governor of a universal monarch who constantly reminds the king of his treasures and points out which *dhammas* it is beneficial to adopt and which not.

In the next section on *sati*, the King asks, “In how many ways, Nāgasena, does *sati* spring up?” (p. 122; *katihī ākārehi sati uppajjati?* Mil, 78<sup>11-12</sup>). Here, Rhys Davids translates *sati* by “memory”, for indeed there are seventeen ways in which *sati* arises and they are all associated with memory:

- 1) some people remember (*saranti*) former births, so *sati* arises from recollection (*abhijānato*).
- 2) some people who are naturally forgetful (*pakatiyā muṭṭhassatiko*) are made to remember (*sarāpana*) through others’ urging.
- 3), 4) & 5) for others *sati* arises from recalling a happy occasion (*oḷārikaviññānato*, “consciousness of something material or manifest” CPD), or in recalling something beneficial (*hitaviññānato*) or non-beneficial (*ahitaviññānato*).
- 6) & 7) or *sati* arises from similarity of appearance (*sabhāganimitto*) or difference in appearance (*visabhāganimitto*).
- 8) & 9) or *sati* arises from recollection due to speech (*kathābhiññānato*), especially for people who are ordinarily forgetful (*pakatiyā muṭṭhassatiko*), or through urging a forgetful person (*sarāhi bho, sarāhi bho tī*), causing him again and again to remember (*punappunaṃ sarāpeti*).

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on the meaning of *apilāpana* and its later Sanskrit form *abhilāpana*, see Cox 1992/1993: 79-82. She concludes that the word’s meaning is not univocal but suggests an “attentive noting or fixing” (82).



10) *sati* can also arise due to a particular characteristic (*lakḥhaṇato*) which triggers remembrance, like the brand of a cow.

11), 12) & 13) *sati* also arises from writing (*muddāto*) and from numbers (*gaṇanāto*), from learning by heart or memorization (*dhāraṇato*). In each case, the discipline provides the training to keep the mind focused on its object.

14) *sati* arises from meditation (*bhāvanāto*), for a monk successful in meditation recalls his former lives with their characteristics and details.

15), 16) & 17) *sati* may also arise from reference to a book (*poṭhaka-nibandhanato*) in which past decisions have been made and written down; through association of ideas (*upanikkhepa*); and through experience (*anubhūto*).

In each of the above causes, *sati* has a different nuance of meaning that cannot be captured by any one word like “mindfulness,” yet they all have the common denominator of being subsumed by the memory function, and incorporating a potential vector of spiritual transformation through increased self-awareness and analysis, insight into experience and mental concentration. Arguably, *sati* cannot exist without memory. To take an everyday example of a person assaulted with one of the three poisons. Awareness that one’s mind is *sarāgaṃ*, *sadosaṃ* or *samohaṃ* is not enough in itself to overcome the afflictions. One must also remember the Buddha’s teaching on the subject, *netam mama, nesohamasmi, na meso attā* (“that it is not mine, I am not that, it is not myself”) in order to separate the emotion or feeling from the so-called “self” which is arising through craving, and see it fade away. In other words, *sati* is not a passive act of receptive awareness, but requires memory of the *Buddhadhamma* to motivate and catalyze transformation (Thanissaro 2012: 113-115). More on this below.

### **The *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta***

*Milindapañha* is a fairly late work and is only canonical in the Burmese transmission. Nevertheless it is useful to illustrate the tradition’s early attitudes towards *sati* and how the first English language translators attempted to deal with the multifarious denotations and connotations of the word. One would expect to find this same broad spectrum of associative semantic implications in the *suttas*, to which we now turn.

In the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* itself the word *sati* does not occur very often by itself. It occurs once in the *ānāpānappabbaṃ* section where the *bhikkhu* is



enjoined *parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* (“after putting forth *sati* in front...”) to breathe in and out *sato va* (“just mindful” or “just remembering”). Then the word *sati* occurs in every “refrain”, the repeated section throughout the *sutta* punctuating each meditative instruction: observing the body in the body (and so on with the feelings, mind and mental phenomena) internally, or externally or both; or observing rising or falling phenomena in the body, etc., or both; or establishing *sati* in the meditator that “there is a body, feeling, mind or mental phenomena” to the extent necessary for the full measure of wisdom and memory.<sup>5</sup> The use of the word *paṭissati* in this culminating section is telling, as the word usually means “remembrance” in the *suttas* (< OI *prati* + *smṛ*, “to remember, to recollect”) and emphasizes the equivalence of *sati* = *patissati* = memory.

### ***Sato sampajāno***

The words *sato* and *sampajāno* are usually taken to be “almost synonymous” (PED, p. 690, Childers p. 467) in their interpreted meaning of “mindful and clearly aware,” etc. They are a well-known feature of the third *jhāna*, and indeed, they also occur several times in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna sutta*, starting with the introductory *Uddeso* (and also in the final *maggasaccaniddeso* section describing *sammāsati*, “correct *sati*”) where the *bhikkhu* who participates in *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is described as *ātāpī* (ardent), *sampajāno*, and *satimā* (possessed of

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<sup>5</sup> DN 2, 292<sup>6-7</sup>: ‘*Atthi kāyo’ ti vā pan’assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvadeva ñāṇa-mattāya paṭissati-mattāya*. Translated by Bodhi & Ñāṇamoli as “to the extent necessary for bare knowledge and mindfulness” (1995: 150), and by Soma Thera as “to the extent necessary for just knowledge and remembrance” <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/soma/wayof.html#top>. Thanissaro Bhikkhu’s translation is similar:

“Or his mindfulness that ‘There is a body’ is maintained to the extent of knowledge & remembrance” at <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/mn/mn.010.than.html>. Anālayo translates “Or mindfulness that ‘there is a body’ is established in him just for the sake of bare knowledge and for the sake of continuous mindfulness” (2013: Kindle 6594). The use of “bare knowledge” to translate *ñāṇa-mattāya* by Ñāṇamoli & Bodhi and Anālayo is questionable; it appears to be influenced by Nyanaponika’s translation of *sati* as “bare attention” (see discussion below, page 133). These translators are taking *mattāya* in the sense of “only” or “mere” which is possible, but the word’s primary meaning is “quantity” or “measure”, “the full measure of anything” (MW s.v. *mātrā* and *mātra*), which is indeed how the commentary interprets it, that is, for the sake of increased knowledge and remembrance: *yāvadeva ñāṇamattāya, aparāparaṃ uttaruttari ñāṇapamāṇatthāya c’eva satipamāṇatthāya ca. Satisampajāññānaṃ vuddhatthāya*, “For the purpose of a measure of knowledge again and again, higher and higher just for the purpose of an amount of knowledge and an amount of *sati* for the growth of *sati* and wisdom” (Sv 3, 766<sup>3-5</sup>)

