

Style and Function

A study of the dominant stylistic features
of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts
and their mnemonic function

Mark Allon

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XII

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To Louise

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This publication is the slightly revised version of my Cambridge D.Phil. thesis *Some stylistic features of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts and their mnemonic function*, which was submitted in September 1994. Although it remains basically the same work, some changes have been made in the light of comments and criticism raised by my two examiners, Dr. John Smith (Cambridge) and Dr. Lance Cousins (Manchester).

A number of recent publications have also been utilised. Most important amongst these is Professor O. von Hinüber's *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* (1994), which he sent me as I was about to submit my thesis for examination, but which I was unable to utilise at the time. This is particularly relevant to Study 2 of the present work.

Finally, parts of the thesis, especially of the Introduction and Conclusion, appear in "The oral composition and transmission of early Buddhist texts" (M.W. Allon, 1997), an article based on a paper read at the Spalding Symposium, Oxford, 1994.

A number of people and institutions have enabled me to produce this work. First, I would like to thank Professor K.R. Norman, my supervisor, who provided excellent supervision during my stay in Cambridge and from whom I have learnt much. He has always been particularly generous with his time. I am also grateful to Andreas Janousch, Jean Pretorius and Ulrich Pagel, who helped with my reading of the many German publications relevant to this work, and Cathy Curtis for her comments on the Introduction and Conclusion. Most importantly, I would like to thank Louise for her companionship and for tolerating England's long, cold winters with me. I am also greatly indebted to the Association of Commonwealth Universities and St John's College, Cambridge, for their generous financial support of my doctorate studies. Finally, I would like to thank Professor M. Hara and the International Institute for Buddhist Studies for undertaking to publish this work.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of titles of works and of terms and signs follow the Epilegomena to Vol. I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary. A few alternative and additional abbreviations are used. They are:

CPS	<i>Catuṣpariṣatsūtra</i> ; see Waldschmidt, 1952–1962
fnt.	footnote
fpp.	future passive participle (= CPD ‘ger.’)
lit.	literally
MPS	<i>Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra</i> ; see Waldschmidt, 1950–1951
MtS	metrical similarities
Pkt.	Prakrit
pr.p.	present participle (= CPD ‘part.’)
PTC	Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance
PTS	Pāli Text Society
ref.	references (occurring at the end of Study 1)
S ^e	King of Siam edition
Skt.	Sanskrit
SS	sound similarities
vol.	volume
WSP	Waxing Syllable Principle

INTRODUCTION

It is generally agreed that early Buddhist literature, of which the Pāli texts of the Theravāda canon are the most numerous and best preserved examples, was composed and transmitted orally.¹ As the factors upon which this opinion is based have not always been clearly articulated, and as the initial oral status of Buddhist texts is important to the following research, we will present them here in summary form. They are:

- (1) There is no reference to writing or writing materials in the principal Pāli nikāyas,² though there are many references to learning and reciting discourses (see below).³
- (2) Although there are a few passages in the Pāli *Vinaya-piṭaka* which indicate that the art of writing was known at the time when these *Vinaya* texts were put into their present form, these do not refer to texts and their preservation.⁴
- (3) Despite detailed rules governing the use of all items used by monks and nuns, the *Vinaya* has no rules governing the use of writing materials.⁵
- (4) There is no archaeological evidence for the use of writing in India during the early phase of Buddhism, that is, before the time of Aśoka⁶ — although this view may have to be revised in the light of recent finds in Sri Lanka of Brāhmī characters on potsherds dating from this period.⁷
- (5) Finally, many of the stylistic features of these texts indicate an oral origin.⁸

To date, no serious challenge to the above opinion has been forthcoming and it is therefore assumed in the present research that the early phase of Buddhist literature was oral.

As noted in point 1 above, there are many passages in Pāli canonical texts depicting monks and nuns learning and reciting the Buddha's teachings and discourses, which seem to indicate that during the Buddha's lifetime material was formulated so that it could be remembered and recited. In a passage occurring in the *Vinaya* and *Udāna*, for example, it is reported that the Buddha asked the monk Soṇa to expound the Dhamma. In response Soṇa recited the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (*sabbān' eva aṭṭhakavaggikāni*

¹ O. von Hinüber, 1990, chap. V (esp. p. 22), p. 30, chap. XIV; K.R. Norman, 1993b, p. 280; 1995, p. 309; R. Gombrich, 1990a & 1990b; L.S. Cousins, 1983, esp. p. 1; S. Collins, 1992.

² R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 27; O. von Hinüber, 1990, esp. p. 30.

³ S. Collins, 1992, esp. pp. 124–125; R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 26.

⁴ T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, 1881, pp. xxxii–xxxv; cf. R. Gombrich, 1990b, pp. 27–28.

⁵ T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, 1881, pp. xxxii–xxxiii; R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 28.

⁶ R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 27. For the most recent views on writing in India, see O. von Hinüber, 1990, esp. pp. 54, 72; K.R. Norman, 1993c, esp. pp. 243, 245–247; H. Falk, 1993. For an evaluation of these recent publications, see R. Salomon, 1995.

⁷ See R.A.E. Coningham, 1993. S.U. Deraniyagala dates these finds to 600–500 B.C.E.; R. Allchin/R.A.E. Coningham tentatively date them to 400–450 B.C.E.

⁸ O. von Hinüber, 1990, pp. 22–23; 1994; R. Gombrich, 1990a, pp. 7–8; 1990b, pp. 21–22; L.S. Cousins, 1983; G. von Simson, 1965; 1977, p. 479.

sarena abhāsi), the name now given to a group of verse suttas in the *Sutta-nipāta*.⁹ In the *Vinaya* mention is made of monks who are expert in the suttas chanting a sutta (*suttantikehi suttantaṃ saṃgāyantehi*).¹⁰ In the *Saṅgīti-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* a distinction is made between the Buddha teaching the Dhamma, a monk teaching the Dhamma to others as he has heard and learnt it, and a monk reciting the Dhamma as he has heard and learnt it (*sajjhāyaṃ karoti*).¹¹ In the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the *Vinaya* there is a particularly interesting *pācittiya* rule which prohibits those who have not taken the higher ordination from being taught the Dhamma by being made to recite it word by word (or “line by line”, *padaso dhammaṃ vāceyya*).¹² The formulation of this rule arose because certain monks were teaching some laymen in this manner. The old commentary takes this as a particular form of recitation, almost in the manner of Vedic chanting. The commentator Buddhaghosa (Sp 741,8–13) interprets this passage as referring to a particular manner of reciting verse. Although it is somewhat obscure, it certainly seems to imply that students were made to learn fixed texts by heart. Again, there are many references to reciting the *Pāṭimokkha*. On one occasion, for example, the Buddha refused to recite the *Pāṭimokkha* because the assembly of monks was not pure.¹³ And finally, there are many passages which refer to monks being learned, having heard much, grasping and remembering the Dhamma, and so on.¹⁴

Despite these references, we do not know what material was actually composed during this period, nor the form and manner in which it was composed. Nor do we understand the relationship of this material to the original discourses, or the relationship of these initial compositions to Buddhist texts as we have them today.¹⁵

All schools of Buddhism agree that soon after the death of the Buddha a council, or *saṅgīti*, was held to confirm and rehearse the Buddha’s teaching.¹⁶ Some schools also maintain that *saṅgītis* were held at other times in the history of the Buddhist community. Also, the Theravāda tradition, for its part, considers that after the first *saṅgīti* a tradition of specialisation arose whereby groups of monks, called *bhāṇakas*, began to specialise in the knowledge and recitation of particular collections of texts.¹⁷

⁹ Vin I 196–197. Ud 59 reads: *soḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni sabbān’ eva sarena abhaṇi*; cf. S. Collins, 1992, p. 125.

¹⁰ Vin I 169.

¹¹ D III 241f.; cf. S. Collins, 1992, pp. 126–127.

¹² Vin IV 14–15; cf. PED s.v. *pada* (*padaso*).

¹³ Vin II 236–241 = Ud 51–56.

¹⁴ E.g. *bahussuto hoti sutadharo sutasannicayo* (M I 356); *so ca bhikkhu bahussuto hoti āgātāgamo dhammadharo vinayadharo mātikhādharo paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī lajji kukkucako sikkhākāmo* (Vin I 337). Cf. S. Collins, 1992 (for a brief description of the teaching and learning process, see esp. p. 124).

¹⁵ Cf. O. von Hinüber, 1990, pp. 26, 28.

¹⁶ O. von Hinüber, 1990, chap. VI; K.R. Norman, 1989, p. 29.

¹⁷ For the *bhāṇaka* tradition see E.W. Adikaram, 1946 (chap 3) and S. Mori, 1990. Cf. K.R. Norman, 1989, pp. 32–34; R. Gombrich, 1990a, p. 7; 1990b, pp. 25–26; S. Collins, 1992, pp. 124–125; L.S. Cousins, 1983, pp. 4–5.

What material was rehearsed at the first *saṅgīti* (and at those which followed) and whether, in fact, fixed texts were “recited” on these occasions is likewise uncertain. We do not yet understand the way in which the *bhāṇaka* system worked, nor its impact on the material being transmitted.¹⁸

The Theravāda tradition maintains that its texts were first written down in the 1st century B.C.E. in Sri Lanka, while information about the use of writing in the other Buddhist schools is generally lacking.¹⁹ The Theravāda account, occurring first in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, is extremely brief, consisting of two verses only.²⁰ We do not know whether writing was utilised as an aid to composition or transmission before this time; but it has been suggested that there is some evidence for a manuscript tradition in the case of certain texts before this date.²¹ Again, we do not yet fully understand what impact writing, or the writing down of the canon, had on the material and its transmission.²²

The period of oral composition and transmission can probably be measured in centuries. K.R. Norman²³, for example, considers that the Buddhist tradition was oral “for perhaps the first three centuries”; R. Gombrich²⁴ suggests “three to four centuries”. But as S. Collins²⁵ has argued, the Buddhist tradition also remained in various ways an oral/aural one, despite the introduction of writing; that is, the monks and nuns recited and listened to oral as well as written texts.

With early Buddhist texts being composed and transmitted orally it is not surprising that they exhibit so many striking features which appear alien to the modern

¹⁸ For examples of differences which may be due to the *bhāṇaka* tradition, see the conclusion to Study 1 (below); see also G. von Simson, 1977, p. 486; O. von Hinüber, 1990, chap. X; K.R. Norman, 1989, pp. 34, 50.

¹⁹ A.K. Warder (1980, p. 294) mentions Bu-ston’s account which states that all schools committed their texts to writing in the 1st century C.E. or earlier. Warder (pp. 345–346) also refers to the Sarvāstivādin account which states that they wrote theirs down c. 100 C.E.

²⁰ *piṭakattayapāliṅ ca tassā aṭṭhakatham pi ca mukhapāthena ānesum pubbe bhikkhū mahāmāṭī hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā ciratthitatham dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayum* (Dīp XX 20–21 = Mhv XXXIII 100–101).

Most scholars seem to uphold the validity of this account. Cf. H. Bechert, 1991b, pp. 9–10; 1992, esp. p. 52; K.R. Norman, 1983, p. 5; 1989, pp. 36–38; R. Gombrich, 1992, p. 160; L.S. Cousins, 1991, p. 55; S. Collins, 1990, p. 96ff.; 1992, p. 128; T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, 1881, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

²¹ J. Brough, 1962, pp. 28–29, 218–219. The Pāli version of the verse to which Brough refers has *va sayati*, where the other versions support an original *sa vayati*. Brough (ibid., p. 218) dismisses the possibility that such a transposition of syllables could have occurred in the course of purely oral transmission as, he states, “such a supposition would indeed imply an unbelievably slipshod *paramparā*. But in manuscript copying this is a common and readily understandable error”. However, such a transposition seems equally as possible in oral transmission. Cf. S. Collins, 1990, fnt. 25.

²² See K.R. Norman, 1993c.

²³ K.R. Norman, 1995, p. 309.

²⁴ R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 21; cf. 1992, p. 160. T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, (1881, p. xxxvi) suggest “about three hundred years”. I.B. Horner (1992, p. 186), speaking of the *Vinaya* rules, states that the “rules were formulated orally and transmitted orally for probably more than 200 years”; O. von Hinüber, 1996, § 9 gives “for more than one, if not two, centuries”.

²⁵ S. Collins, 1992, esp. p. 121; cf. O. von Hinüber, 1990, p. 9, chaps. XIV & XV.

reader and which, as stated earlier, are generally taken to be indicative of the oral status of this material. Stylistic features alone do not prove that a literature was originally oral, for written texts can, for various reasons, deliberately mimic the style of texts belonging to an earlier, oral phase of the tradition. Besides, the impact of the new medium on the style of the texts being composed would not have been immediate.²⁶ But as there are other reasons for taking this to be an oral literature, we can regard the stylistic features of these texts as being, at least in part, a product of their oral origins.

Scholars have made valuable contributions to our understanding of early Buddhist literature through the study of a number of its features and by drawing on a variety of resources. Some have studied the languages and metres found in these texts and documented their development, while others have made comparative studies of the various parallel versions of particular texts or groups of texts belonging to different schools and preserved in different languages. The accounts given by the various traditions of the formation and transmission of their texts have also been discussed and attempts have been made to show that developments in the ideas preserved in these texts have taken place, thereby establishing chronological and functional relationships. But despite being so important a feature of these texts, their stylistic characteristics have received little attention and only a few articles have specifically discussed the orality of the early Buddhist tradition. Yet an investigation of the diction of these texts would certainly be revealing of the compositional tendencies of their authors and would provide a foundation for understanding why such stylistic features were used. It might also provide evidence of how these texts were composed. And finally, such a study would provide yet another tool for identifying differences between individual texts, groups of texts or even different sections of the same text, and therefore help us to understand their complex relationship and possibly determine differences in authorship, chronology or function.

Apart from H. Oldenberg's *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa* (1917), which includes an overview of Buddhist prose (pp. 39–52), the only detailed study of the style of early Buddhist texts is G. von Simson's *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons* (1965).²⁷ This latter work examines the dominant

²⁶ G. Bonazzoli (1983, esp. p. 267) and H. Bakker (1989, pp. 330–332) both argue that, in the case of the purāṇas, stylistic features do not necessarily indicate oral composition. They both see the purāṇas as resulting from an interplay between oral and written transmission.

For a discussion of the interaction of oral transmission and writing, see R. Finnegan, 1992, pp. 151f., 160–168.

For examples of the criticism of the use of stylistic features or formulaic density as an indicator of oral or written origins which are encountered in the wider field of oral literature research, see, for example, A.B. Lord, 1975, pp. 12–20; 1986, p. 478f.; 1987; J.M. Foley, 1985, pp. 26–27, 42, 50, 56; and most importantly, R. Finnegan, 1992, pp. 69ff., chap. 4, esp. 126ff.

²⁷ S. Weeratunge's "Some significant stylistic traits of Buddhist Sanskrit prose" (1992) and P. Kwella's "Some remarks on the style of some Buddhist Sanskrit texts" (1978) also briefly discuss some stylistic features of Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

stylistic features of three of the most important Sanskrit sūtra texts belonging to the Sarvastivāda school. It also compares the diction of these texts with the parallel Pāli suttas. Although an important work, it is limited in part by the small number of texts studied and their fragmentary nature. Also, when compared with the parallel Pāli versions, it is seen that they have undergone a number of important changes: the language is Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit rather than a Middle-Indian dialect and there is, for example, much expansion of the wording. They are in consequence, at least in terms of their language and diction, generally regarded to be later than the parallel Pāli texts. Although Pāli texts have also undergone changes, they are the most numerous, complete and best preserved of the surviving texts which are representative of the early phase of Buddhist literature. They therefore represent the most suitable material with which to begin a study of the stylistic features of early Buddhist texts. A thorough understanding of what occurs in the Pāli texts will then enable us to interpret the less numerous and more fragmentary texts belonging to other schools.

An important recent publication is O. von Hinüber's *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* (1994), which is an initial examination of one particularly dominant stylistic feature of early Buddhist literature (this will be discussed in greater detail in Study 2). A number of studies have also utilised stylistic features and elements of diction in general to determine the relationship between certain texts and to identify the school to which a particular work belongs.²⁸ The only other work of importance is J. Gonda's *Stylistic repetitions in the Veda* (1959), which examines the stylistic features of Vedic literature.

For some decades now a field of study has developed in the West which has attempted to understand the way in which oral literature is composed and to identify its peculiar characteristics. Particularly important to the foundation of this field were Milman Parry's studies of Homeric epic verse.²⁹ Parry argued that many of the stylistic features of these texts indicated that this literature had its origins in an oral tradition, and he developed the theory that in an oral epic tradition the poet creates his poems as he performs with the aid of what he referred to as formulas and themes, which are the building blocks of the performance. In consequence, every performance of the poem was a new creation, although each version may have been very similar. In an attempt to confirm these ideas Parry and A.B. Lord conducted field work in what was then Yugoslavia where a living tradition of oral epic verse survived. After Parry's death, Lord continued these studies and further developed this theory. Most importantly, he emphasised the improvisatory nature of oral performance, regarding "oral" to be

²⁸ See, for example, G. Roth (1968), O. von Hinüber (1989), G. von Simson (1977) and many of the articles in H. Bechert (ed.) *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hinayāna-Literatur* (1985).

²⁹ For a brief overview of Parry's work, see H. Lloyd-Jones (1992) and the introductory essay to J.M. Foley (1985).

“formulaically improvised”. He therefore argued against the conception of fixed, memorised texts in oral traditions, stating, for example, that “sacred texts which must be preserved word for word, if there be such, could not be *oral* in any except the most literal sense”.³⁰ In response to this, some have considered that the rote learning of a lengthy text and its verbatim repetition is the product of a culture which knows writing for, they argue, it is only through a fixed, written text that we can have the notion of word-for-word fixity.³¹ But Lord’s tendency to see his model as universally valid and his attributing of particularly restricted meanings to certain terms have been criticised by a number of scholars.³² The Parry-Lord model may describe what occurs in the Homeric or Yugoslav traditions, or even be appropriate to oral epic traditions in general, but oral traditions are diverse, and what holds true for one may not be appropriate for another.³³

The first application of these theories to early Buddhist literature was L.S. Cousins’ article “Pali oral literature” (1983). Cousins argued that in the earliest phase in the production of Buddhist literature the monks performed accounts of the Buddha’s discourses and presented his teaching in the manner proposed by the Parry-Lord model, that is, with “a strong improvisatory element” (p. 9). With time this material then came to be fixed due to its religious authority (p. 6). The differences between accounts of the same event or teaching found in different collections within the Pāli canon and between the parallel material belonging to different schools are evidence for an initially improvisatory stage, for such variations, he states, “are too frequent to arise from the natural variation of a manuscript tradition or even from a rigidly memorised oral tradition” (pp. 5–6).

R. Gombrich, in a paper entitled “How Mahāyāna began” (1990b),³⁴ argued against the improvisatory stage proposed by Cousins, seeing early Buddhist texts as “deliberate compositions which were then committed to memory, and later systematically transmitted to pupils” (p. 24), because, he states, “the whole purpose of the enterprise ... was to preserve the Buddha’s words” (p. 22). Further: “The early Buddhists wished to preserve the words of their great teacher, texts very different in character from the general run of oral literature, for they presented logical and sometimes complex arguments. The precise wording mattered” (p. 21).

The only other work which has attempted to address the question of the method used by the early Buddhists for the composition of their texts is R. Gethin’s

³⁰ A.B. Lord, 1960, p. 280.

³¹ I.M.L. Hunter, 1985. But lengthy verbatim recall could, in fact, be verified by a group of specialist reciters. As will be shown in the following studies, there are also many stylistic features which can aid the oral transmission of a fixed text.

³² See, for example, J.D. Smith, 1977. Lord’s response to Smith’s criticism is found in A.B. Lord, 1987, p. 65ff. (see also Conclusion fn. 2).

³³ The most important articulation of the diversity of oral traditions is found in R. Finnegan, 1992.

³⁴ This article first appeared in 1988 in the *Journal of Pāli and Buddhist Studies*.

“The *Mātikās*: memorization, mindfulness and the list” (1992). He argues that lists, which are so integral to the Buddhist tradition, could, apart from operating “as a basic mnemonic device enabling one to remember a lot of material” and helping “one to learn the Dhamma with a view to its inner structure and dynamic” (p. 155), also “act as a kind of flowchart for the composition of a discourse” (p. 156), thereby giving it structure and “representing a technique of oral composition” (p. 164). Gethin, like Cousins, considers the delivery of discourses and accounts of what the Buddha said to have been an improvisatory affair, and the differences between parallel versions of the same text as resulting from such a method. The various versions of the *Dasuttara-sutta* (*Daśottara-sūtra*), for example, differ as to the items given in certain lists because they represent different performances of what is essentially the same list-giving discourse (pp. 157–158).

Other publications which have discussed the orality of the early Buddhist tradition are: O. von Hinüber’s *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien* (1990), especially Chap. V “Die Mündlichkeit der ältesten buddhistischen Texte” and Chap. XIV “Die mündliche Textweitergabe bei den Buddhisten” and his *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* (1994); S. Collins’ “Notes on some oral aspects of Pali literature” (1992); and R. Gombrich’s “Recovering the Buddha’s message” (1990a). These works will be discussed in the course of the following studies.

In the present work a number of the most prominent stylistic features of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts are analysed and their function, particularly as aids to the composition and transmission of this literature, discussed. I have restricted myself to an analysis of prose, because this is by far the most dominant medium used by the early Buddhists. It is also particularly interesting as most oral literature is verse (if and when a verse/prose distinction can be made).³⁵ I have chosen to study Pāli canonical sutta texts, not because they are the oldest, but because, as stated earlier, they represent the most complete and best preserved body of texts representative of the early phase of Buddhist literature. However, due to the extensiveness of Pāli sutta texts, these studies are restricted to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the first book of the *Sutta-piṭaka*.

This work consists of three studies. The first looks at the use of formulas and the standardisation of the diction. The second is an analysis of the tendency to proliferate similar word elements and units of meaning, and to arrange the member elements of such sequences according to their syllable lengths. The sound and metrical similarities or repetitions evident in these structures are also studied. Appendix 2 to this second study examines the use of these features in a comparable Jain text. The final

³⁵ For a discussion of the prose/verse distinction in oral literature, see R. Finnegan, 1992, index s.v. ‘prose’ (add p. 268).

study analyses repetition within one sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and attempts to quantify this internal repetition.

The purpose of this research is threefold:

- (1) To identify and provide a detailed understanding of some of the most important compositional tendencies of the authors of this material and, in the case of two of the three studies, to determine whether there is consistency.
- (2) To attempt to determine whether early Buddhist texts were initially composed in an improvisatory manner or were designed as fixed texts which were to be memorised and transmitted verbatim.
- (3) To provide another means for the identification of differences between texts and groups of texts, which would enable us to further our understanding of their relationship and their origins and development.

STUDY 1. THE USE OF FORMULAS OR STANDARDISED PHRASES IN PĀLI SUTTA TEXTS: APPROACH FORMULAS IN THE *DĪGHĀ-NIKĀYA*.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

One of the most dominant characteristics of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts is the use of standardised phrases or passages to express or depict a given concept, action or event. These standardised phrases have been variously called “formulas”, “clichés”, “stock expressions”, “stock phrases” and “stereotyped phrases”. This diversity of terminology in part reflects a general uncertainty as to what actually constitutes a “formula”, “stock phrase”, and so on, and whether, say, a “formula” is different from a “stock phrase” or “stock expression”.

P. Skilling, for example, refers to “the stock formula ... *atha bhagavān* (name of donor, genitive) *tad dānam anayā abhyanumodanayā abhyanumodate*” (1992, p. 135), but then later mentions the “stock phrase (or variants thereof) ... *avatāraprekṣy avatāragavesī*” (ibid., pp. 147–148). Is he here distinguishing between a stock formula and a stock phrase, for on one level these two units of meaning are different, or is he using these two terms synonymously? R. Gombrich uses “stock formulae” (1990a, p. 7) and refers to “the use of formulae and stock passages” (ibid., p. 8). In this case what is the difference between a “formula” and a “stock passage”? If “stock passage” is being used here to encompass larger repetitive units, then when does a “formula” become a “stock passage”? In his *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons* (1965, § 15.8) G. von Simson refers to “der eigentliche Kern der Besuchs-formel (*yena bhagavāms tenopajagāma / upetya bhagavatpādaḥ śirasā vanditvaikānte nyaṣīdat bzw. 'sthāt*)”. In a later article he states: “die Formel *yena ...* (Nominativ) ... *ten' upasaṃkami / upasaṃkamtivā ...* erscheint dementsprechend häufig als Teil eines grösseren Formelkomplexes, deren eine Variante im Pāli z.B. lautet: ... (Nominativ) ... *yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi / ekamantaṃ nisinno ...*”.¹ In other words, what he formerly called “der eigentliche Kern der Besuchs-formel” he later regarded as a “Formelkomplex” within which the “Formel” *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami / upasaṃkamtivā* occurs. But what then is the status of the other (fixed) units of meaning utilised by this “Formelkomplex” and what is the relationship between a “Formel” and a “Formelkomplex”?²

¹ G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480.

² J. Silk (1989) refers to “stock openings of Buddhist sūtras”, “the formulaic *sūtra* openings”, “opening phrase”, “opening formula”, “stock opening formula”.

L.S. Cousins (1983) uses “mnemonic formulae” (p. 1) and refers to “the formulaic phrase ‘*sambādhe okāsādhigamo*’” (p. 6). In another article he refers to “a stock phrase on the arahat” (1991, p. 36 fnt. 46).

R. Gethin (1992) speaks of “a stock Nikāya formula detailing four kinds of effort” (p. 152) and also the “stock phrase” *bahu-ssuto āgatāgamo dhamma-dhara vinaya-dhara*, etc. (fnt. 33).

An enormous amount of research has been undertaken on the formulaic nature of the oral and written “literatures” belonging to a diverse range of traditions, and numerous attempts have been made to define the formula and understand its linguistic characteristics (motivated in part by the fact that the presence of formulas was seen to be indicative of oral composition or, at least, as vestiges of a previous oral tradition).³ Central to this research has been Milman Parry’s definition of a formula, appearing in virtually every article on the subject either as the accepted definition or as the starting point for the author’s own proposal.

Based on his studies on Homeric epic verse, Parry defined the formula as “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea”.⁴ This has obvious limitations for our purposes for we are dealing with prose and the metrical dimension or requirement is therefore inappropriate.

A number of scholars have argued for the exclusion of the metrical component from the definition of a formula. P. Kiparsky (1976, pp. 84, 87), for example, has so argued based on examples from within the Homeric material itself, and M. O’Conner (1980, pp. 104–106), in part stimulated by Kiparsky’s paper, felt that it was inappropriate for Canaanite poetry (which includes Hebrew poetry) as it is essentially oral, yet not metrical. Again, in 1982 both G. Roghair and B. Beck published their studies of two South Indian contemporary oral epics. Both epics contain substantial portions of prose, which the authors suggest contain formulas.⁵ Consequently, Roghair, for example, excludes the metrical requirement from the definition and states: “Thus a formula is simply a group of words which is regularly employed under the same

The CPD states that *āvibhāva* (s.v.) is “enumerated in the cliché ...” (also s.v. *iti-bhavābhava*) and the PED refers to “stock phrase” (s.v. *paṭihankhāti*) and “stereotype phrase” (s.v. *yathābhatam*).

G. von Simson (1977) refers to “stereotypen Phrasen” (p. 485) and “stereotypen Formeln” (p. 488).

J. Ergardt (1977) uses “arahant-formula” (throughout) and “credo-formula” (p. 46).

L. Schmithausen (1981) refers to the “stereotyped description of the *saṃjñāvedayitānirodha*-Liberation process” (pp. 230–231), the “stereotyped formula *khīṇā jāti*, etc.” (fnt. 138), the “(stereotyped) introductory phrases” and the “Arahat formula” (p. 238).

For J. Gonda’s use of the term “formula” in his *Stylistic repetitions in the Veda* see, for example, pp. 137 & 182.

O. von Hinüber (1990, Chap. VII; cf. 1993, p. 105ff.) discusses “Die Entwicklung der formelhaften Wortgruppe *muddā - gaṇanā - saṃkhāna*”, also calling such groups of words “Formeln” as he does in O. von Hinüber 1994. This corresponds to the structures discussed in Study 2 of the present work.

³ For a good overview of the field with bibliography, see J.M. Foley (1985). For an important discussion of the linguistic characteristics of formulas, see P. Kiparsky (1976). A.B. Lord (1960, p. 30) discusses the various terms used in Homeric scholarship — “repetitions”, “stock epithets”, “epic clichés”, “stereotyped phrases” — and their limitations of being too vague or restricted. He considers that Parry’s work and definition answered this and had the advantages of eliminating the ambiguity of “repetitions”, of broadening “formula” to include more than repeated epithets, and of removing the opprobrium attached to “clichés” and “stereotyped”.

⁴ See, for example, H. Lloyd-Jones (1992, p. 52) and A.B. Lord (1960, p. 4).

⁵ G.H. Roghair (1982, p. 60) and B. Beck (1982, pp. 64–65).

conditions to express a given essential idea”.⁶ But others have challenged these attempts to modify the metrical component or to exclude it from the definition.

J.D. Smith (1987, pp. 596–597), for example, maintains that the formulas identified by Roghair and Beck are highly restricted in character — in the Beck material the formulas are mostly short phrases functioning to embellish rather than aid composition, while in the epic of Pálnādu studied by Roghair they are formulas of address — and occupy only a small proportion of the prose passages, thereby proving “to be not very formulaic even if Parry’s original definition is stripped of its metrical criterion” (p. 602). Kiparsky’s view is therefore not supported by Smith (*ibid.*).⁷

For A.B. Lord, who has been one of the most dominant figures in the field of oral literature research and has championed and developed Parry’s ideas, the formula is the product of the constraints of rapid oral verse making and therefore inseparable from metre. He states: “because ... of the restrictions of verse, there emerges a number of more or less fixed phrases, lines, or groups of lines, i.e., the formulas and formulaic expressions of the poetry” (1975, p. 17). In this way “any study of formula[s] must therefore properly begin with a consideration of metrics and music” (1960, p. 31).

As noted in the introduction, according to Lord, oral literature is, and is exhausted by, oral narrative (epic) poetry which is composed during performance.⁸ In the introduction to his important and influential publication *The Singer of Tales*, Lord set out his definitions: “stated briefly, oral epic song is narrative poetry composed in a manner evolved over many generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write; it consists of the building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes. This is the technical sense in which I shall use the word ‘oral’ and ‘oral epic’ in this book.” He then gives Parry’s definition (see above) as his definition of a formula and continues: “By formulaic expression I denote a line or half line constructed on the pattern of the formulas. By theme I refer to the repeated incidents and descriptive passages in the songs” (1960, p. 4).

To draw briefly on the Yugoslav material studied by Lord, an example of a formula is *Kraljevicu Marko* “Kraljevicu (/Prince) Marko”, a second-half-line formula within the sentence *Vino pije Kraljevicu Marko* “Kraljevicu (/Prince) Marko is drinking wine” (1960, p. 34). This is the name of an actor within the narrative. Other common formulas express the time at which an action occurred, e.g. *Kad je zora krila pomolila* “When dawn put forth its wings” (p. 35). According to Lord, formulas are not static,

⁶ G.H. Roghair, 1982, p. 66. Cf. also O.M. Davidson (1988) who discusses modifications to the metrical component.

⁷ For a general discussion of the problem of defining the formula, see R. Finnegan, 1992, p. 71f.

⁸ Yet Lord does occasionally seem to speak as if there is such a thing as oral prose, referring to “oral traditional poetry and prose” (1986, p. 472) and “oral traditional verse and oral traditional prose” (1987, p. 58); cf. A.B. Lord, 1975, p. 16. See also P. Kiparsky, 1976, p. 87ff.

fixed memorised elements. There may be a wealth of stable traditional formulas known to several singers within a tradition, but new phrases are created based on an understanding of the basic patterns. With regular use these then become formulas (p. 43; cf. p. 4).

What actually constitutes a formulaic expression is rather vague and examples are not given. Primarily they seem to be phrases which do not quite qualify as formulas or whose status is uncertain (p. 47). As important as the formulas themselves are what are called systems of formulas; that is, parallel structures within which elements of similar meaning and metrical length can be substituted. The examples of *davur doro* and *davur šturán*, where *doro* and *šturán* are words for horse, show that there is a system of *davur* + any two-syllable word for a horse (p. 47f.).

Examples of themes are battle scenes or the holding of a council. The latter, for example, consists of the following: the sultan receives a letter from his field commanders. He summons his councillors together and asks them for advice. He receives two kinds of advice: good and bad. He writes an imperial letter to Bosnia and dispatches a messenger (p. 68). The theme is not any fixed set of words, but is rather a grouping of ideas (p. 69). It is regarded as a unit but it can be broken down into smaller parts, or minor themes (e.g. the receipt of the letter, calling a council, and so on) subsidiary to the larger theme (p. 71).

Finally, according to Lord (1975, p. 21) there is nothing within a song which is not formulaic or thematic.

Despite the seeming neatness of this schema, the actual identification of formulas, the distinction between formulas and formulaic expressions, between formulas and themes, and between subsidiary or minor themes and larger themes, has not always been so apparent to scholars, whether working within the Homeric or Yugoslav traditions, or elsewhere. For example, J.D. Smith (1977, pp. 149–150)⁹ expresses his difficulty in identifying themes in the epic of Pābūjī, principally because of the one-off nature of that epic, but suggests a possible example. In a later article (1989, pp. 33–35) he gives an example of a journey-theme, also calling it the theme “Pābūjī sends Cãdo to fetch Deval”. It consists of anything from 22 to 6 couplets depending on the singer’s preferences and the audience’s demands. Finally, in a more recent publication (1991, p. 21), Smith states that conventional thematic analysis is not likely to prove useful as an approach to the Pābūjī epic as “stylisation so permeates the text at every level that ... it is difficult to decide where to draw the line”. He continues: “Is the theme to be ‘Pābūjī sends Cãdo to fetch Deval (to pick an emissary)’, or is it to be ‘Cãdo sets out on a journey (to fetch Deval to pick an emissary)’ or ‘Cãdo dresses himself (to set out on a journey to fetch Deval to pick an emissary)’?” Smith eventually

⁹ See also B.A. Rosenberg, 1987, p. 82ff.

comes to see the “simple theme” as the “simple verse” in that “every line of text recalls a single event or descriptive fact ... The epic narrative consists of an enormously protracted concatenation of individual facts, each of which carries the same apparent ‘weight’ as all the others, regardless of the importance to the story: Cādo greets Būro, Dhebo wipes out an army single-handed ...” (ibid.). Thus, as a formula can occupy a line, it becomes co-spacial with the “simple theme”. For Smith, themes are the repeated elements of a stylised narrative and formulas are the repeated elements of a stylised text, or “in less technical language, the epic consists of stock scenes described in stock phrases” (ibid., p. 21).¹⁰ In this sense the term “formula” refers to the wording while “theme” refers to the “essential idea or group of ideas” expressed by that wording.

In the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts, individual words are used to form groups of words which are then used as fixed units of meaning in a variety of contexts. These fixed units, which can also be called phrases or expressions, may at one level express or depict a given concept, action or event. These units are then used to build up larger units of meaning which in turn may be used in a variety of contexts as fixed units. These also express or depict what can be described at another level as a given concept, action or event. This process may continue to still further levels of complexity. For example, the relatively common event of a god or some individual of supernormal powers disappearing in one place and reappearing in another is virtually always expressed by means of the fixed unit [person *x*: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* in combination with, for example, the units [place: loc.] *antarahito* and [person *y*: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi*, or some variants of these two. Because of its regular use, this combination of units can be regarded as a formula: in this case a disappearing-reappearing formula. This in turn may be used within a larger unit which is regularly used to depict a god approaching someone. In this way the disappearing-reappearing formula forms a part of what can be referred to as an approach formula.¹¹ We therefore find formulas within formulas, for the term “formula” merely refers to the fact that that group of words (large or small) is regularly used to express or depict a given concept, action or event. In the same way we have themes within themes, as the theme is merely the idea or group of ideas expressed by the formula. Fixed units of meaning, whether individual words or combinations of words,¹² short combinations of fixed units of meaning — both of which are phrases or expressions — and larger combinations of fixed units of meaning, which are commonly referred to as passages, can be regarded as formulas. In other words, the term “formula” does not refer to a unit of specific size,

¹⁰ Cf. J.D. Smith, 1977, p. 149 & fnt. 18.

¹¹ See part 1, section V below.

¹² This includes, for example, *āmantesi, etad avoca*, etc., which are often referred to as stock expressions. G. von Simson (1965, § 12) refers to these as “stehende Wendungen”.

structure or location within the text, but to the function or use of that group of words within the text or tradition. And in this sense we can have formulas within oral or literate traditions. This is the sense in which I use the word “formula”. It is regarded as being synonymous with stock/stereotyped/formulaic phrase, expression, or passage.

For Lord, however, it was precisely function which determined the formula and distinguished it from mere repetition. But here the function of formulas is to facilitate rapid composition during performance. And so we find him saying “one cannot have *formulas* outside of oral traditional verse, because it is the function of formulas to make composition easier under the necessities of rapid composition in performance, and if that necessity no longer exists, one no longer has formulas. If one discovers repeated phrases in texts known not to be oral traditional texts, then they should be called repeated phrases rather than formulas”.¹³ But what happens if one finds repeated phrases in texts known to be oral traditional texts, yet not (necessarily) composed “in performance”?

Lord’s highly restricted use of “oral” as meaning “formulaically improvised” and criticisms of this have already been noted in the introductory chapter. But, as stated earlier, contrary to what Lord would have us believe, composition-in-performance, or formulaic improvisation, does not exhaust the “oral” or “literary/performance” dimension of oral cultures. This theme will be taken up again in the concluding chapter.

In the following study the use of formulas in the prose sutta texts of the Pāli canon — a class of literature which, as shown in the introduction, is generally regarded as being oral — is explored in detail. Apart from possibly contributing to the wider field of the study of oral literature, a study of the structure, employment and function of formulas within this class of Buddhist literature may help to answer many questions concerning the diction of early Buddhist texts and their composition and transmission.

As previously mentioned, it is seen, for example, that these phrases or formulas are composed of fixed units of meaning, which are included or omitted in the phrase according to certain dictates. This raises many questions. What are the component, fixed units of meaning in any one category of formula and are they employed in other unrelated phrases or formulas? Do the units occupy the same syntactical position in the various applications of the phrase and what is the grammatical structure of the formula as a whole? When and under what specific circumstances are these component units included or omitted in like phrases? Are certain units, for example, only used in relation to certain persons, places or actions, and how are these formulas accommodated to different circumstances? When are these formulas employed in the Pāli suttas and do the Pāli suttas have a characteristic structure with certain formulas playing a particular role within this structure? What exactly is meant when it is

¹³ A.B. Lord, 1975, p. 18. Lord has argued at greater length for the distinction between repetition and formulas in A.B. Lord, 1986, pp. 481–494.

said that these formulas have a mnemonic function? Will such a study throw light on the methodology and tendencies of the authors or redactors of these Buddhist texts which were initially composed and transmitted orally? Is the process of the standardising of the wording of phrases which express or depict similar concepts, actions or events observable? And do these stock phrases thus show signs of historical development or was the process uniform and complete?

A number of studies have paid attention to formulas in Buddhist literature.¹⁴ H. Härtel's *Karmavācanā, Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften* (1956) compares the various versions of the formulas connected with laymen (*upāsakas*), ordination (*pravrajyā* and *upasampadā*), the posatha days, the Pravāraṇā ceremonies, fixed residences, and a few miscellanies found in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese texts belonging to various schools.

F. Weller's 1940 article "Über die Formel der vier edlen Wahrheiten" makes a brief study of the formula expressing the Four Noble Truths in the Pāli canon.¹⁵

J. Ergardt's 1977 monograph *Faith and knowledge in early Buddhism. An analysis of the contextual structures of an arhant-formula in the Majjhima-Nikāya* is a study of the formulas associated with *arahats*. In Ergardt's words: "the purpose of this study is to connect *faith and knowledge* with an *arahant-formula*" and then to ask "whether faith or knowledge is essential for the description and explanation of the formula and its contextual structures" (p. 2). In other words, the primary concern of this work is the meaning and contextual function of the various *arahat* formulas, rather than the nature of formulas and their place in the composition and transmission of the literature.

J. Brough in " 'Thus have I heard ...' " (1950) and J. Silk in "A note on the opening formula of Buddhist *Sūtras*" (1989) address the problem of the interpretation and therefore the punctuation of the opening formula of suttas.

Several of B.J. Manné's recent articles, which are based on or reproduce chapters of her Ph.D. thesis *Debates and case histories in the Pāli canon* (1991), investigate a number of formulas used in Pāli canonical texts. These studies are primarily concerned with the contextual function of formulas and the function of the individual texts and collections of texts.

"Categories of sutta in the Pāli Nikāyas and their implications for our appreciation of the Buddhist teaching and literature" (B.J. Manné 1990 = 1991, chap. 2)

¹⁴ The following survey does not include articles which only briefly touch on formulas; e.g. L. Sanders (1985) discusses the occurrence of *pariṣad* and *parṣad* in "feste Redewendungen" (= formulas), "Einzelbelege" and "Komposita". Further, O. von Hinüber's publications which examine structures which consist of two or three verbs, adjectives, and so on — structures which he refers to as "Formeln" — are not mentioned here. These will be discussed in Study 2.

¹⁵ Cf. K.R. Norman (1982) "The Four Noble Truths: A problem of Pāli syntax".

explores formulas as indicative of and as providing the structure for various categories of sutta. So, for example, a “Sermon” is characterised by particular introductory and concluding formulas.

“On a departure formula and its translation” (B.J. Manné 1993 = 1991, chap. 3) attempts to show how the correct understanding of formulas — in this case a departure formula — “can prevent misunderstandings of the redactor’s/story-teller’s intentions ... help us to understand characters and events ... contribute to our appreciation of sociological details, and ... enable us to make accurate translations” (1993, p. 27).

“*Sīhanāda* — the Lion’s Roar or what the Buddha was supposed to be willing to defend in debate” (B.J. Manné 1996 = 1991, chap. 5) is a study of the “Lion’s Roar” (*sīhanāda*) and the phrases and formulas associated with this.

Finally, in “Case histories from the Pāli canon I ...” and “Case histories from the Pāli canon II ...” (B.J. Manné 1995a, 1995b = 1991, chaps. 6 & 7) Manné examines what she calls the “*Sāmaññaphala Sutta* hypothetical case history” formula in terms “of its quality as a case history and in terms of its context” (1995a, p. 7) and examines the formulas which express the four stages of attainment (*sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmi*, etc.), their variations, occurrences, their use by particular suttas and nikāyas, and then speculates on their historical development.

L. Schmithausen in his article “On some aspects of descriptions or theories of ‘liberating insight’ and ‘enlightenment’ in early Buddhism” (1981) and J. Bronkhorst in *The Two traditions of meditation in ancient India* (1986) have studied formulas, or stock passages, which express particular Buddhist teachings and practices in an attempt to identify developments in those teachings and practices and therefore strata in the texts.

In his *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons* (1965), under the heading of “festgelegte Wortfolgen”, G. von Simson examines what he calls “Phasenkomplexe” in the three primary Central Asian Sanskrit texts belonging to the Turfan collection, and compares these with the parallel Pāli phrases. He discusses phrases which depict the Buddha changing his place of residence (Ortswechsel), those which depict someone visiting the Buddha (Besuch beim Buddha), those which express invitations and the giving of a meal (Einladung und Bewirtung), and phrases which depict the Buddha as teacher and proselytizer (Auftreten des Buddha als Lehrer und Bekehrer). As mentioned in the introduction, although this is an important work it is limited by the small number of the texts used and their fragmentary condition. Also, of those passages which depict someone approaching another person, he has only dealt with visits to the Buddha. The wording of the latter passages can, in fact, only be satisfactorily understood in the light of a complete study of all phrases depicting someone approaching another person. There are therefore a number of incorrect

statements in this work. Again, he discusses the pre-approach and approach structures of these passages but not the important post-approach elements.¹⁶ A satisfactory analysis of the structure of these formulas and the elements utilised by them is therefore lacking. This work is therefore of only limited use for the present study, though we have made use of his general findings.

Von Simson's later article "Zur Phrase *yena ... tenopajagāma / upetya* und ihren Varianten im buddhistischen Sanskrit" (1977) discusses the various versions of this formula (Pāli *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā*) in the surviving Sanskrit and Pāli texts. Though again of only limited use to our current study of approach formulas, it is nonetheless an important contribution to our understanding of the transmission of Buddhist texts and developments in the languages used by them.

Finally, N. Wagle's book *Society at the time of the Buddha* (1966) devotes a chapter to the formulas, or terms, of address and "salutation" employed in encounters in the Pāli *Sutta-* and *Vinaya-piṭakas*. Both of these elements are important in our current study and Wagle's work has been referred to where necessary. There are, however, a number of errors in this work.

A large proportion of the above mentioned studies have paid attention to formulas which express aspects of the teaching or practice, either for the purpose of understanding those teachings or practices or in an attempt to understand their contextual function. Those studies which have investigated formulas from a stylistic and compositional perspective have to a large extent been limited in their scope and approach. No study has been made of a complete class of formula from a stylistic point of view or provided an indepth analysis of the structure and employment of those formulas or attempted to understand their function in terms of the composition and transmission of the literature. In consequence, many of the questions raised above still remain unanswered. To answer them is the aim of the present study.

The narrative, prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts contain many passages which depict someone approaching another person, and the phrases used to depict these approaches are formulaic. These are formulas which depict an action as distinct from those which express a concept (teaching or practice). They occur within passages which provide the contextual framework or setting for the expression of concepts and teachings. The present study is a complete analysis of all approach formulas found in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the first book of the *Sutta-piṭaka* and one of the principal collections of sutta texts in the Pāli canon. This study has been restricted to this collection because the present circumstances do not allow a proper analysis of the enormous amount of material that would need to be processed if all occurrences in the Pāli canon were taken into consideration. However, the parallel material found in other

¹⁶ Von Simson briefly mentions forms of respect at § 15.2–3 and posturing forms at § 15.4–7.

canonical texts has been referred to where appropriate. It is felt that such a thorough but somewhat restricted approach will be more productive in the long-term.¹⁷

The material in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, which is extensive in itself, can be divided into two groups according to who approaches whom. For the most part, the formulas of these two groups differ in their structure and in the use of particular units of meaning. They are: (1) the formulas used to depict someone approaching the Buddha, a *bhikkhu*, or another person, and a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha or another *bhikkhu*; and (2) the formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu*. These will be dealt with separately in part 1 and part 2 of the following study.¹⁸

PART 1: THE FORMULAS USED TO DEPICT SOMEONE APPROACHING THE BUDDHA, A *BHIKKHU*, OR ANOTHER PERSON, AND A *BHIKKHU* APPROACHING THE BUDDHA OR ANOTHER *BHIKKHU*.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In the *Dīgha-nikāya*, and probably also in other Pāli canonical texts, the action of a person approaching someone else is almost exclusively expressed by means of the verb *upa-saṃ-√kam*, usually translated as “approach”. The exception to this is where a person or deity disappears from one place and reappears in front of another person or deity, which is expressed by means of the “just as a strong man would stretch out his flexed arm” formula.¹⁹ Even here, however, if the person approaching (referred to in this study as the “approacher”) does not reappear immediately in front of the person approached but to some nearby place first, then the formula *yena* [person: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā* may be subsequently included.²⁰ Of those approaches which depend on the verb *upasaṃ√kam*, two distinct approach structures can be identified.

2. The first and simplest has *upa-saṃ-√kam* taking the accusative of direction: [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *upasaṃ√kam*. This is referred to as formula type A following its listing in section A of the references. In effect the verb is always in the absolutive form. This formula type is comparatively uncommon.

¹⁷ The formulas found in other canonical texts is currently being investigated.

¹⁸ All approaches are listed in the references section according to sutta and paragraph number (e.g. § xvi. 2.24) and the PTS volume and page number (e.g. [I 99]). In this study, when a passage is discussed, only the former reference is given along with its formula classification (e.g. B.6). The PTS volume and page number can therefore be found by referring to the sutta-paragraph reference listed under the formula type in the references section at the end of these two studies (pp. 167–190).

¹⁹ See E and F formulas discussed in section V below.

²⁰ See F type formulas.

3. The most frequently used formula, which is also more complex, involves the use of the relative pronoun declined in the instrumental, *yena*, in combination with its correlative *tena* to give a sense of “where (he was), there he approached” (see III 3.2 below), with the finite verb then repeated in its absolutive form to introduce the post-approach structure. In this construction the person approached is placed in the nominative: [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā*. This is referred to as formula type B following its listing in section B of the references. More will be said about this construction later.

II. TYPE A FORMULAS

1. Structure.

pre-approach	none
approach	[approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] <i>upasaṃkamtivā</i>
post-approach	verbal interaction (asking, informing, etc.)

1.1 Type A formulas have no pre-approach structure as is commonly found in many type B formulas — for example, there is no description of the intention to approach or of the means of approaching — though it may form the concluding action in a string of absolutes before the finite verb of the sentence; e.g. *gantvā ... adhiyivā ... upasaṃkamtivā ... yāci* (§ iii. 1.23 [I 96]) or *ādāya ... upasaṃkamtivā evaṃ āhamsu* (§ v. 19 [I 142]).

1.2 As noted, the unit [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *upasaṃkamtivā* portrays the actual approach.

1.3 There is only the simplest post-approach structure, with verbal interaction being the most common element depicted. There is thus no depiction of the showing of respect or the adopting of a posture (the description of standing or sitting to one side) as occurs in many type B formulas. The most common unit used to express verbal interaction is *evaṃ āha*, but *evaṃ vadāmi*, *evaṃ ārocesi*, *yāci* and others are also encountered. The use of any one of these verbal-interaction forms depends on context, meaning, and so on, and a discussion of them will not be pursued here.

2. Grammatical characteristics.

2.1 In type A forms an “actual” approach, which has occurred as far as the narrator is concerned, is expressed by means of the absolutive *upasaṃkamitvā*; though an absolutive can also be used in an indefinite sense.²¹

2.2 The use of the finite verb or other participial forms of *upa-saṃ-√kam* (apart, that is, from their employment in the type B formulas) is confined, usually in combination with *dassanāya* “to see/for the seeing”²², to the following instances:

(i) to the expression of the intention to approach someone; e.g. *tena hi bho sabbe va samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmā ti* “Therefore, honourable sir, we will all go to see the *samaṇa* Gotama” (§ iv. 7 [I 117]); *yan nūnāhaṃ rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyan ti* “Suppose I go to see King Mahāsudassana” (§ xvii. 2.7 [II 189]).

(ii) to statements by characters in the narrative that someone else is approaching or going to approach someone; e.g. *taṃ ete Bhagavantam Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamantī ti* “They go to see Gotama, the Blessed One” (§ v. 3 [I 128]); *āgamentu kira bhavanto Kūṭadanto pi brāhmaṇo samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissatī ti* “Come, honourable sirs, the brahman Kūṭadanta will go to see the *samaṇa* Gotama” (§ v. 4 [I 129]).

(iii) to statements of indefinite or general meaning; e.g. *ativikālo kho bho ajja samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamituṃ* “It is too late, honourable sir, to go to see the *samaṇa* Gotama today” (§ iii. 2.16 [I 108]); *sace bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati* “If, *bhikkhus*, the assembly of *bhikkhus* goes to see Ānanda” (§ xvi. 5.16 [II 145]); *yaṃ yad eva parisam upasaṃkamati ... avisārado upasaṃkamati mañku-bhūto* “to whatever assembly he approaches, he approaches unconfident and confused” (§ xvi. 1.23 [II 85]); *yathā ca bhavaṃ Gotamo Ukkatṭhāyaṃ aññāni upāsaka-kulāni upasaṃkamati, evam eva bhavaṃ Gotamo Pokkharasādi-kulaṃ upasaṃkamatu* “As the honourable Gotama visits other lay families in Ukkatṭhā, so may the honourable Gotama visit the family of Pokkharasādi” (§ iii. 2.22 [I 110]); *app eva nāma appasaddaṃ parisam veditvā upasaṃkamitabbaṃ maññeyyā ti* “Having seen that the assembly is silent, he may think to approach” (§ xxv. 3 [III 37]).

As these forms are not used to describe an “actual” approach, they are not treated as approach formulas and, apart from the above, are not recorded here.²³ We are,

²¹ See the references, formulas A.6–10.

²² This construction ([approached: acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam*) is perhaps best understood as an extended form of the basic type A formula. In this way, we would understand it as “x approaches y for the seeing (of him)/to see (him)”. It is also possible to treat *dassanāya* as if it were an infinitive: “x approaches to see y”.

²³ Intentions to approach are considered to be pre-approach conditions and are listed in section J of the

then, left with those absolute forms listed in section A of the references.²⁴

3. The narrator.

3.1 All type A forms occur in passages where the narrator is other than the sutta narrator; that is, where the Buddha, a *bhikkhu*, a deity or some other person is relating a story or describing an event. But it is certainly not the case that all approaches related in non-sutta narrator passages employ only type A forms. In fact, most type B formulas are also used in such instances and are even found alongside type A forms.

3.2 Most occurrences are found in passages narrated by the Buddha, though this is probably due to the fact that the Buddha is the main non-sutta narrator in the *Dīgha*. The occurrences where the narrator is not the Buddha are: § xix. 48 & 49 (A.1 in the references): the narrator is a *gandhabba*; § xxi. 2.7 (see ref. A.8): the narrator is Sakka; § xxiii. 6 & 8 (see ref. A.2): the narrator is a *rājañña*; § xxxiv. 2.18 (see ref. A.7): the narrator is Sāriputta.

4. The approacher and the approached.

4.1 This formula type is never used to describe someone approaching the Buddha²⁵ or a *bhikkhu*. The exception is where the Buddha is the narrator and is talking about himself; e.g. *so pi maṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ ārocesi* (see A.3 in the references). With few exceptions the approach involves “quasi-historical”²⁶ persons,²⁷ though, of course, the tradition would probably not endorse such a category. Type A formulas are found, for example, in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (§ xvii.; see ref. A.1) and the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* (§ xix.; see ref. A.1). But all such passages do not necessarily employ this form. So, for example, the *yena ... ten’ upasaṃvīkam* type B.1 formula is also used in the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* for “quasi-historical” figures (see below) and, as mentioned above, most varieties of type B formulas are also used in such passages. The instances where “historical” persons are referred to are: § xvi. 2.8 (see ref. A.10); § xxiii. 6 & 8 (see ref. A.2), § xxiv. 1.18 (see ref. A.3), with the first in fact being of general meaning, not describing an approach that has occurred.

references and treated in section III 2.1.4 below.

²⁴ Though the above forms have been ignored because they do not describe actual approaches, the few absolute forms used in an indefinite sense have in fact been included in the references for the sake of completeness. Their indefinite use is indicated.

²⁵ But sometimes the approacher is the Buddha. See part 2.

²⁶ By this I mean characters — mostly kings, princes, brahmins, etc. — from the unspecified past.

²⁷ This, however, is probably the result of the fact that many passages related by non-sutta narrators refer to such “quasi-historical” persons; or from a different angle, all “quasi-historical” persons and events are placed in the voice of a non-sutta narrator as the sutta narrator’s function was to record events contemporary to the Buddha.

5. Passages where type A and B forms occur together.

§ xix.: Here the principal narrator is a *gandhabba* and the characters portrayed are “quasi-historical”. Type B formulas are used for approaches throughout this sutta (B.1 approx. 14 times and B.4a twice), except for two instances where a type A.1 formula is used. The passage where these are found (§ xix. 48–49) is as follows: Mahāgovinda approaches (formula B.1) six nobles and informs them of his intention to leave the houselife. The nobles step aside (*ekamantaṃ apakkamma*) and consult together, then approach Mahāgovinda to make a statement (*te Mahāgovindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ upasaṃkamtivā evaṃ āhaṃsu*). Mahāgovinda responds, the nobles step aside again to consider and the process is repeated. Here it can be seen that such a shorthand device is preferable in this instance and that, as they merely step aside and then return, a type B formula would be inappropriate.

§ xxvi.: The narrator is the Buddha and the characters “quasi-historical”. Type B.1 formulas occur five times and type A a number of times. A type formulas first occur when a wheel-turning king (*cakkavatti rājā*) follows his wheel treasure into the four cardinal directions. The kings from each of these realms approach him and offer submission (*ye kho pana bhikkhave [of a particular direction] paṭirājāno, te rājānaṃ cakkavattiṃ upasaṃkamtivā evaṃ āhaṃsu*; see ref. A.1). The second instance depicts a certain person approaching the king (a B.1 formula is used) to inform him that the wheel treasure has disappeared. Though the king is worried, he does not approach the royal sage to seek counsel (*no ca kho rājisiṃ upasaṃkamtivā ariyaṃ cakkavattivattaṃ pucchi*; see ref. A.6), but rules according to his own ideas. And finally, the king’s ministers assemble and approach the king (... *sannipatitvā ... upasaṃkamtivā etad avocum*; see ref. A.5). Although the shorthand is understandable, the use of a type B.1 formula would have been equally acceptable in those instances where a type A in fact occurs.

§ xxvii.: The relevant passages here are narrated by the Buddha. A type B.1 formula occurs three times in the same passage describing a being (*satta*) approaching another being, and a type A.5 occurs once in the description of beings approaching another, which uses an interesting construction with some parallels to type B formulas (*atha kho te Vāseṭṭha sattā yo nesam satto abhirūpataro ca dassaniyataro ca pāsādikataro ca mahesakkhataro ca, taṃ sattaṃ upasaṃkamtivā etad avocum*) (§ xxvii. 20; see references A.5). Here a type A formula is probably used because the beings approach one amongst themselves (*nesam*).

It is hard to discern what principles guide the use of type A formulas in preference to type B formulas in these passages. The above examples indicate that they were happily used side by side. In some instances the use of a type A formula is understandable as an acceptable shorthand where a type B formula would have been awkward or unnecessary. But it seems that in other instances a type B formula would have been equally acceptable.

6. Conclusion.

What can be said is that type A formulas are confined to non-sutta narrator passages, forming a part of the shorthand narrative style sometimes used for their speeches.²⁸ Also, virtually all instances where type A formulas are used involve “quasi-historical” characters, with the main exception being where the Buddha is describing an approach to himself (or he to someone else).²⁹

III. TYPE B FORMULAS

1. Structure.

pre-approach	<u>conditions for approaching</u> : heard of the Buddha’s qualities, heard that he was in town, decisions to go, being commanded to go, etc.
	<u>getting ready to go</u> : coming together in a group, preparing the chariots, etc. <u>the going</u> : setting out from town, going as far as the chariot permits, etc.
approach	<u>approaching the place</u> : <i>yena</i> [place: nom.] <i>yena</i>
	<u>approaching the person</u> : <i>yena</i> [person: nom.] <i>ten’ upasaṃ ṅkam upasaṃkamitvā</i>
post-approach	<u>showing of respect, greetings</u> .
	<u>posturing</u> : standing, sitting, etc.
	<u>interaction</u> : speaking, being spoken to, etc.

²⁸ This style is similar to that found in such commentarial texts as the Pāli *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*; e.g. *taṃ evaṃ pabbajitukāmaṃ amaccā upasaṃkamitvā “deva kiṃ tumhākaṃ pabbajjākāraṇaṃ” ti pucchimsu* (Ja I 138).

²⁹ Cf. G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480 & fnt. 4, p. 481 fnt. 5.

1.1 Type B formulas have as their core element the phrase *yena* [person approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā*. As the purpose of approaching someone is to communicate, all type B formulas necessarily include phrases or expressions of verbal interaction. Therefore, the minimum and simplest approach formula is *yena* [person: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* + verbal interaction, with *etad avoca/avocum* being the usual unit depicting verbal interaction.³⁰

1.2 After the approach and before verbal interaction, two other post-approach elements or units of meaning may be introduced. They are: (i) the showing of respect or the exchanging of greetings; and (ii) the taking of a particular posture, which is usually standing or sitting to one side (see formulas B.2–7). These are always presented in this order and, except for formula B.2, which depicts the taking of a posture but not the showing of respect, and which seems to be reserved for Māra's approach to the Buddha, they always occur together.

1.3 Formulas B.1 to B.7, which will be discussed below, therefore represent the range of basic type B approach formulas found in the *Dīgha-nikāya* listed according to their post-approach structures. These can be considered to be definite formulas used under particular circumstances for particular classes of individuals.

1.4 A number and variety of pre-approach structures may or may not be prefixed to these basic approach formulas. As their addition to any one of these formulas is optional, approaches which include them are not treated here as distinct formulas. Therefore, the formula begins with the depiction of the approach and ends with verbal interaction. A description of the pre-approach elements is, however, important.

2. Pre-approach structures.

The conditions for someone approaching another person and the way in which they get there are diverse, often complicated, and therefore difficult to categorise. Nonetheless certain types are observable.

2.1 The conditions for approaching someone.

All approaches have a cause, a reason for their taking place, but only in a limited number of instances are such preconditions overtly expressed, or even expressed in a standardised manner. For many approaches the context supplies the reason for their occurrence. The following are those preconditions which are overtly expressed in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

³⁰ Listed in section B.1 of the references.

2.1.1 Hearing about the Buddha and his qualities: (*assosi (/assosum) kho ...* (about the qualities of the Buddha) ... *sādhu kho pana tathā-rūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassanaṃ hotī ti*) (see section J.4 of the references).

2.1.1.1 Here someone hears that the Buddha (*samaṇa Gotama*) or one of his disciples (*sāvaka*) is living in a certain place, that he possesses certain qualities, and that it is good to see such *arahats*. The description of the place and the qualities involved is not relevant here, and this rather long formula can be paraphrased for our current purposes by the above.³¹ It concerns the Buddha five times and a disciple once, with the main difference between the two being the description of their particular qualities. All six occurrences of this formula are found at the beginning of a sutta, setting the scene for the main action.

2.1.1.2 Those who “hear” are variously brahmans, brahman messengers (*brāhmaṇa-dūta*), brahmans and householders (*brāhmaṇa-gahapatika*), or a prince (*rājañña*). In two cases (§ iii. 1.2; xii. 3) a brahman hears about the Buddha and sends another.³² In the first case it is a young brahman (*māṇava*) who goes, along with younger brahmans (*māṇavaka*), by chariot (see references L.4). He approaches the *bhikkhus* first (B.1 formula), then the Buddha (references C.7). The younger brahmans show the *saddhim sammodi* respect form to the Buddha and sit down, but the main young brahman paces up and down, exchanging politenesses and standing there while the Buddha is seated, thereby showing his disrespect. In the second (§ xii. 3) a barber (*nahāpita*) is sent to give greetings, ask after the health of and to invite the Buddha for a meal. A type B.6 formula, which involves the showing of the higher form of respect ([approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā*), is used for this approach.

2.1.1.3 Three of the other occurrences (§ iv. 2; v. 2; xxiii. 2) depict brahmans and householders hearing about the Buddha or disciple, then setting out and coming together in groups on the way (references L.6). Another brahman (§ iv.; v.), probably of higher status, or prince (§ xxiii.) sees them and instructs them to come with him (ref. J.9). In the first two suttas other brahmans then hear of this³³ and try to dissuade him from going. But they themselves then order that they will go together (ref. J.8). The brahman and prince, the ones who now become the main approachers and interactors with the Buddha or disciple, show the *saddhim sammodi* respect form and sit down. The brahmans and householders, the ones who initially heard about the Buddha or disciple, are depicted showing multiple forms of respect (references C.2 & 2a) before sitting down.

2.1.1.4 The final occurrence (§ vi. 1) involves brahman messengers hearing about the Buddha. They approach the attendant *bhikkhu* (formula B.1), then later the Buddha

³¹ This formula is discussed by B.J. Manné, 1990, pp. 47–48.

³² These two occurrences are also discussed in section III 2.1.5.4.

³³ See section III 2.1.3.3.

along with other individuals who have also come to see him. They do not show respect to the attendant *bhikkhu*, but show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form to the Buddha (see C.4).

2.1.1.5 It is difficult to make generalisations based on six examples, but the following can be said: (i) this pre-approach condition seems to be used for those who are not followers of the Buddha. This is indicated by the showing of the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form. The example of the barber (§ xii. 3) is the one exception. In this case he shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form, even though his brahman master is of the same status as the others; (ii) post-approach respect and posturing forms are shown; (iii) sitting down to one side once respect has been shown seems to be the norm. Points ii and iii are, perhaps, obvious as the individuals have heard about the qualities of the Buddha or disciple and approach to question him or hear him preach.

2.1.2 Hearing that the Buddha (etc.) had arrived in town: (*assosi (/assosum) kho* [hearer: nom.] ‘[person: nom.] *kira* [town: acc.] *anupatto* [town/place: loc.] *viharati* ([place: loc.])’ *ti*) (with some variations; see J.5 of the references).

2.1.2.1 This occurs, with some variations, seven times in the *Dīgha-nikāya*: twice with reference to a past Buddha and five times with reference to Gotama Buddha.

2.1.2.2 The two occurrences referring to the past Buddha Vipassī (*Vipassī Bhagavā*) occur in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (§ xiv. 3.14 & 18) with Gotama Buddha as narrator. In the first of these many town people hear that Vipassī Buddha had arrived in their town and dwelt in a particular place (*assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni*: “*Vipassī kira bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rājadhāniṃ anupatto Khemo miga-dāye viharati. ...*”), and that two prominent individuals had gone forth from the house life. Hearing this they decide to do the same and approach the specific place mentioned, then Vipassī (*atha kho so bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā nikkhamitvā yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten’ upasaṃkamimsu*,³⁴ *upasaṃkamtivā ...*).

In the second occurrence, many ascetics hear that Vipassī Buddha had arrived in that town and that he taught the Dhamma (*assosum kho bhikkhave tāni purimāni caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni*: “*Vipassī kira bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rājadhāniṃ anupatto Khemo miga-dāye viharati, dhammañ ca kira desetī’ ti*). They then go to that town, approach the specific place, then approach Vipassī (*atha kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti pabbajita-sahassāni yena Bandhumati rāja-dhāni yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten’ upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā ...*).

³⁴ The PTS edition has the w.r. *upakamimsu*.

A type B.6c formula is used for the approach of both groups. They then go forth from the house life.

2.1.2.3 In the other occurrences (§ xvi. 1.20; 2.14, 15; 4.14; xxxiii. 1.2) various individuals hear that the Buddha (*Bhagavā*)³⁵ had arrived in their town and approach him.³⁶ In § xvi. 1.20 the laypeople (*upāsaka*) of Pāṭaligāma hear that the Buddha had arrived in their town and approach him to offer the use of their rest-house (*assosum kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā: 'Bhagavā kira Pāṭaligāmaṃ anupatto' ti. atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā ...*). Unlike most of the other occurrences, the text does not, of course, mention that the Buddha dwells in a particular place ([place: loc.] *viharati*) and there is no mention of the laypeople approaching a specific place before approaching the Buddha. A B.6 type approach formula is used.

§ xvi. 2.14 depicts the courtesan Ambapālī hearing that the Buddha had arrived in Vesālī and dwelt in Vesālī in her mango grove (*assosi kho Ambapālī gaṇikā 'Bhagavā kira Vesāliyaṃ'*³⁷ *anupatto Vesāliyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane' ti.*). Going by chariot (references L.1), she sets out for her park (... *yena sako ārāmo tena pāyāsi ...*) and goes as far as the chariot will go, then approaches the Buddha by foot. A type B.6b formula is used for the approach and interaction.

§ xvi. 2.15 is similar to the above with the Licchavis of Vesālī hearing that the Buddha dwelt in Ambapālī's grove. The chariot approach is the same, though it is interrupted by a description of their finery and their encounter along the way with Ambapālī who is just returning from her mango grove. A type B.6b formula is also used for the approach and interaction.

§ xvi. 4.14: Cunda the smith hears that the Buddha has arrived in Pāvā and dwells in his mango grove (*assosi kho Cundo kammāra-putto: 'Bhagavā kira Pāvāṃ anupatto Pāvāyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane' ti.*) He approaches the Buddha but there is no mention of approaching the specific place (i.e. his mango grove) first as found in some of the above occurrences (*atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...*). The approach is the same as the previous two (formula B.6b).

§ xxxiii. 1.2: The Mallas of Pāvā had just finished building their new assembly hall (*santhāgāra*) and heard that the Buddha, journeying through the Malla districts together with many *bhikkhus*, had arrived in Pāvā and dwelt in Cunda's mango grove (*assosum kho Pāvēyyakā Mallā: 'Bhagavā kira Mallesu cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi Pāvāṃ anupatto*

³⁵ The epithets *arahat sammā-sambuddha* as attached to Vipassī Bhagavā, are not used here for Gotama Buddha.

³⁶ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.1–2, 9–11.

³⁷ *Vesāliyaṃ* loc. sg.; variant reading *Vesāliṃ* acc. sg. The acc. sg. is the normal form used in this phrase.

Pāvāyaṃ viharati Cundassa kammāra-puttassa amba-vane' ti). They approach him and offer the use of their hall to the Buddha: a B.6 type formula is used with no mention of an approach to the specific place. This is the only occurrence of this type of “heard” formula where what is heard is that the Buddha is wandering through particular districts ([districts: loc.] *cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ* [number of *bhikkhus*: instr.]) and has arrived at a particular place; although the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* in which many of the other occurrences are found depicts the Buddha similarly wandering through certain districts and could equally have included this phrase.

2.1.2.4 The following can be said of this pre-approach condition: (i) there are a number of possible forms of this formula with *assosi/assosum kho* [hearer: nom.] ‘[person: nom.] *kira* [town: acc.] *anupatto* [town/place: loc.] *viharati* ([place: loc.])’ *ti* perhaps representing the basic formula; (ii) although the place where the Buddha (Vipassī or Gotama) is living is mentioned, the approach may not necessarily include an approach to that place first. The two passages referring to Vipassī Buddha have the approachers first approaching the specific place where he dwells (*yena* [place: nom.] *yena*), but those referring to Gotama Buddha do not, with the approaches of Ambapālī and the Licchavis only mentioning that they set out for that place (*yena* [place: nom.] *tena pāyāsi*). This sutta/non-sutta narrator distinction may, however, only be coincidental; (iii) all approaches resulting from this precondition are of the B.6 or variant type (B.6b), which depict the showing of the higher form of respect (*abhivādetvā*) and sitting down to one side; (iv) this pre-approach, when referring to Gotama Buddha at least, is therefore one reserved for his lay followers.³⁸ The two occurrences referring to Vipassī Buddha involve individuals who also seem to have faith, judging by the form of respect they show and the fact that they leave the house life; (v) this pre-approach formula would therefore seem to demand or be associated with a B.6 (or variant) type post-approach structure.

2.1.3. Other hearing (*assosi/assosum*) approach preconditions (see references J.6).

2.1.3.1 In these passages there is no definite formula beyond an initial *assosi/assosum* or sometimes an unstated “hearing about”. The following is a brief account of each of these.

2.1.3.2 § ii. 8: (no *assosi*) King Ajātasattu makes enquiries about which *samaṇa* or brahman is best to visit. An attendant tells him about the Buddha and his qualities and he decides to visit him.³⁹ He goes by elephant (ref. L.5) to the Buddha, who dwells in his mango grove with a large community of *bhikkhus*, and approaches him in a rather

³⁸ See section III 4.6.2 for the relationship between the respect form shown and the attitude of the approacher towards the approached.

³⁹ This is similar to the precondition and formula discussed above (III 2.1.1).

complicated manner (ref. C.5), eventually showing the higher *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha and another form to the *bhikkhus*, before sitting down. He addresses the Buddha as *bhante* “venerable sir”.

2.1.3.3 § iv. 4; v. 5: In both these instances brahmins hear that another brahmin wants to see the Buddha (*assosum kho⁴⁰ te brāhmaṇā: ‘Kūṭadanto (Soṇadaṇḍo) kira brāhmaṇo samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissatī’ ti*).⁴¹ They approach the brahmin (a B.1 formula is used) to dissuade him from going.

2.1.3.4 § xvi. 5.23: The ascetic Subhadda hears that the Buddha will attain the *parinibbāna* that very day (*assosi kho Subhaddo paribbājako: ‘ajj’ eva kira rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissatī’ ti*) and decides to go and question him.⁴² He approaches the specific place, approaches Ānanda (B.1 formula), then the Buddha (B.4 formula) — the latter involving the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form characteristic for ascetics and brahmins.

2.1.3.5 There is no definite connection in these cases between the pre-approach condition and any post-approach elements.

2.1.4 Thoughts / intentions / decisions to approach (see references J.1–3, 7–10).

2.1.4.1 The instances where a conscious decision to approach someone is expressed in the text are few and definite formulas are therefore hard to identify. A much larger body of material would need to be dealt with to be certain of particular types. The following is a brief summary of all such approach preconditions found in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

2.1.4.2 J.1: *yan nūna [ahaṃ] [acc.] dassanāya upasaṃvīkam* (opt.).

§ xvii. 2.7: Queen Subhaddā decides to visit the king as she hasn’t seen him for a long time (*‘yan nūnāhaṃ rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyan’ ti*). She then orders the other women to prepare themselves as they will all go together (*‘etha tumhe ... rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmā’ ti*). She approaches the palace where the king is but there is no personal approach mentioned (references I.1).

2.1.4.3 J.2: *yan nūna [ahaṃ/mayam] yena [nom.] ten’ upasaṃvīkam* (opt.), (*upasaṃkamtivā~*).

§ xx. 2: Here certain deities decide to see the Buddha and chant some verses (*‘... yan nūna mayam pi yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkameyyāma, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavato santike pacceka-gāthaṃ bhāseyyāmā’ ti*). They disappear in one place and reappear in front of the Buddha (formula E.1b). They show the *abhivādetvā* respect form and stand to one side (as encountered in a B.5 formula).

⁴⁰ § iv. 4 has the w.r. *bho*.

⁴¹ This is part of the pre-approach discussed above (III 2.1.1.3).

⁴² Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.14.

§ xxv. 1: A householder (*gahapati*) sets out to see the Buddha, but realising that it is the wrong time to do so, he decides to visit a certain ascetic instead (‘... *yan nūnāhaṃ yena Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten’ upasaṃkameyyan’ ti*). His approach is expressed by means of a B.4 type formula, with the depiction of an approach to the place first.

This “decision” formula is also used at § xiv. 3.29 [II 50] for the Buddha deciding to approach someone and at § xxiii. 21 [II 340] for an ascetic deciding to approach a particular place.

2.1.4.4 J.3: *yadi pana* [voc.] [acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam* (opt.) ...

§ xxi. 1.1–2, 4: This sutta opens with Sakka wondering where the Buddha is living at that time. Seeing that he dwells in a certain place, Sakka invites other *devas* to approach the Buddha with himself: ‘... *yadi pana mārisā mayan taṃ Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkameyyāma arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhan’ ti* “what if, gentlemen, we were to approach the Blessed One, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one”. Being an optative construction, it is similar to the *yan nūna* formulas J.1 & 2 above. It seems, in fact, to be the verbally expressed form of this phrase. It also shares *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam* in common with the first formula (J.1). B.5 type approach formulas are used (but see C.6).

2.1.4.5 J.7: *tena hi ... ahaṃ gacchāmi ...*

§ xxiv. 2.1= 4: Here one of the Licchavi ministers gets up from his seat and tells the assembly that he will go to fetch a particular ascetic (‘*tena hi bho muhuttaṃ tāva āgametha yāvāhaṃ gacchāmi, app eva nāma ahaṃ pi sakkuṇeyyaṃ acelaṃ Pāṭika-puttaṃ imaṃ parisam ānetun’ ti*). A type B.1 formula is used for his approach.

2.1.4.6 J.8: *tena hi* [voc.] [nom.] [acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam* (fut.) (§ iv. 7; v. 8) & J.9 *āgamentu kira ... dassanāya upasaṃ√kam* (fut.) (§ iv. 3; v. 4; xxiii. 4).

These form a part of the pre-approach involving a large number of individuals (discussed at III 2.1.1.3) which starts with brahmans and householders hearing about the Buddha and going to see him. A brahman sees them and sends a messenger to tell them to come with him (J.9) (e.g. § iv. 3: ‘*āgamentu kira bhavanto Soṇadaṇḍo pi brāhmaṇo samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissatī’ ti*). Other brahmans hear of his intention, try to dissuade him, then decide that they will all go together (J.8) (e.g. § iv. 7: ‘*tena hi bho sabbe va samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmā’ ti*). What we have here are three distinct preconditions for the approach of three groups of individuals who end up going together.

2.1.4.7 J.10: *āyāma* [voc.] *yena* [nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam* (fut.), (*upasaṃkamitvā*).

Three passages use this formula: § xiii. 7: Two young brahmans (*māṇava*) decide to go to the Buddha to have some questions answered (a B.4 formula is used); § xxvii. 2: The same two are living amongst the *bhikkhus* wanting to be ordained. They decide to go to the Buddha to listen to a talk on Dhamma (a B.7 formula depicts the

approach); § xxix. 2: The novice (*samañuddesa*) Cunda goes to Ānanda to tell him that Nigaṅṭha Nāthaputta had died. Ānanda decides that they should go and inform the Buddha (a B.6 formula depicts the approach).

This is the same formula used repeatedly, for example, in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, where the Buddha tells Ānanda that they will move on to another town; e.g. § xvi. 4.38 [II 134] ‘*āyāma*’ Ānanda *yena Kakutthā nadī ten’ upasaṃkamissāma’ ti* “Come, Ānanda, we will go to (/approach) the river Kakutthā”.

2.1.4.8 The above phrases, which express a thought, intention, or decision to approach someone, rely on one of two possible core elements: (i) [acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam*; or (ii) *yena* [nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam* (*upasaṃkamitvā*). Meaning alone seems to determine their particular usage, for both forms are used in sutta and non-sutta narrator passages and in optative and future tense constructions. Both forms, for example, are also used in phrases which express a thought to approach ([dat./gen.] *etad ahoṣi*: ... *yan nūnāhaṃ~* “it occurred to him: ‘suppose I (approach) ...’”).

The phrase [acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam*, “*x* approaches *y* to see (him)”, is used where the purpose of the visit is to “see” someone. For example, at § xvii. 2.7 Queen Subhaddā thinks: ‘*cira-ditṭho kho me rājā Mahāsudassano, yan nūnāhaṃ rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyan’ ti* “I have not seen King Mahāsudassana for a long time, suppose I go (/approach) to see King Mahāsudassana”. In contrast, *yena* [nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam*, and especially *yena* [nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamitvā* + what is to be done when there, is used when the purpose is other than “to see”. For example, § xxix. 2 (J.10) *~upasaṃkamitvā etaṃ atthaṃ Bhagavato āroccāma* “... having approached, we will inform the Blessed One of this matter”.

Of the initial elements (*yan nūna, tena hi*, etc.) of these phrases, *yan nūna* “suppose (I/we)” is used to express a person’s thoughts to approach, with the verb in the optative. *Yadi pana* “what if (I/we)” seems to be the parallel verbally expressed version, with the verb also constructed in the optative.

Apart from J.7, which is a verbally expressed present construction, the other “formulas” are verbally expressed intentions or decisions to approach, all constructed in the future tense, using both [acc.] *dassanāya upasaṃ√kam* and *yena* [nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam* (*upasaṃkamitvā*), and occurring in both sutta and non-sutta narrator passages.

J.7 & 8 have *tena hi* “therefore” in common, and J.9 & 10 have an initial “attention attracting” verb of motion (*āgamentu, āyāma*) in common; the latter usage is also found in some command structures (see below).

There also does not seem to be any necessary connection between these pre-approach structures and any particular post-approach elements.

2.1.5 Approaches based on a command or summons (see references, section K).

2.1.5.1 Approaches arising from a command are fairly common, constituting the motive for approximately 15% of the approaches listed in section B of the references.

2.1.5.2 The individuals involved in a command and approach passage — the commander, approacher, and approached — vary greatly, as do the purposes for the approach. So, for example, we have a brahman telling his student, a young brahman (*māṇava*), to go to the Buddha to find out what he is like (§ iii. 1.4); a young brahman sending a younger brahman (*māṇavaka*) to Ānanda to ask him to visit (§ x. 1.2); King Ajātasattu sending his chief minister to the Buddha for advice (§ xvi. 1.2); a brahman sending his attendant (*khatta*) to some brahmins and householders to get them to go with him to the Buddha (§ iv. 3), and so on. Those who order the approach are, with few exceptions, of higher status than the ones they command.

2.1.5.3 There is a diversity of command structures, but the most common formula for commanding someone to approach another is: *ehi tvam* [voc.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkama*, *upasaṃkamtivā* ... (formula K.1). This employs an initial verb in the second person imperative in combination with the personal pronoun as an attention attracting device, *ehi tvam* “come you”, plus a vocative form of address, then the usual core approach structure, *yena* [person: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam* (2nd. imper.) *upasaṃkamtivā*, before the final verb which expresses what is to be done when there. So, for example, § xix. 30 reads: *atha kho bho*⁴³ *rājā Disampati aññataram purisaṃ āmantesi*: ‘*ehi tvam ambho purisa yena Jotipālo māṇavo ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ evaṃ vadehi*: ...’ “Then, honourable sir, King Disampati addressed a certain man: ‘Come, (my) good man, approach the young brahman Jotipāla and, having approached, say thus to the young brahman Jotipāla’. As is seen here, most commands are introduced by *āmantesi* “he addressed (so-and-so)”.

2.1.5.4 Similar to this structure is formula K.3 (‘*āyantu* [voc.] *yena* [nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam* (imper.), *upasaṃkamtivā* ...’) which uses an alternative initial verb *āyantu* (*bhonto*) “come (sirs)”, and K.2 (‘*tena hi* [voc.] *yena* [nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam* (imper.), *upasaṃkamtivā* ...’), which uses *tena hi* “therefore” instead of an initial “attention attracting” verb. This latter formula occurs as part of a larger structure used in three different suttas, and context makes the use of *tena hi* instead of *ehi tvam* understandable.

2.1.5.5 The probable explanation for the use of *āyantu* instead of *ehi tvam*, or at least its plural equivalent, in § xix. 33 & 34 (K.3) is that those commanded (*chakkhattiyā* “six nobles”) are of equal, perhaps superior, status to the commander (Mahāgovinda brāhmaṇa) — *āyantu* is the 3rd. pl. imperative used as an honorific (though the 2nd. pl.

⁴³ *bho* “honourable sir”; this is a passage related by a non-sutta narrator. *Bho* refers to the one being spoken to.

imperative is then used in *upasaṃkamatha*) and he addresses them as *bhonto*, a term used between equals and by inferiors for superiors⁴⁴ — for in the very next passage (§ ibid. 35) King Reṇu’s sending a man to Mahāgovinda is expressed by means of a K.1 formula (*ehi tvam ...*). This seems to be the only instance where the commanded is not inferior to the commander.

2.1.5.6 A number of other structures (K.4–9 of the references) do not employ *yena ... ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā*,⁴⁵ but rather simply rely on an initial verb plus pronoun (with the verb in the 2nd. person imperative): *gaccha tvam* “go you”, or *ehi tvam* “come you”, or once *tena hi* “therefore” (see K.9), in combination with some other final finite verb (*ārocehi, vadehi, āmantehi, māpehi*), thereby omitting any mention of an actual approach. The following is a brief discussion of the occurrences of each of these expressions.

2.1.5.7 K.4 (§ xi. 83): ‘... *gaccha tvam bhikkhu tam eva Bhagavantam upasaṃkamitvā imam pañham puccha: ...*’ “Go, *bhikkhu*, having approached the Blessed One, ask this question”. Here Mahābrahmā sends a *bhikkhu* to the Buddha to have certain questions answered.

K.5 (§ xvi. 5.19; 6.12): ‘*gaccha tvam Ānanda Kusinārāyaṃ⁴⁶ pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi: ...*’ “Go, Ānanda, having entered Kusinārā, inform the Mallas of Kusinārā”. Both occur in the same sutta and context. In the first the Buddha sends Ānanda to inform the Mallas that his *parinibbāna* will take place, and in the second, Anuruddha sends Ānanda to inform them that it has occurred.⁴⁷

Both K.4 & 5 have in common the use of the initial *gaccha tvam* “go you” and an absolutive (*upasaṃkamitvā, pavisitvā*) before the final finite verb.

K.6 (§ xiv. 3.9): ‘*ehi tvam samma dāya-pāla Bandhumatim rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍaṇ ca rāja-puttaṃ Tissaṇ ca purohita-puttaṃ evaṃ vadehi: ...*’ “Come, (my) good park keeper, having entered the capital Bandhumatī, say thus to Prince Khaṇḍa and Tissa the priest’s son”. This also uses the absolutive construction, [town: acc.] *pavisitvā* “having entered the town”, before the finite verb of the sentence, but relies on the more usual initial *ehi tvam* “come you”.

The reason for *gaccha tvam* being used instead of *ehi tvam* is not clear. Although all three occurrences refer to *bhikkhus*, that cannot be a determining factor, for § xvi. 5.13 (K.7) has the Buddha sending a *bhikkhu* to Ānanda with *ehi tvam ... (āmantehi)*. Its use also cannot be explained by the fact that they are commands to go to another place, for § xiv. 3.9 (K.6) mentioned above, has Vipassī Buddha sending a park keeper (*dāya-pāla*) into town (similar to K.5) with *ehi tvam*. But this reasoning is based

⁴⁴ This needs further research.

⁴⁵ One occurrence (see references M.4) uses [acc.] *upasaṃkamitvā* (i.e. an A type formula) in a passage narrated by the Buddha.

⁴⁶ There is an accusative v.l.

⁴⁷ This involves a *bhikkhu* approaching someone and will therefore be discussed in part 2.

on the assumption that there is textual consistency. The sutta/non-sutta narrator distinction does not seem to be a determining factor either.

K.7 (§ xvi. 5.13) and K.8 (§ xvii. 1.25), like K.6 just mentioned, use the usual *ehi tvam*, while K.9 (§ vi. 4) uses *tena hi*.

2.1.5.8 The reasons for K.4–9 not using the *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam* structure utilised by K.1–3 is not always clear. Those given below are speculative.

K.4 occurs in a non-sutta narrator passage, which may be an influencing factor, although the actual resulting approach is of the disappearing-reappearing kind with respect being shown; that is, it does not use a type A ([acc.] *upasaṃkamtivā*) approach which is sometimes used in and is confined to non-sutta narrator passages.

K.5 & 6 may not use *yena ... tena~* as the emphasis is on entering the town; although as the purpose is to inform/speak to someone, it is in effect also a command to approach.

K.7's lack of *yena ... tena~* can perhaps be explained by the fact that here the Buddha commands a *bhikkhu* to tell Ānanda, who is standing close by, to come.

K.8 may not use *yena ... tena~* because it is a command to build a palace for the king, even though there is then an approach to inform the king of that intention.

And K.9 involves a *bhikkhu* telling a novice (*samañuddesa*) to approach the Buddha who is just nearby — a similar explanation offered for K.7 above.

2.1.5.9 These explanations are far from satisfactory and we may have remnants of a once larger variety of approach commands. The sutta/non-sutta narrator distinction does not seem to play a part. K.1 type formulas are, for example, used in both cases, as are K.4–9 forms (i.e. non-*yena ... tena* forms).

2.1.5.10 All commands which employ *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* (i.e. formulas K.1–3) use one of the B type formulas for the actual approach; that is, a *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* type approach. In the other command structures (K.4–9), two occurrences (those listed under K.4 & 8) use a disappearing-reappearing approach (E.1c & 1a) — therefore a non-*yena ... tena* approach — with the post-approach as found in B.6 used for the former and only verbal interaction for the latter. Three (those listed under K.5 & 6) use I type approaches (that is, *yena ... tena* approaches depicting the approach to the place of the person but not the actual person), and the remainder (K.7 & 9) use B type approaches. Thus, no type A approach formulas ([approached: acc.] *upasaṃkamtivā*) result from a command to approach someone.

2.1.5.11 Whether or not respect is shown depends on the status of the person approached, rather than on the status of the one approaching or the one who commands the approach. Of course, it is the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* who are most worthy of being shown respect. They are therefore always depicted being shown some kind of respect: B.4, 5, 5b, & 6 type formulas have been recorded as resulting from

commands.⁴⁸ The exception to this is where an attendant *bhikkhu* is approached first before the Buddha, in which case only the Buddha is depicted being shown respect (e.g. § iii. 1.4 (K.1)), and where a *bhikkhu* approaches a *bhikkhu* (§ xvi. 5.13 (K.7)). For approaches involving other individuals, a B.1 type approach formula is used (one which only depicts verbal interaction) regardless of their status with respect to the commander and approacher.

2.1.5.12 When respect showing is depicted it is difficult to tell whether the form of respect shown depends on the status of the one commanding the approach or the one approaching in relationship to the person approached, for although the commander is almost always superior to the one he commands (the approacher), both are of the same social group in relationship to the person approached. Thus, for example, a brahman sends a young brahman to the Buddha, a young brahman sends a younger brahman (*mānavaka*) to Ānanda, and King Ajātasattu sends his chief minister Vassakāra to the Buddha.⁴⁹

The *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form is shown by brahmans and others who are not followers of the Buddha; the exception being § xii. 4 & 7 (K.1) which uses the *abhivādetvā* respect form (formula types B.6 and B.5). In these two passages a brahman tells a barber (*nahāpita*) to approach the Buddha, in the first case to invite him for a meal and in the second to inform him that it is ready. By inviting the Buddha for a meal the brahman is already showing respect, which may explain why we have the higher respect form used here.⁵⁰ Alternative explanations are: (i) that the barber has faith in the Buddha, which is supported by the fact that he warns the Buddha that the brahman has a particular false view and requests that the Buddha correct it (§ xii. 8); or (ii) the barber is of a particularly low status.

The *abhivādetvā* respect form is used for *bhikkhus* approaching the Buddha (K.4 & 9).

2.1.5.13 Respect-showing and posturing occur together, and where respect is shown in commanded approaches, the approacher is normally depicted sitting down. But there are exceptions (§ vi. 4 (K.9) & xii. 7 (K.1)) which depict the approachers standing to one side before verbal interaction. Here the purpose of the visit is, respectively, to ask the Buddha to allow visitors to see him and to inform him that the meal is ready. This shows that the form of posturing shown depends on the purpose of the visit rather than whether or not the approach arises from a command.

2.1.5.14 The few occurrences listed under K.10 in the references represent approaches based on a summons. The actual summons varies: e.g. § xvi. 5.13 '*sathā taṃ āvuso*

⁴⁸ Sometimes other individuals also receive respect; see III 4.6.1 below.

⁴⁹ References are given at III 2.1.5.2 above.

⁵⁰ However, the brahman addresses the Buddha as *bho Gotama* when they do meet, which is a form of address normally associated with the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form.

Ānanda āmantetī' ti “The teacher summons you, friend Ānanda” (similarly § xix. 35); § xiv. 3.9 *'Vipassī bhante Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatim rājadhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. so tumhākaṃ dassana-kāmo' ti* “The Blessed One Vipassī, venerable sir, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one, has arrived in the capital Bandhumatī (and) dwells in the Khema deer-park. He desires to see you”; § xix. 30 *'bhavaṃ atthu bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ. rājā Disampati bhavantaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ āmantayati. rājā Disampati bhoto Jotipālassa māṇavassa dassana-kāmo' ti* “Wellbeing to the honourable young brahman Jotipāla. King Disampati summons the honourable young brahman Jotipāla. King Disampati desires to see the honourable young brahman Jotipāla”.

A variety of respect forms are shown, and although there are only four examples of approaches based on a summons, the fact that all who are summoned show respect suggests that there may be a connection here. This suggestion is reinforced if we note that all the approaches in the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* are of the B.1 type (lacking respect-showing and posturing units), except the two based on a summons (a type B.4a formula is used). Also, in all summonses, the approached speak first to the approachers, rather than the reverse as is most commonly the case.

2.2 Preparing to approach someone and the means of getting there.

2.2.1 Approaching by chariot or elephant.⁵¹

2.2.1.1 There are eight personal approaches in the *Dīgha-nikāya* which involve the use of chariots or elephants. The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (xiv.) also contains passages which depict Prince Vipassī approaching a pleasure park by chariot a number of times.⁵²

Apart from the obvious difference between the use of a chariot or an elephant, each such approach employs a particular combination of fixed units of meaning. Particular combinations are classed here as formulas and are listed in section L of the references.

Table A below presents the possible units of meaning found in these chariot/elephant approach formulas and table B shows which formulas, as they are listed in section L of the references, and therefore which occurrences, use which combination of units.

⁵¹ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.15–19.

⁵² § xiv. 2.1, 5, 9, 13 [II 21–22, 23, 25, 28].

2.2.1.2 Table A: Possible units of meaning found within chariot or elephant approaches.⁵³

general unit meaning	unit of meaning
1. preparing chariots/ elephants	a) <i>bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā</i> b) <i>pañca-mattāni hatthinikā-satāni kappāpetvā, rañño ca ārohaṇīyaṃ nāgaṃ</i>
2. causing someone/ something to mount	a) <i>yānesu āropetvā</i> b) <i>pañcasu hatthinikā-satesu paccekā itthiyo āropetvā</i>
3. mounting chariot/ elephant	a) <i>bhaddaṃ yānaṃ abhirūhitvā</i> b) <i>vaḷavā-rathaṃ āruhya</i> c) <i>ārohaṇīyaṃ nāgaṃ abhirūhitvā</i>
4. departing town	a) <i>bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi</i> [town: abl.] <i>niyyāsi</i> b) [town: abl.] <i>niyyāsi</i> c) <i>ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu</i> [town: abl.] <i>niyyāsi mahacca rājānubhāvena</i> d) <i>pakkāmi</i>
5. setting out for the place	a) <i>yena</i> [place: nom.] <i>tena pāyāsi</i> b) [persons: instr.] <i>saddhiṃ yena</i> [place: nom.] <i>tena pāyāsi</i>
6. going as far as possible by chariot/ elephant	a) <i>yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā</i> b) <i>yāvatikā nāgassa bhūmi nāgena gantvā</i>
7. dismounting	a) <i>yānā paccorohitvā</i> b) <i>nāgā paccorohitvā</i>
8. entering place by foot	a) <i>pattiko va</i> [place: acc.] <i>pāvīsi</i>
9. approaching the person by foot	a) <i>pattiko va yena</i> [approached: nom.] <i>ten' upasaṃ√kam,</i> <i>upasaṃkamitvā</i> b) <i>yena</i> [approached: nom.] <i>ten' upasaṃ√kam,</i> <i>upasaṃkamitvā</i>
Post-approach structures	

2.2.1.3 Table B: Combination of units used by each formula (formulas 1–4 involve chariots; formula 5 involves elephants).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	unit
1	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	-	a	
2	-	a	-	b	a	a	a	-	a	
3	-	-	b	d	a	a	a	-	a	
4	-	-	b	-	b	a	a	a	b	
5	b	b	c	c	a	b	b	-	a	
formula										

2.2.1.4 The most common combination is 1a+3a+4a+5a+6a+7a+9a (that is, formula 1), which is used in four of the eight chariot/elephant approaches. § xvi. 1.3, for example, reads: ... *Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto ... bhaddāni bhaddāni*

⁵³ For the sake of brevity, the grammatical subject of these units has not been included here. The elephant approach (L.5) is the only occurrence which changes subject part way through. In this case, the change occurs between units 1 & 2.

yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Rājagahamhā niyyāsi, yena Gijjhakūto pabbato tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā ..., a literal translation of which is: “The brahman Vassakāra, the chief minister of Magadha, ... had the most stately vehicles⁵⁴ prepared. He mounted a stately vehicle, set out from Rājagaha with the stately vehicles, and set forth for the Vulture-peak mountain. Going as far with (his) vehicle as there was ground for the vehicle, he dismounted from the vehicle and approached the Blessed One by foot only. Having approached ...”.

The lesser combination 5a+6a/b+7a/b+9a — *yena* [place: nom.] *tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa (/nāgassa) bhūmi yānena (/nāgena) gantvā yānā (/nāgā) paccorohitvā pattiko va yena* [nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā* “he set out for a place, went with (his) vehicle (/elephant) as far as there was ground for the vehicle (/elephant), dismounted from the vehicle (/elephant) and approached the person by foot only” — is used in all except one (L.4) of the chariot/elephant approaches.

It can be seen that some chariot approaches do not mention any preparation of the chariots (L.2–4) or departing the town (L.4).

2.2.1.5 The following is a brief account of each of the eight chariot/elephant approaches found in the *Dīgha-nikāya*:

§ ii. 9–12 (L.5): King Ajātasattu, being informed about the qualities of the Buddha, approaches to question him. This is the only elephant approach in the *Dīgha*. The personal approach is complicated (C.5).

§ iii 1.6–10 (L.4): Being commanded by the brahman Pokkharasādi, the young brahman Ambaṭṭha approaches the Buddha to see if he has the 32 marks of a great man. The approach has been described at III 2.1.1.2 above.

§ iii. 2.12–13 (L.3): Ambaṭṭha returns to the brahman Pokkharasādi to inform him of his encounter with the Buddha. A type B.6a formula is used.

§ iii. 2.16 (L.2): The brahman Pokkharasādi now prepares food, has it loaded on his vehicles, and goes to the Buddha to question him about Ambaṭṭha's behaviour and to see for himself whether the Buddha has the 32 marks. The approach is of the B.4 type.

§ xiv. 3.10–11 (L.1): A prince and a priest's son are summoned by Vipassī Buddha and approach him. He teaches them Dhamma. A type B.6c approach is used.

§ xvi. 1.3 (L.1): Vassakāra, the Chief Minister of Magadha, is ordered by King Ajātasattu to approach the Buddha to inform him of his intention to attack the Vajjis and to learn his response. Vassakāra's approach to the Buddha is of the B.4 type.

§ xvi. 2.14, 15–18 (L.1): The courtesan Ambapālī and the Licchavi youths,

⁵⁴ *yāna* “vehicle”, though I have been calling these approaches “chariot” approaches throughout.

both lay followers of the Buddha, hear that the Buddha has arrived in town and go to see him. Their approach is of the B.6b type.

Except for § xiv. 3.10–11 (L.1), all of these occur in sutta narrator passages.

2.2.1.6 From the above, the following can be said: (i) most of these approaches are to the Buddha (or to the past Buddha, Vipassī Bhagavā, in the case of the non-sutta narrator passage; L.1). The exception is § iii. 2.12–13 (L.3) which is the return journey and approach of Ambaṭṭha to his brahman teacher after he has visited the Buddha; (ii) the approachers, or ones who command them, are all persons of social standing; (iii) two approaches arise from commands (§ iii. 1.6–10; xvi. 1.3), two from “hearing that the Buddha had arrived in town” preconditions (§ xvi. 2.14, 15–18), and one from a “hearing about the qualities of the Buddha” precondition (§ ii. 9–12); (iv) the purposes for the approaches are diverse;⁵⁵ (v) respect is always shown, even in the case of Ambaṭṭha approaching his teacher.⁵⁶ A variety of respect forms are used; (vi) having shown respect, all individuals sit down; (vii) thus, there seems to be no connection between the employment of chariot/elephant approaches and any other pre-approach structure (command, decision, etc.), but all individuals who are depicted approaching in this way show some form of respect and sit down.

2.2.1.7 If all chariot approaches are by individuals of high status, are chariot approaches always used for the approaches of individuals of such a status? Or, more specifically, are Ajātasattu, Vassakāra, Ambapālī and the Licchavis, for example, always depicted approaching the Buddha this way?

Unfortunately, there is only one instance where one of these individuals approaches the Buddha again elsewhere in the *Dīgha*. At § xvi. 1.29, not long after approaching the Buddha on behalf of Ajātasattu, Vassakāra, along with Sunīdha, another minister, is depicted approaching the Buddha to invite him for a meal (B.3). In this case, there is no chariot approach. There is in fact no pre-approach structure.

2.2.1.8 If we look at parallel instances in comparable texts such as the *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta*, *Āṅguttara*, and *Vinaya*, we find that approaches of individuals of high status to the Buddha, or those involving the above individuals, do not necessarily incorporate chariot approaches; though in the case of the *Saṃyutta* and *Āṅguttara*, the often briefer style of those texts may play a part. For example, Vassakāra’s approach to the Buddha on Ajātasattu’s command (§ xvi. 1.3) is repeated in the *Āṅguttara* (A IV 17–18),⁵⁷ yet with no chariot approach mentioned. Elsewhere in the *Āṅguttara* (A II 35, 172, 179) Vassakāra approaches the Buddha on his own account, but again there is no chariot approach. Chariot approaches do, however, occur in the *Āṅguttara*. At A III 59 King

⁵⁵ This disproves B.J. Manné’s view (after Witzel) that Ambaṭṭha’s approach by chariot is part of a debate strategy (Manné, 1993, pp. 33–34).

⁵⁶ The showing of respect may occur here for another reason; see section III 4.6.2 below.

⁵⁷ All *Āṅguttara*, *Majjhima*, etc. references are the PTS volume and page number.

Muṇḍa approaches the venerable Nārada by chariot, as does King Pasenadi the Buddha at A V 65. In the *Majjhima*, Pasenadi is depicted approaching the Buddha with five hundred horses (M II 100–101) or by chariot (M II 118–119; a parallel passage to A V 65 just mentioned). Yet at M II 126 he approaches the Buddha without mention of his means of approach. Elsewhere in the *Majjhima*, chariot approaches are used for King Kiki’s approach to Kassapa Buddha (M II 49), King Koravya’s approach to the venerable Raṭṭhapāla (M II 65), and King Madhūra’s approach to the venerable Mahākaccāna (M II 83).⁵⁸ Chariot/elephant approaches are not found in the *Samyutta*. For example, King Pasenadi’s approaches to the Buddha at S I 68, 75, 77, 81, 86, 93 have no pre-approach structures. I have only been able to find one chariot approach in the *Vinaya* (Vin I 231) where it is used for Ambapālī’s approach to the Buddha.

2.2.2 Other “preparing to go, means of going” pre-approach elements.

2.2.2.1 Formulas L.6–10 represent approaches which merely mention setting out from a town, becoming a group, or going to the town before the actual approach.

2.2.2.2 The approach preconditions for the three occurrences listed under L.6 (§ iv. 2; v. 2; xxiii. 2–3) have already been discussed.⁵⁹ Hearing about the qualities of the Buddha they leave town, coming together in groups on the way. But a prominent individual sees them and gets them to come with him instead. For example, § iv. 2 reads: *atha kho Campeyyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā Campāyaṃ nikkhamitvā saṃghā saṃghī gaṇī-bhūtā yena Gaggarā pokkharāṇi ten’ upasaṃkamanti* “Then the brahmans and householders of Campā, setting out from Campā and coming together in groups,⁶⁰ approached the Gaggarā lotus-pond”. Their personal approach comes later.

2.2.2.3 L.7–9 all have the approachers setting out from a town ([town: abl.] *nikkhami/nikkhamitvā*). § xxv. 1 (L.7) reads: *atha kho Sandhāno gahapati divādivass’ eva Rājagahā nikkhami Bhagavantam dassanāya* “Then the householder Sandhāna set out from Rājagaha early in the morning to see the Blessed One”. And § xvi. 4.30 reads: *atha kho Pukkusa Ātumāya mahā-jana-kāyo nikkhamitvā yena te dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā ten’ upasaṃkami* “Then, Pukkusa, a large crowd of people set out from Ātumā and approached the two ploughmen who were brothers and their

⁵⁸ That chariot approaches are used for approaches to other individuals besides the Buddha in these texts, indicates that it is perhaps only coincidental that the *Dīgha* uses them almost exclusively for the/a Buddha (seven of the eight chariot approaches in the *Dīgha* are to the/a Buddha).

⁵⁹ See section III 2.1.1.3 above.

⁶⁰ *saṃghā saṃghī gaṇī-bhūtā*. The meaning of *gaṇī-bhūtā*, “having become a group”, is clear, but the meaning of *saṃghā saṃghī* is not so apparent. The PED (s.v. *gaṇin*) takes *gaṇī-bhūtā* to mean “in crowds” and *saṃghāsaṃghī* (s.v. *saṃghin*) as “in crowds/with crowds”. In the same article it takes *saṃghā saṃghī gaṇī-bhūtā* as “crowds upon crowds”. T.W Rhys Davids (1899, p. 145) translates this passage as “began to leave Campā in bands from each district”, following, he says, the commentary. M. Walshe (1987, p. 125) translates it as “leaving Campā in great crowds, in vast numbers”.

four oxen which had (all) been killed (by lightning)”. In § xiv. 3.14 (L.9) a large number of people hear that Vipassī Buddha has arrived in their town and dwells in a certain place. They go out to see him. The text reads: *atha kho so bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā nikkhamitvā yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā ... ten’ upasaṃkamaṃsu, upasaṃkamtvā ...* “Then, *bhikkhus*, that large crowd of eighty-four thousand people, setting out from the capital Bandhumatī, approached the Khema deer-park and the Blessed One Vipassī ...”. The personal approach is of the B.6c type.

2.2.2.4 § iii. 1.13 (L.10) occurs in a story narrated by the young brahman Ambaṭṭha to the Buddha, which describes his experience when he visited the Sakkas (*ekaṃ idāhaṃ bho Gotama samayaṃ ācariyassa brāhmaṇassa Pokkharasādissa kenacid eva karaṇīyena Kapilavatthuṃ agamāsiṃ, yena Sakkānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ* “At one time, venerable Gotama, I went to Kapilavatthu on some business of (my) teacher, the brahman Pokkharasādi, and approached the Sakka’s assembly hall”).

2.2.3 Summary.

2.2.3.1 From the paucity of examples it is seen that approaches which first depict the approachers setting out from a place or assembling together, etc., are few. Even where pre-approach structures such as decisions to approach, hearing about someone, commands to approach, and so on, are included, most approaches move immediately to the actual approach structure, avoiding any mention of the preparations involved or the process of getting there. Chariot/elephant approaches are the exception and these, as seen, are few.

2.2.3.2 As the preparations for an approach or the actual travel that must be involved in visiting someone are rarely depicted, it is certain that their inclusion in some approach passages functions to emphasise something particular about the approachers or the approach. In the case of chariot/elephant approaches it is to emphasise the status of the individuals who approach and hence, by association, the importance of the Buddha. In the case of the brahmins and householders who hear about the Buddha’s qualities and set out to see him in large groups (L.6), it is to emphasise the large number of town people who were interested in seeing the Buddha merely on hearing about him. In a few instances (formulas L.7–10), the mentioning of the setting out from a town, etc., is probably included for the clarity of the narrative.

3. The approach.

3.1 Approaching the place before the person.

3.1.1 In a number of instances the person approaching is depicted approaching the place where the person approached is — the town, park, etc. — before the actual person. These phrases are treated here as part of the approach.

The core element in approaches to a person, the phrase *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam*, (*upasaṃkamitvā*), is also used to depict approaches to a place: *yena* [place: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam* (*upasaṃkamitvā*). In the majority of passages which portray an approach to a place before an approach to a person, these two like phrases are combined with the omission of the *ten' upasaṃ√kam* (*upasaṃkamitvā*) of the first to form the simpler *yena* [place: nom.] *yena* [person: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā* (listed under M.1 of the references). For example, § xxix. 2 reads: *atha kho Cundo samanuddesso Pāvāyaṃ vassaṃ vuttho yena Sāmagāma yena āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...* “Then the novice Cunda, having spent the rains in Pāvā, approached (the town) Sāmagāma, (then approached) the venerable Ānanda. Having approached ...”.

3.1.2 Theoretically, at least, this process of adding a *yena* [place: nom.] unit could be continued any number of times, but the addition of even one extra “place” unit to an approach to a person occurs only once in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.⁶¹ This passage (§ xiv. 3.18; see references M.3) reads: *atha kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti pabbajita-sahassāni yena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā ...* “Then, bhikkhus, those eighty-four thousand ascetics approached the capital Bandhumatī, (approached) the Khema deer-park, (then approached) the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one. Having approached ...”.⁶²

3.1.3. Occasionally the text deviates from this norm. The description of the approach is stopped after the depiction of the approach to the place, then some interim event is described or additional information is inserted, before the approach to the person is taken up again (see M.4). For example, § ii. 11–12 reads: *atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto ... pattiko yena maṇḍala-mālassa dvāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Jīvakaṃ komārabhaccaṃ etad avoca: 'kahaṃ pana samma Jīvaka Bhagavā' ti? 'eso mahārāja Bhagavā. eso mahārāja Bhagavā majjhimaṃ thambaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisinno purakkhato bhikkhu-saṃghassā' ti. atha kho rājā*

⁶¹ At § xvi. 5.1 [II 137] in an approach to a place, we also find: *atha kho Bhagavā ... yena Hirañnavatīyā nadiyā pārima-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...*

⁶² O. von Hinüber (1968, § 127) discusses this form and mentions several occurrences found in the *Vinaya*.

Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...
 “Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, ... approached the door of the round pavilion by foot. Having approached, he said this to Jīvaka Komārabhacca: ‘Where, good Jīvaka, is the Blessed One?’ ‘This, great king, is the Blessed One. This, great king, is the Blessed One seated near the central pillar, facing east in front of the community of monks’. Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, approached the Blessed One. Having approached ...”. Again, § vi. 2 reads: *atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā yena Mahāvanam kūtāgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkamimsu. tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgito Bhagavato upatthāko hoti. atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā yena āyasmā Nāgito ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā ...* “Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha approached the peaked-roofed hall in the Great Forest. At that time the venerable Nāgita was the Blessed One’s attendant. Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha approached the venerable Nāgita. Having approached ...”. Their approach to the Buddha occurs later.

3.1.4 There are also other variations along these lines. For example, § xvi. 5.21 (references M.2) depicts the Mallas approaching the place, then Ānanda, though they are really approaching to honour the Buddha (*atha kho Mallā ... yena Upavattanam Mallānam sāla-vanam yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamimsu*). The text has Ānanda deciding on a means of getting them all to honour the Buddha in the shortest time. Ānanda introduces each head of the household with his family, etc. But there is no personal approach to the Buddha, only this form of respect-showing, with the actual wording of the approach to the Buddha effectively stopped after this approach to Ānanda.⁶³

3.1.5 In a few passages, before the approach to the person is portrayed, the approacher is depicted “entering” the town or a place ([town/place: acc.] *paṇḍita*) rather than “approaching” it. For example, § xxiv. 1.19 (references M.5) reads: *atha kho Bhaggava Sunakkhatto Licchavi-putto taramāna-rūpo Vesālim pavisitvā yena abhiññātā abhiññātā Licchavī ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...* “Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, having hurriedly entered Vesāli, approached the prominent Licchavis. Having approached ...”.

In the chariot approaches already discussed, one occurrence (§ iii. 1.6 (L.4)), has the approacher entering the park where the Buddha lives (*yāvaticā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va ārāmaṃ pāvisi*). Other chariot approaches have the approach immediately after the dismount.

3.1.6 Parallel to these approaches to a place is the phrase found in chariot approaches which describes the setting out for a place (*yena* [place: nom.] *tena pāyāsi*).

⁶³ See section VI 2.1 below.

