MIDDLE INDIC tuvaṭṭa-

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Introduction

The present study is not the first attempt to deal with the Middle Indic verb tuvaṭṭa-. Before me, Alsdorf has drawn attention to the occurrence of the word in the Āsoka inscriptions\(^1\). Alsdorf, while rejecting the indigenous derivation from tvagvartayati as a comic folk etymology, refrains from suggesting one himself. Next, it was pointed out by Bollée that the word is not restricted to the Āsoka inscriptions and the AMg. canon of the Śvetāmbara Jains, but is also found in the Pāli canon\(^2\).

Bollée began his study of tuvaṭṭa- by noting that, while the meaning of this word is well established, its derivation still remains a problem\(^3\). However, as far as I see it, the situation is exactly the reverse. The real problem of tuvaṭṭa- concerns its meaning, which shows a considerable latitude in the respective sources: besides “to lie down” in Pāli and AMg. texts, for the Āsoka inscriptions we have to assume a meaning something like “to be active”. Starting precisely from this latter meaning in the Āsoka inscriptions the derivation of the word would present itself almost automatically.

In what follows, I will reveal a development of the meaning of tuvaṭṭa-, from the “etymological” meaning in the Āsoka inscriptions, through a colloquial usage in the Pāli sources, to a case of semantic bleaching of this latter meaning in the AMg. sources. As such, the results of this study bear on the question of the relative dating of the Buddhist Pāli canon, on the one hand, and the Jaina AMg. canon, on the other.

Tuvaṭṭa- in the Āsoka inscriptions

The word occurs but once, namely in the so-called separate edicts from Dhauli (Dh.) and Jaugāda (J.) In Dh. the relevant passage reads, following Alsdorf’s reconstruction:

e kilaṁte siyā (ti) tena ugaca sarīcalattiyāve tuvaṭṭattiyāve etavīye vā

Wer etwa schlaff ist, der müß sich aufraffend (abs. udgāya) sich in Bewegung setzen, sich rūhren (?) und sich fortbewegen.

Alsdorf rightly assumes that tuvaṭṭattiyāve, occurring side by side (vā)\(^4\) with ugaca

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\(^1\) See also "Middle Indic tuvaṭṭa-", Asiat. Studien/Études Asiatiques LV/2(2001), pp. 415–421

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sanicalitaviye and etaviye, should denote a kind of active movement here. However, with his rather non-committal translation "sich rühren" he evidently tried to accommodate at the same time the AMg. meaning "to lie down", or at least the gloss found for the word in the commentaries on the Jaina canonical texts: tvagvartayati "sich in Liegen umdrehen." Implicitly Alsdorf seems to leave open the possibility that tuvāṭīaviye in the Aśoka passage denotes something like "to be active [with the affairs of the people] from the bed". If so, this would require very specific meanings for sanicalitaviye (or ugaça sanicalitaviye) and etaviye as well, which however, would have to be construed on the basis of this particular passage only. For, as far as I know, (ugaça) sanicalitaviye tuvāṭīaviye etaviye represents ad hoc enumeration. This also means that we do not know if the absolutive ugaça is to be construed with sanicalitaviye only, or with the following verbs as well, in which latter case the question whether tuvāṭa- means in particular "to be active in a lying position" could be ruled out more definitely.

So much is clear from this passage that tuvāṭa- denotes a kind of bodily activity. As such, it need not necessarily refer to some specific activity here, but could well denote an activity undertaken for its own sake, for instance, to prevent one from giving in to one's exhaustion and falling asleep.

Starting from such a meaning tuvāṭa- may be derived from Skt ati-vṛt- "to move excessively", showing the loss of the initial a- of ati- and labialization of the vowel representing -r- due to the preceding v-. As such tuvāṭa- shows an alternative development to the one seen in AMg. tiūṭa-, "to escape from, pass beyond", which goes back to ati-vṛt- as well. In tiūṭa- the v- of vṛt- has labialized the vowel which follows, and has subsequently been lost (at least in writing).

The meaning of ati-vṛt- required here, "to move excessively" - which may in any case be abstracted from meanings of the constituents of the compound: ati "excessive, beyond the limit" and vṛt- "to roll, to move" - has apparently not been attested for the verb. It has, however, been attested for the noun ativṛtti (Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya 1 12, 407.)