*sati*). The commentary, however, does not take these words as equivalents: Someone who lacks ardency is indolent and bars the way; someone who is not *sampajāno* forgets the taking up of proper means and the avoidance of wrong means; and someone who is not possessed of *sati* is forgetful (*muṭṭhassati*) and is not skilful in the non-abandonment of proper means nor in the non-acquisition of wrong means, therefore he does not succeed with his meditation subject.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, while there is no definition of *sampajāno* in the *suttas* that I am aware of, the commentary routinely defines the word as different from, but complementary to *sati*. *Sati* is remembering and *sampajāno* is “perfectly knowing” (< Skt. *sam* + *pra* + *jñā*), and associated always with knowledge and wisdom. Of the six *abhiññās* (supernormal knowledges), for example, three of them are directly associated with memory: *pubbe-nivāsa-anussati-ñāṇaṃ*, recollecting one’s previous births, *ceto-pariya-ñāṇaṃ*, knowing others’ rebirths and *āsava-kkhaya-ñāṇaṃ*, the destruction of the fetters through knowledge of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path. As Anālayo has argued (2017: 32-34), when one knows something thoroughly with proper attention and clear awareness, that facilitates its recollection. But they are not the same thing. In the commentary to the *Udāna’s Kammavipākajasuttaṃ* (Ud. 21), a monk abided *sato sampajāno*, enduring without complaining the ripening of his former *kamma*. Here, both factors of memory and wisdom work together, as the Buddha’s *udāna* makes clear (“he has abandoned all action and shaken off the dirt of former deeds,” *sabbakammajahassa bhikkhuno, dhunamānassa pure kataṃ rajam*), which is further explained in the commentary:

***sato sampajāno***: he remembers, he knows perfectly on account of memory and wisdom being included in feeling, that is, “What is called feeling is impermanent because of its meaning of disappearance, it is dependently arisen because of having arisen dependent on causes, beginning with an undesirable sense-object (*aniṭṭh’ārammaṇā*), and having arisen, certainly because of their nature of breaking up they are subject to destruction, to ceasing, to fading away, to cessation.” *sato* = the performance of *sati* on account of the discernment of the state of impermanence of feeling. *sampajāno* on account of the comprehension of its (feeling’s) true

<sup>6</sup> Sv 3, 758<sup>20-24</sup>: *Atha vā yasmā anātāpino anto-saṅkhepo antarāyakaro hoti, asampajāno upāya-pariggāhe anupāya-parivajjane ca sammuyhati, muṭṭha-ssati upāya-pariccāge anupāyāpariggāhe ca asamatto hoti; ten’assa taṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ na sampajjati.*

nature. Or: *sato* because of the state of remembering having been well established in regards to body, feeling and mental phenomena everywhere through having attained the full development of *sati*. Likewise *sampajāno*, because of fully comprehending the state of one's mental fabrications (volitional formations) because of having attained the full development of wisdom.<sup>7</sup>

This close association of memory and wisdom occurs in several places. In the Buddha's definition for *satindriyaṃ*, for example (quoted above in the *Dutiyaṅgārasuttam*), the person who possesses *sati* is "endowed with the highest memory and wisdom" (*sati-nepakkena*).<sup>8</sup> In the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* (DN 2, 94) the Buddha asks how a monk should abide *sato sampajāno* and quotes from the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta*; the commentary says: *tattha saratīti sato. sampajānātīti sampajāno. satiyā ca sampajāññena ca samannāgato hutvā vihareyyāti attho* (Sv 2 (DN-a 2), 545: "Here, 'He remembers' = *sato*, 'He knows perfectly' = *sampajāno*, he should abide, after becoming endowed with memory and wisdom, is the meaning". Or in the *Mahāpadanasuttam* when the bodhisatta Vipassin descends *sato sampajāno* into his mother's womb. Although this is usually translated "mindful and self-possessed" (Rhys Davids 1910: 8) or "mindful and clearly aware" (Walshe 1995: 203), the commentary explains the meaning quite differently: "*sato sampajāno*, here *sato* is just memory (*sati*), *sampajāno* is wisdom (*ñāṇaṃ*). "Having memory well-established, having decided with wisdom, he descended into his mother's womb," is the meaning. "Deciding with wisdom", as the *ṭīkā* points out is conducting the fivefold investigation of time, continent, place, clan and mother, making the determination to pass from one state of existence to another, and actually being

<sup>7</sup> Ud-a (*Paramattha-Dīpanī*), 166<sup>3-14</sup>: *sato sampajāno, ti vedanāpariggāhakānaṃ sati-sampajāññānaṃ vasena satimā sampajānanto ca. idaṃ vuttam hoti: — 'Ayaṃ vedanā nāma hutvā abhāv'atthena aniccā aniṭṭh'ārammaṇādi-paccaye paṭicca uppannattā paṭicca-samuppannā uppajjitvā, ekantena bhijjana-sabhāvattā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā' ti. Vedanāya aniccā sallakkhaṇa-vasena sato, kāritāya sato, aviparīta-sabhāva-paṭivijjhana-vasena sampajāno ca hutvā. Atha vā sati-vepulla-ppattiyā sabbatth'eva kāya-vedanā-citta-dhammesu suṭṭhu upaṭṭhita-satitāya sat, Tathā paññā-vepulla-ppattiyā pariggahita-saṅkhāratāya sampajāno.*

<sup>8</sup> The commentary defines *nepakka* as wisdom: Spk 3, 234<sup>1-2</sup>: *satinepakkenā ti, ettha nipaka-bhāvo nepakkaṃ ti. Paññāy'etaṃ nāmaṃ. "Nepakkaṃ is the state of being wise. That is a name for wisdom."*

reborn.<sup>9</sup> *Sampajāno* is a process requiring time and memory; it is not simply being “clearly aware”. This is further emphasized in the *Sampasādanīyasuttaṃ*, where the fourth mode of rebirth is entering the womb perfectly knowing, staying there *sampajāno* and leaving there *sampajāno*;<sup>10</sup> and in the *Satisuttaṃ*: “And how *bhikkhus*, does a *bhikkhu* exercise clear comprehension? Here *bhikkhus*, for a *bhikkhu* feelings are understood as they arise, understood as they remain present, understood as they pass away. Thoughts are understood as they arise...pass away. Perceptions are understood as they arise... pass away. It is in this way, *bhikkhus*, that a *bhikkhu* exercises clear comprehension.” (Bodhi 2000: 1657).<sup>11</sup> Clear comprehension or perfect understanding cannot take place without memory.

It is unclear how memory was lost in translation. The *Dutiyavibhaṅghasuttaṃ* definition noted above attributed to the Buddha is unequivocal, yet we find *sati* translated as “bare attention” (Nyanaponika 1954 [2014]: 15) where remembrance is not only omitted, it is actually gainsaid as a valid *sati* component (Thanissaro 2012: 21). Nyanaponika writes:

It is called ‘bare’, because it attends just to the bare facts of a perception as presented either through the five physical senses or through the mind which, for Buddhist thought, constitutes the sixth sense. When attending to that sixfold sense impression, attention or mindfulness is kept to a bare registering of the facts observed, without reacting to them by deed, speech or by mental comment which may be one of self-reference (like, dislike, etc.), judgement or reflection (17).