3.1.7 The description of an approach to a place before the approach to a person may be included in the narrative for the following reasons: (i) the particular place in which the approached dwells needs to be emphasised; (ii) for the clarity of the narrative; or (iii) by doing so additional information deemed necessary to the story can then be inserted between it and the approach to the person.⁶⁴

The *Pāṭika-sutta* (xxiv.), for example, contains a number of approaches involving a variety of individuals, but in only three related instances are approaches to the place mentioned before the approach to the person.⁶⁵ The text depicts the Buddha relating that he once went to the park of the ascetic Pāṭikaputta to spend the day there (*atha kho 'haṃ ... yena acelassa Pāṭika-puttassa ārāmo ten' upasaṃkamaṃ divā-vihārāya* (§ 1.19)). Many people hear about this and, expecting a debate between the Buddha and the ascetic, they also go to the park. But the ascetic hears them coming and goes to another park out of fear (*atha kho Bhaggava acelo Pāṭika-putto bhūto saṃviggo lomahaṭṭha-jāto yena Tindukkhānu-paribbājakārāmo ten' upasaṃkamaṃ* (§ 1.20)). On three occasions different individuals then approach the ascetic at this new location to get him to come (§ 1.21; 2.1, 4) and each time an approach to this place is mentioned before the approach to the ascetic; e.g. § 1.21 reads: ... *so puriso ... yena Tindukkhānu-paribbājakārāmo yena acelo Pāṭika-putto ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā*. It seems that the approach to this place is mentioned here to emphasise the fact that the ascetic has retreated to another park.

3.1.8 Again, in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (xvi.) there are numerous approaches, yet the only ones to mention an approach to the place of the approached before the approach to the person are those which occur when the Buddha is staying in the Upavatthana sal-tree grove of the Mallas about to attain the *parinibbāna*, or when he has died and his body is there or at the Makuṭabandhana *cetiya* (§ 5.21, 24; 6.13, 22). The importance of these places due to the events that are occurring there is probably the reason for the consistent mentioning of them. The only other instances with anything like an approach to a place in this sutta are the chariot approaches of Ambapālī and the Licchavis (§ 2.14, 15–18). The chariot approach formula, as seen, involves the use of the phrase *yena* [place: nom.] *pāyāsi*. But, as with several other approaches arising from the same “heard that the Buddha had arrived in town and dwelt in a particular place” precondition, there is no actual mention of an approach to the specific place. In fact, as seen in our discussion of this precondition (section III 2.1.2 above), there is no consistency in such cases, with only some of these approaches including an approach to the place first.

3.1.9 Similarly, all suttas open with the phrase stating where the Buddha (or one of the chief disciples) is living at that time. Many suttas then depict someone approaching

⁶⁴ This latter function is based on examples from part 2 (see part 2, section III 5.3).

⁶⁵ The exception is § xxiv. 1.1 [III 1], which has the Buddha approaching the place and the person.

him for various reasons. Though one would anticipate that an approach to that particular place would be included in such initial approaches, only in a few instances does it in fact occur. Interestingly enough, the suttas which open with some individuals hearing or being informed that the Buddha dwells in a particular place and that he possesses certain qualities (suttas ii.–vi., xii., xxiii.) include some mention of the place before the personal approach, even if it is merely that the approacher entered the particular place first; e.g. § iii. 1.2 (1.6 *ārāmaṃ pāvīsi*). The exception to this is sutta xii.

Other suttas, however, where one might similarly expect an approach to the place of the approached to be included in the first approach of the sutta, merely present the approach to the person (e.g. suttas vii., viii., x.–xiii., etc.).

3.1.10 Thus, apart from some instances where the inclusion of an approach to a place before the approach to the person may result from a desire to emphasise or clarify, it is difficult to observe definite factors which guide the employment of many such “approach to place” phrases.

3.2 Approaching the person (*yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā*).

3.2.1 A brief description of this approach formula — the core element which portrays the actual approach — has already been given in the introduction to this chapter (section I 3 above).

3.2.2 Many writers have commented on the various features (or component units) employed by this formula and on the formula as a whole.⁶⁶

Both Childers’ dictionary and the PED consider that *yena ... tena* is an adverbial use of the pronouns *ta* and *ya*. The PED, for example, article *ta* (4c) states: “*instr. tena* (a) there (direction = there to), always in correl. with *yena*: where — there, or in whatever direction, here and there ...” and article *ya* (5a) “*instr. yena*: (local) where ..., and *yena ... tena* where (he was) — there (he went)”.

A.K. Warder,⁶⁷ states: “The instrumental *yena* used with the verb of motion means ‘where’, ‘towards’ (cf. instrumental of way by which [i.e. p. 45]). It ‘governs’ the nominative case ... It is often used with the correlative *tena* preceding the verb ...”. He translates *yena gāmo tena upasaṃkami* as “he approached the village”.

S. Sen⁶⁸ states: “... the pronouns *yena* and *tena*, used singly or correlatively,

⁶⁶ For *yena ... tena* see PED s.vv. *ta* and *ya*; R.C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali language*, London 1875, s.v. *yo* (p. 603); A.K. Warder, 1963, p. 14 & 73; C. Duroiselle, 1921, § 607 (iv–v); D. Andersen, 1901–07, part II Glossary, s.v. *yena*; S. Sen, 1953, §§ 31–32; O. von Hinüber, 1968, §§ 125–128; G. von Simson, 1977, pp. 480–481.

For *upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* and “finite verb + absolutive” constructions, see Duroiselle, 1921, § 618; Warder, 1963, p. 48; Hendriksen, 1944, §§ 39–50 (pp. 108–144), especially § 49 (pp. 139–141).

⁶⁷ A.K. Warder, 1963, p. 73.

⁶⁸ S. Sen, 1953, § 32 (p. 20).

occur in the sense of the spatial instrumental mixed up with that of the spatial locative or the locative (or dative) of direction.” He then translates *atha kho Bhagavā ... yena Kasibhāradvājassa brāhmaṇassa kammanto ten’ upasaṃkami*⁶⁹ as “now the Lord went to where (was) the field of labour of the brahman Kasibhāradvāja, i.e. went by that way going along which one can reach the working field”.

O. von Hinüber⁷⁰ seems to follow Sen’s interpretation — especially as expressed in this last literal translation — calling it an “Instrumental des Weges” (instrumental of way)⁷¹ and he uses the example of *yena ... tad*, where he takes *tad* as an accusative of direction, to show that *tena* does not have the meaning of “dorthin” (there, that way) but “auf dem (Wege)” (on the (way)).⁷² He considers that the understanding of *yena ... tena* as “where, there” arises from the fact that its most appropriate and usual translation is “where, there”.⁷³ *Bhagavā ... yena Uruvelā tena cārikam pakkāmi* (Vin I 23,2) is thus translated by him as “Der Erhabane wanderte auf dem (Wege), auf welchem Uruvelā (liegt oder zu erreichen ist)” (The Exalted One travelled on the (way), on which Uruvelā (lies or is to be reached)) and states that this would be expressed in German as “der Erhabane wanderte nach Uruvelā”⁷⁴ (The Exalted One travelled to Uruvelā). In this looser manner he thus translates *anupubbena yena Sāvattthī Jetavanaṃ Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāmo yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkamimsu*⁷⁵ as “Fortschreitend gingen sie nach Sāvattthī zum Jetavana, dem Park des Anāthapiṇḍika, zum Erhabenen” (By stages they went to Sāvattthī, to the Jetavana the park of Anāthapiṇḍika, to the Exalted One).⁷⁶

3.2.3 The interpretation of *yena ... tena* by the PED, Warder (and others) stresses the place of the person approached: “where *y* was, there *x* approached”, while that of Sen and von Hinüber stresses the way to the approached: “on the (way by which *y* is approached), on/by that (way) *x* approached him”.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Sn p. 13.

⁷⁰ O. von Hinüber, 1968, §§ 125–128.

⁷¹ Ibid., § 125.

⁷² Ibid., § 128.

⁷³ Ibid., n. 6, pp. 137–138.

⁷⁴ Ibid., § 126 (p. 138).

⁷⁵ Vin I 158,15.

⁷⁶ O. von Hinüber, 1968, § 127.

⁷⁷ Buddhaghosa (Sv I 152,23–24) follows the former: *yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkamī ti, yattha Bhagavā tattha gato. Bhagavato santikaṃ upasaṃkamanto ti attho* (cf. Sv I 48). In the *Dīgha-nikāya*, *yena ... tena* is also found in *yena* [place: nom.] *tena pāyāsi* “he set out for a place” (e.g. § iii. 2.16 [I 108]; see chariot approach formulas in the references, section L.), cf. *yena so paribbajito tena rathaṃ pesesi* (D II 29); *yena* [person: nom.] *ten’ añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* “having bowed down towards a person with hands joined in respect” (e.g. § xiv. 3.3 [II 37]; see references, section D.3). O. von Hinüber (1968, pp. 138–139) also lists its use in the *Vinaya* with other verbs (add *Nālāgiri hatthī ... yena Bhagavā tena abhidhāvi*, Vin II 195,5–7) and S. Sen (1953, § 32 (p. 20)), mentions *yen’ eva so tena palehi sūra* (Sn 831c), and others.

An interesting passage in the *Udāna* which suggests an understanding of “where” reads: *atha kho Bāhiyo ... yena Bhagavā Sāvattthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme ten’ upasaṃkami* (Ud 7).

3.2.4 Although *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam (upasaṃkamitvā)* is used in approaches to a place, its most common employment is in approaches to a person, and there are many instances of such approaches to a person where the interpretation of Sen and von Hinüber would be awkward. For example, § ii. 11–12⁷⁸ has King Ajātasattu going by elephant to see the Buddha. He dismounts and approaches the building where the Buddha is by foot (... *pattiko va yena maṇḍala-māḷassa dvāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami ...*)⁷⁹ and then asks his companion which one is the Buddha. The Buddha is pointed out to him and he then approaches (... *yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā~ ...*).⁸⁰ As Ajātasattu is virtually in front of the Buddha when he asks for the Buddha to be indicated, he cannot then approach him “on the (way) on which he is approached”.

Awkwardness in itself does not of course discredit such interpretations. This idiom may well have had the emphasis proposed by Sen and von Hinüber originally — an emphasis still operational in certain cases — with it then being subsequently used in phrases where such an emphasis was out of place.

3.2.5 The distinction is slight and whatever the emphasis or interpretation it is the case that this expression means that the approach is a step removed from a direct approach to the person. This seems to add a degree of remoteness and formality to this event.

This formality is further enhanced by the person approached being placed in the nominative case rather than the accusative, and by the repetition of the finite verb in its absolutive form: *yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā*. This has led G. von Simson⁸¹ to speculate that the complicatedness of this formula might in part be due to the fact that it was frequently the Buddha who was approached. He also states that the formula was first used in the “feierlichen, gehobenen Sūtrastil” (ceremonial, elevated Sūtra style)⁸², i.e. in texts such as the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

3.2.6 As we now encounter the *Dīgha-nikāya*, this formula, besides being employed in approaches to a place, is used for all approaches to a person regardless of who is approached, with a large proportion of the approaches not being to the Buddha. If we pursue von Simson’s speculation, this would mean that the formula was first used in the earlier stages of the formation of the texts for the approaches to the Buddha, and perhaps his *bhikkhus*, then later applied to all approaches, whether to a person or a place and regardless of the status of the person approached. But as we have no texts surviving from the supposed earlier formative period, there is no evidence to either support or disprove this speculation.

3.2.7 An alternative possibility is that approaching a person or a place was a

⁷⁸ See references C.5; this is also discussed in section III 3.1.3 above.

⁷⁹ § ii. 11 [I 50].

⁸⁰ § ii. 12 [I 50].

⁸¹ G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 481.

significant event in the minds of the authors of these texts for it marked the beginning of a new sequence of events and, more importantly, personal interactions, with all events now happening in a new place and in association with different individuals. The text marks this important change by slowing the flow of the narrative through the use of this formula: “he approached, having approached ...”.

3.2.8 H. Hendriksen⁸³ states that “in later Pāli several gerunds usually follow each other in succession to denote a chronological order” and that “There are also examples of this in earlier Pāli ...”. He gives some examples but then goes on to state that “This, however, is not the ordinary way of expressing oneself in earlier Pāli. The usual procedure here is to subdivide the period into several clauses and resume the verb of the preceding clause with a gerund. This mode of expression gives the language a peculiar ponderous and solemn ring ...”.⁸⁴ And further: “In later Pāli this mode of expression is rare ...”.

3.2.9 This latter form — for convenience, and following its supposed “earlier” use, we will call it “form 1”, and we will call the “several absolutes/gerunds following each other in succession” style, “form 2” — may not occur, or at least be frequent, in late Pāli, but it is certainly not the usual (by which I understand “dominant”) form used in, for example, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, a text which presumably he would consider to be “early” Pāli.

In this text, form 2 is as common, if not more so, than form 1. For example, § xvi. 4.16 [II 126–127] reads: *atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato adhivāsanaṃ viditvā utthāy’ āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi*, literally, “Then Cunda the smith, having recognised the assent of the Blessed One, having risen from his seat, having paid homage to the Blessed One, having kept him on his right⁸⁵, departed”.⁸⁶

If form 1 is considered to be common in texts such as the *Dīgha-nikāya* it is due to its use in certain commonly occurring formulas or phrases, of which the approach formula is the most obvious; that is, in *upasaṃkamaṃ upasaṃkavitvā* followed by the posturing phrase *ekamantaṃ nisīdi* (*/atthāsi*) *ekamantaṃ nisinna* (*/thīta*). And, as seen in this latter posturing phrase, it is not uncommon for the next clause to be resumed by some other non-finite form of the verb: a past or present participle. We do, however, find *niṣad* immediately repeated in its absolute form in some phrases used to describe the Buddha approaching someone; e.g. *atha kho Bhagavā ... paññatte āsane*

⁸³ H. Hendriksen, 1944, § 49 (pp. 139–140).

⁸⁴ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 316ff.; G. von Simson, 1965, § 5; H. Oldenberg, 1917, pp. 49–50.

⁸⁵ *padakkhiṇaṃ katvā* is usually translated in this way, but the commentarial tradition takes it as *tikkhattuṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā*, “having made the circumambulation three times” (e.g. Sv I 237, cty on D § ii. 101; Sv II 671, cty on D § xix. 62). See also § xvi. 6.22 (references G.2) where Mahākassapa circumambulates the pyre of the Buddha three times.

⁸⁶ See also, for example, chariot approaches (references, section L).

nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi.⁸⁷

3.2.10 Apart from *upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā* and *nisīdi nisajja*, in only a few cases does a repeated absolutive form occur immediately after the finite verb: *aggahesuṃ gahetvā* and *sannipatiṃsu sannipatitvā* have been recorded.⁸⁸ Both verbs, \sqrt{gah} “grasp” and \sqrt{sanni}/\sqrt{pat} “assemble” are usually found alone, either in their finite or non-finite forms, with the former being quite common in form 2 phrases; e.g. *aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu*⁸⁹ “having taken a lower seat, they sat down to one side” and *amaccā ... sannipatitvā rājānaṃ ... upasaṃkamitvā etad avocuṃ*⁹⁰ “the ministers ... , having assembled together, having approached the king ... , said this”.

3.2.11 We also find this repetition with the commonly occurring verbs \sqrt{dis}/\sqrt{pass} “see”, \sqrt{su} “hear” and \sqrt{vac} “say”, though the absolutive form is not in immediate contact with its finite verb and may occur some time later; e.g. *addasā kho Bhagavā te Licchavī dūrato va āgacchante, disvā bhikkhū āmantesi*⁹¹ “The Blessed One saw those Licchavis coming from afar. Having seen (them), he addressed the *bhikkhus*”; *assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā mahājanakāyo ...* “(what was heard)” *sutvāna tesam etad ahoṣi*⁹² “The great crowd of people, O *bhikkhus*, heard ... Having heard (that), this occurred to them”; *idaṃ avoca Bhagavā. idaṃ vatvā Sugato athāparaṃ etad avoca Satthā*⁹³ “The Blessed One said this. Having said this, the Well-farer, the Teacher, then further said this”. It is more common, however, for these verbs to occur without the repeated absolutive form following.⁹⁴ This is also the case with the verb $\sqrt{bhās}$ “speak”, which I have found in combination with its repeated absolutive form only twice in the *Dīgha*: *idaṃ atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṃkumāro abhāsittha. idaṃ atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṃkumāro bhāsivā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi*⁹⁵ “Brahmā Saṃkumāro, venerable sir, spoke about this matter. Having spoken about this matter, venerable sir, Brahmā Saṃkumāro addressed the *Tāvatiṃsā devas*”.

3.2.12 Very occasionally, certain “formulaic” sequences of often synonymous verbs may be subsequently repeated in either their absolutive form or their past or present participial forms.

⁸⁷ E.g. § i. 1.4 [I 2]; xiv. 1.2 [II 1]. See part 2, section III 3.

⁸⁸ *aggahesuṃ gahetvā* § xxvi. 10 [III 65] = 11 [66], 12, 14 [68]; xxvii. 19 [92]; *sannipatiṃsu sannipatitvā* § xxvii. 13 [III 86], 15 [88], 18 [90], 20 [92]. Perhaps we should also take into consideration the sequences of verbs discussed below (section 3.2.12) where the repetition is in the absolutive form and *ekante attānaṃ upasaṃhāsi, ekante attānaṃ upasaṃharitvā* (§ xviii. 22 [II 212]).

⁸⁹ § xvi. 1.30 [II 88].

⁹⁰ § xxvi. 9 [III 64].

⁹¹ § xvi. 2.17 [II 96]; also *taṃ ... Bhagavā c' eva passati Ambaṭṭho ca māṇavo. atha kho Ambaṭṭho māṇavo taṃ disvā ...* (§ iii. 1.21 [I 95]).

⁹² § xiv. 2.16 [II 29–30].

⁹³ § xvii. 2.17 [II 199].

⁹⁴ E.g. § iii. 2.18 [I 109]; xiv. 1.2 [II 1]; 3.18 [14]; xvi. 1.27 [87], etc.

⁹⁵ § xviii. 22 [II 214] = 26 [216]; see also finite verb + pr. p. (§ xviii. 19–21 [II 211–212]).

The sequence *dharmiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi*, “he instructed, urged, roused, and encouraged someone with talk on the Dhamma”, is quite often subsequently repeated in either the absolute or past participle form.⁹⁶ Similarly, [person: gen.] *bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi* is repeated as [person: gen.] *bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā* “having delighted and rejoiced at the speech of someone” once,⁹⁷ and the future passive participle followed by the absolute once also.⁹⁸ But usually these verbs occur at the end of a sutta and are not repeated. I have not been able to find any other sequence which follows this pattern of repetition.⁹⁹

3.2.13 A step removed from our “finite verb + absolute” construction are “finite verb + some declinable participial form” constructions; e.g. ... *rājā ... ariye cakkavattivatte vatti. tassa ariye cakkavattivatte vattamānassa ...*,¹⁰⁰ “The king did the noble duties of a wheel-turning (king). While he was doing the noble duties of a wheel-turning (king), ...”.

3.2.14 The point of this rather detailed discussion is to show the following: (i) that the immediate resumption of a verb in the absolute form, or even some declinable participial form, to introduce the next clause, as is the case with *upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā, nisīdi nisajja* and *ekamantaṃ nisīdi (/atthāsi) ekamantaṃ nisinna (/thita)*, or even the subsequent later repeating of the verb, is actually not particularly common; and (ii) apart from *upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā* (especially), *nisīdi nisajja* and *ekamantaṃ nisīdi* found in approach formulas, the phenomenon seems to occur with only a handful of verbs: \sqrt{dis} , \sqrt{su} and occasionally also with verbs such as $\sqrt{bhās}$, \sqrt{gah} , \sqrt{sanni} , \sqrt{pat} , \sqrt{vac} , etc., and the few fixed sequences of verbs mentioned above.¹⁰¹

Upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā (and the following *ekamantaṃ nisīdi*, etc.) of

⁹⁶ E.g. § xvi. 3.22 [II 109]; 4.14–15 [126]. A passage which happens to combine this sequence with a large number of the other above mentioned verbs found in form 1 passages, and these in conjunction with a form 2 passage, reads: *atha kho te Licchavī yāvaticā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā, pattikā va yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīmsu. ekamantaṃ nisinne kho te Licchavī Bhagavā dharmiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi. atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavatā dharmiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocum:* (§ xvi. 2.18 [II 97]). See also § xvi. 4.39 [II 134].

⁹⁷ § xxi. 2.1–2 [II 276–277].

⁹⁸ § xxix. 21 [III 129]; one also finds this fpp. + abs. construction in *n' eva abhinanditabbam na paṭikkositabbam. anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā so ... n' eva ussādettabbo na ppassādettabbo. anussādetvā anapasādetvā so ...* (§ xxix. 18–21 [III 128–129]).

⁹⁹ For example, the following are never repeated: *sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti* (e.g. § xvi. 1.4 [II 74]); *abhisandeti parisandeti paripūreti parippharati* (e.g. § ii. 76 [I 74]); *santappesi sampavāresi* (e.g. § iv. 25 [I 125]).

¹⁰⁰ § xxvi. 5 [III 61]. Other examples are: *so Bhagavā āhāraṃ āhāreti. evaṃ vigata-madam āhāraṃ āhāriyamānaṃ ...* (§ xix. 10 [II 223]); *atha kho bho rājā Disampati Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ Govindīye abhiñci, pettike thāne thapesi. abhisitto Jotipālo māṇavo Govindīye pettike thāne thapito ye ...* (§ xix. 31 [II 232]); *atha kho Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo ... pabbaji. pabbajitaṃ ca pana Mahāgovindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ satta ca rājāno ...* (§ xix. 58 [II 249]); ... *rājā ... pabbājesi ... te ... pabbājitaṃ* (§ iii. 1.16 [I 92]); ... *etad avoca: "... evaṃ vutte ...* (e.g. § iii. 1.20 [I 94]).

¹⁰¹ An unusual passage which takes this pattern to an extreme and which would seem to contradict these statements is found at A II 199. But note that this is an optative construction occurring in a simile.

our approach formula is, then, quite special, and in combination with *yena ... tena*, which allows the approached to be placed in the nominative (*yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasam√kam upasamkamtivā*) we have a phrase which by its nature both imparts to the approach a formality and at the same time marks an important transition point in the narrative: the beginning of a new sequence of events and personal interactions.¹⁰²

4. The post-approach.

4.1–4 Structure.

4.1 Possible post-approach units of meaning.

4.1.1 Once the approach has taken place, the subsequent sequence of events usually follows a set pattern. At minimum, there is verbal interaction between the person approaching and the approached. Depending on who approaches whom and the purpose of the visit, phrases depicting the approacher showing some form of respect, then adopting a posture, may be included before the verbal interaction. Hence there are two possible structures: (i) approach + verbal interaction (B.1 formula types); or (ii) approach + respect-showing + posturing + verbal interaction (B.3–7 formula types). One rarely used formula has an “approach + posturing + verbal interaction” structure (formula B.2).

4.1.2 For various reasons there are a number of approaches which do not follow this pattern. Some approaches, for example, are interrupted by faltering or irregular behaviour on the part of the approacher; others, which involve several distinct groups of individuals approaching together, depict each group showing different forms of respect, then adopting the same posture (usually), but with only one group then going on to interact verbally with the approached. These approaches will be discussed later. What we will deal with first are the approaches listed in section B of the references with some examples taken from section C where necessary.¹⁰³

¹⁰² S. Migron (1991–1993) discusses the origins of the catena (*upasamkami, upasamkamtivā*) in Indo-European. See also B. Tikkanen (1987, p. 57) who mentions its “partly mnemonic discourse function”.

¹⁰³ Some of the approaches listed in section C are sufficiently distinct to also be treated as B type approaches.

4.2 Possible forms of respect-showing.

4.2.1 One of two forms of respect are shown within these regular approaches.¹⁰⁴ The first is: [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi (/sammodiṃ/sammodimsu) sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā*. This phrase has been variously translated. The PED takes *sammodati* as “(1) to rejoice, delight, (2) to agree with, to exchange friendly greetings with”. It takes the second element, *sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā*, as “to exchange greetings of friendliness and courtesy” (s.v. *sārāṇiya*). Literally, this expression means: “the approacher exchanged greetings with the approached and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him) ...”.¹⁰⁵

T.W. Rhys Davids¹⁰⁶ translates this phrase as “after exchanging with him the greetings and compliments of friendship [/civility; vol. III, p. 34] and courtesy” and K.R. Norman¹⁰⁷ gives “exchanged the customary friendly greetings with him”. But other translators merely abbreviate this phrase. For example, M. Walshe¹⁰⁸ renders it as “exchanged courtesies with him”.¹⁰⁹

4.2.2 The second is: [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā*. This form of respect is also encountered in certain departures.¹¹⁰ Most translators give “having saluted him” for this phrase.¹¹¹

This translation suggests that the person approaching pays respect by bowing down with the hands raised and joined together. The expression used in Pāli for this gesture is: *yena* [person: nom.] *ten’ añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* or [person: dat./gen.] *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā*.¹¹²

Occasionally, both *abhivādetvā* and *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* are used in the same passage by or for different individuals as if they were distinct gestures. In the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (§ ii. 13 [I 50–51]), for example, King Ajātasattu approaches the Buddha who is seated surrounded by many *bhikkhus*. He shows the first form of respect (*abhivādetvā*) to the Buddha, then the second to the *bhikkhus*.¹¹³ Similarly, in passages which depict distinct groups of individuals approaching together, they are

¹⁰⁴ There are also a number of other forms found in complicated approaches (see section IV below).

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of *sārāṇiya* and *sammodaniya*, see P.V. Bapat, 1952 & H. Lüders, 1954, § 101.

¹⁰⁶ T.W. Rhys Davids, 1899, p. 69.

¹⁰⁷ K.R. Norman, 1984, p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ M. Walshe, 1987, p. 171.

¹⁰⁹ Ñāṇamoli (1972, p. 124) gives “exchanged greetings with him, and when this courteous and formal talk was finished”. R. Gombrich (1990a. p. 17) has “and greeted him, and after an exchange of courtesies”.

¹¹⁰ E.g. § xix. 62 [II 252].

¹¹¹ T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 1921, p. 95, or “paid him reverence”, 1910, p. 98; M. Walshe, 1987, p. 236, or “prostrated himself” p. 175; K.R. Norman, 1984, p. 111; Ñāṇamoli, 1972, p. 148 “after paying homage to him”.

¹¹² v.l. *paṇāmetvā*. See references, section D.3 for references.

¹¹³ The text reads: *atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Bhagavantam abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ...*

usually portrayed showing different forms of respect. The formula¹¹⁴ used in these instances reads: ... *pi kho ... app ekacce* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce nāma-gottaṃ sāvetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu* “Some paid homage to the approached and sat down to one side; some exchanged greetings with the approached and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side; some bowed down towards the approached with their hands joined in respect and sat down to one side; some announced their name and clan and sat down to one side; some remained silent and sat down to one side.” This sequence of respect forms seems to be arranged from the most respectful to the least respectful, with *abhivādetvā* being more respectful than *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā*.¹¹⁵

The commentarial tradition often glosses *abhivādetvā* with *vanditvā* or some other form of the verb \sqrt{vand} .¹¹⁶ In the *Dīgha-nikāya* and elsewhere, \sqrt{vand} is used in the phrase [person: gen.] *pāde sirasā* \sqrt{vand} ¹¹⁷ “he honoured the feet of *x* with his head” and it is interesting that the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MPS) uses this phrase (e.g. MPS 2.2 *bhagavatpādaḥ śirasā vanditvā*) throughout where the Pāli has *abhivādetvā* and never, in fact, uses the verb *abhivādayati* (~*te*).¹¹⁸ The gesture [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* as being the same as [gen.] *pāde sirasā vanditvā* is perhaps confirmed by a number of passages in the *Dīgha*. The first depicts King Ajātasattu sending his minister Vassakāra to the Buddha to honour him on his behalf.¹¹⁹ He tells Vassakāra: *mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandāhi* “honour the feet of the Blessed One with (your) head on my behalf” — the words/speech being that Ajātasattu honours the Buddha in this way himself and asks after the Buddha’s health. When Vassakāra approaches the Buddha he, in fact, shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form. Ajātasattu does not approach the Buddha in this sutta, but when he is presented doing so elsewhere (§ ii. 13 [I 50]) he is depicted

¹¹⁴ See references, section C.2 & 3. Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.22.

¹¹⁵ It is possible that the arrangement is not so straight forward for, although the Buddha’s lay followers and *bhikkhus* sometimes show the *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* form towards him, they never show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form. It will be seen later that this latter form is only shown towards the Buddha by people who do not have faith in him.

¹¹⁶ E.g. the passage above (§ ii. 13 [I 50–51]), which depicts Ajātasattu showing two forms of respect, is glossed by the commentary with *tasmā Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā tṭhita-tṭhāne yeva bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi* (Sv I 154, 22–24).

¹¹⁷ For *Dīgha* references see the references, section D.2; or similarly, e.g. *pāde vīra pasārehi, Sabhiyo vandati Sathuno ti* “Stretch out your feet, hero. Sabhiya honours (the feet) of the Teacher” (Sn 547). Cf. Sn p. 101; Ud 7; M II 144; III 246 (*Bhagavato pāde sirasā nipatitvā*)

¹¹⁸ The CPS (11.5) has *so 'smābhir upasaṅkrānto nābhi(vā)dayitavyo na vanditavyo notthāyāsānenopanimantrayitavyo*, which parallels Vin I 6, 10.

In the Jain tradition we find, for example, *muddhāṇeṇaṃ pāe abhivandittae* (Uvāsagadasāo § 81)

¹¹⁹ § xvi. 1.2–3 [II 72–73].

showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form. So Ajātasattu is not asking Vassakāra to show the *abhivādetvā* form himself, but that he should indicate to the Buddha that Ajātasattu is of the mind to show this form of respect, which is confirmed by a passage depicting Ajātasattu’s approach elsewhere.¹²⁰ The second, for example, a similar command found in the *Sakkapañha-sutta*, reads: *atha kho Sakko devānaṃ indo Pañcasikhaṃ gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi: ‘abhivādehi me tvaṃ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavantam: Sakko bhante devānaṃ indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatī’ ti* “Then Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, addressed the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha: ‘Pay homage to the Blessed One for me, dear Pañcasikha (saying): “Venerable sir, Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, with his friends and followers honours the feet of the Blessed One with his head”.’ ”.¹²¹ Both Sakka and the *gandhabba* are depicted showing the *abhivādetvā* form when they approach later.¹²²

Finally, to bow down so that the head touches the other person’s feet is indeed the highest form of respect — a form of respect occasionally still used in India and some S.E. Asian countries — and this meaning would suit the placement of *abhivādetvā* as the first and most respectful of the multiple forms of respect shown by a large number of individuals who approach together. “Having prostrated himself (at the feet of the approached)” would therefore be a more accurate translation. I adopt Ñānamoli’s “having paid homage” here.¹²³

4.3 Possible forms of posturing.

4.3.1 For the vast majority of approaches, one of two postures are taken once respect is shown. They are standing to one side or sitting down to one side. The first reads: *ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi/aṭṭhaṃsu* “he/they stood to one side”. This may then be repeated in the past participial form, declined in the nominative (*ekamantaṃ ṭhito/ṭhitā kho*) if the approacher is the one who speaks first, or in the accusative (*ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ/ṭhite kho*) if the approached speaks first.

4.3.2 The second reads: *ekamantaṃ nisīdi/nisīdīṃsu* “he/they sat down to one side”. Similarly, this is repeated either as *ekamantaṃ nisinno/nisinnā kho* or *ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ/nisinne kho*.

4.3.3 In a few instances (formulas B.6c & B.7) the posturing phrase is not repeated in the past participial form, but rather the person approached is depicted addressing or

¹²⁰ Cf. M II 91 and N. Wagle, 1966, p. 67.

¹²¹ § xxi. 1.8 [II 269]. The Buddha then wishes Sakka and his followers happiness stating that this is the way Tathāgatas honour (*abhivandanti* — note that this is not the causative form) such powerful beings (see section V 3.1).

¹²² Cf. also D § iv. 26 [I 126] where the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa tells the Buddha: *sirasā me taṃ bhavaṃ Gotamo abhivādanaṃ dhāretū ti*.

¹²³ Ñānamoli, 1972, p. 148.

instructing those who are visiting: *tesaṃ Vipassī Bhagavā ... ānupubbi-kathaṃ kathesi* or *atha kho Bhagavā Vāsetṭhaṃ āmantesi*.¹²⁴

4.3.4 One approach depicts an alternative posture. Here (formula B.7) the approachers follow the Buddha as he paces up and down: *Bhagavantam caṅkamantaṃ anucaṅkamimsu*.¹²⁵

4.4 Possible forms of verbal interaction.¹²⁶

4.4.1 By far the most common expression of verbal interaction encountered in approach formulas is *etad avoca/avocum* “he/they said this”. The complete phrase, which occurs after the approach if there are no subsequent phrases depicting respect-showing and posturing, or after the posturing if they are present, is [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca/avocum* if the approacher speaks first, or [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] ... *etad avoca/avocum* if the approached speaks first. In several instances where the Buddha is describing someone approaching himself, we have this latter order of object-subject reversed: [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] *etad avocaṃ*.¹²⁷

4.4.2 Other verbal expressions found in B type approach formulas are:

(i) [approached: acc.] *pañhaṃ apucchi* (B.1a) “*x* asked *y* a question”.

(ii) [approacher: nom.] [approached: dat./gen.] *kālaṃ ārocesi* (B.5b) “*x* informed *y* that it was time (for the meal)”.

(iii) [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] *dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī* (B.6b) “*y* instructed, urged, roused, and encouraged *x* with talk on the Dhamma”.

(iv) *tesaṃ* [approached: nom.] *ānupubbi-kathaṃ kathesi* (occurring immediately after the finite verb expressing posturing, i.e. with no repetition in the past participle form) (B.6c) “*y* instructed *x* with gradual talk (on the Dhamma) ...”.

(v) *atha kho* [approached: nom.] [approacher(s): acc.] *āmantesi* (B.7) “Then *y* addressed *x*”.

(vi) With the complicated approaches and those where a B type formula is not utilised (to be discussed later), a number of non-*etad avoca* verbal interaction phrases are encountered; e.g. [approachers: nom.] [approached: gen.] *santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi* “*x* spoke this verse in the presence of *y*”. These are listed in section N of the references.

¹²⁴ Cf. references C.7.

¹²⁵ There is also one C type approach (C.7) which has the approacher pacing up and down, then standing while the Buddha is seated — a form of disrespect as the Buddha soon lets him know.

¹²⁶ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 12.

¹²⁷ § xvi. 4.31 [III 131] (see references B.5a); xxiv. 1.10, 13, 14; 2.13 [III 8, 10, 11, 27] (see B.6a).

4.4.3 There is one occurrence which has an alternative to verbal interaction (references B.1b). Here the approach is to a dead ascetic and the one who approaches hits him three times to see if he is alive (... *tikkhattuṃ pāṇinā ākoṭesi*). There are also a few complicated (C) and miscellaneous (G–I) approaches which have alternatives to verbal interaction.

4.5 Analysis of formulas B.1 – B.7.

4.5.1 In this section each formula type is presented and discussed. The formula is first presented in its bare formulaic form. An example is then given along with a translation. The number of times this formula is used in the *Dīgha-nikāya* is then listed along with what proportion of these are found in sutta and non-sutta narrator passages. This is followed by a table setting out all relevant details. And finally, a discussion of the use of that formula type is presented.

A word about the abbreviations and cryptic words used in the tables may be of help to the reader. Six fields of information are given. They are:

- (i) the class of the person approaching (approacher); i.e. whether he or she is a layman/laywoman, a *bhikkhu*, ascetic, brahman, etc.
- (ii) the class of the person approached (approached).
- (iii) how they address each other.
- (iv) the references.
- (v) whether the narrator is the sutta narrator (su. nor.) or non-sutta narrator (oth. = other; B. = the Buddha).
- (vi) the purpose of the visit; e.g. ‘question’ means that the purpose of the visit is to question the person approached.

Formula B.1: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃkami* (*upasaṃkamimsu*), *upasaṃkamitvā* [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (*avocum*):

E.g. *atha kho te brāhmaṇā yena Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo ten’ upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā Soṇadaṇḍam brāhmaṇam etad avocum* (§ iv. 4 [I 113]): “Then those brahmans approached the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa. Having approached, they said this to the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa.”

43 approaches: 12 sutta narrator; 31 non-sutta narrator.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
bhikkhu	Buddha	name	bhante	xvi. 4.25	1	-	take water
māṇava	bhikkhū	name + māṇava	bho	iii. 1.7 (C.7)	1	-	see Buddha
brāhmaṇa-dūtā	bhikkhu	āvuso	bho + name	vi. 2 (C.4)	1	-	"
paribbājaka	"	āvuso + name	bho + name	xvi. 5.24	1	-	"
bhikkhu	"	āvuso	āvuso + name	xvi. 5.13	1	-	request to come
various (rājā, brāhmaṇa, purisa)	various (rājāsi, rājā, māṇava, etc.)	various	various	all except above	7	31	various

Only one approach is to the Buddha. This depicts Ānanda approaching the Buddha after he has fetched a bowl of water from the river at the Buddha's request (§ xvi. 4.25). This is particularly unusual as Ānanda, like all *bhikkhus* when they approach the Buddha, is always depicted showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form; that is, a B.5 or B.6 formula is usually used for his approach. The lack of the depiction of the showing of respect may be due to the fact that he had only briefly left the Buddha's presence. But this explanation seems unsatisfactory in the light of similar occasions occurring even in the same sutta where respect is shown. For example, on two occasions in this sutta Ānanda is sent by the Buddha to assemble the *bhikkhus*,¹²⁸ yet in both he is depicted showing the usual *abhivādetvā* respect form on his return. Similarly, when the Buddha is about to die, Ānanda goes into the nearby building to weep. The Buddha sends another *bhikkhu* to fetch him, and when Ānanda approaches he again shows the usual respect.¹²⁹ Alternatively, it could be argued that Ānanda had a bowl of water in his hands and, therefore, could not prostrate, or that his offering of water was respect enough. However, Ānanda could have been depicted offering the water, then performing the "*abhivādetvā*".

Ānanda is addressed by name and he addresses the Buddha as *bhante* "venerable sir", the forms of address usually used between *bhikkhus* and the Buddha.

In three approaches a young brahman (*māṇava*), some brahmins, and an ascetic (*paribbājaka*) each approach the Buddha's attendant *bhikkhu* before approaching the Buddha.¹³⁰ Normally, if a visitor approaches a *bhikkhu* with the purpose of seeing that *bhikkhu*, then the *bhikkhu* is shown some form of respect by the visitor.¹³¹ But in the above instances, where the purpose of the visit is to see the Buddha and the ones approaching are not his followers, the encounter with the attendant *bhikkhu* is

¹²⁸ § xvi. 1.6; 3.49 [II 76, 119].

¹²⁹ § xvi. 5.13 [II 144].

¹³⁰ § iii 1.7; vi. 2; xvi. 5.24. The first two are part of approaches involving a number of different individuals and have also been listed in section C (C.4a.(i); C.7.(i)).

¹³¹ E.g. see references B.4.

considered to be only incidental, and he therefore is not depicted being shown respect. If, however, the approachers are followers of the Buddha, then they do show respect to the attendant *bhikkhu*. This situation occurs once.¹³² Here we find the brahmans (*brāhmaṇa-dūtā*) mentioned above approaching the attendant *bhikkhu* with the purpose of seeing the Buddha. A particular Licchavi, accompanied by many other Licchavis, then does likewise, but his approach to the attendant *bhikkhu* is of the B.5 type; that is, he shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form and stands to one side before speaking. This Licchavi shows the same respect form to the Buddha when he approaches him, while the brahmans show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form.¹³³ The approachers are addressed by name (e.g. Ambaṭṭha) or as *āvuso* “friend” or *āvuso* + name, and the *bhikkhus* are addressed as *bho* “honourable (sir)” or *bho* + name.

One approach involves a *bhikkhu* approaching another *bhikkhu* (Ānanda) on the command of the Buddha (§ xvi. 5.13). Ānanda is addressed as *āvuso* + name, and the approaching *bhikkhu* is addressed as *āvuso*. Unfortunately, there is only this one instance of a *bhikkhu* approaching another *bhikkhu* in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and it is therefore difficult to establish a norm. The only other instances which involve individuals of a similar class, are those which depict a novice (*samaṇuddesa*) approaching a *bhikkhu*, and for these two occurrences a B.5 or B.6 type formula is used.¹³⁴ But a brief search of other Pāli texts of a similar class reveals that the use of the B.1 formula for the approach of a *bhikkhu* to a *bhikkhu* is probably the norm.¹³⁵

The above five approaches involve a *bhikkhu* approaching a *bhikkhu*, a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha, and various “non-Buddhist” individuals approaching a *bhikkhu*. The remaining B.1 approaches, of which 7 occur in sutta narrator passages and 31 in non-sutta narrator passages, involve a diversity of “non-Buddhist” individuals approaching individuals of the same classification. These constitute the bulk of approaches which use a B.1 formula. These include the following: a brahman’s attendant (*khatta*) approaches a group of brahmans and householders (*brāhmaṇa-gahapatika*) — he addresses them as *bho* but is not himself addressed (§ iv. 3; v. 4; xxiii. 3); some brahmans approach a brahman (§ iv. 4; v. 5) — each addresses the other as *bho*; a younger brahman (*māṇavaka*) approaches a young brahman (*māṇava*) (§ x. 1.4) — the former is addressed as *māṇavaka* and the latter as *bho*. Similarly, in the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* (§ xix. 32–57), a brahman approaches six nobles (*chakkhattiyā*), a king (*rājā*), his own wives (*bhariyā*), some brahmans and their pupils (*nahātaka*) — he

¹³² § vi. 2–3 [I 150–151].

¹³³ The ascetic also shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form when he approaches the Buddha, but the young brahman shows a divergent disrespectful form of this (see section IV 2.8 below).

¹³⁴ § vi. 4 [I 151]; xxix. 2 [III 118].

¹³⁵ E.g. S III 95,4–6, 122,12–14; M I 160,17–19, 205,24–27, 212,7–10; Vin I 337,23–25; Ud p. 22,4–6. But there are also some contrary examples; e.g. S II 112 and Vin II 290 where the *saddhiṃ sammodi* or alternative *saddhiṃ paṭisammodivā* respect forms are shown. N. Wagle (1966, p. 58) considers that *bhikkhus* normally show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form to each other.

is addressed as *bho* or *bhavaṃ* + name, and they are addressed as *bho* — and the six nobles also approach a prince and the brahman (ibid. 33–35, 37) — *bho* is the form of address used by both. In the *Pāṭika-sutta* a former *bhikkhu* approaches an ascetic (*paribbājaka*), another type of ascetic (*acela*), then some towns people (§ xxiv. 1.2, 8, 19) — *āvuso* is used by both parties (or sometimes he is not addressed); in turn, a man (*purisa*), a minister (*mahāmatta*) and an ascetic’s student (*antevāsī*) then approach the *acela* ascetic (ibid. 1.21; 2.1, 4) — similarly, *āvuso* is used by both parties. In the *Cakkavattisīhanāda-sutta* a man approaches a king a number of times (§ xxvi. 3, 4, 8, 9) addressing him as *deva* “king”, twice himself being addressed as *ambho purisa* “good man”. In the same sutta a king approaches a royal sage (*rājisi*) (ibid. 4) — *tāta* “father” and *deva* are used. In another sutta, a being (*satta*) also approaches a being (§ xxvii. 17) — both address each other as *bho*. The forms of address used by the above individuals for each other is therefore usually *bho*, *bho/bhavaṃ* + name, *āvuso*, or *āvuso* + name. Occasionally it is a term of social classification (*māṇava*, *bhikkhu*, (*ambho*) *purisa*), the person’s name, or some other vocative of address (*tāta*, *deva*, *ambho* (*purisa*)). In the approaches not discussed here we have a barber (*nahāpita*), who approaches a brahman, addressing him as *bho* and being addressed as *samma* + name “good so-and-so” (§ xii. 6), and a man approaching a religious person and addressing him as *bhante* (§ xvi. 4.27). This latter form is normally associated with the use of the B.5–7 formulas.

The purposes for these approaches are diverse and do not seem to indicate further connections or trends.

Although a few of the approaches for which this formula is employed are approaches to a *bhikkhu*, the use of this formula in such instances is quite rare, and in all cases is explained by the fact that the approachers are really coming to visit the Buddha. These subsequent approaches do employ formulas which depict the showing of respect and the taking of a posture. The use of this formula for the approach of a *bhikkhu* to a *bhikkhu* is probably regular, but the one approach to the Buddha is indeed exceptional and awaits a satisfactory explanation. Apart from these five instances, this B.1 formula is therefore seen to be one which is used to depict approaches to various “non-Buddhist” religious and non-religious persons of diverse social status by individuals of a similar classification. This indicates that the authors of the *Dīgha* material felt that such approaches should not include phrases expressing respect-showing even if, as is most probably the case, respect was actually shown in such encounters. The most likely reason for this is that they wished to emphasise the importance of the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* who, in contrast, are normally depicted receiving some form of respect. As will be seen below, many of these passages involve “quasi-historical” figures and occur in stories told by non-sutta narrators.

There are, in fact, a few instances where formulas which include phrases

which depict the showing of some form of respect and the adopting of a posture are used for encounters between persons of this class. We find a B.4 formula being used for King Ajātasattu’s approach to the six prominent teachers of the Buddha’s day (§ ii. 16, 19, 22, etc.) and for that of a householder to an ascetic (§ xxv. 1–4). Also a B.4a formula is used when a young brahman approaches a king (§ xix. 30) and when a brahman visits a king (ibid. 35). Finally, a B.6a formula is used for the approach of a young brahman to his brahman teacher (§ iii. 2.13). But as these are the only examples, it can be considered that the use of these non-B.1 formulas for approaches to such individuals is rare.

A fair proportion of B.1 approaches (22 out of 43) also involve individuals who can be classed as “quasi-historical”;¹³⁶ that is, those depicted in the *Mahāgovinda* (xix.), *Cakkavattisihanāda* (xxvi.), and *Aggañña* (xxvii.) suttas. In contrast, only five of the B.3–7 formula occurrences (those which include respect-showing) are to such individuals.¹³⁷

There is also a marked tendency for this formula to be used in non-sutta narrator passages (31 out of 43 occurrences)¹³⁸ with all approaches to “quasi-historical” figures being of course narrated by non-sutta narrators. This formula is therefore one favoured by the authors of this material to portray the approaches to individuals other than the Buddha and his *bhikkhus*, with such approaches tending to be related by the various non-sutta narrators of the *Dīgha*. It is also used for the vast majority of approaches involving “quasi-historical” individuals which utilise a B rather than an A type formula.

4.5.2 B.1a: (as B.1) *~pañham apucchi*.

E.g. *atha kho Bhaggava Sunakkhatto Licchavi-putto yena acelo Kandaramasuko ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā acelaṃ Kandaramasukam pañham apucchi* (§ xxiv. 1.12 [III 10]): “Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi approached the ascetic Kandaramasuka. Having approached, he questioned the ascetic Kandaramasuka.”

This variation on B.1 only occurs once. It is found in a passage narrated by the Buddha and, as seen, involves a particular individual (former *bhikkhu*) approaching an ascetic. Forms of address do not occur.

It must be noted here that the use of the term “variant” does not imply that formula B.1 is the prototype. These forms are mainly referred to as variants because the B.1 formula is by far the most common formula type as it depicts the one who

¹³⁶ As defined and first referred to in section II 4.1 above.

¹³⁷ The two B.4a and three B.6c occurrences.

¹³⁸ Or if we include the two B.1 variants below, then 33 of the 45 occurrences where respect is not shown occur in non-sutta narrator passages.

approaches speaking first.

4.5.3 B.1b: (as B.1) *~tikkhattum pāṇinā ākoṭesi*.

E.g. *atha kho Bhaggava Sunakkhatto Licchavi-putto ... yena acelo Korakkhattiyo ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā acelaṃ Korakkhattiyaṃ tikkhattum pāṇinā ākoṭesi* (§ xxiv. 1.9 [III 8]): “Then, Bhaggava, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi approached the (dead) ascetic Korakkhattiya. Having approached, he hit the ascetic Korakkhattiya three times with his hand.”

Similarly, this B.1 variant occurs once and yields the same information as the B.1a formula above. We have an alternative to verbal interaction here as the approached is dead. Despite this, however, Sunakkhatta does then go on to ask the “dead” ascetic if he knew what his rebirth destination was. In response, the ascetic gets up and answers him!

4.5.4 B.2: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

E.g. *atha kho Māro pāpimā acira-pakkante āyasmante Ānande yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Māro pāpimā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvi. 3.7 [II 104]): “Then, not long after the venerable Ānanda had departed, Māra the evil one approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he stood to one side. Standing to one side, Māra the evil one said this to the Blessed One:”

This formula, which depicts the taking of a posture but not the showing of respect, is used when Māra approaches the Buddha.¹³⁹ The three occurrences of this formula are found in the same passage. In the first (that quoted above), Māra approaches the Buddha to persuade him to attain the *parinibbāna*. The Buddha then reminds Māra of his approach and similar request many years earlier when he was newly enlightened. This account is the second occurrence (§ xvi. 3.34). The third is when the Buddha then later tells Ānanda of Māra’s recent approach (3.36).

As previously mentioned, in all formulas except this one, respect-showing and posturing always occur together before verbal interaction. Also, in the *Dīgha-nikāya* material visitors always show respect to the Buddha, and by not presenting him as showing respect to the Buddha, Māra is marked as being different from all others.¹⁴⁰ Yet Māra addresses the Buddha as *bhante* “venerable sir”, a form of address expressing the highest respect and generally used by the Buddha’s *bhikkhus* and lay followers

¹³⁹ Cf. G. von Simson, 1956, §§ 15.7 & 15.20.

¹⁴⁰ There is also the one unusual occurrence discussed above which has a type B.1 formula being used for Ānanda’s approach to the Buddha.

when they address him; that is, by those who show the *abhivādetvā* respect form.¹⁴¹ This seems to give a contradictory feeling to Māra's interaction with the Buddha. But as there are only two actual approaches in the *Dīgha* which depict Māra approaching the Buddha (the third being a retelling of the first), a brief look at other parallel Pāli texts is necessary if we are to possibly identify a norm.

The above *Dīgha-nikāya* passage depicting Māra approaching the Buddha to persuade him to attain the *parinibbāna* is also found in the *Samyutta-* and *Āṅguttara-nikāyas*, and in the *Udāna*. The *Udāna* text is identical to the *Dīgha*.¹⁴² The *Samyutta* occurrence¹⁴³ uses a formula which is similar to a B.1 formula (i.e. one with no respect-showing or posturing), while the *Āṅguttara* passage does not even include the approach, but merely has Māra speaking to the Buddha.¹⁴⁴ These variations seem to illustrate dictional tendencies of these texts, with the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* utilising the fullest, or most detailed, formula, the *Samyutta* using a brief but nonetheless intermediary formula in comparison with the *Āṅguttara*, and the *Āṅguttara* passage being so brief as to not even mention the approach.

Other passages depicting Māra approaching the Buddha do not seem to occur in the *Āṅguttara*, but numerous occurrences are found in the *Samyutta*, and especially the *Māra Samyutta* (S I 103–127). As with the above, the *Samyutta* passages do not depict respect-showing or posturing,¹⁴⁵ though there is one passage which uses a formula which can be classed as a variant on B.2 (no respect-showing, but standing to one side before verbal interaction) to depict Māra's daughters approaching the Buddha.¹⁴⁶ The *Majjhima-nikāya* does not seem to contain any such approaches.

From the above examples it is apparent that Māra is not normally depicted showing respect to the Buddha and that the inclusion or omission of the mentioning of his standing to one side before speaking is probably a matter determined by the tendencies of the text within which the account is found. However, further detailed research is needed to be certain of this.

¹⁴¹ In fact, apart from the absence of this respect form, this formula and its associated factors (forms of address, etc.) conforms to the B.5 formula pattern.

¹⁴² Ud 63, 13–16.

¹⁴³ S V 260,25–27. The text reads: *atha kho Māro pāpimā acirapakkante āyasmante Ānande yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā etad avoca*. Note that this differs slightly from a B.1 formula in reading *upasaṃkamitvā etad avoca* instead of *upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam etad avoca*.

¹⁴⁴ A IV 310,11–12; the text reads: *atha kho Māro pāpimā acirapakkante āyasmante Ānande Bhagavantam etad avoca*.

¹⁴⁵ The formula is a variant on B.1; e.g. S I 105,11–12: *atha kho Māro pāpimā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam gāthāya ajjhabhāsi* "Then Māra the evil one approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he spoke to the Blessed One in verse:".

¹⁴⁶ S I 126,4–8: *atha kho Taṇhā ca Arati ca Ragā ca māradhītarō yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantam aṭṭhamsu. ekamantam thitā kho Taṇhā Māradhītā Bhagavantam gāthāya ajjhabhāsi*.

4.5.5 B.2a: (as B.2) ~*ekamantaṃ ʘhito kho* ... (complicated) ... *udānaṃ udānesi*:

This formula, or variant on B.2, is part of a larger and more complicated approach (§ ii. 8–13 [I 49–51]). In brief, King Ajātasattu hears about the Buddha and goes to visit him. He approaches the place where the Buddha is seated and asks his companion which one is the Buddha. The Buddha is pointed out to him and he approaches (this formula). He surveys the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, exchanges some words with the Buddha, pays respect to the Buddha (*abhivādetvā*) and then the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* (*añjalim paṇāmetvā*), then sits down to one side and speaks again to the Buddha.¹⁴⁷ Hence this B.2a formula does not depict a complete approach. It will therefore be discussed in section IV below.

4.5.6 B.3: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami* (*upasaṃkamimsu*), *upasaṃkamtivā* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi* (*isammodimsu*), *sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi* (*aṭṭhamsu*). *ekamantaṃ ʘhito* (*ʘhitā*) *kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (*avocum*):

E.g. *atha kho acelo Kassapo yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ʘhito kho acelo Kassapo Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ viii. 1 [I 161]): “Then the ascetic Kassapa approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), stood to one side. Standing to one side, the ascetic Kassapa said this to the Blessed One.”

4 approaches: 3 sutta narrator; 1 non-sutta narrator.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
2 pabbājita + antevāsī	Buddha	āvuso	āvuso bho + name	vi. 15	-	1	question
"	"	"	āvuso + name	vii. 1	1	-	"
acela	"	name	bho + name	viii. 1	1	-	"
2 brāhmaṇa mahāmatta	"	x	bhavaṃ + name	xvi. 1.29	1	-	invite

All approaches are to the Buddha; hence, most occurrences are found in sutta narrator passages. The approachers are ascetics or two brahman ministers. The ascetics come to question the Buddha and the brahman ministers to invite him for a meal. As the respect form of this formula is used by the ascetics who are not followers of the Buddha (as in the next formula), it can be assumed that the two brahman ministers are likewise not his followers. One of these ministers approaches at another time in the same sutta and shows the same respect form (§ xvi. 1.3; a B.4 formula is used). In the

¹⁴⁷ See section VI 2.6 for the full text.

first two occurrences, with the second merely being a repeat of the first in the very next sutta,¹⁴⁸ the ascetics are addressed as *āvuso* “friend” and the Buddha as *āvuso bho* + name (*Gotama*) “friend honourable Gotama”, or just *āvuso Gotama* “friend Gotama”. In the other two approaches the Buddha is addressed as *bho/bhavaṃ Gotama*, i.e. *bho/bhavaṃ* + name.¹⁴⁹ In the first of these the ascetic is addressed by name, while in the second the context does not demand that forms of address be given. As can be seen from the occurrences in the next formula, the forms of address used between the approacher and approached in passages where the approachers show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form, is normally ‘name or term of social grouping’ for the approacher and *bho* + name for the approached. The *āvuso* and *āvuso (bho)* + name forms of the first two passages are therefore unusual.¹⁵⁰

The ascetics all approach the Buddha to question him, while the two brahman ministers approach to invite him for a meal. The latter purpose is in keeping with the standing posture of this formula, but generally, if the purpose of the approach is to question, then the ones approaching sit down to one side (see formulas B.4 and B.6).

4.5.7 B.4: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ* (*/upasaṃkamaṃ/upasaṃkamaṃsu*), *upasaṃkamaṃtvā* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi* (*/sammodiṃ/sammodiṃsu*), *sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi* (*/nisīdiṃ/nisīdiṃsu*). *ekamantaṃ nisinno* (*/nisinnā*) *kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (*/avocum*):

E.g. *atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamaṃtvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvi. 5.26 [II 150]): “Then the ascetic Subhadda approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side. Seated to one side, the ascetic Subhadda said this to the Blessed One:”

14 approaches: 8 sutta narrator; 6 non-sutta narrator.

¹⁴⁸ The first is told by the Buddha and the second by the sutta narrator.

¹⁴⁹ But in sutta viii. the ascetic starts addressing the Buddha as *āvuso Gotama*; cf. N. Wagle, 1966, p. 50.

¹⁵⁰ See also B.5a.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
brāhmaṇa	Buddha	brāhmaṇa	bho + name	iii. 2.16	1	-	question
2 māṇava	"	name	"	xiii. 8	1	-	"
brāhmaṇa mahāmatta	"	"	"	xvi. 1.3	1	-	give message
paribbājaka	"	"	"	xvi. 5.26	1	-	question
māṇavaka	bhikkhu	māṇavaka	bhavaṃ + name	x. 1.3	1	-	request
māṇava	"	māṇava	bhavaṃ/bho + name	x. 1.5	1	-	question
rājañña	"	rājañña	bho + name	xxiii. 4–5	1	-	debate
rājā	6 teachers	mahārāja	bho + name	ii. 16, etc.	-	6	question
gahapati	paribbājaka	gahapati	bho(nto)	xxv. 1–4	1	-	"

Four of these approaches are to the Buddha; the remaining three are to one of his senior *bhikkhus*. Seven of the approaches are to religious, but “non-Buddhist”, individuals; namely, the six prominent teachers of the Buddha’s day and an ascetic (*paribbājaka*), with the former occurring in the same passage. All of the approaches for which this formula is used are therefore to individuals of a religious class. The ones who approach are kings, princes (*rājañña*), householders (*gahapati*), brahmans, young brahmans (*māṇava*/*māṇavaka*), and an ascetic (*paribbājaka*) who are not followers of the religious person approached. Their purpose for approaching is, for the most part, to question the approached about religious issues; others are to debate, to request the person to visit someone, and to pass on a message. These are in keeping with their sitting down before speaking. They all address the approached as *bho*/*bhavaṃ* + name (e.g. *bho Gotama*, “honourable Gotama”), except one instance which only has *bho* for the ascetic who is approached (§ xxv. 1–4). The approached in turn are addressed either with a term which describes their social grouping (11 times; e.g. *brāhmaṇa* “brahman”, *mahārāja* “great king”, *māṇava* “young brahman”) or by name (3 times). This formula occurs equally in sutta and non-sutta narrator passages. All those to the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* occur in sutta narrator passages, while the six to the various teachers all occur in one passage narrated by the king.

This formula, which utilises the same respect form as B.3 (*saddhiṃ sammodi*), is thus used for approaches to religious persons by non-followers of that individual (but see B.4a below) where the purpose of the approach is to question, debate and so on.

There are also four complicated or C type approaches involving more than one individual which utilise this formula for the approach of the main approacher and interactor. These are discussed in detail in section IV below. They are: (i) a particular individual and an ascetic approach the Buddha to question him (§ ix. 32; see C.1). This formula is used for the ascetic’s approach. He is addressed by name and he addresses the Buddha as *bhante*; (ii–iii) in two different suttas a brahman and some brahmans and

householders approach the Buddha; in the first to debate, and in the second to ask advice about performing a sacrifice (§ iv. 9–11; v. 8–9; see C.2). In both cases this formula is used for the approach of the main brahman. He is addressed as *brāhmaṇa*, that is, with a term of social grouping, and he addresses the Buddha as *bho Gotama*, that is, *bho* + name; (iv) a prince (*rājañña*) and some brahmins and householders approach a prominent *bhikkhu* to debate (§ xxiii. 4–5; see C.2). Likewise the prince is addressed with a term describing his social grouping (*rājañña*) and he addresses the *bhikkhu* with *bho* + name. Of these approaches the only factor at variance with those established for the other type B.4 approaches above, is the use of the *bhante* form of address by the ascetic for the Buddha (§ ix. 32).¹⁵¹ As seen, the Buddha is normally addressed as *bho Gotama* by individuals who show the *saddhīm sammōdi* form of respect, and as will be seen below, the *bhante* form of address is normally used by individuals who show the *abhivādetvā* respect form.

4.5.8 B.4a: (as B.4) *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] etad avoca:*

E.g. ... *ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho bho Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ rājā Disaṃpati etad avoca* (§ xix. 30 [II 232]): "... King Disaṃpati, honourable sir, said this to the young brahman Jotipāla as he was seated to one side:"

This variation on B.4 occurs twice (§ xix. 30, 35). It depicts the approached speaking to the one who approaches first rather than the reverse as is more commonly the case. Both occurrences are found in the same sutta in non-sutta narrator passages and depict a young brahman and a brahman each approaching a different king. This is at variance with other approaches which employ the *saddhīm sammōdi* respect form (formulas B.3 & B.4), where it is seen that the individuals approached are all of the religious class (the Buddha, *bhikkhus*, other teachers, and ascetics). The individuals depicted in these two occurrences are "quasi-historical" figures, and, as noted before, approaches to individuals of this class (that is kings, brahmins, etc.) normally employ a B.1 type formula. In fact, twice elsewhere in the same sutta, the brahman mentioned here is depicted approaching the same king, but on both occasions a B.1 formula is used (ibid. 39, 47). The explanation for the use of the B.4a formula in the above two instances probably lies in the fact that the brahman and the younger brahman have both been summoned by their respective kings and the showing of respect was therefore felt to be due. The only other approaches based on a summons in the *Dīgha* involve Ānanda and the Buddha on the one hand,¹⁵² and two youths and Vipassī Buddha on the

¹⁵¹ See part 2, section III 4.4.

¹⁵² § xvi. 5.13–14 [II 144]; a B.6a type formula is used.

other,¹⁵³ where the use of a non-B.1 type formula is required because of the status of the individuals approached. The fact that these approaches are based on a summons also explains why the approached speaks first, as is the case with the two similarly motivated approaches just mentioned.

Both the young brahman and the brahman are addressed as *bhavaṃ* + name. The kings are addressed as *bho*. This contrasts with the forms used in B.4 where the ones who approach are addressed either with a term which describes their social grouping, or by name, while the approached are addressed as *bho/bhavaṃ* + name. In the two B.1 occurrences mentioned above where this same brahman approaches the same king, the same terms of address are used as here.¹⁵⁴ These terms of address, as with the classification of the individuals involved, are therefore more in keeping with the B.1 formula approaches.

4.5.9 B.5: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamaṃ* (*/upasaṃkamaṃsu*), *upasaṃkamaṃtvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamaṃtaṃ aṭṭhāsi* (*/aṭṭhaṃsu*). *ekamaṃtaṃ ṭhito* (*/ṭhitā*) *kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etaḍ avoca* (*/avocum*):

E.g. *atha kho Sīho samaṇuddeso yen' āyasmā Nāgito ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamaṃtvā āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ abhivādetvā ekamaṃtaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamaṃtaṃ ṭhito kho Sīho samaṇuddeso āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ etaḍ avoca* (§ vi. 4 [I 151]): “Then the novice Sīha approached the venerable Nāgita. Having approached, he paid homage to the venerable Nāgita and stood to one side. Standing to one side, the novice Sīha said this to the venerable Nāgita:”

11 approaches: 7 sutta narrator; 4 non-sutta narrator.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
samaṇuddesa	Buddha	name	bhante	vi. 4 (C.4)	1	-	inform/ request
bhikkhu	"	"	"	xvi. 1.6; 3.49	2	-	inform
upāsakā	"	gahapatayo	"	xvi. 1.21	1	-	inform of meal
Mallas	"	name (clan)	"	xxxiii. 1.3	1	-	inform of hall
devatā	"	x	mārisa	xiv. 3.29–32	-	4	to greet
Licchavi mahatiya	bhikkhu	name (clan)	bhante + name	vi. 3 (C.4)	1	-	to see the Buddha
samaṇuddesa	"	name	bhante	vi. 4 (C.4)	1	-	request

Nine approaches are to the Buddha and two are to the Buddha's attendant *bhikkhu*. The ones who approach are *bhikkhus*, novices, laymen, a prominent Licchavi

¹⁵³ § xiv. 3.10–11 [II 40–41]; a B.6c type formula is used.

¹⁵⁴ The only other approaches to kings occur in the *Cakkavattisīhanāda-sutta* (§ xxvi. 3, 4, 8, 9 [III 59–60, 63–64]; see B.1) with the approacher being a man (*purisa*). In these instances the king is addressed as *deva* “king” and the approached as *ambho purisa* “good man”, or he is not addressed.

(probably a layman), and *devatās*. They are therefore either members of the Buddha’s immediate community of monks or are persons who have faith in the Buddha and his *bhikkhus*. The ones who approach are addressed by name, with the name sometimes being a clan name (the Mallas of Pāvā are addressed as *Vāseṭṭhā* and the prominent Licchavi as *Mahāli*¹⁵⁵). A term of social grouping is used once (*gahapatayo* “householders”). In the case of the *devatās*, context does not demand that they are addressed. The Buddha is addressed as *mārisa* “sir” or *bhante* by the *devatās*, and the attendant *bhikkhu* is addressed as *bhante* + name. Their purposes for approaching are varied, but to inform or request are dominant motives. These are in keeping with the standing posture form of this formula.

The § vi. 3 & 4 references, which depict a Licchavi then a novice approaching a *bhikkhu*, and the novice then approaching the Buddha, are part of a larger, complicated approach passage involving several individuals (see C.4). They are, however, each distinct enough to be also treated as B approaches.

Seven of the eleven occurrences are found in sutta narrator passages, while the other four occur together in a non-sutta narrator passage. Two of the three occurrences which utilise the variant B.5a or 5.b formulas (discussed below) are also found in sutta narrator passages. There is therefore a tendency for this formula or its variants to occur in sutta narrator passages. The obvious reason for this is that the approaches are either to the Buddha or to one of his contemporary *bhikkhus* and that the sutta narrator is the one who relates events concerning them.

4.5.10 B.5a: (as B.5) *~ekamantaṃ ṭhitantaṃ kho* [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] *etad avoca:* (one occurrence has [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] *etad avocaṃ:*)

This variation on B.5 is as the variation of B.4a on B.4 — the approached speaks to the approacher first — and there is no need to give an example here. It occurs twice (§ xvi. 4.31; xxiii. 33). In the first, the Buddha tells how a man (*purisa*) once approached him — no purpose is given. In the second (a sutta narrator passage) a prince who had recently died and been reborn in a particular heavenly mansion (he now being called a *devaputta*) approaches a *bhikkhu* who had gone there to meditate. In both cases the one who approaches is addressed as *āvuso* and the Buddha and *bhikkhu* are addressed as *bhante*. This latter form of address for the Buddha or his *bhikkhus* is in keeping with B.5 but, as seen, the one who approaches in the B.5 occurrences is usually addressed by name or (once) with a term of social grouping. There is only one other approach where the *abhivādetvā* respect form is used (i.e. B.5–7) and where the person approaching is addressed as *āvuso*. In this instance a novice approaches a *bhikkhu*;¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ N. Wagle, 1966, pp. 54–55 takes this as a personal name.

¹⁵⁶ § xxix. 2 [III 118]; see B.6.

the novice is addressed as *āvuso* + name and the *bhikkhu* as *bhante*. Elsewhere, the *āvuso* address form is found in B.1 occurrences and in two B.3 approaches, with its use in the latter case where the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form is shown also being unusual. Amongst the B.1 occurrences — the only other place where the approacher is a “man” (*purisa*) — we find one instance where a man approaches a religious leader (Āḷāra Kālāma). As in the above occurrence under discussion, the man is addressed as *āvuso* and the approached as *bhante*. There is also one other instance where, as in the case under review, the one who approaches is similarly one who has recently died (i.e. is a *deva*).¹⁵⁷ But in this case an A.3 formula is used and there are no forms of address given. In these approaches which involve a similar class of individual (*devas*, *devatās*, etc.) approaching the Buddha, none are addressed as *āvuso* by the Buddha.¹⁵⁸ The use of the *āvuso* form of address for the one who approaches in the two occurrences of this formula is therefore more in keeping with the B.1 formula occurrences.

4.5.11 B.5b: (as B.5) *~ekamantaṃ ʰito kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: dat./gen.] *kālaṃ ārocesi*:

E.g. ... *ekamantaṃ ʰito kho Bhesiko nahāpito Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocesi: 'kālo bhante, niʰthitaṃ bhattan' ti* (§ xii. 7 [I 226]): “Standing to one side, Bhesika the barber informed the Blessed One that it was time (saying): ‘It is time, venerable sir, the meal is ready’.”

There is only this single occurrence of this B.5 variant. A barber approaches the Buddha on behalf of a brahman who has prepared a meal for the Buddha. As when he approached the Buddha earlier to invite him for a meal on the brahman’s behalf, the barber is not addressed and the Buddha is addressed as *bhante*; the latter being in keeping with other B.5 occurrences. Similarly, the purpose of the approach is in keeping with the standing posture taken, with there being an approach based on the same motive amongst the B.5 occurrences (§ xxxiii. 1.3). The barber’s earlier approach to relay the brahman’s message and invite the Buddha for a meal is portrayed by means of a B.6 formula, which differs from B.5 only in that the person who approaches sits down. Elsewhere, the standing posture is taken when the purpose of the visit is to only invite the approached for a meal (§ xvi. 1.29; see B.3). But as the purpose in the B.6 example was to relay a message and also to invite him for a meal, the sitting posture was taken. The purpose of the approach as the general determinant of the posturing

¹⁵⁷ § xxiv. 1.18 [III 15].

¹⁵⁸ They are: *devatās* approaching the Buddha (B.5 formula) — they are not addressed and they address the Buddha as *mārisa* (§ xiv. 3.29–32 [II 50–53]); the four Great (heavenly) Kings (*mahārājā*) and some *yakkhas* and *gandhabbas*, etc., approach the Buddha (C.3) — the kings are addressed as *mahārājāno* and they address the Buddha as *bhante* or *mārisa* (§ xxxiii. 1–2 [III 194]); Sakka, some *devas*, and a *gandhabba* approach the Buddha (C.6) — only the *gandhabba* is addressed (by name) and they address the Buddha as *bhante* (§ xxi. 1.8–9 [II 269–270]).

form taken is well illustrated by these two approaches of the barber.

4.5.12 B.6: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami* (*upasaṃkamimsu*), *upasaṃkamitvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi* (*nisīdīmsu*). *ekamantaṃ nisinno* (*nisinnā*) *kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (*lavocum*):

E.g. *atha kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Kevaddho gahapati-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ xi. 1 [I 211]): “Then Kevaddha the householder approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side. Seated to one side, Kevaddha the householder said this to the Blessed One:”

19 approaches: 17 sutta narrator; 2 non-sutta narrator.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
bhikkhu/ samaṇuddesa	Buddha	name	bhante	*	10	-	talk Dhamma, question, inform
Licchavi	"	name (clan)	"	vi. 5 (C.4)	1	-	question
gahapati-putta	"	name	"	xi. 1	1	-	request
nahāpita	"	x	"	xii. 5	1	-	invite for meal
upāsakā	"	gahapatayo	"	xvi. 1.20	1	-	offer use of hall
Malla	"	name	"	xvi. 4.26	1	-	talk
former bhikkhu	"	"	"	xxiv. 1.3, 16	-	2	inform
Mallas	"	name (clan)	"	xxxiii. 1.2	1	-	offer use of hall
samaṇuddesa	bhikkhu	āvuso + name	"	xxix. 2	1	-	inform

*xv. 1; xvi. 1.16; 2.6, 24; 3.12; xvii. 1.2; xviii. 5, 8; xxviii. 1; xxix. 3.

One approach is to a *bhikkhu* by a novice for the purpose of informing. The novice is addressed as *āvuso* + name and the *bhikkhu* as *bhante*. The rest of the approaches are to the Buddha, who is always addressed as *bhante*. Ten of these approaches involve *bhikkhus*, or once a *bhikkhu* and a novice (*samaṇuddesa*). In eight cases the *bhikkhu* is Ānanda and in the other two, Sāriputta. They are both addressed by name. Their purpose for approaching the Buddha is either to talk about or question the Buddha on points of Dhamma or to inform him of some matter. The remaining eight approaches involve a variety of individuals, several of whom can be classed as laymen. Thus a householder (*gahapati*) of Nālandā approaches the Buddha and requests that a *bhikkhu* perform some supernatural feat so as to convert the people of the town (§ xi. 1) — he is addressed by name — and the laypeople (*upāsaka*) of Pāṭaligāma, hearing that the Buddha had arrived in their village, approach him to offer the use of their rest-house (§ xvi. 1.20), as happens when the Mallas of Pāvā hear that the Buddha had arrived in

their town (§ xxxiii. 1.2) — the first group are addressed with a term of social grouping (*gahapatayo*) and the second with a clan name (*Vāsetthā*). At § vi. 3 & 5¹⁵⁹ a particular Licchavi (Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi), along with a large assembly of Licchavis, approaches the Buddha's attendant *bhikkhu*, then the Buddha (other individuals do likewise). The B.5 formula is used for his approach (the text is in the singular) to the *bhikkhu* (discussed above), and the B.6 formula for his approach to the Buddha. The Buddha addresses him as *Mahāli*, a clan name, as did the attendant *bhikkhu*.

Other individuals whose faith is harder to determine are:

(i) a barber (*nahāpita*) approaches the Buddha on the command of a brahman to ask after his health and invite him for a meal (§ xii. 5). The difficulty in determining whether the form of respect shown here is due to the barber's faith in the Buddha or the fact that he is acting on behalf of a brahman who is showing the Buddha respect by inviting him for a meal, in which case the barber may be expected to show this form, has been discussed elsewhere.¹⁶⁰ He is not addressed here.

(ii) the Buddha tells of two instances when a particular Licchavi (Sunakkhatta Licchavi-putta), who had been a *bhikkhu*, had approached him — in the first instance to tell the Buddha that he was no longer living under his rule and was dissatisfied with the Buddha, and in the second to tell the Buddha what a particular ascetic had said about him (§ xxiv. 1.3, 16). Clearly, in the first approach the Licchavi must have still been a *bhikkhu* and the form of respect shown here is regular in such instances. It is worthwhile noting here that the ascetic to whom the Buddha relates all this, first initiates this conversation by telling the Buddha that this Licchavi had approached him earlier and had told him about his meeting with the Buddha and his leaving the order. This approach of the Licchavi to the ascetic, which is related by the ascetic, is described with a B.1 formula. This contrasts greatly with the B.6 formula used for his approach to the Buddha. Similarly, the Licchavi is depicted approaching another ascetic and some townspeople elsewhere in the text. Again, a B.1 formula is used.¹⁶¹ These differences further emphasise the status of the Buddha. The Buddha addresses the Licchavi by name.

(iii) And finally, a certain individual from the Malla people (Pukkusa Malla-putta), who is described as being a disciple of another religious leader (*Ālārassa Kālāmassa sāvako*), is travelling on the road from Pāvā and sees the Buddha seated under a tree with peaceful faculties. He approaches him to talk (§ xvi. 4.26) and tells the Buddha how a certain man once approached Ālāra Kālāma (again, a B.1 formula is used) and thus gained faith in him — an event which formed the basis of his own faith.

¹⁵⁹ Although listed in the references under C.4 and treated as part of a complicated approach, this approach is distinct enough to be also treated as a B type approach.

¹⁶⁰ See section III 2.1.5.12 above.

¹⁶¹ See discussion of B.1 for these.

But the Buddha then converts him, and he leaves expressing faith in the Buddha. In this instance the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form would have been expected as he is a follower of another, but the *abhivādetvā* form may have been shown instead as he was inspired by the Buddha's tranquil appearance. The Buddha addresses him by name.

The above individuals are therefore addressed by the Buddha by name, with a term of social grouping (*gahapatayo* "householders"), or with a clan name (*Vāsetṭhā, Mahāli*).

There is also one complicated C type approach where this formula is used for the approach of the main individual who is approaching. At § xxxii. 1–2 (see C.3) the four Great Kings (*cattāro Mahārājā*) and some *yakkhas*, *gandhabbas* and others approach the Buddha to utter some protective verses. The king who speaks to the Buddha is not addressed, but the four kings are latter addressed as *mahārājāno*.¹⁶² The Buddha is addressed as *bhante* or *mārisa* "sir".

As with B.5 and its variants, which also employ the *abhivādetvā* respect form, this formula is thus one used to portray the approaches of *bhikkhus* and novices to the Buddha, of novices to *bhikkhus*, and of laymen and sometimes others to either the Buddha or one of his *bhikkhus*. Similarly, there is also a marked tendency for this formula to be found in sutta narrator passages (17 out of 19)¹⁶³ for the obvious reason that most approaches are to the Buddha.

4.5.13 B.6a: (as B.6) *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] *etad avoca*: (4 occurrences have [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] *etad avocam*)

6 approaches: 2 sutta narrator; 4 non-sutta narrator.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
bhikkhu	Buddha	name	bhante	xvi. 5.13–14	1	-	was summoned
former bhikkhu	"	"	"	xxiv. 1.10, 13, 14; 2.13	-	4	x
māṇava	brāhmaṇa	name	bho	iii. 2.13	1	-	inform

This B.6 variant is as that of B.4a on B.4 and B.5a on B.5. It occurs six times: twice in sutta narrator passages and the remainder in passages narrated by the Buddha. All except one are approaches to the Buddha. In one instance Ānanda approaches the Buddha who has summoned him (§ xvi. 5.13–14). As expected, Ānanda is addressed by name and the Buddha as *bhante*. The four occurrences found in passages narrated by the Buddha occur in the same sutta and involve the same Licchavi, a former *bhikkhu*, as

¹⁶² § xxxii. 11 [III 205].

¹⁶³ Or if we take into consideration the one C occurrence and the B.6a, b, c variants, then 24 out of 33 occur in sutta narrator passages.

that discussed immediately above (§ xxiv. 1.10, 13, 14; 2.13).¹⁶⁴ He approaches the Buddha either because certain events predicted by the Buddha had come true or because he had just visited a particular ascetic. The Buddha speaks to him first as these occasions elicit a reprimand. As in the B.6 approaches, he is addressed by name and addresses the Buddha as *bhante*. The remaining approach (§ iii. 2.13) involves the young brahman Ambaṭṭha approaching his teacher, the brahman Pokkharasādi. Ambaṭṭha had just visited the Buddha at his teacher's command to see what he was like. Ambaṭṭha's approach to the Buddha, which will also be discussed later, is complicated. The younger brahmans (*māṇavaka*) who accompany Ambaṭṭha show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and sit down,¹⁶⁵ but Ambaṭṭha acts disrespectfully. It is interesting, then, that Ambaṭṭha should be depicted showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form to his teacher as this is the only approach in the *Dīgha* where this respect form is shown towards someone other than the Buddha or a *bhikkhu*. It seems that this was included to emphasise the disrespect he had shown the Buddha. The *abhivādetvā* form is that shown by *bhikkhus* and novices to the Buddha and by novices to *bhikkhus*, i.e. by students and inferiors towards their religious teachers and superiors, though the authors of this material usually chose not to depict this in the case of other religious persons.

Ambaṭṭha is addressed by name by his teacher and in turn addresses him as *bho*, a term of address which is not as respectful as *bhante* and is only used in combination with the *abhivādetvā* respect form in this one instance.

We have the B.6a variant here as the brahman questions Ambaṭṭha about his encounter with the Buddha.

Except for this one unusual use of this formula for an approach to a brahman, these occurrences of this B.6a variant conform to the B.6 pattern.

4.5.14 B.6b: (as B.6) *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] *dharmiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi*.

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃ Bhagavā dharmiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi* (§ xvi. 4.14 [II 126]): “The Blessed One instructed, urged, roused, and encouraged Cunda the smith with talk on the Dhamma as he was seated to one side.”

4 approaches: all sutta narrator.

¹⁶⁴ Although he is called Sunakkhatta Licchavi-putta, hence I call him a former *bhikkhu*, he seems to be a *bhikkhu* at these occurrences, for at the end of each encounter the Buddha states that, being spoken to thus, he left the “teaching and training” (*apakkam'eva imasmā dhamma-vinayā*).

¹⁶⁵ A type B.4 type approach, but see C.7.

approacher	approached	how addressed by other		references (§)	narrator		purpose
		approacher	approached		su. nor	oth./B.	
gaṇikā	Buddha	x	bhante	xvi. 2.14	1	-	see/invite for meal
Licchavī	"	Licchavī	"	xvi. 2.18	1	-	"
kammāra- putta	"	name	"	xvi. 4.14, 19	2	-	(1) " (2) having carried out command

All of these approaches, which occur in sutta narrator passages in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, involve lay followers of the Buddha approaching him. They all hear that the Buddha had arrived in their town and go to see him and invite him for a meal. The invitation comes after the Buddha has given them a talk on the Dhamma. They are addressed by name and address the Buddha as *bhante*.

Two occurrences involve Cunda the smith (*kammāra-putta*). The second of these occurs during the meal he is giving the Buddha. The Buddha tells Cunda to only serve a particular dish to himself, then to throw the rest away. Cunda does this and returns. The Buddha then instructs him in the Dhamma (this formula) and departs. This is an example of a person being depicted coming back into the Buddha's presence and showing respect even though they had been only briefly absent and had already shown respect at their first meeting. This further illustrates how unusual it is for the text to have not depicted Ānanda showing respect to the Buddha when he returned from fetching water for him.¹⁶⁶

4.5.15 B.6c: (as B.6) *~ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. tesam* [approached: nom.] *ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi ...*

E.g. ... (*tāni ... caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni*) ... *~ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. tesam Vipassī Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi* (§ xiv. 3.18 [II 44]): "... (those eighty-four thousand ascetics) ... sat down to one side. The Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one, instructed them with gradual talk (on the Dhamma)."

This formula, or variation on B.6, occurs three times in the *Mahāpādāna-sutta* in a passage narrated by the Buddha to the *bhikkhus*. All are approaches to Vipassī, a past Buddha and, hence, a "quasi-historical" figure. In the first (§ xiv. 3.10–11) the son of a king (*rāja-putta*) and the son of the chief priest (*purohita-putta*) are summoned by Vipassī. They approach and are thus instructed. As mentioned elsewhere (III 4.5.8 above), all approaches based on a summons portray the approached speaking first. The

¹⁶⁶ Discussed above, section III 4.5.1.

other two occurrences (ibid. 14–15, 18) involve a large crowd and some ascetics hearing about Vipassī Buddha and approaching him to hear the Dhamma.¹⁶⁷

In all three occurrences Vipassī Buddha is addressed as *bhante*, but the context does not require that the ones who approach be addressed.

4.5.16 B.7: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten'* *upasaṃkamaṃsu*, *upasaṃkavitvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* [approached: acc.] *caṅkamantaṃ anucaṅkamaṃsu*. *atha kho* [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] *āmantesi*:

E.g. *atha kho Vāseṭṭha-Bhāradvājā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamaṃsu*, *upasaṃkavitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā Bhagavantaṃ caṅkamantaṃ anucaṅkamaṃsu*. *atha kho Bhagavā Vāseṭṭhaṃ āmantesi* (§ xxvii. 2–3 [III 80]): “Then Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja approached the Blessed One. Having approached, they paid homage to the Blessed One and followed the Blessed One as he paced up and down. Then the Blessed One addressed Vāseṭṭha:”

This formula only occurs the once (in a sutta narrator passage). Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja are two young brahmins¹⁶⁸ who are living amongst the *bhikkhus* wanting to join the order. Vāseṭṭha sees the Buddha emerging from daytime seclusion and pacing and up down in the shade and suggests to Bhāradvāja that they go to see him as they may hear a talk on the Dhamma. They approach and follow the Buddha as he paces up and down, thereby assuming the same posture as the Buddha. Vāseṭṭha is addressed by name and he addresses the Buddha as *bhante*. These forms of address are in keeping with those encountered in other passages where the *abhivādetvā* respect form is shown. Being spoken to first is understandable in the light of their wanting to hear the Dhamma.

4.6 Summary of B.1 – B.7 formulas.

The tables presented below set out the information which is important to the following summary and analysis of the employment of B type formulas and their constituent units of meaning.

Abbreviations:

Narrator: su. nor. = sutta narrator; oth./B. = non-sutta narrator (the Buddha or someone else).

Approached: bhikkhu = *bhikkhus* and *samaṇuddesas* (6c refers to Vipassī Buddha (†)).

¹⁶⁷ In the § xiv. 3.18 occurrence the ascetics hear that Vipassī had arrived in that town and also that he taught the Dhamma (*dhammañ ca kira deseti*).

¹⁶⁸ Described as *māṇavas* at § xiii. 4–5 [I 235].

forms of address	1	1a	1b	2	3	4	4a	5	5a	5b	6	6a	6b	6c	7	total
bhikkhu	Buddha															
name	bhante	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	10	1	-	-	-	15
Māra	Buddha															
pāpimā	bhante	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
lay, devas	Buddha															
name	bhante	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	3	-	1	12
clan name	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
t.s.g.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
x	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	-	6
āvuso	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
x	mārisa	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
brah. etc.	Buddha															
name	bho+na.	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
t.s.g.	"	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
x	"	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
āvuso	āvusu+na.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
"	āvuso bho+na.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
bhikkhu	bhikkhu															
āvuso	āvusu+na.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
samaṇu.	bhikkhu															
name	bhante	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
āvuso+na.	"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
lay, devas	bhikkhu															
clan name	bhante+na.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
āvuso	bhante	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
brah. etc.	bhikkhu															
name	bho	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
āvuso	bho+na.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
āvuso+na.	"	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
t.s.g.	"	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

4.6.1 Who receives respect.

Of the 115 approaches recorded which use one of the B.1–7 formulas, about half (65) are to the Buddha or one of his *bhikkhus*. The remainder (50) are to a variety of “non-Buddhist” individuals: kings, princes, brahmans and their associated students, ascetics and the like (also called here individuals of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* class).

The Buddha¹⁶⁹ and his *bhikkhus* receive respect in all but eight instances. Of the four of these which are to the Buddha, one, which employs a B.1 formula for an approach by Ānanda, is seen to be highly irregular, and the other three involve Māra whose relationship with the Buddha is exceptional in itself. One of the four approaches to a *bhikkhu* is by a *bhikkhu*, and the use of a B.1 formula for such approaches is thought to be regular. The remaining three approaches involve individuals who are not

¹⁶⁹ Three of the approaches which have been classed here as approaches to the Buddha are in fact to Vipassī Buddha (see B.6c).

followers of the Buddha and who approach to see the Buddha rather than the attendant *bhikkhu* whom they encounter first.

Hence individuals of the Buddha/*bhikkhu* class are always depicted receiving some form of respect, with the exceptions being: (i) when Māra approaches the Buddha; (ii) when a *bhikkhu*, but not a novice (*samañuddesa*),¹⁷⁰ approaches a *bhikkhu*; and (iii) when those who are not followers of the Buddha approach a *bhikkhu* in order to see the Buddha.

Of the 50 approaches to individuals who are not of the Buddha/*bhikkhu* class, only ten instances depict the approached being shown some form of respect.

In one of these a young brahman approaches his teacher after he has visited the Buddha on his behalf (§ iii. 2.13; B.6a), and the depicting of respect in this instance, and especially the higher *abhivādetvā* form, probably occurs to emphasise the disrespect he had just shown the Buddha.

Two instances involve a young brahman and a brahman each approaching a king (§ xix. 30, 35; B.4a), and the depicting of respect-showing in these cases can probably be explained by the fact that they were summoned by the kings, for many approaches involving the same or similar individuals occur in the same sutta with only a B.1 formula being used.

Six occurrences are found in a passage where King Ajātasattu tells the Buddha of his previous approach to each of the six prominent teachers and his questioning of them about religion (§ ii. 16, etc.; B.4). The sutta begins with Ajātasattu asking his courtiers which *samaṇa* or brahman would be good to visit. His ministers each recommend one of the six teachers, but finally the Buddha and his qualities are mentioned, upon which Ajātasattu decides to visit him. This and the fact that his approach to the Buddha is faltering and involves fear suggests that Ajātasattu was not a follower of the Buddha at the time, even though he eventually shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form. The authors of this material may have chosen to depict him showing respect to the six teachers so as to emphasise the importance of the Buddha over them for he is depicted showing the lower *saddhiṃ sammodi* form to the teachers, but the higher *abhivādetvā* form to the Buddha.

The final instance involves a householder approaching an ascetic, though he had originally intended visiting the Buddha (§ xxv. 1–4; B.4). This householder is an important follower (*sāvaka*) of the Buddha and the lower form of respect may occur here to make clear his relationship with the ascetic.¹⁷¹

Hence for the majority of approaches to individuals who are not of the Buddha/*bhikkhu* class, respect is not shown and a B.1 or variant formula is used, with there being numerous examples of passages which depict approaches to both classes of

¹⁷⁰ Novices are always depicted showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form to *bhikkhus*.

¹⁷¹ See also the commentary (Sv III 832).

individual, but with only the Buddha or *bhikkhu* receiving respect.¹⁷² When respect is shown to such individuals, it seems to occur either to emphasise a form of respect shown to someone else or because the approach is based on a summons; though these explanations are open to modification. Apart from the two instances based on a summons where the approached are kings, the individuals of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* class who are shown respect all belong to the religious class; although, again, many approaches to individuals of this class merely use a B.1 formula.

4.6.2 The form of respect shown and the attitude of the approacher towards the approached.

Of the ten approaches to individuals of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* class where respect is shown, only one uses the *abhivādetvā* respect form. This is the approach of the young brahman Ambaṭṭha to his brahman teacher after visiting the Buddha. But as already mentioned, the showing of respect in this case, and especially the *abhivādetvā* form, seems to occur here to emphasise the disrespect he showed the Buddha (although the *abhivādetvā* form may in fact refer to the form of respect actually shown by students towards their religious teachers and superiors, as seen in the case of *bhikkhus* and novices towards the Buddha and novices towards *bhikkhus*).

For the other nine approaches the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form is shown.

Of the 50 approaches to the/a Buddha where respect is shown, the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form is used eight times and the *abhivādetvā* form 42 times. Of the seven approaches to a *bhikkhu* where respect is shown, three use the first form and four the latter form.

Except for the two B.4a formula occurrences which are to kings, all approaches which use the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form (i.e. formulas B.3 and B.4) are to religious individuals, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, by persons who we can be certain are not their followers — a classification which naturally includes all those of a religious class also. In the case of the approaches to the Buddha or his *bhikkhus*, the ones who approach are brahmans (including brahman ministers), young brahmans (*māṇava*, *māṇavaka*), ascetics (*paribbājaka*, *acela*), or once a prince. In the case of the seven approaches to those of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* religious class (B.4), the ones who approach are a king or a householder (who is a follower of the Buddha). In the two B.4a approaches to the kings the approachers are a young brahman and a brahman.

Of the approaches to the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* which employ the *abhivādetvā* respect form (B.5–7), only one involves an individual of the brahman or ascetic class.¹⁷³ Here two young brahmans (*māṇava*) approach the Buddha, but as they are

¹⁷² E.g. § xxiv. 1.2–3 [III 2], 1.12–13 [III 10], etc.

¹⁷³ The ascetics (*caturāsitiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni*) of the § xiv. 3.18 (B.6c) occurrence are not considered

living amongst the *bhikkhus* wanting to enter the order, they are not therefore of another persuasion (B.7). Most other B.5–7 approaches are by individuals who can be considered to have faith in the Buddha; that is, *bhikkhus* or novices (16 times), laymen (14 times), or non-human beings such as *devas*, *devatās*, *gandhabbas*, etc. (5 times).

In a further eleven cases the faith of the individual is not so apparent, but the use of this respect form in itself suggests that they are being presented as ones who are at least favourably disposed towards him. For the most part their faith has been discussed in the analysis section. They are: in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* the Buddha tells how some farmers had been killed by lightning and the town people had come out to see, and that a man from that crowd had approached him (§ xvi. 4.31; B.5a). In the *Lohicca-sutta* a barber is depicted approaching the Buddha twice on behalf of a brahman, once to invite him for a meal and once to inform him that the meal is ready (§ xii. 5, 7; B.5b & B.6). At § xiv. 3.10–11 (B.6c) the son of a king and the son of a priest are summoned by Vipassī Buddha. They approach him and are converted. Again, in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* a particular Malla, who is a follower of another, approaches the Buddha (§ xvi. 4.26; B.6). And finally, in the *Pāṭika-sutta* (xxiv.) a Licchavi who is/was a *bhikkhu* approaches the Buddha six times (B.6 & B.6a). Though he is called Sunakkhatta Licchavi-putta, he is probably still a *bhikkhu* in most of these approaches.

Thus the form of respect shown depends on the attitude of the approacher towards the approached. For the most part, the *saddhim sammodi* respect form is the form of respect shown towards religious individuals, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, by persons who are not their followers and are not even favourably disposed towards them, while the *abhivādetvā* respect form is that shown towards the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* by those who have faith in the Buddha or are at least favourably disposed towards him; although the one example of Ambaṭṭha approaching his teacher suggests that this may have been the form which students and inferiors showed their religious teachers or superiors, though these texts do not usually choose to depict it.

4.6.3 Posturing and purpose.

At § xii. 5–7 a barber approaches the Buddha, pays respect, sits down, then relays a brahman's best wishes and invites the Buddha for a meal on the brahman's behalf. He departs, and when he later returns to inform the Buddha that the meal is ready, he does not sit down but stands to one side. Similarly, at § xvi. 1.20–21 and § xxxiii. 1.2–3 two different groups of laymen approach the Buddha, pay respect, sit down, and offer the use of their rest-houses for the Buddha to stay in. They depart and

prepare their halls. When they return to inform the Buddha that the halls are ready, they likewise are depicted now standing to one side. These examples clearly illustrate that the posture taken before verbal interaction depends on the purpose of the visit, though sometimes different postures are taken by individuals who approach for what seems to be the same purpose.

Of the 21 approaches which include posturing and where the purpose of the approach is to debate with or question the approached, 18 have the approacher sitting down to one side and three have him standing to one side. The sitting posture is also understandably taken by those who approach to talk about or listen to the Dhamma,¹⁷⁴ and all four approaches based on a summons have the approachers sitting down to one side before being spoken to.¹⁷⁵ Of the four approaches where the purpose is to request something,¹⁷⁶ three use the sitting posture and one the standing posture, and in both instances where the approach is for the purpose of offering the use of a rest-house to the Buddha, the approachers sit down.¹⁷⁷

Sometimes subtle differences of purpose may explain the different postures taken by individuals who approach for what are here classed as the same purpose (e.g. to inform, invite, etc.). So, for example, where the purpose is to inform the Buddha that a meal or hall is ready, that the *bhikkhus* have been assembled, or that laypeople have come to visit, then the visitor is depicted adopting the standing posture,¹⁷⁸ but when the purpose is to inform him that someone has died, of what someone has said about him, or what somebody else is like, then the visitor is depicted sitting down.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, five approaches see the approacher invite the Buddha for a meal. In one instance two brahman ministers approach him solely for this purpose and they adopt the standing posture,¹⁸⁰ but in the other four the purpose is more complicated. In one case (just mentioned) a barber approaches on behalf of a brahman to both ask after the Buddha's health and to invite him for a meal,¹⁸¹ while in the other three cases¹⁸² lay followers of the Buddha hear that he is in town and go to greet him and invite him for a meal. The sitting posture adopted in these latter four examples is therefore understandable.

There is also another factor which may occasionally act as a determinant of the posture taken. The account of the young brahman Ambaṭṭha approaching the Buddha and showing disrespect has been mentioned numerous times.¹⁸³ Here the young

¹⁷⁴ § xv. 1; xvi. 1.16; xxviii. 1 (B.6) and § xiv. 3.14–15, 18 (B.6c).

¹⁷⁵ § xix. 30, 35 (B.4a); xvi. 5.13–14 (B.6a); xiv. 3.10–11 (B.6c).

¹⁷⁶ § x. 1.3 (B.4); vi. 4 (B.5); xi. 1; xvii. 1.2 (B.6).

¹⁷⁷ § xvi. 1.20; xxxiii. 1.2 (B.6).

¹⁷⁸ § vi. 4; xvi. 1.6, 21; 3.49; xxxiii. 1.3 (all B.5); xii. 7 (B.5b).

¹⁷⁹ § xxiv. 1.3, 16; xxix. 2–3 (all B.6); iii. 2.13 (B.6a).

¹⁸⁰ § xvi. 1.29 (B.3).

¹⁸¹ § xii. 5 (B.6).

¹⁸² § xvi. 2.14, 18; 4.14 (B.6b).

¹⁸³ § iii. 1.6–10; see C.7 for full text.

brahmans who accompany Ambaṭṭha show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form to the Buddha and sit down, but Ambaṭṭha paces up and down then remains standing, all the while exchanging vague courteous talk with the Buddha who is seated. The Buddha then asks him if he would act likewise towards a senior brahman, to which Ambaṭṭha answers that he would not but would assume the same posture as the brahman: walking (*gacchanta*) if he was walking and so on with standing (*thita*), sitting (*nisinna*), or laying down (*sayāna*). This account suggests that it was disrespectful to adopt any posture other than that of the person approached.

An instance where this principle seems to apply is when the two young brahmans Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, who wish to become *bhikkhus*, approach the Buddha who has emerged from the daytime meditations and is pacing up and down in the open. After they have paid respect, they follow the Buddha as he paces up and down (*Bhagavantam caṅkamantam anucaṅkamimsu*, § xxvii. 2; B.7).

Yet there are many contrary examples which suggest that this was only an ideal principle. At § xvi. 4.31 (B.5a) the Buddha similarly emerges from the building where he has been spending the day and paces up and down. But in this instance the person who then approaches him stands to one side. Again, at § xvi. 5.1 [II 137] the Buddha goes to the sal-tree grove at Kusinārā for the *parinibbāna* and lies down on a bench between the two sal trees, yet the ascetic Subhadda who then approaches sits down to one side; ie. he does not lie down (ibid. 5.26; B.4). And, of course, when someone approaches the Buddha to inform him that an offered meal is ready, they stand to one side even though the Buddha is sitting.

Usually the text does not mention the posture of the Buddha (or the person approached) when someone approaches him, but when it can be determined from a previous or later passage which mentions his posture, it is seen that purpose is again the main determinant of the posture taken by the approacher. At the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (§ xvi. 1.3–6), for example, Vassakāra approaches the Buddha and sits down (B.4). Ānanda is standing behind the Buddha fanning him. After talking to the Buddha, Vassakāra gets up from his seat and departs. The Buddha then asks Ānanda to assemble the *bhikkhus*. When Ānanda returns and approaches the Buddha, he stands to one side (B.5) and tells the Buddha that the *bhikkhus* are assembled in the assembly hall. The Buddha gets up from his seat — hence he has been seated all this time — and goes to the assembly hall. So Vassakāra sat down to one side of the Buddha who was also seated because he wanted to give a message from Ajātasattu and ask his advice about conquering the Vajjis, but Ānanda stood to one side, even though the Buddha was seated, because he had come to tell him that the *bhikkhus* were

assembled.

4.6.4 Verbal interaction.

The great majority of approaches depict the ones who are approaching speaking to the approached first: [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*. Of the 115 B.1–B.7 approaches listed, 96 (formulas B.1, 1a, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5b, 6) have those who approach speaking first and 18 (formulas B.4a, 5a, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7) have the approached speaking to the approacher(s) first: [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] *etad avoca*. The reason for this is fairly obvious: having approached, the visitors must express their purpose for coming and initiate their business. One approach does not have verbal interaction (B.1b).

The reasons for depicting the person approached speaking first in some approaches have been discussed in the analysis of each of the formulas concerned. In four cases¹⁸⁴ the approached speaks first because he had summoned those who approach. In the § xvi. 4.31 (B.5a) occurrence the Buddha speaks first because he wishes to find out why the large crowd of people has come out from the town. The man who approaches in this instance seems to have no specific reason for doing so. At § xxiii. 33 (B.5a) a *bhikkhu* goes to a heavenly mansion to meditate. A *deva* who inhabits the mansion approaches him and the *bhikkhu* asks him who he is. The various B.6a § xxiv. occurrences have the Buddha speaking first as he reprimands the Licchavi (former *bhikkhu*) who approaches on account of his actions. The § iii. 2.13 (B.6a) occurrence has the brahman speaking first to his student who approaches as he had sent him to see the Buddha and he wished to learn of the encounter. In the various B.6b occurrences the Buddha gives a religious discourse to his lay followers who have come to greet him when he arrived in their town. In the § xiv. 3.14–15 & 18 occurrences (B.6c) Vipassī Buddha gives a talk on the Dhamma to those who have approached because they have heard about him and that he lives in their town (similar to the above). Finally, the Buddha speaks first in the B.7 occurrence as those who approach go to hear a talk on Dhamma.

Thus, as with posturing, who speaks first is in general determined by the purpose of the visit, with the text usually depicting those who approach speaking first. The exception is where they have been summoned, where they approach to hear the Dhamma (including laymen who come to see the Buddha when he arrives in their town), or where the approached wishes to learn something from the approachers or reprimand them. However, these must be regarded as tendencies and not rules.

¹⁸⁴ § xix. 30, 35 (B.4a); xvi. 5.13–14 (B.6a); xiv. 3.10–11 (B.6c).

4.6.5 Forms of respect and address.

The forms of address with which the approacher and approached address each other depends of course on their relationship: the relative status of each and their attitude towards each other. As the form of respect shown depends on the attitude of the approacher towards the approached, there is therefore an association between the form of respect shown towards the approached and the term with which he is addressed.

Where the approached is shown the *saddhim sammodi* form of respect, that is when he is approached by a brahman, ascetic, etc., who does not have faith in him, then he is addressed as *bho* or *bho* + name¹⁸⁵ — or in two cases *āvuso* + name (§ vii. 1; B.3) and *āvuso bho* + name (§ vi. 15; B.3), which are more in keeping with approaches which are depicted by means of a B.1 formula. Where the *abhivādetvā* respect form is shown, that is where the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* is approached by someone who has faith in him, then the approached is addressed as *bhante*; or in one instance, *bhante* + name (§ vi. 3) and four others, *mārisa* (§ xiv. 29–32) — both in B.5 formulas.

There are, however, isolated examples which do not conform to this pattern. In the one occurrence where the *abhivādetvā* respect form is shown towards someone of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* class, that is, where Ambaṭṭha approaches his brahman teacher, the brahman is addressed as *bho*, a term which clearly does not have the same value as *bhante*. Once also an ascetic approaches the Buddha, shows the *saddhim sammodi* respect form, but addresses him as *bhante* instead of the expected *bho* or *bho* + name.¹⁸⁶ Again, in one instance where a B.1 formula is used for the approach of a man to a religious leader, the approached is addressed as *bhante*.¹⁸⁷ And finally, Māra, though not depicted showing respect to the Buddha, always addresses him as *bhante*. However, these anomalies are rare.

For the most part, there is no association between the form of respect a person shows and the way in which they are addressed by the approacher, with both those who show the *saddhim sammodi* form and those who show the *abhivādetvā* form being addressed by name, with a clan name or with a term which describes their social grouping (e.g. *brāhmaṇa*, *māṇava*, etc.), or rarely as *āvuso*, *āvuso* + name, name + term of social grouping, or *bho* + name. But occasionally patterns are discernable. *Bhikkhus* and novices, for example, who always show the *abhivādetvā* respect form when they approach the Buddha, are always addressed by him by name (e.g. Ānanda), and novices, who similarly show this respect form when they approach *bhikkhus*, are addressed by name or as *āvuso* + name. The forms of address used in the B.1 and

¹⁸⁵ *bho*, the vocative singular, includes here the alternative nominative form *bhavam* which sometimes occurs.

¹⁸⁶ § ix. 32; see C.1. This is also discussed in the analysis of B.4.

¹⁸⁷ § xvi. 4.27.

variant approaches where respect is not shown include all of the above terms, except *bhante*, plus a few other vocatives of address such as *deva*, *tāta*, *ambho purisa*, *samma* + name. As respect does not occur here, a thorough analysis is not relevant and belongs to another study.¹⁸⁸ Some patterns are, however, discernable. The forms *bho* or *bho/bhavaṃ* + name are used, for example, throughout the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* (xix.) for brahmans, nobles, and kings, while *āvuso* is used throughout the *Pāṭika-sutta* (xxiv.) for ascetics, (former) *bhikkhus*, townspeople, men (*purisa*), and ministers.¹⁸⁹

4.6.6 The narrator.

The majority of B.1 and B.1 variant formula occurrences are found in non-sutta narrator passages (33 out of 45), while the majority of B.2–7 occurrences (formulas which include respect-showing, except B.2, and posturing) occur in sutta narrator passages (45 out of 70).

The reason for this is fairly obvious. Most B.2–7 approaches are to the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* and it is normally the sutta narrator who describes events involving these individuals. Of the 54 B type approaches (includes the one B.1 occurrence) to the Buddha, 37 occur in sutta narrator passages. Of the remaining 17 which occur in non-sutta narrator passages, 14 involve the Buddha himself (i.e. occur in passages where the Buddha tells how someone had approached him), and the remaining three involve the Buddha describing approaches to the past Buddha Vipassī. All 11 approaches to *bhikkhus* are found in sutta narrator passages.

The type of character who is not normally depicted being shown respect (formulas B.1 & variants), that is kings, princes, brahmans, ascetics, and so on, is also typically the subject of stories told within the text by non-sutta narrators. And many of these characters in turn are what have been classed as “quasi-historical” figures; that is, characters from the unspecified past — 24 of the 45 B.1 or variant occurrences involve “quasi-historical” figures, while only 5 of the 70 B.2–7 approaches involve such characters.

¹⁸⁸ See N. Wagle, 1966, Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁹ It may be possible that certain forms dominate in particular suttas regardless of the category of person. In the *Pāṭika-sutta* just mentioned, a minister (*mahāmatta*), who must be a brahman, is addressed as *āvuso* due, perhaps, to the fact that all others in this sutta are addressed in this way, even though the *bho* or *bho/bhavaṃ* + name forms are usually used for brahmans.

IV. COMPLICATED APPROACHES & THOSE INVOLVING MULTIPLE FORMS OF RESPECT-SHOWING

1. The approaches listed in section C of the references are those which depict a number of individuals approaching someone and showing a variety of respect forms, and those approaches which are complicated. Some of these use the same component units of meaning employed in the B type formulas, but pieced together in a variety of ways which does not allow them to be categorised as any one of the B formulas, while others use those units in combination with new elements.

C.1–3 can certainly be classed as formulas, but C.4–7 are not as easily categorised.

2. C type formulas/approaches.

2.1 C.1: *atha kho* [persons 1 & 2: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā* [person 1: nom.] [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.* [person 2: nom.] *pana* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* [person 2: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca:*

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *atha kho ... Citto ca Hatthisāri-putto Poṭṭhapādo ca paribbājako yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā Citto Hatthisāri-putto Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Poṭṭhapādo pana paribbājako Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ¹⁹⁰ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ ix. 32 [I 190]): “Then ... Citta the elephant trainer’s son and the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda approached the Blessed One. Having approached, Citta the elephant trainer’s son paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side. But the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side. Seated to one side, the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda said this to the Blessed One:”

Here one unit expressing the approach (*yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamim̐su upasaṃkamitvā*) is used for both persons who approach. One person then shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form and sits down (as in a B.6 formula), but does not interact verbally with the approached; that is, the unit *ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* is lacking in this case. The other person shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and sits down to one side, then speaks with the approached. In effect, we have here a combination of a B.6 and a B.4 formula, and it would be equally possible to have the reverse: a B.4 + B.6, or any other

¹⁹⁰ w.r. *kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ kathaṃ vītisāretvā.*

combination of formulas, e.g. B.3 + B.5 or B.5 + B.3, and so on.¹⁹¹

Citta had joined the Buddhist order and left it a number of times, which probably explain why he is represented showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form. Potṭhapāda's showing of the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form is in conformity with his being an ascetic. The only factor at variance with the norms established for the B type formulas is the ascetic addressing of the Buddha as *bhante*, for it has been seen that those who show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form address the approached as *bho* or *bho* + name, with the *bhante* form being used for those who show the *abhivādetvā* respect form.¹⁹²

2.2 C.2: *atha kho* [person 1 (& 2): nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten'* *upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi*. [persons 2: nom.] *pi kho ... app ekacce* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce* [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce nāma-gottaṃ sāvetaṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ekamantaṃ nisinna kho* [person 1: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[2 occurrences: § v. 8–9 [I 133–134]; xxiii. 4–5 [II 318–319]]

E.g. *atha kho Kūṭadanto brāhmaṇo mahatā brāhmaṇa-gaṇena saddhiṃ yena Ambalaṭṭhikā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi*~¹⁹³... ~*ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Khānumatakā pi kho brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā app ekacce Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce~ ... ~app ekacce tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ekamantaṃ nisinna kho Kūṭadanto brāhmaṇo Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ v. 8–9 [I 133–134]): “Then the brahman Kūṭadanta, together with a large group of brahmans, approached the Ambalaṭṭhikā (grove), (then) the Blessed One. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side. Some of the brahmans and householders from Khānumata paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side; some exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side; some bowed down towards the Blessed One with their hands joined in respect and sat down to one side; some announced their name and clan and sat down to one side; some remained silent and sat down to one side. Seated to one side, the brahman Kūṭadanta said this to the Blessed One:”

This formula has also been discussed at III 2.1.1.3 & 4.2.2 above. In the two occurrences of this formula some brahmans and householders hear about the Buddha (sutta v.) or one of his disciples (xxiii.) and set out to see him. Another brahman (v.) or

¹⁹¹ Cf. M I 339.

¹⁹² For a possible explanation, see part 2, section III 4.4.

¹⁹³ w.r. *sammodiṃ*

a prince (xxiii.) sees them and instructs them to come with him. In the § v. occurrence other brahmans then hear about this and try to dissuade the brahman, but they all decide to go together. Thus, in the § v. occurrence we have a prominent brahman, some other brahmans, and some brahmans and householders approaching the Buddha, while in the § xxiii. occurrence we have a prince and some brahmans and householders approaching the venerable Kumārakassapa.

The § xxiii. occurrence differs slightly from § v. in that the main approacher is described as being “surrounded by the brahmans and householders from a particular town” (*Setavyakehi brāhmaṇa-gaḥapatikehi parivuto*) rather than approaching “together with a large group of brahmans” (*mahatā brāhmaṇa-gaṇena saddhiṃ*). Both occurrences include an approach to the place (*yena* [place: nom.] *yena~*) before the approach to the person.

