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## False Friends in the *Fanfanyu*

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In the present article, a remarkable phenomenon is brought to the attention of those interested in early Chinese translations of Buddhist texts: false friends in the *Fanfanyu* (T54n2130). Baochang's Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon that was compiled as early as 517 AD reveals some curious examples of *faux amis*. In the present contribution, this case will be illustrated with references from the *Shanjian lü piposha* (T24n1462), a fifth century Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Pāli *Vinaya*. The fact that Baochang did not realise that this text was not translated from Sanskrit, inadvertently gave rise to some interesting *jeux de mots*.

*Key words:* Baochang, *Fanfanyu* (T54n2130), Pāli *Samantapāsādikā*, *Shanjian lü piposha* (T24n1462), Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon, *faux amis*

## False Friends in the *Fanfanyu*

The *Fanfanyu*<sup>1</sup> is a remarkable compilation of Chinese transliterations of Indian words, followed by translations of the same, organised according to subject. Apart from a small entry in the *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten*,<sup>2</sup> two scholars put in a great effort to make the *Fanfanyu* more easily accessible. The first detailed study about this interesting work is a dissertation in German by C. Chen from 2004.<sup>3</sup> The other one is a volume by L. Chandra who edited in 2007 the unpublished work of his late father, R. Vira and his disciple Y. Chikyo, who together worked on a translation of the *Fanfanyu* in 1937.<sup>4</sup> Both studies define the *Fanfanyu* as a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon that can be ascribed to Baochang<sup>5</sup> and dated during the Liang dynasty in China (502-557 AD), more specifically in 517 AD.<sup>6</sup> The *Fanfanyu* is recorded in ten fascicles in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon<sup>7</sup> as T54n2130 and comprises 4693 references categorised into 73 sections, classified according to subject. Many sources are used, among which *sūtras*, the *āgamas*, the *abhidharmavibhāṣā* and the *vinayas* surviving in Chinese translation.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 翻梵語 T54n2130, pp. 981-1054.

<sup>2</sup> Ono (1968, Vol. 6, pp. 213-214).

<sup>3</sup> Chen (2004).

<sup>4</sup> Chandra (2007).

<sup>5</sup> For more details about Baochang and his work, see De Rauw (2005).

<sup>6</sup> Chen (2004, p. 6); Chandra (2007, p. xiv).

<sup>7</sup> Takakusu J., Kaigyoku W. and Gemyō O. (eds.) (1924-1935).

<sup>8</sup> An overview of all sources used for the compilation of the *Fanfanyu* can be found in Chen (2004, pp. 186-191).

The *Fanfanyu* is a commendable lexicon aimed at being helpful for better understanding Buddhist texts.<sup>9</sup> It provides a translation for each Chinese transliteration of an Indian word. This translation is mostly introduced by 譯曰 *yi yue*, 'the translation is as follows'. In many cases it is preceded by a "correction", which is introduced by the lemma 應云 *ying yue*, 'it should be'. In that way Baochang "corrects" many of the transliterations from the sources he used to what for him perhaps were more standardised forms.

One of the sources used for this compilation is the *Shanjian lü piposha* (T24n1462), which is a Chinese translation of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Pāli *Vinaya*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, composed by Saṅghabhadra in 489 AD.<sup>10</sup> This translation thus predates the compilation of the *Fanfanyu* only with three decades. Moreover, both the Indic source and the Chinese translation are extant, which makes the study of the references extracted from this text in the *Fanfanyu* extremely interesting. The fact that both the Indian and the Chinese text are available, makes it possible to test some of the translations suggested by Baochang.

In the case of the *Shanjian lü piposha*, Baochang "corrects" many words that were transliterated from Pāli into transliterations that sounded more like their Sanskrit equivalent. Precisely this perspective caused quite some misunderstandings. In fact, this process results in many examples that could be called false friends or in French *faux amis*. In linguistics, false friends are words in different languages that look or sound similar, but differ in meaning. The

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<sup>9</sup> Chen (2004, p. 9).

