

MIDDLE INDIC *tuvatta-*

Herman Tieken

Introduction

The present study is not the first attempt to deal with the Middle Indic verb *tuvatta-*. Before me, Alsdorf has drawn attention to the occurrence of the word in the Aśoka inscriptions¹. 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 Aśoka inscriptions and the AMg. canon of the Śvetāmbara Jains, but is also found in the Pāli canon².

Bollée began his study of *tuvatta-* by noting that, while the meaning of this word is well established, its derivation still remains a problem³. However, as far as I see it, the situation is exactly the reverse. The real problem of *tuvatta-* concerns its meaning, which shows a considerable latitude in the respective sources : besides "to lie down" in Pāli and AMg. texts, for the Aśoka inscriptions we have to assume a meaning something like "to be active". Starting precisely from this latter meaning in the Aśoka inscriptions the derivation of the word would present itself almost automatically.

In what follows, I will reveal a development of the meaning of *tuvatta-*, from the "etymological" meaning in the Aśoka 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 Pali canon, on the one hand, and the Jaina AMg. canon, on the other.

Tuvatta- in the Aśoka inscriptions

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

e kilamte siyā (ti) tena ugaca samcalitaviye tuvaṭṭitaviye etaviye vā

Wer etwa schlaff ist, der muß sich aufraffend (abs. *udgatya*) sich in Bewegung setzen, sich *rühren* (?) und sich fortbewegen.

Alsdorf rightly assumes that *tuvaṭṭitaviye*, occurring side by side (*vā*)⁴ with *ugaca*

samcali

Howev

tried to

least th

texts :

open th

"to be

require

etaviye

particul

etaviye

if the

followin

in part

definite

So mu

activity

could

prevent

Starting

move e

the vor

alternat

beyond

labializ

writing

The me

case b

"excess

been a

(Aṣṭāṅg

*Tuvaṭṭi**Tuvaṭṭi*

As ab

mean

occurr

See also "Middle Indic *tuvatta-*", *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* LV/2 (2001), pp. 415-421

saṃcalitaviye 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 *tuvattaviye* 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 *saṃcalitaviye* (or *ugaca saṃcalitaviye*) 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, (*ugaca*) *saṃcalitaviye tuvattaviye etaviye* represents ad ad hoc enumeration. This also means that we do not know if the absolutive *ugaca* is to be construed with *saṃcalitaviye* only, or with the following verbs as well, in which latter case the question whether *tuvatta-* means in particular "to be active in a lying position" could be ruled out more definitely⁵.

So much is clear from this passage that *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* shows an alternative development to the one seen in AMg. *tiutta-*, "to escape from, pass beyond", which goes back to *ati-vṛt-* as well. In *tiutta-* 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* I 12, 40⁷.)

Tuvatta- in AMg. texts

As already indicated, in the Jaina canonical texts *tuvatta-/tuyatta-* seems to mean simply "to lie down". This meaning is established by the frequent occurrence of the word in the enumeration *ciṭṭha-*, *nisiya-*, *tuyatta-*, "standing,

sitting, and lying down." One example is *Āyāra* (JĀS) I 8, 2/204 : *se bhikkhū parakkamejja vā citthejja vā ṇisīejja vā tuyattejja vā susāṇamsi vā* "Ein Mönch übt Andacht, steht, sitzt oder liegt vielleicht auf einem Friedhof ...";⁸ *Sūyagaḍa* (JĀS) II 2/707 : *āuttaṃ gacchamāṇassa āuttaṃ citṭhamāṇassa āuttaṃ ṇisīyamāṇassa āuttaṃ tuyattamāṇassa...*, "who carefully walks, stands, sits down, lies down...".⁹ *Viyāhapannatti* (JĀS) II 13, 4, 25 (p. 630, line 18) : *ṭhāṇa-nisīyaṇa-tuyattana-maṇassa* "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 :

*aṇāhāro tuvattejjā puttḥo tattha hiyāsae
ṇātiavelaṃ uvacare māṇussehiṃ vi puttḥavaṃ,*