In this formula the main person approaching shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and sits down (as B.4). Then the other brahmans and householders show a variety of forms of respect, in each case sitting down after showing respect. The respect forms shown by these latter brahmans and householders seem to be arranged in order of respectfulness, with the first (*abhivādetvā*) being the most respectful, and the last (*tuṅhī-bhūtā*) the least respectful. This is used as one fixed structure or formula¹⁹⁴ within other C type formulas where the respect form shown by the main approacher may differ (e.g. C.3).

The first two forms of respect within this “lesser formula”, that is *abhivādetvā* and the *saddhiṃ sammodi*, are the two possible forms used in B type formulas. The next form is *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ añjalim paṇāmetvā* “having bowed down towards the approached with their hands joined in respect”. This, or its variant [approached: dat./gen.] *añjalim paṇāmetvā*, is also found in the following approaches: at § ii. 11–13 (C.5) Ajātasattu shows the *abhivādetvā* form to the Buddha, then this form of respect (variant) to the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*; in three approaches which do not employ the *yena ... ten’ upasaṃ√kam* approach unit, but have the approacher disappearing from one place and reappearing in front of the approached (§ xiv. 3.3, 23, 25; references E.1d–e); and when Mahākassapa pays homage to the body of the Buddha at the Makuṭabandhana *cetiya* he shows this and other forms of respect (§ xvi. 6.22; references G.2).

The next form of respect to be shown, *nāma-gottaṃ sāvetvā* “having announced their name and clan”, seems to only occur in this context, while the last, *tuṅhī-bhūtā* “remained silent”, is used in other contexts but not in other approaches.

After all have paid respect and sat down, the main approacher (the brahman or the prince), then proceeds to speak to the approached: *ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* [person

¹⁹⁴ The standing posture could, theoretically at least, replace the sitting posture.

1: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*. In fact, what we have here is a complete B.4 formula being used for the approach of the main approacher, with the fixed “multiple respect form” formula — *pi kho ... app ekacce* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* to *app ekacce tuñhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu* — being inserted after the main approacher has sat down and before he speaks to the approached.

The ones approaching are addressed with a term of social grouping, while the approached is addressed as *bho* + name. These are in keeping with the respect form shown and the posture taken is in keeping with the purpose of the visit: to ask advice about a sacrifice (§ v.) and to debate (§ xxiii.).

2.3 C.2a: (as C.2) *~app ekacce tuñhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ...* (complicated) ... *atha kho* [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *atha kho Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo mahatā brāhmaṇa-gaṇena saddhiṃ yena Gaggarā pokkharāṇi ten' upasaṃkami. ...* (complicated) ... *atha kho Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi~ ... ~ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Campeyyakā pi kho brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā app ekacce Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu, app ekacce~ ... ~app ekacce tuñhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ...* (complicated) ... *atha kho Bhagavā Soṇadaṇḍaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ etad avoca* (§ iv. 7–11 [I 117–119]): “Then the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa, together with a large group of brahmans, approached the Gaggarā lotus-pond. ... Then the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa approached the Blessed One. Having approached~ (as C.2) ~some remained silent and sat down to one side. ... Then the Blessed One said this to the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa:”

This follows the pattern of the § v. 8–9 occurrence of the previous formula (C.2) except that, after the final form of respect has been shown by the brahmans and householder and they have sat down (*~app ekacce tuñhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu*), the brahman who is the main approacher sits there “thinking” (*tatra pi sudaṃ Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo bahulaṃ anuvitakkento nisinno hoti*), before the Buddha eventually speaks to him. The approach of the main brahman is therefore somewhat similar to a B.4a formula in that the approached speaks first.

This approach is also slightly more complicated at its beginning where the description of the approach is stopped after the approach to the place and some thoughts of the brahman are inserted before the approach to the person is resumed.

The forms of address (term of social grouping and *bho* + name) and the posture taken are in accordance with the respect form and the purpose (to debate).

2.4 C.3: *atha kho* [persons 1 (& persons 2): nom.] ... (complicated) ... *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu.* [person 2: nom.] *pi kho* ... *app ekacce* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app ekacce~* (as C.2).

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *atha kho cattāro Mahārājā mahatīyā ca yakkha-senāya mahatīyā ca gandhabba-senāya mahatīyā ca kumbhaṇḍa-senāya mahatīyā ca nāga-senāya ... yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu. te pi kho yakkhā app ekacce Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu, app ekacce~* (as C.2) *~ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Vessavaṇo Mahārājā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ xxxii. 1–2 [III 194]): “Then the four Great Kings with a great army of *yakkhas*, *gandhabbas*, *kumbhaṇḍas*, and *nāgas* ... approached the Blessed One. Having approached, (the four Great Kings) paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side. Some of the *yakkhas* paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side; some~ (as C.2) ~and sat down to one side. Seated to one side, the Great King Vessavaṇa said this to the Blessed One:”

This formula differs from C.2 only in that the main individuals who approach, in this case the four Great Kings, show the *abhivādetvā* respect form instead of the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form; hence, their approach is in effect that of a B.6 formula. Although only the *yakkhas* are depicted as showing the multiple forms of respect, this is a form of abbreviation and it must be understood that the other three armies do the same.

The king who speaks to the Buddha is not addressed here, but later on the four kings are addressed as *mahārājano*. The Buddha is addressed as *bhante* or *mārisa*, in keeping with the *abhivādetvā* respect form.¹⁹⁵ They approach to offer protective verses.

2.5 C.4:¹⁹⁶

a) (approach to the attendant *bhikkhu*)

atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā yena Mahāvanaṃ kūṭāgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkamimsu. ... atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā yen' āyasmā Nāgito ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ etad avocum: (they ask to see the Buddha and are told it is the wrong time) ... *atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā tath' eva ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu.*

Oṭṭhaddho pi Licchavi mahatīyā Licchavi-parisāya saddhiṃ yena Mahāvanaṃ kūṭāgāra-sālā yen' āyasmā Nāgito ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Oṭṭhaddho Licchavi āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ etad avoca: (as above) ... *Oṭṭhaddho pi*

¹⁹⁵ *Mārisa* seems to be a term occasionally used for the Buddha by non-human beings (*devas*, *gandhabbas*, etc.); e.g. § xiv. 3.29–32 [II 50–53].

¹⁹⁶ This and the other long and complicated approaches which follow cannot really be classed as formulas. They will, therefore, be quoted as they are found in the text and not in their formulaic form.

Licchavi tath' eva ekamantaṃ nisīdi.

atha kho Sīho samañuddeso yen' āyasmā Nāgito ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ʔhito kho Sīho samañuddeso āyasmantaṃ Nāgitaṃ etad avoca:

b) (approach to the Buddha)

... Sīho samañuddeso ... yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ʔhito kho Sīho samañuddeso Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

atha kho te Kosalakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā Māgadhakā ca brāhmaṇa-dūtā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodimsu, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu.

Oṭṭhaddho pi Licchavi mahatiyā Licchavi-parisāya saddhiṃ yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Oṭṭhaddho Licchavi Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: (§ vi. 2–5 [I 150–152]).

(a) “Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha approached the peaked-roofed hall in the Great forest. ... Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha approached the venerable Nāgita. Having approached, they said this to the venerable Nāgita: ... Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha sat down there to one side.

“Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi, together with a great following of Licchavis, also approached the peaked-roofed hall in the Great forest, (then) the venerable Nāgita. Having approached, he paid homage to the venerable Nāgita and stood to one side. Standing to one side, Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi said this to the venerable Nāgita: ... Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi also sat down there to one side.

Then the novice Siha approached the venerable Nāgita. Having approached, he paid homage to the venerable Nāgita and stood to one side. Standing to one side, the novice Siha said this to the venerable Nāgita: ...

(b) ... the novice Siha ... approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. Standing to one side, the novice Siha said this to the Blessed One: ...

Then those brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha approached the Blessed One. Having approached, they exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side.

Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi, together with a great following of Licchavis, also approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he paid homage to the Blessed One and sat down to one side. Seated to one side Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi said this to the Blessed One:”

This complicated approach involves three distinct individuals or groups of individuals approaching the Buddha’s attendant *bhikkhu*, then the Buddha. Except for the fifth approach, that of the brahmins to the Buddha, which has no verbal interaction, this in effect consists of five complete and distinct B type formulas. These have, therefore, also been included in the discussion and analysis of the B formulas. The last two approaches, however, are similar to the other C type approaches discussed above in

that the text depicts two distinct individuals approaching someone and showing different forms of respect, with only one then speaking to the approached, but differs from them in that the text uses a *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit for the approach of each.

In order of approach to the attendant *bhikkhu*, the approachers are: 1) the brahman messengers from Kosala and Magadha; 2) Oṭṭhaddha the Licchavi together with a great following of Licchavis; and 3) the novice Sīha. In the approach to the Buddha the order is 3, 1, 2.

Following this same numbering system, the formulas used for each approach to the *bhikkhu* are: 1) B.1 (+ an approach to the place unit); 2) B.5 (+ an approach to the place unit); 3) B.5. In the case of the approaches of persons 1 and 2, after the *bhikkhu* tells them that it is not the correct time to see the Buddha, they sit down and wait: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *tatth' eva ekamantaṃ nisīdi/nisīdiṃsu*. In the approach to the Buddha, the formulas used are: 3) B.5; 1) a form of B.4 (lacking the *ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avocum* unit); and 2) B.6.

Persons 1 and 2 approach the *bhikkhu* in order to see the Buddha. The first are not followers of the Buddha and a B.1 formula is therefore used (the forms of address are *āvuso* and *bho* + name). But person 2 is and he shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the *bhikkhu*. The forms of address are: clan name¹⁹⁷ and *bhante* + name. In the first approach, posture is not indicated, but in the second the standing posture is taken in keeping with the purpose. As persons 1 do not have faith in the Buddha, they show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* form when they approach him (no forms of address is given) and sit down because they have heard about the Buddha and his qualities and have come to see him. Person 2 shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha in accordance with his faith (the forms of address are: clan name and *bhante*) and he sits down as he has come to question the Buddha.

Person 3, the novice, approaches the *bhikkhu* to persuade him to let the visitors see the Buddha, and he therefore stands to one side. He shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the *bhikkhu* and addresses him as *bhante* + name. He in turn is addressed by name. When he approaches the Buddha, he is likewise making a plea on behalf of the visitors and therefore stands to one side, in contrast to the other two who sit down. As we would expect, he shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha and addresses him as *bhante*. He is addressed by name.

2.6 C.5: *atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto ... pattiko yena maṇḍala-māḷassa dvāraṃ ten' upasaṃkāmī, upasaṃkamtivā Jīvikam komārabhaccam etad avoca: ... atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkāmī, upasaṃkamtivā ekamantaṃ atṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ thito kho rājā Māgadho*

¹⁹⁷ N. Wagle (1966, pp. 54–55) considers this to be a personal name.

Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ anuviloketvā rahadaṃ iva vippasannaṃ udānaṃ udānesi: ... atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinna kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: (§ ii. 11–13 [I 50–51]).

“Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, ... approached the door of the round pavilion by foot. Having approached, he said this to Jīvika Komārabhacca: ... (he asks where the Buddha is and the Buddha is pointed out to him) ... Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he stood to one side. Standing to one side, Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, surveyed the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, calm like a clear lake, and uttered this verse: ... (the Buddha then says something and Ajātasattu adds something else) ... Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, paid homage to the Blessed One and bowed down towards the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* with hands joined in respect and sat down to one side. Seated to one side, Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, said this to the Blessed One:”

Ajātasattu hears about the Buddha and his qualities and goes to see him by elephant. His approach is complicated and faltering.¹⁹⁸

Normally, respect-showing occurs before posturing, but here Ajātasattu does not at first show respect to the Buddha but stands there impressed by the sight of the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. He does eventually show respect and adopts a posture. Therefore this approach cannot be considered to be the same as that of Māra to the Buddha which depicts posturing without respect-showing. The showing of one form of respect to the Buddha and another to the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* is also unusual. In the other C type approaches we have several approachers showing different forms of respect to the approached.

Other uses of the *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* respect form, the form he shows the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, have already been discussed (section IV 2.4 above). Ajātasattu is addressed as *mahārāja*, a term of social grouping, and he addresses the Buddha as *bhante*.

2.7 C.6: ... *Sakko devānaṃ indo Bhagavato Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi, devā pi Tāvatiṃsā Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthamsu, Pañcasikho pi gandhabba-putto Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. ... atha kho Bhagavā Sakkaṃ devānaṃ indaṃ etad avoca: (§ xxi. 1.8–9 [II 269–270]).*

“... Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. The Tāvatiṃsa *devas* also entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. The *gandhabba* Pañcasikha also entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. ...

¹⁹⁸ This has also been discussed elsewhere; see section III 2.1.3.2; 3.1.3; 4.5.5; 4.6.1 above.

Then the Blessed One said this to Sakka, Lord of the *devas*:”

Here Sakka decides to see the Buddha with the other *devas* and disappears from his own realm and reappears on the mountain on which the cave inhabited by the Buddha is situated. He then sends the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha to the Buddha. The *gandhabba* goes to the cave (*yena Indasāla-guhā ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā*), then stands to one side and speaks some verses. They exchange words, then Sakka tells Pañcasikha to pay homage to the Buddha on his behalf. Sakka and the others then enter the cave (this approach formula).

This approach is complicated. It is based on a disappearing-reappearing approach and has therefore also been classed as such and included in the discussions of those approaches below (see section V 3.2). But it also has the *yena ... ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit for the approach of the *gandhabba* to the cave of the Buddha and hence, in part, belongs to approaches based on a *yena ... tena~* element. It has mainly been included here, however, because of the showing of respect by a number of individuals.

The disappearing-reappearing approach is to the place of the approached rather than to the person approached, as is the *gandhabba*’s approach to the cave, and the necessity of describing the entry into the *vihāra* may explain why a personal approach is not given. In other words, the [habitation: acc.] *pavisitvā* unit replaces the *yena* [person: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit.

Unlike other C type approaches where different respect forms are shown by the various approachers, all three (groups of) individuals here show the same form of respect (*abhivādetvā*). They address the Buddha as *bhante*. As seems to normally be the case with *devas*, etc., they stand to one side. As in the B variant forms (e.g. B.4a, B.5a), the approached speaks to those who approach first.

2.8 C.7: ... *atha kho Ambaṭṭho māṇavo yena te bhikkhū ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā te bhikkhū etad avoca: ... atha kho Ambaṭṭho māṇavo yena so vihāro saṃvuta-dvāro tena appa-saddo upasaṃkamtivā ataramāno ālindaṃ pavisitvā ukkāsitvā aggalaṃ ākoṭesi. vivari Bhagavā dvāraṃ, pāvisi Ambaṭṭho māṇavo. māṇavakā pi pavisitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ambaṭṭho pana māṇavo caṅkamanto pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāreti, ʔhito pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāreti. atha kho Bhagavā Ambaṭṭha-māṇavaṃ etad avoca: (§ iii. 1.6–10 [I 89–90]).*

“Then the young brahman Ambaṭṭha approached those *bhikkhus*. Having approached, he said this to those *bhikkhus*: ... (he asks where the Buddha is. The *bhikkhus* tell him how to approach the Buddha) ... Then the young brahman Ambaṭṭha, having quietly approached the closed door of the *vihāra*, entered the verandah without haste, coughed and knocked on the crossbar. The Blessed One opened the door and the

young brahman Ambaṭṭha entered. The younger brahmins (who accompanied Ambaṭṭha) also entered, (then) exchanged greetings with the Blessed One and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side. But the young brahman Ambaṭṭha paced up and down exchanging vague courteous talk with the Blessed One who was seated. He also remained standing exchanging vague courteous talk with the Blessed One who was seated.”

This approach has been mentioned numerous times.¹⁹⁹ Ambaṭṭha is sent to the Buddha by his brahmin teacher to see if he has the qualities of a great man, but he must approach the *bhikkhus* first. His approach to the Buddha is complicated and quite detailed. It only has a *yena ... ten' upasaṃkamitvā* unit, a truncated form of the more usual *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā* unit, for the approach to the place. This is quite unusual and seems to be the only instance where such a combination occurs in the *Dīgha-nikāya*. As with C.6 above, the necessity of describing the entry into the building where the Buddha is staying is probably the reason for this.

As Ambaṭṭha is not a follower of the Buddha, a B.1 formula is used for his approach to the *bhikkhus*. The form of disrespect he shows the Buddha uses the *katham sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāreti* element of the *saddhim sammodi* respect form, but in this case it is *kañci kañci katham*~ “vague courteous talk”. The real disrespect, however, lies in the fact that he paced up and down, then remained standing, while the Buddha was seated.²⁰⁰ The other younger brahmins show the full *saddhim sammodi* respect form and sit down (as in a B.4 formula), which are the respect and posture forms appropriate to this situation. Ambaṭṭha addresses the *bhikkhus* with *bho* and the Buddha with *bho* + name. They address Ambaṭṭha by name.

3. Summary.

The approach of more than one individual, either at the same time or consecutively, can be presented in a variety of ways.

Normally, when several individuals approach together and one *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā* unit is used for the approach of all,²⁰¹ one individual is presented as the main approacher who speaks with the approached. Sometimes the main approacher is depicted approaching “together with” (*saddhim*; § iv (C.2a), § v. (C.2)), “surrounded by” (*parivuto*; § xxiii. (C.2), and C.6 (see F.1a)), or simply approaching “with” (instr.: C.3) the others. Once (C.1) the text has person 1 “and” (*ca*) person 2

¹⁹⁹ Section III 2.1.1.2; 2.1.5.4; 2.2.1.4; 4.6.3 above.

²⁰⁰ This seems to be the only account in the *Dīgha* where the approacher is depicted showing disrespect to the approached. In the same sutta, Ambaṭṭha tells the Buddha that he once went to Kapilavatthu on some business and that when he approached the Sakkas who were assembled in their hall they failed to offer him a seat (§ iii. 1.13 [I 91]).

²⁰¹ Except C.6 which is a disappearing-reappearing approach.

approaching, with person 2 being the one who goes on to speak with the approached. Once also the text portrays the approach of the main individual without mentioning the others who accompany him, but nonetheless depicting the respect-showing and posturing of these after the approach of the main individual (C.7).

After the approach, the main approacher in the case of C.2, C.2a and C.3, or the first approacher in the case of C.1 and the second and third approachers of C.4, show respect and assume a posture. The accompanying individuals, or the ones who go on to speak with the approached in the case of C.1 and the second and third approaches of C.4, then show respect and likewise assume a posture. In the case of C.7 this order is reversed and those who accompany the main approacher show respect and assume a posture first. C.2, C.2a and C.3 use the fixed “multiple respect showing” formula for the accompanying individuals, while C.1 and the second and third approaches of C.4 have simple respect and posturing forms for the second individuals, as does C.7 for the main approacher. As in the B type formulas, the text always depicts posturing after each respect form shown, and except for C.7, all who approach together assume the same posture. The main individuals, or the second person in the case of C.1 and the second and third approaches of C.4, then speak to the approached or are spoken to.

In contrast to these approaches where a number of people are depicted approaching together, C.4 (for the most part) depicts a number of people approaching consecutively as distinct individuals with complete B type formulas used for the approach of each.

The C.5 approach, which involves only one individual, is complicated as are the C.6 (in full) and the C.7 approaches. This shows that the authors of the *Dīghanikāya* were not bound to using the regular approach formulas, but were fully capable of creating new and divergent “formulas” or depicting complicated approaches.²⁰²

The new post-approach elements found in these various approaches are: *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten’ añjalim paṇāmetvā, nāma-gottaṃ sāvetvā* and *tuṅhī-bhūtā* of the “multiple respect form” formula (C.2, 2a, and 3), *bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ anuviloketvā* and *udānaṃ udānesi* of C.5, and the *caṅkamanto pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāreti, ʃhito pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāreti* of C.7.

For the most part, the use of the other familiar post-approach elements conforms to the norms established for the B formulas, as do the terms of address and so on.

Two approaches, C.6 and 7, do not depict a personal *yena ... ten’ upasaṃvakaṃ upasaṃkamtivā* approach but rather have an entry into the habitation of the approached ([habitation: acc.] *pavisitvā*) which seems to replace the personal

²⁰² Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.22.

approach.²⁰³

V. APPROACHES INVOLVING DISAPPEARING FROM ONE PLACE AND REAPPEARING IN THE PLACE OF THE APPROACHED

1. There are a number of approaches where, to reach the approached, the approacher is depicted disappearing from the place he inhabits and reappearing either in front of or in the vicinity of the approached.²⁰⁴ In the former case, this replaces the *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit to depict the approach — here classed as E type approach formulas. In the latter case, a *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit is subsequently employed to portray the actual approach to the person — called here type F approach formulas. These are listed in section E and F of the references.

A number of basic disappearing-reappearing formulas are identifiable which are used in both E and F type approach formulas. For the purpose of future research into these disappearing-reappearing formulas, they have been called DR formulas. So, for example, the approach formula classified as E.1a in the current study is based on the disappearing-reappearing element/formula DR.I.

In the *Dīgha-nikāya* two major types of disappearing-reappearing formulas are discernible: (i) those based on the phrase (*atha kho*) [person *x*: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* “Then, just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm or would bend an outstretched arm” (DR.I); and (ii) those based on the phrase (*atha kho*) [person *x*: nom.] *tathā-rūpaṃ samādhiṃ samāpajji yathā samāhite citte* “Then *x* attained such concentration that, when his mind was thus concentrated” (DR.II).²⁰⁵ Other units of meaning are then added to these foundation elements to form basic disappearing-reappearing formulas; for example, (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* + [place: loc.] *antarahito (lantarahitā)* + [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi (lahamsu)*. This is classified as DR.I.1. It is employed in the E.1 approach formulas. We also find the following combination: *atha kho* [person *x*: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* + [place: loc.] *antarahito* + [place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi*. This is classified as DR.I.4. It is used in the *Dīgha-nikāya* in an F type approach formula. Post-approach units of meaning are then added to these to form specific

²⁰³ Cf. Sīha's approach to the Buddha in C.4 (§ vi. 4 [I 151–152]) where a basic *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami* unit is used for the approach to the Buddha even though he is inside a building — as revealed when he emerges to speak to the visitors.

²⁰⁴ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 15.28.

²⁰⁵ The latter only occurs once and, as it involves a *bhikkhu* approaching the gods, it is dealt with in part 2 (section IV 3.2).

approach formulas and their variants. For example, the unit *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* is added to the above DR.I.1 disappearing-reappearing formula to form what has been classified as approach formula E.1a: (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] *antarahito (/antarahitā)* [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi (/ahaṃsu)*. *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca (/avocum)*. In each of these approach formulas, the post-approach element is introduced by *atha kho*. This differs from type B formulas where the repetition of the finite verb in its absolutive form (*upasamkami upasamkamitvā*) introduces the post-approach structure.

2. E type approach formulas: those which do not employ the *yena ... ten' upasam√kam upasamkamitvā* unit.

2.1 E.1 (=DR.I.1): (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva*²⁰⁶ [place: loc.] *antarahito (/antarahitā)* [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi (/ahaṃsu)*~

E.g. *atha kho tā devatā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam evaṃ Suddhāvāsesu devesu antarahitā Bhagavato purato pātur ahaṃsu*. (§ xx. 3 [II 253–254]) “Then, just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm or would bend an outstretched arm, those *devatās* disappeared amongst the Suddhāvāsa *devas* and appeared in front of the Blessed One.”

This E.1 (=DR.I.1 disappearing-reappearing) formula forms the basis of each of the specific approach formulas presented in section 2.1.1–5 below.

2.1.1 E.1a (=DR.I.1.B.1): (as E.1) ~*atha kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[1 occurrence]

E.g. ~*atha kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvii. 1.25 [II 181]): “... Then, Ānanda, the *deva* Vissakamma said this to King Mahāsudassana:”

With the absence of any respect-showing or posturing units, and with only verbal interaction depicted, the post-approach of this formula is virtually as that

²⁰⁶ The reading alternates between *evam eva* and *evam evaṃ*: *evam eva* at § xi. 84, xiv. 3.3 = 23, 25, xvii. 1.25 (v.l. *evam evaṃ*), xix. 44; *evam evaṃ* at xx. 3 (v.l. *evam eva*; see fnt.), xxi. 1.2 (see F.1: v.l. *evam eva, evam eva kho*). See also examples of this disappearing-reappearing formula used for approaches by the Buddha (part 2, section IV). This variation in reading also occurs in other *seyyathā pi nāma ... evam eva/evaṃ* phrases, e.g. § xxv. 5 [III 38].

encountered in a B.1 formula. This is in keeping with the characters concerned. Here a *deva* approaches a king (both “quasi-historical”) at the command of the god Sakka, and as previously seen approaches to kings do not normally include respect-showing or posturing units. The *deva* is not addressed, but the king is addressed as *deva*.

2.1.2 E.1b (=DR.I.1.B.5c): (as E.1) *~atha kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhamsu. ekamantaṃ ʔhitā kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: gen.] *santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi*:

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *~atha kho tā devatā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhamsu. ekamantaṃ ʔhitā kho ekā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi* (§ xx. 3 [II 253–254]): “... Then those *devatās* paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. Standing to one side, one *devatā* spoke this verse in the presence of the Blessed One:”

The post-approach of this formula has the respect and posturing forms of a B.5 formula, but with a variant form of verbal interaction. The *devatās* approach to offer some protective verses and their standing to one side contrasts with the sitting posture taken by the four Great Kings (§ xxxiii. 1–2; C.3) who approach for a similar reason. Forms of address do not occur.

2.1.3 E.1c (=DR.I.1.B.6): (as E.1) *~atha kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *~atha kho (so)²⁰⁷ Kevaddha bhikkhu mam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Kevaddha so bhikkhu maṃ etad avoca* (§ xi. 84 [I 222]): “... Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* paid homage to me and sat down to one side. Seated to one side, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* said this to me:”

Here a *bhikkhu*, who has been visiting various *devas* unsuccessfully trying to have his question answered, is sent to the Buddha by the last and highest *deva* he questions. The post-approach elements of this formula are the same as those used in a B.6 formula. The posture depicted is in keeping with the purpose of the visit. Although the Buddha is addressed with the usual *bhante*, the *bhikkhu* is addressed as *bhikkhu*, a term of social grouping, rather than by name as is usually the case for *bhikkhus*. The probable explanation for this is that the *bhikkhu* is never identified in this sutta, and is really the subject of a story narrated by the Buddha for didactic purposes. When this

²⁰⁷ Read *so* here as elsewhere.

bhikkhu first goes to the *deva* realm to question the *devas*, a different disappearing-reappearing formula is used.²⁰⁸

2.1.4 E.1d (=DR.I.1.X.2): (as E.1) *~atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṅgalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[1 occurrence]

E.g. *~atha kho so bhikkhave Mahābrahmā ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṅgalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā yena Vipassī Bhagavā arahamaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā Vipassiṃ Bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avoca* (§ xiv. 3.3 [II 37]): “... Then, *bhikkhus*, that Mahābrahmā arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, placed his right knee on the ground, bowed down toward the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one, with joined hands in respect and said this to the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one:”

In this formula we have posturing preceding respect-showing, though the posture itself becomes a form of respect-showing. Here a certain *deva* (*aññātara Mahābrahmā*) approaches Vipassī Buddha to persuade him to teach the Dhamma.²⁰⁹

The *ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā* “having arranged the upper robe over one shoulder” element is found in the next formula (E.1e) used for approaches involving the same individuals. It is also found in a variant form (*ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā*), again in combination with the *añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* unit, when Mahākassapa approaches the pyre of the Buddha at the Makuṭabandhana *ceṭiya* (§ xvi. 6.22; references G.2). This element is also found in a passage which is quite common in the sutta texts and which depicts someone who is seated in the assembly getting up from his or her seat, arranging the upper robe over one shoulder, then performing an act or making a statement.²¹⁰

Apart from the parallel passage to this occurrence already mentioned, the *dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṅgalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā* element is not found in other approaches, either in the *Dīgha* or other sutta texts. It is found, however, in two passages in the *Aṅguttara* where someone gets up from his seat, arranges his robe over one shoulder, kneels on one knee, bows down to the Buddha with joined hands and utters a verse three times (A I 67; III 238). The occurrences of the *yena ... ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* unit have been discussed above (section IV 2.2). Although this respect form

²⁰⁸ See part 2, section IV 3.2.

²⁰⁹ This passage is also found at Vin I 4, M I 168, theoretically at least at M II 93ff., and S I 137, but with Brahmā Sahampati approaching Gotama Buddha for the same purpose. The only occurrence which varies is the *Majjhima* passage which lacks the *dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṅgalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā* element. This formula is also found in instances where a *deva* approaches for a different reason (e.g. A II 21).

²¹⁰ E.g. § xvii. 1.8 [II 172]; xxvi. 6 [III 62].

has been shown elsewhere (section III 4.2.2) to be not as respectful as the *abhivādetvā* form, Mahābrahmā's going down on one knee is a "begging" gesture and the whole post-approach takes on an air of great reverence. The Mahābrahmā also addresses Vipassī Buddha as *bhante*, as do those who show the higher *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha or a *bhikkhu*. The Mahābrahmā is addressed as *Brahme*.

2.1.5 E.1e (=DR.I.1.X.1): (as E.1) *~atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā* [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*:

[2 occurrences: § xiv. 3.23, 25 [II 46–47]]

E.g. *~atha kho so bhikkhave Mahābrahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā yenāhaṃ ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā maṃ etad avoca* (§ xiv. 3.25 [II 47]): "... Then, *bhikkhus*, that Mahābrahmā arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, bowed down towards me with joined hands in respect, and said this to me:"

This formula differs from the previous only in that it lacks the *dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā* unit. Here the same Mahābrahmā approaches Vipassī Buddha, but this time to inform him of something rather than to persuade him to teach. The forms of address are the same as for the E.1d passage. Both occurrences of this formula are accounts of the same approach.

2.2 E.2 (=DR.I.2): (*atha kho*) [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] *antarahito* [approached: gen.] *pamukhe pātur ahoṣi*~

E.g. *atha kho bho Brahmā Saṇaṃkumāro ... seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Brahma-loke antarahito Mahāgovindassa brāhmaṇassa pamukhe pātur ahoṣi*. (§ xiv. 44 [II 239–240]) "Then ... just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm or would bend an outstretched arm, Brahmā Saṇaṃkumāra disappeared in the Brahmā world and appeared in front of the brahman Mahāgovinda.

This E.2 disappearing-reappearing formula is utilised in the following specific approach formula. It differs from E.1 in that the reappearing element is *pamukhe pātur ahoṣi* rather than *purato pātur ahoṣi*.

2.2.1 E.2a (=DR.I.2.Bc): (as E.2) ~... (*atha kho bho Mahāgovindassa brāhmaṇassa ahud eva bhayaṃ ahu chambhitattaṃ ahu lomahaṃso yathā taṃ adiṭṭha-pubbaṃ rūpaṃ disvā.*) *atha kho bho Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo bhīto samviggo loma-haṭṭha-jāto Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi* (§ xix. 44 [II 239–240]): “(Then, honourable sir, fear and trembling came to the brahman Mahāgovinda and his hair stood on end at the sight of what he had not seen before.) Then, honourable sir, fearful, trembling and with his hair standing on end, the brahman Mahāgovinda uttered this verse to the Brahmā Sanaṃkumāra:”

Having read his thoughts, the Brahmā Sanaṃkumāra approaches the brahman Mahāgovinda. The post-approach is then slightly complicated, depicting Mahāgovinda’s fear at the sight of the Brahmā. In keeping with the characters concerned, there is no respect-showing or posturing and, apart from the expressions depicting fear, the post-approach is as a formula B.1 variant. Brahmā Sanaṃkumāra is addressed as *Brahme* and Mahāgovinda is addressed by name.

3. F type approach formulas: those disappearing-reappearing approaches which also utilise the *yena ... ten’ upasaṃ√kam* approach formula.

3.1 The following approach, listed in the references as F.1a, depicts the one approaching disappearing in one place and reappearing in another place rather than reappearing in front of the approached as in the E formulas. This means that the approach to the person must be subsequently depicted.

The disappearing-reappearing element of this approach has been classed as disappearing-reappearing formula DR.I.4: *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] *antarahito* [place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi*. This is also found in a passage where the Buddha crosses a flooded river (§ xvi. 1.33 [II 89]).

3.2 F.1a (=DR.I.4a): *atha kho* [persons 1 (2 & 3): nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva(m)* [place: loc.] *antarahito* [place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi*. ... (complicated) ... [person 3: nom.] *yena* [place: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamitvā ‘...’ ti ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho* [person 3: nom.] *buluva-panḍu-viṇaṃ assāvesi imā ca gāthā abhāsi* ... (complicated) ... [person 1: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] *pavisitvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi*, [person 2: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] *pavisitvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu*, [person 3: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] *pavisitvā* [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi*. ... *atha kho* [approached: nom.] [person 1: acc.] *etad avoca*:

E.g. *atha kho Sakko devānaṃ indo devehi Tāvatiṃsehi parivuto Pañcasikhena gandhabba-puttena purakkhato, seyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam evaṃ deveṣu Tāvatiṃsesu*

*antarahito Magadhesu, pācīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vedyake pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi. ... (Sakka commands the gandhabba Pañcasikha to approach the Buddha) ... Pañcasikho gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānaṃ indassa paṭissutvā beluva-panḍu-viṇaṃ ādāya yena Indasāla-guhā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā '... (thoughts) ...' ti ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Pañcasikho gandhabba-putto beluva-panḍu-viṇaṃ assāvesi imā ca gāthā abhāsi ... (interaction between Pañcasikha and the Buddha) ... (then Sakka tells Pañcasikha to honour the Buddha on his behalf) ... Pañcasikho gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānaṃ indassa paṭissutvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādesi: 'Sakko bhante devānaṃ indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatī' ti 'sukhī hotu Pañcasikha Sakko devānaṃ indo sāmacco saparijano, sukha-kāmā hi devā manussā asurā nāgā gandhabbā ye c' aññe santi puthu-kāyā' ti. evañ ca pana Tathāgatā evārūpe mahesakkhe abhivadanti. abhivādito Sakko devānaṃ indo Bhagavato Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, devā pi Tāvatiṃsā Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, Pañcasikho pi gandhabba-putto Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ... atha kho Bhagavā Sakkaṃ devānaṃ indaṃ etad avoca (§ xxi. 1.2–9 [II 264–270]): “Then, just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm or a would bend an outstretched arm, Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, surrounded by the Tāvatiṃsā *devas* and attended by the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha, disappeared amongst the Tāvatiṃsā *devas* and reappeared in the Magadha (districts), to the east of Rājagaha, on the Vedyaka mountain to the north of the brahman village of Ambasaṇḍa. ... (Sakka commands the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha to approach the Buddha) ... Having assented to Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha took his *beluva*-wood lute and approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he made his *beluva*-wood lute be heard and spoke these verses ... (interaction between Pañcasikha and the Buddha ... then Sakka tells Pañcasikha to honour the Buddha on his behalf) ... Having assented to Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, the *gandhabba* Pañcasikha paid homage to the Blessed One saying ‘Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, venerable sir, with his friends and followers, honours the feet of the Blessed One with his head’. (The Buddha said:) ‘Pañcasikha, may Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, with his ministers and followers, be happy, for *devas*, humans, *asuras*, *nāgas*, *gandhabbas*, and whatever other groups there are, (they all) desire happiness’. This, indeed, is how Tathāgatas honour such powerful ones. Honoured, Sakka, Lord of the *devas*, entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. The Tāvatiṃsa *devas* also entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. The *gandhabba* Pañcasikha also entered the Indasāla cave, paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. ... Then the Blessed One said this to Sakka, Lord of the *devas*:”*

This approach is complicated and, as with similar approaches discussed in section IV (C type approaches), it is difficult to treat the whole as a distinct formula. The uniqueness of the approach has of course much to do with this. If it were to occur numerous times, as do the B type formulas, we would have no problem treating it as a distinct formula.

The passage depicting disappearing in one place and reappearing in another is the same as the other disappearing-reappearing formulas as far as the unit [place: loc.] *antarahito* “disappearing in one place”, but then has a different structure for the

reappearance: [place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi* “reappeared in place *x*”, instead of the [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi* “appeared in front of person *x*” of E.1.

Sakka then tells Pañcasikha to approach the Buddha. For this we have a *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* approach, though it is to the cave, that is the place, where the Buddha is and not to the Buddha himself. This is, however, an approach into the presence of the Buddha for there is then verbal interaction between Pañcasikha and the Buddha after he has adopted a posture. Some of these post-approach elements are familiar, while others are new. The *ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi* and *ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho* elements are common enough, but the playing of the lute (*beluva-paṇḍu-viṇaṃ assāvesi*) and the verbal interaction form (*imā ca gāthā abhāsi*) have not been encountered before.

Sakka then enters the cave of the Buddha, shows respect and stands to one side. The Tāvatiṃsā *devas* and Pañcasikha do likewise and the Buddha then speaks to Sakka. This passage has already been discussed in section IV 2.7 as formula/approach C.6 owing to the multiple respect-showing depicted. An approach to the cave is not depicted for Sakka and the *devas* as it was for Pañcasikha and, as already noted in that discussion presented at IV 2.7, the [habitation: acc.] *pavisitvā* unit seems to replace a personal approach.

4. Summary.

A number of basic disappearing-reappearing formulas have been identified which are employed in approach formulas. In the case of those which depict the person approaching reappearing in front of the person approached, no *yena ... ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* unit is subsequently employed, but where the reappearance is to a place, then some form of personal approach must be included. In the case of F.1a this seems to be achieved through the combination of a *yena* [place: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamtivā* approach of one individual to the cave of the Buddha and the [habitation of the approached: acc.] *pavisitvā* entry into the cave of the Buddha, after which respect, posture and verbal interaction units are added.

Understandably, this disappearing-reappearing approach usually involves non-humans (*devas, devatās, gandhabbas*, etc.),²¹¹ i.e. those who were considered to have the power to undertake such a feat, and depicts their passage between the non-human and human realms. In this sense, the use of these formulas is dependent on the class of the approacher and the place to be visited.

The individuals approached are Gotama Buddha, Vipassī Buddha and King Mahāsudassana. Who receives respect and what form is shown are in conformity with

²¹¹ This form of approach is also used to depict approaches by the Buddha and *bhikkhus*; see part 2, section IV.

the norms established for the B type formulas, as are the forms of address encountered.

Some new posturing and verbal interaction forms are found. They are: *ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā* (E.1d, e); *dakkhinaṃ jānumaṅḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā* (E.1d); [approacher: nom.] [approached: gen.] *santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi* (E.1b); *imā ca gāthā abhāsi* (F.1a); *gāthāya ajjhabhāsi* (E.2a); *beluva-paṇḍu-viṇaṃ assāvesi* (F.1a).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES

1. The approaches listed in section G, H, and I of the references are approaches which do not quite fit any of the previous classifications. They include approaches to the funeral pyre or deathbed of the Buddha, passages which mention an approach taking place but do not describe any personal interaction, and approaches which do not describe the actual approach to the person.

2. Approaches to the Buddha, his deathbed or his funeral pyre.

2.1 G.1: *atha kho Mallā Malla-puttā ca Malla-suniṣā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamimsu. ... (Ānanda's thoughts) ... atha kho āyasmā Ānando Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi: 'itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhariyo sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatī' ti* (§ xvi. 5.21–22 [II 148]): “Then the Mallas and the sons, daughters-in-law, and wives of the Malla, sad, grieved and with their minds afflicted by suffering, approached the Upavattana sal-tree grove of the Mallas, (then) the venerable Ānanda. ... (Ānanda thinks of a way for the Mallas to honour the Buddha) ... Then the venerable Ānanda arranged the Mallas from Kusināra in family groups and (in that way) had them honour the Blessed One (saying): ‘The Malla called so-and-so, venerable sir, with his children, wife (/wives), servants and friends honours the feet of the Blessed One with his head’.”

The Buddha is about to die and he tells Ānanda to inform the Mallas of Kusināra. Ānanda does so and the Mallas are grieved. They then approach Ānanda who has meanwhile returned to the sal-tree grove, and Ānanda thinks of a way to get them to honour the Buddha. They then pay respect to the Buddha.

This is a rather unusual approach which does not conform to the patterns so far established. The Mallas are really approaching to honour the Buddha but they must approach Ānanda, the attendant *bhikkhu*, first. The Mallas can be classed as lay followers of the Buddha and, according to the norms established so far, they should have been depicted showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form to Ānanda. There is also no verbal interaction with Ānanda and no mention of their approach to the Buddha, but only this unusual form of group respect-showing.

2.2 G.2: *atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo yena Kusinārā-Makuṭabandhanam Mallānam cetiyam yena Bhagavato citako ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pādato vivarivā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi. tāni pi kho pañca bhikkhu-satāni ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandimsu* (§ xvi. 6.22 [II 163]): “Then the venerable Mahākassapa approached the Makuṭabandhana *cetiya* of the Mallas at Kusinārā (then) the pyre of the Blessed One. Having approached, he arranged his robe over one shoulder, bowed down with joined hands, circumambulated the pyre three times, uncovered the feet and honoured the feet of the Blessed One with his head. Those five hundred *bhikkhus* (who accompanied him) also arranged their robes over one shoulder ... (as before).”

This approach shares many elements in common with approaches already dealt with. The approach is based on the common *yena ... ten' upasaṃkamaṃ upasaṃkamtivā* unit and the *ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā* and *añjalim paṇāmetvā* gestures have been encountered in the approaches of the previous two sections. The *tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā* “having circumambulated the pyre three times” respect form is only used in this one approach, but *padakkhiṇaṃ katvā* is sometimes met with in departures.²¹² The uncovering of the feet (*pādato vivarivā*) obviously only occurs here, but the *Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi* “he honoured the feet of the Blessed One with his head” respect form, which we have argued is the same as the *abhivādetvā* respect form, occurs in approach passages where someone commands another to pay respect to the Buddha on their behalf.²¹³ The most obvious difference in this approach is that it is to an object, the pyre and body of the Buddha, rather than a living person. There is therefore no verbal interaction. There is also no definite ordering of respect-showing and posturing units as in most other approaches.

The *bhikkhus* who accompany Mahākassapa are not mentioned in the approach but, after Mahākassapa has paid respect to the body of the Buddha, they are depicted doing the same. This is similar to the approach of Ambaṭṭha to the Buddha (C.7) discussed in section IV 2.8 above. Apart from this the structure is the same as other approaches involving more than one individual approaching together.

2.3 G.3: *atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā gandha-mālañ ca sabbañ ca tāḷāvacaraṃ pañca ca dussa-yuga-satāni ādāya yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānam sāla-vanaṃ yena Bhagavato sarīraṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃsu, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gūthehi vādīthehi mālehi gandhehi sakkaronā garukaronā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā evaṃ taṃ divasaṃ vītinaṃsu* (§ xvi. 6.13 [II 159]): “Then, having taken scents and garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred (lengths of) double *dussa* cloth, the Mallas of Kusinārā approached the Upavattana sal-tree grove of the Mallas (then) the body of the Blessed One. Having

²¹² E.g. § ii. 101 [I 85]; iii. 1.6 [I 89], etc.

²¹³ § xvi. 1.2–3 [II 72–73] (B.4; see section III 4.2.2 above); xxi. 1.8 [III 269] (F.1).

approached, they spent the day paying respect to, venerating, revering, and honouring the body of the Blessed One with dance, song, music, garlands and scents, and in making canopies and preparing round pavillions (with the *dussa* cloth).”

As in the previous “formula”, this is an approach to the body of the Buddha, but this time it is by the Mallas who honour it in the manner appropriate to laymen. The structure is similar to the previous approach. Again, we have the *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā* unit used for the approach followed by various new post-approach elements, but with no verbal interaction. The post-approach elements used here have not been encountered before.

3. Approaches with no post-approach.

The three passages listed in section H of the references merely state that an approach took place (*yena* [approached: nom.] *upasaṃkami*) without further reference to the approach. They are:

§ xvi. 4.30 [II 131]: The Buddha relates that once two brothers and their oxen were killed by lightning and that a crowd of people came out from the town and approached them (*atha kho Pukkusa Ātumāya mahā-jana-kāyo nikkhamitvā yena te dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā ten' upasaṃkami*). But the Buddha then abandons the description of that approach and goes on to relate how a certain man from that crowd then approached and questioned him.

§ xvii. 2.7 [II 189]: Again the Buddha is the narrator. Here Queen Subhaddā realises that she hasn't seen the king for a long time and orders the other women to prepare themselves to visit him. They do so and approach the queen (... *sīsaṃ nahāyitvā pītāni vatthāni pārūpitvā yena Subhaddā devī ten' upasaṃkami*). The text then goes on to describe the other preparations and the approach to the king.

§ xxviii. 2 [III 101–102]: Sāriputta describes how he once came to the Buddha and that the Buddha had taught him the Dhamma (*idhāhaṃ bhante yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamiṃ dhamma-savanāya. tassa me bhante Bhagavā dhammaṃ desesi ...*). He then describes his subsequent insight and faith.

All three approaches are described by non-sutta narrators. The first two go no further than the approach because they are only marginally relevant to the story being told. This last approach does in fact have a very basic post-approach, and if it had included *upasaṃkamitvā* after the finite verb, it could be classed as a B.1 variant formula, though its use would have been untenable considering the persons involved. As it is it is similar to the A type formulas which are sometimes used as part of the shorthand narration style of non-sutta narrators, though rarely to depict approaches to the Buddha.

4. Approaches which have no personal approach.

A number of approaches do not depict a personal approach but nonetheless have verbal interaction. Two such approaches, where the description of the entry into the habitation of the Buddha seems to replace the personal approach, have already been encountered (section IV 2.7–8: § iii. 1.6–10 and xxi. 1.8–9).

I.1: *atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī caturāṅginiyā senāya saddhim itthāgārena yena Dhammo pāsādo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā yena Mahāvīyūhaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Mahāvīyūhassa kūṭāgārassa dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā aṭṭhāsi. ...* (complicated) ... *rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvii. 2.8–10 [II 190]): “Then, Ānanda, Queen Subhaddā, together with the fourfold army and court women, approached the Righteous palace. Having approached, she ascended the Righteous palace and approached the Mahāvīyūha peaked-roofed apartment. Having approached, she leant against the door-post of the peaked-roofed apartment and stood there. ... (complicated) ... (she) said this to King Mahāsudassana:”

Queen Subhaddā goes to see the king but only goes as far as the ground level door of his apartment. The king sees her and has a bench placed outside amongst the palm trees. He lays down on it and the queen speaks to him. There is thus no depiction of the actual approach to the person. As we would expect, there is no respect-showing in this approach, though there is mention of the assuming of a posture.

I.2: *addasā kho āyasmā Mahākassapo ājīvakaṃ dūrato 'va āgacchantam. disvā taṃ ājīvakaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvi. 6.19 [II 162]): “The venerable Mahākassapa saw the *ājīvika* ascetic coming from afar. Having seen (him), he said this to that *ājīvika* ascetic:”

The ascetic is travelling along the same road as Mahākassapa. The lack of any account of the approach is probably explained by the fact that, in contrast to most other approaches which are deliberate, this encounter is coincidental. They address each other as *āvuso*.

I.3: ... *dāya-pālo ... Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍaṃ ca rāja-puttaṃ Tissaṃ ca purohita-puttaṃ etad avoca* (§ xiv. 3.9 [II 40]): “... The park keeper ... entered the royal capital of Bandhumatī and said this to Prince Khaṇḍa and Tissa the priest's son:”

This occurs in a passage narrated by the Buddha and may be another example of the briefer non-sutta narrator style discussed elsewhere.

VII. CONCLUSION TO PART 1

Of those passages in the *Dīgha-nikāya* which depict someone approaching the Buddha, a *bhikkhu*, or another person, and a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha or another *bhikkhu*, two main types of approaches can be identified: 1) those which depend exclusively on the verb *upa-saṃ-√kam* to express the approach; and 2) those where the approach is based on a disappearing-reappearing formula. Each can be subdivided into two formula types:

1) (i) type A: those based on the [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] *upasamkamitvā* unit.

(ii) type B: those based on the [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃ√kam upasaṃkamitvā* unit.

2) (i) type E: those which wholly depend on a disappearing-reappearing formula. In the *Dīgha* this is of the *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* type.

(ii) type F: those which utilise both a disappearing-reappearing formula and the verb *upa-saṃ-√kam* to express the approach.

Type B is by far the most common formula type used. Type A is relatively uncommon and type E and F are used in only seven approaches between them.²¹⁴ Each formula type can be further subdivided into definite formulas, e.g. B.1, B.6 and their variants, e.g. B.1a, B.6c based on their post-approach elements. But it must be remembered that, by calling these “variants”, we are not implying that B.1, B.2, B.6, etc., are the prototypes. B.1a, B.1b, B.6a, etc. are referred to as variants because B.1, B.2, B.6, etc. are usually the most common forms of the formula type as they depict the person approaching speaking first.

The text may or may not mention the reason for the approach, the preparations for it, and the actual process of getting there. Therefore, as these structures are optional, and even though certain pre-approach elements have been shown to have an association with the use of certain post-approach elements, they cannot be considered to be part of the approach formula. The approach formula is therefore taken to start with the depiction of the approach and end with verbal interaction (or sometimes some other action). In between, respect-showing, posturing, or sometimes other elements may be included. It must be remembered, however, that these boundaries are rather artificial in that these structures occur within a continuous narrative. We have, in fact, isolated a particular class of action.

Within passages which depict an approach, a variety of fixed units of meaning are pieced together to create definite formulas. Below is a list of the main fixed units of

²¹⁴ There are also a few E and F type approaches used for approaches by the Buddha (see part 2).

meaning found within the approach formulas studied in part 1. It does not attempt to be exhaustive but is presented here as an illustration. For the sake of simplicity, all forms are presented in the 3rd. singular.

- 1 *atha kho*
- 2 [approacher: nom.][approached: acc.] *upasamkamitvā*
- 3 [approacher: nom.] *yena* [place: nom.] (*ten' upasamkami*)
- 4 [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasamkami, upasamkamitvā*
- 5 [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva*
- 6 [place: loc.] *antarahito*
- 7 a. [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahosi*
b. variant of a.
- 8 [place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi*
- 9 [place: nom.] *pātur ahosi*
- 10 a. [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā*
b. [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā*
c. other
- 11 a. *ekamantaṃ atthāsi*
b. *ekamantaṃ nisīdi*
c. other
- 12 a. *ekamantaṃ thito kho* [approacher: nom.]
b. *ekamantaṃ thitaṃ kho* [approacher: acc.]
c. *ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* [approacher: nom.]
d. *ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [approacher: acc.]
e. other
- 13 a. [approached: acc.] *etad avoca*
b. [approached: nom.] *etad avoca*
c. other

As already mentioned, the four major formula types are classified according to certain units or combinations of units particular to them. For example, type A is characterised by being based on unit 2, and this is then only combined with a number 13 unit. Type B is characterised by the use of unit 4 and type E is based on units 5 and 6 plus 7 or some variant of it. These type B and E unit combinations may then be combined with any of the number 10–13 units.

Which units are employed, and hence which formula type and specific formula are used, depends on the narrator, the classification of the person approaching and the person approached, the attitude of the former towards the latter, and the purpose of the visit. To a large extent, given a knowledge of these factors, the formula that will be used is predictable. So, for example, the combination of units used to depict a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha because he has been summoned by him is (1)+4+10b+11b+12d+13b: (*atha kho*) + [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasamkami, upasamkamitvā* + [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* + *ekamantaṃ nisīdi* +

ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] + [approached: nom.] *etad avoca*. This is characterised by the use a type B approach unit (i.e. unit no. 4), by the *bhikkhu* showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form, by his sitting down rather than standing, and by his being spoken to by the Buddha rather than his speaking to the Buddha first. This has been classed as formula B.6a in the above study.

Again, the combination used to depict a layman approaching the Buddha to inform him that the meal he had been invited to was ready, will be (1)+4+10b+11a+12a+13a/c: (*atha kho*) + [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā* + [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* + *ekamantaṃ atthāsi* + *ekamantaṃ thito kho* [approacher: nom.] + [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (or [dat./gen.] *kālaṃ ārocesi*). This differs from the previous example in that the layman stands to one side and speaks to the Buddha first. It has been classified as formula B.5 or B.5b.

To depict the approach of a *deva*, who resides in his heavenly abode and has decided to approach the Buddha to chant some verses, the following combination of units will be used (1)+5+6+7a/b+1+10b+11a+ 12a+13c: (*atha kho*) + [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* + [place: loc.] *antarāhito* + [approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi* + *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] + [approached: acc.] *abhivādetvā* + *ekamantaṃ atthāsi* + *ekamantaṃ thito kho* [approacher: nom.] + [approached: gen.] *santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi* (formula type E.1b); that is, the disappearing-reappearing formula will be used, he will show the *abhivādetvā* respect form and stand to one side.

Again, when a brahman is depicted approaching a king, units (1)+4+13a will be employed: (*atha kho*) + [approacher: nom.] *yena* [approached: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā* + [approached: acc.] *etad avoca* (formula B.1). This is characterised by the lack of respect-showing and posturing units.

Although the formula used is predictable in the majority of cases, the text is not beyond surprises and anomalies nor were the authors incapable of varying the arrangement of units and introducing new elements to depict a complicated approach or to describe an approach in great detail, or of creating unique formulas. In this way, they were not slaves to the formulas they created or utilised to facilitate the composition and transmission of their texts. Meaning was still the ultimate determinant of diction. It is also the case that there are a number of features, such as the mentioning of an approach to the place before the approach to the person (unit 3), whose inclusion or omission in the approach formula is not so predictable. Again, it was also seen that the employment of type B formulas occasionally overlapped with the more restricted range of type A formulas, indicating that, in these situations at least, there was some degree of flexibility.

PART 2: THE FORMULAS USED TO DEPICT THE BUDDHA APPROACHING SOMEONE AND A *BHIKKHU* APPROACHING SOMEONE OTHER THAN THE BUDDHA OR ANOTHER *BHIKKHU*.

I. INTRODUCTION

The formulas used to describe the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* rely on the same core elements as the approach formulas discussed in part 1 and can therefore be similarly classified as formula types A, B, E, or F. They do, however, differ from the formulas discussed in part 1 in many respects.

II. TYPE A FORMULAS

1. In five passages in the *Dīgha-nikāya* the Buddha describes himself approaching someone. In these instances, in effect 20 times, type A formulas are used. They are in brief:

§ xvi. 3.22–23 (8 occurrences): The Buddha tells Ānanda that there are eight assemblies (*aṭṭha parisā*),²¹⁵ then recalls that he has approached many hundreds of each of these eight assemblies and preached the Dhamma to them, taking on the same colour (*vaṇṇa*) and voice (*sara*) as each of them before doing so; e.g. *abhiñānāmi kho panāhaṃ Ānanda aneka-sataṃ khattiya-parisaṃ upasaṃkamitvā ... dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samuttejemi sampahaṃsemi*.

§ ix. 34–38 (3 occurrences); § xxiv. 2.14, 18, 19, 20 (4 occurrences); § xxix. 35–39 (4 occurrences): In each of these three suttas the Buddha describes his approach to some *samaṇas* and brahmins, who held particular views, in order to question them: *tyāhaṃ*²¹⁶ *upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ vadāmi*. This is the same formula as A.2 of part 1.

§ xxx. 1.25 (1 occurrence): The Buddha describes the Tathāgata's (i.e. his own in a former life) approach to and questioning of some *samaṇas* and brahmins: *yaṃ pi bhikkhave Tathāgato purimaṃ jātiṃ purimaṃ bhavaṃ purimaṃ nicketaṃ pubbe manussā-bhūto samāno samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā upasaṃkamitvā paripucchitā ahoṣi*.

2. For the most part, the structure, conditions of employment, and so on, of these formulas conform to the pattern established for the A formulas in part 1. As in part 1, these part 2 type A formulas have no pre-approach structure and only the simplest post-

²¹⁵ *khattiya-parisā*, *brāhmaṇa-*, *gahapati-*, *samaṇa-*, *Cātummahārājika-*, *Tāvatiṃsa-*, *Māra-*, *Brahma-*.

²¹⁶ v.l. *te 'haṃ*.

approach depicting verbal interaction; i.e. no respect-showing or posturing units are included. Again, all occurrences are found in non-sutta narrator passages — in all of the above instances the Buddha is the narrator. In contrast to most part 1 occurrences, however, the characters involved are not “quasi-historical”, for here the person who approaches is the Buddha. It seems that when the Buddha is describing himself approaching someone,²¹⁷ a type A approach formula will be used — a formula which, as seen in part 1, forms a part of the briefer narrative style sometimes used in non-sutta narrator passages. In contrast, type A formulas are never used for approaches described by the sutta narrator, nor for approaches to or by the Buddha which are told by other non-sutta narrators. The persons approached are, however, not specific individuals, but only groups of vague identity; that is, the eight assemblies and some *samaṇas* and brahmins who hold particular views. As no passages in the *Dīgha* have the Buddha describing himself approaching a person of specific identity, it is difficult to tell if an A type formula would be used in such instances.

The three occurrences involving “historical” individuals in part 1, are not of much help here. One (§ xvi. 2.8 [II 93]) is of indefinite use, the second (§ xxiii. 6, 8 [II 320, 323]) depicts Prince Pāyāsi telling the *bhikkhu* Kumārakassapa of his approach to his relatives and friends who hold false views, etc., and the third (§ xxiv. 1.18 [III 15]) has the Buddha telling of the approach of a particular individual to himself. It may, in fact, be the case that, when used to depict approaches to “historical” as opposed to “quasi-historical” figures, that is apart from the Buddha himself, A type formulas are only used for approaches to individuals of vague identity.

III. TYPE B FORMULAS

1. The basic structure of the B type approaches which depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* (henceforth simply called part 2 approaches), is the same as the B type approaches of part 1; that is, a pre-approach, approach, and post-approach are discernable. Part 2 approaches share in common with part 1 approaches some elements or units of meaning appropriate to each of these three divisions; e.g. the *yan nūna* “suppose I” decision to approach of the pre-approach, of necessity and by definition the *yena ... ten’ upasaṃkami (upasaṃkamtivā)* approach element (but even here it is generally to a place rather than to the person), and the *etad avoca* “he said this” verbal interaction post-approach element, and so on. But on the whole, the units of meaning utilised and sequence of events depicted are quite different, and many of the elements found in part 1 would be totally out of place here. For example, the Buddha would not

²¹⁷ And occasionally when he is describing someone approaching himself (see part 1).

be depicted being commanded to approach someone, nor would he be depicted showing respect to anyone.²¹⁸

The employment of particular units and their arrangement, and therefore the wording of a particular formula which describes the Buddha approaching someone, is for the most part determined by the purpose of the approach. Part 2 type B approaches have therefore been classified according to the purpose of the approach and will be discussed accordingly. It is also the case that part 2 type B approaches show greater diversity than their part 1 counterparts and are therefore best discussed in this way.

2. Basic B.1 type formulas.

The basic B.1 or B.1 variant formula of part 1 is also used in a few instances to depict a *bhikkhu* approaching someone.

2.1 In the *Kevaddha-sutta* (xi.) the Buddha tells the householder Kevaddha of a *bhikkhu*'s approach to various *devas* in his quest to have his questions concerning the four elements answered. To get to the *devas* the *bhikkhu* attains a certain concentration and becomes established on the road leading to them.²¹⁹ He then approaches in turn each of the various groups of *devas* and their leaders — 14 approaches in all.²²⁰ The formula used for each of these approaches is:

B.a.1: *atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu yena* [group of *devas*/chief *deva*: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā* [group of *devas*/chief *deva*: acc.] *etad avoca*:

E.g. *atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu yena Cātummahārājikā devā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Cātummahārājike deve etad avoca* (§ xi. 68): “Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* approached the Cātummahārājika *devas*. Having approached, he said this to the Cātummahārājika *devas*:”

In each instance the *bhikkhu* is addressed as *bhikkhu* and the *devas* as *āvuso* “friend”.

2.2 In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (xvi.) the *bhikkhu* Ānanda is twice told to approach the Malla people. In the first instance (§ xvi. 5.19–20) the Buddha tells Ānanda to approach the Mallas to inform them that he will soon attain the *parinibbāna*, and in the second (§ xvi. 6.12) the venerable Anuruddha tells Ānanda to approach the Mallas to inform them that the Buddha has attained the *parinibbāna*. The wording of

²¹⁸ This, however, may be a characteristic of the *Dīgha-nikāya* only; see section III 4.4 below.

²¹⁹ This disappearing-reappearing approach will also be discussed in the analysis of type F formulas (see section IV below).

²²⁰ See references, B formulas B.a.1.

these two passages is almost identical.

The command reads: *gaccha tvam* (*/āvuso*) *Ānanda Kusināraṃ*²²¹ *pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi*: “Go, Ānanda, enter Kusinārā and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā (thus)”. This *gaccha tvam* command phrase has already been discussed in part 1.²²² Assenting to this, Ānanda then dresses, takes his bowl and robe, and enters Kusinārā with an attendant *bhikkhu* (*‘evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato* (*/āyasmato Anuruddhassa*) *paṭissutvā* (*pubbaṅha-samayaṃ*)²²³ *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo Kusināraṃ*²²⁴ *pāvisi*).

Approaches based on a command, and therefore the assent elements also, are relatively common part 1 pre-approach features, but as the Buddha is obviously never commanded, such elements are restricted in part 2 to these two examples referring to a *bhikkhu*. The (*pubbaṅha-samayaṃ*) *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya* “having dressed (in the morning) and taking his bowl and robe” pre-approach element is not found in part 1 approaches but, as will be seen, it is particularly common in part 2 approaches — whenever the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* goes into public, their doing so is nearly always prefixed by this stock description of their preparation. Going with an attendant, here *atta-dutiyo*, or as will be seen in the case of the Buddha, going with a number of *bhikkhus* (e.g. *mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ*), is also quite common in part 2 approaches.

Before depicting the approach the text mentions that the Mallas are assembled in their meeting hall (*tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid* (*/ten’*) *eva karaṇīyena*). The approach and verbal interaction which follow reads:

B.a.2: *atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi*: “Then the venerable Ānanda approached the meeting hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā. Having approached, he informed the Mallas of Kusinārā.”

This closely follows the structure of a B.1 variant formula of part 1. The major difference is that the approach is to the place of the person approached, in this case the Malla’s meeting hall, rather than to the actual persons approached. Although Ānanda only approaches the building, his verbal interaction with the Mallas is immediately portrayed; there thus being no personal approach. As already noted, the use of an approach to the place of the person approached, rather than to the actual person, is

²²¹ § xvi. 5.19 reads *Kusinārāyaṃ* (loc.) with an accusative variant reading. As in the § 6.12 occurrence, *pavisitvā* normally takes the accusative.

²²² See part 1, section III 2.1.5.7.

²²³ § xvi. 6.12 mentions the time at which this occurs.

²²⁴ § xvi. 5.19 reads *Kusinārāyaṃ* (loc.).

particularly common in part 2 approaches — a phenomenon which is quite rare in part 1 approaches.²²⁵ This seems to impart a degree of aloofness to the approaches of the Buddha and his *bhikkhus*.

In both instances Ānanda addresses the Mallas as *Vāsetṭhā*, a clan name, but is not himself addressed.

2.3 In contrast to most other part 2 approaches, there is little to distinguish the approach of the *bhikkhu* to the various *devas* found in the *Kevaddha-sutta* from a part 1 approach. This may be due to the fact that the *bhikkhu* is of only vague identity (*aññatara bhikkhu*) and that the account is a story narrated by the Buddha to illustrate a particular point.

The two approaches of Ānanda to the Mallas conform in part to a part 1 type B approach — being instigated by a command and having similar approach and verbal interaction elements — but differ from them and, as will become increasingly apparent, are characterised as part 2 approaches through the use of the “dressing and taking the bowl and robe” pre-approach element, by the approach being to the place of the approached rather than to the person, and by respect not being shown towards those who are approached.

3. The Buddha goes to a building where the *bhikkhus* are assembled.

3.1 In five instances in the *Dīgha-nikāya* the Buddha is depicted going to the building where the *bhikkhus* are assembled and addressing them. These are listed in the references under B formulas, division b. The basic formula employed here is:

B.b.1: *atha kho Bhagavā ... yena [building: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi.*

E.g. *atha kho Bhagavā yena upaṭṭhāna-sālā ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi* (§ xvi. 3.50 [II 119]): “Then the Blessed One approached the assembly hall. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat. Having sat down, the Blessed One addressed the *bhikkhus*.”

3.2 The pre-approach.

In three instances (§ i. 1.3–4; xiv. 1.1–2, 13–14) the *bhikkhus* are assembled in a round pavilion (*maṇḍala-māla*) engaged in conversation and the Buddha approaches to question them about the subject of their talk. In the first two instances the

²²⁵ See part 1, section VI 4.

Buddha, who is not present, “perceives” their conversation. In the first (§ i. 1.4), the text reads: *atha kho Bhagavā tesam bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ saṅkhiyā-dhammaṃ viditvā yena* “Then the Blessed One, having perceived this conversation²²⁶ of those *bhikkhus*, (approached)”. In the second (§ xiv. 1.2), the Buddha hears their conversation with the divine ear (*assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya tesam bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ*). He then gets up from his seat (*atha kho Bhagavā uṭṭhāy’ āsanā*) and goes to the pavilion where the *bhikkhus* are assembled. Neither of these approach preconditions were encountered in part 1 approaches. In the third case (§ xiv. 1.14), which occurs in the same sutta as the preceding, the Buddha returns to the *bhikkhus* whom he had previously left in conversation. Here the text merely depicts him emerging from his seclusion in the evening before going to the pavilion (*atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṇha-samayam paṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito yena ...*).

The remaining two examples occur in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (§ xvi. 1.6, 3.50). In both instances the Buddha tells Ānanda to assemble the *bhikkhus* who live thereabouts in the assembly hall (*upaṭṭhāna-sālā*). Ānanda does so, then returns and informs the Buddha that they are assembled. The Buddha then approaches the hall to deliver a discourse. The first of these occurrences includes the phrase already encountered which depicts the Buddha getting up from his seat (*atha kho Bhagavā uṭṭhāy’ āsanā*).

As the Buddha going to address the assembled *bhikkhus* is not a public event, the “having dressed, and taking his bowl and robe” phrase is lacking in these approach formulas.

3.3 The approach.

As with the approach of Ānanda to the Mallas discussed above, the *yena ... ten’ upasaṅkami upasaṅkamtivā* core approach element used here, the defining characteristic of B type approaches, is structurally the same as that used in part 1 approaches, but differs fundamentally from it in that it depicts an approach to the place of the approached rather than to the approached themselves.

3.4 The post-approach.

The post-approach consists of a posturing phrase and verbal interaction, which in effect can be understood as being composed of three units:

²²⁶ *Saṅkhiyā-dhamma*: PED “form of talk, trend of talk”; literally it perhaps means “way of enumeration”. The commentary (Sv I 43) glosses it with *kathādhammo*.

(i) *paññatte āsane nisīdi* “(having approached) he sat down on a prepared seat”.

(ii) *nisajja kho Bhagavā* “having sat down, the Blessed One”.

(iii) *bhikkhū āmantesi* “addressed the *bhikkhus*”.

The first two units are not found in part 1 approaches — only the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* have a seat prepared for them. This complete posturing phrase (*paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho*), or sometimes only the first unit occurring alone, is particularly common in part 2 approaches. Structurally it is similar to the *ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno kho* “he sat down to one side. Seated to one side” posturing phrase of part 1 approaches.

The verb *āmantesi* “he addressed (the *bhikkhus*)”, expressing the verbal interaction, has been encountered in part 1 in command structures.²²⁷ When someone commands another to do something or go somewhere, he “addresses” them. It does not, however, occur as a part 1 post-approach element as it does here. As this verb seems to be reserved for superiors speaking to inferiors, it is therefore quite common in part 2 approaches which involve the Buddha.

As is normally the case, the Buddha addresses the *bhikkhus* as *bhikkhave* and is addressed in turn as *bhante*.

4. The Buddha visits an ascetic.

4.1 The *Dīgha-nikāya* contains three accounts of the Buddha visiting an ascetic (*paribbājaka*) in order to question him (§ ix. 2–5; xxiv. 1.1–2; xxv. 6–7). These are listed in the references under B formulas, division c. The basic formula used in these instances is:

B.c.1: *atha kho Bhagavā (yena [place of approached: nom.] (ten' upasaṃkami.)) yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami. atha kho [approached: nom.] Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ²²⁸ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā idam pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idh' āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā, idam āsanaṃ paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. [approached: nom.] pi kho ... aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approached: acc.] Bhagavā etad avoca:*

E.g. *atha kho Bhagavā yena samayappavādako tindukācīro ekasālako Mallikāya ārāmo ten' upasaṃkami. ... atha kho Bhagavā yena Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako ten' upasaṃkami. atha kho Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā idam pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idh' āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā,*

²²⁷ See part 1, section III 2.1.3–5.

²²⁸ v.l. *svāgataṃ*.

idaṃ āsanam paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. Poṭṭhapādo pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Poṭṭhapādam paribbājakam Bhagavā etad avoca (§ ix. 2–5 [I 178–179]): “Then the Blessed One approached Mallikā’s park with its single debating hall near the Tinduka trees. ... Then the Blessed One approached the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda. Then the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda said this to the Blessed One: ‘May the Blessed One come, venerable sir. Welcome to the Blessed One, venerable sir. It is long, venerable sir, since the Blessed One took the opportunity to come here.²²⁹ May the Blessed One, venerable sir, be seated. This seat has been prepared.’ The Blessed One sat down on the prepared seat. Having taken a lower seat, the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda sat down to one side. The Blessed One said this to the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda as he was seated to one side:”

A variant of this has the ascetic speaking to the Buddha first:

B.c.1a: (as B.c.1) *~ekamantaṃ nisinna kho* [approached: nom.] *Bhagavantam etad avoca*:

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinna kho Bhaggavagotto paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca* (§ xxiv. 1.1–2 [III 1–2]): “... Seated to one side, the ascetic Bhaggavagotta said this to the Blessed One:”

4.2 The pre-approach.

The § ix and § xxiv occurrences have virtually the same pre-approach structure. The latter, for example, reads: *atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Anupiyam piṇḍāya pāvīsi. atha kho Bhagavato etad ahoṣi: 'atippago kho tāva Anupiyāya²³⁰ piṇḍāya caritum, yan nūnāham yena Bhaggavagottassa paribbājakassa ārāmo yena Bhaggavagotto paribbājako ten' upasaṃkameyyan' ti*: “Then the Blessed One, having dressed in the morning, and having taken his bowl and robe, entered Anupiyā for alms. Then this occurred to the Blessed One: ‘It is too early to wander for alms in Anupiyā. Suppose I approach the park of the ascetic Bhaggavagotta (and approach) the ascetic Bhaggavagotta.’ (Then the Blessed One approached ...).”

This *yan nūna ... upasaṃkameyyan* “suppose I approach” pre-approach element has been encountered in part 1 approaches.²³¹

²²⁹ *Cirassam kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyam akāsi yadidaṃ idh' āgamanāya*, literally, “after a long time/at last, sir, the fortunate one has taken (‘made’) this course, namely, (for) coming here” (A.K. Warder, 1963, p. 292). Alternative translations for this awkward phrase are: T.W. Rhys Davids (1899, p. 245) “It is long since the Exalted One took the departure of coming our way”, or (1921, p. 7) “... has taken the opportunity to come our way”; I.B. Horner (1954, p. 307) “at last, my good Moggallāna, you have taken this occasion for coming here”; Ñāṇamoli (1977, vol. I, p. 224) “It is long since Master Ānanda came this way”.

²³⁰ This expression ([town: loc./acc.] *piṇḍāya caritum*) alternates between the locative and the accusative. There seems to be no consistency in the PTS editions. M I 1, for example, reads *Rājagahe* (loc.), while M II 7 & 29 read *Rājagahaṃ* (acc.).

²³¹ See part 1, section III 2.1.4.

Apart from different personal and place names, the § ix occurrence differs from the § xxiv occurrence just quoted in that the stock passage which describes the ascetic and his followers engaged in worldly conversation is inserted after the Buddha's approach to the ascetic's park and before he approaches the ascetic. The ascetic sees the Buddha as he approaches and orders his followers to be silent so that the Buddha will think fit to approach. The Buddha then approaches.

The § xxv occurrence has a different pre-approach structure to the two above. In this sutta — the *Udumbarika-sihanāda-sutta* — Sandhāna, a lay follower of the Buddha, sets out to see the Buddha but decides that it is the wrong time and that he will visit the ascetic Nigrodha instead. The ascetic and his followers are engaged in worldly conversation, but seeing Sandhāna coming they become silent. This closely parallels the passage referring to the Buddha just described. Nigrodha and Sandhāna then engage in debate in which Nigrodha disparages the Buddha. The Buddha hears this conversation with the “divine ear” and goes to a place near to the ascetics' park and paces up and down in the open. The text reads: *assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya Sandhānassa gahapatissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā yena Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami* “With the divine ear, purified, surpassing the human, the Blessed One heard this conversation between the householder Sandhāna and the ascetic Nigrodha. Then the Blessed One, having descended from the Vulture's Peak mountain, approached the Peacocks' Feeding-ground on the bank of the Sumāgadhā (tank). Having approached, he paced up and down in the open in the Peacocks' Feeding-ground on the bank of the Sumāgadhā (tank)”.

Nigrodha sees the Buddha pacing up and down and orders his followers to remain silent. The Buddha then approaches. As the Buddha is going into public here, we would have expected the stock phrase describing him dressing and taking his bowl and robe to have been included.

4.3 The approach.

In all three occurrences the Buddha approaches the place where the ascetic is, or in the case of § xxv a place near the ascetics' park, then approaches the ascetic. In § xxiv and § xxv this follows the expressing of the Buddha's thought to approach both the place and the person; e.g. *yan nūnāhaṃ yena Bhaggavagottassa paribbājakassa ārāmo yena Bhaggavagotto paribbājako ten' upasaṃkameyyan*. In the § xxiv occurrence the approach to the ascetic immediately follows the approach to the park he inhabits, whereas the § ix and § xxv occurrences both have further information inserted

between the approach to place and the approach to the person. This is the normal point at which additional information is added (see 5.3 below). Both these forms were encountered in part 1 approaches.

4.4 The post-approach.

The structure of the post-approach can be analysed in the following way:

(i) the welcoming speech of the ascetic: e.g. *atha kho Poṭṭhapādo paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idh' āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā, idam āsanaṃ paññattan' ti.*

(ii) the Buddha sits down: *nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane.*

(iii) the ascetic takes a lower seat and sits down: e.g. *Poṭṭhapādo pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.*

(iv) verbal interaction: e.g. (a.) *ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Poṭṭhapādam paribbājakaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca;* (b.) *ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Bhaggavagotto paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca.*

The welcoming speech of the person who is approached, in this case the ascetic, is only found in this class of formula. The Buddha's sitting down on a prepared seat (*nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane*) has been encountered in the previous formula (B.b.1) which depicts the Buddha going to a building where the *bhikkhus* are assembled and addressing them (in the form *Bhagavā paññatte āsane nisīdi*). The taking of a lower seat which follows is not found in part 1 approaches but occurs in passages which depict the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* going to an offered meal (discussed below). On that occasion, the person who is giving the meal takes a lower seat after he or she has fed the Buddha and the *bhikkhus*. The *ekamantaṃ nisīdi ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ/nisinno kho* posturing phrase followed by the *etad avoca* verbal interaction unit are common features of part 1 approaches, being applied, however, to the one approaching rather than the one approached as is the case here.

The various gestures and actions expressed in the post-approach suggest humility and respect on the part of the ascetic towards the Buddha. In each case the ascetic addresses the Buddha as *bhante* and refers to him as the *Bhagavā*, his welcoming speech is in the third person singular: "May the Blessed One come ... Let the Blessed One sit down", and he takes a lower seat than the Buddha when he sits down.²³²

The use of *bhante* "venerable sir" is particularly unusual as a form of address used by an ascetic towards the Buddha, as is the ascetic referring to the Buddha as

²³² Cf. N. Wagle, 1966, pp. 50–51.

Bhagavā “the Blessed One” in his welcoming speech.²³³ It was seen in part 1 that whenever an ascetic, a brahman or a person of another persuasion is depicted approaching the Buddha, they show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and address the Buddha as *bho Gotama* “honourable Gotama”. The use of *bhante* was seen to be connected with the showing of the *abhivādetvā* respect form, with both respect and address forms being shown by those who have faith in the Buddha. In the current situation, the *bhante* form of address is not merely used in the ascetic’s welcoming speech, but also throughout the whole of his interaction with the Buddha even though he refers to the Buddha as the *samaṇa Gotama* when talking to his fellow ascetics. Usually, those who refer to the Buddha in this way address him as *bho Gotama*. In the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta*, in which one of these encounters occurs, the ascetic later pays a visit to the Buddha (§ ix. 32 [I 190]). In this approach he shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form as normally expected but continues to address the Buddha as *bhante*. This anomaly was noted in our discussion of that approach in part 1.²³⁴

This formula, or sometimes a slightly modified version of it, is also found a number of times in other nikāyas²³⁵ used to describe the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* visiting an ascetic, a brahman, or even a god. The occurrences describing the Buddha approaching an ascetic likewise have the ascetic addressing him as *bhante*,²³⁶ but where Ānanda visits an ascetic, or once a brahman,²³⁷ he is addressed as *bho Ānanda* and referred to as *bhavaṃ Ānanda* in the welcoming speech — the forms we would expect in encounters such as these. There therefore seems to be something odd about the use of the *bhante* and *Bhagavā* forms throughout these passages which describe the Buddha visiting an ascetic. We would rather expect the ascetic’s welcoming speech to read: *‘etu kho bhavaṃ Gotamo, sāgataṃ bhoto Gotamassa, cirassaṃ kho bhavaṃ Gotamo imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yadidaṃ idh’ āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhavaṃ Gotamo, idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan’ ti.*

The taking of a lower seat by the ascetic is likewise a sign of respect, if not submissiveness, and hence seems an unusual gesture for an ideological opponent to show. Apart from the current situation, the taking of a lower seat in a visitor’s presence is only found in one other situation in the principal Pāli texts. This, as previously mentioned, occurs in the formula used to depict a donor giving a meal to the Buddha and his *bhikkhus*. But even here, it seems to be only the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Udāna*, and *Sutta-nipāta* occurrences²³⁸ which include this phrase, with the *Vinaya* and *Ānguttara*

²³³ Note also the use of *etu bhante Bhagavā*; cf., for example, D III 62 *ehi kho mahārāja, sāgataṃ mahārāja*. But cf. the S I 142 and A III 332 occurrences which describe approaches to gods and have the gods addressing the Buddha with *ehi kho mārisa*.

²³⁴ See part 1, section IV 2.

²³⁵ M I 252, 326, 481–482, 513–514; II 1–2, 29–30; III 7–8; S I 142; A III 332.

²³⁶ E.g. M I 481–482; II 1–2, 29–30.

²³⁷ M I 513–514; III 7–8.

²³⁸ D I 109, 125, 149, 227; II 88, 97; M I 236, 393; II 50, 93, [146]; III 145; Ud 39, 89; Sn p. 111.

occurrences²³⁹ only mentioning that the donor sits down to one side.²⁴⁰

Now the formula describing the Buddha visiting an ascetic is only found in the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhima-nikāyas*. Two approaches in the *Samyutta* and *Ānguttara* do, in fact, utilise modified versions of this formula, but these depict the Buddha (S I 142) and a *bhikkhu* (A III 332) approaching *devas*. In both cases, the “taking of a lower seat” phrase is not included.²⁴¹ In contrast, the *Samyutta* and *Ānguttara* employ an alternative formula to depict the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* visiting an ascetic.²⁴² In all occurrences of this formula the Buddha or *bhikkhu* goes into town for alms but, as it is too early, decides to visit an ascetic instead. This pre-approach is the same as that of the § ix and § xxiv *Dīgha* occurrences. The text then reads: (e.g. S II 32–33) *atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto yena aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ ārāmo ten’ upasaṃkhami, upasaṃkhamitvā tehi aññatitthiyehi paribbājakehi saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Sāriputtaṃ te aññatitthiyā paribbājakā etad avocum:* “Then the venerable Sāriputta approached the park of the ascetics of another sect. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with the ascetics of another sect and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with them), sat down to one side. Those ascetics of another sect said this to the venerable Sāriputta as he was seated to one side:”. This is the same as a B.4a formula of part 1. One occurrence sees the Buddha describing himself visiting some ascetics. On this occasion (S II 35) the ascetics address the Buddha as *āvuso Gotama*, a form similar to the expected *bho Gotama*.

Thus the Buddha being addressed as *bhante* and referred to as the *Bhagavā* by the ascetic, and the ascetic taking a lower seat, are peculiar to the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* formulas. Again, apart from two occurrences in the *Udāna* and one in the *Suttanipāta*,²⁴³ the taking of a lower seat on the occasion of giving a meal likewise only occurs in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima*. Apart from indicating that the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* share the same diction (with regard to these formulas at least), this distinction between

²³⁹ Vin I 18, 38, 213, 218, 223, 229, 233, 238, 243, 246, 292; II 128, 147, 158, 164; III 11; A II 63; III 37; IV 64, 188. There are only a few *Samyutta* occurrences. S IV 122–123 depicts a brahman woman giving a meal to a *bhikkhu* on two occasions. On the first occasion she covers her head up and sits down on a higher seat after the meal, then requests the *bhikkhu* to speak on Dhamma. He refrains from doing so and departs. Her messenger informs her of the disrespect she had shown and she then invites the *bhikkhu* for another meal. This time she uncovers her head and sits down on a lower seat. The *bhikkhu* then preaches. S IV 284–289 contains a number of offered meals, the wording of which diverges from the norm.

²⁴⁰ There are also other differences in this formula which indicate slightly different traditions amongst the Pāli texts (see the next section).

²⁴¹ The M I 252 & 326 occurrences also describe approaches to gods and exclude this phrase.

²⁴² S II 32–33, 35; V 108–109, 115; A IV 35, 37; V 48–49.

²⁴³ Ud 39, 89; Sn p. 111. Both these texts seem to parallel the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* in the diction of their prose passages. This was also seen in the example of Māra’s approach to the Buddha in which the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* both have Māra standing to one side before speaking while the *Samyutta* and *Ānguttara* occurrences do not (see part 1, section III 4.5.4).

the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* (also *Udāna* and *Sutta-nipāta*) on the one hand, and the *Samyutta* and *Aṅguttara*, and *Vinaya* on the other hand, raises the possibility that Pāli texts were organised according to purpose as well as according to length.

In her article “Categories of Sutta in the Pāli Nikāyas and their implications for our appreciation of the Buddhist teaching and literature”,²⁴⁴ B.J. Manné drew attention to this possibility based on her analysis of the categories of sutta found in the *Dīgha*- and *Majjhima-nikāyas*. The formula describing the Buddha visiting an ascetic (B.c.1) is found in suttas which she classifies as Debate suttas. On the basis of the *Dīgha* containing a high proportion of Debate suttas — that is suttas which depict the Buddha debating with an ascetic, etc., and thus being shown in the process to be superior to those of other beliefs — Manné concluded that the purpose of the *Dīgha* was to attract converts. In contrast, the *Majjhima* contained “most of the intimate biographical suttas ... as well as suttas about the Tathāgata and how to relate to him”.²⁴⁵ From this (and other factors) she concluded that the purpose of the *Majjhima* was “the presentation of the Leader, both as a real person and an archetype (a Tathāgata), and the integration of new monks into the community and into the practice”.²⁴⁶

The current research shows that the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* both employ the same distinct formula to depict the Buddha (or a *bhikkhu*) visiting an ascetic, and that this formula contains particular terms and gestures — the Buddha is addressed as *bhante* and referred to as *Bhagavā* (even though this is contrary to the norm), and the ascetic takes a lower seat — which portray the ascetic showing an unusually high degree of respect, which thus places the Buddha (or *bhikkhu*) in a most favourable light. This neither supports nor refutes the *Dīgha*–*Majjhima* distinction proposed by Manné, but rather indicates a major *Dīgha*–*Majjhima*–*Samyutta*–*Aṅguttara*–*Vinaya* distinction, with the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* apparently functioning to arouse faith in the Buddha, and thereby attract and encourage converts, in contrast to the *Samyutta* and *Aṅguttara* whose purpose it was to present the teaching in a concentrated and systematic manner, and the *Vinaya* which concerned itself with disciplinary matters. When recording encounters with ascetics the authors or redactors of the *Samyutta*, *Aṅguttara* and *Vinaya* thus considered it unnecessary to portray the Buddha being honoured in such an exaggerated manner and so used a straight forward B.4 type formula on such occasions, with the Buddha being addressed with the more usual *bho Gotama*. In the same way, when compiling the *Aṅguttara* and *Vinaya* it was not consider necessary to depict the donor taking a lower seat after he or she had fed the Buddha and *bhikkhus*.

²⁴⁴ B.J. Manné, 1990.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5. The Buddha goes to an offered meal.²⁴⁷

5.1 The *Dīgha-nikāya* contains seven passages which depict the Buddha and *bhikkhus* being invited to a meal. These are listed in the references under B formulas, division d.

On two occasions (§ xvi. 2.19; 4.18) the meal is given by lay followers of the Buddha (Ambapālī and Cunda), once (§ xvi. 1.30–31) the hosts are the two chief ministers of Magadha, and in the remaining four occurrences the hosts are brahmins (§ iii. 2.20–21; iv. 25; v. 30; xii. 7–9).

The invitation by the host, or a messenger on behalf of the host, and the acceptance of it by the Buddha follow a set pattern. The invitation reads: *adhivāsetu (ca) me (/no) bhavaṃ Gotama (/bhante Bhagavā) svātanāya (/ajjatanāya) bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti* “May the honourable Gotama (/the Blessed One, venerable sir,) accept tomorrow’s (/today’s) meal from me (/us), together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*”.²⁴⁸ The Buddha shows his acceptance in the standard manner by remaining silent (*adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṅhī-bhāvena*).

The text then depicts the person who has offered the meal getting up from his or her seat, paying respect to the Buddha and departing. Having prepared the meal, they inform the Buddha that it is ready. There is some variation in the wording of these passages, but for the most part they likewise follow a particular pattern. A discussion of these passages is not relevant here.

The formula used to depict the Buddha going to the meal reads:

B.d.1: *atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena* [place (nom.) of host (gen.)] *ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho* [host: nom.] *Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paññitena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. atha kho* [host: nom.] *Bhagavantam bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ*²⁴⁹ *aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [host: acc.] *Bhagavā etad avoca:*

E.g. *atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Sālavatikā ten’ upasaṃkami. ... atha kho Bhagavā yena Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa nivesanaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho Lohicco brāhmaṇo Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paññitena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. atha kho Lohicco brāhmaṇo Bhagavantam bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Lohiccaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca* (§ xii. 7–9 [I 226–227]): “Then the Blessed One, having dressed in the

²⁴⁷ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 16 “Einladung und Bewirtung”.

²⁴⁸ The one occurrence where the invitation is conveyed by a messenger (§ xii. 5) reads: *adhivāsetu kira bhante Bhagavā Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti*.

²⁴⁹ v.l. *onīta-*.

morning, and having taken his bowl and robe, approached Sālavatikā with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. ... Then the Blessed One approached the house of the brahman Lohicca. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat. Then the brahman Lohicca personally satisfied and served the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* headed by the Buddha with the finest hard and soft food. Then, when the Blessed One had finished his meal and had washed his bowl and hands, the brahman Lohicca took a lower seat and sat down to one side. The Blessed One said this to the brahman Lohicca as he was seated to one side:”

Most occurrences follow this reading down to *~ekamantaṃ nisīdi* “the brahman (etc.) sat down to one side”. A variety of verbal interaction units are then possible. These will be discussed in the post-approach section below.

5.2 The pre-approach.

The *pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya* “having dressed in the morning, and taking his bowl and robe” phrase has already been encountered as a common feature of part 2 approaches as a preparation for going into public.

5.3 The approach.

The next unit, *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* “together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*”, that is the Buddha approached the house of his host with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, really belongs to the approach. It is a phrase commonly included in passages which describe the Buddha or a chief disciple (or even someone else) going somewhere. However, the form in which it occurs here is unusual, for the prepositional adverb *saddhiṃ* “together with” is normally preceded by the associative instrumental phrase it supplements. So, for example, we find the following: *atha kho Bhagavā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ yena Mahāvanaṃ kūṭāgāra-sālā ten’ upasaṃkami* ... “Then the Blessed One approached the peaked-roofed hall in the Great Forest together with the venerable Ānanda” (D II 119), or *atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Pāṭaligāmo tad avasari* “Then the Blessed One arrived at Pāṭaligāma with a great *bhikkhu-saṃgha*” (D II 84). We do, however, find units in adjectival relationship to *bhikkhu-saṃghena* being placed after *saddhiṃ*; e.g. *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahākassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi* “At that time the venerable Mahākassapa was travelling on the road from Pāvā to Kusinārā together with a great *bhikkhu-saṃgha* (consisting of) 500 *bhikkhus*” (D II 162).

Apart from its occurrence in the formula under review, the form *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* seems to only occur in the formula used to depict the Buddha going

to a rest-house or hall which has been offered to him for his use; e.g. *atha kho Bhagavā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena yena santhāgāram ten' upasaṃkami* (D III 208) “Then the Blessed One, having dressed and taking his bowl and robe, approached the meeting hall together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*”.

The phrase which depicts the offering of the meal reads, for example, *adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti* “May the Blessed One, venerable sir, accept tomorrow’s meal from me, together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*” (D II 95), with *bhikkhu-saṃghena* likewise following *saddhim*. This suggests that the wording of the meal-offering phrase has influenced the wording of the following phrase which describes the Buddha going to the offered meal.

Unfortunately, the wording of the phrase which describes the offering of the rest-house (occurring only once in the *Dīgha*) does not support this, for it merely reads *adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāran ti* (D II 84). It thus omits the *saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit even though it appears in the approach formula which follows. The *Udāna* parallel to this passage has the same reading (Ud 86), but the *Vinaya* parallel (Vin I 226) reads: *adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāram saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti*, which suggests that this unit is at least implicit in this hall-offering phrase.

Most occurrences of the phrase which depicts the offering of a meal found in the major Pāli texts read: *adhivāsetu ... bhattaṃ saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti*. But the various texts differ as to the placement of the *saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit in the following phrase which describes the Buddha going to the meal. Whereas the *Dīgha* and *Udāna*²⁵⁰ read *atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena yena [house of host] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho~* (“Then the Blessed One, having dressed in the morning, and having taken his bowl and robe, approached the house of the host together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat”), the *Vinaya*, *Majjhima*, *Aṅguttara*, and *Sutta-nipāta*²⁵¹ read *atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya yena [house of host] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena. atha kho~* (“Then the Blessed One, having dressed in the morning, and having taken his bowl and robe, approached the house of the host. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat together with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*”). The latter group thus associates the *saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit with the verb *nisīdi* rather than *upasaṃkami*. They thereby associate this unit with a different verb.

The actual approach unit of all but one of the *Dīgha* occurrences is

²⁵⁰ Ud 82, 89.

²⁵¹ E.g. Vin I 217–218; M II 146; A IV 187; Sn p. 111. There are also a number of variants found throughout these texts. The *Samyutta* formulas are of this variant class.

straightforward, depicting an approach to the house, abode, etc., of the donor: *yena* [place (nom.) of host (gen.)] *ten' upasaṃkamaḥ, upasaṃkamtivā*; e.g. ... *yena Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaḥ, upasaṃkamtivā* “(then the Blessed One) approached the house of the brahman Lohicca. Having approached ...”. A variety of terms for the abode, etc., of the host are utilised on these occasions: *nivesana* (house/abode), *parivesanā* (place of food distribution), *āvasatha* (abode), and *yaññāvāṭa* (place of sacrifice) are recorded. The first two are by far the most common terms found throughout the Pāli canon in such instances with one often being the variant reading of the other.²⁵²

The one occurrence which diverges from this straightforward approach is § xii. 7–9 quoted at the beginning as an example of this formula. Here the Buddha is first depicted approaching the village of his brahman host (*yena Sālavatikā ten' upasaṃkamaḥ*). Then a passage which depicts the brahman's messenger, who is accompanying the Buddha, informing him of the false view held by his brahman master is inserted, before the Buddha approaching the house of the brahman is presented.

If it is felt that additional information about the circumstances of the approach or concerning the person approached is needed, then such information is usually added after the approach to the place and before the approach to the person. This phenomenon was encountered a number of times in part 1 approaches.²⁵³ It has been encountered so far in part 2 approaches in the two approaches which describe Ānanda going to the Mallas to inform them of the Buddha's *parinibbāna* and in the formula used to depict the Buddha visiting an ascetic. As a straight forward approach to the place of the donor is the norm amongst formulas depicting the Buddha going to an invited meal, it seems that an approach to the village of the brahman was inserted in § xii. 7–9 so as to provide an appropriate point at which to insert the additional information that was deemed necessary to mention. As is the case here, such insertions regularly begin with *tena kho pana samayena* “at that time”.

5.4 The post-approach.

The post-approach can be understood to be composed of the following units:

(i) *paññatte āsane nisīdi* “(the Buddha) sat down on a prepared seat”.

This has been encountered before. It is probably the most characteristic unit of part 2 approaches.

²⁵² Occasionally other terms are also interchangeable. D II 88 has *āvasatha* as does its *Udāna* parallel (Ud 89), but the *Vinaya* parallel reads *parivesanā* (Vin I 229).

²⁵³ See part 1, section III 3.1.3–4.

(ii) *atha kho* [host: nom.] *Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi.*

E.g. *atha kho Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo*²⁵⁴ *Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi* (§ iv. 25 [I 125]): “Then the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa personally satisfied and served the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* headed by the Buddha with the finest hard and soft food.”

A variation on this reads: *atha kho brāhmaṇo Pokkharasādi Bhagavantam paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi, mānavakā ca bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ* (§ iii. 2.20 [I 109]) “Then the brahman Pokkharasādi personally satisfied and served the Blessed One with the finest hard and soft food, and the young brahmans (fed) the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*”.

This phrase only occurs in this context and the verbs *santappesi sampavāresi* seem to only occur in this phrase. Buddhaghosa comments on these two verbs in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*.²⁵⁵ His commentary reads: *santappetvā ti sutṭhu tappetvā, paripunṇaṃ suhitam yāvadatthaṃ katvā. sampavāretvā ti sutṭhu pavāretvā, ‘alam alan’ ti hattha-saññāya paṭikkhipāpetvā* “Having satisfied is having well satisfied, having made (him) completely full and satiated according to (his) need. Having served is having served him well, having (literally:) made him refuse (any more) by his showing the hand gesture (which meant) ‘enough, enough’ ”.

What is particularly interesting about this gloss is that Buddhaghosa is commenting on the absolutive forms of these verbs as if they were the forms he encountered in the *Dīgha*. The significance of this is heightened if it is observed that the *Sutta-piṭaka* texts, that is the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta*, *Ānguttara*, *Udāna*, and *Sutta-nipāta* occurrences, all read *santappesi sampavāresi*, while the *Vinaya* consistently has the absolutive forms *santappetvā sampavāretvā*.²⁵⁶ Vin I 233, which parallels D § xvi. 19 [II 97], reads for example: *atha kho Ambapālī gaṇikā Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdi.*

The two most plausible explanations for this discrepancy between the reading of the *Dīgha* and Buddhaghosa’s commentary on it are:

(1) Buddhaghosa had *santappesi sampavāresi* before him but was importing *santappetvā sampavāretvā* from his knowledge of the *Vinaya* and from its commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā*, (written by him prior to his writing of the commentary on the *Dīgha*?) or the Sinhalese commentary or commentaries upon which the *Samantapāsādikā* is based.

²⁵⁴ Contrary to the norm, the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* has *brāhmaṇo Pokkharasādi*, i.e. *brāhmaṇo* precedes the proper noun it qualifies.

²⁵⁵ Sv I 277,13–16 (cty on D § iii. 2.20 [I 109]).

²⁵⁶ The Ud 89 occurrence reads *santappetvā sampavāresuṃ*, which is probably a w.r.

(2) The reading of the *Dīgha* as Buddhaghosa found it was *santappetvā sampavāretvā* and the *santappesi sampavāresi* forms are later modifications.

The commentary on this phrase, and these two verbs, in the *Samantapāsādikā*²⁵⁷ is virtually identical to the *Dīgha* commentary, differing only in that it adds *mukhasaññāya vacībhedena ca* after *hatthasaññāya*; i.e. the reading is *hatthasaññāya mukhasaññāya vacībhedena ca paṭikkhipāpetvā* — a difference of no significance here. This supports the view that the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* passage was borrowed from the *Samantapāsādikā* or the Sinhalese commentary or commentaries used by both (that is, if we take it that the *Dīgha* reading was *santappesi sampavāresi*).

Three other *Sutta-piṭaka* commentaries also pay attention to these two verbs. They are:

(i) Buddhaghosa's *Papañcasūdanī*, his commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*.²⁵⁸ The wording follows that of the *Dīgha* commentary.

(ii) Buddhaghosa's *Sāratthappakāsinī*, the commentary on the *Samyutta-nikāya*.²⁵⁹ It reads: *santappesī ti yath' icchakaṃ katvā sutṭhu tappesi. sampavāresī ti 'alam alan' ti hattha-saññāya c'eva vācāya ca paṭisedheti* (v.l. *paṭivedeti /paṭikkhipāpesi*).

(iii) Dhammapāla's *Paramatthadīpanī*, the commentary on the *Udāna*.²⁶⁰ It reads: *santappesī (ti) paṭiyattaṃ bhojanaṃ bhojesi. sampavāresī ti 'alam alan' ti vācāya paṭikkhipāpesi*.

Thus the *Vinaya*, *Dīgha*, and *Majjhima* commentaries read *santappetvā sampavāretvā*, while the *Samyutta* and *Udāna* commentaries read *santappesi sampavāresi*. Now, as the *Samyutta* commentary is also thought to have been written by Buddhaghosa, it seems that the first of the two hypotheses advanced to explain the discrepancy is the most convincing. That is, if we take it that Buddhaghosa is the author of the Sp, then he first commented on this phrase and these two verbs when he wrote the Sp. The forms he encountered in the *Vinaya* were *santappetvā sampavāretvā* and he quoted them as such in the Sp. When he wrote the commentaries on the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* texts, and thus upon this common formula, he merely imported his earlier material virtually word for word even though he encountered the finite verb forms in these texts. Alternatively, if he is not the author of the Sp, then he imported these forms from the Sp or the Sinhalese commentaries. It would seem that when he later came to comment on the *Samyutta* he no longer followed his previous commentaries so closely — as the wording of his paraphrase as a whole indicates — and thus quoted the forms as he found them.²⁶¹ Dhammapāla for his part was not bound or influenced by any

²⁵⁷ Sp I 200,12–15 (cty on Vin III 11).

²⁵⁸ Ps II 283, 7–9 (cty on M I 236).

²⁵⁹ Spk III 91, 25–27 (cty on S IV 285).

²⁶⁰ Ud-a 242, 24–26 (cty on Ud 38).

²⁶¹ It would be interesting to see if this holds true for the *Samyutta* commentary as a whole. The

previous commentary he had written, though he has clearly paid attention to Buddhaghosa's writings.

The second and alternative explanation is that the reading of the *Sutta-piṭaka* texts was *santappetvā sampavāretvā* at the time when Buddhaghosa wrote his commentary on the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* but had been changed to *santappesi sampavāresi* by the time he and Dhammapāla came to write commentaries on the *Samyutta* and *Udāna* respectively. The most plausible explanation for such a possible change is that the phrase depicting the taking of a lower seat (*aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā*) was inserted and that the redactors preferred to recast the two verbs in their finite form and resume a new sentence with *atha kho~*, thereby reading *atha kho* [host: nom.] *Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-samghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojanīyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. atha kho* [host: nom.] *Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi* rather than *atha kho* [host: nom.] *Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-samghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojanīyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdi*.

That *aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā* is a later insertion — an insertion perhaps made in response to a changing emphasis in the function of these texts — is tentatively supported by the fact that Buddhaghosa nowhere comments on this phrase, though Dhammapāla, the later commentator, does.²⁶² Absence of comment does not, of course, prove absence in the text for Buddhaghosa may merely have considered it unworthy of comment.

However, this second possibility seems implausible in the light of the fact that neither the *Samyutta* nor the *Āṅguttara* included the “taking of a lower seat” phrase. There was therefore no reason to recast the readings of these texts.

(iii) *atha kho* [host: nom.] *Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ*.

E.g. *atha kho Lohicca brāhmaṇo Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ* (§ xii. 7–9 [I 226–227]): “Then, when the Blessed One had finished his meal and had washed his bowl and hands, the brahman Lohicca ...”

Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ is taken here as an accusative absolute following K.R. Norman.²⁶³ An alternative explanation is that a verb expressing seeing/knowing/recognising such as *√vid* (*viditvā*) is to be understood here, as seen in Buddhaghosa's paraphrase of this phrase with *bhagavantaṃ bhuttavantaṃ pattato ca*

chronology presented here of the *Samantapāsādikā* preceding the writing of the *Sāratthappakāsinī* is, however, far from being certain.

²⁶² Ud-a 242 (cty on Ud 38–39) reads: *nīcam ti anuccaṃ āsanam gahetvā ...*

²⁶³ K.R. Norman, 1975, pp. 22–23 (= *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 1990, pp. 210–211).

apanītapāṇiṃ sallakkhetvā “having recognised that the Blessed One had finished his meal and that his hands were away from his bowl”.²⁶⁴ The redactors of the Central Asian Buddhist Sanskrit texts certainly felt they needed such a verb. MPS 6.9, for example, reads *bhagavantam bhuktavantam viditvā dhautahastam apanītapātram* “having recognised that the Blessed One had finished his meal, that his hands were washed and his bowl put aside”.

Although the commentaries take the *onīta* element of *onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ* to be *apanīta* “removed”, as do many translators, T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg in their translation of the *Vinaya*,²⁶⁵ and K.R. Norman in a more detailed study,²⁶⁶ take it to be from *avanīta*, the text thus meaning that the Buddha had washed his bowl and hands. This meaning was also understood by some of the commentaries to be implicit in this phrase. For example, Ps II 283,13–14 = Sv I 277,21–22 reads: *hatthe ca pattañ ca dhovitvā ekamante pattaṃ nikkhipitvā nisinnan ti attho* “having washed his hands and bowl, and having put his bowl to one side, being seated, is the meaning”, and Ud-a 242,27–28 reads: *dhota-patta-pāṇin ti pi pāṭho. dhota-patta-hatthan ti attho* “*dhota-patta-pāṇiṃ* is an alternative reading. The bowl and hands were washed is the meaning”. As seen in the above quote the MPS once again gave expression to this.

(iv) *aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā* “having taken a lower seat”.

This phrase and its occurrences throughout the various Pāli texts were discussed above in the analysis of the formula which depicts the Buddha visiting an ascetic. In that discussion it was seen that it was only the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Udāna* and *Sutta-nipāta* occurrences of the “going to an invited meal” approach formula which utilised this phrase, with the *Vinaya* and *Aṅguttara* only mentioning that the donor sits down to one side (... *Bhagavantam bhuttāviṃ onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdi*).

Some translators take this phrase to mean “taking a lower stool”.²⁶⁷ In a similar vein, the *Udānaṭṭhakathā*, the only text which seems to comment on this phrase, has *so pana Satthu santike upacāra-vasena paññattassa dāru-phalakāsanassa samīpe nisīdi* “he sat down in the presence of the teacher on a wooden bench designated according to use”.²⁶⁸

(v) *ekamantaṃ nisīdi* “(having taken a lower seat, the host) sat down to one side”.

There is no need to comment on this common unit.

²⁶⁴ Sp 973,31–974,2 (cty on Vin I 38–39).

²⁶⁵ T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, 1881, p. 83, nt. 2.

²⁶⁶ K.R. Norman, 1979, pp. 45–46 (= *Collected Papers*, vol. II, 1991, pp. 123–124).

²⁶⁷ E.g. M. Walshe, 1987, p. 132.

²⁶⁸ Ud-a 242.

(vi) verbal interaction.

A unit expressing verbal interaction now follows. The *Dīgha* occurrences exhibit a variety of forms here, with only two occurrences sharing the same verbal interaction unit. The majority depict the Buddha speaking to the host first. The forms found in the *Dīgha* are:

(1)²⁶⁹ *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [host: acc.] *Bhagavā etad avoca*:

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Lohiccaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca* (§ xii. 9 [I 226–227]): “The Blessed One said this to the brahman Lohicca as he was seated to one side:”

This occurs once. It employs units commonly encountered in approach formulas.

The brahman Lohicca hears about the qualities of the Buddha who has just arrived in his village. He sends a messenger out to invite him for a meal. The brahman prepares the meal then sends his messenger to inform the Buddha that the meal is ready. The Buddha dresses, etc. and goes to the brahman’s village. At this point a passage is inserted depicting the messenger who is accompanying the Buddha informing him of the brahman’s false view. Once the meal is over the Buddha then questions the brahman about this. This results in the brahman becoming a lay follower of the Buddha. The Buddha addresses the brahman as *brāhmaṇa*, a term of social grouping, and is addressed as *bho Gotama*.

(1a) *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho* [host: nom.] *Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā (uṭṭhāy’ āsanā pakkāmi)*.

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Kūṭadantaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā (uṭṭhāy’ āsanā pakkāmi)* (§ v. 30 [I 148–149]): “The Blessed One, having instructed, urged, aroused, and encouraged the brahman Kūṭadanta with talk on the Dhamma as he was seated to one side, (got up from his seat and departed).”

These four verbs occurring together are similar to the two verbs *santappesi sampavāresi* discussed earlier. We have here a sequence of verbs of 4+5+5+5 syllables with alliteration being obvious.²⁷⁰

The *uṭṭhāy’ āsanā pakkāmi* “having got up from his seat, he departed” unit really belongs to a discussion of departures.

²⁶⁹ These numbers (1, 1a, etc.) follow the classification and listing of these formulas in the references section.

²⁷⁰ These structures will be discussed in Study 2.

This phrase as a whole occurs only once as the verbal interaction form which immediately follows the giving of the meal. It occurs a number of times, however, as the conclusion to the interaction which has taken place after such a meal. These will be discussed where appropriate.

With this brief phrase the interaction is brought quickly to a close. This contrasts with most other meal-giving passages which portray the interaction which follows the meal in greater detail. The sutta in which this occurs, the *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, depicts the brahman Kūṭadanta hearing that the Buddha had arrived in his town. Despite his fellow brahman's attempt to dissuade him, Kūṭadanta goes to see the Buddha along with many other brahmans and householders. Various forms of respect are shown, with Kūṭadanta himself showing the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form. He addresses the Buddha as *bho Gotama* throughout and is himself addressed as *brāhmaṇa*.²⁷¹ The discussion which follows results in the brahman's conversion to lay status and subsequent insight into the doctrine. The sutta then concludes with Kūṭadanta inviting the Buddha for a meal. This contrasts with the *Lohicca-sutta* just described where the conversation which follows the meal results in the brahman's conversion. A detailed description of the conversation which follows the meal is thus unnecessary in the *Kūṭadanta-sutta*.

(1b) *~ekamantaṃ nisinnassa kho* [approached: dat./gen.] *Bhagavā ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi ...*

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinnassa kho brāhmaṇassa Pokkharasādissa Bhagavā ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi ...* (§ iii. 2.20–21 [I 109–110]): “The Blessed One instructed the brahman Pokkharasādi with gradual talk (on the Dhamma) as he was seated to one side ...”

Pokkharasādi had earlier sent his student Ambaṭṭha to the Buddha to see if he had the marks of a great man. Ambaṭṭha had returned and informed him that he did. Pokkharasādi then prepares food, loads it on carts and goes to see the Buddha. He sees for himself that the Buddha has the marks of a great man and invites him for a meal, which is given then and there. After the meal the Buddha delivers a talk on the Dhamma. The text elaborates on the nature of this “gradual talk”. The verbal interaction presented here therefore belongs to a much larger formula. This “giving of a gradual talk” formula will not be discussed here.

The present formula was encountered in part 1.²⁷² It occurs three times in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* to depict the interaction between Vipassī Buddha and various individuals who visit him. In these instances the visitors show the *abhivādetvā* respect

²⁷¹ This approach was discussed in part 1. See part 1, section IV 2.2. The formula used was classified as C.2.

²⁷² See part 1, section III 4.5.15.

form towards Vipassī Buddha and address him as *bhante*, but are not themselves addressed. In the current case, the brahman addresses the Buddha as *bho Gotama* and is addressed as *brāhmaṇa*.

This gradual talk on the Dhamma results in the brahman's conversion to lay status. In the three *Mahāpadāna-sutta* occurrences it resulted in the listeners leaving the houselife and becoming *bhikkhus*.

(1c) *~ekamantaṃ nisinne kho* [host acc.] *Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi*:

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinne kho Sunīdha-Vassakāre Magadha-mahāmatte Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi* (§ xvi. 1.30–31 [II 88]): “The Blessed One thanked Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, with these verses as they were seated to one side:”

The Buddha thanks Sunīdha and Vassakāra for the meal by chanting three verses which extol the benefit of honouring the *devas*. He then gets up from his seat and departs (*atha kho Bhagavā Sunīdha-Vassakāre Magadha-mahāmatte imāhi gāthāhi anumoditvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi*).

This *imāhi gāthāhi anumodi* unit has not been encountered before. Apart from the current situation, this expression is also used a number of times in the *Dīgha* to refer to a *deva* (Sakka, etc.) rejoicing at the pleasure of the *devas* (... *sampasādaṃ viditvā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi*).²⁷³ In a similar way, as the Buddha thanks the donor, a visitor who has been in conversation with the Buddha may express his approval and thanks for this conversation before leaving (e.g. D II 76, *atha kho Vassakāro ... Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi*). Again, in part 1 approaches a similar *imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi* “he chanted this verse” was encountered where a *deva* visits the Buddha (D II 254),²⁷⁴ and *imā ca gāthā abhāsi* (D II 265)²⁷⁵ was seen to be used when a *gandhabba* visits the Buddha.

Sunīdha and Vassakāra were having the town of Pāṭaligāma fortified and expanded. When the Buddha arrives in that town, they go to invite him for a meal. A type B.3 formula is used to portray this approach; that is, they show the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and stand to one side.²⁷⁶ They address the Buddha as *bho Gotama* but are not themselves addressed.

These brahman ministers are not followers of the Buddha, nor are they converted as many other brahmans were. It seems that they offer a meal to the Buddha because Ajātasattu, their king, has respect for the Buddha, and probably also as it was the correct thing to do in order to bring good fortune to their enterprise of building a

²⁷³ Or some variation along these lines: D II 208, 211, 221, 227.

²⁷⁴ See part 1, section V 2.1.2.

²⁷⁵ See part 1, section V 3.1.

²⁷⁶ § xvi. 1.29 [II 88]. See part 1, section III 4.5.6.

new city.

(1d) *~ekamantaṃ nisinno (nisinnā) kho* [host: nom.] *Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:*

E.g. *~ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Ambapāli-gaṇikā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ xvi. 2.19 [II 97–98]): “Seated to one side, Ambapāli the courtesan said this to the Blessed One:”

Common units are employed here.