Tuvaṭa- in AMg. texts

As already indicated, in the Jaina canonical texts tuvaṭa-/tuyaṭa- seems to mean simply "to lie down". This meaning is established by the frequent occurrence of the word in the enumeration cittha-, nisīya-, tuaṭa-, "standing,
sitting, and lying down.” One example is Āyāra (JĀS) I 8, 2/204: *se bhikkhū parakkamejī vā cīṭhejī vā ṇisiejī vā tuyaṭtejī vā susānariṇī vā “Ein Mönch übt Andacht, steht, sitzt oder liegt vielleicht auf einem Friedhof ...”* 8 Sūyagada (JĀS) II 2/707: *āuttaṁ gačchamāṇassā āuttaṁ ciṭṭhamāṇassā āuttaṁ ṇisīyamāṇassā āuttaṁ tuyaṭṭamāṇassā...,”* who carefully walks, stands, sits down, lies down...*9 Viyāhapannati (JĀS) II 13, 4, 25 (p. 630, line 18): *ṭhāṇa-nisāyaṇa-tuyaṭṭana-mañassā* intent upon standing, sitting and lying down”.

Occasionally the word is found on its own, as in Āyāra (JĀS) I 8, 8, 23/236, in a passage describing the method to be followed in the fasting-to-death:

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\text{anāhāro tuvaṭṭejī puṭṭho tattha hiyāsae} \\
\text{nāṭivelaṁ uvacare māṇussehinī vi puṭṭhavari,}
\]

He should lie without food; when affected [by discomfort] in that [position] he should bear it. He should not go beyond the boundary [which he has set himself], even when he has been affected by things human”*10.

As these and other passages show, the word not only functions in the Jaina canon as an apparently regular word for lying down, but has also completely lost its supposed primary, etymological meaning of denoting a bodily activity, as present in the Aśoka inscriptions. If anything, it seems to express the very opposite idea, namely that of lying at ease, as can be seen in Āyāra (JĀS) II 2, 13/725: *se se paro arīkaṁsi vā paliyarīkaṁsi vā tuyaṭṭavettā pāyaṁ āmajejī vā pana jejī vā* “(One should neither be pleased nor prohibit it,) if one is made to lie down in someone’s lap or on a couch one’s feet are being wiped or rubbed.”

It is difficult to reconcile this meaning in the Jaina canon with the one in the Aśoka passage. The problem may however be solved by incorporating the instances in Pāli in the discussion.

**Tuvaṭṭa- in Pāli texts**

In Pāli texts the occurrence of the word tuvaṭṭa- is restricted to altogether three passages (Vinaya[Oldenberg] I, pp. 9-10, II p. 124, and IV, pp. 288-289),*11 all of which deal with monks and nuns who fail to abide by the rule of celibacy. To begin with the last mentioned passage, Vinaya IV, pp. 288-289: Tena samayena buddho bhagava Sāvatthiyam viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassā ārāme. tena kho pana samayena bhikkhuṇīyo dve ekamaṇce tuvaṭṭenti. manussā vihāracārikaṁ āhiṇḍantā passitvā... vipācenti : kathaṁ hi nāme bhikkhuṇīyo dve
ekamaṇce tuvaṭṭessanti seyyathāpi gihikāmabhoginiyoti. assosuṁ kho bhikkhuniyo

tesam manusavanāni... vipacentānāni: yā tā bhikkhuniyo appiṭhā... vipārenti,
kathāṁ hi nāma bhikkhuniyo deve ekamaṇce tuvaṭṭessantiti [pa]. saccāṁ kira
bhikkhave bhikkhuniyo... tuvaṭṭentiti. saccāṁ bhagava. vigaraḥi buddho bhagavaḥ:
kathāṁ hi nāma bhikkhave bhikkhuniyo... tuvaṭṭessanti. netaṁ bhikkhave
appasannānaṁ... uddisantu.

yā pana bhikkhuniyo deve ekamaṇce tuvaṭṭeyyunāpacittiyān ti. yā panāti yā yādisā
[pa]. bhikkhuniyo[ti upasampannāyo vuccanti. deve ekamaṇce tuvaṭṭeyyun ti, ekāya
nipannāya aparā nipajjati, āpatti pacittiyaassa. ubho vā nipajjanti, āpatti
pacittiyaassa. utthahitvā punappupanä nipajjanti, āpatti pacittiyaassa.anāpatti ekāya
nipannāya aparā nisidati, ubho vā nisidanti, ummatikkānāṁ, adikammikkānāṁ ti.

