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The Creative Erudition of Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, a 15th-Century Grammarian and Philosopher from Burma

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Abstract This paper focuses on the scholastic technique of the Theravāda scholar-monk Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (Burma, fifteenth century CE). Chapaṭa is the author of several scholastic treatises in Pāli, the most voluminous of which is the *Suttaniddesa*, a commentary on the Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana (ca. sixth to seventh century CE). I offer a general introduction to the Pāli grammatical tradition and especially to the Pāli grammatical tradition of Burma, together with an introduction to the life and works of Chapaṭa. I also offer the first annotated translation of a passage from the *Suttaniddesa* and in this way I show how the scholastic technique of Chapaṭa is based on a precise (and sometimes fastidious) use of quotations, mainly from other Pāli or Sanskrit grammatical texts, but also from Buddhist literature. I finally give a preliminary assessment of typology and purpose of every different type of quotation. Although this paper consists mainly of preliminary work, it is the first essay entirely devoted to the *Suttaniddesa*, which is one of the most important grammatical works in the Theravāda tradition.

Keywords Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla · *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* · Pāli · Grammar · Burma · Textual reuse

*Good artists copy, the genius steals.
Picasso*

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1 Premiss

Pāli is known as the language of the Tipiṭaka, the Theravāda recension of the Buddhist canon. But Pāli is also the language of a formidable non-canonical literature, mostly written in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. This non-canonical literature contains a great many grammatical treatises dealing with the language of the Tipiṭaka and the *aṭṭhakathā* “commentaries” thereon which date from around the fifth century A.D. Pāli grammarians styled themselves as *akkharacintakā*, literally “thinkers on letters” or “phoneticians”.¹ According to them, the language they were describing was Māgadhī, “the language of the Magadha [country]”. Already in Buddhaghosa’s times (ca. fourth to fifth century A.D.) this was supposed to be the *mūlabhāsā* “root language”² of mankind. Notwithstanding these claims, the Pāli grammatical tradition remains an offshoot of the old and diversified Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

The oldest extant Pāli grammar, the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa (Kacc), consists of approximately 674 *suttas* “aphorisms”. These rules are mostly based on the Sanskrit grammar known as Kātantra (Kā), composed by Śarvavarman (ca. second century A.D.). Influence of Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī is also noticeable in nearly 200 rules. In its turn, the oldest commentary on Kacc, the Kaccāyanavutti (Kacc-v), seems to be much indebted to the Durgavṛtti (Kā-v), written by Durgasiṃha (sixth to eighth century A.D.).³ Kā-v is the first commentary (extant) upon Kā.

In recent scholarship it is generally agreed that Kacc (1) is a work of various hands; (2) that, as a result of point 1, it is a chaotic⁴ composition; (3) and that it is the cornerstone of the whole Pāli grammatical tradition, which cannot be properly understood without a thorough knowledge of Kacc and Kacc-v.

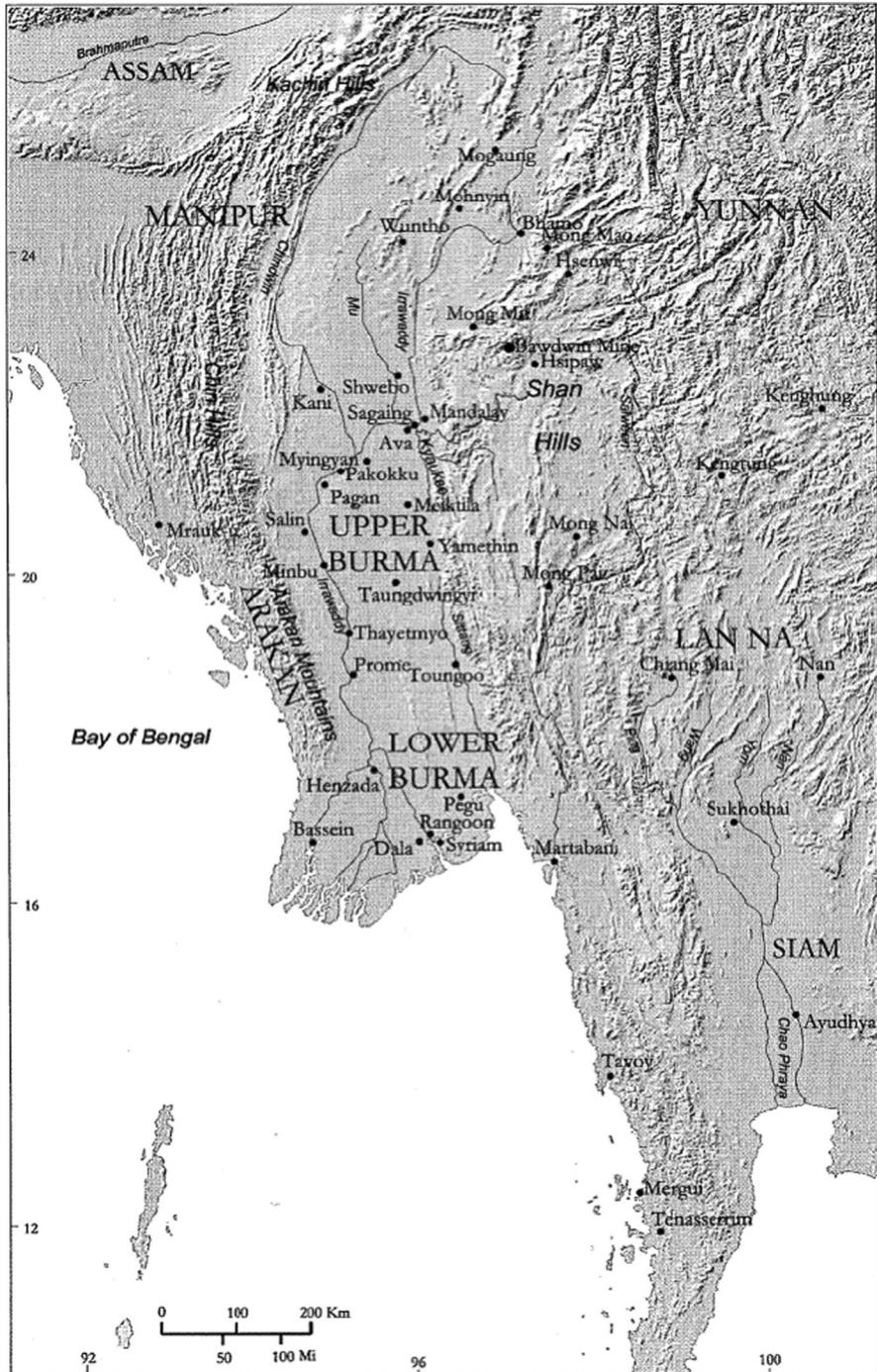
¹ See CPD: “akkhara-cintaka, m., a grammarian, pl. ~ā, Pj I 17,34; II 16,24; 432,16; Pv-a 120,31; Vism 310,20”.

² The locus classicus is Vism 441,34: *māgadhikāya sabbasattānaṃ mūlabhāsāya* “The Māgadhika language, which is the root language of all beings” (see Norman 1983, 2). The same idea is found in Buddhappiya’s Rūpasiddhi 60:

*sā māgadhī mūlabhāsā narā yāyādikappikā
brahmāno cassuāḷāpā sambuddhā cāpi bhāsare.*

³ Scharfe (1977, 163).

⁴ “[A]daptation un peu naïve du Kātantra”, Smith (1928, v); “[S]uch haphazard composition would indicate that Kacc is a compilation of various hands”, Pind (2012, 75).



Source: Lieberman, 2003

The so-called “indigenous” tradition, on the other hand, believes that the *suttas* were written by Mahā-Kaccāyana, the disciple of the Buddha. Some traditions even ascribe the first *sutta* (*attho akkharasaññāto* “Meaning is conveyed by sounds”) to the Buddha himself.

In twelfth-century Sri Lanka, the Kacc grammar lost its authority due to the influence of Sanskrit culture in the royal court. This influence was responsible for Moggallāna’s writing his *Māgadhalakkhaṇa*, a brand new Pāli grammar with higher pretensions of being systematic. Moggallāna’s Sanskrit model was not, this time, the plain, accessible Kātantra, but the algebraic Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin, a Buddhist grammarian from Nālandā (ca. 450 A.D.).⁵ Candragomin composed his grammar following Pāṇini.

More or less simultaneously, in twelfth-century Burma, Kaccāyana’s grammar was studied with an unprecedented fervour. Pāli grammar, it is said,⁶ was the key to understand the freshly acquired set of the Pāli scriptures, brought to Pagan by King Anoratha (eleventh century A.D.) after sacking Thatōn, the capital of Rāmaññadesa (Southern Burma, the Mon kingdom, close to Martaban in the map at p. 2). Some scholars maintain that Pāli was a strange and difficult language for the Burmese, and the urgent need to understand the Theravāda canon explains the grammatical boom of Pagan. But this explanation is open to question for several reasons. One important reason is that, as Michael Aung-Thwin and others have pointed out, Theravāda Buddhism was already known in the Irrawaddy basin around the fifth century A.D.⁷ Therefore, Pāli and Theravāda Buddhism could not have been too novel, or too difficult to understand, by the monastic elite. The other important reason is that some Pāli grammars imply a higher knowledge of Pāli and Indian philosophy in order to be studied, and that means a certain acquaintance with the Tipiṭaka as well as with the Indian traditions concerning grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and logic (*nyāya*). The evidence is that Pāli was among of the literary languages of Pagan, together with Pyu, Mon and Burmese. The role of Pāli was most probably being a lingua franca for Theravāda Southeast Asia. If Burmese grammarians were outstanding, it was precisely because Pāli was not a difficult language for them: they were educated in that language, and they mastered it. I think we rather need to understand the study of Pāli grammar in Pagan as a Buddhist movement to foster *pariyatti* “theory”, against some ascetic movements, called “Ari” or “forest dwellers” (probably related to tantric Buddhism) that apparently challenged a more text-based form of Buddhism. Textual-based Buddhism is actually something vindicated by Aggavaṃsa of Pagan, the greatest Pāli grammarian, when he reminds us that only *pariyatti*

⁵ Scharfe (1977, 164).

⁶ The idea is found in Bode (1909, xviii): “In India, where certain of the Upaniṣads belonged to a yet earlier phase of thought than the doctrines of Gotama, men’s minds were prepared for Buddhist conceptions. A philosophical language was already formed in which the teacher or the disputant could lead his hearers step by step in an idiom they knew to conclusions not unfamiliar to their minds. But in Burma the grammar of the Buddhist texts first had to be studied, and when the great legend of the Founder was learned and the code of the Order had grown familiar, there was still a new world to conquer, a new science to master...”.

⁷ Aung-Thwin and Aung-Thwin (2012, 71).

is the root of the *sāsana* “teaching (of the Buddha)”.⁸ Aggavaṃsa (ca. twelfth century A.D.) was, indeed, the product of a consolidated tradition, and his familiarity with Pāli and Sanskrit is well known. He was the author of a massive handbook on Pāli called the *Saddanīti*, the most comprehensive Pāli grammar ever written. In his work, Aggavaṃsa follows, but also revises, the old Kaccāyana tradition. The main purpose of the *Saddanīti* was to preserve the purity of the Pāli canonical texts. It was also conceived as an exegetical instrument. The implication of Aggavaṃsa’s statement is that textual purity through learning (*pariyatti*) will lead to the preservation of correct Buddhist practice (*paripatti*) and insight (*paṭivedha*).⁹

2 The Suttaniddesa

The commentary on Kacc called the *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* (*Kacc-nidd*) or simply the *Suttaniddesa*, was written by the Burmese scholar monk Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla (Pagan, fifteenth century A.D.). It stands as the most important grammatical work of his epoch. Chapaṭa quotes up to “twenty-five grammatical treatises in addition to well-known works like *Nyāsa* [= *Mmd*], *Rūpasiddhi*, *Saddanīti*, and *Moggallāna*”.¹⁰ Some of the quoted works are no longer extant.

