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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 Saṃyutta-nikāya 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 *aṭṭhakathās*, the other of *ṭīkā*s. 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 *aṭṭhakathā* 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.

Pudgalavādin⁶ 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 Mahānidessa 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: Silkwood Books, 2012), pp. 67–127.

⁸ "Abhidhamma Studies I: Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭṭikā*", *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>IJ</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

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- Buddhism, Dhammapāla, dīṭṭhi, emptiness, kamma-tṭhāna, 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, haṭha-yoga, karma-yoga, jñāna-yoga, līlā, Lokāyata, māyā, Mīmāṃsā, nāstika, Nyāya, prakṛti, Rāmānuja, Sāṃkhya, saṃsāra, Śaṅkara, Vaiśeṣika, Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, Vedānta, yoga, Yoga-darśana*
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**“And there is this stanza in this connection”:
The Usage of *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha* in Pāli
Commentarial Literature**

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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 *aṭṭhakathā* 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: Chapaṭa 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 *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (ca. tenth century A.D.), a *ṭīkā* on the *Mahāvamsa*. Other texts yield altogether twenty-one references. Two of them are in Ñāṇakitti's *Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā*, a fifteenth century commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā* from Lan Na (present-day Northern Thailand, B.1.3), and one in his *Pātimokkhasuttaṅgaṇṭhīdīpanī* (B.1.6.4). Two references are found in the anonymous and undated *Paṭisambhīdā-maggagaṇṭhipada* (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 Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅghasāṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭīkā* (A.D. 1447/1453, Burma), a subcommentary on Anuruddha’s *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha* (B.3.4), and five in Ariyavaṃsa’s *Maṇisāramaṇjūsā* (A.D. 1466, Burma), another subcommentary on the same *mūla* text (B.3.5). In Chapāṭa 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 Dhammakitti’s *Saddhammasaṅgha* (ca. A.D. 1400, present day Thailand) one reference is contained (B.7.1), and in Siddhattha’s *Sārasaṅgha* (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 *aṭṭhakathā* 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 *aṭṭhakathās*, but there are also still younger commentaries in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer as, for instance, the *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā* (ninth century A.D.) or the undated *Apadānaṭṭhakathā* which is considered the youngest of the *aṭṭhakathās* (von Hinüber 1996: §306), or the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* which, if Dimitrov (forthcoming) is correct in his identification of its author with Ratnamati, would belong to the tenth century A.D. Hence “*aṭṭhakathā* layer” as used here comprises all *aṭṭhakathās* 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 *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*, the *Jātakatṭhakathā*, and the *Cariyāpiṭakatṭhakathā*. Since the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā* 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' etaṃ*

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 *aṭṭhakathā* 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 *aṭṭhakathās* (but only in younger *ṭikās*), namely in Dhammapāla’s *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā*.

- (3) *honti c’ ettha gāthā/gāthāyo* is used in one *gaṇṭhipada* commentary. Since only very few texts of this commentary class are available (the *Paṭisambhidhāmaggaṇṭhipada* has two references, the *Visuddhimaggaṇṭhipada* 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 *ṭikās*. We have altogether 104 references in the Pāli literature from the tenth to twentieth centuries investigated here, including *ṭikās* as well as independent treatises. Seventy-one references in the *ṭikā* 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 (*saṅgha*, 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 *aṭṭhakathā* layer and twenty-one in the *ṭikā* 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 *aṭṭhakathās* to the Vinaya- and Sutta-piṭaka. It increases from the tenth century onward, first with a clear predominance in Vinaya *ṭīkā*s, later also in Abhidhamma *ṭīkā*s, 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 *aṭṭhakathā* layer where the stanzas introduced by *honti c' ettha* do not have parallels in other *aṭṭhakathās* and thus are used in the same manner mainly employed in the *ṭīkā* layer is the *Cariyā-piṭakaṭṭhakathā* by Dhammapāla of Badaratittha, a South Indian (A.2.4).

The authors of the *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* and the *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā* are unknown, but the way in which they refer to Sīhaḷadīpa, 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 *aṭṭhakathās* since expressions that become usual in sub-commentary literature are applied in them more frequently than in other *aṭṭhakathās*.¹⁰

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

⁹ von Hinüber 1996: § 259.

¹⁰ Kieffer-Pülz 2014: 64.

From the *ṭikā* layer, the authors of the *Vajirabuddhiṭkā* (ca. tenth century A.D., B.1.1)¹¹ and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭikā* (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 Dhammapāla, the author of the *Suttaṭikās* (B.2.1, 2.3), his affiliation depends on whether he is the author of the *aṭṭhakathās* 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. Coḷiya Kassapa (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D., B.3.1), a native of Sri Lanka,¹³ represents a South Indian *araṇṇavāsīn* tradition. Sāriputta (twelfth century A.D., B.1.2) and his pupils (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), namely Buddhānāga, author of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.5), the anonymous author of the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and the *Uttaravinicchaya-ṭikā* (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 *Paṭi-sambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* wrote in Sri Lanka too.¹⁴ Only a few of our sources originate in areas of present day Thailand, namely the texts by Ñāṇakitti from Lan Na (fifteenth century A.D.), and Dhammakitti's *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ca. A.D. 1400). A larger number of our younger authors come from Burma, namely Chapāta Saddhammajotipāla (fifteenth century A.D., B.3.4, 4.2), Ariyavaṃsa (fifteenth century A.D., B.3.5), the author of the *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭikā* (ca. fifteenth? century A.D., B.5.1), Sāgarabuddhi (sixteenth century A.D., B.1.9), Tipiṭakālaṅkāra (seventeenth century A.D., B.1.8), Ñāṇābhivaṃsa (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: Paṭi 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 (*Milindañikā* named *Madhuratthappakāsinī*, A.D. 1474, *Vessantara-dīpanī*, A.D. 1517) or borrowed those they do have from older sources (*Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā*, B.1.3; *Pātimokkhasuttagaṇṭhidīpanī*, 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 *aṭṭhakathā* literature, excluding the one from Dhammapāla's *Cariyāpiṭakattakathā*, they all have parallels in the *aṭṭhakathā* 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 *nikā* 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 *Vajirabuddhiṇikā* (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 *Vajirabuddhiṭkā* (B.1.1), the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.5), and the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇhipada* (B.2.4), but also for the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and *Uttaravinicchaya-ṭikā* (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 *ṭikā* 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). Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla in his sub-subcommentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* quotes stanzas from his *Nāmacārādīpaka* (B.3.4.1–3).

Other authors borrow the stanzas from someone else’s text. Thus Ariyavaṃsa 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 *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭikā* from the *Vajirabuddhiṭkā* (B.1.4.2), Dhammapāla in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini-purāṇaṭikā* (B.2.1.1) from the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* (A.2.4.1), Ñāṇabhivamsa from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini-purāṇaṭikā* (B.2.2.9), Ñāṇakitti from the *Uttaravinicchayaṭikā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.3), Tipiṭakālaṅkāra from the *Vajirabuddhiṭkā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭikā* (B.1.8), Sumaṅgala in his *Abhidhammatthasaṅghamahāṭikā* from Sāriputta’s Sinhalese *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha-sannaya* (B.3.3.1–5), Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla in his *Kaccāyana-suttaniddesa* possibly from older sources (B.4.2.1–3), Dhammakitti from the *Rasavāhinī* (B.7.1), and Revata from the *Vajirabuddhiṭkā* or the *Sārasaṅgaha* (B.8.1). Authors may also write new stanzas imitating stanzas by others, like Ariyavaṃsa, 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 *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* (between A.D. 1639 and 1651, Burma). Here the author borrowed the stanzas from Buddha-nāga's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-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 *Sāsanavaṃsa* 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-anṭ, B.2.2.1), *sadda*, *dhamma*, *desanā* (Sv-anṭ, B.2.2.2), two ways to reject a meaning (Sv-anṭ, B.2.2.3), or various aspects of *attha*, (Sv-anṭ, 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 *Cariyāpiṭakapaṭṭhāna* (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-nṭ, B.3.2.1); he summarizes the keywords of the various explanations of *somanassa-sahagatabhāva* (Abhidh-av-nṭ, B.3.2.2); he defines how consciousness belongs to the sense-sphere (Abhidh-av-nṭ = Abhidh-s-mhṭ, B.3.2.4 = 3.3.1); he explains why the five hindrances are specified as factors that are abandoned (Abhidh-av-nṭ, B.3.2.5); he explains the stage of restlessness (Abhidh-s-mhṭ, B.3.3.2); he gives explanations for the two types of deluded consciousness (Abhidh-s-mhṭ, B.3.3.3) or for the four pairs of resultants (Abhidh-s-mhṭ, B.3.3.4) or for retention (Abhidh-s-mhṭ, 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 Poḷonnaruva.

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 (Rūp, B.4.1.1; Kacc-nidd, B.4.2.2–3; Mogg-pt, B.4.3.1; Subodh-anṭ, B.5.1.1). The stanza in the *Rūpasiddhi* states when the first case (nominative) is applied (B.4.1.1). In his *Kaccāyana-suttaniddesa* Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla deals at length with the question of why the rule Kacc 63 is formulated in applying *etimāsaṃ* (gen.pl.f.) instead of *etimānaṃ* (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 *Subodhālāṅkāra-abhinavaṭṭikā*, 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 Saṅgha 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 *ṭīkā*s which contain the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* expression the oldest is the anonymous, undated *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* (ca. tenth century A.D.). Considering the low number of seven references in the whole *aṭṭhakathā* literature, ten references solely in the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* stands out. This is the case even if we compare the other *ṭīkā*s. With the exception of relatively recent texts from nineteenth century Burma, namely the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-abhinavaṭṭikā* (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 *ṭikās* Buddhānāga's *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭṭikā* (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186 (?))¹⁹ with eight unique references comes closest to the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā*.

Most other texts only have between one and five references.²⁰ It is, however, not only the number of references which distinguishes the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* and, to a lesser degree, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-abhinavaṭṭikā* from the other *ṭikās*. 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 *ṭikākāras'* pens. This uniqueness they share with the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada*, 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 *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* himself as he states at the end of the stanzas (B.2.4.2). A further element which the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* shares

¹⁹ Kkh-nt 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 Buddhānāga 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-nt), Pāt-gp (A.D. 1492/3), Khuddas-pt (before thirteenth century A.D.), Utt-vn-ṭ (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.), Ps-pt (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-nt (after A.D. 1639, before 1651), Sīmāvis (A.D. 1587), Sv-pt (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-mḥṭ (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), Abhidh-av-nt (twelfth/thirteenth century A.D.), Maṇis (A.D. 1466).

with the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* is the variety of metres used. Whereas in all other texts — except the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā* — the stanzas are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, those in the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* are in the Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti, Indravajra, and Upendravajra metres (B.1.1). In the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* 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 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā* with an Āryā stanza (B.2.1.2). Given that the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā* are to be dated approximately to the tenth century A.D., a similar date could also hold true for the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada*, if it is not even slightly later.²¹

As already stated, the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* 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/°āḥ*, 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 *ṭṭikā* 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 *Ratnaśrīṭṭikā*, a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* (Dimitrov, forthcoming: ch. 1.2) and the *Cāndravyākaraṇapaṇṭjikā*, 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' etaṃ vuccati* is still the more usual. The few *hoti/honti c' ettha* references replace that older expression. The South Indian Dhammapāla in his *Cariyāpiṭakāṭṭhakathā* 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 Poḷonnaruva 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 *Samantapāsādikā* (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 *Samantapāsādikā* 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 *Candrālaṃkāra*, a commentary on Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇa-pañjikā*, see Dimitrov 2010: 31–38.

The author of the older *Pātimokkha* subcommentary, the *Kaṅkhā-vitarāṇipurāṇaṭṭhikā* (tenth to twelfth century A.D.), used the expression once independently and once he copied it from the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭhikā* (B.1.4). The author of the *Vinayavinicchaya-* and *Uttaravinicchaya-ṭṭhikās* (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) used *hoti/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 *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭṭhikā* (B.1.7.1) introduces one stanza with *honti (sic) c’ ettha*. The stanza is transmitted as the first of two in an *aṭṭhakathā*, and in various *ṭṭhikās*, where other introductory expressions are used. Only in the *Khuddasikkhāpurāṇaṭṭhikā*, 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 *aṭṭhakathā* 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 *Samantapāsādikā-atthayojanā* (B.1.3) and of the seventeenth-century Burmese *Vinayālaṅkāraṭṭhikā* did not use

²⁴ *Burm MSS II*, Cat. no. 355, p. 184, a *Parit krīṇī 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 krīṇī nissaya*.”

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

Of the *ṭikās* on the Sutta-piṭaka, only those on the Dīgha-nikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya contain *hoti/honti/bhavanti c' ettha* expressions. Dhammapāla's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā* contains one reference which is paralleled in the *aṭṭhakathā* 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 (*Paṭṭhānaṇāma*). 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 *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭṭikā*, *bhavanti c' ettha*²⁶ introduces a collection of seven ślokas giving definitions of “*arahat*”. These stanzas are also contained in Dhammapāla's *Visuddhimaggamahāṭṭikā*, where they are given without an introductory expression. The intertextual links from Dhammapāla's *Suttaṭṭikās* to the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭṭikā* (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 *Visuddhimaggamahāṭṭikā*, whereas in the *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭṭikā* they are preceded by *bhavanti c' ettha*.

The *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* 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 Ñāṇābhivamsa’s (A.D. 1743–1832) *abhinavaṭṭikā* on the first part of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (ca. 1800, Burma). It contains fourteen instances of *hoti/honti c’ ettha*, introducing stanzas in the Anuṣṭubh metre. Two of them are borrowings from older texts, namely from the *Vajirabuddhiṭṭikā* (B.2.2.1) and from Dhammapāla’s *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭṭikā*, which in turn copied the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā* (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 Ñāṇābhivamsa 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. Coliya 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 *Abhidhammāvatāranavaṭṭikā* 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 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭṭikā* (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 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭṭikā* have parallels in Sāriputta’s

²⁸ In trying to explain the fact that the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahamahāṭṭikā* 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-ṭ for his more detailed explanations there (email, 21/4/2014). The parallels traced here makes one assume that Sumaṅgala’s

Abhidhammatthasaṅghasannaya; one has a Sanskrit parallel in the *Visuddhimaggasannaya* (B.3.3.5); another one is identical with one in the *Abhidhammāvatāraṇaṭṭikā* (B.3.3.1; 3.2.4). All stanzas summarize preceding prose passages which, however, are translations of Sāriputta's Sinhalese *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha-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 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha*, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭṭikā*. In all three cases the stanzas introduced by *hoti c'ettha*²⁹ are borrowed from another work by the same author, namely from his *Nāmacārādīpaka*.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 *Abhidhammatthasaṅghasaṅkhepavaṇṇanā*, 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 *Śīmāvisodhanī* by Sāgarabuddhi, who obviously did not know the name of the author (B.3.4.3). Finally the Burmese monk scholar Ariyavaṃsa, who in A.D. 1466 wrote a sub-subcommentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha*, the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, 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 *Abhidhammatthasaṅghasaṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭṭikā* contains still other stanzas from the *Nāmacārādīpaka* 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, “Nāmacārādīpaka of Chapaṭa”, *JPTS* 15 (1990), 2–28.

Ariyavaṃsa 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-abhinavaṭṭikā* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭṭikā* (B.3.5.2–3), and two are taken over from the *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭṭikā*.

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 *Moggallānapañcikaṭṭikā* (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 *Pañcika* (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 *Subodhālankāra*, 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 *Subodhālankārapurāṇaṭṭikā* bearing the name *Mahāsāmi*. In this case we have parallels for three and a half stanzas in Vanaratana Medhaṅkara’s *Payogasiddhi* (thirteenth century A.D.). Since these stanzas are introduced by *ten’ etaṃ vuccati* in the *Payogasiddhi*, an expression used to introduce noncanonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer, it may be that they stem from some older grammatical text. In that case the author of the younger *Subodhālankāra* commentary will have used the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* in a similar way the expression was used by

Dhammapāla, and Chapāṭa 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 Vedeḥa himself.

From the chronicles, Dhammakitti’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-vamṣa* (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 *Namakkāraṭṭikā* (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 *Vajira-buddhiṭṭikā* (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/bhavānti 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/bhavānti 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: *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* (2×), *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (1×), *Nārada-purāṇa* (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 *Nāṭyaśāstra* (second century B.C. to second century A.D.) the corresponding expressions *bhavanti cātra ślokaḥ* (1×), *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* (1×), *bhavataś cātra* (1×) are not so numerous, but there are various variants like *atra ślokaḥ/°āḥ/°au* (12×), *ślokāś cātra* (1×), or *atrāryā (bhavati/°anti)*, *atrāryāḥ*, *atrārye* (26×), *atrāryā ślokaḥ* (1×), *atrāryāḥ ślokaś ca bhavanti* (1×), *bhavanti cātrāryāḥ* (1×). It is supposed by several scholars that the stanzas in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* 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 NS 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 ślokaḥ*). 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 GRETEL (<http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.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 Dṛḍhabala (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 *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya* (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 *Dhūrtākhyāna* 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 Cūrṇi 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*

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CATALOGUE

A. Aṭṭhakathā

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 taṃ taṃ atthaṃ apekkhiya
aññatra samayo vutto karaṇe' 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 *aṭṭhakathās* on the *Suttapiṭaka* (see below A.2.1.2) where, with one exception (Khp-a *hoti c' ettha*), it is introduced by *ten' etaṃ vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* 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
hataśaṃsāracakkāro paccayādīna cāraho
na raho karoti pāpāni arahaṃ tena vuccatī ti.*

f *vuccati* Khuddas-pt B^e, Nidd-a I B^e, Paṭis-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 (*arahan*; 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 *evaṃ 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), Paṭi-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' etaṃ*, 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 *aṭṭhakathācāriyas* to show all the meanings of the word *arahat*.

A.2 Sutta

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

A.2.1.1 Khp-a 104,13–15

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

vināsayati assaddhaṃ saddhaṃ vaḍḍheti sāsane

“*evaṃ me sutam*” *icc evaṃ, vadaṃ Gotamasāvako ti*.

c *iti* Khp-a v.1.

Speaking thus, “so have I heard” (*evaṃ/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 Hinüber 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 Hinüber (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 “*kathaṃ*”.

⁴⁶ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

This śloka is found in seven *aṭṭhakathās* (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’ etaṃ vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* literature. Khp-a is the only *aṭṭhakathā* 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:

*taṃ taṃ attham apekkhitvā bhummena karaṇena ca
aññatra samayo vutto upayogena so idhā ti.*

a *avekkhitvā, avekkhetvā* vv.II.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 *aṭṭhakathās* 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’ etaṃ vuccati*, the usual introductory expression for non-canonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* 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, *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā* (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^c *vuttaṃ hoti c’ ettha*; B^c *vuttaṃ hoti. hoti c’ ettha*

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

1. *natthi citte pasannamhi appikā nāma dakkhiṇā*
Tathāgata vā Sambuddhe atha vā tassa sāvake ti.

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

b *appakā* 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. *tiṭṭhante nibbute cāpi same citte samaṃ phalaṃ*
cetopaṇḍihetu hi sattā gacchanti suggatin ti.

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

a *tiṭṭhante* 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 *dakkhiṇa* from the explanation of *kummāsapiṇḍiyā* 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 *vuttaṇ h' etaṃ*, the regular expression for indicating quotations from canonical and authoritative texts.⁴⁹ Sāgarabuddhi, who in his *Simāvis* (CSCD 106; A.D. 1587) quotes the first stanza with changed *pādas* (ab is cd in *Simāvis* and vice versa), introduces it by *vuttaṇ h' etaṃ 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 *deṭṭi ti vuttaṃ hoti. hoti c' ettha* (so B^e) has been given as *vuttaṃ 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 *vuttaṃ hoti*.