Ambapāli hears that the Buddha has arrived in her town and goes out to visit him. Being a lay follower, Ambapāli shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha on this occasion²⁷⁷ and addresses him as *bhante* throughout. She is not addressed. The Buddha instructs her with a talk on the Dhamma and she invites him to a meal. After the meal Ambapāli offers her park (*ārāma*) to the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* and the Buddha. The Buddha accepts, then again instructs her with a talk on the Dhamma and departs (*atha kho Bhagavā Ambapāli-gaṇikaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā utthāy’ āsanā pakkāmi*). This is virtually the same as the verbal interaction unit of 1a above.

The Licchavis of Vesāli likewise hear that the Buddha had arrived in town and go out to invite him for a meal, but the Buddha had already accepted Ambapāli’s invitation. Similarly, when the Buddha arrives in Pāvā the lay follower Cunda gives the Buddha a meal (discussed below).

In the second occurrence of this formula (§ iv. 25 [I 125]) the host is the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa. This sutta, the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, is similar to the *Kūṭadanta-sutta* described above. The brahman Soṇadaṇḍa hears that the Buddha has arrived in town and goes to see him despite protest from his fellow brahmans.²⁷⁸ He shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form and addresses the Buddha as *bho Gotama* throughout. He is addressed as *brāhmaṇa* by the Buddha. He engages in conversation with the Buddha and is likewise converted. In consequence he invites the Buddha to a meal. In the conversation which follows the meal, Soṇadaṇḍa expresses his desire to honour the Buddha but inability to do so in public due to his social standing. The sutta then ends with the same phrase as that which concludes Ambapāli’s meal; that is, the Buddha instructs him, etc., gets up from his seat and departs.

²⁷⁷ § xvi. 2.14 [II 95]. See part 1, section III 4.5.14.

²⁷⁸ This approach is discussed in part 1, section IV 2.3.

(2) (as 1) *~paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā* [host: acc.] *āmantesi* ... (complicated, then the rest as 1a.).

E.g. *~paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃ āmantesi* (§ xvi. 4.18 [II 127]): "... (the Blessed One) sat down on a prepared seat. Having sat down, the Blessed One addressed Cunda the smith:"

This occurs in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and depicts the well known last meal of the Buddha given by Cunda. This divergent and complicated formula (if it can be called that) thus obviously occurs only once.

When the Buddha arrives in Pāvā, Cunda goes out to invite him for a meal. This parallels Ambapālī's encounter with the Buddha earlier in the same sutta. Being a lay follower of the Buddha, Cunda likewise addresses him as *bhante*. He is addressed by name. Having dressed and taking his bowl and robe, the Buddha goes to Cunda's abode and sits down on a prepared seat. The course of events then diverges from the norm. Having sat down, the Buddha tells Cunda to feed the *sūkara-maddava*²⁷⁹ which Cunda has prepared to himself and to feed other food to the *bhikkhus*. The text then reads: *'evaṃ bhante' ti kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavantam paṭissutvā, yaṃ ahoṣi sūkara-maddavaṃ paṭiyattam, tena Bhagavantam parivisi, yaṃ pan' aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyattam tena bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parivisi* "having assented to the Blessed One (by saying) 'so be it, venerable sir', Cunda the smith served the *sūkara-maddava* to the Blessed One, but served other hard and soft food to the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*". The Buddha then tells Cunda to throw the rest of the *sūkara-maddava* away. Cunda does so and shows the *abhivādetvā* respect form to the Buddha when he returns. The Buddha then instructs Cunda with a talk on the Dhamma, gets up from his seat and departs.

5.5 Conclusion.

The giving of a meal is a sign of respect. In the case of Ambapālī and Cunda, the meal is being given by prominent lay followers who are looking after the Buddha and the *bhikkhus* when they arrive in town. It is therefore verification of their faith in the Buddha. The Buddha would also have received a meal from the Licchavis of Vesālī if Ambapālī had not beaten them to it.

Four prominent brahmins are also host to meals. Pokkharasādi had learnt that the Buddha had the marks of a great man and had taken food with him when he went to see them for himself. He thus had nascent respect for the Buddha. When he had seen the marks for himself, he had offered the meal and then been converted by the

²⁷⁹ The interpretation of this term has been debated for many years. A discussion of the various interpretations and translations is irrelevant here and I leave it untranslated.

conversation which followed the meal.

Both Soṇadaṇḍa and Kūṭadanta hear about the Buddha and his qualities and go to question him. In the course of the conversation they are converted and then offer a meal — a sign of their new faith. The brahman Lohicca, who holds a particular false view, likewise hears of the Buddha's qualities and that he has arrived in his town. Out of a mixture of curiosity and nascent respect he invites the Buddha for a meal then and there. In the course of the conversation which follows the brahman is converted. The giving of the meal by these brahmins is therefore either verification of their new faith in the Buddha or an indication of their nascent respect which later turns to conversion.

In contrast, the giving of a meal by Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, who are likewise brahmins, seems to be politically motivated: it was doing the right thing by their king and was fortuitous for their civic project.

Finally, the feeding of the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* on such an occasion must have been an expensive exercise. It is therefore not surprising that all the donors are prominent, hence wealthy citizens.

6. The Buddha goes to an offered rest-house or hall.

6.1 The *Dīgha-nikāya* contains two passages which depict the Buddha being invited by the lay inhabitants of a town to stay in their rest-house or hall. These are listed in the references under B formulas, division e.

The first occurrence is found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (§ xvi. 1.19–25 [II 84–86]). Here the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* arrive in Pāṭaligāma on their journey north to Kusinārā. The *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma hear that the Buddha had arrived in their town.²⁸⁰ They go out to see him — showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form in this encounter — and invite him to stay in their rest-house (*āvasathāgāra*).²⁸¹ The invitation reads: *adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāran ti* “May the Blessed One, venerable sir, accept our rest-house”. The Buddha accepts in the standard manner by remaining silent (*adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṅhī-bhāvena*). Both the invitation and the acceptance used here parallel the forms found in the passages depicting the Buddha being invited to a meal but, unlike the latter, the invitation to the rest-house does not mention the *bhikkhus* (... *saddhim bhikkhu-samghena*), although it is implied.²⁸²

The *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma then depart, prepare their rest-house, and return to inform the Buddha that it is ready. The text reads: *atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato adhvāsanaṃ viditvā utṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā*

²⁸⁰ This was discussed in part 1, section III 2.1.2.3.

²⁸¹ See part 1, section III 4.5.12.

²⁸² This was discussed in the analysis of the previous formula (section 5.3). It was seen there that the *Vinaya* parallel to this passage does include this phrase.

*padakkhiṇaṃ katvā yena āvasathāgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā sabba-santhariṃ*²⁸³ *āvasathāgāraṃ santharivā*²⁸⁴ *āsanāni paññāpetvā udaka-manikaṃ*²⁸⁵ *patiṭṭhāpetvā telappadīpaṃ āropetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ thitā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocum:* “Then the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma, recognising the assent of the Blessed One, got up from their seat, paid homage to the Blessed One, circumambulated him (three times), and approached (their) rest-house. Having approached, they spread the rest-house with mats,²⁸⁶ prepared seats, put out water bowls, got oil lamps ready, then approached the Blessed One. Having approached, they paid homage to the Blessed One and stood to one side. Standing to one side, the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma said this to the Blessed One:”. They inform him that the rest-house has been prepared.

The formula used to depict the Buddha going to the rest-house or hall reads:

B.e.1: *atha kho Bhagavā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena* [building: nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā pāde pakkhāletvā* [building: acc.] *pavisitvā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ*²⁸⁷ *nissāya puratthābhimukho*²⁸⁸ *nisīdi. bhikkhu-saṃgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā* [building: acc.] *pavisitvā pacchimaṃ bhittim nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā*²⁸⁹ [laymen: nom.] *pi kho ... pāde pakkhāletvā* [building: acc.] *pavisitvā puratthimaṃ*²⁹⁰ *bhittim nissāya pacchābhimukhā*²⁹¹ *nisīdimsu Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā. atha kho Bhagavā* [laymen: acc.] *āmantesi:*

E.g. *atha kho Bhagavā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena āvasathāgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi.*

²⁸³ A number of variant readings are given at D III 208.

²⁸⁴ D III 208 reads *santharāpetvā* with v.l. *santharivā*.

²⁸⁵ The text reads *~maṇiṃ*. As in parallel versions of this formula, and in accordance with the reading of the passage which follows describing the *upāsakas* telling the Buddha that these preparations have been done, we should read *~maṇikaṃ*.

²⁸⁶ *sabba-santhariṃ āvasathāgāraṃ santharivā*: the meaning of this is unclear. T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids translate it as “they strewed all the rest-house with fresh sand” (1910, p. 90) or “they spread the whole hall with carpets” (1921, p. 201). M. Walshe (1987) translates the first *Dīgha* occurrence as “(they) strewed the floor” (p. 236) and the second as “they spread mats all round” (p. 479). I.B. Horner (1957, p. 19) takes it as “having spread the conference hall with all the spreadings”. The *Dīgha* commentary (Sv 538, 972) is not much help here, merely giving *sabba-santharin ṅ yathā sabbam santhataṃ hoti evam-(santhari)*, but the *Udāna* commentary is quite detailed (Ud-a 409, 19–29) stating that they first smeared the floor with wet cowdung then sprinkled it with perfume when it was dry. Over this they spread mats of various colours, then long-haired rugs. As this commentary takes it, all these coverings/spreadings are meant by *sabba-santhariṃ*.

²⁸⁷ D III 208 reads *majjhima-tthambhaṃ* with *majjhima-th°* and *majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ* as variant readings.

²⁸⁸ v.l. *puratthimābhi°* (D II 85) and *puratthābhi°* (D III 208).

²⁸⁹ v.l. *purakkhitvā* in both.

²⁹⁰ v.l. *puratthima-bhittim* (D III 209).

²⁹¹ v.l. *pacchimābhi°* (both), *pacchāmukhā* (D III 209).

bhikkhu-saṃgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā pacchimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā. Pāṭaligāmiyā pi kho upāsakā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā puratthimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya pacchābhimukhā nisīdiṃsu Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā. atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake āmantesi (§ xvi. 1.22–23 [II 85]): “Then the Blessed One, having dressed, and taking his bowl and robe, approached the rest-house with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. Having approached, he washed his feet, entered the rest-house and sat down against the central pillar facing the east. The *bhikkhu-saṃgha* also washed its feet, entered the rest-house and sat down against the western wall facing east, with the Blessed One in front of them. The *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma also washed their feet, entered the rest-house and sat down against the eastern wall facing west, with the Blessed One in front of them. Then the Blessed One addressed the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma:”

The Buddha delivers a discourse on the five disadvantages (*ādīnava*) for one who is not virtuous and the five benefits (*ānisaṃsa*) for one who is virtuous.

The second occurrence is found in the *Saṅgīti-sutta* (§ xxxiii. 1.4 [III 208–209]). Here the Buddha arrives in the town of Pāvā. The Mallas of Pāvā hear of this and go to offer the use of their newly built meeting hall (*santhāgāra*). They show the *abhivādetvā* respect form when they approach the Buddha.²⁹² The invitation differs from the above example. It reads: *idha bhante Pāveyyakānaṃ Mallānaṃ Ubbhāṭakaṃ nāma navaṃ santhāgāraṃ acira-kāritaṃ anajjhāvutthaṃ samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā kenaci vā manussa-bhūtena. taṃ bhante Bhagavā paṭhamaṃ paribhuñjatu, Bhagavatā paṭhamaṃ paribhuttaṃ pacchā Pāveyyakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dīgha-rattaṃ hitāya sukhāya ti* “Here, venerable sir, the new Ubbhāṭaka meeting hall of the Mallas of Pāvā has recently been finished and has not been occupied by a *samaṇa* or brahman, or any human being. May the Blessed One, venerable sir, make use of it first. Being used first by the Blessed One, it will afterwards be long for the benefit and happiness of the Mallas of Pāvā” (§ xxxiii. 1.2 [III 207–208]).

The Buddha’s acceptance, the Mallas’ preparation of the hall, and their coming to the Buddha to inform him that it is ready, all read as the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* occurrence. The formula used to describe the Buddha going to the hall is also the same, but differs in its verbal interaction unit. It reads:

B.e.1a: (as B.e.1) *~atha kho Bhagavā Pāveyyake Malle bahud eva rattiṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uyyojesi* “Then the Blessed One, having instructed, urged, aroused and encouraged the Mallas of Pāvā with talk on the Dhamma for much of the night, dismissed them (saying):”

The Mallas get up from their seat, pay their respects and depart. In the

²⁹² Discussed in part 1, section III 4.5.12.

Mahāparinibbāna-sutta occurrence this same “having instructed, urged ... with a talk on Dhamma, etc.” passage, with the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma then departing, occurs after the Buddha has delivered the discourse on the five disadvantages to them. Thus the *Saṅgīti-sutta* text as a whole closely parallels that of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*. The main differences are the phrases used in the offering of the rest-house or hall and the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*’s inclusion of the actual discourse given to the laymen, and hence the main verbal interaction unit.

6.2 The pre-approach.

The *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya* “having dressed, and taking his bowl and robe” element has been encountered in many part 2 formulas. Unlike many of those formulas, there is, however, no mention here of the time at which this took place (e.g. *pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā*), though the B^m manuscript of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* occurrence adds *sāyaṅha-samaye* and the King of Siam edition adds *pubbaṅha-samayam*. Interestingly, the *Vinaya* (Vin I 227) and *Udāna* (Ud 86) parallels to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* passage do, in fact, include *pubbaṅha-samayam*, while the two similar passages found in the *Majjhima* (M I 354) and *Samyutta* (S IV 183) do not. The mentioning of getting dressed “in the morning” would, in fact, be out of place here for the Buddha had arrived in Pāṭaligāma and Pāvā while journeying through the countryside. It seems that the *Vinaya* and *Udāna* have imported this *pubbaṅha-samayam* unit from other *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya* passages which usually include *pubbaṅha-samayam* or *sāyaṅha-samayam*.

6.3 The approach.

The approach is the same as that found in the previous formula which depicts the Buddha going to an offered meal; that is, *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena* [building] *ten’ upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā*. As mentioned in the analysis of that formula,²⁹³ the *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit is included in the current formula even though it does not occur in the hall-offering phrase (*adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāran ti*). It was also noted in that discussion that the *Udāna* parallel to this passage (Ud 86) has the same reading as the *Dīgha*, while the *Vinaya* parallel (Vin I 226) includes the *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit in the hall-offering phrase (*adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā āvasathāgāram saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenā ti*). The two similar passages found in the *Majjhima* and *Samyutta* (M I 353–354; S IV 182–183) do not employ the *adhivāsetu* offering phrase, but rather parallel the *Saṅgīti-sutta*

²⁹³ Part 2, section III 5.3.

occurrence in that a newly built hall is offered (*idha bhante ...*). It is interesting to note, however, that these *Majjhima* and *Samyutta* passages parallel the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* versions of the “going to an offered meal” approach formula, rather than the *Majjhima*, *Samyutta*, *Ānguttara*, and *Vinaya* passages, in reading *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena* [building] *ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā*, etc., rather than *yena* [building] *ten’ upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena*; that is, they associate the *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit with the verb *upasaṃkamaṃ* rather than *nisīdi*. No doubt, the *Majjhima* and *Samyutta* passages have this reading as this “going to an offered hall” approach formula differentiates between the Buddha and the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* as to their seating arrangements.

6.4 The post-approach.

The text now divides the persons involved into three groups — 1) the Buddha, 2) the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, and 3) the laymen (the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma or the Mallas of Pāvā) — and describes the subsequent actions of each. These actions can be divided into three distinct units:

(i) washing the feet: *pāde pakkhāletvā*.

(ii) entering the rest-house or hall: *āvasathāgāraṃ/santhāgāraṃ pavisitvā*.

(iii) sitting down in a particular place facing a certain direction: 1) for the Buddha this is *majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi* “sat down against the central column facing the east”; 2) for the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* it is *pacchimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā* “sat down against the western wall facing east, with the Blessed One in front of them”; and 3) for the laymen it is *puratthimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya pacchābhimukhā nisīdimṣu Bhagavantaṃ yeva purakkhatvā* “sat down against the eastern wall facing west, with the Blessed One in front of them”.

Apart from the mentioning of the entering of a building ([building] *pavitvā*) in a few part 1 formulas²⁹⁴ and *nisīdi/nisīdimṣu* as the verb used to portray sitting down, these units have not been encountered before. The event described here is extremely formal and the inclusion of the particularly detailed description of the seating arrangements arranged for the giving of a discourse indicates that the delivery of a discourse may have been in order on such occasions when the Buddha took up residence in the communal building of a particular village on the invitation of its lay inhabitants.

Verbal interaction then follows. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* occurrence it is *atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake āmantesi* “Then the Blessed One addressed

²⁹⁴ See part 1, section IV 2.7–8.

the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma”. The units employed here are not uncommon in part 2 approaches. The discourse on the five dangers and five benefits which follows then concludes with the phrase *atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake bahud eva rattiṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uyyojesi* “Then the Blessed One, having instructed, urged, aroused and encouraged the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma with talk on the Dhamma for much of the night, dismissed them (saying)”. The *upāsakas* get up from their seats, pay their respects, and depart.

The *Saṅgīti-sutta* occurrence is, in fact, an abbreviated version of the above, omitting completely any mention of the nature of the discourse and bringing the encounter quickly to a close with the same phrase as terminates the interaction in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (*atha kho Bhagavā Pāveyyake Malle bahud eva rattiṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uyyojesi*). Similarly, of the two *Majjhima* and *Samyutta* occurrences of this formula which describe the Sākyas of Kapalivatthu offering the Buddha the use of their newly built meeting hall, the *Samyutta* likewise fails to include the contents of the discourse given by the Buddha on that occasion.

Both sets of laymen show the *abhivādetvā* respect form towards the Buddha and address him as *bhante*. The Buddha addresses the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma as *gahapatiyo* “householders”, a term of social grouping, and the Mallas of Pāvā as *Vāseṭṭhā*, a clan name.

6.5 Conclusion.

The two *Dīgha-nikāya* passages in which this approach formula is found closely parallel one another, beginning with the Buddha travelling through a particular district, arriving in a town and being offered the use of a building by the local laity and ending with the laymen leaving the Buddha (and Saṃgha) in their rest-house or hall after they have heard him preach.

The two *Udāna* and *Vinaya* occurrences of this formula describe the same event as the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* occurrence (the *upāsakas* of Pāṭaligāma offer their rest-house) and the two *Majjhima* and *Samyutta* occurrences are both descriptions of the Sākyas of Kapalivatthu offering the Buddha the use of their newly built meeting hall. Therefore, with only six occurrences in the *Sutta-* and *Vinaya-pīṭakas*, which in fact only depict three distinct events, it is seen that this is a rarely used formula. To date I have not, however, been able to find an example of canonical Pāli texts using an alternative formula to describe the offering and taking up of a rest-house or other such building. Most suttas merely depict the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* arriving at a town and taking up residence in a particular place.

7. Visiting a person on an invitation.

7.1 The *Dīgha-nikāya* only contains one passage which depicts a member of the Saṃgha being invited to visit someone. This is found in the *Subha-sutta* (x.) and occurs not long after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha (*acira-parinibbute Bhagavati*).

Ānanda is living in Sāvathī, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park, and the young brahman (*māṇava*) Subha Todeyyaputta visits Sāvathī on some business. Subha sends a younger brahman (*māṇavaka*) to ask after Ānanda's health and to request that he come to his house as he wants to question Ānanda about the Dhamma taught by the Buddha. The messenger does this.²⁹⁵ Ānanda, however, is unable to come as he has just taken medicine, but promises to come the next day. The actual invitation reads: *sādhu kira bhavaṃ Ānando yena Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyyaputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamatu anukampaṃ upādāyā ti* "It would be good if the honourable Ānanda approached the house of the young brahman Subha Todeyyaputta out of compassion" (§ x. 1.3 [I 204–205]). Ānanda's visit to Subha the next day reads:²⁹⁶

B.f.1: *atha kho āyasmā Ānando tassā rattiyaṃ accayena pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchāsamaṇena yena Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyyaputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmataṃ Ānandena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto āyasmantaṃ Ānantaṃ etad avoca* (§ x. 1.5 [I 205]): "Then, when that night had passed, the venerable Ānanda dressed in the morning, took his bowl and robe, and approached the house of the young brahman Subha Todeyyaputta with the *bhikkhu* Cetaka following behind as attendant. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat. Then the young brahman Subha Todeyyaputta approached the venerable Ānanda. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with the venerable Ānanda and, having exchanged agreeable and courteous talk (with him), sat down to one side. Seated to one side, the young brahman Subha Todeyyaputta said this to the venerable Ānanda:"

With Ānanda approaching Subha's house followed by Subha approaching Ānanda, this approach is seen to be slightly more complicated than those previously discussed. This scenario is quite rare in the *Dīgha*. Apart from the current situation, it occurs three times in F type formula passages where the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* disappears from one place and reappears in the realm of certain *devas*, and is then approached by them. These will be discussed later.

In this situation at least, it may have been felt that some gesture of

²⁹⁵ A type B.4 formula is used here; see part 1, section III 4.5.7.

²⁹⁶ As there is only one occurrence of this formula in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, I do not present it here in the usual bare formulaic manner.

subordination was in order, just as in the formula used to depict the Buddha visiting an ascetic we have the ascetic's welcoming speech and his taking of a lower seat before he sits down, and in the passages which depict the Buddha going to an offered meal the Buddha approaches and sits down with the host then feeding him before taking a lower seat and sitting down. Again, when the Buddha goes to an offered rest-house or hall, this subordination is shown by the hosts entering the hall last and by their sitting down facing the Buddha and Saṃgha.

The pre-approach is virtually the same as most other part 2 approaches (*tassā rattiyā accayena pubbanha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya*). The only new element employed here is *tassā rattiyā accayena* "with the passing of that night". This unit also occurs in the phrase which depicts a host preparing a meal for the Buddha on the morning after he or she has sent the invitation.²⁹⁷

The approach also incorporates an element not encountered before. As with most other part 2 approaches, the approach is to the place of the approached (*yena* [place (nom.) of approached (gen.)] *ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamitvā*), but here we have Ānanda approaching with an attendant *bhikkhu* (*Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchāsamaṇena*). This unit occupies the same syntactical position as the *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit of the formulas used to depict the Buddha going with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* to an offered meal or rest-house.²⁹⁸ It also parallels the use of *atta-dutiyo* "with an attendant" in the two passages which depict Ānanda entering Kusinārā with an attendant *bhikkhu* to inform the Mallas that the Buddha will or has attained the *parinibbāna* (... *Ānando ... nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo Kusināraṃ pāvīsi*).²⁹⁹

The post-approach of Ānanda's approach to Subha's house merely depicts him sitting down on a prepared seat (*paññatte āsane nisīdi*) — the normal part 2 posturing element for the Buddha or a *bhikkhu*. The wording so far therefore follows the pattern of the formulas which depict the Buddha going to an offered meal.

Subha then approaches Ānanda. This is a straight forward B.4 approach and as such was discussed in part 1;³⁰⁰ that is, Subha shows the *saddhiṃ sammodi* respect form, sits down to one side, and speaks to Ānanda first. Subha addresses Ānanda as *bho Ānanda/ bhavaṃ Ānando* and refers to him as *āyasmā Ānando* when talking to his

²⁹⁷ D § iv. 24 [I 125], for example, reads: *atha kho Soṇadaṇḍo brāhmaṇo tassā rattiyā accayena sake nivasane pañitaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā ...* "Then, when that night had passed, the brahman Soṇadaṇḍa prepared the finest hard and soft food in his own house ...".

²⁹⁸ As the *Vinaya, Majjhima, Aṅguttara*, and *Sutta-nipāta* versions of the "going to a meal" formula place the *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena* unit after *nisīdi* rather than before *yena ... ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamitvā* (discussed above, section III 5.3), it would perhaps not be too unreasonable to anticipate a *Vinaya* and *Majjhima*, etc., parallel to the passage under review to read: ... *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya yena Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyyaputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchāsamaṇena* (?), though the meaning would be strained.

²⁹⁹ See part 2, section III 2.2.

³⁰⁰ See part 1, section III 4.5.7.

messenger. Ānanda addresses him as *māṇava* “young brahman”, a term of social grouping. The conversation about the Dhamma taught by the Buddha results in Subha’s conversion to lay status.

8. The Buddha goes to a place with a/the *bhikkhu(s)* and addresses his attendant *bhikkhu*.

8.1 The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (xvi.) contains five passages which depict the Buddha going to a place or building with an attendant *bhikkhu*, or with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, and addressing his attendant *bhikkhu*. In accordance with the nature of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, this most often occurs as the Buddha travels through the various districts on his journey north to Kusinārā. A similar formula is used in each instance. These are listed in the references under B formulas, section g.³⁰¹

There is some uncertainty as to whether these passages or formulas should be included in our discussion, for the Buddha is not approaching someone. There is, for example, no decision to approach someone. It is rather the case of the Buddha addressing his attendant *bhikkhu* when he arrives somewhere, it thereby really being an approach to a place. However, it has been included in the present study as it closely parallels other part 2 approaches and does involve verbal interaction with someone immediately after the approach.

The basic formula common to four of the five occurrences is:

B.g: *atha kho Bhagavā* [attendant *bhikkhu/bhikkhu-saṃgha*: instr.] *saddhiṃ*³⁰² *yena* [place: nom.] *ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkavitvā* [attendant *bhikkhu*: acc.] *āmantesi*: “Then the Blessed One approached place *x* with an attendant *bhikkhu*/the *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. Having approached, he addressed the attendant *bhikkhu*.”

The following is a description of each occurrence. They are presented here according to trends in the formula rather than their chronology in the text.

8.2 § xvi. 3.49 [II 119]: The Buddha has been staying at the Cāpāla *cetiya* in Vesālī with Ānanda. He tells Ānanda that they will go to the peaked-roofed hall in the Great Forest (also in Vesālī). Ānanda assents. This reads: *‘āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Mahāvanam Kuṭāgāra-sālā ten’ upasaṃkamissāmā’ ti. ‘evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi* “ ‘Come, Ānanda, we will approach (/go to) the peaked-roofed hall in the Great Forest.’ Saying ‘So be it, venerable sir’, the venerable Ānanda assented to the Blessed One” (§ xvi. 3.48 [II 119]).

³⁰¹ These formulas have also been discussed by G. von Simson (1965, § 14) under the heading of “Phrasenkomplexen: Ortswechsel (im MPS & CPS)”.

³⁰² Or once *maggā okkamma* instead (§ xvi. 4.21).

The approach then reads:

B.g.1: *atha kho Bhagavā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ yena Mahāvanam Kutāgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi* (§ xvi. 3.49 [II 119]): “Then the Blessed One approached the peaked-roofed hall in the Great Forest with the venerable Ānanda. Having approached, he addressed the venerable Ānanda.”

As mentioned in the discussion of the phrase *saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena*,³⁰³ the *āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ* unit of the current formula follows the more usual pattern of having the associative instrumental preceding the prepositional adverb *saddhiṃ*. The *āmantesi* “he addressed” verbal interaction unit has been encountered a number of times in part 2 approaches.

The Buddha tells Ānanda to assemble the Vesālī *bhikkhus* in the assembly hall.

8.3 § xvi. 5.1 [II 137]: The Buddha is staying in a mango grove near (?) the Kukutthā river. He tells Ānanda that they will cross the Hiraññavatī river and go to Kusinārā. Ānanda assents. The text reads: ‘*āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamissāmā' ti. 'evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi* “ ‘Come, Ānanda, we will approach (/go to) the farther bank of the Hiraññavatī river (and approach) the sal-tree grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā.’ Saying ‘So be it, venerable sir’ the venerable Ānanda assented to the Blessed One” (ibid.). This command and assent closely parallels that of the previous passage.

The approach reads:

B.g.2: *atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi* (§ xvi. 5.1 [II 137]): “Then the Blessed One approached (/went to) the farther bank of the Hiraññavatī river (and approach) the sal-tree grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, with a great *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. Having approached, he addressed the venerable Ānanda.”

This formula differs only slightly from the previous: the Buddha goes with the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* rather than with Ānanda and there is an extra *yena* [place: nom.] unit depicting the approach to the bank of the Hiraññavatī river first.³⁰⁴

The Buddha tells Ānanda to prepare a bench for him to lie on between the

³⁰³ Part 2, section III 5.3.

³⁰⁴ This latter phenomenon of adding an extra *yena* [place: nom.] unit was discussed in part 1, section III 3.1.

twin sal trees.

8.4 § xvi. 4.39 [II 134]: The Buddha is travelling between Pāvā and Kusinārā. The text reads:

B.g.3: *atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Kakutthā nadī ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kukulthāṃ nadim ajjhogahetvā nahātvā ca pivitvā ca paccuttaritvā yena ambavanam ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Cundakaṃ āmantesi* (§ xvi. 4.39 [II 134]): “Then the Blessed One approached the Kukulthā river with a great *bhikkhu-saṃgha*. Having approached, he descended into the Kukulthā river. Having bathed, drunk (the water), and got out again, he approached a mango grove. Having approached, he addressed the venerable Cundaka:”

This differs from the previous formulas only in that additional information concerning entering the river, etc., is inserted.

The Buddha tells Cundaka to fold his robe so that he can lie down.

8.5 § xvi. 4.21 [II 128]: This event precedes that of the previous passage. The Buddha tells Ānanda that they will go to Kusinārā. The text reads: *'āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Kusinārā ten' upasaṃkamissāmā' ti. 'evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi* “ ‘Come, Ānanda, we will approach Kusinārā.’ Saying ‘So be it, venerable sir’, the venerable Ānanda assented to the Blessed One” (§ xvi. 4.20 [II 128]). This pre-approach command and assent is as those found in the first two passages discussed. The text then reads:

B.g.4: *atha kho Bhagavā maggā okkamma yena aññataram rukkha-mūlam ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi* (§ xvi. 4.21 [II 128]): “Then the Blessed One, having got down from the road, approached the root of a certain tree. Having approached, he addressed the venerable Ānanda:”

This lacks the *saddhiṃ* “together with the attendant *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhu-saṃgha*” unit of the other passages. This unit seems to have been replaced by the unit depicting the Buddha leaving the road (*maggā okkamma*).

The Buddha tells Ānanda to fold his robe so that he can lie down.

8.6 § xvi. 3.2 [II 102]: The Buddha is living in Vesālī with Ānanda. After wandering for alms in Vesālī, he tells Ānanda to take a seat as they will go to the Cāpāla *cetiya* to spend the day there. The text reads: *'gaṇhāhi Ānanda nisīdanaṃ. yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten' upasaṃkamissāmi divā-vihārāyā' ti. 'evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nisīdanaṃ ādāya Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito*

anubandhi “ ‘Take a seat, Ānanda. I will approach (/go to) the Cāpāla *cetiya* for the daytime abiding.’ Having assented to the Blessed One (saying) ‘So be it, venerable sir’, the venerable Ānanda took a seat and followed behind the Blessed One” (§ xvi. 3.1 [II 102]).

The approach to the Cāpāla *cetiya* reads:

B.g.5: *atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. āyasmā pi kho Ānando Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca* (§ xvi. 3.2 [II 102]): “Then the Blessed One approached the Cāpāla *cetiya*. Having approached, he sat down on a prepared seat. The venerable Ānanda, having paid homage to the Blessed One, also sat down to one side. The Blessed One said this to the venerable Ānanda as he was seated to one side:”

This differs from the previous formulas. The first part — *atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi* — parallels other part 2 approaches (e.g. B.b.1; B.d.1³⁰⁵). We then have Ānanda paying his respects to the Buddha, sitting down to one side, and being spoken to by the Buddha. This is identical to the post-approach of a B.6a formula. The Buddha tells Ānanda how delightful Vesālī is and hints that he could live out the age if he wanted to. As this is not a command to do something or a question, we have *etad avoca* instead of *āmantesi* expressing verbal interaction.

8.7 Conclusion.

Although not depicting a deliberate approach to a particular person, these five approaches follow the pattern of other part 2 approaches where we have an approach to the place of the person rather than to the actual person, followed by verbal interaction with the person approached. Several share the pre-approach element of the Buddha telling Ānanda that they will go to a particular place as they journey through the various districts on their way to Kusinārā. As these events are not public, and therefore formal, events, there is no *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya* “dressing and taking the bowl and robe” pre-approach element. The *āmantesi* verbal interaction unit used in all but 1 of these formulas is fairly common in part 2 approaches.

9. Summary of B type formulas.

9.1 The B type approach formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another

³⁰⁵ See section III 3.1 and 5.1.

bhikkhu, show a greater diversity than their part 1 counterparts. As in part 1 approaches, a pre-approach, approach, and post-approach are discernable.

It was seen in part 1 that the various pre-approach elements could not be considered to be part of the actual approach formula; the approach formula therefore being considered to begin with the approach and end with verbal interaction, with respect-showing and posturing units possible in between. This was seen to be the case, even though certain pre-approach elements had an association with certain post-approach elements, because the reasons for the approach, the preparations for it, and the actual going involved were not of necessity mentioned. Certain pre-approach elements in part 2 are, however, virtually standard components of the formula.

When the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* is depicted visiting someone in the outside community, the *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya* “having dressed, and taking the bowl and robe” pre-approach element is prefixed to their approach — though it must be noted that it does occur after the subject has been mentioned — that is, the Buddha or *bhikkhu* is presented preparing himself for the public, hence formal, event by dressing appropriately: he dons the yellow robe which signifies his ascetic status and takes his bowl, signifying that he is a receptacle for merit making.³⁰⁶ This occurs when Ānanda goes to inform the Mallas about the Buddha’s *parinibbāna*, when the Buddha goes to an offered meal or rest-house, and when Ānanda visits Subha at the latter’s request.

On two of the three occasions when the Buddha visits an ascetic, the Buddha is depicted dressing and taking his bowl and robe in order to go into town for alms, then deciding to visit an ascetic instead. The third occurrence (§ xxv. 6–7) depicts the Buddha “perceiving” the ascetic’s conversation with one of the Buddha’s lay followers. The Buddha then goes to the ascetics’ park, but there is no mention of him getting dressed, etc. As going to debate with an ascetic is a public event, the mentioning of getting dressed would have been expected here. Apart from this last example, the only other exception is the *Kevaddha-sutta* passage which depicts a *bhikkhu* going to visit some *devas* (§ xi. 68). In this case the *bhikkhu* disappears in the human realm, reappears in the Devaloka, then approaches the various *devas*, but he is not portrayed preparing to go to the *deva* realm by “getting dressed, etc.” It has been seen, however, that this *Kevaddha-sutta* passage conforms more to a part 1 approach, which was tentatively explained by the fact that the *bhikkhu* is of no specific identity and that the whole passage is a story related by the Buddha for instructive purposes.

In contrast to the above, when the Buddha goes to the assembled *bhikkhus* and addresses them, and when he goes to a place on his travels and addresses his attendant *bhikkhu*, no mention is made of getting dressed and taking the bowl as these were not public events.

³⁰⁶ The bowl is taken even when not going for alms.

The mentioning of the time at which the dressing and taking of the bowl and robe took place (*pubbaṅha-samayam* or *sāyaṅha-samayam*) does not accompany each occurrence of the *nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya* phrase, but is standard within certain formulas. All seven occurrences of the “going to an offered meal” formula read: *pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya*. It must therefore likewise be considered to be part of this meal-offering formula. Similarly, the unit which depicts the presence of the accompanying *bhikkhu* or *bhikkhu-saṃgha* (*atta-dutiyo*, *saddhim bhikkhu-saṃghena*, or *bhikkhunā pacchāsamaṇena*), which is part of the approach, can also be considered to be a part of certain formulas.

9.2 A significant characteristic of part 2 type B approaches is that the approach is to the place of the person approached rather than to the actual person, as was the case in part 1 approaches. So, for example, the Buddha is depicted going to the hall where the *bhikkhus* are assembled and addressing them rather than depicted going to the *bhikkhus* who are assembled in the hall; or he is depicted going to the house of the one who is offering him a meal rather than approaching the host himself. This seems to ensure the superiority of the Buddha or *bhikkhu* on such occasions.

There are two formulas which do depict an approach to the person. The first is that used in the *Kevaddha-sutta* to depict a certain *bhikkhu* visiting the *devas*. But as mentioned previously, these approaches really follow the pattern of part 1 approaches. The second is that used to depict the Buddha visiting an ascetic. Here the Buddha first approaches the park where the ascetic is living, then approaches the ascetic himself. It was perhaps felt in this case that an approach to the park where the ascetic was living did not necessarily put the Buddha into the presence of the ascetic — an approach to the ascetic therefore being felt to be necessary.

9.3 The diversity of part 2 type B approach formulas is based on the diversity of their post-approach structures. In part 1 type B formulas, the approach is followed either immediately by verbal interaction or, alternatively, by respect-showing, posturing, then verbal interaction (or sometimes some other action). This arrangement is not apparent in part 2 approaches. In the formula used when the Buddha goes to the assembled *bhikkhus*, the approach is followed by the Buddha sitting down on a prepared seat then addressing the *bhikkhus*. When the Buddha visits an ascetic, his approach is followed by the ascetic’s welcoming speech, the Buddha sitting down on a prepared seat, the ascetic sitting down, then verbal interaction. When the Buddha goes to an offered meal, we have the Buddha sitting down on a prepared seat, the host feeding him then sitting down, followed by verbal interaction. When the Buddha occupies an offered rest-house, we have the Buddha washing his feet, entering the rest-house and sitting down. The *bhikkhu-saṃgha* and laymen do the same, then verbal interaction occurs. When Ānanda approaches Subha on the latter’s invitation, Ānanda sits down on a prepared seat, then Subha approaches Ānanda, shows respect, sits down

to one side, then speaks to Ānanda. And finally, in the B.g. formulas we have the Buddha approaching a place, then addressing his attendant *bhikkhu*.

In part 1 approaches it was seen that the person approaching is always depicted showing respect to the Buddha and, with few exceptions, a *bhikkhu* also (occasionally also to other persons approached). In contrast, the Buddha is never depicted showing respect to someone, and a *bhikkhu* is only depicted showing respect to the Buddha (also a novice shows respect to a *bhikkhu*). Instead, the person(s) approached are depicted showing respect to the Buddha or *bhikkhu* who is visiting. The Buddha sitting down on a prepared seat (*paññatte āsane nisīdi*) in itself relays a certain degree of respect, for the person approached has especially “prepared” a seat for the visitor. This was not encountered in part 1 approaches. More overt signs of respect are found in the ascetic’s welcoming speech and his taking of a lower seat and sitting down after the Buddha is seated, or in the host himself serving the meal to the Buddha and *bhikkhu-saṃgha*, then taking a lower seat. Similarly, when the Buddha takes up an offered rest-house, he enters the hall first, followed by the *bhikkhus*, then finally the hosts. Respect-showing is also portrayed through the description of the seating arrangements in these passages. Again, when Ānanda visits Subha, he sits down first. Subha then pays homage and sits down.

Status is also quite often confirmed by the verbal interaction unit used. So, for example, the Buddha “addresses” (*āmantesi*) the *bhikkhus*, as he does Cunda on the occasion of receiving a meal, and the lay inhabitants of a town when he takes up residence in their rest-house — a form which seems to be only used by superiors when commanding, questioning, etc., inferiors. Or again, the Buddha instructs, urges, etc., his hosts with a talk on the Dhamma (*dharmiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā*), or delivers a gradual discourse to them (*ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi ...*), and so on. As in part 1, the person approaching usually speaks first.

When the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* approaches someone (other than a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha or another *bhikkhu*) he is always portrayed sitting down. He is never depicted “standing to one side”, a posturing form found in part 1 approaches. On these occasions the Buddha or *bhikkhu* sits down “on a prepared seat” (*paññatte āsane nisīdi* or *nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane*). This posturing unit is characteristic of part 2 type B formulas. The only formula to employ an alternative posturing unit is that used to depict the Buddha taking up residence in an offered rest-house. Here the seating arrangements of the Buddha, the *bhikkhu-saṃgha* and the laymen is depicted in detail with the Buddha, for example, sitting down against the central pillar facing the east (*majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi*).

The only part 2 type B formulas not to include posturing units is the B.1 formula used when the *bhikkhu* approaches the various *devas*, the B.1 variant used

when Ānanda goes to inform the Mallas of the Buddha's *parinibbāna*, and all but one of the B.g. formulas which depict the Buddha going to a place and addressing his attendant *bhikkhu*.

It has already been noted that, in the formulas depicting the Buddha visiting an ascetic and going to an offered meal, the host takes a lower seat and sits down to one side (*aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi*). In other instances the person approached merely sits down to one side (*ekamantaṃ nisīdi*) after the Buddha has sat down.

The forms of address found in part 2 approaches and the conditions for their employment are much the same as those encountered in part 1. It was seen, however, that the ascetic addressing the Buddha as *bhante* when he approaches them is highly unusual as the Buddha is usually addressed as *bho Gotama* by ascetics and brahmans, as seen when brahmans host a meal for the Buddha.

Finally, with the exception of the *Kevaddha-sutta* passages which depict a *bhikkhu* approaching various *devas*, part 2 type B approaches all occur in sutta narrator passages. This contrasts with part 1 type B approaches which occur as frequently in non-sutta narrator passages.

9.4 In summary, part 2 type B approach formulas are generally characterised by the Buddha or *bhikkhu* getting dressed and taking his bowl and robe (*nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya*) when going into public, by the approach being to the place of the approached rather than to the actual person (*yena* [place (of approached): nom.] *ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā*),³⁰⁷ by the Buddha or *bhikkhu* not showing respect but by some gesture of respect or subordination being shown by the person(s) approached, by the Buddha or *bhikkhu* sitting down on a prepared seat (*paññatte āsane nisīdi*), and by such approaches occurring in sutta narrator passages.³⁰⁸

And finally, it is seen that part 2 type B approaches can be classified according to the purpose of the approach. Quite distinct formulas, both in terms of wording and structure, have been constructed to depict approaches of different purposes. The formula used, for example, when the Buddha goes to an offered meal is completely different to that used when he takes up an offered rest-house or when he goes to the assembled *bhikkhus* and addresses them. This results in part 2 type B formulas exhibiting a greater diversity of formula types. The importance of purpose here contrasts with part 1 type B approaches where the purpose of the visit only influences the posture taken by the one who approaches.

³⁰⁷ The exception being the approaches to ascetics, which have both.

³⁰⁸ This latter factor is primarily due to the fact that these mostly involve the Buddha approaching someone, with such events usually being the subject of the sutta narrator.

IV. TYPE E AND F FORMULAS

1. Just as a *deva* wishing to approach the Buddha gets there by disappearing in his realm and reappearing in front of or in a place near the Buddha, so the Buddha or a *bhikkhu*, when visiting the various heavenly realms, gets there by disappearing in one place and reappearing in another. As in part 1, there are here those approaches which depend exclusively on some disappearing-reappearing formula to depict the approach, that is E type formulas, and those which combine the disappearing-reappearing approach element with a *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā* approach, that is F type approaches.

2. Type E formulas.

2.1 In the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (xiv.) we find the present (Gotama) Buddha's description of the past Buddha Vipassī's life. Having been convinced by Mahābrahmā to teach, the newly enlightened Vipassī wonders to whom he should teach the Dhamma. He decides to teach it to Prince Khaṇḍa and Tissa, the chief priest's son, who live in Bandhumatī. This decision reads: *ayaṃ kho Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasanti paṇḍitā vyattā medhāvino dīgha-rattam apparajakkha-jātikā. yan nūnāhaṃ Khaṇḍassa ca rāja-puttassa Tissassa ca purohita-puttassa paṭhamam dhammam deseyyam, te imam dhammam khippam eva ājānissantī ti* "This Prince Khaṇḍa and Tissa, the chief priest's son, who live in Bandhumatī, are wise, intelligent, learned, and have had little dust on their eyes for a long time. Suppose I teach the Dhamma first to Prince Khaṇḍa and Tissa, the chief priest's son. They will quickly understand this Dhamma" (§ xiv. 3.8 [II 40]). This *yan nūna* decision element has been encountered several times before as the basis, or providing the impetus for an approach.

Vipassī then disappears from the root of his enlightenment tree where he has been seated and reappears in a park in Bandhumatī. He then addresses the resident park-keeper requesting him to fetch Khaṇḍa and Tissa. The text reads:

E.i.1a: *atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammāñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammāñjeyya, evam eva kho³⁰⁹ bodhi-rukkha-mūle antarahito Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā Kheme miga-dāye pātur ahoṣi. atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dāya-pālaṃ³¹⁰ āmantesi* (§ xiv. 3.8–9 [II 40]): "Then, *bhikkhus*, just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm, or would bend an outstretched arm, the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one,

³⁰⁹ All other occurrences of a DR.I disappearing-reappearing formula merely read *evam eva*, and the reading *evam eva kho* is probably incorrect.

³¹⁰ v.l. *migadāya-dāyapālaṃ*.

disappeared at the root of his enlightenment tree and appeared in the capital Bandhumati, in the Khema deer-park. Then, *bhikkhus*, the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one, addressed the park-keeper:”

The actual disappearing-reappearing formula used here has not been encountered before. It has been classified as DR.I.3 as opposed to DR.I.1, 2, and 4 which were encountered in part 1. Its bare formulaic form can be understood to be: (DR.I.3) *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] *antarahito* [place: loc.] *pātur ahoṣi*. This differs from DR.I.1 and DR.I.2,³¹¹ which have the approacher reappearing in front of the person approached ([approached: gen.] *purato pātur ahoṣi* and [approached: gen.] *pamukhe pātur ahoṣi* respectively), in that the approacher, here Vipassī, reappears in a place ([place: loc.] *pātur ahoṣi*). DR.I.4³¹² is likewise a reappearance in a place, but the reappearing element used in that formula is different ([place: loc.] *paccuṭṭhāsi*).

With this last formula (DR.I.4) only depicting a reappearance in a place, it was seen in the passage which employed that formula³¹³ that a subsequent *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā* unit was required to portray the actual approach to the person; that approach thus being classified as an F type formula. In the current situation, Vipassī did not so much decide to approach Khaṇḍa and Tissa, but rather had decided to teach them the Dhamma. He consequently went to an appropriate place for this to take place and ordered the resident park-keeper to fetch them. Although it could be argued to the contrary, Khaṇḍa and Tissa's subsequent approach to Vipassī has therefore not been considered to be part of Vipassī's approach.³¹⁴ It has rather been decided here to treat Vipassī's approach to the park and his verbal interaction with the park-keeper as the approach formula, thereby classifying it as an E rather than an F type formula. In this way Vipassī's approach follows the pattern of many part 2 approaches with an approach to the place of the person approached rather than to the person, but with verbal interaction with the approached immediately following.

The post-approach simply depicts verbal interaction (*atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dāya-pālaṃ āmantesi* “Then, *bhikkhus*, the Blessed One Vipassī, an *arahat*, a completely enlightened one, addressed the park-keeper:”). This has been encountered before in, for example, the formula used to depict the Buddha going to the building where the *bhikkhus* are assembled and addressing them.³¹⁵ Vipassī addresses the park-keeper as *samma dāya-pāla* “(my) good park-

³¹¹ See part 1, section V 2.1 and 2.2.

³¹² See part 1, section V 3.1.

³¹³ § xxi. 1.2–9 [II 264–270].

³¹⁴ See part 1, section III 4.5.15.

³¹⁵ See part 2, section III 3.

keeper” and is addressed in turn as *bhante*.

3. Type F formulas.

3.1 There are a number of approaches involving the Buddha or a *bhikkhu* approaching someone which can be classed as type F formulas. These are listed in the references under type F formulas.

The first involves the Buddha visiting the *Aviha devas*, the first of the *Suddhāvāsa* group of *devas*. This occurs in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (§ xiv. 3.29 [II 50]), as did the previous formula used for Vipassī’s approach to the park in *Bandhumatī*.

After the Buddha has related the biography of Vipassī to the *bhikkhus*, he tells them of a time when he once approached the various *Suddhāvāsa devas* and how they had related the biography of Vipassī to him. The passage begins with the Buddha thinking that of all the states of being (*sattāvāsa*), the one not visited by him was that of the *Suddhāvāsa devas*. He then decides to visit them: *yan nūnāhaṃ yena Suddhāvāsā devā ten’ upasaṃkameyyan ti* “Suppose I approach the *Suddhāvāsa devas*”. The Buddha disappears in the place where he is and reappears amongst the *Aviha devas*, the first of the *Suddhāvāsa devas*. These *devas* then approach the Buddha. The text reads:

F.i.1a: *atha kho ahaṃ bhikkhave seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Ukkatthāyaṃ Subhagavane sāla-rāja-mūle antarahito Avihesu devesu pātur ahoṣiṃ. tasmim bhikkhave deva-nikāye ’nekāni devatā-sahassāni yenāhaṃ ten’ upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ thitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocum* (§ xiv. 3.29 [II 50]): “Then, *bhikkhus*, just as a strong man would stretch forth a bent arm, or would bend an outstretched arm, I disappeared at the root of the largest sal tree in the Subhaga grove in *Ukkatthā* and appeared amongst the *Aviha devas*. In that division of *devas*, *bhikkhus*, many thousands of *devas* approached me. Having approached, they paid homage to me and stood to one side. Standing to one side, *bhikkhus*, those *devas* said this to me:”

This approach parallels that of Ānanda to Subha on the latter’s invitation where it was seen that Ānanda approached Subha’s house and sat down, then Subha approached Ānanda — in effect two approaches being involved.³¹⁶

The actual disappearing-reappearing formula used here is of the DR.I.3 type; the same as that used for Vipassī’s approach to the park in *Bandhumatī*. The *devas’* approach to the Buddha is of the B.5 type.³¹⁷ This follows the norm of *devas*, *gandhabbas*, etc., showing the *abhivādetvā* respect form and (mostly) standing rather than sitting.

³¹⁶ See section III 7 above.

³¹⁷ See part 1, section III 4.5.9.

The *devas* speak first, giving the biography of Vipassī Buddha. They address the Buddha as *mārisa* “sir”, but are not themselves addressed. While in this realm, more *devas* approach the Buddha (again a B.5 formula) and relate his biography. The Buddha then approaches the four other Suddhāvāsa *deva* groups accompanied by the *devas* he has previously visited. The text reads:

atha kho 'haṃ bhikkhave Avihehi devehi saddhiṃ yena Atappā devā ten' upasaṃkamim. atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassā devā ten' upasaṃkamim. atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassī devā ten' upasaṃkamim. atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi Sudassīhi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Akaniṭṭhā devā ten' upasaṃkamim. tasmim bhikkhave deva-nikāye 'nekāni devatā-sahassāni yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocaṃ (§ xiv. 3.31 [II 52–53]): “Then, bhikkhus, together with the Aviha devas I approached the Atappa devas. Then, bhikkhus, together with the Aviha and Atappa devas I approached the Sudassa devas. Then, bhikkhus, together with the Aviha, Atappa and Sudassa devas I approached the Sudassī devas. Then, bhikkhus, together with the Aviha, Atappa, Sudassa and Sudassī devas I approached the Akaniṭṭha devas. In that division of devas, bhikkhus, many thousands of devas approached me. Having approached, they paid homage to me and stood to one side. Standing to one side, bhikkhus, those devas said this to me.”

As with the Aviha *devas*, the Akaniṭṭha *devas* relate the biography of Vipassī. More *devas* then approach the Buddha and relate his biography.

Although only the first and last *devas* are depicted relating Vipassī's and the Buddha's biographies, we are to understand that this took place in each *deva* group. The individual approaches depicted here are very much in an abbreviated form and as such would not be found as distinct approach formulas used by themselves. They have therefore not been presented and discussed elsewhere.

3.2 In the *Kevaddha-sutta* (xi.) the Buddha tells of a *bhikkhu's* approach to various *devas* in order to have his questions answered. The *bhikkhu* attains a certain concentration and the path leading to the *devas* appears to him. He then approaches in turn each of the various groups of *devas* and their chief *deva* in his attempt to have his questions answered. His disappearance and reappearance, then approach to the first group of *devas*, reads:

F.ii.1a: *atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu tathā-rūpaṃ samādhiṃ samāpajji yathā samāhite citte devayāniyo maggo pātur ahoṣi. atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu yena Cātummahārājikā devā ten' upasaṃkamī, upasaṃkamitvā Cātummahārājike deve etad avoca* (§ xi. 67–68 [I 215]): “Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* attained such concentration that, when his mind was thus concentrated, the way leading to the *devas*

appeared (before him). Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* approached the Cātummahārājika *devas*. Having approached, he said this to the Cātummahārājika *devas*:³¹⁸

The disappearing-reappearing formula used here is fundamentally different from those previously encountered both in part 1 and above, all of which are based on the “just as a strong man would stretch forth his bent arm, etc.” phrase (all of the DR.I type). It has been classed as DR.II. Its bare formulaic form is: *atha kho* [person *x*: nom.] *tathā-rūpaṃ samādhim samāpajji yathā samāhite citte* ([place: nom.] *pātur ahoṣi*).³¹⁸

I have not been able to find other examples of this disappearing-reappearing formula in the *Sutta-* or the *Vinaya-piṭakas*. The closest we have to this formula is: *idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā ... tathā-rūpaṃ ceto-samādhim phusati yathā samāhite citte aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe nivāsaṃ anussarati ...*, “Here, *bhikkhus*, some *samaṇa* or brahman ... attains such a concentration of mind that, when his mind is thus concentrated, he remembers (his) manifold former lives”.³¹⁹

As the *bhikkhu* reappears in the *deva* realm rather than into the presence of the *devas*, an additional approach must be depicted putting him into their presence. The formula used here is a simple B.1 formula, as are the subsequent approaches to the various other *devas*. These were discussed earlier.³²⁰

The Cātummahārājika *devas* whom he first approaches are not able to answer his questions and send him to their leaders, the four Mahārājas. Again, a B.1 formula is used for this approach. Also unable to answer his questions, they send him on to the next highest group of *devas*, the Tāvatisa *devas*, who in turn send him on to their leader, Sakka. This course of events is repeated for each of the remaining four groups of Devaloka *devas* and their respective leaders. Finally, Vasavattī, the leader of the last group of Devaloka *devas*, sends him on to the next highest *devas*, the Brahmakāyika *devas*. But here, to make the jump from the Devaloka to the Brahmāloka, the *bhikkhu* once again attains a certain concentration and the path leading to the Brahmā realm appears to him. The *bhikkhu* then approaches the Brahmakāyika *devas*. The text reads:

atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu tathā-rūpaṃ samādhim samāpajji yathā samāhite citte Brahma-yāniyo maggo pātur ahoṣi. atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu yena Brahmakāyikā devā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Brahmakāyike deve etad avoca (§ xi. 80 [I 220]): “Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* attained such concentration that, when his mind was thus concentrated, the way leading to Brahmā appeared (before him).

³¹⁸ Discussed in part 1, section V 1.

³¹⁹ D I 13ff. Cf. M III 210: *idha bhikkhave ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā ... tathā-rūpaṃ ceto-samādhim phusati yathā samāhite citte dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena amuṃ puggalaṃ passati idha pānātipātīṃ ...*, “Here, *bhikkhus*, some *samaṇa* or brahman ... attains such a concentration of mind that, when his mind is thus concentrated, he sees with the divine eye, purified, surpassing the human, an individual who takes life ...”.

³²⁰ Part 2, section III 2.1.

Then, Kevaddha, that *bhikkhu* approached the Brahmakāyika *devas*. Having approached, he said this to the Brahmakāyika *devas*:"

This is identical in structure to the earlier formula. Once again those Brahmakāyika *devas* send the *bhikkhu* on to their leader, Mahābrahmā. Once again a B.1 formula is used. Mahābrahmā is unable to answer his questions and sends him to the Buddha. For the *bhikkhu*'s descent back to the human realm and approach to the Buddha a "just as a strong man would stretch forth his bent arm, etc." disappearing-reappearing formula is used.³²¹ Thus the movement between major cosmological realms requires some act of supernormal power. The *bhikkhu*'s movement from the human realm (*manussaloka*) to the Devaloka, and from the Devaloka to the Brahmaloaka, is expressed by means of a DR.II type formula (*atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *tathā-rūpaṃ samādhim samāpajji yathā samāhite citte* [place: nom.] *pātur ahoṣi*), while his movement from the Brahmaloaka back to the human realm is expressed by means of a DR.I type formula (*atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] *antarahito ...*). The reason for the use of different formulas here to depict similar events is unclear.

4. Summary of E and F type formulas.

With only three distinct E and F type formulas used to portray only four actual approaches, it is difficult to come to satisfactory conclusions concerning their form and employment.

The F type formula used for the *bhikkhu* going to the Devaloka is indistinguishable from a part 1 type F formula. This, as seen, may be due to the fact that the *bhikkhu* is of only vague identity, occurring as the main character in a passage narrated by the Buddha for instructive purposes.

Although Vipassī Buddha is not depicted dressing and taking his bowl and robe before going to the park in Bandhumatī, nor sitting down on a prepared seat when he arrives there, the approach is to a place with verbal interaction immediately following — a phenomenon not uncommon in part 2 formulas but rare in part 1 formulas.

The formula used to depict the Buddha visiting the Aviha *devas* likewise does not have him dressing and taking his bowl and robe, but the Aviha *devas* approach him and pay their respects once he has appeared in their realm, rather than he going on to approach them. This subordinates the *devas* to the Buddha and parallels Ānanda's approach to Subha, where Ānanda goes to Subha's house, then Subha approaches

³²¹ See part 1, section V 2.1.3.

Ānanda, pays him homage and so on.³²²

With so few examples, we can only tentatively consider the E and F type formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* to be distinguishable from their part 1 counterparts.

V. CONCLUSION TO PART 2

The formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* can, like part 1 approaches, be classified as A, B, E, or F type formulas according to the core approach element utilised by them.

Part 2 type A formulas conform for the most part to the structure, conditions of employment, and so on, of their part 1 counterparts. It is only the involvement of the Buddha, an “historical” character, as the one approaching that distinguishes them from part 1 type A formulas, for as seen, the latter generally involve “quasi-historical” characters.

Virtually all part 2 type B formulas are readily distinguishable from part 1 type B formulas. It is seen that part 2 type B formulas are generally characterised by certain features, many of which tend to subordinate the person being approached to the Buddha or *bhikkhu* who is approaching: the Buddha or *bhikkhu* is depicted getting dressed and taking his bowl and robe when the visit is a public one; the approach is to the place of the person who is approached rather than to the actual person; the Buddha or *bhikkhu* does not show respect to the person visited, rather some gesture of respect or subordination is shown by the person approached; the Buddha or *bhikkhu* sits down on a prepared seat; and finally, such approaches usually occur in sutta-narrator passages. It is also seen that in part 2 type B approaches the purpose of the approach is the fundamental determinant of the formula used with the wording of approaches of different purposes differing markedly from each other. We have in effect “purpose built” formulas. This contrasts with their part 1 counterparts for which the purpose of the approach only determines the posturing unit employed within the various formulas, all of which share a common structure. In this way, the formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a *bhikkhu* approaching someone other than the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* (part 2) exhibit a greater diversity than formulas used to depict someone of the non-Buddha/*bhikkhu* class approaching someone else and a *bhikkhu* approaching the Buddha or another *bhikkhu* (part 1).

Of the four passages in the *Dīgha* which have used an E or F type formula to

³²² See section III 7 above.

depict the Buddha approaching someone, etc., two exhibit something of the characteristics which so distinguish part 2 type B formulas from their part 1 counterparts. But with such limited material it is not possible to come to satisfactory conclusions.

In part 1 it was seen that formulas are composed of distinct fixed units of meaning and that the employment of particular units, and hence the use of a particular formula type and specific formula, are dependent on the narrator, the classification of the person approaching and the person approached, the attitude of the former towards the latter, and the purpose of the visit. With the modification of the third factor to ‘the attitude of the latter towards the former’ it is seen that these factors are also the determinants of the formula used when the Buddha approaches someone, etc., but the relative importance of each differs in this case. It is seen, for example, that for B type formulas at least, the purpose of the approach is much more important in part 2 than in part 1 approaches. Again, whether the host of the meal being offered to the Buddha is a brahman or a lay follower of the Buddha does not affect the “going to an offered meal” approach formula used. This contrasts with part 1 formulas where the respect-showing unit within the formula differs according to who approaches whom and the attitude of the former towards the latter: when a brahman approaches the Buddha, the *saddhim sammodi sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā* respect form is used, when a lay follower approaches, the *abhivādetvā* respect form is used, the resulting formulas being in consequence quite distinct.

It was also seen in part 1 that the use of the appropriate formula could, to a large extent, be predicted on the basis of a knowledge of the narrator, the classification of the person approaching and the person approached, and so on. This also holds true for part 2 approaches, though a number of verbal interaction units are possible within certain formulas which seem to be determined by the story line; their employment is therefore not so predictable. This is the case in the “going to an offered meal” approach formula.

Finally, there are a number of cases where the limited amount of material inhibits the drawing of satisfactory conclusions. Apart from E and F type formulas, this also holds true for the “visiting a person on an invitation” approach formula (section III 7 above), which only has one occurrence. The collection of further examples of such formulas from other Pāli texts would therefore be desirable in these instances.

CONCLUSION TO STUDY 1. THE USE OF FORMULAS OR STANDARDISED PHRASES IN PĀLI SUTTA TEXTS: APPROACH FORMULAS IN THE *DĪGHA-NIKĀYA*.

In this study of the material in the *Dīgha-nikāya* it has been shown that the wording of passages which depict the common event of someone approaching another person has been standardised to the extent that only a limited range of stock phrases or formulas is exhibited. These formulas have set structures and are composed of a variety of possible fixed units of meaning. Which units are employed, and hence which formula type and specific formula is used, depends on the narrator, the classification of the person approaching and the person approached, their attitude towards each other, and the purpose of the visit. Given a knowledge of these determining factors, the wording of a particular approach is, in the majority of cases, predictable. At minimum, this indicates that there is an overall homogeneity to the narrative portions of this collection of suttas.³²³ The examples of complicated and particularly detailed approaches and of those which do not quite conform to the norm show that these structures were not blindly imposed upon the material. The authors of this material were fully capable of breaking with the norm where necessary. Meaning was still the ultimate determinant of diction.

Although there are a variety of methods possible for the composition of oral literature, as noted in the introduction, two principal, alternative methods have been proposed for the composition of early Buddhist texts. The first is that proposed by Parry and Lord for oral epic verse and taken by Lord as the only method possible in oral cultures. In such an improvisatory method no two performances are exactly alike. If the early phase of Buddhist literature was one of composition-in-performance, then those texts which we consider to be representative of this period must be seen to be “frozen” versions of a particular performance.³²⁴ The second method entails the composition of a fixed text which is to be memorised and transmitted verbatim.³²⁵

The standardised diction explored in the current study can be seen as an aid to composition within both of these methods: whenever a particular approach needed to be portrayed, the wording was already available. In other words, these formulas acted as prefabricated building-blocks.³²⁶ In addition to this, the use of a standardised and predictable diction would also have aided the learning by heart and recitation of a large body of fixed material; that is, within a tradition of the composition and transmission of fixed texts this feature would have a mnemonic function.³²⁷ But as mnemonic means

³²³ Cf. B.J. Manné, 1991, p. 163.

³²⁴ See L.S. Cousins, 1983; R. Gethin, 1992.

³²⁵ See R. Gombrich, 1990b.

³²⁶ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 41–43.

³²⁷ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, pp. 142–143; 1977, pp. 479–480.

“aiding memory”, it therefore not only includes “aiding the remembering of what is memorised”, but also “aiding the remembering of non-memorised elements”, for example, the course of events or the appropriate, or approximate, wording. We therefore find formulas and other elements of composition in an improvisatory setting being referred to as “mnemonic aids”³²⁸ and “mnemonic elements”.³²⁹ It is used in the current publication in the sense of “aiding the learning and recall of a memorised text”.³³⁰

Formulas may have other functions within a literature besides aiding its composition and transmission. For example, these approach formulas do not merely depict an approach but, perhaps more importantly, they also inform the audience of the relative status of the individuals involved and establish a social hierarchy, with the Buddha then his *bhikkhus* being, of course, presented as the individuals most worthy of respect.

Formulas may also have a structural function. For example, according to G. von Simson (1965, § 14.8–10; pp. 142–143) the “Ortswechselformel” has the function in the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-* and *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtras* of connecting separate events, with the latter event being the expounding of the doctrine.³³¹ In a similar way, approach formulas can be seen to provide the framework for the all important conversations and interactions between individuals by bringing those individuals together. It seems that the early Buddhist “literary” tradition, or at least that represented by the *Dīgha-nikāya*, was uncomfortable with the mere reporting of a conversation.

The contextual function of a number of other formulas has been explored in greater detail by, for example, J. Ergardt (1977) and B.J. Manné (1990, 1993, 1995a & b). Some have also speculated on the psychological impact of formulas and the repetitive diction as a whole on those who “performed” and heard these texts.³³²

Although possibly representing important dimensions of formulas, an investigation of these latter functions is beyond the current study. It is also the case that it is extremely difficult to make judgements about the impact of stylistic features on the audience, even if we knew who the audience was.

In the course of this work, the formulas used to depict an approach in other *Sutta-* and *Vinaya-piṭaka* texts were occasionally investigated. This revealed that, with regard to approach formulas at least, the diction of these texts is not uniform. For example, the event of Māra approaching the Buddha towards the end of the Buddha’s

³²⁸ B.A. Rosenberg, 1987, pp. 82–83.

³²⁹ J.D. Smith, 1989, p. 40.

³³⁰ See A.B. Lord (1987, p. 67) who makes the distinction between remembering and memorising; cf. J.D. Smith, 1989, pp. 36–37.

³³¹ But cf. D § xvi. 5.1 [II 137].

³³² See P. Kwellā, 1978; G. von Simson, 1965, p. 143.

life is found in the *Dīgha*, *Udāna*, *Samyutta*, and *Āṅguttara*.³³³ In the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* occurrences we have the fullest formula with Māra approaching the Buddha, standing to one side, then speaking. In the *Samyutta* we have a briefer formula with no mention of Māra standing to one side. But in the *Āṅguttara* the formula is so brief as not even to mention the approach, merely reading: “Then, not long after Ānanda had departed, Māra the evil one said this to the Blessed One”. Here, as in other instances, it is seen that the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* are the most “wordy” texts. This means that, although the suttas of the *Dīgha-nikāya* are longer than those to the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* primarily because of differences in their structure, the use of a more elaborate and detailed diction by the former is certainly a contributing factor. These differences may be due to the different functions of these texts.

Again, it was seen in the *Dīgha* material that the Buddha and his *bhikkhus* are always shown respect by a visitor.³³⁴ Yet in the *Vinaya* we find a formula which has no respect-showing or posturing units being used to depict a *devatā*, a *bhikkhu*, or an ascetic approaching the Buddha to inform him about something: *atha kho* [approacher: nom.] *yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesi*.³³⁵

Although the *Majjhima-nikāya* closely parallels the *Dīgha-nikāya* in its diction, we find in that text a formula being used to depict a *devatā* or *devaputta* approaching a *bhikkhu* which has the deity standing to one side but not showing respect.³³⁶ As seen in this study, such a formula is only used in the *Dīgha* for Māra’s approach to the Buddha, with other deities always showing some form of respect.³³⁷

It was also seen in this study that one of the principal respect-showing units used in the *Dīgha-nikāya* is [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā*. In the *Vinaya* we sometimes find this expression being replaced by [approached: instr.] *saddhiṃ paṭisammoditvā*.³³⁸ Now W.B. Bollée (1970, p. 172) considered the non-canonical prose portions of the *Kuṇālaajātaka* to be “in ancient prose ... the same as in *Vinaya* and *Suttas* as it shares with these such characteristics as ... the concatenation *yena ... ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ...*”. Yet the example of *yena Kuṇālo sakuṇo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kuṇālena sakuṇena saddhiṃ paṭisammoditvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi* in the *Kuṇālaajātaka* (p. 17) suggests that the prose of this text may be closer to that of the *Vinaya*.

In part 2 it was also seen that the formula used to depict the Buddha or a

³³³ See part 1, section III 4.5.4 for references.

³³⁴ There are a few exceptions; see part 1, section III 4.6.1.

³³⁵ E.g. *Vin* II 26; IV 34; see also *Vin* I 28–30. Yet cf. *Vin* I 15 where a B6c type formula is used to depict Yasa’s approach to the Buddha.

³³⁶ *M* III 192, 199, 201.

³³⁷ See part 1, section III 4.5.4.

³³⁸ E.g. *Vin* II 155, 290.

bhikkhu approaching an ascetic is characterised by the ascetic showing respect to the Buddha or *bhikkhu* and not vice versa, by the ascetic addressing the Buddha or *bhikkhu* in a reverential manner, and by the ascetic taking a lower seat. It was then shown that this formula is particular to the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhima-nikāyas*, with the *Samyutta*, *Āṅguttara* and *Vinaya* using a simpler formula which depicts the Buddha or *bhikkhu* greeting the ascetic, sitting down to one side, then speaking to him.³³⁹ When depicting such encounters with ascetics, the authors of the *Samyutta*, *Āṅguttara* and *Vinaya* seemed to have considered it unnecessary to portray the Buddha or *bhikkhu* being honoured in such an exaggerated manner. These differences may also support the possibility that certain texts or collections may have had different functions and were intended for different audiences.

And finally, it was seen in part 2 that differences exist between the various canonical texts in their wording of the “going to an invited meal” approach formula. In this case the same basic formula is used in the different texts, but the syntax of the fixed units of meaning and presence of particular units differs from text to text. For example, in the *Dīgha* and *Udāna* we have the Buddha approaching the donor’s house “together with the community of monks” and sitting down, while in the *Vinaya*, *Majjhima*, *Āṅguttara*, and *Sutta-nipāta* we have the Buddha approaching the donor’s house, then sitting down “together with the community of monks”; that is, these latter texts associate the unit “together with the community of monks” with the verb depicting the action of sitting down rather than with the verb portraying the approach. Also, in the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Udāna* and *Sutta-nipāta* we have the donor “taking a lower seat and sitting down to one side” after the meal, while the *Āṅguttara* and *Vinaya* fail to include this “taking of a lower seat” phrase.³⁴⁰ Finally, the *Vinaya* uses the absolutive forms of the verbs expressing feeding, *santappetvā sampavāretvā*, while the other texts use the finite forms, *santappesi sanpavāresi*.³⁴¹

The situation seems to be quite complex, with a text such as the *Udāna*, for example, following the diction of the *Dīgha-nikāya* with regard to some formulas but not others. Further research needs to be undertaken to properly identify and understand these differences. This is a promising area for future investigation, for these differences may be due to the *bhāṇaka* tradition,³⁴² and perhaps also of the role these texts came to play in the life of the Buddhist community. Or again, in some cases, these differences may be merely due to different manuscript traditions. The present study lays the

³³⁹ See part 2, section III 4.4.

³⁴⁰ See part 2, section III 5.3–4.

³⁴¹ It has been suggested that the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* originally belonged to the *Vinaya* (E. Frauwallner, 1956, p. 45ff.). The differences between the *Vinaya* and *Dīgha-nikāya* (which, of course, includes the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*) outlined above indicates that, if this *sutta* had originally belonged to the *Vinaya*, its diction has certainly been brought into line with that of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

³⁴² See G. von Simson, 1977, p. 486; O. von Hinüber, 1990, chap. X; K.R. Norman, 1989, pp. 34, 50.

foundations for such research.

REFERENCES TO STUDY 1

In this section, the references for all approaches occurring in the *Dīgha-nikāya* are listed along with the information considered necessary for a proper study of these formulas. To save space this information is presented in a particularly brief form. In order of appearance, the following information is listed:

a. reference: (1) *Dīgha-nikāya* (PTS edition) sutta & paragraph; (2) [PTS volume & page].

b. variations in text if any or number of occurrences; e.g. [2 occurrences].

c. contextual information:

(1) the narrator of the passage: the sutta narrator (su. nor.), the Buddha (B), or another (oth.).

(2) who (sg./pl.) approaches whom (sg./pl.); B = the Buddha. If the number cannot be determined from the termination, then it is noted.

(3) the pre-approach elements; that is, the conditions for the approach and the means of getting there if mentioned: heard that the Buddha was at a particular place (heard), decided to go (sādhu~, yan nūna etc.), was commanded to go (comm.), or summoned (summ.), disappearing and reappearing approaches (disre), going by chariot (chariot appr.), gathering a group together (gath.), etc.

(4) the purpose of visit: to inform, dissuade, question (ques.), invite for a meal (invite), offer use of lodgings (offer), to talk about the Dhamma (talk Dhamma), to see, etc.

(5) the form of address used (listed as each is so called by the other).

d. references to compare if any (cf.).

(x indicates absence of information)

For example, the first entry in section A of part 1 reads: § v. 19 [I 142] [B; various town people – rājā Mahāvijita; gather wealth; offer wealth; bho – deva;]. Here, ‘§ v. 19 [I 142]’ refers to its location in the *Dīgha-nikāya*. ‘B’ means that the Buddha is the narrator. In this passage ‘various town people’ approach ‘rājā Mahāvijita’. They gather wealth together (‘gather wealth’) and approach the king to offer it to him (‘offer wealth’). The king addresses the town’s people as ‘bho’ and is addressed as ‘deva’.

REFERENCES TO PART 1: THE FORMULAS USED TO DEPICT SOMEONE APPROACHING THE BUDDHA, A *BHIKKHU*, OR ANOTHER PERSON, AND A *BHIKKHU* APPROACHING THE BUDDHA AND ANOTHER *BHIKKHU*.

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- A. UPASAṂ√KAM APPROACHES WITHOUT YENA ... TENA.
- B. YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂ√KAM UPASAṂKAMITVĀ FORMULAS.
- C. COMPLICATED APPROACHES AND THOSE INVOLVING MULTIPLE FORMS OF RESPECT-SHOWING.
- D. OTHER RESPECT-SHOWING FORMULAS: ASKING AFTER HEALTH, PĀDE SIRASĀ √VAND, AÑJALIṂ PAÑĀMETVĀ.
- E. DISAPPEARING-REAPPEARING APPROACHES WITHOUT YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂ√KAM.
- F. DISAPPEARING-REAPPEARING APPROACHES WITH YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂ√KAM.
- G. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: HONOURING THE BODY OF THE BUDDHA, ETC.
- H. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂ√KAM (NO FURTHER).
- I. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: APPROACHING THE PERSON OR THE PLACE OF THE PERSON, BUT NO PERSONAL APPROACH GIVEN.
- J. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: THE DECISION TO APPROACH SOMEONE AND OTHER APPROACH PRECONDITIONS.
- K. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: COMMANDING OR TELLING SOMEONE TO APPROACH SOMEONE.
- L. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: CHARIOT/ELEPHANT APPROACHES, COMING TOGETHER IN A GROUP, ETC.
- M. APPROACHING THE PLACE THEN THE PERSON.
- N. UPASAṂ√KAM AND ALTERNATIVES TO ETAD AVOCA.

A. UPASAṂ√KAM APPROACHES WITHOUT YENA ... TENA.

1) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṁkamtivā evaṁ āha:

§ v. 19 [I 142] [B; various town people – rājā Mahāvijita; gather wealth; offer wealth; bho – deva;]

§ xvii. 1.9–10 [II 173] [B; paṭirājano (pl.) – rājā Mahāsudassana; wheel had entered their realm; offer submission; x – mahārāja;]

§ xvii. 1.16 [II 176] [B; gahapati-ratana – rājā Mahāsudassana; x; offer services; gahapati – deva;]

§ xvii. 1.17 [II 177] [B; pariṇāyaka-ratana – rājā Mahāsudassana; x; offer services; x – deva;]

§ xvii. 1.21 [II 178] [B; brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – rājā Mahāsudassana; M passing by; to see; x – deva;]

§ xvii. 1.24 [II 180] [2 occurrences] [B; brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – rājā Mahāsudassana; having taken wealth; to offer it; bho – deva;]

§ xix. 48 & 49 [II 245] [oth.; chakkhattiyā – Mahā-Govinda brāhmaṇa; x; offer; bho – bho;] [had previously approached] [cf. § 48]

§ xxvi. 6–7 [III 62–63] [4 occur.] [B; paṭirājano (pl.) – rājā cakkavatti; wheel had entered their realm; offer submission; x – mahārāja;]

2) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṁkamtivā evaṁ vadāmi:

§ xxiii. 6 & 8 [II 320 & 323] [oth.; rājañña – his relations; they hold views; to mention about samaṇa-brāhmaṇā who hold diff. views; x – bho;]

3) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā evaṃ ārocesi:

§ xxiv. 1.18 [III 15] [B; one recently dead – B; x; inform; x – bhante;]

4) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā ... dhītaraṃ yāci.

§ iii. 1.23 [I 96] [B; isi – rājā; x; ask for daughter; x – x;]

5) atha kho [approacher: nom.] ... (complicated) ... [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā etad avoca:

§ iii. 1.23 [I 96] [B; māṇavakā, amaccā, pārisajjā – isi; x; request; x – bhadante;]

§ xxvi. 9 [III 64] [B; amaccā pārisajjā etc. – rājā; x; request; x – deva;]

§ xxvii. 20 [III 93] [B; sattā – satta; x; request; x – bho satta;]

6) atha kho [approacher: nom.] ... (complicated) ... [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā [approached: acc.] pucchi.

§ xxvi. 9 [III 64] [B; rājā – rājisi (did not go); x; ques.; x – x;] (indefinite use)

7) ... upasaṃkamtivā paripucchati paripañhati.

§ xxxiv. 2.18 [III 285] [oth.; pupil – teacher; x; ques; x – bhante;] (indefinite use)

8) ... tyāhaṃ upasaṃkamtivā ime pañhe pucchāmi.

§ xxi. 2.7 [II 284] [oth.; Sakka – samaṇa-brāhmaṇā; x; ques.; - ;] (indefinite use)

9) te kālena kālaṃ upasaṃkamtivā paripuccheyyāsi:

§ xxvi. 5 [III 61] [B; samaṇa-brāhmaṇā – rājā; x; x; - ;] (indefinite use)

10) ... tasmin tasmiṃ ce kālakate Tathāgataṃ upasaṃkamtivā etaṃ atthaṃ pucchissatha ...

§ xvi. 2.8 [II 93] [B; -] (indefinite use)

B. YENA ... TEN' UPASAṃKAM UPASAṃKAMITVĀ FORMULAS.

(see also section C: approaches involving multiple forms of respect-showing.)

1) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami (/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamtivā [approached: acc.] etad avoca (/avocam):

§ iii. 1.6–7 [I 89] [... paṭissutvā~] [su. nor.; Ambaṭṭha māṇava – bhikkhū; comm. (K.1), chariot appr. (L.4); to see B; Ambaṭṭha – bho;] [cf. § 9–10] (see C.7, L.4)

§ iv. 3 [I 112] [... paṭissutvā~] [su. nor.; khatta – brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā; comm. (K.2); inform; x – bho;]

§ iv. 4 [I 113] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇā – brāhmaṇa; heard (J.6); dissuade; bho – bhavaṃ + name;]

§ v. 4 [I 129] [... paṭissutvā~] [su. nor.; khatta – brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā; comm. (K.2); inform; x – bho;]

§ v. 5 [I 129] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇā – brāhmaṇa; heard (J.6); dissuade; bho – bhavaṃ + name;]

- § vi. 2 [I 150] [**yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamimṣu. atha kho~**] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇadūtā – bhikkhu; heard (J.4); to see B; āvuso – bho Nāgita;] [cf. § 3–5]
- § x. 1.4 [I 205] [**atha kho ... utṭhāy' āsanā yena ...**] [su. nor.; māṇavaka – māṇava; x; inform; māṇavaka – bho;]
- § xii. 6 [I 225] [**atha kho ... utṭhāy' āsanā ... yena~**] [su. nor.; nahāpita – brāhmaṇa; departs from B; inform; samma + name – bho;]
- § xvi. 4.25 [II 129] [**pattena pāniyaṃ ādāya~**] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; take water; Ānanda – bhante;]
- § xvi. 4.27 [II 130] [**atha kho ... (compl.)~**] [oth.; purisa – Ālāra Kālāma; x; ques.; āvuso – bhante;]
- § xvi. 5.13 [II 144] [... **paṭissutvā~**] [su. nor.; bhikkhu – bhikkhu; comm. (K.7); request to come; āvuso – āvuso + name;]
- § xvi. 5.24 [II 149] [**yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [su. nor.; paribbājaka – Ānanda; heard (J.6); ques./see B; āvuso + name – bho + name;] [cf. § 5.26 approach to the Buddha]
- § xix. 30 [II 231] [... **paṭissutvā~**] [oth.; purisa – māṇava; comm. (K.1); request to come; bho – bhavaṃ + name + māṇava;]
- § xix. 32 [II 232] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – chakkhattiyā; x; inform/comm.; bho – bho;] [cf. § 35]
- § xix. 33, 34, 35 [II 233–5] [3 occurrences] [... **paṭissutvā~**] [oth.; chakkhattiyā – rājaputta; comm. (K.1 & 3); inform; bho – bho;]
- § xix. 34 [II 234] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – chakkhattiyā; x; inform/comm.; bho – bho;]
- § xix. 37 [II 236] [oth.; chakkhattiyā – brāhmaṇa; x; request; bho – bho;]
- § xix. 39 [II 237] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – rājā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;] [cf. § 35]
- § xix. 40 [II 238] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – chakkhattiyā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;]
- § xix. 41 [II 238] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – brāhmaṇā & nahātakā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;]
- § xix. 42 [II 239] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – bhariyā (pl. f.); x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bhoti;]
- § xix. 47 [II 243] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – rājā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;]
- § xix. 48 [II 244] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – chakkhattiyā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;]
- § xix. 56 [II 248] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – brāhmaṇā & nahātakā; x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bho;]
- § xix. 57 [II 249] [oth.; brāhmaṇa – bhariyā (pl. f.); x; inform; bhavaṃ + name – bhoti;]
- § xxiii. 3 [II 318] [... **paṭissutvā~**] [su. nor.; khatta – brāhmaṇagahapatikā; comm. (K.2); inform; x – bho;]
- § xxiv. 1.2 [III 2] [no **atha kho**] [oth.; former bhikkhu – paribbājaka; x; inform; x – name;] [cp. § 1.3 approach to the Buddha]
- § xxiv. 1.8 [III 7] [B; former bhikkhu – acela; x; inform; x – āvuso + name;] [cf. previous]
- § xxiv. 1.19 [III 16] [**atha kho [town: acc.] pavisitvā~**] [B; former bhikkhu – town people; x; inform; x – āvuso;]
- § xxiv. 1.19 [III 16] [B; former bhikkhu – samaṇa-brāhmaṇa; x; inform; x – āvuso;]
- § xxiv. 1.21 [III 18] [... **paṭissutvā~ ... yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [B; purisa – acela; comm. (K.1); inform; āvuso – āvuso + name;]
- § xxiv. 2.1 [III 20] [**yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [B; mahāmatta – acela; decision (J.7); request to come; āvuso – āvuso + name;]
- § xxiv. 2.4 [III 22] [**yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [B; ascetic's antevāsī – acela; decision (J.7); request to come; āvuso – āvuso + name;]
- § xxvi. 3 [III 59] [**disvā yena~**] [B; purisa – rājā; saw cakkaratana; inform; ambho purisa – deva;]
- § xxvi. 4 [III 60] [B; purisa – rājā; x; inform; x – deva;]
- § xxvi. 4 [III 60] [B; rājā – rājisi; cakkaratana had disappeared; inform; tāta – deva;]
- § xxvi. 8 [III 63] [**disvā yena~**] [B; purisa – rājā; saw cakkaratana; inform; ambho purisa – deva;]
- § xxvi. 9 [III 64] [B; purisa – rājā; cakkaratana had disappeared; inform; x – deva;]
- § xxvii. 17 [III 89–90] [3 occurrences] [B; satta (being) – satta; x; request; bho – bho;]

1a) (as 1) ~pañham apucchi:

§ xxiv. 1.12 [III 10] [B; Licchavi-putta – acela Kandaramasuka; x; ques; x;] [cf. § 1.13]

1b) (as 1) ~tikkhattam pāninā ākoṭesi.

§ xxiv. 1.9 [III 8] [B; Licchavi-putta – acela Korakkhattiya; x; see if dead; x – x;]

2) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xvi. 3.7 [II 104] [su. nor.; Māra – B; x; request; pāpima – bhante;]

§ xvi. 3.34 [II 112] [no **atha kho**] [B.; Māra – B; x; request; pāpima – bhante;]

§ xvi. 3.36 [II 113] [no **atha kho**] [B.; Māra – B; x; request; pāpima – bhante;]

2a) (as 2) ~ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho ... (complicated) ... udānaṃ udānesi:

§ ii. 12 [I 50] [as part of a more complicated approach (see C.5)]

3) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami (/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamtivā [approached: instr.] saddhiṃ sammodi (/sammodimsu), sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi (/atthamsu). ekamantaṃ t̥hito (/t̥hitā) kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca (/avocum):

§ vi. 15 [I 157] [B; paribbājaka & ~antevāsī – B; x; ques.; āvuso – āvuso bho Gotama;]

§ vii. 1 [I 159] [su. nor.; =; =; = (āvuso Gotama)]

§ viii. 1 [I 161] [su. nor.; acela Kassapa – B; x; ques.; Kassapa – bho Gotama;]

§ xvi. 1.29 [II 88] [su. nor.; Sunidha-Vassakāra Magadha-mahāmattā – B.; x; invite; x – bhavaṃ Gotama;]

4) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami (/upasaṃkamim/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamtivā [approached: instr.] saddhiṃ sammodi (/sammodim/sammodimsu), sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisidi (/nisidim/nisidimsu). ekamantaṃ nisinno (/nisinnā) kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca (/avocum):

§ ii. 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31 [I 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58,] [no **atha kho**] [oth.; Ajātasattu rājā – Pūraṇa Kassapa (and other 5 teachers); x; ques.; mahārāja – bho Kassapa (etc);] [cf. § 13]

§ iii. 2.16 [I 108] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi – B; been informed, chariot appr. (L.2); ques.; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;]

§ x. 1.3 [I 204] [... **paṭissutvā~ ... etad avoca: ... appābādham** etc.] [su. nor.; māṇavaka – Ānanda; comm. (K.1); request; māṇavaka – bhavaṃ Ānanda;]

§ x. 1.5 [I 205] [su. nor.; Subha māṇava – Ānanda; Ā. had come to his nivesana; ques.; māṇava – bhavaṃ/bho Ānanda;]

§ xiii. 8 [I 236] [su. nor.; Vāsetṭha & Bhāradvāja māṇava – B; heard/āyāma (J.10); ques.; Vāsetṭha – bho Gotama;]

§ xvi. 1.3 [II 73] [... **paṭissutvā~ ... etad avoca: ... appābādham** etc.] [su. nor.; Vassakāra brāhmaṇa Magadha-mahāmatta – B; comm. by rājā Ajātasattu (K.1); chariot appr. etc. (L.1); give message; Vāsetṭha – bho Gotama;]

§ xvi. 5.26 [II 150] [su. nor.; Subhadda paribbājaka – B; heard (J.6); ques.; Subhadda – bho Gotama; cf. § 5.28ff.] [cf. § 5.24 approach to Ānanda]

§ xxiii. 4–5 [II 318–9] [**yena [place: nom.] yena~ ... ekamantaṃ nisidi ...** (others show various forms of respect) ... **ekamantaṃ nisinno~**] [su. nor.; Pāyāsi rājāñña & brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – āyasmā Kūmara-kassapa; gathered group; debate;

rājañña – bho Kassapa;]

§ xxv. 1–4 [III 36–37] [atha kho ... yena [place: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ. ... atha kho~] [su. nor.; Sandhāna gahapati – Nigrodha paribbājaka; yan nūna~; ques.; gahapati – bhonto;]

4a.) (as 4) ~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] etad avoca:

§ xix. 30 [II 232] [... paṭissutvā~] [oth.; Jotipāla māṇava – rājā Disampati; summ. (K.10); =; bhavaṃ Jotipāla – bho;]

§ xix. 35 [II 235] [... paṭissutvā~] [oth.; Mahā-Govinda brāhmaṇa – Reṇu rājā; summ. (K.10); =; bhavaṃ Govinda – bho;]

5) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ (/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi (/aṭṭhamsu). ekamantaṃ ṭhito (/ṭhitā) kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca (/avocum):

§ vi. 3 [I 151] [no atha kho; ... yena [place: nom.] yena~ ~(complicated) ~ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi] [su. nor.; Licchavi (& parisa) – bhikkhu; heard (implied); to see B; Mahāli – bhante Nāgita (cf. § 4)] [cf. § 2, 4, 5] (see C.4)

§ vi. 4 [I 151] [su. nor.; Siha samaṇuddesa – bhikkhu; x; request; Siha – bhante Kassapa (cf. § 3);] (see C.4)

§ vi. 4 [I 151] [no atha kho; ... paṭissutvā~] [su. nor.; Siha samaṇuddesa – B; comm. (K.9); to inform/request; Siha – bhante;] [cf. § 5] (see C.4)

§ xiv. 3.29, 30, 31, 32 [II 50–53] [no atha kho] [B; devatā – B; B had come; to greet; x – mārisa;]

§ xvi. 1.6 [II 76] [no atha kho; ... paṭissutvā ... sannipātetvā~] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; inform; Ānanda – bhante;]

§ xvi 1.21 [II 84] [no atha kho] [su. nor.; Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā – B; x; inform of meal; gahapatayo – bhante;] [cf. § 1.20]

§ xvi. 3.49 [II 119] [no atha kho; ... paṭissutvā ... sannipātetvā~] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; inform; Ānanda – bhante;]

§ xxxiii 1.3 [III 208] [atha kho ... (complicated)~] [su. nor.; Pāveyyakā Mallā – B; x; inform that hall is ready; Vāsetṭhā – bhante;]

5a.) (as 5) ~ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] etad avoca (/avocam):

§ xvi 4.31 [II 131] [[approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] etad avocam] [B; purisa – B; x; x; āvuso – bhante;]

§ xxiii. 33 [II 356] [su. nor.; Pāyāsi devaputta (after death: formerly rājañña) – bhikkhu; x; the bhikkhu had come to his abode; āvuso – bhante;]

5b.) (as 5) ~ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: dat./gen.] kālaṃ ārocesi:

§ xii. 7 [I 226] [no atha kho; ... paṭissutvā~] [su. nor.; nahāpita – B; comm. (K.1); inform of meal; x – bhante; cf. § 5]

6) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ (/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi (/nisīdimsu). ekamantaṃ nisinna (/nisinnā) kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca (/avocum):

§ vi. 5 [I 152] [su. nor.; Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi mahatiyā Licchavi-parisāya saddhiṃ – B; x; ques.; Mahāli – bhante;]

- § xi. 1 [I 211] [su. nor.; gahapati-putta – B; x; request; name – bhante;]
 § xii. 5 [I 225] [... **paṭissutvā~ ... etad avoca: ... appābādham** etc.] [su. nor.; nahāpita – B; comm. (K.1); invite; x – bhante; cf. § 7] (see J.4)
 § xv. 1 [II 55] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; talk Dhamma; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xvi. 1.16 [II 81–82] [su. nor.; Sāriputta – B; x; talk Dhamma; Sāriputta – bhante;]
 § xvi. 1.20 [II 84] [su. nor.; Pāṭaligamiyā upāsakā – B; heard in town (J.5); offer; gahapataya – bhante;] [cf. § 1.21]
 § xvi. 2.6 [II 91] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; ques.; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xvi. 2.24 [II 99] [=]
 § xvi. 3.12 [II 107] [=]
 § xvi. 4.26 [II 130] [**disvā~ ...**] [su. nor.; Pukkusa Malla-putta – B; travelling along road; talk; name – bhante;]
 § xvii. 1.2 [II 169] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; request; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xviii. 5 [II 203] [no **atha kho**] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; ques.; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xviii. 8 [II 205] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; x; ques.; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xxiv. 1.3 [III 2] [no **atha kho**] [B; former bhikkhu – B; x; inform; name – bhante;] [cf. § 1.2]
 § xxiv. 1.16 [III 13] [B; former bhikkhu – B; x; inform; name – bhante;] [cf. § 1.2]
 § xxviii. 1 [III 99] [su. nor.; Sāriputta – B; x; talk Dhamma; Sāriputta – bhante;]
 § xxix. 2 [III 118] [**yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [su. nor.; Cunda samañuddesa – Ānanda; x; inform; āvuso Cunda – bhante;]
 § xxix. 3 [III 118] [su. nor.; Ānanda & Cunda samañuddesa – B; x; inform; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xxxiii. 1.2 [III 207] [su. nor.; Pāveyyakā Mallā – B; heard in town (J.5); offer; Vāsetṭhā – bhante;]

6a.) (as 6) ~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] etad avoca (avocaṃ):

- § iii. 2.13 [I 106] [su. nor.; Ambaṭṭha māṇava – brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi; chariot appr. (L.3); inform; name – bho;]
 § xvi. 5.13–14 [II 144] [... **paṭissutvā~**] [su. nor.; Ānanda – B; summ. (K.10); =; Ānanda – bhante;]
 § xxiv. 1.10, 13, 14; 2.13 [III 8, 10, 11, 27] [[**approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] etad avocaṃ**] [B; former bhikkhu – B; x; x; name – bhante;] [cf. § 1.2]

6b.) (as 6) ~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approacher: acc.] [approached: nom.] dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesi samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī.

- § xvi. 2.14 [II 95] [su. nor.; Ambapālī gaṇikā – B; heard dwells in her ambavana (J.5), chariot appr. (L.1); see; x – bhante;]
 § xvi. 2.18 [II 97] [su. nor.; Vesālīkā Licchavī – B; heard (J.5), chariot appr. (L.1); see; Licchavī – bhante;]
 § xvi. 4.14 [II 126] [su. nor.; Cunda kammāra-putta – Buddha; heard that B dwells in his ambavana (J.5); invite; name – bhante;]
 § xvi. 4.19 [II 127] [... **sandassetvā ... ~tvā** (etc.) ... **Bhagavā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.**] [=; =; having carried out command; x; =;]

6c.) (as 6) ~ekamantaṃ nisīdimṃsu. tesam [approached: nom.] ānupubbīkathaṃ kathesi ...

- § xiv. 3.10–11 [II 40–41] [B; rāja-putta & purohita-putta – Vipassī Buddha; summ. (K.10), chariot appr. (L.1); hear dhamma; x – bhante;]
 § xiv. 3.14–15 [II 42–43] [[**town: abl.] nikkhamitvā yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [B; mahājanakāya – Vipassī Buddha; heard (J.5); hear dhamma; x – bhante;]
 § xiv. 3.18 [II 44] [**yena [town: nom.] yena [place: nom.] yena~**] [B; pabbajita (pl.) – Vipassī Buddha; heard (J.5); hear Dhamma; x – bhante;]

7) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā [approached: acc.] caṅkamantaṃ anucaṅkamim̐su. atha kho [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] āmantesi:

§ xxvii. 2–3 [III 80] [su. nor.; Vāsetṭha-Bhāradvājā (māṇava) – B; āyāma (J.10); hear Dhamma; name – bhante;]

C. COMPLICATED APPROACHES AND THOSE INVOLVING MULTIPLE FORMS OF RESPECT-SHOWING.

1) atha kho [person 1 & 2: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā [person 1: nom.] [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, [person 2: nom.] pana ... [approached: instr.] saddhim̐ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho [person 2: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ ix. 32 [I 190] [w.r. ~sārāṇiyaṃ kathaṃ] [su. nor.; 1) Citta Hatthisāri-putta, 2) Poṭṭhapāda paribbājaka – B; x; ques; name – bhante;]

2) atha kho [person 1 (& 2): nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamitvā [approached: instr.] saddhim̐ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. [persons 2: nom.] pi kho ... app ekacce [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app ekacce [approached: instr.] saddhim̐ sammodim̐su, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app ekacce yena [approached: nom.] ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app ekacce nāma-gottaṃ sāvetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app ekacce tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho [person 1: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ v. 8–9 [I 133–134] [atha kho [person 1: nom.] mahatā brāhmaṇa-gaṇena saddhim̐ yena [place: nom.] yena~] [w.r. sammodim̐] [su. nor.; 1) brāhmaṇa, 2) brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; decision (J.8); for instruction; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;] (see L.6)

§ xxiii. 4–5 [II 318–9] [atha kho [person 1: nom.] brāhmaṇa-gahapatikehi parivuto yena [place: nom.] yena~] [su. nor.; 1) rājañña, 2) brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – āyasmā Kumāra-kassapa; decision (J.9, L.6); debate; rājañña – bho Kassapa;]

2a.) (as C.2) ~app ekacce tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su. ... (complicated) ... atha kho [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] etad avoca:

§ iv. 9–11 [I 118–119] [atha kho [person 1: nom.] mahatā brāhmaṇa-gaṇena saddhim̐ yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ. (§ 7, p. 117); ~tuṅhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su. tatra pi sudam̐ [person 1: nom.] bahulaṃ anuvitakkento hoti~] [su. nor.; 1) brāhmaṇa, 2) brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; decision (J.8), appr. place at § 7; debate; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;] (see L.6)

3) **atha kho** [persons 1 (& persons 2): nom.] ... (complicated) ... **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu**, [persons 2: nom.] **pi kho** ... **app ekacce** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu**, **app ekacce~** (as C.2).

§ xxxii. 1–2 [III 194] [su. nor.; 1) cattāro Mahārājā, 2) Yakkhā, Gandhabbā, etc. – B; x; offer protective verse; x/mahārājāno – bhante/mārisa;]

4) a) (approach to the attendant bhikkhu)

atha kho [persons 1: nom.] **yena** [place: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**. ... **atha kho** [persons 1: nom.] **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **etad avocaṃ**: ... **atha kho** [persons 1: nom.] **tatth' eva ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu**.

... **pi** [person 2: nom.] **yena** [place: nom.] **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi**. **ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho** [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] **etad avoca**: ... [person 2: nom.] **tatth' eva ekamantaṃ nisīdi**.

atha kho ... **pi** [person 3: nom.] **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi**. **ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho** [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] **etad avoca**:

b) (approach to the Buddha)

[person 3: nom.] ([dat./gen.] **paṭissutvā**) **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi**. **ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho** [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] **etad avoca**: (to request the Buddha to see the others)

atha kho [persons 1: nom.] **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: instr.] **saddhiṃ sammodaṃsu**, **sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu**.

... **pi** [person 2: nom.] **yena** [approached: nom.] **ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā** [approached: acc.] **abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi**. **ekamantaṃ nisinna kho** [person 2: nom.] [approached: acc.] **etad avoca**:

§ vi. 2–5 [I 150–152] [su. nor.; 1) Kosalakā & Māgadhakā brāhmaṇa-dūtā, 2) Oṭṭhaddha Licchavi mahatiyā Licchavi-parisāya saddhiṃ, 3) Siha samaṇuddesa – a) bhikkhu, b) B; 1) heard (J.4), 2) see B, 3) request; a) 1) āvuso – bho Nāgita, 2) Mahāli – bhante, 3) Siha – bhante Kassapa, b) 1) x – x, 2) Mahāli – bhante, 3) Siha – bhante;]

5) **atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto** ... **pattiko yena maṇḍala-mālassa dvāraṃ ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā Jivikaṃ komārabhaccaṃ etad avoca**: ... **atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto yena Bhagavā ten'** **upasaṃkamaṃsu**, **upasaṃkavitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi**. **ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ anuviloketvā rahadaṃ iva vippasannaṃ udānaṃ udānesi**: ... **atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjalim paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi**. **ekamantaṃ nisinna kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca**:

§ ii. 11–13 [I 50–51] [su. nor.; Ajātasattu rājā – B; heard of B's qualities (J.6), elephant appr. § 9–11; ques.; mahārāja – bhante;] (see L.5)

6) ... Sakko devānaṃ indo Bhagavato Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, devā pi Tāvatiṃsā Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu, Pañcasikho pi gandhabba-putto Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ... atha kho Bhagavā Sakkam devānaṃ indaṃ etad avoca:

§ xxi. 1.8–9 [II 269–270] [su. nor.; 1) Sakka, 2) devā, 3) gandhabba – B; decided to see (J.3), dis-re (F.1); ques; 1) x – bhante 2) x – x, 3) name – bhante;] [see F.1 for dis-re and full text.]

7) ... atha kho Ambaṭṭho māṇavo yena te bhikkhū ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā te bhikkhū etad avoca: ... atha kho Ambaṭṭho māṇavo yena so vihāro saṃvuta-dvāro tena appa-saddo upasaṃkamtivā ataramāno ālindaṃ pavisitvā ukkāsitvā aggalaṃ ākoṭesi. vivari Bhagavā dvāraṃ, pāvīsi Ambaṭṭho māṇavo. māṇavakā pi pavisitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodimsu, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīmsu. Ambaṭṭho pana māṇavo caṅkamanto pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāreti, ṭhito pi nisinnena Bhagavatā kañci kañci kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāreti. atha kho Bhagavā Ambaṭṭha-māṇavaṃ etad avoca:

§ iii. 1.6–10 [I 89–90] [su. nor.; Ambaṭṭha māṇava (& māṇavakā) – 1) bhikkhū, 2) B; comm. (K.1), chariot appr. (L.4); see B; 1) Ambaṭṭha – bho, 2) Ambaṭṭha – bho Gotama;] [his standing while the B was sitting is disrespectful. He also expresses further disrespect later.] [cf. § 1.6 for respect form he shows to his teacher] (see J.4)

(see also G.1 (§ xvi. 5.21–22 [II 148]) & G.2 (§ xvi. 6.22 [II 163]); cf. § 5.24–26)

D. OTHER RESPECT-SHOWING FORMULAS: ASKING AFTER HEALTH, PĀDE SIRASĀ √VAND, AÑJALIM PAÑĀMETVĀ.

1a) ... etad avoca: '[sender: nom.] [approached: acc.] appābādham appātaṅkam lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ pucchati, evañ ca vadeti: "(message)" ti

§ x. 1.2–4 [I 204–205] [saddhiṃ sammodi ... nisīdi formula] [su. nor.; māṇavaka – Ānanda; comm. by māṇava; ask Ānanda to come; māṇavaka – bhavaṃ Ānanda;]

§ xii. 4–5 [I 225] [abhivādetvā ... nisīdi formula] [su. nor.; nahāpita – B; comm. by brāhmaṇa; offer meal; x – bhante;] [cf. § 7]

1b) ... etad avoca: '[sender: nom.] [voc.] [approached: acc.] bhoto Gotamassa pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātaṅkam lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ pucchati, ... so evaṃ āha:

§ xvi. 1.2–3 [II 72–73] [saddhiṃ sammodi ... nisīdi formula] [su. nor.; Vassakāra brāhmaṇa Magadha-mahāmatta – B; comm. by Ajātasattu, chariot appr.; ask advice; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;]

2) [person: nom.] [person: gen.] pāde sirasā √vand

(also occurs in 1b above .)

§ xvi. 5.21–22 [II 148] [su. nor.; Mallā, etc. – B; (appr. Ānanda) requested; honour; x – x;] (see G.1)

§ xvi. 6.21–22 [II 163] [+ añjalim pañāmetvā] [su. nor.; Mahākassapa – Bhagavato

citaka; travels there; to honour; x – x;] [other bhikkhus do likewise] (see G.2)
 § xxi. 1.8, 10 [II 269–271] [su. nor.; 1) Sakka, 2) devā, 3) gandhabba – B; decide to see, dis-re ; ques; 1) x – bhante, 2) x – x, 3) name – bhante;] (see C.6)

3) añjalim paṇāmetvā

(see C.2, 2a, 3, 5 (multiple respect-showing formulas), E.1.d, e and the references in D.2 above)

E. DISAPPEARING-APPEARING APPROACHES WITHOUT YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂVĀKAM.

1) (=DR.I.1) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitam vā bāham pasāreyya, pasāritam vā bāham sammiñjeyya, evam eva* [place: loc.] antarahito (/antarahitā) [approached: gen.] purato pātur ahoṣi (/ahamsu).~

* **evam eva** in § xi. 84; xiv. 3.3 = 3.23, 3.25; xvii. 1.25 (v.l. evam evam); xix. 44.
evam evam in xx. 3 (v.l. evam eva; see fnt.); xxi. 1.2 (v.ll. evam eva, evam eva kho).

a) (=DR.I.1.B.1) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xvii. 1.25 [II 181] [... paṭissutvā seyyathā pi~] [B; deva-(putta) – rājā Mahāsudassana; comm. (K.8); offer to build palace; x – deva;]

b) (=DR.I.1.B.5c) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhamsu. ekamantaṃ ṭhitā kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: gen.] santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:

§ xx. 3 [II 253–4] [su. nor.; devatā – B; yan nūna~ (J.2); to give verses; x – x;]

c) (=DR.I.1.B.6) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xi. 84 [I 222] [B; bhikkhu – B; sent to B to answer ques. (K.4); ques.; bhikkhu – bhante;]

d) (=DR.I.1.X.2) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgam karitvā dakkhiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā yena [approached: nom.] ten' añjalim paṇāmetvā [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xiv. 3.3 [II 37] [B; aññatara Mahā-brahmā – Vipassī Buddha; read his thoughts; persuade to teach; Brahme – bhante;]

e) (=DR.I.1.X.1) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgam karitvā yena [approached: nom.] ten' añjalim paṇāmetvā [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xiv. 3.23, 25 [II 46–47] [2 occurrences] [B; aññatara Mahā-brahmā – Vipassī Buddha; read his thoughts; inform; Brahme – Bhagavā/Sugato/bhante;]

2) (=DR.I.2) (atha kho) [approacher: nom.] seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva [place: loc.] antarahito [approached: gen.] pamukhe pātur ahoṣi.~

a) (=DR.I.2.B.1c) ~atha kho [approached: nom.] [approacher: acc.] gāthāya ajjhabhāsi:

§ xix. 44 [II 239–240] [oth.; Brahmā Sanamkumāra – Mahāgovinda brāhmaṇa; reads his thoughts; x; Brahme – Govinda;]

F. DISAPPEARING-REAPPEARING APPROACHES WITH YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂVKAM.

1) (=DR.I.4) atha kho [approacher: nom.] seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva [place: loc.] antarahito [place: loc.] paccuṭṭhāsi~ (see also § xvi. 1.33 [II 89])

1a) (=DR.I.4a) atha kho [persons 1 (2 & 3): nom.] seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva(m) [place: loc.] antarahito [place: loc.] paccuṭṭhāsi. ... (complicated) ... [person 3: nom.] yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā '...' ti ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho [person 3: nom.] beluva-paṇḍu-viṇaṃ assāvesi imā ca gāthā abhāsi ... (complicated) ... [person 1: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] pavisitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, [person 2: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] pavisitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhamsu, [person 3: nom.] [habitation of approached: acc.] pavisitvā [approached: acc.] abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. ... atha kho [approached: nom.] [person 1: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xxi. 1.2–9 [II 264–270] [evam eva(m) instead of evam eva] [su. nor.; 1) Sakka, 2) devā, 3) gandhabba – B; decision (J.3); ques; 1) x – bhante, 2) x – x, 3) name – bhante;]

G. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: HONOURING THE BODY OF THE BUDDHA, ETC.

1) atha kho Mallā Malla-puttā ca Malla-suṇisā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamimsu. ... (Ānanda's thoughts) ... atha kho āyasmā Ānando Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantaṃ vandāpesi: 'itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhariyo sapaṇḍo sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatī' ti.

§ xvi. 5.21–22 [II 148] [su. nor.; Mallā, etc. – B; requested; honour; x – x;]

2) atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo yena Kusinārā-Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ yena Bhagavato citako ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pādato vivarivā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi. tāni pi kho pañca bhikkhu-satāni ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pādato vivarivā

Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandim̐su.

§ xvi. 6.22 [II 163] [su. nor.; Mahākassapa & bhikkhū – Bhagavato citaka; travels there; to honour; x – x;]

3) **atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā gandha-mālañ ca sabbañ ca tālavacaram pañca dussa-yuga-satāni ādāya yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yena Bhagavato sarīraṃ ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā evaṃ taṃ divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ.**

§ xvi. 6.13 [II 159] [su. nor.; Mallā – B's sarīraṃ; prep.; honour; x – x;]

H. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: YENA ... TEN' UPASAṂ√KAM (NO FURTHER).

(as part of larger broken personal approach, see M.4)

1) **yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (no further).

§ xvi. 4.30 [II 131] [B; mahājana-kāya – ploughmen; set out from town (L.8); to see; x – x;]

§ xvii. 2.7 [II 189] [B; itthāgāra – devī; asked to assemble; to go; x – x;]

§ xxviii. 2 [III 101–102] [**idhāhaṃ bhante yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamaṃ dhamma-savanāya.**] [oth.; - ;]

I. MISCELLANEOUS APPROACHES: APPROACHING THE PERSON OR THE PLACE OF THE PERSON, BUT NO PERSONAL APPROACH GIVEN.

1) **atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī caturaṅginiyā senāya saddhim itthāgārena yena Dhammo pāsādo ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā Dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā yena Mahāvvyūhaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā Mahāvvyūhassa kūṭāgārassa dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā aṭṭhāsi. ... (complicated) ... rājānaṃ Mahāsudassanaṃ etad avoca:**

§ xvii. 2.8 [II 190] [B; devī – rājā; yan nūna~ (J.1), assembled together; to see; devī – deva;]

2) **addasā kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo ājivakaṃ dūrato 'va āgacchantaṃ. disvā taṃ ājivakaṃ etad avoca:**

§ xvi. 6.19 [II 162] [su. nor.; x; both are going along road; Mahākassapa asks about the Buddha; āvuso – āvuso;]

3) **... paṭissutvā [town: acc.] pavisitvā [approached: acc.] etad avoca:**

§ xiv. 3.9 [II 40] [B; dāya-pāla – rāja-putta & purohita-putta; comm. (K.6); call; x – bhante;]

4) see also § iii. 1.6–10 (C.7); xxi. 1.8–9 (C.6, F.1).

J. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: THE DECISION TO APPROACH SOMEONE AND OTHER APPROACH PRECONDITIONS.

(for other instances of *yan nūna* [place/person] *upasaṃ√kam* see: § xiv. 3.29 [II 50] (the Buddha thinking to approach someone); xxiii. 21 [II 340] (an ascetic thinking to approach a place))

1) **yan nūna [ahaṃ/mayam] [acc.] dassanāya upasaṃ√kam** (opt.); (... etha tumhe ... dassanāya upasaṃ√kam.)
§ xvii. 2.7 [II 189] (I.1).

2) **yan nūna [ahaṃ/mayam] yena [nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (opt.), (*upasaṃkamtivā~*)
§ xx. 2 [II 253] (E.1b); xxv. 1 [III 36] (B.4).

3) **yadi pana [voc.] [acc.] dassanāya upasaṃ√kam** (opt.) ...
§ xxi. 1.1–2, 4 [II 263–265] (C.6, F.1).