Kacc-nidd belongs to a long series of commentaries on Kacc. The following is a list, in chronological order, of the major commentaries as they have been preserved and studied in Burma up to the present:

- *Mukhamattadīpanī* or *Nyāsa*, by Vimalabuddhi, Sri Lanka, ca. tenth to eleventh century A.D.
- *Rūpasiddhi*, by Buddhappiya, Sri Lanka/South India?, ca. twelfth A.D.¹¹
- *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā* by the same author.
- *Thanbyin Ṭīkā*, known also as *Nyāsappadīpa(ṭīkā)* or *Mukhamattadīpanīpurāṇaṭīkā*, (*Mmd-pt*), by a certain nobleman of Pagan, Burma, twelfth to thirteenth A.D.
- *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*, by Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla of Pagan, Burma, fifteenth century A.D.
- *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā*, by Mahāvijitāvi of Panyā, Burma, sixteenth century A.D.
- *Niruttiśāramañjusā*, by Dhāṭanāga of Toungoo, Burma, seventeenth century A.D.

Nearly all the extant commentaries on Kacc are based on *Mmd* or take it as a point of departure, especially *Mmd-pt* and the *Niruttiśāramañjusā*. *Kacc-nidd* never openly states that it is a commentary on *Mmd*, but a close relationship between *Mmd* and *Kacc-nidd* might be the reason why Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla seems to be compared to Vimalabuddhi in the colophon of *Kacc-nidd*:

⁸ Sadd 927, 9: *pariyatti yeva hi sāsanaṃ mūlaṃ*.

⁹ I develop this argument in my PhD dissertation.

¹⁰ Pind (2012, 59–60).

¹¹ *Rūp* is actually a rearrangement of Kacc, with an original *vutti* “gloss” by the author, Buddhappiya.

[he] could substitute the person of Vimalabuddhi, who was able to see through the Three Piṭakas in all its parts, he, Chapaṭa, a learned and beloved king of monks, for the benefit of the Teaching of the *muni* (i.e. the Buddha) composed in abridgement this explanation of the beneficial *sutta* of Kaccāyana.¹²

Minor grammatical works from Burma and Sri Lanka have also survived. Two of them are quoted in the section we are going to examine, namely the Kaccāyanabheda, written by Mahāyasa of Thatōn (fourteenth century A.D.¹³) and the Kārikā, written by Dhammasenāpati of Pagan (eleventh century A.D.¹⁴). These works, just like the encyclopaedic Saddanīti, still enjoy some popularity among scholar monks, but none of them is a running commentary on the rules of Kacc—and the staple Pāli grammar in Burma is still Kacc.

3 Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla

Old masters wrote many commentaries, which are like the moon, unable to shine in hidden places like the bamboo reed. Therefore I will write a commentary which is like the firefly [able to shine inside the bamboo reed].¹⁵

Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla

4 Date

The name Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla has been mistakenly associated with the legendary pilgrim Chapaṭa Mahāthera (ca. thirteenth century A.D.) who allegedly travelled to Laṅkā (present Sri Lanka), studied the Pāli Scriptures at the Mahāvihāra monastery. Afterwards he went back to Pagan and became the founder of the famous *sihaḷapakka* “Sinhalese Sect” of the Burmese *saṅgha*. The confusion of these two Chapaṭas stems from the account of Paññāsāmi’s Sāsanavaṃsa (Sās) “Lineage of the Doctrine”,¹⁶ which is the main source for Mabel Bode’s classic, Pali Literature of Burma (London, 1909, henceforth PLB). Victor Lieberman has pointed

¹² *vimalabuddhijanānukappī*
sabbattha yuttapiṭakattayapāradassī
so chapaṭavhayasuto yatirājakanto
kaccāyanassa hitasuttaniddesam etaṃ
saṅkhepato viracayi munisāsanatthaṃ.

¹³ PLB, 37; Nyunt (2012, 78).

¹⁴ PLB, 15; Nyunt (2012, 78).

¹⁵ Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā, introductory stanzas:
poranehi katānekā santi yā pana vaṇṇanā
etā veḷādigabbhesu ajotacandarūpamā
tasmā khajjotantupamaṃ karissam kiñci vaṇṇanam.

¹⁶ The origin of this mistake in secondary literature stems from PLB, 17ff. Bode accepted it as an *idée reçue* (from Forchhammer, Franke and Phayre, to name some of her sources). This point, which is crucial in my essay, was first raised by Buddhadatta (1957) and Godakumbura (1969).

out that Sās is a Pāli remake (or a heavily edited translation) of the Sāsānālankāra, an older Burmese chronicle.¹⁷ The editorial labours of Paññāsāmi hampered, in some places, the narrative coherence of Sās.

On the other hand, Godakumbura already pointed out that Sās does not explicitly identify Chapaṭa Mahāthera with the author of Kacc-nidd, also named Chapaṭa, but more precisely referred to as Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla. It is actually in PLB that we find, for the first time, this identification, which has been proven wrong. The first Chapaṭa, as far as we know, did not leave any writings. The second Chapaṭa, known as Saddhammajotipāla, was a Burmese thera who, like his namesake, travelled to Laṅkā. That happened in mid fifteenth century A.D. and his aim was apparently to help the Sinhalese *saṅgha* re-establish (*visodheti* “purify”) itself after a period of war and uncertainty. In this context, the re-establishment of the *saṅgha* means consecrating a *sīmā* “monastic boundary” and celebrating the ordination ceremony of taking the robes (*upasampadā*) with monks who belong to pure lineages, i.e. an unbroken master-disciple chain going back to the Buddha. As we have said, the first Chapaṭa was ordained, according to the chronicles, in Laṅkā. Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla, as his name indicates, belonged to the monastic lineage (*vamsa*) of the first Chapaṭa, and that is probably the reason why the Sinhalese summoned him in times of trouble, when monks of pure lineage might have been scarce in the island. To put it very simply: the *sīhalapakkha* or Chapaṭa sect in Burma was for the Sinhalese a “security copy” when the lineages were broken or under suspicion in Sri Lanka. Thus, if the first Chapaṭa had the mission of bringing the Sinhalese *upasampadā* to Burma, our Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla had the opposite mission: returning the Sinhalese *upasampadā* to its native land. This case is not an exception, and a mutual exchange of monastic embassies has been frequent between Sri Lanka and Burma, up to today. But it has to be clear that Bode’s account mixing Chapaṭa Mahāthera with Saddhammajotipāla is wrong. And since this error is present even in relatively recent and authoritative publications, such as Norman’s Pāli Literature (1983), and some of O.H. Pind’s articles,¹⁸ it is convenient here to say a few things about the date and historical context of our author.

The date of Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla’s trip to Sri Lanka, according to the colophon of the Suttaniddesa,¹⁹ is 1447 A.D. (= 1990 B.E.). Godakumbura suggests reading literally: “in the counting of one thousand [*sahassa-gaṇane*] years [*vasse*] full with (= plus) [*puṇṇe*] ten [*dase*] years [*vasse*] multiplied by [*-gaṇe*] ninety-nine [*navā-navuti-*] after the *nibbāna* of the Jina (= Buddha) [*jina-nibbutāyaṃ*]”. In short: $1000 + (10 \times 99) = 1990$ (Buddhist Era). The number corresponds to the year 1447 AD. We could optionally read *cha vasse* “6 years” instead of *ca vasse*, and we would get B.E. 1996 = A.D. 1453. This change makes no significant difference.

The whole colophon reads:

One thousand years, plus ten times ninety-nine years, after the extinction of the Buddha (= 1990 B.E.), he who went from this city of Pagan to the

¹⁷ Lieberman (1976).

¹⁸ Pind (1996, 1997). See below, fn. 41.

¹⁹ *puṇṇe dase navanavutiguṇe c(h)a vasse sahasagaṇane jinanibbutāyaṃ*

excellent Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka) ruled by King Siri Parakkamabāhu; the one who, on account of the stain on the Teaching, caused it to be purified through very knowledgeable monks experts in the Vinaya, and set up a flawless *sīmā* (monastic boundary) according to the Vinaya [rules], in the excellent city called Jayavaḍḍhana, and taught Vinaya and Abhidhamma to the community of monks, he, whose heart was purified by wisdom and who was compassionate towards the people, austere, and praised for his qualities of morality and energy, rich in faith, who could substitute the person of Vimalabuddhi, who was able to see through the Three Piṭakas in all its parts, he, Chapaṭa, a learned and beloved king of monks, composed in abridgement this explanation of the beneficial *sutta* of Kaccāyana, for the benefit of the Teaching of the *muni* (Buddha). By all the merits greatly obtained in creating the Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa, wishing to benefit the good dhamma, may all beings prosper in happiness, and may the kings, following the dhamma, protect the continuity of the Teaching.

Thus ends the Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa written by the Venerable Thera Saddhammajotipāla.²⁰

King Siri Parakkamabāhu is here, no doubt, Parakkamabāhu VI of Kotte (a city also known as Jayavardhanapura²¹). This monarch ruled in Sri Lanka during the fifteenth century AD (1412–1467). The city of Kotte was, from the time of Parakkamabāhu's predecessor Alakeśvara, a city of opulence and splendour. Parakkamabāhu VI contributed to its embellishment with luxurious buildings. He became a magnificent patron of the Mahāvihāra *saṅgha*, funding monasteries, monastic boundaries for proper ordination and colleges for monks. Parakkamabāhu VI allotted lands to the scribes who were daily engaged in the work of copying the Tipiṭaka, the *aṭṭhakathās* and the *ṭīkā*s.²² He was also a successful warrior king. His

²⁰ *idhārimaddanapurā varatambapaṇṇīm
patvāna yo siriparakkamabāhubhupaṃ
nissāya sāsanaṃ suvisodhayitvā
bhikkhuhi nātavinayehi susaṇṇatehi
bandhāpayī puravare jayavaḍḍhanavhe
sīmaṃ vipattirahitaṃ vinayānurūpaṃ
sikkhāpayī yatigaṇe vinayābhidhamme
paññāvadātahadayo sadayo janānaṃ
appicchatāviriyaṣīlaguṇappasattho
saddhādhanō vimalabuddhi janānukappī
sabbattha yuttapiṭakattayapāradasī
so chapaṭavhayasutoyatirājakanto
kaccāyanassa hitasuttaniddeśaṃ etaṃ
saṅkhepato viracayi munisāsanaṭṭhaṃ
saddhammahitakāmena kaccānasuttaniddeśaṃ
karontena mahāpattaṃ yaṃ puññaṃ sukhadāyakaṃ
tena puññaṃ ijjhantu sabbasattamanorathā
rājāno pi ca rakkhantu dhammena sāsanaṃ pajāṃ
iti bhadasaddhammajotipālatharena kato
kaccāyanasuttaniddeśo niṭṭhito.*

²¹ This city, as Godakumbura rightly points out, did not exist in the thirteenth century.

²² PLC, 247ff.

armies drove away the Tamils from the island and consolidated his sway over Laṅkāḍīpa (Sri Lanka). Malalasekera describes his period as a sort of Pax Ceylonica:

Inspired by this feeling of security and contentment, men again turned their attention to the cultivation of the finer arts, and nowhere else do we see the benefits of his mild and beneficent sway more than in the great literary activity which he called forth among the people.²³

The brightest star in the Laṅkan firmament of that age was Śrī Rāhula Vacissara, Saṅgharāja and President of the Vijayabāhu Pariveṇa at Toṭagamuva. Malalasekera suggests he could have been a member of the royal family.²⁴ Whatever might be the case, Śrī Rāhula was a man of vast knowledge, a *ṣaḍbhāṣāparamēśvara*, “master of six languages”²⁵—other than Sinhalese: Sanskrit, Māgadhī (= Pāli), Apabhraṃśa, Paiśācī, Śaurasenī and Tamil. He composed *kāvya* “poetry” in Sinhalese, and wrote two important treatises on Pāli grammar: the Moggallānapañjikāpradīpa and the Padasādhanaṭikā. The former is a commentary on Moggallāna’s Pañjikā, “one of the most comprehensive works on Pāli grammar extant in Ceylon, or anywhere else”.²⁶ In this scholarly commentary we find references to numerous Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese and Tamil works. He revises the Moggallāna tradition in the light of the Kaccāyana tradition and does not spare criticism for either of them. Among the references, we find the Nyāsa (= Mmd) of Vimalabuddhi and the Suttaniddesa.²⁷ This mention provides a reliable *terminus ante quem* for dating Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla. We may leave open the possibility that Śrī Rāhula and Chapaṭa were contemporaries and—why not?—met in Parakkamabāhu’s court.