⁴⁹ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

namely, the *Vimānavatthu*. For the second stanza there is a parallel in Dh-p-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’ ettha* 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’ ettha* in the *Jātakatṭhakathā*, 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, *Cariyāpiṭakatṭhakathā* (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’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *sacco cāgī upasanto paññavā anukampako,
sambhataṣabbasambhāro kan nāmatthaṃ na sādhave?*

c *sambhataṣabbasambhāro* 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 hiteṣi 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-Pülz 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 *ṭikā* 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 sabbasattānaṃ hitāya ca sukhāya ca,
uyyutto akilāsū ca aho acchariyaṃ 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 *paccekabuddhas* 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. *Gaṇṭhipada* and *ṭīkā* literature

B.1. Vinaya

There are in all thirty-two references of *hoti/honti c' ettha* in the *ṭīkā*s on Vinaya texts scattered throughout ten commentaries. Two of them, namely Ñānakitti's Sp-y (fifteenth century A.D., B.1.3), and Tipiṭakāḷankāra's Pālim-nt (seventeenth century A.D., B.1.8) only reproduce passages borrowed from older *Vinayaṭīkā*s, namely from Vjb (ca. tenth century A.D.), Kkh-nt (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186 (?), see n. 18), and Utt-vn-ṭ (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-ṭ (second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) with three (B.1.6). The remaining *ṭīkā*s have either one (Sp-ṭ, twelfth century A.D., B.1.2; Utt-vn-ṭ, 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-ṭ and Khuddas-pt are borrowings from the *aṭṭhakathā* literature, as is one of the two references in Sīmāvis. The two *ṭīkā*s 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 *Vinayaṭikās* there are only a few (Sp-t, Utt-vn-t) or no *hoti/honti c' ettha* references (Vmv, thirteenth century A.D.; Pāc-y, nineteenth century A.D.), and given that there they mostly introduce borrowings from older *ṭikās* (Kkh-pt, Pālim-nt, Sp-y).

B.1.1 *Vajirabuddhiṭikā*

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 *ṭikās* 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 *ṭikā* 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 kāraṇaṃ phalaṃ
payojanan ti sattaṅgaṃ nidānaṃ 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. *pārājīkāpatti amūlikā ce,*
paṇṇattimattā phalamaggadhammā
catutthapārājīkavatthubhūtā,
paṇṇattimattā va siyuṃ 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 maggaphalādidhammā,*
siyuṃ tathātītam anāgatañ ca
paṇṇattichakkaṃ na siyā tato vā,
pariyāyato sammativādam 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 *adhikaraṇa*, “basis”, in the context of Sgh 9. One of the equations is concerned with *paññatti/paṇṇatti*, “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 vivādādinam paṇṇatti adhikaraṇaṭṭho*, 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 (*paññatti*), can turn into the foundation (*adhikaraṇa*) 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:

evaṃ abhāvaṃ vinayassa pāḷi,
bhinnaṃ abhinnañ ca tadatthayuttiṃ
viññātukāmena tadatthaviññū,
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 santosaṃ 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 gaṇanāyāpi siyā āpattinekatā
iti sandassanattañ ca dutiyūpakkhaṭaṃ 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. *kāyasaṃsaggasikkhāya Vibhaṅge viya kint’ etaṃ
ekitthiyāpi ’nekatā āpattīnaṃ 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 *Porāṇaganāṭhipada* 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.I.1.5 Vjb 386,21–23 (ad Sp IV 944,19 [Pāc 8 I.1 N])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yato āgamaṇaṃ yassa tadabhāvaṃ niggāhe
tasmā sannipātesu bhikkhūsu tassa bhedaṭṭo 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 āgamaṇaṃ yassa gahād abhāvaṃ niggāhe | taddh(?)āsmā sannipātesu bhikkhūsu 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 sannipātesu āgacchati, nāsannipātesu*. “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 *āgamaṇaṃ* 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.I.I.6 Vjb 411,18–20 (ad Sp V 967,19f. [Mv I 12.3]) = Pālim-ñṭ I 256,20–23

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*saliṅgass’ eva pabbajjā viliṅgassāpi cetarā
apetapubbavesassa taṃ dvayaṃ 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. *pabbajjā* 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 *pabbajjā* the conclusion is reached that the *pabbajjā* 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-ñṭ whose author explicitly quotes it as coming from Vjb.

B.I.I.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. *yaṃ dhammasenāpati ettha mūla-
ganthassa siddhikkamadassanena
nidānaniṭṭhānam akaṃsu dhamma-
saṅgāhakā te vinayakkamaññū.*

procedure. On account of the preceding statements I now think it more probable that *āgamaṇaṃ* 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. *nidānalīnatthapadānam eva,
nidānaniṭṭhānam idaṃ viditvā
ito paraṃ ce vinayatthayutta-
padāni vīmaṃsanam eva ñeyyan ti.*

b *nidāna*^o B^e 1912] *nidāniṭṭhānam* B^e, S^e

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*” (*ettāvātā therō nidānaṃ niṭṭhapesī ti vedītabbaṃ*, 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 mahaṇṇave
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: *ettāvātā therō nidānaṃ 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.I.I.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:

*vattabbayuttam vacanena vatvā
ayuttam iṭṭham nayadesanāya
sandāpayantaṃ Sugatassa vākyam
cittam vicittam va karoti pī ti.*⁵⁹

d *cittāvicittam* va B⁸ n. 2 (ka)

Having said what is appropriate to be said by speech, [and what is] not appropriate (*ayuttam*) [though] allowed (*iṭṭham*) 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.I.I.10 Vjb 584,18–85,4 [end] (≠ Kkh-pt 40,12–23)

*ho(n)ti*⁶⁰ *c' ettha:*

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *asambudham Buddhamahānubhāvaṃ,
dhammassa gambhīranayatthatañ ca
yo vaṇṇaye taṃ Vinayaṃ aviññū,
so duddaso sāsanānāsahetu.*

b *gambhīranayatatañ* Kkh-pt **c** *naṃ* 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. *pāḷiṃ tadatthañ ca asambudhañ hi,
nāseti yo aṭṭhakathānayañ ca
anicchayaṃ nicchayato parehi,
gāheti teḥ' 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 paṇḍitamānibhikkhu
apaṇḍitānaṃ vimatiṃ akatvā,
ācariyaṭṭhaṃ 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 **arahaṃ** 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**” (*arahan*).

*idāni sukhaggahaṇatthaṃ yathāvuttam atthaṃ 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-ṭ 218,8–10 where the stanza is introduced by *vuttañ h’ etaṃ*, “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-ṭ. 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 *aṭṭhakathā*. 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 *arahaṭ*, and because Sāriputta explains that *hoti c’ ettha* in Sp 115,12 aims at showing the various definitions of *arahaṭ* in a summarized form.

B.1.3 Ñāṇakitti, *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-nṭ (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-nṭ (B.1.5).

⁶³ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

B.1.4 Anonymous, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaṭṭhikā* (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. *dukkhaṭṭassa hi vatthūnaṃ mātikāya pakāsanā
garukāpattihetūnaṃ tesam evaṃ pakāsītā.*

For, making known in the Pātimokkha (*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
vajjitā honti yaṃ 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 Pātimokkha 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-abhinavaṭṭhikā* (after A.D. 1165, before A.D. 1186)

There are eight instances of *hoti/honti c' ettha* introductions in this *ṭhikā*, 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 *Pātimokkha*. This is the meaning it has here as the preceding prose text shows (Kkh-pt 53,17f.: *etthāha: kim atthaṃ Mātikāyaṃ dukkaṭṭavattthu vuttaṃ, nanu Vibhaṅge eva vattabbaṃ siyā ti?*... “Here one could object: Why is the site implying an offence of wrong-doing stated in the *Pātimokkha*; 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 Buddhānāga.

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 kāḷamhā yāva Phaggunapūṇṇamā 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] Phagguṇa is to be known as winter. [There] are eight *uposathas* [during this period].

2. *Phaggunassa ca kāḷamhā yāva Āsāḷhipuṇṇamā vassakālo ti viññeyyo ; aṭṭha honti uposathā.*

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

3. *Āsāḷhassa ca kāḷamhā yāva Kattikapūṇṇamā vassakālo ti viññeyyo ; aṭṭha honti uposathā.*

The time from the dark [fortnight of the month of] Āsāḷha 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. *utūnaṃ pana tiṇṇannaṃ pakkhe tatīyasattame, catuddaso ti Pātimokkhaṃ 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-Pülz 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-ñ 148,21–24 (ad Kkh 12,21ff. [*nidāna*])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*baddhābaddhavasenedha sīmā nāma dvidhā tahiṃ.*⁶⁸

tisampattiyuttā 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-ñ 136,10ff.).

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

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

nidāne ñattiṭṭhapanam pubbakicassa pucchanaṃ

nidānuddesasavane visuddhārocane vidhi

anārocane cāpatti ñeyyam piṇḍatthapañcakan ti.

Regarding the introduction [of the *Pātimokkha*] 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 *Pātimokkha*] (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 *Pātimokkha*. 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-ñṭ 182,20–22 (ad Kkh 32,7ff. [Pār 1 M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection :

*cittaṃ khettañ ca kālo ca payogo puggalo tathā,
vijānanan ti sikkhāya paccakkhānaṃ chaḷaṅgikaṇ ti.*

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

This śloka (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 *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (Kkh 32,7–34,8), and expands the *ādi* of the short explanation (*cittādinnaṃ vā chaḷaṅgānaṃ vasaṇa*) immediately preceding the stanza.

B.1.5.5 Kkh-ñṭ 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'-Opanandaññatara pi ca⁷⁰
Hatthako c' Ānuruddho ca sattarasa Cūlapanthako.*

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 Ānuruddha (Pāc 6 M), the [group of] seventeen (Pāc 15, 17, 37, 53, 60 M) [and] Cūlapanthaka (Pāc 11 M),

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

3. *Belatṭhasīso c' Ānando Sāgato 'riṭṭhanāmakō
Nandattherena tevīsa bhikkhūnaṃ ādikammikā.*

and Belatṭhasīsa (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
bhikkhunīnaṃ 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-ṇ explains the word “individual” (*puggala*) 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-ṇ 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-ṇ 214,12–14 (ad Kkh 49,18 [Pār 3 M])

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yathāṇattivasen' eva ānattena kate sati
āṇāpakassa āpatti viśaṅketo '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 (*saṅketa*) or a broken mutual agreement

(*visāṅketa*). 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-liṅgāpattivāsāpi ca
pattacīvarupajjhāyācariyāvāsavasā 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 Buddhānāga 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:

1. *dhammavinayabhāsītāciṇṇapaññattikā dukā
āpattilahuduṭṭhullasāvasesadukāni 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 vadhako āṇatto, tathā tathā kate āṇāpakassa āpatti,
aññathā kate visāṅketo hoti.*

Kkh-nṭ 214,9–10 = Khuddas-pṭ 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 "bhedakaravattū" 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 (*bhedakaravattuvāsena aṭṭhārasavidham*; Kkh-ñ 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 *Uttaravinicchayaṭṭikā* (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 *ṭikās*. 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-ñṭ with that of Vin-vn-ṭ. The two texts are largely identical with only minor deviations. Whether these commentaries are, however, those ascribed to Vāciṣṣara in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, 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 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.I.6.1 Vin-vn-ṭ I 280,11–13 (ad Vin-vn v. 582 [Niss I.4 M])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*yaṃ vatthaṃ bhikkhunā laddhaṃ kataṃ mātādisantakaṃ,
nissaggiyaṃ na hotī 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 *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathās*. According to that, a cloth which has been turned into the property of someone else need not be given up (*nissaggiya*).⁷⁵

B.I.6.2 Vin-vn-ṭ I 280,20–24 (ad Vin-vn v. 584 [Niss I.4 M])

honti c’ ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *Mātikaṭṭhakathāyassā kaṇḍucchādīkasāṭṭiyā,
na kālāṭikkame vuttaṃ adhiṭṭhānavivaṭṭanaṃ.*

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

2. *adhiṭṭhānapahānaṅgesu vuttattā visesato,
vīmaṃsitabbaṃ viññūhi tattha yaṃ kāraṇaṃ 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 *Mātikaṭṭhakathā*, i.e., the *Pātimokkha* commentary called *Kaṅkhāvitaṇaṇī*. In the paragraph on the *kaṇḍuppaṭicchādīsikkhāpada* (Pāc 90 M; Kkh 245,25–46,5) the *Kaṅkhāvitaṇaṇī* 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. *hemarajatatambehi satthe niddiṭṭhalakkhaṇaṃ,
ahāpetvā kato vīsamāso nīlakahāṇaṇo.*

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

2. *hemapādaṃ sajjhupādaṃ tambapādadvayaṃ hi so,
missetvā rūpaṃ appetvā kātuṃ satthesu dassito.*

⁷⁶ This refers to the process of baking.

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

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

For the [*nīlakahāpaṇa*] 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 suvaṇṇassa vīsaviḥagghano 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** *vīsaviḥagghanāmako* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 182, Sp-y; °*agghano māso* von Hinüber 2009 v.l.

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

4. *yasmim pana padese so na vattati kahāpaṇo,*
vīsasoṇṇaviḥagghaṃ tappādagghaṃ ti vediyaṃ.

a-b *yasmim janapade dese so natthī ti kahāpaṇo* Pāt-gp, Codrington 1924: 183 **d** *tappādagghaṃ ti ca vediyaṃ* Pāt-gp

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

5. *vīsasoṇṇaviḥagghaṃ thenentā bhikkhavo tato,*
cavanti sāmaññaṃ icc āhu vinayaññuno ti.

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

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-kahāpaṇa* as resulting from *ni* + *elā*, “without fault”.

⁸⁰ O. von Hinüber based on his reading of Utt-vn-ṭ (°*agghano māso*; von Hinüber 2009: I 414) translates “[is called] a *māsa* equivalent to twenty grains of rice”. But Utt-vn-ṭ reads °*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-ṭ II 405,3ff.) in which the author presents various equations of the *nīlakahāpaṇa* with other currencies from various sources. These stanzas are quoted by Ñāṇakitti (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 *Uttaravinicchayaṭṭikā* wrote these stanzas himself, since they conclude his long explanations.⁸³

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

B.1.7.1 Khuddas-pt 178,15–17 (Khuddas B^e v. 324 = E^c 40.3)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

dvisaṅgahāni dve honti tatiyaṃ catusaṅgahaṃ,

catutthaṃ navakoṭṭhāsaṃ pañcamaṃ aṭṭhabhedanan ti.

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

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

⁸³ O. von Hinüber assessed these stanzas in Utt-vn-ṭ as a quotation from an unnamed source, but also considers the possibility that they were written by the author of Utt-vn-ṭ 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-pt precedes Saṅgharakkhita's *Sumaṅgalappasādanī*, i.e. Khuddas-nṭ, since Saṅgharakkhita states that the old *ṭṭikā* did not suffice (Khuddas-nṭ 247,7–12). It is also older than Vin-vn-ṭ (ca. second third of the thirteenth century A.D.) where it is quoted (Vin-vn-ṭ II 288,3–5: *Khuddasikkhāvaṇṇanāyamaṃ pi ... ti* [Khuddas-pt 184,1–2 ad v. 344] *vuttam*). It may possibly be younger than Kkh-nṭ (after A.D. 1165 before A.D. 1186) with which it shares a longer text portion (Kkh-nṭ 330,24–31,4 ≠ Khuddas-pt 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-ṇṭ 390,19–20 = Kkh-ṇṭ 422,14–15 = Pālim 302,12–13 = Pālim-ṇṭ II 67,11–12. Sp and Kkh-ṇṭ introduce it by *evaṃ*, Pālim by *vuttañ h’ etaṃ*, which is the introductory expression for canonical or authoritative writings,⁸⁷ and Pālim-ṇṭ gives it without introduction. Khuddas-ṇṭ introduces this stanza with *honti c’ ettha*, although there follows only one stanza. But in Sp, from which Khuddas-ṇṭ certainly borrowed the stanza, we have, as in all other cases, two stanzas. Either the author of Khuddas-ṇṭ took over the introductory expression with only one stanza, or the second stanza was lost during the transmission of the text. Khuddas-ṇṭ has the same two stanzas as Sp, and introduces them with *tathā cāha*, an expression often used in the *ṭīkā* literature (only seven times in the *aṭṭhakathā* literature) to introduce quotations from the canon or an *aṭṭhakathā*. There is a slightly different variant of this stanza in Vin-vn 2853.⁸⁸ Hence Khuddas-ṇṭ is the only text to introduce this stanza with the *honti c’ ettha* expression. It is, moreover, the only text in which the stanza is directly preceded by a more detailed prose statement.

B.1.8 Toṇ-phī-lā charā tō Munindaghosa (Tipiṭakālaṅkāra), *Pālimuttakavināyavinicchayanavaṭṭikā* (= *Vinayālaṅkāraṭṭikā* (between A.D. 1639 and 1651, Burma)

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

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

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

⁸⁶ According to Khuddas-ṇṭ 178,12 the third *garubhaṇḍa* consists in *mañco pīṭhaṃ bhisī* and *bibbohanaṃ*.

⁸⁷ Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 4.

⁸⁸ *dvīhi saṅghatāni dve tatiyaṃ catusaṅgahaṃ
catutthaṃ navakoṭṭhāsaṃ pañcamaṃ aṭṭhadhā mataṃ.*

Vin-vn v. 2853

⁸⁹ See BurmMSS II, no. 354, p. 180; no. 355 (stanza p. 184, but ending in *neraviko 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 Phagguṇa. Summer [lasts] from the last fortnight in that [month (= Phagguṇa)] to the full moon of the month Āsāḷha. The rainy period [lasts] for the rest of these [months; there are] twenty-four *uposatha* ceremonies.

2. *cātuddasī cha etesu pakkhā tatiyasattamā*
sesā pannarasī ñeyyā 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 Buddhānāga who in his Kkh-ṇṭ wrote his own mnemonic on that topic, Sāgara-buddhi 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 *Sikha-valānda-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 *Āṅguttara-nikāya* 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 — Dhammapāla's Cp-a (A.2.4.1), and — excluding the introductory phrase — his older Vism-mh̃t (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 Nāṇābhivamsa'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 Paṭiṣ-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 Dhammapāla, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭikā* (ca. tenth century A.D.)

B.2.1.1 Sv-pt̃ 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-pt̃ I 179,3–6 (ad Sv I 101,15)

hoti c' ettha: Paṭṭhānaṃ nāma

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

*paccekaṃ dhammānaṃ anulomādimhi tikadukādisu yā
paccayamūlavisiṭṭhā catunayato sattavāragatī ti.*

b °dukādīsū B° d *sattadhā gati* ti B°

[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 *paccaya*, i.e. based on one, two up to 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^c) and on the CSCD (B^c). 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 *Paṭṭhānaṃ nāma* which must have been added later. This is confirmed by the fact that the passage from *paccekaṃ* to *sattavāragatī* forms an Āryā stanza. Therefore, it is to be assumed that *Paṭṭhānaṃ 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 *Ñāṇābhivamaṣa, Sumaṅgalavilāsini-abhinavaṭṭikā* (1800, Burma)
Ñāṇābhivamaṣa 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 piṭakattayaṃ
sāsittabbavasen’ etaṃ sāsanan ti 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 atthassa vasenā pi kathā ti ca
desanāsāsanakathābhedaṃ p’ evaṃ pakāsaye ti.*

c *desanā sāsana kathā bhedaṃ* 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 *śloka*s 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 paṇṇatti 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*, *paṇṇatti*, *sadda*, etc.

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

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*evādisattiyā c' eva aññatthāpohanena ca
dvidhā 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 *evaṃ* as well as by negating [a specific meaning] in another [word].

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

B.2.2.4 Sv-anṭ I 165 (ad Sv 31,9)

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *dassanaṃ dīpanaṃ cāpi pakāsaṇaṃ vibhāvanam
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 'nekatthavuttiyā
“evaṃ me sutam” icc ettha 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” (*evaṃ me sutam*).

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

B.2.2.5 Sv-anṭ I 169 (ad Sv I 32,7–8)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

*sāmaññavacanīyataṃ upādāya anekadhā
atthaṃ 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 śloka (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. *desanāciraṭṭhitatthaṃ asammosāya bhāsitaṃ
saddhāya cāpi nidānaṃ vedehena yasassinā*

The source [of a *sutta*] (in the form of the words *evaṃ me suttaṃ*) 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 dassanattam pi bhāsitaṃ ti.*

⁹³ *nanu ca atthamattaṃ yathādhippetaṃ pati saddā abhinivisaṇtī ti na ekena saddena aneke atthā abhidhīyanti, atha kasmā idha samayasaddassa anekadhā attho vutto ti? saccam etaṃ saddavisesse apekkhite, saddavisesse hi apekkhite na ekena saddena anekattābhīdhānaṃ sambhavati. na hi yo kālādi-attho samaya-saddo, so yeva samūhādi-atthaṃ vadati. ettha pana tesam tesam atthānaṃ samayasaddavacanīyatāsāmaññaṃ upādāya anekatthataṃ samaya-saddassa vuttā ti (Sp-ṭ, Sadd om. ti).*

Sv-anṭ I 168 ≠ Sp-ṭ 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 śloka (without known parallels) give the gist of the preceding prose explanations dealing with the function of *evaṃ me sutaṃ*. 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 atthassa bodhāya aññasaddato
vikkhittakamanānaṃ 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 amūḷhatthaṃ atthantaranisedhayā
taṃ taṃ nāmanirūḷhatthaṃ 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. *desakānaṃ sukaratthaṃ tantiattāhvabodhane
dhammaniruttibodhatthaṃ 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. *veneyyānaṃ tattha bījāvāpanatthañ 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 pabodhanaṃ
sammāpaṭiggaṇhantānaṃ 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 śloka (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 viṣesanāya

bodhanāya vineyyānaṃ tathānatthapadaṃ 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 *anattakabhāvo*, 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” (*yaṃ pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ “yadi ca taṃ vattabbaṃ siyā, tad eva vuttaṃ assa, na tadaññān” ti, taṃ pi na yuttaṃ payoḥjanantarāsambhavato*). 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 *saccaṃ, taṃ pi padantarābhihitassa atthassa viṣesanavasena tadabhihitaṃ atthaṃ vadati eva, so pana attho vināpi tena padantaren’ eva sakkā viññātun ti anattakam 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” (*anattakam*).