<sup>10</sup> The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, a 'Buddhist catalogue of the *Kaiyuan* period' compiled by Zhisheng in 730 AD and considered a standard reference, records that the *Shanjian lü piposha* was translated into Chinese between 488 and 489 AD, in Canton by the monk Saṅghabhadra. T55n2154, p. 535c22. For the relation between the the *Shanjian lü piposha* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, see Heirman (2004).

consequences of looking at a Chinese text that was translated from Pāli as if you look at a translation from Sanskrit at times results in quite interesting *jeux de mots*. Let us look at some examples of this remarkable phenomenon.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> category, the miscellaneous teachings, we find for instance the following two examples: T54n2130, *juan* 1, p. 988c08: 摩沙迦(譯曰月也) *moshajia* is translated by Baochang as *māsaka*, 'month'.<sup>11</sup> However, the source text<sup>12</sup> concerns Pāli *māsako*, which designates a small bean used as a standard of weight and value.<sup>13</sup>

T54n2130, *juan* 1, p. 988c22: 周羅卑陀羅(應云周羅鞞陀那 譯曰小受) *zhouluobeituoluo* should be *zhouluobingtuona*, which transliterates *cūḍa*<sup>14</sup>-*vedanā*,<sup>15</sup> 'small<sup>16</sup> sensation'.<sup>17</sup> However, the *Shanjian lü piposha*<sup>18</sup> relates about *cullavedalla*. Although Sanskrit *cūḍa* is equivalent to Pāli *culla*,<sup>19</sup> *vedalla* is the name of one of the divisions of the Pāli canon which designates something different than Sanskrit 'sensation'.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 815a) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 1038b).

<sup>12</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 8, p. 729b09 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. II, p. 297,21).

<sup>13</sup> Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 531b).

<sup>14</sup> Wogihara (2006, p. 477b).

<sup>15</sup> Wogihara (2006, p. 1276a).

<sup>16</sup> Edgerton (1998, Vol. II, p. 232a).

<sup>17</sup> Edgerton (1998, p. 508b).

<sup>18</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 15, p. 779b24 ; (Takakusu and Nagai 1967, Vol. IV, p. 742,13).

<sup>19</sup> Cone (2010, p. 159a).

<sup>20</sup> Malalasekera (2008, Vol. I, p. 902, *s.v. Cūlavedalla Sutta* ; Vol. II, p. 560 *s.v. Mahāvedalla Sutta* and p. 921 *s.v. Vedalla*).

Among the names of *bhikṣus*, we find e.g. T54n2130, *juan* 2, p. 997c17: 耶斯那(應云耶輸斯那 譯曰名聞軍也). Baochang corrects *yesina* to *yeshusina* which he translates as *yaśas*,<sup>21</sup> 'fame' and *senā*, 'army'.<sup>22</sup> Examining Saṅghabhadra's Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā*, I discovered that the *Shanjian lü piposha* here has preserved the grammatical ending of its source, the instrumental case *Yasena* of *Yasa*, a monk, who played an important role in the second council.<sup>23</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> category, one of the religious exercises of *śrāvakas*,<sup>24</sup> is T54n2130, *juan* 3, p. 1003c04: 波薩提(應云波羅薩提 譯曰猗樂) *bosati*, which Baochang corrects to *boluosati* and translates as *prasāda*, 'good humour'.<sup>25</sup> The *Shanjian lü piposha* on the other hand relates about *passaddhi*, 'serenity'.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 848b) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 1087a).

<sup>22</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 1246b) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 1502a).

<sup>23</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 1, p. 678a12 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 34,13). More details about *Yasa* can be found in Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, pp. 687-688).

<sup>24</sup> 聲聞德行名第十五. 德行 *Dexing* is 'moral conduct, religious exercises or discipline'. Nakamura (1981, p. 1021b) ; Soothill (2003, p. 432b). 聲聞 *Shengwen*, *śrāvaka*, is a 'voice-hearer', disciple. Originally a direct disciple of the Buddha (who heard his voice). *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (1999, p. 329a).

<sup>25</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 697a) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 878b). 猗 *Yi* translates Sanskrit *praśrabdhi*. Hirakawa (1997, p. 814b) ; Monier Williams (2000, p. 696a), 樂 *le* e.g. Sanskrit *sukha*. Hirakawa (1997, p. 666a). The equivalent in Pāli for Sanskrit *prasāda* is *pasāda*, not *passaddhi*. Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 446b).