To Nyanaponika, any reflective mental activity in regard to things observed is the function of *sampajaññā* which, as noted above, occurs quite often with *sati* in the compound *sati-sampajañña* and which he labels “clear comprehension”

<sup>9</sup> DN-a-ṭ (Līnatthavaṇṇanā) 2, 23<sup>29-32</sup>: *Ñāṇena paricchinditvā ti pubbabhāge pañcamahāvilokanañāṇehi c’eva*: ‘*Idāni cavāmīti cutiparicchindanañāṇena ca aparabhāge: ‘Idha mayā paṭisandhi gahitā’ ti paṭisandhiparicchindanañāṇena ca paricchijja jānitvā.*

<sup>10</sup> DN 3, 103<sup>15-18</sup>: *puna ca paraṃ bhante idh’ekacco sampajāno mātu kucchim okkamati, sampajāno mātukucchismiṃ thāti, sampajāno mātu kucchimhā nikkhamati.*

<sup>11</sup> SN 5, 180<sup>29</sup>-181<sup>5</sup>: *kathaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti. idha bhikkhave bhikkhuno viditā vedanā uppajjanti. viditā upaṭṭhahanti. viditā abbattham gacchanti. viditā vitakkā uppajjanti. viditā upaṭṭhahanti. viditā abbattham gacchanti. viditā saññā uppajjanti. viditā upaṭṭhahanti. viditā abbattham gacchanti. evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti.*

(15). He seems to be treating the two words as near-synonyms – a practice which is quite common in the *suttas* – where *sati* takes on some of the meaning of *sampajañña* (awareness, or wisdom) and *sampajañña* takes on some of the meaning of *sati* (reflection). Since there is no clear differentiation of the two words in the *suttas* (just in the commentaries), this is understandable, and we have seen above that his lead has been followed by other translators.

Another definition of *sati* attributed to the Buddha is found in the *Sīlasuttaṃ* (SN 5, 67f) where the Buddha recommends hearing the *dhamma* from an accomplished bhikkhu; when one hears the *dhamma* from such monks, one dwells withdrawn in body and mind and “remembers (*anussarati*) the *dhamma* and ponders on it (*anuvitakketi*), and at that time the enlightenment factor of *sati* is activated... cultivated... and perfected.” This leads to the cultivation of the other six enlightenment factors, investigation of the *dhamma*, diligence, joy, tranquillity, concentration and equanimity.<sup>12</sup>

Another important definition of *sati* occurs in the canonical *Niddesa*, the third century BCE commentary on the Sn, which is quoted by Buddhaghosa and others several times (see footnote 2 above).

*satimā ti tatha katamā sati? Yā sati anussati paṭissati sati saraṇatā dhāraṇatā apilāpanatā asammusanatā sati satindriyaṃ satibalaṃ sammāsati, ayaṃ vuccati sati. imāya satiyā upeto hoti ... pe ... samannāgato, tena vuccati satimāti.* Sv 3, 760<sup>5-8</sup>. Nidd I, 10<sup>9-14</sup> ad Sn 768.

Possessed of *sati*: in this regard, what is *sati*? This is called *sati* which is *sati* as *anussati* (“remembrance, recollection,” cf. the ten recollections, below), as *paṭissati* (“remembrance, memory”); *sati* as *saraṇatā* (“remembering”), as *dhāraṇatā* (“retaining, preserving, keeping in mind”), as *apilāpanatā* (“not to forget, to call to mind”), *asammusanatā* (non-distraction, non-forgetfulness), *sati* as the faculty of *sati*, as the power of *sati*, as right *sati*; one who is endowed with this *sati*, is called *satimā*.

<sup>12</sup> SN 5, 67<sup>29</sup>-68<sup>6</sup>: *Yasmim samaye bhikkhave bhikkhu tathā vūpakaṭṭho viharanto taṃ dhammam anussarati anuvitakketi satisambojjhaṅgo tasmim samaye tassa bhikkhuno āraddho hoti. Satisambojjhaṅgaṃ yasmim samaye bhikkhu bhāveti. satisambojjhaṅgo tasmim samaye bhikkhuno bhsmim pāripūriṃ gacchati.*

*Satimā* then is someone who remembers. Although *dhāraṇatā* has the additional and perhaps primary meaning of concentration (and other secondary meanings of understanding, possession, etc), all the other synonyms highlight memory. What is it he/she is supposed to remember? The path, for although there are four *satipaṭṭhānas*, there is only one path leading to *nibbāna*. Here is the commentary:

“But in the commentary, on account of remembering (*saraṇavasena*) and on account of their convergence as a unity, there is just one *satipaṭṭhāna*, (but) four are told because of the (four) sense-objects [that is, body, feelings, mind and mental objects]. For just as people coming to a four gated city from the east, with goods originating in the east, enter the city only by the eastern gate, and those coming from the south, from the west, from the north, with goods originating in the south, west and north, enter the city only by the south, west and north gates, etc; thus, it should be understood, that is how it is. Like the city is *nibbāna*, like the gates of the city is the eightfold supramundane path and like the eastern direction, etc., is the body, etc.,

Like coming from the east, with goods originating in the east, and entering the city through the eastern gate, in the same way, coming by means of observing the body and cultivating the observation of the body through 14 methods, they come into just one *nibbāna* through the noble path which has arisen through the power of meditation and observation of the body. Just as coming from the south...in the same way coming by means of observing feelings, cultivating the observation of the feelings in nine ways, they come into just one *nibbāna* through the noble path which has arisen through the power of meditation and observation of the feelings...western gate...observation of the mind...nothern gate... observation of mind-objects. Thus it should be understood, that on account of refuge and on account of convergence as a unity, there is just one *satipaṭṭhāna*, (but) because of the sense-objects, there are said to be four.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Sv 3, 754<sup>34</sup>- 755<sup>30</sup>: *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana saraṇa-vasena c'eva ekatta-samosaraṇa-vasena ca ekam eva satipaṭṭhānaṃ ārammaṇa-vasena cattāro ti etad eva vuttaṃ. Yathā hi catu-dvāre nagare*

It is *nibbāna* that the meditator must remember and the path that leads there. The *ṭīkā* glosses *saraṇa-vasena* (“on account of remembering”) as on account of *upadhāraṇa* (reflection/meditation/holding in mind) of virtuous phenomena, starting with the body. “They remember, they go to *nibbāna* because of *sati*.” *ekatta-samosaraṇa* (“convergence in unity”), coming together, meeting in the goal, in unity, in the single nature of *nibbāna*.<sup>14</sup>

It is arguably impossible to be “mindful” of anything without this function of memory present. The *satipaṭṭhāna* exercises themselves are a good illustration of that. One observes the body to remind oneself of its impermanence, its nature as suffering, its lack of essence, its disgustingness, in order to separate oneself from it and recognize that it is not the self. This is implicit in the exercises, but explicit in the commentary. Feelings and mental states are observed in the same way, as changeable, dysphoric and not self, and with mental phenomena we are reminded of almost the entire Buddhist path, from elimination of the *nīvaraṇas*, to fostering of the *saṃbojjhaṅgas*, to the eightfold path itself. We are constantly reminding ourselves of the path, how to avoid the pitfalls of falling off it, and how to ensure

