

Pali Text Society

JOURNAL
OF THE
PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XXXII

EDITED BY
OSKAR VON HINÜBER
AND
RUPERT GETHIN

Published by
The Pali Text Society
Bristol
2015

Published by the Pali Text Society

The Pali Text Society was founded in 1881 by T.W. Rhys Davids “to foster and promote the study of Pali texts”. It publishes Pali texts in roman characters, translations and ancillary works including dictionaries, grammars and a journal. The Society is non-profit-making and depends on the sale of its publications, on members’ subscriptions and on the generosity of donors. To find out more about the Society and also order its publications please visit our website: www.palitext.com.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the Pali Text Society, c/o CPI Antony Rowe – Melksham, Unit 4 Pegasus Way, Bowerhill Industrial Estate, Melksham, Wilts, SN12 6TR, U.K.

© Pali Text Society 2015

ISBN-10 0 86013 510 1
ISBN-13 978 0 86013 510 4

First published in 2015

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

**Journal of the Pali Text Society
Vol. XXXII (2015)**

CONTENTS

Lance Selwyn Cousins, 1942–2015	
by Rupert Gethin	1
L.S. Cousins: Bibliography	7
“And there is this stanza in this connection”:	
The Usage of <i>hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha</i> in	
Pāli Commentarial Literature	
by Petra Kieffer-Pülz	15
The <i>h</i> -Future of Pāli with Random Notes on “Historical”	
and “Irregular” Future Forms	
by Thomas Oberlies	163
A Nobel for the Pali Text Society? T.W. Rhys Davids	
Writes to the Nobel Commission of the	
Swedish Academy	
edited by Eugen Ciurtin	195
The Verb <i>*addhabhavati</i> as an Artificial Formation	
by Oskar von Hinüber	213
An Old Colophon Preserved: The Tipiṭaka of	
Ñāṇavamsa and Sobhaggasiri	
by Oskar von Hinüber	229
A Note on the <i>Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta</i> and its	
Commentary	
by Rupert Gethin	241
An Index to <i>JPTS</i> , Volumes IX–XXXII	261
Contributors to this volume	271
PTS Research Grants	272

LANCE SELWYN COUSINS 1942–2015

Rupert Gethin

Lance Cousins died in Oxford following a heart attack in the early hours of Saturday, 14 March 2015, just a few weeks short of his seventy-third birthday. He is survived by his ex-wife and his two children, as well as a brother and sister.

Lance was born in Hitchin, Hertfordshire, on 7 April 1942, and after attending Letchworth Grammar School took up a place to read history at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1961. In 1963, after completing his Part I examinations in History, he changed to Oriental Studies, studying Sanskrit with Sir Harold Bailey and Middle Indian with K.R. Norman. On completion of his degree in 1965 he stayed on in Cambridge as a postgraduate student, working on an edition of the *ṭīkā* to the Samyuttanikāya with a view to completing a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of K.R. Norman. His interest in the Pali *ṭīkā* literature subsequently led to Lance's first publication, "Dhammapāla and the *ṭīkā* literature",¹ a review article of Lily de Silva's edition of Dhammapāla's *ṭīkā* to the Dīgha-nikāya (3 volumes, Pali Text Society, 1970). This remains an important discussion of the issues surrounding the question of two Dhammapālas, one the author of *atthakathās*, the other of *ṭīkās*. In 1970 Lance was elected to the Council of the Pali Text Society and continued to serve as a member of Council until the mid 1980s.

During his time in Cambridge Lance also became actively involved in the Cambridge University Buddhist Society (founded in 1955 and the second oldest Buddhist society in the UK). He began attending *samatha* meditation classes in London taught by Boonman Poonyathiro (1932–), who had been a Buddhist monk for fifteen years in Thailand and then

¹ *Religion*, 2 (1972), 159–65.

India. Subsequently Lance arranged for Boonman to teach classes in Cambridge. Lance's close involvement with this tradition of meditation was to continue for the rest of his life.

In 1970 he was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester in the same department that the founder of the Pali Text Society, T. W. Rhys Davids, had been appointed the first Professor of Comparative Religion in 1904. In Manchester Lance taught courses in Indian religions — Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism — and Indian languages — Pali and Sanskrit — but also a course in comparative mysticism, which took in Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity as well as the methodological issues raised by the study of religious experience cross-culturally. During the 1980s Lance published several influential articles: his 1981 article on the *Paṭṭhāna* carefully demonstrates how the Abhidhamma theory of the process of perception (*citta-vīthi*) set out in the *āṭhakathā* literature is already assumed in the canonical *Paṭṭhāna*;² his 1983 article on “Pali oral literature” with its suggestion that early Buddhist texts exhibit the marks of techniques of improvisation continues to challenge scholars to provide a convincing model of their oral composition.³ And in 1984 he published a masterly overview of Buddhism in *A Handbook of Living Religions*, edited by his colleague at Manchester, John Hinnells.⁴ His only publication to reflect directly his broader interest in mysticism is his 1989 article comparing aspects of St Teresa of Ávila's *The Interior Castle* and Buddhaghosa's *Path of Purification*.⁵

² “The *Paṭṭhāna* and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, IX (1981), 22–46.

³ “Pāli Oral Literature”, in *Buddhist Studies: Ancient and Modern*, ed. by P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky (London: Curzon Press, 1983), pp. 1–11.

⁴ “Buddhism”, in *A Handbook of Living Religions*, ed. by John R. Hinnells (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 278–343.

⁵ “The Stages of Christian Mysticism and Buddhist Purification: The Interior Castle of St. Teresa of Avila and the Path of Purification of Buddhaghosa”, in

In Manchester Lance continued to be active in Buddhist circles and was instrumental in founding the Manchester University Buddhist Society, and in 1973 became the founding chairman of the Samatha Trust, a charity established to foster the practice and teaching of the form of *samatha* meditation first taught in the UK by Boonman Poonyathiro. Lance served as chairman of the Trust until 1999 and remained a trustee until his death.

Disillusioned with some of the changes affecting British academic institutions in the 1980s, Lance took early retirement in the early 1990s when he was only a little over fifty. In 2000 he moved from Manchester to Oxford where until his death he taught Pali and Middle Indian in the Faculty of Oriental Studies and Buddhism in the Faculty of Theology. While he did not hold a formal post he became an established member of the community in Buddhist and Indological studies in Oxford and a Supernumerary Fellow of Wolfson College. Throughout the 1990s Lance continued to publish significant articles focusing especially on the history of the early Indian Buddhist schools and Abhidhamma literature and thought. In 1996 Lance became the first president of the UK Association for Buddhist Studies, serving in that role until 2000. In 2001 he delivered the ninth I. B. Horner Memorial Lecture (“Sanskrit, Pali and Theravāda Buddhism”) and again became a member of the Council of the Pali Text Society, subsequently serving as its president from 2002 to 2003. At this time Lance began working with Somdeva Vasudeva on photographs of a portion of the recently discovered manuscript of the Dīrgha Āgama; together they produced a preliminary transliteration of a number of its sūtras. In 2005 he was Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai Visiting Professor at SOAS, delivering a series of lectures some of which provided the basis for articles that have subsequently appeared in print or will shortly do so.

During the last twenty years of his life Lance worked especially on the early history of Indian Buddhist schools, publishing articles on the

The Yogi and the Mystic: Studies in Indian and Comparative Mysticism, ed. by Karel Werner (London: Curzon, 1989), pp. 103–20.

Pudgalavādins⁶ and various divisions of what he latterly preferred to call the Theriya school, including an important contribution on the Abhayagirivāsins.⁷ He also continued his investigations on the neglected field of the medieval Pali *ṭīkā* literature.⁸ Lance was also among the pioneers in applying the tools of computing to Pali texts, producing the first electronically generated index of a Pali text (the index volume to the Mahāniddesa published by the PTS in 1995), and serving as international editorial coordinator for the Sri Lanka Tripitaka Project's digitized Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka.

Lance was a frequent visitor to Asia, especially Thailand and Sri Lanka where he twice spent several weeks at the Kalugala Aranya Senāsanaya in Kalutara District and more recently (2012) himself led a meditation retreat in Hantana near Kandy. In 2013 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in Buddhist Studies by the Mahamakut Buddhist University in Bangkok.

Lance formally supervised very few research students, yet his influence on Buddhist studies in the UK and internationally was considerable. Research students in Oxford attended his classes, both formal and informal, benefiting from long conversations with him. Others discussed drafts of articles and monographs with him. All benefited from his advice, suggestions and comments. Indeed, Lance's name appears in the acknowledgements of a remarkable number of monographs and articles concerned with Buddhist studies published in the UK throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Lance was also a frequent and thoughtful contributor to the various online lists concerned with

⁶ "Person and Self", in *Buddhism into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings* (Bangkok and Los Angeles: The Dhammakāya Foundation, 1994), pp. 15–31.

⁷ "The Teachings of the Abhayagiri School" in Peter Skilling, et al. (eds.), *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), pp. 67–127.

⁸ "Abhidhamma Studies I: Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭīkā*", *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2 (2011), 1–36.

Indology and Buddhist studies which emerged in the 1990s. Those who had the opportunity to meet, study, or correspond with Lance found him always ready and willing to share his very considerable learning across broad areas of Indian history and thought, not to mention Jewish *kabbalah*, Christian mysticism, Gurdjieff, and alchemy. His death is a great loss to Buddhist and especially Pali scholarship. Several significant scholarly projects he was working on when he died were nearing completion. It is to be hoped that at least some of these may be published posthumously.

Committed to rigorous scholarship, Lance was nonetheless not bound by the conventions and fashions of academia in his quest for knowledge. Devoted to the practice of meditation, he never allowed this to cloud his scholarly judgement. Asked if he was a Buddhist, he would quip, “The Buddha was not a Buddhist, I try to follow his example.”

L.S. COUSINS: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BSR</i>	<i>Buddhist Studies Review</i>
<i>IIJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of Buddhist Studies</i>
<i>JIABS</i>	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
<i>JPTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>PTS</i>	Pali Text Society

A. Articles

1. Annotated bibliography of mysticism, in Christopher Candlin and June Derrick, *Education for a Multi-Cultural Society* III, London: Community Relations Commission, 1972, pp. 80–83
2. “Buddhist *Jhāna*: Its Nature and Attainment According to the Pāli Sources”, *Religion* III.2 (1973), pp. 115–31
3. “Ethical Standards in World Religions: III. Buddhism”, *The Expository Times* 85 (1974), pp. 100–104
4. “The Noble Path of Buddhism”, *Religion* , Vol. 9.1 (1979), pp. 125–27
5. Appendices to Atthasālinī, London: PTS, 1979, pp. 432–510. (Index and list of some variant readings in a Middle Indian text.)
6. “The Paṭṭhāna and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma”, *JPTS* IX (1981), pp. 22–46
7. “Pāli Oral Literature”, in P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky, eds., *Buddhist Studies: Ancient and Modern*, London: Curzon Press, 1983, pp. 1–11
8. “Buddhism”, in John R. Hinnells, ed., *A Handbook of Living Religions*, Harmondsworth: Viking, 1984, pp. 278–343
9. “*Nibbāna* and Abhidhamma”, *Buddhist Studies Review*, 1 (1984), 95–109
10. “Samatha-yāna and Vipassanā-yāna”, in G. Dhammapala, R. Gombrich and K.R. Norman, eds., *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Hammalava Saddhātissa*. Nugegoda: University of Jayewardenepura, 1984, pp. 56–68
11. Fifty-five entries in J.R. Hinnells, *Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, Allen Lane, 1984; and in J.R. Hinnells, *A New Dictionary of Religions*, Blackwell, 1995. On Buddhism: *abhidhamma*, *ālaya-vijñāna*, *anukampā*, *bhāvanā*, *bodhi-pakkhiya-dhamma*, *Buddhaghosa*, *Buddha image*, *Central Asian*

Buddhism, *Dhammapāla*, *diṭṭhi*, emptiness, *kamma-ṭṭhāna*, *lokuttara*, *nibbāna*, Pali, *pāramitā*, *samatha*, Sinhalese Buddhism, skilful means, South-East Asia (Buddhism in), *Śūnyatāvāda*, *suttanta*, Theravāda, *Vaibhāṣika*, *vipassanā*, Western Buddhism, *Yogācāra*. On Indian philosophy: *Advaita Vedānta*, *Advaitin cosmology*, *Ājīvaka*, *bhakti-yoga*, *Brahma-sūtra*, *darśana*, *dhyāna-yoga*, *Gosāla*, *guṇa*, *hatha-yoga*, *karma-yoga*, *jñāna-yoga*, *līlā*, *Lokāyata*, *māyā*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *nāstika*, *Nyāya*, *prakṛti*, *Rāmānuja*, *Sāṃkhya*, *samsāra*, *Śaṅkara*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Vaiṣṇava Vedānta*, *Vedānta*, *yoga*, *Yoga-darśana*

12. “The Stages of Christian Mysticism and Buddhist Purification: *The Interior Castle* of St. Teresa of Avila and the *Path of Purification* of Buddhaghosa”, in Karel Werner, ed., *The Yogi and the Mystic: Studies in Indian and Comparative Mysticism*, London: Curzon, 1989, pp. 103–20
13. “The ‘Five Points’ and the Origins of the Buddhist Schools”, *The Buddhist Forum* II (1992), pp. 27–60¹
14. “*Vitakka/vitarka* and *vicāra*: stages of *samādhi* in Buddhism and Yoga”, *IIJ* XXXV (1992), pp. 137–57
15. “Person and Self”, in *Buddhism into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*, Bangkok and Los Angeles: Dhammadāya Foundation, 1994, pp. 15–31
16. “Theravāda Buddhism in England”, in *Buddhism into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*, Bangkok and Los Angeles: Dhammadāya Foundation, 1994, pp. 141–50
17. “Introduction”, Ven. B. Ānandamaitreya Mahānāyakathera, *Nine Special Qualities of the Buddha and Other Essays*, London: World Buddhist Foundation, 1995, pp. i–ix
18. “Good or Skilful? *Kusala* in Canon and Commentary”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* III (1996), pp. 136–64
19. “The Origins of Insight Meditation”, *The Buddhist Forum* IV (1996), 35–58

¹ A note on the cover of the offprint says, “A version of this paper was included in Pollamure Sorate Thera, Lakshman Perera, and Karl Goonesena, eds., *Buddhist Essays: A Miscellany* (A Memorial Volume in Honour of Venerable Hammalawa Saddhātissa), London: Sri Saddhātissa International Buddhist Centre. Unfortunately, because no proofs were sent, it was not discovered that this version was an early draft, not intended for publication. I would be grateful therefore if colleagues who might wish to cite this article would refer only to the original publication in *Buddhist Forum*.”

20. "Aspects of Esoteric Southern Buddhism", in Peter Connolly and Susan Hamilton, eds., *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti* (Papers from the Annual Spalding Symposium on Indian Religions), London: Luzac Oriental, 1997, pp. 185–207
21. "Buddha (6th–5th century BC)", *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 1998
22. "Nirvāna", *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, London: Routledge, 1998
23. "On the Vibhajjavādins: The Mahīśāsaka, Dhammadutta, Kassapiya and Tambapāṇīya Branches of the Ancient Theriyas", *BSR XVIII* (2001), pp. 131–82
24. "Śākiyabhikkhu/Sakyabhikkhu/Śākyabhiṣu: A Mistaken Link to the Mahā-yāna?", *Nagpya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Sambhāṣā*, Vol. 23 (2003), pp. 1–27
25. Buddhadatta, "Abhidhammāvatāra: Summary", in K. Potter, ed., *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IX, *Buddhist Philosophy from 350 to 600 A.D.*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 2003, pp. 217–54
26. Articles reprinted in Paul Williams, ed., *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, London: Routledge, 2005: Vol. I, "Pali Oral Literature", pp. 96–104; "The Dating of the Historical Buddha: A Review Article", pp. 105–12; Vol. II, "Buddhist *jhāna*: Its Nature and Attainment According to the Pali Sources", pp. 34–51; "The 'Five Points' and the Origins of the Buddhist Schools", pp. 52–83; "Person and Self", pp. 84–101; Vol. III, "Śākiyabhikkhu/Sakyabhikkhu/Śākyabhiṣu: A Mistaken Link to the Mahā-yāna", pp. 1–25; Vol. IV, "The *Paṭṭhāna* and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma", pp. 52–70; "Nibbāna and Abhidhamma", pp. 71–81
27. "Scholar Monks and Meditator Monks Revisited", in John Powers and Charles S. Prebish, eds., *Destroying Māra Forever: Buddhist Ethics Essays in Honor of Damien Keown*, Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 2009, pp. 31–46
28. "Abhidhamma Studies I: Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭṭikā*", *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies* II (2011), pp. 1–36
29. "The Teachings of the Abhayagiri School" in Peter Skilling, et al., eds., *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012, pp. 67–127
30. "The Early Development of Buddhist Literature and Language in India", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* V (2013), pp. 89–135
31. "Tambapāṇīya and Tāmrasātiya", *Journal of Buddhist Studies (Sri Lanka)* XI (2013), pp. 21–46

32. "The Sutta on Mindfulness with In and Out Breathing" in K.L. Dhammadajoti, ed., *Buddhist Meditative Praxis: Traditional Teachings and Modern Applications*, Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, 2015, pp. 1–24
33. "Abhidhamma Studies II: Sanskrit Abhidharma Literature of the Mahā-vihāravāsins", *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies*, IV (2013), pp. 1–61
34. "The Case of the Abhidhamma Commentary" *JIABS* 36–37 (2013–2014) (2015) pp. 389–422
35. L.S. Cousins, "Abhidhamma Studies III: Origins of the Canonical Abhi-dha(r)mma Literature", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 8 (2015), 96–145
36. "Sanskrit Abhidharma Literature of the Mahāvihāravāsins", in B. Dessein and W. Teng (eds.), *Text, History, and Philosophy: Abhidharma Across Buddhist Scholastic Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Forthcoming.

B-1. Editor

37. *Index to the Mahāniddesa*, PTS, 1995

B-2. Co-Editor

38. Co-editor with A. Kunst and K.R. Norman, *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1974
39. Co-editor with Nyanaponika Mahāthera and C.M.M. Shaw; Nānamoli, tr., *The Dispeller of Delusion*, Vols. I and II, PTS, 1986, 1991
40. Co-editor with John D. Smith. Special issue in honour of K.R. Norman, *IIJ*, 35.2 & 3 (1992)
41. Co-editor with Y. Ousaka and M. Yamazaki, *Reverse Index to the Mahā-niddesa*, digital edition, 1999

C. Review Articles

42. "Dhammapāla and the Ṭīkā Literature", *Religion*, 2 (1972), 159–65. Review of Lily de Silva, *Dīghanikāya-āṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, Pali Text Society, 1970
43. "Christian–Buddhist Debate", *The Expository Times*, 38.3 (1976), p. 92. Review of Lynn A. de Silva, *The Problem of the Self in Buddhism and Christianity*, Colombo (1975)
44. "Indian Philosophy", *The Expository Times*, 87.11 (1976), p. 349. Review of R. Puligandla, *Fundamentals of Indian Philosophy*, Abingdon
45. "Inside and Outside" review of Irmgard Schloegl, *The Zen Way* (Sheldon Press); Geoffrey Parrinder, *The Wisdom of the Early Buddhists* (Sheldon

Press); and Ernest Wood, *Zen Dictionary* (Penguin) in *The Expository Times*, 89.5 (1978), p. 154

46. "The Dating of the Historical Buddha: A Review Article", *JRAS* VI (1996), pp. 57–63 (review of Heinz Bechert, ed., *Die Datierung des Historischen Buddha*, 2 vols. (of 3) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991–1992)

D. Reviews

47. A.T. Welford, *Christianity: A Psychologist's Translation*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1971; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, Vol. I, *From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534–1603*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971; Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief*, New York: Harper & Row, 1970; and Saddhātissa, *The Buddha's Way*, London: H. Allen & Unwin, 1971; reviewed in *Religion*, 2.1 (1972), pp. 76–82

48. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1971; reviewed in *Religion*, 4.1 (1974), pp. 81–83

49. B.C. Olschak & Geshé T. Wangyal, *Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet*, Allen & Unwin, 1973; reviewed under the title "Tibetan Religious Art" in *The Expository Times*, Vol. 85 (1974) p. 286

50. D. Howard Smith, *Confucius (Makers of New Worlds Series)*, London: Temple Smith, 1973; William A. Christian, Jnr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley*, London: Seminar Press, 1973; M.E. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1971; reviewed in *Religion*, 4.1 (1974), pp. 79–83

51. S.M. Stern and Sofie Walzer, *Three Unknown Buddhist Stories in an Arabic Version*, University of South Carolina Press, 1971; reviewed in *Journal of Semitic Studies*; Vol. XIX.1 (1974), pp. 155–56

52. Oscar Shaftel, *An Understanding of the Buddha*, New York: Schocken, 1974; reviewed in *Journal of Asian Studies*, 36.1 (1974), pp. 120–21

53. Tenzin Gyatso (Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho), the XIVth Dalai Lama, *The Buddhism of Tibet and the Key to the Middle Way*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1975; and Nāgārjuna, *The Precious Garland and the Song of the Four Mindfulnesses*, tr. by Jeffrey Hopkins, Lati Rimpoché, and Anne Klein, London: Allen & Unwin; reviewed under the title "The Wisdom of Tibet" in *The Expository Times*, 87.5 (1976), pp. 157f.

54. The Open University, *Man's Religious Quest : The Noble Path of Buddhism*; reviewed in *Religion*, 9.1 (1979), pp. 125–27

55. Kurt Rudolph, *Die Gnosis: Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion*, Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1977; Julia Ching, *Confucianism and Christianity: A Comparative Study*, Tokyo: Kodansha International,

1977; Francis H. Cook, *Hua-Yen Buddhism*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977; and Hee-Jin Kim, *Dogen Kigen: Mystical Realist*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977; reviewed in *Religion*, 9.2 (1979), pp. 231–49

56. Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, tr., *The Bhagavata-Purana*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi das, 1976; Joseph Head and S. L. Cranston, *Reincarnation: The Phoenix Fire Mystery*, New York: Crown, 1977; and Grace G. Harris, *Casting Out Anger: Religion Among the Taita of Kenya*, Cambridge University Press; reviewed in *Religion*, Vol. 10.2 (1980), pp. 222–47

57. David Dean Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition*, Princeton University Press 1980; Hubert Bucher, *Spirits and Power: An Analysis of Shona Cosmology*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1981; and Walther Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (1980); reviewed in *Religion*, 12.2 (1982), pp. 175–86

58. Winston L. King, *Theravada Meditation: The Buddhist Transformation of Yoga*, University Park & London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980; reviewed in *Religion*, 12.2 (1982), pp. 185–86

59. K.R. Norman, tr., with alternative translations by I.B. Horner and Walpola Rahula, *The Group of Discourses (Sutta-nipāta)*, Vol. I, PTS, 1984; reviewed in *JRAS* (1985), pp. 219–20

60. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, tr., *The Path of Discrimination*, PTS, 1982; reviewed in *IIJ*, Vol. 28.3 (1985), pp. 209–12

61. Fumimaro Watanabe: *Philosophy and Its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi das, 1983; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 48.1 (1985), pp. 155–56

62. Bhikshu Sangharakshita, *The Eternal Legacy: An Introduction to the Canonical Literature of Buddhism*, London: Tharpa, 1985; reviewed in *Studies in Comparative Religion*, 17 (1987), pp. 118–20

63. Peter Masefield, *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1986; reviewed in *Studies in Comparative Religion* 17 (1987), pp. 122–25

64. Paul J. Griffiths: *On Being Mindless: Buddhist Meditation and the Mind–Body Problem*, La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1986; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 51 (1988), pp. 579–80

65. S.R. Goyal, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, 1987; reviewed in *JRAS*, Vol. 121.1 (1989), pp. 168–69

66. David Seyfort Ruegg, *Buddha-Nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective: On the Transmission and Reception of*

Buddhism in India and Tibet; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 55 (1992), pp. 347–48

67. Damien Keown, *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics*, New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1992; reviewed in *Religious Studies*, Vol. 30 (1994), pp. 252–54

68. K. R. Norman, *The Group of Discourses (Sutta-nipāta)*, Vol. II, PTS, 1992; reviewed in *JRAS* IV (1994), pp. 291–92

69. John S. Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia*; reviewed in *JRAS*, Vol. 4 (1994), pp. 114–15

70. Uma Cakravarti, *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987; reviewed in *Religion* Vol. 24.1 (1994), pp. 88f.

71. Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, tr. by Paul Groner, University of Hawai'i Press, 1990; reviewed in *Religion* Vol. 24.1 (1994), pp. 89–91

72. David Seyfort Ruegg and Lambert Schmithausen, eds., *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka*, Leiden: Brill, 1990; reviewed in *IIJ*, Vol. 38.1 (1995)

73. Peter Masefield, *The Udāna Commentary (Paramatthadīpanī nāma Udānaṭhā-kathā)*, Vols. I and II, PTS, 1994–1995; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 59.3 (1996), pp. 580–81

74. Reginald A. Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study of Buddhist Values and Orientations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 59.1 (1996), pp. 172–73

75. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, tr., *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995; reviewed in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, Vol. 4 (1997), pp. 260–80

76. Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 2, Berlin, 1996; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 61.1 (1998), pp. 155–56

77. Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali imaginaire*, Cambridge University Press, 1988; reviewed in *BSR*, Vol. 17.2 (2000), p. 236

78. Darmatatrā, *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya: The Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions*, tr. by Bart Dessein, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1999; reviewed in *The Middle Way*, Vol. 76.2 (2001), pp. 119–22

79. Carol S. Anderson, *Pain and Its Ending: The Four Noble Truths in the Theravāda Buddhist Canon*, Richmond, UK: Curzon Press (1999); reviewed in *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, Vol. 8 (2001), pp. 36–41

80. Richard F. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 62 (1999), pp. 372–73

81. Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 2001; reviewed in *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Saṃbhāṣā*, Vol. 22 (2002), pp. 244–45
82. Anālayo, *Satipaṭṭhāna: The Direct Path to Realization*, Birmingham UK: Windhorse Publications, 2003; reviewed in *BSR*, Vol. 23.1 (2006), pp. 131–34
83. Richard Salomon, *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the “Songs of Lake Anavatapta” (Anavatapta-gāthā)*, Seattle WA: University of Washington Press, 2014; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 74 (2011), pp. 494–96
84. Primoz Pecenko, *Ānguttaranikāyapurāṇaṭīkā, Catutthā Līnatthapakāśinī*, PTS, 2012; reviewed in *BSOAS*, Vol. 76.3 (2014), pp. 527–28

“And there is this stanza in this connection”:
The Usage of *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha* in Pāli
Commentarial Literature

Petra Kieffer-Pülz

In memoriam L.S. Cousins

INTRODUCTION

In their canonical exegeses the authors of commentarial Pāli literature use specific terms and expressions, often insignificant words, to introduce objections, replies, comparisons, quotations, stanzas, etc. The use of such terms and expressions is not static, but subject to change. A term very common for a certain time period may be used less frequently in the course of time, whereas other terms might come up, and be applied with increasing frequency. If one examines not only a single term or expression, but several, their distribution in the texts may, at least partly, serve as evidence for a relative dating of the texts. Furthermore, a thorough knowledge of their usage may help in uncovering problematic text transmissions and in establishing texts. When one knows that, for instance, *āha ca* introduces quotations, one can start a targeted search for the source, instead of trying to connect the verbal expression with the subject of the sentence;¹ when one knows that the *āha* in the combination “*ti āha*” may introduce a quotation,² one looks for the quotation in the subsequent text, not in the text preceding the *ti*;³ when one knows that *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha* introduces stanzas, one does not treat what follows as a prose text but rather tries to find the metre in a text

¹ Kieffer-Pülz 2014: n. 68.

² In that case the *ti* concludes the preceding sentence and *āha* introduces a subsequent quotation.

³ See for these two cases Kieffer-Pülz 2014: §§ 2, 6.

passage which only seems to be a prose text.⁴ And when one knows that the same phrase sometimes introduces stanzas from other texts, occasionally even from another text by the same author, one starts a search for the source, and if one succeeds may be able to determine the relative succession of an author's texts. Thus the investigation of such unremarkable terms and expressions of seemingly little significance may show that, although unassuming, they are essential for our constituting and understanding the Pāli texts.

The expression examined in the present article is *hoti* (or *honti*, rarely *bhavanti*) *c' ettha*, literally “[there] is/are in this connection”. This translation can be extended to “[there] is [a stanza]” or “[there] are [stanzas] in this connection”, because *hoti/honti c' ettha* always introduces stanzas. The basis for our examination is the corpus of texts on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana-CD-Rom version 3 (CSCD) which includes the canonical texts, the commentaries of the *atthakathā* and *ṭīkā* layers as well as single sub- and sub-subcommentaries, extra canonical treatises, chronicles, grammatical works, etc., up to the twentieth century.

In addition to this corpus of texts a number of texts available in searchable form were consulted. Among them the following had not one reference: Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla's *Sīmālankārasaṅgahavaṇṇanā* (around A.D. 1447/53), a *ṭīkā* on Vācissara's *Sīmālankārasaṅgaha*, Sirimaṅgala's *Vessantaradīpanī* (A.D. 1517), a commentary on the *Vessantarajātaka*, Vimalabuddhi's/Vajirabuddhi's *Mukhamattadīpanī* (ca. eleventh century A.D.), a *ṭīkā* on the *Kaccāyana* grammar, and the *Vamsatthappakāśinī* (ca. tenth century A.D.), a *ṭīkā* on the *Mahāvamsa*. Other texts yield altogether twenty-one references. Two of them are in Nāṇakitti's *Samantapāśādikā-atthayojanā*, a fifteenth century commentary on the *Samantapāśādikā* from Lan Na (present-day Northern Thailand, B.1.3), and one in his *Pātimokkhasuttaganṭhidīpanī* (B.1.6.4). Two references are found in the anonymous and undated *Patisambhidā-maggaganṭhipada* (after around the eighth or ninth century and before 1165 A.D., B.2.4), where the unique expression *honti c' ettha gāthāyo*,

⁴ See below, Catalogue § B.2.1.2.

“there are [these] stanzas in this connection” is used once. Three references are met with in Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (A.D. 1447/1453, Burma), a subcommentary on Anuruddha’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (B.3.4), and five in Ariyavāma’s *Maṇisāraṇamañjuśā* (A.D. 1466, Burma), another subcommentary on the same *mūla* text (B.3.5). In Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* (1447/53 A.D.), a subcommentary on the *Kaccāyana* grammar, the expression appears three times (B.4.2). In Vedeha’s *Rasavāhinī* (later thirteenth century A.D.) altogether four instances could be traced, two of which are not on the CSCD (B.6.1). In Dhammadikittī’s *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ca. A.D. 1400, present day Thailand) one reference is contained (B.7.1), and in Siddhattha’s *Sārasaṅgaha* (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.) two (B.9.1).

Several of the texts in which *hoti/honti c’ ettha* appears are only available in Burmese or Sinhalese editions, and, for most of the texts in which this expression is used, no translations in any Western language exist. The evaluation of the function of this expression, however, requires a thorough investigation of each single reference, the translation of the stanzas so introduced, and an examination of the context in which they are placed. In order to make the results presented here traceable all references are given with a translation in a Catalogue appended to this article.

Altogether we have one hundred and four references, eighty-three from the corpus of texts included in the CSCD, seven of them belonging to the *atṭhakathā* layer,⁵ seventy-six to the *ṭīkā* layer,⁶ and twenty-one

⁵ The fifth and sixth centuries are regularly given as dates for the *atṭhakathās*, but there are also still younger commentaries in the *atṭhakathā* layer as, for instance, the *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā* (ninth century A.D.) or the undated *Apadānaṭṭhakathā* which is considered the youngest of the *atṭhakathās* (von Hinüber 1996: § 306), or the *Buddhavamsaṭṭhakathā* which, if Dimitrov (forthcoming) is correct in his identification of its author with Ratnamati, would belong to the tenth century A.D. Hence “*atṭhakathā* layer” as used here comprises all *atṭhakathās* bearing that title from the fifth century onwards, but not the older *Sīhaṭṭhakathā*.

from texts which originated between around the tenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., and which are not included on the CSCD or at least not in their entirety.

Notwithstanding that the text corpus on the CSCD is not an absolute measure, and even though the texts additionally checked are only part of a large number of Pāli texts not yet accessible in databases or searchable editions, the material examined gives us a first clue about the frequency and distribution of our expression. It shows that

- (1) *hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha* is not used in canonical texts.
- (2) *hoti/honti c' ettha* is only rarely used (altogether seven times) in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer, and the variant *bhavanti c' ettha* does not occur.

The references are restricted to commentaries on the Vinaya- and Sutta-piṭaka.

They are scattered throughout five *aṭṭhakathās*, namely, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā*, the *Suttanipāṭhaṭṭhakathā*, the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, and the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā*. Since the *Suttanipāṭhaṭṭhakathā* borrows from the *Samantapāsādikā* (A.2.2.1), there remain four *aṭṭhakathās* with an independent use of that expression. In two of them (*Samantapāsādikā*, *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā*) altogether four *hoti/honti c' ettha* references are transmitted. All have parallels in other *aṭṭhakathās* where the stanzas are introduced by *ten' etam*

⁶ Generally the beginning of the *ṭīkā* literature is placed around the twelfth century A.D., but the first *ṭīkās* were written as early as the late sixth or early seventh century A.D. (Ānanda's *Mūlaṭīkā*). Within *ṭīkās* we differentiate between old, new, newer (*purāṇa-*, *nava-*, *abhinavaṭīkā*, etc.); furthermore, there are other types of commentaries such as, for instance, the *atthayojanās* (see von Hinüber 2007: 102), so there is no upper limit for the origin of commentaries. “*Ṭīkā layer*” is used here for all *ṭīkās* and other texts written after the sixth or early seventh century that are not explicitly characterized as *aṭṭhakathās*. But actually the earliest *ṭīkās* containing our expression belong to about the tenth century A.D.

vuccati (A.1.1.1–2.1.2), which is the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* layer.⁷

In one instance, i.e. in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, *hoti c’ ettha* — contrary to its usual application — introduces canonical stanzas (A.2.3.1). This reference is, however, suspicious for different reasons. We, therefore, should ponder the possibility that *hoti c’ ettha* has been inserted by some copyist in this case. There remains a single reference where the stanzas do not have parallels in other *atthakathās* (but only in younger *ṭīkās*), namely in Dhammapāla’s *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā*.

- (3) *honti c’ ettha gāthā/gāthāyo* is used in one *gaṇthipada* commentary. Since only very few texts of this commentary class are available (the *Paṭisambhidhāmaggaganthipada* has two references, the *Visuddhimaggaganthipada* none), no quantitative statements regarding this commentary class are possible for the time being.
- (4) the usage of *hoti/honti c’ ettha* increases in younger Pāli literature (*bhavanti c’ ettha* only twice) beginning with the *ṭīkās*. We have altogether 104 references in the Pāli literature from the tenth to twentieth centuries investigated here, including *ṭīkās* as well as independent treatises. Seventy-one references in the *ṭīkā* literature belong to Vinaya (thirty-three), Sutta (nineteen), and Abhidhamma texts (nineteen); twenty-six are scattered throughout grammatical (six), rhetorical (one), and narrative literature (four), chronicles (twelve), veneration literature (one), and compendia (*saṅgaha*, two).

⁷ There are seven references in the *Cullaniddesa* (twice introducing prose; five times introducing the stanza commented upon at the end of the commentarial section; normally these repetitions of the commented stanzas are introduced by *tenāha* plus the individual who was considered to have spoken the stanzas). Altogether seventy-nine references are in the *atthakathā* layer and twenty-one in the *ṭīkā* layer.

The total number of references for the *hoti/honti c' ettha* expression is small compared to the number of texts searched, and to other introductory expressions used for canonical quotations, which amount to several thousand. Our examination of this expression has shown that its usage begins only later in the fifth/sixth century A.D. in *atthakathās* to the Vinaya- and Sutta-pitaka. It increases from the tenth century onward, first with a clear predominance in Vinaya *tiikās*, later also in Abhidhamma *tiikās*, grammatical works, and chronicles.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

With respect to the regional distribution, two of the early references stem from the *Samantapāsādikā*. Whether this commentary was written by Buddhaghosa — a South Indian — is debatable;⁸ it is, however, a fact that its author(s) took into account Sri Lankan and South Indian traditions by evaluating sources from both areas (A.1.1). The only reference from the *atthakathā* layer where the stanzas introduced by *honti c' ettha* do not have parallels in other *atthakathās* and thus are used in the same manner mainly employed in the *tiikā* layer is the *Cariyāpitakatthakathā* by Dhammapāla of Badaraittha, a South Indian (A.2.4).

The authors of the *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* and the *Suttanipāṭṭhaṭṭhakathā* are unknown, but the way in which they refer to Sīhaṭadīpa, according to von Hinüber, suggests that they were composed in Sri Lanka.⁹ The author of the latter, however, did not use the expression independently. Chronologically these two commentaries are younger than Buddhaghosa's commentaries, and eventually even younger than Dhammapāla's *atthakathās* since expressions that become usual in sub-commentary literature are applied in them more frequently than in other *atthakathās*.¹⁰

⁸ See the considerations by von Hinüber 1996: § 220.

⁹ von Hinüber 1996: § 259.

¹⁰ Kieffer-Püllz 2014: 64.

From the *ṭīkā* layer, the authors of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. tenth century A.D., B.1.1)¹¹ and the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* (between the tenth and twelfth century A.D., B.1.4) belonged to one lineage that took into account the Sri Lankan as well as a South Indian tradition.¹² Regarding Dhammadapāla, the author of the *Suttaṭīkās* (B.2.1, 2.3), his affiliation depends on whether he is the author of the *atṭhakathās* or a different author of the same name. In the first case he would be South Indian, in the second, his place of origin is unknown. Coliya Kassapa (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D., B.3.1), a native of Sri Lanka,¹³ represents a South Indian *araṇīṇavāsin* tradition. Sāriputta (twelfth century A.D., B.1.2) and his pupils (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), namely Buddhānāga, author of the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī-abhinavatīkā* (B.1.5), the anonymous author of the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and the *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* (B.1.6) as well as Sumaṅgala, the Abhidhamma commentator (B.3.2, 3.3) are all Sri Lankans.

The same holds true for the grammarians Buddhappīya (B.4.1) and Saṅgharakkhita (B.4.3), for the narrator Vedeha (B.6.1), and for Siddhattha (B.9.1). According to Warder the author of the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhīpada* wrote in Sri Lanka too.¹⁴ Only a few of our sources originate in areas of present day Thailand, namely the texts by Nāṇakitti from Lan Na (fifteenth century A.D.), and Dhammadakitti's *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ca. A.D. 1400). A larger number of our younger authors come from Burma, namely Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (fifteenth century A.D., B.3.4, 4.2), Ariyavamṣa (fifteenth century A.D., B.3.5), the author of the *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavatīkā* (ca. fifteenth? century A.D., B.5.1), Sāgarabuddhi (sixteenth century A.D., B.1.9), Tipiṭakālaṅkāra (seventeenth century A.D., B.1.8), Nāṇābhivamṣa (1743–1832, B.2.2),

¹¹ For a discussion of the authorship of this work, see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I, 45–57; Dimitrov (forthcoming): ch. 2.9.

¹² Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 57f.

¹³ Crosby/Skilton 1999.

¹⁴ Warder in: Paṭis transl.: li.

Paññāsāmi (nineteenth century A.D., B.7.2), and Revata (1874–1945, B.8.1). We thus see a clear predominance of Sri Lankan authors in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, and of Burmese authors from the fifteenth century onwards. The small number of authors from the areas of present day Thailand may be partly explained by the fact that only a few texts of that tradition have so far been made available, even fewer in a searchable form. But it is remarkable that the few texts at our disposal either do not have one example of the *hoti c' ettha* formula (*Milindaṇikā* named *Madhuratthappakāśinī*, A.D. 1474, *Vessantara-dīpanī*, A.D. 1517) or borrowed those they do have from older sources (*Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā*, B.1.3; *Pātimokkhasuttaganthidīpanī*, fifteenth century A.D., B.1.6.4; *Saddhammasaṅgaha* ca. 1400, B.7.1).

BORROWED OR ORIGINAL?

Characteristically, stanzas introduced with *hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha* end in *iti/ti*, which normally does not form part of the stanza.¹⁵ This *iti/ti* can indicate the end of the quotation, marking the stanzas as text borrowed from another source, or simply indicate the end of the stanzas. Regarding the references from the *atthakathā* literature, excluding the one from Dhammapāla's *Cariyāpiṭaka-atthakathā*, they all have parallels in the *atthakathā* layer, where they are introduced by other introductory expressions.¹⁶ Thus the reference from Dhammapāla's commentary is the only one which resembles the usage of the *hoti/honti c'ettha* in the early *tiṭkā* literature. There the stanzas mostly do not have parallels and are so closely interwoven with the preceding prose texts that their being borrowed from other sources is highly unlikely. It is rather to be assumed that they are the work of the authors themselves. This is

¹⁵ An exception to this is one Upajāti stanza in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (B.1.1.9).

¹⁶ We cannot exclude the possibility that the *hoti/honti c'ettha* expression was introduced into the early commentaries only during the transmission process by some copyist. In one case this is very probable (A.2.3.1); in another case such an insertion — if it was one — had to have taken place before the twelfth century A.D. (A.1.1.2) because the subcommentator then commented upon it.

especially true for the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* (B.1.1), the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.5), and the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhipada* (B.2.4), but also for the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and *Uttaravinicchaya-ṭīkā* (B.1.6), etc. In other cases the authors borrow stanzas from an older work of their own. Dhammapāla for instance in his *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭikā* presents stanzas he had written in his earlier *ṭīkā* on the *Visuddhimagga* (B.2.3.1). Sumaṅgala in his commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* has the same stanza as in his slightly older commentary on the *Abhidhammāvatāra* (B.3.2.4 = 3.3.1). Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla in his subcommentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* quotes stanzas from his *Nāmacāradīpaka* (B.3.4.1–3).

Other authors borrow the stanzas from someone else’s text. Thus Ariyavamṣa presents stanzas from Sumaṅgala’s *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭikā* (B.3.5.4–5), Sāgarabuddhi borrows stanzas from the *Mūla-sikkhā* (B.1.9.1.2), the author of the *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭikā* takes over stanzas from Vanaratana Medhaṅkara’s *Payogasiddhi* (B.5.1.1), and Siddhattha quotes stanzas from Anuruddha’s *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (B.9.1.1–2). Yet again, others translate Sanskrit stanzas into Pāli, as Sumaṅgala possibly does in his commentary on the *Abhidhammāvatāra* (B.3.2.1; 3.2.3). While yet again others took over larger parts including stanzas, like the author of the *Kaṅkhāvitaranīpurāṇaṭikā* from the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* (B.1.4.2), Dhammapāla in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭikā* (B.2.1.1) from the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭhakathā* (A.2.4.1), Nāṇābhivamṣa from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭikā* (B.2.2.9), Nāṇakitti from the *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.3), Tipiṭakālaṅkāra from the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.8), Sumaṅgala in his *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭikā* from Sāriputta’s Sinhalese *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-sannaya* (B.3.3.1–5), Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla in his *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* possibly from older sources (B.4.2.1–3), Dhammadakitti from the *Rasavāhinī* (B.7.1), and Revata from the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* or the *Sārasaṅgaha* (B.8.1). Authors may also write new stanzas imitating stanzas by others, like Ariyavamṣa, who imitated Sumaṅgala (B.3.5.2–3).

NUMBER OF STANZAS INTRODUCED

The singular (*hoti c' ettha*) generally introduces one stanza, but there are four cases in which more stanzas follow a *hoti c' ettha* introduction.¹⁷ One case is in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (A.2.3.1), a possibly corrupted text passage, since the various countries' textual traditions differ in the number of stanzas which follow (one or two). The same may hold true for the reference in the *Vinayālañkāraṭīkā* (between A.D. 1639 and 1651, Burma). Here the author borrowed the stanzas from Buddhanāga's *Kankhāvitarañī-abhinavaṭīkā* where they are correctly introduced by *honti c' ettha* (B.1.5.1). The two cases in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. tenth century A.D., Sri Lanka) might also result from a faulty textual transmission (B.1.1.2; 1.1.10), because the author uses this expression ten times, and otherwise diligently differentiates between *hoti* and *honti*. If this assumption is correct, then *hoti c' ettha* is consistently used to introduce a single stanza only, and, just as one would expect, the plural *honti c' ettha* introduces more than one.

CONTENT AND FUNCTION OF THE STANZAS

The *hoti/honti c' ettha* stanzas often conclude chapters or paragraphs or, at the very least, subsections. They very often summarize a preceding prose statement, giving its gist. The stanzas in the commentaries to the Vinaya mostly refer to specific regulations, for instance to the question whether designations can become the foundation of an unfounded accusation (Vjb, B.1.1.2). Or they explain the particularity of a rule or regulation.¹⁸ Or they equate various currencies in connection with the rule of theft for which an exact rating of the value of a stolen good is essential (Utt-vn-t, B.1.6.4). Some of the stanzas function as mnemonics, for instance, for the monastic boundary (*sīmā*; Kkh-nt, B.1.5.2), for the factors for the preliminary duties and the beginning of the

¹⁷ Jā III 409,7–9 (A.2.3.1); Vjb 199,11–19 (B.1.1.2); 584,18–85,5 (B.1.1.10); Pālim-nt I 380,5–19 (B.1.5.1).

¹⁸ Vjb (B.1.1.4; 1.1.5; 1.1.6); Kkh-pt (B.1.4.1); Kkh-nt (B.1.5.6); Vin-vn-t (B.1.6.1).

uposatha ceremony (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.3), for the factors relevant for one who wants to renounce the Buddhist community (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.4), for the names of all the first wrong-doers in the monks' and nuns' communities (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.5), for the ten pretexts used in incriminating another monk of having committed an offence (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.7), for the eighteen matters making for schism (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.8), for the five factors characterizing a proper bowl (Vin-vn-t, B.1.6.3), or for the different types of heavy goods (*garubhaṇḍa*; Khuddas-pt, B.1.7.1).

Others are of a more general nature, enumerating the seven factors characterizing the origin of the *Vinaya* (Vjb, B.1.1.1), prompting someone who does not accept a *Vinaya* decision to look for *Vinaya* specialists (Vjb, B.1.1.3), prompting someone else to search for a reason why a regulation was given at another place in a text (Vin-vn-t, B.1.6.2), explaining that a bhikkhu should be able to understand difficult terms from a specific point onward (Vjb, B.1.1.7), hinting at the fact that commentators make the variegated speech of the Buddha still more manifold (Vjb, B.1.1.9), or that one who is vain about his learning harms the Buddhist teaching (Vjb, B.1.1.10).

Again others give a kind of moral (Vjb, B.1.1.8; Sās, B.7.2.7–10) or the gist of a preceding story (Sās, B.7.2.6; Ras, B.6.1.2–3), albeit sometimes connected with more general observations such as the great value inherent in the utterance of the words *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, *Saṅgha* (Ras, B.6.1.1), or the great value of the *Dhamma* as such (Ras, B.6.1.4). The *Sāsanavamsa* chronicle also contains such general statements, in this case centring around death, etc. (Sās, B.7.2.1–4), but they are in addition linked to the events previously described (First, Second, Third Council, etc.).

Specific subject matter was of wider interest for the daily life of the monks. For instance, the definition of the seasons and the dates of the *uposatha* ceremonies. Two versions are transmitted in our stanzas (Kkh-nt, B.1.5.1; Sīmāvis = Mūlas, B.1.9.1.2). Another topic of special interest was the definition of an *arahat* found in four texts (Sp = Sn-a, A.1.1.2 = A.2.2.1; Sp-t, B.1.2.1; Ps-pt, B.2.3.1). The word *samaya* used

throughout the canon is defined in many commentaries. Accordingly one finds stanzas summarizing the information concerning this word's usage in several texts (Sp, A.1.1.1; Khp-a, A.2.1.2).

The stanzas in the new commentary on the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (1800) in particular contain definitions of terms connected with the teaching and the correct understanding of its meaning, definitions of *desanā*, *sāsana*, and *kathā* (Sv-ant, B.2.2.1), *sadda*, *dhamma*, *desanā* (Sv-ant, B.2.2.2), two ways to reject a meaning (Sv-ant, B.2.2.3), or various aspects of *attha*, (Sv-ant, B.2.2.4–2.2.14). Dhammapāla's older subcommentary on the *Dīghanikāya* describes the structure of the *Paṭṭhāna* text (Sv-pt, B.2.1.2), and the parallel to the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* (A.2.4.1) is a summary of epithets of a Buddha (Sv-pt, B.2.1.1).

The stanzas in commentaries on Abhidhamma matters, like those on Vinaya questions, also enumerate factors for important terms. Sumaṅgala (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), the author of two commentaries on two different Abhidhamma manuals, summarizes why a *kusala* mind pertaining to a wished for object is possible (Abhidh-av-nt, B.3.2.1); he summarizes the keywords of the various explanations of *somanassa-sahagatabhāva* (Abhidh-av-nt, B.3.2.2); he defines how consciousness belongs to the sense-sphere (Abhidh-av-nt = Abhidh-s-mht, B.3.2.4 = 3.3.1); he explains why the five hindrances are specified as factors that are abandoned (Abhidh-av-nt, B.3.2.5); he explains the stage of restlessness (Abhidh-s-mht, B.3.3.2); he gives explanations for the two types of deluded consciousness (Abhidh-s-mht, B.3.3.3) or for the four pairs of resultants (Abhidh-s-mht, B.3.3.4) or for retention (Abhidh-s-mht, B.3.3.5). As the present investigation has shown, he borrowed all this from his teacher's Sinhalese commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, i.e. from Sāriputta's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-sannaya*. Thus the treatment of the material finally is to be attributed to Sāriputta of Polonnaruva.

Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla in his *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* defines the usage of the terms “very great”, “great”, “slight”, and “very slight” with respect to objects depending on the moment when they come into range within a perception process

(Abhidh-s-sv, B.3.4.1); he lists the various types of individuals (Abhidh-s-sv, B.3.4.2) and defines the measures relevant in connection with the Brahma world (Abhidh-s-sv, B.3.4.3).

The stanzas used in grammatical and rhetorical texts — with few exceptions (Kacc-nidd, B.4.2.1; Mogg-p-t, B.4.3.2) — summarize earlier prose statements (Rüp, B.4.1.1; Kacc-nidd, B.4.2.2-3; Mogg-pt, B.4.3.1; Subodh-ant, B.5.1.1). The stanza in the *Rūpasiddhi* states when the first case (nominative) is applied (B.4.1.1). In his *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla deals at length with the question of why the rule Kacc 63 is formulated in applying *etimāsam* (gen.pl.f.) instead of *etimānam* (gen.pl.m.). In that connection several sources are quoted from which the stanzas also originate at least in part (B.4.2.1-3).

In discussing rule [2.18] of the Moggallāna grammar Saṅgharakkhita summarizes the two forms of an agent, applied and not applied (B.4.3.1), and in commenting on rule [2.40], “addressing” (āmantana), he adds two stanzas which in a nutshell give the meanings of āmantana. The commentary on the handbook of rhetoric, the *Subodhālankāra-abhinavatīkā*, finally contains seven stanzas which explain the functions of a word with reference to the complete ascertainment of the meaning of a word, etc. (B.5.1.1). In narrative literature as well as in chronicles the stanzas mostly give the gist of the preceding prose passages (B.6, 7), whereas in the Saṅgaha literature the stanzas constitute the text which as a whole is compiled out of quotations (B.9).

EVALUATION OF THE USAGE OF STANZAS IN PĀLI LITERATURE

Among the *ṭīkās* which contain the *hoti/honti c' ettha* expression the oldest is the anonymous, undated *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. tenth century A.D.). Considering the low number of seven references in the whole *atthakathā* literature, ten references solely in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* stands out. This is the case even if we compare the other *ṭīkās*. With the exception of relatively recent texts from nineteenth century Burma, namely the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-abhinavatīkā* (ca. A.D. 1800) with fourteen, and the *Sāsanavaṃsa* chronicle (A.D. 1861) with eleven references,

no other text has so many *hoti/honti c' ettha* references. From the earlier *ṭīkās* Buddhanāga's *Kaṇkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭīkā* (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186 (?)¹⁹ with eight unique references comes closest to the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*.

Most other texts only have between one and five references.²⁰ It is, however, not only the number of references which distinguishes the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* and, to a lesser degree, the *Kaṇkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭīkā* from the other *ṭīkās*. The stanzas in both these texts are unique, and generally so closely interwoven with the preceding prose texts that they most probably stem from the *ṭīkākāras*' pens. This uniqueness they share with the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭīhipada*, where altogether fifty-four stanzas (without known parallels) are presented in two blocks, introduced by respectively *honti c' ettha* and *honti c' ettha gāthāyo*. These stanzas form a *nirodhakathā* written by the author of the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭīhipada* himself as he states at the end of the stanzas (B.2.4.2). A further element which the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* shares

¹⁹ Kkh-ṇṭ originated after Sp-ṭ (after A.D. 1165) from which it borrows passages, and probably during the lifetime of Parakkamabāhu I (reign A.D. 1153–86), because Buddhanāga speaks of this king as a still living person (Rohanadeera 1985: 27f.).

²⁰ One reference: Sp-ṭ (twelfth century A.D., after A.D. 1165, before Kkh-ṇṭ), Pāt-gp (A.D. 1492/3), Khuddas-ṭ (before thirteenth century A.D.), Utt-vn-ṭ (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.), Ps-ṭ (ca. tenth century A.D.), Moh (early thirteenth century A.D.), Rūp (early twelfth century A.D.), Mogg-p-ṭ (middle of thirteenth century A.D.), Subodh-anṭ (ca. fifteenth? century A.D.), Saddhamma-s (fourteenth century A.D.), Namak (A.D. 1945), Ss (twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D.).

Two references: Sp-y (fifteenth century A.D., before 1492/93), Kkh-pt (after tenth century, before A.D. 1165), Pālim-ṇṭ (after A.D. 1639, before 1651), Sīmāvis (A.D. 1587), Sv-ṭ (ca. tenth century A.D.).

Three references: Vin-vn-ṭ (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) Abhidh-s-sv (A.D. 1447/53), Kacc-nidd (A.D. 1447/53).

Four references: Ras (late thirteenth century A.D.).

Five references: Abhidh-s-mhṭ (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), Abhidh-av-ṇṭ (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), Maṇis (A.D. 1466).

with the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhipada* is the variety of metres used. Whereas in all other texts — except the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* — the stanzas are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, those in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* are in the Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti, Indravajra, and Upendravajra metres (B.1.1). In the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhipada* Triṣṭubh and Anuṣṭubh metres alternate rhythmically in the first thirty stanzas (4 T., 7 A., 1 T., 4 A., 4 T., 7 A., 1 T., 2 A.) and without a recognizable sequence in the second group of twenty-four stanzas (5 A., 5 T., 9 A., 2 T., 3 A.).

The only other text with a different metre is the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* with an Āryā stanza (B.2.1.2). Given that the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* are to be dated approximately to the tenth century A.D., a similar date could also hold true for the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaganṭhipada*, if it is not even slightly later.²¹

As already stated, the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* took into account the Sri Lankan and the South Indian traditions. If Ratnamati is to be identified with this author his expertise in Sanskrit would be further proved by his own commentaries written in Sanskrit.²² The equivalent expression to *hoti/honti c’ ettha* in Sanskrit is *bhavati/bhavataś/bhavanti cātra*, often expanded by *ślokaḥ/au/āh*, etc. In Sanskrit too this expression introduces stanzas, but unlike its Pāli equivalent, its usage is frequent and widespread (see below, pp. 37ff.).

²¹ Regarding the quotatives *ti āha* and *āha*: “...” *ti* a decrease of the first, and an increase of the second quotative are observed in the *ṭīkā* literature. Sp-ṭ (twelfth century A.D., after A.D. 1165), for instance, has approximately 20 references of the first, but around 400 for the second quotative. Similar is the distribution in Vmv (early thirteenth century A.D.). Paṭis-gp has none for the first, but 385 for the second (Kieffer-Pülz 2014: n. 17). This may also partly be due to personal preferences of the author, who has a very uniform writing style, but from this point of view the text rather originated towards the end of the time span determined by external evidence (before A.D. 1165). This naturally has to be substantiated by further evidence.

²² He wrote the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā*, a commentary on Dāṇḍin’s *Kāvyādarśa* (Dimitrov, forthcoming: ch. 1.2) and the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, a subcommentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* (Dimitrov, forthcoming: ch. 3.3).

The few references we have in the Pāli *aṭṭhakathā* layer represent the phase in which the earlier expression *ten’ etam vuccati* is still the more usual. The few *hoti/honti c’ ettha* references replace that older expression. The South Indian Dhammapāla in his *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* is the first in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer to use *hoti/honti c’ ettha* in the sense in which it became usual in the early *ṭīkā* layer. Next, the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* is the first to use this expression frequently and in a variety of ways. His stanzas are summary stanzas of preceding prose statements without known parallels, which makes it highly likely that he wrote them himself. In this way he certainly paved the way for the increase in the use of *hoti/honti c’ ettha* in Pāli literature. Thus we can assume that these two authors with South Indian connections imported the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* expression from Sanskrit literature where it was already used at an earlier date.

Among the younger Vinayaṭīkā authors, Sāriputta of Polonnaruva did use this expression once, introducing a stanza that contains a definition of the word *arahat* and is transmitted in several *aṭṭhakathās* (B.1.2.1). Sāriputta had been prompted to employ this expression by its occurrence in the text commented upon by him, namely the *Samantapāśādikā* (Sp 115,12; A.1.1.2), where it also introduces a stanza giving definitions of *arahat*. This is certain because Sāriputta further explains that the words *hoti/honti c’ ettha* were used in the *Samantapāśādikā* in order to summarize the various definitions of *arahat*. Sāriputta’s statement is the first and, to my knowledge, only testimony in Pāli literature (as far as it is accessible to date) to describe the function of the words *hoti/honti c’ ettha*. As Sāriputta also spent some time in North India, and also wrote a Sanskrit commentary,²³ he certainly was familiar with the corresponding Sanskrit expression (*bhavati cātra*), which, despite the fact that he did not use this expression independently, enabled him to explain its function.

²³ The *Candrālamkāra*, a commentary on Ratnamati’s *Cāndravyākarana-pañjikā*, see Dimitrov 2010: 31–38.

The author of the older *Pātimokkha* subcommentary, the *Kaṅkhā-vitaranīpurāṇaṭīkā* (tenth to twelfth century A.D.), used the expression once independently and once he copied it from the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (B.1.4). The author of the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and *Uttaravinicchaya-ṭīkās* (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) used *honti/honti c' ettha* four times altogether, and in all cases independently. Three times the stanzas summarize preceding prose sections (B.1.6.1, 1.6.3–4); in one instance the author refers the reader to a passage other than the one commented upon (B.1.6.2). The single reference in the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā* (B.1.7.1) introduces one stanza with *honti (sic) c' ettha*. The stanza is transmitted as the first of two in an *atthakathā*, and in various *ṭīkās*, where other introductory expressions are used. Only in the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā*, however, is the stanza preceded by some similar statement in prose which renders the stanza a summary verse.

In Sāgarabuddhi's *Sīmāvisodhanī* (A.D. 1587) *honti c' ettha* once seemingly is used independently (B.1.9.1.1), and once introduces stanzas borrowed from the *Mūlasikkhā* (B.1.9.1.2), a treatise to be assigned to the *atthakathā* layer. In the light of this second case it cannot be excluded that in the first instance the stanzas were again borrowed, above all because we find the first stanza in a nineteenth-century Burmese manuscript containing a *Paritta nissaya*,²⁴ and the first as well as the first half of the second stanza in a collective manuscript also containing among others a *Paritta nissaya*. There, the stanzas are thought of as forming a separate text by the editor.²⁵ So it may be that the stanzas were part of a text not yet edited and still unknown to us. The authors of the fifteenth-century Northern Thai *Samantapāśādikā-atthayojanā* (B.1.3) and of the seventeenth-century Burmese *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* did not use

²⁴ *Burm MSS II*, Cat. no. 355, p. 184, a *Parit krī³ nissaya* *sac*, dating from A.D. 1812 (p. 187).

²⁵ *Burm MSS II*, Cat. no. 354, p. 180 (6), and p. 182: "Besides the main work our ms. contains some smaller texts (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6) which do not seem to belong to the original *Parit krī³ nissaya*."

that expression independently, but only in passages borrowed from earlier *tīkās*.

Of the *tīkās* on the Sutta-piṭaka, only those on the Dīgha-nikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya contain *hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha* expressions. Dhammapāla's *Sumangalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* contains one reference which is paralleled in the *atṭhakathā* literature, namely in Dhammapāla's *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* (B.2.1.1 = A.2.4.1), and an independent one (B.2.1.2). In the latter, *hoti c' ettha* at first sight seems to introduce a prose text. But a closer view of this text portion elucidates that it is an Āryā stanza only separated from the *hoti c' ettha* expression by two words forming a kind of *pratīka* plus a quotative marker (*Paṭṭhānam nāma*). Since this stanza summarizes the elements of composition of the *Paṭṭhāna*, it is in fact a summarizing stanza of the preceding prose statement, and as such in agreement with the general use of *hoti/honti c' ettha*.

In Dhammapāla's *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā*, *bhavanti c' ettha*²⁶ introduces a collection of seven ślokas giving definitions of “arahat”. These stanzas are also contained in Dhammapāla's *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā*, where they are given without an introductory expression. The intertextual links from Dhammapāla's *Suttaṭīkās* to the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* (never vice versa)²⁷ show that the latter is definitely older than the former. This is in agreement with the fact that the stanzas are given without introductory expression in the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā*, whereas in the *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā* they are preceded by *bhavanti c' ettha*.

The *Paṭisambhidāmaggagāṇṭhipada* belongs to the Suttapiṭaka, but from the point of view of its content can be classified as Abhidhamma. The two sections of thirty and twenty-four stanzas are unique, and stem from the author's pen (B.2.4).

²⁶ We cannot exclude that the more common variant *honti* is used in other editions and manuscripts.

²⁷ Cousins 2011: 25, n. 61.

The last commentary of the Sutta section with *hoti/honti c’ ettha* references is Nānābhivamsa’s (A.D. 1743–1832) *abhinavaṭīkā* on the first part of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (ca. 1800, Burma). It contains fourteen instances of *hoti/honti c’ ettha*, introducing stanzas in the Anuṣubh metre. Two of them are borrowings from older texts, namely from the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (B.2.2.1) and from Dhammapāla’s *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā*, which in turn copied the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭhakathā* (B.2.2.9 = B.2.1.1 = A.2.4.1). For the remaining twelve references there are no parallels. They partly summarize earlier prose explanations in the text (B.2.2.1–3, 2.2.5–8, 2.2.10–14) or add to them (B.2.2.4), and they most probably were written by Nānābhivamsa himself.

Regarding the Abhidhamma section, among the literature accessible to us we have five commentaries with *hoti/honti c’ ettha* references. They are written by four different authors. Coṇiya Kassapa’s *Mohavicchedanī* (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.) contains a collection of eight ślokas (without known parallels) which summarize the various *dhammas*. Sumaṅgala (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.) gives five references each in his commentaries to the Abhidhamma manuals *Abhidhammāvatāra* (B.3.2) and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (B.3.3). Of the five stanzas in the *Abhidhammāvatāranavaṭīkā* two have Sanskrit parallels in Parakkamabāhu II’s *Visuddhimaggasannaya* (B.3.2.1; 3.2.3), and one is identical with another one in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭīkā* (B.3.2.4; 3.3.1). For the remaining two stanzas, no parallels are traced (B.3.2.2; 3.2.5). All five references in the slightly younger²⁸ *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭīkā* have parallels in Sāriputta’s

²⁸ In trying to explain the fact that the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭīkā* was written within twenty-four days, Cousins 2013, 26, n. 50, states that this is “best accounted for by supposing that Sumaṅgala is translating his teacher’s *sanne* into Pali and adding material from an already written *Abhidh-av-ṭ*”; similarly Wijeratne & Gethin (Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl., xvii). Cousins furthermore refers to the fact that in his Abhidh-s-mhṭ Sumaṅgala at least three times refers to his *Abhidh-av-nṭ* for his more detailed explanations there (email, 21/4/2014). The parallels traced here makes one assume that Sumaṅgala’s

*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*sannaya; one has a Sanskrit parallel in the *Visuddhimaggasannaya* (B.3.3.5); another one is identical with one in the *Abhidhammāvatāranavaṭīkā* (B.3.3.1; 3.2.4). All stanzas summarize preceding prose passages which, however, are translations of Sāriputta's Sinhalese *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-sannaya*. In one case Sāriputta mentions the “ancients” as the source for the stanzas (B.3.3.2).

The Burmese monk scholar Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (fifteenth century A.D.) uses *hoti/honti c'ettha* three times in his sub-subcommentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭīkā*. In all three cases the stanzas introduced by *hoti c' ettha*²⁹ are borrowed from another work by the same author, namely from his *Nāmacāradīpaka*.³⁰ This text is badly edited based on a single Burmese manuscript,³¹ but the edition allows us to identify the parallels. Thus, in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*sāṅkhepavaṇṇanā, we have the unusual case that the stanzas introduced by *honti c' ettha* are in fact quotations from an earlier work by the same author, who, by quoting these stanzas, elaborates his subcommentary. This reminds us of Dhammapāla, the *ṭīkākāra*, who also introduced stanzas from an earlier work of his (B.2.3).

For one of the passages in Chapaṭa's text we also have a parallel in the sixteenth century *Śimāvisodhanī* by Sāgarabuddhi, who obviously did not know the name of the author (B.3.4.3). Finally the Burmese monk scholar Ariyavāmaṭa, who in A.D. 1466 wrote a sub-subcommentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, the *Maṇisāramāñjūsā*, uses *hoti c' ettha* five times. For one reference we do not have a parallel. Here

commentary was not much more than a translation of his teacher's commentary.

²⁹ The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*sāṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭīkā contains still other stanzas from the *Nāmacāradīpaka* which are introduced by other introductory expressions. So it is an important source for an edition of the latter.

³⁰ For the ascription of this work to Chapaṭa, see “Catalogue” B.3.4.

³¹ Hammalawa Saddhatissa, “Nāmacāradīpaka of Chapaṭa”, *JPTS* 15 (1990), 2–28.

Ariyavāmsa summarizes the five introductory stanzas of Sumaṅgala's *Abhidh-s-mhṭ* (B.3.5.1). Two imitate the stanza which is identical in the *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭīkā* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā* (B.3.5.2–3), and two are taken over from the *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭīkā*.

We have six references in three different grammatical works (B.4). In Buddhappīya's *Rūpasiddhi* (ca. early twelfth century A.D.) it is a sort of mnemonic summarizing the preceding prose (B.4.1.1). In Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla's *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* (A.D. 1447/1453) we have altogether three references. In two cases the stanzas are quoted in the reply to an objection, and it is very probable that the stanzas together with the preceding prose portion stem from an older source (B.4.2.1–2), in the third case this is possible too, but not compelling. Since Chapāṭa in his commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* used the *hoti/honti c' ettha* as an introduction for stanzas from some other text (in that case his own), it could well be that he uses it here in the same way.

The last two grammatical references stem from Saṅgharakkhita's *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā* (between ca. A.D. 1232 and 1267, see below, n. 163). In one case Saṅgharakkhita partly summarizes his own preceding prose text, partly Moggallāna's sayings in the *Pañcikā* (B.4.3.1). In the other the stanzas add to a preceding statement (B.4.3.2). In the undated younger subcommentary on Saṅgharakkhita's *Subodhālaṅkāra*, the so-called *Nissaya* (ca. fifteenth? century A.D.), a collection of seven stanzas is introduced by *honti c' ettha*. The stanzas summarize the preceding prose portion, but are closer to Saṅgharakkhita's old subcommentary, the *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā* bearing the name *Mahāsāmi*. In this case we have parallels for three and a half stanzas in Vanarataṇa Medhaṅkara's *Payogasiddhi* (thirteenth century A.D.). Since these stanzas are introduced by *ten' etam vuccati* in the *Payogasiddhi*, an expression used to introduce noncanonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* layer, it may be that they stem from some older grammatical text. In that case the author of the younger *Subodhālaṅkāra* commentary will have used the *hoti/honti c' ettha* in a similar way the expression was used by

Dhammapāla, and Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, i.e. for introducing stanzas from another text.

In narrative literature we have only four references from the *Rasavāhinī*, but it may be that similar introductory expressions like *bhavanti ettha* (see “Catalogue”, B.6.1) are only variants of the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* expression. In all cases the stanzas are clearly connected to the preceding prose stories, sometimes even with the names of the protagonists. They give the gist of what was told before, sometimes combined with a moral, and most probably they were written by Vedeha himself.