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 amkaṇsi vā paliyamkaṇsi vā tuyattāvēttā pāyāṃ amajjejja vā pamajjejja 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 bhagavā Sāvattḥiyāṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. tena kho pana samayena bhikkhuniyo dve ekamañce tuvattenti. manussā vihāracārikāṃ ahiṇḍantā passivā... vipācenti : kathaṃ hi nāme bhikkuniyo dve*

ekamañce tuvattessanti seyyathāpi gihikāmbhoginiyoti. assosum kho bhikkhuniyo tesam manussanam... vipacentānam. yā tā bhikkhuniyo appicchā... vipācenti katham hi nāma bhikkhuṇiyo dve ekamañce tuvattessantiti [pa]. saccam kira bhikkhave bhikkhuniyo...tuvattentiti. saccam bhagavā. vigarahi buddho bhagavā : katham hi nāma bhikkhave bhikkhuniyo...tuvattessanti. n'etaṃ bhikkhave appasannānam... uddisantu.

yā pana bhikkhuniyo dve ekamañce tuvattēyyum pācittiyān ti. yā panā'ti yā yādisā [pa]. bhikkhuniyo'ti upasampannāyo vuccanti. dve ekamañce tuvattēyyun ti, ekāya nipannāya aparā nipajjati, āpatti pācittiyassa. ubho vā nipajjanti, āpatti pācittiyassa. utthahitvā punappunam nipajjanti, āpatti pācittiyassa. anāpatti ekāya nipannāya aparā nisīdati, ubho vā nisīdanti, ummattikānam, ādikammikānam ti.

"... at Sāvattihī in the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika'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-doers¹²."

Vinaya I, pp. 9-10 reads : *Tena kho pana samayena Assajipunabbasukā nāma Kīṭāgirismim āvāsikā honti alajjino pāpabhikkhū. te evarūpaṃ anācāraṃ ācāranti*

... te

kulitthihi kuladhītāhi kulakumārīhi kulasuṅhāhi kuladāsīhi saddhīm ekabhājane pi bhujjanti ekathālake pi pivanti ekāsane pi nisīdanti ekamañce pi tuvaṭṭenti ekattharaṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekattharaṇapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti...

“Now at that time unscrupulous, depraved monks who were followers of Assaji and Punabbasu were in residence at Kiṭāgiri. 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 coverlet¹³.”

Finally, Vinaya V, p. 124 : *Tena kho pana samayena chabbaggiyā bhikkhū ekabhājane pi bhujjanti ekathālake pi pivanti ekamañce pi tuvaṭṭenti ekattharaṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti ekattharaṇapāvuraṇāpi tuvaṭṭenti. manussā ujjhāyanti...kāmahogino’ti. bhagavato etaṃ āttham ārocesuṃ. na bhikkhave ekabhājane bhujjitabbarā ... na ekamañce tuvaṭṭitabbarā...yo tuvaṭṭeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā’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.... Whoever should share (one), there is an offence of wrong doing¹⁴.’

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*¹⁵. 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 **dvandvayati*.

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 *gihikāma - bhoginiyo* in Vinaya IV quoted above)

ne pi
tenti
māpi
Assaji
wing
es of
table
es of
the
one
ikkhū
tenti
māpi
esum.
...yo
from
one
ing :
er to
one
g¹⁴
s, or
the
the
noted
flows
s and
one
to be
doing
bowe)

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 *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* figures in a quotation which is supposed to repeat or echo accusations made by outsiders with regard to the laxity of the monks and the nuns. On the basis of this passage it may be argued that *tuvatta-* "to show excessive activity" has actually found its way into the canon as a colloquial expression for having sex¹⁶. The gloss *nipajja-* 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 *tuvatta-* was no longer in use at the time of the composition of the *Vinaya*. All this would mark the verb *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* means "to show (excessive) activity" and the Jaina canon, in which it means "to lie down". The use of the verb *tuvatta-* 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 *tuvatta-* "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 (*Āyāra*), 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 *tuvāṭṭa-* as a synonym of *nipajja-*. We cannot therefore exclude the possibility that the authors of the Jaina canon have borrowed the word *tuvāṭṭa-* directly from the Pāli 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 Pāli canon¹⁷.