5 Works

Nandapañña’s Gandhavaṃsa (Gv), “Chronicle of books”, edited by Minayeff (JPTS 1886), gives a list of works ascribed to Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla. Interestingly, the list appears twice. The first time it appears is in Book II, a catalogue of “masters” (*ācariyā*). This book is divided according to a threefold categorisation,²⁸ namely: ancient masters (*porāṇācariyā*), commentators (*aṭṭhakathācariyā*), and authors of books (*gandhakāraḥcariyā*). Saddhammajotipāla falls into the third category:

The master Saddhammajotipāla wrote eight books: (1) the Mātikatthadīpanī, “Illustrating the meaning of the *mātikā*”; (2) a sub-commentary on the Sīmālaṃkāra, “Treatise on Monastic Boundaries”; (3) the Vinayasam-utthānadīpanī, “Illustrating the arising [of offences?] in the Vinaya”; (4) the

²³ PLC, 249.

²⁴ PLC, 250.

²⁵ See the colophon of Sāla-lihiṇi Sandesa. Cited in PLC, 250.

²⁶ PLC, 251.

²⁷ Subhūti (1876), cited in PLC, 252, fn.1.

²⁸ Gv, 58.

Gandhasāra, “Anthology [of the *Tiṭṭakal*”]; (5) the *Paṭṭhānagaṇanāyaya*, “A method for analysing (?) *Paṭṭhāna*”; (6) a new sub-commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, called the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā*, “Concise commentary upon [Anuruddha’s Compendium of *Abhidhamma*]”; (7) the *Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa* “Explanation of the *suttas* of *Kaccāyana*” and finally (8) the *Pāṭimokkhaṅgavāsodhanī*, “Purification of the *Pāṭimokkha* ceremony”.²⁹

Later on, the chronicle gives another list according to a new categorisation which distinguishes between books written by the author’s initiative and books written on demand. *Saddhammajotipāla*’s production partakes of both genres:

These five handbooks (*pakaraṇāni*), namely (1) the *Mātikatṭhadīpanī*, (2) the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahavaṇṇanā*, (3) the *ṭīkā* upon *Sīmālaṅkāra*, (4) the *Gandhasāra* and (5) the *Paṭṭhānagaṇanāyaya*, were all written by Master *Saddhammajotipāla* on his own initiative. (6) The *Samkhepavaṇṇanā* was written by Master *Saddhammajotipāla* at the request of the Lord of *Jambudīpa*, the King *Parakkamabāhu*. (7) The *Suttaniddeśa*, a commentary upon *Kaccāyana*’s Grammar, was written by Master *Saddhammajotipāla* at the request of his own pupil, the Thera *Dhammacāri*. The manual called (8) the *Vinayasamuṭṭhāna* was written by request of his master *Samgha* Thera. Seven manuals were written in the city of *Pagan*, but the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā* was written in *Laṅkādīpa*.³⁰

For some reason, *Nandapañña* is inaccurate in this passage and mentions the (6) *Samkhepavaṇṇanā* (= (2) *Abhidhammattha-saṅgahavaṇṇanā*) twice. Instead of this title, we would expect the *Pāṭimokkhaṅgavāsodhanī* in the list of handbooks.

Sās gives a different list:

In *Arimaddanapura* (= *Pagan*), having gone to and returned from *Sīhaḷadīpa*, *Saddhammajotipāla*, called *Chapada*, wrote a grammatical work called *Suttaniddeśa*; concerning the highest reality (= *Abhidhamma*), he wrote the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā* and the *Nāmacārādīpaka*; on the *Vinaya* he wrote the *Vinayagūḷhatṭhadīpanī* and the *Sīmālaṅkāra*. In the colophon[s] of the works written by him the *mūla* name *Saddhammajotipāla* is stated.³¹

²⁹ Gv, 64: *mātikatṭhadīpanī sīmālaṅkāraṇassa ṭīkā vinaya-samuṭṭhānadīpanī gandhasāro paṭṭhānagaṇanāyayo abhidhammatthasaṅgahassa samkhepavaṇṇanā navaṭṭikā kaccāyanassa suttaniddeśo pāṭimokkhaṅgavāsodhanī ceti aṭṭha gandhe saddhammajotipālācariyo akāsi*.

³⁰ Gv, 74: *mātikatṭhadīpanī abhidhammatthasaṅgahavaṇṇanā sīmālaṅkāraṇassa ṭīkā gaṇḍhisāro paṭṭhānagaṇanāyayo cā ti ime pañca pakaraṇāni attano matiyā saddhammajotipālācariyena katā. samkhepavaṇṇanā parakkamabāhūnāmena jambudīpissarena raññā āyāciteneva saddhammajotipālācariyena katā. kaccāyanassa suttaniddeśo attano sissena dhammacārittherena āyācitena saddhammajotipālācariyena kato. vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī nāma pakaraṇaṃ attano gurunā samghattherena āyāciteneva saddhammajotipālācariyena katā. sattā pakaraṇāni pana tena pukkāmanagare katāni samkhepavaṇṇanā yeva laṅkādīpe katā*.

³¹ *Sās*, 74: *arimaddananagare sīhaḷadīpaṃ gantvā paccāgato chapado nāma saddhammajotipālathero saddanaye chekatāya suttaniddeśaṃ akāsi, paramatṭhadhamme ca chekatāya samkhepavaṇṇanaṃ nāmacārādīpakañ ca, vinaye chekatāya vinayagūḷhatṭhadīpaniṃ sīmālaṅkāraṇaṃ ca akāsi. attano katānaṃ gandhānaṃ nigame saddhammajotipālo ti mūlanāmena vuttam*. I have corrected the PTS edition, which reads “*Samkhepavaṇṇanaṃ nāma cārādīpakañ ca Vinaye chekatāya*”.

That makes a total of five works, not eight. Even though Paññasāmi, the author of *Sās*, does not mention other works cited in *Gv*, that does not imply that he ignored them. Paññasāmi seems to mention only those books with the signature “Saddhammajotipāla” in the colophon (*nigamana*). We might understand here that the rest of the works listed in *Gv* were written by a different Chapaṭa, but there is no certainty about that.

The Pagan *Sāsanavaṃsa*, a Burmese chronicle written (or compiled) in 1973 by Ashin Kelāsa, gives the same list of five works.³² As far as I have been able to discover, the late Ashin Kelāsa stands as one of the highest authorities in monastic *vaṃsas* of Burma and he may have had good reasons to keep the list short.

The *Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiñ*,³³ a comprehensive Burmese catalogue of books compiled in the nineteenth century, gives a longer list: *Visuddhimaggaganṭhipada*, *Vinayaguḷhatthadīpanī*, *Nāmacāra-dīpaka[aṭṭhakathā]*, *Sīmālaṅkāraṭṭikā*, *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanāṭṭikā*, *Nāmacāra-dīpakaṭṭikā* and *Suttaniddesa*.

Further discussion of the works of Chapaṭa would lead us astray, and therefore I kindly refer the reader to my forthcoming PhD dissertation, where this matter will be discussed in detail.

6 The Suttaniddesa

We have seen how Chapaṭa was not a mere grammarian: his literary works cover the whole gamut of Theravāda disciplines. Two of these works enjoy the honour of being still read as authorities: *Kacc-nidd* and *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* (*Abhid-s-ṇṭ*). These two works are similar in various respects. The first similarity is that they comment upon a classical commentary of a post-canonical handbook (*pakaraṇa*). The second similarity is the nature of the commentary, which intends not to provide a gloss, but to fill the gaps that were not covered by the classical commentaries. The third similarity is the structure of the commentary, based on the following method:

*sambandho ca padañ ceva padattho padaviggaho
codanā parihāro ca chabbidhā suttavaṇṇanā.*

The method of the commentary is sixfold: relation, word, meaning of the word, separation of words, objections, refutation of the objections.³⁴

This sub-commentary genre is commonly classified as *ṭīkā*. In the introduction of *Abhid-s-ṇṭ* Chapaṭa compares himself, as a *ṭīkā* writer, with former scholars:

Old masters wrote many commentaries, which are like the moon, unable to shine in hidden places like the bamboo reed. Therefore I will write a commentary, which is like the firefly [able to shine inside the bamboo reed].

³² Kelāsa (1973, 174).

³³ Nyunt (2012). The works are found in different sections.

³⁴ *Kacc-nidd* 4, 17–18; *Abhid-s-ṇṭ* 1, 14–15.

Let good people pay attention, if they really want to understand the Teachings.³⁵

Malalasekera, referring to these verses, says: “A pretty and modest simile, but by no means flattering to those who read his book”.³⁶ I am not sure I understand the meaning of “his”, but if it means “Chapaṭa’s”—as it seems to do—I do not agree with Malalasekera. I think the comparison is actually trying to point out the qualities of both types of commentary, not to uplift one over the other.

The same applies to Kacc-nidd. The two introductory stanzas read:

I bow down to the Lord of the World, the Buddha, who visited Laṅkā³⁷ three times and established the *sāsana*, and I bow down to the Dhamma and to the Excellent Community, the Saṅgha. Since I have been requested by Dhammacāri, who wishes to preserve the good Dhamma, I will write a commentary on Kaccāyana’s Grammar, which incorporates an explanation [of the syntactical function of the words in every rule] (*niddesa*).³⁸ Even if old masters wrote many commentaries, their exposition is of a general kind, and they have left out the *niddesa*. Therefore I will complete what remains of the commentary. Pay a little attention, those of you who wish for the prosperity of the Teachings.³⁹

Brevity, indeed, seems to be one of the characteristics Chapaṭa wants to underline.

I have said that Kacc-nidd is a commentary on the Mmd. That is correct, but only to the extent that Mmd is the reference and Kacc-nidd seems to follow its methodology, for instance: mentioning every word of the *sutta* and counting the total number of words in each *sutta*. This *padapāṭha*-like device is tedious and must normally be skipped. However, if we consider an important rule—one of the rules we are going to analyse—namely Kacc 53 *jinavacanayuttaṃhi*, then the word by word analysis is very helpful by making clear that this *sutta* consists of two words,

³⁵ *poranehi katānekā santi yā pana vaṇṇanā*
etā veḷādigabbhesu ajotacandarūpanā
tasmā khajjotantupamaṃ karissam kiñci vaṇṇanaṃ
sādhavo taṃ nisāmetha sāsanaṃ subuddhiyā.

³⁶ PLC, 201.

³⁷ The reference to Laṅkā in the first stanza indicates that Kacc-nidd could have been written in Sri Lanka, like the Abhid-s-ṅ, and not in Pagan, as Gv says.

³⁸ I am well aware this is not the standard translation of the word *niddesa*, but the evidence of this meaning in the text forces me to use it. This is the key word of the work if we follow the title.

³⁹ *tikkhattuṃ pattalaṅko yo paṭiṭṭhāpesi sāsanaṃ*
vanditvā lokanāthan taṃ dhammaṃ cassa gaṇuttamaṃ
saddhammaṭṭhitikāmena yācito dhammacārinā
saniddesaṃ karissāmi kaccānasuttavaṇṇanaṃ
porāṇehi katānekā santi yā pana vaṇṇanā
tā jahitvāna niddesaṃ viṭṭhāranayadīpikā
tasmā kiñci avasiṭṭhaṃ karissam suttavaṇṇanaṃ
kiñcimattaṃ avekkhatha sāsanaṃ hitatthikā ti.

not one, although nothing would a priori preclude reading it as a locative singular—as it is common in heading rules (on this topic, see also below below, section 7).

Pind classifies Kacc-nidd in the group of “Mmd commentaries and grammars based on Mmd”.⁴⁰ He adds:

When Chapaṭa wrote Kacc-nidd, presumably in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D., several works related to Mmd were in circulation. Thus he quotes two passages from Nyāsaṭīkā, which are identical with passages in Mmd-pt, as well as Nyāsappadīpappakaraṇa, and Nyāsappadīpaṭīkā, of which a fragment is still extant.

Gv 63 attributes a Mahāṭīkā on Mmd to Vimalabuddhi (= Vajirabuddhi) which may be identical with Mmd-pt. Nothing is known about the authors of the other two works. Since they antedate Kacc-nidd, they may have been composed in the twelfth century A.D.⁴¹

These words need a small correction, I think, because “the other two works” are most probably the same work under different titles, Thanbyin Ṭīkā (= Mmd-pt) being nowadays the most popular (see list in section 2). To the best of my knowledge, there is no reason to infer that they are different works.