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*pācīnato āgacchantā pācīna-disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā pācīna-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti, dakkhiṇato... pacchimoto...uttarato āgacchantā uttara-disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā uttara-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti: evaṃ-sampadam idaṃ veditabbam. Nagaram viya hi nibbānam; nagaram, dvāraṃ viya aṭṭhaṅgiko lok’uttaramaggo, pācīna-dis’ādayo viya kāy’ādayo. Yathā pācīnato āgacchantā pācīna-disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā pācīna-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti evaṃ kāyānupassanā-mukhena āgacchantā cuddasa-vidhena kāyānupassanaṃ bhāvetvā kāyānupassanā-bhāvanānubhāva-nibbattena ariya-maggena ekaṃ nibbānam eva osaranti. Yathā dakkhiṇato āgacchantā dakkhiṇāya disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā dakkhiṇa-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti evaṃ vedānupassanā-mukhena āgacchantā nava-vidhena vedānupassanaṃ bhāvetvā vedānupassanā-bhāvanānubhāva-nibbattena ariya-maggena ekaṃ nibbānam eva osaranti. Yathā pacchimoto āgacchantā pacchima-disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā pacchima-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti evaṃ cittānupassanā-mukhena āgacchantā soḷasa-vidhena cittānupassanaṃ bhāvetvā cittānupassanā-bhāvanānubhāva-nibbattena ariya-maggena ekaṃ nibbānam eva osaranti. Yathā uttarato āgacchantā uttara-disāya uṭṭhānakaṃ bhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā uttara-dvārena nagaram eva pavisanti evaṃ dhammānupassanā-mukhena āgacchantā pañca-vidhena dhammānupassanaṃ bhāvetvā dhammānupassanā-bhāvanānubhāva-nibbattena ariya-maggena ekaṃ nibbānam eva osaranti. Evaṃ saraṇa-vasena c’eva ekatta-samosaraṇa-vasena ca ekaṃ eva satipaṭṭhānaṃ ārammaṇa-vasena cattāro va vuttā ti veditabbā.*

<sup>14</sup> DN-ṭ 2, 366<sup>25-29</sup>: *Saraṇavasenāti kāy’ādīnaṃ, kusaladhamm’ādīnaṃ ca upadhāraṇavasena. Saranti gacchanti nibbānaṃ etāyāti satīti imasmiṃ atthe ekatte ekasabhāve nibbāne samosaraṇaṃ samāgamaṃ ekattasamosaraṇaṃ.* The *ṭīkā* goes on to say that *sati* means “that very remembrance” (of *nibbāna*; *dhāraṇatā va*) and is a word intermediate in meaning (*sati-sadd’atth’antarābhāva*) between the initial condition of *sati* and final *nibbāna*.



its successful completion. “Mindfulness” – if we choose to translate *sati* in this fashion – is inconceivable without a solid foundation in memory.

There are cases in the *suttas* where *sati* has the unambiguous sense of “memory” or “remembering”, as in the *Vitakkasaṅṭhāna sutta* (MN 20) on getting rid of distracting thoughts, where the second solution is *asati-amanasikāraṃ āpajjato* (MN 1, 120<sup>7</sup>: “then he should try to forget those thoughts and should not give attention to them,” Ñāṇamoli & Bodhi 1995: 212). Here the Buddha is not talking about an “absence of mindfulness” when the word *a-sati* is used, but an “absence of remembering”, or forgetting. In the *Nandiya sutta* (AN 11.13) the Buddha instructs Nandiya to establish *sati* internally in regard to five things: with reference to the Tathāgata, the *dhamma*, good friends (*kalyāṇamitte*), based on one’s own generosity and based on deities. Although Bodhi translates *sati* here as “mindfulness” throughout (Bodhi 2012: 1569-70), the *suttas* employ the verb *anussareyyāsi* (“you should remember, recollect”), and is clearly talking about *sati* as “remembrance”, which is the more appropriate term. In other cases the sense may be ambiguous and could be interpreted either way. In the *Mahānāma sutta*, for example, the Buddha says *upaṭṭhitassati ārādhako hoti , no muṭṭhassati* (AN 5, 329<sup>6-7</sup>. “One with mindfulness established succeeds, not one who is muddle-minded”, Bodhi 2016: 1565), but *muṭṭha* means “forgotten” p.p. of *mussati* < OI *mṛs*, “to forget”) and this injunction might just as easily and correctly be translated, “One whose memory is well established...who is forgetful,” especially in this case when the Buddha is discoursing on the ten recollections (see below). And in other places, even when present awareness seems to be the forefront meaning, the connotation of “remembering” is clearly audible.<sup>15</sup>

### ***Sutta Nipāta***

The *Sutta Nipāta* contains some of the earliest of the Buddha’s teachings; we have already seen how the *Niddesa* commentary on the Sn defines *sati* in terms of memory, so we would expect to find this confirmed in the Sn itself. One of the dominant themes here is *sati*’s function as a guard and protection of the senses, epitomized in the metaphor of *sati* as a goad and ploughshare (*sati me phālapācanaṃ*) in Sn 77:

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<sup>15</sup> According to the CPD, *asati* can mean either “forgetful, heedless,” presumably negativising *sati* as “memory” and “want of memory, attention or presence of mind” indicating a “lack of mindfulness”. As the example above shows, these meanings can also overlap and dovetail.

saddhā bījaṃ, tapo vutṭhi, paññā me yuganaṅgaṃ,  
hirī īsā mano yottaṃ, sati me phālapācanaṃ.

“Faith is the seed, penance is the rain, wisdom is my yoke and plough; modesty is the pole, mind is the [yoke-]tie, mindfulness is my ploughshare and goad” (Norman 2006: 9).

Note that Norman translates *sati* in the “usual” way as “mindfulness”, but the commentary interprets *sati* in terms of memory. *Sati* offers the practitioner protection because it does *not forget*; it knows the wrong path and prevents the meditator from taking it. Once again, present awareness must be coupled with knowledge of the teachings, knowledge of how non-beneficial *dhammas* have arisen in the past, knowledge of how to abandon them, and knowledge of how to prevent their arising again in the future (*sammāvāyāmo*, right effort). “Bare attention”, as Ven. Nyanaponika translates *sati*, can only be achieved through combining past, present and future to effectively eliminate time altogether. The commentary reads:

With this (*sati*) a person remembers, starting with very early incidents in his/her life,<sup>16</sup> or *sati* itself remembers; *sati*’s characteristic is non-forgetfulness/non-distraction (*asammussanalakkhaṇā*). *phāleti* (“it splits”) = ploughshare (*phālo*). *pājeti* (he drives) with that = goad (*pājanaṃ*); that here which is called a goad (*pācanaṃ*), is a designation for a driving stick. And a ploughshare and a goad = *phālapācanaṃ*. For just as a brahman has a ploughshare and a goad, so the Bhagavā has *sati* which is devoted to insight meditation and devoted to the path. In that respect, as a ploughshare protects a plough by going in front of it, in this way *sati* goes together with the course of virtuous *dhammas* or, keeping attention on the sense-object, it guards the plough of wisdom; thus, regarding such statements as, “he abides with his mind whose protection is *sata*,” it (*sati*) is called *ārakkhā* (“protection, watch, guard, care”).