4) **assosi (/assosum) kho ...** (about the qualities of the Buddha/a disciple) ...
sādhu kho pana tathā-rūpānam arahatam dassanam hoti' ti
§ iii. 1.2, 4 [I 87–88] (B.1, C.7); iv. 2 [111] (B.1, C.2a); v. 2 [128] (B.1, C.2); vi. 1 [150] (B.1, C.4); xii. 3 [224–225] (B.6); xxiii. 2 [II 317] (C.2, L.6).

5) **assosi (/assosum) kho [nom.]: '[nom.] kira [town: acc.] anupatto [town/place: loc.] viharati ([place: loc.])' ti** (with some variations)
§ xiv. 3.14–15 [II 42–43] (B.6c), 3.18 [44] (B.6c); xvi. 1.20 [84] (B.6), 2.14 [95] (B.6b), 2.15 [95–96] (B.6b), 4.14 [126] (B.6b); xxxiii. 1.2 [III 207] (B.6).

6) **assosi (/assosum)** not as above:
§ ii. 8 [I 49] (C.5); iv. 4 [113] (B.1); v. 5 [129] (B.1); xvi. 5.23 [II 148] (B.1 & 4).

7) **tena hi ... ahaṃ gacchāmi**
§ xxiv. 2.1 = 2.4 [III 20, 22] (B.1).

8) **tena hi [voc.] [nom.] [acc.] dassanāya upasaṃ√kam** (fut.)
§ iv. 7 [I 117] (C.2a, L.6); v. 8 [133] (C.2).

9) **āgamentu kira ... dassanāya upasaṃ√kam** (fut.)
§ iv. 3 [I 112–113] (C.2a); v. 4 [I 129] (C.2); xxiii. 4 [II 318] (C.2).

10) **āyāma [voc.] yena [nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (fut.), (*upasaṃkamtivā*)
§ xiii. 7 [I 236] (B.4); xxvii. 2 [III 80] (B.7); xxix. 2 [118] (B.6).

K. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: COMMANDING OR TELLING SOMEONE TO APPROACH SOMEONE.

1) **ehi tvam [voc.] yena [nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (imper.), (*upasaṃkamtivā*)
§ iii. 1.4 [I 88] (L.4, C.7); x. 1.2 [204] (B.4); xii. 4, 7 [225–6] (B.6, 5b); xvi. 1.2 [II 72] (B.4); xix. 30, 35 [231, 234] (B.1); xxiv. 1.20 [III 17] (B.1).

2) **tena hi [voc.] yena [nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (imper.), (*upasaṃkamtivā*)
§ iv. 3 [I 112] (B.1); v. 4 [I 129] (B.1); xxiii. 3 [II 318] (B.1).

- 3) **āyantu [voc.] yena [nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam** (imper.), **upasaṃkamitvā**
§ xix. 32 & 34 [II 233–234] (B.1).
- 4) **gaccha tvam [voc.] [acc.] upasaṃkamitvā imam pañhaṃ puccha**
§ xi. 83 [I 222] (E.1c).
- 5) **gaccha tvam [voc.] [town: acc.] pavisitvā [acc.] ārocehi.**
§ xvi. 5.19 [II 147]; 6.12 [158]; (see also part 2).
- 6) **ehi tvam [voc.] [town: acc.] pavisitvā evaṃ vadehi.**
§ xiv. 3.9 [II 40] (I.3).
- 7) **ehi tvam [voc.] [acc.] āmantehi.**
§ xvi. 5.13 [II 143] (B.1).
- 8) **ehi tvam [voc.] [building: acc.] māpehi.**
§ xvii. 1.25 [II 180] (E.1a).
- 9) **tena hi [voc.] tvam yeva Bhagavato ārocehi**
§ vi. 4 [I 151] (B.5).
- 10) (being summoned; no actual formula)
§ xiv. 3.9–11 (see B.6c.); xvi. 5.13–14 (see B.6a); xix. 30 & 35 (see B.4a).

L. PRE-APPROACH FORMULAS: CHARIOT/ELEPHANT APPROACHES,
COMING TOGETHER IN A GROUP, ETC.

(for chariot approaches to a place, see § xiv. 2.1, 5, 9, 13)

1) [approacher: nom.] **bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddam yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi [town: abl.] niyyāsi (/niyyimsu), yena [place: nom.] tena pāyāsi (/pāyimsu), yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko (/pattikā) va yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami (/upasaṃkamimsu), upasaṃkamitvā~ ...**

§ xiv. 3.10–11 [II 40–41] [**atha kho ...**] [B; rāja-putta & purohita-putta – Vipassī Buddha; summ. (K.10); hear dhamma; x – bhante;] (see B.6c)

§ xvi. 1.3 [II 73] [... **paṭissutvā** + asking after health] [su. nor.; Vassakāra brāhmaṇa Magadha-mahāmatta – B; comm. by rājā Ajātasattu (K.1); give message; Vassakāra – bho Gotama;] (see B.4)

§ xvi. 2.14 [II 95] [**atha kho ...**] [su. nor.; Ambapālī gaṇikā – B; heard; see; x – bhante;] (see B.6b)

§ xvi. 2.15–18 [II 96–97] [**atha kho ... ~niyimsu ... (complicated) ... ~tena pāyimsu ... (complicated) ... yāvatikā~**] [su. nor.; Vesālīkā Licchavī – B; heard; see; Licchavī – bhante;] (see B.6b)

2) [approacher: nom.] **yānesu āropetvā [town: abl.] niyyāsi, yena~ (as 1)**

§ iii. 2.16 [I 108] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi – B; been informed; ques.; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;] (see B.4)

3) [approacher: nom.] vaḷavā-ratham āruhya pakkāmi. ... atha kho [approacher: nom.] yena [place: nom.] tena pāyāsi~ (as 1)

§ iii. 2.12–13 [I 106] [atha kho ...] [su. nor.; Ambaṭṭha māṇava – brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi; x; inform; name – bho;] (see B.6a)

4) [approacher: nom.] vaḷavā-ratham āruhya sambahulehi māṇavakehi saddhiṃ yena [place: nom.] tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va ārāmaṃ pāvīsi. ... atha kho [approacher: nom.] yena [approached 1: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhami, upasaṃkhamitvā~ ... (approach to the Buddha occurs later)

§ iii. 1.6–10 [I 89–90] [paṭissutvā ...] [su. nor.; Ambaṭṭha māṇava (& māṇavaka) – bhikkhu then B; comm. by brāhmaṇa; find out; Ambaṭṭha – bho Gotama;] (see C.7)

5) [person 2: nom.] [person 1 (rājā): dat./gen.] paṭissutvā pañca-mattāni hatthinikā-satāni kappāpetvā rañño ca ārohaṇiyam nāgam [person 1: dat./gen.] paṭivedesi: 'kappitāni kho te deva hatthi-yānāni yassa dāni kālaṃ maññāsi' ti. atha kho [person 1: nom.] pañcasu hatthinikā-satesu paccēkā itthiyo āropetvā ārohaṇiyam nāgam abhirūhitvā ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu [town: abl.] niyyāsi mahacca rājānubhāvena, yena [place: nom.] tena pāyāsi. ... (complicated) ... atha kho [person 1: nom.] yāvatikā nāgassa bhūmi nāgena gantvā nāgā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhami, upasaṃkhamitvā [person 2: acc.] etad avoca: (then approach to the Buddha)

§ ii. 9–12 [I 49–50] [su. nor.; Ajātasattu – B; heard about B's qualities; ques; mahārāja – bhante;] (see C.5)

6) atha kho [approacher: nom.] [town: abl.] nikkhamitvā saṃghā saṃghī gaṇi-bhūtā yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhamanti. (personal approach later)

§ iv. 2 [I 112] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatiyā – B; heard; to see; x;] (see C.2a)

§ v. 2 [I 128] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatiyā – B; heard; to see; x;] (see C.2)

§ xxiii. 2–3 [II 317] [... ~gaṇi-bhūtā uttarena-mukhā gacchanti yena~ ...] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatiyā – āyasmā Kumāra-kassapa; heard; to see; x;] (see C.2)

7) [town: abl.] nikkhami Bhagavantam dassanāya.

§ xxv. 1 [III 36] [but decides to see paribbājaka; see B.4, J.2]

8) [town: abl.] nikkhamitvā yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhami.

§ xvi. 4.30 [II 131] [B; mahājana-kāya – ploughmen; set out from town; to see; - ;] (see H.1)

9) [town: abl.] nikkhamitvā yena [place: nom.] yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhamiṃsu, upasaṃkhamitvā~

§ xiv. 3.14 [II 42–43] (see B.6c & J.5)

10) [town: acc.] agamāsiṃ, yena [building: nom.] ten' upasaṃkhamiṃ.

§ iii. 1.13 [I 91] [oth.; (see) -]

M. APPROACHING THE PLACE THEN THE PERSON.

(see also L pre-approach formulas as part of e.g. chariot approaches)

1) yena [place: nom.] yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamitvā~

Note: the place approached is noted after the volume and page entry; e.g. [Ambalaṭṭhikā].

§ v. 8 [I 133–134] [Ambalaṭṭhikā] [su. nor.; 1) brāhmaṇa, 2) brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; x; for instruction; 1) brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama, 2) x;] (see C.2)

§ vi. 3 [I 151] [Mahāvanam kūtāgāra-sālā] [su. nor.; Licchavi (& parisa) – bhikkhu; heard; to see B; Mahāli – bhante Nāgita] [cf. § 2, 4, 5] (see C.4)

§ xiv. 3.14 [II 42–43] [Khemomiga-dāyo] [B; mahājanakāya – Vipassī Buddha; heard; hear Dhamma; x – bhante;] (see B.6c)

§ xvi. 5.24 [II 149] [Upavattanam Mallānam sālavanam] [su. nor.; paribbājaka – Ānanda; heard; ques. B; āvuso Subhadda – bho Ānanda;] (see B.1, 4)

§ xvi. 6.13 [II 159] [=] [su. nor.; Mallā – B's sarīram; prepare; honour; x – x;] (see G.3)

§ xvi. 6.22 [II 163] [Kusinārā-Makuṭa-bandhanam Mallānam cetiyam] [su. nor.; Mahākassapa – Bhagavato citaka; travels there; to honour; x – x;] [other bhikkhus do likewise] (see G.2)

§ xxiii. 2–4 [II 317–318] [Simsapā-vanam] [su. nor.; Pāyāsī rājañña & brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – āyasmā Kūmara-kassapa; gathered group; debate; rājañña – bho Kassapa;] (see C.2)

§ xxiv. 1.21 [III 18] [Tindukkhānu-paribbājakārāmo] [B; purisa – acela; comm.; inform; āvuso – āvuso + name;] (see B.1)

§ xxiv. 2.1 [III 20] [=] [B; mahāmatta – acela; x; request to come; āvuso – āvuso + name;] (see B.1)

§ xxiv. 2.4 [III 22] [=] [B; ascetic's antevāsī – acela; x; request to come; āvuso – āvuso + name;] (see B.1)

§ xxix. 2 [III 118] [Sāmagāmo] [su. nor.; Cunda samaṇuddesa – Ānanda; x; inform; āvuso Cunda – bhante;] (see B.6)

2) yena [place: nom.] yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam.

§ xvi. 5.21 [II 148] [Upavattanam Mallānam sālavanam] [su. nor.; Mallā etc. – Ānanda; requested; to honour B; x – x;] (see D.2, G.1)

3) yena [place: nom.] yena [place: nom.] yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamitvā~

§ xiv. 3.18 [II 44] [1) Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī, 2) Khemo miga-dāyo] [B; purima pabbājita (pl.) – Vipassī Buddha; heard; hear dhamma; x – bhante;] (see B.6c)

4) yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam. (further events portrayed, additional information added etc.) atha kho [approacher: nom.] yena [person: nom.] ten' upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamitvā~

§ ii. 11–12 [I 50] [maṇḍala-mālassa dvāram] [su. nor.; Ajātasattu rājā – B; heard of B's qualities, preparation of elephants etc., pre-approach at § 9–11; ques.; mahārāja – bhante;] (see C.5)

§ iv. 2 & 3 [I 112] [Gaggarā pokkharāṇī] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; heard/sādhu~, assemble; to see; -;] (approach with others at § 7 & 9)

§ iv. 7 [I 117] [Gaggarā pokkharāṇī] [su. nor.; 1) brāhmaṇa, 2) brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; appr. place at § 7 & 9; debate; brāhmaṇa – bho Gotama;] (see C.2a)

§ v. 2 [I 128] [Ambalatthikā] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; heard/sādhu~, assemble; to see; - ;] (approach at § 8)

§ vi. 2 [I 150] [Mahāvanam kūṭāgāra-sālā] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇadūtā – bhikkhu; heard/sādhu; to see B; āvuso – bhante;] [cf. § 3–5] (see C.4)

§ xxi. 1.4 [II 265] [Indasāla-guhā] [no yena ... tena personal approach, only [place: acc.] pavisitvā, then respect-showing, etc. at § 1.8] [su. nor.; gandhabba – B; dis-re; to “soften” B for Sakka; name – bhante;] (see F.1)

§ xxiii. 2 & 3 [II 317] [Simsapā-vanam] [su. nor.; brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā – B; heard/sādhu~; assemble; to see; - ;] [person approach with others at § 4]

§ xxv. 1–4 [III 36–37] [Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāmo] [su. nor.; Sandhāna gahapati – Nigrodha paribbājaka; yan nūna~; ques.; gahapati – bhonto;] (see B.4)

5) atha kho [town: acc.] pavisitvā yena [person: nom.] ten’ upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamtivā~

§ xxiv. 1.19 [III 16] [Vesāli] [B; former bhikkhu – town people; x; inform; x – āvuso;] (see B.1)

6) ... pattiko va ārāmaṃ pāvisi ... (as part of a chariot approach)

§ iii. 1.6 [I 89] (see L.4)

7) [place: acc.] pavisitvā~ (then respect, posturing, interaction)

§ xxi. 1.8 [II 269] [su. nor.; 1) Sakka, 2) devas, 3) gandhabba – B.; see F.1 for other info]

8) atha kho [approacher: nom.] yena Dhammo pāsādo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā yena Mahāvīyūhaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Mahāvīyūhassa kūṭāgārassa dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā atthāsi. (no actual personal approach)

§ xvii. 2.8 [II 190] [B; devī – rājā; yan nūna~, assembled together; to see; devī – deva;] (see I.1)

N. UPASAṃ√KAM AND ALTERNATIVES TO ETAD AVOCA.

1) (see also section A: ~evam āha, ~evam vadāmi, ~paripucchitā ahoṣi, ~pucchi, ~yāci)

2) yena [place: nom.] ten’ upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamtivā~

a) ~... imā ca gāthā abhāsi (§ xxi. 1.4 & 6 [II 265 & 268]; see F.1)

b) (as B.1) ~ārocesi (§ xvi. 5.19–20 [II 147], 6.12 [158–159])

3) yena [person: nom.] ten’ upasaṃ√kam, upasaṃkamtivā~

a) (as B.1) ~pañhaṃ apucchi (§ xxiv. 1.12 [III 10]; see B.1a)

b) (as B.1) ~tikkhattum pāṇinā ākoṭesi (§ xxiv. 1.9 [III 8]; see B.1b)

c) (as B.5) ~kālaṃ ārocesi (§ xii. 7 [I 226]; see B.5b)

d) ~udānaṃ udānesi (§ ii. 11–13 [I 50–51]; see C.5)

e) ~dhammiyā kathiyā sandassesī~ (see B.6b, L.1)

f) ~tesaṃ [nom.] ānupubbi kathaṃ kathesi ... (§ xiv. 3.10–11 [II 40–41]; see B.6c, L.1)

g) ~caṅkamantaṃ anucaṅkamaṃsu. atha kho Bhagavā [acc.] āmantesi (§ xxxvii. 2 [III 80]; see B. 7)

(see also section E § xx. 3, xxi. 1.2–8 for disappearing-reappearing approach + ~imam gātham abhāsi)

PART 2: THE FORMULAS USED TO DEPICT THE BUDDHA APPROACHING SOMEONE AND A BHIKKHU APPROACHING SOMEONE OTHER THAN THE BUDDHA OR ANOTHER BHIKKHU

Contents:

A TYPE FORMULAS.

B TYPE FORMULAS.

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- c. THE BUDDHA VISITS AN ASCETIC.
- d. THE BUDDHA GOES TO AN OFFERED MEAL.
- e. THE BUDDHA GOES TO AN OFFERED REST-HOUSE OR HALL.
- f. VISITING A PERSON ON AN INVITATION.
- g. THE BUDDHA GOES TO A PLACE WITH A/THE BHIKKHU(S) AND ADDRESSES HIS ATTENDANT BHIKKHU.

E TYPE FORMULAS.

F TYPE FORMULAS.

A TYPE FORMULAS.

1) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā ...

§ xvi. 3.22–23 [II 109–110] [8 occurrences] [abhijānāmi kho pana~] [B; B – each of the aṭṭha parisā; x; x; x;]

2) (= A.2 of part 1) tyāham* upasaṃkamtivā evaṃ vadāmi:

*(v.l. te 'ham)

§ ix. 34–38 [I 192–194] [3 occurrences] [B; B – samaṇa-brāhmaṇā; they hold diff. views; ques.; x – āyasman;]

§ xxiv. 2.14, 18, 19, 20, [III 28, 30, 32–33] [4 occurrences] [B; B – samaṇa-brāhmaṇā; they hold diff. views; ques.; x – āyasman;]

§ xxix. 35–39 [III 138–140] [4 occurrences] [B; B – samaṇa-brāhmaṇā; they hold diff. views; ques.; x – āvuso;]

3) [approacher: nom.] [approached: acc.] upasaṃkamtivā paripucchitā ahoṣi.

§ xxx. 1.25 [III 157] [B; Tathāgata (former life) – samaṇa vā brāhmaṇa vā; x; ques.; x – bhante;]

B TYPE FORMULAS.

a. BASIC B.1 FORMULAS.

1) (= B.1) atha kho so Kevaddha bhikkhu yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xi. 68–81 [I 215–221] [14 occurrences] [B; bhikkhu – devā; dis-re.; ques.; bhikkhu – āvuso;] (see also type F formulas below)

2) (= B.1 variant) **atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena [building (nom.) of approached (gen.)] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā [approached: dat./gen.] ārocesi:**

§ xvi. 5.19–20 [II 147] [... āyasmā Ānando ... paṭissutvā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya atta-dutiyo [town: loc. (should be acc.)] pāvīsi ... (complicated) ...] [su. nor.; Ānanda – Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāra; comm., enter town; inform; x – Vāsetthā;]

§ xvi. 6.12 [II 158–159] [... āyasmā Ānando ... paṭissutvā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya atta-dutiyo [town: acc.] pāvīsi ... (complicated) ...] [su. nor.; Ānanda – Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāra; comm., enter town; inform; x – Vāsetthā;]

b. THE BUDDHA GOES TO A BUILDING WHERE THE BHIKKHUS ARE ASSEMBLED.

1) **atha kho Bhagavā ... yena [building: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:**

§ i. 1.4 [I 2] [su. nor.; B – maṇḍala-māla; atha kho Bhagavā tesam bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ saṅkhiyā-dhammaṃ viditvā~; ques. about conversation; bhante – bhikkhave;]

§ xiv. 1.2 [II 1] [atha kho Bhagavā utthāy' āsanā yena~] [su. nor.; B – Kareri-maṇḍala-māla; assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya tesam bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ; ques. about conversation; bhante – bhikkhave;]

§ xiv. 1.14 [II 9] [atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṅha-samayam paṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito yena~] [su. nor.; B – Kareri-maṇḍala-māla; x; ques. about conversation; bhante – bhikkhave;]

§ xvi. 1.6 [II 76] [atha kho Bhagavā utthāy' āsanā yena~] [su. nor.; B – upatthāna-sālā; was informed that bhikkhus were assembled; give discourse; bhante – bhikkhave;]

§ xvi. 3.50 [II 119] [su. nor.; B – upatthāna-sālā; was informed that bhikkhus were assembled; give discourse; bhante – bhikkhave;]

c. THE BUDDHA VISITS AN ASCETIC.

1) **atha kho Bhagavā (yena [place of approached: nom.] (ten' upasaṃkamaṃ)) yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ. atha kho [approached: nom.] Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyam akāsi yadidaṃ idh' āgamaṇāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā, idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. [approached: nom.] pi kho aññataram nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [approached: acc.] Bhagavā etad avoca:**

§ ix. 2–5 [I 178–179] [atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Sāvattim piṇḍāya pāvīsi ... (complicated) ... atha kho Bhagavā ... yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ. ... (complicated) ... atha kho Bhagavā yena~] [su. nor.; B – Potthapāda paribbājaka; yan nūna; ques.; bhante – Potthapāda;]

§ xxv. 6–7 [III 38–39] [atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā ... (complicated) ... atha kho Bhagavā yena~] [su. nor.; B – Nigrodha paribbājaka; assosi kho Bhagavā

dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya Sandhānassa gahapatissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ; ques.; bhante – Nigrodha;] (cf. § 1–4 approach of a gahapati)

1a) (as 1) ~ekamantaṃ nisinno kho [approached: nom.] Bhagavantam etad avoca:

§ xxiv. 1.1–2 [III 1–2] [atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Anupiyam piṇḍāya pāvisi ... (complicated) ... atha kho Bhagavā yena [place: nom.] yena~] [su. nor.; B – Bhaggava-gotta paribbājaka; yan nūna; ques; bhante – Bhaggava;]

d. THE BUDDHA GOES TO AN OFFERED MEAL.

1) atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena [place (nom.) of host (gen.)] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisidi. atha kho [host: nom.] Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pañitena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. atha kho [host: nom.] Bhagavantam bhuttāviṃ oṇita*-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisidi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [host: acc.] Bhagavā etad avoca:

(* § xvi. 1.30 (1.c) and 2.19 (1d) read oṇita-)

§ xii. 7–9 [I 226–227] [~saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena [town: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami. ... (complicated) ... atha kho Bhagavā yena [place (nom.) of host (gen.)] ten' upasaṃkami~] [su. nor.; B – Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa nivesanam; invited; for meal; bho Gotama – Lohicca;]

1a) (as 1) ~ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [host: acc.] Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā utthāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

§ v. 30 [I 148–149] [su. nor.; B – Kūṭadantassa brāhmaṇassa yaññāvāṭo; invited; for meal; bho Gotama – brāhmaṇa;]

1b) (as 1) ~ekamantaṃ nisinnassa kho [host: dat./gen.] Bhagavā ānupubbikathaṃ kathesi ...

§ iii. 2.20–21 [I 109–110] [atha kho ... Bhagavantam pañitena ... santappesi sampavāresi, māṇavakā ca bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ. atha kho~] [su. nor.; B – brāhmaṇassa Pokkharasādissa parivesanā; invited; for meal; bho Gotama – brāhmaṇa;]

1c) (as 1) ~ekamantaṃ nisinne kho [host: acc.] Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

§ xvi. 1.30–31 [II 88] [su. nor.; B – Sunidha-Vassakārānaṃ Magadha-mahāmattānaṃ āvasatho; invited; for meal; bho Gotama – x;]

1d) (as 1) ~ekamantaṃ nisinno (/nisinnā) kho [host: nom.] Bhagavantam etad avoca:

§ iv. 25 [I 125] [su. nor.; B – Soṇadaṇḍassa brāhmaṇassa nivesanam; invited; for meal; bho Gotama – brāhmaṇa;]

§ xvi. 2.19 [II 97–98] [su. nor.; B – Ambapāli-gaṇikāya parivesanā (v.l. nivesanam/parivesanam); invited; for meal; bhante – x;]

2) (as 1) ~paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā [host: acc.] āmantesi: (complicated, then rest as 1a.)

§ xvi. 4.18 [II 127] [su. nor.; B – Cundassa kummāra-puttassa nivesanaṃ; invited; for meal; bhante – Cunda;]

e. THE BUDDHA GOES TO AN OFFERED REST-HOUSE OR HALL.

1) atha kho Bhagavā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena [building: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā pāde pakkhāletvā [building: acc.] pavisitvā majjhimam thambham nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi. bhikkhu-saṃgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā [building: acc.] pavisitvā pacchimam bhittim nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā. [laymen: nom.] pi kho ... pāde pakkhāletvā [building: acc.] pavisitvā puratthimam bhittim nissāya pacchābhimukhā nisīdīmsu Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā. atha kho Bhagavā [laymen: acc.] āmantesi:

§ xvi. 1.22–23 [II 85] [v.l. adds sāyaṇha-samaye or pubbaṇha-samayam before nivāsetvā] [su. nor.; B – āvasathāgāra of Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā; invited; to use hall; bhante – gahapatayo;]

1a) (as 1) ~atha kho Bhagavā Pāveyyake Malle bahud eva rattim dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahamsetvā uyyojesi:

§ xxxiii. 1.4 [III 208–209] [su. nor.; B – santhāgāra of Pāveyyakā Mallā; invited; to use hall; bhante – Vāsetthā;]

f. VISITING A PERSON ON AN INVITATION.

1) atha kho āyasmā Ānando tassā rattiyaṃ accayena pubbaṇha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchā samaṇena yena Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyyaputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyam katham sārāṇiyam vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinna kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto āyasmantaṃ Ānantaṃ etad avoca:

§ x. 1.5 [I 205] [su. nor.; Ānanda – Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyya-puttassa nivesanaṃ; was invited to go; =; bho/bhavaṃ Ānanda – māṇava;]

g. THE BUDDHA GOES TO A PLACE WITH A/THE BHIKKHU(S) AND ADDRESSES HIS ATTENDANT BHIKKHU.

The formula used as the basis for formulas 1–4 below is:

B.g: atha kho Bhagavā [attendant bhikkhu/bhikkhu-saṃgha: instr.] saddhiṃ yena [place: nom.] ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā [attendant bhikkhu: acc.] āmantesi:

1) atha kho Bhagavā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ yena Mahāvanam Kuṭāgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

§ xvi. 3.49 [II 119] [su. nor.; B & Ānanda – Mahāvanam Kuṭāgāra-sālā; āyāma; x; bhante – Ānanda;]

2) atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

§ xvi. 5.1 [II 137] [su. nor.; B & bhikkhu-saṃgha – Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārima-tīra & Kusinārā-Upavattana Mallānaṃ sāla-vana; āyāma; x; bhante – Ānanda;]

3) atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Kakutthā nadī ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā Kukultham nadim ajjhogahetvā nahātvā ca pivivā ca paccuttarivā yena ambavanaṃ ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Cundakaṃ āmantesi:

§ xvi. 4.39 [II 134] [su. nor.; B & bhikkhu-saṃgha – Kakutthā nadī & ambavana; on journey; to rest; bhante – Cundaka;]

4) atha kho Bhagavā maggā okkamma yena aññataraṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

§ xvi. 4.21 [II 128] [su. nor.; B – aññatara rukkha-mūla; on journey; to rest; bhante – Ānanda;]

5) atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. āyasmā pi kho Ānando Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:

§ xvi. 3.2 [II 102] [su. nor.; B (& Ānanda) – Cāpāla cetiya; B's command; to spend the day there; bhante – Ānanda;]

E TYPE FORMULAS.

i.1) (=DR.I.3) atha kho [approacher: nom.] seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva [place: loc.] antarahito [place: loc.] pātur ahoṣi.~

i.1a) atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva [kho] bodhi-rukkha-mūle antarahito Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā Kheme miga-dāye pātur ahoṣi. atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho dāya-pālaṃ* āmantesi:

[* v.l. migadāya-dāyapālaṃ (K ms)]

§ xiv. 3.8–9 [II 40] [B; Vipassī Bhagavā – Bandhumati & dāyapāla; yan nūna; to teach the Dhamma; bhante – samma dāya-pāla;]

F TYPE FORMULAS.

i.1) (=DR.I.3)~

i.1a) atha kho ahaṃ bhikkhave seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitam vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritam vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Ukkatthāyaṃ Subhagavane sāla-rāja-mūle antarahito Avihesu devesu pātur ahoṣiṃ. tasmim bhikkhave deva-nikāye 'nekāni devatā-sahassāni yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamimṣu, upasaṃkamtivā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ t̥hitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocum:

§ xiv. 3.29 [II 50] [B; B – Avihā devā; yan nūna; to visit; mārisa – x;]

ii.1) (=DR.II) atha kho [approacher: nom.] tathā-rūpaṃ samādhim samāpajji yathā samāhite citte [place: nom.] pātur ahoṣi.~

ii.1a) (as 2) ~atha kho [approacher: nom.] yena [approached: nom.] ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā [approached: acc.] etad avoca:

§ xi. 67–68 [I 215] [B; bhikkhu – devayāniyo maggo – Cātummahārājikā devā; x; ques; bhikkhu – āvuso;]

§ xi. 80 [I 220] [B; bhikkhu – Brahmayāniyo maggo – Brahmakāyikā devā; x; ques; bhikkhu – āvuso;]

STUDY 2: THE PROLIFERATION OF SIMILAR WORD ELEMENTS AND UNITS OF MEANING TO FORM SEQUENCES OR “STRINGS” IN THE PROSE PORTIONS OF PĀLI SUTTA TEXTS, THE TENDENCY TO ARRANGE THE UNITS WITHIN SUCH SEQUENCES ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF SYLLABLES OF EACH — THE WAXING SYLLABLE PRINCIPLE (WSP) — AND THE SOUND AND METRICAL SIMILARITIES INTEGRAL TO THESE STRUCTURES.

An analysis of the Udumbarika-sihanāda-sutta (Digha-nikāya, sutta 25).

I. INTRODUCTION

A common feature of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts is the proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning to form sequences or “strings”. We frequently encounter sequences of two, three or more adjectives or adjectival units qualifying the same noun, a number of nouns all acting as the subject of the same sentence or as the object of the same verb. We encounter sequences of adverbs modifying the same verb, or a number of parallel verbs occurring together in the same sentence, and so on. Wherever such sequences of parallel word elements or units of meaning occur, they are arranged according to what will be referred to in this study as the Waxing Syllable Principle (WSP); that is, as the sequence progresses the syllable length of each subsequent element may be equal to or greater than what precedes it, but not less. The exception to this general definition is where sequences can or must be divided into groups according to meaning or grammatical or morphological form. In this case the Waxing Syllable Principle only works within each group, starting again with each subsequent group. In these structures it is common for the component elements, and especially the initial members of the sequence, to share sound and metrical similarities.

In his *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons* (1965), under the heading of “Festgelegte Wortfolgen: Reihen” (§ 11), G. von Simson discussed the formation of strings of nouns, adjectives and verbs in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts studied by him. And under the separate heading of “Parallelismus” (§ 8), he discussed parallel structures, another form of the proliferation of similar units of meaning. However, he only occasionally mentions the tendency to order the member elements of such structures according to their syllable lengths,¹ and in accordance with the classificatory nature of this work, the sound similarities evident in these sequences are discussed under the separate headings of “Alliteration”, “Homoioteleuton”, “Assonanz”, and so on.

¹ See, for example, §§ 2.3, 2.7, 8.4–6.

J. Gonda, in his *Stylistic repetitions in the Veda* (1959), similarly discusses these structures under a number of specific headings — e.g. “Enumeration” (chap. XXIII) and “Balanced structures and symmetrical word groups” (chap. III) — and briefly mentions the principle of organising such material according to syllable length. For example, with regard to parallel structures, he states: “the tendency of the ‘increasing magnitude’, i.e. of the increasing members of a coordinated group of words or clauses — Behaghel’s so-called Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder — does not fail to manifest itself” (p. 61). He also refers to this as “the Behaghel tendency” (p. 125), “the Behaghel effect” (p. 126) and “Behaghel’s ‘rule’ ” (p. 384). But this phenomenon is not systematically studied in this work.²

In his article “A rhythmic law in language” published in 1931, W. Caland drew attention to “an important rule in Pāṇini (II.2.34), which states that when a copulative compound, a dvandva, consists of two words of an unequal number of syllables, the word of fewer syllables must precede: *alpāctaram s.c. pūrvam*”.³ Caland then discussed this tendency in Sanskrit dvandvas and listed many parallels in a number of other languages, merely referring to this principle as a “rhythmic law” (p. 63).

In the Epilegomena to the Critical Pāli Dictionary,⁴ H. Smith briefly mentions what he calls “the rule of waxing components (das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder)” and lists some examples. A.K. Warder (1963, p. 301) also briefly refers to this principle.

In a chapter of his *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien* (1990) entitled “Die Entwicklung der formelhafte Wortgruppe *muddā – gaṇanā – samkhāna*” (Chap. VII), O. von Hinüber uses the example of a sequence of three words which occur in the sutta texts as *muddā gaṇanā samkhāna* (the syllable pattern being 2+3+3), but in the *Vinaya* as *muddā gaṇanā lekhā* (2+3+2), to further support his view of the comparative lateness of the *Vinaya*, for he states: “Denn das zweisilbige Wort *lekhā* am Ende der Reihe verletzt ein rhythmisches Gesetz, das in der Zeit der mündlichen Überlieferung der Pāli-Texte eine weite Geltung gehabt zu haben scheint. Dies Gesetz besagt, dass Wort-gruppen, die aus Synonyma oder aus bedeutungsähnlichen Wörtern bestehen, nach der wachsenden Silbenzahl angeordnet sind ...” (p. 31).

Again, in his article “From colloquial to standard language. The oral phase in the development of Pāli” (1993, pp. 104–113) O. von Hinüber discusses “word groups consisting of three limbs of an equal or waxing number of syllables”, again referring to such groups as “formulas”. He likens these to Homeric formulas (p. 104) and considers

² Gonda (1959) refers to this principle at the following places: pp. 51, 60–64, 69, 102, 117, 125, 126, 143, 154, 166, 173, 380–384.

³ W. Caland, 1931, p. 59; cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 61.

⁴ CPD p. 35* wax. comp.; cf. O. von Hinüber, 1993, pp. 104–105.

them to be characteristic of the oral style of Pāli texts. He also sees this organising principle as one of the principles of oral composition utilised by the early Buddhists (p. 106). He uses a number of examples to show that “these formulas were created consciously” (p. 105) as they draw on elements belonging to different levels of the language and incorporate words which are not used elsewhere; that is, these words seem to have been created specifically for particular fixed groups. He then shows how these word groups were affected by the Sanskritisation of the tradition and repeats his earlier work on the group *muddā gaṇanā samkhāna*.

Finally, by far the most detailed study of this phenomenon published to date is O. von Hinüber’s *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* (1994).⁵ This important and interesting work pursues and develops many of the themes briefly discussed by the author in his above mentioned articles.

My own study of these structures (upon which the present chapter is based), which differs from von Hinüber 1994 in its approach and aims, was completed in 1992 and submitted as part of my D.Phil thesis in September 1994. Although O. von Hinüber’s study was published in June 1994, I was not able to incorporate his research in my thesis. In the present publication I have attempted to utilise some of the more important and relevant findings of this work.

In his *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* von Hinüber does not attempt to provide a systematic study of the characteristics, employment and so on of these structures (referred to as “Formeln”). Rather, “formulas” are studied by him primarily from a “sprachhistorische” perspective in an attempt to throw light on the history and development of canonical Pāli texts (ibid., p. 16). His study, therefore, complements the research presented below.

The aim of the following study is to identify the characteristics of this compositional principle and to establish the range of its application. The sound and metrical similarities or repetitions which are an important feature of structures where this principle is operational are also discussed.⁶ In order to be as inclusive as possible and to avoid selectivity which may unwittingly exclude examples which do not conform to the perceived norm, all relevant material encountered in one complete “text”, in this case the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* the 25th sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, will be analysed in detail. It is felt that this is the most productive method for an initial study of this phenomenon.⁷ The large amount of material which results is summarised in section III (Summary) and the reader who wishes to avoid the rather tedious analysis of each and every example is advised to read that section first. All examples are listed in

⁵ For reviews, see K.R. Norman 1995 and M. Hara 1996.

⁶ The identification of specific classes of sound similarities, that is alliteration, assonance, homoioteleuton, etc., are avoided in this study, for, as noted by J. Gonda (1959, pp. 376–377), such distinctions were probably not made. What mattered was the repetition and similarity of sounds.

⁷ This sutta is also analysed in Study 3 with reference to repetition.

the Index section. Appendix 1 presents a study of the relative lengths of parts of a sentence and Appendix 2 is a study of these structures in a section of a comparable Jain text (*Aupapātika-sūtra* § 20).

II. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

In the following analysis each passage of the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* containing relevant material is discussed in turn. The PTS's paragraph numbers are followed, thereby providing appropriate section numbers, with each individual passage then discussed as, for example, § 1 (a), § 1 (b), and so on. These are then referred to in later discussions as § 1a, § 1b, etc., or if there are subdivisions, § 1a.i, § 1a.ii, etc. They are listed in the index as 1a, 1b, etc. The PTS page and line number is also given before each entry; e.g. [36,2-4] refers to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. III, page 36, lines 2 to 4.

In this study, when a number of parallel word elements or units of meaning occur together in sequence, the pattern of their syllable lengths is recorded as being, for example, 2+3+3+4. But when parallel units occurring in different clauses, sentences or paragraphs are compared, the pattern of their syllable lengths is recorded as being, for example, 2-3-3-4.

Considerations of syllable length are not operational in the syntactical arrangement of a single adjective and the noun it qualifies. Therefore this study does not include occurrences of a noun qualified by only one adjective, nor is the syllable length of the noun given where it is qualified by a string of adjectives.

In the course of this study, the *mātrā* value of the component elements of sequences was evaluated to see if it determined word order. However, *mātrā* value does not seem to be a determining factor, for although there are examples of sequences which conform to the WSP and which also conform to a possible "waxing *mātrā* value principle" (e.g. *sukha-dukkha*, 2+2 syllables, 2+3 *mātrās*; *kesa-massu*, 2+2 syll., 3+3 *mātrās*) there are many examples which conform to the WSP but whose *mātrā* values are erratic. For example, *mūla-phala* (2+2 syll., but 3+2 *mātrās*); *lābha-sakkāra-siloka* (2+3+3 syll., but 3+5+4 *mātrās*).

The reading of the text follows that established for it in the next study (Study 3, section II), which itself is based on the PTS edition. The variant readings are only mentioned where they affect the syllable count or the sound and metrical similarities.

In the analysis of each passage, the sound and metrical similarities thought to be present are discussed. In the case of the sound similarities, this is rather subjective, for we really do not know what sounds were felt to be similar or close enough for word play. This will be discussed in greater detail in the summary section (section III 12). The sound similarities which exist between words due to the sharing of the same termination (e.g. the accusative singular *-am*, the 3rd singular present indicative *-ti*, etc.)

will not be commented on. A number of sound similarities and the presence of loose *vedha* type metrical patterns, which are not strictly speaking part of these sequences, are discussed in passing.

§ 1.

(a) [36,2–4] *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate.*

If we read *sutam ekaṃ*, then the metrical pattern of *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā* [place: loc.] *viharati* [place: loc.], the basic formula which begins each sutta, is --|---|--|---|---|...|----|... . This seems to have a *vedha* type pattern with four *mātrās* to a *gaṇa*. That we have a metrical pattern here is strengthened by the fact that Vinaya texts begin with the phrase *tena samayena buddho Bhagavā ... viharati ...*; the metrical pattern here being ---|---|--|---|...|----|... .⁸

Evaṃ me sutam and *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, the two units which begin this phrase, both have 5 syllables each and share sound similarities: (i) *evaṃ me sutam | ekaṃ samayaṃ*; (ii) *evaṃ me sutam | ekaṃ samayaṃ*; (iii) *evaṃ me sutam | ekaṃ samayaṃ*; (iv) *evaṃ me sutam | ekaṃ samayaṃ*.

It is noteworthy that *evaṃ* and *ekaṃ*, the initial elements of these two units, share sound similarities and have identical metrical patterns. As will be seen in this study, this is a particularly common feature of these structures.

(b) [36,4–7] *tena kho pana samayena⁹ Nigrodho paribbājako Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāme paṭivasati mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ tiṃsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi.*

Two units qualify *paribbājaka-parisāya* (instr. sg.): *mahatiyā* (4 syllables) and *tiṃsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi* (13 syll.). The later consists of *tiṃsa-mattehi* (5) and *paribbājaka-satehi* (8). The pattern is thus 4+(noun)+(saddhiṃ)+13. What precedes *saddhiṃ* (that is *mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya*) consists of 13 syllables, as does what follows (*tiṃsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi*); i.e. the arrangement is 13+(saddhiṃ)+13.

(c) [36,9–12] ‘*akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya, patisallīno Bhagavā, manobhāvanīyānam pi bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya, patisallīnā manobhāvanīyā bhikkhū ...*’

(i) Two sentences refer to the Bhagavā: *akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya* (14 syllables) and *patisallīno Bhagavā* (8 syll.). Together these have 22

⁸ See III 14 below (the summary) for further examples.

⁹ If we read *tena khalu pana samayena*, we may also see a metrical pattern: ---|----|---|(?).

syllables. These two sentences are then changed and expanded to refer to the *bhikkhus*, becoming *manobhāvanīyānam pi bhikkhūnaṃ asamayo dassanāya* (19 syllables; note that *akālo*, 3 syllables, is used in the first division while *asamayo*, 4 syllables, is used in the second; i.e. the pattern is 3-4) and *patisallīnā manobhāvanīyā bhikkhū* (13 syllables) respectively. Together they have 32 syllables. The syllable count for the parallel sentences is thus 14-19 and 8-13, and for the two divisions (consisting of two sentences each) 22+32.

(ii) Two attributes qualify *bhikkhū*: *patisallīnā* (5 syll.) and *manobhāvanīyā* (6 syll.). The pattern is 5+6+[vb]+(noun).¹⁰

§ 2.

(a) [36,17–20] *tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako mahatīyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ nisinno hoti unnādinīyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya* ...

(i) Four adjectival units qualify *paribbājaka-parisāya*: *mahatīyā* (4 syll.), *unnādinīyā* (5), *uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya* (9) and *aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya* (16); i.e. the pattern is 4+(noun)+(saddhiṃ)+5+9+16. What precedes *saddhiṃ* (that is, *mahatīyā paribbājaka-parisāya*) has 13 syllables, while what follows (*unnādinīyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya*) has 30. The pattern of this is 13+(saddhiṃ)+30.

(ii) The component elements of the dvandva compound *uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya* have a 4+4 syllable pattern.

(iii) Note the sound similarities created by the use of the cognate accusative *-kathaṃ kathentiya*.

(b) [36,20–37,9] ... *seyyathīdam rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahāmatta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ ñāti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ janapada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumbaṭṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ [kathaṃ]¹¹ samuddakkhāyikaṃ [kathaṃ] iti-bhavābhava-kathaṃ iti vā.¹²*

In this formula listing the various kinds of talk engaged in by the ascetics, the WSP works to the third or fourth word then starts again, with each group of words

¹⁰ Elements which do not actually occur in the text, but are to be understood, are placed in square brackets. For example, in this nominal sentence, [vb] indicates that a verb expressing “to be” is to be understood.

¹¹ The inclusion of *-kathaṃ* here and in the next unit is probably wrong as no other occurrence of this formula has this reading (see the fnt. to our edition, Study 3).

¹² This formula also occurs in the *Dīgha* at § i. 1.17 [I 7–8]; ii. 52 [I 66]; ix. 3 [I 178–179]; xxv. 21 [III 54].

sharing some associations in meaning: *rāja-kathaṃ cora~ mahāmatṭa~* (4+4+6) concern persons; *senā~ bhaya~ yuddha~* (4+4+4) are concerned with war; *anna~ pāna~ vattha~ sayana~* (4+4+4+5) relate to the essentials of living; *mālā~ gandha~ ñāti~ yāna~* (4+4+4+4): the first two have an obvious association, but the second two (relatives and vehicles) seem to have no connection; *gāma~ nigama~ nagara~ janapada~* (4+5+5+6) are towns and districts. The next group, *itthi-kathaṃ purisa~ sūra~*, has a 4+5+4 pattern, which is problematic. We could associate *sūra~* with the next group (*visikhā~ kumbaṭṭhāna~ pubba-peta~*), and thereby understand *itthi-kathaṃ purisa~* (4+5), then *sūra~ visikhā~ kumbaṭṭhāna~ pubba-peta~* (4+5+6+6). However, as most other occurrences of this formula omit *purisa-kathaṃ*, as do the Sinhalese manuscripts for this occurrence, it seems that *purisa-kathaṃ* has been included here because of its common association with *itthi*.¹³ We therefore read *itthi-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ* (4+4). The next group, consisting of talk of *visikhā~* (streets), *kumbaṭṭhāna~* (wells) and *pubba-peta~* (“ghosts”), has a 5+6+6 pattern. The first two at least are places in the village. It is also possible to take this group with the previous (*itthi-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ*), in which case this group of five kinds of talk would have a 4+4+5+6+6 pattern. This way of dividing this formula may be supported by the fact that the first two groups consist of three members each and the next three groups have four members each. There thereby being a gradual increase in the number of elements in each group.

According to the PTS edition, the remainder of this passage reads: *nānatta-kathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ kathaṃ samuddakkhāyikaṃ kathaṃ iti-bhavābhava-kathaṃ*. But all other occurrences of this formula read: *nānatta-kathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ samuddakkhāyikaṃ iti-bhavābhava-kathaṃ*. This reading is therefore adopted here.

In this group the forms of lowly talk concern *nānatta~* (various states), *lokakkhāyikaṃ* (the worlds), *samuddakkhāyikaṃ* (the oceans) and *iti-bhavābhava~* (existence and non-existence). The pattern is 5+5+6+8.

The pattern for this list of types of talk is therefore 4+4+6, 4+4+4, 4+4+4+5, 4+4+4+4, 4+5+5+6, 4+4(,)5+6+6, 5+5+6+8. For the first member of each compound the pattern is 2-2-4, 2-2-2, 2-2-2-3, 2-2-2-2, 2-3-3-4, 2-2(,)3-4-4, 3-[5-6]-6. The length of the words and the number of words within each group seems to increase as the list progresses.

The syllable count for the groups of three or four compounds is: 14+16+21+20+20+25(/8+17)+24.

The dvandva compound *-bhavābhava-* has a syllable pattern of 2+2(/3).

¹³ See T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1921, p. 34, fnt. 1). The D I 7–8, 66 occurrences place *purisa-kathaṃ* in brackets, but with no comment; D II 79 omits it and gives a fnt. stating that the BB MSS add *purisa~*; D III 54 is abbreviated.

Most other occurrences also omit *purisa-kathaṃ*: Vin I 188; IV 164; M I 513 (v.l. M adds *purisa~* after *itthi~*); II 1, 23, 30; A V 128–9 (v.l. M adds *purisa~*). Only S V 419ff. includes *purisa-kathaṃ*, with the S¹⁻³ MSS omitting it. A V 185 is an abbreviated version.

Although similar to a *varṇaka*, there is no apparent metrical pattern in this formula. However, a large number of the words have a -~ pattern, making ~~~~ when combined with *-katham*. They are: *rāja~*, *cora~*, *yuddha~*, *anna~*, *pāna~*, *vattha~*, *gandha~*, *ñāti~*, *yāna~*, *gāma~*, *itthi~*, *sūra~*.

Sound similarities are evident in *gāma~*, *nigama~*, *nagara~*. They are: (i) *gāma~*, *nigama~*, *nagara~*; (ii) *gāma~*, *nigama~*, *nagara~*.

§ 3.

(a) [37,11–12] ... *sakaṃ parisam saṅṭhāpesi*.¹⁴ [also at § 6]

Although not involving the proliferation of similar word elements, the sound similarities present here are worth noting. It may be only coincidental, but the verb and its object both have the same distribution of the *s...p...s* sounds: *sakaṃ parisam saṅṭhāpesi*. This parallels the use of the cognate accusative. [cf. also § 7h: *paravādena pavāressati*]

(b) [37,13] ‘*appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha ...*’

These two parallel sentences have an 8+8 syllable pattern. This suggests a *śloka* type metre, but the pattern does not correspond to that of a typical *śloka*: ~~~~ | ~~~~ | ~~~~ | ~~~~ |.¹⁵

Sound similarities exist in *bhonto hontu*.

(c) [37,15–16] ‘*yāvatā kho pana samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakā gihī odāta-vasanā Rājagahe paṭivasanti ...*’

Two adjectives qualify *sāvakā*: *gihī* (2 syll.) and *odāta-vasanā* (6). The pattern is (noun)+2+6.

(d) [37,17–19] ‘*appasadda-kāmā kho pan’ ete āyasmanto appasadda-vinītā appasaddassa vaṇṇavādino ...*’

Three units qualify *ete āyasmanto*: *appasadda-kāmā* (6 syll.), *appasadda-vinītā* (7) and *appasaddassa vaṇṇavādino* (10); i.e. 6+(noun)+7+10. Note that the last, *appasaddassa vaṇṇavādino*, is in a non-compounded form. There is a tendency for the latter units in such lists to occur in such an expanded form. The K (= S^e) edition omits

¹⁴ The v.l. and the § 6 occurrence read *saṅṭhapesi*.

¹⁵ It is not uncommon to find someone’s thoughts or speech being expressed by two parallel structures consisting of between 7 and 9 syllables., with each often having similar metrical patterns; e.g. *piṭṭhi me āgilāyati, taṃ ahaṃ āyamissāmi* (8+8): ~~~~~, ~~~~~ (D III 209); *etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato* (8+9): ~~~~~, ~~~~~ (D III 39); *upaddutaṃ vata bho, upassaṭṭhaṃ vata bho* (7+7): ~~~~~, ~~~~~ (Vin I 15). For this last example, cf. O. von Hinüber, 1994, p. 25.

appasadda-vinītā. The PTS edition and the Burmese Ch edition also omit it in the § 6 occurrence of this passage. If this reading is adopted, the pattern would then be 6+(noun)+10.

§ 4.

(a) [37,23–25] ... *Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi*.

The adjectives *sammodanīyaṃ* and *sārānīyaṃ* qualifying *kathaṃ* have 5 and 4 syllables respectively; i.e. the pattern is 5+(noun)+4. We would expect **sārānīyaṃ kathaṃ sammodanīyaṃ*, with the adjective with the shortest number of syllables preceding the noun. It is possible that the sound similarities between *sammodi* and *sammodanīyaṃ* have influenced the arrangement here, although occasionally a pattern is encountered where the adjective which precedes the noun has a greater number of syllables than the first of the string of adjectives which follows it (cf. § 4c & § 7b).

Alternatively, the problem may be resolved if H. Lüders' (1954, § 101) suggested etymology is correct: *sārānīya* < **saṃrāgaṇīya*, with a likely eastern form *sālāyaṇīya*. The pattern would then be 5+(noun)+5 syll.¹⁶

The sound similarities in this phrase are: (i) *saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*; (ii) ... *sammodi sammodanīyaṃ* ...; (iii) ... *sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ* ...; (iv) *saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*; (v) *sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*.

(b) [37,28–38,1] '*aññathā kho ime bhonto añña-titthiyā paribbājakā saṃgamma samāgamma unnādino uccāsadda-mahāsaddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentā viharanti*.' [also at § 21]

This is similar to § 2a. *Añña-titthiyā* (5) qualifies *paribbājakā*, while *unnādino* (4), *uccāsadda-mahāsaddā* (8) and *aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentā* (15) are predicative to it. The pattern of the latter three units is (noun)+4+8+15+(vb).

The sound similarities are: (i) *unnādiniyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya*; (ii) *unnādiniyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya*; (iii) there also seems to be a rhythm established in *samāgamma unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā* by the occurrence of *-ā-* in the second syllable of each element.

The two synonymous verbs *saṃgamma samāgamma* have a 3+4 syllable pattern. The first verb is expanded by the addition of the prefix *-ā-*.¹⁷ Sound similarities

¹⁶ I am indebted to Professor O. von Hinüber for drawing my attention to this possibility in a letter dated 31.10.91.

¹⁷ Compare *kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati* (D II 109) with a 3+4+5+5 pattern. The first verb is expanded by the addition of *saṃ-* to form the second, then *saṃ-pa-* for the third. Rather than adding another prefix to form the last verb, the verbal root is changed: *√kamp* > *√vedh*. There seems to be

are obvious.

(c) [38,3–6] ‘*aññathā ca pana so Bhagavā araññe vana-patthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevati appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rahaseyyakāni patisallāna-sārubbāni*’ *ti*.

Here I understand *senāsanāni* to be qualified by seven adjectival units: *araññe vana-patthāni* (8 syll.), *pantāni* (3), *appa-saddāni* (5), *appa-nigghosāni* (6), *vijana-vātāni* (6), *manussa-rahaseyyakāni* (9), *patisallāna-sārubbāni* (9). The pattern is thus 8+3+(noun)+(vb)+5+6+6+9+9. Note that the first of the two adjectival units preceding the noun is longer than the second. This seems to contradict the WSP (see summary 1.6, example 2).

Apart, of course, from the accusative plural ending *-āni*, the sound similarities here are: (i) *vana-patthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevati*; (ii) ... *senāsanāni paṭisevati*; (iii) *appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni*.

§ 5.

(a) [38,9–11] ‘*yagghe gahapati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyaṃ āpajjati?*’ [also at § 20]

If we exclude *samaṇo Gotamo*, which is the subject of all three sentences, then *kena ... saddhiṃ sallapati* has 8 syllables, *kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati* 10 syllables and *kena paññā-veyyattiyaṃ āpajjati* 12 syllables; that is, we have three similar interrogative sentences of 8+10+12 syllables. If the subject is included, the pattern is 14+10+12. The verbs of the three sentences have a 4-5-4 pattern (according to the fnt. K (= S^e) has the v.l. *samāpajjati* for *āpajjati*).

The sound similarities here are the ‘*sā-*’ and ‘*-āpa-*’ sounds: *kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyaṃ āpajjati?* There is also repetition in *samāpajjati ... āpajjati*.

The first half of each — *kena ... saddhiṃ sall-*, *kena sākacchaṃ ...*, *kena paññā-veyy-* — all have the same metrical patterns (‘*- - - -* ...’), though, of course, the first is broken up by the subject of all three sentences.

(b) [38,11–13] ‘... *suññāgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparisāvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, nālaṃ sallāpāya, so antamantān’ eva sevati.*’

This consists of four sentences: *suññāgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā* (16 syll.), *aparisāvacaro samaṇo Gotamo* (13), *nālaṃ sallāpāya* (6) and *so antamantān’ eva sevati* (10). The WSP does not seem to have been applied.

It is possible that these correspond, in reverse order, to the previous questions,

a metrical pattern in this sequence of four verbs: *- - - | - - | - - - | - - - | - - - |*.

with *suññāgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā* corresponding to *kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati?*, *aparisaṅvacaro samaṇo Gotamo* corresponding to *kena sākaccham samāpajjati?*, and *nālam sallāpāya* corresponding to *kena ... saddhim sallapati?*

The sound similarities are: (i) *suññāgāra-hatā ... paññā* and (ii) ... *eva sevati*.

(c) [38,13–14] '*seyyathā pi nāma gokāṇā pariyanta-cārini antamantān*' *eva sevati evam eva ... etc.*

Although, as here, it is common for the '*seyyathā pi nāma ...*' part of the simile (the *upamāna*) to be shorter than the '*evam eva ...*' part (the *upameya*), other examples of such structures suggest that this is only coincidental.¹⁸

(d) [38,17–20] '*... iṅgha gahapati samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, eka-pañhen*' *eva naṃ saṃsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodheyyāmā*' *ti.*

This consists of a sequence of three main clauses. If we again omit the subject (and *iṅgha gahapati*) from the first, then we have three parallel units: *imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya* (9 syll.), *eka-pañhen*' *eva naṃ saṃsādeyyāma* (12) and *tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodheyyāmā* (13). The pattern is 9+12+13. The verbs of these three clauses have a 4-5-5 syllable pattern.

§ 6.

(a) [38,21–23] *assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya Sandhānassa gahapatissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ.*

(i) There are three adjectives qualifying *sota-dhātuyā*: *dibbāya* (3), *visuddhāya* (4) and *atikkanta-mānusikāya* (9). The pattern is 3+(noun)+4+9 [cf. § 19a].

(ii) *sandhānassa gahapatissa* has 9 syllables and *Nigrodhena paribbājakena* 10 syllables. This raises the possibility that syllable length may have determined which name was placed in the genitive and which in the instrumental.

There only seem to be two exact parallels to this passage. The first reads: *assosi kho Bhagavā ...* (as above) ... *Bhāradvājagottassa brāhmaṇassa Māgandhiyena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ* (M I 502). This is not of much help as the corresponding units both have 11 syllables. The second example reads: *assosi kho Bhagavā āyasmato Ānandassa Subbaddena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ* (D II 150), with the corresponding units having 8 and 10 syllables

¹⁸ E.g. D I 234; II 293, 294. J. Gonda (1959, p. 85) seems to take the first part as the *upameya* and the second as the *upamāna*.

respectively. This latter example tends to support the suggestion that syllable length is the determinant of word order in these structures; i.e. the name with the shortest number of syllables is placed first in the genitive, while the longer name is placed second in the instrumental.¹⁹

(iii) The sound similarities of *dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya* may only be coincidental.

(b) [39,2] ... *Sumāgadhāya tīre Mora-nivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami*.

In this specification of place, word order is from general to specific, in what appears to be a waning syllable arrangement (?): *Sumāgadhāya tīre* (7 syll.), *Moranivāpe* (5), *abbhokāse* (4) *caṅkami*.²⁰

(c) [39,6] ‘*appasaddā bhonto hontu ... etc.*: see § 3.

(d) [39,11–12] ‘*sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma*:’

This consists of a relative clause (*sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya*) of 17 syllables followed by a main clause (*imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma*) of 9, although the parallel elements of *imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya* and *imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma* both have 9 syllables. These structures are researched in greater detail in Appendix 1.

The two verbs have the same syllable lengths (4-4) and metrical patterns. There are also parallels in *imaṃ parisam* and *imaṃ taṃ pañham*, the object of each verb, which both have 4 syllables and share sound similarities.

The sound similarities are enhanced by the use of the cognate accusative *pañham puccheyyāma*, though it may not have been recognised as such.²¹

¹⁹ In the *Dīgha* we also find the following: ... *Bhagavato evarūpehi kulaputtehi saddhiṃ kathāsallāpo hoti* (D I 89); *evaṃ nu kho te Ambaṭṭha brāhmaṇehi vuddhehi mahallakehi ācariya-pācariyehi saddhiṃ kathāsallāpo hoti* (D I 90); and *ahu kho me brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭhena mānavena saddhiṃ kocid eva kathāsallāpo ti* (D I 108). Cf. also *ayaṅ ca hi idaṃ āyasmato Ānandassa Gopaka-Moggallānena brāhmaṇena saddhiṃ antarākathā vippakatā hoti* (M III 8) and *ayaṅ c’ eva kho pana āyasmato Mahāmoggallānassa Vappena Sakkena nigaṅṭha-sāvakena saddhiṃ kathā* (v.l. *antarākathā hoti vi-*) *vippakatā hoti* (A II 196).

²⁰ Cf. D I 178 *samayappavādake* (7) *tindukācīre* (5) *ekasālake* (5) *Mallikāya ārāme* (7) *paṭivasati*. These structures need further research.

²¹ According to J. Gonda (1959, pp. 278, 282) *aham imaṃ dvau praśnau prakṣyāmi* is found in ŚB and *praśnān sudurvacān papraccha* occurs in the Mbh. For his comments on the ignorance of etymological connections, see pp. 235–236; cf. p. 258.

(e) [39,12–15] “*ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayam ādi-brahmacariyam?*” *ti*. [also at § 7 & § 19]

(i) This consists of a main clause (*ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo*) of 12 syllables followed by two relative clauses: *yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti* (11) and *yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayam ādi-brahmacariyam* (33) (see Appendix 1).

(ii) *sāvakā* is qualified by *vinītā* (3) and *assāsa-ppattā* (5); i.e. the pattern is (noun)+3+5.

(iii) The sound similarities are *assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti* and perhaps also *ajjhāsayam ādi-* and *vinītā assāsa-ppattā*.

(iv) There are two objects of *paṭijānanti*: *ajjhāsayam* (4) and *ādi-brahmacariyam* (7). The pattern is 4+7.

The first relative clause (*yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti*) is echoed in the wording of the second (*yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā ...*).

§ 7.

(a) [39,20–23] ‘*etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgatam bhante Bhagavato, cirassam kho bhante Bhagavā imam pariyāyam akāsi yadidam idh’ āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idam āsanam paññattan’ ti*.

This consists of four sentences each marked by the vocative of address. The first two are parallel sentences: *etu kho bhante Bhagavā* (8 syll.) and *sāgatam bhante Bhagavato* (9); i.e. 8+9. The metrical pattern of *etu kho* and *sāgatam*, the initial element in each sentence, is the same (˘ ˘ ˘).

The syllable count for the remaining sentences is *cirassam kho bhante Bhagavā imam pariyāyam akāsi yadidam idh’ āgamanāya* (27 syll.) and *nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idam āsanam paññattan* (17 syll.) (or possibly *nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā* (9 syll.) and *idam āsanam paññattan* (8)). This does not conform to the WSP.

(b) [39,24–26] *Nigrodho pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantam nisīdi*.

Two adjectives qualify *āsanam*: *aññataram* (4 syll.) and *nīcam* (2 syll.); i.e. 4+2+(noun)+(vb). The WSP is not working here. [cf. § 4a]

(c) [39,28–29] ‘*kāya nu ’ttha Nigrodha etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarā-kathā vippakatā?’ ti*.

This consists of two interrogative sentences: *kāya nu ’ttha Nigrodha etarahi kathāya sannisinnā* (18 syll.) and *kā ca pana vo antarā-kathā vippakatā* (14), though

the two immediately parallel units *kāya ... kathāya sannisinnā* and *kā ... antarā-kathā vippakatā* have 9 and 10 syllables respectively. The two past participles (*sannisinnā* and *vippakatā*) have 4-4 syllables.

There are sound similarities between the parallel elements *etarahi kathāya* and *antarā-kathā*.

(d) [40,1–5] ‘*sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya ... etc.*: see § 6d.

(e) [40,8–10] ‘*dujjānaṃ kho etaṃ Nigrodha tayā añña-ditṭhikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena ...*’

Five parallel terms qualify *tayā*: *añña-ditṭhikena* (6 syll.) *añña-khantikena* (6) *añña-rucikena* (6) *aññatr’ āyogena* (6) *aññatr’ ācariyakena* (8); i.e. (pron)+6+6+6+6+8. The first three share the same construction, as do the last two.

The sound similarities are: (i) *añña-ditṭhikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena*; (ii) ... *aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena*; (iii) *añña-ditṭhikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena*.

(f) [40,12–13] ‘*iṅgha tvaṃ maṃ Nigrodha sake ācariyake adhijegucche pañhaṃ puccha:*’

There is some uncertainty as to how this should be understood. The arrangement suggests that *sake* (2 syll.) and *ācariyake* (5 syll.) both qualify *adhijegucche*; that is, the pattern is 2+5+(noun)+(vb). But the PED and CPD take *ācariyaka* as a noun (CPD nt. “trade ... doctrine”). The PED takes *adhijeguccha* as a neuter noun “intense scrupulous regard (for others)”, but the CPD takes *adhijegucche* as an indeclinable: “concerning what is loathsome or detestable”. If *sake ācariyake* (7 syll.) and *adhijegucche* (5 syll.) are both indirect objects of *puccha*, then the pattern is 7+5, which goes against the WSP.

Sound similarities are evident in the cognate accusative *pañhaṃ puccha* (cf. § 6d).

(g) [40,13–15] ‘*kathaṃ sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā?*’ *ti*.

This consists of two interrogative sentences with the positive (*paripuṇṇā*) presented first. *Paripuṇṇā* has 4 syllables while *aparipuṇṇā*, the negative, has 5.

(h) [40,16–20] *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccāsadda-mahāsaddā ahesuṃ: 'acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho samañassa Gotamassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvata, yatra hi nāma saka-vādaṃ ṭhappessati, para-vādena pavāressati' ti.*

(i) There are two predicative attributes qualifying *te paribbājakā: unnādino* (4 syll.) and *uccāsadda-mahāsaddā* (8 syll.). The pattern is (noun)+4+8+(vb). [cf. § 4b]

(ii) Two parallel expressions: *acchariyaṃ vata bho* (7 syll.) and *abbhutaṃ vata bho* (6 syll.); i.e. 7+6, in which case the WSP does not work. But if *acchariyaṃ* (4 syll.) is scanned as **accharyaṃ* (3), the pattern is then 6+6.²² Compare § 23a where *ācariyo* is best scanned as **ācaryo*.²³

The sound similarities are *acchariyaṃ ... abbhutaṃ*.

(iii) Two parallel terms: *mahiddhikatā* (5) and *mahānubhāvata* (6); i.e. 5+6. The sound similarities are *mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvata*. They both commence with ---.

(iv) Omitting *yatra hi nāma*, we have two parallel units: *saka-vādaṃ ṭhappessati* (8) and *para-vādena pavāressati* (10); i.e. 8+10. The verbs have 4 and 5 syllables respectively (i.e. they have a 4-5 pattern). There are sound similarities in *para-vādena pavāressati*.

§ 8.

(a) [40,23–24] '*mayam kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allinā viharāma.*'

There are three parallel compounds here (attributes predicated to *mayam*): *tapo-jigucchā-vādā* (7 syll.), *tapo-jigucchā-sārā* (7), *tapo-jigucchā-allinā* (8); i.e. 7+7+8. The units which differ in each are *-vādā* (2), *-sārā* (2) and *-allinā* (3).

The elements to differ in the first two compounds share sound similarities: *-vādā* and *-sārā*, with a possible play in *d/r*.²⁴ They also have equal metrical patterns. These first two compounds both have a ---|---|--- pattern. The pattern of these three

²² If we let *acchariyaṃ* stand, but take the *abbhūtaṃ* v.l. (B^r MS), then we have the metrical pattern ---|---|---|---|---|. If we scan *accharyaṃ* and also keep the *abbhūtaṃ* variant reading, then the pattern is ---|---|---|---|---|. The forms *accharyaṃ* and *abbhūtaṃ* would also have the same metrical pattern, which would be in keeping with the tendency for the initial members of such parallel units to share metrical similarities.

Cf. *acchariyaṃ āvuso Sāriputta, abbhutaṃ āvuso Sāriputta*, (Ud 40,18–19) and *acchariyaṃ āvuso Moggallāna, abbhutaṃ āvuso Moggallāna* (Ud 40,25–26) which both scan as ---|*---|---|---| if we take the above readings. Cf. also *acchariyo abbhuto dhammo* (Ud 53,12). This contrasts with O. von Hinüber's (1994, p. 35) restoring of a svarabhakti vowel to make a sequence work: *paṇḍito vyatto kusala* (3+2+3) works if *vyatta* is read as *viyatta*.

²³ K.R. Norman (1992, p. 143 (§ 32)) gives an example where the svarabhakti vowel in *brahmacariyaṃ* should be ignored for the sake of the metre. Cf. also Ud 3 (*sūriyo' va*).

²⁴ For the *d/r* alternation and hence the possible sound play, see K.R. Norman, 1992, p. 160 (§ 81).

plus *viharāma* is: ~~~|--|--|~|~|~|~|~|~|~|~|~|~|.

(b) [40,24–26] '*kathaṃ sante ... paripuṇṇā ... etc.*: see § 7g.

(c) [40,27–41,1] '*idha Nigrodha tapassī acelako hoti muttācāro hatthāpalekhano, na-ehi-bhadantiko na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko nābhīhaṭaṃ na uddissa-kataṃ na nimantaṃ sādīyati.*'²⁵

(i) Five elements are predicated to *tapassī*:²⁶ *acelako* (4), *muttācāro* (4), *hatthāpalekhano* (6), *na-ehi-bhadantiko* (7), *na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko* (7); i.e. (noun)+4+(vb)+4+6+7+7. The last two compounds show sound similarities due to repetition of structure. They also have equal metrical patterns (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) as both *-ehi-* and *-tiṭṭha-* are ~ ~. These two final compounds share with *acelako* and *hatthāpalekhano* the ending ~ ~ ~.

(ii) Three parallel units share the same verb: *nābhīhaṭaṃ* (4) *na uddissa-kataṃ* (6) *na nimantaṃ* (5) *sādīyati*. The WSP is not working.

The sound similarities are: *nābhīhaṭaṃ na uddissa-kataṃ na nimantaṃ sādīyati* (if it is accepted that sound play does occur between retroflex and dental consonants)²⁷ and the repetition of the negative particle.

(d) [41,1–8] '*so na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na eḷakam-antaraṃ, na udukkhalam-antaraṃ, na daṇḍam-antaraṃ, na musalam-antaraṃ, na dvinnam bhuñjamānānam, na gabbhīniyā, na pāyamānāya, na purisantara-gatāya, na saṃkittisu, na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārinī, na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thusodakaṃ pivati.*'

This can be divided into groups on the basis of associations in grammar and meaning:

(i) *na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti* (10 syll. if *so* is omitted (as elsewhere), or 11 if it is included), *na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti* (11). The pattern is 10+11, or 11+11 if *so* is included.

There are sound similarities between the two elements which differ in this repeated structure: *kumbhi-* and *kaḷopi-*, or *kumbhi-* and *kaḷopi-* if a play between the labial consonants is accepted.

(ii) *na eḷakam-antaraṃ* (7), *na udukkhalam-antaraṃ* (8), *na daṇḍam-antaraṃ* (6), *na musalam-antaraṃ* (7); i.e. 7+8+6+7. The WSP is not working unless we can divide it into *eḷakam-* (threshold) and *udukkhalam-* (mortar) on the one hand, and *daṇḍam-* (stick(s)) and *musalam-* (pestle/pounder) on the other, thus making a

²⁵ This formula also occurs at D I 166ff. For further references see the PTC, s.v. *acelaka*.

²⁶ Cf. M I 342,24–27: *idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo acelako hoti muttācāro ...* (as above).

²⁷ Other examples are given in the summary 12.2, example 1.

7+8, 6+7 pattern.²⁸

There are possible sound similarities in *eḷakam-* ... *udukkhalam-* and *udukkhalam-antaram* ... *musalam-antaram*.

(iii) *na dvinnaṃ bhuñjamānānaṃ* (8).

(iv) *na gabbhiniyā* (5), *na pāyamānāya* (6), *na purisantara-gatāya* (9); i.e. 5+6+9.

(v) *na saṃkittisu* (5). The meaning of this is uncertain. It also stands apart from the rest in being in the locative plural.

(vi) *na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti* (10), *na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārini* (13); i.e. 10+13. Sound similarities exist at the beginning of each due to the repetition of *na yattha*.

(vii) *na macchaṃ* (3) *na maṃsaṃ* (3) *na suraṃ* (3) *na merayaṃ* (4) *na thusodakaṃ* (5) *pivati*; i.e. 3+3+3+4+5+(vb). The syllable count for the five items not to be taken (starting with *macchaṃ*) is 2-2-2-3-4. It is also possible to divide this into two groups consisting of *na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ* (solids) on the one hand, and *na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thusodakaṃ* (liquids) on the other.

The sound similarities here are: *na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thusodakaṃ* and, of course, the negative particle.

The pattern for this passage, following the above understanding, is thus 10+11, 7+8(,)6+7, 8, 5+6+9, 5, 10+13, 3+3+3+4+5.

In many of these divisions, the first two elements have similar metrical patterns. *So na kumbhi-* (˘˘˘˘) and *na kaḷopi-* (˘˘˘˘) make the first two sentences almost metrically identical. In the second group, *na eḷakam-* (˘˘˘˘) and the following *na udukkhalam-* (˘˘˘˘) make the first two units almost identical. In the fourth group, *na gabbhiniyā* and *na pāyamānāya* both open with ˘˘˘. The two parallel sentences *na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti* and *na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārini* both start with ˘˘˘˘˘˘. And finally, *na macchaṃ* and *na maṃsaṃ* in the last division have a ˘˘˘ pattern.

(e) [41,9–14] ‘*so ekāgāriko vā hoti ekālopiko, dvāgāriko vā hoti dvālopiko, sattāgāriko vā hoti sattālopiko. ekissāpi dattiyā yāpeti, dvīhi pi dattīhi yāpeti, sattahi pi dattīhi yāpeti. ekāhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti, dvīhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti, sattāhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti* (– *iti evarūpaṃ addhamāsikam pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojanānuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati*).’

Again omitting the initial *so* from the syllable count, this consists of three groups of three parallel clauses having 13+11+13, 10+9+10 and 12+11+12 syllables each. As *eka* has 2 syllables, while *dva* has only 1, the WSP does not work in passages

²⁸ J. Gonda (1959, p. 209) lists *ulūkhala-musala* “mortar and pestle” (AV 9,6,15). This also goes against the WSP, which is uncommon in dvandvas, and suggests that this order is fixed. Cf. K.R. Norman, 1995, p. 307.

involving numbers. The WSP does, however, work within each clause. Thus the pattern for the predicative attributes in the first 3 clauses is (pron)+5+(vb)+5, 4+(vb)+4, 5+(vb)+5.

In the first clause, the sound similarities are enhanced by the *-iko* suffix of *-āgāriko* and *-ālopiko*, which also share the same metrical patterns, and in the last by the use of the cognate accusative *āhāraṃ āhāreti*. Sound similarities and a similar use of the cognate accusative are also seen in ... *pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojanānuयोगaṃ anuyutto*.

(f) [41,15–20] ‘*so sāka-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti, nīvāra-bhakkho vā hoti, daddula-bhakkho vā hoti, haṭa-bhakkho vā hoti, kaṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, ācāma-bhakkho vā hoti, piññāka-bhakkho vā hoti, tiṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, gomaya-bhakkho vā hoti, vana-mūla-phalāhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī.*’

This passage consists of eleven principal clauses, with the first ten being identical structures joined by conjunction. Again, divisions can be made on the basis of associations in meaning:

(i) *sāka* (potherbs), *sāmāka* (kind of millet), *nīvāra* (a rice) and *daddula* (a rice)²⁹ are plants or types of grain. The syllable count for these types of food is 2-3-3-3 and for the clauses as a whole 7+8+8+8 (excluding *so* in the first). Sound similarities are apparent in *so sāka-* and *sāmāka-*. The metrical pattern of the first three clauses is identical due to *so sāka-*, *sāmāka-* and *nīvāra-* (the initial elements which differ in each) having the same pattern. As in the previous passage discussed above, the initial pronoun *so* is utilised in this repetition of metrical patterns.

(ii) *haṭa* (?),³⁰ *kaṇa* (a rice powder), *ācāma* (rice-scum) and *piññāka* (oil-seed flour) (2-2-3-3). The last three at least are processed foods. The count for the clauses is 7+7+8+8. Sound similarities and similar metrical patterns are again apparent in the first two words, while the last two words (*ācāma-* and *piññāka-*) share the same metrical pattern.

(iii) *tiṇa* (grass), *gomaya* (cowdung) (2-3) and *vana-mūla-phalāhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī* “he maintains (himself by) eating roots and fruit from the forest, (or) eating fallen fruits” are collected foods. These two clauses plus the final “sentence” have a 7+8+18 syllable pattern. The unit *vana-mūla-phalāhāro*, which precedes the

²⁹ T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1921, p. 38) take *daddula* as “leather parings”, as does I.B. Horner (1957, p. 7 “snippets of leather”), no doubt following PED *daddula*². PED *daddula*¹ lists it as a kind of rice.

³⁰ T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (ibid., p. 38) leave *haṭa* untranslated. I.B. Horner (ibid., p. 7) and M. Walshe (1987, p. 153) take it as a water plant following PED *haṭa*². The commentary (Sv II 356,14) gives *haṭaṃ vuccatī silesa pi sevālo pi* = water plants (?). Taking this term to refer to a water plant would tend to place it with the previous group listing plants and grains. The fact that it shares the same syllable length, metrical pattern and has sound similarities with *kaṇa*, tends to tie it firmly into this division. It is possible that it is connected with Skt. *haṭa/haṭha*, which MWD lists as “violence, force”; e.g. *haṭha-karman* “an act of violence”. Perhaps it is a food that has been treated in a certain way.

verb, has 8 syllables and *pavatta-phala-bhojī* has 7 syllables. The WSP is not working in this case (?). The words in dvandva relationship in the compound *vana-mūla-phalāhāro* (i.e. *-mūla-phala-*) have 2+2 syllables.

In this way, this section of the formula can thus be divided into three naturally associated groups consisting of 3 or 4 elements with the WSP operational within each group. The syllable count for the types of food is 2-3-3-3, 2-2-3-3, 2-3-(18). The syllable count for the principal clauses is 7+8+8+8, 7+7+8+8, 7+8+18 (the first will be 8+8+8+8 if *so* is included).

(g) [41,20–26] ‘*so sāñāni pi dhāreti, masāñāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiriṭāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīram pi dhāreti, vāka-cīram pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīram pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, ulūka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti.*’

This consists of thirteen principal clauses of the same construction joined by conjunction. The various types of garments listed can also be divided into five naturally associated groups based on meaning and grammatical form:

(i) *sāñāni* and *masāñāni* (3-4) are from plant fibres.

(ii) *chava-dussāni* and *paṃsu-kūlāni* (5-5) are refuse rags.

(iii) *tiriṭāni*, *ajināni* and *ajina-kkhipam* (4-4-5) are from plant and animals.

Although *ajina-kkhipam* is in the accusative singular, not accusative plural as the preceding two, it is tied into this group by picking up *ajina-* from the previous clause. But its accusative singular ending also anticipates the terminations in the next two groups.

(iv) *kusa-cīram*, *vāka-cīram* and *phalaka-cīram* (4-4-5) are from plants.

(v) *kesa-kambalam*, *vāla-kambalam* and *ulūka-pakkhikam* (5-5-6) are from animal hair or feathers.

The syllable count for the types of garments is 3-4, 5-5, 4-4-5, 4-4-5, 5-5-6 and for the clauses 7+8, 9+9, 8+8+9, 8+8+9, 9+9+10 (the first will be 8+8 if *so* is included).

Apart from the obvious sound similarities due to the accusative singular and plural endings, and the repetition of the frame structure, sound similarities are evident in: (i) *sāñāni* ... *masāñāni* ... *chava-dussāni* ... (*paṃsu-kūlāni* ?); (ii) *ajināni* ... *ajina-kkhipam*; (iii) *kusa-cīram* ... *vāka-cīram* ... *phalaka-cīram*; (iv) *kesa-kambalam* ... *vāla-kambalam*; (v) the ‘l’ sounds: *phalaka-cīram* ... *kesa-kambalam* ... *vāla-kambalam* ... *ulūka-pakkhikam*; (v) the ‘k’ sounds: *-kkhipam* ... *kusa-cīram* ... *vāka-cīram* ... *phalaka-cīram* ... *kesa-kambalam* ... *vāla-kambalam*

... *ulūka-pakkhikam*.³¹

In the first group, *so sānāni pi dhāreti* (˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘) and *masānāni pi dhāreti* (˘˘˘˘˘˘˘˘) both have almost identical metrical patterns. *Tiriṇi pi dhāreti* and *ajināni pi dhāreti*, the first two clauses in the third group, have exactly the same metrical pattern. In the last group, *kesa-kambalaṃ* and *vāla-kambalaṃ* are identical (˘˘˘˘˘˘), while *ulūka-pakkhikam* (˘˘˘˘˘˘) is very close. Note here that *-pakkhikam* is metrically equivalent to *-kambalaṃ* which it replaces.

(h) [41,26–42,8] '*kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locanānuyogaṃ anuyutto, ubbhaṭṭhako pi hoti āsana-paṭikkhitto, ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto, kaṇṭaka-passayiko pi hoti kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyaṃ kappeti, phalaka-seyyaṃ pi kappeti, thaṇḍila-seyyaṃ pi kappeti, eka-passayiko pi hoti rajojalla-dharo, abbhokāsiko pi hoti yathā-santhatiko, vekaṭiko pi hoti vikāta-bhojanānuyogaṃ anuyutto, āpānako pi hoti āpānakattaṃ anuyutto, sāya-tatīyakam pi udakorohanānuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati.*'

This consists of nine parallel units; the latter part of the fourth is extended by repetition of its final element:

(i) *kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locanānuyogaṃ anuyutto* has 24 syllables. Within this *kesa-massu-locako* has 7 syllables and *kesa-massu-locanānuyogaṃ anuyutto* 14; i.e. the pattern is [pron]+7+(vb)+14. Sound similarities are evident due to the repetition of *kesa-massu-locako-* and the use of the cognate accusative *-anuyogaṃ anuyutto*. Sound similarities are also created through the use of the secondary suffix *-ka* in most of the initial words of each group in this part of the formula: *kesa-massu-locako*, *ubbhaṭṭhako*, *ukkuṭiko*, etc.

Kesa-massu-, the dvandva element in *kesa-massu-locako*, has a 2+2 pattern. Sound similarities are evident in these two terms. They also share the same metrical pattern.

(ii) *ubbhaṭṭhako pi hoti āsana-paṭikkhitto* (14 syll.): *ubbhaṭṭhako* (4) and *āsana-paṭikkhitto* (7); i.e. 4+(vb)+7.

(iii) *ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto* (18 syll.): *ukkuṭiko* (4) and *ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto* (11); i.e. 4+(vb)+11. Sound similarities occur due to the repetition of *ukkuṭika*. There are also sound similarities between *ubbhaṭṭhako* of the previous division and *ukkuṭiko*.

(iv) Two clauses: *kaṇṭaka-passayiko pi hoti* (10) and *kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyaṃ kappeti* (11) = 21 (*kaṇṭaka-passayiko* has 7 syllables); i.e. 10+11. Sound similarities occur due to the repetition of *kaṇṭaka-passay-*. There are also sound similarities between *ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ* of the previous division and *kaṇṭaka-passaye*, and between *kesa-massu-locako* of the first division and *kaṇṭaka-passayiko* of this division. These latter two elements also have the same number of syllables.

³¹ See the summary 12.2, example 5.

(v) The “... *seyyaṃ kappeti*” structure of the final element of the previous sentence is now repeated to describe two other types of bed: (*kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyaṃ kappeti* (11)) *phalaka-seyyam pi kappeti* (9 syll.) and *thaṇḍila-seyyam pi kappeti* (9 syll.); i.e. (11)+9+9. *Phalaka-* and *thaṇḍila-* have the same number of syllables, perhaps following *-passaye* of the previous.

(vi) *eka-passayiko pi hoti rajojalla-dharo* (15): *eka-passayiko* (6) and *rajojalla-dharo* (6); i.e. 6+(vb)+6. Note that *-passayika* has been picked up from the previous *kaṇṭaka-passayiko*.

(vii) *abbhokāsiko pi hoti yathā-santhatiko* (14): *abbhokāsiko* (5) and *yathā-santhatiko* (6); i.e. 5+(vb)+6. There may be sound similarities between *rajojalla-* of the previous and *abbhokāsiko* here.

(viii) *vekaṭiko pi hoti vikaṭa-bhojanānuyogaṃ anuyutto* (20): *vekaṭiko* (4) and *vikaṭa-bhojanānuyogaṃ anuyutto* (13); i.e. 4+(vb)+13. There are sound similarities due to the repetition of *vekaṭiko* in *vikaṭa* and the use of the cognate accusative *-anuyogaṃ anuyutto*.

(ix) *āpānako pi hoti āpānakattaṃ anuyutto* (16): *āpānako* (4) and *āpānakattaṃ anuyutto* (9); i.e. 4+(vb)+9. There are sound similarities due to the repetition of *āpānaka-*.

(x) *sāya-tatīyakam pi udakorohanānuyogaṃ anuyutto* (20). Although mimicking the previous and earlier sentences, the structure is different here: *sāya-tatīyakam* (6) is adjectival to *udakorohanānuyogaṃ* (9).

The pattern for this section of the formula is 7+(vb)+14, 4+(vb)+7, 4+(vb)+11, 10+11(+)+9+9, 6+(vb)+6, 5+(vb)+6, 4+(vb)+13, 4+(vb)+9, (+).

The WSP works within each unit. This is not surprising as the second element is, for the most part, an expansion of the first. The WSP does not seem to be determining the ordering of the units within this part of the formula, even for those with a natural association in subject matter: unit *i* (24 syll.) is the practice of plucking out the hair; *ii* and *iii* (14+18) describe postures; *iv* to *vii* (21+{9+9}+15+14) describe sleeping arrangements; *viii* and *ix* (20+16) are concerned with food and drink; *x* (20) describes a bathing practice.

This section of the formula seems to lack the repetition of metrical patterns. There is a possible repetition in *-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto*, *-a-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto* and *(ā)pānakattaṃ anuyutto* (- ~ - * ~ ~ -). Also, in the first clause (*kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locanānuyogaṃ anuyutto*) the metrical pattern of *kesa-massu-locako pi hoti* is the same as *kesa-massu-locanānuyogaṃ (anu-)*. Similarly, in *ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto*, the metrical pattern of *ukkuṭiko pi hoti* is the same as *ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ (anu-)*.

§ 9.

(a) [42,17–18] ‘*idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunṇa-saṃkappo.*’ [cf. § 10]

Two attributes occur in the predicate of the second sentence: *attamano* (4) and *paripunṇa-saṃkappo* (7); i.e. (pron)+4+(vb)+7. There are sound similarities in *tapassī tapaṃ* and possibly *samādiyati* ... *-saṃkappo*. Also, in *tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati*, the unit *tapassī tapaṃ* has 5 syllables, as does *samādiyati*. These two “divisions” also have the same distribution of vowels: *a-ā-ī-a-*.

It is possible that there is a metrical pattern discernable in *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati* (˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘). When this becomes *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati* in the following paragraphs, the pattern is ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ | ˘.

(b) [42,22–23] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attān-ukkamaṃseti paraṃ vambheti.*’ [cf. § 10]

Two parallel units: *attān-ukkamaṃseti* (6) and *paraṃ vambheti* (5); i.e. 6+5. The WSP is not working because *ukkamaṃseti* has 4 syllables while *vambheti* has only 3. Sound similarities are evident: *ukkamaṃseti* ... *vambheti* (with the variant spelling *vamheti* according to the PED).

Despite going against the WSP, *attān-ukkamaṃseti paraṃ vambheti* seems to be a fixed phrase employed as such in a number of passages in the Canon.³²

(c) [42,27–28] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati.*’ [cf. § 10]

This contains three parallel verbs, with the last taking an object: *majjati* (3), *mucchati* (3), *pamādaṃ āpajjati* (7). The pattern is 3+3+7. The sound similarities present here are: (i) *majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati*; (ii) *majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati*; (iii) ... *pamādam āpajjati*.

Majjati and *mucchati*, which are the first two elements of this sequence of verbs, have the same metrical pattern which is then repeated in (*ā*)*pajjati*.

³² M I 192f., 202; III 38f.; A II 27f.; Nd I 497; II 106. Cf. passages which employ the arrangement *khumaṃseti vambheti*, which does conform to the WSP; e.g. *hīnena pi akkosena khumsenti vambhenti* (Vin IV 4); *hīnena khumsessasi hīnena vambhessasi* (Vin II 18); or *khumsento ... vambhento ... upavadamāno* (D I 90) (cf. O. von Hinüber, 1994, p. 27f.). Cf. also *yo c’attānaṃ samukkamaṃse paraṃ ca-m-avajānati* (Sn 132; cf. O. von Hinüber, 1994, p. 28).

§ 10.

(a) [43,3–4; 11–12; 18–19] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti.*’

The syllable lengths of the component words of the dvandva compound *lābha-sakkāra-siloka* are 2+3+3. Sound similarities are perhaps evident in *lābha-sakkāra-siloka*.

(b) [43,25–30] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhojanesu vodāsaṃ āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati” ti. so yaṃ hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati taṃ sāpekho pajahati, yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati.*’

(i) There may be sound similarities in *bhojanesu vodāsaṃ āpajjati* (11 syll.).

(ii) The acetic’s thoughts consist of two parallel sentences: *idaṃ me khamati* (6) and *idaṃ me na-kkhamati* (7); i.e. 6+7 (= 13 syll.). With the second sentence being the opposite (the negative) of the first, it is inevitable that it should be longer. This follows the tendency to present the positive first; i.e. we would not find *idaṃ me na-kkhamati, idaṃ me khamati*.

(iii) A relative clause, *yaṃ hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati* (8 syll.), and the main clause, *so ... taṃ sāpekho pajahati* (9 syll.) = 17 syll. It is interesting to note that the text chooses to expand the negative first even though it was listed second. Could the fact that the expansion of the positive was much longer have been influential here?

(iv) A relative clause, *yaṃ pan’ assa khamati* (7 syll.), followed by the main clause, *taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati* (31 syll.) = 38 syll. The main clause contains a sequence of five units qualifying [so]: *gathito* (3) *mucchito* (3) *ajjhāpanno* (4) *anādīnava-dassāvī* (8) *anissaraṇa-pañño* (7). The pattern is [pron]+3+3+4+8+7+(vb). The WSP falters in the last two elements.³³

The sound similarities are: (i) *gathito mucchito...*; (ii) ... *ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño*; (iii) ... *-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño*; (iv) ... *ajjhāpanno ... anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati*.

There also seem to be sound similarities between the main verbs occurring in this paragraph: *āpajjati ... pajahati ... paribhuñjati*. Their syllable lengths are 4-4-5.

The syllable count for the above units of meaning (i–iv) is 11+13+17+38.

³³ See the summary 1.6, example 4, for possible explanations.

(c) [44,1-4] '*puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nīkanti-hetu "sakkarissanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahāmattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā tithiyā" ti.*'

This contains a list of six types of persons: *rājāno* (3 syll.) *rāja-mahāmattā* (6) *khattiyā* (3) *brāhmaṇā* (3) *gahapatikā* (5) *tithiyā* (3). The pattern is 3+6+3+3+5+3. The WSP is not working in this list unless it can be divided into groups on the basis of associations in meaning.

The first two constitute the government or those who hold power (3+6), the next three commonly occur together and represent those who participate in society (3+3+5), and the last are those who stand outside of society (3). That is, we have a list with a 3+6, 3+3+5, 3 pattern.³⁴

It is unclear why we should have *rāja-mahāmatta* rather than the more usual *mahāmatta* as, for example, in *rāja-kathaṃ*, *cora~*, *mahāmatta~* above (§ 2b).

§ 11.

(a) [44,6-11] '*puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī aññataram samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā apasādetā hoti: "kiṃ paṇāyam bahulājīvo sabbam sambhakkheti? seyyathīdam mūla-bijam khandha-bijam phalu-bijam agga-bijam bīja-bijam eva pañcamam, asanivikkam danta-kūṭam samaṇa-ppavādenā" ti.*'

(i) The first sentence contains a list of two types of individual: *samaṇam* (3) and *brāhmaṇam* (3); i.e. 3+3. Sound similarities are evident: *samaṇam* vā *brāhmaṇam*. The sound similarities of these two words would have been even more apparent before the sanskritisation of *ba-* > *brā-*. The sound similarities are also more complete in their Sanskrit forms.

(ii) There are sound similarities in *sabbam sambhakkheti*.

(iii) Five types of *bīja* are enumerated here: *mūla-(bījam)* (2 syll.) *khandha-* (2) *phalu-* (2) *agga-* (2) *bīja-* (2); i.e. 2-2-2-2-2.³⁵ The syllable count for the five compounds is 4+4+4+4+4. Except for *phalu-bijam*, the metrical pattern of each is - - - -, as it is in *seyyathīdam* at the beginning of the list and, in part, in *eva pañcamam (a-)* at the end. See also the fnt. to summary 13.1, example 3.³⁶

³⁴ Compare, for example, *khattiya-parisaṃ*, *brāhmaṇa~*, *gahapati~*, *samaṇa~* (D II 86) where the first three are the same as those in the above list (3+3+4) and the last, *samaṇa* of 3 syllables, is another term for those who stand outside society; the pattern here being 3+3+4, 3. Cf. also *raññam ... gahapatikānaṃ kumārānaṃ* (D I 8).

³⁵ Cf. S III 54 which reads *agga-phalu~* (S¹⁻³ *phalu~ agga~*) rather than *phalu~ agga~* as here. All other occurrences read as here (D I 5, 64; III 47; Vin IV 34-35; V 132). Vin IV 34-35 expands on these concepts.

³⁶ Another example of a list where one member has a metrical pattern different to the others is *saddham ... silam ... sutam ... cāgam ... paññam* (Ud 50,24-25).

(b) [44,13–19] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjyamānaṃ. [disvā]³⁷ tassa evaṃ hoti: “imaṃ hi nāma bahulājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassiṃ lūkhājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti” ti. iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti.*’

(i) This contains four parallel verbs: *sakkariyamānaṃ* (6 syll.) *garukariyamānaṃ* (7) *māniyamānaṃ* (5) *pūjyamānaṃ* (5); and the present 3rd plural forms *sakkaronti* (4) *garukaronti* (5) *mānenti* (3) *pūjenti* (3); i.e. a list of four verbs of 4+5+3+3 syllables (using the present 3rd pl. forms). As such the WSP does not work.

Although these verbs appear to us to be synonymous, we can divide them into two pairs based on common morphology: *sakkaronti* and *garukaronti* are both based on the root \sqrt{kr} , and *mānenti* and *pūjenti* are both causatives of monosyllabic roots. Therefore the pattern is 4+5, 3+3. This division is reinforced by the sound similarities within each pair: *sakkaronti garukaronti* and *mānenti pūjenti*. The latter pair also have the same metrical pattern.

(ii) This incorporates two parallel sentences expressing opposites: *imaṃ hi nāma bahulājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti* (28 syll.) *maṃ pana tapassiṃ lūkhājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti* (32 syll.); i.e. 28+32 (note that the positive is presented first). This works despite *bahulājīvaṃ* of the first sentence having 5 syllables and its opposite, *lūkhājīviṃ*, of the second having 4 syllables (5-4).

There are sound similarities in *bahulājīvaṃ* and *lūkhājīviṃ*.

(iii) *issā-macchariyaṃ*: a dvandva compound of 2+4 syllables.

(c) [44,25–27] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati: “idaṃ pi me tapasmim, idaṃ pi me tapasmin” ti.*’

Parallel to “*idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī*” *ti* in § 10b.ii, the two parallel sentences “*idaṃ pi me tapasmim, idaṃ pi me tapasmin*” express a thought, though in this case the second is a repetition of the first and therefore of equal length (7+7).

(d) [45,1–4] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī kiñcid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti.*’

This incorporates two parallel units: *akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti* (11 syll.) and *khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti* (11 syll.). “*Khamati te idan?*” *ti puṭṭho samāno*, which precedes both, also has 11 syllables. The metrical pattern of the former

³⁷ See the fnt. to our edition (Study 3).

is - ~ ~ ~ | - * | - ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | * - | ~ * ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ |. Apart from the initial phrase *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī* (~ ~ ~ ~ | - - | ~ ~ ~ | - -), the rest does not scan.

§ 12.

(a) [45,7–9] '*puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammam desentassa santam yeva pariyāyam anuññeyyam nānujānāti.*'

Two types of individual are listed: *Tathāgatassa* (5) *Tathāgata-sāvakassa* (8); i.e. 5+8. Note the use of the cognate accusative *anuññeyyam* (*na*) *anujānāti*.

(b) [45,11] '*puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhī.*'

Two attributes are predicative to *tapassī*: *kodhano* (3) and *upanāhī* (4); i.e. (noun)+3+(vb)+4.

(c) [45,14–18] '*puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī, pāpiccho hoti pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasam gato, micchā-diṭṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya diṭṭhiyā samannāgato, sandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggi.*'

There are seven sets of negative character traits of a *tapassī* listed here. The first four each consist of a pair of character traits with the second having at least the same number of syllables as the first, if not more: *makkhī* (2) (*hoti*) *palāsī* (3) = 7 syllables in total; *issukī* (3) (*hoti*) *maccharī* (3) = 8 syll.; *saṭho* (2) (*hoti*) *māyāvī* (3) = 7 syll.; *thaddho* (2) (*hoti*) *atimānī* (4) = 8 syll. In the next two sets, a character trait is listed, then elaborated: *pāpiccho* (3) (*hoti*) *pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasam gato* (11) = 16 syll.; *micchā-diṭṭhiko* (5) (*hoti*) *anta-gāhikāya diṭṭhiyā samannāgato* (14) = 21 syll. The final set lists three character traits: *sandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī* (7) (*hoti*) *ādhāna-gāhī* (5) *duppaṭinissaggi* (6) = 20. This has a 7+(vb)+5+6 pattern. It can be seen that the WSP works in the arrangement of the two elements following the verb in this latter unit.

The pattern of this list is (noun)+2+(vb)+3, 3+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+4, 3+(vb)+11, 5+(vb)+14, 7+(vb)+5+6. The pattern for the divisions is 7+8+7+8+16+21+20; the gradation being somewhat erratic. Helpful amendments are not suggested by the variant readings. The WSP therefore works in the ordering of each word element within a principal clause, but only imperfectly (perhaps only coincidentally) in the ordering of the clauses as a whole and between the parallel units of each.

The sound similarities are: (i) *makkhī* ... *issukī*; (ii) the *-ī* terminations; (iii) ... *makkhī* ... *maccharī* ... *māyāvī* ... *atimānī*; (iv) *saṭho* ... *thaddho* (?); (v) *pāpiccho hoti pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ*; (vi) *micchā-diṭṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya diṭṭhiyā*; (vii) *vasam gato* ... *samannāgato*; (viii) ... *maccharī* ... *pāpiccho hoti*

pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ ... micchā-ditṭhiko; (ix) *samannāgato sanditṭhi-*. Note also that the first elements in the second and third set (*satho & thaddho*) have *-o* rather than *-ī* terminations. This leads into the *-o* forms of the fifth and sixth sets.

The numerous paragraphs within this part of the text (§ 9–12), which share a similar structure, do not themselves show any signs of being ordered according to syllable length. This is also true of the parallel units within each paragraph; e.g. the *so tena tapasā ...* units discussed in sections §§ 9a, 9b, 9c and 10a, have syllable lengths of 19, 17, 19 and 20 respectively.

(d) [45,22–23] '*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi 'me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā anupakkilesā vā?*' ti.

Two alternatives, the second being the opposite of the first, are predicative to *tapo-jigucchā*: *upakkilesā* (5) and *anupakkilesā* (6); i.e. (noun)+5+[vb]+6.³⁸ As elsewhere, the negative is second.

§ (13–)15.

This is the opposite of §§ 9–12 and will not be discussed here. The end of § 15 has the following:³⁹

(a) [48,7–8] '*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti aparisuddhā vā?*' ti.

As in the previous parallel question occurring in § 12d, two alternatives are presented here. The second is the negative of the first: *parisuddhā* (4) and *aparisuddhā* (5); i.e. (noun)+4+(vb)+5.

(b) [48,9–11] '*addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā*' ti.

Two pairs of elements refer to *tapo-jigucchā*: *parisuddhā* (4) and *aparisuddhā* (6); *agga-ppattā* (4) and *sāra-ppattā* (4). The pattern is (noun)+4+(vb)+6, 4+4. There are obvious sound similarities here due to the repetition of word elements: (*a-*)*parisuddhā* and *-ppattā*. Note that *agga-* and *sāra-* have the same metrical pattern (˘ ˘).

³⁸ The placement of the verb is based on the pattern of the next phrase (§ 15a).

³⁹ These are repeated with minor variations at the end of §§ 17, 18 & 19.

(c) [48,12–14] '*na kho Nigrodha ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho papaṭika-pattā hotī' ti.*

This time three units refer to *tapo-jigucchā: agga-ppattā* (4) *sāra-ppattā* (4) *papaṭika-pattā* (6); i.e. (noun)+4+(vb)+4+6+(vb).

The parallel passages at the end of § 17 and § 18 replace *papaṭika-pattā* with *taca-pattā* and *phegu-pattā* respectively. These both have a (noun)+4+(vb)+4+4+(vb) pattern.

§ 16.

(a) [48,16–17] '*sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū' ti.*

In this, a structure is repeated to form two parallel units: *aggaṃ yeva pāpetu* (7 syll.) and *sāraṃ yeva pāpetu* (7); i.e. 7+7. They have equal metrical patterns due to the elements which differ in each repetition of structure being equal (*aggaṃ* and *sāraṃ*).

(b) [48,20–49,5] '*idha Nigrodha tapassī na pānaṃ atipāpeti, na pānaṃ atipātayati, na pānaṃ atipātayato samanūñño hoti; na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanūñño hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti; na bhāvitam āsiṃsati, na bhāvitam āsiṃsāpeti, na bhāvitam āsiṃsato samanūñño hoti.*'

This consists of four groups of three clauses. The reading *atipāpeti ... atipātayati ... atipātayato* of the first is unsatisfactory. The CPD wants to read *atimāpeti ... atimāpayāpeti ... atimāpāyato* (see fnt. to our edition: Study 3). Alternatively, we could read *atipāpeti ... atipātāpeti ... atipātayato*. Following the PTS edition's reading, the syllable count for this division is: *na pānaṃ atipāpeti* (8 syll.), *na pānaṃ atipātayati* (9), *na pānaṃ atipātayato samanūñño hoti* (15) = 32 syll.; *na adinnaṃ ādiyati* (8), *na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti* (9), *na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanūñño hoti* (14) = 31 syll.; *na musā bhaṇati* (6), *na musā bhaṇāpeti* (7), *na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti* (12) = 25 syll.; *na bhāvitam āsiṃsati* (8), *na bhāvitam āsiṃsāpeti* (9), *na bhāvitam āsiṃsato samanūñño hoti* (14) = 31 syll. The pattern is 8+9+15, 8+9+14, 6+7+12, 8+9+14. If we adopt the CPD's reading for the first group, then the pattern of this first group is 8+10+15 (= 33). The pattern of our suggested reading would be the same as the PTS version. The WSP works within each group but not from group to group; the pattern of the four groups being 32+31+25+31.

There are obvious sound similarities due to the repetition of structure and word forms. For example, the only syllables or units to differ (the underlined) in the second division are: *na adinnaṃ ādiyati*, *na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti*, *na adinnaṃ ādiyato*

samanuñño hoti. Each clause also ends in *-ti*. There is also a possible play in (i) *pāṇaṃ atipāpeti* and (ii) *adinnaṃ ādiyati* (parallel to the cognate accusative).⁴⁰

(c) [49,6-8] ‘*yato ... aduñ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hīnāy’ āvattati.*’

This passage incorporates two parallel units: *so abhiharati* (6 syll.; or 5 if the subject is left out) *no hīnāy’ āvattati* (7 syll.); i.e. 6+7.

(d) [49,8-11] ‘*so vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ bhajati, araññaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giri-guhaṃ susānaṃ vana-patthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ.*’

Nine secluded abodes (*vivitta senāsana*) are listed here.⁴¹ Starting with *araññaṃ*, the syllable count is 3+4+3+3+4+3+4+4+5. Again, this list can be divided into groups according to some common association, with the WSP only working within each group: *araññaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ* (forests and tree roots) = 3+4; *pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giri-guhaṃ* (mountains, glens and caves) 3+3+4; *susānaṃ vana-patthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ* (cemeteries, jungles (?))⁴², open spaces and heaps of straw) 3+4+4+5. The pattern is 3+4, 3+3+4, 3+4+4+5. Sound and metrical similarities seem to be absent.

(e) [49,11-13] ‘*so pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ pañidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā.*’

The three non-finite clauses describing the sequence of actions undertaken after sitting down are: *pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā* (7 syll.) *ujum kāyaṃ pañidhāya* (8) *parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* (11). The pattern is 7+8+11. The three absolutes have a 4-4-5 syllable count.

The sound similarities are *so pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ pañidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā*.

The metrical pattern of *pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ pañidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* is -- | *-- | -- | *-- | -- | ~~~ | ~~~~ | --* | ~~~ | -- | (giving *ujum* the value of *ujjum*, its alternative spelling).

⁴⁰ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 279.

⁴¹ T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1921, p. 44) omit *vana-patthaṃ* from their translation and take *abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ* as one abode.

⁴² The difference in meaning between *arañña* and *vana-pattha* in this passage is unclear. Cf. § 4c [III 38,3-4] *araññe vanapatthāni pantāni senāsānāni paṭisevati*.

(f) [49,14–23] ‘*so abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti; vyāpāda-(pa)dosam*⁴³ *pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittaṃ parisodheti; thīna-middhaṃ pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhataṃ vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti; vicikicchāṃ pahāya tiṇṇa-vicikicchho viharati, akathaṃ-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti.*’

This passage describes the (temporary) abandoning of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*). The abandoning of each of the five hindrances is described in two sentences, the first ending with the verb *viharati* and the second with the verb *parisodheti*. The first sentence is shorter than the second in all except the first division describing the first hindrance. The first sentence of each division consists of a non-finite clause describing the abandoning (*pahāya*) of the hindrance concerned, and the finite clause describing dwelling without that hindrance. In all except the fourth hindrance, the non-finite clause is shorter than the finite clause. The syllable count for this passage is:

(i) *abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya* (8) *so ... vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati* (14) = 22 syll., or 21 if *so* is excluded; *abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti* (11); (division total = 33 syll.).

(ii) *vyāpāda-padosam pahāya* (9) *avyāpanna-citto viharati* (10) = 19; *sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittaṃ parisodheti* (24); (division total = 43).

The commentary takes *vyāpāda-padosam* as a dvandva compound (3+3). The dvandva element in *sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampī* is *-pāṇa-bhūta-* (2+2), which both have the same metrical pattern (˘ ˘).

(iii) *thīna-middhaṃ pahāya* (7) *vigata-thīna-middho viharati* (11) = 18; *āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti* (22); (division total = 40).

The dvandva compound *thīna-middha* has 2+2 syllables. Sound similarities are evident: *thīna-middha* and perhaps *thīna-middha*. Their metrical patterns are also the same (˘ ˘). The three attributes *āloka-saññī sato sampajāno* have a [pron]+5+2+4 pattern. The WSP is not working in this latter case. This may be due to the fact that the commonly occurring *sato* and *sampajāno* are bound in a fixed relationship with the WSP working in their ordering (2+4).⁴⁴ The sound similarities are: *āloka-saññī sato sampajāno*.

(iv) *uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ pahāya* (9) *anuddhato viharati* (8) = 17; *ajjhataṃ vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti* (22); (division total = 39).

The dvandva compound *uddhacca-kukkucca* has 3+3 syllables. Sound

⁴³ The PTS edition reads *-dosam*. We should read *-padosam* in accordance with the second occurrence of this compound in this same passage and the D II 68 passage.

⁴⁴ See the summary 1.6, example 5 for further analysis.

similarities are evident: *uddhacca-kukkucca*. They also share the same metrical pattern (---).

(v) *vicikiccham pahāya* (7) *tiṇṇa-vicikiccho viharati* (10) = 17; *akatham-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti* (24); (division total = 41).

The pattern of this is 8+13,(21+11), 9+10,(19+24), 7+11,(18+22), 9+8,(17+22), 7+10,(17+24).

The WSP does not work across divisions, either for the corresponding units or the divisions as a whole.

§ 17.

(a) [49,24–50,8] ‘*so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbālī-karaṇe mettā-sahagatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam mettā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā ... muditā-sahagatena cetasā ... upekhā-sahagatena cetasā ...*’

(i) In the first sentence, the unit *ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya* has 11 syllables, the locative absolute construction *cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbālī-karaṇe* has 17 syllables, and *mettā-sahagatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharivā* has 17 syllables. The finite, or main, clause (*so ... viharati*) is virtually non-existent; i.e. the pattern of these three “subordinate” clauses is 11+17+17.

(ii) The parallel units *tathā dutiyam tathā tatiyam tathā catuttham* have a 5+5+5 pattern. Numerical structures do not usually follow the WSP.

(iii) *uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi*: four adverbs of 2+2+3+3 syllables.

(iv) Sound similarities are evident in *sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam*. The WSP is not applicable here as these are not grammatically parallel elements.

(v) *mettā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā*. Here six adjectives qualify *cetasā*: *mettā-sahagatena* (7 syll.) *vipulena* (4) *mahaggatena* (5) *appamāṇena* (5) *averena* (4) *avyāpajjhena* (5). Divisions according to association in meaning can again be made: *vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena* refer to quantity or size and *averena avyāpajjhena* refer to qualities (absence of anger, etc.). Hence, the pattern is 7+(noun), 4+5+5, 4+5. There are sound similarities in *averena avyāpajjhena*.

(vi) *mettā- ... karuṇā- ... muditā- ... upekhā-*, the four Brahmaviharas, have a 2-3-3-3 syllable pattern.

lifespan). It is therefore also possible to take the pattern as [pron]+(vb)+4+4+4, 5+11+8. The WSP falters with the last element where the necessity to maintain a certain hierarchy of concepts may have overridden the WSP. Another possibility is that the original reading was *evaṃ-paṭisaṃvedī* (7 syll.); that is, *evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī* is a gloss. Cf. Summary p. 234f.

The first three elements in this sequence (-*nāmo*, -*gotto*, -*vaṇṇo*) have the same metrical pattern (- -).

The dvandva element in *evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī*, that is -*sukha-dukkha-*, has 2+2 syllables. Sound similarities are evident between these two.

(ii) The two parallel units *so tato cuto amutra udapādiṃ* and *so tato cuto idhūpapanno* have 12+10 syllables. This means that the two parallel sentences (*amutr' āsiṃ* to *udapādiṃ* and *tatra p' āsiṃ* to *idhūpapanno*) have 52+50 syllables. The WSP is not working here.

(iii) The syllable lengths of the three adjectival compounds are *sākāraṃ* (3 syll.), *sa-uddesaṃ* (4) and *aneka-vihitaṃ* (6); i.e. 3+4+6+(noun)+(vb).

§ 19.

(a) [52,1–4] '*so dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kammūpage satte pajānāti.*'

(i) Three adjectives qualify *cakkhunā*: *dibbena* (3 syll.), *visuddhena* (4) and *atikkanta-mānusakena* (9). The pattern is 3+(noun)+4+9. These same adjectives qualify *sota-dhātuyā* in the "hearing with the divine ear" formula above (§ 6a).

(ii) Four pairs of adjectives expressing opposites qualify the first *satte*: *cavamāne* (4 syll.) *upapajjamāne* (6); *hīne* (2) *paṇīte* (3); *suvaṇṇe* (3) *dubbaṇṇe* (3); *sugate* (3) *duggate* (3). The pattern is (noun)+(vb)+4+6, 2+3, 3+3, 3+3. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to *suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe* and *sugate duggate*, the negative is presented first in *hīne paṇīte*. It seems that the WSP has overridden the tendency to list the positive first.

I take *yathā-kammūpage satte pajānāti* as a separate unit.⁴⁸

Sound similarities are evident in: (i) *cavamāne upapajjamāne*; (ii) *hīne paṇīte*; (iii) *suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe* and *suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe*; (iv) *sugate duggate* (picked up from the previous) and *sugate duggate*; (v) *cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate*.

(iii) The verbs of the two sentences (*passati* and *pajānāti*) have a 3-4 syllable

⁴⁸ T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1921, p. 47) and I.B. Horner (1957, p. 28) take *satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne* as one unit and *hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kammūpage satte pajānāti* as another. M. Walshe (1987, p. 391) omits *satte pajānāti* from his translation. Nāṇamoli (1977, vol. III, p. 178) understands it as I have.

pattern. Sound similarities are evident between these two.