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

Borrowed from Sv-pt 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
kāraṇehi 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 *balavabhāvadassanattam* (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 *Dhammasaṅgāṇī*. 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 *paṭisaṃvedissantī 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), *gamyamānatthassa vā saddassa payogaṃ pati kāmacārattā, lopattā, sesattāpi ca esa na payutto.*

Sv-anṭ I 231

Since [in Sv] it 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 sanniṭṭhānamhi cētaran 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 :

*atthantaradassanamhi 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* “*appaṃ vassasataṃ āyu, idān’ etarahi vijjati*” ti (Bv 26.21) *ādāsu viya añña-maññatthāvabodhanavasena sapayojanattā. matta-saddo vā pamāṇe, payo-janasāṅkhātāṃ pamāṇam eva, na taduttarī ti attho. “matta-saddo avadhāraṇe eva-saddo sanniṭṭhāne” 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-Falqués for his comments on this passage, email 26/3/2014.]

1. *gamissa ekakammattā itilopaṃ vijāṇiyā*
paṭighātaṃ paṇḍitaṃ na ca tulyatthā 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 pubbapadaṃ va jotaṃ*
gamanākārassa paraṃ ity uttaṃ saraṇattaye ti.

Therefore, the former word indeed (i.e. *Buddhaṃ*) illuminates the meaning of [the object] to be gone to (*gamanīya*); the other [word (i.e. *saraṇaṃ*) 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 *bhavaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* is explained by *bhavaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ 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 *Buddhaṃ* or *saraṇaṃ*. 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 śloka (without known parallels) summarize the preceding prose portion.⁹⁹

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

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

guṇo paṭala-rāsāṇisaṃse koṭṭhāsa-bandhane

⁹⁹ *yañ hi taṃ “Buddho” ti visesitaṃ saraṇaṃ, tam ev’ esa gato ti, na c’ ettha anupapattikena atthena attho, tasmā “Bhagavantān” ti gamanīyatthassa dīpanaṃ, “saraṇaṃ” ti pana gamanākārassā ti vuttanayena itilopavaseṇ’ 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 (*Bhagavantaṃ*)” is the illumination of the meaning [of the object] to be gone to, but “refuge” (*saraṇaṃ*) [is the illumination] of the motive for going.

sīlasukkādyapadhāne sampadāya jiyāya cā ti.

A special quality (*guṇa*) [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 (*ānisaṃsa*), (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]a-dhāna*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 *guṇa* 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 Dhṛp. Dhammapāla in his Sv-pt adds the meanings *koṭṭhāsa* and *sampadā* with illustrative quotations (Sv-pt I 522,5–10). In Sv-anṭ (II 429) Ñāṇābhivamsa 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 *guṇa* 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, *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭīkā*

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 nihīnāsayā narā
ārakā tehi Bhagavā dūre tenārahaṃ mato.*

a paṭi° 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 *guṇo paṭalarāsiṃ ānisaṃse ca bandhane
appadhāne ca sīlādo sukkādimhi jiyāya ca.*

Abh 787

2. *ye sammā paṭipajjanti suppaṇṭīdādhimuttikā
Bhagavā tehi āsanno tenāpi araham̐ 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 sādhuhi rahitabbato
tesam̐ suṭṭhu pahīnattā Bhagavā araham̐ 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 tenāraham̐ 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 gamanam̐ yassa saṃsāre natthi sabbaso
pahīnajātīmarāṇo araham̐ 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 *saṃsāra*, having abandoned birth and death, the Well-gone One (*sugata*), is known as an *arahat*.

6. *guṇehi sadiso natthi yasmā loke sadevake
tasmā pāsaṃsiyattāpi araham̐ 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 mandabuddhīnam̐ āsannā ca vijānatam̐
rahānam̐ suppahīnattā vidūnam̐ araheyyato
bhavesu ca rahābhāvā pāsaṃsā araham̐ 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 ślokaś Dhammapāla borrowed from his Vism-mhṭ I 224 where they are given without an introductory expression. They are also found in Sāriputta’s Sp-ṭ (after A.D. 1165),¹⁰³ again borrowed — together with a larger text portion — from Vism-mhṭ. 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-ṭ I 229,7, *sabbasaṅgahavasena pana*). Finally, we have parallels for stanzas three to six in Aggavaṃsa’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 *ṭīkāś* grasped the sense of the word *arahat* (*ṭīkācariyehi pi tath’ eva gahitā, katham*). 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-ṭ 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 *Paṭis-a* 55)

honti c' ettha gāthāyo (S^e *gāthā*):

And there are [these] stanzas in this connection:

1. *chaḷeva 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*s (sixth century A.D.; Cousins 2011: 26). According to Warder (2009: lif.) it also presupposes *Dhammapāla*, the author of the *Suttaṭīkā*s. If we are right to date this *Dhammapāla* to the same time as the author of *Vjb* (second half tenth century A.D.; Kieffer-Pülz 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 *Polonnaruwa* (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 *Aggavaṃsa* (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 1.4.

*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' evaṃ panatītanāgatā
khandhāpi saṃkiccakhaṇesu eva
saṃvijjamānā na pure na pacchā
sabbe paricchinudayabbayā va.*

a *panatītanāgā* B^e; *panāītānāgatā* 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. *evaṃ paricchinudayabbayānaṃ
natth' eva anto amataṃ sace taṃ
tato bahākāsagataṃ bhavēyya
tatrāpi doṣo kathito va heṭṭhā.*

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 taṃ nindriyabandhasantike
taṇhappahāṇādi na saṃsiyā va
na hoti kappagginibāhire taṃ
vināmatārammaṇamaggaḥvanā.*

b *na saṃsiyā* va B^e n. 1 (ka) C^e] *°ppahānādīna saṃsiyā va na* S^e; *saṃpiyā* va C^e n. 2; *saṃsayā* va B^e **c** *na hoti kappagginibāhire taṃ* C^e] *na hoti kappagginilabāhir*

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

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

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

And yet the abandoning of craving and so on in the presence of what (*etaṃ*) 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 ākāśānindriyānaṃ upantike*
natthi c' etaṃ kathaṃ jaññā iti vatthussa 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. *saṭṭokāsalokānaṃ anto tesāṃ na vuccati*
Jino "saṅkhāralokassa 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' uppādaṭṭhito bhedo santo tato paraṃ*
abhāvā tassa tenassa antike tan ti me mati.

a c' uppādaṭṭhiti^o B^e; *tassamuppāda^o* 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*
kandhānaṃ hi tidhā bhede nānattaṃ natthi 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. *bhinnānaṃ puna bhedassa abhāvā āyat’ āyati
navānav’ eva dhammā hi sambhavanti. na saṃsayo.*

b °yatiṃ B^e **c** na vānaṃ 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 udayaṃ yanti t̥hitikkhandhā hi saṅkhatā
bhedenā vūpasammanti. siddhassa tabbivekatā.*

b t̥hitiṃ khandhā B^e; t̥hitikkhandhā 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 accantavivekattaṃ paṭipannena yoginā
daṭṭhabbo bhedo khandhānaṃ khaṇappaccayato pi ca.*

a °atthaṃ B^e S^e **b** yogi t̃ā (?) 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 vaṭṭābhiraṭiñ 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 nibbāṇaṃ pattukāmo sadā sato
bhaṅgaṃ saṅkhārālokassa bhaṅgaṃ viyānupassati.*

d bhaṅgaṃ 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
sabhāvaṃ sabbadhammānaṃ 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 evaṃ nāmarūpānaṃ suvavatthāpanena tu*

16. (S^e p. 116)
*nibbattetvā sudiṭṭhiyo tato sāmāññalakkhaṇaṃ
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 taruṇaṃ vipassanaṃ
dhammānaṃ ohāya ṭhitiṃ subuddhi
vayodaye sādhu pariggahetvā
bhavesu tatr' eva tilakkhaṇaṃ 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
dhammānaṃ tesaṃ udayaṃ vihāya
sakkoti bhedassa vasā va sammā
taṃ taṃ sabhāvaṃ pi pariggahetuṃ.*

b *dhammāna* C^e **d** *tan taṃ* 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 khandhabhede-
pākaṭattā h' aniccalakkhaṇaṃ
pariggahen' eva tu dukkhanattā
visaṃhitā honti tahiṃ ca bhede.*

a *anicca*^o S^e n. 2 (sī); ^o*a bhedasu* C^e **b** *pākaṭattā h' aniccalakkhaṇaṃ* C^e (metrically defective)] ; *pākaṭattā* ti B^e; *pākaṭattā cāha nicca*^o C^e n. 1 S^e; *pākaṭattā cāha aniccalakkhaṇaṃ* S^e n. 3 (sī) **c** *dukkhānattā* S^e **d** *visaṃhitā* 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 ugghāṭitasandhiyogī
anantaratte cutim eva disvā
jānāti taṃ sabbabhavam pi evaṃ
jānāti bhedaṃhi pi lakkhaṇadvayaṃ.*

a *yahiṃ 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 decrease 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. *ṭhānabhedā hi uppādo suññodayavayā ṭhiti
suññā uppādaṭhittito bhedo suñño ti vuccati.*

b ^o*ṭhitt* S^e **c** ^o*ṭhittito* 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 sabhāvasāmaññalakkhaṇaṃ pi ca viññunā
atthī ti ñeyyam ekekakhaṇasmim 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 ekekakkaṇāyattā saṅkhatāsāṅkhatam pana
etesam paṭipakkhattā akkaṇi pi tadantike*

a *ityekekakkaṇāyattā* S^e **b** *saṅkhatāsāṅkhatam* conj. ed.] *saṅkhatāsāṅkhatā* 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** *akkaṇi* 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 *paṭiccārūpam* 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)
*saṅkhāranto ti vutto yo nirodho pi tath' eva so
khandhāsanne ahutvāna katham aññattha labbhare.*

a *saṅkhārato 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** *nāsannabhutā 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 saṃsārapātālasaññitāyatanādinaṃ
anto ti vutto yo dhammo svātidūre katham siyā.*

b *°ādīnaṃ* 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 *dhmma* which is spoken of as the end of the *āyatanas*, [aggregates and elements] that are referred to as the abyss of *saṃsāra*, be very far.

28. *loko ti paññattidha pañcakhandhe*
paṭicca dehe tadavinābhāvisimim
tatth’ eva maggo pi ca jāyate taṃ
dūre kathaṃ santipadaṃ sarīrato.

a *paññatti* ca S^e **b** *dehe na* S^e; *deho* B^e n. 2 (ka) C^e; *tadavinābhāvisimim* conj. ed.] *tadavināva tasmim* B^e C^e S^e n. 2 (ka); *tadavinā* appears as first member of compounds with °*bhāva* or °*bhāvin* as the second element. **d** *dūre tathā* C^e, *dukataṃ santi paraṃ pariṇato* 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 parittahadaṃ sannissāya pavattito*
saṅkhatānuttarā dhammā āsannā hadayassa te.

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

30. *tathāsannaṃ ca nibbānaṃ saṅkhatānaṃ ti jāniyā*
yathāvuttavidhen’ eva tadanñattha abhāvato ti

a *tathāsannaṃ ca nibbānaṃ* S^e **b** *jāniyā* C^e n. 5

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

B.2.3.2 Paṭis-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 *dhmmas* 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. *nīlādikaṃ sasambhāra¹¹⁴kaṣiṇārambhupaṭṭhitam*
paṭibhāganimittam pi nīlādi viya dissati.

b °kaṣiṇārabbhupaṭṭhitam S°

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

32. *yathā tath' eva yogī pi yo yopādānasammata-*
khandhesv ekeka¹¹⁵dhammañ ca dhuraṃ katvā vipassati.

a *yathā tad eva* S° **b** °sammata C° S° **c** *ce* B° S°

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 diṭṭhasutarūpasarādisu

a *ca* for *va* S° **c** *cakkha*° C° **d** °*disu* S°

34. (B° p. 78)
salakkhaṇaṃ hi sāmāññalakkhaṇam pi ca viññunā
gavesitabbaṃ attattaniyagāhehi mocituṃ.

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

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' evaṃ taṃ vuṭṭhānasamaye pana

c *samasanto* S° n. 1 (sī)

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

¹¹⁴ *sambhāra¹¹⁴kaṣiṇa*; 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-
nirodhakappaṃ idha tassa tassa

a *ce* S^e **b** *sesaṃ* 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)
disāḍipaññattivinaṭṭhakāle
yathā dhuvo hoti disāḍigo nago
tathāmatam sacchikat’ idha khandhe
sadā va tam vijjati nibbute pi.

b *disāḍito tato* S^e **c** °*kaṭṭva* 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. *yathopattṭhite savane vinaṭṭhe*
tadāvasese savane ca tiṭṭhati
nirodhapattam amataṃ tadaññam
khandhantike vā ti tath’ eva jaññā.

b *va* C^e **c** *visodhanaṃ 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.] °*rukkho ty avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe* B^e S^e (but *taya*) ; °*rukkhe 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
nibbāṇadhammo py avasiṭṭhasiṭṭhe
khandhantike sijjhati no bahiddhā.

a *khīṇāsavapavatti*^o B^e n. 3 (ka) S^e **b** *°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 taṃ pattukāmena khaṇappaccayato pi ca
saṅkhārānaṃ khaye cittaṃ kātabbaṃ paricitaṃ 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. *evaṃ pariciten' ettha citten' evādhigacchati*
amataṃ 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 tadatthaṃ vāyāmakaraṇaṃ saphalaṃ va taṃ*
ñatvā punappunaṃ eva ghaṭṭitabbaṃ anekadhā.

b *°kāraṇaṃ 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 paṭhavantagataṃ nidhi
ajānaṃ pi idhatthī ti khaṇat' eva taṃhiṃ taṃhiṃ.
a *yathehatthūti* B^e S^e **b** *nidhiṃ* B^e **c** *ajātaṃ pi* S^e n. 1 (po)
45. *khaṇant' evaṃ mahāthāmo patvā nidhiṃ salakkhaṇaṃ*
atituttṭho va so hoti “nidhi diṭṭho mayā” iti.
a *baṇat' C^e* n. 3; *khaṇant' S^e* **d** *nididiṭṭho* S^e n. 2 (sī); *tiha* B^e S^e
46. “*santike na vijānanti maggadhammassa kovidā*”
icc ād' evaṃ sutavatā khaṇappaccayato pi ca
c *iccārevaṃ* (ka); *iccarevaṃ ? B^e* n. 1 **d** *°paccayato* S^e
47. *saṅkhārānaṃ dudhā bhaṅgaṃ amatassa salakkhaṇaṃ*
diṭṭhan ti tuṭṭhacittena ghaṭitabbaṃ punappunaṃ.

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 pajātānaṃ khandhānaṃ bhaṅgadassanaṃ
tesaṃ vivekagāhantaṃ saññānaṃ dassanaṃ nibhaṃ
c *vivekagāhantā* B^e; *°gāhattā* S^e **d** *paññānaṃ* S^e
49. *amatassā ti nibbānaṃ pattukāmo sadā sato*
bhaṅg' eva paribhāveyya cittaṃ yogī punappunaṃ.

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. *paññattiyaṃ vattanajhānakāmo*
pag eva cittaṃ hi karoti chekaṃ
paññattigāhe satatappamatto
vaṇṇādidhamme 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 sattasaññaṃ upadālayitvā
kareyya yogaṃ paramatthadhammā
gāhe tato chekataraṃ va cittaṃ.

a °*kāmo pi* S^e **b** *hi* om. S^e; *pi* B^e C^e n. 1 **c** *yogī paramatthadhamma* B^e; *dhammaṃ* 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. *nibbānaṃ viya aññassa sassatassa asambhavā*
kaṣiṇākāsa-upamā etass' upamitā mayā.

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

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

53. (S^e p. 123)
upamā hi ca nāma 'esā asanti pi kathiyati
"marīcikūpamā saññā" iti (S III 142,30) vuttaṃ hi satthunā.

b *asanti pi kathiyati* 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 Coḷiya 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. *phassādipaṇṇakam pañcajhānaṅgānindriyaṭṭhakam
maggaṅgapaṇṇakam sattabalaṃ 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. *kammapathattikaṇ c’ eva lokapāladukam tathā
passaddhiādī cha dukā tīṇi 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 rāsīhi chapaññās’ eva pāḷiyam
vuttā sabhāvato tiṃsa dhammā agahitaggāhe.*

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-pūtiyo
cha dukā kāyapassaddhi-pamukhāṭṭhāras’ ekakā.*

¹¹⁸ *alobha, adosa, amoha.*

¹¹⁹ *anabhijjhā, avyāpāda, sammā-diṭṭhi.*

¹²⁰ *hiri and ottappa.*

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

¹²² The helpers (*upakāraka*) consisting in mindfulness (*sati*) and mental clarity (*sampajañña*); 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. *cittaṃ vitakko saddhā ca hiri ottappiyam pi ca alobho ca adoso ca satta dvidhā vibhāvītā.*

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 tivīdhā vīriyaṃ satī ca catudhā matā chaddhā ekaggatā paññā sattadhā va vibhāvītā.*

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-majjhatā-dhimokkho 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. *pañcasatṭhividhen' eva pariyāyena desitā navādhikā hi tiṃs' eva dhammā hi paramatthato ti.*

c *navādhikā ca te tiṃsa* 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 *pañcapaññāsena evaṃ*). 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 Sumaṅgala, *Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭṭikā*, *Abhidhamma-tthavikāsinī* (twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.)

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

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

niyāmapariṇāmehi samudāciṇṇatāya ca

ñānapubbaṅgamābhogā iṭṭhe pi kusalaṃ 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-nt I 182). Similar explanations are found in As 75,8ff., and Vism-mḥ II 115, but without the stanza. For that Cousins 2013 traced a Sanskrit parallel in Vism-sn.¹²⁵

B.3.2.2 Abhidh-av-nt 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 saddhābhūlyam diṭṭhisuddhi ca phaladassāvitā c’ eva pītibojjhaṅgahetuyo*
2. *ekādasa tathā dhammā agambhūrasabhāvatā 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 viśayābhogāt parimītyāc 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)

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 citta*s, although they are not in the *kāmadhātu*.¹³⁰

B.3.2.4 Abhidh-av-nt I 194 (ad Abhidh-av 3.14; v. 19)

hoti c’ ettha:

“*kāmo ’vacarañ ty ettha*” (Abhidh-av v. 16) “*kāme ’vacarañ ti*” (Abhidh-av v. 18) *vā,*
ñhānūpacārato vāpi, taṃ kāmāvacaram bhavati 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-nt I 213 (ad Abhidh-av 4.27–28)

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

paccanīkā yato pañca samādhāḍīnam ettha hi,
jñānantarāyikā tasmā pahānaṅge niyāmitā ti

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

¹²⁹ Cousins 2013, 53:

kāme ’vacaraṇāḍ etat kāmāvacaram ucyate
śeṣe ’vacaraḍ apy evaṃ saṃgrāmāvacarādivat.

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

B.3.3 Sumaṅgala, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-mahāṭṭhā*, *Abhidhamma-thavibhāvinī* (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 *Abhidhammāvātāra* (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 *ṭīkā*kāra himself or by other authors for recital from memory". It was supposed already earlier that in writing his *ṭīkā* 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 'vacaraṭṭi ty ettha*" (*Abhidh-av* v. 16) "*kāme 'vacaraṭṭi ti*" (*Abhidh-av* v. 18) *vā*,
ṭhānūpacārato vāpi taṃ kāmāvacaraṃ bhavati.