Another interesting feature of Kacc-nidd is the prose introduction. In this passage Chapaṭa tries to account for the inclusion of the first *sutta* Kacc 1 *attho akkharasaññāto* “Meaning is conveyed by sounds”.⁴² According to Kacc-nidd’s introduction, the first *sutta* was uttered by the Buddha while scolding a monk who did not properly pronounce the words (i.e. the mantra) given as a meditation subject. Pind has shown that the same narrative is found in the Mūlasārvastivādin tradition from North India and was unknown to previous Pāli grammarians.⁴³ A possible analogy to Sanskrit Grammar could be seen here: in the same way that Pāṇini’s grammar is introduced by the *śivasūtras* giving the list of *akkharas* (S. *akṣara*), Kacc is also introduced by a *sutta* on the importance of the *akkharas*, sanctioned by the authority of the Buddha.⁴⁴

The originality of Kacc-nidd cannot be denied, but this originality is mainly based on the way Chapaṭa refers back to older grammars and previous

⁴⁰ In the same vein, Norman (1983, 164) writes: “It [= Mmd] was itself commented upon by Chapaṭa at the end of the twelfth century”.

⁴¹ Pind (2012, 120). This passage, as the reader will notice, sounds a bit strange: if Chapaṭa lived during the fifteenth century, why should his predecessors belong only to the twelfth and not to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? The reason of this incongruity is that even in Pind’s articles there is uncertainty regarding Chapaṭa’s date. As we have said, the common idea that Chapaṭa belongs to the twelfth to thirteenth century is still widespread in secondary literature and Pind followed it in Pind (1996). He also used it in the first version of Pind (2012) = Pind (1997). In the 1997 version, Sect. 3 reads: “Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa (Kacc-nidd)—no doubt the most important source of information on grammatical literature in the thirteenth century A.D.”, whereas in 2012 it reads “fifteenth century”. Thus in the passage I have just quoted we should read, accordingly: “Since they antedate Kacc-nidd, they may have been composed before the fifteenth century A.D.”.

⁴² This *sutta* is most probably a Pāli rendering of Kā I.1 *siddho varṇasamāmnāyah*.

⁴³ Pind (1996, 70).

⁴⁴ I will discuss this hypothesis with greater detail in a forthcoming article.

interpretations. As we will see in the following section, Chapaṭa's readings are everything but indulgent.

6.1 Kaccāyanasuttaniddeśa ad Kaccāyanasutta 52–56. Pāli text and translation.

I will now present the portion of Kacc-nidd dealing with the definition of “name” (*liṅga*, *nāma*), together with its English translations and with footnotes mentioning its explicit or implicit sources. Quoted text will be marked in **bold** type. Glosses of Mmd will be marked with grey type.

1.1. Introduction to Nāmakappa

1.1.1. *evaṃ seyyatthikānaṃ⁴⁵ padasandhiṃ dassetvā tadanantaraṃ nāmaṃ dassetuṃ “jinavacanayuttamhī”* [Kacc 52] ti ādim āha.

1.1.1. After teaching the sandhi that occurs at the junction between words to those who long for the highest good, now, in order to explain the name, the author starts with the rule “Only suitable to the words of the Jina”.

1.1.2. *tattha atthe namati attani catthe nāmetīti vā nāmaṃ. yadā hi atthasaṅkhātāṃ dabbāṃ passati, tadā atthe namatī ti nāmaṃ. yadā nāmasaddaṃ suṇāti, tadā attani atthe nāmetī ti nāmaṃ.⁴⁶*

1.1.2. It is called name because it points towards objects [directly], or because it causes to convey its own meaning. For, when someone sees a particular substance associated with a meaning, it is called name (*nāma*) because it points to (*namati*) the meaning. And when somebody hears a word that is a name, it is called name because it causes to convey (*nāmeti*) the meaning/object.

1.2. Typology of name⁴⁷ (*nāma*) and pronoun (*sabbanāma*)

1.2.1. *taṃ hi duvidhaṃ suddhanāmasabbanāmavasena. tattha suddhanāmaṃ tividhaṃ pumitthinapumsakavasena. taṃ yathā puriso, kaññā, cittaṃ ti ādi. sabbanāmaṃ pana duvidhaṃ tiliṅgaaliṅgavasena. tenāha:*

1.2.1. It is of two types on account of being bare name and pronoun. In this classification, bare name is of three types on account of being masculine, feminine and neuter. For instance: man, woman, mind. Pronoun, in turn, is of two types on account of being trigender⁴⁸ and genderless. Therefore he [the master grammarian] says:

⁴⁵ See Kaccāyana's introductory stanza (kh), *pāda* d: *seyyatthiko padam ato vividhaṃ suṇeyya*.

⁴⁶ The word *attha* means both “meaning” and “object”. See Rūp 60: *atthābhimukhaṃ namanato, attani catthassa nāmanato nāmaṃ dabbābhidhānaṃ*. See MBD, p.6 1.4: *dvīśaktiḥ śabda āmaprakāśane 'rthaprakāśane ca samarthaḥ. yathā pradīpaḥ ātmānaṃ prakāśayan nidhyarthān prakāśayati. yas tv ādhyātmikāḥ indriyākhyāḥ prakāśaḥ sa ātmānaṃ aprakāśayan bāhyārthaṃ prakāśayati*.

⁴⁷ We could also translate *nāma* with “noun” or even “nominal base”. In any case, *nāma* includes also adjectives and there is no satisfactory equivalent in English. I will translate “name” because I think it is the closest to the original meaning of *nāma*.

⁴⁸ This is how I will systematically translate *tiliṅga*. Trigender words are those with no fixed gender and they may adopt, according to the circumstances, any one of the three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine and neuter).

***pulliṅgaṃ ithiliṅgañ ca napuṃsakam athāparaṃ
tiliṅgañ ca aliṅgañ ca nāmaṃ pañcavidhaṃ bhava***⁴⁹ ti //

Masculine, feminine and also neuter, trigender and genderless: this is the fivefold classification of the name.

api ca nāmanāmasabbanāmasamāsanāmataddhitanāmakitanāmasavenāpi pañcavidhaṃ hoti. vuttañ ca:

Furthermore, another fivefold classification of noun is possible, on account of being nominal name, pronoun, compound, secondary derivative and primary derivative. In addition, it has been said:

***nāmanāmaṃ sabbanāmaṃ samāsaṃ taddhitaṃ tathā
kitanāmañ ca nāmaññū nāmaṃ pañcavidhaṃ matañ***⁵⁰ ti //

Nominal name, pronoun, compound, as well as secondary derivative and primary derivative: this is how the experts on the name classify it in five types.

2. *jinavacanayuttaṃ hi* [Kacc 52]

2. Only suitable to the words of the Jina

2.1. Basic morphosyntactic analysis

2.1.1. *jinavacanayuttan ti ekaṃ padaṃ. hī ti ekaṃ padaṃ. vibhatyantapadavibhāgavasena dvīpadam idaṃ suttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*⁵¹

2.1.1. *jinavacanayuttaṃ* “suitable to the Word of the Jina” is one word. *hi* “only” is one word. According to the division into words on the basis of their case endings, this *sutta* has to be considered as consisting of two words.

2.1.2. *jinavacanayuttan ti kammathaniddeso. visesaniddeso vā. liṅgathaniddeso ti keci.*⁵² *hīti avadhāraṇaniddeso.*⁵³ *avadhāraṇan ti sanniṭṭhānakaraṇan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

2.1.2. *jinavacanayuttaṃ* has the function of direct object;⁵⁴ it may be considered a qualifier [of *liṅgaṃ* in Kacc 53] as well. Some say its function is to express the meaning of the nominal base. *hi* has the function of restriction. Here restriction has to be considered as a means of specification (*sanniṭṭhānakaraṇa*).

2.1.3. *saññādhikāraparibhāsāvidhisuttesu adhikārasuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

2.1.3. Among the different types of *sutta*, namely: definition (*saññā*), heading (*adhikāra*), metarule (*paribhāsā*) and operative rule (*vidhi*), this one has to be considered to be a heading.

⁴⁹ Source not found.

⁵⁰ See Kaccāyanabheda 27:
*nāmanāmaṃ sabbanāmaṃ samāsaṃ taddhitaṃ tathā
kitanāman ti viññūhi nāmaṃ pañcavidhaṃ mataṃ.*

⁵¹ Mmd 69, 16–17: *jinavacanayuttan ti ekaṃ padaṃ, hīti ekaṃ padan ti dvīpadam idaṃ suttan.*

⁵² Mmd-pt 99, 17–18: *ayaṃ hettha jinavacanānurūpaṃ eva liṅgan ti ayaṃ ettha nipāte attho.*

⁵³ Mmd 69, 18: *hīti avadhāraṇatthe nipāto*

⁵⁴ S. *karmārtha*. In this case it means logical object, although grammatically it is a patient subject.

2.2. The *sutta* is a heading of the lion's gaze type

2.2.1 *adhikāro ca nāmesa tividho sīhagatikamaṇḍūkatikayathānupubbikava sena.*⁵⁵ *tesu pubbāparavilokanato sīhagatiko ti daṭṭhabbo. idaṃ hi suttaṃ heṭṭhā “akkharāpādayo ekacattāḷisaṃ” [Kacc 2] ti suttaṃ pi apekkhati.*⁵⁶ *upari pi anugacchatīti. yathānupubbiko yevā ti pi rūpasiddhiyaṃ*⁵⁷ *vuttaṃ.*

2.2.1. A heading rule may be of three types: lion's gaze, frog's leap or sequential.⁵⁸ Among these, our *sutta* is to be considered as a lion's gaze type, because it looks backward and forward. This *sutta*, indeed, affects the previous *sutta* *akkharāpādayo ekacattāḷisaṃ* “And the letters are forty-one” [Kacc 2],⁵⁹ and also affects the ones that follow it. The Rūpasiddhi says: “[It may] otherwise [be considered] only as sequential”.

NOTE: The rule must necessarily be of the lion's gaze type in order to incorporate the sandhi section [Kacc 1–51] into the sphere of rules suitable to the *jinavacana*. Rūp allows the interpretation of sequential type, probably thinking that Kacc 52 could perhaps refer to words and meanings and that it is not necessarily related to sandhi.

2.3. On the meaning of the word *jina* and the reason why Kaccāyana uses this particular epithet of the Buddha

2.3.1.

devaputto kilesa ca abhisāṅkhāramāra

khandhamāro maccumāro māro pañcavidho mato⁶⁰ *ti //*

*vutte pañcamāre jināti ajini jinissatīti jino*⁶¹. *te jītavā ti jino.*⁶² *sati pi khandhamaccumārānaṃ ajītabhāve tesam hetuṃ jītatā jītavā nāmā ti.*

⁵⁵ Mmd 69, 23–24: *atha vā adhikāraṃ pana tividhaṃ sīhagatikamaṇḍūka-gatikayathānupubbikavasena.*

⁵⁶ This is also the interpretation of Vimalabuddhi, who thinks that the sandhi section starting with Kacc 1 is also included in the scope of *jinavacanayuttaṃ hi* [Kacc 52]. See Mmd 70, 2–3: *teneva akkharā pi jinavacanānukūlā yevā ty attho yujjati ti* “It [Kacc 52] implies, therefore, that even the sounds [studied in the previous section] have to be adequate to the language of the Buddha”.

⁵⁷ Rūp 60: *ayaṃ pana sīhagatiko pubbāparavilokanato, yathānupubbiko yeva vā.*

⁵⁸ Mmd 62, 12–16: *atha vā tividhā hi adhikārā yathānupubbikā maṇḍūkatikā sīhagatikā ca. tatha ca yathānupubbikā yathāpaṭipāṭivasena vattanti. maṇḍūkatikā pana yathā maṇḍūkā uppativā uppativā gacchanti evaṃ vattanti. sīhagatikā pana yathā sīhā mīgarājāno ekasmiṃ thāne nisinnā pubbāparaṃ anuvilokenti.* According to this explanation, as in the Pāṇinian tradition, “lion's gaze” defines the behaviour of heading rules which regard both what precedes them and what follows (since lions are believed to look forwards and backwards while sitting in one place). “Frog's leap” defines the behaviour of heading rules which only regard some sūtras, but not all (since frogs may jump from one spot to the other and do not cover all the intermediate steps). Sequential heading rules just apply to the following sūtras. See also infra section 11.

⁵⁹ We should remember that Chapaṭa considers this rule as Kacc 1, because according to him, the rule *attho akkharasaññāto* “Meaning is conveyed by means of sounds” [Kacc 1] was proclaimed by the Buddha himself, not by Kaccāyana. Therefore, we must understand that Chapaṭa is referring to the first *sutta* of Kacc.

⁶⁰ Unknown source, but see Sadd 431, 24–26: *ettha ca māro ti devaputtamārena saddhiṃ pañca mārā kilesamāro khandhamāro abhisāṅkhāramāro maccumāro devaputtamāro ti.*

⁶¹ Rūp 60: *tattha pañca māre jītavā ti jino, buddho.*

⁶² Mmd 69, 16–17: *jītavā ti jino.*

2.3.1.