<sup>16</sup> cf. Sv 2, 530<sup>18-20</sup>, commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* section on monks living in harmony, where monks who are *upaṭṭhita-ssatī* (whose *sati* is established) similarly have a good memory for early incidents in their lives, like Mahāgatimbayābhayathero, Dīghabhānakābhayathero, and Tipiṭakacūlābhayathero. *Upaṭṭhita-ssatī ti cira-kat’ādīnaṃ saritā anussaritāro; Mahāgatimba-Ayābhayathera-Dīghabhānaka-Abhayathera-Tipiṭakacūlābhayatherā viya.*

On account of non-forgetfulness, it goes in front of him; when a dhamma is attended with *sati*, one knows with wisdom, it is not forgotten (*no ammuṭṭhe*). Just as a goad does not allow oxen to sink (into idleness), showing them the fear of being struck, but prevents them from going on the wrong path, in this way *sati*, showing the fear of hell to the oxen of vigour (*vīriyabalibaddānaṃ*) does not allow sinking into idleness, prevents them from going into the wrong field called sensual pleasure, and, urging to the meditation subject, prevents going on the wrong path. Therefore he said, “*sati* is my ploughshare and goad.”<sup>17</sup>

Restraint of the senses is a common theme associated with *sati*. In Sn 340, *sati* is associated with recalling the rules of the *pātimokkha* and following them:

Samvuto pātimokkhasmiṃ indriyesu ca pañcasu,  
sati kāyagatā ty-atthu (kāyagatā te atthu), nibbidābahulo bhava.

Be restrained in respect of the rules of discipline and in the five sense-faculties. Be mindful concerning the body. Be full of disgust [with the world] (Norman 2006: 40).

The commentary spells out the connection with the *pātimokkha* precepts:

Thus the Bhagavā, having incited Ven. Rahula to purity of livelihood, now in order to incite him to tranquillity and insight meditation in the rest of the moral practice, said “Restrained in the precepts,” etc., (*saṃvuto pātimokkhasmiṃ*). In regard to *saṃvuto pātimokkhasmiṃ* here *bhavassu* (“Be!”) is another reading

<sup>17</sup> Pj 11, 147<sup>9-27</sup>: *Sarati etāya cirakatādim atthaṃ puggalo, sayam vā saratī ti sati, sā asammussanalakkhaṇā; phāletī ti phālo. pājeti tenā ti pājanaṃ, taṃ idha pācanan ti vuccatī, patodass’etaṃ adhivacanam, phālo ca pācanañ ca phālapācanam. yathā hi brāhmaṇassa phālapācanam, evaṃ Bhagavato vipassanāyuttā maggayuttā ca sati; tathā, yathā phālo naṅgalam anurakkhati purato c’assa gacchati, evaṃ sati kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ gatiyo samanvesamānā ārammaṇe vā upaṭṭhāpayamānā paññānaṅgalam rakkhati, tathā hi satārakkhena cetasā viharatī tiādīsū ārakkhā ti vuttā. asammussanavasena c’assa purato hoti, satiparicite hi dhamme paññā pajānāti no pammuṭṭhe. yathā ca pācanam balibaddānaṃ vijjhanabhayaṃ dassentaṃ saṃsīdanaṃ na deti uppathagamanañ ca vāreti, evaṃ sati vīriyabalibaddānaṃ apāyabhayaṃ dassentī kosajjasamsīdanaṃ na deti kāmaguṇasaṅkhāte agocare cāraṃ nivāretvā kammaṭṭhāne nīyojenti uppathagamanañ ca vāreti, tenāha: sati me phālapācanan ti.*

(*pāṭhaseso*). Or one should make the connection with the final word in the stanza (*bhava* = “Be!”), and likewise vice versa. Thus with these two words he instigated behaviour in the restraint of the *pātimokkha* and behaviour in the restraint of the senses. And here the five faculties are mentioned, as they are well-known. But it should be understood that the sixth is also mentioned only by its characteristic. May you who are established in the four pure behaviours have *sati* centered on the body, with the different types of meditation including analysis of the four elements, the four-fold *sampajaññas* [*sāthaka*° (advantageous), *sappāya*° (beneficial), *gocara*° (suitable place), *asammoha*° (absence of confusion)], in-and-out-breathing *sati*, the idea that food is disgusting (*āhārapaṭikkūlasaññā*), etc., “Cultivate it” (*sati*) is the meaning. Be full of disgust: have great dissatisfaction with *saṃsāra*, do not see delight in the entire world.<sup>18</sup>

*Sati* centered on the body is probably an allusion to the *Kāyagatāsati Suttam* (MN 119) which includes meditation on the six bodily *satipaṭṭhānas* and the four *jhānas*; since the latter are included under the *sammāsamādhi* meditation in the *satipaṭṭhāna* mental phenomena meditation (*dhammānupassī*) on the eightfold noble path, this is probably what the commentary means by the sixth faculty (*mano*) being present through its characteristic.

This same theme of *sati* as restraint is also central to its meaning in Sn 435 and 444; in the former *sati* is associated with wisdom and *samādhi* and the absence of longing for sensual desire.<sup>19</sup> In the latter *gāthā*, *sati* underpins

<sup>18</sup> Pj II 343<sup>2-15</sup>: *Evaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Rāhulaṃ ājīvapārisuddhisīle samādapetvā idāni avasesasīle samathavipassanāsu ca samādapetuṃ saṃvuto pātimokkhasmin ti ādim āha. Tattha saṃvuto pātimokkhasmin ti ettha “bhavassū” ti pāṭhaseso, “bhavā” ti antimapadenavā sambandho veditabbo, tathā dutiyapade. Evaṃ etehi dvīhi vacanehi pātimokkhasaṃvarasīle indriyasaṃvarasīle ca samādapesi, pākaṭavasena c’ ettha pañc’ indriyāni vuttāni, lakkhaṇato pana chaṭṭham pi vuttaṃ yeva hoti ti veditabbaṃ; sati kāyagatā ty atthū ti evaṃ catupārisuddhisīle paṭiṭṭhitassa tuyhaṃ catudhātuvavatthānacatubbidhasampajaññānāpānasati āhārapaṭikkūlasaññābhāvanādibhedā kāyagatā sati atthu bhavatu, bhāvehi tan ti attho; nibbidābahulo bhavā ti saṃsāravatṭe ukkaṇṭhanabahulo sabbaloke anabhiratasaññī hohi ti attho.*

<sup>19</sup> cf. Ps 3, 30<sup>8-10</sup>: *kasmā pana satibhājaniye paññā āgatāti? satiya balavabhāvadīpanatthaṃ. paññāvippayuttā hi sati dubbalā hoti, sampayuttā balavatīti.* “But why is wisdom associated with *sati*? For the purpose of explaining its condition of strength. For *sati* disconnected from wisdom is weak, connected it is strong.”

*sammāsaṅkappo*, right intention (Pj II 392<sup>15-17</sup>: *satiñca sūpatiṭṭhitan ti kāyādīsu catūsu thānesu attano satiñ ca suṭṭhu upaṭṭhitaṃ karitvā; evaṃ vasīkatasāṅkappo suppatiṭṭhitassati*, “when one’s own *sati* is well established in the four positions of the body; thus intention which has been brought under control will be well established.”