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-ṭ* I 213: *tasmā samādhi-ādināṃ ujjuvipaccanīkabhāvena viśesena jhānādhiḡamassa antarāyakaṇato etān' eva pahānaṅgānī ti vuttāni*.

This stanza is also found in Abhidh-av-nt̐ (B.3.2.4). This explains why it contains two *pratīkas* 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-mh̐ 62,11–16 = Abhidh-s-sn 15,8–11 (ad Abhidh-s I,25 [1.6])

honti c' ettha :

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection :

1. *sabbākusalayuttam pi uddhaccaṃ antamānase,
balavaṃ iti taṃ 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 Munindenā yevāpanakanāmato,
vatvā sesesu etth' eva taṃ sarūpena desitaṃ 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-mh̐ transl. 17]

With these ślokaś the author concludes his explanations of “restlessness” (*uddhacca*). They simply summarize what had been previously stated in prose (Abhidh-s-mh̐ 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” (*purātanāyaṃ viśiṇ u du kiyāna lada mā yī*, 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-mh̐ 62,22–26 = Abhidh-s-sn 15,19–22 (ad Abhidh-s I,25–26 [1.6])

honti c' ettha :

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection :

1. *mūlhattā c' eva saṃsappavikkhepā c' ekahetukaṃ,
sopekkhaṃ sabbadā no ca bhinnaṃ saṅkhārābhedaṭo.*

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-mhṭ 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-mhṭ 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 Abhid-s-mhṭ 65,28–34 = Abhidh-s-sn 20,16–21 (ad
Abhidh-s 2,7ff. [1.10])

honti c' ettha:

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection:

1. *vatthāmbasababhāvānaṃ bhūtikānañ hi ghaṭṭanaṃ,
dubbalaṃ iti cakkhādicatucittam upekkhakaṃ.*

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. *kāyanissayaphoṭṭhabbabbhūtānaṃ ghaṭṭanāya tu,
balavattā na viññānaṃ kāyikamajjhavedanaṃ.*

d kāyikaṃ majjha° 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 natth' ānantarapaccayo,
tasmā dubbalam ālambe sopekkhaṃ 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-mhṭ transl. 24]

These ślokas summarize the preceding prose explanations to the four pairs of resultants (*vipākāni*; Abhidh-s-mhṭ 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 Abhid-s-mhṭ 119,5–11 = Abhidh-s-sn 119,29–32; 120,7–8 (ad Abhidh-s 20,11–12 [4.29])

honti c’ ettha :

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection :

1. *janakaṃ taṃsamānaṃ vā javanaṃ anubandhati
na tu aññaṃ tadālambaṃ bāladārakalīlayā.*

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 Brahmānaṃ pi imassa hi
paṭisandhimano bījaṃ kāmāvacarasaññitaṃ.*

Because of the absence of its seed, it does not occur to Brahmās; the relinking mind called sense-sphere is seed.

3. *phāṇe paricite yeva taṃ idaṃ bālako viya
anuyātī ti nāññattha hoti taṇhāvasena 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 śloka 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:

*javanaḥ tat-samāno vā tad-ālabana-cetasā
javo ‘nubaddhyate nānyo bāla-dāraka-līlayā. (24)
bījābhāvāt (sic) na cordhveṣu tad-ālabanam asya tu
bījaṃ kāmāpta-pākāhyaṃ pratisandhi-mano matam. (25)
pravarttamāna-javanam ucīte sthāna eva tat
anubadhnāti dṛṣṭāntam āhur atrāpi dārakam. (26)*

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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. Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭīkā* (A.D. 1447/1453,¹³⁴ Burma)

In Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla's commentary on Abhidh-s there are three *honti c' ettha* 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 Chapāṭa, despite the Chapāṭa 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 Chapāṭa 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 Chapāṭa Saddhammajotipāla, see Godakumbura 1969.

¹³⁵ “Despite the erudite authorship displayed in his other works, the language of the *Nāmacārādīpaka* 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 (*Vṛttabhāṅga*).” (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^c) of the *Nāmacārādīpaka* 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^c.” (Nāmac, p. 2).

Unlike most instances of *hoti/honti c' ettha* 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

honti c' ettha

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection :

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ekāṭṭitaṃ soḷasāyu</i>
<i>gocaraṃ atimahantaṃ</i>
<i>dvitītītaṃ paṇṇarasa-</i>
<i>cuddasāyukaṃ mahantaṃ</i> | <i>ekāṭṭitaṃ soḷasāyukaṃ</i>
<i>timahantaṃ tiddhātītaṃ</i>
<i>paṇṇarasacuddasāyukaṃ</i>
<i>mahantārammaṇaṃ 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 (*atimahantaṃ*). [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 (*mahantaṃ*).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2. <i>catv-ādi-nava-aṭṭitaṃ</i>
<i>terasādi-aṭṭhāyukaṃ</i>
<i>parittaṃ nāma dasādi-</i>
<i>paṇṇarasāṭṭitaṃ tathā.</i> | <i>ca tādī nava-aṭṭitaṃ</i>
<i>terasādi aṭṭhāyukaṃ</i>
<i>parittaṃ nāma dasādi-</i>
<i>pannarasāṭṭitaṃ 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 (*parittaṃ*); likewise that [which comes into range] after ten and so on [up to] fifteen [consciousness-moments] have passed

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3. <i>sattādidvāyukaṃ atiparittaṃ</i>
<i>nāma vibhūtaṃ</i>
<i>pan' ekāḍipañcātītaṃ</i>
<i>soḷasādidvādasāyukaṃ.</i> | <i>sattādidvāyukaṃ atiparittaṃ</i>
<i>nāma ekādi</i>
<i>pañcātīta-soḷasādi</i>
<i>dvādasāyukaṃ vibhūtaṃ.</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- (v. 171)

¹³⁷ *atimahantaṃ mahantaṃ parittaṃ atiparittaṃ ceti pañcadvāre, manodvāre pana vibhūtaṃ avibhūtaṃ 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. *athāpi chasattātūtaṃ chasatta-aṭṭaṃ*
ekādasadasāyukaṃ ekā-dasadasāyukamattaṃ
gocarāvibhūtaṃ nāma avibhūtaṃ nāma gocaraṃ
vuttaṃ tabbheda viññunā. cattāri-pañcadvārika.
 (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.

5. *catudhātimahantādi- pañcadvārikagocaraṃ*
vibhūtāvibhūtaṃ pana vibhūtāvibhūtaṃ pana
manodvārikagocaraṃ ti. manodvārikagocaraṃ.
 (v. 172ef)

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-mhṭ 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-mhṭ 122,7ff.) = Nāmac vv. 42–48

Abhidh-s-sv **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 *asekkhānaṃ catu cattāṇisa sekkhānaṃ uddise*
chappaññāsāvasesānaṃ catupaññāsa sambhavā.
 Abhidh-s [4.48]

1. *kāme dvādasa puggalā* (Identical except:)
sekkhānaṃ catutālisaṃ
anāgāmīnaṭṭhatālisaṃ *anāgāmīnaṭṭhatālisaṃ*
dvisekkhānaṃ ca paññāsaṃ (v.l. *anāgāmīnaṃ ṭṭhatālisaṃ*)
(v. 42)

In the sense realm there are twelve persons: Those who have completed the training have forty-four [*cittas*]. Never-returns have forty-eight [*cittas*] and two kinds of trainee have fifty [*cittas*].

2. *maggatṭhānaṃ ekam ekam* *maggatṭhānaṃ* (v.l. *ṭṭhānaṃ*) *ekam*
rāgīnaṃ catupaññāsaṃ *ekam catunnaṃ catupaññāsaṃ*
dvayaṇ ca ekatālisaṃ *dvayaṇ ca ekatālisaṃ*
sattatiṃsa yathākkaman ti. *sattatiṃsaṇ 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. *ayaṃ kāmapuggalānaṃ yathālābhanayo.*
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 catubhūmināṃ *kamato catubhūmināṃ* (v.l. *ṃmīnaṃ*)
asekkhānaṃ ekatiṃsaṃ *asekkhānaṃ ekatiṃsaṃ* (v.l. *ekatiṃsa*)
dvattiṃsekatīṃsadvayaṃ. *dvattiṃsekatīṃsadvayaṃ.*
(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 catubhūmināṃ* *tisekkhānaṃ pañcatīsaṃ*
bhavanti pañcatīsa ca
chattiṃsa pañcatīsa ca *chattiṃsadve-pañcatīsaṃ*
pañcatīsa yathākkamaṃ. (v.l. *chatt°*).
(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.

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|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 7. <i>maggat̥hānaṃ ekam ekam</i> | <i>maggat̥hānaṃ ekam ekam</i> |
| <i>rāgīnaṃ catubhūmināṃ</i> | <i>rāgīnaṃ catubhūmināṃ</i> |
| <i>ekūnatāḷisaṃ tāḷisaṃ</i> | <i>ekūnatāḷisaṃ tāḷisaṃ</i> |
| <i>ekūnatāḷisadvayaṃ.</i> | <i>ekūnatāḷisadvayaṃ.</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 aṭṭha puggalā</i> ¹⁴³ | <i>āruppe aṭṭhapuggalā</i> |
| ¹⁴⁴ <i>tatthāsekkhānaṃ kamato</i> | <i>tattha sekkhānaṃ kamato</i> |
| <i>pañnarasa cuddasāpi</i> | <i>pañnarasa cuddasā pi</i> |
| <i>terasa dvādasāpi ca</i> | <i>terasa dvādasā pi</i> (v.l. <i>dvi</i>) <i>ca.</i> |
| <i>bhūmikkamaṃ tisekkhānaṃ.</i> | |
- (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>vīsaṃ ekūnavīsaṃ ca</i> | <i>bhūmikkamaṃ hi sekkhānaṃ</i> |
| <i>aṭṭhārasa sattarasa</i> | <i>vīsaṃ ekūnavīsaṃ ca</i> |
| <i>maggat̥hānaṃ ekam</i> | <i>aṭṭhārasa sattarasa</i> |
| <i>ekam catunnaṃ catubhūmināṃ.</i> | <i>maggat̥hānaṃ 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 *catunnaṃ* for *rāgīnaṃ*.

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 unmetrical 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>puthujjanānaṃ sesānaṃ</i>	<i>sesānaṃ puthujjanānaṃ</i>
<i>cātuvīsaṃ ca tevīsaṃ</i>	<i>cātuvīsaṃ ca tevīsaṃ</i>
<i>dvāvīsaṃ ekavīsaṃ ca hoti</i>	<i>bāvīsaṃ ekavīsaṃ ca hoti</i>
<i>cittaṃ bhūmikkamaṃ ti.</i>	<i>cittaṃ bhūmikkamaṃ.</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 ślokaś 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. *heṭṭhimā brahmalokamhā*
patitā mahatī silā

identical except *aṭṭhatāḷisaṃ*

(v. 265)

¹⁴⁵ *idāni pārisesanayena labbhamānavīthiccittāni dassetuṃ asekkhānaṃ* ty ādim āha. *tattha asekkhānaṃ khīṇāsavānaṃ tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca vīsati kriyāni ca arahattaphalaṃ cā ti catucattāḷisa vīthiccittāni vīthisambhavānurūpena uddise. sekkhānaṃ sattanaṃ tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca āvajjana-dvayaṃ ca ekavīsati kusalāni ca diṭṭhivicikicchāvajjitasa[34]ttākusalāni ca heṭṭhimaphalattayaṃ cā ti chapaññāsa vīthiccittāni puggalasambhavānurūpaṃ uddise. avasesānaṃ catunnaṃ puthujjanānaṃ tevīsati kāmavipākāni ca āvajjanadvayaṃ ca dvādasākusalāni ca sattarasa lokiya kusalāni cā ti catupaññāsa vīthiccittāni puggalasambhavānurūpaṃ uddise; ayaṃ ukkaṭṭhavasena uddeso. puggalasambhavānurūpena paṇ’ ettha evaṃ daṭṭhabbo; asekkhānaṃ bhedo natthi. catunnaṃ maggaṭṭhānaṃ ekekaṃ attano attano maggacittam eva. anāgāmīnaṃ aṭṭhacattāḷisaṃ. dvinnāṃ sekkhānaṃ phalaṭṭhānaṃ paññāsa. tihetukaputhujjanānaṃ catupaññāsa. duhetukāhetukānaṃ ekatāḷisaṃ. duggati-ahetukānaṃ sattatiṃsa labbhanti.*

Abhidh-s-sv C^e 33.33–34.¹⁰ (§ 193)

ahorattena ekena

oggatā aṭṭhatāḷisa

A great rock fell from the lowest Brahma-world.

In one day and night it descended forty-eight

2. *yojanānaṃ saḥassāni*

catumāsehi bhūmikā

identical except *bhūmigā*,

evaṃ vuttappamāṇake

vuttappamāṇena, and

sāyaṃ heṭṭhimabhūmikā.

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 cāparaṃ

identical

saṭṭhi c' eva saḥassāni

ubbedhena pakāsītā.

= v. 267

From this, five million seven hundred and sixty thousand *yojanas* have been revealed as its height.

4. *yojanesu pi vuttesu*

hitvā kāmappamāṇakaṃ

sesānaṃ vasavattīnaṃ

identical except *sesāni*

pārisajjānaṃ antaraṃ.

(v. 268)

c *sesāni* 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 paññāsaṃ*

satasahassāni cāparaṃ

aṭṭha c' eva saḥassāni

yojanāni pavuccare.

tato hi pañca paññāsa

satasahassāni cāparaṃ

aṭṭha c' eva saḥassāni

yojanānaṃ 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 yojanaṃ</i>	identical except <i>brahmabhūmisu ...</i>
<i>taṃ pamānā va daṭṭhabbā</i>	<i>tappamāṇā ... nayagāhena ...</i>
<i>nayaggāhena dhīmatā.</i>	(v. 270)

b *yojanā* Sīmāvis; **c** *tappamāṇā* 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 aṭṭhārasa</i>	identical except
<i>lakkhā ca pañca nahutā</i>	<i>lakkhāpañcanahutāni ... 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 Brahmaloaka, 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 dvitālīśasahassayojano Yugandharappamāṇo Sineruno pañcamālindo cātummahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ bhūmi nāma. tadupari dvitālīśasahassayojanaṃ Sinerumatthakaṃ Tāvatiṃsabhavanaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ bhūmi nāma. tadupari dvitālīśasahassayojanaṃ ṭhānaṃ Yāmānaṃ bhūmi; evaṃ yāva Vasavattibhūmi dvitālīśasahassayojane* (v.l. *yojana-ṭṭhāne*) *tiṭṭhati; tasmā manussabhūmito yāva Vasavattibhūmi dvīsata-*

in Abhidh-s and Abhidh-s-mh̃. As in the preceding cases, Chapāṭa 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' etaṃ vuccati porāṇehi*, and, after the borrowed stanzas, adds his own stanza saying that the borrowed stanzas were written by a *ṭīkā* commentator (*esā ca vicāraṇā ṭīkacariyamatenā katā*, Sīmāvis 70). The variants of Sīmāvis mostly agree with the version of Nāmac.

B.3.5 Ariyavaṃsa, *Maṇisāramañjūsā* (A.D. 1466,¹⁴⁹ Burma)

B.3.5.1 Maṇis I 15,²⁰⁻²² (ad Abhidh-s-mh̃ 53,6-25; vv. 1-5 of the *Ganthārambhakathā*)

hoti c' ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

vatthuttayassa paṇāmo paṇāmo gurunattano

paṭiññā pubbapañcakaṃ 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 saḥassāni ca yojanāni honti. Brahmapārisajjādayo tayo Brahmāno pañcapaññāsasatasahassasattasahassayojane samatale paṭhamabhūmiṭṭhāne tiṭṭhanti; evaṃ dutiyatatiyabhūmika-Brahmāno pi taṃtaṃpamāṇesu samatalesu dutiyatatiyabhūmisu tiṭṭhanti. catuttha-bhūmiyaṃ pana Vehapphalāsāññasattā taṃ pamāṇe samatale ṭhāne tiṭṭhanti. tatopari pañca-Suddhāvāsā taṃtaṃpamāṇesu pañcasu uparūpariṭṭhānesu tiṭṭhanti. cattāro arūpa-Brahmāno pi taṃtaṃpamāṇesu pañcasu uparūpariṭṭhānesu tiṭṭhanti. cattāro arūpa-Brahmāno pi catusu thānesu tiṭṭhanti; tasmā manussabhūmito ābhavaggaṃ sattakoṭi ca aṭṭhārasalakkhā ca pañcanahutāni ca cha saḥassāni ca yojanāni honti.

Abhidh-s-sv 36,12-26 (§ 205)

¹⁴⁹ Maṇis II 459,¹²: *aṭṭhavīsādhika-aṭṭhasatasakkarājamhi* (= 828 sakkarājam = 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 Ariyavaṃsa summarizes the content of the five stanzas forming the beginning of Sumaṅgala’s Abhidh-s-mhṭ (53,6–25). Ariyavaṃsa 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 [1.3])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

“*rūpaṃ ’vacaraṭī ty ettha*” “*rūpe ’vacaraṭī*” *ti vā*
ñhānūpacārato vāpi taṃ rūpāvacaraṃ bhava 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.

Ariyavaṃsa 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 *rūpaṃ*, *kāme* with *rūpe*, and *kāmāvacaraṃ* with *rūpāvacaraṃ*, 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-nt are *pratīkas* from Abhidh-av.

B.3.5.3 Maṇis I 115,19–21 (ad Abhidh-s-mhṭ 58,32ff. ad Abhidh-s 1,10–12 [1.3])

hoti c’ ettha:

And there is [this stanza] in this connection:

“*arūpaṃ caraṭī ty ettha*” “*arūpe ’vacaraṭī*” *ti vā*
ñhānūpacārato vāpi taṃ arūpāvacaraṃ bhava 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, Ariyavaṃsa now adjusts the stanza formulated in Abhidh-av-nt for *kāmāvacara* to the *arūpāvacara*, see B.3.5.2.

however did not enable one to understand the meaning everywhere (*porāṇehi anekāpi katā yā pana vaṇṇanā | na tāhi sakkā sabbattha attho viññātave idha*). Since Ariyavaṃsa 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, itikāyo. tāhi vaṇṇanāhi ti idam viññātave ti ettha karaṇaṃ.*

B.3.5.4 Mañis I 165,2–5 = Abhidh-av-ñṭ I 183 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30), see B.3.2.1

Ariyavaṃsa here borrows the stanza from Abhidh-av-ñṭ including the preceding prose text (Mañis I 164f.).

B.3.5.5 Mañis I 167,3–15 = Abhidh-av-ñṭ I 186 (ad Abhidh-av 2,30), see B.3.2.2

B.4. Grammar¹⁵¹

B.4.1. Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara 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:

*paṭhamā-v-upasaggaṭṭhe kesaṇ catthe nipātasaddāna
līṅgādike ca suddhe 'bhihite 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 Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara Buddhappīya whose teacher was Ānanda Tambapaṇṇiddhaja (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 kammādisaṃsaṭṭho, suddho cā ti duvidho. tattha kammādīsū dutiyādīnaṃ vidhīyamānattā kammādisaṃsaggarahito līṅgasāṅkhyāpari-*

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:

1. *avatvā etimānan ti etimāsam* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *udīraṇaṃ sunaṃhisu ca* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]) *suttana vuttavidhinivāraṇaṃ*.

Not saying *etimānaṃ* (gen.pl.m.), the expression *etimāsam* — (gen.pl.f.)¹⁵⁵ wards off the rule expressed by the sutta *sunaṃhisu ca*.¹⁵⁶

māṇayutto, tabbinimuttupasaggādipadatthabhūto ca suddho saddattho idha liṅgattho nāma. yo pana ākhyāta-kitaka-taddhita-samāsehi vutto kammādisaṃsaṭṭho attho, so pi dutiyādīnaṃ puna attanā vattabbassa attha-visesassābhāvena avisayattā, liṅgathamattassa 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 *saṃ*, *sā*.

¹⁵⁶ Kacc 89 [2.1.30]: and before the endings *-su*, *-naṃ*, 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]) *ādisuttēna itthilīṅge va saṃsāttam pattaṃ siyā tasmā iti dīpitaṃ visayaṃ tesan ti*.

The state of [having the endings] *-saṃ*, *-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. *saṃ*, and *sā*) has been explained in that way (*iti*; i.e. with rule 63 [2.1.12]).

These ślokaś (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 *saṃ* 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] *-saṃ*, *-sā* [in the locative and genitive singular].