NOTES :

1. L. Alsdorf, *Aśokas Separatedikte von Dhauri und Jaugada*. Wiesbaden 1962, esp. pp. 17ff.
2. W. B. Bollée, "Notes on Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary II", *JOIB XXXIII*, 1983, pp. 108-122, esp. pp. 112-114.
3. Following Bollée, Von Hinüber takes *tuvāṭṭa-* as a rare instance of a *deśī*-word in Pāli (*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 *saṃcalitu uṭhāyā saṃcalitavya tuvaṭṭaviya pi etaviye pi nītiyam*.
5. Note that J. reads *saṃcalitu uṭhāyā saṃcalitavye tuvaṭṭaviya pi etaviye pi nītiyam* "having stood up in order to move, he should move...".
6. For the derivation of *tiuṭṭa-*, see W.B. Bollée, *Studien zum Sūyagada. Die Jainas und die anderen Weltanschauungen vor der Zeitwende. Textteile, Nijjutti, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen. Schriftenreihe des Südasien - Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 24*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 187 s.v., and K.R. Norman, "Sūyagada Studies", *WZKSXXV*, 1981, p. 201, with reference to K.R. Norman, "Labialisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan", *StII* II, 1976, pp. 41-58 (=Collected Papers Vol. I, Oxford 1990, pp. 246-261). See also K.R. Norman, "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XVI. The Palatalization and Labialization of Vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan", *JOIB XXXII*, 1983, pp. 275-279, esp. p. 278.
7. See *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*. Vol. Two, Part I. Poona 1979, p. 1131.

8. Tra

der

9. Tra

197

10. Tra

199

as

inte

me

rep

thal

and

as

ura

pro

the

the

an

an

(p

vib

11. Be

12. Tr

(S

13. Tr

(C

14. Tr

15. Fe

M

16. G

17. S

M

s which
 different
 of those
), as a
 evidence
 we can
 herefore
 ved the
 precious
 hinüber,
 canon¹⁷.

esp. pp.

1983, pp.

i-word in

in J., in
 aviye pi

i nītiyam

ne Jainas
 bersetzung

Heidelberg

WZKSXXV,

in Middle

1990, pp.

EVI. The

B XXXII,

Two, Part

8. Translation W. Schubring, *Worte Mahāvīras. Kritische Übersetzungen aus dem Kanon der Jaina*. Göttingen 1927, p. 106.
9. Translation H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras. Part II. SBE 45*. Oxford 1985 (repr. New Delhi 1973), p. 364.
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 *puṭṭhavaṃ* as *spr̥ṣṭavān*, for which the context requires a passive meaning here, is invented *ad hoc*. Earlier I have suggested that *puṭṭhavaṃ* rather represents *pr̥ṣṭhakam* "back" (WZKS 32,1987, pp. 200-201. The suggestion made that *puṭṭho* in the first line might conformingly represent an archaic locative of *pr̥ṣṭhi* "back" is less compelling.) *Nāṭivelam̐ uvacare...puṭṭhavaṃ* may be translated as : "He should treat his back not too long". The meaning "to treat medically" for *uvacara-* is otherwise well attested. Admittedly, *māṇusschim̐* 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. *Māṇussehim̐* may be an addition introduced at the stage of the composition of this hemistich from such an existing fragment. In this such passages as *Janibuddīvapaṇṇattī* (Ladnun) 3, 82 (p. 428) : *saddapharisarasarūvagaṇḍhe paṇcavihe māṇussae kāmabhoge bhūṇjamāne 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.
12. Translation I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya- Piṭaka), Vol. III (Suttavibhaṅga)*. London, 1942 p. 304.
13. Translation I.B.Horner, *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka) Volume V (Cullavagga)*. London, 1952, p. 14.
14. Translation by I.B. Horner [as in previous note], p.171.
15. For the sandhi in *tharaṇāpi* and *pāvuraṇāpi*, 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.
17. See O. von Hinüber, *Der Beginn der Schrift und Frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Mainz 1989, esp. pp. 22, 35, and 50.