*Sati* is also associated with *upekkhako* (“indifference, equanimity”) in Sn 515 (*sabbattha upekkhako satimā*, “Being disinterested in everything, possessing mindfulness,” Norman 2006: 62),<sup>20</sup> and in the third and fourth *jhānas*, the latter of which is described as *upekkhāsati* *parisuddhiṃ* and explained in the commentary as “the purity of *sati* generated by equanimity.”<sup>21</sup> *Sati* is also linked to the state of nothingness in the *Upasīvamāṇavapucchā* (Sn 1069-76), where the Buddha advises Upasīva to cross the flood, “Having regard for [the state of] nothingness, possessing mindfulness...” (*ākiñcaññaṃ pekkhamāno satimā*, Norman 2006: 129). In the *Niddesa* commentary to Sn 768 (*so imaṃ visattikaṃ loke sato samativattati*, “he [being] mindful passes beyond this attachment to the world,” Norman 2006: 98), the link between avoiding attachment and *sati* as memory is made explicit. *Sati* is associated not only with the four *satipaṭṭhāna* meditations, but also with not forgetting, and various other etymological twists of the word itself:

<sup>20</sup> PJ II 425<sup>24-29</sup>: *evaṃ pavattāya chaḷaṅgupekkhāya upekkhako, vepullappattāya satiyā satimā, na so hiṃsati n’eva hiṃsati kañci tasathāvarādibhedam sattaṃ sabbaloke sabbasimpi loke, tiṇṇoghattā tiṇṇo, samitapāpattā samaṇo, āvilasaṅkappappahānā anāvilo*. “He is indifferent because of an ongoing six-part neutrality. Because of fully developed *sati*, he is *satimā*, *na so hiṃsati* he does not harm, *kañci*, anyone, a being either moving or unmoving, *sabbaloke*, in the whole world, because of having crossed over the flood (*tiṇṇo*), because of having appeased evil, he is an ascetic (*samaṇo*), because of having abandoned agitation and intention (*āvila-saṅkappa*, or “agitated intention”), he is *anāvilo*, undisturbed, pure.

<sup>21</sup> Sp 1, 155<sup>17-26</sup>: *upekkhāsati* *parisuddhiṃ ti upekkhāya janitasati* *parisuddhiṃ, imasmim jhāne suparisuddhā sati, yā ca tassā satiyā parisuddhi sā upekkhāya katā na aññena, tasmā etaṃ upekkhāsati-parisuddhiṃ ti vuccati. Vibhaṅge pi vuttaṃ, ayaṃ sati imāya upekkhāya visadā hoti parisuddhā pariyodātā tena vuccati upekkhāsati* *parisuddhiṃ ti, yāya ca upekkhāya ettha satiyā parisuddhi hoti sā atthato tatra majjhataṭṭā ti veditabbā. na kevalaṃ c’ettha tāya satiy’eva parisuddhā api ca kho sabbe pi sampayuttadhammā, satisīsenā pana desanā vuttā. upekkhāsati* *parisuddhiṃ* (purity of *sati* by equanimity) = the purity of *sati* generated by equanimity. For in this (the fourth) *jhāna*, *sati* is very pure. That purity which is the purity of this *sati*, is made by equanimity, not by anything else. Therefore that is called “the purity of *sati* by equanimity”. In the *Vibhaṅga* it is said: “This *sati* is pure by virtue of this equanimity, it is purified, it is very clean, therefore he says, *upekkhāsati* *parisuddhiṃ*.” That equanimity by which *sati* is purified, is here known according to the meaning as impartiality (*majjhataṭṭā*); not only here is *sati* purified by it, but also all connected *dhammas*; but under the heading of *sati*, this discourse is given.

*sato* (“remembering, mindful”), (he/she is) *sato* for four reasons, *sato* by cultivating the *satipaṭṭhāna* of observing the body in the body;...feelings;...mind;...mental phenomena.

He/she is also *sato* for four other reasons: *sato* through the avoidance of *asati* (forgetfulness and/or negligence); *sato*, because of having done those phenomena which should be done through *sati*; *sato* because of having destroyed those *dhammas* which are obstacles to *sati*; *sato* because of not forgetting those phenomena which are the cause *sati*.

He is also *sato* for four other reasons: *sato* because of being endowed with *sati*; *sato* because of mastery of *sati*, *sato* because of experience of *sati*, *sato* because of not slackening of *sati*.

He is also *sato* for four other reasons, *sati* because of the state of remembering<sup>22</sup> *sato*, because of being peaceful, *sato* because of the state of being equal,<sup>23</sup> *sato* because of being endowed with peaceful phenomena (*santadhamma*), *sato* in the recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*), ...in the recollection of the *dhamma*, ...in the recollection of the *saṅgha*, ... in the recollection of the rules of behaviour (*sīla*), ... in the recollection of abandonment, ... in the recollection of the gods, .... in the recollection of in-and-out-breathing, ... in the recollection of

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<sup>22</sup> *sattattā* with var. *satattā*. I am not sure what this word means. If, with the PTS edition, we read *satattā*, then we would translate as above, “The condition of having remembered or recollected, the condition of what has been taught, prescribed or handed down.”

<sup>23</sup> *samitattā*, or “the state of being calmed.” This may refer to the commentary on the *bojjhaṅga* section of the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta*. *Sati* comes first and is a necessary precondition to the other six limbs of enlightenment. “Therefore as salt is in all curries, and as a minister responsible for everything is in all the king’s affairs, *sati* is everywhere to be desired. Therefore he said, “And *sati* is said by the Bhagavā to be all-useful. Why? For the mind is *sati* and remembering and *sati* appears as a guard and without *sati* the mind has neither support nor restraint” Sv 3, 788<sup>28-31</sup>. *Tasmā sā loṇa-dhūpanaṃ viya sabbabyañjanesu, sabbakammika-amacco viya ca sabba-rāja-kiccesu, sabbattha icchūtabbā. Ten’āha — ‘Sati ca pana sabbatthikā vuttā Bhagavatā. Kim-kāraṇā? Cittaṃ hi satipaṭṭisaraṇaṃ. Ārakkha-paccupaṭṭhānā ca sati. Na vinā satiyā cittaṃ paggaha-niggaha hotī ti. ĩkā: “For the chief object of the mind is *sati* and remembering (*paṭisaraṇaṃ*), in order to accomplish what has not been accomplished, in order to attain what has not yet been attained. DN-t 2, 415<sup>28-416</sup>. *Tassa hi sati paṭisaraṇaṃ parāyaṇaṃ appattassa pattiyā anadhigatassa adhigamāya.**

death, ... in the recollection centered on the body, ... in the recollection of tranquillity.<sup>24</sup>

## The Ten Recollections

Of the forty meditation subjects discussed by Buddhaghosa in his Vsm, the third decad contains the ten *anussatis*, usually translated “recollections” as listed above. Although *anussati* is sometimes translated as “mindfulness,” it clearly is a mindfulness in the sense of proper attention to and recollection of the qualities of the Buddha and the other listed subjects. For we have already seen that, per Buddhaghosa, *sati*’s characteristic is to call to mind, to memorize, not to forget...” (*Sā apilāpanalakkaṇā, asammoharasā... Vsm 464*<sup>26</sup>). The section on the *anussatis* in the Vsm begins,

“Because it arises again and again, *sati* is just *anussati* (remembrance). Or, the *sati* that is proper for a young man of good family who has gone forth out of faith is remembrance, because it occurs just in the place where it should occur” *punappunam uppajjanato sati yeva anussati. Pavattitabbaṭṭhānamhi yeva vā pavattattā saddhā-pabbajitassa kulaputtassa anurūpā satī ti pi anussati. Vsm 197*<sup>1-4</sup>.