¹⁵⁸ *ettha hi “etimānan” ti vattabbe kasmā etimāsan ti vuttan ti. nanu nāññāṃ sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttēna sabbato naṃ saṃsānaṃ ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *vuttavidhi saṃsānaṃ ādesaṃ sabbanāmadvande nivāretī ti? saccaṃ. tathāpi “etimāsan” ti vattabbe kiñci payojananārasambhavato yadi “etimānan” ti vuccēyya “purisānaṃ cittānaṃ” ti dvīsu liṅgesu viya sunaṃhiṣu cā ti* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]) *suttēna dīghaṃ katan ti viññāpeyya na itthilīṅgākāranto ti tasmā taṃ nivāretvā saṃsānaṃ visayabhūtaṃ itthilīṅgaṃ eva ñāpetuṃ etimāsan ti* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *vuttaṃ. idam eva hi nāññāṃ sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttassa nivāraṇe payojanaṃ.*

Kacc-nidd C^c 29,15–25

For, if *etimānaṃ* should be said here, why [then] is *etimāsaṃ* said? Does not the rule stated [with the words]: *sabbato naṃ saṃsānaṃ* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]: “After a pronominal stem [the ending] *-naṃ* [of the genitive plural becomes] *-saṃ* [or] *-sānaṃ*”) together with the sutta: *nāññāṃ sabbanāmikaṃ* (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 *-saṃ* [and] *-sānaṃ*. True. Even though, when *etimāsaṃ* should be said, [but] when on account of any other cause *etimānaṃ* would be said, then one would make known that [the final vowel] is made long by the sutta *sunaṃhiṣu ca* (Kacc 89 [2.1.30]: “And [the final vowels of nominal stems become long] also before [the endings] *-su*, *-naṃ*, [and] *-hi*”) as with respect to the two genders (masculine and neuter) [as shown by the examples] “*purisānaṃ*, *cittānaṃ*”, [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 *etimānaṃ*) *etimāsaṃ* has been said, in order to make known only the feminine gender as one having a special [ending] before *-saṃ* [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 Chapāṭa 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) Chapāṭa presents various interpretations and quotes a number of sources (*Nyāsappadīpapakaraṇa* = *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 “etimānan” ti etimāsam* (Kacc 63 [2.1.12]) *udīraṇaṃ sabbanāmānukaraṇasuddhanāmassa sambhavā*.

Not having said *etimānaṃ* (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]) *ādikaṃ suttaṃ sabbato ty* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *ādikaṃ suttaṃ nivāretuṃ asamatthaṃ sabbanāmānukaraṇe*.

The rule beginning with *nāññam*¹⁵⁹ is not capable of obstructing the rule beginning with *sabbato*¹⁶⁰ regarding the imitation of pronouns.

-*sānaṃ*. For only this is the motivation with respect to the obstruction of the sutta *nāññam* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]).

¹⁵⁹ *nāññam sabbanāmikaṃ*.

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 pronominale.

Senart 1871: 85

¹⁶⁰ *sabbato naṃ saṃsānaṃ*.

Kacc 168 [2.3.8]

Après les thèmes pronominaux, le génitif pluriel se fait en *saṃ sānaṃ*.

Senart 1871: 86

3. *sutte hi etimāsaddā suddhanāman ti dīpitā
lakkhaṇattā etimāsaṃ vuttānaṃ piṭakattaye.*

For in the rule, the words *etā* [and] *imā* are shown as simple nouns because of the characterization of *etimāsaṃ* as said (i.e. used) in the Tipiṭaka.

4. *“suddhanāman” ti ce vade kinnu saṃ-kāriyaṃ bhave
sabbato naṃ saṃsānan ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *sabbanāmesu vidhinā*

If one says “simple noun” (*suddhanāma*) why indeed is [there] a replacement of *saṃ* on account of the rule for pronouns that says, “**After a pronominal stem the -naṃ [of the genitive plural becomes] -saṃ [or] -sānaṃ**”?

5. *sabbanāmapadatthā hi sabbanāmānukaraṇā
sabbanāmābhavē 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 Saddhammajotipāla states that “this is the universal intention of the teachers of old” (*ayaṃ porāṇakācariyānaṃ samānādhīpāyo ti*). Since, however, the stanzas summarize the preceding prose text¹⁶¹ — a common practice in commentaries

¹⁶¹ *atha vā piṭakattaye āgatā etā-imā-saddā mukhaṃ viya ekantasabbanāmikā honti, sutte pana tesāṃ lakkhaṇattāya bhadanta-Mahākaccāyanattherena ṭhapitattā ādāse mukhanimittaṃ viya anukaraṇaṃ nāma, anukaraṇaṇ ca nāma suddhanāme antogadhaṃ. pāliyaṃ āgatasaddapadatthakattā udāharāṇa-vasena ānūtā pana etimāsaddā atthapadatthakā honti, idaṇ ca nāññaṃ sabbanāmikan ti* (Kacc 166 [2.3.6]) *suttaṃ ekantasabbanāmadvande nivāretuṃ samatthaṃ, na anukaraṇabhūte suddhanāme, tasmā etimāsaṃ ti vuttaṃ. yady evaṃ, kathaṃ sabbato naṃ saṃsānan ti* (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]) *suttēna saṃ-kāriyaṃ siyā suddhanāmattā ti. “yaṃ pakataṃ tadanukaraṇaṃ” ti (?) vuttattā ekantasuddhanāmābhāvā sabbanāmasadisattā ca saṃ-kāriyaṃ 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 Chapāṭa’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’ ettha :

And there are [these stanzas] in this connection :

1. *avatvā etimānan ti etimāsam udīraṇaṃ
saṃsāsv ekavacanesu niccavidhiṃ viññāpetum.*

Not having said *etimānaṃ* (gen.pl.m.), the expression *etimāsaṃ* (gen.pl.f.) [only] serves to make known the constant rule for [the endings] *saṃ* and *sā* [as substitutes] in the singular.

2. *yadā hi etimāsaddā ekavacanasamāsāttaṃ
paraṃ siyā ā-kārassa niccaṃ i-kāriyaṃ bhavē ti.*

For, when *saṃ* and *sā* in the singular follow the words *etā* and *imā* the *ā* is always replaceable by *i*.

because they have been posited (*ghapitattā*) by the Venerable Mahā-kaccāyana Thera with their definition (*lakkhaṇattāya*), they are only an imitation [of *etā* and *imā* in the Tipiṭaka] 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, ***nāññaṃ sabbanāmicam*** (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, ***etimāsaṃ*** is said. [Objection:] If [that] is so, how can there be a replacement by *saṃ* following the sutta ***sabbato naṃ saṃsānaṃ*** (Kacc 168 [2.3.8]), since they belong to the simple nouns (*suddhanāma*)? [Reply:] The replacement by *saṃ* 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 Falqués who tried to solve the riddle of the comparison (*mukhaṃ viya*) in the above passage (email, 7/4/2014).]

These ślokaś (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 vacanaṃ. etimāsan ti payoge sati pi vibhattādesa saṃ-sadde ekavacanādesassa saṃ-saddassābhāvā* (so B^c; C^e °desassāsaṃ°) *ā-kārassa i-kāriyaṃ na hoti, ekavacanādesesu pana saṃsāsu paresu niccaṃ hotī ti ñāpeti.*

Kacc-nidd C^e 31,1–5

Alternatively, not saying *etimānaṃ* (gen.pl.m.), it says *etimāsaṃ* (gen.pl.f.). Even though, however, there is the employment of *etimāsaṃ*, the replacement of *i* instead of *ā* does not occur when *saṃ* is not a replacement for the singular, even though the word *saṃ* 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 *saṃ* 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^c instead of C^e), and the corresponding corrections of my translation.]

B.4.3 Saṅgharakkhita, *Moggallānapañcikaṭṭhā*, *Sāratthavilāsini* (between A.D. 1232/36 and 1266/67)¹⁶³

B.4.3.1 Mogg-p-ṭ 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 kattukammaṭṭhaṃ kurute kriyaṃ

*sā (!) kattā nāmappayutto payutto*¹⁶⁴ *vā ty ayam 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 *Pañcika* which has been taken up only partly in the last sentence of the preceding prose portion of Mogg-p-ṭ.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Among the number of treatises and commentaries written by Saṅgharakkhita, the *Moggallānapañcikaṭṭhā* is one of the last, if not the last. This is documented by intertextual links. Based on them we know that the *Subodhālankārapurāṇaṭṭhā* 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 Āraṇyaka 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 *Moggallānapañcikaṭṭhā* 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 (*attapadhāno kiriyaṃ, yo nibbatteti kāraṇaṃ, appayutto payutto vā, sa kattā ti pavuccati*).

¹⁶⁵ *kiṃ lakkhaṇo ’yaṃ kattā icc āha: kattari*cc (Mogg-p 51,12) *ādi. “gacchati devadatto” cc ādo kattari patiṭṭhitam* (Mogg-p 51,12), “*pacaty odanam devadatto*” cc ādo *kamme patiṭṭhitam kiriyaṃ karoṭi ti* (Mogg-p 51,12–13) *sambandho. karoṭi ti* (Mogg-p 51,13) *ca iminā anvatthabyapadeso va siddho ’yaṃ kattu vohāro ti nāpeti. kenaci payujjamāno pi sake kamme*

B.4.3.2 Mogg-p-ṭ B^c 116,2–7 (ad Mogg-p 76,14f. [2.40])

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *siddhassābhimukhikāramattam āmantaṇaṃ siyā
attho katābhimukho hi kriyāyaṃ viniyujjate.*

ab v.1. °bhimukhībhāva°

[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. *āmantaṇaṃ na vākyattho padato va paṭṭito
natth' evāmantaṇaṃ loke vidhātābena vatthunā
taṃ yathā “bhava rāje” ti nippannattho “bhava” 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 anubhavaṃ ti payutto vā padhānabhāvenā ti
(Mogg-p 51,12–13) *vuttaṃ.*

Mogg-p-ṭ 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-pañcika*]: **or [an agent] applied because of its being important**.

[The passage referred to here is Mogg-p 51,12–13: *kattari kamme vā patiṭṭhitam kiriyaṃ 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, *Subodhālankāra-abhinavaṭīkā* (after thirteenth century A.D.; possibly fifteenth century A.D.¹⁶⁷)

B.5.1.1 Subodh-anṭ 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:

1. ¹⁶⁸—*atthappatītiyaṃ saddabyāpāro tividho bhava,*
mukhyo lakḥhaṇabyañjanasabhāvo 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 (*lakḥhaṇa*), and of a suggestive nature (*vyañjanasabhāva*); but here¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Mogg-p 76,14f.: *abhimukhī katvā lapanam āmantanaṃ* (v.l. *āmantane-naṃ*) *tassa kriyārūpattā nāmatthe saṅgaho*.

¹⁶⁷ Neither date nor authorship is clear. Jaini (Subodh: xivf.) is tempted to identify this Nissaya with the *Alaṅkāraṇissaya* 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’ etaṃ vuccati*, the introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer. It is immediately followed there by the third stanza of the Subodh-anṭ. 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. *abhidhāparapariyāyo byāpāro paṭhamo bhava,
dhanantāparapariyāyo 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 nirantaratthesu lakkhaṇā tu tirohite
atthetaro tu vākyassa atthe yeva pavattati.* ⁻¹⁷⁰

a *nirantaratthe 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 tadattho pi tidhā mato.*

5. *vācco lakkhaṇiyo byaṅgyo 'cc evaṃ saddesu vācako* ⁻¹⁷²
jātiḡṇakriyādabbabhedena so catubbidho.

a *ṇiko Pay B^e* **b** *' evaṃ 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 (*byañjaka*). 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,
jātyādinam 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 nirantaratthe vattamāno mukhyo* (Pay C^e 94, n. 5 *mokkho*), “*mañcā ugghosanti*” (Pay C^e *ukkasantī*)” *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 denotated 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. *upacārabahuttēna bhede sati pi tassa tu
byañjako tu anaññattā visuṃ 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 ślokaś take up the subjects discussed in the preceding prose portion (Subodh-anṭ 25,13ff.), but are closer to the respective section of Saṅgharakkhita’s Subhoddh-ṭṭ (22,21ff.; thirteenth century A.D.). Parts of these stanzas (1, 3, 4, and 5ab) have parallels in Vanaratana Medhaṅkara’s Pay (thirteenth century A.D.) where they are introduced by *ten’ etaṃ vuccatī*, the usual introductory expression for noncanonical stanzas in the *aṭṭhakathā* literature. Hence it may be that the stanzas quoted in Subodh-anṭ 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 *Mahāvamsa*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Jaini (Subodh-anṭ 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.; *Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathācariyā āhaṃsu*, Ras C^e I 97, etc.; this has already been stated by Matsumura (1992: xlviiiif).

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 *bhavanti' 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: xlviiiif.) 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 vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ* “*Buddho*” *ti padam uttamaṃ*,
natthi tena samaṃ loke aññaṃ sotarasāyanaṃ.
 “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 vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ* “*Dhammo*” *ti padam uttamaṃ*,
natthi tena samaṃ loke aññaṃ sotarasāyanaṃ.
 “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 vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ* “*Saṅgho*” *ti padam uttamaṃ*,
natthi tena samaṃ loke aññaṃ sotarasāyanaṃ.
 “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 mukhaṃ mukhaṃ nāma yaṃ vattati mukhe sadā*,
dullabhaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ sabbasampattidāyakaṃ.
 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 vuttaṃ, ten' ettha, yathāha, vuttaṃ hi, vuttaṃ h' etaṃ 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 yaṃ ce manasi vattati,
dullabhaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ sabbasampattidāyakaṃ.*

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 sotaṃ sotaṃ va yaṃ suṇāti jano ayaṃ
dullabhaṃ Buddhavacanaṃ sabbasampattidāyakaṃ.*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 kavacaṃ 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. *evaṃ vidhoro ghoṇa haḷāhaḷaviso sadā,
Buddho ti vacanaṃ sutvā santuṭṭho dāsi jīvitaṃ.*

A snake of this sort, frightful [and] always full of deadly poison, having become satisfied after hearing the utterance “Buddha”, granted life.

9. *soṇṇapupphattayaṃ cāpi mahagghaṃ bahulaṃ 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 e’ 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.

*katūpakāramattānaṃ sarantā keci mānūsā,
jīvitam denti Somo 'va Somadattassa attano ti.*¹⁸⁵

a *akāū*° B°

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° II 31,6–10 = Matsumura 1992: 86)

*honti*¹⁸⁶ *c' ettha*:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *aho acchariyaṃ etaṃ abbhutaṃ lomahaṃsanaṃ
appaṣa puñṇakamassa ānubhāvamahantatā.*

Oh, wonderful [is] this — strange, [and] exciting:
the greatness of power of such a trifling meritorious deed.

2. *aṭṭe bhikkhusaṃghassa datvāna sakkarodakaṃ
laddho sodadhīpāṇiyaṃ madhuraṃ parivattitaṃ 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° II 132,10–20 = Saddhamma-s 89,10–22)

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *aho dhammānubhāvo 'yaṃ Sugatassa mahesino
ajātiṃ jātimaṭṭaṃ so karoti lokapūjitaṃ.*

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. *niddhanaṃ dhanavantam ca akulīnaṃ 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. *sakaṇṭakā vatī dhammo apāyagamanañjase
susajjito mahāmaggo saggalokassa gāmīno.*

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 sādārā*

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 'yaṃ dhammanibho sutvā laddho mānusiṃ siriṃ
ko taṃ dhammaṃ na seveyya atthakāmo jano hi hitaṃ ti.*

a dhammi° 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 Dhammakitti) 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 Dhammakitti'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) ekādasamaṃ*) corresponds to Ras IX 1 (= Ras C^e II 131,27–32,25, *siluttassa vatthum paṭhamam*).

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' ettha* expression in Saddhamma-s, its author obviously did not use the expression independently.

B.7.2 Paññāsāmī, *Sāsanavaṃsa* (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' ettha*. 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' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *maccudhammo ca nām' esa illajjo ca anottappī*
tilokaggaṃ va ādāya gacchī pag aṇṇesu.

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 māretuṃ yeva ārabhi*
goṇaṃ laddhāna lokamhi payojanaṃ va ettakaṃ.

¶ *etthakaṃ* Sās E°

¹⁸⁹ Saddhamma-s 82,30–84,24 (*migapotakassa vatthuṃ aṭṭhamam*) corresponds to Ras V 1 (= Ras C° II 1,4–2,29 = Matsumura 1992: 3,2–4,28 *migapotakkassa vatthuṃ paṭhamam*). 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 saṅkhārā ti* or *aho vata saṅkhāradhammā ti* or *aho vata acchariyā saṅkhāradhammo*; those in Sās 5, 7, 9 (B.7.1.2–4) by *te mahātherā (dutiyaṃ tatiyaṃ) saṅgāyitvā parinibbāyimsū 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 nindāguṇaṃ guṇaṃ idha
na vijānāti eso hi māretuṃ yeva ārabhī ti.*

b *tinda°*, *ninda°*, *bhinda°*, *hinda°* Sās E^c v.1.; *hindagūnaṃ* Sās B^c

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' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *iddhimanto ca ye therā Paṭhamasaṅgītiṃ katvā
sāsanaṃ paggaḥitvāna maccūvasaṃ vasam pattā.*

c Sās E^c om. *sāsanaṃ paggaḥitvāna*

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
nibbāyiṃsu vasaṃ maccu patvā te chinnaṃpakkhā va.*

b *jahitvā* Sās E^c

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 amhākaṃ amhākaṃ gahaṇe pana
maccuno natthi bhāro ca evaṃ dhāreyya paṇḍito ti.*

c *sāro* Sās B^c

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^c, 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 Dutiyassaṅgitiṃ katvā
sāsanam paggaḥitvāna maccūvasaṃ vasaṃ 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 vasaṃ gamiṃ
kathaṃ yeva mayaṃ muttā tato ārakā mucanā ti.*

b gamuṃ Sās B^c

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
maccūvasaṃ va gacchimsu abbhagabbhaṃ va bhākarō.*

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 mayaṃ pi gacchāma
ko nāma maccunā mucce maccūparāyaṇā sattā.*

And as these went away so we, too, go. Who can be free from death? Beings are destined to death.

3. *tasmā hi paṇḍito poso nibbānaṃ pana accutaṃ
tass' eva sacchikattāya puññaṃ 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 ślokaś (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 kāsikaṃ
mahagghaṃ kaccachinnaṃchinnaṃ mahussāhena chindati.*

c *kaccabhinnaṃbhinnaṃ Sās B^e kacca jinnaṃjinnaṃ Sās E^e v.1.*

Just as a wicked monkey of little worth energetically tears up a priceless Benares cloth like the tearing of grass,

2. *evaṃ adhammavādī pāpo dhammavādigaṇaṃ subhaṃ
mahussāhena bhindayi aho acchariyo ayaṃ.*

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 āsuṃ bhinditabbehi bhedakā
bhūmito va bhavagganto, aho kammaṃ ajānatan ti.*

The schimatics 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 ślokaś (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. *imesaṃ pana āraddhaṃ na kiccaṃ yāva niṭṭhitaṃ
na tāva ādiyissanti Maccu natthi apekkhanā.*

d *āpekkhanā B^e*

2. *nikkāruṇiko hi esa balakkārena ādiya
rodamānaṃ va ñātīnaṃ anicchantaṃ 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 bhikkhūnaṃ bhavanti idha verino.*

A monk should, indeed, be very far from women. Women are indeed the enemies of monks here.

2. *tāva tiṭṭhantu duppaññā mayaṃ porāṇikāpi ca
mahāpaññā vināsaṃ 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
vissāsaṃ 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. *ahaṃ mahallako homi duppañño pariyattikaṃ
uggahaṃ mahussāhena na sakkhissāmi jānituṃ.*
2. *evaṃ ca nātimaññeyya nāppossukkatam āpajje
saddhamme chekakāmo va ussāhaṃ 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. *vuḍḍhapabbajito bhikkhu mahallako pi duppañño
āpajji chekataṃ 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 seṭṭhassa.*

How great and wonderful are the bodily relics, what to speak of the great living Buddha?