<sup>26</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 10, p. 746c06 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. II, p. 413,18-19). *Passadhi* is one of the seven factors of enlightenment, namely calmness of body and mind. The other six are: *satisambojjhaṅgo* mindfulness, *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo* to make an investigation of the *dhammas*, *viriyasambojjhaṅgo* perseverance,

An item from section 19, the names of *brāhmaṇas*<sup>27</sup> is T54n2130, *juan* 4, p. 1007c19: 修婆那婆羅門(譯曰修婆那者好林). Concerning the *brāhmaṇa xiupona*, *xiupona* transliterates *su*<sup>28</sup>-*vana*,<sup>29</sup> 'good forest'. Examining the text from which this reference is extracted, it becomes clear that Saṅghabhadra in fact translated *Subhena* and as such also in this case conveyed the grammatical ending of his Pāli source into Chinese. *Subha* is the name of a young man who was also called *Todeyyaputta*. *Subha* means 'beautiful' in Pāli, it does not relate to a 'good forest'.<sup>30</sup>

The 30<sup>th</sup> category of names of various people lists for instance the following names: T54n2130, *juan* 6, p. 1023b04: 拘私夜(應云橋尸迦 譯曰天王) *jusiye* which Baochang corrects to *jiaoshijia* and translates as *kausika*, the family name of Indra.<sup>31</sup> Saṅghabhadra on the other hand, relates here about *Kosiyo*, the name of a Brahmin clan.<sup>32</sup> The correction suggested by Baochang seems as such unjustified.

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*pītisambojjhaṅgo* a very deep feeling of joy, *samādhisambojjhaṅgo* concentration and *upekkhāsambojjhaṅgo* indifference or calmness of mind in all circumstances. Kaesri (1976, pp. 126-127).

<sup>27</sup> 婆羅門 *Poluomen*, *brāhmaṇa*. Nakamura (1981, p. 1097d) ; Hirakawa (1997, p. 365b) ; *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (1999, p. 14a).

<sup>28</sup> Hirakawa (1997, p. 341a).

<sup>29</sup> Wogihara (2006, p. 1170b).

<sup>30</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 1, p. 674a29 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 9,6). Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 719b). Akanuma (1994, p. 639, s.v. *Subha-Todeyyaputta*) ; Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, pp. 1227-1228).

<sup>31</sup> Hirakawa (1997, p. 334a and p. 502b) ; Monier Williams (2000, p. 318a) ; Soothill (2003, p. 433a) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 227b). For details about Indra, see Garrett (1999, pp. 246-248).

<sup>32</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 7, p. 717c14 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 238,28). Malalasekera (2008, Vol. I, pp. 699-700).

T54n2130, *juan* 6, p. 1023b07: 婆沙迦羅(譯曰婆沙者衣亦云住處迦羅者作). Concerning *poshajialuo*, *posha* transliterates Sanskrit *vāsa*, 'garment' or 'residence',<sup>33</sup> *jialuo* transliterates *kara*, 'doing'.<sup>34</sup> The *Shanjian lü piposha* relates about *Vassakāro*.<sup>35</sup> The first part of this name, *vassa* in Pāli, equals Sanskrit *varṣa*, 'rain', not *vāsa*, 'garment' or 'residence'.

T54n2130, *juan* 6, p. 1023b08: 婆那(譯曰林也) *pona* translated as *vana*, 'forest'.<sup>36</sup> A closer look at the source reveals that it here in fact concerns a Chinese transliteration of *bhaṇe*, a familiar term of address.<sup>37</sup>

A similar misunderstanding is found among the villages, subject of section 47.

T54n2130, *juan* 8, p. 1040c06: 梅陀羅村(譯曰月也) *zhantuoluo* transliterates *candra*,

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<sup>33</sup> Sanskrit *vāsa* can designate both a garment (in Chinese 衣) and a residence (in Chinese 住處). Monier Williams (2000, p. 947) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 1196b). However, Akanuma (1994, p. 741) records *Varśakāra* as Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli name *Vassakāra* and translates it e.g. as 兩舍. Also in Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 605a) *vassa* is recorded as rain (vedic *varṣa*). 兩 *Yü* translates Sanskrit *varṣa*. Wogihara (2006, p. 1178b).

<sup>34</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 253) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 317b).

<sup>35</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 8, p. 728c12 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1969, Vol. II, p. 294,25). For more details, see Akanuma (1994, pp. 741-742) ; Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, pp. 846-847).