As Vsm-a points out, the prefix *anu-* is neither meaningless (as for example the prefix *upa-* in *upalabbhati*, “it is found” where *labbhati* without the prefix means the same thing), nor does it indicate a difference in meaning (as the prefixes *sam-* and *pa-* in the words *sañ-jānanam*, “perception” and *pa-jānanam*, “knowledge”); the memory arises again and again in the time and

<sup>24</sup> Nidd 9<sup>24-29</sup>-10<sup>9</sup>: *sato ti catūhi kāraṇehi sato, kāye kāyānupassanāsatiṭṭhānam bhāvento sato, vedanāsu citte dhammesu dhammānupassanāsatiṭṭhānam bhāvento sato.*

*Aparehi pi catūhi kāraṇehi sato, asatiparivajjanāya sato, satikaraṇīyānaṃ ca dhammānam katattā sato, satiparibandhānam dhammānam hatattā sato, satinimittānam dhammānam asammūṭṭhattā sato.*

*Aparehi pi catūhi kāraṇehi sato, satiyā samannāgatattā sato, satiyā vasitattā sato, satiyā pāguṇṇatāya sato, satiyā apaccorohaṇatāya sato.*

*Aparehi pi catūhi kāraṇehi sato, sattattā sato, santattā sato, samitattā sato, santadhammasamannāgatattā sato. Buddhānussatiyā sato, dhammānussatiyā sato, saṅghānussatiyā sato, sīlānussatiyā sato, cāgānussatiyā sato, devatānussatiyā sato, ānāpānassatiyā sato, maraṇassatiyā sato, kāyagatāsatiyā sato, upasamānussatiyā sato.*



place when it should arise, therefore it is appropriate (*anurūpa*). This is of course exactly what happens in *sati* meditation; one recalls the teachings of the Buddha, or his example, or the *sīlas*, etc., and using this knowledge is able to restrain these doors of the senses and prevent afflictions from taking hold. Even the focus on *ānāpāna*, in-and-out-breathing is itself both a recollection, – of the air element which the breath is a sub-set of and one of the four elements our bodies are composed of – and an admonition, to leave nothing unquestioned or unexamined about the body or its functioning, to take nothing for granted, and to remember that the body is not-self.<sup>25</sup>

In his commentary on the third *jhāna* in *Vsm*, remarking on the couplet *sato sampajāno* (usually translated “mindful and fully aware”), Buddhaghosa says

Now “*sati* and fully aware”: here “he remembers” (*sarati*) = mindfulness (*sato*), “he has full awareness” = *sampajāno*. This is said about a person who has *sati* and is fully aware. In this respect mindfulness has the characteristic of remembering. Its essential

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<sup>25</sup> See, for example, the following from the *Satipaṭṭhānasuttāṃ* commentary, which describes what goes through the meditator’s mind in *sati* meditation. Sv 3, 757<sup>30-33</sup>-758<sup>1-10</sup>: *Api ca: Imasmiṃ kāye aniccato anupassati no niccato ti, ādinā anukkamena Paṭisambhidāyaṃ āgata-nayassa sabbass’eva anicca-lakkhaṇ’ādino ākāra-samūha-saṅkhātassa kāyassa anupassanato pi kāye kāyānupassī ti evam pi attho daṭṭhabbo. Tathā hi: Ayaṃ kāye kāyānupassanā-paṭipadaṃ paṭipanno bhikkhu imaṃ kāyaṃ aniccānupassanādīnaṃ sattannaṃ anupassanānaṃ vasena aniccato anupassati, no niccato, dukkhato anupassati, no sukhato, anattato anupassati no attato, nibbindati no nandati, virajjati no rajjati, nirodheti no samudeti, paṇinissajjati no ādiyati: so taṃ aniccato anupassanto nicasaññaṃ pajahati, dukkhato anupassanto sukha-saññaṃ pajahati, anattato anupassanto atta-saññaṃ pajahati, nibbindanto nandiṃ pajahati, virajjanto rāgaṃ pajahati, nirodhentō samudayaṃ pajahati, paṇinissajjanto ādānaṃ pajahatī ti veditabbo.* Moreover, because of observing the whole body as what is called a collection of parts whose characteristics begin with impermanence, etc., as handed down in due course in the *Paṭisambhidā* with statements like “He observes the body as impermanent, not permanent,” the meaning of “He observes the body in the body” is to be so understood. Likewise this monk has entered the path of contemplating the body in the body and contemplates this body as impermanent, not permanent, as suffering, not pleasure, as not-self, not self, under the influence of the realizations of those beings, starting with those who contemplate impermanence. He is disgusted with it (the body), he does not delight in it, he detaches himself, he finds no pleasure in it, he causes (lust) to cease (*nirodheti*), he does not make it arise (*samudeti*), he renounces, he does not grasp. So seeing the body as impermanent, he abandons perceptions of permanence, seeing the body as suffering, he abandons perceptions of pleasure, seeing the body as not-self, he abandons perception of self, being disgusted, he abandons delight, detaching himself, he abandons attachment (*rāga*), causing cessation, he abandons arising, renouncing, he abandons grasping (*ādānaṃ*).” So it should be understood.

property (*rasā*) is not to forget, its manifestation (*paccupaṭṭhāna*) is guarding; full awareness has the characteristic of absence of confusion/delusion (*asammoha*); its essential property is judgment; it manifests as investigation (*pavicaya-* *paccupaṭṭhānaṃ*).<sup>26</sup>

The commentary points out how this process of *sati* as remembering helps one overcome the afflictions and cross to the far shore of liberation:

“He remembers” = *sato* (*saratīti sato*), he has stated the definition of the word by way of the action (of remembering), “he knows completely,” (*sampajānāti*) = he knows thoroughly, completely.

*saraṇalakkhaṇā* (“the characteristic of remembering”), “The characteristic of it (*sati*) is remembering, thought, awareness,” *saraṇaṃ cintanaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ lakkhaṇametissāti*.

*asammussana-rasā* (“the essence is non-forgetfulness”), non-forgetfulness opposes forgetfulness, that is its (*sati*’s) function (*kiccaṃ etissā ti*).

*ārakkha-paccupaṭṭhānā* (“its manifestation as a protection/guard”), “Being a protection from the afflictions, it is present, or it provides (makes present, calls forth, manifests) protection from that (the afflictions).”

*asammoho* (“not forgetting”) = *asammuyhanaṃ* (id.), knowing perfectly, or, opposing delusion.

*tīraṇaṃ* (“decision, judgement”), (*sati*’s) function of going to the opposite shore.