(b) [52,4-9] ‘ “*ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-diṭṭhikā micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā.*” ’

This consists of two sentences: *ime vata* to *-kamma-samādānā* and *te kāyassa* ... etc. The former consists of two sets of three adjectival units predicative to *sattā*.

(i) The first set of three parallel units is: (*sattā*) *kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā* (12 syll.) *vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā* (12) *mano-duccaritena samannāgatā* (12). The pattern is (noun)+12+12+12. *Kāya-*, *vacī-* and *mano-*, the elements replaced in each, have a 2-2-2 syllable pattern. The last two have the same metrical pattern. There are sound similarities due to the repetition of structure.

(ii) The second set of parallel units is: *ariyānaṃ upavādakā* (9) *micchā-diṭṭhikā* (5) *micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā* (10); i.e. 9+5+10. The WSP is not working here (even if the first were in compound form), though it does between the last two units of similar association. It is possible that we should understand the pattern to be 9, 5+10, with the last two grouped on the basis of common wording.

The pattern for the sentence as a whole is (noun)+12+12+12, 9+5+10; or, perhaps, (noun)+12+12+12, 9, 5+10.

Sound similarities are evident in *micchā-diṭṭhikā micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-*.

(iii) The PED (s.v. *apāya*) takes *apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ* as analogous expressions. If this is taken to mean that they have the same status, then the pattern is 3+3+4+3, in which case the WSP does not work. It is best, however, to see *apāya*, *duggati* and *vinipāta* as general terms and *niraya* as a specific term, for *niraya* is an *apāya*, *duggati* and *vinipāta* but not all *apāyas*, *duggatis* and *vinipātas* are *niraya*. The pattern would then be 3+3+4, 3. The WSP works in this case.

(iv) The units of meaning in the second sentence are: *kāyassa bhedaṃ* (5 syll.) *paraṃ marañā* (5) *te ... apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā* (18).

(c) [52,9-13] ‘ “*ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-sucaritena samannāgatā vacī-sucaritena samannāgatā mano-sucaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-diṭṭhikā sammā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā sugatiṃ saggam lokam upapannā.*” ’

The opposite of the previous is described here — the “bad” or negative thus being presented first. Following the analysis of the previous, the pattern for the first sentence is (noun)+12+12+12, 10(,)+5+10.

In *sugatiṃ saggam lokam (upapannā)*, the word *sugatiṃ* (3) is best understood as a more general term parallel to *duggatiṃ* of the previous, and *saggam* is

best understood as being adjectival to *lokaṃ*. The pattern is therefore 3+4. Sound similarities are evident in *sugatiṃ saggam*. The syllable count for *kāyassa bhedaṃ, paraṃ marañā*, etc., is 5+5+12.

(d) [52,25–26] ‘... *iti kho taṃ Nigrodha thānaṃ uttaritaraṇ ca paṇītaraṇ ca ...*’

Uttaritarāṃ (5 syll.) and *paṇītatarāṃ* (5) qualify *thānaṃ*; i.e. the pattern is (noun)+5+5. There are obvious sound similarities due to the *-taraṃ* suffix.

(e) [52,29–31] *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccāsadda-mahāsaddā ahesuṃ: ‘ettha mayaṃ anassāma sācariyakā, na mayaṃ ito bhiiyo uttaritarāṃ pajānāmā’ ti.*

(i) For *unnādino uccāsadda-mahāsaddā*, see § 2a.

(ii) The ascetics’ thought consists of two sentences: *ettha mayaṃ anassāma sācariyakā* (13 syll.) and *na mayaṃ ito bhiiyo uttaritarāṃ pajānāmā* (16); i.e. the pattern is 13+16. Both verbs, *anassāma* and *pajānāmā*, have the same number of syllables (4-4) and equal metrical patterns.

§ 20.

(a) [53,1–3] ... ‘*aññadatthu kho dān’ ime añña-tiṭṭhiyā paribbājakā Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ sussūsanti, sotam odahanti, añña-cittaṃ upatṭhapenti’ ti...*

The thought of the householder consists of three principal clauses: *aññadatthu kho dān’ ime añña-tiṭṭhiyā paribbājakā Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ sussūsanti* (29 syll., or 11 if the subject and adverbs are omitted); *sotam odahanti* (6) *añña-cittaṃ upatṭhapenti* (9): 11+6+9. The verbs of the three clauses have a 4-4-5 pattern.

(b) [53,6–16] ‘*yagghe gahapati jāneyyāsi ... etc.: see § 5.*

(c) [53,16–20] ‘*ayaṃ kho so bhante bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho idhānuppatto, aparisāvacaraṃ pana naṃ karotha, gokāṇaṃ pariyanta-cāriṇiṃ karotha, eka-pañhen’ eva naṃ saṃsādetha, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodethā’ ti.* [cf. § 5c & d]

(i) (*so*) ... *bhagavā* (3) *arahaṃ* (3) *sammā-sambuddho* (5): the pattern is (noun)+3+5 if *arahaṃ* and *sammā-sambuddho* are taken to qualify *Bhagavā*, or 3+3+5 if these are taken as three terms of equal value; i.e. *bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho* rather than *Bhagavā*, etc.

(ii) Four sentences depict what the ascetics will do to the Bhagavā in questioning him: *aparisāvacaraṃ pana naṃ karotha* (13), *gokāṇaṃ pariyanta-cāriṇiṃ karotha* (13) (or 15 in the v.l. *viya karotha*), *eka-pañhen’ eva naṃ saṃsādetha* (11)

and *tuccha-kumbhi va nam maññe orodetha* (12); i.e. 13+13+11+12. If this is divided into two pairs, with the first based on the verb *karotha* and the second ending in two verbs with identical syllable lengths and metrical patterns (*samsādetha* and *orodetha*), then the pattern is 13+13, 11+12. The pattern for the verbs in these four sentences is 3-3, 4-4.

(d) [53,21–23] *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako tuñhī-bhūto manku-bhūto patta-kkhandho adhomukho pajjhāyanto appatibhāno nisīdi*. [repeated at § 21 & § 24]

There are six adjectives predicative to *Nigrodho paribbājako: tuñhī-bhūto* (4 syll.) *manku-bhūto* (4) *patta-kkhandho* (4) *adhomukho* (4) *pajjhāyanto* (4) *appatibhāno* (5). The pattern is (noun)+4+4+4+4+4+5+(vb).

The first two elements share the same construction and therefore sound similarities.⁴⁹

§ 21.

(a) [54,1–2] ‘*saccaṃ bhante bhāsītā me esā vācā yathā-bālena yathā-mūlhena yathā-akusalenā’ ti*.

This contains three parallel adverbial expressions: *yathā-bālena* (5 syll.) *yathā-mūlhena* (5) *yathā-akusalena* (7); i.e. 5+5+7. The first two have the same metrical pattern (˘---˘).

Apart from the obvious sound similarities due to the repetition of *yathā-* in each, the endings of all three are virtually identical: *yathā-bālena yathā-mūlhena yathā-akusalena*. The first two differ only in their core syllables: *-bā-* and *-mū-*, which are both labial consonants in conjunction with long vowels. The two initial elements of this sequence therefore share the same metrical patterns and are virtually identical in sound. The *-ū-* of the second member is also echoed in *-akusalena* of the third.

(b) [54,3–5] ‘*kin ti te sutam paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ ...*’

Three adjectival units qualify *paribbājakānaṃ: vuddhānaṃ* (3 syll.) *mahallakānaṃ* (5) *ācariya-pācariyānaṃ* (9); i.e. (noun)+3+5+9. The last is a dvandva compound of 4+4 syllables. Only the *pa-* prefix differentiates the second dvandva member from the first. As here, it is not unusual for the latter members of a list to consist of compounds or units of expanded wording.

(c) [54,7ff] ... *unnādino* ... etc.: see § 4 (there are slight differences in the wording).

⁴⁹ There is also a predominance of long syllables in this list. Although highly speculative, this may be in accordance with the mood depicted here.

(d) [54,26–55,2] ‘*tassa te Nigrodha viññussa sato mahallakassa na etad ahoṣi: “buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṃ deseti” ’ ti.*

(i) Two elements qualify *tassa te: viññussa* (3 syll.) (*sato mahallakassa* (5); i.e. (pron)+3+5.

(ii) The thought consists of five parallel sentences with a syllable count of 14+15+15+15+20. The elements qualifying *Bhagavā* (all past participles) in each are *buddho* (2 syll.), *danto* (2), *santo* (2), *tiṇṇo* (2), *parinibbuto* (5) (i.e. 2-2-2-2-5), and the indirect objects of the verb *deseti* are *bodhāya* (3), *damathāya* (4), *samathāya* (4), *taraṇāya* (4), *parinibbānāya* (6) (i.e. 3-4-4-4-6).

Apart from the repetition of structure and the play in *buddho ... bodhāya, danto ... damathāya*, etc., the parallel nature and interconnection of these sentences is further enhanced by *buddho, danto, santo* and *tiṇṇo* being metrically equivalent and by *damathāya* and *samathāya*, on the one hand, and *taraṇāya* and *parinibbānāya*, on the other, being morphologically similar words. *Damathāya* and *samathāya* are also metrically equivalent.

Sound similarities are evident in *buddho danto santo* (also *danto santo tiṇṇo parinibbuto; damathāya samathāya* (differing only in their initial letter) and *taraṇāya parinibbānāya*.

§ 22.

(a) [55,5–8] ‘*accayo maṃ bhante accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, ... accayaṃ accayato paṭigāhātu ... ’ ti.*

Yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ (4+4+6): the same three adverbial phrases occur at § 21a with instrumental terminations.

Note the similarity between *accayo* (*ati-√i*) and *accagamā* (*ati-√gam*); also the repetition in *accayaṃ accayato*.

(b) [55,16–56,8] ‘*etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yathānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass’ atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahmacariyaṃ pariyoṣānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satta vassāni. ... viharissati cha vassāni, pañca vassāni, cattāri vassāni, tīni vassāni, dve vassāni, ekaṃ vassaṃ ... satta māsāni ... viharissati sattāhaṃ.*”

(i) Four adjectives qualify *puriso: viññū* (2) *asaṭho* (3) *amāyāvī* (4) *uju-jātiko* (5); i.e. 2+(noun)+3+4+5.

(ii) Two parallel sentences: *ahaṃ anusāsāmi* (7) *ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi* (7); i.e. 7+7.

(iii) *yathānusiṭṭhaṃ* (5) *tathā paṭipajjamāno* (8) (?).

(iv) Two objects of the three parallel absolutes (*abhiññā*, etc.): *brahmacariyaṃ* (5) *pariyosānaṃ* (5); i.e. 5+5. [cf. § 23c.iii]

(v) A string of three parallel absolutes: *abhiññā* (3) *sacchikatvā* (4) *upasampajja* (5); i.e. 3+4+5.

(vi) The numerical elements occurring at the end of each repeated passage (*satta vassāni* to *eka vassaṃ*, etc.) are in decreasing order.

§ 23.

(a) [56,9–28] ‘*siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evaṃ assa “antevāsi-kamyatā no samaṇo Gotamo evaṃ āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ datṭhabbaṃ, yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu. ...*’

This structure is then repeated 4 more times with the underlined replaced by units expressing other reasons for the *samaṇa Gotama* saying what he does and injunctions to act. There are thus five parallel passages. The elements underlined above are *antevāsi-kamyatā* (7 syll.) and *yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu* (18 syll.). Their substitutes in the following passages are: *uddesā no cāvetu-kāmo* (9) and *yo eva vo uddeso so eva vo uddeso hotu* (16); *ājīvā no cāvetu-kāmo* (9) and *yo eva vo ājīvo so eva vo ājīvo hotu* (16); *ye no dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo* (30) and *akusalā c’eva vo te dhammā hontu akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ* (25); *ye no dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tehi vivīcetū-kāmo* (27) and *kusalā c’eva vo te dhammā hontu kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ* (23). The syllable count for the first element of each of the five passages is 7-9-9-30-27, or if the relative clause of the last two is omitted (that is, if only the immediately parallel *tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo* (9) and *tehi vivīcetū-kāmo* (8) are counted), then 7-9-9-9-8. The WSP falters at the end as the fourth (referring to what is *akusala*) is the negative of the fifth (referring to what is *kusala*) and therefore naturally longer. It must have been felt that the significance of presenting the negative first was more important here. Note that the first elements of the second and third passages are structurally identical, as are those of the fourth and fifth passages.⁵⁰

In the relative clauses of the fourth and fifth passages, we have *dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ* and its opposite. Here *akusalā* (4) and *akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ* (13) are predicative to *dhammā*; i.e. (noun)+4+13.

The syllable count for the second element of each of the five passages is 18-16-16-25-23. In the first three, we have three parallel terms: *ācariyo* (4), *uddeso* (3)

⁵⁰ See Study 3, section III 23a.

and *ājīvo* (3). The WSP only works here if we scan **ācaryo* (3). This finds parallel in § 7h.ii where *acchariyaṃ* works if it is scanned as **accharyaṃ*. This would bring the clause count down to 16 syllables, the pattern then being 16-16-16-25-23. Again, the fourth is the negative of the fifth and therefore longer than it.

Hence there is an overall increase in the syllable count across the five parallel passages, but with the fourth being longer than the fifth as it is its negative. The syllable count for the five passages is 63/(61 **ācarya*)+62+62+92+87.

(b) [56,28–57,5] *'iti kho 'haṃ Nigrodha n'eva antevāsi-kamyatā evaṃ vadāmi ...*, etc.

Each of these five parallel sentences correspond to one of the previous five structures. The syllable count is 14+15+15+37+34. Again the fourth is the negative of the fifth.

(c) [57,5–11] ... *'santi ca kho Nigrodha akusalā dhammā appahīnā saṃkilesikā ponobhavikā saddarā dukkha-vipākā āyatim jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā, yesāhaṃ pahānāya dhammaṃ desemi, yathā-paṭipannānaṃ vo saṃkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti, vodāniyā dhammā abhivaḍḍhissanti, paññā-pāripūriṃ vepullatañ ca diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissathā' ti.*

(i) Seven elements qualify *dhammā: akusalā* (4 syll.) *appahīnā* (4) *saṃkilesikā* (5) *ponobhavikā* (5) *saddarā* (3) *dukkha-vipākā* (5) *āyatim jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā* (11). The pattern is 4+(noun)+4+5+5+3+5+11. The gradation is broken by *saddarā*. The variant readings, *sādarā* and *sadarathā*, or PED *sadarā*, do not help here. There do not seem to be any obvious differences in meaning by which these terms can be divided into distinct groups as has been done elsewhere; for example, two groups with the second beginning with *saddarā*. It is possible that in long lists the WSP may work to the third or fourth syllable and then start again even where there appear to be no differences in meaning or grammatical or morphological form between the groups. If this is the case, then the pattern of the above list would be 4+(noun)+4+5+5, 3+5+11.⁵¹

The final element (*jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā*) is a dvandva compound. The three members of the compound have a 2+2+4 pattern. Sound similarities are evident: i) *jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā*; ii) *jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā*.

(ii) Two similar units: (*yathā-paṭipannānaṃ vo*) *saṃkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti* (12 syll.) *vodāniyā dhammā abhivaḍḍhissanti* (12); i.e. 12+12. The verbs of each have a 5-6 pattern.

⁵¹ Cf. for example, *nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya (samvattati)* (D I 189, 13–14) which may be best understood to have a 4+4+4+5(,)+4+4+4 pattern. An alternative explanation is that this represents a climax and that the WSP has therefore been overridden for conceptual reasons. This is supported by the fact that *nibbidāya* and *nirodhāya* are not placed together despite their sharing of sound similarities.

(iii) Two objects of the three absolutives (*abhiññā*, etc.): *paññā-pāripūrim* (6) *vepullataṃ* (4) (compare § 22b.iv). The WSP is not working.⁵²

(iv) Three absolutives: *abhiññā*, etc.: see § 22b.v.

§ 24.

(a) [57,12–14] *evaṃ vutte ... tuṅhī-bhūtā manku-bhutā ...* etc.: see § 20d & § 21.

(b) [57,15–16; 19–20] Although not containing structures relevant to this study, note the sound similarities in *mogho-purisā phuṭṭhā pāpimatā* and the cognate accusative *sīhanādaṃ naditvā*.

III. SUMMARY

In this section the information gained from the above analysis is summarised and categorised, with examples given as illustration. All examples of a particular category are listed in the index given at the end of this study.

1. Sequences of adjectives and adjectival units.⁵³

1.1 Where a noun or pronoun is qualified by more than one adjective or adjectival unit, the adjectives or units are arranged according to the WSP. In *dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya* (§ 6a.i), for example, *sota-dhātuyā* is qualified by three adjectives: *dibbāya*, *visuddhāya* and *atikkanta-mānusikāya*. The pattern here is 3+(noun)+4+9.

1.2 As in this example, the syllable lengths of the component elements within most sequences of adjectives or adjectival units waxes as the sequence progresses rather than remain static as is common in sequences of nouns, adverbs and a number of other elements.

1.3 In most sequences of adjectives there is a tendency for the final members of the sequence to consist of compounds or adjectival units, or for the final member of a sequence of compounds to be in a non-compounded form. In *Nigrodho paribbājako mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ nisinno hoti unnādinīyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya* (§ 2a.i), for example, *paribbājaka-parisāya* is qualified by two simple adjectives (*mahatiyā* and *unnādinīyā*), then by a bahuvrīhi compound (*uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya*), and finally by a large adjectival unit or phrase (*aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya*). Again, in

⁵² See the summary 2.4 for possible explanations.

⁵³ Sequences of predicative adjectives are discussed below in 4.

appasadda-kāmā kho pan' ete āyasmanto appasadda-vinītā appasaddassa vaṇṇavādino (§ 3d), *ete āyasmanto* is qualified by two compounds (*appasadda-kāmā* and *appasadda-vinītā*), then by an adjectival unit (*appasaddassa vaṇṇavādino*), which is a parallel non-compounded form of the first two.⁵⁴

1.4 Some sequences of adjectives or adjectival units are best understood to consist of sets of adjectives or adjectival units grouped according to some association in meaning. In *so ... satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbhaṇṇe sugate duggate* (§ 19a.ii), for example, *satte* is qualified by four pairs of adjectives expressing opposites. The pattern is thus (noun)+(vb)+4+6, 2+3, 3+3, 3+3.⁵⁵

1.5 The syntax of the adjectives or adjectival units and the noun they qualify is variable. Examples occur of the adjectives preceding the noun (e.g. § 18b.iii: 3+4+6+(noun)+(vb)), following the noun (e.g. § 19d: (noun)+5+5 and § 21b: (noun)+3+5+9) and of the first, or the first two, of a string of adjectives preceding the noun and the rest following it (e.g. § 6a.i: 3+(noun)+4+9 and § 4c: 8+3+(noun)+(vb)+5+6+6+9+9). Generally the adjective which precedes the noun is shorter than the first of the string of adjectives which follows it (e.g. §§ 1b, 2a.i, 3d, 6a.i, 19a.i, 22b.i).⁵⁶

1.6 There are a number of problematic sequences of adjectives:

(1) § 4a: ... *Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi*. Here *kathaṃ* is qualified by two adjectives: *sammodanīyaṃ* and *sārānīyaṃ*. The pattern is 5+(noun)+4. This goes against the WSP.

It was suggested in our analysis of this phrase that the sound similarities between *sammodi* and *sammodanīyaṃ* may have influenced this arrangement. Apart, perhaps, from § 1b, it is also unique amongst our examples in having only one adjective or adjectival unit preceding and following the noun. If, for example, two or three adjectives had followed the noun, and we had, say, a 5+(noun)+4+5+6 arrangement, then a parallel to this would be found in § 17a.v with its 7+(noun), 4+5+5, 4+5 arrangement. As noted in our discussion at § 4a a possible solution is suggested by H. Lüders' etymology for *sārānīya* < **saṃrāgaṇīya*, in which case the pattern would be 5+(noun)+5.

(2) § 4c: *so Bhagavā araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevati appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rahaseyyakāni patisallāna-sārappāni*. This has an 8+3+(noun)+(vb)+5+6+6+9+9 pattern. It is unusual in that it has two adjectives (rather than one) preceding the noun (the rest following) with the

⁵⁴ For other examples see §§ 1b, 6a.i, 6e.ii, 19a.i, 20c.i, 21b, 22b.i.

⁵⁵ See also § 17a.v with a 7+(noun), 4+5+5, 4+5 pattern.

⁵⁶ G. von Simson (1965, § 11.51) notes that the adjectives which precede the noun in such instances often form a conceptual unity with the noun and therefore do not properly belong to the sequence.

first of these two being longer than the second. Further research may reveal that, where more than one adjective precedes a noun (that is, where more also follow it), the arrangement of the adjectives which precede the noun is according to waning rather than waxing syllable lengths.

(3) § 7b: ... *aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā*. The pattern is 4+2+(noun)+(vb). Again, further examples are needed to correctly understand this structure for the absolutive may be influencing the syntax here. There are a number of examples of adjectives preceding the noun where the WSP is maintained; e.g. § 18b.iii: 3+4+6+(noun)+(vb).

(4) § 10b.iv: [so] ... *taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati*. This has a [pron]+3+3+4+8+7 pattern. The WSP falters in the last two elements: *anādīnava-dassāvī* has 8 syllables and *anissaraṇa-pañño* 7 syllables.

Ādīnava and *nissaraṇa* most commonly occur as two of a group of three; that is, *assāda*, *ādīnava* and *nissaraṇa* (3+4+4): the enjoyment of sense pleasures, etc., their danger, and release from them. Their ordering is thus conceptually determined and we could not, therefore, have had **anissaraṇa-pañño anādīnava-dassāvī*.

What disturbs the WSP here are the final elements in the compounds: *-dassāvī* (3 syll.) and *-pañño* (2 syll.). Although *nissaraṇa-dassāvī* does occur (M II 230,5),⁵⁷ *(an)ādīnava-dassāvī* *(a)nissaraṇa-pañño* as members of this “formula” or “fixed phrase” is more common.⁵⁸ It seems that the dangers (*ādīnava*) in sense pleasures are “seen” (*dassāvī*) while the escape from them (*nissaraṇa*) is “understood” (*paññā*). Conceptual considerations therefore seem to have overridden the WSP.

(5) § 16f.iii: [so] ... *āloka-saññī sato sampajāno* has a [pron]+5+2+4 pattern. A satisfactory explanation is less forthcoming in this case. *Sato* and *sampajāno* (2+4) commonly occur together as a fixed unit,⁵⁹ but we could easily have had **sato sampajāno āloka-saññī* (2+4+5). There is also the possibility that some conceptual factor is operational here, in which case we would understand the pattern to be [pron]+5, 2+4. Alternatively, but less likely, this may have originally read *saññī sato sampajāno* (2+2+4), with *āloka-saññī* being a gloss (cf. § 18b.i above and 4.3 below for a similar possible example).

(6) § 23c.i: ... *akusalā dhammā appahīnā saṃkilesikā ponobhavikā saddarā dukkha-vipākā āyatim jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā*. The pattern here is 4+(noun)+4+5+5(+)+3+5+11. Although it was seen in our analysis of this passage that there seemed to be no associations in meaning by which this sequence of adjectives could be divided into groups, it was suggested that in long sequences the WSP may

⁵⁷ The PTC also lists Vbh 247.

⁵⁸ See the PTC s.v. *nissaraṇa -pañña* for references.

⁵⁹ But cf. *ātāpī sampajāno satimā* (e.g. D II 290,12) which also offends the WSP.

work to the third or fourth word and then start again, without any difference in meaning existing between the groups. If this is the case, then we would understand this passage to have a 4+(noun)+4+5+5, 3+5+11 pattern.

2. Sequences of nouns and noun phrases.⁶⁰

2.1 Sequences of nouns and noun phrases are less common than sequences of adjectives. Again, the WSP is operational in these structures. Examples are: § 7h.iii *mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvātā* (5+6) and § 11a.i *samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā* (3+3). In the case of § 19c (*suggatiṃ saggamaṃ lokamaṃ*), *saggamaṃ lokamaṃ* must be taken as one unit (a noun phrase); the pattern thus being 3+4.

2.2 Sequences with a static rather than waxing syllable pattern are not uncommon; e.g. § 11a.i, just mentioned: 3+3; § 11a.iii: 4+4+4+4+4; § 22b.iv: 5+5.

2.3 Some sequences must be divided into groups on the basis of associated meaning. The sequence *rājāno rāja-mahāmattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā* (§ 10c), for example, consists of *rājāno rāja-mahāmattā*, those who constitute the government, *khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā*, the common division of those who participate in society, and *titthiyā*, those who stand outside of society. The pattern is thus 3+6, 3+3+5, 3. Other such sequences are found at §§ 2b, 16d and 19b.iii.

2.4 § 23c.iii is the only problematic sequence.⁶¹ It reads: *paññā-pāripūriṃ vepullataṃ ca ditthe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissatha*. Here, *paññā-pāripūriṃ* and *vepullataṃ*, the two objects of the three absolutes, have a 6+4 syllable count. The commentary (Sv III 843,14) glosses *vepullataṃ* with *phala-paññā-vepullataṃ*. We could perhaps speculate on an earlier *paññā-pāripūriṃ paññā-vepullataṃ ca* or *paññā-pāripūri-vepullataṃ* reading.⁶²

⁶⁰ See also section 4 below.

⁶¹ See also § 7f, which is unclear.

⁶² The phrase *ditthe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissatha* employed here is also used in a number of other common formulas where the three absolutes take different objects. As in the above phrase, most of these parallel phrases also have the verbs taking two objects. In each case the arrangement of the two objects conforms to the WSP. These examples further emphasise the irregular arrangement of the phrase under review. The parallel passages are:

(1) ... *anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ ditthe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati* (e.g. D I 156).

(2) *te ca paṇ' āyasmanto sāmaññatthaṃ ca (vā) brahmaññatthaṃ ca (vā) ditthe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharanti* (e.g. S II 15).

(3) ... *tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-pariyosānaṃ ditthe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi* (e.g. D I 177).

Compare also:

(4) *ye imaṃ ca lokamaṃ paraṃ ca lokamaṃ sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedenti* (e.g. D III 265).

(5) *so imaṃ lokamaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakamaṃ sassamaṇa-brahmaṇiṃ pajamaṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti* (e.g. D I 128).

Some examples of the latter construction based on *abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti* only take one object (e.g. M II 199; A II 176–177; IV 36, etc.).

3. Dvandva compounds.

There are 13 sets of dvandva compounds recorded. Of these, 11 consist of 2 component elements each and 2 have 3 elements each. In all but two of the former, the two component elements have the same syllable lengths; e.g. *-sukha-dukkha-* (2+2) of *evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī* (§ 18b.i). The two examples with waxing syllable lengths are § 2b (2+3, although we could also take *-bhavābhava-* as 2+2) and § 11b.iii: *issā-macchariya* (2+4). An example of a dvandva compound consisting of three component elements is *jāti-jarā-marāṇiyā* (§ 23c.i).

There are no problematic dvandvas.⁶³

4. Sequences of predicative attributes.

4.1 Attributes, whether adjectives, adjectival phrases or noun phrases, which are predicated to the subject, whether noun or pronoun, are also arranged according to the WSP. Some examples are:

(1) § 7h.i: *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccāsadda-mahāsaddā ahesuṃ*, where *unnādino* (4 syll.) and *uccāsadda-mahāsaddā* (8 syll.) are predicated to *te paribbājakā*. The pattern is (noun)+4+8+(vb).

(2) § 1c.ii: *patisallīnā manobhāvanīyā bhikkhū*, with a 5+6+[vb]+(noun)⁶⁴ pattern.

(3) § 9a: *so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo*: (pron)+4+(vb)+7.

4.2 Some sequences must be divided into groups on the basis of associations in meaning or grammatical or morphological form for the WSP to be seen to be working. An example is *tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sārappattā ca* (§ 15b), which can be divided on the basis of associations in meaning and common morphology. The pattern is (noun)+4+(vb)+6, 4+4.⁶⁵

4.3 There are a few problematic sequences:

(1) § 18b.i: *amutr' āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto*. The pattern here is [pron]+(vb)+4+4+4+5+11+8. The WSP falters in the last two elements: *evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī* (11 syllables) and *evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto* (8 syll.). In the analysis of this passage, two possible explanations were given: (a) some hierarchy of ideas was thought to be essential here — considerations of life experiences naturally came before

⁶³ Examples of dvandvas not encountered in this study which do not conform to the WSP are *jātarūpa-rajata-* (4+3: D I 5,10; III 163,2); *upasanta-santa-(citta)* (4+2: Ud 46,25); *surā-meraya-majja-* (2+3+2: D III 235,3). Cf. *ulūkhala-musala* (4+3) encountered in Vedic texts (cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 209 & K.R. Norman, 1995, p. 307).

⁶⁴ The placement of the verb is speculative.

⁶⁵ Further examples are §§ 8e, 8f and 12c (see the index).

those about life-span — or (b) the original reading was *evam-paṭisaṃvedī* (7 syll.); that is, *evam-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī* is a gloss (cf. 1.6 example 5 above for a possible parallel example).

(2) § 19b.i–ii: *ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-dīṭṭhikā micchā-dīṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā*.

The first three elements are connected through meaning and structure, and can therefore be grouped together: 12+12+12 syllables. The last three elements (*ariyānaṃ upavādakā*, *micchā-dīṭṭhikā* and *micchā-dīṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā*) have a 9+5+10 syllable count. As the last two elements are associated through meaning and wording, it is possible that we should see this sequence as having a (noun)+12+12+12, 9, 5+10 pattern. Although unusual, there are a few examples of sequences which include “groups” consisting of only one element; e.g. §§ 8d, 10c, 19b.iii.

(3) § 19c is the opposite of the previous. The pattern is virtually the same: (noun)+12+12+12, 10(,)+5+10.

5. Sequences of adverbs.

There are only three examples of sequences of adverbs in the sutta under review. The WSP works in each case.

Two sequences consist of three adverbs each — 5+5+7 (§ 21a) and 4+4+6 (§ 22a) — and the remaining sequence consists of four adverbs — 2+2+3+3 (§ 17a.iii). The latter, for example, reads: *uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi*.

6. Sequences of verbs.

6.1 There are four sequences of verbs in this sutta. Again, the WSP is operational. One sequence consists of two verbs: *saṃgamma samāgamma* (3+4) (§ 4b). Two sequences have three verbs each. In the first the final verb takes an object: *majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati* (3+3+7) (§ 9c). This is parallel to the tendency for the latter members of sequences of adjectives or adjectival units to consist of bahuvrīhi compounds or adjectival phrases. The second consists of three absolutes: *abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja* (3+4+5) (§ 22b.v).

6.2 The final example consists of four verbs divisible into two groups. The same sequence of verbs occurs in the same passage in both the present participial and finite forms. The latter reads *sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti*. On the basis of similar morphology, this can be understood as having a 4+5, 3+3 pattern.

7. Parallel units of meaning occurring in different clauses, sentences or paragraphs.

7.1 There are many examples of parallel units of meaning occurring in different, but nonetheless closely related, clauses, sentences or paragraphs being arranged according to the WSP. These include nouns, nouns as members of similar compounds, past participles, adverbs and verbs, and even sentences. Some examples are:

(1) § 5d: ... *iṅgha gahapati samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, eka-pañhen' eva naṃ samsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodheyyāma ti*. Here the three main verbs of the three clauses have a 4-5-5 pattern.

(2) § 16e: ... *pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upatthapetvā*. The three absolutes have a 4-5-5 pattern.

(3) § 21d: *buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṃ deseti*. The five past participles (*buddho*, etc.) and the five nouns or indirect objects (*bodhāya*, etc.) have, respectively, a 2-2-2-2-5 and 3-4-4-4-6 syllable count.

7.2 There are also a number of long sequences of compounds, clauses or sentences divisible into groups on the basis of associations in meaning, etc., where the parallel units within the compounds, etc., are similarly divisible into groups.

In the formula listing the types of conversation engaged in by the ascetics (§ 2b), the first member of each compound — the *rāja-*, *cora-*, etc., of *rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahāmatta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ*, etc. — have a 2-2-4, 2-2-2, etc., pattern. Or in the formula listing the types of garments worn by an ascetic (§ 8g), which consists of a sequence of 13 parallel principal clauses, the types of garments — the element which differs in each clause — have a 2-3-3-3, 2-2-3-3, 2-3 pattern.

7.3 There are also a few examples which do not conform to the WSP.

(1) § 5a: ... *kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati?* The three verbs of these three parallel interrogative sentences have a 4-5-4 syllable pattern, though there is a *samāpajjati* (5 syllables) variant reading for the last (*āpajjati*).

(2) § 11b.ii: *imaṃ hi nāma bahulājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkhājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti*. In these two parallel sentences with a 28+32 syllable count (i.e. they conform to the WSP) the two parallel adjectives *bahulājīvaṃ* and *lūkhājīviṃ* (v.l. *lūkhājīvaṃ*) have 5 and 4 syllables respectively (5-4).

(3) § 23a: The analysis of this passage is quite lengthy and the reader is referred to it for full details. In brief, there are two faulty elements. The first occurs because the negative is presented first. The second is amendable if we scan *ācariyo* as

**ācaryo*. The latter amendment finds parallel in § 7h.ii where the WSP works if *acchariyaṃ* is scanned as **accharyaṃ*. See the fnt. to § 7h.ii for further examples.

7.4 In contrast to the long sequences discussed in 7.2 above, there are a number of long sequences divisible into groups where the WSP works for the units of meaning within each group but not between the parallel units found in different groups. § 12c, for example, which lists certain faults of an ascetic, consists of 7 structurally parallel main clauses or “sentences”. The beginning reads: *tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī*, etc. The pattern is (noun)+2+(vb)+3, 3+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+4, etc. Here the first predicative attribute of each clause is always shorter than the second (e.g. *makkhī* (2 syll.) *hoti palāsī* (3 syll.), etc.), but the units which occupy the same position in each clause or “sentence” are themselves not arranged according to the WSP; e.g. *makkhī* (2 syll.), *issukī* (3), *maccharī* (3), *saṭho* (2). Other examples are §§ 8h, 16b and 16f.

8. Parallel sentences or semi-independent units of meaning in sequence.⁶⁶

8.1 There are numerous examples of sequences of sentences or semi-independent units of meaning, which are parallel in structure or meaning, conforming to the WSP. Most examples consist of two parallel units (either sentences or semi-independent units of meaning), and nearly all constitute someone’s thoughts or speech, or part of these. Some examples are:

(1) § 10b.ii: One of the faults of an ascetic is that he is fussy about his food. His thoughts are: “*idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī*” *ti*. This consists of two sentences (6+7 syllables), with the second being the negative of the first.

(2) § 11b.ii: Another fault of an ascetic is that he may have jealous thoughts about a luckier ascetic: “*imaṃ hi nāma bahulājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkhājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti*” *ti* (28+32 syll.); again, the second sentence is the negative of the first.

(3) § 11c: A thought is repeated for emphasis: “*idaṃ pi me tapasmiṃ, idaṃ pi me tapasmin*” *ti* (7+7 syll.).

(4) § 21d.ii: The Buddha criticises Nigrodha for not having the following thought: “*buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṃ deseti*” *ti*. This consists of five parallel sentences with a 14+15+15+15+20 syllable count.

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 172ff.

Examples of parallel units forming a part of a longer thought or speech are:

(5) § 3b: When Sandhāna approaches the ascetics, Nigrodha tells his fellow ascetics to be silent. This opens with two parallel sentences: ‘*appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha*’ (8+8 syllables).

(6) § 7a: Nigrodha’s welcoming speech to the Buddha opens with two sentences of parallel wording and meaning: ‘*etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato*’ (8+9 syllables).

(7) § 5a: Nigrodha questions Sandhāna about the Buddha: ‘*yagghe gahapati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati?*’. If we exclude *samaṇo Gotamo*, the subject of all three sentences, then *kena ... saddhiṃ sallapati?*, *kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati?*, and *kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati?* have an 8+10+12 pattern.

8.2 There are also a number of examples which do not conform to this pattern. Most of these have plausible solutions or can be amended.

(1) § 7c: The Buddha asks Nigrodha about the ascetics’ conversation: ‘*kāya nu ’ttha Nigrodha etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarā-kathā vipakatā?*’ *ti*. This consists of two interrogative sentences (18+14 syllables; compare Nigrodha’s questions described above which consist of three interrogative sentences). Perhaps we should only count the syllables of the immediately parallel units: *kāya ... kathāya sannisinnā* and *kā ... antarā-kathā vipakatā* (9+10 syll.)?

(2) § 7g: Nigrodha asks the Buddha a question: ‘*kathaṃ sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā?*’ *ti*. Similarly, this consists of two sentences: *kathaṃ to hoti* and *kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā?* (19+7 syll.). The second sentence is an abbreviation of the first. If we again only compare the parallel units *kathaṃ ... paripuṇṇā* and *kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā*, the syllable count is 6+7.

(3) § 7h.ii: The start of the ascetic’s speech consists of two parallel units: ‘*acchariyam vata bho abbhutam vata bho ...*’. As it stands, the syllable count is 7+6, but if *acchariyam* is scanned as **accharyam*, the count is 6+6.

(4) §§ 8h, 12c, 23a and 23b: All consist of a series of sentences or larger units of meaning of parallel construction. The WSP works in the ordering of the units of meaning within each sentence or larger unit, but not from sentence to sentence, etc. For example, the beginning of § 8h reads: *kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locanānuyogam anuyutto, ubbhaṭṭhako pi hoti āsana-paṭikkhitto, ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭika-ppadhānam anuyutto....* Within the first sentence, *kesa-massu-locako* has 7 syllables and *kesa-massu-locanānuyogam anuyutto* 14 syllables. Similarly, in the next sentence *ubbhaṭṭhako* has 4 syllables and *āsana-paṭikkhitto* 7 syllables, and so on; i.e. the pattern is 7+(vb)+14, 4+(vb)+7, 4+(vb)+11, etc. But these three sentences have a 24+14+18 pattern.

In the case of § 23a & b, part of the problem stems from the fact that the

penultimate unit is the negative of the last. It is therefore possible to regard these four passages as being unproblematic: i.e. the WSP is just not applied.

(5) § 18b.ii: This expresses the thought of one who remembers his former lives. It consists of four sentences divisible into two parallel units: a) *amutr' āsim evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim* (52 syllables) and b) *tatra p' āsim evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idhūpapanno* (50 syll.). The difference is due to *amutra udapādim* of the first having 7 syllables, while its counterpart, *idhūpapanno*, has only 5.

9. Sequences of clauses, units of meaning or parts of a sentence.

This study has recorded a number of examples where it seems that the parts of a sentence have been organised according to the WSP. In § 6e.i, for example, we find a main clause followed by two relative clauses. The syllable pattern of this is 12+11+33; i.e. the two relative clauses are arranged according to their syllable lengths. Again, the sentences found at § 10b.iii and § 10b.iv both consist of a relative clause followed by a main clause. In both cases the relative clause is shorter than the main clause.

However, such examples were only occasionally commented on in the course of the above analysis as the principal concern of this study has been sequences of adjectives, nouns, and so on. Therefore, as the relevant material is numerous and complex, a complete study of this category is presented in Appendix 1.

10. Long sequences of units of meaning divisible into groups.⁶⁷

10.1 It has been shown that sequences of all classes of word elements — adjectives, nouns, etc. — may sometimes be divided into groups according to some natural association in meaning or grammatical or morphological form, with the WSP working within a group and restarting again with each subsequent group.

10.2 It may be the case that, even where there are no obvious associations in meaning or grammatical or morphological form by which to differentiate, some long sequences may be divided into groups consisting of three or four elements each. That is, in long sequences a caesura tends to occur after each third or fourth element. In *akusalā dhammā appahinā saṃkilesikā ponobhavikā saddarā dukkha-vipākā āyatim jāti-jarā-maraṇiyā* (§ 23c.i), for example, it seems necessary to divide the six adjectives which follow the noun into two groups of three adjectives each: 4+(noun)+4+5+5(,) +3+5+11.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Cf. O. von Hinüber, 1994, p. 16.

⁶⁸ See the fnt. to § 23c.i (analysis section) for another possible example (p. 229).

10.3 Sequences may be quite short, consisting of only four units divisible into two groups. The four verbs in § 11b.i, *sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti* (4+5+3+3), can be divided into two groups on the basis of common morphology (4+5, 3+3).

Other sequences may be very long. The formula depicting the various kinds of talk engaged in by the ascetics (§ 2b), for example, consists of 27 units divisible into 8 groups (possibly also 7) on the basis of associations in meaning; the pattern being 4+4+6, 4+4+4, 4+4+4+5, 4+4+4+4, 4+5+5+6, 4+4(,)+5+6+6, 5+5+6+8.

10.4 A “group” may consist of anything from 1 to 5 units. There does not seem to be any necessary gradation within the sequence as a whole; i.e. the first group does not necessarily have fewer constituent elements than the last or subsequent groups. § 10c, for example, which is divided on the basis of associations in meaning, has a 3+6, 3+3+5, 3 pattern.

10.5 A few sequences are problematic. For the most part, this is due to uncertainty as to where a division should be made. The reader is referred to §§ 8d.ii, 12c, 19b.i–ii and 19c.

11. Miscellaneous structures.

11.1 Structures with *saddhim*.

There are two occurrences of *saddhim* where the elements it governs both precede and follow it:

(1) § 1b: *Nigrodho paribbājako Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāme paṭivasati mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhim tiṃsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi*. The elements preceding *saddhim* and governed by it have 13 syllables, as do those which follow. The pattern is thus 13+(*saddhim*)+13.

(2) § 2a: *Nigrodho paribbājako mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhim nisinno hoti unnādinīyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya*. What precedes *saddhim* (*mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya*) has 13 syllables, while what follows it (*unnādinīyā uccāsadda-mahāsaddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya*) has 30. The pattern is 13+(*saddhim*)+30.

Although these examples do not provide sufficient proof, they do suggest that, where units governed by *saddhim* precede and follow it, what follows has at least the same number of syllables as what precedes it, if not more; that is, the WSP is operational in these structures.

There is also one example where two distinct elements precede *saddhim*:

(3) § 6a: *assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya Sandhānassa gahapatissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ*. Here *Sandhānassa gahapatissa* (genitive) has 9 syllables, while

Nigrodhena paribbājakena (instrumental) has 10; i.e. the pattern is 9+10+(*saddhim*).⁶⁹

11.2 Numerical structures.

In the course of this study a number of passages involving numerical structures have been encountered (see §§ 8e, 17a.ii, 18a and 22b.vi). Due to the fact that numerals themselves do not wax in syllable length — *eka* = 2 syllables, *dvi* = 1 syll., *ti* = 1 syll., *catu* = 2 syll., etc. — passages with a numerical structure do not conform to the WSP.

11.3 The presentation of opposites.⁷⁰

In passages which present opposites, it seems usual to list the positive first followed by its opposite or negative. Examples are:

(1) § 7g: *katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham aparipuṇṇā? ti*. Here we have *paripuṇṇā* followed by *aparipuṇṇā*.

(2) § 10b.ii: “*idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī*” *ti*.

(3) § 11b.ii: “*imaṃ hi nāma bahulājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassiṃ lūkhājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti*” *ti*.

(4) Sections §§ 9–12 of the text list the faults of an ascetic and sections §§ 13–15 list their opposites. For example, § 9a reads *so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo*, while its opposite, § 13 (not discussed in this study), reads *so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo*.

(5) § 12d: *yadi 'me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā anupakkilesā vā? ti*.

(6) § 15a: *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti aparisuddhā vā? ti*.

(7) § 19a.ii: *cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbhaṇṇe sugate duggate*. This consists of five pairs of opposites. This list differs from the preceding in that negative particles or prefixes are not used (for *hīne paṇīte* see below).

Although the application of the WSP may not be the primary motive for this arrangement, this does mean that the second element, the negative, is always longer than the first.

There are a few examples where the negated element (e.g. *akusala*) or the morally negative is presented first.⁷¹ This seems to occur for conceptual reasons, indicating that meaning had precedence over the WSP. They are:

(8) § 19a.ii: In the list just quoted (example 7 above), *hīne* precedes *paṇīte*

⁶⁹ The § 4a occurrence of *saddhim* has only one element governed by it. This precedes it. See fnt. to § 6a for further examples.

⁷⁰ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, chap. IV; also pp. 57, 59, 102, 104, 339–340.

⁷¹ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, p. 104.

even though the following elements (*suvanṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate*) present the desirable or positive first. This arrangement ensures that the WSP is maintained.

(9) § 19b–c: § 19b reads: *ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-diṭṭhikā micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā.*

§ 19c is its opposite: *ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-sucaritena samannāgatā vacī-sucaritena samannāgatā mano-sucaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-diṭṭhikā sammā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā, te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggam lokam upapannā.* In consequence, § 19c is shorter than § 19b.

It is worth noting that *upavādakā* in the first becomes *anupavādakā* in the second.

(10) § 23a: This consists of five parallel passages. In the fourth we find *ye no dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tesu patiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo*. Its opposite is presented in the fifth: *ye no dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tehi vivīcetu-kāmo*. It was seen in the analysis of this passage that this disturbed the gradual increase in syllable lengths. It was suggested that this may have been done for conceptual reasons.

(11) § 23c.ii: *saṃkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti, vodāniyā dhammā abhivaḍḍhissanti*. The first depicts the destruction of negative things and the second the increase of positive things. Their syllable lengths are 12+12.

There is also one passage which presents both:

(12) § 11d: *so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti*. Although *akkhamamānaṃ* precedes *khamamānaṃ*, *khamati* precedes *na-kkhamati*. Both units have the same syllable lengths (11+11).

12. Sound similarities.

12.1 Although it is a common feature of Pāli canonical texts that different word elements or units of meaning share sound similarities, it is in structures which involve sequences of similar word elements and units of meaning that this phenomenon is perhaps most apparent.

The phenomenon of sound similarities or repetitions — alliteration, assonance, homoioteleuton, etc. — in early Buddhist literature has received little attention, and an adequate analysis is lacking. What sounds were felt to be similar, for example, is yet to be properly understood.⁷² The only work to attempt this is G. von Simson’s *Zur*

⁷² The difficulties involved in such a project are outlined by G. von Simson, 1965, pp. 5–6.

Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons, and this, of course, is based on Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Under the general heading of “Wiederholungsfiguren”, and referring to such sound similarities as “Lautwiederholungen” (p. 5), von Simson presents examples of alliteration, assonance, homoioteleuton, and so on.

A similar analysis of material according to the classifications of Classical rhetoric, but this time of Brahmanical literature, is undertaken by J. Gonda in his *Stylistic Repetitions in the Veda* (1959). Gonda refers to this phenomenon as “sound repetition” (e.g. pp. 178, 220). Both authors speculate on the function of this stylistic feature.

In the case of the present study, only the most obvious sound similarities and word plays which were thought to be integral to the structure being studied were noted. The resultant material is diverse and complex, and, though desirable, a thorough analysis of this material is beyond the current study. Only a few examples of the most obvious forms will therefore be given here.

12.2 In the sequences analysed in this study, the most obvious sound similarities are created through the repetition of a basic structure or frame with differences of meaning achieved through the replacement of a key element or elements in each repetition. Examples are:

(1) § 7e: *dujjānaṃ kho etaṃ Nigrodha tayā añña-ditthikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena*. The only difference between each of the five parallel compounds is the core of the second member of each compound. It is most obvious if everything but this core is highlighted: ***añña-ditthikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr’ āyogena aññatr’ ācariyakena***. Even here the last two compounds have *aññatr’ ā-* in common, and there is a possible play between *-rucikena* and *-ācariyakena*, with their ‘r’ and ‘c’ sounds. It is also possible that *-tth-* and *-nt-* of *-ditthikena* and *-khantikena* were thought to be close. Compare, for example, *-ṇ-* and *-t-* in *pāṇa-bhūta* (discussed below, 12.3 example 3).⁷³ Note also that the *-gena* of *-āyogena* is taken as being similar to the *-kena* terminations of the other units.

(2) § 8a: *mayam kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allīna viharāma*. The three compounds in this passage differ only in their final elements, and even here the first two, *-vādā* and *-sārā*, differ only in their consonants, with there being a possible *d/r* play.

(3) § 8d.i: *so na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti*.

⁷³ Other examples in this study are: *cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇi te suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate* (§ 19a); *nābhihaṭṭam na uddissa-katam na nimantaṇam* (§ 8c). And elsewhere: *nānādittikā nānākhantikā* (Ud 67,1); *akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabaḷehi* (D III 227,21); *adaṇḍena asatthena* (D III 177,14); *nibbāna-ninno ... nibbāna-poṇo nibbāna-pabbhāro* (S V 371,10); *mā itikirāya mā piṭakasampadānena* (A I 189,8-9). In Dh 149 we find *yān’ imāni apatthāni* and *kāpotakāni atthini* occupying pādas a and c respectively.

Again, these two clauses differ only in *kumbhi-* and *kaḷopi-*, which in turn differ only in their core element: *kumbhi- kaḷopi-*. The consonants of the final syllable of each word, *-bhi* and *-pi*, are both labials, and may also have been considered similar. If so, the sound similarities are *kumbhi- kaḷopi-*.

(4) § 21a: *saccaṃ bhante bhāsītā me esā vācā yathā-bālena yathā-mūḷhena yathā-akusalenā ti*. The three adverbial expressions differ only in their core elements: *yathā-bālena yathā-mūḷhena yathā-akusalena*. Again, the syllables which differ in the first two, *-bā-* and *-mū-*, are very close: they consist of consonants of the same class in conjunction with long vowels. The *-ū-* of the second is also echoed in *-akusalena* of the third.

(5) § 8g: *so sāṇāni pi dhāreti, masāṇāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiriṭāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīraṃ pi dhāreti, vāka-cīraṃ pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīraṃ pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, uluka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti*. This consists of 13 parallel units (principal clauses). In the first two, the elements which differ, *sāṇāni* and *masāṇāni*, are almost identical. There are various sound similarities in the rest of this passage, but the most interesting is that occurring in the final six clauses.

It was seen in the analysis of this passage that these six are divisible into two groups of three on the basis of associations in meaning. The units which differ in each of these are:

- a) *kusa-cīraṃ, vāka-cīraṃ* and *phalaka-cīraṃ*.
- b) *kesa-kambalam, vāla-kambalam* and *uluka-pakkhikam*.

Not only are there sound similarities running “horizontally” — the ‘*k*’ of *kusa-... vāka- ... phalaka- ... kesa-kambalam*, etc., and the ‘*l*’ sound of *phalaka- ... -kambalam, vāla-kambalam ... uluka-* — but there is also word play “vertically” between the corresponding words of the two divisions: *kusa-* and *kesa-*, *vāka-* and *vāla-*, *phalaka-* and *uluka-*.

12.3 Sound similarities are also observable in sequences which do not involve repetition of a particular structure. Examples are:

(1) § 4a: *saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*. Here there are sound similarities between the two adjectives qualifying *kathaṃ* and the previous and following elements within the phrase as a whole. The sound similarities are: (i) *saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*; (ii) *... sammodi sammodanīyaṃ ...*; (iii) *... sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ ...*; (iv) *saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*; (v) *sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā*.

(2) § 9c: *so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati*. In this sequence, the sound similarities are: (i) *majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati*; (ii) *majjati*

mucchati pamādam āpajjati; (iii) ... *pamādam āpajjati*. Note here that the class consonants *-cch-* and *-jj-* are taken as being appropriate for word or sound play.

(3) § 16f: A number of dvandva compounds occur in this passage.

(a) *vyāpāda-padosa*: both have *-pād-* in common. It may be significant that this element occurs at the end of the first word and the beginning of the second; that is, at the junction of the two words, thereby intensifying the repetition of sounds.

(b) *pāṇa-bhūta*: the consonants of the first syllable of each word are labials (*p-* and *bh-*); the consonants of the second syllable of each are not of the same class (*-ṇ-* and *-t-*) but, based on the previously mentioned examples, may have been thought of as being similar;⁷⁴ the first syllable of both words is long, while vowel of the second syllable of each is *-a*.

(c) *thīna-middha*: the vowels of the first syllable of each word are *-ī-* and *-i-*, with the second being metrically long. The consonants of the second syllables (*-n-* and *-ddh-*) are both dentals.

(d) *uddhacca-kukkucca*: the sound similarities are *uddhacca-kukkucca*.

(e) Though one word, a certain repetition of sounds is also found within *vicikicchā*.

12.4 In the course of this study, a number of sound similarities occurring between elements which do not form a part of a sequence have been noted. Amongst these is the use of the cognate accusative. Examples are: *-kathaṃ kathentiya* (§ 2a); *pañhaṃ puccheyyāma* (§ 6d); *pañhaṃ puccha* (§ 7f); *āhāraṃ āhāreti* (§ 8e); *-anuyogaṃ anuyutto* (§ 8h); *adinnaṃ ādiyati* (§ 16d; though here *adinna* is from $\sqrt{dā}$ while *ādiyati* is from $\bar{a}\sqrt{dā}$); *sīhanādaṃ naditvā* (§ 24b).⁷⁵ And parallel to this phenomenon is the play between a verb and the element immediately preceding it, whether its object, the subject, an adverb or a particle. Examples are: *sakaṃ parisam saṅṭhāpesi*, with *s-*, *-p-* and *-s-* occurring in both *sakaṃ parisam* and *saṅṭhāpesi* in the same order (§ 3a); *eva sevati* (§ 5b); *paravādena pavāressati* (§ 7h.iv); *sabbaṃ sambhakkheti* (§ 11a.ii); *pāṇaṃ atipāpeti* (§ 16b); and *tapassī tapam / samādiyati* which both have *a-ā-ī-a-* patterns (§ 9a).

13. Metrical similarities.

13.1 It has also been observed in the course of this study that many of the component elements of such sequences share the same or similar metrical patterns. These metrical similarities seem to most commonly occur at the beginning of natural divisions in the sequence or passage, or between the initial members of a sequence. This phenomenon does not seem to have been previously commented on.

⁷⁴ Compare 12.2, example 1 above.

⁷⁵ Cf. also *-saṃvara-saṃvuto* (§ xxv. 16 [III 48]) and *brahmacariyaṃ carāma* (§ xxv. 24 [III 57]).

Some examples are:

(1) § 1a: *evaṃ* and *ekaṃ*, the initial elements of the two units *evaṃ me sutam* / *ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā ...*, have the same metrical pattern. They also share sound similarities.

(2) § 7a: *etu kho* and *sāgatam*, the initial elements in the two sentences *etu kho bhante Bhagavā* / *sāgatam bhante Bhagavato*, have a - - - pattern.

(3) § 11a.iii: In *seyyathīdam mūla-bijam khandha-bijam phalu-bijam agga-bijam bīja-bijam eva pañcamam*, the metrical pattern of each *bīja* (except for *phalu-bijam*), is - - - -, as it is for *seyyathīdam* at the beginning of the list and *eva pañcamam* (*a-*) at the end (if we take the final - - to equal -).⁷⁶

(4) § 16a: In *sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggam yeva pāpetu saram yeva pāpetu ti*, the two parallel units *aggam yeva pāpetu* and *saram yeva pāpetu* are metrically the same as the metrical patterns of the two elements (*aggam* and *saram*) which differ in each repetition of structure are identical.⁷⁷

(5) § 9c: *majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati*. The metrical patterns of the first two verbs are identical.

(6) § 8f: *so sākā-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti, nīvāra-bhakkho vā hoti, daddula-bhakkho vā hoti* / *haṭa-bhakkho vā hoti, kaṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, ācāma-bhakkho vā hoti, piñṇāka-bhakkho vā hoti*. As seen in this study, these eight clauses can be divided into two groups of four clauses each (as indicated here by the /). In the first group, the initial elements of the first three clauses (the elements to differ in each repetition) are metrically identical (the underlined), as are the initial elements of the first two clauses in the second group (the underlined).

13.2 Quite a few dvandva compounds are composed of words with equivalent metrical patterns: *-kesa-massu-* (§ 8h.i), *-pāṇa-bhūta-* (§ 16f.ii), *thīna-middha* (§ 16f.iii), *uddhacca-kukkucca* (§ 16f.iv) and *ācariya-pācariya* (§ 21b). These also share sound similarities. Examples of dvandvas consisting of two words which do not share the same metrical pattern are: *uccāsadda-mahāsadda* (§ 2a.ii); *mūla-phala* (§ 8f.iii); *issā-macchariya* (§ 11b.iii); *vyāpāda-padosa* (§ 16f.ii); *sukha-dukkha* (§ 18b.i). Cf. also *lābha-sakkāra-siloka* (§ 10a); *jāti-jarā-marāṇiyā* (§ 23c.i).

14. Metrical patterns.

14.1 Although not necessarily forming a part of the structures discussed here, a number of loose *veḍha* type metrical patterns, which generally lack the regular

⁷⁶ This may only be coincidental for there are other parallel constructions beginning with *seyyathīdam* and ending with *eva* + ordinal number which do not exhibit the same play in metrical patterns; e.g. *seyyathīdam cakka-ratanam hatthi-ratanam assa-ratanam maṇi-ratanam itthi-ratanam gahapati-ratanam pariṇāyaka-ratanam eva sattamam* (D I 89; III 75).

⁷⁷ Further examples are: §§ 2b, 6d, 7h.ii (fnt.), 8a, 8c, 8d, 8g, 8h, 11b.i, 15b, 18b.i, 19b.i, 19e.ii, 20c.ii, 21a, 21d, 22a.

occurrence of the amphibrach in the uneven gaṇas, have been observed in the course of this study. They are:

(1) § 1a: *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā ... viharati ...*, the formula beginning each sutta, has a $--|---|--|---|---|...|----|...|$ pattern.

(2) § 1b: if *kho* is read as *khalu*, then *tena khalu pana samayena* has a $---|---|----|---|$ pattern. This is rather doubtful.

(3) § 7h.ii: *acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho*. If we take the readings *acchariyaṃ* and *abbhūtaṃ*, then the metrical pattern is $---|---|--|--|---|$. Or if we scan *accharyaṃ* and also read *abbhūtaṃ*, then the pattern is $--|---|--|--|---|$.

(4) § 8a: in *mayam kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allīnā viharāma*, it is seen that *tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allīnā viharāma* has a $---|--|--|---|--|--|---|--|--|---|--|$ pattern.

(5) § 9a: *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati* has a $---|---|--|---|---|~$ pattern. When this becomes *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati* in the following paragraphs, the pattern is $----|--|--|---|--|---|~$.

(6) § 11d: *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī kiñcid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so "khamati te idan?" ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha "khamati" ti khamamānaṃ āha "na-kkhamati" ti*. Here the phrase *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī*, which begins each paragraph in this section of the text, has a $----|--|--|---|$ pattern and *akkhamamānaṃ āha "khamati" ti khamamānaṃ āha "na-kkhamati" ti* has a $---|~|---|---|---|~|---|$ pattern.

(7) § 16e: the metrical pattern of *pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upatthapetvā* is $--|~|--|--|--|---|----|--|~|---|$, giving *ujum* the value of *ujjum* (see example 13 below).

(8) § 17a: the metrical pattern of *iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ* is $---|~|---|---|---|--|---|--|$.

As these are the only examples I have been able to find in this lengthy sutta, these patterns may be only coincidental. There are, however, a number of examples from other texts which lend support here. They are:

(9) Vinaya texts begin with the phrase *tena samayena buddho Bhagavā ... viharati ...* (cf. example 1 above). The metrical pattern is $---|---|--|---|...|----|...$

amphibrach in uneven *gaṇas*, it is unclear what form of rhythm is being established here.

IV. CONCLUSION

From the sheer quantity of examples found in this one sutta, it can be seen that the phenomenon of proliferating similar word elements and units of meaning to form sequences is an extremely important feature of this class of literature. Virtually all major classes of word elements and units of meaning are multiplied in this way. They include adjectives and adjectival units, nouns and noun phrases, nouns as members of dvandva compounds, adverbs and adverbial expressions, verbs, sentences and even larger units of meaning.

Both J. Gonda (1959) and G. von Simson (1965, esp. §§ 11.39–63), the two authors who have made studies of such structures in early Indian literature, have speculated on the function of these sequences.

It has been seen in this study that many of these sequences consist of synonyms; e.g., *sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti* (§ 11b) and *saṃgamma saṃāgamma* (§ 4b). According to Gonda (*ibid.*, pp. 180, 190), such an accumulation of synonymous terms may be used for emphasis.⁸⁰ Again, G. von Simson (1965, p. 143) suggests that strings of synonymous verbs result from the tendency to express a thought or concept as clearly and as precisely as possible, or more specifically, they may stress the thoroughness with which something is done (*ibid.*, § 11.59). He also suggests that a string of synonymous nouns may serve to encircle or encompass a simple concept and thereby make it easier to grasp than a single expression (*ibid.*, § 11.40). In other cases, the stringing together of virtually synonymous terms may be seen as being more decorative than informative (*ibid.*, § 11.47). O. von Hinüber (1994, p. 23ff.) suggests that in many cases words seem to have been created to fill out such strings of synonyms as many member words are only found in these “Formeln”.

Again, many of the sequences discussed involve enumeration; e.g. the five *bījas* (§ 11a), the many kinds of ascetic practice (§ 8c–h), or the six classes of individual who may honour an ascetic (§ 10c). This is very much in keeping with what Gonda (*ibid.*, p. 381) refers to as the Indian’s “predilection for enumerative expression of thought, for combining and arranging concepts and entities of various categories”. Von Simson (*ibid.*, § 11.40–43) sees enumeration as resulting from the desire to achieve completeness or to relay abundance. He also regards the lists of spiritual attainments and benefits of living the spiritual life which commonly occur in Buddhist texts as being emotive, emphasising the desirability of living such a life (*ibid.*, § 11.54–

⁸⁰ Cf. S. Weeratunge, 1992, p. 28.

55). Gonda devotes a chapter to these common structures (chap. XXIII).

Strings of compounds, where the first (or latter) member of each is identical (e.g. *mahā-*, *yathā-*, *su-*), are also quite common. These, according to Gonda may “help to emphasise the variety of attendant circumstances or the idea expressed by the repeated first member” (ibid., p. 268) or they may be the mechanical repetitions of “thoughtless and traditional phrases, or ... chiefly serve to bring about assonance or alliteration” (ibid.). It may also be the case that in an oral context it is easier to discern and grasp each item when it appears in compound with a repetitive element than when listed as a component of a long dvandva compound.⁸¹

Von Simson (1965, p. 43) also speculates on the psychological impact of such sequences, many of which are formulaic.

The possible functions proposed by these two authors, of which only a selection have been presented here, are numerous and diverse, but by no means exhaustive. Although they have provided important contributions to this subject, this phenomenon is still capable of receiving further systematic attention. Although important, this is not the aim of the present study. It is a project which would require the collection, categorisation and analysis of a much larger quantity of material than has been dealt with here.

In this study we have seen that the component elements of such sequences of similar word elements and units of meaning are usually arranged according to their syllable lengths. To use an expanded form of Pāṇini’s phraseology (via Caland): in sequences which consist of similar word elements or units of meaning of an unequal number of syllables, the words or units of meaning of fewer syllables must precede. The exception to this is where a sequence, and especially a long sequence, can or must be divided into groups on the basis of associations in meaning or grammatical or morphological form, in which case the Waxing Syllable Principle only works within each group, restarting again with the next group.

It has been seen that this ordering principle is not only apparent in the more obvious sequences of adjectives and adjectival units, nouns and noun phrases, adverbs and verbs, but that it also seems to be operational in the ordering of parallel units of meaning which occur in different but nonetheless closely associated clauses, sentences or paragraphs, in the ordering of sequences of parallel sentences or semi-independent units of meaning, and in a number of other structures such as those involving *saddhim*. There are a number of examples found in the material collected in this study which have problematic patterns. Solutions to these can often be found if certain amendments are accepted — a svarabhakti vowel not scanned or a word thought to be a later insertion omitted — or if only the immediately parallel units are compared. It also seems that

⁸¹ See, for example, the list of the various kinds of lowly talk engaged in by ascetics (§ 2).

conceptual considerations or the desire to produce a particular word play may occasionally override the Waxing Syllable Principle. A few examples await plausible solutions.⁸²

It is particularly common in these sequences for the component elements, and especially the initial members of the sequence, to share sound and metrical similarities. Hence, there is a tendency in these texts to proliferate similar word elements and units of meaning, that is to expand the wording, while at the same time there is a tendency to bring this expanded wording closer together by choosing words which share sound and metrical similarities.

The repetition of metrical patterns has not been commented on before, but both Gonda and von Simson have discussed the sound similarities or repetitions present in such structures.

In many cases the production of sound similarities may not have been the primary motive for their presence in certain sequences. Sound similarities, for example, are a common feature of parallel structures which also involve the repetition of wording. They also occur between words which have etymological connections and they are the natural result of the rule of concord: a string of adjectives or verbs, for example, will all have the same terminations. It is also difficult to determine whether certain sound similarities were actually intentional.⁸³

In strings of synonyms, sound similarities may give greater cohesion to the group and emphasise the close relationship existing between the components,⁸⁴ and in all classes of sequences sound similarities may act to connect the elements together or to emphasise.⁸⁵ In some lists, sound similarities may also serve as phonetic bracketing, linking words into groups.⁸⁶ Sound similarities are also regarded to be “an excellent means of emphasising semantic and syntactic relations”.⁸⁷

The proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning and the ordering of the member elements of such sequences according to the Waxing Syllable Principle, which thus produces an overall crescendo effect, tends to give a rhythm and homogeneity to this material. This rhythm and homogeneity is then greatly enhanced when, as is frequently the case, the member elements also share sound and metrical similarities. The presence of rhythmical patterns in prose, and especially in long prose texts, must have been extremely important to those who performed or recited this material, and may be functionally parallel to the rhythm produced in verse by metre.

⁸² In his *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* O. von Hinüber (1994, p. 35ff.) discusses a number of problematic sequences and provides solutions to many of these by restoring an eastern form, including the restoration of a svarabhakti vowel.

⁸³ Gonda, *ibid.*, p. 177.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, chap. VIII generally; von Simson, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Von Simson, *op. cit.*, § 2.2; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁸⁷ Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–4.

The structures analysed in this study, which incorporate a number of stylistic features, may, like formulas, be seen to have had a role within both methods of composition outlined in the conclusion to study 1. Whether we are looking at a tradition of composition-in-performance or the composition of fixed texts, these features, which as comparative studies have shown are common to many oral literatures, may be seen to have the functions outlined above; that is, to emphasise, to express thoroughness, completeness or abundance, to fully encompass a simple concept, to produce a particular aesthetic effect, and so on, and to aid composition by acting as an organisational principle.⁸⁸ However, within a tradition of the composition of fixed texts, which are designed to be memorised, this combination of stylistic features can also be considered to have a mnemonic function, for it is surely easier to remember a sequence of words arranged in this manner according to syllable length. Similarly, it is easier to remember two different words when they share sound similarities and have the same metrical patterns. And again, the presence of some form of rhythm would also have facilitated the memorisation and recitation of this material. But whichever method we consider to be that utilised for the composition of these texts, this study indicates that the choice of words and their arrangement was heavily influenced by the fact that these texts were composed and transmitted orally.

There is much scope for future research on these structures. When, for example, did the authors of this material choose to proliferate similar word elements and were they consistent in this regard? Or, do different texts show different tendencies? Do some texts tend to exhibit sequences of, say, three adjectives, while others favour those containing five? Does, for example, the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*'s Book of Threes tend to contain more sequences consisting of three elements? Again, O. von Hinüber⁸⁹ considers that what he refers to as "formulas", that is strings consisting of two or more parallel elements ordered according to syllable length, are restricted to prose due to the constraints of metre in verse. Yet sequences of similar word elements and units of meaning arranged according to the WSP are, in fact, quite common in verse. Selected at random, we find, for example, "*akkocchi maṃ avadhi maṃ ajini maṃ ahāsi me*" (Dhp 4a–b); *so modati so pamodati* (Dhp 16c); *rāgañ ca dosañ ca pahāya moham | sammappajāno suvimuttacitto* (Dhp 20c–d); *aññā hi lābhūpanisā aññā nibbānagāmini* (Dhp 75a–b); *na attahetu na parassa hetu* (Dhp 84a). This in turn raises further questions. Is the Waxing Syllable Principle also dominant in verse? Do these structures exhibit the same characteristics in prose and verse? Are they absent in certain metres or metres of certain periods? And so on. The present study will certainly provide a foundation for answering such questions.

⁸⁸ O. von Hinüber (1994) briefly refers to the "mnemotechnische Hilfsmittel" and "Stilmittel" of these structures at pp. 7, 15, 23, 27, 39.

⁸⁹ O. von Hinüber, 1993, p. 107; cf. 1994, pp. 29ff., 33.

STUDY 2: INDEX.

- Only first occurrences are listed here.
- An asterisk (*) indicates that the pattern is amendable.
- Square brackets [] shown in the syllable count indicate that the grammatical unit (verb, pronoun, etc.) does not actually occur in the texts; e.g. 5+6+[vb]+(noun).
- The bold numbers in square brackets refer to their occurrence in the analysis section of this study (section II).

Abbreviations:

adjs	adjectives
adv	adverbs
cls	clauses
cpd(s)	compound(s)
opp	opposite
pp(s)	past participle(s)
pred. attr.	predicative attributes
pron	pronoun
sts	sentences
units	larger units of meaning
vb(s)	verb(s)

Sequences of adjectives/adjectival units

- 2: 4+(noun)+(saddhim)+13 [1b]; (noun)+2+6 [3c]; (noun)+3+5 [6e.ii]; (noun)+5+5 [19d]; (noun)+3+5 [20c.i] (or (pron.)+3+3+5); (pron)+3+5 [21d.i].
- 3: 6+(noun)+7+10 [3d]; 3+(noun)+4+9 [6a.i]; 3+4+6+(noun)+(vb) [18b.iii]; 3+(noun)+4+9 [19a.i]; (noun)+3+5+9 [21b].
- 4: 4+(noun)+(saddhim)+5+9+16 [2a.i]; 2+(noun)+3+4+5 [22b.i].
- 5: (pron)+6+6+6+6+8 [7e].

Sequences of adjectives/adjectival units divisible into groups

- 7+(noun), 4+5+5, 4+5 [17a.v].
(noun)+(vb)+4+6, 2+3, 3+3, 3+3 [19a.ii].

Sequences of adjectives/adjectival units not working

- 2: 5+(noun)+4 [4a]; 4+2+(noun)+(vb) [7b].
- 3: [pron]+5+2+4+(vb) [16f.iii].
- 5: [pron]+3+3+4+8+7 [10b.iv].
- 7: 8+3+(noun)+(vb)+5+6+6+9+9 [4c]; 4+(noun)+4+5+5(,)+3+5+11 [23c.i].

Sequences of nouns and noun phrases

- 2: 4+7 [6e.iv]; 5+6 [7h.iii]; 3+3 [11a.i]; 5+8 [12a]; 3+4 [19c];
5+5 [22b.iv].
3: 3+3+5 [20c.i] (?).
5: 4+4+4+4+4 [11a.iii].

Sequences of nouns divisible into groups

- 4+4+6, 4+4+4, 4+4+4+5, 4+4+4+4, 4+5+5+6, 4+4(,)+5+6+6, 5+5+6+8 [2b].
3+6, 3+3+5, 3 [10c].
3+4, 3+3+4, 3+4+4+5 [16d].
3+3+4, 3 [19b.iii].

Sequences of nouns not working

- 2: 7+5 [7f] (?); 6+4 [23c.iii].

Dvandva compounds

- 2: 4+4 [2a.ii]; 2+2(/3) [2b]; 2+2 [8f.iii]; 2+2 [8h.i]; 2+4 [11b.iii]; 3+3 &
2+2 [16f.ii]; 2+2 [16f.iii]; 3+3 [16f.iv]; 2+2 [18b.i]; 4+4 [21b].
3: 2+3+3 [10a]; 2+2+4 [23c.i].

Sequences of predicative attributes

- 2: 5+6+[vb]+(noun) [1c.ii]; (noun)+4+8+(vb) [7h.i]; (pron)+4+(vb)+7 [9a];
(noun)+3+(vb)+4 [12b]; (noun)+5+[vb]+6 [12d]; (noun)+4+(vb)+5 [15a];
(noun)+4+13 [23a].
3: (noun)+4+8+15+(vb) [4b]; (pron)+7+7+8+(vb) [8a];
(noun)+4+(vb)+4+6+(vb) [15c]; (noun)+4+(vb)+4+4+(vb) [15c];
(noun)+4+(vb)+4+4+(vb) [15c].
5: (noun)+4+(vb)+4+6+7+7 [8c.i].
6: (noun)+4+4+4+4+4+5+(vb) [20d].

Sequences of predicative attributes divisible into groups

- (pron)+5+(vb)+5, 4+(vb)+4, 5+(vb)+5 [8e].
(pron)+4+(vb)+5+(vb)+5+(vb)+5+(vb), 4+(vb)+4+(vb)+5+(vb)+5+(vb),
4+(vb)+5+(vb) (+) [8f].
(noun)+2+(vb)+3, 3+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+4, 3+(vb)+11, 5+(vb)+14,
7+(vb)+5+6 [12c].
(noun)+4+(vb)+6, 4+4 [15b].

Sequences of predicative attributes not working

6: [pron]+(vb)+4+4+4(+)+5+11+8 [18b.i].

(divisible into groups (?))

(noun)+12+12+12, 9(+)+5+10 [19b.i-ii].

(noun)+12+12+12, 10(+)+5+10 [19c].

Sequences of adverbs

3: 5+5+7 [21a]; 4+4+6 [22a].

4: 2+2+3+3 [17a.iii].

Sequences of verbs († indicates that the verb takes an object)

2: 3+4 [4b].

3: 3+3+7† [9c]; 3+4+5 [22b.v] (& 23c.iv).

Sequences of verbs divisible into groups

4+5, 3+3 [11b.i].

Parallel units of meaning occurring in different clauses, sentences, paragraphs, etc.

3-4 (adv); 14-19 (sts); 8-13 (sts) [1c.i]; 4-5-5 [5d] (vbs); 4-4 [6d] (vbs); 4-4 [7c] (pps); 4-5 [7h.iv] (vbs); 4-5-5 [10b.iv] (vbs); 4-4-5 [16e] (vbs); 2-3-3-3 [17a.vi] (nouns); 3-4 [19a.iii] (vbs); 2-2-2 [19b.i] (nouns); 4-4 [19e.ii] (vbs); 4-4-5 [20a] (vbs); 3-3-(,)4-4 [20c.ii] (vbs); 2-2-2-2-5 (pps) & 3-4-4-4-6 (nouns) [21d.ii] (vbs); 5-6 [23c.ii].

Parallel units of meaning occurring in different clauses, sentences, paragraphs, etc., divisible into groups

2-2-4, 2-2-2, 2-2-2-3, 2-2-2-2, 2-3-3-4, 2-2(+)-3-4-4, 3-[5-6]-6 [2b] (nouns in cpds).

2-3 [8d.i]; 3-4(+)-2-3 [8d.ii] (nouns in cpds).

2-3-3-3, 2-2-3-3, 2-3 [8f] (nouns in cpds).

3-4, 5-5, 4-4-5, 4-4-5, 5-5-6 [8g] (nouns).

Parallel units of meaning occurring in different sentences, paragraphs, etc., not working

4-5-4 [5a] (vbs); 5-4 [11b.ii] (adjs); 7-9-9-30-27 & 18-16-16-25-23 [23a] (units).

(see also 8h, 12c, 16b, 16f from long sequences).

Sequences of parallel sentences/semi-independent units of meaning

22+32 (= 14-19 & 8-13) [1c.i]; 8+8 [3b]; 8/(14)+10+12 [5a]; 8+9 [7a]; 8+10 [7h.iv]; 6+7 [10b.ii]; 28+32 [11b.ii]; 7+7 [11c]; 11+11 [11d]; 7+7 [16a]; 6+7 [16c]; 13+16 [19e.ii]; 14+15+15+15+20 [21d.ii]; 7+7 [22b.ii]; 12+12 [23c.ii].

Sequences of parallel sentences/semi-independent units of meaning not working

7a (?); 7c; 7g; 7h.ii*; 8h; 12c; 18b.ii; 23a; 23b.

Sequences of clauses/ units of meaning/ parts of a sentence

(incomplete; see Appendix 1)

5d; 6e.i (?); 10b.iii; 10b.iv; 16e; 16f; 17a.i; 19b.iv; 19c.

Sequences of clauses/ units of meaning/ parts of a sentence not working

(incomplete; see Appendix 1)

6d; 8c.ii; 9b; 20a.

Long sequences of parallel units of meaning divisible into groups

4+4+6, 4+4+4, 4+4+4+5, 4+4+4+4, 4+5+5+6, 4+4(,)+5+6+6, 5+5+6+8 **[2b]** (nouns as cpds).

10+11, 7+8(,)6+7, 8, 5+6+9, 5, 10+13, 3+3+3+4+5 **[8d]** (sts/units).

7+8+8+8, 7+7+8+8, 7+8+18 **[8f]** (cls/sts: pred. attr.).

7+8, 9+9, 8+8+9, 8+8+9, 9+9+10 **[8g]** (cls).

7+(vb)+14, 4+(vb)+7, 4+(vb)+11, 10+11(+)+9+9, 6+(vb)+6, 5+(vb)+6, 4+(vb)+13, 4+(vb)+9, (+) **[8h]** (cls).

3+6, 3+3+5, 3 **[10c]** (nouns).

4+5, 3+3 **[11b.i]** (vbs).

(pron)+2+(vb)+3, 3+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+3, 2+(vb)+4, 3+(vb)+11, 5+(vb)+14,

7+(vb)+5+6 **[12c]** (sts; pred. attr.).

(noun)+4+(vb)+6, 4+4 **[15b]** (pred. attr.).

8+9+15, 8+9+14, 6+7+12, 8+9+14 **[16b]** (cls).

3+4, 3+3+4, 3+4+4+5 **[16d]** (nouns).

8+13,(21+11), 9+10,(19+24), 7+11,(18+22), 9+8,(17+22), 7+10,(17+24), (+) **[16f]** (cls/sts).

7+(noun), 4+5+5, 4+5 **[17a.v]** (adjs).

(noun)+(vb)+4+6, 2+3, 3+3, 3+3 **[19a.ii]** (adjs).

3+3+4, 3 **[19b.iii]** (nouns).

13+13, 11+12 **[20c.ii]** (sts).

Problematic long sequences

(see 8d & 12c in the above)

(noun)+12+12+12, 9(,)+5+10 **[19b.i-ii]** (pred. attr.).

(noun)+12+12+12, 10(,)+5+10 **[19c]** (pred. attr.).

4+(noun)+4+5+5(+)+3+5+11 **[23c.i]** (adjs).

Saddhim

13+(saddhim)+13 **[1b]**; 13+(saddhim)+30 **[2a.i]**; 9+10+(saddhim) **[6a.ii]**.

Numerical structures

8e; 17a.ii; 18a; 22b.vi.

The presentation of opposites

positive first: 7g; 10b.ii; 11b.ii; 9–12 (faults) 13–15 (negative of 9–12); 12d (etc); 15a-b; 19a.ii.

negative first: 19a.ii; 19b-c; 23a; 23c.ii.

both: 11d.

STUDY 2: APPENDIX 1.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE LENGTHS OF PARTS OF A SENTENCE

The following is an analysis of the relative lengths of parts of sentences in the material of the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta*. The data is presented first, followed by a summary of the material and a conclusion.

Only first occurrences have been recorded. Sections §§ 10–12, §§ 13–16 and most of § 21 repeat earlier passages and the material contained in them is therefore not included here.

In instances where a non-finite clause, a relative clause, etc., is embedded in a main/finite clause, that is where one and the same main/finite clause begins and concludes a sentence, the syllable count for the main/finite clause is given last. Although this is perhaps misleading, the relative lengths of the clauses can, in this way, be easily ascertained.

The references given are to the PTS section/paragraph numbers (e.g. § 3) and the PTS volume III page and line number (e.g. [37,11–12]).

Abbreviations:

fc	finite clause
mc	main clause
nfc	non-finite clause (past participle or absolutive; only in instances where the non-finite verb is not the main verb of the sentence)
rc	relative clause
sc	subordinate clause
sc(la)	subordinate clause (locative absolute)

1. non-finite clause + finite clause.

2+9	<u>nfc+fc</u> : <i>divvā / sakam parisam santhāpesi</i> (§ 3 [37,11–12]). [= § 6]
10+15	<u>nfc+fc</u> : <i>app eva nāma / appasaddam parisam viditvā / upasamkamitabbaṃ maññeyya</i> (§ 3 [37,19–20]). [= § 6]
6+15	<u>nfc+fc</u> : <i>upasamkamitvā / Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhim sammodi</i> (§ 4 [37,23–24]).
16+7	<u>nfc+fc</u> : <i>sammodanīyam katham sārāṇīyam vītisāretvā / ekamantaṃ nisīdi</i> (§ 4 [37,24–25]).
11+14+12	<u>(fc)+nfc+rc+fc</u> : <i>atha kho Bhagavā / Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā / yena Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo / ten' upasamkami</i> (§ 6 [38,24–39,1]).
6+19	<u>nfc+fc</u> : <i>upasamkamitvā / Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami</i> (§ 6 [39,1–2]).
12+17	<u>(fc)+nfc+fc</u> : <i>Nigrodho pi kho paribbājako / aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā / ekamantaṃ nisīdi</i> (§ 7 [39,24–26]).

- 2+6 nfc+fc: *disvā / evaṃ avocumhā* (§ 7 [39,33–40,1]).
- 12+20 (fc)+nfc+fc: *atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako / te paribbājake appasadde katvā / Bhagavantam etad avoca* (§ 8 [40,21–22]).
- 12+5 nfc+fc (=fc): *so / pacchābhataṃ piṇḍapātaṭṭikkanto / nisīdati* (§ 16 [49,11–12]).
- 8+14+11 nfc+fc+fc: *so / abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya / vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati / abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,13–15]).
- 9+10+24 nfc+fc+fc: *vyāpādapadosaṃ pahāya / avyāpannacitto viharati / sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī vyāpādapadosā cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,15–17]).
- 7+11+22 nfc+fc+fc: *thīnamiddhaṃ pahāya / vigatathīnamiddho viharati / ālokasaññī sato sampajāno thīnamiddhā cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,17–19]).
- 9+8+22 nfc+fc+fc: *uddhaccakukkuccaṃ pahāya / anuddhato viharati / ajjhataṃ vūpasantacitto uddhaccakukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,19–21]).
- 7+10+24 nfc+fc+fc: *vicikicchaṃ pahāya / tiṇṇavicikiccho viharati / akathaṃkathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,21–23]).
- 11+17+17+5 nfc+sc(la)+nfc+fc: *so / ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya / cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalikaraṇe / mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā / viharati, (tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ)* (§ 17 [49,24–27]).
- 4+8 nfc+fc: *so / tato cuto / amutra udapādiṃ* (§ 18 [51,5]).
- 36+19 (fc)+nfc+fc: *atha kho Bhagavā / Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ tuṅhībhūtaṃ maṅkubhūtaṃ pattakkhandaṃ abhomukhaṃ pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhānaṃ viditvā / Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca* (§ 21 [53,24–27]).
- 9+17 (fc)+nfc+fc (=rc): *yato ca kho tvaṃ Nigrodha / accayaṃ accayato disvā / yathākammaṃ paṭikarosi* (§ 22 [55,11–12]).
- 9+10 nfc+fc (=rc): *yo / accayaṃ accayato disvā / yathādhammaṃ paṭikaroti* (§ 22 [55,13–14]).
- 30(21+4+5)+5 nfc(=nfc+nfc+nfc)+fc: *paññāpāripūriṃ vepullatañ ca diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā / sacchikatvā / upasampajja / viharissatha* (§ 23 [57,9–11]).
- 20+7+17 (fc)+nfc+nfc+fc: *atha kho Bhagavā / Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāme sihanādaṃ naditvā / vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā / Gijjhakūṭe pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi* (§ 24 [57,19–21]).

2. finite clause + non-finite clause(s).

- 16+7+8+11 fc(=nfc+fc)+nfc+nfc+nfc: *so / pacchābhataṃ piṇḍapāta-ṭṭikkanto / nisīdati / pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā / ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya / parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* (§ 16 [49,11–13]).

3. subordinate clause (locative absolute) + main clause.

- 4+11 *evaṃ vutte / te paribbājakā tuṅhī ahesuṃ* (§ 3 [37,21]). [= § 6]

- 4+20 *evaṃ vutte / Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānaṃ gahapatiṃ etad avoca* (§ 5 [38,7–8]).
- 4+17 *evaṃ vutte / Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca* (§ 7 [39,30–31]).
- 4+21 *evaṃ vutte / te paribbājakā unnādino uccāsaddamahāsaddā ahesuṃ* (§ 7 [40,16–17]).

[examples of *evaṃ vutte* structures have not been collected after § 7]

- 11+17+17+5 nfc+sc(la)+nfc+mc(/fc): *so / ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya / cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe / mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā / viharati, (tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ)* (§ 17 [49,24–27]).

4. subordinate clause + main clause.

- 5+14 sc+mc: *so / tena tapasā / attamano hoti paripuṇṇasaṃkappo* (§ 9 [42,18–19]).
- 5+7+5 sc+mc+mc: *so / tena tapasā / attānukkaṃseti / paraṃ vambheti* (§ 9 [42,22–23]).

[the other examples in § 9 and § 10 based on *tena tapasā* all show the same proportions and are not listed]

- 5+5+18 sc+sc+mc: *te / kāyassa bhedaṃ / paraṃ maraṇā / apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā* (§ 19 [52,8–9]).
- 5+5+12 sc+sc+mc: *te / kāyassa bhedaṃ / paraṃ maraṇā / sugatiṃ saggamaṃ lokamaṃ upapannā* (§ 19 [52,12–13]).

5. relative clause + main clause.

- 15+10+16 (mc)+rc+rc+mc: *atha kho Sandhāno gahapati / yena Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāmo / yena Nigrodho paribbājako / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 1 [36,14–16]).
- 34+15 rc+mc: *yāvataṃ kho pana samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakaṃ gihī odātavasaṇā Rājagahe paṭivasanti / ayaṃ tesamaṃ aṇṇataro Sandhāno gahapati* (§ 3 [37,15–17]).
- 10+16 (mc)+rc+mc: *atha kho Sandhāno gahapati / yena Nigrodho paribbājako / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 4 [37,22–23]).
- 11+14+12 (mc)+nfc+rc+mc: *atha kho Bhagavā / Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā / yena Samāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 6 [38,24–39,1]).
- 17+9 rc+mc: *sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisamaṃ āgaccheyya / imaṃ taṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyāma* (§ 6 [39,11–12]).
- 10+12 (mc)+rc+mc: *atha kho Bhagavā / yena Nigrodho paribbājako / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 7 [39,17–18]).
- 6+18 rc+mc: *yadi evaṃ sante / tapojigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā* (§ 8 [42,9–10]).

- 15+19(=5+14) **rc+mc(=sc+mc)**: *yam pi [kho] Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati / so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuññasamkappo, (ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti) (§ 9 [42,18–21]).*
- 15+17(=5+7+5) **rc+mc(=sc+mc+mc)**: *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati / so tena tapasā attānukkamseti param vambheti, (ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti) (§ 9 [42,23–26]).*
- 15+19(=5+14) **rc+mc(=sc+mc)**: *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati / so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati, (ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti) (§ 9 [42,28–43,2]).*

[the parallel structures to these last three found in §§ 10–12 show the same proportions and are not listed]

- 8+9 **rc+mc**: *so / Yam hi kho 'ssa nakkhamati / tam sāpekho pajahati (§ 10 [43,27–28]).*
- 7+31 **rc+mc**: *yam pan' assa khamati / tam gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādinavadassāvī anissaranapañño paribhuñjati (§ 10 [43,28–30]).*
- 23+11 **rc+mc**: *yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evam cātuyāmasamvaramvuto hoti / aduñ c' assa hoti tapassitāya, (so abhiharati no hīnāy' āvattati) (§ 16 [49,6–8]).*
- 26(=9+17)+9 **rc(=nfc+fc)+mc**: *yato ca kho tvam Nigrodha accayam accayato disvā yathākamam paṭikarosi / tam te mayam paṭiganhāma (§ 22 [55,11–13]).*
- 19(=9+10)+10 **rc(=nfc+fc)+mc**: *yo accayam accayato disvā yathādhammam paṭikaroti / āyatim samvaram āpajjati (§ 22 [55,13–15]).*
- 8+10 **rc+mc**: *yo eva vo ācariyo / so eva vo ācariyo hotu (§ 23 [56,11–12]).*
- 7+9 **rc+mc**: *yo eva vo uddeso / so eva vo uddeso hotu (§ 23 [56,14–15]).*
- 7+9 **rc+mc**: *yo eva vo ājīvo / so eva vo ājīvo hotu (§ 23 [56,18]).*
- 21+19 **rc+mc**: *ye no dhammā akusalā akusalasamkhātā sācariyakānam / tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetukāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āha (§ 23 [56,19–21]).*
- 19+18 **rc+mc**: *ye no dhammā kusalā kusalasamkhātā sācariyakānam / tehi vivicetukāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āha (§ 23 [56,24–26]).*

6. main clause + relative clause.

- 12+11+33 **mc+rc+rc**: *ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo / yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti / yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsappattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyan? ti (§ 6 [39,12–15]).*
- 43+9+31 **mc+rc+rc**: *dujjānam kho etam Nigrodha tayā aññadiṭṭhikena aññakhantikena aññarucikena aññatr' āyogena aññatr' ācariyakena / yenāham sāvake vinemi / yena mayā sāvakā vinītā assāsappattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyam (§ 7 [40,8–12]).*
- 11+28 **mc+rc**: *thānam kho pan' etam bhante vijjati / Yam idh' ekacco tapassī sabbeh' eva imehi upakkilesehi samannāgato assa, (ko pana vādo aññataraññatarena) (§ 12 [45,25–27]).*
- 46+12 **mc+rc**: *santi ca kho Nigrodha akusalā dhammā appahīnā samkilesikā ponobhavikā saddarā dukkhavipākā āyatim jātijarāmaraniyā / yesāham pahānāya dhammam desemi ... (§ 23 [57,5–8]).*

15+16(+31) mc+rc: *sabbe p' ime moghapurisā phutṭhā Pāpimatā / yatra hi nāma ekassa pi na evaṃ bhavissati* (“hanta mayaṃ aññānattham pi samaṇe Gotame brahmacariyaṃ carāma, kiṃ karissati sattāho?” ti) (§ 24 [57,15–18]).

7. relative clause + main clause + relative clause.

63+27+9+31 rc+mc+rc+rc: *iti kho Nigrodha / yaṃ maṃ tvaṃ abhāsi “ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsappattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyan?” ti / iti kho taṃ Nigrodha ihāṇaṃ uttaritaraṇ ca paṇitatarāṇ ca / yenāhaṃ sāvake vinemi / yena mayā sāvakā vinītā assāsappattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyan (ti)* (§ 19 [52,22–28]).

SUMMARY.

1. non-finite clause + finite clause

In most passages consisting of a non-finite clause + finite clause (nfc+fc), the non-finite clause is shorter than the finite clause. This is not particularly significant where the non-finite clause is the absolutive form of the finite verb of the preceding sentence. However, there are sufficient examples to the contrary which indicate that we are not dealing with a rule. Examples are: *sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā / ekamantaṃ nisīdi* (§ 4 [37,24–25]) and *so / pacchābhataṃ piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkanto / nisīdati* (§ 16 [49,11–12]).

There are two examples where more than one non-finite clause precedes a finite clause. They both show contradictory arrangements.¹

2. finite clause + non-finite clause(s).

There is one example of three non-finite clauses following a finite clause. In this case all three non-finite clauses are shorter than the finite clause. The non-finite clauses themselves seem to be arranged according to the WSP.

3. subordinate clause (locative absolute) + main clause.

The majority of examples are the common phrase *evaṃ vutte ... etad avoca (/ahesum)*. Again, that the subordinate clause is shorter than the main clause in such instances is not particularly significant.

¹ nfc+sc(la)+nfc+fc (11+17+17+5): *so / ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya / cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbālikaraṇe / mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā / viharati, (tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ)* (§ 17 [49,24–27]) and (fc)+nfc+nfc+fc (20+7+17): *atha kho Bhagavā / Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāme sihanādaṃ naditvā / vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā / Gijjhakūṭe pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi* (§ 24 [57,19–21]).

The one example which is not an *evam vutte* structure has the subordinate clause preceding the main clause along with two non-finite clauses. Although all three initial clauses are longer than the main clause, the arrangement of these initial clauses seems to conform to the WSP, with a 11+17+17 pattern.

4. subordinate clause + main clause.

In all examples of a subordinate clause preceding a main clause, the subordinate clause is shorter than the main clause. In the two examples where two subordinate clauses precede a main clause, the arrangement of the subordinate clauses is in accordance with the WSP. One example with a sc+mc+mc pattern (*so / tena tapasā / attānukkamseti / param vambheti* (§ 9 [42,22–23]) is problematic, for not only is the second main clause shorter than the first, but the verb of the second is shorter than that of the first. It was seen in the main study that it is more regular for the verbs in such instances to conform to the WSP.

5. relative clause + main clause.

There is no apparent consistency in the arrangement of a relative clause + main clause (rc+mc). There are as many examples of a main clause being shorter than a preceding relative clause as there are of a relative clause being shorter than a following main clause.

There is also one example where two relative clauses precede a main clause (*atha kho Sandhāno gahapati / yena Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāmo / yena Nigrodho paribbājako / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 1 [36,14–16])). In this case the first relative clause is longer than the second.

This *yena* [place] *yena* [person] *ten' upasaṃkami* phrase is quite common in Pāli sutta texts. In the majority of occurrences recorded in the *Dīgha-nikāya*² the first relative clause is longer than the second. This is because the description of the place, the subject of the first relative clause, is usually longer than a description of the person. There are exceptions; e.g. *yena Simsapāvanam yen' āyasmā Kumārakassapo tena*³ (= 7+11 syllables) and *yena Khemo migadāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho tena*⁴ (= 8+16 syll.), which indicate that it is merely a tendency in such structures for the first relative clause describing the approach to the place to be longer than the second describing the approach to the person. It is therefore unlikely that we have an example of a “Waning Syllable Principle” organising the arrangement of the material here.

² See Study 1, references section M.1–3.

³ D § xxiii. 4 [II 318].

⁴ D § xiv. 3.14 [II 42–43].

6. main clause + relative clause.

In the limited material collected we find examples of an initial main clause being shorter and longer than the following relative clause.

There are two examples of two relative clauses following a main clause where the first relative clause is shorter than the second. The relative clauses of both examples share the same wording.

7. relative clause + main clause + relative clause.

The two relative clauses following the main clause in this one recorded example are the same as those of the previous (section 6), where the first is shorter than the second.

CONCLUSION

Although it is quite common for a non-finite clause or a subordinate clause to be shorter than a following main clause, it cannot be considered to be the rule. There also seems to be no consistent pattern in structures where a relative clause precedes a main clause or vice versa. Thus the WSP does not seem to be operational in the arrangement of dissimilar clauses or parts of a sentence.

Although there are insufficient examples to prove the case, those collected do, however, suggest that the WSP is operational in the arrangement of similar clauses within a sentence. This would parallel the employment of this principle to arrange similar word elements or units of meaning. The emphasis in the application of the WSP is therefore on the “similar”.

The examples in support of this are:

(i) *vyāpādapadosaṃ pahāya / avyāpannacitto viharati / sabbapāṇa-bhūtahitānukampī vyāpādapadosā cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,15–17]). This consists of a non-finite clause followed by two finite clauses (nfc+fc+fc). Here the two finite clauses have a 10+24 syllable count. See also the other parallel passages listed in section 1 of the data.

(ii) *so / ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya / cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe / mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā / viharati, (tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ)* (§ 17 [49,24–27]) with a nfc+sc(la)+nfc+fc structure. Here the non-finite clauses and the subordinate clause(locative absolute), which are treated as being parallel, have a 11+17+17 syllable count.

(iii) *so / pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapātaṭikkanto / nisīdati / pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā / ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya / parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* (§ 16 [49,11–13]) with a

fc(=nfc+fc)+nfc+nfc+nfc structure. Here the three non-finite clauses following the finite clause have a 7+8+11 syllable count.

(iv) *te / kāyassa bheda / paraṃ maraṇā / apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā* (§ 19 [52,8–9]) with a sc+sc+mc structure. The two subordinate clauses have a 5+5 count. Compare also the parallel example listed in section 4 of the data.

(v) *ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo / yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti / yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsappattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyan? ti* (§ 6 [39,12–15]) with a mc+rc+rc structure. The two relative clauses have an 11+33 syllable count. Compare the parallel example listed after this in section 5 of the data and the one example in section 7.

Examples to the contrary:

(i) *so / abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya / vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati / abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti* (§ 16 [49,13–15]) with a nfc+fc+fc structure. The second finite clause is shorter than the first. But compare the four other parallel passages which do work (listed after this in section 1 of the data and discussed above).

(ii) *atha kho Bhagavā / Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāme sīhanādaṃ naditvā / vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā / Gijjhakūṭe pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi* (§ 24 [57,19–21]) with a (fc)+nfc+nfc+fc structure. The second non-finite clause is shorter than the first, unless we only count the immediately parallel units: *sīhanādaṃ naditvā* (7 syll.) *vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā* (7 syll.).

(iii) *so / tena tapasā / attānukkamseti / paraṃ vambheti* (§ 9 [42,22–23]) with a sc+mc+mc structure. The second main clause is shorter than the first. This was discussed in section II 9b of the main study. It was seen to be problematic.

(iv) *atha kho Sandhāno gahapati / yena Udumbarikāya paribbājakārāmo / yena Nigrodho paribbājako / ten' upasaṃkami* (§ 1 [36,14–16]) with a (mc)+rc+rc+mc structure. This was discussed in detail above (summary of this appendix, section 5). It seems that the description of the place is normally longer than that of the person.

STUDY 2: APPENDIX 2.

AN ANALYSIS OF A COMPARABLE JAIN TEXT

An analysis of *Aupapātika-sūtra* § 20: the stock description of arahats.

The following is an analysis of the stock description of arahats which is found in Jain texts of a similar class to the Pāli suttas. It is found, for example, in the *Aupapātika-sūtra* and the *Aṇuttarovavāiyya-dasāo*.

The version analysed here occurs as § 20 of *Das Aupapātika Sūtra; erstes Upānga der Jaina*, edited by Ernst Leumann, Leipzig 1883. This is compared with a briefer version found in § 16 (see also § 38) of this text and the version found in the *Aṇuttarovavāiyya-dasāo*, which appears as an appendix to *The Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāiyya-dasāo* translated by L.D. Barnett, London, 1907, p. 136.

Although only a small passage is being analysed here, this study indicates that the WSP was similarly operational in the ordering of material in early Jain texts.¹

§ 20: “*namo 'tthu ṇaṃ arahantāṇaṃ bhagavantāṇaṃ āigarāṇaṃ titthagaraṇaṃ sahasambuddhāṇaṃ² purisottamāṇaṃ purisa-sihāṇaṃ purisa-vara-puṇḍariyāṇaṃ purisa-vara-gandhahatthiṇaṃ log'-uttamāṇaṃ loga-nāhāṇaṃ loga-hiyāṇaṃ loga-paivāṇaṃ loga-pajjoyagarāṇaṃ abhaya-dayāṇaṃ cakkhu-dayāṇaṃ magga-dayāṇaṃ saraṇa-dayāṇaṃ jīva-dayāṇaṃ bohi-dayāṇaṃ dhamma-dayāṇaṃ dhamma-desayāṇaṃ dhamma-nāyagāṇaṃ dhamma-sārahīṇaṃ dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavattīṇaṃ dīvo tāṇaṃ saraṇaṃ gai paiṭṭhā³ appaḍihaya-vara-nāṇa-damsaṇa-dharāṇaṃ viyaṭṭa-chaumāṇaṃ jīṇāṇaṃ jāvayāṇaṃ⁴ tiṇṇāṇaṃ tārayāṇaṃ buddhāṇaṃ bohayāṇaṃ⁵ muttāṇaṃ moyagāṇaṃ savvaṇṇūṇaṃ savva-darisīṇaṃ⁶ sivam ayalam aruyam aṇantam akkhayam avvābāham apuṇarāvattagaṃ⁷ siddhigai-nāmadhejjaṃ ṭhāṇaṃ sampattāṇaṃ [namo jīṇāṇaṃ jīya-bhayāṇaṃ]⁸ namo 'tthu ṇaṃ samaṇassa Bhagavao Mahāvīrassa ādigarassa titthagarassa jāva⁹ sampāviu-kāmassa mama dhamm'-āyariyassa dhammovadesagassa;¹⁰ vandāmi ṇaṃ Bhagavantaṃ tatthagayaṃ iha-gae; pāsau me Bhagavaṃ tatthagae iha-gayaṃ ti” kaṭṭu vandai namaṃsai, vandittā namaṃsittā sihāsaṇa-vara-gae puratthābhīmuhe nisīyai, 2ttā tassa pavattivāuyassa¹¹ atṭh 'uttaraṃ saya-sahassaṃ pīi-dāṇaṃ dalayati, 2ttā sakkārei sammāṇei, sakkārīttā sammāṇīttā evaṃ vayāsī:*

¹ Cf. O. von Hinüber, 1994, pp. 18, 33.

² v.l. and KS *sayam-samb*° or § 16 fnt. 7 KS v.l. *sayas*°.

³ v.l. places *dīvo* to *paiṭṭhā* before *dhamma-vara-cāuranta-* as in § 16.

⁴ v.l. *jāṇay*° and *jāṇuy*° as in § 16.

⁵ v.l. *bohig*°.

⁶ v.l. °*dams*° as MS B of KS.

⁷ v.l. °*ttiyam*.

⁸ Only in D and KS.

⁹ Before *jāva* KS has *carama-titthagarassa puṇva-titthagayara-nidditṭhassa*.

¹⁰ From *mama* to *dhammovadesagassa* is not found in KS and Rāj.

¹¹ v.l. *pavitta-*.

§ 16: *teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ samaṇe Bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre āigare tiṭthagare sahasambuddhe purisottame purisa-sīhe purisa-vara-puṇḍarīe purisa-vara-gandhahatthī † abhaya-dae cakkhu-dae magga-dae saraṇa-dae jīva-dae * dīvo tāṇaṃ saraṇaṃ gaī paiṭṭhā dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavattī appaḍihaya-vara-nāṇa-damaṣaṇa-dhare viyaṭṭa-chaume jīṇe jāṇae tiṇṇe tārae mutte moyae buddhe bodhae savvaṇṇū savva-darisī sivam ayalam aruyam aṇantam akkhayam avvābāham apuṇarāvattagaṃ siddhigai-nāmadhejjaṃ thāṇaṃ sampāviu-kāme.*

The underlined show differences in arrangement of epithets.

† lacking *log'-uttama loga-nāha loga-hiya loga-paīva loga-pajjoyagara.*

* lacking *bohi-daya dhamma-daya dhamma-desaya dhamma-nāyaga dhamma-sārahi.*

Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo: *evaṃ khalu Jambū samaṇeṇaṃ Bhagavayā Mahāvīreṇaṃ āigareṇaṃ tiṭthagareṇaṃ sahasambuddheṇaṃ † loga-nāheṇaṃ * loga-ppadīveṇaṃ loga-pajjoyagareṇaṃ abhaya-daeṇaṃ saraṇa-daeṇaṃ cakkhu-daeṇaṃ magga-daeṇaṃ ‡ dhamma-daeṇaṃ dhamma-desaeṇaṃ [dhamma-nāyaeṇaṃ dhamma-sārahiṇā] dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavattīṇā ¶ apāḍihaya-vara-nāṇa-damaṣaṇa-dhareṇaṃ ° jīṇeṇaṃ jāṇaeṇaṃ buddheṇaṃ bohaeṇaṃ mutteṇaṃ moyaeṇaṃ tinnenā tāraeṇaṃ # sivam ayalam aruyam aṇantam akkhayam avvābāham apuṇarāvattayaṃ siddhigai-nāmadheyā thāṇaṃ sampatteṇaṃ ...*

† lacking *purisottama purisa-sīha purisa-vara-puṇḍarīya purisa-vara-gandhahatthi log'-uttama.*

* lacking *loga-hiya.*

‡ lacking *jīva-daya bohi-daya.*

¶ lacking *dīvo tāṇaṃ saraṇaṃ gaī paiṭṭhā.*

° lacking *viyaṭṭa-chauma.*

lacking *savvaṇṇu savva-darisi.*

ANALYSIS OF § 20

Remarks on the sound similarities do not include the terminations such as the plural dat./gen. *-āṇaṃ.*

Abbreviations: SS = sound similarities; MtS = metrical similarities; syll. = syllables.

1. A group of 2 epithets: *arahantāṇaṃ* (5 syllables) *bhagavantāṇaṃ* (5 syll.) = 5+5 syllables.
SS: *arahantāṇaṃ bhagavantāṇaṃ.*
MtS: both have the same metrical pattern: ~ ~ - - -.
2. A group of 3 epithets: *āigarāṇaṃ* (5) *tiṭthagarāṇaṃ* (5) *sahasambuddhāṇaṃ* (6) = 5+5+6.
SS: *āigarāṇaṃ tiṭthagarāṇaṃ.*

MtS: the first two both have a ~~~~ metrical pattern, while the last reflects the pattern of the previous group: ~~~~~.¹²

The formula so far seems to have a loose *vedhaic* structure: *namo 'tthu | ṇaṃ arah- | -antāṇ- | -aṃ bhagav- | -antāṇ- | -aṃ ā- | -igarāṇ- | -aṃ titth- | -agarāṇ- | -aṃ sahas- | -ambuddh- | -āṇaṃ* | (~~~~|~~~~|---|~~~~|---|---|~~~~|---|~~~~|---|---|) . This was not commented on by H. Jacobi (1885) in his analysis of this passage or its parallels. No doubt this is because it lacks the structure, and specifically the regular occurrence of the amphibrach in the uneven *gaṇas*, of those recognised by him. As seen in our study of the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* (D 25), such looser structures, as here, often begin divisions in the text.¹³

3. A group of 4 epithets: *purisottamāṇaṃ* (6) *purisa-sīhāṇaṃ* (6) *purisa-vara-puṇḍarīyāṇaṃ* (10) *purisa-vara-gandhahatthīṇaṃ* (10) = 6+6+10+10.

SS: (i) *purisottamāṇaṃ purisa-sīhāṇaṃ purisa-vara-puṇḍarīyāṇaṃ purisa-vara-gandhahatthīṇaṃ*.

(ii) *purisa-vara-puṇḍarīyāṇaṃ purisa-vara-gandhahatthīṇaṃ*.

(iii) *purisa-vara-puṇḍarīyāṇaṃ purisa-vara-gandhahatthīṇaṃ*; the sound similarities between *-ṇḍ-* and *-ndh-* are yet to be properly established (see Study 2, III 12.2, example 1).

MtS: the last two compounds share the same metrical pattern: ~~~~~.

4. A group of 5 epithets: *log'-uttamāṇaṃ* (5) *loga-nāhāṇaṃ* (5) *loga-hiyāṇaṃ* (5) *loga-paivāṇaṃ* (6) *loga-pajjoyagarāṇaṃ* (8) = 5+5+5+6+8.

SS: (i) *loga-* as the first element of each compound; (ii) *loga-hiyāṇaṃ loga-paivāṇaṃ*; (iii) *loga-paivāṇaṃ loga-pajjoyagarāṇaṃ*.

MtS: the metrical pattern of the 3rd compound, *loga-hiyāṇaṃ* (~~~~), is the same as the beginning of the 4th compound, *loga-paivāṇaṃ* (~~~~). The beginning of the 2nd compound, *loga-nāhāṇaṃ* (~~~~), is also reflected in the beginning of the last compound, *loga-pajjoyagarāṇaṃ* (~~~~) (perhaps only coincidental).

¹² It is possible to see *arahantāṇaṃ bhagavantāṇaṃ āigarāṇaṃ titthagarāṇaṃ sahasambuddhāṇaṃ* as one group of 5 epithets with a 5+5+5+5+6 pattern. However, the fact that the next group consists of 4 epithets, the following group 5 epithets and the group after that 7 epithets, combined with the fact that *arahantāṇaṃ bhagavantāṇaṃ* share sound and metrical similarities, suggests that we should see these first 5 epithets as two groups consisting of 2 and 3 epithets each. Thus, in the first part of this formula, the number of epithets in each group increases as the formula progresses; i.e. we have five groups containing 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 epithets respectively.

¹³ K. Bruhn (1983, pp. 41–42 and fn. 34) draws attention to what he calls “an old formulaic line”: *je ya aiyā, je ya paḍuppannā, je ya āgamissā arahantā bhagavanto*. In his footnote Bruhn gives references to the *Ācārāṅgā Sūtra* edited by Schubring where this line is found, and notes that Schubring classifies the passage in which this occurs as “prose style”. However, neither Bruhn nor Schubring notices that this line has a loose *vedhaic* pattern: ~~~|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|. This line also occurs at the beginning of a section.

5. A group of 7 epithets: *abhaya-dayāṇaṃ* (6) *cakkhu-dayāṇaṃ* (5) *magga-dayāṇaṃ* (5) *saraṇa-dayāṇaṃ* (6) *jīva-dayāṇaṃ* (5) *bohi-dayāṇaṃ* (5) *dhamma-dayāṇaṃ* (5) = 6+5+5+6+5+5+5.

SS: (i) *-dayāṇaṃ* as the second element of each compound.

(ii) *cakkhu-* ... *magga-*; both are of the same class. Compare *buddhāṇaṃ* and *muttāṇaṃ* of § 9 below.

(iii) *dhamma-* of the last compound leads into the next group of epithets.

MtS: *cakkhu-dayāṇaṃ*, *magga-*, *jīva-*, *bohi-* and *dhamma-* share the same metrical pattern (- ~ ~ ~ -), as do *abhaya-dayāṇaṃ* and *saraṇa-dayāṇaṃ* (~ ~ ~ ~ -). The metrical pattern of the first group of compounds is the same as that of *āigarāṇaṃ* and *titthagarāṇaṃ* of the 2nd group of epithets and *loga-hiyāṇaṃ* and the beginning of *loga-paivāṇaṃ* of the 4th group.

It is interesting to note that the *Aṇuttarovavāiya-dasāo* places *saraṇa-dayāṇaṃ* after *abhaya-dayāṇaṃ*, thus grouping those compounds of equivalent metrical patterns and syllable lengths together. In this arrangement the pattern of the syllable lengths would be 6+6+5+5+5+5+5.

As it is now, this group of seven epithets does not quite conform to the WSP, for whether we take the *Aupapātika* or *Aṇuttarovavāiya* reading, word elements of 6 syllables precede those of 5.