From the chronicles, Dhammadikī’s *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ca. 1400) has one reference which, however, is taken over together with the whole chapter from the *Rasavāhinī* (B.7.1.1 = B.6.1.4). Paññāsāmi’s *Sāsana-vamsa* (A.D. 1861), a Pāli translation of an earlier Burmese version (1831), contains eleven passages. Since Paññāsāmi not only translated the older work, but also added passages,³² it is not quite clear whether the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* stanzas belong to the original Burmese version or whether they were added by Paññāsāmi. Most of these stanzas are placed at the end of a section or a chapter (B.7.2.1–4; 7.2.9–11), but there are also exceptions to this (B.7.2.6; 7.2.8). Many give the gist of the preceding prose text or summarize it (B.7.2.1–4; 7.2.6; 7.2.10); some are a versified parallel version of the prose (B.7.2.5, introduction *bhavanti c’ ettha*); others are only loosely connected to the preceding story (7.2.7; 7.2.9; 7.2.11), contain a moral, and are very similar to Nīti stanzas (B.7.2.7–8). It is conceivable that the stanzas, B.7.2.2–4, 7.2.6, which conclude the introduction, and the accounts of the First to Third Council, etc., stem from one source, since all stanzas centre around death. Likewise, the stanzas reminding us of Nīti stanzas may have been borrowed from another source (B.7.2.7–8).

Given that this chronicle was written at a rather late date, and that even in earlier Burmese texts from the fifteenth century *hoti/honti c’ ettha* introduced stanzas from other sources, it is highly likely that this

³² Lieberman 1976: 139.

has happened here too. It would be interesting to learn whether they were attached by Paññāsāmi or had already been included by the author of the Burmese version. In Revata’s *Namakkāraṭikā* (twentieth century A.D.) we have one instance of *honti c’ettha* introducing three stanzas. Given the fact that for two of them we have parallels in the *Vajirabuddhiṭikā* (tenth century A.D.), in Siddhattha’s *Sārasaṅgaha* (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), and in Parakkamabāhu II’s *Visuddhimaggasannaya* (middle of the thirteenth century A.D.), it is to be assumed that the last stanza too has parallels yet undetected. Finally, from the Saṅgaha literature we find two *honti c’ettha* references in Siddhattha’s *Sārasaṅgaha* (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.). In both cases the author does not mention the source, but introduces stanzas which have a parallel in Anuruddha’s *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (B.9.1.1–2).

We certainly will trace further references of *hoti/honti c’ettha* stanzas once the rich younger Pāli literature is made accessible, especially that from Burma. But it has become quite clear that the stanzas so introduced function as summary stanzas and mnemonics and that in the earliest *ṭīkā* layer they were probably more often written by the authors themselves, whereas in the still younger Pāli literature they were more often borrowed from other sources.

THE USAGE OF *bhavati/bhavataś/bhavanti cātra*
IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

In Sanskrit literature a variety of expressions correspond to the expression *hoti/honti c’ettha*, first because in addition to the singular and plural verb forms the dual is used, and secondly, because, unlike the Pāli, the subject is often mentioned. Thus we have *bhavati/bhavataś/bhavanti cātra* with or without *ślokaḥ/ślokau/ślokāḥ* or *ārye/āryāḥ*, but also inverted expressions like *atra ślokāḥ, atrārye bhavataḥ*. These introductory expressions are used in a variety of texts: *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* (2×), *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (1×), *Nāradapurāṇa* (3×), *Mahābhārata* (7×), *Yuktidīpikā* (1×),³³ etc. They are especially common in the *śāstra*

³³ Several stanzas introduced by *bhavati* (!) *cātra* conclude the commentary on the second Kārikā.

literature.³⁴ In Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* (second century B.C. to second century A.D.) the corresponding expressions *bhavanti cātra ślokāḥ* (1×), *bhavati cātra ślokāḥ* (1×), *bhavataś cātra* (1×) are not so numerous, but there are various variants like *atra ślokāḥ/°āḥ/°au* (12×), *ślokāś cātra* (1×), or *atrāryā* (*bhavati/°anti*), *atrāryāḥ*, *atrārye* (26×), *atrāryā ślokau* (1×), *atrāryāḥ ślokaś ca bhavanti* (1×), *bhavanti cātrāryāḥ* (1×). It is supposed by several scholars that the stanzas in the *Nātyaśāstra* introduced by these expressions originate from an earlier source. The fact that at least one of them is found also in Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśana* (first half of the thirteenth century A.D.), where it is attributed to Vāsuki,³⁵ is taken as support for this assumption. Be that as it may, it is clear that at least some of the stanzas introduced by that expression summarize prose portions that occur earlier in the same text (for instance NŚ 7,8,10).

With respect to the *Auśanasa-Dharmaśāstra* Kane (1930: 112) states that “at the end of all chapters from the second (except the third) there are verses and also in the midst”, and he remarks that some of them are introduced with the words “there is a śloka on this point” (*bhavati cātra ślokāḥ*). In Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (before the seventh century A.D.) we have twenty-three references, most of them at the end of chapters or subchapters (1.2, 1.5, 2.3, 2.6–10, 3.1, etc.) but some also in the midst. In medical texts the expression is widely used. Agniveśa's *Carakasamhitā* (first to fifth? century A.D.) contains seventy-four *bhavanti/bhavati/bhavataś cātra* references.³⁶ The *Carakasamhitā* was shaped over several centuries, being written by Agniveśa, reconstructed by Caraka (between the beginning of the common era and A.D. 300),

³⁴ For searching the Sanskrit literature I used the data collected in GRETL (<http://gretl.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretl.htm>), and SARIT (<http://sarit.indology.info/>). Since the references can be easily detected with these tools, I generally do not list references here.

³⁵ Masson & Patwardhan 1970: II 74, n. 393; Radicchi 2001: 677

³⁶ Forty-four times *bhavanti*, twenty times *bhavati* and ten times *bhavataś cātra* (checked with SARIT).

revised and completed by Dr̥ḍhabala (A.D. 500), and further supplemented up to the eighth/ninth centuries A.D. To which layer the *bhavanti cātra* stanzas belong, whether to one or to several, is yet unknown. Opinions vary as to whether the stanzas were borrowed from other sources³⁷ or stem from the pen of the same author who also wrote the prose.³⁸ The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* also contains a higher number of *bhavanti cātra* references, but no definite numbers can be given since it is not among the searchable texts. Vṛddhavāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (ca. seventh century A.D.) contains eighty-six references for *bhavati*/**nti cātra*; Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (ca. eighth century A.D.) has seven for *bhavati cātra*.

The expression seems to be used less often in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. We have one reference in Nāgārjuna’s *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (ca. second century A.D.) which indicates the final stanza concluding the whole text; two references in the *Mahāvastu* (ca. second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.) in one paragraph, and one in Gopadatta’s *Saptakumārikāvadāna* (after ca. 400 and before ca. 800 A.D.) where it introduces a summarizing stanza.³⁹ Finally, the Jain satire *Dhuttakkhāṇa* or *Dhūrītākhyāna* written in Prakrit by Haribhadra Suri (eighth century A.D.) should be mentioned. In it six Sanskrit stanzas appear of which four are introduced by *bhavati cātra* (I 87, III 35, V 18), whereas the others are introduced by *api ca* and *uktañ ca*. Two of the six stanzas are

³⁷ Weiss 1980: 103: “It was suggested earlier that some of these verses may be survivors from earlier medical texts, and the possibility that some are citations from supportive non-medical works should also be considered. This would serve to explain the inconsistencies and the occasionally tenuous links between some of these passages and the surrounding text.”

³⁸ Filliozat 1993: 97. Filliozat refers to a portion of the text different from that dealt with by Weiss.

³⁹ Hahn 1992: 63,1; since it is the only instance of a *bhavati cātra* expression in the fifteen stories ascribed to Gopadatta, Michael Hahn supposes that it might have been added by a copyist (letter 13.2/2013). This, however, is not necessarily so, for there are many texts with only one or two references.

also found in the older Cūrṇī text.⁴⁰ So it may be that all these stanzas are taken over from some older source.

CONCLUSION

Although the Sanskrit stanzas introduced by *bhavati/bhavanti/bhavataś cātra* have not been investigated on a larger scale, it is obvious that they were used in Sanskrit texts prior to the first references in Pāli literature. Thus it is certain that their usage in Pāli literature gradually crept in from the Sanskrit sources, and it is highly likely that the monk scholars from South India or those in contact with South India were involved in this process. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that contacts of Sri Lankan monks with the North Indian culture also added to this process. Whereas some of the stanzas in Sanskrit texts may have been quoted from earlier sources, others⁴¹ — especially when concluding sections and chapters, at least in part — were written by the authors themselves. In Pāli literature the function as summary verses, concluding some preceding prose portion, was the main function in the beginning. In those cases the stanzas most probably were written by the authors themselves, although even that is no absolute guarantee (see B.3.3). The borrowing from other texts — sometimes from an author's own earlier works — often in order to add to an author's own statements, increased in later times, and became especially common in Pāli literature from Burma.

⁴⁰ I thank Kornelius Krümpelmann for providing me with the relevant passages of his edition and translation of the text.

⁴¹ Wujastyk 2003–2004: 355.

CATALOGUE OF THE STANZAS
INTRODUCED BY *hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha*

CONTENTS

A. Aṭṭhakathā

1. Vinaya

1.1 Anonymous, <i>Samantapāsādikā</i>	43
---------------------------------------	----

2. Sutta

2.1 Anonymous, <i>Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā</i>	44
2.2 Anonymous, <i>Suttanipāṭṭaṭṭhakathā</i>	45
2.3 Anonymous, <i>Jātakaṭṭhakathā</i>	45
2.4 Dhammapāla, <i>Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā</i>	47

B. Gaṇṭhipada and *ṭīkā* literature

1. Vinaya

1.1 Anonymous, <i>Vajirabuddhiṭīkā</i>	49
1.2 Sāriputta, <i>Sāratthadīpanī</i>	57
1.3 Nāṇakitti, <i>Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā</i>	57
1.4 Anonymous, <i>Kaṅkhāvitaranīpurāṇaṭīkā</i>	58
1.5 Buddhanāga, <i>Kāṅkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭīkā</i>	58
1.6 Anonymous, <i>Vinayavinicchaya- and Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā</i>	64
1.7 Anonymous, <i>Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭīkā</i>	68
1.8 Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, <i>Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā</i>	69
1.9 Sāgarabuddhi, <i>Sīmāvisodhanī</i>	70

2. Sutta

2.1 Dhammapāla, <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā</i>	72
2.2 Nāṇābhivamsa, <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-abhinavaṭīkā</i>	73
2.3 Dhammapāla, <i>Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā</i>	81
2.4 Anonymous, <i>Paṭisambhidāmagga-gaṇṭhipada</i>	84

3. Abhidhamma

3.1. Coliya Kassapa, <i>Mohavicchedanī</i>	97
3.2 Sumaṅgala, <i>Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭīkā</i>	99
3.3 Sumaṅgala, <i>Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-mahāṭīkā</i>	102

3.4 Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, <i>Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha</i>	106
<i>saṅgītanāṭīkā</i>	
3.5 Ariyavaṃsa, <i>Maṇisāramāñjūsā</i>	114
4. Grammar	
4.1 Buddhappīya, <i>Rūpasiddhi</i>	116
4.2 Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, <i>Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa</i>	117
4.3 Saṅgharakkhita, <i>Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā</i>	123
5. Rhetoric	
5.1. Anonymous, <i>Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭīkā</i>	125
6. Narrative literature	
6.1 Vedeha, <i>Rasavāhinī</i>	127
7. Chronicles	
7.1 Dhammadikitti, <i>Saddhammasaṅgaha</i>	131
7.2 Paññāsāmi, <i>Sāsanavaṃsa</i>	132
8. Veneration literature	
8.1 Revata, <i>Namakkāraṭīkā</i>	138
9. Compendia	
9.1 Siddhattha, <i>Sārasaṅgaha</i>	140

CATALOGUE

A. Atṭhakathā

A.1 Vinaya

A.1.1 Anonymous, *Samantapāsādikā* (ca. fifth century A.D.)

A.1.1.1 Sp I 108,12-14 (ad Vin III 1,6 [Pār 1.1.1 M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*upayogena bhummena tam tam attham apekkhiya
aññatram samayo vutto karaṇen' eva so idhā ti.*

With regard to this or that meaning [the word] *samaya* is used elsewhere in the accusative [and] in the locative; but here it [is expressed by] the instrumental.

This śloka has no exact parallel. A variant of it is quoted in several *atṭhakathās* on the *Suttapiṭaka* (see below A.2.1.2) where, with one exception (Khpa-a *hoti c' ettha*), it is introduced by *ten' etam vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *atṭhakathā* literature.

A.1.1.2 Sp I 115,12-15 (ad Vin III 1,14 [Pār 1.1.1 M]) = Sn-a II 441,25-28

honti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*ārakattā hatattā ca kilesārīna so muni
hatasaṃsāracakkārā paccayādīna cāraho
na raho karoti pāpāni araham tena vuccatī ti.*

f *vuccati* Khuddas-pt B^e, Nidd-a I B^e, Patis-a B^e, E^e, Sadd B^e, E^e, Sp B^e, Vism B^e, E^e] *pavuccati* Sp E^e

Since he is keeping himself aloof [from all defilements] and since [the defilements] have been slain by [him who is] the enemy of the defilements, the sage, having destroyed the spokes of the wheel of transmigration and being worthy of requisites and so on, not doing evil things in secrecy, therefore is called one without secrecy (*arahān*; i.e. a worthy one).

This śloka paralleled in six texts summarizes various definitions of the word *arahat*.⁴² Only in Sp and Sn-a (II 441,25–28) is it introduced by *hoti c' ettha*. Since the preceding and the subsequent sentences of Sn-a accord with Sp, and since the author of Sn-a must be younger than Buddhaghosa, and hence most likely is also younger than the author of Sp, he probably has borrowed this passage from Sp. Three further parallels form one group, all introducing the stanza by *evam sabbathā pi*, “thus in every way too”. Here the respectively younger text presumably has borrowed from the older: Vism I 201,22–25 (ca. A.D. 400), Paṭis-a I 214,29–34 (ca. A.D. 554/559⁴³), Nidd-a I 185,20–23 (ca. A.D. 877/879⁴⁴).⁴⁵ The parallel in Khuddas-pt 216,20–24 (ad Khuddas v. 461 ≠ 49.1) is introduced by *vuttañ h' etam*, generally an introduction for canonical or authoritative quotations.⁴⁶ Since Sp was certainly considered authoritative by the author of Khuddas-pt, Sp may have been its source. Finally, Sadd (580,8–10) mentions this stanza as the one used by the *atthakathācariyas* to show all the meanings of the word *arahat*.

A.2 Sutta

A.2.1. Anonymous, *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* (before or after Dhammapāla from Badaratiṭṭha)

A.2.1.1 Khp-a 104,13–15

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

vināsayati assaddham saddham vadḍheti sāsane
“*evam me sutam*” icc *evam*, *vadam Gotamasāvako ti.*

c iti Khp-a v.l.

Speaking thus, “so have I heard” (*evam / iti me sutam*), Gotama’s *sāvaka* (“hearer”) destroys lack of faith, increases faith in the Teaching. [Cf. It-a transl. I 82.]

⁴² See for instance Ud-a 84,7ff, Ud-a transl. I 125f.

⁴³ 554 according to UCHC, Vol. I, pt. 2: 845; 559 according to Geiger 1986: 225. In von Hintüber 1996: § 291 the dates A.D. 559 and 499 are given by mistake (see Cousins 1998: 156).

⁴⁴ The first date is according to Geiger’s (1986: 225) chronology, the second according to UCHC I, 2: 845. Von Hintüber (1996: § 287) by mistake again has two dates (817 has to be dismissed).

⁴⁵ Sadd (580,8–10) quotes this stanza as an answer to the question “*katham*”.

⁴⁶ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

This śloka is found in seven *atthakathās* (Mp I 10,28–31 = Paṭis-a III 530,24–28 = Ps I 7,27–29 = Spk I 9,20–23 = Sv I 31,19–21 = Ud-a 18,18–20 = It-a I 29,3–5). In all cases it is introduced by *ten’ etam vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* literature. Khp-a is the only *atthakathā* using the *hoti c’ ettha*-introduction.

A.2.1.2 Khp-a 106,24–26

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*tañ tam attham apekkhitvā bhummena karañena ca
aññatra samayo vutto upayogena so idhā ti.*

a *avekkhitvā*, *avekkhetvā* vv.ll.⁴⁷

Elsewhere *samaya* (the occasion) is expressed, out of regard for this and that meaning, by the locative and by the instrumental; [but] in the present case it [is expressed] by the accusative. [Based on the translation by Pind 1989: 35]

This śloka is quoted in six further *atthakathās* to the *Suttapiṭaka* (Mp I 13,23–26 = Paṭis-a III 531,24–28 = Ps I 9,29–31 = Spk I 11, 31–33 = Sv I 33,26–28 = Ud-a 23,18–20 ≠ Khp-a 106,24–26). All references except that in Khp-a are introduced with the words *ten’ etam vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for non-canonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* literature. A slightly modified version of this stanza in Sp 108,13–14 (see A.1.1.1) is introduced by *hoti c’ ettha*.

A.2.2 Anonymous, *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā* (after sixth? century A.D.)

A.2.2.1 Sn-a II 441,25–28, see above A.1.1.2.

This is the only instance of *hoti c’ ettha* in Sn-a. Since its author here presumably copied Sp, he obviously did not use the expression *hoti c’ ettha* independently.

A.2.3. Anonymous, *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (ca. fifth century A.D.)

A.2.3.1 Ja III 409,7–9 + n. 9

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

Ja E^e *vuttam hoti c’ ettha*; B^e *vuttam hoti. hoti c’ ettha*

⁴⁷ Readings in the various parallels of this stanza in other texts.

1. *natthi citte pasannamhi appikā nāma dakkhinā*
Tathāgate vā Sambuddhe atha vā tassa sāvake ti.

[Vv E^e v. 799; B^e v. 804]

b *appikā* Ja v.l., Vv B^e, E^e **d** Ja B^e om. *ti*

When the heart is devoted, there is no donation with respect to the Tathāgata, the Self-Enlightened One, or his *sāvaka*, that could be called trifling. [It-a transl. II 707,9]

2. *tīṭhante nibbute cāpi same citte samam phalam*
cetopañidhīhetu hi sattā gacchanti suggatin ti.

[Vv E^e v. 801; B^e v. 806]

a *tīṭhante* Ja n. 9 **c** °*hetumhi* Ja n. 9 **d** *sugatī ti* Ja n. 9

Both whilst he remains and when he is *nibbuta*, when the mind is even, the fruit is even; for mind's aspiration is the cause through which beings go to a happy destiny. [Based on Vv-a transl. 310]

This is the only instance of a *hoti c' ettha* introduction in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (at least in Fausbøll's edition, and in the Burmese version available on the CSCD). In Ja E^e, S^e *hoti c' ettha*⁴⁸ is followed by the first śloka only. The second one is solely transmitted in the Burmese tradition (see Fausbøll's footnotes and CSCD). The fact that we read *hoti* not *honti c' ettha* may be taken as evidence that originally there followed only one stanza. Furthermore, with regard to its content only the first stanza is to be expected here, since it takes up the words *appikā* and *dakkhinā* from the explanation of *kummāsapīṇḍiyā* in the prose text preceding the stanza.

Whereas the first stanza is quoted also in Ja I 228,13–14 and Nett 139,9–10 (without introductory expression), Dhammapāla in his It-a (II 133,10–13) introduces it with *vuttañ h' etam*, the regular expression for indicating quotations from canonical and authoritative texts.⁴⁹ Sāgarabuddhi, who in his Sīmāvīś (CSCD 106; A.D. 1587) quotes the first stanza with changed *pādas* (ab is cd in Sīmāvīś and vice versa), introduces it by *vuttañ h' etam Bhagavatā*, the more detailed introductory expression for canonical quotations. These two introductory expressions match since the stanzas originate from a canonical source,

⁴⁸ In Ja E^e the introductory phrase is blurred since *detī ti vuttam hoti. hoti c' ettha* (so B^e) has been given as *vuttam hoti c' ettha*, a phrase not used in the texts. So, in addition to the possibility that Ja had *hoti* instead of *honti*, it is also possible that the *honti* of the *honti c' ettha* phrase simply was elided, and *c' ettha* combined with the preceding *vuttam hoti*.

⁴⁹ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

namely, the *Vimānavatthu*. For the second stanza there is a parallel in Dhp-a (III 253,1-2) only, where it is introduced by *tena hi* plus the name of the source (*tena hi Vimānavatthumhi*).

The fact that *hoti c’ etha* here introduces one or two stanzas from a canonical text makes this case unique. Seen together with the deviations regarding the number of stanzas in the different countries’ traditions and the circumstance that this is the only reference for *hoti/honti c’ etha* in the *Jātakattha-kathā*, we should consider the possibility that this passage was corrupted during its transmission, including the possibility that the introductory expression was added by some copyist.

A.2.4. Dhammapāla, *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* (seventh? century A.D.)⁵⁰

A.2.4.1 Cp-a 328,29-29,3 = Sv-pt I 128,7-15 = Sv-anṭ I 297

honti c’ etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sacco cāgī upasanto paññavā anukampako,
sambhatasabbasambhāro kan nāmattham na sādhaye ?*
c *sambhatasabbasambhāro* Cp-a B^e, Sv-pt B^e, Sv-anṭ B^e] *sambhavo sabba-sambhāro* Cp-a E^e, Sv-pt E^e

[The one who is] sincere, possesses liberality, is tranquil, possesses insight, is compassionate, has assembled all the ingredients [of enlightenment], which meaning of a name could he not achieve?

2. *mahākāruṇiko satthā hitesī ca upekkhako,
nirapekkho ca sabbattha aho acchariyo Jino.*

He of great compassion, the Teacher, the one desiring the welfare [of all beings], possessing equanimity and being free from desire in every way, oh, indeed, magnificent is the Conqueror!

3. *viratto sabbadhammesu sattesu ca upekkhako,
sadā sattahite yutto aho acchariyo Jino.*

a *viratto* Cp-a B^e, Sv-pt B^e, Sv-anṭ B^e] *virato* Cp-a E^e, Sv-pt E^e

⁵⁰ Cousins 2011: 26 (c. 600 at the earliest); for a discussion of the date see Kieffer-Püllz 2013: I 79ff. The Vibh-anuṭ 185 refers to the Nett-a (Vibh-a transl. II 111, n. 85, note by Cousins), ascribed to Dhammapāla. If Cousins’s identification of the Vibh-anuṭ with Jotipāla’s ṭīkā hits the right point, then Dhammapāla should predate Jotipāla which implies a date around 600 at the latest. I thank Peter Jackson for hinting me at this note.

Free from passion, possessing equanimity regarding all *dhammas* and beings, devoted to the welfare of the beings, oh, indeed, magnificent is the Conqueror!

4. *sabbadā sabbasattānam hitāya ca sukhāya ca,
uyyutto akilasū ca aho acchariyo jino ti.*

Always striving for the welfare and bliss of all beings,
and untiring, oh, indeed, magnificent is the Conqueror!

Dhammapāla adds these ślokas containing epithets of one who has achieved the goal, foremost the Buddha himself, after stating that the *tathāgatas* and all *sāvakas* and *pacceka-buddhas* are the same with respect to *parinibbāna*. Since these stanzas are of a more general nature, and are not as tightly connected to the preceding prose portion as is the case in most other texts, it may be that they are borrowed from some other, albeit unknown, text. The stanzas occur in Dhammapāla's Cp-a, in Dhammapāla's Sv-pt which contains a shorter version of the Cp-a text (Cp-a I 328,23–29,13 ≠ Sv-pt I 127,32–28,26), and in Sv-ant (1800) copying Sv-pt. If the authors of Cp-a and Sv-pt are different, a second Dhammapāla (tenth century A.D.) borrowed the passage from Cp-a; if they were one and the same the author borrowed from his own text.

B. *Gaṇthipada* and *ṭīkā* literature

B.1. Vinaya

There are in all thirty-two references of *hoti/honti c' ettha* in the *ṭīkās* on Vinaya texts scattered throughout ten commentaries. Two of them, namely Ānākitti's Sp-y (fifteenth century A.D., B.1.3), and Tipiṭakālaṅkāra's Pālim-nt (seventeenth century A.D., B.1.8) only reproduce passages borrowed from older *Vinayaṭīkās*, namely from Vjb (ca. tenth century A.D.), Kkh-nt (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186 (?), see n. 18), and Utt-vn-t (second half thirteenth century A.D.). Among the remaining texts two stand out with a particularly large number of references, namely Vjb with ten (B.1.1), and Buddhanāga's Kkh-nt (B.1.5) with eight references. They are followed by Vin-vn-t (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) with three (B.1.6). The remaining *ṭīkās* have either one (Sp-t, twelfth century A.D., B.1.2; Utt-vn-t, B.1.6; Khuddas-pt, before thirteenth century A.D., B.1.7) or two references (Kkh-pt, tenth–twelfth century A.D., B.1.4; Sīmāvis, A.D. 1587, B.1.9). The stanzas in Sp-t and Khuddas-pt are borrowings from the *aṭṭhakathā* literature, as is one of the two references in Sīmāvis. The two *ṭīkās* outstanding with respect to the high number of stanzas (Vjb, Kkh-nt) are also peculiar on account of their uniqueness. In the case of Vjb they are written in various metres (Anuṣṭubh, Indravajra, Upajāti, and Upendravajra), whereas in

Kkh-nt they are solely in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The multiplicity of unique stanzas introduced by *hoti/honti c’ ettha* in these two commentaries is all the more peculiar when seen against the background that in other younger *Vinayaṭīkās* there are only a few (Sp-t, Utt-vn-t) or no *hoti/honti c’ ettha* references (Vm, thirteenth century A.D.; Pāc-y, nineteenth century A.D.), and given that there they mostly introduce borrowings from older *ṭīkās* (Kkh-pt, Pālim-nt, Sp-y).

B.1.1 Vajrabuddhiṭīkā

The ten references in Vjb introduce unique stanzas written in the Anuṣṭubh (B.1.1.1, 1.1.4–6, 1.1.8), the Upajāti (B.1.1.2; 1.1.7; 1.1.9–10), the Indravajra (B.1.1.3), and Upendravajra metre (B.1.1.7). Two have literal parallels in younger *ṭīkās* which borrowed them from Vjb (B.1.1.4; 1.1.6); one has a slightly deviating parallel (B.1.1.10) in a younger *ṭīkā* where it has been shifted to a different context and adjusted to it. In at least five instances the stanzas are so closely interwoven with the preceding prose text that they were very likely written by the author of Vjb himself (B.1.1.1; 1.1.3–5; 1.1.9).

B.1.1.1 Vjb 62,7–10 (ad Sp 191,21f. [Pār 1.3.4 M])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*vitakko yācanā kālo kālaññū kāranañ phalañ
payojanañ ti sattañgam nidānam vinayass’ idhā ti.*

Reflection, asking, the [right] time, knowledge of the [right] time, cause, fruit [and] motivation — [that] is the Vinaya’s sevenfold origin.

This śloka (no known parallels) enumerates the seven factors which – according to the author of Vjb – are connected with the origin of the Vinaya. The seven factors have already been introduced by him in the preceding prose portion, where he connects them with specific passages of the Vinaya, and gives word-for-word explanations. Consequently the stanza is a summary verse serving as a mnemonic which is so specific and so closely interwoven with the preceding prose portion that it was most likely composed by the author of Vjb himself.

B.1.1.2 Vjb 199,11–19 (ad Sp III 594,31f. [Sgh 8.2 M])

ho(n)ti⁵¹ c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

⁵¹ The available versions of Vjb read *hoti*. Since, however, two stanzas here follow the introductory expression, and since the author of Vjb generally is diligent with regard to such details, the emendation *honti* seems justified.

1. *pārājikāpatti amūlikā ce,
paññattimattā phalamaggadhammā
catutthapārājikavatthubhūtā,
paññattimattā va siyūm tath' eva.*

If a *pārājika* offence is unfounded the *dhammas* of fruit and path [are] mere designations; [the *dhammas* forming] the basis of the fourth *pārājika* likewise would be mere designations.

2. *tato dvidhā maggaphalādiddhammā,
siyūm tathātūtam anāgatañ ca
paññattichakkam na siyā tato vā,
pariyāyato sammutivādam āhā ti.*

Hence the twofold *dhammas* of path, fruit, etc., would be [mere designations and] likewise the past and future set of the six designations (i.e. aggregates and the other five kinds of *paññatti*) would not exist [as *paramatthadhammas*]. Or it follows that he (i.e. the author of Sp or the Buddha) gave a conventional teaching as a way of exposition.⁵²

The issue in the passage commented upon is the definition of *adhikarana*, “basis”, in the context of Sgh 9. One of the equations is concerned with *paññatti/pañnatti*, “designation”. The two Upajāti stanzas (without parallel) conclude the explanation to the *pratīka*: “Because for those who quarrel, etc., designation is not [used] in the sense of [being a] basis” (*na hi vivādādīnam paññatti adhikarāṇaṭho*, Sp 594,31f.). They, in agreement with the explanations in Sp, point out that in case of an unfounded accusation of having committed a *pārājika* offence the mere claim, i.e. a designation (*pañnatti*), can turn into the foundation (*adhikarana*) of a *pārājika*.

B.I.1.3 Vjb 229,11-15 (ad Sp III 649,19ff. [Niss 1.4 M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*evañ abhāvam vinayassa pāli,
bhinnam abhinnāñ ca tadaṭṭhayuttim
viññātukāmena tadaṭṭhaviññū,
pariyesitabbā vinaye viññāyā ti.*

⁵² I am grateful to Dragomir Dimitrov (personal communication) and L.S. Cousins (emails 20/2/2013 and 22/2/2013) for their suggestions regarding the translation of these stanzas.

Thus [if] a text/reading of the Vinaya is missing, one who wants to learn an argument regarding its meaning, deviating and not deviating (?), has to look for those who know its meaning [and] have understood the Vinaya.

The author of Vjb examines on which occasion clothes have to be given up (*paccuddharati*) and on which they have to be transferred (*vikappetabba*), since this case was not regulated in sufficient detail in the Vinaya (expressed by “is missing” in the stanza). In this context he presents various opinions from different sources, and finally adds the remark, “If even this is not sufficient to achieve contentment, a judgement has to be looked for” (*ettāvatāpi santosam akatvā vinicchayo pariyesitabbo*). Thereafter he appends the stanza (without known parallels) in Indravajra metre introduced by *hoti c’ ettha* which summarizes the situation. Since this stanza is so specifically connected with the commented text, it most likely was written by the author of Vjb.

B.1.1.4 Vjb 245,22–26 (ad Sp III 672,2 [Niss 9.1 M]) = Kkh-pt
78,17–19

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *vatthuto gananāyāpi siyā āpattinekata
iti sandassanatthañ ca dutiyūpakkhaṭam idha.*

And here the second [rule “about] laid by” [is laid down] with the aim to show that even by counting as to object [there] could be a quantity of offences.

2. *kāyasamsaggasikkhāya Vibhaṅge viya kint’ etam
ekitthiyāpi ‘nekatā āpattinam payogato ti.*

This is, however, like the quantity of offences with respect to even a single woman on account of the [number of] action[s described] in the [Sutta-]Vibhaṅga, in the rule regarding bodily contact [Sgh 2].

The author of Vjb discusses the purpose of Niss 9 M, called *dutiya-upakkhaṭa-sikkhāpada*, “the second rule about laid by”, since the only difference between it and the preceding rule is the number of householders who lay by individual robe funds for a monk, namely, one in Niss 8 M and two in Niss 9 M. He further quotes a *Porāṇaganṭhipada* with the explanation that in Niss 9 M with respect to one single object trouble was caused for two persons, contrary to Niss 8 M, where it was caused for only one, and explains that counting offences does not solely depend on counting the clothes received, but also on the number of persons troubled by a bhikkhu’s behaviour. The first śloka summarizes this

situation. In the second śloka the author compares this to the rule dealing with bodily contact [Sgh 2 M], where a quantity of offences may arise on account of the actions carried out by a monk towards a single woman. The stanzas are transmitted in Vjb and Kkh-pt, but the latter (Kkh-pt 78,1-26) borrowed the whole commentary on Niss 9 M from the former (Vjb 245,8-46,6) with only minor changes. Thus here too the author of Vjb was probably the author of these stanzas.

B.1.1.5 Vjb 386,21-23 (ad Sp IV 944,19 [Pāc 81.1 N])

hoti c' etha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yato āgamanam yassa tadabhāvassa niggāhe
tasmā sannipatitesu bhikkhūsu tassa bhedato ti.*⁵³

Since bringing [a monk's consent to a legal procedure is necessary, there is] censure⁵⁴ (?) for its absence; therefore [this counts] as a disunion of this [community], if the bhikkhus are assembled.⁵⁵

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes a preceding prose statement.⁵⁶ If a Saṅgha is assembled within a monastic boundary, and one monk is absent

⁵³ This śloka is transmitted without variants in the Burmese and Siamese editions of Vjb. Nevertheless, text and construction are not completely clear. The Sinhalese manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Pali 44) has several deviations in the second and fourth *pādas*, but the readings are unmetrical and do not lead to a better understanding (fol. jhū^r line 6: *yato āgamanam yassa gahād abhāvassa niggāhe | taddh(?)āsmā sannipatitesu bhikkhusu tassa so chandapārako ti.*)

⁵⁴ The word *niggāhe* is strange in that context; furthermore one would rather expect a nominative sg.

⁵⁵ Although the sense of this translation matches the known facts, it remains uncertain because of the wording of the stanza.

⁵⁶ Vjb 386,15-16: *chando nāma kammappattesu bhikkhūsu ekasīmāya sannipatitesu āgacchatī, nāsannipatitesu.* "The consent [of absent monks/nuns to a legal procedure] namely comes about among monks/[nuns] who are fit for a legal procedure [and] are assembled within one monastic boundary, not if they are not assembled." For the rest of the context see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: II 1687 [Z 276], where this stanza has been translated differently. There *āgamanam* has been linked with the monk who has to attend the legal

from this assembly but within the boundary, he has to send his consent (*chanda*). If that consent does not arrive, the community is incomplete and hence legally not capable of acting.

B.1.1.6 Vjb 411,18–20 (ad Sp V 967,19f. [Mv I 12.3]) = Pālim-nṭ I
256,20–23

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*salingass’ eva pabbajā viliṅgassāpi cetarā
apetapabbavesassa taṇḍ dvayam iti cāpare ti.*

The novice ordination [is intended] only for one with the [outward] mark (i.e. the cloth), but the other one (i.e. the *upasampadā*) [is intended] also for one without the [outward] mark; but others [say] that “[intended] for one who had a dress before [but (?)] not from a deceased [person] (?) [are] the two (i.e. *pabbajā* and *upasampadā*)”.

In the passage preceding this śloka the author of Vjb or some people (*eke*) declare that the novice ordination of one whose *upajjhāya* has given him the threefold refuge without first having his hair shaved, etc., does not become valid. Since receiving a cloth also belongs to the preparations preceding the *pabbajā* the conclusion is reached that the *pabbajā* is meant for one with a robe only. On the other hand, a monk’s ordination (*upasampadā*) becomes valid, if the ordination formula has been recited correctly, even if some of the preliminaries have not been fulfilled. Hence there is the conclusion that an *upasampadā* is meant even for one without a robe. The above stanza summarizes that discussion, and adds as the opinion of others (*apare*) that both ordinations are intended for one who had a dress (*vesa*), but not one from a burial ground (?). The stanza is identically transmitted in Pālim-nṭ whose author explicitly quotes it as coming from Vjb.

B.1.1.7 Vjb 416,10–18 (ad Sp V 977,2 [Mv I 24.7])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *yaṇ dhammasenāpati ettha mūla-
ganthassa siddhikkamadassanena
nidānaniṭṭhānam akāṣṭu dhamma-
saṅgāhakā te vinayakkamaṇī.*

procedure. On account of the preceding statements I now think it more probable that *āgamanāṇ* refers to *chanda*.

What the “Captain of the Dhamma” (i.e. Sāriputta) [completes]⁵⁷ here [in the Vinaya?] by showing the gradual accomplishment of the root text, that completion of the introduction the Collectors of the Dhamma who are experts in the tradition of the Vinaya have achieved.

2. *nidānalīnathapadānam eva,
nidānaniṭṭhānam idam viditvā
ito param ce vinayatthayutta-
padāni vīmaṇasānam eva ṣeyyan ti.*

b *nidāna^o B^c 1912] nidānīṭṭhānam B^c, S^c*

Once one has become acquainted with this completion of the introduction particularly [with regard] to the words of difficult meaning [occurring] in this introduction, one should know exactly this examination in case henceforward words connected with a Vinaya meaning [appear].

With these stanzas (without known parallels) in Upajāti and Upendravajra metre the author of Vjb closes the chapter on the novice ordination of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Before this he refers to the last words of that chapter in the root text, i.e. in the *Mahāvagga* (Vin I 44.1-2) and explains with reference to them: “one has to know that by so little the *thera* completed the *nidāna*” (*ettāvatā thero nidānam niṭṭhapesī ti veditabbam*, Vjb 416,10). The stanza thus does not summarize the preceding text.

B.1.1.8 Vjb 437,22-24 (ad Sp V 1026,11ff. [Mv I 71.1])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*app eva sasako koci patiṭṭheyya mahāṇṇave
na tv eva catugambhīre duggāho vinayaṇṇave ti.*

Surely any hare would find support in the large ocean, but by no means [would] something difficult to be grasped (or: a wrong notion)⁵⁸ [find support] in the ocean of the Vinaya with its four deep stages.

In the prose portion preceding this śloka (without known parallels), the question is raised, how it could be perceived that the novice ordination does not result

⁵⁷ The verb is added in accordance with the preceding sentence, in which we are told that the Thera (i.e. Sāriputta) completed the introduction (Vjb 416,10: *ettāvatā thero nidānam niṭṭhapesī ti*).

⁵⁸ On account of the context the first variant is more probable here.

from bodily action. As a response we are referred to the triad beginning with *kāyena viññāpeti*. Since these words introduce several options (*vācāya viññāpeti*, etc.), they prove that the *pabbajā* does not necessarily result from bodily action. This stanza does not summarize that discussion, but deduces a moral from it.

B.1.1.9 Vjb 438,28–30 (ad Sp V 1026,11ff. [Mv I 71.1])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*vattabbayuttañ vacanena vatvā
ayuttam iññham nayadesanāya
sandīpayantañ Sugatassa vākyam
cittam vicittam va karoti pī ti.*⁵⁹

d *cittīvicittam* va B^e n. 2 (ka)

Having said what is appropriate to be said by speech, [and what is] not appropriate (*ayuttam*) [though] allowed (*iññham*) by exposition of the method, [the commentator] too makes the wonderful speech of the Sugata that shines brightly even [more] wonderful.

With this stanza (without known parallels) in Upajāti metre the author of Vjb ends the section on ordination of people with missing limbs. The stanza highlights in abstract form the way in which commentators interpret the root texts, and thus summarizes what has been exemplified in several ways in the preceding prose section. This stanza most probably was written by the author himself, since it strictly refers to the preceding discussion.

B.1.1.10 Vjb 584,18–85,4 [end] (≠ Kkh-pt 40,12–23)

ho(n)ti⁶⁰ c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *asambudhami Buddhamahānubhāvam,
dhammassa gambhīranayatthatañ ca
yo vaññaye tam Vinayañ aviññū,
so duddaso sāsanānāsahetu.*

b *gambhīranayatthatañ* Kkh-pt **c** *nañ* Kkh-pt

⁵⁹ The inclusion of *ti/iti* in the metre is unusual.

⁶⁰ Since three stanzas follow we would rather expect *honti* in the introductory expression

Not understanding the great might of the Buddha and the meaningfulness of the profound method of the Buddhist law (*dhamma*), such an ignorant person who [despite] his lack of knowledge [ventures to] expound the book of discipline (*Vinaya*) brings to ruin the [Buddha's] Teaching.

2. *pālim tadathañ ca asambudhañ hi,
nāseti yo aṭṭhakathānayañ ca
anicchayam nicchayato parehi,
gāheti teh' eva purakkhato so.*

d *gāmo ti te yeva* Kkh-pt

For, not understanding the canonical text (i.e., the *Vinaya*) and its meaning, he who subverts the method of the commentaries and makes the other people take something uncertain for certain is honoured by these same [people].

3. *anukkamen' eva mahājanena,
purakkhato panditamānibhikkhu
apanḍitānam vimatiñ akatvā,
ācariyālīlam purato karotī ti.*

d *karoti* Kkh-pt

In due course honoured by the crowd, the monk who is vain concerning his learnedness, pretends in public to be a teacher, without raising the suspicion of the unlearned people. [Based on the translation by Dimitrov (forthcoming): § 2.9.]

With these *Upajāti* stanzas the author of *Vjb* rounds off his entire commentary. Therefore, it is to be assumed that they stem from his pen. Since, however, this same author most probably has borrowed the largest part of his introduction — a portion in general assumed to be written by the authors themselves too — from *Nidd-a I* with only minor changes,⁶¹ this is not entirely certain. A parallel to the stanzas (without an introductory expression) occurs in *Kkh-pt* which often relies on *Vjb*. However, the author of *Kkh-pt* has moved these stanzas to a wholly different section, namely to a long excursus on *gāma* and *gāmūpacāra* (*Kkh-pt* 40,12–23), where they are not marked as a quotation (no *iti*), and linked to the different context by replacing *gāheti* with *gāmo ti*.

⁶¹ Kieffer-Pülz 2009. Dimitrov (forthcoming), 500f., takes the opposite standpoint.

B.1.2 Sāriputta, *Sāratthadīpanī* (after A.D. 1165⁶²)

B.1.2.1 Sp-ṭ I 225,17-21 (ad Sp 115,12 [Pār 1.1.1M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

1. *yasmā natthi raho nāma pāpakammesu tādino
rahābhāvena ten' esa araham iti vissuto ti.*

Since such a one has no secrecy regarding bad actions, therefore, he, on account of lacking secrecy, is known as one “**without secrecy**” (arahant).

*idāni sukhaggahanattham yathāvuttam atthāpi sabbam pi saṅgahetvā
dassento āha hoti c' etthā ti* (Sp 115,12) ādi.

Now in order to easily grasp [this the author of Sp], showing indeed every meaning as it was taught, in summarizing [it] says: **And there is [this stanza] in this connection**, etc.

The stanza quoted in Sp-ṭ is borrowed from Vism 201,20-21, and has parallels in Paṭis-a I 214,25-28 and Nidd-a I 185,18-19. Vism, Paṭis-a, and Nidd-a I do not introduce the stanza by any expression. A further reference is found in Khuddas-pṭ 218,8-10 where the stanza is introduced by *yuttañ h' etam*, “for this/the following was said”. This expression usually introduces canonical statements or at least words from an authoritative source.⁶³ Vism was undoubtedly such an authoritative text for the author of Khuddas-pṭ. Thus Sāriputta is the only author who introduces this stanza with *hoti c' ettha*, despite the fact that it is not written by himself and that it occurs already in the *āṭhakathā*. Sāriputta in all likelihood was inspired to apply this expression by the usage of *hoti c' ettha* in Sp 115,12 (see above A.1.1.2) because the stanza quoted by Sāriputta as well as the one written in Sp contains definitions of the word *arahat*, and because Sāriputta explains that *hoti c' ettha* in Sp 115,12 aims at showing the various definitions of *arahat* in a summarized form.

B.1.3 Řānakitti, *Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā* (fifteenth century A.D.)

B.1.3.1 Sp-y I 289,1-12, borrowed from Utt-vn-ṭ (see B.1.6.4).

B.1.3.2 Sp-y I 478,13-15, borrowed from Kkh-ṇṭ (see B.1.5.7).

⁶² Sp-ṭ must have been written after the unification of the three nikāyas (A.D. 1165) under Parakkamabāhu I since Sāriputta refers to it, and before the Kkh-ṇṭ (B.1.5).

⁶³ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: §4.

B.1.4 Anonymous, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭīkā* (after the tenth, before the twelfth century⁶⁴)

B.1.4.1 Kkh-pt 53,30–54,4 (ad Kkh 67,20 [Sgh 6 M])

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *dukkatassa hi vatthūnaṁ mātikāya pakāsanā
garukāpattihetūnaṁ tesam evam pakāsitā.*

For, making known in the *Pātimokha* (*mātikā*⁶⁵) the sites [for huts implying] an [offence of] wrong doing, in that way the [sites for huts] which cause a grave offence are made known.

2. *vatthussa desanupāyena garukāpattihetuyo
vajjītā honti yan tasmā sārambhādijahāpitan ti.*

Causes for grave offences are avoided by means of marking out the site [for a hut]; therefore [a site] involving destruction, etc., is abandoned.

These ślokas (without known parallels) summarize the discussion dealt with in the preceding prose passage,⁶⁶ namely why offences of wrong doing are implicitly made known in the *Pātimokha* rule itself. They conclude the section on Sgh 6 for monks.

B.1.4.2 Kkh-pt 78,17–19 (ad Kkh 114,23 [Niss 9 M]) borrowed from Vjb 245,22–26 (see above B.1.1.4).

B.1.5. Buddhanāga, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭīkā* (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186)

There are eight instances of *hoti/honti c' ettha* introductions in this *ṭīkā*, written exclusively in the Anuṣṭubh metre. All stanzas are a kind of mnemonic. This

⁶⁴ Kkh-pt is younger than Vjb from which it borrows larger text portions. It probably belongs to the same tradition to which Vjb is also affiliated. It may possibly have been cited in Sp-ṭ (Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 23f., 57f.) and thus was written between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D.

⁶⁵ *mātikā*, “list, summary”, also is a name for the *Pātimokha*. This is the meaning it has here as the preceding prose text shows (Kkh-pt 53,17f.: *ethāha: kim
attham Mātikāyam dukkāvatthu vuttam, nanu Vibhaṅge eva vattabbam siyā
ti?*... “Here one could object: Why is the site implying an offence of wrong-doing stated in the *Pātimokha*; shouldn't that be said only in the commentary ([*Sutta-*]Vibhaṅga)?”).

⁶⁶ A similar version (without the stanza) is transmitted in Vjb 193,15ff.

seems to be characteristic for Buddhanāga.

B.1.5.1 Kkh-nṭ 133,15–23 (ad Kkh 5,2ff. [nidāna]) = Pālim-nṭ I
380,5–19

honti (Pālim-nṭ *hoti*) *c’ ettha*:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *Kattikassa ca kālamhā yāva Phaggunapuṇṇamā
hemantakālo ti viññeyyo; aṭṭha honti uposathā.*

The time from the dark [fortnight of the month of] Kattika to the full moon of [the month of] Phagguna is to be known as winter. [There] are eight *uposathas* [during this period].

2. *Phaggunassa ca kālamhā yāva Āsālhipunṇamā
vassakālo ti viññeyyo; aṭṭha honti uposathā.*

The time from the dark [fortnight of the month of] Phagguna to the full moon of [the month of] Āsālha is to be known as summer. [There] are eight *uposathas* [during this period].

3. *Āsālhassa ca kālamhā yāva Kattikapuṇṇamā
vassakālo ti viññeyyo; aṭṭha honti uposathā.*

The time from the dark [fortnight of the month of] Āsālha to the full moon of [the month of] Kattika is to be known as the rainy season. [There] are eight *uposathas* [during this period].

4. *utūnam pana tinnannam pakkhe tatiyasattame,
catuddaso ti Pātimokkham uddisanti nayaññuno ti.*

But in the third and seventh fortnights of the three seasons those who know the method recite the Pātimokkha of the fourteenth.

These four ślokas transmit a definition of the three seasons, their duration, and the number of *uposatha* ceremonies to be performed in each of them (for a similar definition, see below B.1.9.1.2),⁶⁷ and summarize the preceding prose portion. The stanzas are quoted in Pālim-nṭ including the relevant preceding prose explanations, without the source being mentioned.

⁶⁷ For the timetable and the related distribution of the *uposatha* ceremonies, see Kieffer-Püllz 2006: 344f. (the correlation with the three seasons has to be corrected there, because the seasons begin with the first day of the dark fortnight of the months, not with the first day of the bright fortnight of the next month).

B.1.5.2 Kkh-nṭ 148,21–24 (ad Kkh 12,21ff. [nidāna])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*baddhābaddhavasenedha sīmā nāma dvidhā tahiṇī.*⁶⁸

tisampattiuyuttā vajjit' ekādasa vipattikā

baddhasīmā tidhā khaṇḍādito gāmādito parā ti.

By virtue of being determined or undetermined the monastic boundary is twofold there. Three successful [forms of *sīmā*] are correct; avoided are the eleven defective [forms of *sīmā*]. The determined monastic boundary (*baddhasīmā*) is threefold beginning with the Khaṇḍa[*sīmā*], the other [boundary (i.e. the undetermined monastic boundary, *abaddhasīmā*) is threefold] beginning with the village boundary.

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes the most basic facts regarding the monastic boundary (*sīmā*). The topic is not only the subject of some prose lines preceding this stanza, but it is dealt with on many pages (starting no later than Kkh-nṭ 136,10ff.).

B.1.5.3 Kkh-nṭ 164,20–23 (ad Kkh 27,2 [nidāna])⁶⁹

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

nidāne nātītīthapanam pubbakiccassa pucchanam

nidānuddesasavane visuddhārocane vidhi

anārocane cāpatti neyyam piṇḍatthapañcakan ti.

Regarding the introduction [of the *Pātimokha*] the [following] pentad of condensed meanings has to be known:

(1) proposing a motion; (2) regarding the preliminary duties [there] is questioning; (3) regarding the recitation of and the listening to the introduction [of the *Pātimokha*] (4) [and] the announcing of [one's] purity [there is] a method; and (5) in [case of] not announcing [one's purity there arises] an offence.

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes five factors relevant for the preliminaries preceding the *uposatha* ceremony and for the behaviour during the recitation of the introduction of the *Pātimokha*. It concludes the whole chapter on the introduction. Similarly to B.1.5.2 it does not summarize a prose statement

⁶⁸ ≠ Vin-vn 2551 ab

⁶⁹ This stanza summarizes topics scattered throughout the whole introduction.

made directly preceding the stanza, but it is a kind of mnemonic combining information spread over several paragraphs.

B.1.5.4 Kkh-nṭ 182,20–22 (ad Kkh 32,7ff [Pār 1 M])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*cittam khettañ ca kālo ca payogo puggalo tathā,
vijānanan ti sikkhāya paccakkhānam chaṭaṅgikan ti.*

The renunciation factors of the training are sixfold, namely intention and field and tense, likewise the action intimation, the individual, [and] understanding.

This sloka (without known parallels) summarizes the six factors relevant for one who wants to give up the training, i.e. to leave the Buddhist community. Here the author summarizes the long explanations regarding these factors given in the *Kaṅkhāvitaranī* (Kkh 32,7–34,8), and expands the *ādi* of the short explanation (*cittādīnam vā chaṭaṅgānam vasena*) immediately preceding the stanza.

B.1.5.5 Kkh-nṭ 186,18–27 (ad Kkh 35,17 [Pār 1 M])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *Sudinno Dhaniyo sambahulā Vaggumudantikā
Seyyasako Udāyi c’ Ālavakā Channa-Mettiyā.*

Sudinna (Pār 1 M), Dhaniya (Pār 2 M), some (Pār 2 M, Niss 6 M, etc.), those living near the Vaggumudā [river] (Pār 3–4 M), Seyyasaka (Sgh 1 M), Udāyi (Sgh 2–5 M, Aniy 1–2, Niss 4 M, Pāc 7 M), Ālavaka (Sgh 6 M, Pāc 10–11 M), Channa (Sgh 7, 12 M, Pāc 12 M), Mettiya (Sgh 8–9 M, Pāc 13 M),

2. *Devadatt'-Assaji-Punabbasu-chabbaggiy'-Opanandaññataro pi ca⁷⁰
Hatthako c’ Ānuruddho ca sattarasa Cūḍapanthako.*

Devadatta (Sgh 10–11 M), the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu (Sgh 13 M), the group of six bad [monks] (Pār 2, 3 M, Niss 1, 7, 11–13 M, Pāc 16 M, etc.), Upananda (Niss 6, 8–10 M, Pāc 9 M), and also another one, Hatthaka (Pāc 1 M) and Anuruddha (Pāc 6 M), the [group of] seventeen (Pāc 15, 17, 37, 53, 60 M) [and] Cūḍapanthaka (Pāc 11 M),

⁷⁰ There are metrical problems in this and the fourth stanza.

3. *Belaṭṭhasīso c' Ānando Sāgato 'riṭhanāmako
Nandatherena tevīsa bhikkhūnam ādikammikā.*

and Belaṭṭhasīsa (Pāc 38 M) and Ānanda (Pāc 41 M?) Sāgata (Pāc 51 M) [and the one] named Ariṭṭha (Pāc 68 M), [together] with Nanda Thera (Pāc 92 M) [these are] the twenty-three first wrong-doers among the monks.

4. *Sundarīnandā Thullanandā chabbaggiyaññatarāpi ca
Caṇḍakālī sambahulā dve ca bhikkhuniyo parā
bhikkhunīnam tu satt' eva honti tā ādikammikā ti.*

Sundarīnandā (Pār 1, 2 N, Sgh 5 N, etc.), Thullanandā, and the group of six bad [nuns] (Pāc 43 N, etc.) and others (Pāc 44 N, etc.), Caṇḍakālī (Sgh 4 N), some (Pāc 56 N, etc.), and two other nuns (Sgh 3 N); among the nuns, however, there are seven first wrong-doers.

In the context of the first *pārājika* rule the author of Kkh-nt explains the word “individual” (*puggalo*) referring to the first wrong-doer. A first wrong-doer is the person whose behaviour, according to tradition, prompted the Buddha to enact a rule. The author of Kkh-nt takes the opportunity to name all the first wrong-doers among monks and nuns in these ślokas (without known parallels). These stanzas do not summarize a preceding prose portion, but can be understood as a mnemonic which adds information to the preceding explanation of *puggala*.

B.1.5.6 Kkh-nt 214,12–14 (ad Kkh 49,18 [Pār 3 M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yathāñattivases' eva āñattena kate sati
āñāpakkassa āpatti visañketo 'ññathā kate ti.*

If there is [a murder] carried out exactly according to the command by the one commanded, an offence [arises] for the one who gave the command; [a murderer] is one with a broken mutual agreement if [the murder] is carried out [by him] in a manner deviating [from the command].

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes some facts regarding murder on command with a mutual agreement (*sanketa*) or a broken mutual agreement

(*visan̄keta*). The subject was already dealt with in the preceding prose text. A slightly shorter version without the stanza is found in Khuddas-pt.⁷¹

B.1.5.7 Kkh-nṭ 247,23–25 (ad Kkh 74,19 [Sgh 9 M]) = Sp-y 478,13–15

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*lesā jātināmagotta-liṅgāpattivasāpi ca
pattacīvarupajjhāyācariyāvāsasā dasā ti.*

d Sp-y *dasa*.

There are ten pretexts: by means of birth, name, family, characteristic, and also by offence, by means of a bowl, a robe, a teacher, a preceptor, [and] lodgings.

This śloka summarizing the ten pretexts usable to accuse another bhikkhu of a *pārājika* offence (Sgh 9) is found in the younger Sp-y which probably borrowed it from Kkh-nṭ. It is a mere enumeration of the pretexts listed in the Vinaya, with the one difference that Buddhanāga for metrical reasons uses *āvāsa* instead of the *senāsana* of the Vinaya (III 169,2). This stanza could have served as a mnemonic.

B.1.5.8 Kkh-nṭ 251,10–14 (ad Kkh 76,8 [Sgh 10 M])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

I. *dhammavinayabhāsitāciṇṇapaññattikā dukā
āpattilahuduṭhullasāvasesadukāni ca.*

The dyads consisting in Dhamma [and Non-Dhamma], discipline [and non-discipline], what was spoken [and what was not spoken], what was

⁷¹ The two texts have an identical prose passage:

*imesu yathā yathā vadako āṇatto, tathā tathā kate āṇāpakassa āpatti,
aññathā kate visan̄keto hoti.*

Kkh-nṭ 214,9–10 = Khuddas-pt 67,29–68,3

If [a murder] is carried out in one of the ways among those [enumerated before] the murderer was commanded [to carry it out, then] an offence [arises] for the one who gave the command; if [the murder] is carried out in a different manner, [the murderer] is one who has broken the mutual agreement (i.e. the one who gave the command is not guilty).

practised [and what was not practised], what was laid down [and what was not laid down], and the dyad [consisting in] offence [and not an offence], slight offence [and grave offence], bad offence [and not a bad offence], remediable offence [and not a remediable offence],

2. *etān' aṭṭhārasa “bhedakaravatthū” ti vuccare
vipallāsagahitāni vādamūlūpanissayā ti*⁷².

these eighteen [matters] are called “matters making for schism”, [if] they are understood to the contrary being based on branches with sectarian teachings [or, on the Vādamūla].⁷³

These ślokas (without known parallels) summarize the eighteen matters making for schism in the community (*bhedakaravatthuvasena aṭṭhārasavidham*; Kkh-ṇt 250,18–19 ad Kkh 76,8). Buddhanāga has named them in the preceding prose section by quoting the relevant passage from the *Cullavagga*.

B.1.6 Anonymous, *Vinayavinicchaya-* and *Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā* (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.)⁷⁴

All three references in Vin-vn-ṭ and the one in Utt-vn-ṭ are unparalleled in earlier or contemporaneous *ṭīkās*. All four are written in the Anuṣṭubh metre. Of the three in Vin-vn-ṭ, two summarize preceding text portions (B.1.6.1; 1.6.3). The third concludes a commentarial passage with a call to the reader to think

⁷² Evidently we should read °*nissayāni* for °*nissayā ti*, but then the *ti* concluding the stanza is missing.

⁷³ *Vādamūla* also is the name of a branch of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Sri Lanka in the middle ages, Panabokke 1993: 182.

⁷⁴ Vin-vn-ṭ and Utt-vn-ṭ are written by the same author. This is proven by an intertextual link (Vin-vn-ṭ II 401,16–18). That same author also wrote a commentary on the *Saccasāṅkhepa* named *Sāratthasālinī* (yet unpublished) as I realized the first time I compared the introductory portion of Sacc-ṇt with that of Vin-vn-ṭ. The two texts are largely identical with only minor deviations. Whether these commentaries are, however, those ascribed to Vācissara in the *Gandhavamśa*, is not yet clear. But Sp-y at least ascribes Utt-vn-ṭ to him. Since in Vin-vn-ṭ and Utt-vn-ṭ the *Nissandeha* is quoted, a commentary ascribed to Parakkamabāhu II (A.D. 1236–1271), they must have been written after this text. If the ascription of the *Nissandeha* to Parakkamabāhu is correct, Vin-vn-ṭ and Utt-vn-ṭ originated in the second third of the the thirteenth century A.D. at the earliest.

about what has been said. The stanzas in Utt-vn-ṭ also conclude a section and summarize a lengthy preceding prose portion.

B.1.6.1 Vin-vn-ṭ I 280,11–13 (ad Vin-vn v. 582 [Niss 1.4 M])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yam vattham bhikkhunā laddham katam mātādisantakam,
nissaggiyam na hoti ti tam āhu vinayaññuno ti.*

The experts of the Vinaya say, a garment which is obtained by a monk, [and] made the property of [one’s] mother, etc., need not be given up.

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes the preceding prose statement which serves as an explanation of the intention of the argument in the *Mahāpaccarī*, one of the early *Śīhalatthakathās*. According to that, a cloth which has been turned into the property of someone else need not be given up (*nissaggiya*).⁷⁵

B.1.6.2 Vin-vn-ṭ I 280,20–24 (ad Vin-vn v. 584 [Niss 1.4 M])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *Mātikatthakathāyassā kanḍuccchādikasātiyā,
na kālātikkame vuttam adhitthānavivatthanam.*

In the *Mātikatthakathā* the turning away from the formal possession of the itch-covering cloth has not been taught with respect to transgression of time.

2. *adhitthānapahānañgesu vuttattā visesato,
vīmañsitarbam viññūhi tattha yam kāranam siyā ti.*

Because [it] has been specifically stated among the factors for giving up formal possession, the learned should examine there what could be the reason for that.

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude the commentary on Vin-vn v. 584. Unlike most other stanzas introduced by *hoti/honti c’ ettha* they do not summarize a preceding prose statement but rather call attention to an omission in the *Mātikatthakathā*, i.e., the *Pātimokkha* commentary called *Kañkhāvitarañī*. In the paragraph on the *kanḍuppaṭicchādīsikkhāpada* (Pāc 90 M; Kkh 245,25–46,5) the *Kañkhāvitarañī* does not give any rules for the giving up of the formal possession of an itch-covering cloth when the right time (i.e. the period of

⁷⁵ For more details, see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: II [Z 142] and n. 16.

illness) is over. As stated in the second śloka, such rules are given in the context of the description of giving up formal possession. This refers to the regulations taught in the frame of the first *nissaggiya* rule. There, we learn that the formal possession of an itch-covering cloth lasts till the illness subsides and that subsequently the cloth has to be assigned (*vikappeti*, Kkh 94,11–12), or, more precisely, it has to be given up (*paccuddharati*) and then assigned (*vikappeti*, Kkh 95,20–22). The author of Vin-vn-ṭ tells the learned to examine the reason for giving up the formal possession of an itch-covering cloth in case the right time is over by referring him to the paragraph on the first *Nissaggiya*.

B.1.6.3 Vin-vn-ṭ I 334,11–13 (ad Vin-vn v. 742 [Niss 21f. M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*pamāṇayuttatā pākasampatti dinnamūlatā,
acchiddārājītā ceti, pattalakkhaṇapañcakan ti.*

This is the pentad for the definition of a bowl: correctness of measure, attainment of “cooking”,⁷⁶ provision of money, free from holes and fissures.⁷⁷

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes the keywords from the definition of a bowl given in the preceding prose statement (Vin-vn-ṭ I 334,6–11). It may have served as a mnemonic.

B.1.6.4 Utt-vn-ṭ II 409,4–13 (ad Utt-vn v. 7 [Pār 2 M]) = Sp-y I 289,1–12 = Pāt-gp 14,28–15,11

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *hemarajatataṁbehi satthe niddīṭṭhalakkhaṇam,
ahāpetvā kato vīsamāso nīlakahāpano.*

A *nīlakahāpana* of twenty *māsa* is made out of gold, silver, [and] copper without omitting the characteristics described in the ancient handbook.

2. *hemapādaṁ sajjhupādaṁ tambapādadvayaṇ hi so,
missetvā rūpam appetvā kātum satthesu dassito.*

⁷⁶ This refers to the process of baking.

⁷⁷ In the prose statement this is expressed as *chiddābhāvo, chinnarājīnam abhāvo*, “absence of holes, absence of [its having] cut/broken streaks (? rips?)”.

b *tambapādañ cayam ti so* Pāt-gp **c** *thapetvā* for *appetvā* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924:
182 **d** *sabbesu dassito* Pāt-gp; *satthe sudassito* Sp-y

For the [*nīlakahāpana*] is described in the handbooks (or: well described in the handbook⁷⁸) as one to be made by mixing a *pāda* of gold, a *pāda* of silver, two *pādas* of copper, and by adding a mark.

3. “*elā*” *ti vuccate doso niddosattā tathīrito,*
tassa pādo suvanṇassa vīśavīhagghano mato

a *elo* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 182, Sp-y; *elā hi* Utt-vn-ṭ n.1 (v.l.) **b** *tathārito* Sp-y;
tatherito Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 182, Sp-y n.1 (v.l.) **d** *vīśavīhagghanāmako* Pāt-gp,
Codrington 1924: 182, Sp-y; ^o*agghano māso* von Hinüber 2009 v.l.

A fault is called *ela*; because [the *nīlakahāpana*] is without fault (*ni + ela*),⁷⁹ it is so called (i.e. *nīlakahāpana*). A *pāda* of gold is considered equivalent to twenty grains of rice.⁸⁰

4. *yasmin pana padese so na vattati kahāpano,*
vīśasovaṇṇavīhagghaṇ tappādagghan ti vediyam.

a–b *yasmin janapade dese so nathī ti kahāpano* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 183 **d**
tampādagghan ti ca vediyam Pāt-gp

In a country where a *kahāpana* is not a currency, the value of twenty grains of rice in gold is to be known as the value of that *pāda*.

5. *vīśasovaṇṇavīhagghaṇ thenentā bhikkhavo tato,*
cavanti sāmaññaguṇā icc āhu vinayaññuno ti.

b *thenento bhikkhu te tato* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 183 (but *the*) **d** *viniyaññāno*
Codrington 1924: 183; after the final stanza Codrington 1924: 183, Pāt-gp, Sp-y add
(*ti*) *Vācissaranāmākācariyena vuttam.*

⁷⁸ This variant of Sp-y would be possible in all editions. The singular would well fit the reading *satthe* in the first stanza. If that reading is preferred one would have to assume that Vācissara, the author of these stanzas, took this information from a single *sattha*, despite the fact that he had consulted multiple sources, as is obvious from the preceding pages.

⁷⁹ An attempt to explain the word *nīla* in the designation *nīla-kahāpana* as resulting from *ni + elā*, “without fault”.

⁸⁰ O. von Hinüber based on his reading of Utt-vn-ṭ (^o*agghano māso*; von Hinüber 2009: I 414) translates “[is called] a *māsa* equivalent to twenty grains of rice”. But Utt-vn-ṭ reads ^o*agghano mato*.

Monks stealing [something] worth twenty grains of rice in gold abandon the virtues of an ascetic as a consequence. So say those who are knowledgeable in the Vinaya. [Translation based on Codrington 1924: 182f. and von Hinüber 2009, I 415]

These ślokas give the gist of a long prose portion (Utt-vn-t II 405,3ff.) in which the author presents various equations of the *nilakahāpana* with other currencies from various sources. These stanzas are quoted by Nānakitti (fifteenth century A.D.) who also indicated the author of these stanzas, namely, Vācissara,⁸¹ in his Sp-y and Pāt-gp.⁸² It is highly likely that the author of the *Uttaravinichayatikā* wrote these stanzas himself, since they conclude his long explanations.⁸³

B.1.7 Anonymous, *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇatikā* (twelfth or early thirteenth century A.D.)⁸⁴

B.1.7.1 Khuddas-pṭ 178,15–17 (Khuddas B° v. 324 = E° 40.3)

honti c' etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

*divisaṅgahāni dve honti tatiyam catusaṅgaham,
catuttham navakoṭhāsan pañcamam aṭṭhabhedanam ti.*

⁸¹ Nānakitti thus obviously assumed that Utt-vn-t from which he extracted these stanzas was written by Vācissara.

⁸² Codrington (1924: 182) refers to their being quoted in Nānakitti's Pāt-gp, von Hinüber (2000: 131f. = 2009: I 414f.) to their being quoted in Nānakitti's Sp-y.

⁸³ O. von Hinüber assessed these stanzas in Utt-vn-t as a quotation from an unnamed source, but also considers the possibility that they were written by the author of Utt-vn-t himself. Since stanzas introduced by this expression are mostly unique and, in the texts up to about the thirteenth century A.D., in most cases presumably penned by the authors of the texts, the latter alternative seems to be preferable here.

⁸⁴ The anonymous and undated Khuddas-pṭ precedes Saṅgharakkhita's *Sumaṅgalappasādāni*, i.e. Khuddas-nt, since Saṅgharakkhita states that the old *ṭīkā* did not suffice (Khuddas-nt 247,7–12). It is also older than Vin-vn-t (ca. second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) where it is quoted (Vin-vn-t II 288,3–5: *Khuddasikkhāvāṇṇanāyam pi ... ti* [Khuddas-pṭ 184,1–2 ad v. 344] *vuttam*). It may possibly be younger than Kkh-nt (after A.D. 1165 before A.D. 1186) with which it shares a longer text portion (Kkh-nt 330,24–31,4 ≠ Khuddas-pṭ 115,9–21).

The [first] two [heavy goods] are collections of two,⁸⁵ the third [heavy good] ⁸⁶ is a collection of four, the fourth [heavy good] is a group of nine, the fifth [heavy good] has a division in eight.

This mnemonic has literal parallels in Sp 1237,21–22 = Khuddas-nt 390,19–20 = Kkh-nt 422,14–15 = Pālim 302,12–13 = Pālim-nt II 67,11–12. Sp and Kkh-nt introduce it by *evam*, Pālim by *yuttañ h’ etam*, which is the introductory expression for canonical or authoritative writings,⁸⁷ and Pālim-nt gives it without introduction. Khuddas-pt introduces this stanza with *honti c’ etha*, although there follows only one stanza. But in Sp, from which Khuddas-pt certainly borrowed the stanza, we have, as in all other cases, two stanzas. Either the author of Khuddas-pt took over the introductory expression with only one stanza, or the second stanza was lost during the transmission of the text. Khuddas-nt has the same two stanzas as Sp, and introduces them with *tathā cāha*, an expression often used in the *ītikā* literature (only seven times in the *atthakathā* literature) to introduce quotations from the canon or an *atthakathā*. There is a slightly different variant of this stanza in Vin-vn 2853.⁸⁸ Hence Khuddas-pt is the only text to introduce this stanza with the *honti c’ etha* expression. It is, moreover, the only text in which the stanza is directly preceded by a more detailed prose statement.