2. *evaṃ anussaritivāna uppādeyya pasādaṃ
Buddhaguṇesu bāhullaṃ gāravaṇ ca kare jano 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. *sāsanaṃ nāma rājānaṃ nissāya tiṭṭhate idha
micchādiṭṭhikarājāno sāsanaṃ dūśenti 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 paggaṇhant’ eva sāsanaṃ
evaṇ ca sati ākāse ulūrājā va dibbatī 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 vāñijānaṃ va gharagoḷikarūpakaṃ
taṃ taṃ disaṃ bhamitvā va sīsaṃ ṭhapesi uttaraṃ*

¶ *ṭhabeti* Sās B^c

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. *evaṃ lokamhi sattā ca sandhicutīnaṃ antare
yathā tathā bhamitvā va ante ṭhapani santanaṃ ti.*

¶ *santanun ti* Sās B^c

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) *Namakkāraṭṭikā* (2489 = A.D. 1945, Burma) 29 (ad v. 2)

honti c' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *ṭhānāṭṭhānaṃ vipākaṇ ca ṇāṇaṃ paṭipadaṃ ṇāṇaṃ
anekadhātulokaṇ ca sattānaṃ adhimuttikaṃ,*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. *indriyaparāparaṃ ca jhānādinam saṃkilesaṃ
vodānaṃ vuṭṭhānaṃ ñāṇaṃ pubbenivāsānussatiṃ*,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. *sattānaṃ cutūpapātaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ ñāṇaṃ ti
das’ imāni Buddhassa cāsādhāraṇāni ñāṇāni ti*.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 (*dasabalañāṇa*), 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)

jhānāṭhānaṃ vipākaṃ (Ss *vipāko*) *ca ñāṇaṃ* (Ss, Vism-sn *maggam*)
sabbattha gāminiṃ (Ss, Vism-sn *°gāminiṃ*)
anekadhātuyo (Ss *nānādhātuyo*, Vism-sn *°dhātuto*) *lokaṃ* (Ss *loke*)
adhimuttiṃ (Ss *°mutti*) *ca pāṇinaṃ*.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the similar stanza in Vjb 415,19–20 ≠ Ss I 1,2–3 ≠ Vism-sn II 798,14–15:

jānāti indriyānaṃ ca paropariyātaṃ (Ss v.l. *pañcapariyantaṃ*) *muni
jhānādisaṃkilesādi* (Ss *°ādi*) *ñāṇaṃ vijjattayaṃ* (Ss, Vism-sn *vijjā°*) *tathā*.

¹⁹⁶ The author adds the following information regarding the metre: [*sā panesā sāmāññagāthā ti daṭṭhabbā*].

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' ettha*. 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' ettha :

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection :

1. *kammappaccayakamman ti, cetanā ca samīritā*
tathāpi nānākhaṇikā, puññāpuññā va cetanā.

(= Nāmar-p v. 328)

b va Nāmar-p B^e E^c c *tathāpi* Nāmar-p B^e E^c; *nānakkhaṇikā* 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 *nānākhaṇikā*. The reading in Ss does not go along with this meaning.

2. *kilesānusayasantāne, pākadhammā hi jāyare,
pahīnānusayānan tu kriyāmattaṃ 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. *janakaṃ c'ev' upatthambhaṃ upapīḍopaghātakaṃ,
catudhā kiccabhedenā kammaṃ evaṃ pavuccati.*²⁰⁵

(= Nāmar-p v. 345)

b *°pīlo°* Nāmar-p B° *°pīlo°* Nāmar-p E°

The *kamma* is called fourfold depending on the type of function: producing as well as supporting, obstructing and destroying.

4. *janeti janakaṃ pākaṃ taṃ chindat' upapīḷakaṃ,
taṃ pavattet' upatthambhaṃ taṃ ghātetvopaghātakaṃ.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 346)

d *ghātetopa°* 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 bhāsitaṃ,
pākadāyakaṃ tu yaṃ kiñci janakaṃ bhavē.*

(= 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. : *janakaṃ upatthambhakaṃ upapīḷakaṃ upaghātakaṃ ceti kiccavasena.*

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 “upapīḷakakammaṃ bahvābādhatādipaccayo-pasaṃhārena kammantarassa vipākaṃ antaranantarā vibādhati. upaghātakaṃ pana taṃ sabbaso upacchinditvā aññassa okāsaṃ deti, na pana*

6. *bādhamānakakamman tu taṃ 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. *garuṃ āsannam āciñṇaṃ kaṭattākammanā saha
kammaṃ catubbidhaṃ 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. *mahaggatānantariyaṃ garukamman ti vuccati
kataṃ cintitam āsannam āsannamarāṇa 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 samāciñṇam āciñṇan ti pavuccati
sesaṃ puñṇam apuñṇaṃ ca kaṭattākammaṃ īritam.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 351)

sayam vipākanibbattakam. evañ hi janakato imassa viseso supākaṭo” ti vādanti.

Abhidh-s-mhṭ 130,15–19

For a translation see Abhidh-s-mhṭ transl. 174.

²⁰⁷ Cf.: *garukaṃ āsannaṃ āciñṇaṃ kaṭattā kammaṃ ceti pākādānapariyāyena.*

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. *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyaṃ upapajjāpare tathā,
pariyāyavedanīyaṃ iti cāhosikammaṇā.*²⁰⁸

(= Nāmar-p v. 352)

a Nāmar-p B^e, E^e *diṭṭhadhamme vedanīyaṃ*

“[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’ evaṃ pi akkhātāṃ, 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. *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyaṃ paṭhamāṃ javanaṃ bhava
aladdhāsevanattānaṃ asamatthaṃ bhavantare.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 354)

a *diṭṭhadhamme vedanīyaṃ* Nāmar-p B^e c °*tā* va Nāmar-p B^e °*tā* 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. *vedanīyaṃ tupapajja pariyosānaṃ īritaṃ,
pariniṭṭhitakammattā vipaccati anantare.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 355)

²⁰⁸ Cf.: *diṭṭhadhammavedanīyaṃ upapajjavedanīyaṃ aparāpariyavedanīyaṃ
ahosikammaṇā 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 pariyāye pare pana,
laddhāsevanato pākaṃ janenti sati paccaye.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 356)

b *pariyāyāpare* Nāmar-p B^e E^c

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 kālātītāni sabbathā,
ucchinnataṇhāmūlāni 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 (*Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Anguttaraṅkīkā*, 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' ettha:

And there are these [stanzas] in this connection:

1. *ekādasā kāmabhavā bhavā soḷasa rūpino,
cattāro āruppakā ceti tividho bhavaṣaṅgaho.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 431)

c 'ruppakā Nāmar-p B^e E^c

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 evaṃ 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^c **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
aṇḍajā jalābujā 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,
asura ca bhavant' evaṃ catudhā yoniṣaṅgaho.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 435)

b *mānuse* Nāmar-p B^e E^c

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 nirayaṃ petā tiracchānā ca mānavā,
sabbe devā ti pañcāha pañcanimmallalocano.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 436)

b *mānavā* Nāmar-p E^c

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. *Tāvatiṃsesu devesu Vepacittāsurā gatā,²¹¹
Kālakañjāsūrā nāma gatā petesu sabbathā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 437)

c °*kañcā*° Nāmar-p B^c

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 kāmāsuggatiyo 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-ekattasaññī⁻²¹² ti samudīritā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 439)

c °*kāyā* *ekatta*° Nāmar-p E^c

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 °*kāyā* *nānatta*° Nāmar-p E^c

²¹¹ The first line (*pādas* ab) is quoted in Sumaṅgala'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. *viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo satta tīh' āruppehi heṭṭhato,
asaññettha na gayhanti viññāṇābhāvato sadā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 441)

c *gaṇhanti* 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 puthuviññāṇahānito,
tadvayam pi gahetvāna sattāvāsā naveritā.*

(= Nāmar-p v. 442)

b *paṭu°* Nāmar-p B^e E^e **c** *taṃ 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. *apāyamaḥ cutā sattā kāmādhātumhi jāyare,
sabbaṭṭhānesu jāyanti sesā kāmabhavā 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 kāmasugatimh' 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 °toparī kāmasugatimhi tahiṃ pi ca Nāmar-p B^c E^c

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. *puthujjanā va jāyanti asaṇṇāpāyabhūmisu,
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).

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ABBREVIATIONS, SIGLA, AND REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aṭṭhakathā section of the appended “Catalogue”
Aniy	Aniyata
B	Ṭikā section of the appended “Catalogue”
B ^e	Edition in Burmese script; refers to the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana 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	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Edition, publ. Buddha Sasana Council. Rangoon, 1954ff.
conj. ed.	conjecture of the editor
CSCD	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM, Version 3.0 (Igatpuri, India: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999)
E ^e	European edition
GRETEL	Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages and related Indological materials from Central and Southeast Asia (http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel.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

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**The *h*-Future of Pāli with Random Notes on
“Historical” and “Irregular” Future Forms**

Thomas Oberlies

1. 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-Māgadhī), 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 *Samprasāraṇa*, 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 Gṛhyasūtra) where the future tense interchanges with the imperative, whereas it frequently alternates with subjunctive, optative, and precativ (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 $^{\circ}i\dot{s}ya-$ was distinct in all roots which used it (in some of them as $^{\circ}[aR]i\dot{s}ya-$),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 $^{\circ}kḥ-$ 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, *dāhaṃti*, PE IV, *hohaṃti*, PE VII. All of them have a long vowel before the *-h-*. Most interesting is the first of these forms, since *esatha* corresponds in Jaugaḍa. And PE VII has *hosamti* in line 23 besides the cited *hohaṃti* 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-Māgadhī 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. *kāsaṃti*, 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. *caghatha*, 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*, *°hiī/°hī*, *°hāmo/u*, *°hittha/°hiha*, *°hinti* (see Pischel § 520–34). But even in the 1 sg. *°hiṃ* is to be met with (*pāhiṃ* "I shall drink", Uttarajjhayaṇa 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* ~ *tasiṇā*).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-Māgadhī,¹⁷ it surely belonged to the *koinē gangetique* (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)ehisi, 57, 150, nehisi, 276–77, praccanubhohisi, 198, vihāhisi, 324, (3 sg.) pajehiti, 131–32, vijehiti, 131–32, bhijjīthiti, 259, abhiśehiti, 349, hehiti, 57, (3 pl.) ehinti, 262, saṃyamehinti, 344. Hence this text also shows only forms in °hisi, °hiti and °hinti, all preceded by a long vowel.

¹⁷ Tedesco (1945 : 157) erroneously maintained that “*kāhāma* also appears in Lüders’ Old Prakṛits” (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}/Chatt̥h [cf. Sadd 320.30]); Thī 166; Dhṛp 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 *upesī*) >>
- *kāhiti* Ja VI 497.2* (B^d *kāhati*); *vyanti-kāhiti*, Dhṛp 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 (Chatt̥h *kāhisi*); Thī 57; Dhṛp 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* (Chatt̥h *kāhiti*); D III 185.6* (B^{mr} / Chatt̥h *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 Chatt̥h), 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 (*Chattṭh vahisi*)²⁶
- *parinibbāhisi*, Th 415
- (*jahāti*) *hāhisi*, Ja III 172,26*
- (*harati*) *hāhiti*, Ja VI 500,6*; *vihāhisi*, Ja I 298,26* (*parihāhisi pi-pāṭho*); Dhṛp 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^c *bhāsihi*.

²⁴ Thus to be read with Fausbøll (*ad loc.* n. 4), Berger 1961 : 32 and Chopra 1966 : 180 against E^c *lambahitī*. CS^c and Chattṭh have *lambissatī*.

²⁵ The sense of Ja V 302,8* requires *parikaḍḍhayanti* to be a future (cf. v.l. *parikaḍḍhissanti* of B, which is also the case at Ja V 302,20*, where C has *parikaḍḍhayanti* [while Fausbøll's wording is completely different; see Chopra 1966 : 180]). According to Berger (1961 : 32–34) it is to be corrected to *parikaḍḍhihinti*. 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^c *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 *hehiti*); 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*^o and *hāha*^o, the vowel following the *-h-* is always *-i-*. If we set aside the textually problematic (+*parikaḍḍhihinti*, +*paḍānihiṭe*), *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 *hehiti*/*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 *ihāhiti* (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 *jīvihiṭ*, *paññāyihinti*,³⁰ and (°*b*)*hohisi* are built upon the present stem (*jāyate*, *jīvati*, *paññāyate*, [°*b*]*hoti*).³¹ Note that, in these *h*-futures, neither *ā* nor (apart from [°*b*]*hoti*, on which see below) another long vowel precedes the *-h-*.

²⁷ Alsdorf (1962: 129 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 244]) emended *hohisi* to mere *hosi*. 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. °*yāhisi* / °*yāhii* (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* / *ajīvimha*, — *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 *°Vśya-* (see p. 164).

There are typically two scenarios of its development in Pāli. One is (1) *°Vssa-*, and the other one is (2) *°Vsa-*.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*); *essaṃ*, Ja III 535,19* (BS; CE *esaṃ* [see p. 172]); Th 60 (*pacc+*); Vin I 255,24, (*pacc+*); Sn 29 (*up+*); *essati*, Ja VI 414,27*, 416,17*; Th 192; Dh 369; S IV 379,19 (*sam+*); *essanti*, Ap 345,6 (*up+*); Ja IV 362,16* (*paccup+*); Dh 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*; *viññissanti*, 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 *karihiti* — always formed from a root which terminates in long *ā*”. On *karihiti* see p. 167 with n. 21.

³³ See Pischel § 520.

³⁴ A third possibility is *°Vsiya-* 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).

ṭhassati “he will stand (= remain)”, D I 46,10; *ṭhassanti*, D I 20,1, II 75,28; *upaṭṭhissam*, 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* (Chaṭṭh *paccuttarissāmi*)³⁹ — *paridhassati* “he will wear”, Th 969, — *pissāmi* “I shall drink”, Ja III 432,12*; IV 217,4* (Chaṭṭh; E^e *pāyāmi*, B^d *pivissāmi*); VI 152,25* (Chaṭṭh; E^e *pāyāmi* [C^{ks} *passāmi*] — *pāyāmiti pivissāmi*, cty); *pissati*, Ja VI 527,20* (Chaṭṭh; on E^e *pāssati* see below); *pissāma*, Ja I 171,18* (Chaṭṭh; 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; *°bbissati*, Th 100; *°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 °V̄Sya-futures were mostly retained (or formed) if there were no homonymous rivals (*essati*, *ñassati*, *ṭhassati*, *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 *padahessati* (< [a]pa-/pra-√dhā). *°dahessati*, which is also attested at Dh 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 *abhihessati*, 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 °iss-futures, as the examples clearly show (cf. °ñissati, °dissati, °bissati, °yissati).

often after the °issa-future (*pissāmi*, °bbissati, *hissāmi* / *hessāmi*).⁴⁵ Another means for disposing of homonymity was the use of Sanskritic forms like *pāssati* “he will drink”, Ja VI 527.20*,⁴⁶ or *pahāssaṃ* “I shall give up”, M II 100.3*. And yet another means for avoiding homonymity was, probably, recourse to the °Vsa-future (see also p. 174). This third line of development of °V̄Sya- (viz. into °V̄Sa-), 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: *esaṃ*, 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 *kāsaṃ* (see p. 177),⁴⁷ was almost completely given up, since it was detached from the °issa-form and generated with a mere -s- a suffix that is hard to recognize. The agreement of Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī points to the fact that already the *koinē gangetique* had begun to systematically replace the °Vsa-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-Māgadhī

⁴⁴ This also happened to the futures of √khyā, √jñā, and √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*, Sūyagaḍaṅga [ed. Bollée. Stuttgart 1988] I 3,2.8).

⁴⁸ It is to be noted that Ardha-Māgadhī, which developed the *h*-future to a much greater extent than Pāli, has widely abandoned both the °Vssa- and the °V̄Sa-future that go back to °V̄Sya-, 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 *ā*⁴⁹ had *°sya-* as future suffix, while other vocalic roots had *°iṣya-*, *°eṣya-* (*√i*, *√krī*, *√ji*, *√nī*, *√sī*) or *°oṣya-* (*√cyu*, *√sru*, *√sū*, *√hu*). As a terminational element⁵⁰ *°(ā)sya-* was feebly pronounced anyhow, albeit distinctly less so than *°iṣya-*, *°eṣya-*, *°oṣya-*, *°kṣya-* and the other combinations containing a cerebral. This slurred pronunciation, which weakened *°(ā)sya-* into *°(ā)s'a-* (and via **°āzə-* further to *°āhi-*), was certainly enhanced by the fact that verbs in *ā* are everyday words, i.e. words in frequent use.

Apart from *esaṃ* (see p. 172), no traces of *°V̄S(ā/i)-*futures with single *-s-* are attested in Pāli (and Ardha-Māgadhi also has only *esanti* and *dāsāmu* [see p. 172]). The degemination of *°ss(a)-* (< *°sya-*) into *°s(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): *√khyā*, *√gā* “to sing”, (*√jā/jan*), *√jñā*, *√jyā*, *√irā*, *√dā*, *√dhā*, (*√dhā* “to suck”), (*√dhyā*), *√pā* “to drink”, *√bhā*, *√yā*, (*√vā*), *√sthā*, (*√snā*), *√hā*. On roots ending in a consonant which form the *°sya*-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 *°iṣya-*.

The development⁵³ of *°(ā)sya-* into *°(ā)sʰa-* was further backed by the close conjunction of *sya*-future and *s*-aorist (on which see below). For (almost) all Skt. futures in *°C(C)āsyā-* had aorists in (single) *-S-* at their side: *gāsyati ~ agāsīt, jñāsyati ~ ajñāsam, jyāsyati ~ ajyāsiṣam, trāsyate ~ atrāsmahi, dāsyati ~ adīṣi, dhāsyati ~ adhiṣi, pāsyati ~ apāḥ / pāsta*,⁵⁴ *bhāsyati ~ abhāsīt, yāsyati ~ ayāsam, sthāsyati ~ asthiṣi, hāsyati ~ ahāsi*⁵⁵ (cf. *khyāsyati ~ khyeṣam*⁵⁶). And this conjunction was inherited into early Middle Indo-Aryan, where there is, however, a conjunction of *h*-future and *°ās(i)*-aorist (cf. Pāli *°dāhisi ~ adāsi, bhāhisi ~ °bhāsi, [√hā] hāhasi ~ °hāsi, [√hr̥] hāhiti ~ °hāsi, kāhiti ~ akāsi*, cf. *hohiti ~ ahosi*). And other forms containing *ā*, such as the infinitive and the gerundive (e.g. *dātum, dātābba-*), certainly exerted additional pressure to keep *ā* 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 *esaṃ*, see p. 172) has been preserved in Ardha-Māgadhī, which exhibits future forms such as *esanti* and *dāsāmu*. And this *°sya-* further developed via **zya-* into *°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: *kraṃsyate, cyoṣyate*,

⁵³ Turner opines that $\bar{V}CC > \bar{V}C$ 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” (< *pāsyati / paśyati*), *vassati* “will blow” / “rains” (< *vāsyati / varṣati*), *hassati* “will give up” / “rejoices” (< *hāsyati / hasati x hr̥syati*).

naṃsyati, stoṣyati, hoṣyati.⁵⁸ The same influence is responsible for the lengthened stem vowel of futures like *aprākṣyaḥ* (on which see below), *mārṁsyate* and *utsākṣye*.⁵⁹ In late Vedic Sanskrit the “future-preterites” (as Thieme 1981: 300 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 910] has aptly called them) *agrahaisyat* and *aprākṣyaḥ* 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 ~ aggaheṣi ↔ gaṇhati, ṭhassati ~ 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)aṃ*⁶⁴ in the 1st person (see Oberlies 2001: 241):⁶⁵ *vijāyissam* “I gave birth to”, Ja V 179,8*; *saṃdhāvissam* “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 *ṭhāsī / ṭhāhī* (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 *ṭhāhī ~ ṭhāsī*), which stands side by side with the *h*-future (*kāhāmi, ṭhāhāmi*). 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 *atimaññissam* (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.

amaññissaṃ “I had thought”, Th 765; M III 247,2; *vandissaṃ* “I worshipped”, Th 480, 621; *asakkhissaṃ* “I was able”, M III 179,28; *pamādaṣṣaṃ* “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. 60).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 *maṃsyate*, *naṃsyate*, or *stoṣyati* 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 °*assaṃ* (1881: 322 n. 1 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 1170, n. 1]).

⁶⁷ A form to be reconsidered is *anurakkhissaṃ*, Cp 240 (so E^c), for which Chaṭṭh 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 Saddanāṭi (320,26) or whether forms like *anvesi*, Ja VI 510,31* (= *agamāsi*, cty), *upesī*, Ap 263,8, and *abhisamesuṃ*, 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 *akārṣ-*. 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 *ṭhāhati* :: *aṭṭhāsi*, the future *kāhati* was built on the aorist *akāsi* (the “stem” *kā-* is found also in the infinitive *kātuṃ*, 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 **kāhati* was formed out of *akāsi*, according the proportion **dāhati*: *adāsi*. And Pāli took over **kāhati* 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 Gīrnār, 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-Māgadhī 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 *kāsamti*. But this most probably has to be emended to *kāsamti* (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°*, 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 **karṣyati*.