These are the five types of death (*māra*): son of a god, defilement, condition that leads to death, death inherent to conditioned things, and actual death:

jina “conqueror” is the one who has conquered, conquers or will conquer the aforementioned five types of death. Because he conquers them, he is called *jina*. Although the state of not having conquered death inherent to conditioned things and actual death is present [the Buddha, as we know, died, thus he did not conquer these two types of death, and yet] the [Buddha] is called “conqueror” (*jitavā*), because he has conquered their cause (*hetu*).

2.3.2. *santesu pi buddhānianekānāmesu kasmā jinanāmaṃ va therena nikkhittaṃ. nanu bhagavato buddho ti nāmaṃ neva mātārā kataṃ na pitarā kataṃ na nātakehi kataṃ na devehi kataṃ vimokkhanthikam etaṃ buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ bodhiyāmūle sabbañutaññāṇassa paṭivedhāya sacchikā paññatti yad idaṃ buddho ti ādi vuttan ti.*

2.3.2. However, if there are many names, such as *buddha*, etc. why did the Thera (Kaccāyana) choose precisely the name *jina*? Is it not true that the name *buddha*, applied to the Lord (*bhagavā*), was not given by his mother, nor given by his father, nor given by any relatives, nor given by the gods, but is the automatic designation for the Lord buddhas after they are liberated at the feet of the bodhi tree and attain omniscient knowledge, and that is why they are called *buddha*, etc?

2.3.3. *saccaṃ. tāni pana buddho ti vā tathāgato ti vā nāmāni arahattapphaleneva paccakkhasiddhāni. idaṃ pana sabbañutaññāṇaṃ paṭivijjhivā sattasattāhāni vītināmetvā brahmunā āyācitadhammadesanena dhammacakkaṃ pavattetuṃ bārāṇasiṃ gacchantena bhagavatā antarāmagge upakājīvakena puṭṭhena saṃphullapadumasassirīkaṃ mukhaṃ vivarivā:*

2.3.3. It is true. However, names such as *buddha*, *tathāgata*, etc., are determined by direct evidence only as the fruit of arhatship. This one [namely, the appellation *jina* “conqueror”], however, [is different, because] the Buddha, after piercing through absolute knowledge, spent seven days in seven different places, and was requested by Brahmā to teach the dhamma. Thus he went to Bārāṇasi in order to set in motion the wheel of dhamma. On his way to Bārāṇasi he met the beggar Upaka, who asked him [“What is your religion? Who is your teacher?” etc.], and the Buddha opened his mouth, resplendent like a lotus in full bloom, and replied:

***mādisā ve jinā honti ye pattā āsavakkhayaṃ
jitā me pāpakā dhammā tasmāhaṃ upaka jino⁶³ ti //***

Conquerors are those who, like me, have destroyed all defilements. All evil qualities have been conquered by me. Therefore, Upaka, I am a conqueror.

sayam eva vuttanāmattā therena nikkhittaṃ.

The Thera [Kaccāyana] has used [this name] because it was uttered [by the Buddha] himself.

2.3.4. *atha vā pañcamāre jitavā ti jino ti vacanatthena sabbe sāsanaṃ paccatthike samaṇabrāhmaṇādayo niggaṇhituṃ bhadantamahākaccāyanattherena idaṃ nāmaṃ nikkhittaṃ.*

⁶³ Vin I.6.8.

2.3.4. Or else, because the meaning of the word *jina* is “the one who defeats the five *māras*”, the Venerable Thera Mahā Kaccāyana would have used this designation in order to defeat, with its meaning, all the opponents of the Doctrine (*sāsana*) such as ascetics [of other sects], brahmins, etc.

2.3.5. *sukhuccāraṇatthaṃ vā nikkhittaṃ*⁶⁴ *ti pi*.

2.3.5. [The word *jina*] may also have been used because it is easy to pronounce.

3. *līṅgañ ca nippaccate*⁶⁵ [Kacc 53]

3. The nominal base is formed

3.1. Basic morphosyntactic analysis

3.1.1. *līṅgaṃ ti ekaṃ padaṃ. cā ti ekaṃ padaṃ. nippaccate ti ekaṃ padaṃ. vibhatyantapadavibhāgavasena tipadam idan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ*⁶⁶

3.1.1. *līṅga* “nominal base” is one word. *ca* “and” is one word. *nippaccate* “is formed” is one word. On account of the division into words on the basis of their case endings, this rule has to be considered as having three words.

3.1.2. *līṅgaṃ ti kammaṭṭhaniddeso. cā ti samuccayaniddeso. nippaccate ti kiriyāniddeso.*

3.1.2. *līṅga* has the function of direct object.⁶⁷ *ca* has the function of conjunction. *nippaccate* has the function of verb.

3.1.3. *saññādhikāraparibhāsāvidhisuttesu paribhāsāsuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

3.1.3. Among the different types of *sutta* (definition, heading, metarule and operative rule), this one is a metarule.

3.2. Different interpretations of the *sutta*

3.2.1. *yathā yathā yena yena pakārena jinavacanayuttaṃ hi jinavacanayoggaṃ eva līṅgaṃ atthi, tathā tathā tena tena pakārena idha kaccāyanappakaraṇe līṅgaṃ thapīyate ca nipphajjate ca*.⁶⁸

3.2.1. In this treatise of Kaccāyana, however, i.e. by whatever means, the nominal base is posited (*thapīyate*), i.e. formed (*nipphajjate*), it will be exactly as it is suitable, i.e. applicable, to the words of the Buddha (*jinavacana*).

3.2.2. *atha vā yaṃ yaṃ pakāraṃ samāsataddhitātibhedam jinavacanayuttaṃ hi līṅgaṃ atthi, taṃ taṃ pakāraṃ līṅgaṃ idha thapīyate ca nippaccate ca*.⁶⁹ *casaddo cettha kiriyāsamuccayattho. rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana līṅgañ ca dhātavo ca nippaccate*⁷⁰ *ti vuttaṃ.*

⁶⁴ This seems to be Chapaṭa’s own suggestion.

⁶⁵ *nippajjate* in some editions. The meaning, according to the commentaries, does not vary.

⁶⁶ Mmd 70, 5–6: *līṅgaṃ ti ekaṃ padaṃ. cā ti ekaṃ padaṃ. nippaccate ti ekaṃ padan ti tipadam idam suttaṃ.*

⁶⁷ See fn. 54.

⁶⁸ Kacc-v 18, 5–6; Mmd 70, 24–26: *ayaṃ panetthattho yaṃ yaṃ pakāraṃ jinavacānukūlaṃ līṅgaṃ taṃ taṃ pakāraṃ idha līṅgaṃ thapīyati nipphāḍīyatī.*

⁶⁹ This is an alternative gloss of the Kacc-v.

⁷⁰ Rūp 61: *casaddena dhātavo cāti jinavacanānurūpato purisa iti līṅge thapite tato tassa dhātuppaccayavibhattivajjitassa atthavato saddassa parasamaññā payoge ti paribhāsato līṅgasaññāyaṃ* “Since the word *ca* includes the verbal roots, and the nominal stem has been fixed as *purisa* according to the form in the *jinavacanaṃ*, the definition of *līṅga* comes from the explanatory rule *parasamaññā payoge* ‘general

3.2.2. Or else [it could be glossed as follows]: and the nominal base is formed, i. e. posited, in different ways, that is, according to their being compounds, derivatives, etc. Here the word *ca* “and” has the purpose of bringing in the [other] action (i.e. we should supply the verb *thapīyate*). In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it is said that “the nominal bases and the verbal roots are included in this explanation” (i. e. Rūp interprets *ca* as bringing in, by *anuvutti*, the verbal roots as well).

3.2.3. *atha vā liṅgaṃ nāma nipphannarūpaṃ*.⁷¹ *yañ ca dhātuṃ vinā na nippajjati nippajjanakiriyaṃ thapanakiriyaṃ vinā natthi. tasmā casaddagahaṇena dhātavo ca thapīyate liṅgañ ca nippaccate ti attho pahetabbo. vākyasamuccayattho hi casaddo.*

3.2.3. Another interpretation would be that *liṅga*, the name (*nāma*), is the derived form. And this cannot be derived without a verbal root [and] without the actions of posing [the root] and deriving [the nominal base]. Therefore, we shall dismiss the interpretation which says that due to the use of the word *ca* “and” the rule means “the verbal roots are given and the nominal stem is formed”. Because [in Mmd on Kacc 53] the word *ca* “and” has the purpose of uniting sentences.

NOTE: I am not sure about Chapaṭa’s opinion here. What is clear is that he does not accept Buddhapiya’s suggestion of bringing in the verbal roots. In my opinion, Chapaṭa proposes to understand, in Mmd’s gloss, the verb *thapīyate* alongside the word *ca*, but without adding *dhātavo*, because that is already assumed when we are dealing with word formation.

tathā hi vuttaṃ “dhātuliṅgehi parā paccayā” [Kacc 434] ti līnam atthaṃ gamayati bodhetī ti liṅgaṃ nāma.⁷² *“parasamaññāpayoge” [Kacc 9] ti suttena kataṃ atthajotakaṃ ghaṭapaṭādivacanaṃ. vuttañ ca:*

Thus, because it is said [somewhere else] that “after the verbal roots and the nominal bases, the suffixes [are added]”, [we say that] the nominal base is explained as that which conveys or brings the bare meaning. Any kind of word, like pot, cloth, etc. is considered expressive of a meaning [i.e. *liṅga*] on account of the rule “general notions [formulated] by others might be used”. In addition, it has been said:

***rukkho ti vacanaṃ liṅgaṃ liṅgattho tena dīpito
evaṃ liṅgañ ca liṅgatthaṃ ñatvā yojeyya pañḍito***⁷³ *ti.*

The word *rukkho* “tree” is *liṅga*, and that with which the meaning of the *liṅga* is expressed. Thus, knowing the *liṅga* and its meaning, the wise may understand [the word].

NOTE: Kacc 9 allows the use of Sanskrit grammatical concepts in Pāli grammar. The link between this passage and Kacc 9 is the definition of the word *liṅga*, which is found in Kā-v on Kā II.1, and therefore it is a *parasamañña*, “general notion formulated by others”.

3.3. Typology of the nominal base (*liṅga*)

Footnote 70 continued

notions [formulated] by others might be used’, so that, according to the *parasamañña*, any meaningful word with the exception of verbal roots, suffixes or case endings is *liṅga*”.

⁷¹ This seems to be an interpretation drawn from the Cāndra school.

⁷² Mmd 70, 6: *ettha ca līnam atthaṃ gamayati ti liṅgaṃ*.

⁷³ Quoted in Mmd (70, 10–11) as well.

3.3.1. *taṃ hi pumitthinapuṃsakatiliṅgaaliṅgasena pañcavidhaṃ.*

3.3.1. This (*liṅga*), indeed, can be classified into five types on account of being masculine, feminine, neuter, trigender and genderless.

3.3.1.1. *tattha pulliṅgaṃ avaṇṇivaṇṇuvaṇṇokārantavasena sattavidhaṃ. vuttañ ca:*

3.3.1.1. In this classification, the masculine has seven types, according to its ending in *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū* or *o*. In addition it has been said:

*puriso guṇavā rājā sāggi dandī ca bhikkhu ca
satthābhībhū ca sabbañū go ti pulliṅgasāṅgaho⁷⁴ ti*

All types of masculines are summed up in this list: *purisa, guṇavā, rājā, sāggi, dandī, bhikkhu, satthā, abhībhū, sabbañū, go*.

ñāse pana gosaddo tiliṅgaṃ⁷⁵ ti manasikatvā chabbidhan ti vuttaṃ.

In the Nyāsa, however, thinking that “the word *go* is trigender”, [the masculine] is said to have six types.

3.3.1.2. *ithiliṅgaṃ ākārivaṇṇuvaṇṇantavasena pañcavidhaṃ. vuttañ ca:*

3.3.1.2. The feminine is fivefold, according to its ending in *ā, i, ī, u, ū*. In addition it has been said:

*kaññā ratti nadī itthī mātulānī ca bhikkhunī
daṇḍinī yāgu mātā ca jambū cā tithisaṅgaho⁷⁶ ti.*

These are all the types of feminine: *kaññā, ratti, nadī, itthī, mātulānī, bhikkhunī, daṇḍinī, yāgu, mātā, vadhū, jambū*.

rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana gosaddassa ithiliṅgokārantabhāvo vutto⁷⁷. so pana nīccapullīṅgo ti daṭṭhabbo. yaḍi tiliṅgaṃ ti katvā gaṇheyya ekādisaṅkhyāsaddāpi ākārantabhāvena gahetabbā tiliṅgattā ti. yaḍi mātuḡāmasaddassa ithiliṅgokārantabhāvaṃ gaṇheyya kiñci yujjeyya.