B.1.8 *Toñ-phī-lā charā tō* Munindaghosa (Tipiṭakālañkāra), *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayanavañikā* (=) *Vinayālañkārañikā* (between A.D. 1639 and 1651, Burma)

B.1.8.1 Pālim-nt I 256,20–23 borrowed from Vjb 411,18–20, see above
B.1.1.6

B.1.8.2 Pālim-nt I 380,5–19 borrowed from Kkh-nt 133,15–23, see above B.1.5.1.

⁸⁵ *dve* refers to the first and second heavy goods (*garubhañda*), the first of which consists in *ārāma* and *ārāmavatthu*, and the second in *vihāra* and *vihāravatthu* (cf. Vin-vn-ṭ II 300, ad v. 2853).

⁸⁶ According to Khuddas-pt 178,12 the third *garubhañda* consists in *mañco pītham bhisi* and *bibbohanam*.

⁸⁷ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: §4.

⁸⁸ *dvīhi sañgahitāni dve tatiyam catusañgaham
catuttham navakoñthāsañ pañcamam atthadhā matam.*

B.1.9 *Sīmā* literature

B.1.9.1 Sāgarabuddhi, *Sīmāvisodhanī* (A.D. 1587) composed in Sirikhetta (Burma).

B.1.9.1.1 *Sīmāvis 10*

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *paccantajo arūpino vikalāṅgo asaññajo
micchādiṭṭhi tiracchāno peto nerayiko pi ca.*

Born in a border district/slum (?), [born as] a formless [being, born] with deformed limbs, born without consciousness, [born as one holding] wrong views, [born as an] animal, [born as a] ghost, and even [born as one] belonging to a hell,

2. *ete aṭṭhakkhaṇā vuttā Buddhenādiccabandhunā
Buddhuppādo khaṇo eko navamo ti pavuccatī ti*

these eight [unfavourable] conditions [of birth] are named by the Buddha, the friend of the sun/kinsman of the Ādiccas; the [suitable] moment consisting in the arising of a Buddha is named as a ninth condition.

These ślokas summarize the author's previous prose explanations. Whether he borrowed them from another text unknown to us as in the second case (B.1.9.1.2), or whether he wrote them himself, cannot be verified at the moment. It seems, however, that these stanzas or at least a portion of them were well known in Burma, since we find the first also in two manuscripts of a *nissaya* on the *Paritta*.⁸⁹

B.1.9.1.2 *Sīmāvis 19* = Mūlas E^c 129,14–18; B^e vv. 115–16

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *Kattikantikapakkhamhā hemam Phaggunapuṇṇamā
tassantikapakkhamhā gimham Āsālhiṇipuṇṇamā
vassakālaṇi tato sesam. catuvīsat' ūposathā.*

a *kattikantima*^o Mūlas B^e, E^c **c** *tassa antimā*^o Mūlas B^e, E^c **d** *Āsāli*^o Mūlas E^c
e *seyyam* Mūlas E^c **f** *catuvīsat' ūposathā* Mūlas B^e, E^c

⁸⁹ See BurmMSS II, no. 354, p. 180; no. 355 (stanza p. 184, but ending in *nerayiko ti*; written A.D. 1812 or 1878, see pp. 183, 187).

Winter [lasts] from the last fortnight in the month of Kattika to the full moon of the month of Phagguna. Summer [lasts] from the last fortnight in that [month (= Phagguna)] to the full moon of the month Āsāha. The rainy period [lasts] for the rest of these [months; there are] twenty-four *uposatha* ceremonies.

2. *cātuddasī cha etesu pakkhā tatiyasattamā sesā pannarasiññeyyā aṭṭhārasa uposathā ti.*

a *cātuddasā* Mūlas B^e, *cātuddasa* Mūlas E^e c *ñeyyā pannarasā sesā* Mūlas B^e, *ñeyyā pannarasa sesā* Mūlas E^e d *ti om.* Mūlas B^e E^e

Among them six [*uposatha* ceremonies] fall on the fourteenth in the third and seventh fortnights, the remaining eighteen *uposatha* ceremonies are to be known as falling on the fifteenth.

The definition of seasons and the allocation of the *uposatha* ceremonies were highly important tasks in the daily life of the Buddhist community. Unlike Buddhanāga who in his Kkh-ñt wrote his own mnemonic on that topic, Sāgarabuddhi borrowed the stanzas from one of the authoritative Vinaya manuals of the fifth/sixth centuries A.D., namely from Mūlas (E^e 129,14–18; B^e vv. 115–16). This Vinaya treatise had to be learned and rehearsed by young monks in twelfth century Sri Lanka.⁹⁰ Sāgarabuddhi, in using *hoti/honti c’ ettha* as an introduction for stanzas from some earlier uncanonical text, follows a practice that will be observed also by other younger Burmese authors (see below, B.2.2.1; 2.2.9; 3.4, etc.).

B.2. *Sutta*

Only a few of the commentaries to the *Suttapiṭaka* contain the *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha* introduction. Dhammapāla uses it three times, twice in his Sv-pt (B.2.1), and once in Ps-pt. The latter is one of the few texts that uses *bhavanti* instead of *honti* (B.2.2; 7.2.5).⁹¹ In two cases Dhammapāla borrows

⁹⁰ From the Mahā Parakkamabāhu Katikāvata (twelfth century A.D.) we learn that the young monks unable to master larger parts of the Pāli texts at least had to commit to memory among others the *Mūlasikkhā*, and the *Sikharavalanda-vinisa*, a Sinhalese translation of the latter (Ratnapāla 1971: 130, 289f.).

⁹¹ Dhammapāla seems not to have used this expression in his *ṭīkā* on the *Āṅguttaranikāya* as far as this commentary is accessible to us (Pecenko’s edition from 2012 [Mp-pt] stretches roughly over the first third of the *aṭṭhakathā* [it ends with Mp II 281]).

the stanzas from older sources, namely — including the introductory phrase — Dhammadpāla's Cp-a (A.2.4.1), and — excluding the introductory phrase — his older Vism-mhṭ (B.2.3). For a third case, a definition of *Paṭṭhāna* in the Āryā metre, previously not even recognized as a stanza, we have no parallel. But given the usage in the other two cases, we cannot exclude the possibility that it was borrowed from some older text too. Altogether fourteen references are contained in Nāṇābhivamṣa's (A.D. 1743–1832) Sv-anṭ. All the stanzas are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, and only two are borrowed from earlier texts (B.2.2.1; 2.2.9). Finally, the anonymous Patis-gp has two references introducing altogether fifty-four unique stanzas (B.2.4). They are written in the Anuṣṭubh and Trṣṭubh metres.

B.2.1 Dhammadpāla, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā* (ca. tenth century A.D.)

B.2.1.1 Sv-pṭ I 128,7–15 (ad Sv I 60) = Sv-anṭ I 297 = Cp-a 328,29–29,3 (see A.2.4.1)

B.2.1.2 Sv-pṭ I 179,3–6 (ad Sv I 101,15)

hoti c' ettha: *Paṭṭhānam nāma*

And there is [this stanza] in this connection: *Paṭṭhāna* means:

*paccekam dhammānam anulomādimhi tikadukkādisu yā
paccayamūlavisīthā catunayato sattavāragatī ti.*

b °*dukkādisu* B^e **d** *sattadhā gatī ti* B^e

[Its] arrangement (*gati*) is in seven portions (*vāra*) in accordance with four methods (*naya*), [an arrangement] which is differentiated by each [of the 28] being based on [one or more of the 24] conditions for *dhammas* separately in the *anuloma*, [*paccanīya*, *anulomapaccanīya*, and the *paccanīyānuloma* sections] and into the *tika* (triads), *duka* (pairs), [*tika* and *duka*, *duka* and *tika*, *tika* and *tika*, *duka* and *duka* sections].⁹²

⁹² Translation L.S. Cousins, with whom I discussed this passage, and who identified the metre (Āryā). As to the description of the *Paṭṭhāna*'s arrangement Cousins (email 13/2/2013) states: "What it is saying is that there are seven *vāras*, treated first as *anuloma* and then as *paccanīya*, etc. [i.e. *na hetu* and so on = *paccayānuloma*]. Within each *vāra* it is divided up in accordance with how it is based on the twenty-four *paccayas*. All of that is found in each of the six: *tika*, *duka*, *tika* and *duka*, etc., sections. All of that is regarded as *anuloma* and then is repeated as *paccanīya*, etc. [i.e. *na kusala* and so on = *dhammānuloma*]."

This passage is transmitted as a prose text in de Silva’s edition (E^e) and on the CSCD (B^e). Since this combination would be unique — normally no *pratīkas* follow the introductory expression *hoti c’ ettha* — it is obvious that the passage was modified by the words *Paṭṭhānam nāma* which must have been added later. This is confirmed by the fact that the passage from *paccekam* to *sattavāragatī* forms an Āryā stanza. Therefore, it is to be assumed that *Paṭṭhānam nāma* was inserted by some scribe who wanted to clarify the meaning of the following stanza. In conformity with other references, this Āryā stanza summarizes a preceding prose explanation.

B.2.2 Nāñābhivamsa, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-abhinavajīkā* (1800, Burma)
Nāñābhivamsa uses *hoti/honti c’ ettha* fourteen times. Only two references seem to be borrowed from older sources, namely one from Sv-pt = Cp-a (B.2.2.9) and one with slight variations from Vjb (B.2.2.1).

B.2.2.1 Sv-anṭ I 97 (ad Sv-pt I 34,18ff. ad Sv I 19,9ff.) = Vjb 24,15–18

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *desakassa vasen’ ettha desanā piṭakattayaṇ
sāsitabbavasen’ etam sāsanāti pavuccati*

a *desentassa* Vjb **d** *ti pi vuccati* Vjb

By virtue of the instructor, the instruction in this connection is the threefold Piṭaka; by virtue of that which has to be taught, this is called the Teaching (*sāsana*);

2. *kathetabbassa athassa vasenā pi kathā ti ca
desanāsāsanakathābhedam p’ evam pakāsaye ti.*

c *desanā sāsanā kathā bhedam* Vjb **d** Vjb om. *ti*

and by virtue of the meaning to be explained, it is [called] the explanation (*kathā*). [Thus] one may explain the distinction between instruction (*desanā*), teaching (*sāsana*), and explanation (*kathā*) in this way.

The same *ślokas* with slight variants occur in Vjb 24,15–18 where no introductory phrase is used to introduce, and no *ti/iti* to conclude them. Thus they were probably written by the author of Vjb. As with other references the stanzas summarize a preceding prose statement.

B.2.2.2 Sv-anṭ I 104 (ad Sv-pt I 35,25ff. ad Sv I 20,9ff.)

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*saddo dhammo desanā ca icc āhu apare garū
dhammo pāṇnatti saddo tu desanā vā ti cāpare ti.*

Some teachers say, “Word, Dhamma and Instruction”. But others [say], “Dhamma, Prescription, Word” or “Instruction”.

This śloka (without known parallels) concludes a long discussion of the various meanings of *tanti* and of its equations with *desanā*, *dhamma*, *pāṇnatti*, *sadda*, etc.

B.2.2.3 Sv-ant I 150 (ad Sv I 28,31f.)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*evādisattiyā c' eva aññatthāpohanena ca
dvīdhā saddo atthantaram nivatteti yathārahan ti.*

A word [explained] in two ways negates another meaning as may be suitable by the power [of a statement] beginning with *evam* as well as by negating [a specific meaning] in another [word].

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes part of the preceding prose statements (Sv-ant I 149f.) made in the context of the explanation of the words *evam me sutam*.

B.2.2.4 Sv-ant I 165 (ad Sv 31,9)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *dassanañ dīpanañ cāpi pakāsanañ vibhāvanāñ
anubhāvanam icc attho kiriyāyogena pañcadhā*

By means of activity — namely, showing, illustrating, making known, exposing, and experiencing — the meaning is shown in five ways,

2. *dassito paramparāya siddho 'nekathavuttiyā
"evam me sutam" icc etha padattaye nayaññunā ti.*

[and] by the series of many meanings [the meaning] becomes evident to one who knows the method with respect to the three words here, “Thus have I heard” (*evam me sutam*).

These ślokas (without known parallels) add to the preceding explanations of how the meaning of *evam me sutam* has to be shown.

B.2.2.5 Sv-ant I 169 (ad Sv I 32,7-8)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*sāmaññavacanīyatam upādāya anekadhā
attham vade na hi saddo eko 'nekatthako siyā ti.*

Based upon the necessity to speak in a general way, one may explain a meaning in various ways; [in case of a particular instance of a word] a single word indeed cannot be of many meanings.

This sloka (without known parallels) gives the gist of the preceding discussion.⁹³

B.2.2.6 Sv-anṭ I 216 (ad Sv I 50,16f.)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *desanāciraññhitattham asammosāya bhāsitam
saddhāya cāpi nidānam vedehena yasassinā*

The source [of a *sutta*] (in the form of the words *evam me sutam*) is taught by the learned sage (Ānanda Vedehamuni?), the famous one, with the aim [to make] the discourse long-lasting, memorable, and believable.

2. *satthusampattiya c' eva sāsanasampadāya ca
tassa pamāṇabhāvassa dassanattham pi bhāsitān ti.*

⁹³ *nanu ca atthamattam yathādhippetam pati saddā abhinivisantī ti na ekena saddena aneke atthā abhidhīyanti, atha kasmā idha samayasaddassa anekadhā attho vutto ti? saccam etam saddayisese apekkhite, saddayisese hi apekkhite na ekena saddena anekathābhidhānam sambhavati. na hi yo kālādi-attho samaya-saddo, so yeva samūhādi-attham vadati. ettha pana tesam tesam atthānam samayasaddavacanīyatāsāmaññam upādāya anekatthatā samaya-saddassa vuttā ti* (Sp-t, Sadd om. *ti*).

Sv-anṭ I 168 ≠ Sp-t I 198,27–99,1 ≠ Sadd 419,21–28

But is it not the case that several meanings are not expressed by one word insofar as words adhere to merely that meaning as is intended? Why then is the meaning of the word *samaya* taught here in many ways? This is true if a particular instance of a word is considered, for if a particular instance of a word is considered there is no expression of many meanings by one word. For when the word *samaya* has the meaning “time”, etc., it precisely does not suggest the meaning “multitude”, etc. But here the homonyms of the word *samaya* are taught based upon the general necessity to teach the word *samaya* with respect to various meanings.

And it is taught [in order to make manifest] the successful attainment of the Teacher and the successful attainment of the Teaching, and also with the aim of making manifest the authoritative status of the [Teacher and the Teaching].

These ślokas (without known parallels) give the gist of the preceding prose explanations dealing with the function of *evam me sutam*. Similar discussions are transmitted in various other commentaries (for example It-a 33f., Ud-a 27f.)

B.2.2.7 Sv-anṭ I 226 (ad Sv I 55.20)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *yena kenaci athassa bodhāya aññasaddato vikkhittakamanānam pi pariyāyakathā katā.*

An alternative way of expression is given by someone in order to make known the meaning of another word, even to those going around with confused [minds].

2. *mandānañ ca amūlhattham attantaranisedhayā tam tam nāmanirulhattham pariyāyakathā katā.*

In order to make it clear to those of slow intelligence by preventing [them from understanding] a different meaning, an alternative way of expression is given for the customary meaning of this or that word.

3. *desakānam sukarattham tantiatthāvabodhane dhammaniruttibodhattham pariyāyakathā katā.*

An alternative way of expression is given with the aim of rendering [it] easy for teachers [and] with the aim of [making] known the terminology (*nirutti*) related to ultimate realities (*dhamma*) with respect to the instruction of the meaning of a text.

4. *veneyyānam tattha bijavāpanatthañ ca attano dhammadhātuyā līlāya pariyāyakathā katā.*

An alternative way of expression is given with the aim of sowing a seed there for those ready to receive the Teaching and for the play (?) [of the Buddha] in the realm of the Teaching (*dhammadhātu*).

5. *tad eva tu avatvāna tadaññehi pabodhanam sammāpaṭiggañhantānam atthādhigamāya katan ti.*

By precisely not saying this [word/sentence],⁹⁴ understanding is accomplished rather with words other [than this] so that those who grasp [them] correctly will realize the meaning.⁹⁵

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude and summarize the preceding prose explanations of *vevacana* “synonym”, which is explained as *pariyāyavacana* “alternative way of expression/figurative expression”. The latter is replaced by *pariyāyakathā* in the stanzas.

B.2.2.8 Sv-anṭ I 231 (ad Sv 55.20f)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*padantaravacanīyassatthassa visesanāya
bodhanāya vineyānam tathānatthapadam vade ti.*

For specifying the meaning to be expressed by another word [and] for making [it] known to those ready to receive the teaching, one likewise may speak a “word of no meaning”.

This śloka (without known parallels) concludes the explanation of the word *anatthakabhāvo*, and summarizes one of the preceding prose sentences.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ As elucidated by the preceding prose text, the following statement is wrong: “If something should be said, then exactly that would have been said and nothing else” (*yam pan' etam vuttam* “*yadi ca tam vattabbam siyā, tad eva vuttam assa, na tadaññan*” *ti, tam pi na yuttam payojanantararasambhavato*). Thus it is completely proper not to say what should be said (*tad eva avatvāna*), but to use an alternative word/sentence.

⁹⁵ I thank L.S. Cousins (email 13/4/2014) for his suggestions regarding my translation of these stanzas.

⁹⁶ *saccam, tam pi padantarābhihitassa athassa visesanasavasena tadabhihitam
athāpi vadati eva, so pana attho vināpi tena padantaren' eva sakkā viññātun
ti anatthakam* icc eva vuttan *ti.*

Sv-anṭ I 231

True, in specifying the meaning expressed by the other word, this [word] too only suggests the meaning [already] expressed by that [other word]. But insofar as that meaning can be understood also without the other word, it has been said, “[a word] of no meaning” (*anatthakam*).

B.2.2.9 Sv-anṭ I 297 (ad Sv-pṭ I 128,7ff.)

Borrowed from Sv-pṭ I 128,7–15 (B.2.1.1) which in turn borrowed it from Cp-a 328,29–29,3 (A.2.4.1).

B.2.2.10 Sv-anṭ I 460 (ad Sv I 124,13–14 ad D I 43,9)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*gamyamānādhikārato lopato sesato cā ti
kāranehi catūhi pi na katthaci ravo yutto ti.*

On account of all four reasons a sound is not applied in some places, [namely] on account of implication, of a governing word, of an elision, [and] of a residual relationship.

In the explanation of the compound *balavabhbāvadassanatham* (Sv I 124,13–14) the author explains that feeling (*vedanā*), etc., may arise even without the eye, etc., as a base, but that it cannot arise without contact (*phassa*), and that, therefore, contact is the specific condition (*visesapaccaya*) for all associated *dharmas*. He then refers to the role “contact” plays in the explanation of the arising of a thought as explained by the Buddha in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. Although the contact is thus the main thing, the word chosen in Sv is “the experienced” (*vedayitam*). The author tries to explain why this word has been chosen while the more important word “contact” (*phassa*) has not been named. The śloka (without known parallels), a kind of mnemonic, grasps the gist of the preceding prose section.⁹⁷

B.2.2.11 Sv-anṭ I 466 (ad Sv I 125,31)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

mattam evā ti ekattham mattapadam pamāṇake

⁹⁷ *patiṣamvedissantī ti* (D I 43,11 = Sv I 124,17) *vuttattā tad apī ti* (D I 43,3,8, etc.) *etthādhikaro ti āha tam vedayitan ti* (Sv I 124,17), *gamyamānathassa vā saddassa payogam pati kāmacārattā, lopattā, sesattāpi ca esa na payutto.*

Sv-anṭ I 231

Since [in Sv] is has been said, **they will experience**, [this] is the governing [word] in that connection: **that too**. [Therefore the commentator] says, **this is sensed**; or, [it is] the application of a word with an implicit meaning, on account of a practice according to one's wish; [or the word “contact”] is not applied, because of an elision, and also because of a residual relation.

mattāvadhāraṇe vā sannīṭhānamhi cetaran ti.

Mattam eva [means]: Having one meaning, the word *matta* [is used in the sense of] measure, or *matta* [is used] in [the sense of] restriction and the other [word] (i.e. *eva*) in [the sense of] affirmation.

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes the definitions of the words *mattam eva* from the preceding prose sentence.⁹⁸

B.2.2.12 Sv-anṭ II 147 (ad Sv I 221,25)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*atthantaradassananamhi ca-saddo yadi dissati
samuccaye vikappe so gahetabbo vibhāvinā ti.*

If the word “and” (*ca*) appears in [the sense of] showing another meaning, it is to be grasped by the wise in [the sense of] accumulation, [or] in [the sense of] an alternative.

This śloka (without known parallels) gives the gist of a preceding prose passage, in which the usage of *ca* as accumulative (*ca*) or alternative (*vā*) is discussed.

B.2.2.13 Sv-anṭ II 171 (ad Sv I 229,18ff.)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

⁹⁸ ***mattam evā ti*** (≠ Sv I 125,31) *hi avadhāraṇatthe pariyāyavacanam “appam vassasatam āyu, idān’ etarahi vijjaṭī” ti* (Bv 26.21) *ādīsu viya aññāmaññatthāvabodhanavasena sapayojanattā. matta-saddo vā pamāne, payojanasankhātam pamāṇam eva, na taduttarī ti attho. “matta-saddo avadhāraṇe eva-saddo sannīṭhāne” ti pi vadanti.*

Sv-anṭ I 466

Mattam eva namely is a synonymous expression as in [cases such as]: “Now (*idāni*), in this existence (*etarahi*), the [normal] lifespan is a brief hundred years”, because [both words (i.e. *mattam* and *eva*, *idāni* and *etarahi*)] have the same purpose by virtue of mutually making aware the meaning. Alternatively the word *matta* [is used] in the sense of measure; the meaning is: only the measure (*pamāṇam eva*) defined by the purpose, not more than that. They also say, “The word *matta* [is used in the sense of] restriction, the word *eva* [in the sense of] ascertainment.”

[I thank Aleix Ruiz-Falqué for his comments on this passage, email 26/3/2014.]

1. *gamissa ekakammattā itilopam vijāniyā
paṭighātappasaṅgattā na ca tulyatthatā siyā.*

Because the root *gam* (“to go”) has one single object, one should understand the elision of the [word] *iti*, [and] since a collision is an [unwished] consequence, there cannot be identity of meaning.

2. *tasmā gamanīyatthassa pubbapadam va jotakam
gamanākārassa param ity uttam saraṇattaye ti.*

Therefore, the former word indeed (i.e. *Buddham*) illuminates the meaning of [the object] to be gone to (*gamanīya*); the other [word (i.e. *saraṇam*) illuminates] the motive for going; thus it is said with respect to the threefold refuge.

Ñāṇābhivamsa discusses the interpretation of the wording of the threefold refuge. He thereby hints at a statement in Sp, where *bhavantam Gotamam saranam gacchāmi* is explained by *bhavantam Gotamam saraṇan ti gacchāmi*. Furthermore, he refers to an interpretation presented in Khp-a — but not accepted by Ñāṇābhivamsa as the correct one — according to which *gam* may be linked with *Buddham* or *saraṇam*. The sense of the triple refuge according to Ñāṇābhivamsa has to be understood in the way suggested in Sp, i.e. assuming that *iti* has been elided. These ślokas (without known parallels) summarize the preceding prose portion.⁹⁹

B.2.2.14 Sv-anṭ II 429 (ad Sv-pṭ I 522,5–10 ad Sv I 403,8ff.)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

guṇo paṭala-rāsāniṣamse koṭṭhāsa-bandhane

⁹⁹ *yañ hi tam “Buddho” ti visesitam saranam, tam ev' esa gato ti, na c' ettha anupapattikena athena attho, tasmā “Bhagavantan” ti gamanīyatthassa dīpanam, “saraṇan” ti pana gamanākārassā ti vuttanayena itilopavasen' eva attho gahetabbo ti.*

Sv-anṭ II 170

For, whatever refuge is specified [by the word] “Buddha”, to exactly this [refuge] one has gone. And [thus] the meaning here is not [to be understood] following a meaning not leading to [the Buddha]. Therefore the meaning is to be understood by virtue of the elision of *iti* indeed, following the method explained [thus]: “To the Lord (*Bhagavantan*)” is the illumination of the meaning [of the object] to be gone to, but “refuge” (*saraṇam*) [is the illumination] of the motive for going.

sīlasukkādyapadhāne sampadāya jiyāya cā ti.

A special quality (*guna*) [is used] (1) in the sense of a covering (*paṭala*), (2) in the sense of a quantity (*rāsi*), (3) in the sense of an advantage (*ānisamsa*), (4) in the sense of joining together (*bandhana*), (5) in the sense of a part/portion (*koṭṭhāsa*), (6) in the sense of virtue (*sīla*), (7) in the sense of colour (? *sukkādi*), (8) in the sense of attribute (? *ap[p]adhāna*¹⁰⁰), (9) in the sense of attainment (*sampadā*) and (10) in the sense of bowstring (*jiyā*).

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes ten meanings of the word *guna* and concludes the commentary. The first four meanings are listed in the Sv passage on *kāmaguṇā* (Sv II 403,8ff) where they are illustrated by literary quotations from various canonical texts including D and Dhp. Dhammapāla in his Sv-pt adds the meanings *koṭṭhāsa* and *sampadā* with illustrative quotations (Sv-pt I 522,5-10). In Sv-ant (II 429) Nānābhivamsa in the sentence preceding our stanza explains as a commentary on the word *ettha* that the literary examples given in the earlier commentaries are mere examples, since the word *guna* also occurs in the sense of *koṭṭhāsa-apadhāna-sīlādi-sukkādi-sampadā-jiyā*. A similar stanza in Abh 787 gives only eight meanings (*koṭṭhāsa* and *sampadā* are missing there).¹⁰¹

B.2.3 Dhammapāla, *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭkā*

B.2.3.1 Ps-pt II 246 (ad Ps II 328,12)

bhavanti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sammā na ppaṭipajjanti ye nihināsayā narā
ārakā tehi Bhagavā dūre tenārahaṇ mato.*

a *pati*° Sp-ṭ. **d** *mato* *ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ.

Men with inferior dispositions who do not thoroughly enter upon the path — the Lord is far from these [men], distant, therefore, he is known as an *arahat*.

¹⁰⁰ Compare Abh 787 (n. 55); *appadhāne* is explained by *visesane* in Abh-ṭ.

¹⁰¹ *guno paṭalarāśīsu ānisaṇse ca bandhane
appadhāne ca sīlādo sukkādimhi jiyāya ca.*

2. *ye sammā paṭipajjanti suppaṇītādhimuttikā*
Bhagavā tehi āsanno tenāpi araham̄ jino.

c ārakā tehi Sp-ṭ n. 3 refers to the reading of Ps-pt. **d** *jino ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ.

[Men] with very high dispositions who thoroughly enter upon the path, to them the Lord is close. Therefore too the conqueror is an *arahat*.

3. *pāpadhammā rahā nāma sādhūhi rahitabbato*
tesam̄ suṭṭhu pahīnattā Bhagavā araham̄ mato.

d *mato ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ

Bad *dhammas* are indeed abandoned, because [they] must be abandoned by good [men]; on account of their having been completely given up, the Lord is known as an *arahat*.

4. *ye sacchikatasaddhammā ariyā suddhagocarā*
na tehi rahito hoti nātho tenāraham̄ mato.

d *mato ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ

Those noble ones who frequent pure and suitable places, who have realized the true Dhamma — since he is not abandoned by [such as] these, the leader is known as an *arahat*.

5. *raho vā gamanam̄ yassa samsāre natthi sabbaso*
pahīnajātimaraṇo araham̄ Sugato mato.

d *mato ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ

Or, as one for whom there is no private going at all in *samsāra*, having abandoned birth and death, the Well-gone One (*sugata*), is known as an *arahat*.

6. *guṇehi sadiso natthi yasmā loke sadevake*
tasmaṇ pāsāṇsiyattāpi araham̄ dvipaduttamo.

d *mato ti*, followed by an explanatory section Sp-ṭ

Because in this world with its gods there is no one equal to him in his qualities, therefore the best among the two-footed, also on account of [his] being praiseworthy, is [known as] an *arahat*.

7. *ārakā mandabuddhīnam̄ āsannā ca vijānataṇ*
rahānam̄ suppahīnattā vidūnam̄ araheyyato
bhavesu ca rahābhāvā pāsāṇsā araham̄ jino ti.

b ārakā ca Sp-ṭ, Vism-mhṭ

Far from those of slow intelligence and close to those of knowledge, because of having completely abandoned secrecy, and because he should be honoured by the wise, because of the absence of any hiding place in existences, because he should be praised, the conqueror is an *arahat*.¹⁰²

These ślokas Dhammapāla borrowed from his Vism-mht I 224 where they are given without an introductory expression. They are also found in Sāriputta’s Sp-t (after A.D. 1165),¹⁰³ again borrowed — together with a larger text portion — from Vism-mht. Sāriputta, however, inserts the unique introductory expression *tenedam vuccati* (a variant of the older reporting frame *ten’ etam vuccati*) to the first six stanzas, while grasping the seventh as a kind of summary (Sp-t I 229.7, *sabbasaṅgahavasena pana*). Finally, we have parallels for stanzas three to six in Aggavamsa’s Sadd (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.), where they are introduced by the reporting frame *āha ca*,¹⁰⁴ and for stanza seven (Sadd 580.11–13), which is given as an example for the manner in which the authors of the *tīkās* grasped the sense of the word *arahat* (*tikācariyehi pi tath’ eva gahitā, kathāñ*). We thus have the case that an author borrows stanzas from an earlier commentary of his and attaches an introductory expression, namely, *bhavanti c’ ettha* (cf. eventually also 2.1.1; 3.4).

¹⁰² I thank Rupert Gethin for his suggestions and corrections of my translation.

¹⁰³ Sp-t I 226.11–12, 27–28; 227.14–15; 228.12–13,22–23; 229.5–6, 8–10.

¹⁰⁴ Sadd 579.14–16, 18–20, 21–23, 27–28. This quotative introduces mostly stanzas from a different text or context, Kieffer-Pülz 2014: 70–73.

B.2.4 Anonymous, *Paṭisambhidhāmagga-gaṇṭhipada* (ca. between tenth century and A.D. 1154)¹⁰⁵

The Paṭis-gp contains two *honti c' ettha* introductions introducing altogether 54 stanzas (not 59, so Warder 2009: liv). Both are in the commentary on the “truth of cessation” (*nirodhasacca*, Paṭis 40,24–35; Paṭis-a I 160–61). The first (B.2.4.1) introduces thirty stanzas in Upajāti and Śloka metres arranged in a rhythmical sequence (4 Triṣṭubh, 7 Anuṣṭubh, 1 Triṣṭubh, 4 Anuṣṭubh; 4 Triṣṭubh, 7 Anuṣṭubh, 1 Triṣṭubh, 2 Anuṣṭubh); the second (B.2.4.2) opens twenty-four stanzas arranged in a different way (5 Anuṣṭubh, 5 Triṣṭubh, 9 Anuṣṭubh, 2 Triṣṭubh, 3 Anuṣṭubh). In between these two sections there is a short prose passage (B^e 77,15–20; C^e 67,17–22; S^e 118,32–19,2). Warder (2009: liii) characterizes them as a poem on *nibbāna*, written by the author of Paṭis-gp himself. In fact the whole sequence of stanzas ends with the remark *nirodhakathā me kathitā* (B.2.4.2) which proves that the author of Paṭis-gp is indeed the author of these stanzas. A short summary of their contents by Warder can be found in the introduction to Paṭis transl. (livf.).

B.2.4.1 Paṭis-gp B^e 74,17–77,14 = C^e 55,9–57,16 = S^e I 113,4–119,2 (ad Patis-a 55)

honti c' ettha gāthāyo (S^e *gāthā*):

And there are [these] stanzas in this connection:

1. *chaṭeva hontīdha sabhāva-atthā
dudhā va te rāsi-arāsito puna*

¹⁰⁵ Paṭis-gp is dated to the ninth/tenth century A.D. as an estimation by Warder (2009: li); it presupposes Paṭis-a (A.D. 559), and an *Abhidhammaṭīkā* (C^e 89,22 without literal quotation) which probably refers to Ānanda's *Mūlaṭīkā* (sixth century A.D.; Cousins 2011: 26). According to Warder (2009: lif.) it also presupposes Dhammapāla, the author of the *Suttaṭīkās*. If we are right to date this Dhammapāla to the same time as the author of Vjb (second half tenth century A.D.; Kieffer-Püllz 2013: I 79ff) Paṭis-gp could have been written in the late tenth century A.D. at the earliest. *Termini ante quem* are Sāriputta of Polonnaruva (twelfth century A.D., after A.D. 1165), who quotes Paṭis-gp in his Sp-t, giving the name of the source and a quotation (Sp-t I 104, 19–21 = Paṭis-gp C^e 23,15–16), and Aggavāmsa (twelfth or preferably thirteenth century A.D.; see Tin Lwin 1991: 124–26), who quotes the first stanza of Paṭis-gp in Sadd 753,34–54,1 = Paṭis-gp C^e I,4.

*hont' ettha santī va arāsibhūtā
pañcāvasesā samayena vuttā.*

a *hontidha* B^e **c** °*bhutā* C^e **d** *samaye na* C^e

The true realities here are just six, but they are just of two kinds as accumulations (i.e. aggregates) and not-accumulations. Only peace is not an accumulation. The remaining five¹⁰⁶ are referred to in accordance with time.¹⁰⁷

2. *vuttesu c' evam panañtanāgatā
khandhāpi sañkicca khañesu eva
sañvijjamānā na pure na pacchā
sabbe paricchinnudayabbayā va.*

a *panañtanāgā* B^e; *panañtanāgatā* B^e n. 4 (ka) S^e [unmetrical] **b** *sakicca*° S^e [unmetrical]

But when they are referred to in this way, even the past and future aggregates which exist only at the moments when they perform their individual functions — not before [and] not after — are all just determined by arising and falling away.

3. *evam paricchinnudayabbayānam
natth' eva anto amatañ sace tam
tato bahākāsagatañ bhaveyya
tatrāpi doso kathito va heñthā.*

d *atrāpi* B^e S^e

[The aggregates] so determined by arising and falling away have no end indeed. If the deathless were connected to space outside of the [aggregates], in that case too, the defect [would have] certainly been described above.

4. (B^e p. 75; S^e p. 114)
*atho pi tam nindriyabandhasantike
tañhappahāñādi na samsiyā va
na hoti kappagganibāhire tam
vināmatārammañamagabbhāvanā.*

b *na samsiyā* va B^e n. 1 (ka) C^e] °*ppahāñādīna samsiyā* va na S^e; *sampiyā* va C^e n. 2; *samsayā* va B^e **c** *na hoti kappagganibāhire tam* C^e] *na hoti kappagganilabāhir*

¹⁰⁶ i.e. the five *sabhāva-atthā* (other than *nibbāna*) = the five aggregates.

¹⁰⁷ i.e. they are past, present, and future.

etam B^e; *na honti kappagginilabāhirehi* B^e n. 2 (ka); *honti kappagginilabāhirehīnāni* S^e; *honti kappaggi nīlabāhire hināni* S^e n. 1 (po., sī.)

And yet the abandoning of craving and so on in the presence of what (*tam*) is bound up with the faculties certainly cannot be doubted. Nor is [there] the development of a path having the deathless as an object without this (i.e. without what is bound up with the faculties?) in the fire at the end of an æon which is external.

5. *khandhantare ca ākāsānindriyānam upantike
nathī c' etam katham jaññā iti vaṭhussa sādhanā.*

a *va* S^e **b** *uppatike* S^e

How could one know that [the deathless] does not exist in what is other than the aggregates in the presence of space [and materiality] that is not [bound by] faculties? The [following] is the proof of the matter.

6. *sasattokāsalokānam anto tesām na vuccati
Jino "sañkhāralokassa anto" ti Bhagavā bravi.*

c *khīno* S^e n. 2 (sī)

[The Buddha] did not speak of an end of the world of beings and of the physical world. The Victor, the Bhagavā did declare that there is an end of the world of formations.

7. *tassa c' uppādathitito bhedo santo tato param
abhāvā tassa tenassa antike tan ti me mati.*

a *c' uppādaṭṭhitī* B^e; *tassamuppāda* S^e

There being breaking up after arising and presence of the [world of formations], because it does not exist after that [end], therefore the [deathless (?)] is near to it (?). This is my opinion.

8. *paṭuppanne bhavāpannasamsāraggavasena tu
khandhānam hi tidhā bhede nānattām natthī sabbaso.*

a *paccuppanne* S^e; *bhavāsanna* B^e n. 3 (ka)

But due to having reached the peak of *samsāra*,¹⁰⁸ in the present existence there is no difference at all in the three kinds (?) of breaking up (?).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Possibly an *arahat* is one who has reached the peak of *samsāra*.

¹⁰⁹ What the three kinds of breaking up are remains unclear.

9. *bhinnānam puna bhedassa abhāvā āyat’ āyati
navānav’ eva dhammā hi sambhavanti. na saṃsayo.*

b °yatim B^e **c** na vānam eva khandhā hi S^e

Because there is no breaking up of [aggregates] which have already broken up, it continues/returns in the future; therefore ever new *dhammas* are produced. [There is] no doubt.

10. (S^e p. 115)
*paccayā udayam yanti thitikkhandhā hi saṅkhatā
bhedena vūpasammati. siddhassa tabbivekatā.*

b thitim khandhā B^e; thitikkhandhā S^e **d** tabbacekatā C^e n. 3

Due to a condition they arise, for the aggregates at the moment of presence are conditioned. They subside through breaking up. The perfected one is separate from that.

11. *ity accantavivekattam paṭipannena yoginā
datṭhabbo bhedo khandhānam khaṇappaccayato pi ca.*

a °attham B^e S^e **b** yogi tā (?) C^e

In this way a meditator who is following the path to final detachment should see the break up of the aggregates even according to moments and conditions;

12. (C^e p. 56)
*saṅkhārabhede va aniccatādi
khaṇe khaṇe puṭhu vipassanā hi
janeti sammāmataninnatañ ca
yogissa vatṭābhiratiñ ca chindati.*

b suṭṭhu vipassanā S^e

for, moment by moment, the many kinds of insight into the break up of formations — impermanence and so on — [both] arouse the right inclination towards the deathless and cut the meditator’s joy in the round [of existences].

13. *tasmā va yogī nibbānam pattukāmo sadā sato
bhaṅgam saṅkhāralokassa bhaṅgam viyānupassati.*

d bhaṅgam bhijāna passati S^e

For that very reason the meditator wishing to reach *nibbāna*, constantly being mindful, contemplates the dissolution [of the cognizance?] like the dissolution of the world of formations. (?)

14. *ādito va hi sappañño sīlavā susamāhito
sabhāvam̄ sabbadhammānam̄ paññāya upalakkhati.*

d *upalabbhati* S^e n. 1 (sī)

For, being provided with wisdom from the very beginning, being virtuous [and] well concentrated, he discerns with wisdom the true nature of all *dhammas*.

15. (B^e p. 76)
*tappaccaye pi so yogī sallakkheti anekadhā
icc evam̄ nāmarūpānaṁ suvavatthāpanena tu*

16. (S^e p. 116)
*nibbattetvā sudiṭṭhiyo tato sāmaññalakkhaṇam̄
khaṇattayavasen' eva ādito tāva sammase.*

b *gato* S^e n. 1 (po)

The meditator also examines in numerous ways the conditions of the [*dhammas*]. But, in this way having produced right views by thoroughly determining mentality and materiality, next he should master the general characteristic [of *dhammas*] at first by means of the three moments.

17. *kamena patto taruṇam̄ vipassanam̄
dhammānam̄ ohāya ṭhitim subuddhi
vayodaye sādhū pariggahetvā
bhavesu tatr' eva tilakkhaṇam̄ pi.*

b *ṭhiti* S^e **c** *papari*^o B^e

That very intelligent one has gradually reached tender insight, after abandoning [the notion of] the duration of *dhammas* [and] after also thoroughly comprehending the three signs in rise and fall just there (?) as regards existences.

18. *tato balappattavipassano so
dhammānam̄ tesam̄ udayaṇi vihāya
sakkoti bhedassa vasā va sammā
tam̄ tam̄ sabhāvam̄ pi pariggahetum̄.*

b *dhammāna* C^e **d** *tan tan* S^e

Then that one who has reached strong insight, after abandoning the rising of those *dhammas*, can thoroughly comprehend their various natures exclusively on the basis of their breaking up.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ i.e. the meditator is at the stage of *bhaṅgānupassanā* (L.S. Cousins).

19. *aniccākārassa ca khandhabhedesu*
pākaṭattā h' aniccalakkhaṇaṇa
pariggahan' eva tu dukkhanattā
visaṇhitā honti tahiṇ ca bhede.

a *anicca*^o S^e n. 2 (sī); **a** *bhedesu* C^e **b** *pākaṭattā h' aniccalakkhaṇam* C^e (metrically defective)]; *pākaṭattā ti* B^e; *pākaṭattā cāha nicca*^o C^e n. 1 S^e; *pākaṭattā cāha aniccalakkhaṇam* S^e n. 3 (sī) **c** *dukkhānattā* S^e **d** *visaṇhitā* B^e n. 1 (ka) C^e] *visayitā* B^e C^e n. 2 S^e

For, because the mode of impermanence in the various aggregates is clear, the characteristic of impermanence [is clear], and, through that comprehension, suffering and no-self are clear (?) in that breaking up. (?)

20. (S^e p. 117)
yathīdha uggāṭitasandhiyogī
anantaratte cutim eva disvā
jānāti taṇi sabbahavam pi evaṇ
jānāti bhedamhi pi lakkhaṇadvayam.

a *yahim ca* C^e; *yatī ca / va* C^e n. 3 **b** *anantarante* S^e

As here the meditator who has removed the links [? of dependent origination], after seeing only decease in the immediate future, knows that that is the whole of existence; similarly, he knows the [other] two characteristics [of arising and presence] even in the [moment of] breaking up.

21. *thānabhedā hi uppādo suññodayavayā thiti*
suññā uppādaṭhitito bhedo suñño ti vuccati.

b *ṭhitī* S^e **c** *ṭhitito* S^e

For it is said that arising is void of presence and breaking up; presence is void of arising and cessation; breaking up is void of arising and presence.¹¹¹

22. *tasmā sabhāvāsāmaññalakkhaṇam pi ca viññunā*
atthī ti ñeyyam ekekakhaṇasim pi ca tatvato.

d *atthato* C^e n. 4; *tatthato* S^e

¹¹¹ See Paṭis II 179,10ff.; Paṭis transl. 358; I thank Peter Jackson for this reference and his corrections.

Therefore, the wise person should know that the essential and general characteristics exist, and also [he should know them] in each moment as they really are.

23. *ity ekekhanāyattā sañkhatāsankhatam pana
etesam patipakkhattā akhanī pi tadantike*

a itayekakhanāyattā S^e **b** sañkhatāsañkhataṁ conj. ed.] sañkhatāsañkhataṁ B^e C^e S^e; since the Theravādin accept only one unconditioned *dhamma*, namely *nibbāna*, the plural of the editions should not be possible. **d** akhanī S^e [unmetrical]

In this way conditioned [*dhammas*] are dependent upon each moment. But the unconditioned, because it is opposed to the [conditioned *dhammas*], is even free [from moments] in their vicinity (?).

24. (C^e p. 57)

*yathākāso paricchedo paṭicca rūpam antare
anupalabbhamāno pi rūpāsann' eva labbhati.*

b paticcarūpam S^e **c** arūpam labbhamāno pi B^e n. 2 (ka) C^e

As limited space dependent upon materiality, although not being found within, is found in fact in the neighbourhood of material form,

25. (B^e p. 77)

*sañkhāranto ti vutto yo nirodho pi tath' eva so
khandhāsanne ahutvāna katham aññattha labbhare.*

a sañkhārato ti vutto so S^e

likewise, although the cessation referred to as the end of formations is not in the neighbourhood of the aggregates, how could it be found elsewhere?

26. (S^e p. 118)

*sāgarantabbhave loṇo yathā pātālabbhantare
no ca nāsannabhūto so tassāsanne va siddhito.*

a °bbhavo loṇo B^e; °bbhave loṇe C^e **c** nāsannabhūtā sā C^e n. 2; mocanāsanna-bhūtā sā S^e

Just as salt that is within an abyss that is at the edge of the sea but is not at a distance (*anāsanna*) is concluded to be definitely near to the [sea],

27. *tathā samsārapātālasaññitāyatānādinaṁ*

anto ti vutto yo dhammo svātidūre katham siyā.

b °ādīnam S^e **d** svātidūre conj.] svāto dūre B^e C^e; sāto dūre C^e n. 3; sabhāvato dūre katham (siyā) S^e

likewise how could the *dhamma* which is spoken of as the end of the *āyatanas*, [aggregates and elements] that are referred to as the abyss of *samsāra*, be very far.

28. *loko ti paññattidha pañcakhandhe
paticca dehe tadavinābhāvismim
tath' eva maggo pi ca jāyate tam
dūre katham santipadam sarīrato.*

a *paññatti ca S^e b dehe na S^e; deho B^e n. 2 (ka) C^e; tadavinābhāvismim conj. ed.]
tadavināva tasmim B^e C^e S^e n. 2 (ka); *tadavinā* appears as first member of compounds with ^o*bhāva* or ^o*bhāvin* as the second element. **d** *dūre tathā C^e, dukataṃ santi param parinato C^e n. 4**

The notion of “world” here [i.e. in *kāmaloka* and *rūpaloka*] is dependent upon the five aggregates, and the path, too, arises just there in the body, which is not separate from the [aggregates]. How could the place of peace be far from the body?

29. *yathā parittahadayam sannissāya pavattito
sañkhatānuttarā dhammā āsannā hadayassa te.*

Just as the conditioned, supreme *dhammas*¹¹² are near to the heart because they occur in dependence upon the heart which is a small [*dhamma*],

30. *tathāsannam ca nibbāṇam sañkhatānan ti jāniyā
yathāvuttavidhen' eva tadaññattha abhāvato ti
a tathāsannañ ca nibbāṇam S^e b jātiyā C^e n. 5*

one should know that *nibbāna* is similarly near to conditioned [*dhammas*] because it does not exist anywhere other than that in precisely the way that has been mentioned.¹¹³

B.2.3.2 Patīs-gp B^e 77,21–79,27 = C^e 57,22–59,19 = S^e I 119,3–23,5

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these] stanzas in this connection:

¹¹² The conditioned supreme *dhammas* are *magga* and *phala*.

¹¹³ I am grateful to L.S. Cousins (email 29/3 and 3/4/2014) for his corrections and improvements of my translation. In several cases the translation remains tentative, and in some we have no suggestions.

31. *nīlādikam sasambhārakasiṇārambhupaṭṭhitam
paṭṭibhāganimittam pī nīlādī viya dissati.*

b °*kasiṇārabhupaṭṭhitam* S^e

The blue [*kasiṇa*] and so on are established in the beginning with a material *kasiṇa*.¹¹⁴ The semblance sign too is seen as if blue, etc.

32. *yathā tath' eva yogī pi yo yopādānasammata-
khandhesv ekekadhammañ ca dhuram̄ katvā vipassati.*

a *yathā tad eva* S^e **b** °*sammate* C^e S^e **c** *ce* B^e S^e

So, similarly, any meditator develops insight by taking as his task each *dhamma* among the aggregates of clinging.

33. *yasmā pan' ekadhamme va na rūhati vipassanā
cakkhusotādinā dīṭṭhasutarūpasarādisu*

a *ca for va* S^e **c** *cakkha* ° C^e **d** °*dīsu* S^e

34. (B^e p. 78)
*salakkhanam hi sāmaññalakkhanam pi ca viññunā
gavesitabbañ attattaniyagāhehi mocitum.*

a *lakkhanam pi hi* S^e **d** °*gāhehi* conj. ed.] *attattaniyagāhādi* B^e C^e; *attaniyattaggāhādi* S^e

But because insight does not grow in just one *dhamma*, the wise person should seek out both the individual characteristic and the general characteristic in forms and sounds, etc., seen and heard by the eye and ear, etc., in order to be freed from grasping at self and what belongs to self.

35. *tasmā so aññakālena kālen' etam pi sammase
sammasanto pi c' evam̄ tam̄ vuṭṭhānasamaye pana
c samasanto* S^e n. 1 (sī)

Therefore he should take hold of another [*dhamma*], too, from time to time; but even taking hold of it (*tañ*) in this way, nevertheless, at the time of emergence¹¹⁵ he emerges from there and from nowhere else.

¹¹⁴ *sambhārakasiṇa*; the *sambhāra* is the physical disc, etc., used in the beginning. [LSC]

¹¹⁵ I think this is referring to the last stages of *vipassanā* — *vuṭṭhānagāminī*. [LSC]

36. (C^e p. 58)

*tato ca vuṭṭhāti anaññato ca
tad eva dhammassa virāgasesa-
nirodhakappam idha tassa tassa*

a ce S^e **b** sesam S^e

Just that complete dispassion and cessation (?) regarding that *dhamma* [which he has taken hold of before is] the pure mindfulness of this and that meditator [which] in fact arises. (?)¹¹⁶

37. (S^e p. 120)

*disādipaññattivināṭṭhakāle
yathā dhuvo hoti disādigo nago
tathāmatām sacchikat' īdha khandhe
sadā va tam vijjati nibbute pi.*

b disādito tato S^e **c** °katīva B^e n. 1 (ka)

Just as an elephant that goes in the [various] directions is constant even when the concept of the directions has been destroyed, likewise, the deathless realized here in the aggregates is definitely always found even if [a person] has attained bliss.

38. *yathopāṭṭhite savane vinaṭṭhe*

*tadāvasese savane ca tiṭṭhati
nirodhapattām amataññatadaññām
khandhantike vā ti tath' eva jaññā.*

b va C^e **c** visodhanam tam C^e n. 1; °ppattam tam S^e

Just as when hearing that has manifested is destroyed but then persists in the hearing that remains, similarly, one should know that the deathless, which is different from him who has attained cessation (?), is definitely within the aggregates.

39. *naṭṭhe pi pattañkurapupphapallave*

*palāsarukkhe py avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe
khandhādike yeva palāsasaññā
hotīdha loke na tato bahiddhā.*

b palāsarukkhe py avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe conj. ed.] °rukko ty avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe B^e S^e (but taya); °rukhe py avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe C^e **d** hotīva B^e n. 2 (ka); hoteva C^e n. 2 S^e

¹¹⁶ The translation is tentative, the meaning is not entirely clear.

Even with respect to a Palāsa tree (*Butea frondosa*), the leaves, shoots, flowers, and foliage of which are destroyed, the perception as a Palāsa tree exists here in this world, not outside of it, with respect solely to whatever aggregate/trunk, etc., remains.

40. *tath' eva khīṇāsavapattisaññite*

*pāṭekkakhandhe parinibbute pi
nibbānadhammo py avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe
khandhantike sijjhati no bahiddhā.*

a *khīṇāsavapavatti*^o B^e n. 3 (ka) S^e **b** ^o*nibbūte* B^e **c** *nibbāna*^o B^e S^e; *paya ava*^o S^e; *avasiṭṭha tiṭṭhe* C^e

Likewise, with respect to the so-called state of the destruction of the cankers (*khīṇāsava*), even when each single aggregate is extinct, the *dhamma* “*nibbāna*” is accomplished within whatever aggregate remains, not outside.

41. (S^e p. 121)

*tasmā tam pattukāmena khanappaccayato pi ca
saṅkhārānam khaye cittam kātabbam paricitam sadā.*

d [metrically defective]

Therefore one who desires to obtain that has to make his mind constantly familiar with the destruction of the formations due to the moments and due to conditions.¹¹⁷

42. *evam pariciten' ettha citt'en' evādhigacchati
amatam dāni atha vānāgate py adhigacchati.*

It is only with a mind that has made itself familiar in this way that one reaches the deathless now. Or one reaches it in the future.

43. *tasmā tadattham vāyāmakaraṇam saphalaṁ va tam
ñatvā punappunaṁ eva ghaṭītabbāṁ anekadhā.*

b ^o*kāraṇam saphala*^o S^e; *ca* (?) C^e

Therefore, knowing that exerting effort for that purpose is definitely fruitful, it should be striven for again and again in many ways.

¹¹⁷ States pass away when they reach the moment of cessation and they pass away constantly as their conditions cease to operate. See Vism 631. [LSC].

44. (B^e p. 79)
*yath' evatthī ti sutapubbo paṭhavantagataṁ nidhi
ajānam pi idhatthī ti khaṇat' eva tahīm tahīm.*
a *yathehatthīti* B^e S^e **b** *nidhim* B^e **c** *ajātam* *pi* S^e n. 1 (po)

45. *khaṇant' evam mahāthāmo patvā nidhim salakkhanam
atitūṭho va so hoti “nidhi diṭṭho mayā” iti.*
a *baṇat' C^e* n. 3; *khanant' S^e* **d** *nididittho* S^e n. 2 (sī); *tiha* B^e S^e

46. “santike na vijānanti maggadhammassa kovidā”
icc ād' evam sutavatā khaṇappaccayato pi ca
c *iccārevam* (ka); *iccārevam* ? B^e n. 1 **d** [°]*paccayato* S^e

47. *saṅkhārānam dudhā bhaṅgam amatassa salakkhanam
diṭṭhan ti tutṭhacittena ghaṭitabbam punappunam.*

Just as someone with great vigour who has previously heard that there is definitely a treasure, even without knowing that it is placed in the earth, certainly digs in various places, [thinking]: it is here, [and], digging in that way, after having obtained the [hidden] treasure with its specific characteristics, is certainly exceedingly pleased, [thinking] “I have seen the [hidden] treasure”,

in that way a learned person thinking such things as “those who are skilled do not know they are in the neighbourhood of the experience of the path”, should similarly strive again and again with a mind that is joyful because they have seen the two kinds of the breaking up of formations — due to moments and conditions — which are the inherent characteristic of the deathless (?).

48. (C^e p. 59; S^e p. 122)
*jātānañ hi pajātānaṁ khandhānaṁ bhaṅgadassanam
tesam vivekagāhantam saññānaṁ dassanam nibham
c vivekagāhantā B^e; °gāhantā S^e **d** *paññānaṁ* S^e*

49. *amatassā ti nibbānaṁ pattukāmo sadā sato
bhaṅg' eva paribhāveya cittam yogī punappunam.*

For seeing the breakup of aggregates that are born and reborn is an understanding whose goal is to take hold of separation from them, [an understanding] which resembles the seeing of the deathless. [Hence] the meditator desirous of reaching *nibbāna* should be constantly mindful and immerse his mind again and again, precisely in the break up [of formations].

50. *paññattiyam vattanajhānakāmo*
pag eva cittam hi karoti chekam
paññattigāhe satatappamatto
vaññādidhamme manasā karitvā.

a °*jhāna*° B^e S^e **c** *suttappamatto* S^e; *sattappamatto* S^e n. 1 (sī)

One desirous of *jhāna*, which operates on [the basis of a] concept, scarcely makes the mind skilful, constantly confused in grasping at a concept, directing attention to such *dhammas* as colour.

51. *tathāmatārammaṇamaggakāmo*
hi sattasaññam upadālayitvā
kareyya yogam paramatthadhammā
gāhe tato chekataram va cittam.

a *kāmo pi* S^e **b** *hi* om. S^e; *pi* B^e C^e n. 1 **c** *yogī paramatthadhamma* B^e;
dhammam C^e n. 2 S^e

For thus one desirous of the path [consciousness] which has the deathless as its object should dispel the notion of a being and perform meditation. The mind is definitely more skilful in taking hold of the highest Teaching than that [*jhāna* practice (?)].

52. *nibbāṇam viya aññassa sassatassa asambhavā*
kasiṇākāsa-upamā etass' upamitā mayā.

a *nibbāṇam* B^e **b** *yassa tassa* S^e **d** °*upamitā* B^e

Because of the absence of anything else eternal, like *nibbāṇa*, I have compared the limited space *kasiṇa* in a simile to that.

53. (S^e p. 123)
upamā hi ca nām' esā asanti pi kathīyati
"marīcikūpamā saññā" iti (S III 142,30) *vuttam hi satthunā.*

b *asantī pi kathiyatī* B^e

For a simile [can be] given, even if [what] it [refers to] does not exist; for the Teacher declared that "perception is like a mirage".

54. *tasmābhutopamassāpi attho no upamā iti*
gahetabbo yathā vutto attho viññūhi sārato ti.

a *bhūto*° S^e

Therefore the sense of even a simile about a non-existent [phenomenon] should be accepted by us as a simile, just as a meaning spoken by the wise should be accepted as sound/essential (?).

nirodhakathā me kathitā.

I have given the explanation of cessation.

B.3. Abhidhamma

B.3.1 Coliya Kassapa, *Mohavicchedanī* (early thirteenth century A.D.).

B.3.1.1 Moh 9,26–10,12

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *phassādipāñcakam pañcajhānañgānindriyatthakam maggañgapāñcakam sattabalam mūlattikam pi ca.*

The pentad beginning with sense-contact, the five factors of absorption, the group of eight faculties, the pentad of path factors, the seven powers, and also the triad of roots,¹¹⁸

2. *kammopathattikañ c' eva lokapāladukam tathā passaddhiādī cha dukā tūṇi piṭṭhidukāni ti.*

and the triad of the [wholesome] ways of action,¹¹⁹ likewise the dyad of the guardians of the world,¹²⁰ the six dyads beginning with tranquillity,¹²¹ [and] the three last dyads,¹²²

3. *sattarasahi rāśī chapaññās' eva pāliyam vuttā sabhāvato tiṇsa dhammā agahitaggae.*

just fifty-six *dhammas* are mentioned in the text in [these] seventeen groups, [but] from the standpoint of *sabhāva*, when only those which have not already been included are taken, there are thirty *dhammas*.

4. *phasso jīvita-saññā ca cetanā cāra-pītiyo cha dukā kāyapassaddhi-pamukhātthāras' ekakā.*

¹¹⁸ *alobha, adosa, amoha.*

¹¹⁹ *anabhijjhā, avyāpāda, sammā-dīṭṭhi.*

¹²⁰ *hiri* and *ottappa*.

¹²¹ *kāya-passaddhi, citta-passaddhi*, etc.

¹²² The helpers (*upakāraka*) consisting in mindfulness (*sati*) and mental clarity (*sampajāñña*); the paired combination (*yuganaddha*) consisting in calm (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*); and the last dyad (*piṭṭhi-duka*) consisting in exertion (*paggāha*) and undistractedness (*avikkhepa*).

Sense-contact, life, perception, intention, examination, and rapture — the six dyads beginning with tranquillity of mental concomitants (*kāya-passaddhi*) — [these] eighteen [are] in a single group.

5. *cittam vitakko saddhā ca hiri ottappiyam pi ca
alobho ca adoso ca satta dvidhā vibhāvitā.*

Consciousness, thought, faith, and also a sense of shame and fear of reproach, non-greed and non-hatred — [these] seven are explained in two groups.

6. *vedanā tividhā vīriyam saī ca catudhā matā
chaddhā ekaggatā paññā sattadhā va vibhāvitā.*

Feeling is [explained] in three [groups], energy and mindfulness are understood as [explained in] four [groups], one-pointedness is explained in six [groups], and wisdom in seven.

7. *viratī appamaññāyo manakāro chanda-majjhata-
dhammokho yevāpanakā nav' ete paṭhame mane.*

Abstinence, the [four] boundless states, attention, determination, even-mindedness, steadfastness, these [are] the nine “whatever-else states” in the first thought.

8. *pañcasatthividhen' eva pariyyena desitā
navādhikā hi tiṇs' eva dhammā hi paramatthato ti.*

c navādhikā ca te *tiṇsa* B^e **d** vā for *hi* B^e

In this way they have been taught as fifty-five¹²³ kinds as a manner of exposition because there are just thirty-nine *dhammas* from the standpoint of the highest sense.¹²⁴

These eight ślokas (without known parallels) summarize the prose statement given by Coliya Kassapa in the preceding lines, which, in turn, summarize the detailed statements of the *Atthasālinī* (136,6ff.).

¹²³ Cousins (email 23/2/2013) states that the number 65 does not make sense here, and assumes it should be 55 (so perhaps read *pañcapaññāsenā evam*). He suggests that the error is possibly the result of a clumsy attempt to “correct” this into a *pathyā* line as the Burmese seem to do.

¹²⁴ I thank L.S. Cousins (email 23/2/2013) for his corrections and suggestions regarding my translation of the Moh passage.

B.3.2 Sumanāgala, *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavañikā, Abhidhamma-tthavikāśinī* (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.)

B.3.2.1 Abhidh-av-nṭ I 183 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30) = Maṇis I 165,2–5

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*nīyāmapariṇāmehi samudācinṇatāya ca
ñāṇapubbañgamābhogā iṭthe pi kusalam siyā ti.*

By means of restricting [the mind to the skilful] and changing it [from the unskilful] and because [the skilful] is made familiar, there can be skilful even on a wished for [object] as a result of directing [the mind] which is preceded by knowledge. [Translation Cousins 2013, 45].

This śloka, without parallel in Pāli literature, summarizes the preceding prose statements (presented in form of objection and reply) referring to the arising of “mental state permeated by joyfulness” (*somanassasahagatacitta*) pertaining to a “wished for object” (Abhidh-av-nṭ I 182). Similar explanations are found in As 75,8ff., and Vism-mhṭ II 115, but without the stanza. For that Cousins 2013 traced a Sanskrit parallel in Vism-sn.¹²⁵

B.3.2.2 Abhidh-av-nṭ I 186 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30) = Maṇis I 167,3–15

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *iṭṭhārammaṇatā saddhābāhulyam diṭṭhisuddhi ca
phaladassāvitā c’ eva pīṭibojjhāṅgahetuyo*
2. *ekādasa tathā dhammā agambhīrasabhbhāvatā
somanassayuttā sandhi icc ete sukhahetuyo.*

Possessing a wished for object, being full of faith, and purification of view, likewise seeing the [benefit of] the fruit, and similarly the eleven *dhammas* which are causes of the joy awakening factor [and] having a

¹²⁵Cousins 2013, 45:

*yoniso viṣayābhogāt parityāc chubhasya ca
naiyyāmāt pariṇāmāc ca śubham iṣṭeṣu vastuṣu. (37)*

Vism-sn III 1083 (to Vism 452)

The beautiful [occurs] with wished for things [as its object] due to appropriate directing towards the object and due to [familiarization] and due to restricting the mind to the skilful and changing it [to that]. (37)

nature which is not profound, [and] relinking which is joined with a pleasant [feeling] – these are the causes of happiness.¹²⁶

3. *abhāvo sukhahetūnam majjhattārammaṇan ti ca
upekkhuppattihetu ca evam ñeyyā vibhāvinā.*

Absence of the causes of happiness and having a neutral object are the causes of the arising of neither pleasant nor unpleasant feeling – so the person of discrimination should understand.

4. *kammūpapattito c' eva tathā indriyapākato
kilesūpasamā dhamma-vicayassa ca hetuhi.*

Due to *kamma* and rebirth [in a realm free from aversion], similarly due to the maturation of the faculties, as a result of the stilling of *kilesa*, and because of the causes of [the awakening factor of] *dhamma* investigation,

5. *sattadhammehi buddhādi-guṇānussaraṇena ca
sappaññasandhito c' eva cittam ñāṇayutam siyā.*

and due to the seven *dhammas* connected with the recollection of the qualities of the Buddha, etc., likewise due to relinking with wisdom – consciousness would be joined with knowledge.

6. *utubhojana-āvāsa-sappāyādīhi hetuhi
asaṅkhārikabhāvo pi viññātabbo vibhāvinā ti.*

The person of discrimination should know that being uninstigated is due to such causes as season, food, dwelling place, and suitability.¹²⁷

[Translation and references LSC, email 15/2/2013]

These ślokas (without known parallels) belong to the same context as the preceding stanza (B.3.2.1). They summarize the keywords of the various explanations to *somanassasahagatabhāva* (Abhidh-av-nṭ 182–86).

B.3.2.3 Abhidh-av-nṭ I 192 (ad Abhidh-av 3,11; v. 18)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

kāme 'vacarāt ty (v. 18) *etam kāmāvacarasaññitam,*
sese avacarantam pi saṅgāmāvacaro yathā ti.

¹²⁶ Compare for this As 75,21ff; Moh 7,23ff.

¹²⁷ Cf. Abhidh-s-mhṭ 61.

Insofar as it frequents the *kāma* realm, that [consciousness] is called *kāma*-frequenting even when frequenting elsewhere, just as [an elephant is called] battle-frequenting [even when elsewhere].¹²⁸

This śloka (without known parallels in Pāli literature) gives the gist of the preceding prose statement. The same content is explicitly explained in prose in As 62,17ff. A nearly literal Sanskrit version of this stanza in Vism-sn has been traced by Cousins.¹²⁹ The point of this stanza is that Brahmās who dwell in the *rūpadhātu* can have some *kāmāvacara cittas*, although they are not in the *kāmadhātu*.¹³⁰

B.3.2.4 Abhidh-av-nṭ I 194 (ad Abhidh-av 3,14; v. 19)

hoti c' ettha:

“*kāmo 'vacaraṭi ty ettha*” (Abhidh-av v. 16) “*kāme 'vacaraṭi*” ti
(Abhidh-av v. 18) *vā,*
thānūpacārato vāpi, tam kāmāvacaram bhave ti.

(For a translation see B.3.3.1.)

This śloka gives three alternatives for how consciousness belongs to the sense-sphere, leaning on the three preceding alternative prose explanations of “sphere of sense-desire” (*kāmāvacara*). The same stanza in the same context (similar wording) is given by Sumaṅgala in his younger Abhidh-s-mhṭ (B.3.3.1).

B.3.2.5 Abhidh-av-nṭ I 213 (ad Abhidh-av 4,27–28)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

paccanikā yato pañca samādhādinam ettha hi,
jhānantarāyikā tasmā pahānaṅge niyāmitā ti

¹²⁸ Compare As transl. 135 for an explanation of this explanation.

¹²⁹ Cousins 2013, 53:

kāme 'vacaraṇād etat kāmāvacaram ucyate
šeśe 'vacarad apy evam samgrāmāvacarādīvat.

Vism-sn III 1082 (to Vism 452)

That is called *kāma*-frequenting because it frequents the *kāma* realm even when frequenting elsewhere, just [as an elephant is called] battle-frequenting [even when elsewhere].

¹³⁰ LSC (email 15/2/2013).

For, because the five hindrances to [the attainment of] *jhāna* are directly opposed to *samādhi*, etc., in this connection, therefore they are specified as the factors that are abandoned.¹³¹

This sloka (without known parallels) summarizes the content of the preceding prose sentence.¹³²

B.3.3 Sumaṅgala, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-mahātīkā*, *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.)

Sumaṅgala's commentary on Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* is slightly younger (see above, n. 27) than his commentary on Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* (B.3.2). One of the five instances for *hoti/honti c' ettha* (B.3.2.4) is borrowed from his *Abhidh-s-mhṭ* (B.3.3.1). Saddhatissa (Abhidh-s-mhṭ 241) who edited this text for the PTS states in his "Index of References" that the mnemonic stanzas introduced by *honti c' ettha* belonged to those stanzas that he could not trace elsewhere, and he assumed that they were "probably versified by the *tīkākāra* himself or by other authors for recital from memory". It was supposed already earlier that in writing his *tīkā* Sumaṅgala used his teacher's Sinhalese commentary (see above, n. 28). Since all the stanzas presented here (as well as others not dealt with in this context) are taken over from this commentary, and since the Pāli prose seems to be a mere translation of the Sinhalese prose, this can be considered as confirmed now.

B.3.3.1 Abhidh-s-mhṭ 58,34–59,2 = Abhidh-s-sn 9,11–12 (ad Abhidh-s 1,10–12 [1.3])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

"*kāmo 'vacarati ty ettha*" (Abhidh-av v. 16) " *kāme 'vacarati*" *ti*
(Abhidh-av v. 18) *vā*,
jhānūpacārato vāpi tam kāmāvacaram bhave ti.

a *tettha* Abhidh-s-sn

Because desire is active there or because it (i.e. consciousness) is active in desire, or by using the name of the place for what exists there, it belongs to the sense sphere. [Based on Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 11]

¹³¹ I thank L.S. Cousins for his comments to and corrections of my translation of this stanza.

¹³² Abhidh-av-nṭ I 213: *tasmā samādhi-ādīnam ujuvipaccanīkabhāvena visesena jhānādhigamassa antarāyakaraṇato etān' eva pahānaṅgānī ti vuttāni.*

This stanza is also found in Abhidh-av-nṭ (B.3.2.4). This explains why it contains two *pratikas* from Abhidh-av vv. 16, 18. It, however, is also transmitted by Sāriputta in his Abhidh-s-sn. The preceding prose text, in which various meanings of *kāmāvacara* are discussed, is a translation of the prose portion of the Sinhalese commentary which in this section also is suffused with Pāli sentences.