⁷⁹ Note that all infringements of the “law of mora” in Gīrnār are due to blatant Sanskritisms (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 109).

in Pāli only 1st persons (*kāsaṃ / 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°* 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°* 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,

Ṽ # ī/ū		[apart from <i>kāhāmi</i> , etc.]
	†°Ṽhimi	†°Ṽhāmi
†°Ṽhisi		†°Ṽhasi
†°Ṽhiti		†°Ṽhati
	†°Ṽhima	†°Ṽhāma
	†°Ṽhitha	†°Ṽhatha
†°Ṽhinti		†°Ṽhanti

it is evident that the *Samprasāraṇa* hypothesis does not work. What has happened can be deduced from the absence of 1st sg. †°hāmi and 1st pl. †°hāma and above all of 2nd pl. †°hitha and †°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°* as future stem in Ardha-Māgadhī (see above) and the scarcity of *kāha°* 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 *Samprasāraṇa* is involved in the formation of future forms that †*dakkhitha*, †*vakkhitha*, †*sakkhitha* (etc.) are *not* attested (see p. 182f.).

†^o*hāmi* and †^o*hāma* 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.) ^o*V̄SyāC(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 ^o*hi-* was admitted as future suffix. And this was conditioned, on the other hand, by the *-y(a)-* together with the final *-i*.

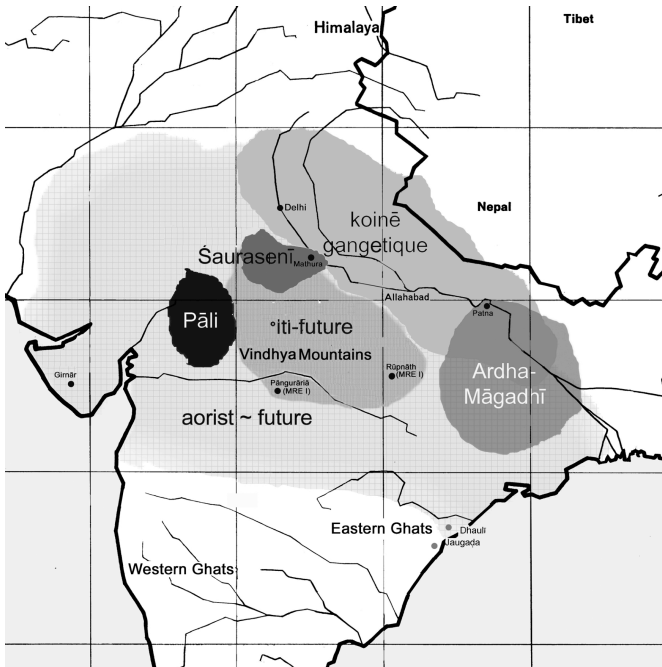
Much the same happened with the ^o*iṣya*-future in certain Middle Indic dialects/languages neighbouring Pāli. For the sole example of ^o*iti* < ^o*(iṣy)ati* in Aś. Pkt., *vaḍhisiti*, MRE I, exhibits a geographical pattern that accords very well with what we see in the *h*-future of Pāli. Whereas Ahaurā and Sahasrām, the one in Mirzapur District, the other close by in Bihar, have *vaḍhisati*,⁸⁵ two of whose versions have *vaḍhisiti*, 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 ^o*ha*-future is a thematization of an earlier ^o*hi*-future (*loc. cit.*) as no less erroneous than his view that “l’aberrant *vaḍhisiti* 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 *vaḍhisiti* is a “sprach-wirkliche” form which belongs to Śaurasenī futures in ^o*idi*.

⁸⁶ Besides Brahmagiri, Gavimath, Niṭṭūr and Śiddhāpura have *vaḍhisiti*, 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 *vaḍhati* 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

(*vadhayisaṃti*, RE IV). Though Turner explicitly calls *vaḍhisiti* 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. 111]) 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 °iti can also be seen from Gāndhārī Prakṛit, which likewise does not know the *h*-future (see Caillat 1977/78).

Again the *a*-vocalism of *kāha*° clearly shows its singularity. Other than *kāhi*° which only has *kāhisi*, *kāhiti* and *kāhinti* as could be expected, *kāha*° has formed a full paradigm. Since Ardha-Māgadhī knows only *kāhāmi*, Uttarajjhayaṇa 17.2, the full array of *kāha*°-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 °*sya*- fused with the final consonant of the root into °(*r*)*kṣya*-, °(*n/r*)*tsya*- and °(*r*)*psya*- (see p. 164). Omitting roots which altogether ceased to be used after the Vedic age or which formed their °*sya*-future only at a very late date, these were as follows:⁹¹

√*ad*, √*āp*, √*kṛt* “to cut”, √*kṛṣ*,⁹² √*kṣip*, √*gup*, √*chid*, √*tap*, √*tyaj*,
√*trap*, √*dah*, √*diś*, √*dṛś*, √*druh*, √*naś*, √*nud*, √*pac*, √*pad*, √*piṣ*,
√*praś*, √*bandh*, √*budh*, √*bhaj*, √*bhañj*, √*bhid*, √*bhuj*, √*majj*, √*mih*,
√*muc*, √*mṛj*, √*yaj*, √*yabh*, √*yuj*, √*yudh*, √*rabh*, √*rādh*, √*ric*, √*rudh*,
√*ruh*, √*labh*, √*vac*, √*vap*, √*vas* “to dwell”, √*vah*, √*vid* “to find”,
√*viś*, √*vṛj*, √*vṛt*, √*vyadh*, √*śak*, √*śad*, √*śiṣ*, √*śuṣ*, √*sad*, √*sah*, √*sic*,
√*sidh* “to repel” / “to succeed”, √*sṛj*, √*sṛp*, √*skand*, √*sprś*, √*syand*,
√*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 *paṭipajjāmi*, D III 189.8).

⁹¹ On roots ending in a vowel which form the °*sya*-future see n. 49.

⁹² *anukassāmi*, D II 255.23* (*silokaṃ* ~), which was erroneously regarded by CPD (s.v. *anukasati*) as “fut. 1 sg.” of *anu*-√*kṛṣ* (as in Cone, who alternatively suspects *anukassāmi* to be an error for **anugassāmi*), is the future of *anu*-*karoti* “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) *-kkh-* and the other characterized by (2) *-cch-*.⁹³

(1) ($\sqrt{drś}$) *dakkham*, Th 1099 (Chatt̥h *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 Chatt̥h] *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 Chatt̥h] *dakkhiti*); 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 (Chatt̥h *dakkhissasi*); *dakkhiti*, 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 (Chatt̥h throughout *dakkhati*); *dakkhīti*, D I 165,19, 22, 29; M I 434,28, 34, 435,2, 8 (Chatt̥h throughout *dakkhati*);⁹⁴ *dakkhinti*, 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*, Dhṛp 37; *pamokkhati*, Ja 183,21* ... 184,25*; *pamokkhanti*, Dhṛp 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 Chatt̥h *dakkhanti* throughout.

58,6; *vakkhanti*, Ja IV 185,17*, 340,14* (*pa+*); Vin II 1,21, — ($\sqrt{viś}$) *pavekkhāmi*, Ja I 503,20*; III 86,5*; S IV 199,6 ... 200,18, *pavekkhāma*, Ja VI 304,6* — ($\sqrt{śak}$) *sakkhasi*, S IV 62,29; Nidd I 175,27* = 180,16*, *sakkhati*, Sn 319, 320; S IV 323,32–33, *sakkhinti*; Sn 28; *sakkhī*, Ja V 116,5* (Chaṭṭh *sakkhisi*);⁹⁶ *sakkhīti*, M I 393,6, 7, 11, 394,28, 29, 33 (Chaṭṭh throughout *sakkhiti*); *sagghasi*, Sn 834 (Chaṭṭh *sakkhasi*)

(2) ($\sqrt{āp}$) *pacchati*, A IV 362,10 (E *pajjati*),⁹⁷ — (\sqrt{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*)*checchati*, Ja III 209,2*; Th 761; Dh 350, *ucchecchāmi*, D II 72,7, 20 (= *ucchejjissāmi*, A IV 17,16, 28), — (\sqrt{bhid}) *bhecchāmi*, Sn 443 (Chaṭṭh; Ee *gacchāmi*);⁹⁸ *bhecchati*, A I 8,3, 7, 12, 16, *bhejjati*, Ja III 430,30* (Chaṭṭh *bhecchati*), — (\sqrt{rud}) *rucchati*, Ja V 366,13* (C^{ks} *rucchiti*, see Fausbøll n. 14); VI 80,13*⁹⁹ = 550,11*, 13*, 19*, 21* # 15*, 17* (Fausbøll always *rucchiti* with C^{ks}); *uparucchanti*, Ja VI 551,28*/30* — (\sqrt{labh}) *lacchāmi*, Ap 124,11; Ja V 467,20*; M II 71,6; *lacchasi*, Ap 517,6 (*paṭi+*); Ja IV 61,8*; Pv 173; M II 71,1; *lacchasī*, Ja VI 483,30*; *lacchati*, 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; *lacchanti*, Vin III 15,14; *lacchase*, Ja IV 47,3* (*paṭi+*); V 345,7*; *lacchate*, Ap 479,27; *lacchāmase*, Vv 320, — (\sqrt{vas}) *vacchāmi*, Ja VI 523,11*; *vaccham*, Thī 414, 425; *vacchasi*, Ap 609,16; Ja VI 172,19*, 518,6* (E^c

⁹⁶ It seems we have to postulate *sakkhihi* (< *sakkhisi*) 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 *vacchasī*, 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* Samprasāraṇa at all is involved in the formation of the °*kkh*- and °*cch*-future. Of thirteen “roots” only two have an *-i-* after the future suffix. And these two °(*kkh*)*i*-futures¹⁰³ have °(*kkh*)*a*-futures besides them.¹⁰⁴ And it is surely not by chance alone that precisely these two °*kkhi*-futures, viz. *dakkhiti* 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 °*sujjhati* as do C^{ks} (see *CPD* s.v. *avasussati*). Note that *avasucchati* exhibits interference between °*kkh*- 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. √*dis*² [*fut.* 3. sg. *dakkhati*³ *dakkhiti*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* (Chatṭh *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* :: *addakkhiṃ*; cf. *sakkhiti* :: *asakkhiṃ*). 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, Saṃprasāraṇa *-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.

II. Comparable to other cases of supposed Saṃprasāraṇa, 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)ə-* 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 Chatṭh 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 Kümmel (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 *°hiṃ*, which is part of

tahiṃ,¹¹⁷ Ap 198,17, 295,12 (*yahiṃ* ~); 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*
yahiṃ, Ja I 272,13*; D I 220,31, 238,26; Pv 631–632 = Vv 1249–50; M I 400,21
kuhiṃ, 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 *°hiṃ* 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 *-eyyāhaṃ* (cf. *yaṣṭāhe*, Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka I 4,11).

¹¹⁷ *tahiṃ* was transformed into *tahaṃ* (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 *iha*. Note that there is no *yahaṃ* and — at least in canonical texts — no *kuhaṃ*. But there is *kahaṃ*, which is widely to be found in old texts. So the connection between *kuhiṃ* and *kahaṃ* is a problem yet to be resolved.

¹¹⁸ See Oberlies 2001a: 367.

¹¹⁹ The explanation proposed by Smith, Sadd V 1332 (s.v. *kuhiṃ*) — “*kuh(am)* x (tar)hi, cf. prkr. *tahiṃ*” — is far from convincing. And Wackernagel’s claim that *tahiṃ*, etc., are true archaisms, which belonged together with Greek τῶθι (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

abbhu hi tassa bho hoti | yo anicchantam icchati
akāmaṃ 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 / akāmāṃ rāja kāmesi (naitaṃ 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 gangeticque* — 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. $\sqrt{d}(h)\tilde{a}$, $\sqrt{y}\tilde{a}$ and $\sqrt{h}\tilde{a}$). Here it first gave rise to a °*Vsa*-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 gangetique*. 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 Aśōkan 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 °*hi*__*i*#, when it was taken over from the ‘eastern’ *koinē gangetique* into Pāli. From the *h*-future the -i- intruded into the futures *dakkhissāmi*/*dakkhiti* and *sakkhissasi*. Since in these forms too no Samprasāraṇa (°)Cya- > (°C)Ci- has operated — and at present they are the *sole* certain examples we have for assuming this kind of phonetic

¹²³ Whether Gīrnār’s *kāsaṃti* represents *kāsanti* or *kāssanti*, it points to a future that is formed in analogy with the aorist (see p. 177).

¹²⁴ *kāsaṃti* in the Gīrnār version of RE V and *kaṣati* at Shāhbāzgarhī attest, it seems, to the °*Vsa*-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*°), 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, (°)Cva- > (°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.

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**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 $207 \times 27 \times 9$ 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 Davideses are preserved by the Faculty of Asian & Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge, see <http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/facilib/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 renaissances 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 Zarathuṣtra (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-samjñī*.

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. Timuş 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. Wickremaratne, 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 Horn, *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

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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 Wickremeratne (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.ucl.ac.uk/resources/ms1082.pdf> (retrieved on April 8, 2014). See also, most recently, Dawn Neal, 2014 17–19.

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The Verb **addhabhavi* as an Artificial Formation

Oskar von Hinüber

The first part of the Saṃyutta-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 Sāratthappakāsinī, seems to indicate.¹ The content of many individual suttantas 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-Saṃyutta of the Sagāthavagga have resisted convincing explanation so far:

kiṃsu sabbaṃ addhabhavi, kismā bhīyo na vijjati
kiss'assa ekadhammassa, sabb'eva vasam anvagū ti
nāmaṃ sabbaṃ 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 Suttaṭṭhaka*, 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 *aṭṭhabhavi* in the Sinhalese manuscripts used by L. Feer is almost certainly a mistake (writing or reading) for *aṇḍabhavi*, cf. note 16 below. — According to the variants listed in B^e (edition of the Sixth Council 1954–56: “Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana edition”) C^e reads *anvabhavi*; S^e has *andhabhavi*.

A.D. 1543.⁷ The variation *anva-*, *andha-*, *addha-* and perhaps *aṇḍa-* 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 *Sāratthapakāsinī*:

*anvavaggassa paṭhame: ... anvabhavīti nāmaṃ sabbaṃ
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-*°, while S^e has *andha-*°, and B^e consistently inserted *addha-*° 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-*° and *addha-*°.

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 anupataṭīti etena abhibhavo
anupataṇaṃ 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 Saṃyutta-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 Saḷāyatanavagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, which is certainly a part of this Nikāya younger than the Sagāthavagga:

*sabbaṃ bhikkhave andhabhūtaṃ ... cakkhu bhikkhave
andhabhūtaṃ, rūpā andhabhūā ...*

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 abhibhūtaṃ ajjhotthaṃ upaddutan ti attho.

Spk II 363,¹²

... overpowered, covered; the meaning is “oppressed”.

The reading *addhabhūta* is preferred even in E^c here against the Sinhalese manuscripts reading *andhabhūta* as at Spk I 95.

The sub-commentary explains:

adhisaddena samānattho addhasaddo ti āha addhabhūtan ti abhibhūtan ti-ādi.

Spk-pt B^c II 289,¹

The word *addha* has the same meaning as *adhi*, therefore he (Buddhaghosa) says *addhabhūta* means *abhibhūta*, etc.

This wording shows that the commentator read *abhibhūtaṃ* instead of *abhibhūtaṃ* 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 Aggavaṃsa’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 Aggavaṃsa quotes the passage from the Majjhima-nikāya and both passages from the Saṃyutta-nikāya reading consistently *addha*-^o. This explanation, and particularly Aggavaṃsa’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 *abhibhūtaṃ* is consistently preferred in all editions this must be changed to *abhibhūtaṃ*, see below. — The *pratīka* is *andhabhūtan ti* in S^c.

There is no trace of a variant **anvabhūta* here or in the third and last reference from the Suttapiṭaka, the Devadahasuttanta of the Majjhima-nikāya:

kathañca bhikkhave saphalo upakkamo hoti saphalaṃ padhānaṃ? idha bhikkhave bhikkhu na heva anaddhabhūtaṃ attānaṃ dukkhena addhabhāveti dhammikañ ca sukhaṃ na pariccajati, tasmīñ ca sukhe anadhimucchito 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 anadhibhūtaṃ (S^e anabhi-°, w.r.). dukkhena anadhibhūto (B^e anadhi-°, w.r.) ... na taṃ addhabhāveti nādhbhavatīti (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 Saṃyutta-nikāya reference:

anaddhabhūtan ti ettha adhisaddena samānattho addhasaddo ti āha anaddhabhūtan ti anadhibhūtan ti. yathā

¹² Translation by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli 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-pt 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

athappiyaṃ vā appiyaṃ 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 ekaṃsavacaṇaṃ ... abhisambhavanto vā abhibhaveyya 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, *IJJ* 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 evaṃ piyāppiyaṃ abhibhavanto ekamsen'
eva abhibhaveyya.*

Pj II 573,15ff.

Again, here is no trace of a variant *anva*-^o / *andha*-^o.¹⁵ The explanation *ekamsena* (“definitely”) is borrowed from the Mahāniddeśa 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 Suttanipāṭa is Burmese according to H. Smith in W. Stede (ed.), *Cullāniddeśa* (London 1918), p. xvi with note 2.

¹⁶ A fourth reference may be due to a mistake for *aṇḍabhūta*, which is found in S^c *kāyo addhabhūto pariyaṇaddho*, S III 1,20 (*aṇḍabhūto ti aṇḍo viya bhūto dubbalo*, Spk II 250,11), cf. CPD s.vv. *aṇḍabhūta* and *addhabhūta* “the relation between *aṇḍabhūta* 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 *Aṇḍabhūta*-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. I (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-° / addha-°* 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 *anubhavi* 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 Chaṭṭha-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 *adhibhavi* or *abhibhavi*, but not by *anubhavi*.

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 evaṃ vācam 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 Śāṅkara 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 Saṃgha by “being driven away” derived from Vedic *parā-√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): *Toevoegselen 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 *anubhavi* current in later times was incomprehensible in this particular context. The problem was solved by taking *anvabhavi* as meaning *abhibhavi*.

where Burnouf's explanation is rejected and the one of the commentarial tradition preferred, because according to Rhys David the root *√aj* is Vedic only and never occurs with the preverb *parā-*. In 1888 Rhys Davids could not know that there are besides *parā-√aj* also *ud-√aj*, *nir-√aj*, and *pra-√aj* surviving in Pāli. Of course, the word formation of *pārājika* cannot be explained on the basis of *parā-√ji* (*parā-jit* or *parājita* > **parāji[tika]*; *parājayika* > *pārājayika*), 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*: *sāmikaṃ parājeti ... parajjati*, Vin III 50.8ff. "he has the owner driven away ... is driven away (himself)" (< *parā-ajyate*, *Saddanīti* index s.v. *parajjati* [1966], not recognized in the *Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance* [1969] s.v. *parājeti*) with the commentary *parājeti* = *jināti*, *parajjati* = *parājayaṃ pāpuṇāti*, 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 *√aj* 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", *JLAS* 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 Nespital* (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 *Aṭṭhakathā*, because the first indirect hint to this understanding of *anvabhavi* is found in the *Mahāniddeśa*, 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-*^o regularly develops into *anna-*^o 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 *anvagaṃ*²³ and *anvagu* or *ajjha-patto* < *ajjhappattā*, which are reduplicated aorists (*adhy-a-paptat*) 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 = C^c [SHB] = B^c s.v.l.), cf. *CPD* s.v.; a manuscript from Vat Lai Hin copied in 1550 has *anugataṃ* instead of *anvagataṃ* (O.v. Hinüber, “Die Pali-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nord-Thailand” (Wiesbaden 2013), no. 98).

patta,²⁴ but analysed (synchronically) as verb forms with a preverb *ajjha-* while based (diachronically) on a preverb plus augment.