<sup>36</sup> Hirakawa (1997, p. 647a) ; Monier Williams (2000, p. 917b) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 1170b).

<sup>37</sup> Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 497a). T24n1462, *juan* 8, p. 728c15 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1969, Vol. II, p. 294,29).

‘moon’.<sup>38</sup> Looking at the source from which this reference is extracted it can be observed that the text relates in fact about *caṇḍālagāma*, ‘village of outcasts’.<sup>39</sup>

The *Fanfanyu* corrects the following name of a mountain in the 51<sup>st</sup> category: T54n2130, *juan* 9, p. 1043c11: 伊私耆梨山(應云梨師耆利 譯曰仙山) *yisiqilishan* is corrected to *lishiqili* and translated as *ṛṣi*<sup>40</sup>-*giri*,<sup>41</sup> ‘mountain of recluses’. However, the context clarifies that the Pāli etymology of *Isigili*, ‘recluse-swallowing’, is followed in the Chinese translation, what makes this correction unjustified.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Wogihara (2006, p. 459a).

<sup>39</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 1, p. 680b23 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 45,15). Cone (2010, p. 99b). It is the village where *Nigrodha-sāmaṇera* was born. Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, p. 67).

<sup>40</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 227a) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 291a).

<sup>41</sup> Monier Williams (2000, p. 355b) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 425b).

<sup>42</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 8, p. 727a25 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1969, Vol. II, p. 286,5). The etymological explanation found in the *Shanjian lü piposha* clarifies how Saṅghabhadra translates the explanation for the name of this mountain *Isigili* from the Pāli *isi* [Sanskrit *ṛṣi* Cone (2001, p. 379a)] and *gilati* [devours, swallows Cone (2010, p. 51b)], not from Sanskrit *ṛṣi-giri* ‘mountain of ṛṣis’, what is found here in Baochang’s *Fanfanyu*. Key to this understanding lies in the use of the verb 吞 *tun*, ‘to swallow’ which evidently concurs with Pāli *gilati* and specifically points to the Pāli etymology. T24n1462, p. 727a25-b02 reads: 伊私耆梨山邊者。問曰。何謂為伊私耆梨。答曰。伊私者出家人。耆梨吞也。所以爾者。時有五百辟支佛。往至迦私俱娑羅國。到已乞食。得已還入此山。集眾入定。是時人民見辟支佛入山邊。而不見出。時人作是言。此山恒吞出家人。從此以後。號為伊私耆梨山。 The parallel passage in the *Samantapāsādikā* reads: *Isigilipasse ti Isigilī nāma pabbato tassa passe. pubbe kira pañcasatamattā paccekasambuddhā. Kāsi-Kosalādisu janapadesu piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhataṃ tasmim pabbate sannipatitvā samāpattiyā vītināmenti, manussā te pavisante ‘va passanti, na nikkhamante, tato āhaṃsu ; ayaṃ pabbato ime isī gilātīti, tad upādāya tassa Isigili tv eva samaññā udapādi, tassa passe pabbatapāde.* Takakusu and Nagai (1969, Vol. II, p. 286,5-11). More details about *Isigili* can be found in Malalasekera (2008, Vol. I, p. 319).



A final example to prove our case that false friends occur in the *Fanfanyu* is one of the items listed in the 69<sup>th</sup> category about *pāna-bhojana*, drinks and food, where T54n2130, *juan* 10, p. 1053a24: 沙梨耶(譯曰白米) *shaliye* is translated as white *śāli* rice.<sup>43</sup> My examination of the *Shanjian lü piposha* showed on the other hand that *shaliye* transliterates *Atthasāliniyā*, a declension of *Atthasālinī*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammasaṅganippakaraṇa*.<sup>44</sup>

The *Fanfanyu* is -in spite of the misconceptions outlined in the examples above- an extremely valuable source for deepening our understanding of the knowledge of Indian languages at the beginning of the sixth century in China. The potential of studying Baochang's lexicon is enormous. Aside from the study of the 4693 Chinese transliterations of Indian words, this lexicon can be helpful in establishing the source language of some of the texts used by Baochang for his compilation. In the case of the *Shanjian lü piposha* for example, there has been doubt concerning the direct relation between this Chinese translation and the Pāli *Samantapāsādikā*.<sup>45</sup> However, studying the references extracted from this source in the *Fanfanyu* shows beyond any reasonable doubt the Pāli origin of the *Shanjian lü piposha*. Precisely the corrections suggested by Baochang provide substantial insight into the nature and meaning of the transliterations and indicate possible misunderstandings, albeit at times *ex*

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<sup>43</sup> Wogihara (2006, p. 1324b). More details about *Sita-śāli* can be found in Banerji (1980, p. 76).