B.3.3.2 Abhid-s-mhṭ 62,11–16 = Abhidh-s-sn 15,8–11 (ad Abhidh-s 1,25 [1.6])

honti c’ etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sabbākusalayuttam pi uddhaccam antamānase,
balavāṇi iti tam yeva vuttam uddhaccayogato.*

Although restlessness is associated with all unwholesome [consciousnesses], since it is powerful in the last, just this is said to be joined with restlessness.

2. *ten’ eva hi Munindena yevāpanakanāmato,
vatvā sesesu eth’ eva tam sarūpena desitan ti.*

Therefore the Lord of Sages, having stated it in the rest with the phrase “whatever others”, has indicated it here by its own name. [Based on Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 17]

With these ślokas the author concludes his explanations of “restlessness” (*uddhacca*). They simply summarize what had been previously stated in prose (Abhidh-s-mhṭ 62,7–11). But the prose largely is a translation of the statement in Sāriputta’s Abhidh-s-sn, who also gives the Pāli stanzas. Sāriputta introduces them by “the ancients said this too” (*purātanayan visin u du kiyana lada mā yi*, Abhidh-s-sn 15,7). Thus it is clear that he took them over from an older source. This shows us that the closeness of the stanzas with the preceding prose is no guarantee for a single author at work.

B.3.3.3 Abhid-s-mhṭ 62,22–26 = Abhidh-s-sn 15,19–22 (ad Abhidh-s 1,25–26 [1.6])

honti c’ etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *mūḍhattā c’ eva samsappavikkhepā c’ ekahetukam,
sopekkhāṇi sabbadā no ca bhinnāṇi sankhārabhedato.*

Thus being deluded, diffuse, and scattered, having a single root, this [consciousness] is always with equanimity and not divided by prompting.

2. *na hi tassa sabhāvena tikkhatussāhanīyatā,
atthi saṃsappamānassa vikkhipantassa sabbadā ti.*

It is not by nature instigated by energy; it is always diffuse and deluded.
[Based on Abhidh-s-mht transl. 17]

With these ślokas the author summarizes the previously given explanations to the two types of deluded consciousness mentioned in Abhidh-s [1.6]. Again, the wording of the stanzas corresponds so closely to that of the preceding prose (Abhidh-s-mht 62,17–21), that one would consider them to have been written by the same author. But as in the previous cases the prose is a translation of Sāriputta's Sinhalese commentaries and the Pāli stanzas are also taken over from it. Unlike the preceding case, Sāriputta here does not ascribe the stanzas to the Ancients, but only introduces them with "therefore this has been said" (*esē heyin ma kiyana ladi*, Abhidh-s-sn 15,18). Nevertheless this suggests that he took over these stanzas from some older source.

B.3.3.4 Abhidh-s-mht 65,28–34 = Abhidh-s-sn 20,16–21 (ad Abhidh-s 2,7ff. [1.10])

honti c' etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *vatthālambasabhāvānaṃ bhūtikānañ hi ghaṭṭanāṃ,
dubbalām iti cakkhādicatucittam upekkhakām.*

The impact of dependent materiality in the form of the base and [when] the object is weak: so the four types beginning with eye-consciousness have equanimity.

2. *kāyanissayaphoṭṭhabbabhūtānaṃ ghaṭṭanāya tu,
balavattā na viññānaṃ kāyikamajjhavedanāṃ.*

¶ *kāyikam majha*° Abhidh-s-sn

But because of the force of the impact of elements in the tangible [objects] and the body base, body consciousness has no neutral feeling.

3. *samānanissayo yasmā natt' ānantarapaccayo,
tasmā dubbalām ālambe sopekkham sampaticchanan ti.*

As there is no contiguity condition of similar support, so, [as it is] weak in its object, receiving consciousness has equanimity. [Based on Abhidh-s-mht transl. 24]

These ślokas summarize the preceding prose explanations to the four pairs of resultants (*vipākāni*; Abhidh-s-mht 65,1–27). Again this prose is translated from the Sinhalese Abhidh-s-sn while the stanzas are simply taken over. Sāriputta

introduces them with “this has been said” (*kiyana lada mā yi*, Abhidh-s-sn 20,15).

B.3.3.5 Abhidh-s-mhṭ 119,5–11 = Abhidh-s-sn 119,29–32; 120,7–8
(ad Abhidh-s 20,11–12 [4.29])

honti c’ etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *janakam tamśamānam vā javanam anubandhati na tu aññam tadālamban bāladārakalilayā.*

Retention follows the [kind of] impulsion that generates it or is similar to it, not that which is different, as in the play of a young child.

2. *bījassābhāvato natthi Brahmānam pi imassa hi patiśandhimano bījam kāmāvacarasaññitam.*

Because of the absence of its seed, it does not occur to Brahmās; the relinking mind called sense-sphere is seed.

3. *thāne paricite yeva tam idam bālako viya anuyāti ti nāññattha hoti tanhāvasena vā ti.*

b *bālakā* Abhidh-s-sn **c** *aññattha* *natthi* Abhidh-s-sn

Like a child, it follows someone into a familiar place; so by virtue of craving it does not exist in other places. [Based on Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 146]

These ślokas summarize the preceding prose explanations of retention (Abhidh-s-mhṭ 118,26–19,4). Cousins traced a Pāli parallel in Abhidh-s-sn (twelfth century A.D.; 119f.), and a Sanskrit version in Vism-sn (A.D. 1236–1278).¹³³ As in

¹³³ Cousins 2013, 39:

*javanah tat-samāno vā tad-ālambana-cetasā
javo ‘nubaddhyate nānyo bāla-dāraka-lilayā. (24)
bījābhāvāt (sic) na cordhveṣu tad-ālambanam asya tu
bījan kāmāpta-pākākhyam pratiśandhi-mano matam. (25)
pravarttamāna-javanam ucite sthāna eva tat
anubadhnāti drṣṭāntam āhur atrāpi dārakam. (26)*

Vism-sn III 1106

The active mind that is similar to it is followed by a retention mind [just as] the progenitor, not anyone else, is followed in the play of a young boy. (24)

all other cases the preceding prose section is a translation from the Sinhalese *Abhidh-s-sn*.

B.3.4. Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭīkā* (A.D. 1447/1453,¹³⁴ Burma)

In Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla's commentary on *Abhidh-s* there are three *honti c'etha* introductions. In all three cases the following stanzas are borrowed from another work by the same author, namely, from his *Nāmac*. Saddhātissa, the editor of *Nāmac*, has doubted the authorship of Chapaṭa, despite the Chapaṭa colophon, on account of the fact that the stanzas are often metrically defective.¹³⁵ He felt supported by — as he assumed — the absence of this text in the list of works ascribed to Chapaṭa in *Sās*. But as shown by Ruiz-Falqués (2015, n. 32) *Nāmac* is by no means lacking, only its being mentioned has been veiled by an incorrect separation of the title (*Sās* 74.24). The stanzas in *Nāmac* as edited by Saddhātissa are in fact very badly preserved, but Saddhātissa's edition is based only on a printed Burmese edition and one Burmese manuscript (?).¹³⁶ Thus the faults are obviously due to the poor quality of his sources. The discrepancies between the stanzas quoted in the Sinhalese edition of *Abhidh-s-sv* and *Nāmac* show that the consultation of further manuscripts is necessary, since, despite the fact that the stanzas in *Abhidh-s-sv* are sometimes metrically correct, most are metrically defective too.

But because of the absence of its seed retention does not occur in the upper [realms]. The seed known as appropriate sense-sphere resultant is reckoned as the reconnection mind. (25)

It follows an active mind that is occurring only in a familiar place. They say that the simile for this is a boy. (26)

¹³⁴ For this date of Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, see Godakumbura 1969.

¹³⁵ “Despite the erudite authorship displayed in his other works, the language of the *Nāmacāradīpaka* is not elegant and the metre of many verses is not meticulous. His verses in *Anuṣṭubh* metre are not always of eight syllables in each *pāda*, and in many verses one can notice some violation of metre (*Vṛttabhangā*).” (*Nāmac* 2).

¹³⁶ The information given in the introductory remarks is not quite clear: “As I was unable to obtain any other manuscript this edition is based on the printed Burmese copy (= B^e) of the *Nāmacāradīpaka* in the India Office Library, London, edited by Saya Maung Lin, published by Ma E Me, Rangoon, 31st May 1911. I have stated in the footnotes where this edition differs from B^e.” (*Nāmac*, p. 2).

Unlike most instances of *hoti/honti c’ etha* stanzas, which often summarize the preceding prose statements, Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla seems to use these stanzas to elaborate his commentary.

B.3.4.1 Abhidh-s-sv C^e 27,21–31 (ad Abhidh-s 17,22–24 [4.7]¹³⁷) =
Nāmac vv. 169–72

Abhidh-s-sv	Nāmac vv. 169–72
<i>honti c’ etha</i>	
And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:	
1. <i>ekātītañ sołasāyū</i>	<i>ekātītañ sołasāyukam</i>
<i>gocaram atimahantam</i>	<i>timahantam tidhātītañ</i>
<i>dvitītāpaññarasa-</i>	<i>paññarasacuddasāyukam</i>
<i>cuddasāyukam mahantam</i>	<i>mahantārammaṇam nāma</i>
	(v. 169)
[The presentation of an object that comes into range] after one [consciousness-moment] has passed [and] lasts for sixteen [consciousness-moments] is very great (<i>atimahantam</i>). [The presentation of an object that comes into range] after two [or] three [consciousness-moments] have passed [and] lasts for fifteen [or] fourteen [consciousness-moments] is great (<i>mahantam</i>).	
2. <i>catvādi-nava-atītañ</i>	<i>ca tādi nava-atītam</i>
<i>terasādi-aṭṭhāyukam</i>	<i>terasādi aṭṭhāyukam</i>
<i>parittam nāma dasādi-</i>	<i>parittam nāma dasādi-</i>
<i>panñarasātītañ tathā.</i>	<i>panñarasātītañ tathā.</i>
	(v. 170)
[The presentation of an object that comes into range] after four and so on [up to] nine [consciousness-moments] have passed [and] lasts thirteen and so on [down to] eight [consciousness-moments] is called slight (<i>parittam</i>); likewise that [which comes into range] after ten and so on [up to] fifteen [consciousness-moments] have passed	
3. <i>sattādīdvāyukam atiparittam</i>	<i>sattādīdvāyukam atiparittam</i>
<i>nāma vibhūtam</i>	<i>nāma ekādi</i>
<i>pan’ ekādipañcātītañ</i>	<i>pañcātīta-sołasādi</i>
<i>sołasādīdvādasāyukam.</i>	<i>dvādasāyukam vibhūtam.</i>
	(v. 171)

¹³⁷ *atimahantam mahantam parittam atiparittañ ceti pañcadvāre, manodvāre pana vibhūtam avibhūtañ ceti chadhā visayappavatti veditabbā.*

Abhidh-s 17,22–24 [4.7]

[The presentation of an object that comes into range] after four and so on [up to] nine [consciousness-moments] have passed [and] lasts thirteen and so on [up to] eight [consciousness-moments] is called slight (*parittam*); likewise that [which comes into range] after ten and so on [up to] fifteen [consciousness-moments] have passed

4. <i>athāpi chasattātītam</i> <i>ekādasadasāyukam</i> <i>gocarāvibhūtam nāma</i> <i>vuttam tabbhedavīññunā.</i>	<i>chasatta-atītam</i> <i>ekā-dasadasāyukamattam</i> <i>avibhūtam nāma gocaram</i> <i>cattāri-pañcadvārika.</i>
	(v. 172a-d)

Furthermore [the presentation of an object that comes into range] after six, seven [consciousness-moments] have passed [and] which lasts for eleven, ten [consciousness-moments] is called an indistinct field by the one who knows the differences thereof.

The field belonging to the five-door[-process] is fourfold beginning with “very great”; distinct and indistinct, however, is the field belonging to the mind-door.¹³⁸

These ślokas are borrowed from the fifth chapter of Nāmac, dealing with objects (*ārammaṇavibhāga*). They are quoted in the fourth chapter, in the section dealing with different processes (*vīthibheda*, cf. Abhidh-s 17,21–24 [4.7]; Abhidh-s-mht transl. 120).

B.3.4.2 Abhidh-s-sv C^e 34.11-15 (ad Abhidh-s 21,17-18 [4.48];¹³⁹ cf. Abhidh-s-mht 122,7ff.) = Nāmac vv. 42-48

honti c' ettha

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

¹³⁸ I thank L.S. Cousins for his corrections of my translation.

139 *asekkhānam catu cattālīsa sekkhānam uddise
chappaññāsāvasesānam catupaññāsa sambhavā.*

Abhidh-s [4.48]

1. *kāme dvādasa puggalā* (Identical except:) *sekkhānam catutālīsaṃ*
anāgāmīnaṭṭhatālīsaṃ *anāgāmīnaṭṭhatālīsaṃ*
dvisekkhānañ ca paññāsaṃ (v.l. *anāgāmīnaṃ ṭṭhatālīsaṃ*)
(v. 42)

In the sense realm there are twelve persons: Those who have completed the training have forty-four [*cittas*]. Never-returners have forty-eight [*cittas*] and two kinds of trainee have fifty [*cittas*].

2. *maggatthānam ekam ekañ* *maggatthānaṃ* (v.l. *ṭṭhānam*) *ekam*
rāgīnaṃ catupaññāsaṃ *ekañ catunnaṃ catupaññāsaṃ*
dvayañ ca ekatālīsaṃ *dvayañ ca ekatālīsaṃ*
sattatiṃsa yathākkaman ti. *sattatiṃsañ ca kamato.*
(v. 43)

The four situated in the [moment of] the path have one each. The [four¹⁴⁰ remaining persons] have in order [firstly] fifty-four [*cittas*], the [next] two have forty-one [*cittas* and the last] has thirty-seven [*cittas*].

3. *ayam kāmapuggalānaṃ yathālābhānayo.*
This is the way in which they are found for persons in the sense realm.

4. *rūpārūpesu pana*:
But in the *rūpa* and *arūpa* [realms]:¹⁴¹

5. *rūpesu nava puggalā* *rūpesu nava-puggalā*
kamato catubhūminaṃ *kamato catubhūmināṃ* (v.l. *omīnaṃ*)
asekkhānaṃ ekatimṣaṃ *asekkhānaṃ ekatimṣaṃ* (v.l. *ekatiṃsa*)
dvattimsekatiṃsadvayam. *dvattimsekatiṃsadvayam.*
(v. 44)

Among the *rūpa* [devas] there are nine persons. In order, those in the four [*rūpa*] levels who have completed training have [successively] thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-one, and thirty-one [*cittas*].

6. *sekkhānaṃ catubhūminaṃ* *tisekkhānaṃ pañcatiṃsaṃ*
bhavanti pañcatiṃsa ca
chattimṣa pañcatiṃsa ca *chatiṃṣadve-pañcatiṃsaṃ*
pañcatiṃsa yathākkamāṇ. (v.l. *chatt^o*).
(v. 45ab)

¹⁴⁰ The *catunnaṃ* of Nāmac is to be preferred here.

¹⁴¹ I take this as prose.

Trainees of the four [*rūpa*] levels have thirty-five, thirty-six, thirty-five and thirty-five [*cittas*] in order.

7. <i>maggaṭṭhānam ekam ekam</i>	<i>maggaṭṭhānam ekam ekam</i>
<i>rāgīnam catubhūminam</i>	<i>rāgīnam catubhūminam</i>
<i>ekūnatālīsam tālīsam</i>	<i>ekūnatālīsam tālīsam</i>
<i>ekūnatālīsadvayam.</i>	<i>ekūnatālīsadvayam.</i>

(v. 45c-f)

The four¹⁴² situated in the [moment of] the path have one each. The four [remaining persons] in the four [*rūpa*] levels have thirty-nine, forty, thirty-nine and thirty-nine [*cittas*].

8. <i>arūpe atṭha puggalā</i> ¹⁴³	<i>aruppe atṭhapuggalā</i>
¹⁴⁴ <i>tatthāsekkhānam kamato</i>	<i>tattha sekkhānam kamato</i>
<i>panṇarasa cuddasāpi</i>	<i>panṇarasa cuddasāpi</i>
<i>terasa dvādasāpi ca</i>	<i>terasa dvādasāpi pi (v.l. dvi) ca.</i>

bhūmikkamam tisekkhānam.

(v. 46)

In the *arūpa* realm there are eight persons. Among these, those who have completed training have in order fifteen, fourteen, thirteen and twelve [*cittas*]. The three kinds of trainee — following the order of the [*arūpa*] levels — have

9. <i>vīsam ekūnavīsañ ca</i>	<i>bhūmikkamam hi sekkhānam</i>
<i>atṭhārasa sattarasa</i>	<i>vīsam ekūnavīsañ ca</i>
<i>maggaṭṭhānam ekam</i>	<i>atṭhārasa sattarasa</i>
<i>ekam catunnām catubhūminam.</i>	<i>maggaṭṭhānam ekam ekam.</i>

(v. 47)

twenty, nineteen, eighteen, [and] seventeen [*cittas*]. The four situated in the [moment of] the path have one each.

¹⁴² Reading *catunnām* for *rāgīnam*.

¹⁴³ In Abhidh-s-sv these three words are printed as a heading to the following. The parallel in Nāmac as well as the structure of the preceding stanzas indicates that these words are part of the following stanza.

¹⁴⁴ Begin of the stanza according to C^e. As can be seen in comparison also to the text as printed in Nāmac, the editors of Abhidh-s-sv separated the stanzas differently. Both versions are unmetered to a large degree, and manuscripts of both texts have to be consulted in order to find the original version. For the time being we simply transliterate the text from the Sinhalese edition as it is.

10. <i>puthujjanānam sesānam</i>	<i>sesānam puthujjanānam</i>
<i>catuvīsañ ca tevīsañ</i>	<i>catuvīsañ ca tevīsañ</i>
<i>dvāvīsam ekavīsañ ca hoti</i>	<i>bāvīsam ekavīsañ ca hoti</i>
<i>cittam bhūmikkaman ti.</i>	<i>cittam bhūmikkaman</i> .

(v. 48)

The remaining [persons i.e.] ordinary individuals of the four [*arūpa*] levels have twenty-four and twenty-three, twenty-two and twenty-one kinds of *citta* (following the order). [Translation LSC, email 28/2/2013].

These ślokas are borrowed from the second chapter of Nāmac dealing with the division of individuals. They are placed at the end of the commentary on the concluding stanza of the section on individuals (Abhidh-s [4.48]). The prose section preceding the stanzas is a commentary on v. 48.¹⁴⁵ There are some parallels between the stanzas and the prose text, but the stanzas present much more material.

B.3.4.3 Abhidh-s-sv C^e 36,27–37,4 (ad Abhidh-s [5.5ff.]) = Nāmac
vv. 265–71 = Sīmāvis 70

Abhidh-s-sv

Nāmac vv. 265–71

honti c' ettha

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. <i>heṭṭhimā brahmałokamhā</i>	identical except <i>atṭhatāṭīsam</i>
<i>patitā mahatī silā</i>	(v. 265)

¹⁴⁵ *idāni pārisesanayena labbhāmānavīthicitāni dassetum asekkhānan* ty ādim āha. tattha asekkhānañ khīñāsavānam tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca vīsati kriyāni ca arahattaphalañ cā ti *catucattāṭīsa* vīthicitāni vīthisambhavānu-rūpena *uddise*. *sekkhānañ* sattannam tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca āvajjana-dvayañ ca ekavīsati kusalāni ca diṭṭhivicikicchāvajjitasā[34]tākusalāni ca heṭṭhimaphalattayañ cā ti *chapaññāsa* vīthicitāni puggalasambhavānu-rūpan uddise. *avasesānañ* catunnam puthujjanānam tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca āvajjanadvayañ ca dvādasākusalāni ca sattarasa lokiya kusalāni cā ti *catupaññāsa* vīthicitāni puggalasambhavānurūpan uddise; ayam ukkaṭṭhavasena uddeso. puggalasambhavānurūpena pan' ettha evam datṭhabbo; asekkhānañ bhedo natthi. catunnam maggaṭṭhānañ ekekam attano attano maggacittam eva. anāgāmīnañ atṭhacattāṭīsam. dvinnam sekkhānañ phalaṭṭhānam paññāsa. tihetukaputhujjanānam catupaññāsa. duhetukāhetukānañ ekatāṭīsam. duggati-ahetukānañ sattatiṁsa labbhanti.

Abhidh-s-sv C^e 33,33–34,10 (§ 193)

*ahorattena ekena
oggatā aṭṭhatāṭīsa*

A great rock fell from the lowest Brahma-world.
In one day and night it descended forty-eight

2. *yojanānam sahassāni*
 catumāsehi bhūmikā
 evam vuttappamāṇake
 sāyaṇi heṭṭhimabhūmikā.

identical except *bhūmigā*,
vuttappamāṇena, and
heṭṭhima-bhūmigā

(v. 266)

b *bhūmi* for *bhūmikā* Sīmāvis (against the metre) **c** *°ppamāṇena* Sīmāvis **d** *heṭṭhima-bhūmi* Sīmāvis

thousand *yojanas*. In four months with the measure given [for a night and a day] that same rock was part of the lowest level.

3. *ito satasahassāni*
 sattapaññāsa cāparāṇi identical
 saṭṭhi c' eva sahassāni
 ubbedhena pakāsītā.

= v. 267

From this, five million seven hundred and sixty thousand *yojanas* have been revealed as its height.

4. *yojanesu pi vutesu*
 hityā kāmappamāṇakāṇi
 sesāṇam vasavattīṇam identical except *sesāṇi*
 pārisajjānam antaram.

(v. 268)

c *sesāṇi* Sīmāvis

After disregarding the extent of the *kāma* [realms] when the *yojanas* have been given,¹⁴⁶ there remains an interval between the [devas] who have mastery [over what is created by others] and those belonging to the retinue of [Brahmā].

5. *tañ ca pañcahi paññāṣam* *tato hi pañca paññāsa*
 satasahassāni cāparāṇi *satasahassāni cāparāṇi*
 aṭṭha c' eva sahassāni *aṭṭha c' eva sahassāni*
 yojanāṇi pavuccare. *yojanāṇam pavuccare.*

(v. 269)

a *°paññāsa* Sīmāvis

¹⁴⁶ As 32,000 each.

And that is said to be five million five hundred and eight thousand *yojanas*.

6. *ito parāsu sabbāsu*

<i>brahmabhūmisu yojanam</i>	identical except <i>brahmabhūmisu</i> ...
<i>tam pamānā va datthabbā</i>	<i>tappamānā</i> ... <i>nayagāhena</i> ...
<i>nayaggāhena dhūmatā</i>	(v. 270)

b *yojanā* Sīmāvis; **c** *tappamānā* Sīmāvis

Hence the wise person who understands the method should see that in each of the subsequent Brahmā levels the *yojanas* are of exactly that number.

7. *bhūmito ābhavaggamhā*

<i>sattakoṭi atthārasa</i>	identical except
<i>lakkhā ca pañca nahutā</i>	<i>lakkhāpañcanahutāni</i> ... <i>sabbadhi</i>
<i>chasahassāni sabbathā ti.</i>	(v. 271)

c *lakkhā pañca nahutāni* Sīmāvis **d** *sabbadā* Sīmāvis

From the [human] level to the summit of existence there are in total seventy-one million eight hundred and fifty-six thousand [yojanas].¹⁴⁷

These ślokas summarize the preceding prose explanations regarding the size of the Brahma-loka, at least partly,¹⁴⁸ and are supplied in addition to what is taught

¹⁴⁷ Translation L.S. Cousins (email 28/2/2013). He explains the arithmetic as follows: From the human realm to the Paranimmitavasavattī heaven = 250,000 *yojanas*, add the distance from there to the lowest Brahmā heaven = 5,508,000 *yojanas*. That adds to 5,758,000 *yojanas* = the distance covered by the falling rock.

From the human realm to the Paranimmitavasavattī heaven = 250,000 *yojanas*; 13 distinct levels in the Brahmā realms, i.e. corresponding to 4 *jhānas*, 4 formless + five Suddhāvāsa — each 5,508,000 *yojanas*. This is adds up to 71,604,000 *yojanas*. Add to that the 250,000 *yojanas* for the Kāmaloka. This gives a total of 71,856,000 *yojanas* = the overall figure given.

¹⁴⁸ *manussabhūmito dvītālīsasahassayojano Yugandharappamāṇo Sineruno pañcamālindo cātummahārājikānam devānam bhūmi nāma. tadupari dvītālīsasahassayojanam Sinerumathakam Tāvatimsabhanam Tāvatimsānam bhūmi nāma. tadupari dvītālīsasahassayojanam thānam Yāmānam bhūmi; evam yāva Vasavattibhūmi dvītālīsasahassayojane* (v.l. *yojanātīthāne*) *tiṭṭhati; tasmā manussabhūmito yāva Vasavattibhūmi dvīsata-*

in Abhidh-s and Abhidh-s-mht. As in the preceding cases, Chapāta quotes these stanzas from his Nāmac. In this case we have a parallel in Sāgarabuddhi's Sīmāvis written in Sirikkhetta in A.D. 1587. Sāgarabuddhi introduces these stanzas by *ten' etam vuccati porānehi*, and, after the borrowed stanzas, adds his own stanza saying that the borrowed stanzas were written by a *tīkā* commentator (*esā ca vicāraṇā tīkācariyamatena katā*, Sīmāvis 70). The variants of Sīmāvis mostly agree with the version of Nāmac.

B.3.5 Ariyavamṣa, *Maṇisāramañjūsā* (A.D. 1466,¹⁴⁹ Burma)

B.3.5.1 Maṇis I 15,20–22 (ad Abhidh-s-mht 53,6–25; vv. 1–5 of the *Ganthārambhabhakathā*)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*vatthuttayassa pañāmo pañāmo gurunattano
pañīñā pubbapañcakanī hetu cā ty atthapañcakan ti.*

[This is] the pentad of meanings: Salutation of the three objects (i.e. Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha; v. 1), salutation of his own teacher (i.e. Sāriputta; v. 2), promise (to explain the Abhidh-s, v. 3), the pentad of earlier [commentaries,¹⁵⁰ (v. 4)] and the reason [for writing this commentary; v. 5].

sahassāni pañca nahutāni dve sahassāni ca yojanāni honti. Brahmapāri-sajjādayo tayo Brahmāno pañcapaññāsasatasahassatīhasahassayojane samatale pañhamabhūmītīthāne titthanti; evam dutiyatatiyabhūmika-Brahmāno pi tamtañpamānesu samatalesu dutiyatatiyabhūmisu titthanti. catuttha-bhūmiyam pana Vehapphalāsaññasattā tam pamāne samatale thāne titthanti. tatopari pañca-Suddhāvāsā tamtañpamānesu pañcasu uparūpariññhānesu titthanti. cattāro arūpa-Brahmāno pi tamtañpamānesu pañcasu uparūpariññhānesu titthanti. cattāro arūpa-Brahmāno pi catusu thānesu titthanti; tasmā manussabhūmito abhavaggam sattakoṭi ca aṭṭhārasalakkhā ca pañcanahutāni ca cha sahassāni ca yojanāni honti.

Abhidh-s-sv 36,12–26 (§ 205)

¹⁴⁹ Maṇis II 459,12: *aṭṭhavīśādhika-aṭṭhasatasakkarājami* (= 828 sakkarāj = A.D. 1466). According to Piṭ-sm (Nyunt 2012, § 309) he wrote it six years after King Narapati ascended the throne (A.D. 1442) which would lead to the date A.D. 1448.

¹⁵⁰ This refers to stanza 4, where we are informed that countless commentaries to the Abhidh-s have been compiled by the earlier commentators, which

With this śloka Ariyavamṣa summarizes the content of the five stanzas forming the beginning of Sumaṅgala’s Abhidh-s-mhṭ (53,6–25). Ariyavamṣa has explained these in great detail on the preceding pages.

B.3.5.2 Maṇis I 115,10–12 (ad Abhidh-s-mhṭ 58,32ff. ad Abhidh-s 1,10–12 [I.3])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

“rūpam ‘vacaratī ty ettha” “rūpe ‘vacaratī” ti vā
thānūpacārato vāpi tam rūpāvacaram bhave ti.

Because form is active there or because it is active in form, or by using the name of the place for what exists there, it belongs to the form sphere.

Ariyavamṣa took over this stanza from Abhidh-s-mhṭ (B.3.3.1), and again from Abhidh-av-pt (B.3.2.4), and replaced *kāmo* with *rūpam*, *kāme* with *rūpe*, and *kāmāvacaram* with *rūpāvacaram*, thus forming a separate stanza for *rūpāvacara*, whereas Sumaṅgala has only stated that the same method used with *kāmāvacara* is to be applied to *rūpā-* and *arūpāvacara*. The passages put between quotation marks in the analogous stanza from Abhidh-av-nṭ are *pratikas* from Abhidh-av.

B.3.5.3 Maṇis I 115,19–21 (ad Abhidh-s-mhṭ 58,32ff. ad Abhidh-s 1,10–12 [I.3])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

“arūpam caratī ty ettha” “arūpe ‘vacaratī” ti vā
thānūpacārato vāpi tam arūpāvacaram bhave ti.

Because the formless is active there or because it is active in the formless, or by using the name of the place for what exists there, it belongs to the formless sphere.

In analogy to the preceding passage, Ariyavamṣa now adjusts the stanza formulated in Abhidh-av-nṭ for *kāmāvacara* to the *arūpāvacara*, see B.3.5.2.

however did not enable one to understand the meaning everywhere (*porānehi anekāpi katā yā pana vaṇṇanā | na tāhi sakkā sabbattha attho viññātave idha*). Since Ariyavamṣa speaks of *pañcaka* he possibly knew five earlier such commentaries. In the prose text he says (Maṇis 14,18–20): *vaṇṇīyati attho etāyā ti vaṇṇanā. vaṇṇanā ca vaṇṇanā ca vaṇṇanā, tūkāyo. tāhi vaṇṇanāhī ti idam viññātave ti ettha karanam.*

B.3.5.4 Maṇis I 165,2–5 = Abhidh-av-nṭ I 183 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30), see B.3.2.1

Ariyavaṇṭa here borrows the stanza from Abhidh-av-nṭ including the preceding prose text (Maṇis I 164f.).

B.3.5.5 Maṇis I 167,3–15 = Abhidh-av-nṭ I 186 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30), see B.3.2.2

B.4. Grammar¹⁵¹

B.4.1. Coliya Dīpañkara Buddhappīya's *Padarūpasiddhi* (first half twelfth century A.D.)¹⁵²

B.4.1.1 Rūp B^e 138; C^e 503,1–3 (Kacc B^e 283; E^e 286 = Senart 1871: 145 [2.6.14])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*pathamā-v-upasaggaṭthe kesañ catthe nipātasaddāna
liṅgādike ca suddhe 'bhīhite kammādi-atthe pi.*

The first [case is applied] in the [bare] meaning of preverbs and in the [bare] meaning of some indeclinable words, and in the bare [meaning] of gender, etc. (i.e. number, measure), and also in the sense of the object, etc., when it is explicit [in the verb].

This śloka (without known parallels) given in the commentary on Kacc 286 [2.6.14] is the gist of the preceding prose passage.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ In the translation and interpretation of the grammatical references I was supported by Dragomir Dimitrov, and especially by Aleix Ruiz-Falqués.

¹⁵² Matsumura (1992: xxix; 1999: 157ff), identifies the author of Rūp with Coliya Dīpañkara Buddhappīya whose teacher was Ānanda Tambapāṇīddhaja (twelfth century A.D.), and differentiates him from Buddhappīya the author of the Pajjamadhu (thirteenth century A.D.). Gornall (2014: 11) now substantiates this identification by referring to the fact that Moggallāna “writing in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., uses Buddhappīya's Rūp as his main source for the Kaccāyana grammatical tradition”. Gornall (2014: 13) further suggests we identify that Buddhappīya with the one mentioned in Vmv as having rid the Saṅgha of the heretical doctrine that drinking alcohol is an offence only if it is done intentionally.

¹⁵³ *so pana kammādisaṁsaṭṭho, suddho cā ti duvidho. tattha kammādīsu dutiyādīnaṁ vidhīyamānattā kammādisamsaggarahito liṅgasaṅkhyāpari-*

B.4.2 Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* (A.D. 1447/1453)¹⁵⁴

B.4.2.1 Kacc-nidd C^e 29,25–29 (ad Kacc 63 = Senart 1871: 38 [2.1.12])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

I. *avatvā etimānan ti etimāsam* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *udīraṇam sunamhisu ca* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]) *suttena vuttavidhinvāraṇam.*

Not saying *etimānam* (gen.pl.m.), the expression *etimāsam* — (gen.pl.f.)¹⁵⁵ wards off the rule expressed by theutta *sunamhisu ca*.¹⁵⁶

māṇayutto, tabbinimuttupasaggādipadatthabhūto ca suddho saddattho idha lingattho nāma. yo pana ākhyāta-kitaka-taddhita-samāsehi vutto kammādi-samsaṭho attho, so pi dutiyādīnaṇi puna attanā vattabbassa atthavisessassābhāvena avisayattā, liṅgatthamattassa sambhavato ca paṭhamā yeva visayo.

Rūp 138 (Kacc 286 [2.6.14] *liṅgatthe paṭhamā*)

The [meaning of the nominal base (*liṅga*)], however, is of two kinds: connected with an object, etc., and bare. Therein the one is devoid of the connection with [functions like] an object, etc., on account of the fact that the second [case], etc., is ruled in the [function of] object, etc., [and it] has the meaning of the nominal base (*liṅga*) connected with grammatical gender, number, measure; [the other one is] the signification of the word like prepositions, etc., free from that (i.e. from grammatical gender, number, measure), the bare meaning of the word, [this] here means “meaning of the nominal base”. That meaning which is connected with an object, etc., is expressed, through a verb, a primary derivative, secondary derivative, or a compound. This [meaning] too is the domain of only the first [case], because it is impossible to apply the second case, etc., because a specific meaning which could/should be expressed by itself is missing, and because of the possibility of the mere meaning of the nominal base (*liṅga*).

¹⁵⁴ For Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s date, see above n. 134.

¹⁵⁵ Kacc 63 [2.1.12]: [The feminine pronouns] *etā* [and] *imā* have *i* instead of *ā* before *sam*, *sā*.

¹⁵⁶ Kacc 89 [2.1.30]: and before the endings *-su*, *-nam*, and *-hi* [of the locative, genitive, and instrumental, the final vowel of the nominal stems becomes long].

2. *ghapato* *ty* (Kacc 179 [2.3.19]) *ādisuttena itthiliṅge va saṃsāttam*
pattam siyā tasmā iti dīpitaṃ visayaṇi tesan ti.

The state of [having the endings] *-sam*, *-sā* [in the locative and genitive singular] in case of the feminine gender could only be obtained by the sutta beginning with *ghapato*,¹⁵⁷ therefore a domain for them (i.e. *sam*, and *sā*) has been explained in that way (*iti*; i.e. with rule 63 [2.1.12]).

These ślokas (without known parallel) follow as an anchor for the reply to the first objection regarding the interpretation of the rule that the feminine pronouns *etā* and *imā* have *i* instead of *ā* before the inflectional endings *sam* and *sā*. Only the first stanza summarizes what has been stated in the preceding prose text.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Kacc 179 [2.3.19]: feminine pronouns in *ā*, *i/ī*, *u/ū* may have [the endings] *-sam*, *-sā* [in the locative and genitive singular].

¹⁵⁸ *etha hi “etimānan” ti vattabbe kasmā etimāsan ti vuttan ti. nanu nāññānam sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttēna sabbato naññi samsānan ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *vuttavidhi samsānam ādesam sabbanāmadvande nivāreti ti?* *saccam. tathāpi “etimāsan” ti vattabbe kiñci payojanantarasaṁbhavato yadi “etimānan” ti vucceyya “purisānam cittānam” ti dvīsu liñgesu viya sunāñhisu cā ti* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]) *suttēna dīgham katan ti viññāpeyya na itthiliṅgākāranto ti tasmā tam nivāretvā samsānam visayabhūtañ itthiliṅgam eva ñāpetuñ etimāsan ti* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *vuttam. idam eva hi nāññānam sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttassa nivāraṇe payojanam.*

Kacc-nidd C^e 29,15–25

For, if *etimānam* should be said here, why [then] is *etimāsam* said? Does not the rule stated [with the words]: *sabbato naññi samsānam* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]): “After a pronominal stem [the ending] *-nam* [of the genitive plural becomes] *-sam* [or] *-sānam*”) together with the sutta: *nāññānam sabbanāmikan* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]): “[pronominal stems in *a*, when they form a dvandva compound] do not have any other element belonging to the pronominal inflection”) in case of a dvandva compound of pronouns obstruct the substitute *-sam* [and] *-sānam*. True. Even though, when *etimāsam* should be said, [but] when on account of any other cause *etimānam* would be said, then one would make known that [the final vowel] is made long by the sutta *sunāñhisu ca* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]: “And [the final vowels of nominal stems become long] also before [the endings] *-su*, *-nam*, [and] *-hi*”) as with respect to the two genders (masculine and neuter) [as shown by the examples] “*purisānam*, *cittānam*”, [but] not that the final *ā* of the feminine gender [of the pronouns *etā*, *imā* is replaced by *i*]. Therefore, having obstructed this (i.e. the reading *etimānam*) *etimāsam* has been said, in order to make known only the feminine gender as one having a special [ending] before *-sam* [and]

The second brings another Kaccāyana rule (Kacc 179 [2.3.19]) into play; neither is treated in the preceding or in the subsequent prose text. This can be taken as evidence that at least the second stanza originated from another source. Given the fact that Chapaṭa in his Abhidh-s-sv introduces stanzas borrowed from an older text of his with the expression *hoti/honti c’ ettha*, the possibility that both stanzas are taken from some other text cannot be dismissed. All the more so, since in his commentary on Kacc 63 [2.1.12] (B.4.2.2) Chapaṭa presents various interpretations and quotes a number of sources (*Nyāsappadīpapakarana* = *Mukhamattadīpanī-purāṇaṭīkā*; *porāṇakācariyā*; *Mukhamattasāra*).

B.4.2.2 Kacc-nidd C^e 30,22–33 (ad Kacc 63 = Senart 1871: 38 [2.1.12])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *avatvā “etimānam” ti etimāsam* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *udīraṇam*
sabbanāmānukaraṇasuddhanāmassa sambhavā.

Not having said *etimānam* (gen.pl.m.), the expression [is] *etimāsam* (gen.pl.f.), because of the possibility of a simple noun (*suddhanāma*) to imitate a pronoun.

2. *nāññan* *ty* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *ādikam* *suttam* *sabbato* *ty* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *ādikam* *suttam*
nivāretum *asamatthaṃ* *sabbanāmānukaraṇe*.

The rule beginning with *nāññan*¹⁵⁹ is not capable of obstructing the rule beginning with *sabbato*¹⁶⁰ regarding the imitation of pronouns.

-sānam. For only this is the motivation with respect to the obstruction of the sutta *nāññan* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]).

¹⁵⁹ *nāññan* *sabbanāmikam*.

Kacc 166 [2.3.6]

[Les thèmes pronominaux en a, quand ils font partie d'un composé dvandva, ne participent à] aucune autre des particularités de la déclinaison pronomiale.

Senart 1871: 85

¹⁶⁰ *sabbato naṇi saṃsānam*.

Kacc 168 [2.3.8]

Après les thèmes pronominaux, le génitif pluriel se fait en saṃ sānam.

Senart 1871: 86

3. *sutte hi etimāsaddā suddhanāman ti dīpitā
lakkhaṇattā etimāsan vuttānaŋ piṭakattaye.*

For in the rule, the words *etā* [and] *imā* are shown as simple nouns because of the characterization of *etimāsan* as said (i.e. used) in the Tipiṭaka.

4. *“suddhanāman” ti ce vade kinnu sam-kaṇiyāŋ bhave
sabbato naŋ saṃsānan ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *sabbanāmesu vidhinā*

If one says “simple noun” (*suddhanāma*) why indeed is [there] a replacement of *san* on account of the rule for pronouns that says, “After a pronominal stem the *-naŋ* [of the genitive plural becomes] *-san* [or] *-sānan*”?

5. *sabbanāmapadatthā hi sabbanāmānukaraṇā
sabbanāmābhāve vidhi sabbanāmānukaraṇe ti.*

For the “significations of a word” of pronouns (*sabbanāma*) imitate pronouns, in case pronouns are absent, the rule is [valid] with respect to the imitation of pronouns.

These ślokas (without known parallel) are quoted as evidence in the reply to an objection lodged against the second interpretation of Kacc 63 [2.1.12]. As evidence, quotations from some older sources are mostly given. This seems to be the case here too, because, subsequent to the stanzas, Chapaṭa Saddhamma-jotipāla states that “this is the universal intention of the teachers of old” (*ayam poraṇakācariyānaŋ samānādhippāyo ti*). Since, however, the stanzas summarize the preceding prose text¹⁶¹ — a common practice in commentaries

¹⁶¹ *atha vā piṭakattaye āgatā etā-imā-saddā mukham viya ekantasabbanāmikā honti, sutte pana tesam lakkhaṇattāya bhadanta-Mahākaccāyanattherena ṛhāpitattā ādāse mukhanimittam viya anukaraṇam nāma, anukaraṇaŋ ca nāma suddhanāme antogadham. pāliyam āgatasaddapadatthakattā udāharanavasena ānītā pana etimāsaddā attapadatthakā honti, idaŋ ca nānīnaŋ sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttam ekantasabbanāmadvande nivāretum samattham, na anukaraṇabhūte suddhanāme, tasmā etimāsan ti vuttaŋ. yady evam, katham sabbato naŋ saṃsānan ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *suttena sam-kaṇiyāŋ siyā suddhanāmattā ti. “yam pakataŋ tadanukaraṇ” ti (?) vuttattā ekantasuddhanāmābhāvā sabbanāmasadisattā ca sam-kaṇiyam hoti.*

Kacc-nidd C^e 30,12–22

Alternatively, the words *etā* and *imā*, as they are transmitted in the Tipiṭaka, are like a face (?); they belong to the absolute pronouns. But in the *sutta*,

before Chapaṭa’s time — the complete second interpretation (Kacc-nidd C^e 30,12–33) is probably borrowed from an older source.

B.4.2.3 Kacc-nidd C^e 31,5–9 (ad Kacc 63 = Senart 1871: 38
[2.1.12])

honti c’ etha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *avatvā etimānan ti etimāsam udīraṇam
saṃsāsv ekavacanesu niccavidhiṃ viññāpetum.*

Not having said *etimānam* (gen.pl.m.), the expression *etimāsam* (gen.pl.f.) [only] serves to make known the constant rule for [the endings] *sam* and *sā* [as substitutes] in the singular.

2. *yadā hi etimāsaddā ekavacanasāṃsāttam
param siyā ā-kārassa niccam i-kāriyam bhave ti.*

For, when *sam* and *sā* in the singular follow the words *etā* and *imā* the *ā* is always replaceable by *i*.

because they have been posited (*ṭhāpitattā*) by the Venerable Mahākaccāyana Thera with their definition (*lakkhaṇattāya*), they are only an imitation [of *etā* and *imā* in the Tipitaka] similar to the reflection of a face in the mirror and imitation is included in the [category of] simple nouns (*suddhanāma*). But the words *etā* and *imā* conveyed by virtue of example because they express the signification of a word (*padatthaka*) regarding the words handed down in the text (canon?), are such as express the signification of a word regarding [its] meaning. And this sutta, ***nāññānam sabbanāmikam*** (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]): “[pronominal stems in *a*, when they form a dvandva compound] do not have any other element belonging to the pronominal inflection”) is capable of obstructing dvandva compounds of absolute pronouns, [but] not [dvandva compounds of] simple nouns which imitate [absolute pronouns]; therefore, ***etimāsam*** is said. [Objection:] If [that] is so, how can there be a replacement by *sam* following the sutta ***sabbato nām samsānam*** (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]), since they belong to the simple nouns (*suddhanāma*)? [Reply:] The replacement by *sam* takes place, because absolute pronouns are absent [based] on the fact that it has been said, “What is made in imitation of that” (?), and because they (i.e. the simple nouns) are equal to pronouns (*sabbanāma*).

[I am grateful to Aleix Ruiz Falqué who tried to solve the riddle of the comparison (*mukham viya*) in the above passage (email, 7/4/2014).]

These ślokas (without known parallel) give a third alternative explanation of why Kacc 63 [2.1.12] only deals with the feminine pronouns *etā* and *imā* (not with the neuter and masculine pronouns). They are positioned at a place where normally a reference for some previous interpretation follows. Whether or not they stem from an earlier source cannot be verified. In any case they summarize the preceding prose text.¹⁶²

¹⁶² *atha vā etimānan ti avatvā etimāsan ti vacanam. etimāsan ti payoge sati pi vibhattādese sam-sadde ekavacanādesassa sam-saddassābhāvā* (so B^e; C^e °desassāsam°) ā-kārassa i-kāriyam na hoti, ekavacanādesesu pana samṣāsu paresu niccam hotī ti nāpeti.

Kacc-nidd C^e 31,1-5

Alternatively, not saying *etimānam* (gen.pl.m.), it says *etimāsam* (gen.pl.f.). Even though, however, there is the employment of *etimāsam*, the replacement of *i* instead of *ā* does not occur when *sam* is not a replacement for the singular, even though the word *sam* is a replacement for a case ending [i.e., it needs to be both: used as a replacement of case ending (*vibhattādesa*) and also used for a singular case ending]. In replacements for the singular, however, when *sam* and *sā* follow, [the replacement of *i* instead of *ā*] is always allowed. That is what he wants to make known.

[I am grateful to Aleix Ruiz Falqués for his corrections of the text (following B^e instead of C^e), and the corresponding corrections of my translation.]

B.4.3 Saṅgharakkhita, *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā*, *Sāratthavilāsinī*
(between A.D. 1232/36 and 1266/67)¹⁶³

B.4.3.1 Mogg-p-t B^e 91,24-26 (ad Mogg-p 51,12-13 [2.18])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanzas] in this connection:

padhānatāya yo kattukammaṭṭham kurute kriyam
*sā (!) kattā nāmappayutto payutto*¹⁶⁴ *vā ty ayaṁ dvidhā ti.*

Who, as the most important [thing], does the action which is the direct object of the agent, [i.e.] the agent, namely is twofold: not applied or applied.

This śloka (without known parallels) summarizes the relevant portion from the *Pañcikā* which has been taken up only partly in the last sentence of the preceding prose portion of Mogg-p-t.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Among the number of treatises and commentaries written by Saṅgharakkhita, the *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā* is one of the last, if not the last. This is documented by intertextual links. Based on them we know that the *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā* called *Mahāsāmi* was written earlier, but, as the title of this commentary makes plain, Saṅgharakkhita must already have been appointed *mahāsāmi* at that time. Since this appointment took place between 1232 and 1236 in the reign of Vijayabāhu III, and since Saṅgharakkhita was again replaced as *mahāsāmi* 1266/67 at the latest, but probably earlier (the convocation under Parakkamabāhu II headed by Āranyaka Medhaṅkara *mahāsāmi* took place in 1266/67 according to the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* and the Dambadeni-Katikāvata [Ratnapāla 1971: 225f.]), Saṅgharakkhita probably had died sometime earlier. Hence the *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā* must have been written after ca. 1232 and before 1266/67 at the latest. For more details regarding Saṅgharakkhita and his œuvre, see Kieffer-Pülz (in preparation).

¹⁶⁴ This stands for *nāma appayutto payutto*, see Mogg-p 51,12-13 (below, n. 165), and Rūp 146 (*atapadhbāno kiriyaṁ, yo nibbatteti kārako, appayutto payutto vā, sa kattā ti pavuccati*).

¹⁶⁵ *kim lakkhaṇo 'yam kattā icc āha: kattaricc* (Mogg-p 51,12) *ādi. "gacchati devadatto" cc ādo kattari patīṭṭhitam* (Mogg-p 51,12). "pacat� odanam devadatto" cc ādo *kamme patīṭṭhitam kiriyaṁ karott ti* (Mogg-p 51,12-13) *sambandho. karott ti* (Mogg-p 51,13) *ca iminā anvatthabyapadeso va siddho 'yam kattu vohāro ti nāpeti. kenaci payujjamāno pi sake kamme*

B.4.3.2 Mogg-p-† B^e 116,2-7 (ad Mogg-p 76,14f. [2.40])

honti c' etha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *siddhassābhimukhīkāramattam āmantanām siyā
attho katābhimukho hi kriyāyām viniyujjate.*

ab v.l. *°bhimukhībhāvō*

[If] addressing [something] should be the mere facing something that is known, [then] the object being faced indeed is separated with respect to the action.

2. *āmantanām na vākyattho padato va patītito
natth' evāmantanām loke vidhātabbena vatthunā
tam yathā "bhava rāje" ti nippannattho "bhave" ti ca.*

Addressing is not the meaning of the sentence [either] from [the point of view of the] word (morphologically) [or] from [the point of view of] the meaning (semantically). In the [everyday] world there is no such addressing of an object that has to be effected [beforehand], just as in the case of "live, O king" as well [as in the case of] "live", the meaning is complete.

[Translation Aleix Ruiz-Falqués (personal communication)]

sayam eva padhānattam anubhavatī ti payutto vā padhānabhāvenā ti
(Mogg-p 51,12-13) *vuttam.*

Mogg-p-† 91,19-24

[On the question,] "What is the defining characteristic of the agent (*kattā*)", he (i.e. Moggallāna) says **considering the agent (*kattari*)**, etc. In [the example] "Devadatta goes", etc., [the action] is **resting on the agent**, in [the example] "Devadatta cooks rice", etc., the [agent] **does the action resting on the object**, [that is] the [syntactic] relation. And with the [word] **he does**, he makes known that a designation in fact conformable to the current acceptance is established [and] this is the current appellation of the agent. Even if [the agent] is applied by someone, he experiences the state of his own importance in his own object [insofar] it is said [in the *Moggallāna-pāñcikā*]: **or [an agent] applied because of its being important.**

[The passage referred to here is Mogg-p 51,12-13: *kattari kamme vā pati-
tīthitām kiriyam appayutto payutto vā padhānabhāvena karotī ti ...*
"Whether not applied or applied, [the agent,] because of its being important, does an action resting on the agent or the object."]

These ślokas (without known parallels) do not summarize a preceding statement, but add to the explanation of *abhimukhī katvā*, “having addressed”, etc., of Mogg-p.¹⁶⁶ The relation of the stanzas to the commented text needs investigation. Single words of these stanzas are explained in the following portion of the text.

B.5. Rhetoric

B.5.1 Anonymous, *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭīkā* (after thirteenth century A.D.; possibly fifteenth century A.D.¹⁶⁷)

B.5.1.1 Subodh-ant 27,3-17 = partial Pay B^e 109, C^e 94,2-5, 9-11

honti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

I.¹⁶⁸—*atthappatītiyam saddabyāpāro tividho bhave,
mukhyo lakkhaṇabyāñjanasabhāvo cā ti ettha tu.*^{—168}

a *atta*^o Pay C^e b *duvidho* Pay C^e n. 1 d *vā* Pay C^e

With reference to the complete ascertainment of the meaning, the function of a word would be threefold: that of primary (*mukhyo*), of secondary (*lakkhaṇa*), and of a suggestive nature (*vyañjanabhāva*); but here¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Mogg-p 76,14f.: *abhimukhī katvā lapanam āmantanam* (v.l. *āmantane-nam*) *tassa kriyārūpattā nāmatthe saṅgaho.*

¹⁶⁷ Neither date nor authorship is clear. Jaini (Subodh: xivf.) is tempted to identify this Nissaya with the *Alaṅkāranissaya* of 1880, but Silācāra and the editors of the Chs edition, relying on an oral tradition, date it to the fifteenth century A.D.

¹⁶⁸⁻¹⁶⁸ = Pay B^e 109, C^e 94,2-3; in the *Payogasiddhi* (first half of the thirteenth century A.D.) this stanza is introduced by *ten’ etam vuccati*, the introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* layer. It is immediately followed there by the third stanza of the Subodh-ant. These stanzas are not concluded by *ti/iti*. The same holds true for the stanzas 4 and 5ab, which are also transmitted in Pay after a prose section containing some examples illustrating stanza 3.

¹⁶⁹ In relating the words *ettha tu* to the following stanza I follow a suggestion by Mahesh Deokar (email 19/11/2013). In the partial parallel of Pay these words would either introduce the third stanza, or we have to translate them in the context of the first stanza (“But here with reference to ...”).

2. *abhidhāparapariparīyāyo byāpāro paṭhamo bhave,
dhanantāparapariparīyāyo byāpāro tatiyo puna.*

the first function has another synonym, [i.e.] the direct denotation (*abhidhā*). Moreover the third function has another synonym, [i.e.] the suggested sense (*dhananta* = *dhvāni* + *anta*?).

3.¹⁷⁰ *mukhyo nirantarathesu lakkhaṇā tu tirohite
atthetaro tu vākyassa atthe yeva pavattati.* ⁻¹⁷⁰

a *nirantarathesu* tu Pay C^e **b** *lakkhaṇo* Pay B^e

The primary [sense] exists with respect to the immediate (most proximate) meanings, the secondary [sense], however, with respect to the hidden (not evident/distant) [meaning]; but another sense [than these two] exists only with respect to the sentence's meaning.¹⁷¹

4.¹⁷² *byāpārassa pabhedena tidhā saddo pi vācako
lakkhaṇiko byañjako ti tadaṭtho pi tidhā mato.*

5. *vācco lakkhaṇiyo byaṅgyo 'cc evam saddesu vācako-*⁻¹⁷²
jātiguṇakriyādabbabhedena so catubbidho.

a *°ṇiko* Pay B^e **b** *c* ' *evam saddo suvācako* Pay B^e

According to the division by function, the word is also thought to be threefold: denotator (*vācaka*), indicator (*lakkhaṇika*) and suggestor (*yañjaka*). Its meaning is also thought to be threefold as: having the denoted sense (*vācca*), the secondary sense (*lakkhaṇiya*), [and] the suggested sense (*byaṅgya*). In the same manner as regards words, the denotator is fourfold by division into universal, property/quality, action, [and] material.¹⁷³

6. *vāccatthassa catuddhā va bhinnattā jāti-ādito,
jātyādīnam pabhedena tathā lakkhaṇiko mato.*

¹⁷⁰⁻¹⁷⁰ = Pay B^e 109, C^e 94.4-5.

¹⁷¹ The *Payogasiddhi* here adds an explanation, Pay B^e 109, C^e 94.6-8: “*mañce*” (C^e “*mañco*”) *ti nirantarathesu vattamāno mukhyo* (Pay C^e 94, n. 5 *mokkho*), “*mañcā ugghosantī* (Pay C^e *ukkosanti*)” *ti tirohitatthe vattamāno lakkhaṇo* (Pay C^e *lakkhaṇā*) *gāthādisakalavākyassatthe vattamāno byañjanasabhāvo*.

¹⁷²⁻¹⁷² = Pay B^e 109, C^e 94.9-12.

¹⁷³ The commentary in the *Payogasiddhi* ends with this stanza.

On account of being divided as to universal, etc., [the divisions] of denoted meaning are also fourfold: [divided] into four by a universal, etc. The secondary sense is likewise thought [to be divided] by the division of universal, etc.

7. *upacārabahuttena bhede sati pi tassa tu
byañjako tu anaññattā visum tehi na vuccatī ti.*¹⁷⁴

Even if there is a division of that [secondary sense], because of the multiplicity of secondary functions (*upacāra*), however, the suggestor is not spoken of separately from them, on account of its being the same (lit. not another one).¹⁷⁵

These ślokas take up the subjects discussed in the preceding prose portion (Subodh-ant 25,13ff.), but are closer to the respective section of Saṅgharakkhitā’s Subhodh-pt (22,21ff.; thirteenth century A.D.). Parts of these stanzas (1, 3, 4, and 5ab) have parallels in Vanaratana Medhañkara’s Pay (thirteenth century A.D.) where they are introduced by *ten’ etam vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *atthakathā* literature. Hence it may be that the stanzas quoted in Subodh-ant were taken from some earlier source.

B.6. Narrative literature

B.6.1. Vedeha’s *Rasavāhinī* (latter half, thirteenth century A.D.)¹⁷⁶

Only parts of Vedeha’s *Rasavāhinī* are critically edited. A Sinhalese script edition, however, enables us to check this text with respect to the introductory expressions used to indicate stanzas interspersed in the prose stories.¹⁷⁷ Only two sources are mentioned: the *Apadānas* and, very often, the *Mahāvāmsa*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Jaini (Subodh-ant 27 Anm. 4) states that in the Burmese edition these stanzas are not placed within quotation marks. On the CSCD, however, the stanzas end in *iti*.

¹⁷⁵ I thank Mahesh Deokar for his corrections and improvements of my translation.

¹⁷⁶ Matsumura 1992: xxvi–xxxiv.

¹⁷⁷ The *Rasavāhinī* version on the CSCD contains only the first four vaggas. Vaggas five and six are edited by Matsumura (1992), parts of the seventh and eighth vaggas by Bretfeld (2001). For details regarding the bibliography of Ras, see Matsumura 1992: IXff.

¹⁷⁸ Ras C^e I 92; II 16, 64, 66ff., etc.; *Mahāvāmsaṭṭhakathācariyā āhāmsu*, Ras C^e I 97, etc.; this has already been stated by Matsumura (1992: xlviif.).

In all other cases various introductory expressions are used,¹⁷⁹ among them, *honti c' ettha* is used four times. Perhaps the introductory expressions *bhavanti* (Ras C^e II 146), *bhavanti ca*,¹⁸⁰ *bhavant' ettha*,¹⁸¹ and *gāthāyo bhavanti*¹⁸² are variants of the *hoti/honti c' ettha* expression. Matsumura could only trace sources for parts of the stanzas contained in the fifth and sixth vaggas (Matsumura 1992: cxlviiif.). The *honti c'ettha* stanzas were not among them. Matsumura (1992: xlviiif.) thinks that parts of the stanzas were written by Vedeha himself, and parts were taken over from earlier sources.

B.6.1.1 Ras I 5 (Ras C^e I 14,13–31 = Ras B^e 23)

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. “*Buddho*” *ti vacanam settham* “*Buddho*” *ti padam uttamam,*
natthi tena samam loke aññam sotarasāyanam.
“Buddha” is the best utterance, “Buddha” is the most excellent word.
There is no other elixir for the ear equal to this [word] in this world.
2. “*Dhammo*” *ti vacanam settham* “*Dhammo*” *ti padam uttamam,*
natthi tena samam loke aññam sotarasāyanam.
“Dhamma” is the best utterance, “Dhamma” is the most excellent word.
There is no other elixir for the ear equal to this [word] in this world.
3. “*Saṅgho*” *ti vacanam settham* “*Saṅgho*” *ti padam uttamam,*
natthi tena samam loke aññam sotarasāyanam.
“Saṅgha” is the best utterance, “Saṅgha” is the most excellent word.
There is no other elixir for the ear equal to this [word] in this world.
4. *tassa mukham mukham nāma yam vattati mukhe sadā,*
dullabham Buddhavacanam sabbasampattidāyakam.
That mouth of such a one is indeed [called] a mouth in which there is always the utterance “Buddha”, [an utterance] hard to be obtained [and] granting all kinds of blessings.

¹⁷⁹ *tato, tasmā, tathā hi, tena, tena vuttam, ten' ettha, yathāha, vuttam hi, vuttam h' etam bhagavatā*, etc.

¹⁸⁰ Ras C^e II 22, 26 = Matsumura 1992: 64, 73; Ras C^e II 130.

¹⁸¹ Ras C^e I 80, 82; II 34f., 41 = Matsumura 1992: 97f., 113f.; Ras C^e II 91, 116, 123.

¹⁸² Ras C^e II 103, 144, 147, 152.

5. *tassa mano mano nāma yan̄ ce manasi vattati,
dullabhaṇ̄ Buddhavacanāṇ̄ sabbasampattidāyakāṇ̄.*

That mind of such a one is indeed [called] a mind, if in [his] mind there is always the utterance “Buddha”, [an utterance] hard to be obtained [and] granting all kinds of blessings.

6. *tass’ eva sotāṇ̄ sotāṇ̄ va yan̄ suṇ̄tāti jano ayan̄
dullabhaṇ̄ Buddhavacanāṇ̄ sabbasampattidāyakāṇ̄.*¹⁸³

Only that ear of such a one is indeed [called] an ear, [if] a man hears the utterance “Buddha”. [An utterance] hard to be obtained [and] granting all kinds of blessings.

7. *tam eva kavacam dehe tam eva maṇi kāmado,
tam eva surabhī dhenu tam eva surapādapo.*

This [word] is indeed a coat of mail for the body, this [word] is indeed a wish-fulfilling gem, this [word] is indeed the [magic] cow Surabhī, this [word] is indeed the tree of the gods.

8. *evam vidhorago ghorō haṭṭhaṭhaviso sadā,
Buddho ti vacanāṇ̄ sutvā santuṭṭho dāsi jīvitam.*

A snake of this sort, frightful [and] always full of deadly poison, having become satisfied after hearing the utterance “Buddha”, granted life.

9. *soṇṇapupphattayāṇ̄ cāpi mahagghāṇ̄ bahulaṇ̄ adā,
passa Buddho ti vācāya ānubhāvamahantatan ti.*¹⁸⁴

And even three golden blossoms of great value [and] abundance [this snake] gave. See the greatness of power of the word “Buddha”.

These ślokas (without known parallels) contain the gist of the prose portion, and — in the last two stanzas — refer directly to the story. Whether they were written by Vedeha himself or taken from some other source remains unclear. In the latter case, however, it must have been a parallel transmission of the same story.

B.6.1.2 Ras II 10 (Ras C^e I 45.35-37 = Geiger 1918, 36 = Ras B^e 75)

honti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

¹⁸³ In CSCD this stanza is — certainly wrongly — placed after the next stanza.

¹⁸⁴ For an edition with a German translation, see Konow 1889: 299, 303f.

*katūpakāramattānam sarantā keci mānusā,
jīvitām denī Somo 'va Somadattassa attano ti.*¹⁸⁵

a *kakū*^o B^e

Some people remembering trifling services done [for them] give [their] lives, as Soma [gave his] own [life] for Somadatta.

This śloka (without known parallels) contains the gist of the prose story previously told, even taking up the names of the protagonists. Thus it must have been written by Vedeha himself, if it was not borrowed from a parallel transmission of the same story.

B.6.1.3 Ras VI 4 (Ras C^e II 31,6-10 = Matsumura 1992: 86)

*honti*¹⁸⁶ c' *etha*:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *aho acchariyam etam abbhutam lomahamsanam
appassa puññakammassa ānubhāvamahantatā.*

Oh, wonderful [is] this — strange, [and] exciting:
the greatness of power of such a trifling meritorious deed.

2. *atīte bhikkhusamghassa datvāna sakkarodakam
laddho sodadhipāñyam madhuram parivattitan ti.*

In bygone times he, having given sugar water to the community of monks, obtained the water of the ocean changed into sweet [water].

These ślokas (without known parallels) combine a general moral with a clear reference to the preceding prose narration. The case is the same as in B.6.1.1 and 6.1.2.

B.6.1.4 Ras IX 1 (Ras C^e II 132,10-20 = Saddhamma-s 89,10-22)

honti c' etha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *aho dhammānubhāvo 'yam Sugatassa mahesino
ajātim jātimattam so karoti lokapūjitatam.*

Oh, the power of the Norm of Sugata, the great sage! It makes him who is born free from [re]birth and honoured by the world.

¹⁸⁵ Edition and German translation in Geiger 1918: 36, 71.

¹⁸⁶ Matsumura reads *hoti*, but notes *honti* as the reading in C. Since two stanzas follow, the latter form is preferable.

2. *niddhanam dhanavantam ca akulīnam kulaggatam
dummedham ca sumedhattam dhammo pāpeti sabbadā.*

The Norm always makes a poor man rich, a low-born person to attain the position of a high family, and a stupid person to attain intelligence.

3. *sakanṭakā vatī dhammo apāyagamanañjase
susajito mahāmaggo saggalokassa gāmino.*

The path to hell is straight and is a thorny fence, while the path to heaven is a well-prepared high road.

4. *jarārogapahāne so saddhammo amatāgado
tasmā so sevitabbo va janakāyena sādarā*

In avoidance of old age and disease, this good Norm is a sure footing for [the stage where] there is no death. Therefore this should be practised reverentially indeed by a group of people.

5. *so 'yam dhammanibho sutvā laddho mānusikam sirim
ko tam dhammam na seveyya atthakāmo jano hi hitan ti.*

a *dhhammi*° **C^e** **d** *jano hi kin ti* **C^e**

Therefore, one who hears this lustre of the Norm attains human prosperity. Would there be a person wishing for his own good who would not practise that useful Norm?

[Based on Saddhamma-s transl. 135f.]

These ślokas (later borrowed by Dhammadikittī) praise the power of the Dhamma described in the preceding prose story, but they do not contain a direct reference to the protagonists of the story as in the three other cases (B.6.1.1–3). Hence they could have been borrowed from another text not directly connected to the story.

B.7. Chronicles

B.7.1 Dhammadikittī's *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (about A.D. 1400¹⁸⁷)

B.7.1.1 Saddhamma-s 89,10–22 = Ras C^e II 132,10–20

The stanzas as well as the whole of chapter 11 of the Saddhamma-s are a literal, but not marked, borrowing from Ras IX 1, with the adjustment of the numbering of the story in Saddhamma-s¹⁸⁸ (for the stanzas, see B.6.1.4). This is not an

¹⁸⁷ von Hinüber 1996: § 4.

¹⁸⁸ Saddhamma-s 88,25–89,30 (*siluttassa vatthu (sic) ekādasamāṇi*) corresponds to Ras IX 1 (= Ras C^e II 131,27–32,25, *siluttassa vatthum pathamam*).

isolated case since the eighth chapter of Saddhamma-s is likewise taken over from Ras V 1.¹⁸⁹ Since this is the only instance of the *honti c'etha* expression in Saddhamma-s, its author obviously did not use the expression independently.

B.7.2 Paññāsāmī, *Sāsanavāmsa* (A.D. 1861, Burma)

Paññāsāmī's Sās is a translation of an earlier Burmese version composed in 1831. Paññāsāmī not only translated this text, but also added some passages. The structure still awaits investigation.¹⁹⁰ The text as we have it contains eleven passages introduced by *hoti/honti c'etha*. They are mostly, but not always, placed at the end of a section or a chapter, and they in most cases give the gist of some preceding prose statements. Some of them, however, are only loosely connected with the preceding statements, giving the impression of a sort of *nīti* stanza being attached. Others are connected by a similar preceding prose sentence¹⁹¹ and are very similar in style and subject (B.7.1.2–7.1.4), so it cannot be excluded that they once belonged to a separate verse text. The stanzas are exclusively composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre. Whether they are part of the original Sās or whether they were added by Paññāsāmī needs investigation.

B.7.2.1 Sās 3,12–18

honti c'etha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *maccudhammo ca nām' esa illajjo ca anottappī tilokaggam va ādāya gacchī pag eva aññesu.*

And this death is called shameless and reckless. It took away with it even the best [man] in the three worlds, how much more others.

2. *yathā goghātako coro māretum yeva ārabhi goṇamī laddhāna lokamhi payojanam va ettakam.*

¶ *eththakan* Sās E^c

¹⁸⁹ Saddhamma-s 82,30–84,24 (*migapotakassa vatthum aṭṭhamamī*) corresponds to Ras V 1 (= Ras C^e II 1,4–2,29 = Matsumura 1992: 3,2–4,28 *migapotakkassa vatthum paṭhamamī*). Matsumura 1992: lxxif. dealt with these parallels.

¹⁹⁰ Lieberman 1976.

¹⁹¹ For instance, the stanzas in Sās 3, 46, 104 (B.7.1.1, 7.1.6, 7.1.11) are preceded by *aho aniccā vata sañkhārā ti* or *aho vata sañkhāradhammā ti* or *aho vata acchariyā sañkhāradhammo*; those in Sās 5, 7, 9 (B.7.1.2–4) by *te mahātherā dutiyam tatiyam* *saṅgāiyitvā parinibbāyiṇsū ti*.

Just as, when a thief who is a butcher gets a cow, he begins to kill her, even though she is so useful in this world,

3. *tath’ eva Maccurājā ca nindāgunam guṇam idha na vijānāti eso hi māretum yeva ārabhī ti.*

b *tinda^o, ninda^o, bhinda^o, hinda^o* Sās E^e v.l.; *hindagūnam* Sās B^e

even so the King of Death, too, does not discriminate between good and bad qualities in this world, but begins to kill.

[Based on Sās transl. 3]

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude the introduction within the first chapter of Sās giving the gist of the preceding prose passage.

B.7.2.2 Sās 5,19–25

honti c’ eththa:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *iddhimanto ca ye therā Paṭhamasaṅgītiṁ katvā sāsanam paggahitvāna maccūvasam̄ vasam̄ pattā.*

c Sās E^e om. *sāsanam paggahitvāna*

And those elders, possessing psychic powers, having held the First Council and [having upheld the religion],¹⁹² they came under the power of death’s power.