"... at Sāvatthī in the Jeta Grove in Anāthaṁīdika's monastery. Now at that time
two nuns shared one couch. People, engaged in touring the dwelling-place,
having seen (them) ... spread it about, saying: "How can two nuns share one
couch, like women householders who enjoy the pleasures of the senses?" Nuns
heard these people who ... spread it about. Those who were modest nuns...
spread it about, saying: How can two nuns share one couch?"

"Is it true, as is said, monks, that two nuns shared one couch?"

"It is true, lord."

The enlightened one, the lord, rebuked them, saying:

"How, monks, can two nuns share one couch? It is not, monks, for pleasing
those who are not (yet) pleased ... this rule of training:

Whatever two nuns should share one couch, there is an offence of expiation."

Whatever means: ... nun is to be understood in this case.

Nuns mean: they are called ordained.

Two should not share one couch means: if one is lying down and the other lies
down, there is an offence of expiation. Or if both are lying down, there is an
offence of expiation. If having got up, they lie down again, there is an offence
of expiation. There is no offence if one is lying down and the other sits down,
or if both are sitting down; if they are mad, if they are the first wrong-doers."

Vinaya I, pp. 9-10 reads: Tena kho pana samayena Assajīpunabbasukā nāma
Kitāgirisminī avāsikā honti alajjino pāpabhihkhū. te evarpāṇi anācāraṁ acāranti:
... te
kulitthihi kuladhiśāhi kulakumārīhi kulasuṇhāhi kuladāsihi saddhiṁ ekabhōjane pi bhunjanti ekathālake pi pivanti ekāsane pi nisīdanti ekamañce pi tuvaṭṭenti ekatharaṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekatharaṇapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti...

“Now at that time unscrupulous, depraved monks who were followers of Assaji and Punabbasu were in residence at Kīṭāgiri. They indulged in the following kinds of bad habits: ... These ate from one dish together with wives of reputable families, with daughters of reputable families, with girls of reputable families, with daughters-in-law of reputable families, with women slaves of reputable families; and they drank from the same beaker; they sat down on the same seat; they shared one couch, they shared one mat; they shared one coverlet; they shared one mat and coverlet.”

Finally, Vinaya V, p. 124: *Tena kho pana samayena chabbaggyā bhikkhū ekabhājane pi bhunjanti ekathālake pi pivanti ekamañce pi tuvaṭṭenti ekatharaṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekatharaṇapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti. manussā ujjhāyanti...kāmahigino’ti. bhagavato etam ñātham ārocemuñ. na bhikkhave ekabhājane bhunjitatthamañ... na ekamañce tuvaṭṭitatthamañ...yo tuvaṭṭeyyya, āpatī dukkhaṭassā’ti.*

“Now at that time the group of six monks ate from one dish and drank from one beaker and shared one couch and shared one cloth and shared one covering and shared one covering-cloth. People ... spread it about, saying: ‘Like householders who enjoy pleasures of the senses.’ They told this matter to the Lord. He said: ‘Monks, you should not eat from one dish... nor share one couch... Whomever should share (one), there is an offence of wrong doing.’

A translation of *tuvaṭṭa*- with “to lie down” is indicated by the gloss, or paraphrase, *nipajjati* in Vinaya IV, p.288, quoted above, as well as by the locatives *mañce, tharaṇe* and *pāvuraṇe*. Note in this connection also the contrast between *ekāsane nisīdanti* and *ekamañce tuvaṭṭenti* in Vinaya IV quoted above. It seems that Horner in her translation “to share” all too closely follows the PTSD (p.306a), which has suggested a derivation from *dvandīyaṭī*.

Taken as such the Vinaya would stipulate that the mere fact that monks and nuns lie down with somebody else on one bed, on one matras and under one cover suffices to form a serious transgression, that is, if “one” is indeed to be taken emphatically here. That the monks and nuns might have been doing something in the bed (note *ghihiṁa - bhoginiyo* in Vinaya IV quoted above)
would not have been relevant, or, at least, would have been left unspecified.

On the other hand, we have evidently to do with that same verb tuvaṭṭa- here, which in the Aśoka inscriptions denotes a bodily activity. How does this latter meaning fit in the Pāli instances? In this connection I wish to draw attention to Vinaya IV, in which tuvaṭṭa- figures in a quotation which is supposed to repeat or echo accusations made by outsiders with regard to the laziness of the monks and the nuns. On the basis of this passage it may be argued that tuvaṭṭa- "to show excessive activity" has actually found its way into the canon as a colloquial expression for having sex. The gloss nipaijja- may be taken as the result of an attempt on the part of the Vinaya authors to bowdlerize this obscene colloquial expression or else, what may be even more likely, would show that these authors were no longer aware of the derivation and meaning of the word. The latter possibility suggests that tuvaṭṭa- was no longer in use at the time of the composition of the Vinaya. All this would mark the verb tuvaṭṭa- as a precious linguistic fossil from the spoken language probably even going back to the time of the Buddha's preaching itself.