<sup>44</sup> T24n1462, *juan* 4, p. 701b23 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 150,28). See Malalasekera (2008, Vol. I, p. 57) for more details. At first sight, I thought that 耶 *ye* was a writing error for 那 *na*. However, judging from the parallel in the *Samantapāsādikā*, it is clear that we have here the fortune to discover once again a remainder of the grammatical ending of the source text of Saṅghabhadra's translation. 沙利耶 *sha-li-ye* conveys the ending of *atthasāliniyā*.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. Lottermoser (1982, p. 163); Bechert (1986, p. 138).

*negativo*, by indicating inadvertently what is not meant in the respective source. The *Fanfanyu* provides at times very valuable suggestions to emend writing errors in the extant sources<sup>46</sup> and the translations suggested are in many cases amazingly adequate.<sup>47</sup> However, because of its technical nature and its use of voluminous sources, studying the *Fanfanyu* presupposes a specific knowledge of languages and a familiarity with the texts used in this compilation. I sincerely hope that the present contribution will arouse the curiosity and interest of scholars who are challenged to take up such a task.

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<sup>46</sup> Among the names of *bhikṣus* in the 11<sup>th</sup> category, we find for instance T54n2130, *juan* 2, p. 998b09: 富寫提婆 *fuxietipo* (譯曰星天), translated as *puṣya-deva*. *Phussa* in Pāli or Sanskrit *puṣya* is the name of a constellation. Monier Williams (2000, p. 640b) ; Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 480a). 星 *Xing* means 'star' and is a translation of e.g. Sanskrit *tāraka* or *nakṣatra*. Nakamura (1981, p. 716a) ; Hirakawa (1997, p. 599a) ; Monier Williams (2000, pp. 444a and 524b) ; Soothill (2003, p. 303b). As such, this is rather a description than a translation of the transliterated word. 天 *Tian* translates Sanskrit *deva*. Nakamura (1981, p. 979a) ; Hirakawa (1997, p. 333b) ; *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (1999, p. 350b) ; Soothill (2003, p. 143a). This form in the *Fanfanyu* clarifies the transliteration 寫寫提婆 *xiexietipo* found in T24n1462, *juan* 7, p. 723a02 which is parallel with Pāli *Phussadeva* found in Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 263,27). Details about *Phussadeva* can be found in Akanuma (1994, p. 502b) and Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, p. 258).

<sup>47</sup> The 43<sup>th</sup> category collects names of regions. One of those is T54n2130, *juan* 8, p. 1036a11: 毘沙羅國(譯曰廣也) *pishaluoguo* which transliterates *viśāla*. This matches the meaning of *viśālaṃ* found in the source text. T24n1462, *juan* 3, p. 690c14 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 87,13). Sanskrit *viśāla*, 'extensive, broad' has the same meaning as Pāli *visāla*. Hirakawa (1997, p. 429b) ; Monier Williams (2000, p. 990a) ; Rhys Davids and Stede (2004, p. 640a). *Viśāla* was the capital of Sri Lanka in the time of Kassapa Buddha. Akanuma (1994, p. 774a) ; Malalasekera (2008, Vol. II, p. 905). In section 51, the names of mountains, we find for example T54n2130, *juan* 9, p. 1043c06: 提婆鳩吒山 (譯曰天臺) *tipojiuzhashan*, translated as *deva-kūṭa*, exactly what can be found in the source text. Hirakawa (1997, p. 996b) ; Monier Williams (2000, p. 299b) ; Wogihara (2006, p. 607a and p. 365b). T24n1462, *juan* 3, p. 690b22 ; Takakusu and Nagai (1975, Vol. I, p. 86,8-9). More details about *Devakūṭapabbato* can be found in Malalasekera (2008, Vol. I, p. 1105).

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