2. *kiñcāpi iddhiyo santi tathāpi tā jahitvāna nibbāyīnsu vasam̄ maccu patvā te chinnapakkhā va.*

b *jahitvā* Sās E^e

Although they had psychic powers, yet they gave these up, and having come under the power of death, like [a crow] with wings clipped, they passed into *nibbāna*.

3. *kā kathā va ca amhākanī amhākanī gahaṇe pana maccuno natthi bhāro ca evam̄ dhāreyya pañḍito ti.*

c *sāro* Sās B^e

And what can be said of us? It is not a great task for death to take us, and thus should a wise man know.

[Based on Sās transl. 5–6]

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude the account of the First Council in the first chapter, and give the gist of the preceding prose passage.

¹⁹² These words are missing in Sās E^e, and consequently also in the translation.

B.7.2.3 Sās 7,22–30

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *buddhimanto ca ye therā Dutiyassaṅgitim katvā
sāsanam paggahitvāna maccūvasam̄ vasam pattā.*

And when those Elders who possessed insight had held the Second Council and had upheld the religion, they came under the power of death.

2. *iddhimanto pi ye therā maccuno tāva vasam̄ gamim
kathaṇ̄ yeva mayam̄ muttā tato ārakā muccanā ti.*

b *gamun* Sās B^e

Considering that even those Elders who possessed psychic powers came under the power of death, how can we alone be free since we are far from deliverance?

[Based on Sās transl. 8]

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude the account of the Second Council and give the gist of the last preceding prose statements.

B.7.2.4 Sās 9,28–10,8

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *mahiddhikāpi ye therā saṅgāyitvāna sāsane
maccūvasam̄ va gacchiṇsu abbhagabbhaṇ̄ va bhākaro.*

And those Elders of great power in the religion who had recited [the doctrine] came under the power of death, indeed, like the sun under a dark cloud.

2. *yathā ete ca gacchanti tathā mayam̄ pi gacchāma
ko nāma maccunā mucce maccūparāyanā sattā.*

And as these went away so we, too, go. Who can be free from death? Beings are destined to death.

3. *tasmā hi pandito poso nibbānam̄ pana accutam̄
tass' eva sacchikattāya puññam̄ kareyya sabbadā ti.*

Therefore a wise man should always do a meritorious deed for the realization of *nibbāna* which alone is everlasting.

[Based on Sās transl. 10–11]

These ślokas (without known parallels) conclude the account of the Third Council and give the gist of the last preceding prose statements.

B.7.2.5 Sās 26,3–13

bhavanti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *yathā sākhamigo pāpo appaggho yeva kāsikam
mahaggham kaccachinnançchinnam mahussāhena chindati.*

c *kacchabhinnambhinnam* Sās B^e *kacca jinnanjinnam* Sās E^e v.l.

Just as a wicked monkey of little worth energetically tears up a priceless Benares cloth like the tearing of grass,

2. *evam adhammavādī pāpo dhammavādigañam subham
mahussāhena bhindayi aho acchariyo ayam.*

so the wicked speaker of what was not the doctrine energetically caused dissension in the good school [of those] who spoke according to the doctrine. Oh, wonderful is this!¹⁹³

3. *ārakā dūrato āsuṇ bhinditabbehi bhedakā
bhūmito va bhavagganto, aho kammaṇi ajānatan ti.*

The schismatics were far, far away from those whom they wanted to divide, just as heaven is from the earth. Oh, the action of the ignorant.

[Based on Sās transl. 29]

These ślokas (without known parallels) pick up the topic that was dealt with before. Hence the example of the monkey is told twice in a very similar wording.

B.7.2.6 Sās 46,13–21

honti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *imesam pana āraddham na kiccam yāva niṭhitam
na tāva ādiyissanti Maccu natthi apekkhanā.*

d *āpekkhanā* B^e

2. *nikkāruniko hi esa balakkārena ādiya
rodamānaṇi va ñātīnam anicchantaṇi va gacchatī ti.*

¹⁹³ This sounds strange in that context, but as the prose text preceding the stanza illuminates, the act of the wicked person failed because he carried it out improperly.

As long as the work begun by them is not complete, so long will they not enjoy honour; [though they] do not long [for death], the God of Death, who is indeed merciless, approaches one who does not actually wish [to die, and who will be] certainly mourned by [his] relatives and forcibly takes [his life].

These ślokas (without known parallels) summarize the preceding prose statements. Unlike most other instances, however, they do not conclude a chapter or section, but are placed in the middle of a report.

B.7.2.7 Sās 66,9–15

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *atidūre va hotabbam bhikkhunā nāma itthibhi
itthiyo nāma bhikkhūnam bhavanti idha verino.*

A monk should, indeed, be very far from women. Women are indeed the enemies of monks here.

2. *tāvā tiṭṭhantu dappaññā mayaṇ porāṇikāpi ca
mahāpaññā vināsaṇ pattā Haritacādayo.*

Leave us aside who are weak in wisdom; even those ancients of great wisdom, Haritaca, and so on, have come to ruin.

3. *tasmā hi paṇḍito bhikkhu antamaso va itthibhi
vissāsaṇ na kare loke rāgo ca duppavārito ti.*

Therefore, a wise monk should indeed place no trust in [this] world, even in women; but passion is difficult to ward off.

[Based on Sās transl. 73]

These ślokas (without known parallels) give a moral which, however, is not directly linked to the story told. They look like Nīti stanzas.

B.7.2.8 Sās 78,7–13

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *aham mahallako homi dappañño pariyattikam
uggaham mahussāhena na sakkhissāmi jānitum.*
2. *evaṇ ca nātimaññeyya nāppossukkataṁ āpajje
saddhamme chekakāmo va ussāham va kare poso.*

One should neither underestimate one's ability nor remain inactive, thinking, "I am old and devoid of wisdom, I shall not be able to under-

stand the doctrine contained in the canonical texts, although with much energy I shall try to learn it.” A man anxious to be skilful in the true doctrine should make an effort.

3. *vuddhapabbajito bhikkhu mahallako pi duppañño
āpajji chekatam dhamme tam apekkhantu sotāro ti.*

Though a monk, initiated in old age, was old and ignorant, he acquired skill in the doctrine; let hearers consider this.

[Based on Sās transl. 85f.]

These ślokas (without known parallels) give a moral linked to the story told before. They are, however, not placed at the end of a chapter. The stanzas remind one of Nīti stanzas.

B.7.2.9 Sās 91,16–20

honti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sarīradhātuyā tāva mahantocchariyo hoti
kā kathā pana Buddhassa jīvamānassa sethassa.*

How great and wonderful are the bodily relics, what to speak of the great living Buddha?

2. *evam anussaritvāna uppādeyya pasādakam
Buddhaguṇesu bāhullam gāravañ ca kare janō ti.*

Thus reflecting, people came to have faith in and respect for the many virtues of the Buddha.

[Based on Sās transl. 98]

These ślokas (without known parallels) are loosely linked to the story told before. They are not placed at the end of a chapter, yet they appear at the end of a subsection.

B.7.2.10 Sās 100,26–30

honti c’ ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sāsanam nāma rājānam nissāya tiṭṭhate idha
micchādiṭṭhikarājāno sāsanam dūsenti satthuno.*

The religion, indeed, endures in this world under the patronage of the king. The wrong views of the king ruin the religion of the Master,

2. *sammādiṭṭhī ca rājāno pagganhant’ eva sāsanam
evañ ca sati ākāse ulūrājā va dibbaī ti.*

but the right views of the king raise up the religion. And if it be so, it shines forth like the moon in the sky.

[Based on Sās transl. 106]

These ślokas (without known parallels) give the gist of the preceding prose sentences. They are not placed at the end of a chapter, yet, as in the previous case, they form the end of a subsection.

B.7.2.11 Sās 104,1–5

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *seyyathā vāñjānam va gharagolikariūpakan
tam tam disañ bhamitvā va sīsam thapesi uttaram*

d *thapeti* Sās B^e

Just as the figure of a house lizard of the merchants, after moving about in this or that direction, keeps its head towards the north,

2. *evam̄ lokamhi sattā ca sandhicutīnam antare
yathā tathā bhamitvā va ante thapenti santanan ti.*

d *santanun ti* Sās B^e

so the beings too in this world wander thus between death and rebirth, before they cast aside their own body.

[Based on Sās transl. 109]

These ślokas (without known parallels) are only loosely linked to the prose sentences told before. They are not placed at the end of a chapter, but form the end of a subsection.

B.8. Veneration literature

B.8.1 Revata's (1874–1954) *Namakkāraṭīkā* (2489 = A.D. 1945, Burma) 29 (ad v. 2)

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *thānātthānam vīpākañ ca nānam patipadām nānam
anekadhātulokañ ca sattānam adhimuttikam,*¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ The author adds the following information regarding the metre: [sā pan' esā setavavipulāgāthā ti daṭṭhabbā].

Cf. the similar stanza in Vjb 415,17–18 ≠ Ss 10,40–11,1 ≠ Vism-sn II 798,12–13:

The knowledge of what is and what is not causal occasion, and [the knowledge of the] fruition [of deeds], the knowledge of the courses [leading everywhere, the knowledge of] the world with its various features, [the knowledge of] the characters of the beings,

2. *indriyaparāparañ ca jhānādinam samkilesam
vodānam vutthānam ñāñam pubbenivāsānussatim*,¹⁹⁵

[the knowledge of] the superior or inferior condition of the faculties, the knowledge of the defilement, the cleansing, [and] the emergence in regard to the *jhānas*, etc., [the knowledge and] recollection of past abodes,

3. *sattānam cutūpapātam āsavakkhayāñ ñāñan ti
das' imāni Buddhassa cāsādhārañāni ñāñāñāti*.¹⁹⁶

the knowledge of the deceasing [hence] and uprising [elsewhere of beings], of the destruction of cankers;
and [these] ten knowledges of a Buddha are not shared with others.

These ślokas summarize the author’s previous prose explanations on the knowledges of a ten-powered one (*dasabalañāna*), not shared by others. For the stanzas 1–2 we have parallels in Vjb 415,^{17–20} (tenth century A.D.), and in Ss 10,⁴⁰–11,³¹⁹⁷ (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.) as well as in Vism-sn II 798¹⁹⁸ (ca. A.D. 1236–1270)

*thāñāñāñāñam vipākañ (Ss vipāko) ca ñāñam (Ss, Vism-sn maggam)
sabbattha gāminim (Ss, Vism-sn °gāminam)
anekadhātuyo (Ss nāñāñāñāñam, Vism-sn °dhātuto) lokam (Ss loke)
adhimuttīñ (Ss °mutti) ca pāñinam.*

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the similar stanza in Vjb 415,^{19–20} ≠ Ss 11,2–3 ≠ Vism-sn II 798,^{14–15}:
*jāñāti indriyāñāñ ca paropariyatam (Ss v.l. pañcapariyantam) muni
jhānāñāñāñāñam (Ss °āñti) ñāñam vijjattayam (Ss, Vism-sn vijjā°) tathā.*

¹⁹⁶ The author adds the following information regarding the metre: [*sā panesā
sāmaññagāthā ti dañhabbā*].

¹⁹⁷ The stanzas in Ss were identified as borrowings from Vjb by Neri 2015 : Appendix.

¹⁹⁸ For the identification of the Vism-sn stanzas as identical with those in Vjb, see Cousins 2013, 8, n. 12.

B.9 Compendia

B.9.1 Siddhattha, *Sārasaṅgaha* (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.¹⁹⁹) Siddhattha's *Sārasaṅgaha*, an encyclopaedic handbook, nearly completely consists of quotations.²⁰⁰ It twice has verse passages introduced by *honti c' etha*. In both cases Siddhattha borrows stanzas from the fifth chapter of Anuruddha's *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (after eighth? before twelfth century A.D.)²⁰¹ without naming his source. The source of the respective text portions was not identified by Sasaki who edited the *Sārasaṅgaha*.

B.9.1.1 Ss 138,18–39,17 (ch. 17) = Nāmar-p vv. 328, 330, 345–57

These stanzas from the fifth chapter on various types of *kamma* (*kamma-vibhāga*) of Anuruddha's *Nāmarūpapariccheda* are quoted in the seventeenth chapter of the *Sārasaṅgaha* which deals with the same topic.

honti c' etha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *kammappaccayakamman ti, cetanā ca samūritā*
tathāpi nānākhanikā, puññāpuññā va cetanā.

(= Nāmar-p v. 328)

b va Nāmar-p B^e E^e c tatthāpi Nāmar-p B^e E^e; nānākhanikā Nāmar-p B^e

A *kamma* which has *kamma* as its condition²⁰² means: a volition (*cetanā*) indeed, which is active;²⁰³ in that too²⁰⁴ [there] is a volition that belongs to various moments, being meritorious and non-meritorious indeed.

¹⁹⁹ Neri 2015.

²⁰⁰ For more details, see Neri 2015.

²⁰¹ Regarding authorship and dating of Nāmar-p, see now Kerr 2012: 15ff.

²⁰² Not entirely clear, what this means.

²⁰³ In Nāmar-p the first *cetanā* refers to *sahajātā cetanā*. That is clear from Nāmar-p v. 329 (LSC, email 9/10/2013).

²⁰⁴ I follow the reading of Nāmar-p. As Cousins states (email 8/10/2013) there is a difference between *cetanā* which is a condition for associated mental phenomena and mind-born *rūpa* by *kamma* condition and *cetanā* which is a condition for subsequent mental phenomena and *kamma*-born *rūpa* by *kamma* condition. The latter is called *nānākhanikā*. The reading in Ss does not go along with this meaning.

2. *kilesānusayasantāne, pākadhammā hi jāyare,
pahīnānusayānan tu kriyāmattān pavattati.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 330)

a *klesā*° Nāmar-p B° E°

For *dhammas* which give results arise in a continuity which [still] has a latent disposition to defilements (*kilesanusaya*), for those who have abandoned the latent dispositions only a karmically neutral [consciousness] (*kriyā citta*) occurs.

3. *janakañ c'ev' upatthambham upapīḍopaghātakam,
catudhā kiccabhedenā kammam evañ pavuccati.*²⁰⁵

(= Nāmar-p v. 345)

b *piñlo*° Nāmar-p B° *piñlo*° Nāmar-p E°

The *kamma* is called fourfold depending on the type of function: producing as well as supporting, obstructing and destroying.

4. *janeti janakam pākam tam chindat' upapīñlakam,
tam pavattet' upatthambham tam ghātētvpaghātakam.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 346)

d *ghātētopa*° Nāmar-p B°

A producing [*kamma*] produces a result, an obstructive [*kamma*] cuts it, a supporting [*kamma*] sets it going [and] a destroying [*kamma*] destroys it.

5. *karoti attano pākassāvakāsan ti bhāsitam,
pākadāyakakamman tu yam kiñci janakam bhave.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 347)

It is said that [destructive *kamma*] creates the opportunity for its own result,²⁰⁶ but any *kamma* that gives results is a producing [*kamma*].

²⁰⁵ Cf. : *janakam upatthambhakam upapīñlakam upaghātakañ ceti kiccvavasena.*

Abhidh-s 24,27-28 [5,50]

There are four kinds of *kamma* by way of function: generating, supporting, obstructive, and destructive.

Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 173

²⁰⁶ Cf. : *apare pana ācariyā “upapīñlakakammañ bahvābādhatādipaccayor-
pasāñhārena kammantarassa vipākan̄ antarantarā vibādhati. upa-
ghātakam pana tam sabbaso upacchinditvā aññassa okāsam̄ deti, na pana*

6. *bādhamānakakamman tu tam pākam upapīḍakam
upaghātakam īrenti tad upacchedakam pare.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 348)

b °*pīla* ° Nāmar-p B° E° **d** *vade* for *pare* Nāmar-p E°

But obstructive *kamma* is [*kamma*] which hinders that result. They call destructive [*kamma* also *kamma*] which cuts off [the result].

7. *garum āsannam āciṇṇam kaṭattākammanā saha
kammañ catubbidham pākāpariyāyappabhedato.*²⁰⁷

(= Nāmar-p v. 349)

a *garukāsannam* Nāmar-p B° **b** °*kammunā* Nāmar-p B° E°

Kamma is fourfold because of various ways of [giving] result: weighty [*kamma*], near [to death *kamma*], habitual [*kamma*] together with [any other] *kamma* that has been done.

8. *mahaggatānantariyam garukamman ti vuccati
katañ cintitam āsannam āsannamarañena tu*

(= Nāmar-p v. 350)

d *hi* for *tu* Nāmar-p E°

[*Kamma*] which has gone great (*mahaggata*) or is of immediate result is called “weighty *kamma*”,
but [*kamma*] which is done [or] thought with death [being] near [is called] “near”.

9. *bāhullena samāciṇṇam āciṇṇam ti pavuccati
sesam puññam apuññañ ca kaṭattākammam īritam.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 351)

*sayam vipākanibbattakam. evañ hi janakato imassa viseso supākaṭo” ti
vadanti.*

Abhidh-s-mhṭ 130,15-19

For a translation see Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 174.

²⁰⁷ Cf.: *garukam āsannam āciṇṇam kaṭattā kammañ ceti pākadānapariyāyena.*

Abhidh-s [5.51]

by way of giving results: weighty, near, habitual, and effective *kamma*.

Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 173

[That] which is usually practised is called “habitual” [*kamma*]. The remaining fortune-bringing or ill-fortuned [*kamma*] is declared to be “*kamma* that has been done”.

10. *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyam upapajjāpare tathā,
pariyāyavedanīyam iti cāhosikamnā*.²⁰⁸

(= Nāmar-p v. 352)

a Nāmar-p B^e, E^e *diṭṭhadhamme vedanīyam*

“[There is *kamma* which] may be experienced here and now, [and] likewise [*kamma* which] may be experienced in [the next] rebirth, [furthermore *kamma* which] may be experienced in some afterlife and [*kamma*] with defunct *kamma*”, thus (*iti*)

11. *pākakālavasenātha kālātītavasena ca,
catuddh' evam pi akkhātām, kammam Ādiccabandhunā*.

(= Nāmar-p v. 353)

now (*atha*) *kamma* has been made known by the Kinsman of the Sun in this way as fourfold due to the time of giving result and due to the time [for that] being past.

12. *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyam paṭhamam javanam bhave
aladdhāsevanattānam asamattham bhavantare*.

(= Nāmar-p v. 354)

a *diṭṭhadhamme vedanīyam* Nāmar-p B^e c °ttā va Nāmar-p B^e °ttā vā Nāmar-p E^e

The first impulsion is [*kamma* which is] to be experienced here and now; it is incapable [of giving a result] in a future life because it has not obtained repetition.

13. *vedanīyan tupapajja pariyośānam īritam,
parinīṭhitakammattā vipaccati anantare*.

(= Nāmar-p v. 355)

²⁰⁸ Cf.: *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyam upapajjavedanīyam aparāpariyavedanīyam
ahosikamnā ceti pākakālavasena cattāri kammāni nāma*.

Abhidh-s [5.52]

By way of the occasion for their results: to be experienced here and now, to be experienced subsequently, to be experienced variously, and has-been *kamma*.

Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 173

But the last [impulsion (i.e. the seventh)] is declared to be [that *kamma* which] is to be experienced in [the next] rebirth. It gives a result in the immediately [following existence] because it has completed its task.

14. *sesāni vedanīyāni pariyyāye pare pana,
laddhāsevanato pākam janenti sati paccaye.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 356)

b *pariyāyāpare* Nāmar-p B^e E^e

But the remaining [impulsions (i.e. the second to sixth)] are [*kammas*] to be experienced in subsequent existence[s]. Because they have obtained repetition they produce a result if there is a condition.

15. *vuccantāhosikammāni kālātiitāni sabbathā,
ucchinnatañhāmūlāni paccayālābhato tathā ti.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 357)

[*Kammas*] whose time has passed are called defunct *kammas* in every case; likewise [*kammas*] whose roots of craving have been cut off [are called defunct *kammas*] because no condition is obtained.²⁰⁹

In Ss these ślokas do not summarize the preceding prose statement, but they add to it. Siddhattha in this text portion lists various divisions of *kamma* depending on different subgroups (*Ābhidhammika*, *Suttantika*) or texts (*Patিসambhidāmagga*, *Ānguttarātiikā*, etc.), giving only some of them in detail. In quoting the stanzas from Nāmar-p he skipped the stanzas Nāmar-p vv. 329, and 331–44.²¹⁰

B.9.1.2 Ss 213,10–14.5 (end of the 26th chapter) = Nāmar-p 431–42,
447–50

In the twenty-sixth chapter Siddhattha deals with the different ways of birth (*yonivibhāvananaya*). In this context he quotes stanzas 431–42, 447–50 from the fifth chapter (*kammavibhāga*) of the *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, without naming his source.

²⁰⁹ For the correction of my translation of these stanzas, as well as for explanations and references, I thank L.S. Cousins (email 8/10/2013).

²¹⁰ As Kerr (2012: 28ff.) observes there are close relations between Nāmar-p and Abhidh-s which were penned by the same author. Regarding the stanzas quoted here, the relation is as follows: Nāmar-p vv. 345, 349, 352–53 correspond to Abhidh-s [50], [51], [52], whereas Nāmar-p vv. 346–48, 350–51, and 354–57 (all without parallel in Abhidh-s) are commentaries on vv. 345, 349 and 352–53.

honti c’ etha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *ekādasa kāmabhavā bhavā sołasa rūpino,
cattāro āruppakā ceti tividho bhavasaṅgaho.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 431)

c ’ruppakā Nāmar-p B^e E^e

The summary of the existences is threefold: [there are] eleven existences in the [world] of the five senses, sixteen existences with form, and four formless [existences].

2. *asaññ’ eko tathā nevasaññināsaññisaññito,
sabbo saññibhavo seso evam pi tividho bhavo.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 432)

a bhavo for *tathā* Nāmar-p B^e **b** *saññināsaññiko* bhavo Nāmar-p B^e *saññināsaññino* bhavā E^e **c** *saññibhavo* Nāmar-p B^e

The existences are threefold in the [following] way too: one unconscious existence, likewise [one] called neither conscious nor unconscious, all the remainder belong to the conscious existences.

3. *āruppā catuvokārā ekavokār’ asaññino,
pañcavokārako nāma bhavo seso pavuccati.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 433)

The formless [existences] have four constituents; the unconscious [existence] has one constituent; the remaining existences are said to have five constituents.

4. *niraye hoti deve ca yon’ ekā opapātikā
anḍajā jalābuja ca saṃsedajopapātikā*

(= Nāmar-p v. 434)

In hell and in the *deva* [realm there] is one *yoni* [kind of birth]: spontaneously arising, egg-born, womb-born, moisture-born, and spontaneously born

5. *petaloke tiracchāne bhummadeve ca mānave,
asure ca bhavant’ evam catudhā yonisaṅgaho.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 435)

b *mānuse* Nāmar-p B^e E^e

occur in the world of the ghosts, in the animal realm, in the realm of terrestrial deities, in the human realm, and in the *asura* realm — thus the sum of *yoni* [kinds of rebirth] is fourfold.

6. *gatiyo nirayam petā tiracchānā ca mānavā,
sabbe devā ti pañcāha pañcanimmālalocano.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 436)

b *mānavā* Nāmar-p E^e

The one with the five stainless eyes (= the Buddha) [has described] the destinies in five ways: hell, the ghosts and animals, mankind, and all gods.

7. *Tāvatiṁsesu devesu Vepacittāsurā gatā,²¹¹
Kālakañjāsurā nāma gatā petesu sabbathā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 437)

c *okañcā* Nāmar-p B^e

The Vepacitta asuras dwell among the Thirty-Three gods; the Kālakañja asuras indeed dwell among the ghosts in every case.

8. *sandhisaññāya nānattā kāyassāpi ca nānato,
nānattakāyasaññī ti kāmasuggatiyo matā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 438)

The happy destinies are understood as having manifold bodies and perceptions, because the rebirth-linking perception is manifold and because the bodies are also manifold.

9. *212-paṭhamajjhānabhūmī ca caturāpāyabhūmiyo,
nānattakāya-ekattasaññī²¹² ti samudīritā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 439)

c *kāyā ekatta* Nāmar-p E^e

The level of the first *jhāna* and the four levels of misfortune are stated as having manifold bodies and one perception.

10. *ekattakāya-nānattasaññī dutiyabhūmikā,
ekattakāya-ekattasaññī uparirūpino.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 440)

a *okāyā nānatta* Nāmar-p E^e

²¹¹ The first line (*pādas ab*) is quoted in Sumāṅgala's commentary on Abhidh-s (Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 161).

²¹²⁻²¹² This identical line is found in Abhidh-av-pt 95.

[Beings] of the second level are equal in body and different in perception; [beings] of the upper form [levels] (?)²¹³ are equal in body and perception.

11. *viññānaṭṭhiyo satta tih' āruppehi heṭṭhato,
asaññettha na gayhanti viññāṇabhāvato sadā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 441)

c *ganhanti* Nāmar-p B^e E^e

With the three formless levels, the stations of consciousness are seven. Below [that] the unconscious beings are not included here (i.e. in the list of seven) because consciousness is always absent [there].

12. *catutthāruppabhūmi ca puthuvīññāṇahānito,
tadvayam pi gahetvāna sattāvāsā naveritā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 442)

b *patu*° Nāmar-p B^e E^e **c** *tam* *dva*° Nāmar-p B^e E^e

Nine abodes of beings have been proclaimed, including these two [i.e. the unconscious beings] and the fourth formless level because they lack common kinds of consciousness.²¹⁴

13. *apāyamhā cutā sattā kāmadhātumhi jāyare,
sabbaṭṭhānesu jāyanti sesā kāmabhāvā cutā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 447)

Beings who have passed away from the levels of misfortune are reborn in the sphere of senses. The remaining [beings] that have passed away from the sense sphere are reborn in any place.

14. *Suddhāvāsā cutā Suddhāvāsesu parijāyare,
Asaññimhā cutā kāmasugatim' opapajjare.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 448)

[Beings] having passed away from the Pure Abodes are reborn in [other] Pure Abodes. Those having passed away from the [level of an] unconscious individual are reborn in a happy destiny of the sense sphere.

²¹³ *uparirūpino* probably means devas of the third *jhāna* heaven and above.

²¹⁴ According to L.S. Cousins (email 9/10/2013) these two lack the various kinds of consciousness found in the remaining five *sattāvāsa* and so have to be put in separate categories.

15. *sesarūpā cutā sattā jāyantāpāyavajjite,
āruppatopari kāmasugatiyam pi ca tamhi ca.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 449)

cd ^o*topari kāmasugatimhi tahim pi ca* Nāmar-p B^e E^e

Beings who have passed away from the remaining kinds of form existence are not reborn in the levels of misfortune. [Beings who have passed away from] the formless existence [are reborn] both in a happy destiny of the sense sphere and in that [formless existence].

16. *puthujanā va jāyanti asaññāpāyabhūmisu,
suddhāvāsesu jāyanti anāgāmikapuggalā ti.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 450)

Only ordinary persons are born in the levels of unconsciousness and misfortune; in the pure abodes, individuals who are non-returners are born.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ For the corrections of my translation and explanations I thank L.S. Cousins (email 8/10/2013).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

L.S. Cousins (†) helped me generously with Abhidhamma material and granted me access to yet unpublished articles of his. He contributed translations of several passages to the present Catalogue and gave good advice on other translations. His unexpected death is a great loss to the study of Pāli and Buddhism. For me, I lost a colleague who always has been ready to discuss, even repeatedly, whatever topic, and to generously share his knowledge. Aleix Ruiz-Falqués gave me his support with respect to grammatical texts and, in addition, provided me with a scan of the Sinhalese edition of Chapata Saddhammajotipāla's *Abhidhammathasaṅgahaśaṅkhepavāṇṇanā*. Eivind Kahrs kindly replied to my question concerning grammar. Mahesh Deokar lent me a hand for the stanzas from the rhetoric commentary. Dragomir Dimitrov read an earlier draft of the Catalogue, to which he made helpful comments. Kornelius Krümpelmann provided me with relevant material from his Dhuttakkhāna book. Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi as usual was so kind as to answer my queries concerning the Sinhalese language. Rupert Gethin and William Pruitt made substantial comments and suggestions to the final version of this article, and, in addition, corrected and improved my English. The latter also did the laborious editing. Finally, Peter Jackson helped reduce the number of faults by meticulously reading the proofs, and offering important corrections and suggestions. My sincere thanks go to all of them for their altruistic help. It goes without saying that all errors are my responsibility alone.

This article is an outcome of my work on *Wissenschaftliches Pāli (Scholastic Pāli)* at the Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz, promoted by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation).

ABBREVIATIONS, SIGLA, AND REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Āṭṭhakathā section of the appended “Catalogue”
Aniy	Aniyata
B	Tīkā section of the appended “Catalogue”
B ^e	Edition in Burmese script; refers to the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition if not indicated otherwise
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> . London
C ^e	Edition in Sinhalese script
Chs	Chatṭhasaṅgāyana Edition, publ. Buddha Sasana Council. Rangoon, 1954ff.
conj. ed.	conjecture of the editor
CSCD	Chatṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM, Version 3.0 (Igapuri, India: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999)
E ^e	European edition
GRETIL	Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages and related Indological materials from Central and Southeast Asia (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.htm)
JIP	<i>Journal of Indian Philosophy</i>
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
LSC	L.S. Cousins
M	monks (in connection with the Pātimokkha rules)
Mv	<i>Mahāvagga (Vinaya)</i>
Niss	Nissaggiya offence
Pāc	Pācittiya offence
Pār	Pārājika offence
PTS	Pali Text Society
SARIT	SARIT Search And Retrieval of Indic Texts (http://sarit.indology.info/exist/apps/sarit/works/), accessed 15/9/2015
S ^e	Edition in Siamese script
Sgh	Saṅghādisesa offence
v.l., vv.ll.	varia lectio, variae lectiones
v(v).	vers(es)
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

SIGLA

]
A right square bracket marks the end of a lemma containing the reading chosen in the text
=
identical parallels
≠
slightly deviating parallels

REFERENCES

PRIMARY LITERATURE

Abh *Abhidhānapadīpikā* (CSCD)
Abh-ṭ *Abhidhānapadīpikāṭikā* (CSCD)
Abhidh-av Buddhadatta, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, in: A.P. Buddhadatta (ed.), *Buddhadatta's Manuals, part I: Abhidhammāvatāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga. Summaries of Abhidhamma*. London, 1915 (PTS).
Abhidh-av-nt Sumaṅgala, *Abhidhammāvatāra-navaṭīkā*, *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī* (CSCD)
Abhidh-s Anuruddha, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, in: *The Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha of Bhadantācariya Anuruddha and the Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā of Bhadantācariya Sumaṅgalasāmi*, ed. Hammalawa Saddhātissa. Oxford, 1989 (PTS).
Abhidh-s-mht Sumaṅgala, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-mahāṭīkā*, *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā*, in: Abhidh-s
Abhidh-s-mht R.P. Wijeratne, Rupert Gethin [transl.], *Summary of the Topics of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha) by Anuruddha. Exposition of the Topics of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī) by Sumaṅgala being a commentary to Anuruddha's Summary of the Topics of Abhidhamma*. Oxford, 2002 (PTS).
Abhidh-s-sn [Sāriputta of Polonnaruva, *Abhidharmārthasaṅgrahaya*] *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha with the Purāṇasanne of Sāriputta Saṅgharāja*, ed. Toṭagamuva Paññāmoli Tissa. Colombo, 5th ed., 1960.
Abhidh-s-sv Chapata Saddhammajotipāla, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaśaṅkhepavannanā*, ed. Paññānanda. Colombo, 2443/1899.
As *Atthasālinī. Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, ed. Edward Müller. London, revised ed. 1979 [original ed. 1897] (PTS).
As transl. Bhikkhu Nyānaponika [transl.], *Darlegung der Bedeutung (Atthasālinī)*, edited by Sven Bretfeld and Rainer Knopf. Oxford, 2005 (PTS).

Cp-a Dhammapāla, *Paramatthadīpanī VII, Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā*
 B^e CSCD.
 E^e Dhammapāla, *Paramatthadīpanī, Being the Commentary*
on the Cariyāpiṭaka, ed. D. L. Barua. London, 1979 (PTS).

D *Dīghanikāya*, 3 vols., ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, J.E. Carpenter.
 London, 1890–1911 (PTS).

Dhp *Dhammapada*

Dhp-a *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, 5 vols., ed. H. C. Norman. London,
 1906–1914 (PTS).

It-a *Paramattha-Dīpanī, Iti-vuttakaṭṭhakathā*. (*Iti-vuttaka* *Commentary*) of *Dhammapālācariya*, 2 vols., ed. M.M. Bose.
 London, 1977 (PTS).

It-a transl. *The Commentary on the Itivuttaka. The Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī* II) of *Dhammapāla*, 2 vols, transl. Peter
 Masefield. Oxford, 2008, 2009 (PTS).

Ja *Jātaka, Together with Its Commentary: Being Tales of the*
Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha, 7 vols., ed. V. Fausbøll.
 London, 1877–1897.

Kacc *Kaccāyana, Kaccāyanavyākaraṇam*
 B^e *Kaccāyanabyākaraṇam* (CSCD)
 E^e *Kaccāyana and Kaccāyanavutti*, ed. Ole Holten Pind.
 Bristol, 2013 (PTS).

Kacc-nidd *Chappaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*
 B^e *Suttaniddesapāṭh*, Rangoon: Zabu Meit Swe Press.
 C^e Chappada mahathera, *The Kachchayanasuttaniddesa*,
 revised and edited by Mabopitiye Medhankera, approved by
 Bihalpola Devarakkhita. Colombo: Vidyabhusana Press,
 1915.

Kacc transl. *see* Senart 1871.

Khpa-a *Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā*, in: *The Khuddaka-Pāṭha Together*
with Its Commentary Paramatthajotikā I, ed. Helmer Smith
 from a collation by Mabel Hunt. London, 1978 [original ed.
 1915] (PTS).

Khuddas *Dhammasiri, Khuddasikkhā*
 B^e CSCD [according to verses – counted continuously].

E^e Edward Müller [ed.], “*Khudda-sikkhā* and *Mūla-sikkhā*”, *JPTS* 1883, 88–121 [according to chapter and verse number; counted anew in each chapter].

Khuddas-pt *Khuddasikkhā-purāṇaṭīkā*, in: *Khuddasikkhā-Mūlasikkhā, Khudda-sikkhā-Purāṇa-Abhinava-Ṭīkā, Mūlasikkhā-Ṭīkā*. Rangoon, 1962 (Chs).

Kkh *Kaṅkhāvitaranī* by *Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa*, ed. K.R. Norman, William Pruitt. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2003.

Kkh-nt *Buddhanāga, Vinayatthamañjūsā nāma Kaṅkhāvitaranī-abhinavaṭīkā*. Rangoon, 1961 (Chs), 118–489 [together in one volume with Kkh-pt].

Kkh-pt *Kaṅkhāvitaranī-purāṇaṭīkā*. Rangoon, 1961 (Chs), 1–117 [together in one volume with Kkh-nt].

Maṇis *Ariyavamīsa Dhammasenāpati, Maṇisāramāñjūsā ṭīkā pāṭh*, 2 vols. Mandalay: Hanthawaddy (Haṃsavati) Press, n.d.

Mogg-p *[Moggallāna, Moggallānapañcikā] Moggallānapañcikā with Sutta vutti*, revised and edited Dharmānanda. N.p.: Satya Samuccaya Press, 1931.

Mogg-p-t *[Saṅgharakkhita’s Moggallānapañcikātīkā] Moggallāna pañcikā aphvaṇ Sāratthavilāśinī maññ so Moggallāna pañcikā ṭīkā* kui Abhayārāma charā tō Arhaṇ Aggadhammābhivamīsa mahāther mrat cī rañ saññ. Pāli charā Charā tañ, Charā Pu, Kui Kyō Nñīvan tui krīḥ krap prañ chañ saññ. Rangoon, 1955.

Moh *Mohavicchedanī Abhidhammātikatthavaṇṇanā* by *Kassapathera of Coḷa*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta und A.K. Warder. London, 1961 (PTS).

Mp *Buddhaghosa, Manorathapūraṇī, Aṅguttaranikāyaṭīkā*, 5 vols., ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp. London, 1924–1956 (PTS).

Mp-pt *Aṅguttaranikāya-purāṇaṭīkā, catutthā Līnatthapakāśinī*, ed. Primoz Pecenko, posthumously completed by Tamara Ditrich. Bristol, 2012 (PTS).

Mūlas *Mahānāma, Mūlasikkhā*
B^e CSCD
E^e Edward Müller [Ed.], “*Khudda-sikkhā* and *Mūla-sikkhā*”, *JPTS* 1883, 122–30.

Nāmac *[Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s Nāmacāradīpaka]* H. Saddhātissa (ed.), “Nāmacāradīpaka”, *JPTS* XV (1990), 1–28.

Namak	<i>Namakkāraṭīkā</i> (CSCD)
Nāmarūp	<i>Nāmarūpapariccheda</i> B ^e CSCD
	E ^e A.P. Buddhadatta, “Nāmarūpaparicchedo”, <i>JPTS</i> VII (1913–14), 1–114.
Nett	<i>The Nettipakaraṇa with Extracts from Dhammapāla's Commentary</i> , ed. E. Hardy. London, 1902 (PTS).
Nidd-a I	Upasena, <i>Saddhammapajotikā I</i> , <i>Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā</i> B ^e CSCD.
	E ^e Upasena, <i>Saddhammapajotikā I</i> , <i>Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā</i> , 2 vols., ed. A.P. Buddhadatta. London, 1980 [original ed. 1931, 1939] (PTS).
NŚ	Nāṭyaśāstra, <i>see below</i> , Masson & Patwardhan.
Pāc-y	Jāgara, <i>Pācityādiyojanā</i> , Rangoon, 1972 (Chs).
Pāliṃ	Sāriputta [of Poññanaruva], <i>Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya-saṅgaha</i> (<i>Vinaya-saṅgahaṭṭhakathā</i>). Rangoon, 1960 (Chs).
Pālim-nt	Toṇ-phī-lā charā-tō Munindaghosa [Tipiṭakālaṅkāra], <i>Pāli-muttakavinayavinicchayanavaṭīkā</i> , <i>Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā</i> , 2 vols. Rangoon, 1962 (Chs).
Pāt-gp	Ñānakitti, <i>Bhikshu Pratimoksha and Ganthidipani</i> (<i>Bhikṣu Prātimokṣaya saha Gaṇhiṭīpaniya</i> , <i>Bhikkhupātimokha sametā Gaṇhiṭīpanī</i>). Alutgama: Saddhammappakāsa Press, 1927.
Paṭis	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> , 2 vols., ed. A.C. Taylor. London, 1905–1907 (PTS).
Paṭis-a	Mahānāma, <i>Saddhammapakāśinī</i> , <i>Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā</i> B ^e CSCD.
	E ^e <i>Saddhammappakāśinī. Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga</i> , 3 vols., ed. C.V. Joshi. London, 1979 [original ed. 1933–1947] (PTS).
Paṭis-gp	<i>Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada</i> B ^e <i>Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathāgaṇṭhipadaṁ</i> . (Rangoon), 1984 (Chs).
	C ^e <i>Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipadatthavaṇṇanā</i> , ed. Aggamahāpañdita Ariyavamsa (padhānanāyakatthera). (Sri Lanka): Ānanda Sēmagē, 2510 (1966).

	S ^e <i>Khaṇṭhibot hæng athakathā Paṭisamphithamat. Paṭisambhidāmagga Gaṇṭhīpada</i> , 2 vols. Krung Thēp Mahā Nakhōn: Mūnithi Phūmiphalō Phikkhu, 2531 (1988) (Chabap Phūmiphalō Phikkhu).
Paṭis transl.	[<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>] <i>The Path of Discrimination</i> , transl. from the Pāli by Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli. With an introduction by A.K. Warder. Oxford, 2009 (PTS) [reprint of the 2nd edition 1997; original ed. 1982].
Pay	Vanaratana Medhaṅkara, <i>Payogasiddhi</i> B ^e <i>Payogasiddhi(pāṭha)</i> (CSCD)
	C ^e Medhaṅkara Vanaratana, <i>Payogasiddhi</i> , ed. Kōdāgoḍa Siri Nāṇāloka. Colombo: Śrī Laṅkā Samskr̥tika Maṇḍalaya, 1974.
Piṭ-sm	<i>Piṭakat-to-sa-muiñh. Mañ-krī: Mahāsirijeya-sū</i> , Catalogue of the Piṭaka and Other Texts in Pāli, Pāli-Burmese, and Burmese, summarized and annotated translation by Peter Nyunt. Bristol, 2012 (PTS).
Ps	Buddhaghosa, <i>Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā</i> , 5 vols., ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I.B. Horner. London, 1922–1938 (PTS).
Ps-pt	Dhammapāla, <i>Līnatthapakāsinī</i> II, <i>Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā</i> (CSCD).
Ras	Vedeha, <i>Rasavāhinī</i> B ^e CSCD C ^e <i>Rasavāhinī</i> , ed. by Saranatissa. Colombo, 2nd. ed., 2439 (A.D. 1896) (Online: archive.org/details/rasavahinioovedeuoft).
Rūp	Buddhappīya, <i>Mahārūpasiddhi</i> B ^e <i>Padarūpasiddhi</i> (CSCD) C ^e <i>Mahārūpasiddhi by Choliya Buddhapriya with Sandehavighatani. A Sinhalese Paraphrase</i> , revised and edited Sri Dhammaratana. Weligama: Sathmina Press, 1936.
S	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i> , 5 vols., ed. L. Feer, London, 1884–1898 (PTS).
Sacc-ṭ	<i>Saccasaṅkhepaṭīkā, Sāratthasālinī</i>
Sadd	Aggavamsa, <i>Saddanīti</i> B ^e CSCD.

E^e *Saddanīti: La Grammaire palie d'Aggavāmsa*, 3 vols., ed. Helmer Smith. Oxford, 2001 (PTS) [original 1928–1954].

Saddhamma-s Nedimāle Saddhānanda (ed.), “Saddhamma Saṅgaho”, *JPTS* 1890, 21–90.

Saddhamma-s Bimala Churn Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions* transl. (Saddhamma-saṅgaha). Calcutta, 1941.

Sās Paññāsāmī, *Sāsanavāmsa*
B^e CSCD
E^e Mabel Bode (ed.). London, 1897 (PTS).

Sās transl. Bimala Churn Law, *The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavāmsa)*. London, 1952 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. XVII).

Sīmāvis Sāgarabuddhi, *Sīmāvisodhanī* (CSCD).

Sn-a *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary being Paramatthajotikā II*, ed. Helmer Smith, 3 vols. Oxford, reprint 1989 (PTS) [original 1916].

Sp *Samantapāsādikā, Vinayaṭṭhakathā*
B^e CSCD.
E^e *Samantapāsādikā, Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, 7 vols., ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai (and K. Mizuno in vols. 5 and 7). London, 1924–1947 (PTS); vol. 8: Indexes Hermann Kopp. London, 1977. (PTS).
N^e [Nālandā Edition] *Samantapāsādikā nāma Aṭṭhakathā*, 3 parts, ed. Nathmal Tatiya, Birbal Sharma, et al. Patna: Nava Nālandā-Mahāvihāra, 1964, 1965, 1967 (Nava-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra-Granthamālā).

Sp-ṭ Sāriputta [of Poññonaruva], *Sāratthadīpanī*
B^e *Sāratthadīpanīṭikā*, 3 vols. Rangoon, 1960 (Chs).
C^e *Sāratthadīpanī nāma Samantapāsādikāya Vinayaṭṭhakathāya ṭīkā*, ed. Devarakkhita Thera, no place, 2458 (1914) [corresponds to B^e I, II, pp. 1–299].

Sp-y Nānakitti, *Samantapāsādikāya nāma Vinayaṭṭhakathāya Atthayojanā*, vol. 1. Bangkok, 4th ed., 2522 (Mahāmakaṭarājavidyālaya).

Spk *Sāratthapakāsīnī, Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā*, 3 vols., ed. F.L. Woodward. London, 1929–1937 (PTS).

Ss Siddhattha, *Sārasaṅgaha*, ed. Genjun H. Sasaki, Oxford, 1992 (PTS).

Subodh Saṅgharakkhita, *Subodhālaṅkāra*, in: *Subodhālaṅkāra, porāṇa-ṭīkā (Mahāsāmi-ṭīkā)* by Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi, *Abhinava-ṭīkā (Nissaya)* (anonymous), ed. Padmanabh S. Jaini. Oxford, 2000 (PTS).

Subodh-ant̄ Anonymous, *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭīkā (Nissaya)*, in: Subodh

Subodh-pt̄ Saṅgharakkhita, *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā, Mahāsāmi-ṭīkā*, in: Subodh

Sv Buddhaghosa, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā*, 3 vols., ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, J.E. Carpenter, W. Stede. London, 1886–1932 (PTS).

Sv-ant̄ Nānābhivamsa, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-abhinavaṭīkā, Sādhujanavilāsinī* (CSCD).

Sv-pt̄ Dhammapāla, *Līnatthapakāsinī I, Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāpurāṇa-ṭīkā*
B^e CSCD.
E^e Dhammapāla, *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā [Līnatthapakāsinī I, Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭīkā]*, 3 vols., ed. Lily de Silva. London, 1970 (PTS).

Ud-a Dhammapāla, *Udānaṭṭhakathā, Paramathadīpanī I*, ed. F.L. Woodward. London, 1926 (PTS).

Ud-a transl. Dhammapāla, *The Udāna Commentary (Paramatthadīpanī nāma Udānaṭṭhakathā)*, 2 vols., transl. by Peter Masefield. Oxford, 1994–1995 (PTS).

Utt-vn Buddhadatta, *Uttaravinicchaya*, in: *Buddhadatta’s Manuals*, pt. 2: *Vinayavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya, Summaries of the Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta. London, 1927 (PTS), 231–304.

Utt-vn-ṭ *Uttaravinicchayatīkā* in: *Vinayavinicchayatīkā (Vinayatthasārasandīpanī)*, vol. 2. Rangoon, 1977 (Chs), 401–430.

Vibh-a transl. *The Dispeller of Delusion (Sammohavinodanī)*, 2 parts, transl. from the Pāli by Bhikkhu Nānamoli, rev. by L.S. Cousins, Nyanaponika Mahāthera, and C.M.M. Shaw, Oxford, 1996 (PTS).

Vin *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 5 vols., ed. Hermann Oldenberg. London, 1879–1883.

Vin-vn	Buddhadatta, <i>Vinayavinicchaya</i> , in: <i>Buddhadatta's Manuals</i> , pt. 2: <i>Vinayavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya, Summaries of the Vinaya Piṭaka</i> , ed. A.P. Buddhadatta. London, 1927 (PTS), 1–230.
Vin-vn-ṭ	<i>Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā</i> (<i>Vinayatthasārasandīpanī</i>), 2 vols. Rangoon, 1977 (Chs).
Vism	Buddhaghosa, <i>Visuddhimagga</i> B ^e CSCD.
	E ^e Buddhaghosa, <i>Visuddhimagga</i> , 2 vols., ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids. London, 1920–1921 (PTS).
Vism-mhṭ	Dhammapāla, <i>Paramatthamañjūsā</i> , <i>Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā</i> (CSCD).
Vism-sn	<i>The Visuddhimagga with the Commentary written by King Parākramabāhu II</i> , 4 vols. Kalutara, 1949–1955.
Vjb	<i>Vajirabuddhiṭīkā</i> . B ^e <i>Vajirabuddhiṭīkā</i> , Rangoon, 1960 (Chs). B ^e 1912 <i>Vajirabuddhiṭīkāpāṭī</i> , 2 vols., Rankun: Jambū mit chve piṭakat pum nhip tuik 1912. S ^e Mahāvajirabuddhi, <i>Vajirabuddhiṭīkā</i> , 2 vols., (Krung Thep) 2523 (1980) (Bhūmibalo Bhikkhu Mūlanidhi).
Vmv	Coliya Kassapa, <i>Vimativinodanīṭīkā</i> , 2 vols. Rangoon, 1960 (Chs).
Vv	<i>Vimānavatthu</i> B ^e CSCD. E ^e <i>Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu</i> , ed. N.A. Jayawickrama. London, 1977 (PTS).
Vv-a transl.	<i>Elucidation of the Intrinsic Meaning so named, the Commentary on the Vimāna Stories (Paramattha-dīpanī nāma Vimānavatthu-atiṭhakathā)</i> , transl. by Peter Masefield, assisted by N.A. Jayawickrama. Oxford, 1997 (PTS).

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Bretfeld 2001	Sven Bretfeld, <i>Das singhalesische Nationalepos von König Dutṭhagāmanī Abhaya, textkritische Bearbeitung und Übersetzung der Kapitel VII.3 – VIII.3 der Rasavāhinī des Vedeha Thera und Vergleich mit den Paralleltexten Sahassavathuppakarana und Saddharmālaṅkāraya</i> . Berlin: Reimer.
---------------	---

BurmMSS II *Burmese Manuscripts*, pt. 2, comp. Heinz Braun. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1978 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd. 23).

Codrington 1924 H.W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*. Colombo (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum: Series A, 3).

Cousins 1998 L.S. Cousins, “Review of Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*”, *BSOAS* 61,1, 155–56.

Cousins 2011 L.S. Cousins, “Abhidhamma Studies I. Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭikā*”, *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies* II, 1–36.

Cousins 2013 L.S. Cousins, “Abhidhamma Studies II. Sanskrit *abhidharma* literature of the Mahāvihāravāsins”, *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies* IV, 1–61.

Crosby & Skilton 1999 Kate Crosby, Andrew Skilton, “A note on the Date of Mahā-Mahākassapa, author of the *Mohavicchedanī*”, *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 17–18, 173–79.

Dimitrov 2010 Dragomir Dimitrov, *The Bhaikṣukī Manuscript of the Candrālamkāra. Study, Script Tables, and Facsimile Edition*, Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Oriental Series, 72).

Dimitrov (forthcoming) Dragomir Dimitrov, *The Legacy of the Jewel Mind. On the Œuvre of the Buddhist Scholar Ratnamati*.

Filliozat 1993 Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, “Caraka’s Proof of Rebirth”, *Journal of the Āyurvedic Society* 3, 94–111.

Geiger 1918 Magdalene and Wilhelm Geiger, *Die zweite Dekade der Rasavāhī*. München (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. Jg. 1918, 5. Abhandlung).

Geiger 1986 Wilhelm Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, ed. Heinz Bechert. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2nd. ed. (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Göttingen, 4).

Godakumbura 1969 C.E. Godakumbura, “Chapada and Chapada Saddhamma-jotipala”, *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, LII,1, 1–7.

Gornall 2014 Alastair Gornall, "How Many Sounds Are in Pāli? Schism, Identity and Ritual in the Theravāda saṅgha", *JIP* 42, 511–50. DOI 10.1007/s10781-014-9221-z.

Hahn 1992 Michael Hahn, *Haribhāṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra on the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamāla*. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

von Hinüber 1996 Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Berlin. Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, vol. 2.

von Hinüber 2000 Oskar von Hinüber, "Lān² Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature During the Late Fifteenth Century", *JPTS* 26, 119–137. [Reprint: von Hinüber 2009: I 402–20].

von Hinüber 2007 Oskar von Hinüber, in: Michael Quisinsky, Peter Walter (ed.), *Kommentarkulturen: die Auslegung zentraler Texte der Weltreligionen; ein vergleichender Überblick*. Köln: Böhlau, 99–114.

von Hinüber 2009 Oskar von Hinüber, *Kleine Schriften*, 2 pts, ed. Harry Falk, Walter Slaje. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Kane 1930 P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. I. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (Government Oriental Series).

Kerr 2012 Sean Michael Kerr, *Anuruddha: his Works and Context with a Translation and Study of the Account of the Maturation Discernment of the Paramathaviničchaya*. Berkeley, 2012 [unpublished MA Thesis University of California].

Kieffer-Pülz 2006 Petra Kieffer-Pülz, "Old and New Ritual. Advancing the Date of the Invitation Ceremony (*pavāraṇā*) with Regard to the Mahinda Festival", *Jainaitihāsatratna. Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*. Ed. Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters. Marburg (Indica et Tibetica, 47), 339–49.

Kieffer-Pülz 2009 Petra Kieffer-Pülz, "The Ganthārambhakathā of Upasena's Saddhammapajotikā and Vajirabuddhi's Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52 (2009), 143–77.

Kieffer-Pülz 2013 Petra Kieffer-Pülz, *Verlorene Gan̄thipadas zum buddhistischen Ordensrecht. Untersuchungen zu den in der Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā zitierten Kommentaren Dhammasiris und*

Vajirabuddhis, 3 vols. Wiesbaden (Veröffentlichungen der Indologischen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1).

Kieffer-Pülz 2014 “Quotatives Indicating Quotations in Pāli Commentarial Literature, II. Quotatives with *āha*”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2013*, XVII. Tokyo, 61–76.

Kieffer-Pülz 2015 “Quotatives Indicating Quotations in Pāli Commentarial Literature, I. *Iti/ti* and Quotatives with *vuttam*”, *The Reuse in Indian Philosophical Texts*, ed. Elisa Freschi, *JIP* 43/4: 427–53.

Kieffer-Pülz (in preparation) Petra Kieffer-Pülz, “Who Is Who? ‘Lord of Speech’ (Vāci-sasra) and ‘Protector of the Buddhist Community’”.

Konow 1889 Sten Konow, “Zwei Erzählungen aus der Rasavāhinī”, *ZDMG* 43, 297–307.

Krümpelmann 2000 Cornelius Krümpelmann, *Das Dhuttakkhāna — eine jinistische Satire*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Lieberman 1976 V.B. Lieberman, “A New Look on the Sāsanavāmsa”, *BSOAS* 39, 137–49.

Masson & Patwardhan 1970 J.L. Masson and M.V. Patwardhan, *Aesthetic Rapture. The Rasādhyāya of the Nātyāśāstra in Two Volumes*, vol. I: Text; vol. II: Notes. Poona: Deccan College.

Matsumura 1992 Junko Matsumura, *The Rasavāhinī of Vedeha Thera. Vaggas V and VI: The Migapotaka-Vagga and the Uttaroliya-Vagga*. Osaka.

Matsumura 1999 Junko Matsumura, “Remarks on the Rasavāhinī and the Related Literature”, *JPTS* 25, 155–72.

Neri 2015 Chiara Neri, “The Case of the Sārasaṅgaha. Reflections on the Reuse of Texts in Medieval Sinhalese Pāli Literature”, *The Reuse in Indian Philosophical Texts*, ed. Elisa Freschi, *JIP* 43/4: 335–88.

Nyunt, Peter 2012 See Piṭ-sm.

Panabokke 1993 Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of the Buddhist Sangha in India and Sri Lanka*, Colombo.

Pind 1989 Ole Holten Pind, “Studies in the Pāli Grammarians”, *JPTS* 13, 33–82.

Radicchi 2001 Anna Radicchi, “Rileggendo Nātyāśāstra VI–VII”, *Le parole e i marmi. Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70. Compleanno*, vol. 2., ed. Raffaele Torella et al. Rome, 665–91.

Ratnapala 1971 Nandasena Ratnapala, *The Katikāvatas. Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th Century to the 18th Century*. Critically edited, translated and annotated. München (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft N).

Rohanadeera 1985 M. Rohanadeera, “Mahāsāmi Saṅgha Rāja Institution in Sri Lanka: Its Origin, Development, Status, Duties and Functions,” *Vidyodaya Journal, Arts, Science & Letters*, 13.1, 27–43.

Ruiz-Falqués 2015 Aleix Ruiz-Falqués, “The Creative Erudition of Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla, a 15th-century Grammarian and Philosopher from Burma”, *The Reuse in Indian Philosophical Texts*, ed. Elisa Freschi, *JIP* 43/4: 389–426.

Senart 1871 E. Senart, *Kaccāyana et la littérature grammaticale du Pāli. 1^{er} Partie : Grammaire Pālie de Kaccāyana, sūtras et commentaire*, publiés avec une traduction et des notes. Paris: L’Imprimerie nationale.

Tin Lwin 1991 Tin Lwin, “The Saddanīti”, *In Honour of Mingun Sayadaw’s 80th Birthday*. Yangon: The Thin Press, 117–26.

UCHC University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, vols. 1,1–2, ed. Nicholas Attygalle. Colombo, 1959, 1960.

Warder 2009 A.K. Warder, “Introduction by PTS Editor”, see *Paṭis transl.*, pp. i–lxiv.

Weiss 1980 Mitchell G. Weiss, “Caraka Saṃhitā on the Doctrine of Karma”, *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, ed. Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, pp. 90–115.

Wujastyk 2003–2004 D. Wujastyk, “Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification”, *Studia Asiatica* IV–V (2003–2004), 347–69.

The *h*-Future of Pāli with Random Notes on “Historical” and “Irregular” Future Forms

Thomas Oberlies

I. The *h*-future of Pāli certainly is a knotty problem. But taking into account all attested forms together with intermediate stages of formation (as well as for Ardha-Māgadhi), their (probable) chronological relation and geographical distribution, the phonological and morphological processes involved, and the phenomenon of historical orthography,¹ we can reach a solution which remains, unlike a recently proposed alternative, within the probabilities and possibilities of Pāli morphology.² This solution, by contrast, sheds light on some key features of Pāli phonetics, e.g. on *Samprasārana*, which will now have to be re-scrutinized.

¹ The requirements for in-depth study also of the future have been outlined by Caillat (1977/78: 102 [= *Selected Papers*, p. 126]): “All data [should be taken] into account … [and] phonetics, spelling, morphology should not be separately considered.”

² I regret to have to record that, due to an entirely insufficient material base (see below, n. 18), an over-simplistic view of sound changes in Pāli (see n. 114), a complete disregard of chronological facts (see n. 5) as well as an unfamiliarity with the phenomenon of historical orthography (see p. 173), a recent article (Milizia 2011) is flawed in virtually every respect, despite having successfully passed peer review by *JAOS*. It was argued by the author that the *%h(i)-* of the *h*-future is taken from the *hi*-imperative. Despite this argument, he omitted to examine the proof that there is a close relationship between the future tense and the imperative in Vedic, in Sanskrit and/or in Middle Indo-Aryan. With the help of Bloomfield’s still indispensable *Vedic Variants*, it can easily be found, for instance, that in Vedic Sanskrit there are only two known cases (one in a Śrauta-, the other in a Grhyaśūtra) where the future tense interchanges with the imperative, whereas it frequently alternates with subjunctive, optative, and precative (see Bloomfield & Edgerton 1930: 103). And neither of these two cases involves an imperative in *%hi*.

2. The system of the future tense was already obscured in (Vedic) Sanskrit by the differential developments of the suffix.³ While $^{\circ}isya-$ was distinct in all roots which used it (in some of them as $^{\circ}[aR]isya-$),⁴ $^{\circ}sya-$ was kept intact (as $^{\circ}\bar{V}Sya-$) only in a number of roots ending in a vowel (*dāsyati*, *esyati*, *śroṣyati*). In roots ending in consonants it fused into the clusters $^{\circ}msya-$, $^{\circ}(r)kṣya-$, $^{\circ}(n/r)tsya-$ and $^{\circ}(r)psya-$. Hence it was that by the stage of early Middle Indo-Aryan $^{\circ}(aR)issa-$ / $^{\circ}\bar{V}sa-$ / $^{\circ}Vssa-$ co-existed with $^{\circ}khh-$ and $^{\circ}cch-$ (see pp. 170f., 181). This variety facilitated the forming of yet another future suffix, which was clearly recognizable as such by its *-h*. The way in which this happened was familiar — “Neue morphologische Kategorien entspringen letzten Endes meist der Nachbildung von Formen einzelner besonders wichtiger und häufiger Wörter ... [wie] *dā* ‘geben’, *yā* ‘fahren’” (Leumann 1952: 2) — as will be seen below.

3. As far as we know, the oldest *h*-futures are several forms attested in Aśokan Prakrit:⁵ *ehatha*,⁶ SE II Dh Sann, *dāhamti*, PE IV, *hohamti*, PE VII. All of them have a long vowel before the *-h*. Most interesting is the first of these forms, since *esatha* corresponds in Jaugāda. And PE VII has *hosamti* in line 23 besides the cited *hohamti* in lines 25–27, both

³ For a concise overview of the development of the future see Bloch 1965: 212, 227–28.

⁴ *R* is used as a cover symbol for all liquids.

⁵ Milizia opens his article with a reference to the Aśokan forms, only then to completely lose sight of them. All we are told is that “*eha-* and *hoha-* have thematic vowel *-a*- instead of *-i*-” (2011: 32; 33, n. 18). Does that mean that the (probably) oldest forms known to us were secondarily adjusted to the *a*-verbs, thereby losing the $^{\circ}hi$ - they had taken shortly before from the imperative? Milizia might have referred to Smith (1952: 176), the most important study to date of the Middle Indic future, which he has not seen fit to use at all, much to his disadvantage. On Smith’s point of view see, however, n. 85.

⁶ Note that neither Pāli nor Ardha-Māgadhi have $^{\circ}hi$ - in the 2 pl. (see pp. 178f.). The sole exception in AMg., viz. *dāhittha*, shows the strong influence of the aorist on the future (on which see pp. 174–77).

of which have the *-ō-* of the present stem *ho(ti)*. When compared with the latter doublet,⁷ it seems almost certain that *esatha* is to be interpreted as *ēsatha* (cf. *kāsamti*, see pp. 177f.).⁸ And there is much to support the suspicion that *°h(a)-* and *°s(a)-* belong together, and hence are (historically) related.⁹ If this is true, we have first of all to explain the future stems *ēsa-*, *dāsa-*, and *hōsa-*. And the same would hold for Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī (see pp. 172–74).

Note that in Aśokan Prakrit the *-h-* is never followed by *-i-*,¹⁰ but only by *-a-*.¹¹ Since not only Pāli (apart from the 1st persons)¹² but also Ardha-Māgadhī exhibits *i*-vocalism throughout¹³ (in Pāli with the exception of *kāhā°* which however stands beside *kāhi°*,¹⁴ see p. 169), it

⁷ As Smith pointed out (1952: 175 n. 2) there is no difference, to all appearances, between *hosamti* and *hohamti* (pace Turner 1931: 531 [= *Collected Papers* p. 325]).

⁸ See also Turner's note added to his "The future stem in Aśoka" on p. 330 of his *Collected Papers*: "The change of long vowel + geminate to long vowel + single consonant was an early eastern MI. development."

⁹ Also the side-by-side attestations of *dāsāmi* (Āyāraṅgasutta [ed. Jacobi. London 1882] I 8,7.2) and *dāhāmi* (Āyāraṅgasutta [ed. Jacobi. London 1882] II 1,10.1, Utt XXV 6) and *dāsāmo* (Sūyagadaṅga [ed. Bollée. Stuttgart 1988] I 3,2.8) and *dāhāmo/u* (Utt XII 11 / 16) in Ardha-Māgadhī point to this conclusion.

¹⁰ For this simple reason, Milizia's explanation does not work for the (most probably) oldest example of the *h*-future, which he does not discuss at all (see n. 5).

¹¹ Cf. *caghattha*, SE II Dh J Sann (where, however, only *ghatha* is preserved).

¹² Forms like *ehimi* and *ehima* which the Saddanīti teaches (320,32) are not attested in Pāli texts.

¹³ Attested are *°hāmi*, *°hisi*, *°hii/°hī*, *°hāmo/u*, *°hittha/°hiha*, *°hinti* (see Pischel § 520–34). But even in the 1 sg. *°him* is to be met with (*pāhim* "I shall drink", *Uttarajjhayana* 19,59). And the Prakrit grammarians record the 1 sg. *°ihimi* and the 1 pl. *°ihimo* (see Pischel § 520).

¹⁴ AMg. has *kāhā°* in the 1st persons and *kāhi°* in the other ones (see Pischel § 533).

can be surmised that the *°ha-* of Aśokan Prakrit is either older than *°hi-* or that it was retained only in (Sanskritic) writing (presumably under pressure from the indicative). The latter seems to be the case. The available evidence for the vocalism of the oldest *h*-future (*°ha-* in Aś Pkt., *°hi-* in Pāli and AMg.) strongly suggests that originally it was a sound articulated somewhere between *a* and *i*, in all probability — on account of the preceding *y* — a slightly palatalized *a*, viz. something like /ə/. And this is confirmed by the comparable fluctuation in the future of (Aś. Pkt.) *vaḍhati*, MRE I (see p. 179).

4. The co-existence of two etymologically related word forms such as *s-* and *h*-futures, as it is given in Pāli, as a rule suggests that one is the “genuine” Pāli form and the other inherited — or taken over — from the proto-canonical eastern language(s): Nom. Sg. of masc. *a*-stems *-o* ~ *-e*, acc. pl. m. of the same stems *-e* ~ *-āni*, 3rd sg. opt. *assa* ~ *siyā* (cf. *taṇhā-* ~ *taśiṇā-*).¹⁵ And the available evidence strongly indicates that the *h*-future is an “eastern” element within Pāli. Since it is attested also in Buddhist Sanskrit¹⁶ and Ardha-Māgadhi,¹⁷ it surely belonged to the *koiné ganétique* (see p. 189) from which it was inherited into the languages just named.

¹⁵ See Oberlies 2001: 2–3.

¹⁶ See BHSG § 31.12–20 (with only a few forms besides those of *√kṛ* and *√bhū*), to which the following forms from the Patna Dhammapada may be added: (2 sg.) (*up)e*hi, 57, 150, *ne*hi, 276–77, *praccanubhohi*, 198, *vihāhi*, 324, (3 sg.) *pajehi*, 131–32, *vijehi*, 131–32, *bhijjihiti*, 259, *abhiśehiti*, 349, *hehiti*, 57, (3 pl.) *ehinti*, 262, *saṃyyamehinti*, 344. Hence this text also shows only forms in *hi* and *hiti*, all preceded by a long vowel.

¹⁷ Tedesco (1945: 157) erroneously maintained that “*kāhāma* also appears in Lüders’ Old Prākrits” (with reference to Lüders 1911: 57); cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 467.

5. To check these preliminary considerations against the evidence of Pāli a hopefully complete list of all attested forms of the *h*-future of (almost exclusively canonical) Pāli texts is presented here:¹⁸

- *ehisi*, Cp 347; Ja V 480,4*; VI 386,6* (B^{ds}/Chatṭh [cf. Sadd 320,30]); Thī 166; Dhp 236,¹⁹ 238 (*up+*), 348 (id.), 369; *ehiti*, Cp 150; Ja I 16,4* (*up+*) / 6* = Bv II 62 (*up+*) / 63; Ja II 153,^{18*}; VI 543,15*, 579,^{11*}, 580,^{18*}, 20*; Pv 155; *ehinti*, Ja I 209,^{16*} (*āgacchissanti*, cty);²⁰ «*upehi*, Ja V 479,31*; *upagamissasi*, cty (CSB *upesi*)»
- *kāhiti* Ja VI 497,2* (B^d *kāhati*); *vyanti-kāhiti*, Dhp 350; *sacchi-kāhiti*, Ap 49,²²; Th 201; *kāhinti*, Thī 509 (E against all mss. *khāhinti* “to eat”); — *kāhāmi*, Cp 347; Ja II 257,1* (C^s *kahāmi*) = VI 128,3*, III 47,^{15*}, 225,^{13*} (C^s Bⁱ *kahāmi*), 535,23*, IV 281,20*, 358,6*, 463,30*, 467,^{14*} (C^{ks} *kahāmi*), V 308,30*, 254,30*; Th 103; Pv 342; Vv 614, 872; *kāhasi*, Ja III 175,20*; V 44,2* (°*sī*), 308,19*; Th 184, 1134 (Chatṭh *kāhisi*); Thī 57; Dhp 154; M I 39,25*; Sn 427; Vin I 40,25; *kāhati*, Ja I 214,10*; II 443,^{14*}; III 99,^{15*}; VI 449,3* (Chatṭh *kāhiti*); D III 185,6* (B^{mr} / Chatṭh *kāhiti*); *kāhāma*, Ap 33,15; Ja IV 345,4*; Pv 792; Vv 1257; *kāhatha*, Ja V 165,29*; *kāhanti*, Ja II 130,6* = 8*; VI 436,29*, 510,3* (=) ... 17*; — *kīrihiti*; Thī 424 (Ee *karihiti*)²¹

¹⁸ Astonishingly, Milizia is content to cite this and that form culled from secondary literature. Relying on Schwarzschild (1953: 43 [= *Collected Articles* p. 2]), who maintained “that the affix *-h-* is scarcely found [in the gāthās of Pāli] in the first persons except in verbs ending in a long vowel” — without, however, giving an example — he, for instance, erroneously attributes “-*hāmi* (or -*hami*) and -*hāma*” to Pāli (34) and thus overlooks the fact that it is not therefore only classical Māhārāṣṭrī that has a mixed paradigm of °*issa*- and °*hi*-forms (34) but also Pāli (see pp. 178f.).

¹⁹ On verse b of this stanza see Wright 1995: 438.

²⁰ The verse corresponds to *sa tadā vaśam eṣyati* of the Tantrākhyāna (see Bendall 1888: 477).