6. A group of 4 epithets: *dhamma-desayāṇaṃ* (6) *dhamma-nāyagāṇaṃ* (6) *dhamma-sārahīṇaṃ* (6) *dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavaṭṭīṇaṃ* (13) = 6+6+6+13.

SS: (i) *dhamma-* as the initial element of each compound. Its presence as the first element in the last compound of the previous group provides a connection between these two groups.

(ii) *dhamma-desayāṇaṃ dhamma-nāyagāṇaṃ*.

MtS: the first three compounds share the same metrical pattern: - ~ ~ ~ ~ -. This is also reflected in the latter half of the final compound: (-cāu)ranta-cakkavaṭṭīṇaṃ: (- ~) - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ (~?).

The variant reading and the § 16 occurrence separates *dhamma-vara-cāuranta-cakkavaṭṭīṇaṃ* from this group and places it after *dīvo tāṇaṃ*, etc. However, that this compound begins with *dhamma-* and shares in part the same metrical pattern with the other three compounds in this group, tends to support its association with this group.

7. A group of 5 nouns: *dīvo* (2) *tāṇaṃ* (2) *saraṇaṃ* (3) *gaī* (2) *paiṭṭhā* (3) = 2+2+3+2+3. The WSP falters with *gaī* (2), unless we are to understand the pattern to be 2+2+3, 2+3.

SS: *tāṇaṃ saraṇaṃ*.

This phrase seems to have a loose *vedhaic* pattern: --|--|~--|~--|--. This was not commented on by Jacobi.

8. Two epithets: *appaḍihaya-vara-nāṇa-damsaṇa-dharāṇaṃ viyaṭṭa-chaumāṇaṃ* (17+7 syll.). As with the previous phrase, these two compounds seem to be out of place in this formula.

Within the first compound the dvandva element *-nāṇa-damsaṇa-* has a 2+3 pattern. The latter half of the first compound, (*-nā*)*ṇa-damsaṇa-dharāṇaṃ*, and the second compound itself share the same metrical pattern: ~~~~~-

9. A group of 5 pairs of epithets: *jiṇāṇaṃ jāvayāṇaṃ tiṇṇāṇaṃ tārayāṇaṃ buddhāṇaṃ bohayāṇaṃ muttāṇaṃ moyagāṇaṃ savvaṇṇūṇaṃ savva-darisiṇaṃ*. The pattern is 3+4, 3+4, 3+4, 3+4, 4+6. Note that the second element of the final two compounds, *-ṇṇu* and *-darisi*, parallel *nāṇa-damsaṇa* of the previous section.

SS: (i) there are obvious sound similarities between the members of each pair. In the first four this is due to the fact that both elements are derivatives of the same root. In the last pair both have *savva-* as their first element.

(ii) there are SS between the first elements of the first and second pairs, *jiṇāṇaṃ* and *tiṇṇāṇaṃ*, and the second elements of the same two pairs, *jāvayāṇaṃ* and *tārayāṇaṃ*; though there is a *jāṇayāṇaṃ* variant reading.

(iii) similarly, there are SS between *buddhāṇaṃ* and *muttāṇaṃ* (and possibly the *-ddh-* and *-tt-*) and *bohayāṇaṃ* and *moyagāṇaṃ* of the 3rd and 4th pairs.

MtS: *tiṇṇāṇaṃ, buddhāṇaṃ, muttāṇaṃ* and *savvaṇṇūṇaṃ* share the same metrical pattern (---) as do *jāvayāṇaṃ, tārayāṇaṃ, bohayāṇaṃ* and *moyagāṇaṃ* (----).

Could it be mere coincidence that this group of epithets is arranged in alphabetical order (j, t, b, m, s)?

Both § 16 and the *Aṇuttarovavāiya* arrange these pairs in different orders. Passage § 16 places *mutta moyaga* before *buddha bohaya*. This neither goes against the WSP, nor interferes with the sound or metrical plays. The *Aṇuttarovavāiya* reads *jiṇeṇaṃ jāṇaeṇaṃ buddheṇaṃ bohaeṇaṃ mutteṇaṃ moyaeṇaṃ tiṇṇeṇaṃ tāraeṇaṃ* and lacks *savvaṇṇu savva-darisi*. Although still working in terms of the WSP, the placement of *tiṇṇa tāraya* after *mutta moyaga* is probably “incorrect” as the sound similarities between *jiṇa jāṇaya* (*/jāvaya*) and *tiṇṇa tāraya* are then missed.

CONCLUSION

This passage, which lacks the “typical” *vedha* structures as found elsewhere in the *Aupapātika-sūtra*, exhibits the same stylistic features found in the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. They are: (i) the arrangement of parallel units according to the Waxing Syllable Principle (with some inconsistencies); (ii) lengthy collections of parallel units being divided into groups on the basis of meaning or grammatical or morphological form, with the WSP working within each group then restarting with the next group; (iii) sound and metrical similarities between the component word elements, and especially between members of the same group, and occasionally between the final member(s) of one group and the initial member(s) of the following group, thus creating a glide between the two groups; and (iv) the presence of “loose” *vedhaic* structures. It is noteworthy that this section begins in such a way.

STUDY 3: REPETITION IN A PĀLI SUTTA TEXT.

I. INTRODUCTION

The most dominant characteristic of Pāli sutta texts is their repetitiveness. Whole passages are repeated verbatim or with varying degrees of modification. Passages are built up through the repetition of a particular structure. Similar word elements and units of meaning are proliferated to form sequences, and set passages, phrases and expressions, that is formulas, are repeatedly used, as are other non-formulaic terms and expressions. Much of the wording of a relative clause is commonly repeated in the following main clause. Material is arranged and also chosen to maximise sound and metrical similarities. Certain particles are repeatedly used to mark divisions in the text, and so on. In fact, the majority of stylistic features exhibited by these texts can be considered to be forms of repetition. Those discussed in the previous two studies are no exception to this.

Many authors have referred to the repetitiveness of Buddhist texts and commented on the resulting stiff and monotonous character of this material, often referring to the grosser forms of repetition as “redundancy”.¹ Some have also speculated on the function of this dominant characteristic. The only work to date which has attempted to identify the various forms of repetition encountered in Buddhist texts is, again, G. von Simson’s frequently mentioned *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons*. And, of course, J. Gonda (1959) had previously undertaken a similar project with Vedic literature. A number of studies have also looked at repetition in Jain texts or, at least, attempted to establish a methodology for such a study. The most notable work in the latter category is K. Bruhn’s “Repetition in Jaina narrative literature” (1983).²

Although repetition is obvious to all who read Pāli sutta texts, their repetitiveness has never been satisfactorily analysed or quantified. That is, how repetitive are these texts and what proportion of a particular text is repeated say twice, thrice or more times? Hence, how easy was it for the Buddhist monks and nuns to learn and remember this material? Is the mnemonic function presupposed by this last question the principal or only function of this stylistic feature? Also, what forms of repetition can be identified? And do certain texts favour or omit particular types of repetition or tend to exhibit different proportions of quantifiable repetition?

¹ Cf. R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 24 and 1990a, p. 7; L.S. Cousins, 1983, p. 9; J. Gonda, 1959, p. 247. J.D. Smith (1981, p. 60f.) uses “redundancy” in the restricted sense of “filler words”, or words which add nothing to the sense.

² Cf. also K. Bruhn, 1991, pp. 41–42. In this second work, Bruhn (p. 41) also refers to A. Weber’s *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī*, which, he states, presents a “detailed and systematic typology of different forms of repetition — or rather of repetitions and repetition markers”.

The primary aim of the current study is to establish the degree to which one sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya* — in this case the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* — is internally repetitive, and to identify the various forms of repetition employed in it. The emphasis here is on the larger units and blocks of text rather than individual words and minor expressions. Repetition in the form of the proliferation of similar word elements and sound and metrical similarities will only be mentioned in passing as these were the subject of Study 2.

The limitation of the current study is that it is restricted to only one sutta. It would be most desirable to establish the extent to which this sutta employs phrases, expressions, formulas, structures, frames, and so on, which are found elsewhere in the *Dīgha*, and to establish the degree to which the *Dīgha-nikāya* as a whole is repetitive. This, however, would be an enormous task and one which perhaps awaits a suitable computer program. The most that is attempted here is the occasional note that the passage under review occurs elsewhere in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and a brief discussion of this dimension in the summary.

In order to quantify the repetitiveness of this text, the word count for each repetitive passage and the sutta as a whole must be determined. To achieve this I have utilised the word count facility on this word processor. The main problem encountered is in determining which compounds and word elements should be divided. I have worked on the principal that if a constituent part of a compound cannot exist by itself, then it should not be divided. Thus, words with the prefixes *a-*, *an-*, *su-*, *du(r)-*, *sa-* (e.g. *akāla*, *suvaṇṇa*, *dubbaṇṇa*, *sauddesa*) and suffixes such as *-tā*, *-tara*, etc., (*tapassitā*, *aññatara*, *sabbadhi*) are not divided. All other compounds are divided, including words such as *gaha-pati*, *mahā-matta*, *jana-pada*, *kumba-ṭṭhāna*, *go-maya* and *piṇḍa-pāta*, which seem to have a special meaning not guessed from the constituent parts. The exception to this are the proper nouns *Rājagaha*, *Gijjhakūta*, *Moranivāpa* and *Tathāgata*, which are left undivided. Where internal sandhi has taken place, this results in forms such as *thus-odakaṃ*, *sen-āsanāni*, and so on, being presented. Although these are potentially misleading, they have been kept throughout this study.

In this study the word count is sometimes abbreviated as w.c.

II. THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE UDUMBARIKA-SĪHANĀDA-SUTTA (D III 36–57)

Most manuscripts and editions of Pāli canonical texts abbreviate repeated passages. In order to calculate the word count for the whole sutta and to clearly identify the repetitive elements, the full text of this sutta must be established. Presumably also the full text was recited by the monks and nuns.

Below is presented the full text of the *Udumbarika-sihanāda-sutta* following the reading of the PTS edition, with the abbreviated passages restored (the words underlined) and compared with the abbreviations of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana (Ch) edition. For the most part, the PTS edition follows the abbreviating tradition of the manuscripts it uses and agrees with the Ch edition.

The PTS version has a word count of 4387, while the restored text has a word count of 5871.³ The complete text is therefore almost 34% larger than the abbreviated PTS version. This figure will be approximately the same for the Ch edition and the other manuscripts used by the PTS edition.

The text was scanned into the word processor using a programme called *Omnipage*. Unfortunately, this does not recognise diacritics and misreads a number of characters; e.g. *m* is sometimes read as *n*. It was therefore necessary to reedit the whole text. As there is great inconsistency in orthography and punctuation between various PTS editions of Pāli texts, and even between the three volumes and, more surprisingly, within the same volume of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, I have chosen to present the text in my own editorial manner.

For the most part, I have ignored the PTS edition's paragraph divisions, though the numbered sections have been kept. Capitals are used for proper nouns, but not to begin sentences. Final anusvāra is always printed as such except before certain enclitics and in certain set phrases, following for the most part the PTS edition. In the case of internal sandhi, the PTS edition has anusvāra becoming the class nasal in all classes except the velar. That is, it reads *sañcaranti*, *santuṭṭha*, etc., but *upasamṅkami* and *saṅgha*. Although this is inconsistent, I have followed it. Occasionally the editor's punctuation has been changed, especially where he has been inconsistent; e.g. § 10 reads: ... *lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu* — "*Sakkarissanti* ...", yet § 13 reads: ... "*Lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu sakkarissanti* Finally, better readings have been indicated where appropriate; e.g. § 11 reads *disvā tassa evaṃ hoti*, where *disvā* has been included following the SS manuscripts. But here B^{mr} and the K (= S^e) edition omit *disvā*, as does the § 14 occurrence of this passage and all the manuscripts and editions used there.

Note: An asterisk (*) before a restored passage indicates that the PTS edition has failed to include *pe*, even though other parallel paragraphs and the Ch edition clearly indicate that such an abbreviation has occurred.

The numbers in square brackets refer to the page numbers of the PTS edition.

³ This figure excludes the page and section numbers.

The Udumbarika-sihanāda-sutta (Dīgha-nikāya, sutta 25).

[36] 1. evam me sutam. ekam samayam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūte pabbate. tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāme paṭivasati mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhim timsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi. atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati divā-divass' eva Rājagahā nikkhami Bhagavantam dassanāya. atha kho Sandhānassa gaha-patissa etad aho: 'akālo kho tva Bhagavantam dassanāya, patisallino Bhagavā, mano-bhāvanīyam pi bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya, patisallinā mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū; yan nūn-āham yena Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasamkameyyan' ti. atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati yena Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasamkama.

2. tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhim nisinno hoti unnādinīyā uccā-sadda-mahā-saddāya aneka-vhiṭam tiracchāna-katham kathentiya, seyyath-idaṃ rāja-katham cora- [37] -katham mahā-matta-katham senā-katham bhaya-katham yuddha-katham anna-katham pāna-katham vattha-katham sayana-katham mālā-katham gandha-katham nāti-katham yāna-katham gāma-katham nigama-katham nagara-katham jana-pada-katham itthi-katham purisa-katham⁴ sūra-katham visikhā-katham kumba-tthāna-katham pubba-peta-katham nānatta-katham lok-akkhāyikam [katham]⁵ samudd-akkhāyikam [katham] iti-bhav-ābhava-katham iti vā.

3. addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānam gaha-patiṃ dūrato va āgacchantam, disvā sakam parisam saṅthāpesi:⁶ 'appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddam akattha, ayam samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvako āgacchati Sandhāno gaha-pati. yāvata kho pana samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvaka gihī odāta-vasanā Rājagahe paṭivasanti, ayam tesam aññataro Sandhāno gaha-pati. appa-sadda-kāmā kho pan' ete āyasmanto, [appa-sadda-vinitā]⁷ appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādino, app eva nāma appa-saddam parisam veditvā upasamkamitabbam maññeyyā' ti. evam vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhi ahesuṃ.

4. atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasamkama, upasamkamitvā Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhim sammodi, sammodaniyam katham sārāniyam vītisāretvā ekamantam nisīdi. ekamantam nisinno kho Sandhāno gaha-pati Nigrodham paribbājakam etad avoca: 'aññathā kho ime bhonto añña-titthiyā paribbājakā samgamma samāgamma unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā [38] aneka-vhiṭam tiracchāna-katham kathentā viharanti, seyyath-idaṃ rāja-katham cora-katham mahā-matta-katham senā-katham bhaya-katham yuddha-katham anna-katham pāna-katham vattha-katham sayana-katham mālā-katham gandha-katham nāti-katham yāna-katham gāma-katham nigama-katham nagara-katham jana-pada-katham itthi-katham purisa-katham sūra-katham visikhā-katham kumba-tthāna-katham pubba-peta-katham nānatta-katham lok-akkhāyikam samudd-akkhāyikam iti-bhav-ābhava-katham iti vā. aññathā ca pana so Bhagavā araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevati, appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni patisallāna-sārappāni' ti.

5. evam vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānam gaha-patiṃ etad avoca: 'yagge gaha-pati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhim sallapati? kena sākaccham samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati? suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparisa-āvacarō samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālam sallāpāya, so antam-antān' eva sevati. seyyathā pi nāma gokānā pariyaṇṭa-cārinī antam-antān' eva sevati, evam eva suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparisa-āvacarō samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālam sallāpāya, so antam-antān' eva sevati. iṅgha gaha-pati samaṇo Gotamo imam parisam

⁴ Some MSS omit *purisa-katham*, as do most occurrences of this formula.

⁵ All other occurrence of this formula read *lokakkhāyikam sumuddakkhāyikam itibhavābhavakatham*. See, for example, D I 179; Vin I 188; IV 164, etc. See PTC s.v. *tiracchāna* for further references. This reading has therefore been adopted throughout.

⁶ The v.l. and the § 6 occurrence read *saṅthāpesi*.

⁷ The K (= S^e) edition here, the PTS edition and all MSS in the § 6 occurrence of this passage, plus the Ch edition, omit *appasaddavinītā*.

⁸ *pe* = the Ch edition (*pa*).

āgaccheyya, eka-pañhen' eva naṃ samsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodheyāmā' ti.

6. assosi kho Bhagavā dibbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusikāya Sandhānassa gaha-patissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhim imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūtā pabbatā orohitvā yena [39] Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamaṃ. addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā sakaṃ paraṃ paraṃ saṅghapeṣi: 'appa-saddā bhonto honu, mā bhonto saddam akattha. ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamati. appa-sadda-kāmo kho pana so āyasmā, appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādī, app eva nāma appa-saddam paraṃ viditvā upasaṃkamtibbam maññeyya. sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ paraṃ paraṃ āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ?' ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakaṃ tunhī ahesum.

7. atha kho Bhagavā yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkamaṃ. atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yad-idaṃ idh' āgamaṇāya, nisidatu bhante Bhagavā idaṃ āsanam paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. Nigrodho pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Nigrodham paribbājakaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca: 'kāya nu 'ttha Nigrodha etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antara-kathā vippakatā?' ti. evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'idha mayaṃ bhante addasāma Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā [40] evaṃ avocumhā: "sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ paraṃ paraṃ āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ?" ti. ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā-kathā vippakatā atha Bhagavā anuppatto' ti.

'dujjānam kho etaṃ Nigrodha tayā añña-ditthikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr' āyogena aññatr' ācariyakena yen-āham sāvake vinemi, yena mayaṃ sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ. iṅgha tvam maṃ Nigrodha sake ācariyake adhijegucche pañham puccha: katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham aparipuṇṇā?' ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakaṃ unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā ahesum: 'acchariyaṃ vata bho abhutaṃ vata bho samaṇassa Gotamassa mah-iddhikā mah-ānubhāvātā, yatra hi nāma saka-vādam thapessati, para-vādena pavāressati' ti.

8. atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako te paribbājake appa-sadde katvā Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'mayaṃ kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allinā viharāma. katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham aparipuṇṇā?' ti.

'idha Nigrodha tapassī acelako hoti mutt-ācāro hatth-āpalekhano, na-ehi-bhadantiko na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko, n-ā- [41] -bhīhataṃ na uddissa-kataṃ na nimantaṃ sādīyati. so na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na eḷakam-antaram, na udukkhalam-antaram, na daṇḍam-antaram, na musalam-antaram, na dvinnaṃ bhuñjamānānaṃ, na gabbhiniyā, na pāyamānāya, na puris-antara-gatāya, na saṃkittisu, na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cāriṇi, na maccham na maṃsam na suram na merayaṃ na thus-odakam pivati. so ek-āgāriko vā hoti ek-ālopiko, dv-āgāriko vā hoti dv-ālopiko, satt-āgāriko vā hoti satt-ālopiko. ekiss-āpi dattiyā yāpeti, dvīhi pi dattīhi yāpeti, sattahi pi dattīhi yāpeti. ek-āhikam pi āhāram āhāreti, dv-īhikam pi āhāram āhāreti, satt-āhikam pi āhāram āhāreti; iti eva-rūpam addha-māsikam pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojan-ānuyogam anuyutto viharati. so sāka-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti, nīvāra-bhakkho vā hoti, daddula-bhakkho vā hoti, haṭa-bhakkho vā hoti, kaṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, ācāma-bhakkho vā hoti, piññāka-bhakkho vā hoti, tiṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, go-maya-bhakkho vā hoti, vana-mūla-phal-āhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī. so sānāni pi dhāreti, masānāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiritāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīram pi dhāreti, vāka-cīram pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīram pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi

dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, ulūka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti. kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locan-ānu- [42] -yogam anuyutto, ubbhatthako pi hoti āsana-paṭikkhito, ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭika-ppadhānam anuyutto, kaṇṭaka-passayiko pi hoti kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyam kappeti, phalaka-seyyam pi kappeti, thaṇḍila-seyyam pi kappeti, eka-passayiko pi hoti rajo-jalla-dharo, abbhokāsiko pi hoti yathā-santhatiko, vekatiko pi hoti vikaṭa-bhojan-ānuyogam anuyutto, āpānako pi hoti āpānakattam anuyutto, sāya-tatīyakam pi udak-orohan-ānuyogam anuyutto viharati.

‘tam kim maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā?’ ti. ‘addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti no aparipuṇṇā’ ti. ‘evaṃ paripuṇṇāya pi kho ahaṃ Nigrodha tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadāmi’ ti.

9. ‘yathā-katham pana bhante Bhagavā evaṃ paripuṇṇāya tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadati?’ ti.

‘idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo. yam pi [kho]⁹ Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti param vambheti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti, param vambheti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā majjati [43] mucchati pamādam āpajjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

10. ‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attān-ukkamseti param vambheti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attān-ukkamseti param vambheti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokam abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, bhojanesu vodāsam āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati” ti. so yam hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati tam sāpekho pajahati, yam pan’ assa khamati tam gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādinava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati. ¹⁰yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, bhojanesu vodāsam āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati” ti, so yam hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati tam sāpekho pajahati, yam pan’ assa khamati tam gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādinava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha upakkileso hoti.

[44] ‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti. ¹¹*yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā

⁹ The PTS follows the SS MSS in including *kho* here, but B^{nr} and K (= S^e), and the parallel passage at § 13 in accordance with all the MSS used there, omit it.

¹⁰ *pe* = the Ch edition (*pa*); omitted by B^{nr} and K (= S^e).

¹¹ The PTS edition follows the SS MSS in omitting *pe* here and in the following abbreviated passages marked by an asterisk, thereby not indicating that abbreviation has occurred. The Ch edition shows abbreviation with *pa* in all cases.

gahapatikā titthiyā” ti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

11. ‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī aññataram samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā apasādetā hoti: “kim pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbam sambhakkheti? seyyath-idam mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamam, asani-vicakkam danta-kūṭam samaṇa-ppavādenā” ti. ¹²yam pi Nigrodha tapassī aññataram samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā apasādetā hoti: “kim pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbam sambhakkheti? seyyath-idam mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamam, asani-vicakkam danta-kūṭam samaṇa-ppavādenā” ti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataram samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjyamānaṃ. [disvā]¹³ tassa evaṃ hoti: “imam hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti” ti. iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti. ¹⁴yam pi Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataram samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjyamānaṃ, tassa evaṃ hoti: “imam hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti” ti, iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī āpāthaka-nisādi¹⁵ hoti. ¹⁶yam pi kho Nigrodha tapassī āpāthaka-nisādi hoti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim, idam pi me tapasmin” ti. ¹⁷yam pi Nigrodha tapassī attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim, idam pi me tapasmin” ti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

[45] ‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so “khamati te idan?” ti puttḥo samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamati” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamati” ti. iti so sampajāna-musā bhāsītā hoti. ¹⁸yam pi Nigrodha tapassī kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati, so “khamati te idan?” ti puttḥo samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamati” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamati” ti, iti so sampajāna-musā bhāsītā hoti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

12. ‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakaṃ vā dhammaṃ desentassa santam yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ n-ānujānāti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakaṃ vā dhammaṃ desentassa santam yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ n-ānujānāti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhi. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhi, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī, pāp-iccho hoti pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasam gato, micchā-ditṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya ditṭhiyā samannāgato, sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggī. ¹⁹yam pi [kho]²⁰ Nigrodha tapassī sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggī, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesō hoti.

‘taṃ kim maññasi Nigrodha? yadi ’me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā

¹² pe = the Ch edition (pa).

¹³ The PTS edition follows the SS MSS in reading *disvā* here. But B^m and K (= S^e) omit *disvā*, as do all MSS for the § 14 occurrence of this passage.

¹⁴ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

¹⁵ The PTS edition reads *-nisādi*. But see the § 14 occurrence and the CPD (s.v. *āpāthaka*-).

¹⁶ B^m and K (= S^e) omit this relative clause; the Ch edition = the PTS edition.

¹⁷ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

¹⁸ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

¹⁹ B^r omits the relative clause; the Ch edition = the PTS edition.

²⁰ *kho* should be excluded following the pattern of the relative clauses above and the parallel passage in § 15.

anupakkilesā vā?’ ti. ‘addhā kho ime bhante tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā no anupakkilesā. thānam kho pan’ etaṃ bhante vijjati, yaṃ idh’ ekacco tapassī sabbeḥ’ eva imehi upakkilesehi samannāgato assa, ko pana vādo aññatar-aññatarenā?’ ti.

13. ‘idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripunṇa-samkappo. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā na atta- [46] -mano hoti na paripunṇa-samkappo, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attān-ukkamseti, na param vambheti. ²¹yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā na attān-ukkamseti, na param vambheti, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā na majjati na mucchati na pamādam āpajjati. ²²yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā na majjati na mucchati na pamādam āpajjati, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attamano hoti na paripunṇa-samkappo. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī ²³tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attamano hoti na paripunṇa-samkappo, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attān-ukkamseti na param vambheti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī ²⁴tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attān-ukkamseti na param vambheti, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na majjati na mucchati na pamādam āpajjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī ²⁵tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na majjati na mucchati na pamādam āpajjati, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, bhojanesu na vodāsam āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati” ti. so yaṃ hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati taṃ anapekho pajahati, yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ agathito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādinava-dassāvī nissarāna-pañño paribhuñjati. *yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, bhojanesu na vodāsam āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati” ti, so yaṃ hi kho ’ssa na-kkhamati taṃ anapekho pajahati, yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ agathito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādinava-dassāvī nissarāna-pañño paribhuñjati, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. na so lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti. *yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, na so lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

14. ‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī aññataram samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā na apasādetā hoti: “kim pan-āyam [47] bahul-ājīvo sabbam sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamam, asani-vicakkam danta-kūṭam samaṇa-ppavādenā” ti. *yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī aññataram samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā na apasādetā hoti: “kim pan-āyam bahul-ājīvo sabbam sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamam, asani-vicakkam danta-kūṭam samaṇa-ppavādenā” ti, evaṃ so tasmim thāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataram samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam

²¹ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

²² pe = the Ch edition (pa).

²³ pe; the SS MSS and the Ch edition abbreviate from *yaṃ pi* onwards.

²⁴ As the previous.

²⁵ As the previous.

vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjīyamānaṃ. tassa na evaṃ hoti: “imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti” ti. iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu na uppādetā hoti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataram samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjīyamānaṃ, tassa na evaṃ hoti: “imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti” ti, iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu na uppādetā hoti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na²⁶ āpāthaka-nisādi hoti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na āpāthaka-nisādi hoti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idaṃ pi me tapasmim, idaṃ pi me tapasmim” ti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idaṃ pi me tapasmim, idaṃ pi me tapasmim” ti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti. iti so sampajāna-musā na bhāsītā hoti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati, so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti, iti so sampajāna-musā na bhāsītā hoti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

15. ‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santam yeva pariyaṃ anuññeyyam anujānāti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santam yeva pariyaṃ anuññeyyam anujānāti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī akodhano hoti anupanāhi. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī akodhano hoti anupanāhi, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī amakkhī hoti apalāsī, anissukī hoti amacchari, asaṭho hoti amāyāvī, athaddo hoti [48] anantimānī, na pāp-iccho hoti na pāpikānaṃ icchānaṃ vasam gato, na micchā-ditṭhiko hoti ananta-ggāhikāya ditṭhiyā samannāgato, asandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti anādhāna-gāhī suppaṭinissaggi. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī asandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti anādhāna-gāhī suppaṭinissaggi, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.

‘taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparissuddhā vā? ti. ‘addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparissuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā’ ti. ‘na kho Nigrodha ettāvataṃ tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho papātika-pattā hoti’ ti.

16. ‘kittāvataṃ pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya²⁷ aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū’ ti.

‘idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-samvara-samvuto hoti. kathaṃ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-samvara-samvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pānaṃ atipāpeti,²⁸ na pānaṃ atipāyati, na pānaṃ atipāyato samanunño [49] hoti; na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanunño hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanunño hoti; na bhāvitam āsimsati, na bhāvitam āsimsāpeti, na bhāvitam āsimsato samanunño hoti. evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-samvara-samvuto hoti. yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evaṃ cātu-yāma-samvara-samvuto hoti, aduñ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hīnāy’ āvattati. so vivittam sen-āsanam bhajati, araññaṃ rukkhā-mūlam pabbataṃ kandaram giri-guham susānaṃ

²⁶ The PTS edition lacks *na*. The Ch edition has the negative.

²⁷ The PTS edition has the w.r. *tāpo*.

²⁸ The reading *atipāpeti ... atipāyati ... atipāyato* is clearly unsatisfactory. The CPD (s.v. *atimāpeti*; cf. also s.vv. *atimāyeti* and *atipāyeti*) wishes to read *atimāpeti ... atimāpayāpeti* and thus *atimāpāyato*. Alternatively, we could read *atipāyeti ... atipāyepeti ... atipāyato*. The Ch edition reads *atipāyeti* (v.l. *atipāpeti*) ... *atipāyati ... atipāyato*. But in this Burmese reading the second element is not the causative of the first.

vana-pattham abbhokāsam palāla-puñjam. so pacchā-bhattam piṇḍa-pāta-paṭikkanto nisidati pallaṅkam ābhujitvā ujum kāyam paṇidhāya parimukham satim upatthapetvā. so abhijjham loke pahāya vigat-ābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittam parisodheti; vyāpāda-padosam²⁹ pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hit-ānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittam parisodheti; thīna-middham pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittam parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccam pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhattam vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittam parisodheti; vicikiccham pahāya tinṇa-vicikicchho viharati, akatham-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittam parisodheti.

17. ‘so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbali-karaṇe mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattāya sabbāvantam lokam mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena [50] maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ³⁰ekam disam pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattāya sabbāvantam lokam karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. muditā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattāya sabbāvantam lokam muditā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattāya sabbāvantam lokam upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati.

‘taṃ kim maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?’ ti. ‘addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā’ ti. ‘na kho Nigrodha ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho taca-ppattā hoti’ ti.

18. ‘kittāvatā pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggam yeva pāpetu saram yeva pāpetū’ ti.

‘idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṃ ca ³¹Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pānam atipāpeti, ³²na pānam atipātayati, na pānam atipātayato samanūñño hoti; na adinnam ādiyati, na adinnam ādiyāpeti, na adinnam ādiyato samanūñño hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti; na bhāvitam āsimsati, na bhāvitam āsimsāpeti, na bhāvitam āsimsato samanūñño hoti. evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. yato ca kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti, aduṇ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hināy’ āvattati. so vivittam sen-āsanam bhajati, ³³araññam rukkha-mūlam pabbatam kandaram giri-guham susānam vana-pattham abbhokāsam palāla-puñjam. so pacchā-bhattam piṇḍa-pāta-paṭikkanto nisidati pallaṅkam ābhujitvā ujum kāyam paṇidhāya parimukham satim upatthapetvā. so abhijjham loke pahāya vigat-ābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittam parisodheti; vyāpāda-padosam pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hit-ānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittam parisodheti; thīna-middham pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittam parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccam pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhattam vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittam parisodheti; vicikiccham pahāya tinṇa-vicikicchho viharati, akatham-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittam parisodheti. so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbali-karaṇe mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ³⁴ekam disam pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi

²⁹ The PTS edition has the w.r. *-dosam*.

³⁰ No *pe*; the Ch edition has *pa*.

³¹ *pe*; the Ch edition abbreviates *idha* to *hoti* (*yato*) with *pa*.

³² See the footnote to the initial occurrence.

³³ *pe* = the Ch edition (*pa*).

³⁴ No *pe*; the Ch edition abbreviates as previously.

sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. ³⁵karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. muditā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam muditā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. so aneka-vihitam pubbe-nivāsam anussarati, seyyath-idaṃ ekam pi jātim dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo viṣatim pi jātiyo tiṃsam pi jātiyo cattārisam pi jātiyo paññasam pi jātiyo jāti-satam pi jāti- [51] -sahassam pi jāti-sata-sahassam pi, aneke pi samvaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi vivaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi samvaṭṭa-vivaṭṭa-kappe: “amutr’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim.³⁶ tatra p’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno” ti. iti sākāraṃ sauddesaṃ aneka-vihitam pubbe-nivāsam anussarati.

‘taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?’ ti. ‘addhā kho pana bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā?’ ti. ‘na kho Nigrodha ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca, api ca kho pheggu-ppattā hoti’ ti.

19. ‘kittāvatā pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū’ ti.

‘idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṃ ca ³⁷Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pānam atipāpeti, ³⁸na pānam atipātayati, na pānam atipātayato samanūñño hoti; na adinnam ādiyati, na adinnam ādiyāpeti, na adinnam ādiyato samanūñño hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti; na bhāvitam āsimsati, na bhāvitam āsimsāpeti, na bhāvitam āsimsato samanūñño hoti. evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evaṃ cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti, aduṅ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hināy’ āvattati. so vivittaṃ sen-āsanam bhajati, ³⁹araññam rukkha-mūlam pabbatam kandaram giri-guham susānam vana-pattham abbhokāsam palāla-puñjam. so pacchā-bhattam pinda-pāta-paṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkam ābhujitvā ujum kāyam panidhāya parimukham satim upatthapetvā. so abhijjham loke pahāya vigat-ābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti; vyāpāda-padosam pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāna-bhūta-hit-ānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittaṃ parisodheti; thīna-middham pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccam pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhattam vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti; vicikiccham pahāya tinna-vicikicchho viharati, akatham-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti. so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbali-karaṇe mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ⁴⁰ekam disam pharivā

³⁵ No *pe*.

³⁶ The PTS edition reads *upapādim*, but the CPD (s.v. *upapādi(m)*) lists this as a w.r. for *udapādi(m)* < *uppajjati*. The PTC (s.v. *amutra*) lists all occurrences of this formula as reading *upapādim*. Yet, for example, Vin III 4 and M I 22 read *udapādim*. The reading seems to alternate between these and other forms; see, for example, D I 13 (fnt. 5) and M I 22 (fnt. p. 528).

³⁷ *pe*; the Ch edition abbreviates *katham ca* to *hoti (yato)* with *pa*.

³⁸ See the footnote to the initial occurrence.

³⁹ *pe* = the Ch edition (*pa*).

⁴⁰ *pe* + *paṭhamam vitthāretabbam*; the Ch edition has *pa*.

viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. muditā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam muditā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharitvā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati. so aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati, seyyath-idaṃ ekam pi jātim dve pi jātiyo ⁴¹ tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo visatim pi jātiyo timsam pi jātiyo cattārisam pi jātiyo paññāsam pi jātiyo jāti-satam pi jāti-sahassam pi jāti-sata-sahassam pi, aneke pi samvatta-kappe aneke pi vivatta-kappe aneke pi samvatta-vivatta-kappe: “amutr’ āsim evam-nāmo evam-gotto evam-vanno evam-āhāro evam-sukha-dukkha-patisamvedī evam-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim. tatra p’ āsim evam-nāmo evam-gotto evam-vanno evam-āhāro evam-sukha-dukkha-patisamvedī evam-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno” ti. iti sākāraṃ sa- [52] -uddesaṃ aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati. so dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne pañite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe ⁴² sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti “ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vaci-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-ditthikā micchā-ditthi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā. ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-sucaritena samannāgatā vaci-sucaritena samannāgatā mano-sucaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-ditthikā sammā-ditthi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā sugatiṃ saggam lokam upapannā” ti. iti dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne pañite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti.

‘taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparissuddhā vā?’ ti. ‘addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparissuddhā agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā’ ti. ‘ettāvata Nigrodha tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca. iti kho Nigrodha yaṃ maṃ tvam abhāsi: “ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-pattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayam ādi-brahma-cariyan?” ti. iti kho taṃ Nigrodha ṭhānaṃ uttaritaraṇi ca pañitaraṇi ca yen-āham sāvake vinemi, yena mayā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-pattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayam ādi-brahma-cariyan’ ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā ahesum: ‘ettha mayam anassāma sācariyakā, na mayam ito bhiyyo uttaritaram pajānāmā’ ti.

[53] 20. yadā aññāsi Sandhāno gaha-pati ‘aññad-atthu kho dān’ ime aññā-tiṭṭhiyā paribbājakā Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ sussūsanti, sotam odahanti, aññā-cittaṃ upaṭṭhapenti’ ti, atha Nigrodham paribbājakam etad avoca: ‘iti kho bhante Nigrodha yaṃ maṃ tvam avacāsi, “yagghe gaha-pati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhim sallapati? kena sākaccham samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati? suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparissāvācaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālam sallāpāya, so antam-antān’ eva sevati. seyyathā pi nāma gokāṇā pariyanta-cāriṇi antam-antān’ eva sevati, evam eva suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparissāvācaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālam sallāpāya, so antam-antān’ eva sevati. iṅgha gaha-pati samaṇo Gotamo imam parisam āgaccheyya, eka-paññen’ eva nam samsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va nam maññe orodheyymā” ti. ayaṃ kho so bhante Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho

⁴¹ *pe*; the Ch edition abbreviates *dasa pi to idhūpapanno ti* with *pa*.

⁴² The SS manuscripts abbreviate from here to *upapannā ti* with *pe*; the Ch edition has the full text.

idh-ānuppatto, aparis-āvacaram pana nam karotha, gokānaṃ pariyanta-cārinim karotha, eka-pañhen' eva nam samsādettha, tuccha-kumbhi va nam maññe orodethā' ti. evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako tuñhi-bhūto maṅku-bhūto patta-kkhandho adho-mukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno nisidi.

21. atha kho Bhagavā Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ tuñhi-bhūtaṃ maṅku-bhūtaṃ patta-kkhandhaṃ adho-mukhaṃ pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhānaṃ veditvā Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'saccaṃ Nigrodha bhāsita te esā vācā?' ti. [54] 'saccaṃ bhante bhāsita me esā vācā yathā-bālena yathā-mūlḥena yathā-akusalena' ti.

'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? kin ti te sutam paribbājakaṇaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyaṇaṃ bhāsamaṇānaṃ "ye te ahesuṃ atitaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, evaṃ su te Bhagavanto saṃgama samāgama unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharimsu, seyyath-idaṃ rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ ⁴³mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nīti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-tṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lok-akkhāyikaṃ samudd-akkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā, seyyathā pi tvam etarahi sācariyako? udāhu evaṃ su te Bhagavanto araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevanti appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni paṭisallāna-sāruppāni seyyathā p-āham etarahi?"' ti.

'sutaṃ me taṃ bhante paribbājakaṇaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyaṇaṃ bhāsamaṇānaṃ "ye te ahesuṃ atitaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, n-āssu te Bhagavanto saṃgama samāgama unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharanti, seyyath-idaṃ rāja-kathaṃ ⁴⁴cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nīti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-tṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lok-akkhāyikaṃ samudd-akkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā, seyyathā p-āham etarahi sācariyako, evaṃ su te Bhagavanto araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevanti appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni paṭisallāna-sāruppāni seyyathā pi Bhagavā etarahi"' ti.

'tassa te Nigrodha viññussa sato mahallakassa na etad aho: "buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā [55] taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṃ deseti"' ti.

22. evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'accayo maṃ bhante accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlḥaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, so 'haṃ Bhagavantaṃ evaṃ avacāsim. tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayaṃ accayato paṭigaṇhātu āyatim saṃvarāyā' ti.

'taggha taṃ Nigrodha accayo accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlḥaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, yaṃ maṃ tvam evaṃ avacāsi, yato ca kho tvam Nigrodha accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā-kammaṃ paṭikarosi, taṃ te mayaṃ paṭigaṇhāma. vuddhi h' esā Nigrodha ariyassa vinaye, yo accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā-dhammaṃ paṭikaroti, āyatim saṃvaram āpajjati. ahaṃ kho pana Nigrodha evaṃ vadāmi: "etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaram brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satta vassāni. tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha satta vassāni. etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaram brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati cha vassāni, pañca vassāni, cattāri

⁴³ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

⁴⁴ pe = the Ch edition (pa).

vassāni, tīṇi vassāni, dve vassāni, ekaṃ vassam. ⁴⁵tiṭṭhatu Nigrodha ekam vassam. etu viññū puriso asatho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammam desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭham tathā paṭipajjamāno yass’ atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaram brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānam ditthe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satta māsāni. ⁴⁶tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha satta māsāni. etu viññū puriso asatho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammam desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭham tathā paṭipajjamāno yass’ atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaram brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānam ditthe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati cha māsāni, pañca [56] māsāni, cattāri māsāni, tīṇi māsāni, dve māsāni, ekaṃ māsam, addha-māsam. tiṭṭhatu Nigrodha addha-māso. etu viññū puriso asatho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammam desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭham tathā paṭipajjamāno yass’ atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaram brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānam ditthe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satt-āham.

23. ‘siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: “antevāsi-kamyatā no samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbam, yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu. siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: “uddesā no cāvetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbam, yo eva vo uddeso so eva vo uddeso hotu. siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: “ājīvā no cāvetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbam, yo eva vo ājīvo so eva vo ājīvo hotu. siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: “ye no dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbam, akusalā c’ eva vo te dhammā hontu akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ. siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: “ye no dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tehi vivicetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā” ti, na kho pan’ etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbam, kusalā c’ eva vo te dhammā hontu kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ. iti kho ‘haṃ Nigrodha n’ eva antevāsi-kamyatā evaṃ vadāmi, na pi uddesā cāvetu-kāmo [57] evaṃ vadāmi, na pi ājīvā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi, na pi ye vo dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi, na pi ye vo dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tehi vivecetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi. santi ca kho Nigrodha akusalā dhammā appahinā saṃkilesikā ponobhaviḃā saddarā dukkha-vipākā āyatim jāti-jarā-maraniyā, yes-āhaṃ pahānāya dhammam desemi, yathā-paṭipannānaṃ vo saṃkilesikā dhammā pahiyissanti, vodāniyā dhammā abhivaddhissanti, paññā-pāripūrim vepullataṃ ca ditthe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissathā’ ti.

24. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī-bhūtā maṅku-bhūtā patta-kkhandhā adho-mukhā pajjhāyantā appaṭibhānā nisīdimṃsu, yathā taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhita-cittā. atha kho Bhagavato etad ahoṃ: ‘sabbe p’ ime mogha-purisā phuṭṭhā pāpimatā, yatra hi nāma ekassa pi na evaṃ bhavissati: “handā mayam aññānattham pi samaṇe Gotame brahma-cariyaṃ carāma, kiṃ karissati satt-āho?” ’ ti. atha kho Bhagavā Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāme siha-nādaṃ naditvā, vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā, Gijjhakūṭe pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi. Sandhano gaha-pati tāvad eva Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi ti.

Udumbarika-sīhanāda-suttantaṃ Dutiyam.

⁴⁵ *pe*; the Ch edition has the full text.

⁴⁶ *pe*; B^m and K (= S^e) omit from *tiṭṭhantu* to *viharissati*; the Ch edition omits from *etu viññū* to *viharissati*.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

In the following analysis the percentage figures calculated will only be given to one decimal point, as 0.1% of the text, which represents approximately 6 words, is the smallest meaningful figure relevant to this material. Although the figures are rounded off to the nearest 0.1%, the original figure will be utilised to calculate the total figures. This will occasionally result in the apparent discrepancy of 0.1%. See, for example, § 2b.i below, where 1.1% (= 1.12%) x 4 occurrences = 4.5% (= 4.48%).

Five categories, or types of repetition have been established in this study. They are: Verbatim Repetition (VR), Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM), Repetition with Important Modifications (RIM), Repetition of Structure type 1 (RS-1) and Repetition of Structure type 2 (RS-2). These are explained in full in the summary (section IV below). In the following analysis the category to which a passage belongs is indicated after the calculations by (VR), (RMM), and so on, if it is primary repetition, or [VR], [RMM], and so on, if it is secondary repetition. Again, the difference between primary and secondary repetition is explained in the summary section. The reader may therefore find it helpful to read sections 2 and 5 of the summary first.

§ 1.

(a) *evam me sutam. ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate.*

This formula, *evam me sutam. ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā* [place: loc.] *viharati* [place: loc.], or some modification of it, is the formula which opens many of the suttas of the *Dīgha*. As it is the opening formula it obviously does not occur again in this sutta (w.c. 10 = 0.2% of the text).⁴⁷

(b) *tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako Udumbarikāya paribbājaka-ārāme paṭivasati mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ timsa-mattehi paribbājaka-satehi.*

A similar sentence occurs in § 2: *tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ nisinno hoti.* The differences are underlined. The repetition here is one of key units of the first sentence being employed to construct a later parallel sentence. Calculations will therefore not be given. This has parallels in the use of phrases such as *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami*, for which calculations are also not given in this study.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See Study 2, II 1a.

⁴⁸ See Study 2, II 1b.

(c) *atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati divā-divass' eva Rājagahā nikkhami Bhagavantam dassanāya. atha kho Sandhānassa gaha-patissa etad ahoṣi: 'akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya, patisallīno Bhagavā, mano-bhāvanīyānam pi bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya, patisallīnā mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū; yan nūn-āhaṃ yena Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkameyyan' ti.*

(i) (*atha kho*) [person: dat./gen.] *etad ahoṣi* is the stock phrase used to depict a thought occurring to someone. It also occurs in § 21 and § 24.

(ii) The first part of Sandhāna's thoughts consist of two parallel units of similar structure. The structure of the first, *akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya patisallīno Bhagavā*, is repeated, with some modification and replacement of much of the wording, to form the second, *mano-bhāvanīyānam pi bhikkhūnam asamayo dassanāya patisallīnā mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū*.⁴⁹

Changes have occurred in wording, word order and number. They are: 1) *akālo* is replaced by *asamayo*, with change of position in the sentence; 2) *kho tāva* is replaced by *pi*; 3) *Bhagavā* is replaced by *mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū*; and 4) *bhagavantam* is replaced by *mano-bhāvanīyānam pi bhikkhūnam*.

The first has a word count of 7, the second 10 (= 17 in total). Thus the structure and some of the wording of 0.1% of the text occurs twice. The two units together constitute 0.3% of the sutta (RS-2).

(iii) *yan nūn-āhaṃ yena Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkameyyan ti*. This “thought to approach someone” phrase does not occur again in this sutta, but is relatively common in the *Dīgha* and elsewhere.⁵⁰

(iv) This passage also contains a number of units repetitively used within the sutta:

1) *atha kho* introduces many sentences depicting a new action; e.g. *atha kho Bhagavā yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkami. atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca* (§ 7).

Frequently, *kho* is used in enclitic position to the first word of a sentence; e.g. *addasā kho Nigrodho* (§ 3), *assosi kho Bhagavā* (§ 6).

Although most desirable, a proper analysis of the use of *atha kho* and *kho* is not possible here. Such an analysis, it is felt, would be revealing, for it seems that these elements have an important function as markers within the text.

2) the characters in this sutta are (1) the Bhagavā, (2) Sandhāna gahapati, (3) Nigrodha paribbājaka, and (4) Nigrodha's ascetics (*te paribbājakā*). The sutta always refers to these individuals in full.⁵¹ For example, we find *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho*

⁴⁹ See Study 2, II 1c.

⁵⁰ See Study 1, part 1, III 2.1.4.

⁵¹ The exceptions are vocatives of address and when Nigrodha refers to the Buddha as the *samaṇa*

paribbājako Sandhānaṃ gaha-patiṃ etad avoca (§ 5), never *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho Sandhānaṃ etad avoca*.

(d) *atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati yena Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāmo yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkama*.

The standard *yena ... ten' upasaṃkama* (*upasaṃkamitvā*) approach formula employed here is also used to depict the approaches in §§ 4, 6 and 7.

§ 2.

(a) *tena kho pana samayena Nigrodho paribbājako mahatiyā paribbājaka-parisāya saddhiṃ nisinno hoti ...*

See § 1b above.

(b) (... *unnāḍiniyā uccā-sadda-mahā-saddāya aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentiya*,) *seyyath-īdam rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nāti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-ṭṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ samuddakkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā*.

(i) With minor changes to the opening line, this passage occurs four times in this sutta: once at § 4 and twice at § 21.

The opening line of the § 4 occurrence reads *unnāḍino ucca-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentā viharanti*, while the two § 21 occurrences read *unnāḍino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharimsu/viharanti*. Slight changes in wording, case and tense have occurred to suit the context.

The bulk of this passage, the core formula *seyyath-īdam* to *iti vā*, occurs verbatim four times in this sutta. It has a word count of 66. Thus 1.1% (actually 1.12%) of the text occurs verbatim four times. The four passages have a total word count of 264, which represents 4.5% (= 4.49%) of the text in total (VR).⁵²

(ii) This passage is itself composed of highly repetitive units. It consists of a series of 26 compounds⁵³ ending in *-kathaṃ*, and two ending in *-akkhāyikaṃ*. In other words, this passage is built up through the repetition of two different structures with key words replaced to create differences in meaning. The word count for the 26 *-kathaṃ* compounds is 58, and for the *-akkhāyikaṃ* compounds 4. Thus 87.9% of this

Gotama.

⁵² For further analysis of these passages, see § 21b below.

⁵³ Or 25 if we accept that *purisa-kathaṃ* is a later addition (see Study 2, II 2).

passage consists of a structure repeated 26 times with replacement of key elements, and another 6.1% consists of another structure repeated twice with replacement of key elements [RS-1].

As seen in Study 2 (II 2b), this formula can be divided into groups according to associations in meaning. Yet we do not have, for example, *rāja-cora-mahā-mattakatham senā-bhaya-yuddha-katham*, etc., which would be an economy of wording. The repetition of *-katham* seems to function like the chorus of a song: it produces stability or “sameness” within diversity.

§ 3.

(a) *addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānam gaha-patiṃ dūrato va āgacchantam, disvā sakam parisam saṅghāpesi: ‘appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha, ayaṃ samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvako āgacchati Sandhāno gaha-pati. yāvatā kho pana samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakā gihī odāta-vasanā Rājagahe pativasanti, ayaṃ tesam aññataro Sandhāno gaha-pati. appa-sadda-kāmā kho pan’ ete āyasmanto, appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādino, app eva nāma appa-saddaṃ parisam viditvā upasaṃkamitabbaṃ maññeyyā’ ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī ahesuṃ.*

(i) This passage is repeated, with some modifications, in § 6: *addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantam, disvā sakam parisam saṅghāpesi: ‘appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha. ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamati. appa-sadda-kāmo kho pana so āyasmā, appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādī, app eva nāma appa-saddaṃ parisam viditvā upasaṃkamitabbaṃ maññeyya. sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañham puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā patijānanti ajjhāsayam ādi-brahma-cariyan?’ ti evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī ahesuṃ.*

The main differences have been underlined.

(ii) The differences in wording are due to the differences in the person being referred to. The first passage refers to Sandhāna, while the second refers to the Buddha. In the first section to differ, *Sandhānam gaha-patiṃ dūrato va āgacchantam* becomes *Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantam*. Note that the structures of both passages are similar: both begin with the object in the accusative (*Sandhānam gaha-patiṃ/Bhagavantam*) and end with a present active participle qualifying the object (*āgacchantam/caṅkamantam*).

Although the next section to differ is quite divergent, the two corresponding passages both start in a similar way: *ayaṃ samaṇassa Gotamassa~* becomes *ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo~*.

The § 6 occurrence then includes a passage describing what Nigrodha will ask the Buddha if he approaches. Minor modifications have also occurred in grammatical number to the sections which are essentially the same: *appa-sadda-kāmā*, etc., of the first becomes *appa-sadda-kāmo*, etc., of the second.

The word count for the first passage is 74. Thus 1.3% of the text occurs twice with some important modifications. If we exclude the *sace samaṇo Gotamo* phrase from the calculations as this is repeated in § 7 (see § 6d), then the second passage (*addasā kho to mañṇeyya* and *evaṃ vutte*, etc.) has a word count of 56 = 130 in total. The two passages represent 2.2% of the sutta (RIM).

(iii) Many of the constituent units of this passage are also found elsewhere (see § 6 below). Some also exhibit a form of structural repetition; e.g. *appa-sadda-kāmo ... appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādī*.⁵⁴

§ 4.

(a) *atha kho Sandhāno gaha-pati yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārānīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Sandhāno gaha-pati Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca:*

This approach formula does not occur again in this sutta (w.c. 31 = 0.5% of the text).⁵⁵ The basic *yena ... ten' upasaṃkamaṃ (upasaṃkamtivā)* element is also used in the approaches in §§ 1, 6 & 7 (see § 1d above).

(b) *'aññathā kho ime bhonto añña-titthiyā paribbājakā saṃgamma samāgamma unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ kathentā viharanti, seyyath-idaṃ rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nāti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-tṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lokakkhāyikaṃ samuddakkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā. aññathā ca pana so Bhagavā araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevati, appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni patisallāna-sārubbāni' ti.*

(i) *unnādino to iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā*, the stock description of lowly talk, occurs four times in this sutta (see § 2b above).

(ii) With modification to the opening and closing sections, this passage, which is here a statement, is repeated twice in § 21, once as part of a question, and then again in the answer given to this question. With the differences underlined, the first of these two occurrences reads: *'tam kim mañṇasi Nigrodha? kin ti te sutam paribbājakānam*

⁵⁴ See Study 2, II 3d.

⁵⁵ See Study 1, part 1, III 4.5.7.

uddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ “ye te ahesuṃ atūtaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, evaṃ su te Bhagavanto saṃgama samāgama unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharimsu, seyyath-īdaṃ ... (as above) ... -kathaṃ iti vā. seyyathā pi tvam etarahi sācariyako? udāhu evaṃ su te Bhagavanto araṇṇe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevanti appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni patisallāna-sārubbāni seyyathā p-āham etarahi?” ’ ti. See § 21b for further analysis and calculations.

(iii) Internally, various forms of repetition are seen in *saṃgama samāgama*, (*tiracchāna*)-*kathaṃ kathentā*, etc.⁵⁶

§ 5.

(a) *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānaṃ gaha-patiṃ etad avoca:*

The common phrase *evaṃ vutte* [person 1: nom.] [person 2: acc.] *etad avoca* also occurs at § 7 and § 22. The phrase *evaṃ vutte* [person] + other verb occurs in §§ 3, 6, 7, 19, 20 and 24.

(b) ‘*yagghe gaha-pati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati? suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparis-āvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālaṃ sallāpāya, so antam-antān’ eva sevati. seyyathā pi nāma gokānā pariyanta-cārini antam-antān’ eva sevati, evaṃ eva suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparis-āvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālaṃ sallāpāya, so antam-antān’ eva sevati. iṅgha gaha-pati samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, eka-pañhen’ eva naṃ samsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ mañṇe orodheyyāma’ ti.*

(i) This speech of Nigrodha is repeated verbatim in § 20 (see § 20b), though quoted by Sandhāna.⁵⁷ The word count is 84; i.e. 1.4% of the text occurs verbatim twice, constituting 2.9% of the text in total (VR).

(ii) Within this speech itself, the words *suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparis-āvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālaṃ sallāpāya, so antam-antān’ eva sevati* occur twice (w.c. 18); i.e. 42.9% of this passage consists of two identical units. These words therefore occur four times in this sutta [VR].

(iii) *seyyathā pi nāma* [upamāna] *evaṃ eva* [upameya],⁵⁸ the stock frame for similes, only occurs the once in this sutta, but is common throughout the *Dīgha* and other Pāli texts.

(iv) A form of repetition is also encountered in the three parallel interrogative

⁵⁶ See § 2b above and Study 2, II 4b–c.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 37–39.

⁵⁸ Sanskrit *upameya* = Pāli *upameyya*.

sentences (*kena ... kena ... kena*) and the three optative sentences (... *āgaccheyya ... saṃsādeyyāma ... orodheyāma*).⁵⁹

§ 6.

assosi kho Bhagavā dībbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānuskāya Sandhānassa gaha-patissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā yena Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami. addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā sakam parisam saṅthapesi: 'appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha. ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamati. appa-sadda-kāmo kho pana so āyasmā, appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādī, app eva nāma appa-saddaṃ parisam veditvā upasaṃkamitabbam maññeyya. sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ?' ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī ahesuṃ.

(a) The basic frame of this passage occurs at § 3, but with Sandhāna being the one approaching the ascetics. See § 3 for details.

(b) *assosi kho Bhagavā dībbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānuskāya Sandhānassa gaha-patissa Nigrodhena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ.*

This “hearing with the divine-ear” phrase does not occur again in this sutta, but is found elsewhere in the *Dīgha*; e.g. D I 79; II 1; III 281. Repetition is seen in the string of adjectives, i.e. in the proliferation of similar word elements.⁶⁰

(c) *atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā yena Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami. addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā sakam parisam saṅthapesi:*

(i) The standard approach formula is used here for this approach to a place (see § 1d & § 4a above).

(ii) This passage consists of the repetitive elements *upasaṃkami upasaṃkamtivā* and *addasā ... disvā*. Also, *Bhagavā ... Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkami* is repeated as *addasā ... kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ*. The events depicted here could also have been portrayed with the much briefer *atha kho Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭā pabbatā orohitvā Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpaṃ upasaṃkamtivā*

⁵⁹ See Study 2, II 5a & d.

⁶⁰ See Study 2, II 6a.

abbhokāse caṅkami. Nigrodho paribbājako taṃ disvā sakam parisam saṅhapesi.

(d) *addasā kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā sakam parisam saṅhapesi: ‘appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddam akattha. ayaṃ samaṇo Gotamo Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamati. appa-sadda-kāmo kho pana so āyasmā, appa-saddassa vanna-vādī, app eva nāma appa-saddam parisam veditvā upasaṃkamitabbam maññeyya. sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyan?’ ti.*

The first part of this passage (*addasā to maññeyya*), which roughly corresponds to the underlined, repeats much of the wording of § 3a above.

In § 7, when the Buddha does engage in conversation with Nigrodha, he asks Nigrodha and his ascetics what they were talking about. Nigrodha’s answer repeats much of the wording of the above passage:

‘idha mayam bhante addasāma Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā evam avocumhā: “sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyan?” ti ...’

Nigrodha’s reply is, in fact, a shorter version of his original conversation, lacking the initial command to be silent, and so on. Normally, speeches are repeated in full. Nigrodha’s speech to Sandhāna (§ 5), for example, is repeated verbatim by Sandhāna to the Buddha in § 20 (see § 5b above; cf. also § 21a–b).

For the calculations of the first part, see § 3a. The passage repeated verbatim is *sace samaṇo Gotamo to ādi-brahma-cariyan? ti*. This has a word count of 32. Thus 0.5% of the text occurs verbatim twice. This constitutes 1.1% of the sutta (VR).

(e) *‘ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyan?’ ti.*

(i) These words of Nigrodha, which form a part of the previously discussed passage, are also repeated by the Buddha at the end of § 19. Including the § 7 occurrence, this passage therefore occurs three times. The word count is 22; i.e. approximately 0.4% of the text occurs verbatim three times. This constitutes 1.1% of the sutta. However, to avoid counting a passage more than once, these figures will not be recorded in our final analysis as the first two occurrences were already utilised in the calculations at § 6d.

Part of this passage is also repeated in § 7 as *yen-āham sāvake vinemi, yena*

mayā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ (w.c. 15). As the Buddha is the speaker here rather than Nigrodha, changes in wording (*Bhagavā* > *ahaṃ* and *Bhagavatā* > *mayā*) and grammatical person have occurred. These changes are fairly simple to implement. The word count for this passage, which is repeated four times, is 15. Thus 0.3% of the text occurs four times with some modification. This constitutes 1% of the text. But again, we cannot utilise these calculations.

(ii) A form of repetition is also encountered in *yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā*. Here the wording of the first relative clause is repeated in the second, but with the object of the first becoming the subject in the second, and with the finite verb of the first becoming a verbal adjective (ppp.) in the second.

§ 7.

(a) *atha kho Bhagavā yena Nigrodho paribbājako ten' upasaṃkami. atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yad-idaṃ idh' āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. Nigrodho pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:*

(i) (w.c. 62 = 1.1% of the text) This approach formula does not occur again in this sutta, but is found in two other suttas in the *Dīgha*.⁶¹

(ii) This passage is, however, composed of the following repetitive elements: 1) the first two sentences begin with *atha kho*; 2) the common structures which describe verbal interaction: *atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca ... kho Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca*; 3) the units describing seating arrangements: *nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan' ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. ... āsanaṃ (gahetvā)*; and 4) *ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ*.

We also encounter repetition in the form of two parallel units *etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato*.⁶²

(b) *'kāya nu 'ttha Nigrodha etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antara-kathā vipakatā?' ti.*

The second sentence is repeated with some modification in the speech of Nigrodha which follows: *'ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā-kathā vipakatā (atha Bhagavā anupatto' ti).*

⁶¹ See Study 1, part 2, III 4.

⁶² See Study 2, II 7a.

(c) *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca:*

See § 5a.

(d) *'idha mayaṃ bhante addasāma Bhagavantam Sumāgadhāya tīre Moranivāpe abbhokāse caṅkamantaṃ, disvā evaṃ avocumhā: "sace samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, imaṃ taṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyāma: ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ?" ti. ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā-kathā vippakatā atha Bhagavā anuppatto' ti.*

See § 6d–e & § 7b above.

(e) *'dujjānaṃ kho etaṃ Nigrodha tayā añña-ditṭhikena añña-khantikena añña-rucikena aññatr' āyogena aññatr' ācariyakena yen-āham sāvake vinemi, yena mayā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-ppattā paṭijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyaṃ. iṅgha tvamaṃ Nigrodha sake ācariyake adhijegucche pañhaṃ puccha:*

For the underlined see § 6e above.

The initial section of this passage (*dujjānaṃ kho to ācariyakena*), which does not occur again in this sutta, is composed of highly repetitive units: *añña-ditṭhikena añña-khantikena*, etc., (see Study 2, II 7e) and in the component elements of the last sentence (see Study 2, II 7f).

(f) *'kathaṃ sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā?' ti.*

(i) This question, which is proposed by the Buddha, is repeated verbatim by Nigrodha at the beginning of § 8. The word count is 12; i.e. 0.2% of the text occurs verbatim twice, constituting 0.4% of the text (VR). With minor changes, it is also found at the end of § 8 as *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā?' ti. 'addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti no aparipuṇṇā' ti* (see § 8a.iii below).

(ii) The first part of the question is repeated in the negated form in the second half: *kathaṃ ... paripuṇṇā* becomes *kathaṃ aparipuṇṇā*. The second part is, in fact, an abbreviated form of the first. In keeping with the tendency for repetition to usually be as complete as possible, the second sentence could equally have read *kathaṃ tapo-jigucchā aparipuṇṇā hoti?*

(g) *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā ahesuṃ: 'acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho samaṇassa Gotamassa mah-iddhikatā mah-ānubhāvata, yatra hi nāma saka-vādaṃ ṭhappessati, para-vādena pavāressatī' ti.*

(w.c. 32 = 0.5% of the text) This passage does not occur again in full, though

evaṃ vutte and *unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā* are found elsewhere in this sutta.⁶³ It is, however, internally repetitive, being composed of a series of paired parallel units: 1) *acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho*; 2) *mah-iddhikatā mah-ānubhāvata*; and 3) the two finite clauses *saka-vādaṃ ṭhapessati, para-vādena pavāressati* (see Study 2, II 7h).

§ 8.

(a) *atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako te paribbājake appa-sadde katvā Bhagavantam etad avoca: 'mayam kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allinā viharāma. katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripunnā hoti, katham aparipunnā?' ti.*

(i) The initial sentence is composed of common elements.

(ii) The first part of Nigrodha's speech is composed of a string of repetitive units: *tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allinā*.⁶⁴ This has a word count of 9. Thus 0.2% of the text is composed of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements to produce differences in meaning (RS-1).

The first element, *tapo-jigucchā-*, being the topic of this sutta, also occurs many times elsewhere. The word *sāra* "essence/pith" of *tapo-jigucchā-sārā* provides the basis for the botanical analogy in the Buddha's speech where he successively states that ascetic practice has not attained even the *papaṭika* "outer-bark", *taca* "inner-bark" or *pheggu* "accessory wood", let alone the heartwood (*sāra*).

(iii) Nigrodha's question, which itself is a verbatim repetition of that suggested by the Buddha as a suitable topic of debate (see § 7f), establishes the topic for the rest of the sutta; that is, "How is austere ascetic practice⁶⁵ fulfilled and purified?"

In response to this question, the Buddha describes a certain set of ascetic practices, then asks Nigrodha if he thinks ascetic practice is fulfilled in this manner. Nigrodha considers that it is, but the Buddha tells him that ascetic practice is defiled. Nigrodha then asks the Buddha to explain, and the Buddha describes how it is defiled, then asks him if he thinks it is defiled in this way. Nigrodha considers that it is. The

⁶³ For the former see § 5a, for the latter see §§ 2b, 4b, 19d, and 21b.

⁶⁴ See Study 2, II 8a.

⁶⁵ The term used throughout this sutta is *tapo-jigucchā*. The PED gives "disgust for asceticism" and the PTC "disgust at asceticism"; cf. also the CPD's "concerning what is loathsome or detestable" for *adhijegucche*. All seem to give a negative interpretation, taking *jigucchā* as "disgust". In this sutta, however, it is seen that *tapo-jigucchā* is something positive for the ascetics, and such a translation is therefore inappropriate. T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1921, p. 37) translate *katham ... tapo-jigucchā paripunnā hoti* as "in what does the fulfilment ... of these self-mortifications consist?" and *tapo-jigucchā-vādā* as "We ... profess self-mortifying austerities". M. Walshe (1987, p. 387) translates the first as "How are the conditions of austerity and self-mortification fulfilled" (thus taking it as a dvandva) and the second as "we teach the higher austerities".

Buddha then describes how it is not defiled, then asks Nigrodha if he thinks it is thus purified. Nigrodha considers that it is and that it has attained its essence, etc., but the Buddha tells him that it has not. Nigrodha again asks the Buddha to explain, the Buddha describes another set of practices, and the process continues.

If we leave aside the passages describing the various practices for the moment, it can be seen in the following presentation that there is great repetition of wording and structure in these quick question-and-answer passages (numbered here as A–G):

A § 8. ‘... *katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham aparipuṇṇā?*’ ti.

... (The Buddha describes a particular set of ascetic practices) ...

B 1. [§ 8.] ‘*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā?*’ ti. ‘*addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti no aparipuṇṇā*’ ti.

2. ‘*evaṃ paripuṇṇāya pi kho ahaṃ Nigrodha tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadāmi*’ ti. [§ 9.] ‘*yathā-katham pana bhante Bhagavā evaṃ paripuṇṇāya tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadatī?*’ ti.

... (The Buddha describes the way in which ascetic practice is defiled) ...

C 1. [§ 12.] ‘*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi ‘me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā anupakkilesā vā?’* ti. ‘*addhā kho ime bhante tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā no anupakkilesā*’.

2. ‘*thānaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ bhante vijjati, yaṃ idh’ ekacco tapassī sabbeh’ eva imehi upakkilesehi samannāgato assa, ko pana vādo aññatar-aññatarenā?*’ ti.

... (The Buddha describes the way in which ascetic practice is not defiled) ...

D § 15. (end) ‘*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?*’ ti. ‘*addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā*’ ti. ‘*na kho Nigrodha ettāvataṃ tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho papatika-pattā hotī*’ ti.

§ 16. ‘*kittāvataṃ pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū*’ ti.

... (The Buddha describes a particular set of practices) ...

E § 17. (end) ‘*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?*’ ti. ‘*addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā*’ ti. ‘*na kho Nigrodha ettāvataṃ tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho taca-ppattā hotī*’ ti.

§ 18. ‘*kittāvataṃ pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā*

ca? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū' ti.

... (The Buddha describes a particular set of practices) ...

F § 18. (end) *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?'* ti. *'addhā kho pana bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddha, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā?'* ti. *'na kho Nigrodha ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca, api ca kho pheggu-ppattā hoti'* ti.

§ 19. *'kittāvatā pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā? sādhu me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetū' ti.*

... (The Buddha describes a particular set of practices) ...

G § 19 (end) *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?'* ti. *'addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā'* ti. *'ettāvatā Nigrodha tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca.'*

The question asked by the Buddha in the first half of passage B mirrors that asked by Nigrodha in passage A; in this case: “Is austere ascetic practice fulfilled in the manner just described or not?”. The wording of Nigrodha’s response is almost identical with that of the Buddha’s question. This establishes the structure for the first half of each of the other passages and reflects a general tendency in these texts for the wording of a question which requires a yes or no answer to be repeated in full. In response to the question raised in the second half of the B passage, the question in the first half of the C passage becomes: “Is austere ascetic practice as just described with or without defilements?”. The first half of both passages consists of three units each:

- B.1 a. *taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha?*
 b. *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripunnā vā hoti aparipunnā vā? ti.*
 c. *addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripunnā hoti no aparipunnā ti.*
- C.1 a. *taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha?*
 b. *yadi 'me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā anupakkilesā vā? ti.*
 c. *addhā kho ime bhante tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā no anupakkilesā.*

The differences between the two passages have been underlined. It can be seen that the initial a units are identical. In the b and c units key elements have been replaced to create differences in meaning. There are slight differences in structure: C.b–c lack *hoti*, and *bhante evaṃ sante* in B.c becomes *ime bhante* in C.c, that is, there is a slight change in wording and word order.

The word count for the B.1 passages is 27 (= 0.5% of the text) and for the C.1 passage 22 (= 49 words in total). Thus 0.8% of the text consists of a structure

repeated twice with key words replaced (RS-1).

The second half of the B passage (B.2) consists of a statement by the Buddha then Nigrodha's response in the form of a question asking for clarification of the statement. Again, the wording of both statement and question are very close:

B.2 *evaṃ paripuṇṇāya pi kho ahaṃ Nigrodha tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadāmi ti.*

yathā-katham pana bhante Bhagavā evaṃ paripuṇṇāya tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadatī? ti.

Some changes in wording, word order and grammatical person have taken place with the shift from statement to question and change in speaker. The word count of the first is 13. Thus 0.2% of the sutta occurs twice with minor modifications. The two occurrences have a word count of 27. This constitutes 0.5% of the text (RMM).

Although the second half of the D, E, F and G (in part) passages also consist of a statement by the Buddha and a question in response by Nigrodha, their structure and wording is quite different to the preceding. The second half of the C passage finds no parallel elsewhere.

The remaining 4 passages (D–G) are almost identical. In contrast to the A, B and C passages, the concern here is with the purity of ascetic practice and whether or not the essence has been attained.

D, E & F differ only in that one word has been substituted in each: D's *papatika-pattā* is replaced by *taca-ppattā* in E and *pheggu-ppattā* in F. These differences were underlined in the above presentation.

The G passage differs from the preceding three only in that the Buddha's answer is in the positive. The differences will be apparent when compared with D:

D *na kho Nigrodha ettāvatā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca, api ca kho pheggu-ppattā hoti ti.*

G *ettāvatā Nigrodha tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca.*

As the Buddha considers that the essence has been attained, G lacks Nigrodha's subsequent question. Slight changes in word order have also occurred: *Nigrodha ettāvatā* in D becomes *ettāvatā Nigrodha* in G.

Passages D, E & F have a word count of 78 each (each representing 1.3% of the text), while G has a word count of 44. The 4 passages together have a word count of 278. Thus 4.7% of the sutta is composed of a structure repeated four times with replacement of key elements (RS-1).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ We have classed these four passages as such for the sake of simplicity of calculations. Passage G actually involves repetition with minor modifications (RMM), in contrast to D, E and F which involve repetition of structure with replacement of key elements (RS-1).

It can also be seen that these passages are internally highly repetitive. This is most apparent when the individual units of D are presented in the following format:

- a. *taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha?*
- b. *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā? ti.*
- c. *addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā hoti no aparisuddhā, agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā ti.*
- d. *na kho Nigrodha ettāvātā tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā vā hoti sāra-ppattā vā, api ca kho papaṭika-pattā hoti ti.*
- e. *kittāvātā pana bhante tapo-jigucchā agga-ppattā ca hoti sāra-ppattā ca?*
- f. *sādhū me bhante Bhagavā tapo-jigucchāya aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetu ti.*

The wording of the Buddha's question (b) is repeated in full in Nigrodha's answer (c), and extended with *agga-ppattā ca sāra-ppattā cā ti*. The wording of this extension then provides the basis for the Buddha's subsequent statement (d). This wording is in itself repetitive in that it consists of a string of parallel elements: *agga-ppattā ... sāra-ppattā ... papaṭika-pattā*.⁶⁷ The wording of the first half of the Buddha's statement (d) is then repeated by Nigrodha in the form of a question (e), which in turn forms the basis for Nigrodha's request (f). This request also contains two parallel elements: *aggaṃ yeva pāpetu sāraṃ yeva pāpetu*.⁶⁸

(b) *'idha Nigrodha tapassī acelako hoti mutt-ācāro hatth-āpalekhano, na-ehi-bhadantiko na-tiṭṭha-bhadantiko, n-ābhīhaṭaṃ na uddissa-kataṃ na nimantanam sādīyati. so na kumbhī-mukhā paṭiganhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭiganhāti, na eḷakam-antaram, na udukkhalam-antaram, na daṇḍam-antaram, na musalam-antaram, na dvinnam bhuñjamānānam, na gabbhīniyā, na pāyamānāya, na puris-antara-gatāya, na saṃkittisu, na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārīni, na maccham na maṃsam na suram na merayam na thus-odakam pivati. so ek-āgāriko vā hoti ek-ālopiyo, dv-āgāriko vā hoti dv-ālopiyo, satt-āgāriko vā hoti satt-ālopiyo. ekiss-āpi dattiyā yāpeti, dvīhi pi dattīhi yāpeti, sattahi pi dattīhi yāpeti. ek-āhikam pi āhāram āhāreti, dv-īhikam pi āhāram āhāreti, satt-āhikam pi āhāram āhāreti; iti eva-rūpam addha-māsikam pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojan-ānuyogam anuyutto viharati. so sāka-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti, nīvāra-bhakkho vā hoti, daddula-bhakkho vā hoti, haṭa-bhakkho vā hoti, kaṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, ācāma-bhakkho vā hoti, piññāka-bhakkho vā hoti, tiṇa-bhakkho vā hoti, go-maya-bhakkho vā hoti, vana-mūla-phal-āhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī. so sānāni pi dhāreti, masānāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiriṭāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīram pi dhāreti, vāka-cīram pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīram pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, ulūka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti. kesa-massu-locako pi hoti kesa-massu-locan-ānuyogam anuyutto, ubbhaṭṭhako pi hoti āsana-paṭikkhitto, ukkuṭiko pi hoti ukkuṭika-ppadhānam anuyutto, kaṇṭaka-passayiko pi hoti kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyam kappeti, phalaka-seyyam pi kappeti, thaṇḍila-seyyam pi kappeti, eka-passayiko pi hoti rajo-jalla-dharo, abbhokāsiko pi hoti*

⁶⁷ See Study 2, II 15c.

⁶⁸ See Study 2, II 16a.

yathā-santhatiko, vekaṭiko pi hoti vikaṭa-bhojan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto, āpānako pi hoti āpānakattaṃ anuyutto, sāya-tatīyakam pi udak-orohan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati.

(i) (word count 306 = 5.2% of the text) Although not occurring again in this sutta,⁶⁹ this passage consists of highly repetitive units.⁷⁰ They are:

1) (*tapassī*) *acelako hoti mutt-ācāro hatth-āpalekhano*: a list of 3 attributes.⁷¹

2) *na-ehi-bhadantiko na-tittha-bhadantiko*: two more attributes consisting of a repeated structure with key elements replaced to give differences in meaning. As seen in Study 2, the elements which differ in each have the same metrical pattern. The word count is 6. Thus 0.1% of the text consists of a structure repeated twice with key elements replaced to produce difference in meaning (RS-1).

3) *n-ābhīhaṭaṃ na uddissa-kataṃ na nimantaṃ (sādiyati)*: a repeated negative and three parallel elements.⁷² Compared to other divisions within this passage, it seems that a form of abbreviation has occurred here. A fuller version would have read: *n-ābhīhaṭaṃ sādiyati uddissa-kataṃ sādiyati na nimantaṃ sādiyati*, with the verb being repeated with each object as in the next phrase.

4) (*so*) *na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na kalopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti*: as in 2 above, a structure is repeated with key elements replaced to give differences in meaning. Yet even here the elements which differ show sound similarities.⁷³ The word count is 8. Thus 0.1% of the text consists of a structure repeated twice with replacement of key words (RS-1).

5) *na elakam-antaram, na udukkhalam-antaram, na daṇḍam-antaram, na musalam-antaram, na dvinnam bhuñjamānānam, na gabbhiniyā, na pāyamānāya, na puris-antara-gatāya, na saṃkittisu, na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārini*: this section of the formula seems to involve abbreviation as we are expected to understand *paṭigaṇhāti* of the previous clauses with each of these elements: *na elakam-antaram paṭigaṇhāti, na udukkhalam-antaram paṭigaṇhāti, etc.*

The initial section consists of a structure repeated four times with key words replaced: *na elakam-antaram, na udukkhalam-antaram, na daṇḍam-antaram, na musalam-antaram*.⁷⁴ This has a word count of 12, which constitutes 0.2% of the text (RS-1).

The final section consists of two clauses of similar structure: *na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārini*.⁷⁵ The word count is 11. Thus 0.2% of the text consists of a structure repeated twice, but with little wording in

⁶⁹ This formula is also found in the *Dīgha* at D I 166ff.

⁷⁰ See Study 2, II 8c-h.

⁷¹ See Study 2, II 8c.i.

⁷² See Study 2, II 8c.ii.

⁷³ See Study 2, II 8d.i.

⁷⁴ See Study 2, II 8d.ii.

⁷⁵ See Study 2, II 8d.vi.

common (RS-2).

6) *na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thus-odakaṃ pivati*: again, repetition is seen in the use of the negative and in the string of similar elements.⁷⁶

Unless *pivati* “drink” can be given the more general meaning of “consume”, it would seem that we have a form of abbreviation here. We would expect something like: *na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ bhuñjati, na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thus-odakaṃ pivati*.

If we compare this section of the formula with *na kumbhi-mukhā paṭiganhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭiganhāti* (4 above), *so sāka-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti*, etc. (8 below), and *so sāñāni pi dhāreti, masāñāni pi dhāreti*, etc. (9 below), then it seems that abbreviation has occurred here. On the basis of the structure of these passages we could equally have expected the latter part of this line to have read: *na suraṃ pivati na merayaṃ pivati na thus-odakaṃ pivati*.

7) (so) *ek-āgāriko vā hoti ek-ālopiko, dv-āgāriko vā hoti dv-ālopiko, satt-āgāriko vā hoti satt-ālopiko. ekiss-āpi dattiyā yāpeti, dvīhi pi dattīhi yāpeti, sattahi pi dattīhi yāpeti. ek-āhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti, dv-īhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti, satt-āhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti; iti eva-rūpaṃ addha-māsikam pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati*: this section of the formula is best presented in the following format, with the first column representing the first division, the second the second division and the third the last division:

<i>ekāgāriko vā hoti ekālopiko</i>	<i>ekissāpi dattiyā yāpeti</i>	<i>ekāhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti</i>
<i>dvāgāriko vā hoti dvālopiko</i>	<i>dvīhi pi dattīhi yāpeti</i>	<i>dvīhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti</i>
<i>sattāgāriko vā hoti sattālopiko</i>	<i>sattahi pi dattīhi yāpeti</i>	<i>sattāhikam pi āhāraṃ āhāreti</i>

... *iti eva-rūpaṃ addha-māsikam pi pariyāya-bhatta-bhojan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati*.

A number of forms of repetition are observable here. Primarily, there is repetition of structure and wording with replacement of key elements: in this case replacement of the numerals. Three distinct structures have been repeated three times to build up each “column”, so to speak. The only changes that need to be made by the reciter within each section is to replace the initial numerical unit. In the case of the second section, change in grammatical number must also be made: *ekassa > dvīhi*.

Within the structure of the first column, or division, repetition is also seen in the use of two parallel elements: *-āgāriko* and *-ālopiko*. It was seen in the analysis of this passage in Study 2 that these share sound similarities (the *-iko* suffix) and have the same number of syllables and equal metrical patterns, thus minimising the differences.⁷⁷ Again, the number is repeated twice in each unit: *ekā- ... ekā-*, etc. Within the third

⁷⁶ See Study 2, II 8d.vii.

⁷⁷ See Study 2, II 8e.

structure, repetition is seen in *āhāraṃ āhāreti* and in, for example, *ekāhikam pi āhāraṃ*.

A form of abbreviation has also occurred in this section with numbers 1, 2 and 7 only being dealt with. Abbreviation of passages involving numbers is quite common in Pāli texts. See, for example, § 18b (cf. D I 13–15) and § 22b below. The last section is, in fact, expanded by the final line of this passage — *iti eva-rūpam addha-māsikam*, etc. — which thus takes the day on which he takes food up to the half month, or 14th day. This last section is therefore an abbreviation of days 1 to 14. This final line shows little repetition of wording or structure, although the final element, *-anuyogaṃ anuyutto viharati*, is employed repeatedly towards the end of this formula (see 10 below).

Excluding *so*, the three divisions have a word count of 18, 12 and 15 respectively. The first and last represent 0.3% of the text, while the second represents 0.2%. That is, three lots of 0.2–3% of the text consist of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements (RS-1).

8) (*so*) *sāka-bhakkho vā hoti, sāmāka-bhakkho vā hoti, nīvāra-bhakkho vā hoti, daddula-bhakkho vā hoti, hata-bhakkho vā hoti, kana-bhakkho vā hoti, ācāma-bhakkho vā hoti, piññāka-bhakkho vā hoti, tina-bhakkho vā hoti, go-maya-bhakkho vā hoti* (*vana-mūla-phal-āhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī*): this involves a similar replacement of key elements within a repeated structure. Here the unit [type of food]-*bhakkho vā hoti* is repeated to form 10 principal clauses. The final elements in this section, *vana-mūla-phal-āhāro yāpeti, pavatta-phala-bhojī*, do not follow the pattern of the preceding repeated structure, but seem to extend it, as did the *iti eva-rūpam* phrase of the previous division. The word count for the 10 clauses is 41 (excluding *so*). Thus 0.7% of the text consists of 10 identical structures with replacement of key words (RS-1). The sound and metrical similarities evident between the elements which differ in each enhance the repetitiveness.⁷⁸

9) (*so*) *sānāni pi dhāreti, masānāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiriṭāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīram pi dhāreti, vāka-cīram pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīram pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, ulūka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti*: here the unit, or structure, [garment: acc. pl./sg.] *pi dhāreti* is repeated to form 13 principal clauses. In the first six, the object is in the accusative plural, while in the remainder it is in the accusative singular. This does not correspond to the grouping of the component elements according to meaning.⁷⁹ The word count for the 13 parallel structures is 48. Thus 0.8% of the text consists of a structure repeated 13 times with key words replaced (RS-1).

⁷⁸ See Study 2, II 8f.

⁷⁹ See Study 2, II 8g.

It was also seen in Study 2 that the words which differ in each clause share strong sound and metrical similarities, and even component words; e.g. the *-cīraṃ* in *kusa-cīraṃ ... vāka-cīraṃ ... phalaka-cīraṃ*. Again, these factors tend to make the repetition all the more complete.

10) The remainder of this formula consists of nine units of similar structure.⁸⁰ They are best presented in the following format:

A	<i>kesa-massu-locako</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>kesa-massu-locan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto</i>
B	<i>ubbhaṭṭhako</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>āsana-paṭikkhitto</i>
C	<i>ukkuṭiko</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ anuyutto</i>
D	<i>kaṇṭaka-passayiko</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyaṃ kappeti</i> <i>phalaka-seyyaṃ pi kappeti</i> <i>thaṇḍila-seyyaṃ pi kappeti</i>
E	<i>eka-passayiko</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>rajo-jalla-dharo</i>
F	<i>abbhokāsiko</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>yathā-santhatiko</i>
G	<i>vekaṭiko</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>vikāṭa-bhojan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto</i>
H	<i>āpānako</i>	<i>pi hoti</i>	<i>āpānakattaṃ anuyutto</i>
I	<i>sāya-tatīyakam</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>udak-orohan-ānuyogaṃ anuyutto (viharati)</i>

Although there is repetition of structure, and to a certain extent wording, there are some important differences and divergences. Divisions A and G use the structure [ascetic practice *x* (type of practitioner): nom.] *pi hoti* [ascetic practice *x*]-*anuyogaṃ anuyutto*, “he is an *x* (practitioner and) practises the practice of *x*”. Note that in A *kesa-massu-locako* is echoed completely in *kesa-massu-locana-*, while in G *vekaṭiko* is changed to *vikāṭa-bhojana-*.

The structure of divisions C and H closely parallels that used in the preceding: [ascetic practice *x* (type of practitioner): nom.] *pi hoti* [ascetic practice *x*: acc.] *anuyutto*, “he is an *x* (practitioner and) practises *x*”. Again, there are differences in the way in which the first element is repeated: in C *ukkuṭiko* becomes *ukkuṭika-ppadhānaṃ*, while in H *āpānako* becomes *āpānakattaṃ*.

The structure of division I mimics that used for A and G but is, in fact, quite different. The first element, *sāya-tatīyakam*, occupies the same syntactical position as, say, *kesa-massu-locako* of A, but in fact modifies the second element. Again, *pi* occupies the same position as the *pi hoti* of the other divisions. Also, as in A and G, it utilises the *-anuyogaṃ anuyutto* element. The translation of A, for example, is “he is one who plucks out his hair and beard (and) practises the practice of plucking out his hair and beard”, while that of I is “he (dwells as one who) practises the practice of descending into water for a third time in the evening”. The final *viharati*, “he dwells”, is to be taken with each of the nine divisions.

Divisions B, E and F utilise the structure [ascetic practice *x* (type of

⁸⁰ See Study 2, II 8h.

practitioner): nom.] *pi hoti* [ascetic practice *y* (type of practitioner): nom.], “he is an *x* (and) *y* (practitioner)”. In each case the *y* practice is closely related to the *x* practice. B, for example, can be translated as “he (always) stands upright, discarding (the use of) seats”.

Finally, the structure of division D plays on that of division A, but then diverges from it. As in A, the initial element, which precedes *pi hoti*, is repeated in the second element: *kaṇṭaka-passayiko* becomes *kaṇṭaka-passaye*. It is noteworthy also that the *kesa-massu-locako* of A has the same syllable length and initial and final sounds as *kaṇṭaka-passayiko*.⁸¹ But division I then utilises a different verb: (*seyyam*) *kappeti* rather than (*-anuyogam*) *anuyutto*. The second clause is then extended by two parallel clauses describing the use of other types of beds: *kaṇṭaka-passaye seyyam kappeti*, *phalaka-seyyam pi kappeti*, *thandila-seyyam pi kappeti*.

The word count for these nine parallel structures is 69. Thus 1.2% of the text consists of a structure repeated nine times with little repetition of wording (RS-2).

(ii) Taken as a whole, this formula, which describes various ascetic practices, exhibits a diversity of forms of repetition and a variety of structures. In some passages a structure is repeated in full (divisions 4, 8 and 9), while in others various forms of abbreviation seem to have occurred (divisions 3, 5, and 6). Again, abbreviation of passages involving numbers has occurred in 7. Finally, as seen in the analysis of the final passage (10), a basic structure has been repeated, with varying degrees of modification to that structure, to construct a passage dealing with practices of a similar kind. The predictability of the wording is thus lessened in this case. This contrasts with passages 8 and 9 where the modifications are all relatively minor, consisting of the mere replacement of key elements.

(c) ‘*taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripunṇā vā hoti ... etc.*

See § 8a.iii above.

§§ 9–12 & §§ 13–15.

(a) ‘*yathā-kathaṃ pana bhante Bhagavā evaṃ-paripunṇāya tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihīte upakkīlese vadatī?’ ti.*

See § 8d above.

(b) Now follows a large passage (§§ 9–12) consisting of 16 paragraphs which describe the ways in which ascetic practice is defiled. They are numbered here as A.1–

⁸¹ See Study 2, II 8h.iv.

16. These 16 paragraphs are then repeated in the negative (§§ 13–15). These have been numbered B.1–16.

A.1 *‘idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.2 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti paraṃ vambheti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti, paraṃ vambheti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.3 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.4 [§ 10.] *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.5 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attān-ukkamseti paraṃ vambheti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena attān-ukkamseti paraṃ vambheti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.6 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.7 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhōjanesu vodāsaṃ āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī” ti. so yaṃ hi kho ‘ssa na-kkhamati taṃ sāpekho pajahati, yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhōjanesu vodāsaṃ āpajjati “idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī” ti, so yaṃ hi kho ‘ssa na-kkhamati taṃ sāpekho pajahati, yaṃ pan’ assa khamati taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha upakkilesa hoti.*

A.8 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkariṣṣanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.9 [§ 11.] *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā apasādetā hoti: “kiṃ pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbāṃ sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bīja-bijaṃ eva pañcamāṃ, asani-vicakkaṃ danta-kūṭaṃ samaṇa-ppavādenā” ti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā apasādetā hoti: “kiṃ pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbāṃ sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bīja-bijaṃ eva pañcamāṃ, asani-vicakkaṃ danta-kūṭaṃ samaṇa-*

ppavādenā” ti, *ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.10 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī passati aññatarāṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjiamānaṃ. tassa evaṃ hoti: “imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti”* ti. iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī passati aññatarāṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjiamānaṃ, tassa evaṃ hoti: “imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim lūkh-ājīvim kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti”* ti, iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti, *ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.11 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī āpāthaka-nisādī hoti. yam pi kho Nigrodha tapassī āpāthaka-nisādī hoti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.12 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim, idam pi me tapasmin”* ti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim, idam pi me tapasmin”* ti, *ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.13 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so “khamati te idan?”* ti *puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamatī”* ti, *khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī”* ti. iti so sampajāna-musā bhāsītā hoti. *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati, so “khamati te idan?”* ti *puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “khamatī”* ti, *khamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī”* ti, iti so sampajāna-musā bhāsītā hoti, *ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.14 [§ 12.] ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santaṃ yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ n-ānujānāti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santaṃ yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ n-ānujānāti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.15 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhī. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhī, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.16 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī, pāp-iccho hoti pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato, micchā-ditṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya ditṭhiyā samannāgato, sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggi. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggi, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.’*

B.1 [§ 13.] ‘*idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-samkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-samkappo, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.2 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attān-ukkamseti, na paraṃ vambheti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā na attān-ukkamseti, na paraṃ vambheti, evaṃ so tasmim ṭhāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.3 ‘*puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā na majjati na mucchati na pamādaṃ āpajjati. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati,*

so tena tapasā na majjati na mucchati na pamādaṃ āpajjati, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.4 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.5 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attān-ukkamseti na paraṃ vambheti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na attān-ukkamseti na paraṃ vambheti, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.6 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na majjati na mucchati na pamādaṃ āpajjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti, so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena na majjati na mucchati na pamādaṃ āpajjati, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.7 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhōjanesu na vodāsaṃ āpajjati "idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati" ti. so yaṃ hi kho 'ssa na-kkhamati taṃ anapekho pajahati, yaṃ pan' assa khamati taṃ agathito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādīnava-dassāvī nissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhōjanesu na vodāsaṃ āpajjati "idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamati" ti, so yaṃ hi kho 'ssa na-kkhamati taṃ anapekho pajahati, yaṃ pan' assa khamati taṃ agathito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādīnava-dassāvī nissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.8 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. na so lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu "sakkarissanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā" ti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, na so lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu "sakkarissanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā" ti, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.9 [§ 14.] 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā na apasādetā hoti: "kiṃ pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbhaṃ sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamāṃ, asani-vicakkaṃ danta-kūṭaṃ samaṇa-ppavādenā" ti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā na apasādetā hoti: "kiṃ pan-āyaṃ bahul-ājīvo sabbhaṃ sambhakkheti? seyyath-idaṃ mūla-bijaṃ khandha-bijaṃ phalu-bijaṃ agga-bijaṃ bija-bijaṃ eva pañcamāṃ, asani-vicakkaṃ danta-kūṭaṃ samaṇa-ppavādenā" ti, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.10 'puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjiamānaṃ. tassa na evaṃ hoti: "imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim̐ lūkh-ājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti" ti. iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu na uppādetā hoti. yaṃ pi Nigrodha tapassī passati aññataraṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā kulesu sakkariyamānaṃ garukariyamānaṃ māniyamānaṃ pūjiamānaṃ, tassa na evaṃ hoti: "imaṃ hi nāma bahul-ājīvaṃ kulesu sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, maṃ pana tapassim̐ lūkh-ājīviṃ kulesu na sakkaronti na garukaronti na mānenti na pūjenti" ti, iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu na uppādetā hoti, evaṃ so tasmim̐ thāne parisuddho hoti.

B.11 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na āpāthaka-nisādī hoti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na āpāthaka-nisādī hoti, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.12 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim̃, idam pi me tapasmin” ti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na attānaṃ adassayamāno kulesu carati “idam pi me tapasmim̃, idam pi me tapasmin” ti, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.13 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī na kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati. so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti. iti so sampajāna-musā na bhāsītā hoti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī na kiñ-cid eva paṭicchannaṃ sevati, so “khamati te idan?” ti puṭṭho samāno, akkhamamānaṃ āha “na-kkhamatī” ti, khamamānaṃ āha “khamatī” ti, iti so sampajāna-musā na bhāsītā hoti, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.14 [§ 15.] *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santaṃ yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ anujānāti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgata-sāvakassa vā dhammaṃ desentassa santaṃ yeva pariyāyaṃ anuññeyyaṃ anujānāti, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.15 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī akodhano hoti anupanāhī. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī akodhano hoti anupanāhī, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

B.16 *‘puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī amakkhī hoti apalāsī, anissukī hoti amaccharī, asaṭho hoti amāyāvī, athaddo hoti anantimānī, na pāp-iccho hoti na pāpikānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato, na micchā-ditṭhiko hoti ananta-ggāhikāya ditṭhiyā samannāgato, asandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti anādhāna-gāhī suppatinissaggi. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī asandiṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti anādhāna-gāhī suppatinissaggi, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.’*

(i) A comparison of paragraph A.1, the first paragraph of § 9, with its corresponding opposite B.1, the first of § 13, reveals the differences (the underlined):

A.1 *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunṇa-saṃkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunṇa-saṃkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

B.1 *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripunṇa-saṃkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripunṇa-saṃkappo, evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti.*

The element which differs the most in each corresponding paragraph is the last: *ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti* of the 16 A passages is replaced by *evaṃ so tasmim̃ thāne parisuddho hoti* in the 16 B passages. Apart from this difference, the opposite meaning of the B passages is achieved through the simple addition of the negative particle *na*, or by the addition or omission of a prefix: *a-*, *an-*, *su-*, *du-*, *sa-*. For example, paragraph 7’s *sāpekho pajahati ... gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati* (A.7) becomes *anapekho pajahati ... agathito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādīnava-dassāvī nissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati* (B.7). In other words, no fundamentally new words are introduced.

The fact that it is quite a simple mental operation to create an opposite in such a way — in contrast to forming the opposite with a totally different word, e.g. *paññā/avijjā* — further contributes to these two passages being considered almost identical.

The word count for the 16 A paragraphs (§§ 9–12) is 842 (= 14.3% of the text), and for the B paragraphs (§§ 13–15) 875 = 1717 words in total for the A and B paragraphs = 29.2% of the sutta. Thus, with minor modifications to create the opposite, and with substitution of the final unit of each paragraph, 14.3% of the text occurs twice, constituting 29.2% of the sutta in total (RMM).

(ii) Each paragraph is also internally repetitive in that the initial description of the particular fault is subsequently repeated as a relative clause. In paragraph A.1, for example, *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo* is then repeated as the relative clause *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo*. The word count is 12 for the former and 13 for the relative clause. The word count for the A.1 paragraph is 32. Thus 37.5% of this A.1 paragraph occurs twice with minor modifications. The two occurrences constitute 78% of the paragraph as a whole [RMM]. In other words, only 22% of this paragraph is recited once; though, of course, a proportion of this is repeated again in the corresponding B paragraph and in subsequent paragraphs of similar wording. The calculations will be roughly the same for the other paragraphs, and therefore the A paragraphs as a whole; i.e. 37.5%, or 316 words, of the A paragraphs occurs twice with some modifications. The two occurrences represent 78%, or 657 words, of the A paragraphs.

With the repetition of the A.1 paragraph in the negative as B.1, the unit *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo* occurs with minor modifications four times. Again, the differences will be become apparent when underlined:

A.1 a) *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo.*

b) *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-samkappo,*

B.1 a) *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-samkappo.*

b) *yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati, so tena tapasā na attamano hoti na paripuṇṇa-samkappo,*

The only paragraph not to repeat the entire initial statement/sentences in the relative clause is the last. Here, *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī, pāp-iccho hoti*

pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato, micchā-ditṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya ditṭhiyā samannāgato, sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭṭinissaggī is abbreviated in the relative clause which follows as *yam pi kho Nigrodha tapassī sanditṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭṭinissaggī ...*; that is, only the last of the string of main clauses is reproduced in the relative clause. The reason for this is uncertain. Length alone cannot be the determining factor, for the 9th and 10th paragraphs are equally as long. It is possible that both its occurrence as the last paragraph and its size may have determined this.

(iii) The 16 paragraphs also utilise the same, or parallel, units of meaning and structures. Except for the first paragraph, which opens with *idha* instead of *puna ca param*, all A paragraphs share *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī ... ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti* in common. Similarly, the 16 B paragraphs share *puna ca param (idha) Nigrodha tapassī ... evaṃ so tasmim̐ ṭhāne parisuddho hoti*. This means that the unit *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī* occurs 30 times, with *idha Nigrodha tapassī* occurring twice.

The first three paragraphs share the same structure and overall wording, with certain key elements replaced to produce difference in meaning (the underlined). The units which are changed in each case also differ as to their structure:

A.1 *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunna-samkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunna-samkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.2 *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti param vambheti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attān-ukkamseti, param vambheti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.3 *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā majjati mucchati pamādam āpajjati, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

The word count for the A.1 paragraph is 32, which is 3.8% of this A passage. The word count for the three paragraphs is 100. Thus 11.9% of this A passage consists of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements [RS-1]. However, as the bulk of these passages has already been incorporated in the calculations for the preceding form of repetition (secondary repetition), these figures will not be included in the final analysis.

The next three paragraphs (4–6) build on the structure of the previous three

paragraphs by introducing a new element. Here the same faults of 1–3 are produced, not directly as a result of his asceticism (*so tena tapasā*), but because of the gain, honour and renown he gains from his asceticism (*so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena ...*). The elements which differ from paragraphs 1–3 are underlined, while those which differ between paragraphs 4–6 are in bold:

A.4 *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo.** yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo,** ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.5 *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **attān-ukkamseti paraṃ vambheti.** yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **attān-ukkamseti paraṃ vambheti,** ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

A.6 *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati.** yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā lābha-sakkāra-silokaṃ abhinibbatteti. so tena lābha-sakkāra-silokena **majjati mucchati pamādaṃ āpajjati,** ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.*

Each of these three paragraphs has 52 words, which represents 6.2% of these 16 A passages. Together paragraphs A.4–6 have a word count of 156. Thus another 18.5% of these A passages consists of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements [RS-1]. But as with the previous, these calculations will not be utilised in the final analysis.

The remaining ten paragraphs (A.7–16) differ from the previous six and do not exhibit such close interconnections. There is thus greater repetition of wording and structure at the beginning of this large passage; that is, in the first six of these 16 paragraphs. This parallels the tendency, as presented in Study 2, for the initial members of lists of parallel units (adjectives, nouns, verbs, etc.) to exhibit the greatest sound and metrical similarities. It is also observed that the second set of three paragraphs are each longer than the first set. A.7–16 are not, however, devoid of interconnections and internal repetitions.

A.7–8 both open with *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati* — where the first six paragraphs open with *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā* — while the remainder (A.9–16) open with *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī*.

In contrast to the first six paragraphs, paragraphs A.7–10, 12 & 13 all contain some form of thought or speech. A.10 & 13 are similar in that paragraph 10's *iti so issā-macchariyam kulesu uppādetā hoti* parallels paragraph 13's *iti so sampajānamusā bhāsītā hoti*. Note that both utilise agent nouns in *-tar* (*uppādetā/bhāsītā*).

Paragraphs A.10 & 12 both have repetitive units within the thought being expressed: “*idaṃ me khamati, idaṃ me na-kkhamatī*” *ti* (A.10) and “*idaṃ pi me tapasmim, idaṃ pi me tapasmin*” *ti* (A.12).

Again, the final two paragraphs are similar in that the *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī kodhano hoti upanāhī* structure of the 15th paragraph is the basis for the *puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, satho hoti māyāvī*, etc., structure of the 16th. This also echoes the structure of the first paragraph with its *idha Nigrodha tapassī tapam samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripunna-samkappo*, and reflects A.11's *āpāthaka-nisādī hoti*.

Much of paragraph 16 consists of the repetition of a structure. This is best presented in the following format:

1	<i>makkhī</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>palāsī</i>
2	<i>issukī</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>maccharī</i>
3	<i>satho</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>māyāvī</i>
4	<i>thaddho</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>atimānī</i>
5	<i>pāp-iccho</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato</i>
6	<i>micchā-ditthiko</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>anta-gāhikāya ditthiyā samannāgato</i>
7	<i>sanditthi-parāmāsī</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭṭinissaggī</i>

In the first and second divisions both attributes are adjectives formed with the suffix *-in* (masc. nom. sg. *-ī*). The first attribute of the third and fourth divisions is an adjective of the *-a* stem class (masc. nom. sg. *-o*), as is that of the fifth and sixth divisions, while the second attribute of the third and fourth divisions remains of the *-in* type. The structure of the fifth and sixth divisions are closely parallel, with the second attribute being an expansion of the first in both cases; e.g. in 5, *pāp-iccho* becomes *pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato*. The final division sees the return of adjectives in *-in*, though there are now three attributes instead of two as in the previous divisions. Note also that *sanditthi-parāmāsī* is a compound, following the pattern initiated by *micchā-ditthiko* of the previous division. For the sound similarities in this passage see Study 2, II 12c.

The word count for this passage is 32. Thus 3.8% of these 16 A passages consists of a structure repeated seven times with little repetition of wording [RS-2]. This is, in fact, tertiary repetition. These figures will therefore not be included in the final analysis.

Finally, apart from the above repetition of structure and wording, it is also seen that paragraphs A.7–10 contain lists of parallel elements or “strings”, which are

themselves a form of repetition. An example is *gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnava-dassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño (paribhuñjati)* of A.7. These were the subject of Study 2.

(iv) In summary, on a primary level, the 16 A paragraphs are repeated with minor modifications to create their opposite: the 16 B paragraphs. Each paragraph is then internally repetitive with the initial statement being subsequently repeated as a relative clause. And finally, the 16 paragraphs share varying degrees of interconnectedness, ranging from the repetition of structure and wording with replacement of key elements found in the first six paragraphs, to the mere sharing of an overall frame as in many of the others.

§ 16–17.

(a) [§ 16.] *‘idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṅ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pānaṃ atipāpeti, na pānaṃ atipātayati, na pānaṃ atipātayato samanūñño hoti; na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanūñño hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti; na bhāvitaṃ āsiṃsati, na bhāvitaṃ āsiṃsāpeti, na bhāvitaṃ āsiṃsato samanūñño hoti. evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evaṃ cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti, aduñ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hīnāy’ āvattati. so vivittaṃ sen-āsaṇaṃ bhajati, araññaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giri-guhaṃ susānaṃ vana-patthaṃ abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ. so pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍa-pāta-paṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ pañidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā. so abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya vigatābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti; vyāpāda-padosaṃ pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāna-bhūta-hit-ānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittaṃ parisodheti; thīna-middhaṃ pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhattaṃ vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti; vicikicchāṃ pahāya tiṇṇa-vicikiccho viharati, akathaṃ-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti.*

[§ 17.] *‘so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalī-karaṇe mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. muditā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ muditā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati. upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena*

maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati.'

(i) This long passage, with a word count of 337, is repeated verbatim again in § 18 and § 19. Thus 5.7% of the sutta occurs verbatim three times. The word count for the three occurrences is 1011. This constitutes 17.2% of the text (VR).

(ii) In itself this long passage is composed of highly repetitive units and structures. It is best understood to consist of three sections. These are numbered here as sections I, II and III.

I. *idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṅ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pāṇaṃ atipāpeti, na pāṇaṃ atipātayati, na pāṇaṃ atipātayato samanuiṅṅo hoti; na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanuiṅṅo hoti; na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanuiṅṅo hoti; na bhāvitāṃ āsiṃsati, na bhāvitāṃ āsiṃsāpeti, na bhāvitāṃ āsiṃsato samanuiṅṅo hoti. evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti.*

The overall frame of this passage is commonly used in the *Sutta-piṭaka* and elsewhere;⁸² that is, 1) a statement is made: *idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti*; 2) the initial statement is cast as a question, i.e. elucidation of the initial statement is initiated: *kathaṅ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti?*; 3) the expansion of the initial statement is presented; and 4) affirmation is then given that this is the elucidation of the initial statement: *evaṃ kho Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti*. In this way, the wording of the initial statement is repeated three times; the differences are underlined.

As it occurs here, this line is then immediately repeated a fourth time to initiate the next section of the text (II): *yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evaṃ cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti*. The word count for the first occurrence is 8. Thus 2.4% of this §§ 16–17 passage occurs four times with minor modifications. The four occurrences have a word count of 36, which represents 10.7% of this passage [RMM]. As this passage as a whole occurs three times, this line occurs 12 times in the sutta.

The elucidation of the *cātu-yāma-saṃvara* itself consists of four structurally parallel divisions, each divisible into three units. The PTS's reading for the first division is faulty. The suggested better reading has been adopted in the following analysis.⁸³

The initial unit "he does not do *x*" is repeated as "he does not cause (someone) to do *x*" to form the second, and modified to "he does not approve of doing *x*" in the third. The second unit differs from the first only in that the verb has been constructed in the causative. The third unit differs primarily in its final element. The differences

⁸² Cf. § 18b.(ii.I) and § 19b below. See also J. Gonda, 1959, p. 83.

⁸³ See the footnote to our edition.

between the three units are best illustrated when they are underlined. The second division will be used as illustration:

na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanūñño hoti

It can be seen that at least a third of each division consists of three identical units, in this case *na adinnaṃ ādiy-*. All three clauses also end in *-ti*.⁸⁴

Again, all but the third division are structurally identical, and division 3 differs only in that the “object (acc.) + verb” structure of the others is replaced by “adverb + verb”.

There is also a degree of repetition of wording between each division: each begins with the negative particle *na*, and the third unit of each division share *-to samanūñño hoti* in common. The differences between each division are:

na pānam atipāpeti, na pānam atipātāpeti, na pānam atipātayato samanūñño hoti
na adinnaṃ ādiyati, na adinnaṃ ādiyāpeti, na adinnaṃ ādiyato samanūñño hoti
na musā bhaṇati, na musā bhaṇāpeti, na musā bhaṇato samanūñño hoti
na bhāvitam āsimsati, na bhāvitam āsimsāpeti, na bhāvitam āsimsato samanūñño hoti.

The word count for these four divisions is 44. Thus 13.1% of this §§ 16–17 passage consists of a structure repeated four times with some repetition of wording [RS-2].

To summarise, the I section of this passage, which itself occurs three times in this sutta, is composed of (i) three units of almost identical wording — the initial statement, the question and the summary — and (ii) an elucidation which consists of four structurally identical sections which also have some wording in common, each in turn being divisible into three repetitive units.

II. a) *yato kho Nigrodha tapassī evaṃ cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti, aduñ c’ assa hoti tapassitāya, so abhiharati no hīnāy’ āvattati. so vivittaṃ sen-āsanam bhajati, araññaṃ rukkha-mūlam pabbataṃ kandaram giri-guham susānam vana-pattham abbhokāsam palāla-puñjam. so pacchā-bhattam piṇḍa-pāta-paṭikkanto nisīdati pallaṅkam ābhujitvā ujum kāyam pañidhāya parimukham satim upaṭṭhapetvā.*

b) *so abhijjam loke pahāya vigat-ābhijjhena cetasā viharati, abhijjhāya cittaṃ parisodheti; vyāpāda-padosam pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati, sabba-pāna-bhūta-hit-ānukampī vyāpāda-padosā cittaṃ parisodheti; thīna-middham pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati, āloka-saññī sato sampajāno thīna-middhā cittaṃ parisodheti; uddhacca-kukkuccam pahāya anuddhato viharati, ajjhattam vūpasanta-citto uddhacca-kukkuccā cittaṃ parisodheti; vicikiccham pahāya tiṇṇa-vicikicchho viharati, akatham-kathī kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti.*

⁸⁴ See Study 2, II 16b.

This section has been divided into two main sub-sections. The first establishes the scene for the second.

The first sub-section (a) is not particularly internally repetitive, though it starts by repeating the last sentence of the previous section. However, the proliferation of similar word elements in the form of the list of secluded places (*araññaṃ*, etc.) and the sequence of three non-finite clauses (*pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā*, etc.) is a form of repetition.⁸⁵

The second sub-section (b) depicts the (temporary) abandoning of the five hindrances, though the first hindrance here is *abhijjhā* rather than the usual *kāmacchanda*.⁸⁶ This is composed of five divisions which exhibit a great repetition of structure and, to a certain extent, wording. Each division consists of three units: A) the abandoning of the hindrance; B) dwelling without that hindrance; and C) purifying the mind of that hindrance. The repetition is best illustrated by grouping the parallel units together:

A

1	<i>abhijjhaṃ loke</i>	<i>pahāya</i>
2	<i>vyāpāda-padosaṃ</i>	<i>pahāya</i>
3	<i>thīna-middhaṃ</i>	<i>pahāya</i>
4	<i>uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ</i>	<i>pahāya</i>
5	<i>vicikicchā</i>	<i>pahāya</i>

B

1	<i>vīgata-ābhijjhena cetasā</i>	<i>viharati</i>
2	<i>avyāpanna-citto</i>	<i>viharati</i>
3	<i>vīgata-thīna-middho</i>	<i>viharati</i>
4	<i>anuddhato</i>	<i>viharati</i>
5	<i>tiṇṇa-vicikicchā</i>	<i>viharati</i>

C

1		<i>abhijjhāya</i>	<i>cittaṃ parisodheti</i>
2	<i>sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī</i>	<i>vyāpāda-padosā</i>	<i>cittaṃ parisodheti</i>
3	<i>āloka-saññī sato sampajāno</i>	<i>thīna-middhā</i>	<i>cittaṃ parisodheti</i>
4	<i>ajjhataṃ vūpasanta-citto</i>	<i>uddhacca-kukkuccā</i>	<i>cittaṃ parisodheti</i>
5	<i>akathaṃ-kathī</i>	<i>kusalesu dhammesu vicikicchāya</i>	<i>cittaṃ parisodheti</i>

Although there is an overriding repetition of structure, it can be seen that there are some important variations.