*pavicayo* (“investigation”) = *vīmaṃsā* (id.).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Vsm 162<sup>26-30</sup>: *Idāni sato ca sampajāno ti ettha saraṭī ti sato, sampajānātī ti sampajāno. Puggalena sati ca sampajāññāñ ca vuttaṃ. Tattha saraṇalakkhaṇā sati, asammussanarasā, āraḁkḁhapaccupaṭṭhānā. Asammohalakkhaṇaṃ sampajāññāṃ, tīraṇa-rasaṃ, pavicaṃpaccupaṭṭhānaṃ.*

<sup>27</sup> Vism-a 187 (*Paramattha mañjūsā* , Myanmar edition): *saraṭī ti sato*”ti padassa kattusādhanatam āha. sampajānātī ti sammad eva pajānāti. saraṇaṃ cintanaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ etissā ti *saraṇalakkhaṇā*. sammussanapaṭipakkho asammussanaṃ, taṃ kiccaṃ etissā ti *asammussanarasā*. kilesehi āraḁkhā hutvā paccupaṭṭhāti, tato vā āraḁkḁhaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpetī

Throughout the *Vsm* one finds this balance between full awareness of the present (*sampajāno*), remembrance of the teachings re: how afflictions arise in the first place and how to abandon them, and anticipation of the future goal where they will not arise again when one has achieved the state of arhathood. The goal of *sati* is *nibbāna*, which transcends time. In the Tibetan *rdzog-chen* (“great perfection”) tradition *sati* (= *dran pa*, “remembrance”) is, *inter alia*, remembering one’s primordial purity “standing outside of time” (Kapstein 1992: 259, echoing AN 1, 10<sup>5-6</sup>, *Pabhassaram idaṃ bhikkhave cittaṃ tañ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭham*, “The mind is resplendent but stained with adventitious impurities”).

## Conclusion

How then do we define and translate *sati*? Although I have argued for the centrality of “memory” at the semantic core of the word, I do not assert that the word should be so translated in all, or even most cases. The word is polysemous and is closely associated with wisdom (*nepakko*), perfect awareness and understanding (*sampajāno*), restraint (*saṃvuto*), equanimity (*upekkhako*) and attentiveness, mindfulness or heedfulness; all of these factors are supported by memory, either of one’s past in this and former lives, one’s struggle with afflictions, or the *Buddhasāsana* which makes liberation possible. Context is critical. “Mindfulness” only captures one aspect of *sati*’s semantic field, and, to the degree that “memory” is not inherent in the overtones of that word, it may well be unsuitable in various settings where “remembering” is the forefront meaning. But if the reader of Buddhist scriptures is aware of the etymological and semantic pith of *sati*, its grounding in “memory” and the various related meanings described above, he or she will have a much clearer grasp of what was intended in the *Buddhadhamma* when the word *sati* is used.

I would hazard a definition of *sati* as follows: *Sati* is that special faculty of memory, supporting and supported by wisdom and heightened mindfulness, which bears in mind the Buddha’s teachings and their relevance to one’s own personal spiritual quest, facilitating detachment, equanimity and liberating insight.

In conclusion, I essay a creative, non-literal translation cum paraphrase of the first of the famous refrain sections from the *Satipaṭṭhānasuttaṃ*,

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*ti ārakkhapaccupaṭṭhānā. asammuyhanaṃ sammad eva pajānanaṃ, sammohapaṭipakkho vā asammoho. tīraṇaṃ kiccassa pāragamaṇaṃ. pavicayo vīmaṃsā.*

taking some license with respect to word order, extended word meaning and commentarial glosses.<sup>28</sup>

Here, monks, a monk is ardent, perfectly understanding, and establishes memory at the forefront of his/her mind. Having removed the five obstacles, beginning with covetousness and discontent, he/she abides, reflecting on the body as just a body, internally in the so-called “self”, externally, with respect to “others”, and both together. From moment to moment he/she observes phenomena rising and ceasing in the body separately and together, and he/she observes bodies rising and ceasing from lifetime to lifetime. Recognizing that there is indeed a body, he/she is fully aware just to the degree necessary for the establishment of wisdom and memory in full measure; and he/she abides independent, not grasping anything in the world. It is in this way, monks, that a monk lives reflecting on the body as just a body.

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<sup>28</sup> The full text reads: DN 2, 292<sup>1-10</sup>: ‘*Iti ajjhataṃ vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. ‘Atthi kāyo’ti vā pan’assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvadeva ñāṇa-mattāya paṭissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi kho bhikkhave, bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.* The reader will notice that I have incorporated other phrases into the translation which occur just before the refrain, viz., *Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ* (DN 2, 290<sup>12-14</sup>), and *parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* (DN 2, 291<sup>5</sup>). The notion that *abhijjhā* (covetousness) and *domanassaṃ* (discontent) represent the five *nīvaraṇas* (obstacles) comes from the commentary, Sv 3, 759<sup>4-8</sup>: *yasmā pan’ettha abhijjhā-ggahaṇena kāma-cchando, domanassa-ggahaṇena byāpādo saṅgahaṃ gacchati, tasmā nīvaraṇa-pariyāpanna-balava-dhamma-dvaya-dassanena nīvaraṇa-ppahānaṃ vuttaṃ hotī ti vedītabbaṃ*. “It should be understood that, because here attachment to sensual pleasure with the grasping of covetousness/greed (*abhijjhā*), and malevolence by the grasping of distress/dejectedness are included, the abandonment of the (five) *nīvaraṇas* is stated, by showing these strong two-fold phenomena (covetousness and discontent/dysphoria) which are included in them (the five *nīvaraṇas*).” Viewing *ajjhataṃ* as self and *bahiddhā* as others also comes from the commentary (Sv 3, 765<sup>13-15</sup>). For the impermanence of the body see footnote 25, also from the commentary. For the notion of “just a body” see Sv 3, 765<sup>32-34</sup>: *kāyo ‘va atthi, na satto, na puggalo, na itthī, na puggalo, na attā, na attaniyaṃ, nāhaṃ, na mama, na koci, na kassaci, ti evam assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti*. “He has full awareness present that, ‘There is just a body, no being, no person, no person, no woman, no man, no self, no belonging to a self, no I, no mine, nobody, no belonging to anybody.’”

## Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara Nikāya</i> , R. Morris, E. Hardy, PTS London 1885-1900
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> .
DN	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> , ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, PTS London 1890-1911.
DN-ṭ	<i>Dīgha Nikāya Ṭīka (Līnatthavaṇṇanā)</i> , Lily de Silva, Colombo University, Ceylon, 1960.
Mil	<i>Milindapañha</i> , V. Trenckner, PTS London 1890-1986
MI	Middle Indic
MN	<i>Majjhima Nikāya</i> , ed. V. Trenckner, PTS London 1888-2009
MW	<i>Monier Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OI	Old-Indic (Vedic)
Nidd I	<i>Mahāniddeśa</i> , ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin, E.J. Thomas, PTS London 1978
Nidd 2	<i>Cullaniddeśa</i> , ed. W. Stede, PTS London 1916.
PED	Pali English Dictionary, T. W. Rhys Davids & William Stede, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, reprint 2003 (originally published London 1921-1925).
Pj I	<i>Paramatthajotikā 1 (Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , ed. H. Smith, PTS London 1915.
Pj II	<i>Paramatthajotikā 2 (Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , ed. H. Smith, PTS London 1916-1918.
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner.
PTS	Pali Text Society
Sn	<i>Sutta Nipāta</i> , ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, PTS London 1913.
SN	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i> , ed. M. Léon Feer, PTS London 1884-2006.
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, PTS London 1924-47.

Spk	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī (Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , ed. F. L. Woodward, PTS London 1929-37
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā)</i> , T. W. Rhys Davids & J. E. Carpenter, PTS London 1886-1932.
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i> , ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, PTS London 1920-21

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