²¹ On this emendation of the reading of E^c (and Chatṭh), which, however, was accepted by Geiger § 150 (“he will do”), see Smith (1952: 177, n. 2); cf. also Alsdorf, Thī-ed. App. II p. 242.

- *jāyihiti*, Ja V 165,21* (*jāyissati*, cty)
- *jīvihisī*, Ap 67,28, 68,11, 14
- *thāhiti*, Anāg 134 (= Norman, *CP* VIII 240)
- *paññāyihinti*, Ja V 178,21* (*paññāyissanti*, cty)²²
- *padāhisi*, Thī 303
- *bhāhisi*, Sn 719²³; *bhāhiti*, Anāg 108 (= Norman, *CP* VIII 237)
- *anubhohisi*, Thī 510 (see below *hohisi*)
- *lambihitī*, Ja V 302,15*²⁴
- *palehiti*, Th 307 (see, however, Berger 1961: 34, n. 10)²⁵
- *pāhisi*, Ap 67,24 (Chatṭh *vahisi*)²⁶
- *parinibbāhisi*, Th 415
- (*jahāti*) *hāhasi*, Ja III 172,26*
- (*harati*) *hāhiti*, Ja VI 500,6*; *vihāhisi*, Ja I 298,26* (*parihāhisi pi-pātho*); Dhp 379
- *hehisi*, Th 1141, 1142; *hehiti*, Th 719; Thī 249, 250, 288, 289, Ap 339,9; Bv II 9; Vv 1006; — *hohisi*, Ja III 450,4*; IV 285,25*

²² Sadd 839,15 records this *h*-future as an alternative besides *paññāyissa(n)ti* (see also n. 30).

²³ Thus to be read with cty (*bhāhisi bhāsissasi pakāsessasi*) against E^o *bhāsihi*.

²⁴ Thus to be read with Fausbøll (*ad loc. n. 4*), Berger 1961: 32 and Chopra 1966: 180 against E^o *lambahitī*. CS^e and Chatṭh have *lambissatī*.

²⁵ The sense of Ja V 302,8* requires *parikaddhayanti* to be a future (cf. v.l. *parikaddhissanti* of B, which is also the case at Ja V 302,20*, where C has *parikad̄hayanti* [while Fausbøll's wording is completely different; see Chopra 1966: 180]). According to Berger (1961: 32–34) it is to be corrected to *parikad̄hīhinti*. Assuming he is right, this would give us another *h*-future.

²⁶ Smith, *Sadd-Index* p. 1526 (s.v. *pajānanā*) and p. 1605 (s.v. *pāhisi*), proposes to read Ap 67,23 (E^o *pajāni hi te*) as *pajānihite/ti*, which he construes as the future of *pajānāti* that stands side by side with *pāhisi*, 67,24 (according to Smith the future of *pāti* “protects”), and *jīvihisī*, 67,28.

(Chaṭṭh both times *hehisi*), 71,23*, 380,4*;²⁷ Th 382–84; D II 144,20; Pv 9; S I 197,14*; *hohiti*, Ja III 328,17*, 425,20*, 26*; IV 162,4*, 163,24*, 440,9* ... 25*, 468,4*; V 394,11*; Th 1137 (Chaṭṭh throughout *hehisi*); Ja III 298,2*; Thī 465 (see also above *anubhohisi*).

Attested therefore are (aside from *kāhāmi* and *kāhāma*, on which see below) only 2nd and 3rd persons of the singular as well as the 3rd of the plural. Apart from *kāha*° and *hāha*°, the vowel following the *-h*- is always *-i*. If we set aside the textually problematic (+*parikaddhihinti*, +*pajānihite*,) *palehiti* and *pāhisi* (see nn. 25, 26), there are only fourteen verbs which have an *h*-future. And no less than ten of these have a long vowel before the *-h*-, which is *ā* in seven cases. Except in the cases of *kāhati*/*kāhiti* and *hāhiti*, which stand apart anyhow, and *hehisi*/*hohiti*, this long vowel is “inherited” from (Vedic) Sanskrit. Moreover, the above list clearly shows that the *h*-future was not a productive category in Pāli.²⁸ Apart from *thāhiti* (Anāg 134) and *bhāhiti* (Anāg 108), it is only attested in canonical (metrical) texts, and in old ones at that (the Apadāna set aside). And only *jāyihiti*,²⁹ *jīvihisī*, *paññāyihinti*,³⁰ and (^{ob})*hohisi* are built upon the present stem (*jāyate*, *jīvati*, *paññāyate*, [^{ob}]*hōtī*).³¹ Note that, in these *h*-futures, neither *ā* nor (apart from [^{ob}]*hōtī*, on which see below) another long vowel precedes the *-h*-.

²⁷ Alsdorf (1962: 129 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 244]) emended *hohisi* to mere *hosī*. And this indeed is the reading of Chaṭṭh.

²⁸ Quite different from the Prakrit languages, it is restricted to old texts. And other than Prakrit, Pāli has no *h*-future of verbs like *neti* “leads” or *suṇāti* “hears”.

²⁹ Cf. AMg. ^o*yāhisi* / ^o*yāhī* (see Pischel § 527).

³⁰ It is equivalent to *paññāyissanti*, D II 218,16, 25, M I 524,1 (see also n. 22).

³¹ At the same time the pre-suffix stem closely agrees with that of the corresponding aorists: *ajāyi(m)*, — *jīvittha* / *ajīvīmha*, — *paññāyimsu*. Note also the proportion *hohiti*: *ahosi* = *dāhiti*: *adāsi* (see p. 174).

6. That almost all *h*-futures of Pāli belong to stems ending in *ā*, *e*, or *o*³² tallies well with what is found in Aśokan Prakrit and in ancient Prakrit (see pp. 164f.).³³ Since these vowels are for the most part inherited ones (see p. 169), it is reasonable to start the explanation of the *h*-future from (Vedic) Sanskrit ^oViṣya- (see p. 164).

There are typically two scenarios of its development in Pāli. One is (1) ^oVssa-, and the other one is (2) ^oViṣa-.³⁴ The first line of development resulted in the following future forms in Pāli:³⁵

issāmi “I shall go”, D II 286,4* (v.l. *essāmi*); *essam*, Ja III 535,19* (BS; CE *esam* [see p. 172]); Th 60 (*pacc+*); Vin I 255,24, (*pacc+*); Sn 29 (*up+*); *essati*, Ja VI 414,27*, 416,17*; Th 192; Dhp 369; S IV 379,19 (*sam+*); *essanti*, Ap 345,6 (*up+*); Ja IV 362,16* (*paccup+*); Dhp 86; S IV 70,12 (*sam+*); V 24,20*; *essati* “will come”, Th 191= Ud 41,3*;³⁶ *samayissati*, Ap 126,17³⁷ — *akkhissam* “I shall teach”, Ja IV 257,26*; VI 523,21*; Sn 997; Pv 529; Sn 600 (*up+*); Sn 900 (*vy+*); *akkhissati*, Pv 579, cf. *ācikkhissam*, Thī 434; *ācikkhissanti*, D II 104,22³⁸ — *ñassati* “he will know”, D I 165,19, 22, 28; *ñassāma*, Ja IV 289,25*; D II 209,23 (cf. cond. *aññassa*, A III 131,22 = V 143,27); *upaññissam*, Sn 701 = 716; *upaññissati*, Ja V 215,17*; *viññisanti*, A III 347,13* (v.l. *viññassanti*); Th 703 —

³² As is well known, this was pointed out long ago by Turner (1931: 534 [= *Collected Papers*, p. 327]) and Bloch (1965: 228); see also Pischel § 520 and BHSG § 31.6 / 19. Sakamoto-Gotō (1988: 106) erroneously maintains that “in Pāli the future in *-hi-* is — with the exception of *karihīti* — always formed from a root which terminates in long *ā*”. On *karihīti* see p. 167 with n. 21.

³³ See Pischel § 520.

³⁴ A third possibility is ^oViṣya- which, however, was not realized.

³⁵ The following list is not an exhaustive one as far as the attestations are concerned.

³⁶ A complete paradigm is given by Sadd 320,27–28.

³⁷ This resolution of *-e* into *-ayi-* is due to the rhyme with *damayissati*.

³⁸ *ācikkhati* seems to be a blending of *ākhyā*, *ācakṣ*, *ādiś* and *śikṣ* (cf. Emeneau 1968: 31–32).

thassati “he will stand (= remain)”, D I 46,10; *thassanti*, D I 20,1, II 75,28; *upatthissam*, Ja VI 523,12* — *dassāmi* “I shall give”, Ja III 218,10*; Pv 249; Vv 631; *dassati*, D III 258,11; M I 126,9; *dassatha*, D II 96,20; *dassanti*, M III 268,21; *paccupadissāmi*, Ja V 221,7* (Chatṭh *paccuttarissāmi*)³⁹ — *paridhassati* “he will wear”, Th 969, — *pissāmi* “I shall drink”, Ja III 432,12*; IV 217,4* (Chatṭh; E^e *pāyāmi*, B^d *pivissāmi*); VI 152,25* (Chatṭh; E^e *pāyāmi* [C^{ks} *passāmi*] — *pāyāmīti* *pivissāmi*, cty); *pissati*, Ja VI 527,20* (Chatṭh; on E^e *pāssati* see below); *pissāma*, Ja I 171,18* (Chatṭh; E^e *pivissāma*)⁴⁰ — *anuyissanti* “they will follow”, Ja VI 49,16*; *niyyissanti*, A V 195,12, 16 — *parinibbissam* “I shall be quenched”, Th 658 = 1017; Ap 535,17; Bv XXVI 23; ^o*bbissati*, Th 100; ^o*bbissanti*, Th 576, — *hassāmi* “I shall give up”, Ja IV 415,19*, 420,20* (B^d both times *hissāmi*) ~ V 465,7* (B^{ds} *hissāmi*); *pahassatha*, Dh 144; *hessāmi*, Ja IV 415,19*, 416,14*, 18* (at all places ... *jahissāmi* ... *hessāmi* ...); VI 80,20*,⁴¹ 180,5*, 441,16*, 501,18* (B^d *hissāmi*).⁴²

It can easily be seen that the old ^oVSya-futures were mostly retained (or formed) if there were no homonymous rivals (*essati*, *ñassati*, *thassati*, *d(h)assati*).⁴³ If there were, these future forms were re-modelled,⁴⁴ most

³⁹ (*urasā*) *paccupadissāmi* (<*prati-upā-√dā* [so Helmer Smith *apud* Trenckner, *Radices* s.v.; cf. Geiger § 151]) recalls *urasā panudahessāmi*, Ja VI 508,2*, # (*urasā*) *panudahissāmi* “I will push aside”, Th 27 = 233 = Ap 505,24 (*cit.* Sadd 118,20). The latter seems to be a blending of *panudissati* (*pra-√nud*) and *padaheSSIati* (< [a]pa-/pra-√dhā]). ^o*dahessati*, which is also attested at Dhp 9, seems to have been coined to distinguish the futures of *dahāti* “puts” and *dahati* “burns”.

⁴⁰ Fausbøll “has supplied the hemistich which is omitted in all three MSS from the comment”.

⁴¹ On this stanza see Čičak-Chand 1974: 28.

⁴² Note that *hessāmi* is also the future of *hoti*. On *abhiheSSIati*, the future of *abhibhavati*, see CPD I 363b line 13 from bottom.

⁴³ But even the future of these verbs was rebuilt according to the ^oiss-futures, as the examples clearly show (cf. ^oñissati, ^odissati, ^obissati, ^oyissati).

often after the ${}^{\circ}issa$ -future (*pissāmi*, ${}^{\circ}bbissati$, *hissāmi* / *hessāmi*).⁴⁵ Another means for disposing of homonymity was the use of Sanskratic forms like *pāssati* “he will drink”, Ja VI 527,^{20*}⁴⁶ or *pahāssam* “I shall give up”, M II 100,^{3*}. And yet another means for avoiding homonymity was, probably, recourse to the ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ -future (see also p. 174). This third line of development of ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ - (viz. into ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ -), though not the “regular” one, was brought about by the close relationship between the future and the aorist (see pp. 174–76), additionally enhanced by the terminational weakness of the future suffix (see p. 173). As far as could be traced, there is only one single form in Pāli that belongs here: *esam*, Ja III 535,^{19*} (cf. *esanti*, Sūyagaḍa XI 29, XIII 4 [v.l. *esinti*]). But this formation, whose existence is indirectly proved by the future *kāsam* (see p. 177),⁴⁷ was almost completely given up, since it was detached from the ${}^{\circ}issa$ -form and generated with a mere *-s-* a suffix that is hard to recognize. The agreement of Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhbī points to the fact that already the *koinē gangetique* had begun to systematically replace the ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ -future forms with the *h*-future (see p. 189).⁴⁸

7. But how to explain the *-h*-? Time and again it has been pointed out that the *h*-future is primarily found after long vowels (see p. 170 with n. 32). But no explanation for this state of affairs has been given. If, however, one surveys the *h*-future of Aś Pkt., Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhbī

⁴⁴ This also happened to the futures of $\sqrt{khyā}$, $\sqrt{jñā}$, and $\sqrt{yā}$, here obviously due to the palatalizing effect of their *-y-* / *-jñ-* (see p. 186).

⁴⁵ Or else the future was formed from the present stem (cf. *parinibbāyissati*, Ap 86,¹⁴).

⁴⁶ This reading is secured by Sadd 401,^{18–19}, where additionally a complete paradigm is recorded.

⁴⁷ Cf. AMg. *dāsāmi*, Āyāraṅgasutta [ed. Jacobi] I 8,7.2, and *dāsāmo*, Sūyagaṅḍaṅga [ed. Bollée. Stuttgart 1988] I 3,2.8).

⁴⁸ It is to be noted that Ardha-Māgadhbī, which developed the *h*-future to a much greater extent than Pāli, has widely abandoned both the ${}^{\circ}Vssā$ - and the ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ -future that go back to ${}^{\circ}Vsā$ -, this being obviously the other side of the same coin.

(and also BHS [see n. 16]), it turns out that this long vowel is usually ā, with only very few exceptions, the most important of which is *ehati* / *ehiti* (see pp. 164 and 167). And this ā is inherited from Old Indo-Aryan (except in *kāhiti* and *hāhiti* as far as Pāli is concerned). In Old Indo-Aryan, only roots in ā⁴⁹ had ^osya- as future suffix, while other vocalic roots had ^oisya-, ^oesyā- (\sqrt{i} , $\sqrt{krī}$, \sqrt{ji} , $\sqrt{nī}$, $\sqrt{sī}$) or ^oosya- (\sqrt{cyu} , \sqrt{sru} , $\sqrt{sū}$, \sqrt{hu}). As a terminational element⁵⁰ ^o(ā)sya- was feebly pronounced anyhow, albeit distinctly less so than ^oisya-, ^oesyā-, ^oosya-, ^oksya- and the other combinations containing a cerebral. This slurred pronunciation, which weakened ^o(ā)sya- into ^o(ā)s^va- (and via *^oāzə- further to ^oāhi-), was certainly enhanced by the fact that verbs in ā are everyday words, i.e. words in frequent use.

Apart from *esam* (see p. 172), no traces of ^oVS(ā / i)-futures with single -s- are attested in Pāli (and Ardha-Māgadhī also has only *esanti* and *dāsāmu* [see p. 172]). The degemination of ^oss(a)- (< ^osya-) into ^os(a)-, however, took place to a much greater extent, though it is partly hidden by the historical orthography of Pāli texts:⁵¹

karis(s)āmi, Ja III 161,14*; Ap 72,31, *niggahis(s)āmi*; Th 77, *caris(s)āmi*; Ja III 381,21*; IV 487,12*; *passis(s)āmi* (— ~ — —), Pv 528, *parirakkhis(s)āmi* (— ~ — —), Ja IV 480,11*; *phusis(s)ati*, Sn 693; *bhavis(s)ati*, Sn 691–94; Pv 575; *muccis(s)ati*, Ja VI 449,3*; *dakkhisāma*, Ja III 99,7*; *sikkhis(s)āmase*, Sn 814; *khīyis(s)anti*, Ja V 392,4*.⁵²

⁴⁹ Namely (if futures are attested only in the Epics and classical literature, the roots have been placed in brackets): $\sqrt{khyā}$, $\sqrt{gā}$ “to sing”, ($\sqrt{jā}$ /jan), $\sqrt{jñā}$, $\sqrt{jyā}$, $\sqrt{trā}$, $\sqrt{dā}$, $\sqrt{dhā}$, ($\sqrt{dhā}$ “to suck”), ($\sqrt{dhyā}$), $\sqrt{pā}$ “to drink”, $\sqrt{bhā}$, $\sqrt{yā}$, ($\sqrt{vā}$), $\sqrt{sṭhā}$, ($\sqrt{sñā}$), $\sqrt{hā}$. On roots ending in a consonant which form the ^osya-future see p. 181–84.

⁵⁰ See Turner 1927 and Bloch 1965: 68–69, 72.

⁵¹ See Caillat 1970: 6–7 (= *Selected Papers* pp. 2–3) and Oberlies 2001: 14–16 (cf. Berger 1955: 19, n. 2, and 52, n. 100).

⁵² What is certainly not the case is — and here Milizia (2011: 27) is undoubtedly right — that such forms with their single -s- are the *origin* of the h-future (to be corrected in Oberlies 2001: 109).

Note that here we throughout have to do even with the much more distinctly articulated suffix ${}^{\circ}i\text{ṣya-}$.

The development⁵³ of ${}^{\circ}(\bar{a})\text{ṣya-}$ into ${}^{\circ}(\bar{a})\text{s}^{\circ}\text{a-}$ was further backed by the close conjunction of *sya*-future and *s*-aorist (on which see below). For (almost) all Skt. futures in ${}^{\circ}\text{C}(\text{C})\bar{a}\text{ṣya-}$ had aorists in (single) *-S-* at their side: *gāṣyati* ~ *agāṣīt*, *jñāṣyati* ~ *ajñāṣam*, *jyāṣyati* ~ *ajyāṣiṣam*, *trāṣyati* ~ *atrāṣmahi*, *dāṣyati* ~ *adiṣi*, *dhāṣyati* ~ *adhiṣi*, *pāṣyati* ~ *apāḥ* / *pāṣta*,⁵⁴ *bhāṣyati* ~ *abhāṣīt*, *yāṣyati* ~ *ayāṣam*, *sthāṣyati* ~ *asthiṣi*, *hāṣyati* ~ *ahāṣī*⁵⁵ (cf. *khyāṣyati* ~ *khyeṣam*⁵⁶). And this conjunction was inherited into early Middle Indo-Aryan, where there is, however, a conjunction of *h*-future and ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}s(i)$ -aorist (cf. Pāli ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}\text{dhisi}$ ~ *adāsi*, *bhāhisi* ~ ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}\text{hāsi}$, $[\sqrt{hā}]\text{ hāhisi}$ ~ ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}\text{hāsi}$, $[\sqrt{hṛ}]\text{ hāhiti}$ ~ ${}^{\circ}\bar{a}\text{hāsi}$, *kāhiti* ~ *akāsi*, cf. *hohiti* ~ *ahosi*). And other forms containing \bar{a} , such as the infinitive and the gerundive (e.g. *dātum*, *dātabba-*), certainly exerted additional pressure to keep \bar{a} intact (and hence to degeminate *-ss-*), with the consequence that the generating of homophones like *passati*, *vassati*, and *hassati*⁵⁷ was avoided (see p. 172). This stage which was abandoned in Pāli (except for single *esam*, see p. 172) has been preserved in Ardha-Māgadhī, which exhibits future forms such as *esanti* and *dāsāmu*. And this ${}^{\circ}\text{ṣya-}$ further developed via **zya-* into ${}^{\circ}\text{hə-}$ (on *s* > *h* see pp. 186–88).

Throughout the history of Indo-Aryan, future and aorist are closely bound together. Already in the language of the Atharvaveda the aorist influenced the future, so much so that “shortened” future forms were built which increased in number as time went on: *kramṣyate*, *cyoṣyate*,

⁵³ Turner opines that $\bar{VCC} > \bar{VC}$ is a typical feature of the eastern language (on this see n. 8).

⁵⁴ See Narten 1964: 168.

⁵⁵ Cf. Smith 1952: 179 and BHSG § 31.5.

⁵⁶ On this precative see Hoffmann 1976: 470–72.

⁵⁷ *passati* “will drink” / “sees” (< *pāṣyati* / *paṣyati*), *vassati* “will blow” / “rains” (< *vāṣyati* / *varṣati*), *hassati* “will give up” / “rejoices” (< *hāṣyati* / *hasati* x *hṛṣyati*).

namsyati, stoṣyati, hoṣyati.⁵⁸ The same influence is responsible for the lengthened stem vowel of futures like *aprākṣyāḥ* (on which see below), *mārkṣyate* and *utsākṣye*.⁵⁹ In late Vedic Sanskrit the “future-preterites” (as Thieme 1981: 300 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 910] has aptly called them) *agrahaisyat* and *aprākṣyāḥ* were created which combined features of aorist and future. And in Middle Indo-Aryan, aorist and future more often fit together than do future and present:⁶⁰ *gahessati* ~ *aggahesi* ↔ *ganhati*, *thassati* ~ *aṭṭhāsi* ↔ *tiṭṭhati* (cf. *hāhiti* ~ *ahāsi* ↔ *harati*).⁶¹ The partial supplanting of *asti* by *bhavati* brought particularly aorist and future into close connection: *atthi* ~ [hoti →] *ahosi*/*hohiti*.⁶² And — to give a last instance — the future *ruccha-/rucchi-* (see pp. 183f.) gave rise to an aorist *rucchi*, Ja IV 285,24* = V 182,10* ~ VI 152,17*.⁶³ All of which led to the employment of aorist endings with the future and, vice versa, most notably of *°is(s)am*⁶⁴ in the 1st person (see Oberlies 2001: 241):⁶⁵ *vijāyissam* “I gave birth to”, Ja V 179,8*; *samdhāvissam* “I have run”, Th 78 = Dhp 153; Ja VI 238,30*; *apucchissam* “I asked”, Sn 1116;

⁵⁸ See Schulze 1904.

⁵⁹ See Hoffmann 1976: 370, n. 25.

⁶⁰ Hc III 162 registers the aorists *kāsī* / *kāhī* and *thāsī* / *thāhī* (which do not seem to be attested in available texts). Here we have — so to say — an *h*-aorist (*kāhī* ~ *kāsī* < [a]kārṣīt; and by analogy *thāhī* ~ *thāsī*), which stands side by side with the *h*-future (*kāhāmi*, *thāhāmi*). Cf. Alsdorf 1935–37: 324 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 61).

⁶¹ See Bloch 1965: 227.

⁶² See Bloch 1965: 303.

⁶³ On this reading see Bechert 1961: 19 and Oberlies 1995/96: 282.

⁶⁴ Note that 1sg. aor. *atimaññissam*, Pv 40, scans ~ ~ – ~ – and hence hides *atimaññisam* (cf. Th 424).

⁶⁵ But for various reasons it is beyond doubt that the use of the future in preterite sense is not only due to the close resemblance between the aorist ending *°isam* and the future ending *°issam* (pace von Hinüber 2001: §§465/484), though it is obvious that younger texts use the latter as a convenient metrical licence (as *avekkhissam* “I paid heed to”, Vv 794, to avoid ~ – ~ – in pāda c). The whole problem still awaits thorough investigation.

amaññissam “I had thought”, Th 765; M III 247,2; *vandissam* “I worshipped”, Th 480, 621; *asakkhissam* “I was able”, M III 179,28; *pamādassam* “I was negligent”, M III 179,29⁶⁶ — *nibandhisam* “I shall bind”, Th 1141⁶⁷ (cf. AMg. *dāhittha* Utt XII 17; on AMg. aor. *kāhī*, *thāhī*, Hc III 162, see n. 66).⁶⁸

If, however, the two factors mentioned — *ā*-verbs whose aorist has influenced the future — are determinant, *ehiti* must be an analogical formation.⁶⁹ And indeed it is just this which is argued for here. And the same holds for *hohiti* (and *hehiti*).

That *ā*-verbs and the conjunction of future and aorist are the two decisive factors in the development of the *h*-future can almost be demonstrated. As Schulze (1904) long ago pointed out, the formation of shorter future forms like *mañsyate*, *nañsyate*, or *stosyati* in Sanskrit (on which see above) excluded roots ending in *ṛ*.⁷⁰ These roots had only futures like *kariṣyati*. Since there are no traces whatsoever of **karṣyati*⁷¹ or *kārṣyati*⁷² (and **hārṣyati*), the alleged sources of Pāli *kāhati* (and *hāhiti*), the latter can only be explained as an analogical

⁶⁶ It was Oldenberg who pointed to this most remarkable form in *°assam* (1881: 322 n. 1 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 1170, n. 1]).

⁶⁷ A form to be reconsidered is *anurakkhissam*, Cp 240 (so E^e), for which Chatīth reads (?with the metre) *°rakkhisam*.

⁶⁸ For Prakrit see Alsdorf 1935–37: 323–24 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 60–61).

⁶⁹ It remains to be clarified whether *eti* does not form an aorist as maintained by the Saddanīti (320,26) or whether forms like *anvesi*, Ja VI 510,31* (= *agamāsi*, city), *upesi*, Ap 263,8, and *abhisamesum*, S V 415,28–30, are genuine aorists.

⁷⁰ Schulze, however, added that “die jüngere Volkssprache hat auch diese Grenze nicht immer respektiert und wenigstens **karṣyati* oder **kārṣyati* neugeschaffen” (102) referring to Pāli *kāhati* and *kāhiti*.

⁷¹ As far as could be ascertained, **karṣyati* was first proposed — obviously without knowing Schulze (see n. 70) — by Michelson 1909: 289, n. 2.

⁷² Thieme (1981: 299 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 909]) was rightly opposed to a postulated **karṣyati* and set up a future stem **kārṣya-*, which arose from the future *kariṣya-* due to the influence of the aorist *akāṛṣ*[°]. Basically Thieme is right on this point (*pace* von Hinüber 2001: §469). The remodelling of the future by the aorist, however, occurred not in (Vedic) Sanskrit but only in Middle Indic.

formation. After the proportion *dāhati* :: *adāsi* or *thāhati* :: *aṭṭhāsi*, the future *kāhati* was built on the aorist *akāsi* (the “stem” *kā-* is found also in the infinitive *kātum*, the gerundive *kātabba-* and the like).⁷³ To be more precise: since *kāhi(t)i* is also found in AMg. and in Buddhist Sanskrit, it obviously also belonged to the *koinē gangetique* (see p. 189). Hence we have to postulate that **kāhəti* was formed out of *akāsi*, according the proportion **dāhəti* :: *adāsi*. And Pāli took over **kāhəti* as *kāhiti*. By means of paradigmatic levelling (*kāhati* ← *kāhāmi* / *kāhāma*) and through the influence of *kāsaṃ* / *kassāma* (see below), a new paradigm *kāhati* was then built up.⁷⁴

Another future form of *karoti*, which within the Aśokan edicts is solely attested at Girnār, is also of great relevance in this context, viz. *kāsaṃti*.⁷⁵ It is only Pāli that in *kāsaṃ* / *kassāmi*⁷⁶ exhibits similar forms, whereas Ardha-Māgadhi does not know the like. This *kāsaṃti* may either represent *kāsanti* or *kāssanti*, as is the case with the parallels in the north-western edicts that are likewise ambiguous.⁷⁷ If it represents *kāsanti*, we have to do with the counterpart of *hosanti* (see pp. 164–65). In that case it would attest to a degeminated *dāsati*. For it, too, is built upon the aorist *akāsi* according to the proportion (*dāhati* <) **dāsati* :: *adāsi*.⁷⁸ If, on the other hand, it represents *kāssanti*, this has to be — or so it would seem — interpreted like Pāli *pāssati* (see p. 172).⁷⁹ Note that

⁷³ See Turner 1935–37: 208 and von Hinüber 2001: § 469 (where, however, *ka-*, *ha-* have to be corrected to *kā-*, *hā-*).

⁷⁴ Or else *kāhati* is a dissimilated form of *kāhiti*, as already surmised by Trenckner (1908: 129).

⁷⁵ RE VII has *kasamti* side by side with *kāsaṃti*. But this most probably has to be emended to *kāsaṃti* (see Bloch 1950: 110, n. 3).

⁷⁶ *kāsaṃ*, Ja IV 286,21*... 287,15* (Āryā), VI 36,20* (B^d *kassam* = Sadd 514,18), *kassāmi*, Th 1138–39, Pv 554, *kassam*, Th 381 (*kasissāmi*, v.l. *kar*^o, Th-a II 164,23), Pv 242, S I 179,7, *kassāma*, Ap 185,19, D II 288,2*.

⁷⁷ See Bloch 1950: 74 (§ 38).

⁷⁸ Tedesco (1946: 185) — as others — derived it from **karsyati*.

⁷⁹ Note that all infringements of the “law of mora” in Girnār are due to blatant Sanskritisms (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 109).

in Pāli only 1st persons (*kāsam* / *kassāmi* / *kassāma*) are attested and that therefore these forms and *kāhisi* / *kāhiti* / *kāhinti* build up *one* supplementary paradigm whose forms influenced each other (see p. 181).⁸⁰

8. The next facts to be explained are why in Pāli there is — apart from *kāha*^o and *hāhasi* — no *-a-* after *-h-* but only *-i-* (in marked contrast with Aśokan Prakrit, which only has *-ha-*) and why the *hi*-future is restricted to the 2nd and 3rd sg. and the 3rd pl.⁸¹ For again it is only *kāh*^o that has forms of other persons too. It is quite different with the Prakrits: they formed a whole paradigm, which exhibits *%hi-* (almost) throughout (see p. 165). If we look at the attested and also the non-attested forms of Pāli,

\bar{V} # \bar{r}/\bar{a}		[apart from <i>kāhāmi</i> , etc.]
	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}himi$	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hāmi$
$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hisi$		$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hasi$
$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hiti$		$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hati$
	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hima$	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hāma$
	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hitha$	$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hatha$
$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hinti$		$\dagger^{\circ}\bar{V}hanti$

it is evident that the *Samprasārana* hypothesis does not work. What has happened can be deduced from the absence of 1st sg. $\dagger^{\circ}hāmi$ and 1st pl. $\dagger^{\circ}hāma$ and above all of 2nd pl. $\dagger^{\circ}hitha$ and $\dagger^{\circ}hatha$ —, apart from *kāhatha* (on which see p. 167).⁸² It is surely true that the absence of

⁸⁰ In this connection, the complete absence of *kāsa*^o as future stem in Ardhā-Māgadhi (see above) and the scarcity of *kāha*^o in that same Prakrit are noteworthy, since both seem to be closely related (see p. 165).

⁸¹ See Müller 1884: 118–19, Geiger § 150 (though he speaks of “*particularly* in the 2. 3. Sg. and 3. Pl.” [my emphasis]) and Bloch 1950: 74 (§ 38).

⁸² It is also pivotal for the question of whether *Samprasārana* is involved in the formation of future forms that \dagger *dakkhitha*, \dagger *vakkhitha*, \dagger *sakkhitha* (etc.) are *not* attested (see p. 182f.).

†^ohāmi and †^ohāma would point to interference by Samprasāraṇa on the development of future endings in Pāli (as well as Prakrit).⁸³ But the complete absence of the 2nd pl. renders this explanation highly unlikely. So another explanation is called for.⁸⁴ Namely, it must have been the final -i that led to the changing of -a- (or, to be more precise, of -a-) into -i- by regressive assimilation. Meaning that the obligatory condition for the “genuine” h-future within Pāli was (Skt.) ^oVSyāC(C)i. This accounts for *all* attested forms as well as *all* forms that do *not* occur. And this suggests that a situation of flux within Pāli was resolved by some kind of morphological adjustment. Thus, only ^ohi- was admitted as future suffix. And this was conditioned, on the other hand, by the -y(a)- together with the final -i.

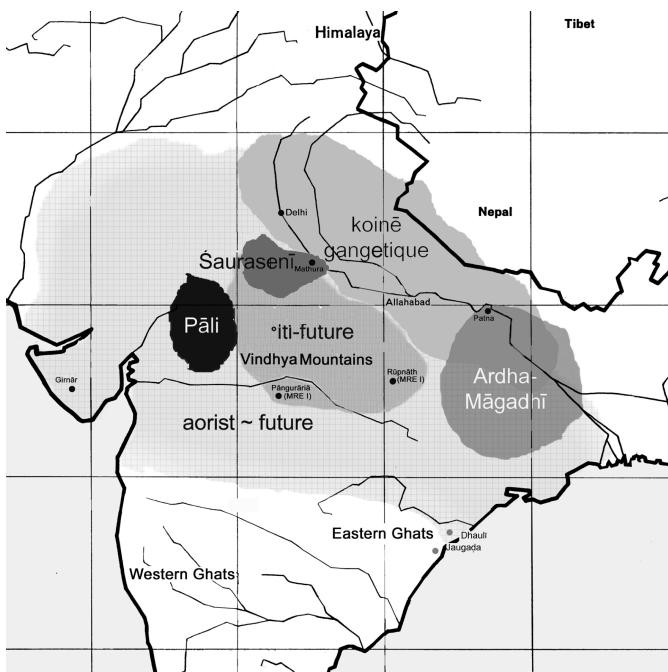
Much the same happened with the ^oisya-future in certain Middle Indic dialects/languages neighbouring Pāli. For the sole example of ^oiti < ^o(is)yati in Aś. Pkt., vadhisiti, MRE I, exhibits a geographical pattern that accords very well with what we see in the h-future of Pāli. Whereas Ahaurā and Sahasrām, the one in Mirzapur District, the other close by in Bihar, have vadhisati,⁸⁵ two of whose versions have vadhisiti, i.e. Pāngurāriā and Rūpnāth,⁸⁶ lie not far from the area where Śaurasenī was

⁸³ This is the explanation given by von Hinüber 2001: §§467–68 (cf. also § 129). In his treatment of the future, he heavily draws on Berger’s explanations, albeit without accepting them as a whole.

⁸⁴ Tedesco (1945: 158–159) takes up Pischel’s theory § 151.

⁸⁵ I regard Smith’s opinion that the Aśokan ^oha-future is a thematization of an earlier ^ohi-future (*loc. cit.*) as no less erroneous than his view that “l’aberrant vadhisiti fait seul exception [i.e. to this thematization]” (1952: 176). It was Caillat (1977/78: 104 [= *Selected Papers* p. 128]) who took up a passing remark of Bloch (1950: 74 [§ 38]) and pointed out that vadhisiti is a “sprachwirkliche” form which belongs to Śaurasenī futures in ^oidi.

⁸⁶ Besides Brahmagiri, Gavīmath, Nīttūr and Śiddhāpura have vadhisiti, presumably “one of the numerous westernisms appearing in the basically eastern language of the Mysore edicts” (Alsdorf 1960: 261 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 440]). Note that Gīmār also has -dh- in the verb vadhati besides the expected “western” -dh-



spoken. And for that language, which does not have an *h*-future,⁸⁷ Hemacandra records a future in *°ssidi* (Hc IV 275).⁸⁸ This fits well with the only attestations which are found in literary sources: *gami[s]si(ti)*, *pavvajissiti*, Aśvaghoṣa (Lüders 1911: 47–48, 58).⁸⁹ That there was a

(*vadhyasamti*, RE IV). Though Turner explicitly calls *vāḍhisiti* an “Eastern form” (1931: 532 [= *Collected Papers* p. 326]), the fact is we cannot tell.

⁸⁷ At least according to Hemacandra.

⁸⁸ Caillat rightly points out that “from Hemacandra’s rule and examples the conclusion seems to follow that, in the Ś[aurasenī] futures, *-i-* does not continue Sk. (-ya-), but (-a-)” (1977/78: 104).

⁸⁹ See von Hinüber §468 (where the form is, however, erroneously cited as *gamissidi*). Schwarzschild (1953: 52 [= *Collected Papers* p. 11]) maintains that *gami(s)si* is “contracted”, but she has obviously misunderstood Lüders’ remark that the form is “mutilated” (“verstümmelt”).

tendency in western India to mark off the future with $^{\circ}iti$ can also be seen from Gāndhārī Prakrit, which likewise does not know the *h*-future (see Caillat 1977/78).

Again the *a*-vocalism of *kāha* $^{\circ}$ clearly shows its singularity. Other than *kāhi* $^{\circ}$ which only has *kāhisi*, *kāhiti* and *kāhinti* as could be expected, *kāha* $^{\circ}$ has formed a full paradigm. Since Ardha-Māgadhi knows only *kāhāmi*, Uttarajjhayaṇa 17,2, the full array of *kāha* $^{\circ}$ -forms seems to be an innovation of Pāli. We may surmise that it was created by adjusting the vocalism of *kāhiti* to that of *kassāmi*, *kassāma*.

9. Let us now turn to the type *dakkhiti* / *bhecchati*.⁹⁰ It derives from futures whose $^{\circ}sya$ - fused with the final consonant of the root into $^{\circ}(r)ksya$ -, $^{\circ}(n/r)tsya$ - and $^{\circ}(r)psyā$ - (see p. 164). Omitting roots which altogether ceased to be used after the Vedic age or which formed their $^{\circ}sya$ -future only at a very late date, these were as follows:⁹¹

\sqrt{ad} , $\sqrt{āp}$, \sqrt{krt} “to cut”, $\sqrt{kṛs}$,⁹² $\sqrt{kṣip}$, \sqrt{gup} , \sqrt{chid} , \sqrt{tap} , \sqrt{tyaj} , \sqrt{trap} , \sqrt{dah} , $\sqrt{diś}$, $\sqrt{dṛś}$, \sqrt{druh} , $\sqrt{naś}$, \sqrt{nud} , \sqrt{pac} , \sqrt{pad} , $\sqrt{piś}$, $\sqrt{praś}$, \sqrt{bandh} , \sqrt{budh} , \sqrt{bhaj} , $\sqrt{bhañj}$, \sqrt{bhid} , \sqrt{bhuj} , \sqrt{majj} , \sqrt{mih} , \sqrt{muc} , $\sqrt{mṛj}$, \sqrt{yaj} , \sqrt{yab} , \sqrt{yuj} , \sqrt{yudh} , \sqrt{rabh} , $\sqrt{rādh}$, \sqrt{ric} , \sqrt{rudh} , \sqrt{ruh} , \sqrt{labh} , \sqrt{vac} , \sqrt{vap} , \sqrt{vas} “to dwell”, \sqrt{vah} , \sqrt{vid} “to find”, $\sqrt{viś}$, $\sqrt{vṛj}$, $\sqrt{vṛt}$, \sqrt{vyadh} , $\sqrt{śak}$, $\sqrt{śad}$, $\sqrt{śiś}$, $\sqrt{śuś}$, \sqrt{sad} , \sqrt{sah} , \sqrt{sic} , \sqrt{sidh} “to repel” / “to succeed”, $\sqrt{sṛj}$, $\sqrt{sṛp}$, \sqrt{skand} , $\sqrt{spṛś}$, \sqrt{syand} , \sqrt{svap} .

⁹⁰ A strange form which would seem to belong here is *gagghate*, A IV 301,¹⁷ (on which see Cone s.v.). It would exceed the scope of this article to discuss this and other anomalous formations (such as *patipajjāmi*, D III 189,8).

⁹¹ On roots ending in a vowel which form the $^{\circ}sya$ -future see n. 49.

⁹² *anukassāmi*, D II 255,23* (*silokam* ~), which was erroneously regarded by CPD (s.v. *anukasati*) as “fut. 1 sg.” of *anu-* $\sqrt{kṣ}$ (as in Cone, who alternatively suspects *anukassāmi* to be an error for **anugassāmi*), is the future of *anukaroti* “to do after [someone has done something], to recite after [someone has recited]” (cf. Takakusu 1900: 141–42).

These developed into two groups in Pāli (and also in Middle Indo-Aryan), the one having (1) *-khh-* and the other characterized by (2) *-cch-*:⁹³

(1) ($\sqrt{dṛś}$) *dakkham*, Th 1099 (Chatṭh *daccham*); *dakkhāmi*, D II 207,13; *dakkhasi*, Ja II 420,4*; V 208,9*/13*; S I 116,11* (= S I (2nd ed.) 256,25*), 132,12* (= S I (2nd ed.) 289,10*) = *dakkhisi*; Thī 232 (v.l. [and Chatṭh] *dakkhasi*, the reading also of Ap 556,22); *dakkhasī*, Ja V 43,1*; *dakkhati*, Ja V 345,8* = 346,26*; D III 158,21* (v.l. [and Chatṭh] *dakkhīti*); M II 10,6, 15; III 130,1 (v.l. *dakkhīti*), 21; S II 255,23; Vin III 105,26; *dakkhatha*, Ja V 309,17*; *dakkhanti*, Vin I 5,11* (*rāgarattā na* ~ [on which see below]); *dakkhisi*, Ja VI 423,7*, 496,23*... 497,24*, 498,15*-27* (B^d *dakkhasi*); M I 512,11 (Chatṭh *dakkhissati*); *dakkhīti*, D II 130,2 (v.l. *dakkhati*), 132,22 (v.l. *dakkhissati*); M II 202,6, 203,8; S I 198,2* (= S I (2nd ed.) 428,10* [vv.ll. *dakkhati*, *dakkhīti*]); Sn 909 (Chatṭh throughout *dakkhati*); *dakkhīti*, D I 165,19, 22, 29; M I 434,28, 34, 435,2, 8 (Chatṭh throughout *dakkhati*),⁹⁴ *dakkhīti*, D I 46,10, 12, 18; II 26,9, 14, 18, 27,17, 24, 41,31; M I 168,8* = S I 136,24* (*rāgarattā na* ~ [on which see above]);⁹⁵ S II 109,18-19, 111,2-3 —— (\sqrt{bhuj}) *bhokkham*, Ja IV 127,20* (*bhuñjissāmi*, 129,14*); *bhokkhāma*, Ja V 166,7*, —— (\sqrt{muc}) *mokkhasi*, Ja I 363,12*; S I 105,15* = 106,7* (= S I (2nd ed.) 235,16* = 237,6*), 111,29* (= Vin I 21,18*), 115,14 (= S I (2nd ed.) 255,16), 116,9* (= S I (2nd ed.) 256,20*); *mokkhāma*, Ja VI 183,12*; *mokkhanti*, Dhp 37; *pamokkhati*, Ja 183,21*... 184,25*; *pamo-kkhanti*, Dhp 276 (all with passive meaning), —— (\sqrt{vac}) *vakkhāmi*, Ja III 346,21*; D III 9* (*pa+*); Sn 702 (*pa+*); *vakkhasi*, Ja V 150,19*; *vakkhati*, Ja V 324,6* (*pa+*); M III 207,23; S I 142,32; *vakkhāma*, M III 207,23; S IV 72,9; *vakkhatha*, Vin III 224,20; IV

⁹³ Apart from some frequently used forms like *mokkhati* and *vakkhati* the following list registers, hopefully, all that is attested.

⁹⁴ According to Cone s.v. \sqrt{dis}^2 (II 396b) *dakkhīti*, D I 165,19 = M I 434,34, is an erroneous reading. Note, however, that “les quelques graphies *-īti* résultent de l’habitude de noter *-ī* (en fin du mot) devant *ti* (ə: *iti*)” (Smith 1952: 176, n. 4).

⁹⁵ Chatṭh *dakkhanti* throughout.

58,6; *vakkhanti*, Ja IV 185,17*; 340,14* (*pa+*); Vin II 1,21, — (⟨viś⟩) *pavekkhāmi*, Ja I 503,20*; III 86,5*; S IV 199,6 ... 200,18, *pavekkhāma*, Ja VI 304,6* — (⟨śak⟩) *sakkhasi*, S IV 62,29; Nidd I 175,27* = 180,16*, *sakkhati*, Sn 319, 320; S IV 323,32–33, *sakkhīti*; Sn 28; *sakkhī*, Ja V 116,5* (Chatṭh *sakkhīsi*);⁹⁶ *sakkhīti*, M I 393,6, 7, 11, 394,28, 29, 33 (Chatṭh throughout *sakkhīti*); *sagghasi*, Sn 834 (Chatṭh *sakkhasi*)

(2) (⟨āp⟩) *pacchatī*, A IV 362,10 (E *pajjati*);⁹⁷ — (⟨chid⟩) *checcham*, Ja III 500,23* (C^k B^{df} *chejjam*) = 519,2* (C^k *chejjam*, B^d *chijjam*); VI 51,17* (C^s *chejjam*); *checchasi*, Ja VI 453,22*–28* (C^{ks} throughout *chejjasi*); (ac) *checchatī*, Ja III 209,2*; Th 761; Dhp 350, *ucchecchāmi*, D II 72,7, 20 (= *ucchejjissāmi*, A IV 17,16, 28), — (⟨bhid⟩) *bhecchāmi*, Sn 443 (Chatṭh; Ee *gacchāmi*);⁹⁸ *bhecchatī*, A I 8,3, 7, 12, 16, *bhejjati*, Ja III 430,30* (Chatṭh *bhecchatī*), — (⟨rud⟩) *rucchāti*, Ja V 366,13* (C^{ks} *rucchīti*, see Fausbøll n. 14); VI 80,13*⁹⁹ = 550,11*, 13*, 19*, 21* # 15*, 17* (Fausbøll always *rucchīti* with C^{ks}); *uparucchāti*, Ja VI 551,28*/30* — (⟨labh⟩) *lacchāmi*, Ap 124,11; Ja V 467,20*; M II 71,6; *lacchāsi*, Ap 517,6 (*pati+*); Ja IV 61,8*; Pv 173; M II 71,1; *lacchāsi*, Ja VI 483,30*; *lacchāti*, Ap 344,26; Ja II 258,18*; D III 58,20/21; S I 114,19; II 268,8, 15; *lacchāma*, Ud 30,29 ... 34; Ja IV 292,21*; V 468,1*; S V 169,2; *lacchāti*, Vin III 15,14; *lacchāse*, Ja IV 47,3* (*pati+*); V 345,7*; *lacchāte*, Ap 479,27; *lacchāmase*, Vv 320, — (⟨vas⟩) *vacchāmi*, Ja VI 523,11*; *vaccham*, Thī 414, 425; *vacchāsi*, Ap 609,16; Ja VI 172,19*, 518,6* (E^e

⁹⁶ It seems we have to postulate *sakkhihi* (< *sakkhīsi*) and further *sakkhi*-⟨h>i as intermediate stages.

⁹⁷ This future needs to be added to Berger's list (1961: 38).

⁹⁸ On the reading *bhecchāmi* see Norman 1983, pp. 144f.

⁹⁹ On this stanza see Čičak-Chand 1974: 28.

*c'acchasi);¹⁰⁰ *vacchasi*, Ja IV 217,4*; *vakkhati*, Thī 294, — (✓śuṣ)
avasucchati, Ja VI 80,14*, 16*¹⁰¹ = 550,20*, 22*.¹⁰²*

10. Mere statistics strongly point to the fact that *no* Saṃprasāraṇa at all is involved in the formation of the *°khh-* and *°cch-*future. Of thirteen “roots” only two have an *-i*- after the future suffix. And these two *°(khh)i*-futures¹⁰³ have *°(khh)a*-futures besides them.¹⁰⁴ And it is surely not by chance alone that precisely these two *°kkhi*-futures, viz. *dakkhati* and *sakkhiti*, have by-forms in *°kkhīti* and *°kkhissati*.¹⁰⁵

sakkhissasi, M III 269,15 (≈ *sakkhasi*, S IV 62,29); Vin I 274,9, 12, 14; III 19,33, 20,21, 22,18

dakkhissāmi, D II 27,22; *dakkhissam*, Ja IV 395,21*; *dakkhissasi*, Ud 58,22; D II 27,26; M I 328,14; M II 201,4 (vv.ll. *dakkhati*, *dakkhīti*); III 5,10, 11; S III 108,20, 23; Vin I 185,26; *dakkhissati*, D II 27,18; Vin I 179,14; *dakkhissāma*, Ap 156,9; *dakkhisāma*, Ja III 99,7*; *dakkhissatha*, M II 60,5, Vin III 14,22; *dakkhissanti*, S II 109.

Other than the case of *sakkhati*,¹⁰⁶ that of *dakkhati* is sufficiently clear. Very soon it was no longer felt to be exclusively a future, but came to be used as present:¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ So read with Alsdorf 1957: 39 (= *Kl. Sch.* p. 308) against CPD's (s.v.) *acchati* (< *ātsyate).

¹⁰¹ On this stanza see Čičak-Chand 1974: 28.

¹⁰² L^k reads *°sujhati* as do C^{ks} (see CPD s.v. *avasussati*). Note that *avasucchati* exhibits interference between *°khh-* and *°cch-*futures.

¹⁰³ *°cchi*-futures are not attested at all.

¹⁰⁴ Moreover there occurs a large fluctuation in the manuscripts between *-a*- and *-i*- in the futures *dakkhati/dakkhiti* and *sakkhati/sakkhiti* (for random examples see Cone s.v. ✓dis² [fut. 3. sg. *dakkhatti*³ *dakkhīti*¹]) — almost “selon les goûts des scribes et des éditeurs”, as Smith (1952: 176) has put it.

¹⁰⁵ Also *pavakkhissam*, Cp 2, is a ‘double’ future that displays a present *pavakkhati* (< *pravakṣyati*).

¹⁰⁶ Was *sakkhati* understood as present by its nearness to *sakkā* “is able, can”?

dakkhāmi, Ap 532,26* (Chatth *ikkhāmi*); Nidd I 45,29 ([*passāmi*] ~ *olokemi nijjhāyāmi upaparikkhāmi*) = 47,21 ~ 84,7; *dakkhati*, Nidd I 74,7 ([*passati*] ~ *oloketi nijjhāyati upaparikkhati*) = 105,4; *dakkhatha*, Nidd I 50,14-15 ([*passatha*] *dakkhatha oloketha nijjhāyatha upaparikkhatha*); *dakkheyya*, Nidd I 302,9 (*passeyya ... dakkheyya ... olokeyya ... nijjhāyeyya ... upaparikkheyya*); *dakkhassu*, Nidd II ad Sn 1119; *dakkhemu*, Ja IV 462,8* = 463,2* = 464,6*; VI 229,27*, 312,13* (cf. [aor.] *dakkhisam*, Thī 84; *dakkhiya*, Thī 381; *dakkhitāye*, D II 254,7*; S I 26,25*; *dakkhitum*, Vin I 179,12 [in: *dakkhitu-kāmo*])

To distinguish the future from the present,¹⁰⁸ *dakkhati* was not only amplified by adding the future suffix to yield *dakkhissati*,¹⁰⁹ but an *-i*- was introduced too, which at once brought it into line with the aorist (*dakkhiti* :: *addakkhim*; cf. *sakkhiti* :: *asakkhim*). And this *-i*- is found only in 2nd and 3rd sg. and 3rd plural, exactly as in the *h*-future. Hence it can be surmised that its source was the *°hi*-future.

However, the future suffix *°(i)Sya-* is the *only* form where, according to the present-day view, Samprasāraṇa *-Cya-* > *-CCi-* undoubtedly worked.¹¹⁰ Given that we have to explain the development of that form otherwise, we have to dispense altogether with this phonological process for an explanation of Middle Indic.

11. Comparable to other cases of supposed Samprasāraṇa, the development of *°sya-* into *°hi-* was due to a combined process of analogy and palatalization. The simplification of the cluster *-sy-* into mere *-s-* was mainly done in analogy with the aorist (see also below), while the change of *-(sy)a-* into **-(s)a-* and further into *-(h)i-* was effected by the original *-y-* (on the *-h-* see pp. 186f.). It will suffice to give examples of

¹⁰⁷ This was surely also due to the similarity with *pekkhati* (see Smith *apud* Bloch, *Recueil* 103, n. 1).

¹⁰⁸ Note also the Chatth reading *daccham* at Th 1099 (see above).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Bloch 1965: 227.

¹¹⁰ See von Hinüber 2001: § 129; cf. Oberlies 2001: 43–44.

the future to show the strong tendency for *-a-* to be changed into *-i-* by a preceding *-y-:*¹¹¹

— *akkhissam* (< *ākhyāsyāmi*), Sn 997; Ja IV 257,26*; VI 523,21*;

Vin V 144,6*; Pv 529; *akkhissati*, Pv 579; *vyakkhissam*, Sn 600 (cf. *ācikkhissam*, Thī 434)

— *upaññissam* (< *upanyasyāmi*), Sn 701 = 716 (see Norman *ad loc.*)¹¹²

— *sossi* (< **sossisi* < *śroṣyasi*), Ja VI 423,8* (cf. *sakkhī*, Ja V 116,5*, on which see n. 96)

The examples also clearly show that the process of palatalization is often promoted by analogies, here by that of the *°iss*-future. This was also the case with the development of *-i-* out of *-a-* into the *h*-future, where the aorist with its *-si-* served as a model. But above all it was the final *-i* which forced *-a-* to change into *-i-* by means of retrograde assimilation (see p. 179).

12. What remains for clarification is the development of *-s-* into *-h-*.¹¹³ Assuming our interpretation of the facts is correct, there was an intermediate stage **°zə-* (< *°sya-*) which in Pāli developed into *°hi-* whenever the ending had a final *-i* (see p. 179). What can be surmised, then, is that the *i* was decisive for the development *s > *z > h*. In the course of which, the future became dissimilar from the aorist with its *-si-*.

There are just a few examples of *h < s*¹¹⁴ in all of Middle Indo-Aryan, the most important of which are the clusters *Sm* and *SN* which

¹¹¹ Norman's detailed lists (1976, 1983) do not have examples of the palatalizing effect of *l* and *h* for which see Oberlies 2001: 32 where (e.g.) *nilicchita-*, Ja VI 238,12*, 18* (~ *nilacchita-*, Thī 439) can be added.

¹¹² Cf. *upaññissati* (< *upajñāsyati*), Ja V 215,17*.

¹¹³ The “Verhauchung” of *s* which is widely attested has been treated in some detail by Kūmmel (2007: 102–104).

¹¹⁴ The few instances in Middle Indo-Aryan (for which, see von Hinüber 2001: § 221) have been rather inconclusively discussed by Milizia (2011: 29–31).

developed into *mh* and *Nh*.¹¹⁵ And here occurs the most striking example of this sound change, which at least in Pāli is highly sporadic.¹¹⁶ It concerns the local suffix *°him*, which is part of

tahim,¹¹⁷ Ap 198,17, 295,12 (*yahim* ~); Ja III 529,13*, 530,2*; V 490,26*; VI 26,10*; Th 58, 309, 1135; Thī 254, 261; Pv 19, 343, 445, 631–63 (= Vv 1249–50), 751; Vin I 100,2*, 267,9*; II 144,14*; V 148,16*

yahim, Ja I 272,13*; D I 220,31, 238,26; Pv 631–632 = Vv 1249–50; M I 400,21

kuhim, D II 343,18, 345,6, 357,4; M I 8,15, 486,21; II 27,10, 28,20; S I 115,13, 122,18*; II 27,8*; Ja III 217,10*; Th 1133; Thī 304; Sn 311–412; Pv 246; Vv 739, 741.

Already Jacobi (1886: XXXIX) maintained that the Prakrit pronominal forms in *°him* are “Apabhramśa”, though it would have been more appropriate to call these forms “colloquial”. They go back to *tamhi* (etc.) which had developed from *tasmi* (etc.), an old by-form of *tasmin*¹¹⁸ (see Alsdorf 1937: 33–37).¹¹⁹

What he completely overlooked is the sound-change *-mh-* / *-Nh-* < *-Sm-* / *-SN-*.

¹¹⁵ See Hock 2006.

¹¹⁶ The *-h-* of 1 sg. med. *vāreyyāhe*, D II 267,11, did not develop out of *-s-*, but arose from the analogy with the 1st sg. in *-eyyāham* (cf. *yaṣṭāhe*, Taittirīya-Āranyaka I 4,11).

¹¹⁷ *tahim* was transformed into *taham* (attested in canonical texts only in the Vinaya [e.g. Vin II 34,12, III 232,3, IV 115,14, V 29,7]) on analogy with *ihā*. Note that there is no *yaham* and — at least in canonical texts — no *kuham*. But there is *kaham*, which is widely to be found in old texts. So the connection between *kuhim* and *kaham* is a problem yet to be resolved.

¹¹⁸ See Oberlies 2001a: 367.

¹¹⁹ The explanation proposed by Smith, Sadd V 1332 (s.v. *kuhim*) — “kuh(am) x (tar)hi, cf. prkr. *tahim*” — is far from convincing. And Wackernagel’s claim that *tahim*, etc., are true archaisms, which belonged together with Greek τόθι (1888: 148 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 651] and 1910: 291 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 276]; cf. *AiGr.* III 445, 551), has long (and rightly) been abandoned.

The second example of *h* < *s*, viz. *kāmehi*, Ja V 295,15* (see Chopra 1966: 111), is admittedly less sure. But the structure of the stanza

*abhu hi tassa bho hoti | yo anicchantam icchatī
akāmaṇ rāja kāmehi | akanto kantam icchasi*

is such that each of its verses ends with a verb. And indeed the corresponding stanza of the *Mahāvastu* (II 481,11*-12* = III 16,19*-20*) has 2sg. *kāmesi*: (*vikṣepo tava cittasya*) *yam anicchantam icchasi / akāmāṇ rāja kāmesi (naitam paṇḍitalakṣaṇam)*). Note that, in *kāmehi*, the *s* that developed into *h* is followed by *-i*- too.

Thus there seems to have been a close conjunction between *h* and *i* in these colloquial forms.¹²⁰ Hence it is evident that *s* changed into *h* in a process of a mutual influencing of *s* and *i*: *sya_i* > **zə_i* > *hi_i*. Finally, this brings us to the sound cluster *-hi-*. Here too, *h* exerted a palatalizing influence on neighbouring sounds,¹²¹ as noted already by the *Saddanīti* (629,9-10) which cites *tañ hi*, Sn 757, and *sañhito* (A IV 166, n. 7; Vin IV 15,10). One may add from the array of future forms

(√*hā*) *hessāmi*,¹²² Ja IV 415,19*... 416,17* (B^d *hissāmi*); V 468,21*; VI 501,18* (B^d *hissāmi*) ~ *hassāmi*, Ja V 465,7* (B^{ds} *hissāmi*).

13. According to the evidence of the oldest Middle Indic texts in our possession, the *h*-future was unknown in north-western and western India. It seems to have been at home in the more easterly areas — the area of the *koinē gangetique* — from where it was taken over into Pāli. As with other forms of the proto-canonical Buddhist language, this future is scarcely attested in the texts of the Pāli canon and stands *beside* a form that is etymologically related, viz. the °*ass*-future (*dāhiti* ~

¹²⁰ The paucity of the change *h* < *s* tallies well with the scarcity of all colloquial elements in Pāli, such as *deśī* words (see Oberlies 2001: 5, n. 5).

¹²¹ On the palatal tinge of *h* in various New Indo-Aryan languages see Bloch 1965: 35.

¹²² It may be that also the younger future *jahissati* played a part in remodelling **hassati* (< *hāsyati*) into *hissati* (as maintained by von Hinüber 2001: §472).

dassati). From it the *h*-future developed by a process combining analogy and phonology. Throughout the history of the older Indo-Aryan languages (Vedic Sanskrit, Sankrit, Old Middle Indic) and throughout the area where these languages were in use,¹²³ the aorist exercised a noticeable influence upon the future that resulted in various analogies. One of them was the degemination of Middle Indic *-ss-* of the future suffix, which was enhanced by the terminal weakness of this suffix. This process commenced in often-used verbs terminating in a long vowel (e.g. $\sqrt{d(h)}\bar{a}$, $\sqrt{y}\bar{a}$ and $\sqrt{h}\bar{a}$). Here it first gave rise to a ${}^{\circ}\bar{V}sa$ -future which was thus held together with other forms with a long vowel (e.g. *dāpeti*, *dātum*, *dātabba-*). Since, however, this form, attested only by faint traces in Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī,¹²⁴ possessed a hard-to-recognize suffix, it was evidently replaced by the *h*-future already within the *koinē ganétique*. The genesis of this form was a purely phonological process. The *-y-* of the future suffix *-sy-* coloured the following *-a-* into what must have originally been an *-ə-* (yielding */-zə-/*). Whereas in Aśokan Prakrit this sound was represented by an *-a-*, in Pāli it was adjusted to the final *-i* of the endings resulting in *-i-*.¹²⁵ This vowel contributed, in turn, to the ‘Verhauchung’ of *-s-* (more precisely, of the voiced sibilant */-z-/*) into *-h-*. Thus did the vernacular *h*-future acquire its characteristic form ${}^{\circ}hi_i\#$, when it was taken over from the ‘eastern’ *koinē ganétique* into Pāli. From the *h*-future the *-i-* intruded into the futures *dakkhissāmi* / *dakkhiti* and *sakkhissasi*. Since in these forms too no Samprasāraṇa (${}^{\circ}Cya$ - > (${}^{\circ}C)Ci$ -) has operated — and at present they are the *sole* certain examples we have for assuming this kind of phonetic

¹²³ Whether Girnār’s *kāsamti* represents *kāsanti* or *kāssanti*, it points to a future that is formed in analogy with the aorist (see p. 177).

¹²⁴ *kāsamti* in the Girnār version of RE V and *kaṣati* at Shāhbāzgāṛhī attest, it seems, to the ${}^{\circ}\bar{V}sa$ -future also for the north-west and the far west (see p. 177).

¹²⁵ Much the same happened in “western” *esiti* (as proved by Gāndhārī *eṣidi*) and *gamissiti* (as proved by Śaurasenī *gamissi*^o), see p. 180.

change — we have to dispense with it altogether.¹²⁶ Instead it is the interaction between palatalisation by -y- and analogy that has yielded the supposed result of Middle Indic ([°]C)Ci-Samprasāraṇa.

The abbreviations of texts and signs are those of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Additionally the following ones have been used:

#! parallel passage!

x! crossed with

¹²⁶ Why, on the other hand, ([°]C)va- > ([°]C)Cu- is well attested and its existence is beyond doubt (see von Hinüber 2001: § 134 and Oberlies 2001: 33 [§ 9.14]) remains to be clarified.

LITERATURE

Alsdorf 1935–37
Alsdorf 1937
Alsdorf 1957
Alsdorf 1960
Alsdorf 1962
Bechert 1961
Bendall 1888
Berger 1955
Berger 1961
Bloch 1950
Bloch 1965
Bloch, *Recueil*
Bloomfield &
Edgerton 1930
Bollée 1988
Caillat 1970

L. Alsdorf. “The Vasudevahinḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī”. *BSOS* 8 (1935–37) 319–33 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 56–70).
———. *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*. Leipzig 1937.
———. “Bemerkungen zum Vessantara-Jātaka”. *WZKSO* 1 (1957) 1–70 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 270–339).
———. “Contributions to the Study of Aśoka’s Inscriptions”. *Sushil Kumar De Felicitation Volume = BDCRI* 20 (1960) 249–75 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 428–54).
———. “Uttarajjhāyā Studies”. *IJ* 6 (1962) 110–36 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 225–51).
H. Bechert. “Das Cullasutasomajātaka”. *MSS* 42 (1961) 13–28.
C. Bendall. “The Tantrākhyāna, a Collection of Indian Folklore, from a unique Sanskrit MS. discovered in Nepal”. *JRAS* 1888, 465–501.
H. Berger. *Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre*. München 1955.
———. “Futurisches *gacchati* im Pāli”. *MSS* 42 (1961) 29–41.
J. Bloch. *Les inscriptions d’Asoka*. Paris 1950.
———. *Indo-Aryan. From the Vedas to Modern Times*. Paris 1965.
Recueil d’Articles de Jules Bloch, 1906–1955. Textes rassemblés par Colette Caillat. Paris 1985.
M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton. *Vedic Variants*. Volume I: *The Verb*. Philadelphia 1930.
W. Bollée. *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa. Textteile, Nijuttī, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*. Teil II. Stuttgart 1988.
C. Caillat. *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du Pāli*. Turin 1970 (= *Selected Papers* pp. 1–24).

Caillat 1977/78 ———. “Forms of the Future in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada”. *ABORI* 58/59 (1977/78) = *Diamond Jubilee Volume*, pp. 101–106 (= *Selected Papers* pp. 125–30).

Chopra 1966 T. R. Chopra. *The Kuśa-Jātaka. A Critical and Comparative Study*. Hamburg 1966 (*Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien* 13).

Čičak-Chand 1974 R. Čičak-Chand. *Das Sāma-Jātaka. Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und vergleichende Studie*. Bonn 1974 (Inaugural-Dissertation).

Emeneau 1968 M.B. Emeneau. “Prakrit Etymological Notes”. *Katre Felicitation Volume. Part I* (= *Indian Linguistics* 29 [1968]), pp. 30–33.

von Hinüber 2001 O. von Hinüber. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Wien 2001.

Hock 2006 H.H. Hock. “Aspirate Sonorants vs. Sonorants + (h) in Middle Indo-Aryan”. *Nyāya-Vasiṣṭha. Felicitation Volume of Prof. V. N. Jha* (ed. by Manabendu Banerjee). Kolkata 2006, 117–26.

Hoffmann 1976 H. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. Hrsg. von J. Narten. Wiesbaden 1976.

Jacobi 1886 H. Jacobi. *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhā-rāshṭrī*. Leipzig 1886.

Kümmel 2007 M. J. Kümmel. *Konsonantenwandel. Bausteine zu einer Typologie des Lautwandels und ihrer Konsequenzen für die vergleichende Rekonstruktion*. Wiesbaden 2007.

Leumann 1952 M. Leumann. “Morphologische Neuerungen im alt-indischen Verbalsystem”. *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*. Nieuwe Reeks, 15,3. Amsterdam 1952.

Lüders 1911 H. Lüders. *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*. Berlin 1911.

Michelson 1909 T. Michelson. “Linguistic Notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra Redactions of Asoka’s Fourteen-edicts”. *The American Journal of Philology* 30 (1909) 284–97.

Milizia 2011 P. Milizia. “On the Origin of the Middle Indic Future Suffix *-hi-*”. *JAOS* 131 (2011) 25–37.

Müller 1884 E. Müller. *A Simplified Grammar of the Pāli Language*. London 1884.

Narten 1964 J. Narten. *Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda*. Wiesbaden 1964.

Norman 1976 K.R. Norman. “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XIII: The Palatalization of Vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan”, *JOIB* 25 (1976) 328–42 (= *CP* I 220–37).

Norman 1983 ———. “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XVI: The Palatalisation and Labialisation of Vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan”. *JOIB* 33 (1983) 275–279 (= *CP* III 12–18).

Oberlies 1992 Th. Oberlies. “Eine Dissimilationsregel in den Aśoka-Inscriften”. *WZKS* 36 (1992) 19–22.

Oberlies 1995/96 ———. “Der Text der Jātaka-Gāthās in Fausbølls Ausgabe (II)”. (*Stand und Aufgaben der Jātaka-Forschung* I, Teil 2). *BEI* 13/14 (1995/96) 269–305.

Oberlies 2001 ———. *Pāli: A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka*. Berlin, New York 2001.

Oberlies 2001a ———. “Die Prakrit-Sprachen und das vedische Sanskrit”. *Tohfa-e-Dil: Festschrift Helmut Nesipal*. Reinbek 2001, 365–72.

Oldenberg 1881 H. Oldenberg. “Bemerkungen zur Pāli-Grammatik”. *ZvS* 25 (1881) 314–27 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 1162–75).

Sakamoto-Gotō 1988 J. Sakamoto-Gotō. “Die mittelindische Lautentwicklung von *v* in Konsonantengruppen mit Verschlußlaut bzw. Zischlaut”. *IIJ* 31 (1988) 87–109.

Schulze 1904 W. Schulze. “Lit. *kláusiu* und das indogermanische Futurum”. *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1904, 1434–42 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 101–109).

Schwarzschild 1953 L. A. Schwarzschild. “Notes on the Future System in Middle Indo-Aryan”. *JRAS* 1953, 42–52 (= *Collected Articles* pp. 1–11).

Smith 1952 H. Smith. “Le future moyen Indien et ses rythmes”. *JA* 1952, 169–83.

Takakusu 1900 J. Takakusu. *A Pāli Chrestomathy, with Notes and Glossary Giving Sanskrit and Chinese Equivalents*. Tokyo 1900.

Tedesco 1945 P. Tedesco. “Hindī *bhejnā* ‘to send’”. *JAOS* 65 (1945) 154–63.

Tedesco 1946 ———. “Sanskrit *bāspa-* ‘tears’”. *Language* 22 (1946) 184–93.

Thieme 1981 P. Thieme. “Lexikalische und grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Aśoka-Inschriften”. *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus. Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*. Wiesbaden 1981, 297–300 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 907–10).

Trenckner 1908 V. Trenckner. “Pāli Miscellany”. *JPTS* 1908, 102–51.

Turner 1927 R.L. Turner. “The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan”. *JRAS* 1927, 227–39 (= *Collected Papers* pp. 291–300)

Turner 1931 ———. “The Future Stem in Aśoka”. *BSOS* 6 (1931) 529–37 (= *Collected Papers* pp. 323–30).