The five group A units are all based on the structure [hindrance: acc.] *pahāya*, yet the first of these five reads *abhijjhaṃ loke pahāya* rather than *abhijjhaṃ pahāya*,

⁸⁵ See Study 2, II 16d–e.

⁸⁶ See, for example, D III 234.

which would follow the pattern of the others.⁸⁷ Again, all except the first of the group B units have a [“without the hindrance”: nom.] *viharati* structure, the first being based on a [“with a mind that is without the hindrance”: instr.] *viharati* structure. To a certain extent the *cetasā* of B.1 is repeated in B.2’s *avyāpanna-citto*, but the absence of the hindrance in B.2 is not expressed by an initial *vigata-* element, but by a negated past participial form of the hindrance, a form also used in B.4 (*anuddhato*).⁸⁸ Again, though B.1 and B.3 utilise the *vigata-* element, B.5 uses *tiṇṇa-*. In contrast, we could have had *vigata-vicikiccho*.⁸⁹ Also, B.2 and B.4 abbreviate the hindrances. B.2, for example, reads *avyāpanna-citto* rather than *avyāpanna-^{*}padūsita-citto* — that is, if we take *vyāpāda-padosaṃ* as a dvandva — or even *vigata-vyāpāda-padoso*.⁹⁰ The B division of an alternative (and hypothetical) passage constructed to exhibit the greatest repetition of structure and wording would read:

B		
1	<i>vigat-ābhijjho</i>	<i>viharati</i>
2	<i>vigata-vyāpāda-padoso</i>	<i>viharati</i>
3	<i>vigata-thīna-middho</i>	<i>viharati</i>
4	<i>vigata-uddhacca-kukkuccho</i>	<i>viharati</i>
5	<i>vigata-vicikiccho</i>	<i>viharati</i>

Interesting differences are also seen in the last group of parallel units (C). As in group A and B, the first unit in group C differs most from the rest.⁹¹ The C.2–5 units all list some attribute(s) of the practitioner, expressing a quality which is the opposite of the hindrance concerned, before the [“from that hindrance”: abl.] *cittaṃ parisodheti* phrase. C.1 lists no such attributes. There are also differences in the number of attributes listed in the C.2–5 units. C.2, for example, lists one (*sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hit-ānukampī*), while C.3 lists three (*āloka-saññī sato sampajāno*). Again, C.5 expands somewhat on the structure of the C.1–4 units in that it includes *kusalesu dhammesu* rather than merely reading *vicikicchāya cittaṃ parisodheti*.

⁸⁷ Based on the expression *vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ* (e.g. D II 290) and the pattern of the following hindrances expressed as dvandvas (*thīna-middha*, etc.), a hypothetical *abhijjhā-domanassaṃ pahāya* would not have been out of place here. But then again, we could have had *kāmacchandaṃ pahāya*.

⁸⁸ Cf. *vigatābhijjho vigatavyāpādo* (A I 192,3–4). It is also interesting that this passage includes *avyāpajjha-citto* (A I 192,12).

⁸⁹ *Tiṇṇavicikiccho* seems to be the norm; cf. *vigatathīnamiddho 'ham asmi ... tiṇṇavicikiccho 'ham asmi* (M I 18,18–35) and *tiṇṇavicikiccho vigatakathaṃkatho* (Ud 49,18–19, ff.).

⁹⁰ See the summary (8.2) below.

⁹¹ Cf. § 23a (p. 332) for a parallel phenomenon.

From this analysis it can be seen that this passage is constructed by repeating a basic structure five times with parallel key elements replaced in each to produce differences in meaning. But in this case the element or units which differ in each division often exhibit unpredictable differences. This contrasts with the previous passage where the substituted units exhibit similar, and hence predictable, morphology, and the next passage to be analysed where differences in meaning are achieved through the mere substitution of one key word.

The word count for this II.b passage (*abhijjham loke pahāya to vicikicchāya cittam parisodheti*, i.e. excluding *so*) is 64. Thus 19% of this §§ 16–17 passage consists of a structure repeated five times with replacement of key elements to produce differences in meaning, and with some repetition of wording [RS-2].

III. *so ime pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalī-karaṇe ...*

A *mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

B *karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

C *muditā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ muditā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

D *upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ upekhā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

This passage opens with two non-finite clauses, followed by four larger units which differ only in that one key word has been substituted twice in each: *mettā-* in the first division becomes *karuṇā-* in the second, and so on. The word count for one division is 34. 32 words of this are found verbatim in each division. Thus 10.1% of this §§ 16–17 passage occurs four times with key elements replaced and with most of the wording repeated. The four occurrences have a word count of 136, which represents 40.4% of this §§ 16–17 passage [RS-1]. Again, as this passage as a whole occurs three times, the basic unit being repeated here occurs 12 times in this sutta.

In turn, this unit is also internally repetitive in a number of ways: (i) it consists of two sentences, each based on an underlying [type of brahmavihāra]-*saha-gatena cetasā ... pharivā viharati* structure; (ii) in the first sentence we find repetition in *tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catuttham*; (iii) a form of repetition is also achieved through

the proliferation of similar word elements: the string of adverbs (*uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi*) and the string of adjectives (*vipulena maha-ggatenā appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena*).⁹²

It is possible that a form of abbreviation has occurred here in that the formula is not repeated with each of the four directions; that is, we have ... *tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catuttham* rather than *mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekam disam pharivā viharati* ... *mettā-saha-gatena cetasā dutiyaṃ disam pharivā viharati*, and so on.

In summary, within this III sub-section, or passage, we have a structure, or unit of meaning, which is composed of repetitive sub-units. This structure is repeated four times with key words replaced to produce differences in meaning to build up the passage. This passage is then repeated verbatim three times in the sutta.

(b) *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā ...*
etc.

See § 8a.iii above.

§ 18.

(a) *'idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṃ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na paṇaṃ atipāpeti, pharivā viharati.'*

This is the verbatim repetition of the § 16–17 passage.

(b) *so aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati, seyyath-īdaṃ ekam pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo visatim pi jātiyo timsam pi jātiyo cattārisam pi jātiyo paññāsam pi jātiyo jāti-satam pi jāti-sahassam pi jāti-sata-sahassam pi, aneke pi saṃvaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi vivaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi saṃvaṭṭa-vivaṭṭa-kappe: "amutr' āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim. tatra p' āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno" ti. iti sākāraṃ sauddesaṃ aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati.'*

(i) This passage is repeated verbatim again in § 19. The word count is 115. Thus almost 2% of the sutta occurs verbatim twice. This constitutes 3.9% of the text in total (VR).

(ii) It is also internally repetitive. It opens with a statement, which is then elaborated upon, followed by a concluding statement confirming the elaboration.⁹³ This is best analysed in the following way:

⁹² See Study 2, II 17a for these and their associated metrical and sound similarities.

⁹³ This is parallel to § 16–17a.(ii.I) (pp. 316–317) and § 19b.

I. The opening and closing units are similar:

- A *so aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati, seyyath-īdam*
 B *īti sākāraṃ sauddesaṃ aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati.*

These have a word count of 16. Thus 13.9% of this passage consists of a unit repeated twice with some important modifications [RIM].

II. The first part of the elaboration is composed of three distinct sections:

- A *ekam pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo vīsatiṃ pi jātiyo tiṃsaṃ pi jātiyo cattārisaṃ pi jātiyo paññāsaṃ pi jātiyo*
 B *jāti-sataṃ pi jāti-sahassaṃ pi jāti-sata-sahassaṃ pi*
 C *aneke pi samvaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi vivaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi samvaṭṭa-vivaṭṭa-kappe*

In A the unit [number] *pi jātiṃ/jātiyo* is repeated ten times to portray numbers 1 to 5, and 10 to 50 (i.e. 10, 20, 30, 40, 50). It has a word count of 30. Thus 26.1% of this passage consists of a structure repeated ten times with key elements replaced [RS-1].

In B the unit *jāti-[number] pi* is repeated three times for the numbers 100, 1000 and 100,000. It has a word count of 10. Thus 8.7% of this passage consists of a structure repeated three times with key elements replaced [RS-1].

In C the unit *aneke pi [samvaṭṭa/+vivaṭṭa]-kappe* is repeated three times. It has a word count of 13. Thus 11.3% of this passage consists of a structure repeated three times with key elements replaced [RS-1].

As in § 8b (cf. § 22b), abbreviation of numbers has occurred in this passage.

III. The second part of the elaboration is composed of two similar units:

- A *amutr' āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukka-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim.*
 B *tatra p' āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukka-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno ti.*

The two units differ only in the underlined. This has a word count of 46. Thus 40% of this passage consists of a structure repeated twice with replacement of key elements and with much repetition of wording [RS-1]. On yet another level, the basic phrase being repeated here is composed of a unit repeated six times: *evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo*, etc. The unit being repeated is *evaṃ-[social identity/life experience]*.

In summary, of this passage, which as a whole is repeated verbatim again in this sutta, 40% consists of a structure repeated twice (III.A & B), 20% consists of two structures each repeated three times (II.B & C), 26.1% consists of a structure repeated 10 times (II.A) and 13.9% consists of a passage repeated twice with important modifications (I.A & B).

(c) *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā ...*
etc.

See § 8a above.

§ 19.

(a) *'idha Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti. kathaṃ ca Nigrodha tapassī cātu-yāma-saṃvara-saṃvuto hoti? idha Nigrodha tapassī na pāṇaṃ atipāpeti, ... pharitvā viharati. so aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati, ... pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati.'*

This is the repetition of §§ 16–17 and § 18a–b above.

(b) *'so dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti "ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-dīṭṭhikā micchā-dīṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā. ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-sucaritena samannāgatā vacī-sucaritena samannāgatā mano-sucaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-dīṭṭhikā sammā-dīṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokam upapannā" ti. iti dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti.'*

This passage does not occur again as the attainment it describes represents the highest achievement of ascetic practice. Both this formula and components of the previous passage are quite common in canonical texts.⁹⁴ It has a word count of 105 (= 1.8% of the text).

It is, however, composed of repetitive units, which is primary repetition as far as this study is concerned. It opens and concludes with the same statement (I). Separating these two is the expansion of the initial statement, which consist of two repetitive structures expressing opposites (II):⁹⁵

⁹⁴ See the PTC s.v. *apāya*.

⁹⁵ Similar frames are encountered in § 16–17a.(ii.I) and § 18b.(ii.I).

I. A so *dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti ...*

B iti *dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti.*

Apart from the initial word, these passages are identical. Each has a word count of 21. Thus 0.4% of the sutta occurs twice with only minor modifications, constituting 0.7% of the text (RMM).

This statement is internally repetitive in that *satte passati* of the first main clause is echoed in *satte pajānāti* of the second. Repetition is also seen in the string of four pairs of adjectives expressing opposites: *cavamāne upapajjamāne*, etc.⁹⁶

II. A *ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-diṭṭhikā micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā.*

B *ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-succaritena samannāgatā vacī-succaritena samannāgatā mano-succaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-diṭṭhikā sammā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ marañā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ upapannā ti.*

The wording of A is repeated with replacement of various prefixed elements and certain units to express its opposite in B. A has a word count of 31. Thus 0.5% of the text occurs twice with minor modifications to express the opposite. The two passages have a word count of 63. This constitutes 1.1% of the sutta (RMM).

The modifications to be made by the reciter are not particularly difficult: *vata* of A becomes *vā pana* in B; the *du(c)-* prefixes and *micchā* of A are respectively replaced by their common opposites *su-* and *sammā* in B; *an-* is added to *upavādakā* of A to form its opposite in B. The most complex change occurs in *apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ* of A being replaced by *sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ* in B, though again, these are well known opposites.⁹⁷

The structure is also internally repetitive in that *-du(c)-(su)-ccaritena samannāgatā* is combined with *kāya-*, *vacī-*, and *mano-* individually, thus occurring three times, rather than with all three terms in one compound: *kāya-vacī-manosucaritena samannāgatā*. The word count for these three structures is 9. Thus 29% of the A passage consists of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements [RS-1].

For the other repetitive structures of these passages see Study 2, II 19b–c.

⁹⁶ See Study 2, II 19a.

⁹⁷ See PTC s.v. *apāya*.

In summary, although this passage as a whole does not occur again in this sutta, it is seen to be composed of repeated structures: two distinct units each occurring twice with some modification of wording. As a consequence, only a small proportion of this passage is unique.

(c) *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā ...*
etc.

See § 8a.iii above.

(d) *'iti kho Nigrodha yaṃ maṃ tvam abhāsi: "ko nāma so bhante Bhagavato dhammo yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-pattā patijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyan?" ti. iti kho taṃ Nigrodha thānaṃ uttaritarañ ca pañītatarañ ca yen-āhaṃ sāvake vinemi, yena mayā sāvakā vinītā assāsa-pattā patijānanti ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-cariyan' ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā ahesum: 'ettha mayam anassāma sācariyakā, na mayam ito bhivyo uttaritaram pajānāmā' ti.*

Much of this passage occurs in § 6 and § 7, with some sections occurring three or four times (see § 6e).

The phrases and units which do not occur elsewhere are underlined, although the component units of *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā ahesum* have already been encountered and discussed.

§ 20.

(a) *yadā aññāsi Sandhāno gaha-pati 'aññad-atthu kho dān' ime añña-tiṭṭhiyā paribbājakā Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ sussūsanti, sotaṃ odahanti, aññā-cittaṃ upaṭṭhapenti' ti, atha Nigrodham paribbājakam etad avoca: 'iti kho bhante Nigrodha yaṃ maṃ tvam avacāsi,*

This does not occur elsewhere in this sutta (w.c. 35 = 0.6% of the text).

(b) *"yagghe gaha-pati jāneyyāsi kena samaṇo Gotamo saddhiṃ sallapati? kena sākacchaṃ samāpajjati? kena paññā-veyyattiyam āpajjati? suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparis-āvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālaṃ sallāpāya, so antam-antān' eva sevati. seyyathā pi nāma gokāṇā pariyanta-cārini antam-antān' eva sevati, evam eva suññ-āgāra-hatā samaṇassa Gotamassa paññā, aparis-āvacaro samaṇo Gotamo, n-ālaṃ sallāpāya, so antam-antān' eva sevati. iṅha gaha-pati samaṇo Gotamo imaṃ parisam āgaccheyya, eka-pañhen' eva naṃ saṃsādeyyāma, tuccha-kumbhi va naṃ maññe orodheyāmā" ti.*

This also occurs in § 5 (see § 5b above).

c) *'ayam kho so bhante Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho idh-ānuppatto, aparis-āvācaram pana nam karotha, gokānam pariyanta-cārinim karotha, eka-pañhen' eva nam samsādettha, tuccha-kumbhi va nam maññe orodethā' ti, evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako tuṅhī-bhūto maṅku-bhūto patta-kkhandho adho-mukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno nisīdi.*

Only the opening sentence of this passage is not found elsewhere in this sutta. Within it a form of repetition is seen in the commonly occurring list *Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho*.⁹⁸

The underlined is found in the immediately preceding passage, which in turn is a repetition of § 5b above, while the wording of the last sentence is repeated in the sentence which follows (beginning of § 21) and at the beginning of § 24:

A (§ 20) *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako tuṅhī-bhūto maṅku-bhūto patta-kkhandho adho-mukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno nisīdi.*

B (§ 21) *atha kho Bhagavā Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ maṅku-bhūtaṃ patta-kkhandhaṃ adho-mukhaṃ pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhānaṃ veditvā ...*

C (§ 24) *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakaṃ tuṅhī-bhūtā maṅku-bhūtā patta-kkhandhā adho-mukhā pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhānā nisidimsu.*

The A and C occurrences are virtually identical; there is merely a change of grammatical number, and *Nigrodho* in A has become *te* in C. The B occurrence differs in its initial and final wording. Also, the subject of A and C has become the object in B. Changes in case have taken place. The A occurrence has a word count of 15. Thus 0.3% of the text occurs three times with minor modifications. The word count of the three passages is 46. This constitutes 0.8% of the text (RMM).

This passage is also internally repetitive in that it predominantly consists of a string of adjectives with the first two sharing the same construction: *tuṅhī-bhūto maṅku-bhūto*, etc.⁹⁹

§ 21.

(a) *atha kho Bhagavā Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ tuṅhī-bhūtaṃ maṅku-bhūtaṃ patta-kkhandhaṃ adho-mukhaṃ pajjhāyantaṃ appaṭibhānaṃ veditvā Nigrodhaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'saccaṃ Nigrodha bhāsitaṃ te esā vācā?' ti. 'saccaṃ bhante bhāsitaṃ me esā vācā yathā-bālena yathā-mūlhenā yathā-akusalena' ti.*

The first part of this passage has just been discussed.

The Buddha asks Nigrodha a question. Nigrodha's answer repeats the Buddha's question in full and expands it with a string of adverbs:

⁹⁸ See Study 2, II 20c.

⁹⁹ See Study 2, II 20d.

- A *saccam Nigrodha bhāsītā te esā vācā? ti*
 B *saccam bhante bhāsītā me esā vācā yathā-bālena yathā-mūlhena yathā-akusalenā ti.*

As in the next passage to be analysed (§ 21b), it is not uncommon in sutta texts for the wording of a question to be repeated in full in the answer which follows. Apart from the string of adverbs, differences are due to the change in speakers.

The word count for A is 7; i.e. 0.1% of the text occurs twice with important modifications. The two passages together have a word count of 20, which represents 0.3% of the text (RIM).

The adverbs are also repetitive in their structure.¹⁰⁰ They occur twice in § 22 as accusative constructions: *accagamā yathā-bālam yathā-mūlham yathā-akusalam.*

- (b) 'tam kim maññasi Nigrodha?

A *kin ti te sutam paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ* "ye te ahesum atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, *evam su te Bhagavanto saṃgamma samāgamma unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharimsu, seyyath-īdam rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nāti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-tṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lok-akkhāyikaṃ samudd-akkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā, seyyathā pi tvam etarahi sācariyako? udāhu evam su te Bhagavanto araññe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevanti appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni paṭisallāna-sārappāni seyyathā p-āham etarahi?" ' ti.*

B *'sutam me tam bhante paribbājakānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ* "ye te ahesum atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, *n-āssu te Bhagavanto < saṃgamma samāgamma [unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā aneka-vihitaṃ tiracchāna-kathaṃ anuyuttā viharanti, (seyyath-īdam rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ senā-kathaṃ bhaya-kathaṃ yuddha-kathaṃ anna-kathaṃ pāna-kathaṃ vattha-kathaṃ sayana-kathaṃ mālā-kathaṃ gandha-kathaṃ nāti-kathaṃ yāna-kathaṃ gāma-kathaṃ nigama-kathaṃ nagara-kathaṃ jana-pada-kathaṃ itthi-kathaṃ purisa-kathaṃ sūra-kathaṃ visikhā-kathaṃ kumba-tṭhāna-kathaṃ pubba-peta-kathaṃ nānatta-kathaṃ lok-akkhāyikaṃ samudd-akkhāyikaṃ iti-bhav-ābhava-kathaṃ iti vā,)] seyyathā p-āham etarahi sācariyako, evam su te Bhagavanto araññe vana-patthāni pantāni sen-āsanāni paṭisevanti appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni paṭisallāna-sārappāni seyyathā > pi Bhagavā etarahi" ' ti.*

The interrogative sentence which begins this passage (*tam kim maññasi Nigrodha?*) is quite common, occurring also at §§ 8, 12, 15, 17, 18 and 19.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ See Study 2, II 21a.

¹⁰¹ See § 8a.

As in § 21a above, we find the Buddha's question being repeated here in full in the answer of Nigrodha. Minor changes in wording and grammatical tense have taken place (the underlined). Passage A has 133 words, B has 132. Thus 2.3% of the text occurs twice with minor modifications. The two passages have a word count of 265. This constitutes 4.5% of the sutta.

However, much of this passage occurs elsewhere and the calculation of repetition is difficult. These "units" have been indicated in the B passage above through a variety of brackets. In effect, we have a core unit — that enclosed by the round brackets (*seyyath-īdam to katham itī vā*) — which occurs verbatim four times (§§ 2, 4 & 21 (x 2); see § 2b). Each of these four occurrences is preceded by variants of the unit *unnādino uccā-sadda-mahā-saddā*, etc. Therefore, what is enclosed in square brackets [*unnādino to katham itī vā*] occurs four times with modification to the opening line. Three of these occurrences (§§ 4 & 21 (x 2); see § 4b) share the initial *saṃgamma samāgamma* and the final unit depicting the alternative "association with silence"; that enclosed by angular brackets: < *saṃgamma to seyyathā* >. In this way, this unit occurs three times with modification to the opening and closing sections. And finally, the entire passage occurs twice here in § 21 with minor changes as mentioned above.

To avoid counting a passage more than once, we will only take into consideration the calculations for (i) the four verbatim occurrences of the core unit, and (ii) the initial and final sections of this § 21 occurrence which are repeated with minor modifications. The calculations for the former were established in § 2b. The opening and closing sections of the § 21 A passage have a word count of 67. The B passage has 66 (= 133 in total). Thus 1.1% of the text occurs twice with minor modifications, constituting 2.3% of the sutta in total (RMM).

(c) *'tassa te Nigrodha viññussa sato mahallakassa na etad ahoṣi: "buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṃ deseti" ' ti.*

Although this passage does not occur again in this sutta, it is seen to be composed of a structure repeated with the replacement of key elements in each to produce differences in meaning. The repetitive section is best presented in the following format:

A	<i>buddho</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>bodhāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
B	<i>danto</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>damathāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
C	<i>santo</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>samathāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
D	<i>tiṇṇo</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>taraṇāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
E	<i>parinibbuto</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>parinibbānāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>

The structure which is repeated five times here is [attribute (ppp.): nom.] *so Bhagavā* [indirect object: dat. of purpose] *dharmacā deseti*. The word count for the first division is 6. Thus 0.1% of the text consists of a structure which is repeated five times with replacement of key elements. The five divisions have a word count of 30. This constitutes 0.5% of the sutta (RS-1).

It was also seen in the Study 2 (II 21d) that there is repetition amongst the elements which differ in each division — horizontally, so to speak: *buddho ... bodhāya*, etc., and vertically: *buddho ... danto ... santo*, etc. — in terms of similarities in morphology (past participles, etc.), and sound and metrical patterns.

§ 22.

(a) *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca:*

A *'accayo mam bhante accagamā yathā-bālam yathā-mūlham yathā-akusalam, so 'ham Bhagavantam evam avacāsim. tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayam accayato paṭigāhātu āyatim samvāyā' ti.*

B *'taggha tam Nigrodha accayo accagamā yathā-bālam yathā-mūlham yathā-akusalam, yam mam tvam evam avacāsi, yato ca kho tvam Nigrodha accayam accayato disvā yathā-kammam paṭikarosi, tam te mayam paṭigāhāma. vuddhi h' esā Nigrodha ariyassa vinaye, yo accayam accayato disvā yathā-dhammam paṭikaroti, āyatim samvaram āpajjati.'*

(i) The initial, opening phrase (*evaṃ vutte ...*) is common (see § 5a). Nigrodha's request (A) and the Buddha's response (B) then follow. It can be seen that the Buddha's response repeats much of the wording and structure of Nigrodha's request, but with important changes in word order and grammatical number, tense and person, as well as the expansion of wording.

Passage A has a word count of 25. Thus 0.4% of the sutta occurs twice with some important modifications. The two passages (w.c. 72) represent 1.2% of the text (RIM).

(ii) In itself, the wording which expands the Buddha's response is repetitive:

1) *yato ca kho tvam Nigrodha accayam accayato disvā yathā-kammam paṭikarosi, tam te mayam paṭigāhāma.*

2) *vuddhi h' esā Nigrodha ariyassa vinaye, yo accayam accayato disvā yathā-dhammam paṭikaroti, āyatim samvaram āpajjati.*

The units to differ in each are underlined. The expanded line (2) repeats the *accayam accayato disvā yathā-(k/dh)ammam paṭikaro-* element of 1.

(b) 'aham kho pana Nigrodha evaṃ vadāmi:

A *etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satta vassāni.*

B *tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha satta vassāni. etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati cha vassāni, pañca vassāni, cattāri vassāni, tīni vassāni, dve vassāni, ekam vassam.*

C *tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha ekam vassam. etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satta māsāni.*

D *tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha satta māsāni. etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati cha māsāni, pañca māsāni, cattāri māsāni, tīni māsāni, dve māsāni, ekam māsam, addha-māsam.*

E *tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha addha-māso. etu viññū puriso asaṭho amāyāvī uju-jātiko, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. yath-ānusiṭṭhaṃ tathā paṭipajjamāno yass' atthāya kula-puttā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad-anuttaraṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati satt-āham.*

The sentence which introduces this passage, *aham kho pana Nigrodha evaṃ vadāmi*, is composed of common elements. The speech of the Buddha which follows consists of five highly repetitive divisions, presented as A–E above.

Apart from A, which lacks the opening *tiṭṭhantu Nigrodha* phrase, these five divisions differ only in the elements which express the number of years, months or days it will take to realise the Buddha's teaching. The logic of the numerical and temporal progression is straightforward: A = 7 years; B = 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 year(s); C = 7 months; D = 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 1/2 a month(s); E = 7 days. In this way, the repetition is not exhaustive, the structure is not repeated for each and every number. Abbreviation of this kind is not uncommon in passages involving numbers (cf. § 8b & § 18b).

The word count for A is 40. Thus 0.7% of the text occurs five times with key elements replaced to produce differences in meaning. The five divisions together have a word count of 238. This constitutes 4.1% of the text (RS-1).

Internal repetition, in the form of the proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning, is seen in the string of adjectives (*viññū puriso asaṭho*, etc.), the

two parallel sentences (*ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi.*), and so on.¹⁰²

The *ditṭhe va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissati* phrase of each also occurs in § 23 (see § 23c).

§ 23.

(a) The first half of § 23, which is a continuation of the Buddha's speech, is best presented in the following format:

A *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: "antevāsi-kamyatā no samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā" ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ, yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu.*

B *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: "uddesā no cāvetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā" ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ, yo eva vo uddeso so eva vo uddeso hotu.*

C *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: "ājīvā no cāvetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā" ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ, yo eva vo ājīvo so eva vo ājīvo hotu.*

D *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: "ye no dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tesu patitṭhāpetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā" ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ, akusalā c' eva vo te dhammā hontu akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ.*

E *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: "ye no dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ, tehi vivicetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā" ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ, kusalā c' eva vo te dhammā hontu kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ.*

This passage is composed of a structure repeated five times.¹⁰³ Each of the five divisions can be divided into four distinct units. Division A, for example, consists of the following:

- A
- 1 *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa:*
 - 2 *antevāsi-kamyatā no samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti,*
 - 3 *na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ,*
 - 4 *yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu.*

Units 1 and 3 remain the same in each of the five divisions. Difference in meaning between the five divisions is achieved through the substitution of key parallel elements in units 2 and 4.

¹⁰² See Study 2, II 22b.

¹⁰³ This may reflect the fivefold repeated structure of the immediately preceding passage.

The number 2 units for each division are:

A	<i>antevāsi-kamyatā no</i>	<i>samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti</i>
B	<i>uddesā no cāvetu-kāmo</i>	<i>samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti</i>
C	<i>ājīvā no cāvetu-kāmo</i>	<i>samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti</i>
D	<i>ye no dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā saccariyakānaṃ,</i> <i>tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo</i>	<i>samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti</i>
E	<i>ye no dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā saccariyakānaṃ,</i> <i>tehi vivicetu-kāmo</i>	<i>samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti</i>

All units share an overall common structure, having the sense of “the *samaṇa* Gotama speaks thus to us out of (/possessing) a desire for something”. All share the words *samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti* in common. The B and C units are alike, differing only in their first elements (*uddesā/ājīvā*). The D and E units similarly parallel one another, differing only in that E replaces D’s *akusalā* with *kusalā*, and *tesu paṭiṭṭhāpetu-* with *tehi vivicetu-*. D and E differ from A, B and C in that both introduce a long relative clause. The A unit seems to stand alone in utilising *antevāsi-kamyatā* rather than the [abl./loc.] + [infinitive]-*kāmo* structure of some of the others.¹⁰⁴ This finds a parallel in § 16–17a.(ii.II) (p. 319) above, where the first of five repetitive units differs the most.

The number 4 units are:

A	<i>yo eva vo ācariyo so eva vo ācariyo hotu.</i>
B	<i>yo eva vo uddeso so eva vo uddeso hotu.</i>
C	<i>yo eva vo ājīvo so eva vo ājīvo hotu.</i>
D	<i>akusalā c’ eva vo te dhammā hontu akusala-saṃkhātā saccariyakānaṃ.</i>
E	<i>kusalā c’ eva vo te dhammā hontu kusala-saṃkhātā saccariyakānaṃ.</i>

These units are a response to the ideas expressed in the number 2 units, and to a certain extent repeat their wording. In this case the A, B and C units are identical in structure, differing in that key words are replaced in each. In themselves they also show repetition: a relative clause is repeated almost word for word as a main clause. The D and E units differ from one another only in reading *akusalā* or *kusalā*.

From the above analysis it can be seen that this passage is composed of five almost identical structures with key elements and units replaced in each division to create differences in meaning. However, the modifications to key elements which have taken place in this passage are not as straightforward and as predictable as those which have taken place in passages where key elements within a repeated structure are replaced by words or units of similar morphology or construction; as seen, for example, in § 21c above where *buddho* of one division was replaced by *danto* in the next, then *santo* in the following, and so on. The types of substitutions and modifications that are

¹⁰⁴ But note that the last two syllables (*-tā no*) are echoed in *-kāmo* of the next division.

taking place in the passage under review are a step more complicated; though again, there is a degree of repetition within this diversity. Unit B.2, for example, is quite different from unit D.2, one of its counterparts, but is very close to C.2, as D.2 is to E.2.

Section A has a word count of 31 (cf. the w.c. for B and C = 32, or D and E = 39). Thus 0.5% of the text occurs five times with replacement of and modifications to key elements. These five divisions together have a word count of 173, which constitutes 2.9% of the sutta (RS-1).

The wording common to all five divisions is *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: ... no samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā'' ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ datṭhabbaṃ*. This has a word count of 20 (x 5 = 100). Thus 57.8% of this passage consists of five identical units.

The wording common to units A, B and C (w.c. 95) is *siyā kho pana te Nigrodha evam assa: ... no samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā'' ti, na kho pan' etaṃ Nigrodha evaṃ datṭhabbaṃ, yo eva vo ... so eva vo ... hotu*. This has a word count of 27 (x 3 = 81). Thus 85.3% of these three divisions consists of three identical units.

Again, the wording of D and E (w.c. 78) are so similar as to be probably close to 95% verbatim.

(b) The next section of the Buddha's speech can be similarly divided into five parallel divisions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| A | <i>iti kho 'haṃ Nigrodha n' eva antevāsi-kamyatā evaṃ vadāmi</i> |
| B | <i>na pi uddesā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi</i> |
| C | <i>na pi ājīvā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi</i> |
| D | <i>na pi ye vo dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tesu patiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi</i> |
| E | <i>na pi ye vo dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tehi vivecetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi.</i> |

This passage summarises the preceding argument, repeating much of the wording of the number 2 units, and therefore sharing the same repetition of structure. Thus *uddesā no cāvetu-kāmo samaṇo Gotamo evam āhā ti* of B.2 in the previous passage becomes *na pi uddesā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi* in this passage.

All of the five divisions share a basic frame, or structure, in common: *n' eva/pi ... evaṃ vadāmi*. Note that *eva* of the first is replaced by *pi* in the remainder. The word count for this passage is 52. Thus 0.9% of the text consists of a structure repeated five times with only slight repetition of wording (RS-2).

Division B and C only differ in one key word: *na pi uddesā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi* in B becomes *na pi ājīvā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi* in C. Similarly, D and E only differ in that key elements are replaced: *na pi ye vo dhammā akusalā*

akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tesu patitthāpetu-kāmo evaṃ vadami in D becomes *na pi ye vo dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tehi vivecetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi* in E.

(c) ‘*santi ca kho Nigrodha akusalā dhammā appahīnā saṃkilesikā ponobhavikā saddarā dukkha-vipākā āyatim jāti-jarā-maraniyā, yes-āhaṃ pahānāya dhammaṃ desemi, yathā-paṭipannānaṃ vo saṃkilesikā dhammā pahīyissanti, vodāniyā dhammā abhivaddhissanti, paññā-pāripūriṃ vepullataṅ ca diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissathā*’ ti.

This passage does not occur elsewhere in this sutta (w.c. 43 = 0.7% of the text), though the final phrase (*diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharissatha*) occurs five times in § 22 (see § 22b). Much of this passage is found elsewhere in the *Dīgha* and in other sutta texts; e.g. D I 195ff. A form of repetition is also to be seen in the initial string of adjectives and the final string of absolutes.¹⁰⁵

§ 24.

(a) *evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā tuṅhī-bhūtā maṅku-bhūtā patta-kkhandhā adhomukhā pajjhāyantā appaṭibhānā nisīdīmsu, yathā taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhita-cittā. atha kho Bhagavato etad ahoṣi: ‘sabbe p’ ime mogha-purisā phuṭṭhā pāpimatā, yatra hi nāma ekassa pi na evaṃ bhavissati: “handa mayaṃ aññānattham pi samaṇe Gotame brahma-cariyaṃ carāma, kiṃ karissati satt-āho?”*’ ti. *atha kho Bhagavā Udumbarikāya paribbājak-ārāme siha-nādaṃ naditvā, vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā, Gijjhakūṭe pabbate paccuṭṭhāsi. Sandhano gaha-pati tāvad eva Rājagahaṃ pāvisi ti.*

This passage is also not found elsewhere in this sutta (w.c. 76 = 1.3% of the text), though the initial phrase (*tuṅhī-bhūtā*, etc.) occurs in § 20 and § 21 (see § 20c), and we find expressions such as *evaṃ vutte*, *atha kho* [person: gen./dat.] *etad ahoṣi*, and so on, being commonly used throughout this sutta.

¹⁰⁵ See Study 2, II 23c.

IV. SUMMARY

1. The overall structure of the sutta and repetition.

The *Udumbarika-sihanāda-sutta* depicts the following basic course of events:

- a) The householder Sandhāna sets out to see the Buddha, but decides to visit Nigrodha and his ascetics instead.
- b) He engages in conversation with Nigrodha.
- c) The Buddha “hears” this conversation and approaches Nigrodha.
- d) The Buddha engages in debate with Nigrodha.
- e) The Buddha and Sandhāna depart leaving Nigrodha defeated but not converted.

At the beginning of this sutta there is a lengthy description of the lowly talk engaged in by the ascetics at the time of Sandhāna’s approach. This stock description of lowly talk is repeated several times throughout this sutta, forming the basis for both Sandhāna’s and the Buddha’s criticism of the ascetics, contrasting their engagement in such talk with the Buddha’s (or Buddhas’) silence and seeking of solitude.

Seeing Sandhāna approach, Nigrodha orders his ascetics to be silent. The overall structure and wording of this passage is subsequently utilised when the Buddha approaches Nigrodha.

Nigrodha responds to Sandhāna’s criticism of his “lowly talk” and his extolling of the Buddha’s seeking of silence in secluded places by stating that the Buddha’s understanding has been destroyed by such a practice, and that he will easily defeat him in debate.

The Buddha “hears” this and approaches. Nigrodha again orders his ascetics to be silent, telling them that he will ask the Buddha about his teaching when he comes. The Buddha asks Nigrodha what he was talking about, and Nigrodha repeats his criticism of the practice of living in solitude, his assertion and the question he had said he would ask the Buddha. The Buddha tells Nigrodha that it is hard for ascetics of other sects to understand his teaching and that it would be better if they discussed Nigrodha’s own asceticism; that is, how is austere ascetic practice fulfilled and not fulfilled? Nigrodha obliges by asking the Buddha this question, which establishes the topic of debate for the rest of the sutta.

The Buddha begins by describing a set of ascetic practices, then asks Nigrodha if ascetic practice is fulfilled in this way. Nigrodha considers that it is, but the Buddha considers that that ascetic practice can be defiled. He then describes the ways in which it is defiled. At the end of this he asks Nigrodha if he thinks it is thus defiled or not. Nigrodha considers that it is and the Buddha describes how ascetic practice is not

defiled. As seen in the relevant discussion, this long description repeats the wording of the former description of the defilement of ascetic practice, but with certain simple prefixes added or omitted to give the opposite meaning and with the replacement of one key phrase.

The Buddha asks Nigrodha if he thinks ascetic practice is thus purified. Nigrodha considers that it is and that it has attained its peak and essence/heartwood. The Buddha disagrees and states that it hasn't even attained the outer skin. Nigrodha asks the Buddha to explain. The Buddha then describes a sequence of five progressive practices, each dependant on the previous. They are: 1) the practice of the four watches (*cātu-yāma-saṃvara*); 2) the (temporary) abandoning of the five hindrances; 3) the practice of the four Brahmavihāras; 4) remembering former lives; and 5) seeing with the "divine" eye the arising and passing away of beings according to their actions.

After describing the first three practices, the Buddha asks Nigrodha if he thinks ascetic practice has been purified in this way. As before, Nigrodha considers that it is and that it has attained its essence, etc. That is, the same question-and-response interaction is utilised.

The Buddha then describes practices 1 to 4, and asks the same question. He then describes practices 1 to 5, and again asks Nigrodha if it has been purified. As before, Nigrodha considers that it has, to which the Buddha this time agrees, which thus brings this line of argument to a conclusion. In this way the short question-and-response passage is repeated four times, the description of the first three practices occurs three times, and the description of the fourth practice occurs twice.

The Buddha then reminds Nigrodha of his initial interest in asking him about his teaching, and states that his teaching is thus one of greater and higher refinement than Nigrodha's; at which point in the debate Nigrodha's ascetics admit defeat. Sandhāna then reminds Nigrodha of his earlier boastful claim of being able to easily defeat the Buddha in debate, quoting his speech in full. The Buddha asks him if this is true and whether past, wise ascetics had engaged in lowly talk as he and his ascetics did, or whether they had sought silent and secluded places as the Buddha(s) did. Nigrodha admits to stating this claim and agrees that past ascetics pursued silence, repeating the wording of the Buddha in full. He states that he had spoken of the Buddha in this way out of delusion.

In five parallel statements the Buddha then encourages Nigrodha towards conversion by claiming that attainment can be achieved in a yet briefer period than described in his preceding statement. Then in another five parallel statements the Buddha tries to diffuse any suspicions Nigrodha may have as to his motives. But this is to no avail, and the Buddha and Sandhāna depart.

From the above synopsis it can be seen that this sutta is founded on a structure which ensures a great repetition of material. In this way, repetition is pursued

and established at the most fundamental level of composition.

2. Levels of quantifiable repetition.

There are several levels of repetition within a text. When attempting to quantify repetition, it is important not to confuse these and to include the same material in more than one calculation.

Primarily, there is repetition of blocks of material. So, for example, at § 18b it was seen that the following passage (§ 18) was subsequently repeated verbatim in § 19:

so aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati, seyyath-īdam ekam pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo vīsatiṃ pi jātiyo tiṃsam pi jātiyo cattārisam pi jātiyo paññāsam pi jātiyo jāti-satam pi jāti-sahassam pi jāti-sata-sahassam pi, aneke pi saṃvaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi vivaṭṭa-kappe aneke pi saṃvaṭṭa-vivaṭṭa-kappe: “amutr’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim. tatra p’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno” ti. iti sākāraṃ sauddesaṃ aneka-vihitaṃ pubbe-nivāsaṃ anussarati.

This is primary repetition, which is also referred to as repetition on a primary level. That is, 2% of this sutta occurs verbatim twice, with the two occurrences constituting 3.9% in total.

The latter part of this passage is composed of two parallel units:

- A *amutr’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto amutra udapādim.*
 B *tatra p’ āsiṃ evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo evaṃ-āhāro evaṃ-sukha-dukkha-paṭisaṃvedī evaṃ-āyu-pariyanto. so tato cuto idh-ūpapanno ti.*

This is secondary repetition. That is, 40% of this passage, not the sutta as a whole, consists of a structure repeated twice with replacement of key elements, and with repetition of much of the wording. As the passage as a whole is repeated verbatim twice on a primary level, the basic phrase being repeated therefore occurs four times in this sutta.

Again, the unit being repeated here is built up by repeating a basic structure six times with key elements replaced to create differences in meaning: *evaṃ-nāmo evaṃ-gotto evaṃ-vaṇṇo*, and so on. The structure being repeated is: *evaṃ-[social identity/life experience]*. In effect, this unit occurs 24 times in this sutta. This is tertiary repetition.

Theoretically, still further levels of repetition could be identified in some passages. In reality, however, only a few show quantifiable repetition even at a tertiary level. It is also the case that it becomes increasingly difficult to quantify repetition at this

level due to the size of the material involved. For these reasons only primary and secondary repetition have been calculated in this study.¹⁰⁶

3. Introduction to the tables.

The calculations established in this study are presented in the following tables. Each table is divided into two halves. Primary repetition is presented on the left. Secondary, or internal, repetition relevant to each of these entries is presented to the right. Not all passages involving primary repetition have quantifiable, internally repetitive elements.

If we take the first entry in the first table — that recording the figures for Verbatim Repetition — it is seen that the passage which occurs at § 5b and is repeated verbatim at § 20b, is itself composed of two identical elements; in other words, of a unit repeated verbatim.

The type of information listed in each column is relatively straightforward. In the first half of each table (primary repetition), the first column records the frequency with which a passage occurs. Thus 'x 2' indicates that the passage occurs twice. The second column merely gives an entry number and the third column gives the references to the above analysis section. The fourth column gives the word count for the first occurrence and the fifth gives the percentage of the text it represents. The sixth gives the total word count for all occurrences and the seventh gives the percentage of the text this represents.

In the second half of each table (secondary repetition), the first column gives an entry number and the second gives the classification of the type of repetition: Verbatim Repetition, Repetition with Minor Modifications, and so on (these will be discussed below). The third column gives the frequency of the occurrences. The remaining columns correspond to the final four in the first half, but here the percentage figure given is the percentage of the passage, not the text as a whole, that the entry represents.

The total figures for each frequency — e.g. the percentage of the text which involves 'x 2' repetition — is given after each frequency group. The total percentage of the text involving a particular class of repetition is given at the bottom of each table; e.g. from the first table, 30.0% of the text involves verbatim repetition. It must be noted that, as the percentage figures for each entry have been rounded off to one decimal point, these sub-totals and totals have been calculated from the total word counts to their left and not by adding up the percentage figures given for each individual entry. This avoids error in the calculations.

¹⁰⁶ It must be remembered here that we are talking about quantifiable repetition. For at all levels various forms of non-quantifiable repetition are utilised.

4. Tables.

Abbreviations (from left to right):

freq. frequency; i.e. the number of times a passage occurs in the text
 no. number; this is merely an entry number in the table
 refs. references
 wc word count
 type type of repetition:

VR = Verbatim Repetition
 RMM = Repetition with Minor Modifications
 RIM = Repetition with Important Modifications
 RS-1 = Repetition of Structure type 1
 RS-2 = Repetition of Structure type 2

pass. passage

Verbatim Repetition (Primary) (VR)							Secondary (Internal) Repetition						
freq.	no.	refs.	wc of first	% of text	total wc	total %	no.	type	freq.	wc of first	% of pass.	total wc	total % of pass.
x 2	1)	5b, 20b	84	1.4	168	2.9	1)	VR	x 2	18	21.4	36	42.9
	2)	6d, 7d	32	0.5	64	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3)	7f, 8a	12	0.2	24	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4)	18b, 19a	115	2.0	230	3.9	1)	RIM	x 2	-	-	16	13.9
							2)	RS-1	x 10	-	-	30	26.1
						3)	RS-1	x 3	-	-	10	8.7	
						4)	RS-1	x 3	-	-	13	11.3	
						5)	RS-1	x 2	-	-	46	40.0	
total			243	4.1	486	8.3							
x 3	1)	16-17a, 18a, 19a	337	5.7	1011	17.2	1)	RMM	x 4	8	2.4	36	10.7
							2)	RS-2	x 4	-	-	44	13.1
							3)	RS-2	x 5	-	-	64	19.0
							4)	RS-1	x 4	34	10.1	136	40.4
total			337	5.7	1011	17.2							
x 4	1)	2b, 4b, 21b	66	1.1	264	4.5	1)	RS-1	x 26	-	-	58	87.9
							2)	RS-1	x 2	-	-	4	6.1
total			66	1.1	264	4.5							
total			646	11.0	1761	30.0							

Repetition with Minor Modifications (Primary) (RMM)							Secondary (Internal) Repetition						
freq.	no.	refs.	wc of first	% of text	total wc	total %	no.	type	freq.	wc of first	% of pass.	total wc	total % of pass.
x 2	1)	8a.iii.B.2	13	0.2	27	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	9-12, 13-15	842	14.3	1717	29.2	1)	RMM	x 2	316	37.5	657	78.0
	3)	19b.I	21	0.4	42	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4)	19b.II	31	0.5	63	1.1	1)	RS-1	x 3	-	-	9	29.0
	5)	21b	67	1.1	133	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			974	16.6	1982	33.8							
x 3	1)	20c	15	0.3	46	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			989	16.8	2028	34.5							

Rep. with Important Modifications (Primary) (RIM)							Secondary (Internal) Repetition						
freq.	no.	refs.	wc of first	% of text	total wc	total %	no.	type	freq.	wc of first	% of pass.	total wc	total % of pass.
x 2	1)	3a	74	1.3	130	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	21a	7	0.1	20	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3)	22a	25	0.4	72	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			106	1.8	222	3.8							

Repetition of Structure type 1 (Primary) (RS-1)							Secondary (Internal) Repetition						
freq.	no.	refs.	wc of first	% of text	total wc	total %	no.	type	freq.	wc of first	% of pass.	total wc	total % of pass.
x 2	1)	8a.iii.B-C	27	0.5	49	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	8b.i.2	-	-	6	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3)	8b.i.4	-	-	8	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	63	1.1							
x 3	1)	8a.ii	-	-	9	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	8b.i.7	-	-	18	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3)	"	-	-	12	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4)	"	-	-	15	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	54	0.9							
x 4	1)	8a.iii.D-G	78	1.3	278	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	8b.i.5	-	-	12	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	290	4.9							
x 5	1)	21c	6	0.1	30	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	22b	40	0.7	238	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3)	23a	31	0.5	173	2.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			77	1.3	441	7.5							
x 10	1)	8b.i.8	-	-	41	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
x 13	1)	8b.i.9	-	-	48	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	937	16.0							

Repetition of Structure type 2 (Primary) (RS-2)							Secondary (Internal) Repetition						
freq.	no.	refs.	wc of first	% of text	total wc	total %	no.	type	freq.	wc of first	% of pass.	total wc	total % of pass.
x 2	1)	1c	7	0.1	17	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2)	8b.i.5	-	-	11	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	28	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
x 5	1)	23b	-	-	52	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
							-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	52	0.9							
x 9	1)	8b.i.10	-	-	69	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
							-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total			-	-	149	2.5							

5. Types of quantifiable repetition established in this study.

The forms of repetition occurring in this text which can be quantified have been classified in this study as belonging to one of five types or categories. They are: Verbatim Repetition (VR), Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM), Repetition with Important Modifications (RIM), Repetition of Structure type 1 (RS-1) and Repetition of Structure type 2 (RS-2). The five classes of quantifiable repetition differ by degree and/or form. By degree is meant the degree to which the wording is repeated. The first three types are differentiated according to this factor. No changes need be made by the reciter in Verbatim Repetition (VR). Minor changes must be made in material belong to the second class, Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM), while significant changes must be made in the Repetition with Important Modifications (RIM) class. This is, of course, significant in determining the ease with which a text is learnt and recited.

The remaining two types of quantifiable repetition differ from the first three in form and from one another by degree. In Repetition of Structure type 1 (RS-1) and Repetition of Structure type 2 (RS-2) a set structure is repeated to build up a passage with key words or units replaced to produce differences in meaning. In the case of RS-1 most of the overall wording is also repeated, while in RS-2 a larger proportion of the wording is replaced and, in some cases, modifications to the basic structure itself are also made.

Here a distinction must be made between structure and wording. The phrases *na adinnaṃ ādiyati* and *na bhāvitaṃ āsiṃsati* (§ 16) have the same structure but (apart from *na*) different wording, while *mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati* and *karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati* (§ 17) share the same structure and most of the same wording.

As will be seen in the following discussion, most categories encompass a

range of differences. Very occasionally, the classification of a repeated passage may be debated.

5.1 Verbatim Repetition (VR).

Verbatim Repetition involves the word for word repetition of a passage with no modifications needing to be made by the reciter. It therefore represents the form of repetition which most assists the learning and recitation of a text or body of material. Obviously, the greater the proportion of a text that is verbatim repetitive, the easier it is to learn and remember. An example of Verbatim Repetition has already been given above in the discussion of levels of quantifiable repetition.

Just over 8%¹⁰⁷ of this sutta is composed of four different passages each repeated verbatim twice. Another 17% of the text is composed of one passage repeated verbatim three times, and a further 4.5% consists of one passage repeated verbatim four times. In total, 30% of this sutta involves Verbatim Repetition on a primary level; that is, 30% consists of passages repeated verbatim two or more times.

Much of this material is itself composed of various types of repetitive elements, which is repetition on a secondary level. As discussed in the introduction to the tables, 43% of the § 5b (= § 20b) passage consists of two identical elements. As the whole passage is repeated verbatim twice, this element is repeated verbatim four times in this sutta. Again, passage § 18b (= § 19a) is repeated verbatim twice. Internally, 14% of this passage is composed of a unit, or passage, repeated twice with important modifications (RIM), and the rest is composed of four different structures repeated with replacement of key elements (RS-1): one structure is repeated ten times (= 26% of this passage), another three times (= 9%), a third also three times (= 11%) and the fourth twice (= 40% of the passage). In this way, this whole passage (100%) is seen to be composed of five different repetitive elements of various classifications.

5.2 Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM).

The passages classified as exhibiting Repetition with Minor Modifications involve a range of modifications or changes. The passage discussed at § 19b opens and closes with the same statement:

¹⁰⁷ The figure is actually 8.3%, but for the sake of ease of discussion, all figures will be rounded off to the nearest whole number in this summary.

I. A so *dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti ...*

B iti *dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paṇite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā-kamm-ūpage satte pajānāti.*

These differ only in their initial word element — the reciter must change so to iti. It can be seen that this is virtually Verbatim Repetition and entails little effort on the part of the reciter. This represents one end of the range encompassed by this category.

The passage occurring between this opening and closing statement is also composed of a unit repeated twice with minor modification:

II. A *ime vata bhonto sattā kāya-duccaritena samannāgatā vacī-duccaritena samannāgatā mano-duccaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ upavādakā micchā-diṭṭhikā micchā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapannā.*

B *ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāya-sucaritena samannāgatā vacī-sucaritena samannāgatā mano-sucaritena samannāgatā ariyānaṃ anupavādakā sammā-diṭṭhikā sammā-diṭṭhi-kamma-samādānā. te kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggam lokam upapannā ti.*

The modifications to be made here are certainly more complicated than those required in the previous, but are still not particularly difficult. As seen in the analysis of this phrase, the enclitic *vata* of A becomes *vā pana* in B — sound similarities give assistance; the *du(c)-* prefixes and *micchā* of A are respectively replaced by their common opposites *su-* and *sammā* in B; the negative of *upavādakā* of A is formed by the addition of *an-* in B; and *apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ* of A is replaced by its well known opposite *sugatiṃ saggam lokam* in B. This passage is representative of the other end of the range encompassed by Repetition with Minor Modifications.

By far the longest passage belonging to this class is that which depicts the ways in which ascetic practice is defiled and not defiled (§§ 9–12 & 13–15). This parallels the above passage in that the appropriate opposite meaning is produced by adding or omitting certain prefixes and by replacing some units.

34% of this sutta is composed of five different passages repeated twice with minor modifications, and another 1% consists of one passage repeated three times with minor modifications. In total, 35% (34.5%) of this sutta involves Repetition with Minor Modifications at a primary level.

Two of these passages exhibit quantifiable secondary repetition (see table). 29% of the § 19b.II passage, for example, consists of a structure repeated three times with replacement of key elements (RS-1). And 78% of the long “defilement of asceticism” passage (§§ 9–12) consists of passages repeated twice with minor

modifications — the main clause is repeated as a relative clause. There are also a number of repetitive passages belonging to other classifications which exhibit RMM at a secondary level.¹⁰⁸

5.3 Repetition with Important Modifications (RIM).

Only three repetitive passages have been classified as involving Repetition with Important Modifications at a primary level. Each consists of a passage repeated twice. Together they represent 4% (3.8%) of this sutta. The modifications to be made are quite substantial and therefore involve a greater effort on the part of the reciter. In § 22a, for example, Nigrodha admits his fault and asks the Buddha to recognise that he so admits it (passage A below). The Buddha's response (passage B) repeats much of the wording and structure of Nigrodha's request, but with important changes in word order, grammatical number, tense and person, as well as the expansion of wording:

A *accayo mam bhante accagamā yathā-bālam yathā-mūlham yathā-akusalam, so 'ham Bhagavantam evam avacāsim. tassa me bhante Bhagavā accayam accayato paṭiganhātu āyatim samvarāyā ti.*

B *taggha tam Nigrodha accayo accagamā yathā-bālam yathā-mūlham yathā-akusalam, yam mam tvam evam avacāsi, yato ca kho tvam Nigrodha accayam accayato disvā yathā-kammam patikarosi, tam te mayam paṭiganhāma. vuddhi h' esā Nigrodha ariyassa vinaye, yo accayam accayato disvā yathā-dhammam patikaroti, āyatim samvaram āpajjati.*

As stated before, the difference between this classification (RIM) and Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM) is one of degree.

One passage (§ 18b & § 19a) involves RIM at a secondary level.

5.4 Repetition of Structure type 1 (RS-1).

In the material classified as Repetition of Structure type 1, a particular structure is repeated, along with most of its wording, to build up a larger passage. Key elements or units within each repetition are replaced to produce differences in meaning.¹⁰⁹ As in most other categories, a limited range of differences are encompassed by this category, with some passages repeating a greater percentage of the wording than others.

In the passage describing the practice of the four Brahmavihāras,¹¹⁰ a set structure is repeated four times with one key word replaced twice in each repetition. It

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, § 16–17a.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. G. von Simson, 1965, § 9 & pp. 144, 148; H. Oldenberg, 1917, p. 44; J. Gonda, 1959, chap. III (esp. p. 81ff.), chap. VII (esp. pp. 166ff., 170). A. Syrkin (1983, p. 161) refers to these as “blocks” and states that they are a particularly common feature of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Brahmajāla-sutta*.

¹¹⁰ § 16–17a.III (p. 320).

will suffice here to reproduce the first two repetitions:

A *mettā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

B *karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyam, tathā catuttham. iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokam karuṇā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena maha-ggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati.*

Here *mettā* of A is replaced by *karuṇā* in B. In the remaining two repetitions, these are replaced by *muditā* then *upekhā*. One repetition, or division, has a word count of 34. Of this, 32 words are repeated in each case. This is close to verbatim repetition and, in terms of facilitating learning and recitation, parallels those passages grouped in the Repetition with Minor Modification category which involve only the slightest modifications. This passage represents one end of the range encompassed by this category.

In § 21c the speech of the Buddha is built up by repeating a structure five times:

A	<i>buddho</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>bodhāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
B	<i>danto</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>damathāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
C	<i>santo</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>samathāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
D	<i>tiṇṇo</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>taraṇāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>
E	<i>parinibbuto</i>	<i>so Bhagavā</i>	<i>parinibbānāya</i>	<i>dhammaṃ deseti</i>

Here the proportion of the wording repeated is less than in the previously discussed passage. Yet, as in many other passages of this class, the elements being replaced in each repetition share morphological, sound and metrical similarities. In this passage the initial element of each parallel sentence — *buddho*, *danto*, etc. — is a past participle, the first four have the same number of syllables and equal metrical patterns, and sound similarities are evident at least in *danto* and *santo*. In the second group of elements to be replaced, *damathāya* and *samathāya* are morphologically parallel, share the same number of syllables and have the same metrical pattern. They differ, in fact, only in their initial letter. Similarly, the last two elements in this group, *taraṇāya* and *parinibbānāya*, are morphologically similar. In this way, the elements which differ in meaning within each repeated structure appear similar in outward form. The effort involved in making the required modifications is thereby minimised for the reciter.

The passage which is perhaps representative of those within this category which involve the greatest modifications, is that discussed at § 23a. The analysis of this passage is quite lengthy and the reader is referred to that discussion.

Many of the passages included within this RS-1 category are quite short. Some merely consist of “strings”. This is seen, for example, in *mayam kho bhante tapo-jigucchā-vādā tapo-jigucchā-sārā tapo-jigucchā-allinā viharāma* (§ 8a) where the structure *tapo-jigucchā*[...] is repeated three times.

The phenomenon of repeating a particular structure, with key elements replaced in each repetition to produce differences in meaning, is a particularly common means of building up passages in Pāli sutta texts. This is also by far the most common form of repetition at a secondary level. A passage is built up through the repetition of a particular structure, then repeated verbatim, or with minor modifications, or in some other manner. Also, it is within this category that the greatest frequencies of repetition are found. The passage *so sāṇāni pi dhāreti, masāṇāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, tiriṭāni pi dhāreti, ajināni pi dhāreti, ajina-kkhipam pi dhāreti, kusa-cīram pi dhāreti, vāka-cīram pi dhāreti, phalaka-cīram pi dhāreti, kesa-kambalam pi dhāreti, vāla-kambalam pi dhāreti, ulūka-pakkhikam pi dhāreti* (§ 8b.i.9) is composed of a structure repeated 13 times, while the stock description of the lowly talk engaged in by the ascetics (§ 2b) is composed of a structure repeated 26¹¹¹ times: *rāja-kathaṃ cora-kathaṃ mahā-matta-kathaṃ*, etc.

The detailed figures for the calculations of the repeated passages of this class can be seen in the table. On a primary level, about 5% of this sutta, for example, is composed of two different structures each repeated four times, and about 8% is composed of three different structures repeated five times. In total, 16% of this sutta involves the repetition of structures along with most of their wording, with the replacement of key elements or units to produce differences in meaning at a primary level.

5.5 Repetition of Structure type 2 (RS-2).

Repetition of Structure type 2 incorporates material which involves the repetition of a structure, but with little repetition of the wording, or in some cases, the repetition of a basic structure, but with modification to that structure, and especially to the structure of the units which are replaced in each repetition. For the most part, the difference between RS-1 and RS-2 is one of degree. Again, this classification itself encompasses a range of differences.

Part of the Buddha’s speech, which occurs at the end of this sutta (§ 23b), is composed of a basic unit repeated five times:

¹¹¹ Or 25 times (see the analysis section § 2b).

- A *iti kho 'haṃ Nigrodha n' eva antevāsi-kamyatā evaṃ vadāmi*
 B *na pi uddesā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi*
 C *na pi ājīvā cāvetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi*
 D *na pi ye vo dhammā akusalā akusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tesu patiṭṭhāpetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi*
 E *na pi ye vo dhammā kusalā kusala-saṃkhātā sācariyakānaṃ tehi vivecetu-kāmo evaṃ vadāmi.*

All five repetitions share *evaṃ vadāmi* in common, but the sections which are replaced in each exhibit unpredictable variations in structure and wording, even though there are close connections between divisions B and C on the one hand, and D and E on the other.

Again, the first part of Sandhāna's decision not to visit the Buddha is composed of two parallel structures (§ 1c):

- A *akālo kho tāva Bhagavantam dassanāya, patisallīno Bhagavā,*
 B *mano-bhāvanīyānaṃ pi bhikkhūnaṃ asamayo dassanāya, patisallīnā mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū.*

It is seen that a large proportion of the wording has been replaced and expanded: 1) *akālo* is replaced by *asamayo*, with change of position in the sentence; 2) *kho tāva* is replaced by *pi*; 3) *bhagavantam* is not merely replaced by *bhikkhūnaṃ*, but by *mano-bhāvanīyānaṃ (pi) bhikkhūnaṃ*; and similarly, 4) *Bhagavā* is replaced by the expanded *mano-bhāvanīyā bhikkhū*.

Only a small proportion of this sutta involves this form of repetition at a primary level. 0.5% involves two structures repeated twice, another 1% consists of a structure repeated five times, and a further 1% consists of a structure repeated nine times. In total only 3% (2.5%) of this sutta involves RS-2 at a primary level. A number of verbatim repetitive passages incorporated RS-2 at a secondary level. The long passage describing the defilement and non-defilement of ascetic practice¹¹² also incorporate RS-2 at a tertiary level.

6. The forms of repetition not quantified or dealt with in this study.

As previously noted, the quantification or calculation of repetition at a tertiary level is difficult and, apart from the occasional mention, it has therefore not been included in this study.

In the course of the analysis of each passage and section of the text, a number of other forms of repetition have been noted and discussed, but not quantified. They are:

¹¹² §§ 9–12 & 13–15 (see p. 314 above).

6.1 Repetition in the form of the proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning.

Repetition in the form of sequences of adjectives, nouns, verbs, clauses, and so on, which are a common feature of sutta texts, were the subject of Study 2 and have only been mentioned in passing in the current study.

The proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning is one way in which text is built up. The eighth paragraph of the 16 paragraphs which describe the ways in which asceticism is defiled reads:

puna ca param Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkarissanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, lābha-sakkāra-siloka-nikanti-hetu “sakkarissanti maṃ rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā” ti, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti. (§ 10)

On a primary level, this paragraph is repeated with slight modifications to create its opposite in the description of the ways in which asceticism is not defiled (§ 13). And on a secondary level, it is seen that the bulk of this paragraph is composed of a statement subsequently repeated as a relative clause. Calculations for these two levels of repetition were established in this study. On a tertiary level, the initial statement, or description of the fault, is itself built up through the proliferation of similar word elements: a list of three nouns — *lābha-sakkāra-siloka-* — and a further list of six nouns — *rājāno rāja-mahā-mattā khattiyā brāhmaṇā gahapatikā titthiyā*. Together these constitute a large proportion of this passage. However, although an important feature of sutta texts, it is difficult to quantify this form of repetition. For the most part, no attempt has therefore been made in this study, though occasionally, where such sections of the text consist of repeated structures, calculations have been established. The stock description of the lowly talk engaged in by the ascetics is one such example. In this case it was calculated that 88% of this passage consisted of a structure repeated 26 times, and another 6% consisted of a second structure repeated twice.¹¹³

6.2 Repetition in the form of sound and metrical similarities.

In Study 2 it was seen that many of the component elements of the structures discussed shared sound and metrical similarities. When composing these sections of the text, there was a tendency on the part of the authors to choose words which share such similarities. This tendency is not, however, restricted to these structures, but is commonly encountered throughout the prose and verse portions of sutta texts. These

¹¹³ See § 2b (p. 289).

were also briefly discussed in Study 2.¹¹⁴

Again, it would be extremely difficult to quantify this form of repetition, and no attempt has been made here.

6.3 Repetition of set expressions and phrases, and the repetition of common words and terms.

Study 1, which involved an analysis of approach formulas in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, showed that within early Buddhist texts the wording used to portray a particular concept, action or event has been standardised. In this sutta, whenever a thought occurs to someone, the expression [person: dat./gen.] *etad ahoṣi* is used; e.g. *atha kho Sandhānassa gaha-patissa etad ahoṣi* (§ 1).¹¹⁵ Or more commonly, when someone speaks to someone, his doing so is portrayed by [person 1: nom.] [person 2: acc.] *etad avoca*; e.g. *evaṃ vutte Nigrodho paribbājako Sandhānaṃ gaha-patiṃ etad avoca* (§ 5).¹¹⁶ The initial element of this last example, *evaṃ vutte*, commonly initiates the next course of events after someone has said something; e.g. *evaṃ vutte te paribbājaka tunhī ahesuṃ* (§ 3).¹¹⁷ Similarly, the phrase *yena ... ten' upasaṃkami* (*upasaṃkamitvā*) is used for approaches to persons and places,¹¹⁸ and the expression *tena kho pana samayena* is used to insert information of the “meanwhile *x* was doing *y*” character.¹¹⁹

Again, other minor expressions and words are commonly used throughout this sutta. Examples are:

1) The units *atha kho* or *kho* (in enclitic position) frequently introduce a sentence depicting a new action.¹²⁰

2) Names are repeatedly used and are always presented in full, never abbreviated; i.e. we always have, for example, Nigrodha paribbājaka and Sandhāna gahapati, never Nigrodha or Sandhāna by themselves (except in vocatives of address).

3) In speech, vocatives of address are repeatedly used to indicate who is speaking the present wording. Thus, in the following interchange between the Buddha and Nigrodha, when the Buddha is speaking, his speech is marked by *Nigrodha*, and when Nigrodha is speaking, his speech is marked by *bhante*:

¹¹⁴ See Study 2, III 14.3–4.

¹¹⁵ See also *atha kho Bhagavato etad ahoṣi* (§ 24).

¹¹⁶ See §§ 4, 5, 7 (x 3), 8, 20, 21, 22.

¹¹⁷ See §§ 3, 5, 6, 7, (x 2), 19, 20, 22, 24.

¹¹⁸ See §§ 1, 4, 6, 7.

¹¹⁹ See §§ 1 & 2.

¹²⁰ See § 1c.iv.

- [Buddha] *'taṃ kiṃ maññasi Nigrodha? yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā?' ti.*
- [Nigrodha] *'addhā kho bhante evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti no aparipuṇṇā' ti.*
- [Buddha] *'evaṃ paripuṇṇāya pi kho ahaṃ Nigrodha tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadāmi' ti.*
- [Nigrodha] *'yathā-kathaṃ pana bhante Bhagavā evaṃ paripuṇṇāya tapo-jigucchāya aneka-vihite upakkilese vadatī?' ti. (§§ 8–9)*

Here the use of the vocative of address clearly functions to avoid confusion. Yet there are occasions when the vocative of address is repeatedly used where there can be no confusion as to who is speaking.

In each of the 16 paragraphs making up the long speech of the Buddha which describes the ways in which asceticism is defiled (§§ 9–12), the initial statement, the relative clause and the final statement all contain vocatives of address. The first paragraph reads, for example:

'idha Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati. so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, so tena tapasā attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo, ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkileso hoti.'

In this way, the vocative of address occurs 48 times (16 x 3)! This represents 6% of this long passage.

Compare also Nigrodha's welcoming speech to the Buddha:

'etu kho bhante Bhagavā, sāgataṃ bhante Bhagavato, cirassaṃ kho bhante Bhagavā imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi yad-idaṃ idh' āgamanāya, nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan' ti. (§ 7)

It seems that the repetition of the vocative of address within these latter passages is yet another means by which the wording and “sound” of material which is essentially different in meaning is made the more similar.¹²¹

4) As with all texts, this sutta contains many words germane to its subject matter which are frequently utilised. For example, *appa-sadda* “of little speech/sound” is repeated a number of times in *appa-saddā bhonto hontu, mā bhonto saddaṃ akattha, ... ayam tesam aññataro Sandhāno gaha-pati. appa-sadda-kāmā kho pan' ete āyasmanto, appa-saddassa vaṇṇa-vādino, app eva nāma appa-saddam parisam veditvā upasaṃkamitabbaṃ maññeyyā ti,*¹²² and then later in *appa-saddāni appa-*

¹²¹ This interpretation is still tentative as a satisfactory analysis of the use of the vocative of address in sutta texts has yet to be undertaken.

¹²² § 3; cf. § 6.

nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussa-rāhaseyyakāni patisallāna-sāruppānī ti ¹²³ and *atha kho Nigrodho paribbājako te paribbājake appa-sadde katvā, Bhagavantam etad avoca.* ¹²⁴ This “being silent” is repeatedly contrasted with the rowdiness (*uccā-sadda-mahā-sadda*) of the ascetics. ¹²⁵

Similarly, *tapo-jigucchā* is common throughout this sutta.

5) As in all classes of literature, there is a particular vocabulary utilised by the prose portions of Pāli sutta texts. Yet Buddhist literature of this class exhibits a particularly limited vocabulary. Unlike, say, the poetical words of classical Sanskrit, or even the prose of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, there is no attempt on the part of sutta texts to avoid using the same word or expression time and again. In fact, repetition of this kind seems to have been actively courted. ¹²⁶ This is closely associated with the tendency described above for the wording which depicts a particular concept, action or event to be standardised. It is also a form of repetition, but one which again cannot be quantified.

All of the above are forms of repetition which certainly must have facilitated the learning and recitation of this material, but which again have not been quantified in this study.

6.4 Other forms of repetition not quantified.

There are a number of other distinct forms of repetition which were noted in this study but not quantified. They are:

1) The repeating of a verb in its non-finite form to initiate the next clause is a common feature of Pāli sutta texts. ¹²⁷ In the sutta under review, we find the following examples: *upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā* (§§ 4, 6); *ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinno/-am* (§ 4; cf. § 7); *etad avoca ... evaṃ vutte* (§§ 7, 20); *addasā kho ... disvā* (§§ 3, 6, 7).

2) There are also a number of cases where similar words or phrases are placed in conjunction, thus giving the effect of repetition. Examples are: *tapassī tapam samādiyati* (§§ 9–12ff.); *yena Bhagavā sāvake vineti, yena Bhagavatā sāvakā vinitā* (§§ 6, 7, 19); and *nisīdatu bhante Bhagavā, idam āsanaṃ paññattan’ ti. nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane. Nigrodho pi kho paribbājako aññataram nīcam āsanaṃ gahetvā* (§ 7).

¹²³ § 4; cf. § 21.

¹²⁴ § 8.

¹²⁵ See §§ 2, 4, 7, 19, 21.

¹²⁶ These statements are very general and cannot be substantiated here. No detailed comparison has been undertaken of the prose of the Pāli sutta texts with, say, that of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, or even with those texts of the later Pāli tradition which are most probably written texts.

¹²⁷ See Study 1, part 1, III 3.2.8–14.

3) A number of repeated parallel structures have not been quantified:

- a) the structure of *iti so issā-macchariyaṃ kulesu uppādetā hoti* is echoed in *iti so sampajāna-musā bhāsītā hoti* (both § 11).
- b) the structure of *attamano hoti paripuṇṇa-saṅkappo* (§ 9) is repeated in *kodhano hoti upanāhī* (§ 12) and *makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī*, etc. (§ 12).
- c) *-saha-gatena cetasā ... pharitvā viharati* is the basis for both sentences which describe the practice of each of the Brahmavihāras (§ 17).

6.5 Summary of the forms of repetition not quantified or dealt with in this study.

Most of the above forms of repetition have not been quantified because they involve too small a proportion of the text, are found at a tertiary or more minute level (which is mostly much the same thing as the previous), or because their very nature precludes the application of the methodology established in this study for quantifying repetition. Nonetheless, all these forms of repetition further contribute to reducing the proportion of the text that is unique and create interconnections and similarities between those which differ, thereby facilitating the learning and reciting of this material.

7. The occurrence of the component elements of the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* in other suttas of the *Dīgha* and other nikāyas.

This study has been restricted to an analysis of repetition within one sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. Yet throughout the *Dīgha*, and in canonical Pāli texts in general, there is much repetition of material. A description of the same event is found in more than one collection of texts. Different suttas, describing encounters between different individuals, utilise the same or a similar narrative frame. The same theme is developed by numerous texts. Stock descriptions of practices, and definitions and articulations of concepts are encountered innumerable times throughout the *Sutta-piṭaka*, as are other formulas, phrases and expressions. The *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* (here abbreviated as USS) is no exception to this. Many of its components are found in other suttas of the *Dīgha* and other nikāyas, as well as in the *Vinaya*.

If we restrict our discussion to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, it is seen that the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta*, for example, begins in a similar way to the USS. Here the Buddha goes to Sāvattthi for alms, but decides to visit the ascetic Poṭṭhapāda. As was the case when Nigrodha was approached by Sandhāna and then the Buddha in the USS, the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta* depicts Poṭṭhapāda seated with his ascetics engaged in lowly talk. Poṭṭhapāda sees the Buddha and similarly orders his ascetics to be silent. The Buddha approaches, and the text reads as for the Buddha's approach to Nigrodha in the USS.

Again, the *Pāṭika-sutta*, the sutta which is placed immediately before the USS

in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, begins in a similar but more abbreviated manner. In this way, though the formula used to depict the Buddha's approach to Nigrodha (§ 7) does not occur again in the USS, it is found in two other suttas of the *Dīgha* collection.

Similarly, although the long formula describing the various forms of austere ascetic practice (§ 8), which represents just over 5% of the USS, does not occur again in this sutta, it is found in the *Kassapa-sīhanāda-sutta* (D I 166ff.). And the stock description of the attainment of knowing the rebirth state of beings according to their actions (§ 19), which only occurs the once in the USS (representing almost 2% of this sutta), occurs in four other suttas of the *Dīgha*.¹²⁸ Many of the component elements of this formula are also found elsewhere in the *Dīgha* independently.

Many of the passages which are repeated again within the USS are also found elsewhere in the *Dīgha*. For example, the stock description of the lowly talk engaged in by the ascetics, which occurs four times in the USS and represents in total just over 4% of this sutta, also occurs in three other suttas in the *Dīgha*.¹²⁹ This formula thus occurs seven times in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

Again, the practice of the (temporary) abandoning of the five hindrances (§ 16), which is repeated three times in this sutta, also occurs in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (D I 71). The practice of the Brahmavihāras (§ 17), which is also repeated three times in the USS, occurs in five other *Dīgha* suttas.¹³⁰ And the attainment of remembering former lives (§ 18), which is repeated twice in the USS, occurs in four other *Dīgha* suttas.¹³¹

In the same way, many of the minor phrases and expressions utilised by this sutta are commonly encountered throughout the *Dīgha* and other sutta texts. As encountered in § 5, for example, similes are based on the *seyyathā pi ... evam eva* frame. When someone departs from a town, as Sandhāna does from Rājagaha (§ 1), the verb *ni(r)√kam* (> *nikkham~*) is used. When a thought occurs to someone, *etad ahoṣi* is used. And so on.

The above examples, illustrating the use of material found in the *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* by other suttas in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, have for the most part been chosen at random. This presentation does not make any pretence at completeness and, though most desirable, a thorough analysis of repetition in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, parallel to the current study of this phenomenon in one of its suttas, cannot be undertaken here.

The Theravāda tradition maintains that the preservation of the various collections of texts was the responsibility of different groups of monks, or *bhāṇakas*.

¹²⁸ D I 82–83, 161–162; III 111–112, 281. This and the following references are taken from the PTC. As this does not always list the abbreviated occurrences of a repetitive passage, it is possible that there are other occurrences found in some of these suttas.

¹²⁹ D I 7–8, 66, 178–179.

¹³⁰ D I 250–251; II 186–187, 250; III 78, 223–224; cf. also II 242.

¹³¹ D I 13–14, 81; III 108–109, 281.

That is, there were those who learnt and recited the *Dīgha-nikāya*, others who were responsible for the *Majjhima-nikāya*, and so on with the other nikāyas and the Vinaya.¹³² As with many aspects of the history of Buddhism, our understanding of this *bhāṇaka* tradition is regrettably very poor. The validity of this traditional account, the way in which such a *bhāṇaka* system worked, and its impact on the material it transmitted has never been seriously investigated. The present study does not attempt to address this problem, but it does nonetheless have its implications.

If it was the case that groups of monks (and perhaps nuns) learnt and recited a large number of suttas such as are collected in the present *Dīgha-nikāya*, then the degree to which this material was repetitive would have implications for the ease with which it was learnt and recited. With many of those passages, phrases, etc., which are not repeated within the USS occurring elsewhere in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the proportion of this sutta which is unique is greatly reduced. And with many of those passages which are repeated within the USS being similarly found elsewhere in the *Dīgha*, the familiarity of this material is increased.

8. Abbreviation in this sutta.

The antithesis of repetition is surely abbreviation. Given the degree to which repetition is pursued at all levels in this class of Buddhist literature, it is therefore surprising to encounter examples of abbreviation; and by abbreviation we do not, of course, mean the manuscript tradition's tendency to abbreviate repeated passages with *pe, pa, la*, etc.¹³³

8.1 Abbreviation of passages involving numbers.

There are three passages in this sutta which involve numbers. A form of abbreviation has occurred in each.

The first passage (§ 8)¹³⁴ describes the practice of accepting food from one house, two houses or seven houses; of eating only one mouthful a day, two mouthfuls a day or seven mouthfuls a day; and so on with the number of times alms is accepted and the days on which food will be taken. Thus the numbers 1 to 7 are abbreviated by 1, 2 and 7.¹³⁵

The second passage (§ 18)¹³⁶ describes the attainment of remembering former lives. Here, former births 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 100, 1000 and 100, 000 are remembered.

¹³² See the introductory chapter for references.

¹³³ J. Gonda (1959) discusses abbreviation at pp. 66–67, 144, 155, 397–399.

¹³⁴ See § 8b.i.7 (p. 303).

¹³⁵ The last section extends the days to 14 (*addhamāsikaṃ*).

¹³⁶ See § 18b.

The third passage (§ 22)¹³⁷ describes the time it will take to realise the Buddha's teaching. The passage is composed of five repetitive sections. The first considers that realisation will take 7 years, the second 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 or 1 year(s), the third 7 months, the fourth 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, or 1/2 a month, and the last 7 days. In contrast to the previous two examples, this passage is not abbreviating the number sequence, but is rather abbreviating the passage as a whole by not repeating the structure for each and every period of time mentioned.

8.2 Abbreviation of other passages.

There are a number of non-numerical passages which involve some form of abbreviation. They are:

1) §§ 6 & 7 (see § 6d): When Nigrodha sees the Buddha approaching, he orders his ascetics to be silent, stating that the Buddha, being one who likes silence, will only approach if they are quiet. He then states the questions he will ask the Buddha if he does approach. When the Buddha approaches, he asks Nigrodha what he was talking about. Nigrodha does not mention that he commanded his ascetics to be silent, but merely repeats the questions he said he would ask if the Buddha approached.

It could be argued that the first half of Nigrodha's speech was considered unimportant or, perhaps, potentially embarrassing. Unfortunately, there is only one other example in this sutta of a speech being repeated,¹³⁸ and in this case the speech is repeated in full. There are therefore insufficient examples to evaluate this passage.

2) § 7f: The question proposed by the Buddha as a suitable topic of debate is: *katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham aparipuṇṇā?* A fuller version of this would read: *katham sante nu kho bhante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā hoti, katham tapo-jigucchā aparipuṇṇā hoti?*

This perhaps parallels *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā paripuṇṇā vā hoti aparipuṇṇā vā?* (§ 8), *yadi 'me tapo-jigucchā upakkilesā vā anupakkilesā vā?* (§ 12) and *yadi evaṃ sante tapo-jigucchā parisuddhā vā hoti aparisuddhā vā?* (§ 15).

3) In the long passage describing the various austere ascetic practices (see § 8b), a number of abbreviations seem to have taken place. One reads:

so na kumbhi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭigaṇhāti, na eḷakam-antaram, na udukkhalam-antaram, na daṇḍam-antaram, na musalam-antaram, na dvinnam bhujjamānānam, na gabbhiniyā, na pāyamānāya, na puris-antara-gatāya, na saṃkittisu, na yattha sā upaṭṭhito hoti, na yattha makkhikā saṇḍa-saṇḍa-cārini...

It can be seen that *paṭigaṇhāti*, which is given in the first two clauses, is to be understood in each of the remainder. A complete version would have read: *so na*

¹³⁷ See § 22b.

¹³⁸ §§ 5 & 20 (see § 5b).

*kumbhi-mukhā paṭiganhāti, na kaḷopi-mukhā paṭiganhāti, na eḷakam-antaram paṭiganhāti, na udukkhalam-antaram paṭiganhāti, etc.*¹³⁹

Again, *na macchaṃ na maṃsaṃ na suraṃ na merayaṃ na thus-odakaṃ pivati* (§ 8b.i.6) seems to be abbreviated when compared with *so sāñāni pi dhāreti, masāñāni pi dhāreti, chava-dussāni pi dhāreti, paṃsu-kūlāni pi dhāreti, etc.* (§ 8b.i.9). An unabbreviated version may have read: *na macchaṃ bhuñjati na maṃsaṃ bhuñjati na suraṃ pivati na merayaṃ pivati na thus-odakaṃ pivati*.¹⁴⁰

One possible explanation for this may be that, in the abbreviated passages, each of the practices described is not engaged in by the ascetic, while in the passages with the full wording, alternative practices are being listed (*vā/pī*).

4) In all but the last paragraph of the long passage describing the ways in which aceticism is defiled (§§ 9–12), the initial statement is repeated in full as a relative clause. In the final paragraph the relative clause is an abbreviated version of the initial clause: *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī makkhī hoti palāsī, issukī hoti maccharī, saṭho hoti māyāvī, thaddho hoti atimānī, pāp-iccho hoti pāpakānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gato, micchā-dīṭṭhiko hoti anta-gāhikāya dīṭṭhiyā samannāgato, sandīṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggī. yam pi Nigrodha tapassī sandīṭṭhi-parāmāsī hoti ādhāna-gāhī duppaṭinissaggī. ayam pi kho Nigrodha tapassino upakkilesa hoti.* Some possible explanations for this were given at § 9–12a.ii (p. 311).

5) § 16¹⁴¹: In this description of the (temporary) abandoning of the five hindrances, abbreviation of two of the hindrances seems to have occurred. In contrast to the pattern of the third hindrance (*thīna-middha pahāya vigata-thīna-middho viharati*), the second reads *vyāpāda-padosaṃ pahāya avyāpanna-citto viharati* rather than *vyāpāda-padosaṃ pahāya avyāpanna-*padūsita-citto* (*/vigata-vyāpāda-padoso*) *viharati*, and the fourth reads *uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ pahāya anuddhato viharati* rather than *uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ pahāya anuddhata-[?]* (*/vigata-uddhacca-kukkucco*) *viharati*.

It is possible that *vyāpāda-padosa* is not a dvandva, or if it is, given that the second hindrance is normally only listed as *vyāpāda*, the *padosa* element is unimportant. Alternatively, both *vyāpāda-padosa* and *uddhacca-kukkucca* may have been abbreviated in the finite clause of each because of the difficulty in forming the past participles associated with *padosa* and *kukkucca*.

6) § 17¹⁴²: The final example occurs in the passage describing the practice of the four Brahmavihāras. Here the text describes the practice of pervading the four directions with each of the four mental attitudes (*mettā, karuṇā, etc.*). The reading *ekaṃ*

¹³⁹ See § 8b.i.4–5 (p. 302).

¹⁴⁰ See also § 8b.i.3 (p. 302).

¹⁴¹ See § 16–17a.ii.II (p. 317ff.).

¹⁴² See § 16–17a.ii.III (p. 320).

disaṃ pharivā viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ suggests a form of abbreviation. That is, the wording describing the practice is not repeated in full for each of the four directions.

8.3 Summary to abbreviations.

The abbreviations presented above are varied in form and limited in number. It is probably the case that structures involving numbers are regularly abbreviated. It would be tedious, for example, if the text repeated the structure depicting the remembering of a former birth for every number from 1 to 100,000! However, in many of the other examples a satisfactory understanding is less forthcoming. At this stage there are just insufficient examples to evaluate these passages. Yet it would be important to know why certain texts choose to repeat some things in full, but to abbreviate others. Why, for example, were the practices of the four Brahmavihāras repeated for each sentiment but not for each direction so pervaded with that sentiment? Again, is there consistency in the abbreviating tradition of these texts, or can differences be discovered which may suggest different authorships, or perhaps even different functions and purposes of the material? An understanding of this phenomenon is important, but awaits its own detailed study.

V. CONCLUSION

1. Repetition is undoubtedly a mnemonic device. This is based on the simple observation that the more frequently a passage, unit of meaning or word is repeated the more likely it is to be remembered. The repetition encountered in Buddhist texts has frequently been taken to have a mnemonic function, but few have elaborated on their statements or investigated repetition in any systematic manner.¹⁴³

2. In the conclusion to the previous two studies, it was argued that the stylistic features investigated in those studies — features which are also forms of repetition — could have functioned as aids to composition within both methods of composition outlined in the conclusion to Study 1; that is, within a tradition of composing material during the performance in an improvisatory manner, or in a tradition of composing fixed texts which were to be transmitted verbatim. In addition to this, it was seen that these features would also have had a mnemonic function within the latter tradition. In contrast, it is difficult to see the gross forms of repetition discussed in the present study — the repetition of whole passages, with or without modification, and the repetition of

¹⁴³ G. von Simson (1965, esp. p. 142ff.) is the exception. Cf. T.W. Rhys Davids, 1881, pp. xxii–xxiii; R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 24; W.B. Bollée, 1970, p. 172; L.S. Cousins, 1983, p. 9; G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480; A. Syrkin, 1983, p. 160; J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 78, 351.

structures with the replacement of various proportions of their wording — and the scale on which this is pursued, that is the proportion of the text involved, as anything other than proof, or at least as a very strong indication, that these texts were designed to be memorised and transmitted verbatim.¹⁴⁴ Particularly supportive of this is the long passage depicting the defilement and non-defilement of ascetic practice (§§ 9–12, 13–15), because exact repetition of the wording is required so as to form the opposite meaning by the addition or omission of prefixes. In contrast, material such as the contemporary Yugoslav epics studied by Lord (1960) or the contemporary Indian epics studied by Smith (1991), Beck (1982) and Roghair (1982), which is composed “during the performance”, although exhibiting many forms of repetition, does not exhibit the form of gross repetition encountered in Pāli sutta texts.

3. In this study we have identified five types or categories of quantifiable repetition in order to quantify the degree to which this sutta is repetitive, and established that repetition occurs at a number of different levels within the text.

The five categories of repetition established in this study can be graded according to the degree to which they each facilitate the learning and retention of this material. Verbatim Repetition (VR) obviously represents the greatest aid to memory. The greater the percentage of a text that is verbatim repetitive the easier it is to learn and remember. In this study it was shown that, at a primary level, 30% of this sutta consists of various passages repeated verbatim two, three or four times.

The remaining four types of repetition each encompass a range of differences. In terms of the modifications to be made by the reciter, and hence the effort involved in making such changes, the Repetition with Minor Modifications (RMM) and Repetition of Structure type 1 (RS-1) categories on the one hand, and the Repetition with Important Modifications (RIM) and Repetition of Structure type 2 (RS-2) categories on the other, are seen to be parallel and to encompass a similar range of differences.

It was seen in this study that some repetitive passages within the Repetition with Minor Modifications and Repetition of Structure type 1 categories involve only minor modifications and differ only slightly from Verbatim Repetition, while others involve slightly more complex changes. In many cases it was observed that the elements which were modified or replaced in each subsequent repetition were similar in structure or morphology or sound or metrical pattern, or some combination of these, thereby minimising the impact of the changes being made and further facilitating the learning of this material.

Almost 35% (34.5%) of this sutta involves Repetition with Minor Modifications at a primary level, with passages being repeated two or three times. Another 16% of this sutta involves Repetition of Structure type 1, with repetitions

¹⁴⁴ Cf. T.W. Rhys Davids, 1881, p. xxii; R. Gombrich, 1990a, p. 7; 1990b, p. 24.

ranging from two to 13 times. Together these two categories, which are similar in terms of their mnemonic significance, represent about 51% (50.5%) of the sutta.

It was seen that about 4% (3.8%) of this sutta involves Repetition with Important Modifications at a primary level, with all passages being repeated twice, and that almost 3% (2.5%) of the sutta involves Repetition of Structure type 2, with the passages so categorised being repeated two, five or nine times. Together these two parallel categories represent about 6% (6.3%) of this sutta.

In total almost 87% (86.8%) of this sutta involves quantifiable repetition of one kind or another at a primary level. This is surely a significantly high proportion of the text. It must also be noted that the verbatim end of the scale is particularly well represented.

4. As 87% of the text involves some form of quantifiable repetition, it is seen that 13% is not repeated again. Much of this consists of the opening and closing sections of the sutta. Occasionally, distinct passages, which as a whole do not occur again in this sutta, are nonetheless seen to be composed of quantifiable repetitive elements which, as far as this study is concerned, have been taken as primary repetition. Examples are the formula depicting the various types of austere ascetic practice (§ 8b) and the formula depicting the attainment of knowing the rebirth state of beings according to their actions (§ 19b).

Although not occurring again, the passages and elements which make up this 13% commonly involve non-quantifiable forms of repetition, as do those which are repeated in the text. Many are also found in other suttas of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

5. Many of the passages which are repetitive at a primary level in the text are themselves composed of or incorporate quantifiable repetitive elements, which is repetition at a secondary level. This secondary repetition would further increase the familiarity of the material being learnt and facilitate recitation.

Four of the six passages which are repeated verbatim at a primary level incorporate such repetitive elements. For example, as already mentioned in the summary, 43% of the § 5b (= § 20b) passage consists of a unit repeated verbatim twice. This unit is therefore repeated verbatim four times in this sutta. Again, 100% of the § 18b (= § 19a) passage is composed of repetitive elements belonging to the RIM and RS-1 categories. In total 79% of the six passages which have been classified as verbatim repetitive at a primary level consists of quantifiable repetitive elements of one class or another.¹⁴⁵

Again, two of the passages which are repeated with minor modifications (RMM) at a primary level incorporate quantifiable repetitive elements. These secondary

¹⁴⁵ The total word count for the passages which are verbatim repetitive on a primary level is 1761. Of this, 1390 words (151 x 2 + 280 x 3 + 62 x 4), or 78.9%, make up those passages which are repetitive on a secondary level.

repetitive passages constitute 66% of these six passages.¹⁴⁶

The passages of the RIM, RS-1 and RS-2 categories do not involve quantifiable secondary repetition.

In total, 53% of the material which is repetitive on a primary level involves quantifiable repetition on a secondary level.¹⁴⁷

6. In some cases quantifiable repetition at a tertiary level was also identified. One such example was given in the summary (section 2). Another is seen in the analysis of the §§ 9–12 passage (p. 314).

7. As discussed in the summary section above, various forms of non-quantifiable repetition are an integral part of all passages, whether these passages are repeated again within this sutta or not, whether they are found in other suttas or are unique to this sutta, whether classified as repetitive at a primary or secondary level. Passages are built up through the proliferation of similar word elements, units of meaning and structures. Many elements share sound and metrical similarities. Vocatives of address and certain particles are repeated innumerable times. The wording used to portray a given concept, action or event is standardised, and diversity of vocabulary is avoided. And so on. In this way, although we have been able to quantify gross repetition of certain classifications, there are many forms of repetition employed in this class of Pāli text which cannot be quantified, yet which must also be considered to facilitate greatly the learning and recitation of this material. Repetition thus thoroughly permeates every dimension of this class of Buddhist literature.

8. The gross repetitiveness of early Buddhist prose texts has been contrasted with the brevity and looser diction of the early prose texts of the Vedic tradition¹⁴⁸ — the Brāhmaṇas or Upaniṣads for example — texts which are also thought to have been composed and transmitted orally. R. Gombrich (1990a, p. 7) suggests that this may be due to the fact that the Buddhist texts aimed at being self-explanatory. Elsewhere, he notes that, whereas the brahmins adopted a complicated method of memorising the words in various patterns to transmit their texts, the Buddhists probably chose “redundancy” because of their stress on the meaning of the texts.¹⁴⁹ Again, G. von Simson (1965, p. 141) sees the peculiar character of Buddhist prose style as being due to the fact that, in contrast to say that of the Upaniṣads, the Buddhist teaching was a public one. The Buddha preached and evangelised, and Buddhist texts therefore had to use rhetorical means to win over the audience.

Some have also suggested that the repetitive style of Buddhist texts may

¹⁴⁶ Similarly, the total word count for the RMM passages is 2028. Of this, 1332 words (666 x 2), or 65.7%, make up those passages which are repetitive on a secondary level.

¹⁴⁷ Of the 5097 words which make up that portion of the text which is repetitive on a primary level, 2722 words (1390 for VR and 1332 for RMM), or 53.4%, are repetitive on a secondary level.

¹⁴⁸ G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480; 1965, pp. 140–141; R. Gombrich, 1990a, p. 7.

¹⁴⁹ R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 24.

reflect the character and ideals of the Buddhist monks. Speaking of “buddhistischen Lehrtexte”, G. von Simson states: “Deren Wiederholungsreichtum ist offenbar bewusst angestrebtes Stilmittel der buddhistischen Predigt, das geeignet war, einen Eindruck feierlicher Strenge hervorzurufen und zugleich mönchische Tugenden ausdrückte, die sich am besten mit den buddhistischen Termini *smṛti* und *apramāda* umschreiben lassen.”¹⁵⁰ And in a similar vein, R. Gethin (1992, p. 166) sees the recitation of such repetitive texts as an exercise in mindfulness, the development of which is, of course, so important in the Buddhist teaching.

Again, it has been suggested that such repetitions reflect the nature of the Buddhist teaching and its analysis of the world. In the conclusion to his *Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons*, G. von Simson states: “So ist der wiederholungsreiche Stil unserer Texte dem Geist des Buddhismus unter religiös-philosophischem Aspekt vollkommen angemessen. Eine Religion, deren letzte zur Erlösung führende Erkenntnis darin gipfelt, dass der Meditierende die unenliche Folge der von immer gleichbleibender Gesetzmäßigkeit geprägten leidvollen Existenzen schaut ... eine solche Religion fand ihren wahrhaft adäquaten Ausdruck im einem Stil, dessen starre Uniformität ein nach mechanischer Gesetzmäßigkeit ablaufendes Weltgeschehen zu spiegeln scheint.”¹⁵¹

It was seen in this study that a particularly common form of repetition is the repetition of a structure with the replacement of key elements to produce differences of meaning; also called “parallel structures”. Apart from the more practical functions of giving a text structure and thereby making it more “overviewable”,¹⁵² or of providing a means by which words which do matter are thrown into relief,¹⁵³ both Gonda and von Simson have taken this form of repetition to reflect the structure of reality, or in this case at least, the Buddhist perception of it.¹⁵⁴ To quote von Simson’s highly speculative concluding statements: “Jede beliebige Allgemeingültigkeit beanspruchende Aussage, d.h. jeder Lehrsatz kann kritisch zerlegt werden und zerfällt, so aus der Nähe betrachtet, in eine Reihe weiterer Sätze, die gleichförmig gebaut sind. Die ganze Welt scheint regelmässig aufgebaut, wie etwa ein organisches Gewebe, ... Richtet der um Wahrheit sich Mühende sein geistiges Auge auf das Ordnungsgefüge der Wirklichkeit, so leuchtet ihm der Dharma auf (*pratibhāti*) und ergibt sich zugleich in seiner sprachlichen Gestalt. Der unabhängig vom Buddha existierende Dharma, ... inkarniert sich gleichzeitig in der sichtbaren Wirklichkeit und in der Sprache, die damit aus der Sphäre

¹⁵⁰ G. von Simson, 1977, p. 480; cf. H. Oldenberg, 1917, p. 40.

¹⁵¹ G. von Simson 1965, p. 148.

¹⁵² J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 32, 351; G. von Simson, 1965, p. 144. Yet in this sutta, at least, parallel structures do not provide the overall structure to the sutta, but rather give structure to its component sections.

¹⁵³ J. Gonda, 1959, p. 174; L.S. Cousins (1991, p. 43) gives an example where he suggests that the use of parallel structures emphasises the thoroughness with which an *arahat* has accomplished his task.

¹⁵⁴ J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 78, 171; G. von Simson, 1965, pp. 148–149.

des willkürlich vom Menschen Geschaffenen herausgehoben scheint. So erweist sich die ‘Unmenschlichkeit’ des buddhistischen Prosastils als Folge der Zügelung individueller Willkür zugunsten einer unveränderlichen Gesetzlichkeit, deren Spiegel die kanonischen Texte zu sein sich bemühen.”¹⁵⁵

Still others have emphasised the aesthetic effect of repetition and the impression it would have on the audience.¹⁵⁶ It is also possible that in an oral context such repetitions gave the audience the opportunity to grasp what was being said and to remember it.¹⁵⁷

And finally, some have suggested that such repetition may have had a psychological impact on those who recited, heard or read these texts.¹⁵⁸ P. Kwella (1978), for example, with specific reference to Mahāyāna literature, sees such repetitive texts as a suitable vehicle for a monk’s mental training. Having speculated on the possible processes involved — the reduction of the *vāsanās*, etc. —, he concludes: “the stylistic peculiarities of the Mahāyāna-Sūtras and the Prajñāpāramitā texts play an important part in the spiritual training of the monk with a view to his contemplative ability” and “therefore, one would certainly diminish the spiritual value of such texts by leaving out the numerous repetitions.”¹⁵⁹

9. Throughout his *Stylistic repetitions in the Veda*, J. Gonda frequently refers to repetition, or specific forms of repetition, as being characteristic of “primitive”, “unsophisticated”, “uneducated”, “simple” or “prescientific” minds. He states, for example: “The slow narrative style of uneducated man, his long-winded mode of discussing unfamiliar subjects, his need of moments of comparative relaxation, his eagerness to retain and to repeat those phrases and schemata which have proved adequate, — all these are factors helping to bring about these repetitions”.¹⁶⁰ He refers to the “rather clumsy and ‘primitive’ style of the purāṇas and related classes of literature” in which parallelisms often occur,¹⁶¹ and states: “Partial repetitions are, for those who are not accustomed to keep their minds on the strain, easier than comprehensive expressions. A certain predilection for this ‘parallelistische Teilwiederholung’ seems to be one of those characteristics of ‘primitive speech’ or rather of the manner of speaking of the untrained.”¹⁶² Such statements are numerous in this work.

We are, of course, not dealing with “primitive”, “untrained” or “uneducated” minds. Despite their repetitiveness, these texts are the vehicle for the expression of a

¹⁵⁵ G. von Simson, 1965, pp. 148–149.

¹⁵⁶ H. Oldenberg, 1917, pp. 46, 48; J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 170, 247.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 38–39, 247.

¹⁵⁸ P. Kwella, 1978; R.J. Corless, 1979, pp. 63–64; G. von Simson, 1965, p. 143f.

¹⁵⁹ P. Kwella, 1978, p. 173.

¹⁶⁰ J. Gonda, 1959, pp. 37–38.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 347; cf. H. Oldenberg, 1917, pp. 52–53.

sophisticated system of thought, which, in fact, stresses the value of the highest mental training. Their repetitiveness is rather to be seen as resulting, at least in part, from the limitations of the medium used for the expression and transmission of this thought and training, namely, the oral, although many other factors, some of which have been outlined above, must also be taken into account.¹⁶³

Yet the question remains, why did the early Buddhists choose to utilise such gross repetition in their texts when it is seen that early Vedic prose texts, despite incorporating many forms of repetition, do not exhibit such gross repetitiveness? The answer to this lies, I think, in the nature of the early Buddhist community and the social background of its members. Brahmanical literature was transmitted by individuals who had undertaken long periods of specialised training, starting from an early age. One of the main activities of brahmins was the learning and transmission of the sacred texts. In contrast, although the early Buddhist community included brahmins, some of whom must have undergone the traditional training, a large proportion, if not the majority, were non-brahmins who may not have had any “literary” training. It is also the case that individuals joined the Buddhist order at a comparatively late age. Repetition was, then, the vehicle chosen by the early Buddhists to ensure the successful transmission of the Buddha’s teaching by individuals of mixed social and educational backgrounds.¹⁶⁴

However, one’s understanding of the function of repetition will depend to a certain extent on whether one views these texts as having been composed primarily for the preservation and transmission of the teaching, or for the conversion and edification of the audience. It is also the case that, as no systematic comparative analysis of the prose of early Vedic and Buddhist texts has been undertaken, many of the above suggestions remain speculative.

¹⁶³ See R. Finnegan, 1992, esp. pp. 127–133 and index, s.v. ‘repetition’, for a discussion of repetition in oral poetry.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. R. Gombrich, 1990a, pp. 6–7; 1990b, p. 23; cf. O. von Hinüber, 1990, pp. 67–68.

CONCLUSION

In the above research a number of the most prominent stylistic features of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts have been analysed in detail and possible reasons for their presence have been explored.

In Study 1 it was shown that similar events or actions — in this case, the event of someone approaching another person — are portrayed by means of standardised phrases or formulas, with only a limited range of formulas encountered. These formulas have a set structure and are composed of fixed units of meaning which are included or omitted according to certain dictates. This means that, given a knowledge of these determining factors, or dictates, the wording of a particular approach is predictable in the great majority of instances; although, as seen, the authors of this material were fully capable of breaking with the norm when a particularly detailed or unusual approach needed to be depicted. In this study it was also seen that there is a marked difference between the formulas used to depict someone approaching the Buddha and his monks, or a monk approaching the Buddha, and the formulas used to depict the Buddha approaching someone and a monk approaching someone of the non-Buddha/monk class. In this way, these formulas are extremely important in that they also function to establish the superior status of the Buddha and his monks. And finally, it was revealed that the different texts of the Pāli canon differ slightly as to their use of particular formulas and the wording of others, a phenomenon which, it was suggested, may be due to the *bhāṇaka* tradition, to differences in the function of each collection, or even to different manuscript traditions.

In Study 2 it was seen that the authors of these texts tended to expand the wording and create strings or sequences of similar word elements and units of meaning wherever possible: nouns are qualified not by one, but by two, three or more adjectives; lists of concepts, entities and practices are endlessly produced; sequences of synonymous and semi-synonymous verbs are created; and so on. It was shown that, with few exceptions, the member elements of such sequences are arranged according to their syllable lengths, according to the Waxing Syllable Principle. And finally, it was seen that the member elements of these structures often share sound and metrical similarities. In other words, the authors of this material tended to multiply and expand the wording, while at the same time they were inclined to bring this expanded wording closer together by choosing words which shared sound and/or metrical similarities. It was suggested that these structures tended to give a rhythm and homogeneity to this material, a feature which it was felt would be important in lengthy prose texts.

In Study 3 the forms of repetition encountered within one sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* were identified and discussed, and the degree to which this sutta is internally repetitive was quantified. It was shown that within such texts, repetition is pursued on a

truly grand scale. It is pursued on all levels, but most importantly, it is established by the very structure of the sutta itself.

In these studies a variety of functions were proposed for the stylistic features discussed, but the main concern in this research has been their function as aids to the composition and transmission of the literature.

The stylistic features discussed in the first two studies could, it was argued, have functioned as aids to composition both within a tradition of composing material during the performance in an improvisatory manner and in a tradition of composing fixed texts which were to be transmitted verbatim. In addition to this, it was suggested that these features would also have had a mnemonic function within the latter tradition, aiding the memorisation and recitation of such texts. In contrast, it is difficult to see how the gross repetition quantified in Study 3 would function within a tradition of composition-in-performance, and such repetition seems to be absent in oral literature which has been composed in this way. It was argued that this gross repetition must be understood to have had an important mnemonic function and that it provides evidence that these texts were designed to be memorised: the more something is said the more likely it is to be remembered, or as a verse in the *Dhammapada* states: “non-recitation is the rust of incantation”.¹ But there are other factors which must be taken into account.

The Parry-Lord model is based on studies in the Homeric and Yugoslav traditions of oral narrative epic verse. This model may be appropriate to these traditions, or even for the majority of traditions of oral epic verse, but, contrary to what Lord would have us believe, it is not thereby a valid model for all oral literature.²

Many factors can influence the character of an oral literature and its method of composition and transmission: the nature of the information being relayed; the attitude towards this material and the extent to which accuracy is required; the character of the performers or composers, their status in society, the type of training they have undergone and the circumstances under which they perform; the nature of the audience and its expectations and therefore its demands on the performers; the medium used (verse or prose) and whether the performance requires musical accompaniment.³

The Buddhist and Yugoslav-Homeric traditions differ in virtually all of these factors. In epic verse traditions the medium is verse, and for the most part, epics portray the lives and activities of heroes. They are often performed to musical accompaniment, and in the Yugoslav case at least, they are primarily performed for entertainment. Also performances are very much public events and the audience has an important influence on what is performed, or at least, on what episodes are performed and the degree to

¹ Dhṛp 241 *asajjhāyamaḷā mantā* (Nārada Thera's translation).

² See, for example, R. Finnegan, 1992, pp. 18, 69–87, 155ff., 259. But for examples of counter criticisms, see, for example, O.M. Davidson, 1988 and J.M. Foley, 1985, p. 64, 89f.

³ For a detailed discussion of the diversity of each factor, see R. Finnegan, 1992, index s.v. ‘audience’, ‘performance’, ‘performer’, ‘poets’.

which each is elaborated. The status of the performers is also particular: they are bards or poets who perform individually, not communally, and they have usually acquired their performance skills through a long period of training. In contrast, in the early Buddhist tradition prose is by far the most dominant medium. The function of the literature is to preserve the teaching of a religious leader and the rules deemed necessary to guide the conduct of the members of that religious community. The information being transmitted is often complex, consisting of descriptions of practices and detailed analyses of concepts and psychological processes, all of which require a high degree of accuracy.⁴ The “performers” were monks and nuns, and increasingly they were members of monastic institutions. They came from diverse social backgrounds: some were brahmins who presumably had undergone their traditional training, others would have had no formal training in literary/performance skills. And finally, material was performed communally, as well as individually and privately.

This last factor seems to be one of the most overlooked. Yet it is particularly important, for communal or group recitation or performance requires fixed wording. It is not possible for more than one individual to perform at the same time in the manner described by Parry and Lord without producing utter chaos, for in that method, each individual creates his compositions anew each time he performs.⁵

In the introduction it was seen that, in the case of early Buddhist texts, the differences between parallel versions of the same text were taken by L.S. Cousins and R. Gethin as evidence of an initial improvisatory stage in the composition of these texts for the differences “are too frequent to arise ... from a rigidly memorised oral tradition”.⁶ In their view the various surviving versions of a particular sutta or text are each a frozen record of a particular performance.

There is, however, scope for considerable change to occur within a tradition of the transmission of fixed, memorised texts. Monks were sent out as missionaries⁷ and there are accounts of monks living in remote regions, often needing to come to more populated places to conduct ordinations⁸ or to learn certain teachings.⁹ Separate communities of monks headed by one or more senior monk also wandered throughout the country,¹⁰ and a dominant, centralised authority seems to have been absent. Accuracy in the transmission of a fixed text would have depended to a large extent on

⁴ Although not thought to be a memorised text, the contemporary oral Indian epic of Pābūjī exhibits a high degree of stability, which J.D. Smith (1987, pp. 600–602; 1989, p. 33) attributes to the religious status of the hero. Thus a religio-philosophical dimension may result in an even greater degree of stability or even fixity.

⁵ For a discussion of communal performance, see R. Finnegan, 1992, p. 154f.; for examples of composition-then-performance, see *ibid.*, pp. 18, 73–87.

⁶ L.S. Cousins, 1983, pp. 5–6.

⁷ Vin I 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Vin I 116.

¹⁰ Vin II 289–290.

the number of monks available to reinforce the “correct” version and on the authority of the teacher. And surely what the teacher taught, his pupils would have taken as authoritative. Differences in the order in which certain episodes or events occur within different versions of the same text and whether or not they are included could occur under such circumstances, as could differences in wording generally. The Buddhist attitude towards this material and what constituted the Dhamma and *buddhavacana* would also have been influential.¹¹ For example, the insertion of another list of, say, “five good things” in a text containing a parallel list of fives would not be a violation of *buddhavacana*, because the Buddha had in fact spoken of these “five good things” on another occasion. It is still the Dhamma and their inclusion could be seen to improve, rather than corrupt, the text. Clearly also, the very fact that the Sarvāstivādins, as well as other schools, were happy to change the language of their texts (that is, to Sanskritise them) and expand much of the wording, thereby “modernising” and “improving” them, indicates that changes could be consciously made to texts which were being committed to memory and supposedly transmitted verbatim. And it is not unrealistic to suppose that different sects deliberately changed the arrangement of material or its wording, not so much for doctrinal reasons, but to stamp it as their own.¹² Similarly, the differences between the various versions of the *Daśottara-sūtra* referred to by R. Gethin, namely, occasional differences in the lists of things that are to be abandoned, developed, and so on,¹³ could have resulted from any number of the above factors.

Although I have attempted to show that the early Buddhist sutta texts were, in the words of R. Gombrich, “deliberate compositions which were then committed to memory”¹⁴, I would certainly agree that accounts of what the Buddha is supposed to have said and discourses on his teaching would have been given by the monks and nuns after the Buddha’s death in an improvisatory manner, at times drawing heavily on memorised material or, as R. Gethin (1992) has argued, by using lists as a foundation. Such discourses may then have become the basis of later fixed texts. But these accounts and discourses were fundamentally different from the essentially fixed, memorised texts transmitted by the community, however imperfectly. Finally, as has been argued for some time in non-Indological circles, the Parry-Lord model does not exhaust the oral or literary/performance dimension of oral cultures. In ancient, pre-literate India there was a strong tradition of composing fixed, religious texts which were designed to be memorised and transmitted verbatim.¹⁵

¹¹ For reflections on what constitutes *buddhavacana*, see G.D. Bond, 1975; J.P. McDermott, 1984; G. MacQueen, 1981.

¹² This is perhaps the motive for the Sarvāstivāda school’s substitution of the older expression *upasaṃkami* / *upasaṃkamtivā* (Pāli) by *upajagāma* / *upetya* in their sūtra texts. See G. von Simson, 1977.

¹³ Cf. J.W. de Jong, 1966.

¹⁴ R. Gombrich, 1990b, p. 24.

¹⁵ For memorised texts and their transmission, see R. Finnegan, 1992, index s.v. ‘memorisation’.

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WORDS, PHRASES & FORMULAS

- For specific classes of phrases or formulas see also the subject index ‘formulas’ and entries such as ‘address forms’.
- Some of the main formulas have been prefixed by their formula number, e.g. A, B.1, B.2, etc.
- Complicated (C type) and Miscellaneous (G, H, I type) approach formulas have not been listed.
- Many of the structures (“formulas”) discussed in study 2 & 3 have not been listed as they are too numerous. Those that are listed have been listed as they are discussed in more than one place. But as these two studies are of one sutta (D III 36–57), the phrases and structures known to occur in this sutta can be found at the section where each passages is discussed in turn.
- All *yena ... ten’ upasaṃ√kam* (B type) and *seyyathā pi nāma balavā* (E & F type) formulas are listed respectively under *yena* and *seyyathā pi* according to formula number rather than alphabetic order.

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B.f.1: *atha kho āyasmā Ānando tassā rattiyā accayena pubbaṅha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya Cetakena bhikkhunā pacchāsamaṇena yena Subhassa māṇavassa Todeyyaputtassa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā paññatte āsane nisīdi. atha kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisīno kho Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca* 144ff.

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CORRIGENDA

Under ACKNOWLEDEMENTS, line 1, and on p. 193 (line 15): read “PhD” for “D.Phil.”

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p. 193 (line 15): read “PhD” for “D.Phil.”