⁷⁴ The same stanza is found in Rūp 177.

⁷⁵ This is not a quotation, but a free deduction from the source, that is why Chapaṭa says “thinking that” (*ti manasikatvā*). Mmd: *pulliṅgaṃ pana vuttanayeneva catubbidhaṃ. tattha ca eke tam avaṇṇivaṇṇuvaṇṇantavasena chabbidhaṃ* “According to the mentioned rule (*vuttanayena*) only the masculine is fourfold. But there are some grammarians (*eke*) that consider it to be sixfold on account of its ending in *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū*”. The opinion defending six types of masculine is not from Vimalabuddhi himself, but from other scholars (*eke*). In any case, it is recorded in Mmd (*nyāse*). Moreover, there is no mention of the triple gender of the word *go* in Mmd upon Kacc 53. Since *go* is neither in Mmd’s group of masc. nor fem. nor neutr., and since it can not be without gender, Chapaṭa deduces that *go* (stem *ga-*) is trigender. To the best of my knowledge, he is not quoting another passage from the Mmd. Nothing about the gender of *go* is said in Mmd’s commentary upon the *suttas* dealing with the declension of this word (Kacc 73–78; 80–81).

⁷⁶ Rūp 194. Kacc-nidd B^c, *pādas* c-d read: *yāgu mātā ca vadhū ca jambū cā tithisaṅgaho*. The B^c editor probably found redundancy with *bhikkhunī* and *daṇḍinī* and suppressed the latter.

⁷⁷ The problem seems to be that Rūp takes *go* as a trigender, see Rūp 194: *okāranto ithiliṅgo gosaddo. tassa pulliṅgagosaddasseva rūpanayo*; Rūp 189: *gosaddato nadādito vā īti īppaccayo. mahāvuttinā vā gāva se ti ettha gāvā iti yogavibhāgena vā okārassa āvādeso. gāvī, gāvī gāvīyo iccādi itthīsaddasamaṃ*; Rūp 168: *okāranto pulliṅgo gosaddo*; and this one in Rūp 199 *okāranto napuṃsakaliṅgo cittagosaddo*. Rūp, unlike Kacc, organises the Nāmakappa into divisions according to stem endings (*akāraṃtaṃ, ikāraṃtaṃ*, etc.), hence we find the word *go* in the masc. section, in the fem. section and in the neutre section.

In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it is said: “*go* has a feminine *-o* ending”. But it (the word *go*) has to be considered as being always masculine. If we take it as trigender, then even words of numerals such as *eka* on account of having *-ā* ending, could be included [in the feminine type], because they are trigender. If [on the other hand] we include the word *mātugāmo* [in the category of] feminine nominal bases ending in *-o*, then this might apply [to the word *go* as well].

NOTE: The last paragraph means that *go* could only belong to the feminine group if we take it as a grammatically masculine word which might refer to a feminine object (i. e. a female), like the word *mātugāmo* “womankind”. Sadd (208, 2) mentions this word as trigender: masculine *mātugāmo*, fem. *mātugāmā*, neuter *mātugamaṃ*. I understand that Chapāṭa is reducing Rūp position to the absurdity of accepting that a word ending in *-o* like *go* could be understood as feminine if we take into account the natural gender of the object (the cow) in the same way that the word *mātugāmo*, being grammatically masculine, could be said feminine because it means “womanliness”.

3.3.1.3. *napuṃsakaliṅgaṃ akārivaṇṇuvaṇṇaniggahitavāsena chabbidhaṃ vuttañ ca:*

3.3.1.3. Neuter is sixfold on account of its ending in *a*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* and *ṃ*. In addition, it has been said:

*cittaṃ kammañ ca assaddham athaṭṭhi*⁷⁸ *sukhakāri ca āyu gotrabhū dhammaññū*⁷⁹ *kisaṃ cā ti napuṃsake ti.*⁸⁰

The neuter types are: *cittaṃ*, *kammaṃ*, *akkhi*, *aṭṭhi*, *sukhakāri*, *āyu*, *gotrabhū*, *dhammaññū*, *kisaṃ*.

*rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana assaddhaṃ cittaḡu kulaṃ*⁸¹ *ti samāsappayogesū napuṃsakaliṅgassa akārantokārantabhāvaṃ gaṇhāti. aññapadattha*⁸² *paṭṭhānattā ayuttaṃ viya dissati.*

In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it is said that *assaddhā* and *cittago*, which have an ending in *-ā* and *-o* respectively, are included in the neuter when they are used in compounds. But this does not seem to be tenable, because the compound has an external referent (and hence the ending accords with the grammatical gender of this external referent).

3.3.1.4. *tumhamhasadde ca upasaggaṇipātāni ca thapetvā sesā sabbakataraya-tādisaddā tiliṅgā nāma. tumhamhasaddādayo pana vibhattipaccayehi liṅgavācakānaṃ apākaṭabhāvena aliṅgaṇ ti vuttā. yaḍi aliṅgaṃ atthi, “tato ca vibhattiyo” [Kacc 54] ti suttana kathaṃ vibhattiyo sambhavanṭi. sambhavanti liṅgato rūpantarābhāvā. vuttañ ca:*

⁷⁸ B^c reads *akkhi ca tathāṭṭhi* instead of *assaddham athaṭṭhi*. I follow C^c because it fits with Rūp and makes sense with what follows in Kacc-nidd.

⁷⁹ C^c *sayambhu kimidan ti napuṃsake ti*. Again, I choose the reading that matches Rūp.

⁸⁰ Rūp 199:

cittaṃ kammañ ca assaddham ath'aṭṭhi sukhakāri ca āyu gotrabhū dhammaññū, cittaḡu ti napuṃsake.

⁸¹ Rūp 198 *āssaḍḍhaṃ kulaṃ*; Rūp 199 *cittaḡu kulaṃ* in CSCD ed. *āssaḍḍhā* is an *ā*-stem neuter, behaving like *citta* in the rest of the paradigm (see Rūp 198 *sesaṃ cittaṣamaṃ*).

⁸² A 2.2.24: *anekamanyapadarthe* “Two or more inflected nominals are combined to denote something distinct”.

3.3.1.4. And leaving aside the words *tumha* and *amha*, the preverbs (*upasagga*) and the indeclinables (*nipāta*), the rest, namely words like *sabba*, *katara*, *ya*, *ta*, are trigender. The words *tumha* and *amha*, however, are said to be genderless on account of their gender not being manifest (i.e. being morphologically unspecified) in respect to the expression of *liṅga* with case suffixes. One may ask how the *vibhattis* are possible by the rule “[After the base (*liṅga*)], the case endings [are added]”, if they are genderless (lit. “non *liṅga*”⁸³). Declension endings are possible, because there is no other form than the *liṅga*. In addition, it has been said:

***aliṅgañ ca kathaṃ tamhā sambhavanti vibhattiyo
liṅgarūpantarābhāvā aliṅgaṃ liṅgam abravun⁸⁴ ti.***

How is it possible to add the case endings to a word that has no *liṅga*? They call the genderless (*aliṅga*) *liṅga* because there is no other form (*rūpa*) than the *liṅga*.

3.3.1.5. *atha vā liṅgan ti ādisu purisādīnaṃ aṅgajātacūlamassuādīni liṅgan ti vuccati. “liṅgañ ca nippaccate”* [Kacc 53] *ti sutte pana atthavācakasaddappayogo va liṅgan ti vuccati. tasmā aliṅgehi pi vibhattiyo honṭīti.*

3.3.1.5. Or else, with respect to words like *liṅga*, etc., some call *liṅga* the gender related to the genital organs, the crest hair, the bear, etc. of men. But we take into account the rule “The nominal base (*liṅga*) is formed” and we consider that nominal base (*liṅga*) means only a meaningful word in usage. Therefore, even genderless (*aliṅga*) words obtain case endings (i.e. are grammatically *liṅga*).

3.3.1.6. *saṅkhyāliṅgesu pana ekādiatṭhārasantāsāṅkhyā tiliṅge saṅgahetabbā.*

3.3.1.6. On the other hand, numerals from one to eighteen are to be included in the trigender category.

3.3.1.7. *ekūnavisaṭṭi ādi pana navutyantāsāṅkhyā itthiliṅge saṅgahetabbā.*

3.3.1.7. Numerals from nineteen to ninety are to be included in the feminine category.

3.3.1.8. *satādisaṅkhyā napuṃsake saṅgahetabbā.*

3.3.1.8. Numerals from one hundred onwards are to be included in the neuter category.

3.4. This is a metarule (*paribhāsā*) subordinated to an operative rule (*vidhi*)

3.4.1. *paribhāsā ti idaṃ suttaṃ vuttaṃ. kiṃ paribhāsā. paribhāsā nāmesā⁸⁵ saññaṅgavidhyaṅgānyaṅgaparibhāsāvasena tividhā. tatha “parasamaññāpayoge”* [Kacc 9] *ti suttaṃ saññaṅgaparibhāsā nāma. “pubbamadhoṭṭhitamassaraṃ sarena viyojaye”* [Kacc 20] *ti ādisuttaṃ vidhyaṅgaparibhāsā nāma. “tadanuparodhenā”* [Kacc 56] *ti ādisuttaṃ anyāṅgaparibhāsā nāmā ti. tesu idaṃ vidhyaṅgaparibhāsā nāmā ti datṭhabbaṃ.*

3.4.1. This rule is a metarule. What is a metarule? There are three types of metarules on account of being subordinated to a definition, subordinated to an operative rule and subordinated to another kind of *sutta*. The *sutta* “General notions

⁸³ There is an important problem of translation in this passage, because we are clearly dealing with gender, but the word for grammatical gender, *liṅga*, is the same word used by Kaccāyana to refer to the nominal base, as we have already seen. Therefore, I will avoid translating *liṅga* in certain cases. The reader shall keep in mind that *liṅga* means both “nominal base” and “grammatical gender”.

⁸⁴ Kārikā 248.

⁸⁵ B^c *nāmesa*.

[formulated] by others might be used” [Kacc 9] is a metarule subordinated to a definition. The *sutta* “The previous, inferior non-vowel is separated from the [subsequent] vowel” [Kacc 20] is a metarule subordinated to an operative rule. “Not contradicting those [words of the Jina]” [Kacc 56] is a metarule subordinated to another *sutta*. Among these types of metarule, the present one is subordinated to an operative rule.

3.4.2. *dhātupaccayavibhattivajjitam atthavaṃ liṅgaṃ*⁸⁶ *ti vuttattā sati pi vibhattirahitānaññeva liṅgabhāve bhūtapubbagatikavasena sapaccayavibhattikam pi liṅgaṃ nāmā ti dassetuṃ eso no sathā*⁸⁷ *ti ādim āha.*

3.4.2. For it is said that “*liṅga* is a meaningful speech item with the exception of *dhātu*, *paccaya* or *vibhatti*”, [and] given the fact that words without declension ending are considered *liṅga* as well, [the author of Kacc-v] gives the examples *eso*, *no*, *sathā*, etc. in order to demonstrate that a *liṅga* can also be a word with suffixes and declension endings, on account of what has been previously [stated] (see 3.3.1.5).

NOTE: That is to say, *liṅga* is the nominal base without inflection, called *prātipadika* in Sanskrit. In this treatise, however, we have to understand that, even after the formation of the word, a word is still to be considered *liṅga*—it does not lose its “*liṅga* nature” (*liṅgabhāva*).

3.4.3. *atha vā candappakaranākārakā siridhammādāsādayo ācariyā savibhattikaṃ nipphannaṃ liṅgaṃ ti vadanti*⁸⁸ *tesaṃ vādaṃ dassetuṃ savibhattikaṃ vuttan*⁸⁹ *ti.*

3.4.3. On the other hand, the author of the Cāndra handbook, and Siri Dhammādāsa and other masters [of the same school] say that “*liṅga* is the word already formed with the case ending”. It is in order to portray their view that we have used the term *savibhattika* “including the case ending”.