Turner 1935–37 ———. “Review of J. Bloch, *L’Indo-Aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*”. *BSOS* 8 (1935–37) 203–12.

Wackernagel 1888 J. Wackernagel. “Miszellen zur griechischen Grammatik”. *ZvS* 29 (1888) 124–52 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 627–55).

Wackernagel 1910 ———. “Indoiranica”. *ZvS* 43 (1910) 277–98 (= *Kl. Sch.* pp. 262–83).

Wright 1995 J.C. Wright. “Review of: O. von Hinüber, K.R. Norman (eds.). *Dhammapada*”. *BSOAS* 58 (1995) 437–38.

A NOBEL FOR THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY? T. W. RHYS DAVIDS WRITES TO THE NOBEL COMMISSION OF THE SWEDISH ACADEMY*

Eugen Ciurtin

Nearly one century ago, when all Europe crossed the threshold of a first world war, septuagenarian Thomas William Rhys Davids resolved to write to the Swedish Academy in Stockholm in order to plead for a Nobel Prize for literature to be granted to the cumulative labours of the Pali Text Society. The event and its circumstances eluded, it seems, the public record and scholarly remembrance. Two letters of 1915, apparently sent to Nathan Söderblom, are extant, and this brief note would like to present them according to the worth they may have for the Pali scholar. Since its 125th anniversary Festschrift, the Pali Text Society and the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* have regularly included contributions to Pali historiography as a major part of the history of Buddhist and Asian Studies outside, yet in close alliance with, Asia.¹ This most valiant yet unnoticed plea would hence augment the sources for a refined history of modern Pali learning.²

* I am much obliged for earlier discussions (in Bucharest, in Paris, or from Danderyd *in litteris*) to the late Professor Siegfried Lienhard (1924–2011) as well as to the editors, Professors Oskar von Hinüber and Rupert M.L. Gethin, and members of PTS Council, particularly Professor Nalini Balbir (who directed me to the *JPTS*), for comments and for including this note in the very *Journal Rhys Davids* founded. I am thankful as always to my sister Dr.dr.med. Coziana Ciurtin (University College London) for additional British support.

¹ Siegfried Lienhard (2007) together with Siegfried Lienhard (2009), Jonathan A. Silk, (2012), Erik Braun and William Pruitt (2012). For an overview of the recent historiographical advances in Indic and Buddhist Studies outside Asia, see Eugen Ciurtin (2010).

² Notwithstanding the spate of (certainly uneven) scholarship during the last decades, not only Pali, but Buddhist Studies in general benefit from no general

The unique role T.W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922)³ played, together with his former pupil, then colleague and wife Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids (1857–1942), for the study of Pali and Buddhism, and the existence of Pali Text Society, needs no particular emphasis in this setting, since, as Oskar von Hinüber writes, “The Society was dominated for the first 61 years — almost half of its existence — by the Rhys Davids family.”⁴

Was such entreaty rather implausible from the point of view of the Nobel Commission? Since its inception and up to the death of Rhys Davids, there were several Nobel Prizes for literature in some way related to South Asia: two of the honourees were born or lived there — Rudyard Kipling, who received it in 1907, and especially Rabindranath Tagore, as the first Asian, in 1913. Tagore was in fact the last Nobel winner Rhys Davids heard of, but he missed Tagore’s acceptance speech, as Tagore came to Stockholm only in 1921. Meanwhile, no Nobel prizes were awarded in 1914, as Rhys Davids noted, nor eventually in 1918. In 1915, the very year he contemplated the chances of the Pali Text Society, the honour was bestowed upon one of his readers: Romain Rolland (1866–1944). And again in 1917, the winner (*ex aequo*) was the Danish-German Karl Adolph Gjellerup (1857–1919, having the apposite penname “Epigonos”), who reportedly “moved from Lutheran to atheist/naturalist to Buddhism and mystical Christianity”⁵ and whose *Pilgrimen/Der Pilger Kamanita* (1906) has already received special

work similar in intent, penetration and vistas to Louis Renou’s *Les maîtres de la philologie védique* (Renou 1928), except Jan Willem de Jong’s *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, which is somewhat dismissive of the Rhys Davidses), with a very similar complement, for Indo-Iranian and Zoroastrian past (scholarship), by Jean Kellens 2006 (see n. 16).

³ Most obituaries and valuable secondary and tertiary literature on Rhys Davids are listed in Yasuhiro Sueki 2008 (under § M2.016), who misses only Judith Snodgrass 2007.

⁴ Oskar von Hinüber 2007, xi.

⁵ Louise S. Shelby (ed.) 2002, 73.

(although mixed) criticism, not the least from Buddhist scholars in Europe and afterwards from the monastic milieu in South-East Asia. Recipient of the Nobel of 1921, Anatole France (1844–1924) assumed already in the 1890s that, comparing the spread and persistence of Buddhism in Asia, “If one reflects, its fortune in Europe during the last sixty years has been no less extraordinary.”⁶ This fortune, without any doubt, played a part in the works of Rhys Davids. European *engouement* for things Buddhist in the public sphere was just broadly spreading. Alfred Nobel’s older brother Ludvig (1831–1888) even christened an oil tanker he designed in 1878 (measuring some 207 × 27 × 9 feet for a capacity of 860 tonnes) as *Buddha* (other ones were called *Brahma*, *Zoroaster*, and even *Darwin*), right before the greater impact of Edwin Arnold’s *Light of Asia*.

Sporadic as they may appear, such *nugae* of Nobel recipients might have been contributory to the prospect nurtured by the British scholar. Rhys Davids had, it goes without saying, approached quite a few public authorities of many sorts, including some imperial ones. He hence benefited for instance from a Civil List life pension from the 1890s, bestowed upon him by Prime Minister Gladstone,⁷ and in 1899–1900 he strenuously appealed to the then Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, to establish a collection of historical books on South Asia. The very neutrality of Sweden during the war also increased a much looked-for positive perspective. Indeed, the letters date from the beginning of the most difficult period for the Pali Text Society, as K.R. Norman stresses, “[S]hortage of money created many problems in the years between the two world wars. Some of the Annual Reports for years in that period make sorry reading.”⁸ Besides this, Article 10 of the PTS by-laws clearly stipulated, “No member

⁶ In the minor piece “Bouddhisme”, France 1902, 380: “En Europe, sa fortune depuis soixante ans n'est pas moins extraordinaire, si l'on y songe”), translated by D.B. Stuart 1922, 362).

⁷ More details in Andrew Huxley’s 2013 SOAS inaugural lecture on “T.W. Rhys Davids and the Forged Relics of the Buddha”.

⁸ K.R. Norman 1981, 71/195.

shall be entitled to any profit from any working of the Society" (see for example *JPTS*, Vol. 7 (1917–1919), p. vi).

As literally thousands of present-day contributions in Buddhist studies straightforwardly prove, Rhys Davids remains an inescapable author, and his letters⁹ do have inherent worth. Even the residence from where he wrote to Sweden — by the same token a letter meant for the Commission's Secretary Harald Hjärne (1848–1922)? — has notable resonance for generations of his readers. Chipstead housed the creation of the first massive Pali library in Europe, including the arduous preparation of the *Pali–English Dictionary*. It was at that very time a "peaceful cottage on the Surrey Hill overlooking the Railway Station", as remembered one early Indian student of theirs, Benimadhab Barua (1888–1948),¹⁰ the first Asian to receive a D.Litt. from the University of London, precisely as a pupil of Rhys Davids in 1914–1917. Nonetheless, another feature motivates, above and beyond the unusual appeal for the Nobel Prize, this publication of the letters and some tentative remarks.

As perhaps nowhere else in his writings except in a short overview published in 1900,¹¹ Rhys Davids argues that the works of the Society had already contributed a great deal to a proper Pali (and Buddhist) renaissance of utmost general relevance, being therefore authorized to further articulate its findings, goals, and public potential. In spite of the wartime urges, Rhys Davids found himself also best equipped to recap the work of the Society, for an audience definitely less well acquainted with the Pali Text Society's scholarship: "It may be best compared with that of the few scholars at the time of the Renaissance, who rescued and published the still surviving remains of Greek literature." The statement

⁹ The papers and correspondence of the Rhys Davidses are preserved by the Faculty of Asian & Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge, see <http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/faclib/archive/rhys.html> (accessed 29 September 2013).

¹⁰ B.M. Barua 1943, 408.

¹¹ T.W. Rhys Davids 1900, 522, admirably commented upon by Kevin Trainor, 1997.

looks therefore as if it was written from a unique, uppermost viewpoint, with the vibrant voice of a strong will. As Oskar von Hinüber has emphasized, in Pali “looking down from a mountain is a *topos*”.¹² Rhys Davids looked back from the many Pali Text Society achievements and gazed upon a Pali renaissance. And he added, “There is reasonable expectation that the work of the Pali Text Society will have an influence over greater Europe or Eastern Asia similar to that of the Renaissance scholars among ourselves.” Not only that the Renaissance can truly be manifold, but it can even be a shortage. Henceforth, successful renais-sances certainly require accredited antiquities. And even the sanctioning by dint of the Nobel Prize of the Indian Buddhist antiquity, in its Pali attire, would suggest a finale, as the advancement of academic learning itself, Rhys Davids implies, has a, or has *this* mission: “The present opportunity of aiding the renaissance of another literature that may be of great importance to the progress of the world is almost certainly the last that can be open to any Academy.”

Might have this truly been other than a “road not taken”?¹³ The let-downs of the grander vistas uniting the “Oriental” Antiquity to the “Classical”, Greco-Roman one — incongruent alliance of a cultural space (derogatory) with a cultural time (dominant) — were as unremitting as persisted to be the attempts to reconstruct and integrate the whole religious and literary gamut from Magadha to the West. As Sylvain Lévi (1914: 955) said in a “paper read on June 16, 1914” in London, “Notoriety in our little world begins with five or six people and has to stop before reaching one hundred”, moreover working sometimes “amidst laughter, contempt, and indifference”. One cannot indulge with impunity in counterfactual history, but these and other academic *kilesas* might have been ousted precisely by the responsiveness of the Nobel Committee (note

¹² Oskar von Hinüber, 2006, 8, n. 22 (874, n. 22).

¹³ Charles Hallisey, 1995, with substantial discussions by J. W. de Jong, 1997, 170–71; Jan Nattier, 1997; and Janet Gyatso, 1998. Some other questions related more recently to the nascence of Buddhist studies are examined by Sven Bretfeld, 2012.

Rhys Davids also envisions “a special prize”). For the Sri Lankan Buddhists contemporary to Rhys Davids too, “it is this imagery of renaissance, not of reformation, that pervades the movement [of a new Buddhism] from its inception in the late nineteenth century to its culmination in the mid-twentieth century”.¹⁴

Thus, even unpublished, this demand clearly predates many of the uses of “Renaissance” comparisons in the world of Asian studies, and may be instructive for readers less aware of Edward Said’s indebtedness to Raymond Schwab’s *La Renaissance orientale*, or of Schwab himself to Edgar Quinet and ultimately towards the foundational awareness of Friedrich Schlegel’s *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* had precisely promoted a *Begründung der Altert[h]umskunde*, a program and subtitle already excised from the early French translation.¹⁵ Two centuries after Schlegel and one century after Rhys Davids, the fabric of a single Antiquity out of manifold fruitful Renaissances is still very far from being achieved and acknowledged.

As one of the last autobiographical pieces from Rhys Davids’ own pen, these letters may be best read, I dare say, as a compact avowal of a life-long struggle ensuing from that firm resolve in his early years. Its aftermath – with or without the Nobel Prize – was uniform: as P.S. Jaini writes, “[t]he rest of his life is indeed the life of the Pali Text Society”.¹⁶

The letters edited here are in the Uppsala University Library archive collection of Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931). The letters are not included

¹⁴ H.L. Seneviratne, 1999, 26, a point stressed afresh by Ann M. Blackburn, 2010, 66 and 198–99, n. 2. On this sense of a Renaissance, see also Wickremaratne 1984, 165.

¹⁵ Adolphe Mazure includes a hefty “Introduction” (pp. v–li) and “Appendice” (pp. 299–379) in his translation. For a discussion of Schlegel’s Renaissance as propelled by Indian studies, see Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi 2006, although less insightful than Wilhelm Halbfass 1988 (see especially pp. 73–101).

¹⁶ See P.S. Jaini, 1956, 387 (33), speaking moreover — precisely as Kellens did for Zarathuštra (n. 2) and implying the idea of revival/renaissance — of a fourth *dharmacakra-pravartana*. We may thus perceive the Nobel Commission becoming for the very first time — as Jaini puts it (1956, 382 (29)) — *buddha-samjnī*.

or referred to in the best correspondence collection of Söderblom (2006), where references to Buddhism seem moreover absent, as it had no prominent place in his work. Söderblom as historian of religions is best portrayed in Eric J. Sharpe (1990). Personally acquainted with Alfred Nobel as his priest in Paris, then elected Archbishop of Uppsala, he eventually received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1930, mainly for his grand ecumenical attempts in interwar Europe. Being closer to the Nobel family, Prize Commission, and cultural public life in Sweden, Swedish scholars were more than once solicited or instrumental in introducing potential candidates. This may well be connected to the (mostly) Iranologist Oscar Stig Wikander's (1908–1983) own appeal for a Nobel Prize for literature for his colleague and friend Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), a letter written to the Nobel Commission right before the 1968 events in Paris and Prague. More details in M. Timuș and E. Ciurtin (2000–2002).

I

To the Secretary
of the Nobel Commission of the Swedish Academy. [end of page]

Pali Text Society,
Cotterstock,
Chipstead,
Surrey.
Oct. 1915

Sir,

This Society was founded in 1881 for the publication of the standard literature of the early Buddhists, and of the Pali literature which has grown up in dependence on the standard books.

The Society has published regularly since that date two, and occasionally, three volumes a year. Its total output up to the present date, December 1915, amounts to eighty volumes. Two of these books (short collections of poetry) had been previously published. All the rest are *editiones principes*.

It would be quite unnecessary to dwell upon the importance of the influence of this literature of the early Buddhist thinkers and poets upon the history of the world. Originally put together during two centuries and a half, (say from 500 to 250 B.C.) it has profoundly modified the [2] thought of India. It has been in great degree the basis of such civilisation and intellectual life as has existed, during many centuries, in Tibet and Nepal, in China, and in Java and Bali in the Far Eastern Seas. The echoes of this mighty wave have lately penetrated to the West. From Schopenhauer¹⁷ to Huxley¹⁸ many of the most suggestive writers on the

¹⁷ Among the best recent overviews of Schopenhauer's bond with (South) Asian literatures, see Lakshmi Kapani, 2002, including her lists of Buddhist Pali, Sanskrit, and Tibetan texts copiously read and discussed by him in translations (pp. 176–77, n. 45).

¹⁸ He might have been referring here to a noted book by "Darwin's Bulldog" T.H. Huxley (1825–1895) (1894) (on Buddhism primarily pp. 60–69). Huxley's

highest subjects of human enquiry have acknowledged their indebtedness to this early Buddhist literature. And an accurate knowledge of the poetry and the ethics, the philosophy, and the religion of the Buddhist literature must necessarily depend upon the work of the Society. For it is only in the books published by the Society that the actual words and the authentic evidence can be found.

There is much loose and ignorant writing on this subject. All the authoritative and valuable books upon it, those for instance of Hermann Oldenberg and Edmund Hardy,¹⁹ quote the books of the Society on every page. So also my own works (of which a list is annexed) depend entirely for any literary, historical or philosophical value they may have, upon the work of this Society.

It was fifty years ago, in the course of my duties as a magistrate in Ceylon, that I became acquainted with this literature, and I resolved that, if my life were [3] spared,²⁰ I would get the whole of it edited and translated. Conscious however of my own limitations, I judged it necessary to find assistance, and founded accordingly in 1881 the Pali Text Society. The difficulties were at first very great. The number of MSS. available in Europe was small. The number of scholars, with sufficient enthusiasm to work at them, and with sufficient knowledge and skill to make their labours useful, was smaller still. There were no funds at all to pay for such labour, and insufficient funds to pay even for the printing. But by continual efforts, often thrown away, and long patience, these difficulties were overcome. MSS. were produced from the past; scholars were induced to help, money was asked and sometimes received. The work slowly grew into a great international undertaking. European scholars came forward from among the Slavs and the

readings of and on Buddhism are freshly commented upon by D.S. Lopez, Jr., 2008, 6–7, 22, 146.

¹⁹ For Hardy (1852–1904) Rhys Davids wrote an obituary notice (1905, 213–15).

²⁰ Comprehensive details of the worries Rhys Davids encountered in his youth are reconstructed by L.A. Wickremeratne, 1984.

Scandinavians, the Teutons, French and English; and Eastern scholars in China and Japan, Burma, Siam and Ceylon gave such assistance as they could. Slowly but steadily the texts of the canon were published in the original Pali. That — the first stage of our work²¹ — is already completed. Three volumes only have still to appear. One of these is in press; and the remaining two, after some years of preparation, are now nearly ready and will go to press shortly. When these [4] are published every scrap of this ancient literature now extant in the East, will have been rescued, and made available for use throughout the world.

It still remains to publish translations of these texts. But the work thus already accomplished is in some respects unique. It may be best compared with that of the few scholars at the time of the Renaissance, who rescued and published the still surviving remains of Greek literature. Had they not done so how different would have been the subsequent history of thought, the religion, the literature, and the culture of Europe! There is reasonable expectation that the work of the Pali Text Society will have an influence over the greater Europe of [or?] Eastern Asia similar to that of the Renaissance scholars among ourselves. Curiously enough the main reason for the Greek literature on the one side and the Pali literature on the other, being forgotten, buried, nearly lost, was identically the same. That great migration of the nations in Central Asia which brought about the invasion of Europe by Goths, Vandals and Huns, led a little earlier to the invasion of India (since it was nearer to them) by hordes of barbarians. In both regions these invaders adopted the religion and the culture of the men they conquered — in India they became Buddhist, in Europe [5] they became Christians. In both cases there followed a long period of intellectual decline, and in the dark ages the ancient literature became neglected.

²¹ Under his chairmanship, the Pali Text Society eventually absorbed other British undertakings of similar value, as those of E.B. Cowell (1826–1903) and his “Pali guild”. See the many references to the Pali scholarship in Cambridge, including the six-volume translation of the *Jātaka*, as recounted by George Cowell, 1904, *passim*.

Other causes cooperated.²² But who can doubt but that the advent of these tribes, the succession of their leaders to the seats of pride and power, had also its share? The conquerors were brave enough, and had virtues of their own. But they had little or no intellectual training; their minds were steeped in foolish animistic notions; they might think they were adopting the prevalent culture, but they were incapable of appreciating it, or of even understanding the literature of the golden age of the past.²³ We know something of the result of the subsequent recovery of that literature in Europe. It is possible that the recovery of Pali records of the great intellectual and moral movement of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. in India will have no similar influence among those who look back to it as the birthplace of their own literature and thought. The influence is already beginning to [²⁴]. Buddhists of all schools (including those whose views have become as divergent from the views of the canon as Romanism from the New Testament) have welcomed the Society's work; and even my own Manual, based on the older authorities, has been translated in Japan for the use of the Japanese and Chinese. [6]

The second stage of the Society's aim — the translations — has now begun. Five volumes, of which copied are annexed, have already appeared, and others are in preparation. It is estimated that about 75 volumes more will be required, and that the approximate cost will be

²² See Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 141–43.

²³ Such statements Rhys Davids made on other occasions too, here matching, for example, his more popular "Introduction" to Ernest Horowitz, *A Short History of Indian Literature* (1907), p. xvii: "[W]hen the Tartar and Scythian hordes came in afterwards to ravage the highly-cultured districts of the North-West [of India], we have a whole series of events that resemble, in the most suggestive manner, the invasion by the Goths and Vandals of the highly-cultured Roman Empire. In each case, the vigorous but unlettered conquerors were intellectually conquered by their more cultured, if less warlike, foes."

²⁴ The text is unclear at this point.

£200 a volume. The Society has suffered severely through the war.²⁵ Without fresh assistance its work can scarcely go on. To facilitate the translations the Society has started a Pali–English Dictionary, which will cost about £2,000; and other works, throwing light on the meaning of the canonical texts, will also be required.

The aim of the Society is purely historical and literary. None of the European co-workers hold the views put forward in the canon.²⁶ But we know that the literature already published will give the evidence on which can be based the reconstruction of one of the most interesting and important chapters in the history of human thought. And we expect that a literature which laid so much stress on freedom of thought, and on the most complete toleration of all other opinions; which declares a philosophy bringing everything under the domain of law, and arguing back from each known effect to the cause or causes immediately behind; an ethic based on law and evolution, and inculcating sympathy, self-

²⁵ As the editors of the Journal wrote almost at the same time, “The Society has now entered on the testing stage of its power to stay during the present cataclysm, and so far is staying valiantly.” See “Report of the Society for the year 1915”, *JPTS* [7] 1915, pp. ix–xi (here xi).

²⁶ This contrasts sharply with some views which present(ed) Rhys Davids as a (quasi-)Buddhist. However, he was unaware of or silenced the several Buddhist-goers cum Theosophist contributors to the Pali Text Society. One bold example is Frank Lee Woodward (1871–1952), whose various mergers of old and new meditation techniques, Theosophy, and Protestant Buddhism in the translation of the so-called *Yogāvacara’s Manual* (PTS 1916, thus coined and edited by Rhys Davids himself two decades before), made at the instigation of Anagārika Dharmapāla, had sturdy repercussions for understanding Theravāda, as revealed by R.F. Gombrich, first in 1983 (p. 26: “an old book could appear more authentic than a living teacher”), then in 2006 (p. 189, regarding the anomaly “to learn meditation from a book without recourse to a master”). The problem was much furthered lately by Kate Crosby 1999, 503–504, 539 n. 9; K. Crosby 2000, pp. 183–84, culminating in K. Crosby 2013. These forked avenues of research show a micro-sociology of the PTS fellows during Rhys Davids’ era is in want.

mastery and peace²⁷ — we expect that such a [7] literature will be able, more especially in Asia [Asis, *sic*], to be a constant support to those high ideals so precious to the founder of the Nobel Trust.

As it is within the power of the Academy to award the Nobel prize or a special prize to an institution or Society, I venture, for the above reasons, to ask that the claim of this Society, for its work in carrying out one of the most remarkable literary undertakings of the present generation,²⁸ and more especially for the five volumes in English now submitted, may be sympathetically considered.

How justly proud would be any Academy that could claim a share in the renaissance of the literature of Greece! The present opportunity of aiding the renaissance of another literature that may be of great importance to the progress of the world is almost certainly the last that can be open to any Academy.

T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D.; LLD; D.Sc.
Fellow and member of the Council
of the British Academy; Foreign
member of the Royal Danish Academy
of Sciences.

²⁷ This succinct yet intense portrayal of Buddhist literature, together with the newly arrived problem of the sympathy, adherence and conversion to Buddhism in the West, ignited many dissimilar opinions. For a typical blending of confidence and mockery in public discussions of Rhys Davids' work, see for example a newspaper article by Chesterton in the *Illustrated London News* of October 10, 1908, reprinted in Chesterton 1987, 195–97.

²⁸ As his Harvard colleague Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850–1941) wrote, he “devot[ed] himself to a work the greatness of which is *now* obvious, and the importance and value of which he had the *vision* to see long before other scholars awoke to it”. See the letter to C.A.F. Rhys Davids, cited in her “Report of the Pali Text Society for 1922”, *JPTS* 7 (1920–1923), p. 27.

II²⁹

Pali Text Society,
 Cotterstock,
 Chipstead,
 Surrey.³⁰

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of a letter written to the Nobel Commission for literature at Stockholm with the hope that – if the Commission should decide, once in a year, to make a grant to a society rather than to an individual — you would approve of the object of the letter.

In that case would you be so kind as to give me your advice in the matter. I know nothing of the Commission or its methods, and at present no one knows of the letter except yourself and myself. Should the letter [2] be left to itself, or *would it be right to ask*³¹ such of the co-workers, editors or authors, who are entitled to write to the Commission, to do so?

I am afraid that during this horrible war it would be useless for me to write to any of my friends in Germany.

The authors of the Society are 14 German, 13 English, 1 French, 15 Orientals, 4 American, 4 Danish, 1 Norwegian, and 1 Swiss.³²

²⁹ Letter II: October 1915, handwritten, 3 numbered pages.

³⁰ On all the three pages: stamped addressed. Old stamped one — Harboro's Grange/Ashton-on-Mersey/Manchester — deleted by being marked through by two lines. On the left side is another stamp: "Telegram: Rhys Davids, Sale".

³¹ The underlining looks like Rhys Davids'.

³² All the names of the "co-workers" — a designation much favoured during the first decades of the Pali Text Society — are easily retrievable from the early volumes of *JPTS*, freely available at www.palitext.com. About (some of) their labours, the best fresh panorama of Indian and Buddhist Studies in Europe before World War I is now the review article of (mostly Franco-phone) recent publications, by Rosane Rocher 2009.

I have not been able to discover whether any prize at [3] all was given in 1914 for Literature. The Society is certainly quite far removed from any side in the war, or rather it is equally on both sides.³³

Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
T.W. Rhys Davids

WORKS CITED

Barua, B.M. 1943. “Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids”, *IHQ* 19, pp. 407–408.

Blackburn, Ann M. 2010. *Location of Buddhism: Colonialism & Modernity in Sri Lanka*, Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press.

Braun, Erik, and William Pruitt. 2012. “Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids”, *JPTS* 31, pp. 155–81.

Bretfeld, Sven. 2012. “Resonant Paradigms in the Study of Religions and the Emergence of Theravāda Buddhism”, *Religion* 42, pp. 273–97.

Chesterton, G.K. 1987. *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton*, Vol. 27: *The Illustrated London News*, 1908–1910, edited by Lawrence J. Clipper, San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Ciurtin, Eugen. 2010. “Histoire de l’indianisme et sa dissemination en Europe: Bibliographie des travaux récents (1990–2010)”, *Studia Asiatica* 11, pp. 215–71.

Cowell, George. 1904. *Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell*. London: Macmillan.

³³ Such apolitical stands, rather frequent at that time, should not prevent us from remembering Rhys Davids lost his own third child and only son, Arthur Percival Foley Rhys Davids (1897–1917), an ace fighter pilot of the Royal Flying Corps, in unclear circumstances during World War I. See Alex Revell, 2010, referring to then unpublished letters from Rhys Davids’ family papers in Cambridge and London, some unavailable to Wickremaratne (see n. 20). It is true that the “horrible war” had at times hidden consequences for the worldview of Pali philologists: more sensitive material from C.A.F. Rhys Davids’ papers kept in the University of London library is abstracted by Jeanette James and available at <http://www.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/ms1082.pdf> (retrieved on April 8, 2014). See also, most recently, Dawn Neal, 2014 17–19.

Crosby, Kate. 1999. "History Versus Modern Myth: The Abhayagirivihāra, the Vimuttimagga and Yogāvacara Meditation", *JIPh* 27, pp. 503–50.

———. 2000. "Tantric Theravāda: A Bibliographic Essay on the Writings of François Bizot and Others on the *yogāvacara* Tradition", *ContBuddh* 1, no. 2, p. 141–198.

———. 2013. *Traditional Theravada Meditation and its Modern-Era Suppression*, Hong Kong: The Buddha-Dharma Centre of Hong Kong.

France, Anatole. 1902. "Bouddhisme", from *La Vie littéraire*, troisième série [1891], Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1902, pp. 379–85.

Gombrich, Richard Francis. 1983. "From Monastery to Meditation Centre: Lay Meditation in Modern Sri Lanka", in Philip Denwood and Alexander Piatigorsky (eds.), *Buddhist Studies Ancient and Modern*, London: Curzon Press/Barnes & Noble, pp. 20–34.

———. 2006. *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, 2nd ed., London–New York: Routledge (1st ed. 1988).

Gyatso, Janet. 1998. *HR* 37, no. 3, pp. 286–89.

Halbfass, Wilhelm. 1988. *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding*, Albany: SUNY Press, (repr. New Delhi: Motilal BanarsiDass, 1990).

Hallisey, Charles. 1995. "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism", in Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 31–62.

Hinüber, Oskar von. 2007. "Preface", *JPTS* 29, pp. ix–xiv.

———. 2006. "Everyday Life in an Ancient Buddhist Monastery", *ARIRIAB* 9 (2006), pp. 3–31 (*Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. Harry Falk, Walter Slaje, Gläsernapp Stiftung Band 47, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009, Teil II, pp. 869–97).

Huxley, Andrew. 2013. "T.W. Rhys Davids and the Forged Relics of the Buddha", <http://www.soas.ac.uk/about/events/inaugurals/27feb2013-prof-andrew-huxley-t-w-rhys-davids-and-the-forged-relics-of-the-buddha.html>.

Horrwitz, Ernest. 1907. *A Short History of Indian Literature*, London: T. Fischer Unwin.

Huxley, Thomas Henry. 1894. *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*. London: Macmillan.

Jaini, Padmanabh Shrivarma. 1956. "Buddhist Studies in Recent Times: Some Eminent Buddhist Scholars in India and Europe" in Bapat, P.V., ed., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi: The Publications Division, Ministry of

Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, pp. 382–97; repr. in Padmanabh Shrivarma Jaini, *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, New Delhi: MLBD, 2001, pp. 29–44.

Jong, Jan Willem de (1997). *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, Tokyo: Kōsei Publications Co. (Varanasi, 1976, repr. from EB 1974).

———. 1997. *IJ* 40 (1997), no. 2, pp. 170–74.

Kapani, Lakshmi. 2002. “Schopenhauer et l’Inde”, *JA* 290, no. 1, pp. 163–292.

Kellens, Jean. 2006. *La Quatrième naissance de Zarathushtra*, Paris: Seuil.

Lévi, Sylvain. 1914. “Central Asian Studies”, *JRAS*, pp. 953–63.

Lienhard, Siegfried. 2009. “Corrigenda et postscriptum”, *JPTS* 30, pp. 177–78.

———. 2007. “On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring”, *JPTS* 29, pp. 407–20.

Lopez, Donald S., Jr. 2008. *Buddhism and Science: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nattier, Jan. 1997. “Buddhist Studies in the Post-colonial Age”, *JAAR* 65, no. 2, pp. 469–85.

Neal, Dawn. 2014. “The Life and Contributions of CAF Rhys Davids”, in Nona Olivia, ed., *Women’s Contributions to Buddhism: Selective Perspective*, Redwood City, CA: The Sati Center for Buddhist Studies, 2014 = *The Sati Journal* 2 (2014), pp. 15–31.

Norman, K.R. 1981. “The Pali Text Society 1881–1981”, *The Middle Way* 56 (1981), no. 2, pp. 71–75, repr. in his *Collected Papers*, Oxford: PTS, Vol. II (1991), pp. 194–99.

Renou, Louis. 1928. *Les maîtres de la philologie védique*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Revell, Alex. 2010. *Brief Glory: The Life of Arthur Rhys Davids DSO MC*, Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Aviation, 2010 (1st ed. London: William Kimber, 1984).

Rhys Davids, T.W. 1900. “Buddhism”, *North American Review* 171, p. 522.

———. 1905. “Professor Edmund Hardy”, *JRAS*, pp. 213–15.

———, trans. 1899. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, pp. 141–43 (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. II, London: Humphrey Milford/Oxford University Press, 1899); 2nd ed. 1923.

———. “Introduction” for Horowitz 1907, xi–xxvii.

Rocher, Rosane. 2009. “New Perspectives on the History of Indian Studies in Continental Europe”, *JAOS* 129 [2010], no. 4, pp. 635–43.

Schlegel, Friedrich. 1808. *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*, Heidelberg: Mohr u. Zimmer.

———. 1837. *Essai sur la langue et la philosophie des Indiens*, translated by Adolphe Mazure. Paris: Parent-Desbarres.

Schwab, Raymond. 1950. *La Renaissance orientale*, Paris: Payot.

Seneviratne, H.L. 1999. *Work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka*, Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press.

Shelby, Louise S., ed. 2002. *Who's Who of the Nobel Prize Winners, 1901–2000*, foreword by Wilhelm Odelberg, Westport, CT–London: Oryx Press.

Sharpe, Eric J. 1990. *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Silk, Jonathan A. 2012. "Kern and the Study of Indian Buddhism: With a Speculative Note on the Ceylonese Dhammarucikas", *JPTS* 31, pp. 125–54.

Snodgrass, Judith. 2007. "Defining Modern Buddhism: Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids and the Pāli Text Society", *CSSAAME* 27, no. 1, pp. 186–202.

Söderblom, Nathan. 2006. *Brev – Lettres – Briefe – Letters: A Selection from his Correspondence*, edited by Dietz Lange, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Stuart, D.B., trans. 1922. *On Life and Letters*, London-New York: John Lane, 1922, pp. 362–67.

Sueki, Yasuhiro. 2008. *Bibliographical Sources for Buddhist Studies from the Viewpoint of Buddhist Philology*, 2nd ed., rev. & enlarged, Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica III, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

M. Timuçin and E. Ciurtin. 2000. "The Unpublished Correspondence between Mircea Eliade and Stig Wikander (1948–1977)", *Archaeus: Studies in the History of Religions* 4 (2000), fasc. 3, pp. 157–85; fasc. 4, pp. 179–211; 5 (2001), fasc. 3–4, pp. 75–119; and 6 (2002), fasc. 3–4, pp. 325–94.

Trainor, Kevin. 1997. *Relics, Ritual, and Representation: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9–12.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi, Chen. 2006. "India and the Identity of Europe: The Case of Friedrich Schlegel", *JHI* 67, no. 4, pp. 713–34.

Wickremaratne, L. Ananda. 1984. *The Genesis of an Orientalist: Thomas William Rhys Davids in Ceylon*, New Delhi: MBD.

The Verb **addhabhavati* as an Artificial Formation

Oskar von Hinüber

The first part of the Samyutta-nikāya, the Sagāthavagga, stands apart from the rest of the text, which was obviously felt at an early date already as the structure of Buddhaghosa's commentary, the Sāratthapakāsinī, seems to indicate.¹ The content of many individual suttas is particularly close to the world of Vedic concepts,² which sometimes is the key to understanding this Pāli text, as in the following verses, which has puzzled scholars for a long time, almost since the beginning of the commentarial tradition in the Aṭṭhakathā. Both form and meaning of the word *addhabhavi* occurring once in the Devatā-Samyutta of the Sagāthavagga have resisted convincing explanation so far:

*kiṃsu sabbam addhabhavi, kismā bhīyo na vijjati
kiss'assa ekadhammassa, sabb'eva vasam anvagū ti
nāmaṇi sabbam addhabhavi, nāmā bhīyo na vijjati
nāmassa ekadhammassa, sabb'eva vasam anvagū ti.*

S I 39,3*-6*

What has weighed down everything? What is most extensive? What is the one thing that has all under its control? Name has weighed down everything; nothing is more

¹ O.v. Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 2, Berlin 1996), §74, 230 (p. 115). — The abbreviations follow the system of the Critical Pāli Dictionary (CPD).

² On the interrelationship between Vedic and Buddhist texts cf. J. Bronkhorst: *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India*, Handbuch der Orientalistik II, Indien, Vol. 19 (Leiden 2007), pp. 207–18.

extensive than name. Name is the one thing that has all under its control.³

The wording of this verse was established by Léon Feer in 1884 and confirmed without any substantial change by G.A. Somaratne in his edition of the *Samyutta-nikāya* (1998). There are, however, some variants worthwhile noticing. First, the Sinhalese and the Lan Na (northern Thai) manuscript tradition (“L”)⁴ preserve older forms, here *kissā* instead of *kismā*, as do the Sinhalese manuscripts used by L. Feer, and, moreover, both Lan Na manuscripts kept in Vat Lai Hin⁵ have *annagu* instead of *anvagu*. More important, there is a variety of variants for *addhabhavi*: traces of a reading *anvabhavi* pervade all manuscript traditions; *andhabhavi* survives in the Siamese edition (S^e), in manuscript L¹ dated A.D. 1549 and in the third Lanna manuscript of Vat Phra Singh dated 1602,⁶ while *anvabhavi* is found in the oldest dated manuscript L² copied in

³ Translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha* (Oxford 2000), Vol. I, p. 130, who prefers to read *addhabhavi* as printed in both PTS editions (E^e) against the form *anvabhavi* of the Siamese edition (S^e), p. 380, note 121. — W. Geiger: *Samyutta-Nikāya: Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Gruppierten Sammlung* (1930) “... fortgeführt von Nyāṇaponika (Wolfenbüttel 1990), p. 61: ‘Was hat alles gemeistert? Was ist es, außer dem nichts weiter vorhanden ist? Was ist das einzige, dessen Gewalt alle folgen? Der Name hat alles gemeistert; der Name ist es, außer dem nichts weiter vorhanden ist. Der Name ist das einzige, dessen Gewalt alle folgen.’” W. Geiger notes that the reading *addhabhavi*, etc., is uncertain and that he follows in his translation the commentary provisionally (“fürs erste”).

⁴ The manuscripts are described by G.A. Somaratne: *The Samyuttanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka*, Vol. I, *The Sagāthavagga* (Oxford 1998), pp. xxi–xxvii.

⁵ A third Lan Na manuscript from Vat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, copied in A.D. 1602, not used for any edition so far, confirms both *kissā* and *annagu*.

⁶ The variant *atthabhavi* in the Sinhalese manuscripts used by L. Feer is almost certainly a mistake (writing or reading) for *andhabhavi*, cf. note 16 below. — According to the variants listed in B^e (edition of the Sixth Council 1954–56: “Chattha-saṅgāyana edition”) C^e reads *anvabhavi*; S^e has *andhabhavi*.

A.D. 1543.⁷ The variation *anva-*, *andha-*, *addha-* and perhaps *anḍabha-* points to a development typical for an artificial formation which can be observed in those words in Pāli which do not conform to the phonetic developments operating in Middle Indic and in addition defy explanation by analogy, such as the word *addhagu* replacing *anvagu* twice in the same verse in Burmese manuscripts⁸ and thus showing a similar pattern as *anvabhavi*, *addhabhavi*, etc.⁹

In order to determine the starting point of this puzzling variety of forms, it is necessary, as a first step, to go back beyond the manuscript tradition and look into the commentaries on this verse. The earliest extant explanation is found in the Sāratthappakāsinī:

*anvavaggassa paṭhame: ... anvabhavīti nāmaṇi sabbaṇi
abhibhavati anupatati. opapātikena vā hi kittimena vā
nāmena mutto satto vā saṅkhāro vā natthi.*

Spk I 95,6-8

... the name overpowers, pursues everything. For there is neither being nor object without a spontaneous or artificial name.

The text in the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Edition (SHB, C^e 1924) concurs with *anva-*^o, while S^e has *andha-*^o, and B^e consistently inserted *addha-*^o as in the basic text of S.

⁷ The reading *adanvabhavi* occurring once in L¹ in the first pāda looks like a crossing of *anva-*^o and *addha-*^o.

⁸ Quoted from *ka* in B^e (*ka* is for the better part identical with the edition of the Fifth Council [on stone-slabs]: W.B. Bollée, “Some less known Burmese Pāli texts”, in: *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper on His Sixtieth Birthday* (The Hague 1968), p. 493–99, particularly p. 496), cf. *addhabhu* for *anvagu* in B^e (1939) and in E^e (1998) from B² (Phayre manuscript, copied A.D. 1841).

⁹ On “artificial formations” such as *kismā* and *anvagu*, cf. O.v. Hinüber: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 467. Band. Vienna, 2nd ed., 2001), § 301 (*kismā*); § 254 (*anvagu*).

The sub-commentary elaborates:

*addhabhavīti ... abhibhavati anupataīti etena abhibhavo
anupatanam pavatti evāti dasseti*, Spk-pt B^e I 132,5

The verb *anvabhavi* / *addhabhavi* is paraphrased in both commentaries by two words, *abhibhavati* and *anupatati*; the first seems to be chosen to describe the meaning, the second to explain the form of the preverb, which at the time of the Aṭṭhakathā almost certainly was *anvabhavi* as in the oldest manuscript of the Samyutta-nikāya. If this is correct there could have been awareness in the commentaries that the form *anvabhavi* was ultimately based on the aorist *anu-a-bhavi*, which, in stark contrast, is no longer possible to infer once the rather far removed *addhabhavi* intruded into and widely spread in modern editions. While the formal explanation of the commentary is correct, the semantics seem problematic, because the reason for taking *anubhavati* (“experience, enjoy”) and *abhibhavati* (“overpower”) as equivalents in meaning is not immediately obvious.

However, the same explanation is found in a second reference, this time in a paragraph of the Saṭṭayatanavagga of the Samyutta-nikāya, which is certainly a part of this Nikāya younger than the Sagāthavagga:

*sabbañ bhikkhave andhabhūtam ... cakkhu bhikkhave
andhabhūtam, rūpā andhabhūtā ...*

S IV 20,32–21,2

all is weighed down ... the eye is weighed down, forms are
weighed down ...¹⁰

The reading *andhabhūta* is confirmed by the Sinhalese (C^e), Siamese (S^e) and Cambodian (K^e) editions according to the variants listed in B^e, which again prefers *addhabhūta* consistently, thus concurring with the Burmese manuscripts used in E^e (1884).

¹⁰ Translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi, as note 3 above, Vol. II, p. 1144. — The word *andhabhūta* occurs also in the *uddāna* of this section S IV 26,22*.

The reading of the commentary differs from the wording of the basic text with:

*addhabhūtan ti abhibhūtam ajjhottthaṭam upaddutan ti
attho.*

Spk II 363,¹²

... overpowered, covered; the meaning is “oppressed”.

The reading *addhabhūta* is preferred even in E^e here against the Sinhalese manuscripts reading *andhabhūta* as at Spk I 95.

The sub-commentary explains:

*adhisaddena samānattho addhasaddo ti āha addhabhūtan ti
adhibhūtan ti-ādi.*

Spk-pt B^e II 289,¹

The word *addha* has the same meaning as *adhi*, therefore he (Buddhaghosa) says *addhabhūta* means *adhibhūta*, etc.

This wording shows that the commentator read *adhibhūtam* instead of *abhibhūtam* in the Sāratthappakāsinī.¹¹ The same wording of this explanation is found in the sub-commentary to the Papañcasūdanī (Ps-pt, see below) and echoed much later in Aggavamsa’s Saddanīti:

adhi icc’ etassa bhūdhātumaye pare kvaci addhādeso hoti.

Sadd 627,^{18ff.}, cf. 97,^{13ff.}

adhi is, if followed by the root *bhū*, sometimes substituted by *addha*,

where Aggavamsa quotes the passage from the Majjhima-nikāya and both passages from the Samyutta-nikāya reading consistently *addha-*^o. This explanation, and particularly Aggavamsa’s influential grammar, is the reason for the fairly regular prevalence of *addha-*^o in the Burmese manuscript tradition probably at the latest since the twelfth century.

¹¹ Although *abhibhūtam* is consistently preferred in all editions this must be changed to *adhibhūtam*, see below. — The *pratīka* is *andhabhūtan ti* in S^e.

There is no trace of a variant **anvabhūta* here or in the third and last reference from the Suttapiṭaka, the Devadahasuttanta of the Majjhimanikāya:

*kathañca bhikkhave saphalo upakkamo hoti saphalam
padhānam? idha bhikkhave bhikkhu na heva anaddha-
bhūtam attānam dukkhena addhabhāveti dhammikāñ ca
sukham na pariccajati, tasmiñ ca sukhe anadhimuccito
hoti.*

M II 223,7-10

And how is exertion fruitful, bhikkhus, how is striving fruitful? Here, bhikkhus, a bhikkhu is not overwhelmed by suffering and does not overwhelm himself with suffering; and he does not give up pleasure that accords with Dhamma, yet he is not infatuated with that pleasure.¹²

With the commentary:

*tattha anaddhabhūtan ti anadhibhūtam (S^e *anabhi-*°, w.r.).
dukkhena anabhibhūto (B^e *anadhi-*°, w.r.) ... na tam addha-
bhāveti nādhibhavatī (B^e, S^e *nābhi-*°, so read?) attho.*

Ps IV 10,11¹³

Here the sub-commentary is consistent with the explanation offered for the second Samyutta-nikāya reference:

*anaddhabhūtan ti ettha adhisaddena samānattho addha-
saddo ti āha anaddhabhūtan ti anadhibhūtan ti. yathā*

¹² Translation by Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 2001), p. 833; the translation by Isaline Blew Horner, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. III (London 1959), p. 10, "... a monk does not let his unmastered self be mastered by anguish ...", is closer to the original.

¹³ The text of E^e concurs with the Aluvihara edition of Ps (1926), which predates E^e, and with C^e (SHB, 1952).

āpāyiko attabhāvo mahatā dukkhena abhibhuyyati na tathā

...

Ps-pṭ B^e II 215,25

Lastly, a verse from the Suttanipāta can be added, if *addhā bhavanto* printed thus as two words in all editions (probably influenced by the Mahāniddesa) is taken to be one word with a metrical lengthening for *addhabhavanto*, as correctly seen by K.R. Norman:¹⁴

athappiyam vā appiyam vā | addhābhavanto abhisambhaveyya.

Sn 968

Then being predominant (*addhābhavanto*) he should endure the pleasant and unpleasant.

(trans. K.R. Norman)

By far the oldest commentary on any form of *addhabhavati*, the Mahāniddesa, predating Buddhaghosa by some centuries, says on this verse:

addhā ti ekāṃsavacanam ... abhisambhavanto vā abhibhavyya abhibhavanto (B^e adhi-°, w.r.) vā abhisambhaveyya.

Nidd I 490,29–91,2

By explaining *addhā* as a separate word, the Mahāniddesa confirms both that *addhā* plus *bhavati* was understood as meaning *abhibhavati* and that the Vedic meaning of the verb was obsolete, while nothing in the commentary on *addhā* points to a connection with *adhi-°* as yet, which gradually became the predominant explanation in later commentaries.

The Paramatthajotikā II, as expected, follows both the Mahāniddesa and Buddhaghosa, and does not offer anything new:

¹⁴ K.R. Norman (trsl.), *The Group of Discourses* (Sutta-nipāta) (Oxford 2nd ed. 2001) [reviews of the first ed. of 1992: L.S. Cousins, *JRAS* 4 (1994), pp. 291ff.; J.W. de Jong, *IIJ* 38 (1995), pp. 283–85]; cf. also K.R. Norman, “On translating the Suttanipāta”, (*BStRev* 21.1 (2004), pp. 69–84) with a long note on *addhabhavanto*, pp. 391ff.

addhābhavanto ti evam piyāppiyām abhibhavanto ekaṁsen'
eva abhibhaveyya.

Pj II 573,15ff.

Again, here is no trace of a variant *anva-*° / *andha-*°.¹⁵ The explanation *ekamsena* (“definitely”) is borrowed from the Mahāniddesa and shows that this commentary was used.

So far the evidence points to two separate strands of the text tradition, one reflected only in the verse from the Sagāthavagga, the second comprising the remaining three references¹⁶ of this rare verb.

As discussed at length by K. R. Norman in his note on Sn 968, the irregular sound change of *ajjha-* < *adhy-a-* to *addha-* under the influence of Sinhala Prakrit suggested in the CPD should be rejected.¹⁷ However, the development of Sanskrit *adhy-a-* to Pāli *addha-* as assumed by K.R. Norman is equally impossible and unnecessary,¹⁸ once the text tradition is investigated.

¹⁵ The consistent use of *addha-* may be due to the fact that the text tradition of the Suttanipāta is Burmese according to H. Smith in W. Stede (ed.), Cullaniddesa (London 1918), p. xvi with note 2.

¹⁶ A fourth reference may be due to a mistake for *anḍabhūta*, which is found in S^e kāyo *addhabhūto pariyonaddho*, S III 1,20 (*anḍabhūto ti ando viya bhūto dubbalo*, Spk II 250,11), cf. CPD s.vv. *anḍabhūta* and *addhabhūta* “the relation between *anḍabhūta* and *addhabhūta* (resp. *andhabhūta*) in the canonical texts before the time of the Ct. is difficult to determine” (pp. 123bff.), cf. also the title of the *Andhabhūta-ja*, which occurs also as *Andhabhūta-ja* in Sinhalese manuscripts and literature: Charles Edward Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts: The Royal Library, Copenhagen. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in Danish Collections*, Vol. 1 (Copenhagen 1980), p. 41b: “[T]he change of orthography is possibly the result of Sinhalese scribes copying from Burmese MSS”; K. D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in The British Library*, Vol. III (London 1990), p. 79 (Or. 6604[54]).

¹⁷ “Old error for *ajjhabhavi*, cf. sinhal. *d* < *j*”, CPD s.v. *addhā-bhavati*.

¹⁸ *A Dictionary of Pāli* (NPDE) by Margaret Cone seems to follow the errors of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* and Sn (trsl.): “or *adhi-ā-bhavati*, prob. formed

The starting point for an explanation of the form *anva-*^o / *addha-*^o must be sought in the aorist *addhabhavi* as also clearly seen by K.R. Norman. This aorist, however, is not built on **adhy-a-bhavi*, but on *anv-a-bhavi*, the aorist of *anu-bhū*, as indicated by variants still preserved in the manuscripts and supported by the commentary on the *Sagāthavagga*. Although the verb *anubhavati* is by no means rare in Pāli, and although even the commentary was aware of this form, if the interpretation of *anupatati* suggested above is correct, the original reading *anvabhavi* was gradually superseded by *andhabhavi* and finally completely replaced by *addhabhavi* in the authoritative *Chatṭha-saṅgāyana* edition of 1954–56 thus ending (for the time being) a long development beginning even before *Buddhaghosa*. At the same time, it is at first difficult to understand why *anvabhavi* is paraphrased by *adhibhavati* or *abhibhavati*, but not by *anubhavati*.

The reason for this surprising explanation becomes obvious at once if the Buddhist verse preserved in the *Sagāthavagga* is compared to a parallel from the late Vedic *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*:

*mano vāva vāco bhūyaḥ. yathā vai dve vāmalake dve vā
kole dvau vākṣau muṣṭir anubhavati evaṁ vācaṁ ca nāma
ca mano anubhavati.*

ChUp 7.3.1

The mind is clearly greater than speech, for as a closed fist would envelop a couple of myrobalans or jujubes, or a pair of dice, so indeed does the mind envelop both speech and name.

(trans. Patrick Olivelle)¹⁹

This translation follows the commentarial tradition of Śaṅkara who explains in his *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya*: ... *vibhītakaphale muṣṭir anubhavati muṣṭis te phale vyāpnoti muṣṭau hi te antarbhavataḥ*.

from aor. where there is assimilation rather than palatalization". Neither the preverb *-ā-* nor the assimilation exist in this form, cf. note 26 below.

¹⁹ Upaniṣads, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford 1996), p. 158.

This is indeed the key to understanding the verse from the *Sagātha-vagga*, which almost seems to be an answer to the *Upaniṣad* by putting, however, in contrast the “name” above the “mind”: “the name encompasses everything, there is nothing beyond the name”, as it is said in the Buddhist context. Although the translation of the verse offered by Bhikkhu Bodhi and others changes only marginally with the correct “encompass” replacing “weigh down,” “predominate” (CPD) or “control” (NPDE), the exact meaning can be seen only before the Vedic background of the verse.

This particular meaning of the verb *anubhavati* does not survive in classical Sanskrit or in Pāli, where “to reach, to get, to experience” (CPD) or “experiences, enjoys, suffers” (NPED) are given, which concurs with the meanings enumerated in Sanskrit dictionaries, which, however, also list the specialized meaning found only in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, which was overlooked in all Pāli dictionaries and translations alike it seems.

This Vedic meaning of *anu* + $\sqrt{bhū}$ was obsolete once the Vedic language ceased to be fully understood, and this word thus shared the fate of other parts of the Vedic vocabulary in Pāli, such as the derivatives of Vedic \sqrt{aj} still found in old layers of Pāli, but no longer understood properly.²⁰ One of the best examples is the frequently discussed Vinaya term *pārājika*, the name of the offences entailing expulsion from the *Samgha* by “being driven away” derived from Vedic *parā*- \sqrt{aj} as seen already at the very beginning of European research on Buddhism.²¹

²⁰ O. v. Hinüber, “A Vedic Verb in Pāli: *udājita*”, in: *Ludwik Sternbach Volume* (Lucknow 1981), pp. 819–22 = *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart 2009), pp. 616–19.

²¹ The correct formal explanation of the word found by Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852): *Introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme indien* (Paris 1844); 2nd ed. 1876 (repr. Cambridge 2013), p. 268, was accepted by Robert Cæsar Childers (1838–1876) in 1875 as “doubtless correct”, and supported by Hendrik Kern (1833–1917): *Toevoegegselen* II (1916), p. 19, but forgotten after Sylvain Lévi (1863–1936): “Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme”, *JAS* 1912, pp. 495–514, p. 505 following T. W. Rhys Davids (1834–1922): *Vinaya Texts* (Sacred Books of the East XIII, Oxford 1881), Vol. I, p. 3, n. 2

The lost Vedic meaning of the word *anvabhavi* left the commentators obviously helpless, and they had to struggle with the explanation of this word because the meaning of *anubhavati* current in later times was incomprehensible in this particular context. The problem was solved by taking *anvabhavi* as meaning *abhibhavati*.

where Burnouf's explanation is rejected and the one of the commentarial tradition preferred, because according to Rhys David the root *vaj* is Vedic only and never occurs with the preverb *parā-*. In 1888 Rhys Davids could not know that there are besides *parā-vaj* also *ud-vaj*, *nir-vaj*, and *pra-vaj* surviving in Pāli. Of course, the word formation of *pārājika* cannot be explained on the basis of *parā-vji* (*parā-jit* or *parājita* > **parāji[tika]*; *parājayika* > *pārājaya*), cf. also the surveys by A. Heirman, "On *pārājika*" *BStRev* 16.1 (1999), pp. 51–59, and O.v. Hinüber, "Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftentradition", *AWL* 1988, no. 8, p. 3, note 2. — The starting point of the traditional Theravāda explanation seems to be ambiguous forms such as *parājeti*, corresponding to Sanskrit **parā-ājayati* (causative) or *parā-jayati*: *sāmikāṇi parājeti ... parajjati*, Vin III 50.8ff. "he has the owner driven away ... is driven away (himself)" (< *parā-ājyate*, *Saddanīti* index s.v. *parajjati* [1966], not recognized in the Pāli *Tipitakam Concordance* [1969] s.v. *parājeti*) with the commentary *parājeti* = *jināti*, *parajjati* = *parājayam pāpūnāti*, Sp 339,12–20 followed in the translation I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I (London 1938), p. 82ff. "defeats ... is defeated". The correct derivation from *vaj* is neither recognized in the commentary nor in the translation. In later Pāli *parajjhati*, Ja II 403,22 (read *parajjati*; Burmese mss. *parājeti*), is used as a passive form of *parā-ji* in the Paccuppannavatthu. On the quite different and later explanation of *pārājika* by the Mahāsāṃghikalokottaravādins see G. Roth, *ZDMG* 118 (1968), p. 341. — Other examples of Vedic usage preserved in Pāli are certain meanings of the word *gāma* discussed in O.v. Hinüber, "Building the Theravāda Commentaries: Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla as authors, compilers, redactors, editors and critics", *JIABS* 36 (2013 [2015]), pp. 3–37, particularly pp. 17ff.; cf. further Th. Oberlies, "Die Prakrit-Sprachen und das vedische Sanskrit", in: *Tohfa-e-dil. Festschrift Helmut Nespoli* (Reinbek 2001), pp. 36–372 and Th. Oberlies, *Pāli: A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 3, Berlin 2001), p. 9.

This idea is certainly much older than Buddhaghosa's version of the *Attakathā*, because the first indirect hint to this understanding of *anvabhavi* is found in the *Mahāniddesa*, which presupposes a text having *addhābhavanto* and lists *abhibhavati* as a synonym and thus links *anvabhavi* to *addhābhavanto* by this explanation.

In three of the four references of the strange verb *anva-bhavati*, the forms continued to develop to such a degree that the original shape of the word was completely buried. Only in the *Sagāthavagga* was the form *anva-bhavi* protected, probably by the verb *anupatati* in the commentary, which kept the ultimate derivation from *anu-a-bhavi* alive. This, however, cannot be the oldest form, because *anva-*° regularly develops into *anna-*° in Pāli as in Sanskrit *anvagāt* > Pāli *annagu*. Therefore, *anvabhavi*, the only surviving form, is already a very early back formation from **annabhavi*, if the similar change in the absolutes from *-ttā* into *-tvā* is compared.²²

This process would lead to a new and artificially created verb **anva-bhavati*, perhaps in order to separate **anva-bhavati* semantically and formally from *anu-bhavati* in Pāli, thus preserving the (at the time still known) Vedic meaning “to encompass”, different from Pāli *anubhavati* “to reach, to get, to experience.” The new verb *anva-bhavati* might have been shaped on the model of forms such as *anvagata* beside the aorist *anvagam*²³ and *anvagu* or *ajjha-patto* < *ajjhapatattā*, which are reduplicated aorists (*adhy-a-patta*) transformed into past participles *ajjha-*

²² Experimenting with artificial forms can be traced back to the time of Aśoka, cf. O.v. Hinüber, “Linguistic Experiments: Language and Identity in Aśokan Inscriptions and in Early Buddhist Texts”, *Re-imagining Aśoka: Memory and History*, ed. by Patrick Olivelle, Janice Leoshko, Himanshu Prabha Ray (Delhi 2012), pp. 195–203.

²³ Ja V 172,17*, 18* (E° = C° [SHB] = B° s.v.l.), cf. *CPD* s.v.; a manuscript from Vat Lai Hin copied in 1550 has *anugatam* instead of *anvagatam* (O.v. Hinüber, “Die Pali-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nord-Thailand” (Wiesbaden 2013), no. 98).

patta,²⁴ but analysed (synchronously) as verb forms with a preverb *ajha-* while based (diachronically) on a preverb plus augment.

Therefore **anvabhūta* (*addha-/andha-bhūta*) found in the *Salāyatana-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* might have been formed first, on which again the other forms such as **anvabhāveti* (*addha-bhāveti*) in the *Devadaha-suttanta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* or **anvābhavanto* (*addhābhavanto*) in the *Sutta-nipāta* could be built. If so, the translation and interpretation of the respective texts would change marginally with the original meaning being: “the eye is encompassed ... by what? By birth ...” (*kena andhabhūtam? jātiyā ...*) in the *Salāyatana-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, and “he has the un-encompassed self encompassed by suffering” in the *Devadaha-suttanta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

In course of time, it seems, when all knowledge of the Vedic vocabulary had finally faded away and the intention lying behind the creation of the verb **anvabhavati* was forgotten, a transformation process started perhaps from the *Devadaha-suttanta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, where the supposed original **ananvabhūtaṇ* is followed by *anadhimuccito* which is clearly parallel (“not encompassed ... not infatuated”). The similarity of the ligatures *-nva-* and *-ndha-* in many old scripts may have facilitated a reinterpretation of the no longer understood *ananvabhūta* as *andha-*[°] influenced by the following *adhi-muccito*.²⁵ This text may have induced the commentary to explain the participle formally as *an-adhibhūtam* and as meaning (*dukkhena*) *anabhibhūtam*. Only at the level of the sub-commentary does the interpretation as *adhibhūta* begin to spread. It makes sense that the sub-commentary to the *Devadaha-suttanta* says *adhisaddena samānattho addhasaddo*, because Buddhaghosa’s text

²⁴ O.v. Hinüber, “Reste des reduplizierten Aorists im Pāli”, *MSS* 32 (1974), pp. 65–72 = “Traces of the Reduplicated Aorist in Pāli”, in *Selected Papers*, 2nd ed. 2005, pp. 52–61, cf. also Oberlies, *Pāli*, as n. 21 above, p. 242, n. 1.

²⁵ A confusion of *-va-* and *-dha-* is widely spread in the Buddhist text tradition, cf., e.g., Stephen Hillyer Levitt, “Is It a Crow (P. *dhamka*) or a Nurse (Skt. *dhātrī*), or Milk (Skt. *kṣīra*) or a Toy-Plough (P. *vamka*)?”, *JIABS* 16 (1993), pp. 56–89.

already has *anaddhabhūtan ti anadhibhūtam*. Although the commentary to the *Salāyatana-vagga* has *addhabhūtan ti abhibhūta*,²⁶ the sub-commentary introduces *adhi-* here as well, using the same text as in the sub-commentary to the *Devadaha-suttanta*. Only in the *Devadaha-suttanta* the form *addha-*^o intrudes into the text, while the *Salāyatana-vagga* preserves the older *andha-*^o.²⁷ This shows that the commentaries influenced the wording and opened the way for further changes in the texts themselves. In course of time the form *addha-* reached even the verse in the *Sagāthava-gga*, which originally stood apart.²⁸

Summing up, it is possible to trace the origin and development of the modern form *addhabhavati*.²⁹ The connection of the verse from the *Sagāthava-gga* with ideas expressed in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* is beyond reasonable doubt and another close link between the Vedic and Buddhist traditions. At the same time, this link establishes the verb *anubhavati* “to encompass” as the starting point and not *adhi-bhavati*. The Pāli verb *anvabhavati* / *addhabhavati* was created as an artificial formation by reinterpreting one particular form of this verb, *anv-abhavi*, as *anva-bhavi*, most likely in order to preserve the particular meaning Vedic *anubhavati* (“to encompass”) by formal differentiation from Pāli *anubhavati* (“experiences, enjoys, suffers”). Therefore, all attempts at a phonetic explanation of the preverb *addha-* as continuing *adhi-* start

²⁶ The wording *abhibhūtam ajjhottatam* (*upaddutam*), Spk II 363,27, is corroborated by *ajjhottatassa abhibhūtassa*, Sv 799,11, and later by Dhammapāla’s explanation of *ajjhabhū*, It 76,6* *abhibhavi ajjhottthari*, It-a II 75,5, which almost excludes an original reading *adhi-* instead of *abhi-bhūta* at Spk II 363,27. At the same time, the aorist *ajjhabhū* shows that *adhy-a-bhūt* did not develop into *addha-*^o in Pāli, see n. 18 above.

²⁷ Examples for a variation *-ddha-/ndha-* are listed in *CPD* s.vv. *upanaddha*, *kapan’addhika* and in *NPED* s.v. *naddhi*.

²⁸ For *anvabhavi* > *addhabhavi*, cf. *anvāgatā*, Ja IV 385,18* > *addhāgatā* in the Sinhalese manuscripts C^{ks}. The oldest dated manuscript from Vat Lai Hin confirms *anvāgatā*, cf. *Pali-Handschriften*, as n. 23 above, no. 108.

²⁹ It is no longer necessary to classify this word as “unklar” as in *Mittelindisch*, as n. 9 above, § 248.

from a wrong presupposition and, consequently, cannot possibly work. Even if some details of this development, which continues right into the twentieth century, necessarily remain conjectural due to the lack of sufficient material, the broad lines can be clearly recognized.

This gradual transformation of the original **annabhavi* via *anabhavi* and *andhabhavi* finally ending up in *addhabhavi* was obviously a protracted and slow process, still mirrored, not only in our manuscript tradition, but even in modern editions, with particularly the Burmese tradition continuing to change *andha-* into *addha-* sometimes as late as in the *Chatthasāngāyana* edition of 1954–56, thus following, here as well, the unfortunate tendency to level quite a few historical forms.³⁰ Thus this example demonstrates again how Pāli, which continues to develop, if only marginally, is full of life right into our present time.³¹

³⁰ Some examples are listed in O.v. Hinüber, “Sprachgeschichte,” as n. 21 above, p. 25ff.

³¹ This article is based on a lecture delivered under the title “Scribes, leaves and libraries. The ancient Pāli tradition of Southeast Asia” on 22 August 2014 at the 17th Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held from 18 to 23 August 2014 in Vienna.

An Old Colophon Preserved: The Tipiṭaka of Nāṇavāmsa and Sobhaggasiri

Oskar von Hinüber

In the year Cūlasakkarāja 906 (called *kāp sī* as a cyclical year and corresponding to A.D. 1544) Lady Keev “Juwel”, the wife of Lām Ced, donated the text of the Itivuttaka together with its commentary, the Paramatthadīpanī II, to the “Great Monastery” (Vat Hlvañ) in the vanished Northern Thai town Dā Soy.¹ This is the oldest known manuscript of these texts, which, however, is not complete. Moreover it is heavily damaged by mice or rats. Still, folios containing colophons to individual fascicles (Thai: *phūk*) are preserved and show that the two manuscripts form a set.

While the end of the commentary is missing that of the Itivuttaka survives: ... *lokena terasā ti. itivuttake dvādasādhikasatasuttam itivuttakanī niṭṭhitam*. The very last folio at the end following this *explicit* contains a long colophon in Pāli, which is quite unusual in the collection preserved at Vat Lai Hin near Lampang in Northern Thailand. The bad state of preservation of this colophon ending in *itivuttakappakaraṇam niṭṭhitam* prevented a complete and correct interpretation and allowed only for a preliminary translation, when the catalogue of the Lai Hin manuscripts was prepared.

Therefore it came as a most pleasant surprise when on 11 July 2015 during discussions of the new critical edition of the Tipiṭaka (Dhammadhāya-Tipiṭaka) at Vat Phra Dhammadhāya at Pathumthani (Padumadhānī) north of

¹ The manuscript is described as nos. 70 and 71 in O. v. Hinüber, *Die Pali-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nord-Thailand*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Indologischen Kommission, Band 2. Wiesbaden 2013.

Bangkok, a second version of the same colophon was brought to my notice by Dr Alexander Wynne. This colophon belongs to a copy of the *Dīghanikāya*. It is appended to the end of a *Pātikavagga* manuscript, which was copied at the initiative of Gru Pā Kañcana, a well-known monk, who built up an extremely valuable and still extant collection of Pāli texts at Vat Sūñ Men in Phrae in North Thailand, as the colophon confirms.²

*bra mahāthera cau tan jū kañcana araññavāsī meiqñ bree pen
glau lee. sissa cau dañ mvar saddhā bāy nōk mī rājjavañ meiñ
hlvañ brapāñ brōm kan sāñ lee*

The venerable Mahāthera named Kañcana, the forest dweller at Phrae, was the leading [monastic] supporter. All his venerable followers, who were royal lay supporters in Luang Prabang, joined together had [the manuscript] produced.

Although the manuscript is not dated it must have been copied as almost all the manuscripts sponsored in one way or the other by Gru Pā Kañcana during the thirties of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the two manuscripts with the same Pāli colophon are separated by almost exactly three hundred years.

Besides being fragmentary, the *Itivuttaka* colophon also contains some obvious copying mistakes as already noted in the catalogue of the Lai Hin manuscripts. Likewise, the *Dīghanikāya* colophon is corrupt in rather many places. Still, comparing the two colophons, it is possible to reconstruct the original text nearly completely. In doing so, it is extremely helpful that the wording of the colophon points to a metrical text, and, now that there are

² On Gru Pā Kañcana see *Pali-Handschriften*, as previous note, p. xlvi. The translation of the colophon follows: Harald Hundius, “The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand”, *JPTS* 14. (1990), pp. 1–173, particularly p. 129.

two manuscripts, it is not too difficult to see that two Vasantatilaka stanzas (--- | - - - | - - - | - - - [ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga]) are followed by a Mālinī verse (- - - | - - - | - - - | - - - [na-na-ma-ya-ya]).

In the following presentation of the colophon, the reconstructed version of the verses is given in the first line in bold-faced type followed by the versions found in the Itivuttaka and Pātikavagga colophons respectively in their corrupt and fragmentary forms.

VASANTATILAKA

1. SOBHAGGASIRIPAVARĀYA VAYĀDIPĀÑCA-

It: sobhaggasiripavarāya vayādipañca-

D: sobhaggasiripavarāya dipañca-

2. KALYĀÑIYĀYA SA{M}VUTE TÌ SUPĀKATĀYA

It: kalyāñiyyā sañvute tī pākatāya

D: kalyāñiya savavāte tī supākate

3. KHATTYĀÑIYĀ PATI PU{ñ}ÑĀBHIRATO SUKHAṬHO

It: khattyāñiyyā pati puññābhirato sukhaṭho

D: khattyāñiyyā pati puññābhirito sukhaṭho

4. YO ÑĀÑAVAMSAPAVARO MAHUPĀSAKO ṬSI†

It: yo ñāñavamsamapavaro mahupāsako si

D: yo ñāñavañsapavaro mahusako

5. TENĀJJHI(T)HO ṬSIRIṬDHARO VARABUDDHAVAMSO

It: tenājjhiṭho sīlapañño varabu[ddhavañso]

D: tenādhīṭho sīladharo re buddhavañso

6. THERO AYAM TIKUṬHEMAVIHĀRAVĀSĪ

It: thero ayam tikuṭhemavihāravā[sī

D: thero ayam tikuṭhemavihāravāsī

7. lekhāpīte kavijane sukhā saṃvidhāya

It: lekhāpi(ttha)ke kavijane sukhasaṃvidhāya

D: lekhiṇe kavijanena sutthu saṃvidhāya

8. lekhāpīti pīṭakām saha-m-atthaṭīkām

It: [+ + + +] pīṭakām saha-m-atthaṭīkā ||

D: likkhāpi tepiṭakām saha-p-atthaṭīkām

MĀLINĪ

9. tividhāpiṭakam etām vepula[m] sīsa(t)ṭhena

It: tividhāpiṭa[kam .]d. vepulāsaṭṭhena

D: tividhāpiṭimedām vepulāsaṭṭhena

10. sakalamahitale cīraṭṭhiti (s)sāsanassa

It: sakalamahitale cīraṭṭhiti sāsanassa

D: sakalamahitale ciratthi sāsanassa

11. varabhūripatilābhā ñāṇavāmsavhayena

It: varabhūripatilābhā ñāṇavāmsayhena

D: varabhūrimatilābhā ñāṇavāmsahiyena

12. kusalam-a-gahitum lekkhāpitupāsakena

It: kusama-gahitu lekkhāpitupāsakena

itivuttakappakaraṇam niṭṭhitam

D: kusalam-a-gahitum lekkhāpitupāpakena || |
pāṭiyavaggadīghanikāya || | ha ||

COMMENTARY

(Reconstruction and metre)

1. The *akṣaras vaya* are dropped in D. — Occasionally, as in *sīri*, metrical lengthening of vowels is required in these verses, cf. *EV I*, 2nd ed., pp. lxii/§48;³ very occasionally *sīri* is even written in the manuscript tradition.