Therefore **anvabhūta* (*addha-/andha-bhūta*) found in the Saḷāyatanavagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya might have been formed first, on which again the other forms such as **anvabhāveti* (*addha-bhāveti*) in the Devadahasuttanta of the Majjhima-nikāya or **anvābhavanto* (*addhābhavanto*) in the Suttanipāta 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 Saḷāyatanavagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, and “he has the un-encompassed self encompassed by suffering” in the Devadahasuttanta 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 Devadahasuttanta of the Majjhima-nikāya, where the supposed original **ananvabhūtaṃ* is followed by *anadhimucchito* 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-*^o influenced by the following *adhi-mucchito*.²⁵ This text may have induced the commentary to explain the participle formally as *an-adhibhūtaṃ* and as meaning (*dukkhena*) *anabhibhūtaṃ*. 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 Devadahasuttanta 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. *dhama*) or a Nurse (Skt. *dhātṛ*), or Milk (Skt. *kṣīra*) or a Toy-Plough (P. *vaṃka*)?”, *JLBS* 16 (1993), pp. 56–89.

already has *anaddhabhūtaṃ ti anadhibhūtaṃ*. Although the commentary to the Saḷāyatanavagga has *addhabhūtaṃ ti abhibhūta*,²⁶ the sub-commentary introduces *adhi-* here as well, using the same text as in the sub-commentary to the Devadahasuttanta. Only in the Devadahasuttanta the form *addha-*^o intrudes into the text, while the Saḷāyatanavagga 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 Sagāthavagga, which originally stood apart.²⁸

Summing up, it is possible to trace the origin and development of the modern form *addhabhavi*.²⁹ The connection of the verse from the Sagāthavagga 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 *anubhavi* “to encompass” as the starting point and not *adhi-bhavi*. The Pāli verb *anvabhavi* / *addhabhavi* 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 *anubhavi* (“to encompass”) by formal differentiation from Pāli *anubhavi* (“experiences, enjoys, suffers”). Therefore, all attempts at a phonetic explanation of the preverb *addha-* as continuing *adhi-* start

²⁶ The wording *abhibhūtaṃ ajjhotthaṃ (upaddutaṃ)*, Spk II 363,27, is corroborated by *ajjhotthaṃ abhibhūtaṃ*, Sv 799,11, and later by Dhammapāla’s explanation of *ajjhabhū*, It 76,6* *abhibhavi ajjhotthari*, 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-bhū* 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*, *kaṇṇ’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 *anva-**bhavi* 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 Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana 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. Hintüber, “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 Nāṇavamsa and Sobhaggasiri**

Oskar von Hinüber

In the year Cūlasakkarāja 906 (called *kāp sī* as a cyclical year and corresponding to A.D. 1544) Lady Keew “Juwel”, the wife of Lām Ceḍ, 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 dvādasādhikasatasuttaṃ itivuttakaṃ 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 *itivuttakappakaraṇaṃ 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 (Dhammakaya-Tipiṭaka) at Vat Phra Dhammakāya 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 *Dīgha-nikāya*. It is appended to the end of a *Pāṭikavagga* 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 Sūn Men in Phrae in North Thailand, as the colophon confirms:²

*bra mahāthera cau tan jū kañcana araṇṇavāsī meīṇ bree pen
glau lee. sissa cau daṇ mvar saddhā bāy ṇok mī rājjavaṇ meīṇ
hlvaṇ brapāṇ brōm kan sāṇ 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 *Dīgha-nikāya* 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. xlv. 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-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 Pāṭikavagga colophons respectively in their corrupt and fragmentary forms.

VASANTATILAKA

1. SOBHAGGASĪRipavarāya vayādipaṇca-

It: sobhaggasiripavarāya vayādipaṇca-

D: sobhaggasiripavarāya dipaṇca-

2. kalyāṇiyāya sa{ṇ}vute ti supākatāya

It: kalyāṇiyāya saṃvute ti pākatāya

D: kalyāṇiya savate ti supākate

3. khattiyāniyā pati pu{ṇ}ṇābhirato sukhaṭṭho

It: khattiyāniyā pati puṇṇābhirato sukhaṭṭho

D: khattiyāniyā pati puṇṇābhirito sukhaṭṭho

4. yo ÑĀNAVAMsapavaro mahupāsako †si†

It: yo ñānavamsamapavaro mahupāsako si

D: yo ñānavānsapavaro mahusako

5. tenājjhi(ṭ)tho †siri†dharo varaBUDDHAVAMSO

It: tenājjhiṭṭho sīlapañño varabu[ddhavamso]

D: tenādhiṭṭho sīladharo re buddhavamso

6. thero ayam tikutaḥemavihāravāsī

It: thero ayam tikutaḥemavihāravā[sī]

D: thero ayam tikutaḥemavihāravāsī

7. lekhāpīte kavijane sukha saṃvidhāya**It:** lekh]i(ttha)ke kavijane sukhasaṃvidhāya**D:** lekhiṇe kavijanena sutthu saṃvidhāya**8. lekhāpayī tipīṭakaṃ saha-m-atthaṭṭikaṃ****It:** [+ + + +]piṭakaṃ saha-m-atthaṭṭikā ||**D:** likkhāpi tepīṭakaṃ saha-p-atthaṭṭikaṃ

MĀLINĪ

9. tividhapiṭakaṃ etaṃ vepula[m] sīsa(ṭ)thena**It:** tividhapiṭa[kam .]d. vepulāsattthena**D:** tividhapiṭīmedaṃ vepulasisattthena**10. sakalamahitale cīraṭṭhiti (s)sāsanassa****It:** sakalamahītale cīraṭṭhiti sāsanassa**D:** sakalamahitale cīratthissatasanassa**11. varabhūripatilābhā ÑĀṆAVAMSAvhayena****It:** varabhūripatilābhā ñāṇavaṃsayhena**D:** varabhūrimatilābhā ñāṇavaṃsahiyena**12. kusalam-a-gahituṃ lekhāpitupāsakena****It:** kusama-gahitu lekhāpitupāsakena

itivuttakappakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ

D: kusalam-a-gahituṃ lekhāpitupāpakena | |

pāṭiyavaggadīghanikāya ||| ha ||

COMMENTARY

(Reconstruction and metre)

1. The *akṣaras vayā* are dropped in D. — Occasionally, as in *sīri*, metrical lengthening of vowels is required in these verses, cf. *EV* I, 2nd ed., pp. lxijf. § 48;³ very occasionally *sīri* is even written in the manuscript tradition.

In D (*dipaṇcakalyāṇiya savate ti supākate*) is repeated after *ñāṇavaṇso 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*-°. The equally metrically correct *sa*- in the otherwise faulty *sava~~va~~teti* 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 °-*abhirato* is an obvious scribal error.

4. In D *mahusako* 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 *sīlapaṇṇo* does not scan, nor does D *sīladharo*, 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 *sīlapa{ñ}ño*, cf. *pu{ñ}ñā-bhirato* in verse 3 (?). Consequently, the reconstruction remains doubtful. Luckily, the name Buddhavaṃsa 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: °-*{t}thāniyo*. D °-*adhiṭtho* is a mistake.

6. The metrically correct °-*kuṭa*-° for °-*kūṭa*-° is preserved in both manuscripts.

7. The reconstruction *lekhāpīte* seems to be fairly certain. The word *sutthu* for *suṭṭhu* in D does not scan, unless read as *su{t}ṭhu*.

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-piṭimedam > tividhapiṭakam etam*. 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: °-*{t}thāniyo*.

10. Although D is partly corrupt, *ciraṭṭhissatasānassa* seems to allow a metrical reconstruction *cīraṭṭhiti (s)sāsanassa*. The form *ciraṭṭhiti* without ending instead of the expected *ciraṭṭhitiyā*, 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 *ciraṭṭhiti-(s)sāsanassa* is a South-East Asian formation following the rules operating in Thai compounds; on the doubling of the initial *s-* in *(s)sāsanassa* cf. *EV* I, p. lvijf. §42.

11. Although both It °-y_hena and D °-hiy_hena are wrong, this is easily mended to °-v_hayena.

12. D *kusalamagahituṃ* 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 Kṣatriyāṇī 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 Ñāṇavaṃsa, by him was approached the glorious venerable Buddhavaṃsa. 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 Ñāṇavaṃsa, 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* Ñāṇavaṃsa, and the Thera Buddhavaṃsa. Names ending in °-vaṃsa are common in Lān² Nā at this period, as is *ñāṇa*-° as the first member of a

name.⁴ However, persons bearing names of this type are usually monks and not laymen as Ñāṇavaṃsa certainly is.

The word °-*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* Ñāṇavaṃsa as *sīsattṭha*, which might translate Thai *ayū¹ háva* (อายุ ห้าว) 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, Ñāṇavaṃsa 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 Pāṭikavagga of the Dīgha-nikāya. The technical term for asking a monk to act as an *upatthambhaka* “patron” or “religious advisor” is *ajjhesati/ajjhiṭṭha*.⁶

As the patron of the donation by Ñāṇavaṃsa the Thera Buddhavaṃsa 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-vaṃsa*), p. 283 and p. 292 (*sīla-vaṃsa*), p. 287 (*ñāṇa-°*), cf. further the names listed p. 219 and *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, no. 7 (*ādiccavaṃsa*), p. 230 (index s.v. *ñāṇa-°*).

⁵ The five *kalyāṇis* are enumerated, e.g., at Spk III, 277, 18-12 as: *chavi-°*, *maṃsa-°*, *nahāru-°*, *aṭṭhi-°*, *vaya-kalyāṇaṃ*.

⁶ This was common practice and is well documented in various colophons, cf. *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, p. xlviff.

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'āgamakovido*⁸ *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 Buddhavaṃsa 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 yod gāṃ* (or: *dōṇ*) (สาม ยอด ท่า [ทอง]).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^c 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 Nāṇavaṃsa's colophon can be compared. The mistake °-*kovādo* for °-*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 Abhidhānappadīpikā, 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 *budhaḥ / dhīro ... prajñāḥ ... kaviḥ*.

⁹ Names of this type are not rare, cf. *vaḍ cēd yod* "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-*^o corresponding to *cau*² (ငါ့), cf. *pavara-*^o as discussed above, is put in front of the name of the Thera Buddhavaṃsa.

After this preparatory work Ñāṇavaṃsa could execute his plan. This change of topic is mirrored in the change of metre from the Vasantatilaka to the Mālīnī. 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 Aṭṭhakathās and Ṭīkāś. His aim was to ensure the continuity of the Buddha’s teaching and to make merit.

After recovering two identical colophons referring to Ñāṇavaṃsa’s plan in manuscripts of two texts from different parts of the Tipiṭaka, one accompanied by the Aṭṭhakathā,¹⁰ it is not impossible that a substantial part of the plan was actually realized, although no Ṭīkā 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 Ñāṇavaṃsa’s donation can be determined. The only hint at the place, where Ñāṇavaṃsa and his wife Sobhaggasiri lived, is the monastery of unknown location. From Dā Sṟy, where It was copied, no monastery called Tikūṭahemavihāra is known.¹¹

Ñāṇavaṃsa’s copy of the Itivuttaka or a copy of that copy was available in Dā Sṟy 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 Ñāṇavaṃsa’s donation.

¹¹ The surviving names of monasteries in Dā Sṟy are listed in *Pali-Handschriften*, as note 1 above, p. xxxviii ff.

following centuries. Therefore, although an immediate copy from Ñāṇavaṃsa'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 Tipiṭaka 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 (วัดเจ็ด ยอด) in Chiang Mai in order to purify the Tipiṭaka. Afterwards, he had this copy housed in a building erected specifically for this purpose in that monastery.¹² However, in contrast to Ñāṇavaṃsa's donation, no tangible trace in the form of a manuscript derived from King Tiloka's Tipiṭaka is known to survive, although it is not unlikely that some of the Pāli manuscripts copied, e.g., in Dā Sōy 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 Kees and by the followers of Gru Pā Kaṇṇana respectively, it is possible for the first time now to trace a manuscript tradition over a couple of centuries due to Ñāṇavaṃsa's and Sobhaggasiri's enduring *puṇya*.

¹² Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index*, as note 4 above, p. 218.

A Note on the *Mahākammapibhaṅga-sutta* and Its Commentary

Rupert Gethin

What follows is concerned with the proper understanding of two terms in the *Mahākammapibhaṅga-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 *Mahākammapibhaṅga-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).

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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 Ñāṇamoli 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 209,20–210,8):

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 Ñāṇamoli 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 kammaṃ abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ. atthi kammaṃ abhabbaṃ
bhābbābhāsaṃ. atthi kammaṃ bhābbāñ c' eva bhābbābhāsañ ca.
atthi kammaṃ bhābbāñ abhabbābhāsaṃ*

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 (*diṭṭhe 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 brahmins.

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 yvāyaṃ puggalo idha pāṇātipātī adinnādāyī — pe — micchādīṭṭhī, kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati, pubbe vā 'ssa taṃ kataṃ hoti pāpakammaṃ dukkha-vedanīyaṃ, pacchā vā 'ssa taṃ kataṃ hoti pāpakammaṃ dukkhavedanīyaṃ, maraṇakāle vā 'ssa hoti micchādīṭṭhī samattā samādinna. tena so kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati. yañ ca kho so idha pāṇātipātī hoti adinnādāyī hoti — pe — micchādīṭṭhī hoti tassa dīṭṭhe va dhamme vipākaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti upapajja vā apare va pariyāye. For the reading *upapajja vā apare va pariyāye* 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’Fraherty (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 bhūtivarahitaṃ akusalaṃ*).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 *abhavya* 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 *bhavya* 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 *bhūtivarahitaṃ*; 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 Majjhima-nikāya by Ñāṇamoli 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 Ñāṇamoli 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 *Mahākammavibhaṅga-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 Saṃghadeva in 398 C.E. and is usually thought to be a Sarvāstivāda recension. The Tibetan translation is found in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, 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 *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*; 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); Sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā, "A Translation of the Quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* 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 Aṅguttara-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。猶如四種棗。或棗不熟似熟。或熟似不熟。或不熟似不熟。或熟似熟。如是。阿難。四種棗喻人。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 Banarsidass, 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? āmaṃ pakkavaṇṇi, pakkaṃ āmavaṇṇi, āmaṃ āmavaṇṇi, pakkaṃ pakkavaṇṇi. imāni kho bhikkhave cattāri ambāni. evaṃ evaṃ kho bhikkhave cattāro 'me ambūpamā puggalā santo saṃvijjamānā lokasmim. katame cattāro? āmo pakkavaṇṇī, pakko āmavaṇṇī, āmo āmavaṇṇī, pakko pakkavaṇṇī. 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)bhabbābhāsa*. 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 abhabbaṃ **abhāsa**ti abhibhavati paṭibhāṭi ti attho.
bahukasmim hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammaṃ dubbala-
kamassa vipākaṃ paṭibhāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ

¹⁵ Ps V iii cites: (1) S^e = 3 vols, ed. Dhammadhaja (Bangkok: Mahāmakūṭarāja-vidyālaya, 1920); (2) C^e = vol. 2 ed. Dhammakitti Siri Dhammananda (Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch, 1926); (3) B^e = ed. anonymous (Rangoon: Maṇḍine Piṭaka Press, 1921).

abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsa nāma. **akusalaṃ** pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalaṃ** kataṃ hoti taṃ **kusalassa**¹⁶ vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *abhabbaṃ bhabbābhāsa* nāma. bahumhi kusale āyūhite pi balavakammaṃ dubbalakammassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ bhabbañ c’ eva bhabbābhāsañ ca. kusalaṃ pana āyūhitvā āsanne **akusalaṃ** kataṃ hoti taṃ akusalassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *bhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ*. api ca upaṭṭhānākārena p’ ettha attho veditabbo. idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsati upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsaṃ. (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: *abhabbaṃ abhāsati abhibhavati paṭibāhātī 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 *ābhāsati* found in both S^e 1920 and B^e 1921. Whatever the correct reading, the commentary’s understanding of the *abhāsati/ābhāsati* is unambiguous: the verb is taken in this context to mean “overpowers” (*abhibhavati*) in the sense of “prevents” (*paṭibāhātī*). What is not clear is how the commentary gets here. The relevant dictionary entries (*PED*, *CPD*, *DOP*, s.v. *ābhāsati*) give no indication that *ābhāsati* 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 *abhāsati*, 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 *abhyāśnoti*, 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 *abhivṛddhi* (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 **unskillful** *kamma* and then does something **skillful** close [to the time of one’s death], that [skillful act] can prevent the result of the unskillful¹⁸ act and create the opportunity for its result; this is [*kamma* that is] *unfortunate that prevents the fortunate* ... But when one has accumulated **skillful** *kamma* and then does something **unskillful** close [to the time of one’s death], that [unskillful act] can prevent the result of the unskillful [*sic*] act and create the opportunity for its result; this is [*kamma* that is] *fortunate that prevents the unfortunate*.

Describing a skillful act done close to the time of the death of someone who has accumulated unskillful *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 unskillful *kamma*, but then we need to take *ābhāsa* in the sense of “appear”: the accumulated unskillful *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 *abhabbaṃ bhabbābhāsan* B^e 1921 had *bhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsan*. In other words Horner tells us that B^e 1921 reads here as follows:

abhabbābhāsan ti abhabbaṃ ābhāsati abhibhavati paṭibāhatī ti attho. bahukasmīṃ hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammaṃ dubbala-kammasa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsan* nāma. **akusalaṃ** pana āyūhitvā āsanne kusalaṃ kataṃ hoti taṃ kusalassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ **bhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsan** nāma. [...] api ca upaṭṭhānākāreṇa p’ ettha attho veditabbo. idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsati upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsaṃ.

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 abhabbaṃ ābhāsati abhibhavati paṭibāhatī ti attho. bahukasmīṃ hi akusalakamme āyūhite balavakammaṃ dubbala-

kamassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ nāma. [...] akusalaṃ pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalaṃ** kataṃ hoti taṃ kusalassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ **bhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ** nāma. api ca upaṭṭhānākarena p' ettha attho vedittabbo. idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsaṃ upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsaṃ.

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 bhūti¹⁹virahitaṃ akusalaṃ. *abhabbābhāsaṃ* ti abhabbaṃ abhāsaṃ abhibhavati paṭibāhātī ti attho. bahukasmim hi akusala-kamme āyūhite balavakammaṃ dubbalakamassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ* nāma. **kusalaṃ** pana āyūhitvā āsanne **akusalaṃ** kataṃ hoti taṃ kusalassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *abhabbaṃ bhabbābhāsaṃ* nāma. bahumhi kusale āyūhite pi balavakammaṃ dubbalakamassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *bhabbaṃ c' eva bhabbābhāsaṃ ca*. **akusalaṃ** pana āyūhitvā āsanne **kusalaṃ** kataṃ hoti taṃ akusalassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa okāsaṃ karoti. idaṃ *bhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ*.

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 *abhabbābhāsaṃ* 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 unskillful, and because he is reborn in hell, it appears to be unskillful and the cause of his rebirth there. The second person's *kamma* is unfortunate but appears fortunate: it is unfortunate since it is unskillful, yet since he is reborn in heaven, it appears to the followers of other traditions to be skillful and the cause of his rebirth in heaven. Exactly the same method [of explanation] applies to the other pair of *kammās*.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 vedītabbo. idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti: abhabbato ābhāsati upaṭṭhātī ti abhabbābhāsaṃ. tattha yvāyaṃ puggalo idha pāṇātipātī ti ādinā nayena cattāro^a puggalā vuttā. tesu paṭhamassa kammaṃ abhabbaṃ abhabbābhāsaṃ taṃ hi akusalattā abhabbaṃ, tassa ca niraye nibbattattā tattha nibbattikāraṇabhūtaṃ akusalaṃ hutvā upaṭṭhātī. dutiyassa kammaṃ abhabbaṃ bhabbābhāsaṃ taṃ hi akusalattā abhabbaṃ. tassa pana sagge nibbattattā aññatīthiyānaṃ sagge nibbattikāraṇabhūtaṃ kusalaṃ hutvā upaṭṭhātī. itarasmim pi kammadvaye es' eva nayo.* [Reading 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-

tariat purpose of bringing out what the sutta is trying to say: the sutta is precisely arguing that even though certain ascetics and brahmins 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 unskillful *kamma* in this life and is subsequently seen by such ascetics and brahmins 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.

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 threefold *ukkhepanīya-kamma* (n.);
 5. *Nissāraṇā* (f.)/*nissāraṇīya* (n.), *osāraṇā* (f.)/
osāraṇīya (n.); 6. *Nāsanā* (n.f.), “expulsion”;
 7. *Daṇḍa-kamma* (n.), “punishment”;
 8. *Pakāsaniya-kamma* (n.), “procedure of
 proclamation”; 9. *Patta-nikkujjanā*°/*ukkujjanā*
 (n. f.), “turning down/up the alms-bowls”)

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