3.5. Examples of word formation: *eso*, *no*, etc.

3.5.1. *tattha evaṃ rūpasiddhi*⁹⁰ *veditabbā. “jinavacanayuttaṃ hī” [Kacc 52] ti suttaṃ adhikāraṃ katvā “parasamaññāpayoge” [Kacc 9] ti suttana liṅgasaññāya paribhāsaṃ katvā “liṅgaṃ ca nippaccate” [Kacc 53] ti suttana etaliṅgaṃ jinavacanānurūpaṃ thapetabbaṃ nipphādetabbaṃ ca. “dhātulinghehi parā paccaya” [Kacc 434] ti suttaṃ paribhāsaṃ katvā “tato ca vibhattiyo” [Kacc 54] ti suttana liṅgato vibhatti parā kātābbā. kā ca pana tāyo vibhattiyo ti sandehe jāte “siyo-aṃyo-nāhi-sanaṃ-smāhi-sanaṃ-smiṃsū” [Kacc 55] ti suttana siyo iti pathamā ti ādīni sarūpāni niyametvā “tadanuparodhenā” [Kacc 56] ti suttana jinavacanassa ananurūpadvivacanassa parivajjanatthaṃ, jinavacane āgatānaṃ*

⁸⁶ Rūp 61: *dhātupaccayavibhattissa atthavato saddassa parasamaññā payoge ti paribhāsato liṅgasaññāyaṃ; Kā-v* on Kā II.1.: *dhātuvibhaktivarjjam arthavalliṅgasamjñam bhavati; A 1.2.45: arthavadadhātūr apratyayaḥ prātipadikam.*

⁸⁷ Kacc-v 53: *taṃyathā eso no sathā brahmā attā sakhā rājā.* This line is omitted in Pind’s critical edition, but some Kacc mss. contain it and Kacc-nidd follows this recension.

⁸⁸ The author is referring to the Sanskrit grammar Cāndravāyākaraṇa and to the author of its *vṛtti*, Siri Dhammādāsa (Śrī Dharmadāsa). Apparently the word *-ādāyo* “and the rest (of the grammar authorities)” refers to the Cāndra School, that is, the School Moggallāna followed.

⁸⁹ The only reference I could find of the word *savibhattika* (S. *savibhaktika*) as a technical term used in post-Patañjali literature is in MBD 57.

⁹⁰ The concept *rūpasiddhi* “formation of a word” is frequently used in Mmd. Buddhapiya was probably inspired by this concept when naming his new arrangement of Kacc.

*ekavacanabahuvacanānaṃ anurūpaṃ paribhāsaṃ katvā tāsaṃ vibhattīnaṃ pa-thamadutiṃyādivasena aniyamappasaṅge*⁹¹ *sati vatticchānupubbikā saddappaṭipatti*⁹² *ti paribhāsato liṅgathamattattā “liṅgatthe paṭhamā”* [Kacc 286] *ti suttena pathamā vibhatti kātābbā. tassā pana pathamāvibhattiyā ekavacanabahuvacanavasena aniyamappasaṅge*⁹³ *sati vatticchānupubbikā saddappaṭipattīti paribhāsato ca ekamhi vattabbe ekavacanaṃ bahumhi vattabbe bahuvacanaṃ*⁹⁴ *ti paribhāsato ca ekavacanasivibhattiṃ katvā “eta tesanto”* [Kacc-v 174] *ti suttena takārassa sakāraṃ katvā “so”* [Kacc 164] *ti suttena sisā okāre kate rūpasiddhi hoti.*

3.5.1. The following is the way how word-formation has to be known. We take the heading that says “Only suitable to the words of the Jina” [Kacc 52] and we get the definition of *liṅga* by the metarule “General notions [formulated] by others might be used” [Kacc 9]. By the rule “And the nominal base is formed” [Kacc 53] we take the nominal base *eta-* in conformity to the words of the Jina and we form the word out of it. We take the explanatory rule that says that “After the verbal roots and the nominal bases, the suffixes [are added]” [Kacc 434], and by the rule “After the base, the case endings [are added]” [Kacc 54], we know that the *vibhatti* should be added after the *liṅga*. But now there is a doubt: which are the *vibhattis* we are talking about? They are: *siyo-aṃyo-sanaṃ-smāhi-sanaṃ-smiṃsu* [Kacc 55], and by fixing that *siyo* are the first case ending, etc. [Kacc-v 52], we apply the rule “Not contradicting those [words of the Jina]” [Kacc 56] so that they do not contradict the word of the Buddha (*jinavacana*) and therefore we leave the dual aside, because this is not in conformity with the word of the Buddha (*jina*): the numbers that have come down with the *jinavacana* are only singular and plural. Therefore, on account of this metarule, the doubt arises as to which one among those case endings goes with the first case ending, second case ending, etc. Thus, on account of the metarule “The understanding of the word depends on the intention of the speaker”, and since [we] only [have] the bare meaning of the stem (*liṅgathamattattā*), we apply the rule “First case ending for the meaning of the base” [Kacc 286]. By this rule we get the first case ending. However, of this first case ending, there is doubt as to which one to use: singular or plural. Now, resorting to the metarule “The understanding of the word depends on the intention of the speaker” we understand that the singular is used for one, the plural for many, and therefore we use the singular case ending. Subsequently, by the rule “*s-* replaces *t-*” [Kacc-v 174] *ta* becomes *sa* (*eta* > *esa*), and by the rule “Nominative ends in *o*” [Kacc 164] we replace the *-a* ending with *-o*, and this is how the word *eso* is formed.

3.5.2. *no ti liṅgassa heṭṭhā vuttanayena amhaliṅgaṃ thapetvā “tato ca vibhattiyo”* [Kacc 54] *ti ādiṃ vatvā “liṅgatthe pathamā”* [Kacc 286]. *pa.*⁹⁵ *tabbā ti idaṃ apanetvā*

⁹¹ B^c *-pasaike*.

⁹² In Sanskrit grammars there is a metarule saying *vaktur vivakṣitapūrvikāḥ hi śabdārthaḥ* “The meaning of a word depends indeed on the intention of the speaker”. It is found in various collections of *paribhāṣās*: Kātantra-Durgasiṃha 69, Kātantrapāṭha 64, Kalāpapāṭha 83, Bhojasūtra 100, Haimapāṭha 49 (see Abhyankar 1967, 486–487). According to Smith (1928, 105), this quotation in Pāli is from “Mmd 346 (*vatticchānupubbikā saddappavatti*)”. Indeed, this formula is repeatedly used in Mmd.

⁹³ B^c *-pasaike*.

⁹⁴ Mahābhāṣya ad A 1.2.45: *ekasmin evārtha ekavacanaṃ na dvayor na bahuṣu*.

⁹⁵ *pa* (sometimes *pe* or *la*) means *peyyāla* (S. *pariyāya*) “repetition” of a formula or passage. It is meant to skip a formula with which the reader is already familiar. The text to be supplied here is: *ti suttena pathamā vibhatti kā[tabbā]* (see above 3.5.1 for the same formula).

sāmyatthattā “*yassa vā pariggaho taṃ sāmī*” [Kacc 285] *ti suttana sāmisaññaṃ katvā* “*sāmismiṃ chaṭṭhī*” [Kacc 303] *ti suttana chaṭṭhivibhatti kātābbā. tassāpi chaṭṭhiyā eka. pa. to ca bahuvacananam vibhattiṃ katvā* “*padato dutiyācatutthīchaṭṭhīsu vono*” [Kacc 151] *ti suttana vibhattiyā saha no ādese kate rūpasiddhi hoti.*

3.5.2. As to the *liṅga no*, following the method previously stated, we first take the *liṅga amha*; to this base we have to add the case endings, etc. as we have already said: “First case ending for the meaning of the base” [Kacc 286], and so on. By the rule “The one that has possession is called [genitive,] *sāmī*”⁹⁶ [Kacc 285] we assign the definition of *sāmī* (“owner”), and by the rule “The sixth case ending occurs to denote the *sāmī* (“owner”)” [Kacc 303] we will introduce the sixth case ending (*vibhatti*). Now, the doubt arises as to singular or plural, etc. and we choose the plural. By the rule “*vo* and *no* occur in the place of *tumha* and *amha*, respectively when [these are followed by] the second, fourth and sixth *vibhatti*” [Kacc 151],⁹⁷ we carry out the substitution [of *amha*], together with its *vibhatti*, with *no*, and this is how the word *no* is formed.

3.5.3. *sesaṃ vuttanayeneva veditabbaṃ.*

3.5.3. The rest should be understood according to the same method.

4. *tato ca vibhattiyo*⁹⁸ [Kacc 54]

4. After the base, the case endings [are added]

4.1. A basic morphosyntactic analysis of the *sutta*

4.1.1. *tipadam idaṃ.*⁹⁹

4.1.1. This rule has three words.

4.1.2. *tato ti avadhiniddeso. cā ti samuccayaniddeso. vibhattiyo ti visayiniddeso.*

4.1.2. The word *tato* “after it” has the function of “starting point” (i.e. “limit from which”¹⁰⁰). *ca* “and” has the function of conjunction. *vibhattiyo* “the case endings” has the function of *visayi* (i.e. general term that has its *visaya* “scope” in what follows).

4.1.3. *saññā. la.*¹⁰¹ *suttasu vidhisuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. atthabyākhyāne*¹⁰² *pana ekavacanādayo va saññā ettha caggahaṇena gahiṭṭā ti tasmā saññāsuttan ti vuttaṃ. na hi vibhattipaccayasaññā kātābbā.*

⁹⁶ The denomination of *sāmī* “owner” for the genitive is apparently an innovation of Kacc, possibly motivated by the necessity to establish a clear syntactical difference between the fourth case ending and the sixth, which have usually the same form. Moggallāna, in order to solve the same problem, “subsumes many of the functions of the Pāli dative case with the genitive case”, Alastair Gornall: private communication (24/04/12).

⁹⁷ A 8.1.20–21: *yusmadasmadoḥ saṣṭhīcaturthīdvītyāsthāyora vāmnāvau; bahuvacane vasnasau.*

⁹⁸ Kā II.1.2: *tasmāt parā vibhaktayaḥ.* The remaining *suttas* in our passage are original *suttas* by Kaccāyana, with no direct antecedent in his sources.

⁹⁹ Mmd 70, 27.

¹⁰⁰ See Cāndra 2.1.81: *avadheḥ pañcamī.*

¹⁰¹ Text to be supplied: *[saññā]dhikāraparibhāsavidhi[suttasu]*. See fn. 95.

¹⁰² Reference to the lost work Atthabyākhyāna “Interpretation of the meaning”. This is one of the grammatical works mentioned in the Pagan Inscription of A.D. 1442, cf. PLB 101ff. This work is apparently lost but the title figures in the *kalāpa* section of treatises in Nyunt (2012, 135). Nyunt translated *kalāpa-kyam*: by “Collected texts” but the section, I think, clearly lists books of the Kātantra (= Kalāpa) tradition. This seems to link the Atthabyākhyāna with the Kātantra tradition and could explain why we never found this work in Pāli grammatical collections. Further research is needed.

4.1.3. Among the different types of *sutta*, this one is an operative rule. The Atthabyākhyāna, however, says: “It is a definition, because with the word *ca* ‘and’ it just brings in [by *anuvutti*] all the concepts of singular, etc.”. But that is not so, because there is no need to provide a definition for *vibhatti* and *paccaya* [as we borrow their definitions from Sanskrit grammar by the rule Kacc 9]. For [according to the Atthabyākhyāna] we certainly do not need to provide a definition of “case ending” (*vibhatti*).

4.2. Explanation of the word *vibhatti* “case ending”

4.2.1. *vibhajjate pāṭipadikattho etāyā¹⁰³ ti vibhattī ti anvatthavasena vibhattis-addassa jātattā. tasmā casaddena tāsaṃ ekavacanabahuvacanapathamādivisesasaññā eva kātabbā. “parasamaññā payoge” [Kacc 9] ti suttana vā vibhattisasaññā kātabbā ti.*

4.2.1. It is called “distinguisher” (*vibhatti*) because by means of it the meaning of the nominal base is distinguished. Thus, by virtue of its being a meaningful (*anvattha*) designation, we get the definition of the word *vibhatti*. Therefore with the word *ca* only the specific definition for singular, plural, first case, etc. will be provided. Otherwise, the definition of *vibhatti* can be supplied by the rule “General notions [formulated] by others might be used” [Kacc 9].