In D (*dīpañcakalyāniya savate ti supākate*) is repeated after *ñāñavañšo pavaro* in verse 4. The dittography was noticed by the scribe and cancelled by using parentheses as indicated.

2. Although D is very faulty, it preserves the metrically correct *su-*^o. The equally metrically correct *sa-* in the otherwise faulty *sava+ateti* with the second *-va-* being crossed out by the scribe may be ultimately accidental. It is, however, repeated as *savateti* in the dittography, which almost guarantees that the scribe found this wording in the manuscript he copied; on the occasional shortening of a nasalized vowel m. c. cf. *EV I*, p. lix §45.

3. In *pu{ñ}ñābhirato* only *-ñ-* is to be read m. c. instead of *-ññ-*, cf. *EV I*, p. lviii §42 and p. lix §45. In D ^o-*abhirito* is an obvious scribal error.

4. In D *mahušako* is a mistake, and the last syllable *si*, which is required by the metre, is missing. It is tempting to interpret *si* as *āsi* “was”. However, only *asi* is abbreviated in this way. Perhaps correction into *pi* or *hi* is necessary, although neither makes sense, unless this is to be taken as a meaningless *pādapūraṇa*.

5. In spite of the loss of *vara*, of which only *re* is extant, D contains the clue to a possible reconstruction. In It *sīlapañño* does not scan, nor does D *sīla-dharo*, which, however, could be read as a metrically correct *siladharo* or as *siridharo*. A confusion of *ra* and *la* is not unlikely before a Thai linguistic background: *siridharo* > *silidharo* with a “correction” into *sīladharo*, which

³ *The Elders' Verses*, Vol. I: Theragāthā, 2nd ed. Translated with an introduction and notes by K.R. Norman. Lancaster 2007.

does not otherwise seem to occur in Pāli. In It this could have provoked a further “correction” to *sīlapañño*, which is well attested in Northern Thailand at the time. An alternative, therefore, could be *silapañño*, cf. *puññābhirato* in verse 3 (?). Consequently, the reconstruction remains doubtful. Luckily, the name Buddhavamsa lost in It is preserved in D.

In *tenājjhi{t}tho* the cluster *ttho* does not make position; for similar though not identical examples cf. *EV I²* p. LVIII §43: ${}^{\circ}-\{t\}thāniyo$. D ${}^{\circ}-adhi\ddot{t}tho$ is a mistake.

6. The metrically correct ${}^{\circ}-ku\ddot{t}a-$ for ${}^{\circ}-kūta-$ is preserved in both manuscripts.
7. The reconstruction *lekhāpīte* seems to be fairly certain. The word *sutthu* for *suñthu* in D does not scan, unless read as *su{t}thu*.
8. The common South-East Asian form *tepiṭaka* must be replaced by *tipiṭaka*. In D *likkhāpi* is grammatically wrong and does not scan, nor would *lekhāpesi*. The use of the sandhi consonant *-m-* is remarkable.
9. Here, again, only D gives a clue how to reconstruct the verse: *tividha-pitimedam* > *tividhāpiṭakam etām*. The long *-ā-* in *vepulā* preserved in It though metrically correct is hardly justified grammatically, perhaps *vepulam* or *vīpulam* (?). The important syllable *si* is missing in It; read *sīsa-* $\{t\}thena$, cf. *EV I²* p. LVIII §43: ${}^{\circ}-\{t\}thāniyo$.
10. Although D is partly corrupt, *cirathissatasanassa* seems to allow a metrical reconstruction *cīratthīti* (*s)sāsanassa*. The form *cīratthīti* without ending instead of the expected *cīratthītiyā*, which would scan, is problematic, because it would, at the same time, create a redundant syllable and *sāsanassa* would no longer scan. Perhaps the compound *cīratthīti* (*s)sāsanassa* is a South-East Asian formation following the rules operating in Thai compounds; on the doubling of the initial *s-* in (*s)sāsana* cf. *EV I*, p. lviif. §42.

11. Although both It ^o-*yhena* and D ^o-*hiyena* are wrong, this is easily mended to ^o-*vhayena*.

12. D *kusalamagahitum* now partly solves the puzzle of *kusamagahitu* in It. However, the astonishing “sandhi -a-”, which seems to be unique, together with the unusual, perhaps likewise unique combination of *kusalam* *gaṇhāti* points to a possible problem in the reconstruction, although the meaning is obvious.

The metrical licence applied by the author of these verses obviously continues the usage found in the verses of the Tipiṭaka.

After this reconstruction the text can be understood and translated following the Pāli as closely as possible in the following way:

The husband of the best Kṣatriyānī Sobhaggasiri, who is well-known as being blessed with the five perfections such as youth etc., found his pleasure in merit making and was abiding in bliss; he (the husband) who was (?) a great Upāsaka, the best Nāṇavāmsa, by him was approached the glorious venerable Buddhavāmsa. This Thera, who lived in the Tikūṭahema Monastery, had the Tipiṭaka with commentaries and sub-commentaries copied after having wise (or: competent) men, who were ordered to copy, appointed in a happy way.

This threefold vast (?) *vepula/vīpula* (?) Piṭaka was ordered to be copied by the Upāsaka called Nāṇavāmsa, who stood at the top and who wished to accumulate meritorious acts by his excellent vast acquisitions, to ensure the long duration of the teaching (of the Buddha) on the whole earth.

Three persons are named: Lady Sobhaggasiri of *kṣatriya* origin, which means of royal blood, or at least of nobility, her husband the great *upāsaka* Nāṇavāmsa, and the Thera Buddhavāmsa. Names ending in ^o-*vāmsa* are common in Lān² Nā at this period, as is *ñāṇa*-^o as the first member of a

name.⁴ However, persons bearing names of this type are usually monks and not laymen as Nāṇavāmsa certainly is.

The word ^o-*pravara* “best, venerable” following the names of the lay supporters of the donation may correspond to Thai *cau*² (เจ้า), which is used following the names of monks or other high ranking persons. In addition to the *kṣatriya* origin of his wife the description of the great *upāsaka* Nāṇavāmsa as *sīsatītha*, which might translate Thai *ayū¹ háva* (อุป หัว) in line 9 seems to point to a person of some status; perhaps he was even a local ruler or married into a family of higher status. For, it is remarkable that his wife is mentioned first and described in some detail as being well known for possessing a particularly charming appearance⁵ already indicated by her name Sobhaggasiri. All this is said in the first Vasantatilaka verse.

Next, as mentioned in the second Vasantatilaka, Nāṇavāmsa sought the support of a senior monk for the execution of his project in the same way as did the followers of Gru Pā Kañcana many centuries later, when they donated the manuscript of the Pātikavagga of the Dīgha-nikāya. The technical term for asking a monk to act as an *upatthambaka* “patron” or “religious advisor” is *ajhesati/ajhiṭṭha*.⁶

As the patron of the donation by Nāṇavāmsa the Thera Buddhavāmsa organized the copying by selecting the scribes called here poetically *lekhāpīte kavijane* “wise (or: competent) men, who were ordered to write.”

⁴ Hans Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index. An Annotated Index to the Thailand Part of Ratanapañña's Chronicle Jinakālamālī* (Oxford and Chiang Mai, 1994), p. 280 (*kula-vāmsa*), p. 283 and p. 292 (*sīla-vāmsa*), p. 287 (*ñāṇa-*^o), cf. further the names listed p. 219 and *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, no. 7 (*ādiccavāmsa*), p. 230 (index s.v. *ñāṇa-*^o).

⁵ The five *kalyānis* are enumerated, e.g., at Spk III, 277, 18-12 as: *chavi-*^o, *mamsa-*^o, *nahāru-*^o, *aṭhi-*^o, *vaya-kalyānam*.

⁶ This was common practice and is well documented in various colophons, cf. *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, p. xlviif.

This meaning of *kavi*, rare in Pāli, occurs again in the verses added at the end of the Jātaka in Sinhalese manuscripts used in V. Fausbøll's edition⁷ where almost endless wishes are expressed, which the scribes hope will be fulfilled by the merit accumulated by copying the Jātaka:

... *piṭakesu vedesu ca nekavyākaraṇesu ca*
takkādisu pan' aññesu satthesu ca visārado
kavi c'āgamakovido⁸ paravādappamaddano ...

Ja VI 594.30*-33*

... an expert (*kovido*) in the Piṭakas and the Vedas (!) as well as in various systems of grammar, in logic also and in other śāstras, a wise man (*kavi*), knowing the tradition, suppressing wrong views ...

The Thera Buddhavāmsa resided in a monastery called *tikūṭahemavihāra* “Golden monastery with three peaks” or perhaps “Monastery with three golden peaks” following the sequence of a Thai compound. This could be a translation of *sām yqd gām* (or: *dqñ*) (ສາມ ຍົດ ດ້າ [ທອງ]).⁹ So far, this

⁷ Ja VI 594, note *. They are not found in manuscript B^d as erroneously stated in the *CPD*, see next note.

⁸ This sequence of *akṣaras* occurring in verses found only in E^e is printed as *kavicāgamakovādo* and misunderstood in the *CPD* s.v. The correction is obvious now, once the second reference to *kavi* in a similar context in Nāṇavāmsa's colophon can be compared. The mistake ^o-*kovādo* for ^o-*kovido* found in both Sinhalese manuscripts points to the fact that these verses were copied from an earlier manuscript or composed by the scribe of the older Sinhalese manuscript C^k. The Abhidhānappadipikā, which always was a book of reference when learning Pāli, explains *budho vidvā ... sudhī kavi vyatto ...* (Abh 228), echoing the series of synonyms in Amarakośa 2. 7. 5 *budhah / dhīro ... prajñah ... kavīh*.

⁹ Names of this type are not rare, cf. *vad cēd yqd “*sattakūṭavihāra”* in Chiang Mai: O. v. Hinüber, “The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok. A Short Catalogue”, *JSS* 75 (1987), pp. 9–74, nos. 38 and 63.

monastery has defied identification. For metrical reasons *vara*-° corresponding to *cau*² (ເຈົ້າ), cf. *pavara*-° as discussed above, is put in front of the name of the Thera Buddhavamsa.

After this preparatory work Nāṇavāmsa could execute his plan. This change of topic is mirrored in the change of metre from the *Vasantatilaka* to the *Mālinī*. It is emphasized by *vara-bhūri-paṭilābha* “excellent vast acquisitions”, that is riches, if understood correctly, that he could do so as a wealthy man equipped with the substantial financial means needed to finance a copy of *Tipiṭaka* together with *Āṭhakathā* and *Tīkās*. His aim was to ensure the continuity of the Buddha’s teaching and to make merit.

After recovering two identical colophons referring to Nāṇavāmsa’s plan in manuscripts of two texts from different parts of the *Tipiṭaka*, one accompanied by the *Āṭhakathā*,¹⁰ it is not impossible that a substantial part of the plan was actually realized, although no *Tīkā* has been found as yet. However, as only a fraction of the colophons extant in manuscripts in Lān² Nā have been studied so far, other parts of this donation might surface in course of time.

Neither place nor date of Nāṇavāmsa’s donation can be determined. The only hint at the place, where Nāṇavāmsa and his wife Sobhaggasiri lived, is the monastery of unknown location. From Dā Sqy, where it was copied, no monastery called *Tikūṭahemavihāra* is known.¹¹

Nāṇavāmsa’s copy of the *Itivuttaka* or a copy of that copy was available in Dā Sqy in 1546 and a much later copy derived from his *Dīgha-nikāya* existed still at the time of Gru Pā Kañcana. The text of the colophon of the *Itivuttaka*, already faulty in a few places, continued to deteriorate during the

¹⁰ Although the end of *It-a* is not extant, it seems safe to assume that this manuscript was also copied from one found in Nāṇavāmsa’s donation.

¹¹ The surviving names of monasteries in Dā Sqy are listed in *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, p. xxxviiif.

following centuries. Therefore, although an immediate copy from Ñāṇavāmsa's original is perhaps unlikely, the extant Itivuttaka and its commentary might not be too far away in time from an original perhaps created between about 1470, when the manuscript tradition in Northern Thailand begins, and around 1500.

If this time frame is approximately correct, this is the second set of a complete Tipitaka prepared in Lān² Nā during this period. For in 1477 King Tiloka convened a council of one hundred monks, the eighth in Thai reckoning, at Vat Jet Yot (ວັດເຈື້ອ ຍອດ) in Chiang Mai in order to purify the Tipitaka. Afterwards, he had this copy housed in a building erected specifically for this purpose in that monastery.¹² However, in contrast to Ñāṇavāmsa's donation, no tangible trace in the form of a manuscript derived from King Tiloka's Tipitaka is known to survive, although it is not unlikely that some of the Pāli manuscripts copied, e.g., in Dā Sqy during the early sixteenth century could be based on this edition. On the other hand, after the discovery of the copies of the Itivuttaka and the Pāṭikavagga of the Dīghanikāya donated by Lady Keev and by the followers of Gru Pā Kañcana respectively, it is possible for the first time now to trace a manuscript tradition over a couple of centuries due to Ñāṇavāmsa's and Sobhaggasiri's enduring *puṇya*.

¹² Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index*, as note 4 above, p. 218.

A Note on the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and Its Commentary

Rupert Gethin

What follows is concerned with the proper understanding of two terms in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* (M III 207–15) and its commentary (Ps V 15–21): (*a*)*bhabba* and (*a*)*bhabbābhāsa*. Despite this particular focus, the problems encountered in trying to arrive at a proper understanding and translation of these terms are illustrative of the problems encountered more generally when trying to negotiate canonical Pali texts and their ancient commentaries using the available editions and dictionaries.

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* consists of six more or less distinct sections:

- § 1. An introductory narrative (M III 207,¹–209,¹⁹);
- § 2. a karmic puzzle set out in terms of four scenarios that each involves a person who acts in a particular way and is subsequently reborn (M III 209,²⁰–10,⁸);
- § 3. the interpretation of each of these four scenarios by non-Buddhist ascetics on the basis of their direct knowledge of the actions and subsequent rebirth (M III 210,⁹–12,¹⁰);
- § 4. the Buddha's assessment of each of these four interpretations in the form of a statement of where his own analysis of karma (*kammavibhaṅga*) agrees and where it disagrees (M III 212,¹¹–14,⁵);
- § 5. the Buddha's application of his analysis of karma to each of the four scenarios (M III 214,⁶–15,¹⁴);
- § 6. a short final summary paragraph (M III 215,¹⁵–18).

I am grateful to Margaret Cone, Eric Greene, Oskar von Hinüber, and Ulrich Pagel for advice in the course of writing this article.

The present note is concerned primarily with the translation and interpretation of the final summary paragraph (§6), both in the *sutta* and its *commentary*, and is prompted by three considerations: (1) the existing widely used English translations (by Horner, and Nāṇamoli and Bodhi)¹ of the summary passage are clearly problematic; (2) the existing dictionary entries for *abhabba* (*PED*, *CPD*) and *bhabba* (*PED*) are likewise problematic; and (3) the text of the PTS edition of the *commentary* on this passage is unsatisfactory.

At the heart of the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* is a karmic puzzle set out in what I have indicated as §2 above with reference to four types of person (M III 209₂₀–210₈):

1. The person who follows the ten unskilful courses of action and is then reborn in a hell realm;
2. the person who follows the ten unskilful courses of action and is then reborn in a heavenly realm;
3. the person who abstains from the ten unskilful courses of action and is then reborn in a heavenly realm;
4. the person who abstains from the ten unskilful courses of action and is then reborn in a hell realm.

In §§3–5 the text of the *sutta* systematically considers each of the four scenarios *in order* three times giving us interpretation of non-Buddhist ascetics, the Buddha's assessment of their interpretation, and finally the Buddha's own analysis. It thus seems likely that the summary statement that constitutes §6 is similarly meant to relate to each of the four scenarios *in order*. The summary statement reads as follows:

¹ I. B. Horner, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, 3 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1954–1959), III (1959), p. 262; Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), p. 1065.

*atthi kammaṇi abhabbam abhabbābhāsañ. atthi kammaṇi abhabbam
bhabbābhāsañ. atthi kammaṇi bhabbañ c' eva bhabbābhāsañ ca.
atthi kammaṇi bhabbam abhabbābhāsañ*

Horner translates this as:

There is the deed that is inoperative, apparently inoperative; there is the deed that is inoperative, apparently operative; there is the deed that is operative, apparently operative; there is the deed that is operative, but apparently inoperative.²

It is not at all clear how this can be made to map coherently on to the four types of person set out in the *sutta* in *any* order. To take just the first case, a man committing the ten courses of unskilful action and then being reborn in hell would initially seem best described as a case of operative unskilful *kamma* that also appears operative, since the man does something bad and it appears that as a consequence he is reborn in hell. Of course, as the *sutta* proceeds it becomes apparent that it wants precisely to point out that appearances are deceptive: when someone is seen committing the ten courses of unskilful action and then seen reborn in hell, we should not assume that his rebirth in hell is the result of committing the particular actions he was seen committing. Nonetheless it is not at all clear, to me at least, what would be meant by describing this as an example of a deed “that is inoperative, apparently inoperative”. In fact, the *sutta* goes on to suggest that when someone is reborn in hell after a life in which he has been observed following the ten courses of unskilful action, it is in consequence of a bad action done by him *either* before *or* after these actions; *or* it is because at the time of death he adopted some wrong view. As for the ten unskilful courses of action he has been observed following in this life (*idha*), he experiences the results of these either in this life (*dīṭṭhe* *va* *dhamme*) or in future existences:

When a person who here in this life harms living creatures, takes what is not given, ... and has mistaken views is, at the breaking up of the body, after death, reborn in a state of misfortune, an unhappy destiny, a state of affliction, hell, then either previous or subsequent [to these

² Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, III, 262.

actions] he has done a bad act whose result is to be experienced as painful; or else at the time of death he has taken on and adopted some mistaken view. Therefore, at the breaking up of the body, after death he has been reborn in a state of misfortune, an unhappy destiny, a state of affliction, hell. And in so far as here in this life he harms living creatures, takes what is not given ... and has mistaken views, he experiences the result of that either in this very life or when he is reborn in further future existences.³

Thus from the *sutta*'s perspective we have in the case of the first person an example of a *kamma* that appears operative (this bad action appears to cause rebirth in hell), but is not operative in this particular case (some other bad *kamma* has caused his rebirth in hell).

Similar problems arise when we try to apply the other summary statements translated in this way to the other categories. They simply do not fit however we try. In fact from the *sutta*'s point of view the *kammas* all four men are seen doing are inoperative in so far as they are not the *kammas* that are the direct cause of the rebirth subsequently seen by the ascetics and brahmans.

Despite this a number of publications have followed Miss Horner's translation and stated that the Buddha in this *sutta* offers an analysis of *kamma* precisely in terms of *kamma* that is (1) inoperative, and apparently inoperative, (2) inoperative, but apparently operative, (3) opera-

³ M III 214,6–16: *tatr' ānanda yvāyām puggalo idha pāñātipātī adinnādāyī — pe — micchādiṭṭhī, kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyam duggatīm vinipātam nirayaṃ upapajjati, pubbe vā 'ssa tam kataṇ hoti pāpakkammam dukkha-vedanīyam, pacchā vā 'ssa tam kataṇ hoti pāpakkammam dukkhavedanīyam, maraṇakāle vā 'ssa hoti micchādiṭṭhī samattā samādinnā. tena so kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyam duggatīm vinipātam nirayaṃ upapajjati. yañ ca kho so idha pāñātipātī hoti adinnādāyī hoti — pe — micchādiṭṭhī hoti tassa diṭṭhe va dhamme vīpākam paṭisamvēdeti upapajja vā apare va pariyyāye.* For the reading *upapajja vā apare va pariyyāye* see Oskar von Hinüber, “The ‘Threefold’ Effect of Karma”, *Selected Papers* (Oxford: PTS, 2005), 39–51 (48–49). For a defence of a threefold division of *kamma* in the present context, see Anālayo, *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-Nikāya*, 2 vols (Taipei: Dharma Drum, 2011), II, 779–80 (n. 118).

tive, and apparently operative, and (4) operative, but apparently inoperative. One publication elaborates on these terms and categories with the suggestion that it is following the interpretation of the commentary.⁴ As we shall see, the understanding of the commentary is rather different. As for the *sutta* itself, it seems clear that the terms *bhabba/abhabba* cannot be being used in the sense of “operative/inoperative” here.

At this point let us turn to the available dictionaries. If we start with *PED* we are told (s.v. *bhabba*) that *bhabba* has two basic meanings (1) “able, capable, fit for”, and, referring to our passage, (2) “possible”; specifically “apparently possible” is offered as a translation of *bhabba-ābhāsa* in the present context. As for *abhabba* (s.vv. *abhabba*, *bhabba*), we are told that *abhavya* in Sanskrit has a different meaning (though we are not told what that is) and that in Pali it means “impossible, not likely, unable”. *CPD* (s.v. *abhabba*), follows *PED*’s lead, noting that the term is equivalent to Sanskrit *abhavya* “in different meaning”; it then gives three basic meanings for Pali (a) “unable, incapable”, (b) “unqualified”, and (c) “inoperative or hopeless”, citing only the passage under discussion for the last (M III 215,15–16). Turning to *BHSD* (s.vv. *abhavya*, *bhavya*), we are again informed that *bhavya* means “able, capable”, and *abhavya* “unable, incapable, impotent”, although they do not have these senses in Sanskrit (but once more we are not told what the Sanskrit meanings are).

It is apparent that the characteristic usage of (*a*)*bhabba* and (*a*)*bhavya* in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit is in the sense of “(un)able” or “(in)capable” followed by a dative or infinitive used to describe a person as (un)able to do something or (in)capable of doing something. This particular usage seems not to be found in Sanskrit, though both MW and Böhtlingk & Roth (without citing examples) list meanings for *bhavya* that approach

⁴ James P. McDermott, “Karma and Rebirth in Early Buddhism”, in *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, ed. by Wendy Doniger O’Faherty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 165–192 (p. 177). See also Peter Masefield, “The Mahākammavibhaṅgasutta: An Analysis”, *Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science, and Letters*, 5 (1976), 75–83.

it: “suitable, fit, proper” and “entsprechend, angemessen”. What seems less certain is that other usages in Sanskrit (such as “right, good, excellent, handsome, beautiful, pleasant, gracious, favourable, auspicious, fortunate”) must necessarily be excluded for Pali, although it must be acknowledged that these other usages seem relatively late in Sanskrit.⁵

What is clear, however, is that the meaning “(un)able” or “(in)capable” does not fit the present context of the summary paragraph of the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*. In translating *bhabba/abhabba* as “operative/inoperative” Miss Horner seems to be following the lead of the 1936 article on *abhabba* in *CPD* composed by Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Elof Olesen (*CPD* I xxxix). Yet, as we have already seen, this does not make much sense, nor does *PED*’s suggestion of “(im)possible”.

What does Buddhaghosa’s commentary have to say on the matter? It tells us that here “the term *a-bhabba* means ‘deprived of fortune, unskilful’ (*abhabban ti bhūtavirahitam akusalam*).⁶ Here the commentary takes *a* in the sense of “without” and the root *bhū* in the sense of “to thrive or prosper” (see MW, s.vv. *bhū*, *bhūta*, *bhūti*). In fact it seems clear that the commentary is here taking *abhabba* in a sense that is quite normal for *abhaya* in classical Sanskrit: “inauspicious” or just plain “not good”. What is more, it is immediately apparent that the way the commentary understands the term (*a)bhabba* as equivalent to (*a*)*kusala* in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*’s summary statement has the virtue of mapping perfectly intelligibly on to the four scenarios set out in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*:

1. The person who performs bad actions and is then reborn in a lower realm illustrates action that is unfortunate and appears unfortunate.

⁵ MW suggests that *bhava* is found in these senses in Kāvya, the Purāṇas, Kathāsaritsāgara, etc.

⁶ Ps V 20,5. So E^e and C^e; B^e and S^e read *bhūtavirahitam*; MW (s.v. *bhūta*) lists “well-being, welfare, prosperity”, too, as possible meanings.

2. The person who performs bad actions and is then reborn in a heavenly realm illustrates action that is unfortunate but appears fortunate.
3. The person who abstains from bad actions and is then reborn in a heavenly realm illustrates action that is both fortunate and appears fortunate.
4. The person who abstains from bad actions and is then reborn in a lower realm illustrates action that is fortunate but appears unfortunate.

We can note here that the more recent translation of the *Majjhimanikāya* by Nāṇamoli and Bodhi solves the problem and produces a coherent translation by translating *abhabba* in the usual Pali sense of “incapable” and supplying “of good”: thus *abhabba* is taken as meaning “incapable [of good]” and *bhabba* as “capable [of good]”. In a footnote, however, the commentary’s explanation of (a)*bhabba* as “(un)skilful” is characterised as “suspect”, with the suggestion that “*bhabba* (Skt *bhavya*) may simply mean “potent, capable of producing results,” without implying any particular moral valuation”.⁷ Yet by adding “of good” to “incapable” their translation takes a “particular moral valuation” as implied here and so in effect their translation nonetheless follows the commentarial explanation of (a)*bhabba*.

Is the commentary right to understand (a)*bhabba* in the sense of “(un)fortunate” or “(in)auspicious” here in accordance with the Sanskrit usage? It is hard to avoid the conclusion that here — as qualifying *kamma* in the statement as it has come down to us — *abhabba* must indeed mean something like “bad” and *bhabba* something like “good”: this is simply the sense required in order to get anything intelligible out of the summary statement.

It is worth noting at this point, however, that the Chinese and Tibetan translations of what are likely to have been Sarvāstivādin recensions of this *sutta* seem to reflect a rather different form of the final

⁷ Nāṇamoli and Bodhi, *Middle Length Discourses*, pp. 1065, 1347 (n. 1234).

summary statement.⁸ In his comparative study of the Majjhima-nikāya Anālayo provides a useful overview of how these two translations relate to the Pali recension. In particular he notes that in the summary statement the Chinese translation includes a simile which, although absent from the Pali *Mahākammavibhāṅga-sutta*, is found elsewhere in the Pali Nikāyas.⁹ He does not comment further, but in the present context it is worth considering the wording of the summary statement as it appears in the Chinese translation in full:

Further, there are four kinds of person: (1) there is the kind of person who does not have [the capability] and appears to have it, (2) the kind who has it and appears not to have it, (3) the kind who does not have it and appears not to have it, (4) the kind who has it and appears to have it.

Ānanda, it is as if there were four kinds of fruit: (1) there is the kind that is unripe but appears ripe, (2) the kind that is ripe and appears unripe, (3) the kind that is unripe and appears unripe, (4) the kind that is ripe and appears ripe.

Similarly, Ānanda, there are four kinds of person analogous to these fruit: (1) there is the kind of person who does not have [the

⁸ The Chinese translation is discourse 171 in the Chinese translation of the Madhyama Āgama (T. 26) made by Samghadeva in 398 C.E. and is usually thought to be a Sarvāstivāda recension. The Tibetan translation is found in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā*, a work composed any time between the fifth and eleventh centuries and taking the form of a compendium of mostly canonical sūtra passages cited in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; this also appears to belong to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda school; see Peter Skilling and Paul Harrison, "What's in a Name? Sarvāstivādin Interpretations of the Epithets 'Buddha' and 'Bhagavat'", in *Buddhism and Jainism: Essays in Honour of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Committee for the Felicitation of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki's Seventieth Birthday (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 2005), pp. 700–675 (pp. 700–698); Sāmañerī Dhammadinnā, "A Translation of the Quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā* Parallel to the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* Discourses 8, 9, 11, 12, 17 and 28", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 11 (2012), 63–96 (pp. 66–70).

⁹ Anālayo, *Comparative Study*, II, 775–81.

capability] and appears to have it, (2) the kind who has it and appears not to have it, (3) the kind who does not have it and appears not to have it, (4) the kind who has it and appears to have it.¹⁰

There seems little doubt that underlying what I have rendered as “does not have the capability” (無有) and “has it” (有) are Middle Indian or Buddhist Sanskrit forms corresponding to *abhavya* and *bhavya* respectively: 有 (“to have, there is”) seems precisely chosen here to render a derivative of the root *bhū* in the sense of possessing the capability or capacity for something.¹¹ But what is striking about the Chinese parallel is that it is the “person” that is qualified as (*a*)*bhavya* rather than the “action” as in the Pali version. The use of (*a*)*bhavya* in the sense of “(in)capable” to describe a person seems more in accord with Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit usage. But the simile of the ripe and unripe fruit found in Pali in the *Ānguttara-nikāya* and in the *Puggala-paññatti* uses quite different terminology: *āma* (unripe) and *pakka* (ripe):

Monks, there are these four kinds of mango. Which four? The kind that is unripe which looks ripe, the kind that is ripe which looks unripe, the kind that is unripe which looks unripe, the kind that is ripe which looks ripe. These are the four kinds of mango. In exactly the same way, monks, there are found in the world four kinds of person similar to these mangoes. Which four? The kind that is unripe which

¹⁰ T 26, 1.708c21–26: 復次有四種人。或有人無有似有。或有似無有。或無有似無。或有似有。阿難。猶如四種棕。或棕不熟似熟。或熟似不熟。或不熟似不熟。或熟似熟。如是。阿難。四種棕喻人。或有人無有似有。或有似無有。或無有似無有。或有似有。

¹¹ I am grateful to Eric Greene for his advice on the rendering of this passage. Thich Minh Chau has summarized this passage; see his *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya: A Comparative Study* (Saigon: Saigon Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies, 1964; repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsi-dass, 1991), p. 199. He supplies “results” rather than “capability” (“some have no results but apparently have results”); this seems to me to make less sense in context; but how we choose to render the term does not affect the issue of the underlying Indian terminology.

looks ripe, the kind that is ripe which looks unripe, the kind that is unripe which looks unripe, the kind that is ripe which looks ripe.¹²

These four kinds of person are then further explained with reference to those who either do or do not give the appearance of practising in the proper manner and who either do or do not understand suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation.

Like the Chinese translation, the Tibetan translation reflects a version of the sutta in which the summary statement describes persons (*puruṣa*) rather than actions (*karman*):

Ānanda, there are these four persons. What four? (1) One who is unsuitable for growth but appears suitable, (2) one who is suitable for growth but appears unsuitable, (3) one who is unsuitable and also appears unsuitable for growth, (4) one who is suitable and also appears suitable. This is what is said.¹³

Once again there seems no reason to doubt that underlying what I have rendered as “(un)suitable for growth” (*gsor mi rung ba*) are middle Indian Buddhist Sanskrit forms corresponding to *abhavya* and *bhavya*.

As Anālayo notes, the order of the four scenarios that set up the karmic puzzle that the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallel recensions address is different in the Chinese and Tibetan translations

¹² A II 106: *cattār’ imāni bhikkhave ambāni. katamāni cattāri? āmāṇi pakkavāṇī, pakkam āmavaṇī, āmāṇi āmavaṇī, pakkam pakkavaṇī. imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri ambāni. evam evam kho bhikkhave cattāro ‘me ambūpamā puggalā santo sañvijjamānā lokasmīm. katame cattāro? āmo pakkavaṇī, pakko āmavaṇī, āmo āmavaṇī, pakko pakkavaṇī*. Cf. Pp 44–45.

¹³ D 4094, ju, 268, r5–6 = *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Taipei Edition*, 72 vols, editor in chief A.W. Barber (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1991), XLII, 268: *kun dga’ bo gang zag ni bzhi po ’di dag ste | bzhi gang zhe na | gsor mi rung ba rung bar snang ba dang | gsor rung ba mi rung bar snang ba dang | gsor mi rung ba la gsor mi rung bar snang ba dang | gsor rung ba la gsor rung bar snang ba dang | zhes gsungs so |* (I am grateful to Ulrich Pagel for his advice on this passage.)

from that in the Pali.¹⁴ This different order maps intelligibly on to the order of the persons set out in the summary statement:

1. The person who performs bad actions and is then reborn in a heavenly realm (= second scenario in the Pali version) corresponds to the person who does not have the capability (Chinese) and is unsuitable for growth (Tibetan) yet appears to have the capability and be suitable.
2. The person who abstains from bad actions and is then reborn in a lower realm (= fourth scenario in the Pali version) corresponds to the person who does have the capability (Chinese), is suitable for growth (Tibetan) yet appears not to have the capability and be unsuitable.
3. The person who performs bad actions and is then reborn in a lower realm (= first scenario in the Pali version) corresponds to the person who does not have the capability (Chinese), is unsuitable for growth (Tibetan) and also appears not to have the capability and be unsuitable.
4. The person who abstains from bad actions and is then reborn in a heavenly realm (= third scenario in the Pali version) corresponds to the person who does have the capability (Chinese), is suitable for growth (Tibetan) and also appears to have the capability and be suitable.

In sum then we have three versions of this discourse on the “analysis of karma”. As Anālayo’s comparative study indicates, the core contents of the three versions are substantially the same. Yet when we come to the final summary statement we in effect have just two distinct recensions: one (the Theravāda) where *(a)bhabba* is used to qualify actions and one (the Sarvāstivāda) where the same terminology is used to qualify persons. The former usage appears problematic in meaning, the latter straightforward. On the other hand, a summary statement referring to

¹⁴ Anālayo, *Comparative Study*, II, 779.

good and bad actions seems to fit the contents of the discourse better than a summary statement in terms of persons capable and incapable of progress on the path. In both cases the final summary statement is secondary to the main contents of the discourse: it does not add to the substance, and its function is likely to be essentially mnemonic. Given the terminology of *bhavya/abhavya* and its usage in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit, perhaps the most likely evolution is the initial addition of a summary statement referring to persons as capable and incapable, which is subsequently adapted to refer to actions as good or bad.



The commentary offers just one explanation of the meaning of *(a)bhabba* in the summary statement, but it continues by offering two quite distinct ways of taking the fourfold summary statement, based not on different interpretations of *(a)bhabba*, but on different interpretations of the second member of the compound *(a)babbābhāsa*. In the case of the first explanation the text of the PTS edition presents some difficulties, principally connected with following the logic of where to read *akusala/kusala* and *abhabba/bhabba*. Horner's critical apparatus suggests some confusion over these terms in the editions she used, with some editions reading *kusala* where others read *akusala* and some *bhabba* where others read *abhabba*. In preparing her edition Miss Horner used no manuscripts it seems, but relied on three printed editions which she lists in the following order: C^e 1926, B^e 1921, and S^e 1920.¹⁵ The relevant portion of her edition reads as follows, with the words subject to variation highlighted in bold:

*abhabbābhāsan ti abhabbam **abhāsatī** abhibhavati paṭibāhatī ti attho. bahukasmīn hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammam dubbala-kammassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam̄*

¹⁵ Ps V iii cites: (1) S^e = 3 vols, ed. Dhammadhaja (Bangkok: Mahāmakuṭarāja-vidyālaya, 1920); (2) C^e = vol. 2 ed. Dhammadikti Siri Dhammananda (Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch, 1926); (3) B^e = ed. anonymous (Rangoon: Maṇḍine Piṭaka Press, 1921).

abhabbam abhabbābhāsan nāma. **akusalam** pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalam** kataṁ hoti tam **kusalassa**¹⁶ vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam **abhabbam bhabbābhāsan** nāma. bahumhi kusale āyūhite pi balavakammam̄ dubbalakammassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam bhabbañ c' eva bhabbābhāsañ ca. kusalam pana āyūhitvā āsanne **akusalam** katam hoti tam akusalassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam **bhabbam abhabbābhāsan**. api ca upaṭṭhānākārena p' ettha attho veditabbo. idam hi vuttam̄ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsatī upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsam̄. (Ps V 20,5-18)

Comparing C^e 1926 with the PTS edition, it becomes apparent that Miss Horner generally simply reproduces the text and variants of the Ceylonese edition. This edition establishes its text with reference to several Sinhalese manuscripts and cites variants from the same Siamese and Burmese printed editions mentioned by Horner, adding occasional references to variants in its manuscript sources.

With reference to *abhabbābhāsa*, the commentary first gives the following in explanation of the second term of the compound: *abhabbam abhāsatī abhibhavati paṭibāhatī ti attho*. Horner notes no variant but she is here as elsewhere following C^e 1926, which does note (p. 970, n. 22) the variant *ābhāsatī* found in both S^e 1920 and B^e 1921. Whatever the correct reading, the commentary's understanding of the *abhāsatī/ābhāsatī* is unambiguous: the verb is taken in this context to mean “overpowers” (*abhibhavati*) in the sense of “prevents” (*paṭibāhati*). What is not clear is how the commentary gets here. The relevant dictionary entries (*PED*, *CPD*, *DOP*, s.v. *ābhāsatī*) give no indication that *ābhāsatī* can be used transitively in the sense of “to overpower, prevent”. In fact, both *CPD* and *DOP* refer to the present passage as illustrative of the meaning “appears, looks like”, with *CPD* adding the transitive meaning “to illuminate”. *DOP*, however, has in addition an entry for a verb *abhāsatī*, where it cites only this passage and suggests a possible derivation from

¹⁶ It seems likely that Miss Horner in fact intended to read *akusalassa* here as this is what C^e 1926 reads, and, like C^e 1926 (p. 970, n. 26), Miss Horner cites (p. 20, n. 8) S^e 1920's *kusa*° as the variant.

Sanskrit *abhyaśnoti*, which would give us the required sense of “to overpower”. If we are to stick with the reading *ābhāsati*, there seem to be two ways to understand the move the commentary makes. MW (s.v. *ābhāsati*) records the usage of the causative *ābhāsayati* in the sense of “to shine upon, illuminate” and hence “to throw light upon, exhibit the falsity of anything”. The sense of “exhibit the falsity of something” might underlie the commentary’s interpretation. Alternatively, we could understand the commentary as taking the prefix *ā* in the grammatical sense of *abhidhī* (inclusion) or more simply in the general sense of *abhi*. Either way, *ābhāsati* seems to be understood in the sense of “shines over” with the implication of taking the place of whatever it shines over.

Let us now turn to the question of the pattern of *kusala-/akusala-abhabba-/bhabba-* in this passage.¹⁷ If we translate the commentary’s explanation of the second and third scenarios following the text as presented in C^e 1926 (and E^e 1938) using the commentary’s first explanation of the meaning of *ābhāsa*, it is clear that we have a problem:

But when one has accumulated **unskilful** *kamma* and then does something **skilful** close [to the time of one’s death], that [skilful act] can prevent the result of the unskilful¹⁸ act and create the opportunity for its result; this is [kamma that is] *unfortunate that prevents the fortunate* ... But when one has accumulated **skilful** *kamma* and then does something **unskilful** close [to the time of one’s death], that [unskilful act] can prevent the result of the unskilful [sic] act and create the opportunity for its result; this is [kamma that is] *fortunate that prevents the unfortunate*.

Describing a skilful act done close to the time of the death of someone who has accumulated unskilful *kamma* as “the unfortunate that prevents the fortunate” makes no sense. We can retrieve some semblance of sense if we take the phrase as referring instead to the accumulated unskilful *kamma*, but then we need to take *ābhāsa* in the sense of “appear”: the accumulated unskilful *kamma* is unfortunate *kamma* that

¹⁷ Cf. Ps V 20, notes 8, 9, 10, 11.

¹⁸ Taking *akusalassa* as what Horner intended to read; see note 16.

appears fortunate because it is superseded by the skilful act done close to the time of death. But to take *ābhāsa* in the sense of “appear” is to ignore what the commentary has just said about how it wants to understand the term in this first explanation. This is enough to suggest that the text of C^e 1926 is simply muddled here and does not pay attention to what the commentary is saying. That impression is reinforced by the manner in which this edition goes on to talk again of preventing the result of an *unskilful* act. Moreover the critical apparatus of C^e 1926 indicates that the manuscripts on which it is based did not present a consistent pattern of *akusala-* and *kusala-*.

It is quite clear that if we take up the meaning of *ābhāsa* suggested by the commentary here, as we must, logic requires the pattern of *akusala-* and *kusala-* found in S^e 1920 and the more recent B^e 1957, and that the passage as presented in E^e, following C^e 1926, makes no sense. I have not had access to B^e 1921, but it is worth noting that Horner’s account of the manner in which it differs from S^e 1920 (and therefore B^e 1957) is open to question. Her note 13 (Ps V 20) indicates that B^e 1921 omits five lines of the text as presented in E^e, while her notes 10 and 11 indicate that where at Ps V 20,¹² we have *abhabbam bhabbābhāsan* B^e 1921 had *bhabbam abhabbābhāsan*. In other words Horner tells us that B^e 1921 reads here as follows:

abhabbābhāsan ti abhabbam ābhāsatī abhibhavati paṭibāhāti ti attho. bahukasmin̄ hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammam̄ dubbala-kammassa vipākam paṭibāhītvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam̄ *abhabbam abhabbābhāsan* nāma. **akusalap** pana āyūhītvā āsanne kusalam̄ katan̄ hoti tan̄ kusalassa vipākam paṭibāhītvā attano vipākassa okāsam̄ karoti. idam̄ **bhabbam abhabbābhāsan** nāma. [...] api ca upaṭṭhānākārena p’ ettha attho veditabbo. idam̄ hi vuttam̄ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsatī upaṭṭhāti ti abhabbābhāsam̄.

But if this is how B^e 1921 reads, then it seems likely that Horner has identified a lacuna in that edition in the wrong place, and that the text should be understood as reading:

abhabbābhāsan ti abhabbam ābhāsatī abhibhavati paṭibāhāti ti attho. bahukasmin̄ hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammam̄ dubbala-

kammassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam abhabbam abhabbābhāsan nāma. [...] akusalam pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalam** kataṁ hoti tam kusalassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam **bhabbam abhabbābhāsan** nāma. api ca upaṭṭhānākārena p' ettha attho veditabbo. idam hi vuttam hoti: abhabbatō ābhāsatī upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsam.

Understanding the lacuna in this position has the effect of making the pattern of *akusala-/kusala-* and *abhabba-/bhabba-* in Horner's B^e 1921 consistent with that found in S^e 1920 and the more recent B^e 1957. In sum all this allows us to correct Ps V 20,5-18 as follows:

abhabban ti bhūtivirahitam akusalam. *abhabbābhāsan* ti abhabbam abhāsatī abhibhavati paṭibāhatī ti attho. bahukasmim hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammam dubbalakammassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam *abhabbam abhabbābhāsan* nāma. **kusalam** pana āyūhitvā āsanne **akusalam** kataṁ hoti tam kusalassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam *abhabbam bhabbam abhabbābhāsan* nāma. bahumhi kusale āyūhite pi balavakammam dubbalakammassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam *bhabbañ c' eva bhabbam abhabbābhāsañ ca. akusalam* pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalam** kataṁ hoti tam akusalassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsam karoti. idam *bhabbam abhabbābhāsam*.

Let me now offer a full translation of the commentary's first interpretation of the sutta's fourfold summary statement:

The term *a-bhabba* means “deprived of fortune”, unskilful. The expression *abhabbābhāsam* means “it shines over the unfortunate”; what is meant is that it overpowers or prevents it. [In the process of death and rebirth]¹⁹ when someone has accumulated a lot of unskilful *kamma*, a strong *kamma* [sometimes] prevents the result of a weak

¹⁹ It is clear that what follows assumes the Abhidhamma understanding of the process of death and rebirth and the specific role of *kamma* done close to the time of death (āsanna); see Vism 601 (XIX 15); Abhidh-av 117 (v. 1244); Abhidh-s 24, Abhidh-s-mhṭ 130–131. For a discussion see Rupert Gethin, “*Bhavaṅga* and Rebirth According to the Abhidhamma”, in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. III, ed. by Tadeusz Skorupski and Ulrich Pagel (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1994), pp. 11–35 (20–21).

kamma and creates the opportunity for its own result; (1) this is [*kamma* that is] *both unfortunate and also prevents the unfortunate*. But when one has accumulated **skilful** *kamma* and then does something **unskilful** close [to the time of death], that [*unskilful act*] can prevent the result of the skilful act and create the opportunity for its result; (2) this is [*kamma* that is] *unfortunate that prevents the fortunate*. Even when someone has accumulated a lot of skilful *kamma*, a strong *kamma* [sometimes] prevents the result of a weak *kamma* and creates the opportunity for its own result; (3) this is [*kamma* that is] *both fortunate and also prevents the fortunate*. But when one has accumulated **unskilful** *kamma* and then does something **skilful** close [to the time of one's death], the [*skilful act*] can prevent the result of the unskilful act and create the opportunity for its result; (4) this is [*kamma* that is] *fortunate that prevents the unfortunate*.

According to the commentary's first interpretation, we thus have the following pattern:

1. *kamma* that is both unfortunate and also prevents the unfortunate
2. *kamma* that is unfortunate that prevents the fortunate
3. *kamma* that is both fortunate and also prevents the fortunate
4. *kamma* that is fortunate that prevents the unfortunate

It is important to register here that the commentary takes this fourfold analysis of *kamma* as applying *not* to the *kamma* that the four persons described in § 2 of the sutta are seen performing (and which is *not* the *kamma* that conditions their rebirth), but to the *kamma* that they perform close to death (which *is* the *kamma* that conditions their rebirth). Applied to the scheme of four persons set out in § 2 of the sutta the first commentarial explanation looks like this:

1. unfortunate *kamma* near death that prevents the unfortunate *kamma* done earlier and results in rebirth in hell (person 1)
2. unfortunate *kamma* near death that prevents the fortunate *kamma* done earlier and results in rebirth in hell (person 4)
3. fortunate *kamma* near death that prevents the fortunate *kamma* done earlier and results in rebirth in heaven (person 3)

4. fortunate *kamma* near death that prevents the unfortunate *kamma* done earlier and results in rebirth in heaven (person 2)

Thus this first commentarial interpretation of the sutta's summary statement does not map on to the order of the four scenarios set out in § 2 of the sutta. The second commentarial explanation is as follows:

The meaning [of *ābhāsa*] can, however, also be understood here in the sense of “appearing”. For what is said is this: *abhabbābhāsa* means that it appears like, it manifests as, the unfortunate. Thus four persons are stated in the manner beginning: “Here in this life, some person harms living creatures ...” Of these, the first person's *kamma* is unfortunate and appears unfortunate: it is unfortunate since it is unskilful, and because he is reborn in hell, it appears to be unskilful and the cause of his rebirth there. The second person's *kamma* is unfortunate but appears fortunate: it is unfortunate since it is unskilful, yet since he is reborn in heaven, it appears to the followers of other traditions to be skilful and the cause of his rebirth in heaven. Exactly the same method [of explanation] applies to the other pair of *kammas*.²⁰

According to the commentary's second interpretation, we thus have the following pattern:

1. *kamma* that is both unfortunate and also appears unfortunate
2. *kamma* that is unfortunate that appears fortunate
3. *kamma* that is both fortunate and also appears fortunate
4. *kamma* that is fortunate that appears unfortunate

²⁰ Ps V 20,17–21,3: *api ca upaṭṭhānākārena p' ettha attho veditabbo. idam hi vuttam hoti: abhabbato ābhāsatī upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsañ. tattha yvāyam puggalo idha pāṇātipāṭī ti ādinā nayena cattāro^a puggalā vuttā. tesu paṭhamassa kammam abhabbam abhabbābhāsañ tam hi akusalattā abhabbam, tassa ca niraye nibbattattā tattha nibbattikāraṇabhūtam akusalam hutvā upaṭṭhāti. dutiyassa kammañ abhabbam bhabbābhāsañ tam hi akusalattā abhabbam. tassa pana sagge nibbattattā aññatitthiyānam sagge nibbattikāraṇabhūtam kusalam hutvā upaṭṭhāti. itarasmim pi kammadvaye es' eva nayo.* [^aReading with C^e 1926, S^e 1920, and B^e 1957; E^e (following B^e 1921?) reads *abhabbā*.]

Again it is important to register that the commentary takes this second fourfold analysis of *kamma* as applying *not* to the *kamma* that the four persons do close to death (the *kamma* that conditions their rebirth), but to the *kamma* that the four persons described in §2 of the sutta are seen performing (which is *not* the *kamma* that conditions their rebirth). This second commentarial explanation maps straightforwardly on to the sutta's summary statement.

1. Unfortunate *kamma* that appears to result in the unfortunate rebirth in hell (person 1)
2. Unfortunate *kamma* that appears to result in the fortunate rebirth in heaven (person 2)
3. Fortunate *kamma* that appears to result in the fortunate rebirth in heaven (person 3)
4. Fortunate *kamma* that appears to result in the unfortunate rebirth in hell (person 4)

Why does the commentary offer these two explanations? The second explanation clearly fits the structure of the sutta more comfortably and involves a more natural interpretation of *ābhāsa*. Should we therefore regard the first explanation as redundant, an example of artificial exegetical excess executed simply because two explanations are always better than one? Clearly the commentary's exegetical purpose is not confined to providing the most plausible historical reading of the sutta. In giving these two explanations the commentary seems not, as is sometimes the case, to be offering alternative explanations (there is no *vā*) with a preference for the latter: the second is an additional explanation, and both explanations seem to be offered as of equal status. The commentary is quite cleverly making the sutta summary serve two purposes. As I have indicated, the two different explanations have different and quite specific perspectives: the first applies to the *kamma* that actually *causes* the rebirth in hell or heaven, the second to the *kamma* that *appears to cause* the rebirth in hell or heaven.

The first explanation may appear forced as a way of reading the canonical text as originally conceived, yet it serves well the commen-

tarial purpose of bringing out what the sutta is trying to say: the sutta is precisely arguing that even though certain ascetics and brahmans may indeed possess the ability to see the rebirth of other beings, they do not possess the ability to connect particular actions with their particular consequences. Thus, even when someone is seen performing unskilful *kamma* in this life and is subsequently seen by such ascetics and brahmans reborn in hell, they make the wrong connection. As already noted, in the words of the sutta:

When a person who here in this life harms living creatures, takes what is not given ... and has mistaken views is, at the breaking up of the body, after death, reborn in a state of misfortune, an unhappy destiny, a state of affliction, hell, then *either* before or afterwards he has done a bad act whose result is to be experienced as painful; or *else* at the time of death he has taken on and adopted some mistaken view ... And insofar as here in this life he harms living creatures, takes what is not given ... and has mistaken views, he experiences the result of that either in this very life or when he is reborn in further future existences. (M III 214,6–16)

Thus the first explanation draws attention to and highlights the significance of actions done close to the time of death in a manner that fits well with the understanding of the process of death and rebirth in Theravāda systematic thought.

An Index to *JPTS*, Volumes IX–XXXII

An Index to the Journals of the Pāli Text Society (1882–1927 = Volumes I–VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with an Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This current index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journals since it was revived in 1981. The years of publication are: IX (1981), X (1985), XI (1987), XII (1988), XIII (1989), XIV (1990), XV (1990), XVI (1992), XVII (1992), XVIII (1993), XIX (1993), XX (1994), XXI (1995), XXII (1996), XXIII (1997), XXIV (1998), XXV (1999), XXVI (2000), XXVII (2002), XXVIII (2006), XXIX (2007), XXX (2009), XXXI (2011), XXXII (2015).

Allon, Mark. A Gāndhārī Version of the Simile of the Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke	XXIX.229–62
———. Primoz Pecenko, 1947–2007	XXX.1–3
Anālayo, Bhikkhu. The Buddha's Truly Praiseworthy Qualities : According to the Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta and Its Chinese Parallel	XXX.137–60
Balbir, Nalini. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1997: Jain– Buddhist Dialogue: Material from the Pāli Scriptures	XXVI.1–42
———. Three Pāli Works Revisited	XXIX.331–65
Bangchang, Supaphan na. A Pāli Letter Sent by the Aggamahāsenāpāti of Siam to the Royal Court at Kandy in 1756	XII.185–212
Bareau, André. The Theravādins and East India According to the Canonical Texts	IX.1–9
Baums, Stefan, <i>see</i> Salomon, Richard	
Bechert, Heinz. The Bauddhayāna of Indonesia: A Syncretistic Form of Theravāda	IX.10–21
Blackburn, Anne M. Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections	XXVII.1–59
Bodhi, Bhikkhu. The Susīma-sutta and the Wisdom- Liberated Arahan	XXIX.51–75
———. Susīma's Conversation with the Buddha: A Second Study of the Susīma-sutta	XXX.33–80

Braun, Erik, ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to
Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82

Braun, Heinz. The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts
Buddhadatta, Aggamahāpāṇḍita Polvatte. XXVII.155–82
Paramatthavinicchaya by Anuruddha XI.155–226

Ciurtin, Eugin. A Nobel for the Pali Text Society? XXXII.195–212
T.W. Rhys Davids Writes to the Nobel Commission
of the Swedish Academy

Collins, Steven. *Kalyāṇamittta* and *Kalyāṇamittatā* XI.51–72
———. On the Very Idea of the Pāli Canon XV.89–126
———. The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva XVIII.65–96
———. Remarks on the Third Precept: Adultery and
Prostitution in Pāli Texts XXIX.263–84
———. *See also* Denis, Eugène

Cone, Margaret. Patna Dharmapada. Part I: Text XIII.101–217
———. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1995: Lexicography,
Pāli, and Pāli Lexicography XXII.1–34
———. *caveat lector* XXIX.95–106

Cousins, Lance S. The Paṭṭhāna and the Development
of the Theravādin Abhidhamma IX.22–46
———. Bibliography XXXII.7–14

Crosby, Kate. Sāriputta's Three Works on the
Samantapāśādikā XVIII.49–59
———. *Saṅkhepasārasaṅgaha* : Abbreviation in Pāli XXIX.169–74

Cutler, Sally Mellick. *See* Mellick Cutler, Sally
Denis, Eugène, and Steven Collins. Brahma
Māleyyadevathera-vatthu XVIII.1–64

Dundas, Paul. A Note on the Heterodox Calendar and
a Disputed Reading in the Kālakācāryakathā XXIX.76–92

Exell, R.H.B. Rūpārūpavibhāga by Buddhadatta XVI.1–12

Filliozat, Jacqueline. Documents Useful for the
Identification of Pāli Manuscripts of Cambodia,
Laos and Thailand XVI.13–54
———. A Survey of Burmese and Siamese Pāli
Manuscript Collections in the Wellcome Institute XIX.1–41
———. The Commentaries to the Anāgatavāṇsa in the XIX.43–63

Pāli Manuscripts of the Paris Collections	
———. Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscript Collections in Burmese and Siamese Characters Kept in the Library of Vijayasundarārāmaya, Asgiriya	XXI.135–191
———. Survey of the Pāli Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford	XXIV. 1–80
———. Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library	XXVI.139–60
Gethin, Rupert. Mythology As Meditation: From the <i>Mahāsudassana Sutta</i> to the <i>Sukhāvatīyūha Sūtra</i>	XXVIII. 63–112
———. What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>	XXIX.367–89
———. Lance Selwyn Cousins, 1942–2015	XXXII.1–5
———. A Note on the <i>Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta</i> and Its Commentary	XXXII.241–60
Gombrich, Richard F. A New Theravādin Liturgy	IX.47–73
———. Old Bodies Like Carts	XI.1–3
———. Three Souls, One or None: The Vagaries of a Pāli Pericope	XI.73–78
———. Two Notes on <i>Visuddhimagga</i> IX:1. The Etymology of <i>Puggala</i> ; 2. An Imperfect Form in Pāli	XII.169–71
———. A Note on Ambapāli's Wit	XV.139–40
———. Making Mountains without Molehills: The Case of the Missing Stūpa	XV.141–43
———. Why Is a <i>Khattiya</i> Called a <i>Khattiya</i> ? The <i>Aggañña Sutta</i> Revisited	XVII.213–14
———. The Monk in the Pāli Vinaya: Priest or Wedding Guest?	XXI.193–213
———. Report of the Pāli Text Society for 1994	XXI.215–17
Grey, Leslie. Supplement to the <i>Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories</i>	XXIV.103–47
Hallisey, Charles. <i>Tuṇḍilovāda</i> : An Allegedly Non-canonical <i>Sutta</i>	XV.155–95
———. A Propos the Pāli Vinaya As a Historical Document: A Reply to Gregory Schopen	XV.197–208
———. <i>Nibbānasutta</i> : An Allegedly Non-canonical <i>Sutta</i> on <i>Nibbāna</i> As a Great City	XVIII.97–130

Hara, Minoru. A Note on <i>vinaya</i>	XXIX.285-311
Hazlewood, Ann Appleby. A Translation of Pañcagatidīpanī	XI.133-59
_____. <i>Saddhammopāyana</i> : The Gift Offering of the True Dhamma	XII.65-68
Hinüber, Oskar von. The Ghost Word <i>Dvīhitika</i> and the Description of Famines in Early Buddhist Literature	IX.74-86
_____. Two Jātaka Manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok	X.1-22
_____. The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha	XI.111-19
_____. An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha	XII.173-74
_____. Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the Eighteenth Century	XII.175-83
_____. Khandhakavatta: Loss of Text in the Pāli Vinayapitaka?	XV.127-38
_____. The Arising of an Offence: <i>Āpattisamuṇṭhāna</i>	XVI.55-69
_____. The <i>Nigamanas</i> of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Kankhāvitaranī	XXI.129-33
_____. Chips from Buddhist Workshops: Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand	XXII.35-57
_____. The Paramatthajotikādīpanī, a Fragment of the Sub-commentary to the Paramatthajotikā II on the Suttanipāta	XXIII.27-41
_____. <i>Tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti</i> Again	XXVI.71-75
_____. Lān ² Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature during the Late 15th Century	XXVI.119-37
_____. Preface	XXIX.ix-xiv
_____. See also Mettanando Bhikkhu.	
_____. The Verb * <i>addhabhavati</i> as an Artificial Formation	XXXII.213-27
_____. An Old Colophon Preserved: The Tipiṭaka of Ñāṇavaṇṇa and Sobhaggasiri	XXXII.229-39
Horner, Isaline Blew. <i>Keci</i> "Some" in the Pāli Commentaries	X.87-95
Hundius, Harald. The Colophons of Thirty Pāli	XIV.1-173

Manuscripts from Northern Thailand	
Hüsken, Ute. The Legend of the Establishment of the Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-pitaka	XXVI.43–69
Jackson, P. A Note on Dhammapāla(s)	XV.209–11
———. The Canonicity of the Netti and Other Works	XXVIII. 61–62
Jaini, Padmanabh S. <i>Tīrthamkara-prakṛti</i> and the Bodhisattva Path	IX.96–104
———. A Note on <i>micchādīṭṭhi</i> in Mahāvamsa	XXIX.153–68
Jong, Jan Willem de. Fa-Hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon	IX.105–15
Jurewicz, Joanna. Playing with Fire: The <i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i> from the Perspective of Vedic Thought	XXVI.77–103
Kahrs, Eivind G. Exploring the Saddanīti	XVII.1–212
———. Commentaries, Translations, and Lexica: Some Further Reflections on Buddhism and Philology	XXIX.137–51
Kalupahana, D.J. The Philosophy of History in Early Buddhism	IX.117–26
Khantipālo, Bhikkhu. Where's That <i>sutta</i> ? A Guide to the Discourses in the Numerical Collection (Aṅguttara-nikāya)	X.37–153
———. <i>See also</i> Laurence C.R. Mills	
Kieffer-Pülz, Petra. Stretching the Vinaya Rules and Getting Away with It	XXIX.1–49
———. The Law of Theft: Regulations in the Theravāda Vinaya and the Law Commentaries	XXXI.1–56
———. “And there is this stanza in this connection”: The Usage of <i>hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha</i> in Pāli Commentarial Literature	XXXII.15–162
Lamotte, Étienne. The Gāravasutta of the Samyuttanikāya and Its Mahāyānist Developments	IX.127–44
Ledi Sayadaw. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids	XXXI.155–82
Lienhard, Siegfried. On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring	XXIX.409–22
———. Corrigenda et postscriptum for “On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring”	XXX.177–78

Liyanaratne, Jinadasa. Pāli Manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library	XVIII.131-47
———. South Asian Flora As Reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon <i>Abhidhānappadīpikā</i>	XX.43-161
———. A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for the History of Indian Medicine	XXII.59-72
———. Sri Lankan Manuscriptology	XXVIII.39-48
Lottermoser, Friedgard. Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: the Saddabindu and Its "New" Subcommentary	XI.79-109
Manné, Joy. Categories of <i>Sutta</i> in the Pāli Nikāyas and Their Implications for Our Appreciation of the Buddhist Teaching and Literature	XV.29-87
———. Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I: The Sāmaññaphala Sutta Hypothetical Case History or How to Be Sure to Win a Debate	XXI.1-34
———. Case Histories from the Pāli Canon II: <i>Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmin, Anāgāmin, Arahat</i> – the Four Stages Case History or Spiritual Materialism and the Need for Tangible Results	XXI.35-28
Matsumura, Junko. Remarks on the <i>Rasavāhī</i> and the Related Literature	XXV.153-70
Mellick Cutler, Sally. The Pāli <i>Apadāna</i> Collection	XX.1-42
Mettanando Bhikkhu & O. von Hinüber. The Cause of the Buddha's Death	XXVI.105-17
Mills, Laurence C.R. The Case of the Murdered Monks	XVI.71-75
———. <i>See also</i> Bhikkhu Khandīpālo	
Mori, Sodo. <i>Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā</i> and <i>Sārasamāsa</i>	XII.1-47
———. Recent Japanese Studies in the Pāli Commentarial Literature	XXIX.175-90
Nihom, Max. Kāmaloka: A Rare Pāli Loan Word in Old Javanese	XX.163-70
Nolot, Édith. Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms I-III (1. <i>saṅgha-kamma</i> ; 2. <i>adhikarāṇa</i> ; 3. <i>mānatta, parivāsa, abbhāna</i>)	XXII.73-150
———. Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms IV-X (4. The disciplinary procedures of <i>tajjanīya-</i> °,	XXV.1-111

nissaya-°, <i>pabbājanīya</i> -°, <i>paṭisāraṇīya</i> -°, and threefold <i>ukkhepanīya-kamma</i> (n.);	
5. <i>Nissāraṇā</i> (f.)/ <i>nissāraṇīya</i> (n.), <i>osāraṇā</i> (f.)/ <i>osāraṇīya</i> (n.); 6. <i>Nāsanā</i> (n.f.), “expulsion”;	
7. <i>Daṇḍa-kamma</i> (n.), “punishment”;	
8. <i>Pakāsanīya-kamma</i> (n.), “procedure of proclamation”; 9. <i>Patta-nikkujjanā</i> °- <i>ukkujjanā</i> (n. f.), “turning down/up the alms-bowls”)	
Norman, K.R. Devas and Adhidevas in Buddhism	IX.145–55
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies III: Ten Pāli Etymologies	X.23–36
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies IV: Eleven Pāli Etymologies	XI.33–49
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies V: Twelve Pāli Etymologies	XII.49–63
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies VI: Six Pāli Etymologies	XIII.219–27
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII: Five Pāli Etymologies	XIV.219–25
———. Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XIV	XIV.227f.
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies VIII: Seven Pāli Etymologies	XV.145–54
———. Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XV	XV.213f.
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies IX: Four Pāli Etymologies	XVI.77–85
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies X: Two Pāli Etymologies	XVII.215–18
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies XI: Six Pāli Etymologies	XVIII.149–64
———. Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XVIII	XVIII.177–80
———. External Sandhi in Pāli (with Special Reference to the Suttanipāta)	XIX.203–13
———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies XII: Ten Pāli Etymologies	XX.211–30
———. Book Review (<i>Catalogue of the Burmese–Pāli and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of the</i>	XXVI.161–64

Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine)

———. Index of Grammatical Points Discussed in the Notes to <i>Elders' Verses I</i>	XXVI.165-68
———. The <i>Anāgatavāmsa</i> Revisited	XXVIII. 1-37
———. On Translating Literally	XXX.81-97
———. Bibliography	XXX.99-135
Oberlies, Thomas. Pāli, Pāṇini and "Popular" Sanskrit	XXIII.1-26
———. A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka	XXVII.115-46
———. The <i>h</i> -Future of Pāli with Random Notes on "Historical" and "Irregular" Future Forms	XXXII.163-94
Pecenko, Primoz. Sāriputta and His Works	XXIII.159-79
———. Līnatthapakāsinī and Sāratthamañjūsā: The <i>Purāṇaṭīkās</i> and the <i>Tīkās</i> on the Four Nikāyas	XXVII.61-113
———. The History of the Nikāya Subcommentaries (<i>tīkās</i>) in Pāli Bibliographic Sources	XXX. 5-32
Penth, Hans. Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on the History of Lān Nā's Buddhism	XXIII.43-81
Pind, Ole Holten. Studies in Pāli Grammarians I: Buddhaghosa's References to Grammar and Grammarians	XIII.33-81
———. Studies in Pāli Grammarians II.1	XIV.175-218
———. Pāli Grammar and Grammarians from Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi: A Survey	XXXI.57-124
Pruitt, William. References to Pāli in Seventeenth-Century French Books	XI.119-31
———. Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	XIII.1-31
———. Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.	XXIV.171-83
———. The Career of Women Disciple Bodhisattas	XXIX.391-407
———, ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids	XXXI.155-82
Rahula, Walpola. Humour in Pāli Literature	IX.156-74
Roock, A. Index of K.R. Norman's <i>Collected</i>	XXVI.169-231

Papers I–VII

Ruegg, David Seyfort. A Further Note on Pāli *Gotrabhū* IX.175–77

Saddhatissa, Hammalava. Pāli Literature in Cambodia IX.178–97

_____. Nāmarūpasamāso: The Summary of Mind and Matter XI.5–31

_____. Nāmacāradipaka XV.1–28

Salomon, Richard, and Stefan Baums. Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pāli *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Ismaho* XXIX.201–27

Schmithausen, Lambert. On Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra VII.1 XXIX.199–200

Schopen, Gregory. The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya XIII.83–100

_____. The Ritual Obligations and the Donor Roles of Monks XVI.87–107

_____. The Buddhist *Bhikṣu*'s Obligation to Support His Parents in Two Vinaya Traditions XXIX.107–36

Silk, Jonathan A. A Small Problem of Tense and Person: Dhammapada 306 and Its Parallels XXX.161–76

_____. Kern and the Study of Indian Buddhism: With a Speculative Note on the Ceylonese Dhammarucikas XXXI.125–54

Skilling, Peter. The Raksā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna XVI.109–82

_____. A Citation from the *Buddhavaṃsa of the Abhayagiri School XVIII.165–75

_____. Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation XIX.69–201

_____. Vimuttimagga and Abhayagiri: The Form-Aggregate According to the Saṃskṛtaśaṃskṛtaviniścaya XX.171–210

_____. The *Sambuddhe* verses and Later Theravāda Buddhology XXII.150–83

_____. On the School-Affiliation of the “Patna Dhammapada” XXIII.83–122

_____. New Pāli Inscriptions from South-East Asia XXIII.123–57

_____. A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya XXIV.81–101

_____. A Note on Dhammapada 60 and the Length of the *Yojana* XXIV.149–70

_____. Praises of the Buddha Beyond Praise XXIV.195–200

_____. The Sixty-Four Destinations According to the XXV.112–18

Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya
 ——. On a New Edition of the Syāmaratthassa XXVII.155-58
 Tepiṭakaṭṭhakathā
 ——. Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East XXVII.159-75
 Asia
 ——. Jātaka and Paññāsa-jātaka in South-East Asia XXVIII. 113-73
 ——. Zombies and Half-Zombies: Mahāsūtras XXIX.313-30
 and Other Protective Measures
 Somaratne, G.A. Intermediate Existence and the XXV.119-52
 Higher Fetters in the Pāli Nikāyas
 Stargardt, Janice. The Oldest Known Pāli Texts, XXI.199-213
 Fifth-Sixth Century. Results of the Cambridge
 Symposium on the Pyu Golden Pāli Text from
 Śrī Kṣetra, 18-19 April 1995
 Thiradhammo Bhikkhu. Corrections to *The Book* XIX.65-68
 of the Discipline
 Warder, A.K. Some Problems of the Later Pāli
 Literature IX.198-207