Concluding remarks

In the case of the Vinaya we may accordingly distinguish between tuvaṭṭa- as an intrusion from the older spoken language meaning "to show excessive activity in bed, to have sex", and the interpretation given to the word by the presumably later authors of the text, namely "to lie down". As such the Vinaya appears to provide the missing link between the Aśoka inscription, in which tuveṭṭa- means "to show (excessive) activity" and the Jaina canon, in which it means "to lie down". The use of the verb tuvaṭṭa- in the Jaina canon now appears to agree in particular with that of the authors of the Vinaya.

In this connection the question arises from what source or sources the authors of the Jaina canon may have derived their tuvaṭṭa- "to lie down". In this connection it should be noted that it is highly unlikely that they had actually borrowed the word from the spoken language. For, it is difficult to see how in a living language a common word, after it has come to be used in a highly pregnant sense in a specific idiomatic expression, could ever be used again flatly without any of its earlier connotations lingering on, whether of its original or of its idiomatic use.

Instead, the meaning "to lie down" looks rather like the result of the learned process of editorial interpretation of earlier fixed "texts" (oral or written), which
process is known to result in the reduction to mere synonyms of words which originally had widely divergent connotations, if not completely different meanings. This would already suffice to mark the Jaina canon, including those parts of it which are generally regarded as old and authentic (Ayara), as a relatively recent, artificial, patchwork. But there may be more. For, the evidence of this process of semantic bleaching is found in the Vinaya, in which we can trace the invention of tvattha- as a synonym of nipajja-. We cannot therefore exclude the possibility that the authors of the Jaina canon have borrowed the word tvattha- directly from the Pali canon itself. This would add a precious piece of evidence to the ones collected by, for instance, O. von Hinüber, suggesting that the Jaina AMg. canon is later than the Buddhist Pali canon.\textsuperscript{17}

**NOTES:**


3. Following Bollèe, Von Hinüber takes tvattha- as a rare instance of a des\textsuperscript{i}-word in Pali (\textit{Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick}. Wien 1986, § 72).

4. Note, however, that Alsdorf translates vā "or" with "and". Vā is absent in J., in which the line reads instead sanicalitu uśhāyā sańicalitavya tvuṭātaviya pi etaviye pi niṭiyam.

5. Note that J. reads sanicalitu uśhāyā sańicalitavye tuvāṭātaviya pi etaviye pi niṭiyam "having stood up in order to move, he should move..."


10. Translation J. Bronkhorst, *The Two Traditions of Meditation in Ancient India*. Delhi 1993, pp. 32-33. In his translation Bronkhorst follows the traditional interpretation as transmitted in the various commentaries. It will be clear, however, that the interpretation of puṭṭhavāmaḥ as sprāṭavāmaḥ, for which the context requires a passive meaning here, is invented ad hoc. Earlier I have suggested that puṭṭhavāmaḥ rather represents sprāṭhakam “back” (WZKS 32,1987, pp. 200-201. The suggestion made that puṭṭha in the first line might conformingly represent an archaic locative of prāṭha “back” is less compelling.) Nātivelarñ uvacare...puṭṭhavāmaḥ may be translated as: “He should treat his back not too long”. The meaning “to treat medically” for uvacara- is otherwise well attested. Admittedly, māṇusschehaḥ creates a serious problem. In this connection I should like to add that it is quite well possible that the passage as a whole has actually been pieced together from fragments of texts the meanings of which were no longer properly understood. Māṇusschēhaḥ may be an addition introduced at the stage of the composition of this hemistich from such an existing fragment. In such passages as Janibuddhipaṇḍatti (Ladnun) 3, 82 (p. 428) : saddapharisperarāśvagāṇidīte paricavihe māṇussae kāmabhoge bhunijamāne viharai may have stood muster (cp. also ibidem 3, 187, 218, 221, and 4, 177).

11. Below I leave out the subsequent repetitions of the same passages.


14. Translation by I.B. Horner [as in previous note], p.171.

15. For the sandhi in tharaṇāpi and pāvaranāpi, see O. von Hinüber, Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick, Wien 1986, § 265.

16. Compare e.g. English “to Tumble in the hay”, Dutch “wippen”, etc.