NOTE: What Chapaṭa means is that, in Kacc, the definition of singular and plural *vibhattis* is given, and it is conveyed through the word *ca* “and”, but not the definition of the concept *vibhatti* itself. Therefore this rule is not a *saññā* “definition”. But the Atthabyākhyāna seems to understand this rule as a definition not of *vibhatti* itself, but of the particular (singular and plural) *vibhattis*.

4.2.2. *rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana casaddaggahaṇena tavetunādipaccayantanipātato pī¹⁰⁴ ti vuttaṃ. kātave¹⁰⁵ ty ādīhi pi hontīti tassādhippāyo. evaṃ sante pi līnaṃ atthaṃ gamayātīti līngaṃ ti vuttattā sabbhaṃ athavaṃ saddarūpaṃ, liṅge eva antogadhaṃ hoti.*

4.2.2. The Rūpasiddhi, in its turn, says: “Through the mention of the word *ca* other suffixes (such as *tave*, *tunā*, etc.) are included as well”. What is intended to say is that words like *kātave* are also considered to have [*vibhatti*]. Even if that is so, all meaningful words are included in the category “nominal base” (*liṅga*), for it has been said that nominal base is that which conveys the bare meaning.

4.2.3. *vibhattiyo ti sāmāññavasena vuttattā, kā ca pana tāyo vibhattiyo ti puṭṭhe sarūpaṃ niyametuṃ siyo ti ādi vuttaṃ. tenāha vuttiyaṃ kā cā¹⁰⁶ ti ādiṃ.*

4.2.3. The concept *vibhatti* has been defined according to common definition (i.e. common to Sanskrit and Pāli grammarians), but what are, then, the *vibhattis*?

¹⁰³ The etymology of Mmd (70, 28–71, 2) is different: *vividhā bhājyātīti vibhatti. kammādivasena ca ekattādivasena ca vibhājeti. casaddo athavisesaṃ dīpeti. ayañ hetthaththo, tato ca vibhattiyo honti.*

¹⁰⁴ Rūp 62: *casaddaggahaṇena tavetunādipaccayantanipātato pi.*

¹⁰⁵ See Kacc 563: *icchatthesu samānakattukesu tave tuṃ vā; Kacc-v ad Kacc 563: icchatthesu samānakattukesu sabbadhātūhi tave tuṃ icc ete paccayā honti vā sabbakāle kattari. puññāni kātave.*

¹⁰⁶ Kacc-v ad Kacc 55: *kā ca pana tā vibhattiyo. si yo iti paṭhamā. aṃ yo iti dutiyā. nā hi iti tatiyā. sa naṃ iti catutthī. smā hi iti pañcamī. sa naṃ iti chaṭṭhī. smiṃ su iti sattamī.*

In order to reply to this question and give their own particular form (*sarūpam*), the [following] rule says “*siyo*” etc. That is why Kacc-v says “*kā ca...*” etc.

5. *siyoaṃyonāhisanaṃsmāhisanaṃsmiṃsu* [Kacc 55]

5. These are the nominal case endings:

<i>vibhatti</i> (case ending)	<i>ekavacanaṃ</i> (singular)	<i>bahuvacanaṃ</i> (plural)
<i>paṭhamā</i> 1st (nominative)	<i>si</i>	<i>yo</i>
<i>dutiyā</i> 2nd (accusative)	<i>aṃ</i>	<i>yo</i>
<i>tatiyā</i> 3rd (instrumental)	<i>nā</i>	<i>hi</i>
<i>catutthī</i> 4th (dative)	<i>sa</i>	<i>naṃ</i>
<i>pañcamī</i> 5th (ablative)	<i>smā</i>	<i>hi</i>
<i>chaṭṭhī</i> 6th (genitive)	<i>sa</i>	<i>naṃ</i>
<i>sattamī</i> 7th (locative)	<i>smiṃ</i>	<i>su</i>

5.1. Basic morphosyntactic analysis

5.1.1. *ekapadam idaṃ.*

5.1.1. This rule consists of one word.

5.1.2. *siyo. pa.¹⁰⁷ sū ti sarūpaniyamaniddeso.*

5.1.2. The word *siyo*, etc. stipulates the particular forms of the case endings.

5.1.3. *saññā. la.¹⁰⁸ suttesu paribhāsā suttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana saññāsuttan¹⁰⁹ ti vuttaṃ vibhatti icc anenā¹¹⁰ ti vibhattiniyama.*

5.1.3. Among the different types of *sutta*: definition, etc., this must be considered a metarule. In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it is considered a “definition”, because it regulates the different *vibhattis*, as it is said “With the word *vibhatti*” etc.

6. *tadanuparodhena* [Kacc 56]

6. Not contradicting those [words of the Jina]

6.1. A basic morphosyntactic analysis

6.1.1. *ekapadam idaṃ.*

6.1.1. This rule consists of one word.

6.1.2. *visesananiddeso.*

6.1.2. Its function is as a qualifier [of the word *vibhattiyo* in Kacc 54].

6.1.3. *saññā. la.¹¹¹ paribhāsāsuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

6.1.3. Among the different types of *sutta*: definition, etc., this should be considered a metarule.

6.2. There is no dual in Pāli

6.2.1. “*liṅgañ ca nippaccate*” [Kacc 53] *ti pubbe vuttattā kimatthaṃ panidaṃ vuttan ti. idha ekavacanabahuvacanavasena¹¹² cuddasavibhattiyo paṭhitā,¹¹³*

¹⁰⁷ Text to be supplied: [*siyo*]aṃyonāhisanaṃsmāhisanaṃsmiṃ[sū]. See fn. 95.

¹⁰⁸ See fn. 95.

¹⁰⁹ Rūp 63: *idaṃ pana saññādhikāraparibhāsāvidhisuttasu saññāsuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

¹¹⁰ Kacc-v ad Kacc 55: *vibhatti icc anena kv attho. “amhassa mamaṃ savibhatti ssa se”* [Kacc 120].

¹¹¹ See fn. 95.

¹¹² B^e -*bhāvena*.

¹¹³ B^e *thapitā*.

*aññattha*¹¹⁴ *ekadvibahuvacanasena ekavīsati vibhattiyo paṭhitā*.¹¹⁵ *etā parivaj-jetvā jinavacane āgata vibhattīhi eva liṅgassa nipphādanattham. vuttañ ca:*

6.2.1. Having previously said “And the nominal base is formed” [Kacc 53], why does the author say this (i.e. this rule Kacc 56) now? Here, on account of having singular and plural, we read fourteen *vibhattis*; in other places, including singular, dual and plural, we read twenty-one *vibhattis*. Discarding this second set, the illustration of the nominal base will only operate with the *vibhattis* which have come down within the teaching of the Buddha (*jina*). In addition it has been said:

***tadanuccādikaṃ suttaṃ, kimatthaṃ iha dhīritam
parasatthāgataṃ dvibbacaṃ vāretum tīraṇ***¹¹⁶ ***ti***

Why is this *sutta* starting with *tadanu* stated here? It is stated in order to prevent the dual inherited from the others’ grammar (*parasattha*, S. *paraśāstra*).

6.2.2. *idaṃ suttaṃ ākhyāte pi anuvattati. nanu “jinavacanayuttaṃ hī”* [Kacc 52] *ti suttaṃ anuvattati. kasmā tasaddaṃ gaṇhātī ti. saccam. tathāpi yuttasaddassa nivattanattham tasaddo gahito ti. atthabyākhyāne pana pathamāvibhattiekavacan-assa nivattanān ti vuttaṃ.*

6.2.2. This rule is applicable to the verb (*ākhyāta*) as well. It may be objected that the rule *jinavacanayutta*... continues throughout: why, then, should the author [redundantly] use the word *tad*? That is true. But even so, the word *tad* is used in order to discard the word *yuttaṃ* [so that we only retrieve *jinavacana*-]. In the Atthabyākhyāna, however, it is said: “[The word *tad* is used] in order to discard the nominative singular”.¹¹⁷

6.2.3. *yathā yathā yena yena cuddasannaṃ vibhattīnaṃ pakārena tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodhena liṅgaṃ nippajjati, tathā tathā tena tena cuddasannaṃ vibhattīnaṃ pakārena idha kaccāyane liṅgañ ca amhehi nippajjate*.¹¹⁸ *idha casaddena vibhattiṃ samuccayati. rūpasiddhiyaṃ*¹¹⁹ *pana ākhyātaṃ samucceti.*

¹¹⁴ I.e. in Sanskrit Grammar. Mmd 72, 24: *atha vā sakkataganthe vibhattiyo aññathāpaṭhitā.*

¹¹⁵ B° *thapitā.*

¹¹⁶ Source not found.

¹¹⁷ Since we do not have the Atthabyākhyāna, it is difficult to interpret the exact meaning of this quotation.

¹¹⁸ This is basically a summarized gloss of Mmd 72, 13ff.: *kimattham idam uccate. yena yena pakārena nipphādiyamāne liṅge tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodho hoti. tena tena pakārena nipphādayissāmā ti nāpanattham. tesam jinavacanānaṃ anurūpavasenā ty attho. na uparodho anuparodho. tesam anuparodho tadanuparodho. tena tadanuparodhena. kasmā ihevadam uccate ti. iha pana cuddasavibhattiyo paṭhitā. aññattha ekavīsati. ko nu kho honī hevaṃ paṭhane ti sandeho jāyeyya. tadapagamattham ihedaṃ paṭhitaṃ. ayañ hetthattho: yena yena pakārena nipphādiyamāne tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodho hoti. tena tena pakārena nipphādayissāmā ti. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti jinavacane dvibbacaṃ na dissati. tasmā taṃ parivajjetvā sesā va dassitā. tasmā cuddasajātā ti. atha vā sakkatagante vibhattiyo aññathā paṭhitā. ihaññathā. kiṃ nu kho kāraṇam ihevaṃ paṭhane ti sandeho siyā ti taṃ nivattanattham. ayañ hetthattho: tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodhena nipphādayissāmā ti. tasmā evaṃ paṭhitaṃ ti. atha vā upari ākhyātādinam pi visadisam katvā niddesaṃ disvā teneva nayena sandeho siyā ti tannivattanattham paṭhamam eva attano kathanappakāram āha. evañ hi kate sati tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodhena liṅgehi nippajjate ti. vuttañ ca vuttiyaṃ yathā yathā tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodho tathā tathā idha liṅgañ ca nippajjate ti. ayaṃ panetthattho: yena yena ppakārena nipphādiyamāne tesam jinavacanānaṃ anuparodhena nippajjanti. tena tena pakārena amhe idha liṅgāni nipphādiyante ti.*

¹¹⁹ Rūp 64: *casaddenākhyātaṃ ca nipaccate, nipphādiyaṭṭi attho. teneva idha ca ākhyāte ca dvivacanāggaṇaṃ, sakkatavisadisato vibhattippaccayādividhānañ ca katan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

6.2.3. Just as, i.e. by the same method as the nominal base is used not contradicting to the fourteen case endings of the words of the Buddha (*jinavacana*), in the same way, i.e. by the same method, here, i.e. in Kaccāyana's grammar, we describe also the *liṅga* [preceding these fourteen endings]. In this context (*idha*) the word *ca* "and" brings in [by *anuvutti*] the word "case ending" (*vibhatti*). In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it brings in [by *anuvutti*] the word "verb" (*ākhyāta*).

7 Quotations in the Suttaniddesa

Quotations are frequent in Pāli grammatical commentaries, and Kacc-nidd is no exception.¹²⁰ We find both explicit and implicit quotations. Explicit quotations mention the source, implicit quotations do not. Both types are literal.

The cases where an apparent quotation ad sensum appears are glosses to Kacc-v (with the formula *ti ādim āha*) or Mmd (i.e. we should not call them quotations). As already hinted at (see section 6) it is not explicitly stated anywhere that Kacc-nidd is a commentary upon Mmd, but the fact that most of the glosses follow Mmd leads to the conclusion that Chapaṭa based his commentary on it. Whenever there is a gloss from Mmd, Kacc-nidd will normally summarize the source text.

The question arises as to why Chapaṭa repeats the information from Mmd, not necessarily adding anything new to it. Probably his work intends to be an independent commentary on Kacc and Kacc-v, trying to say whatever has been said before, plus the syntactical function of the words and critical notes on previous commentaries.

Regarding literal quotations, there are four main types of reference in the passage under consideration:

- (1) Referring to the title of a grammar or the name of its author
- (2) Using an *iti* clause
- (3) Using the formula *vuttaṃ ca* or *tenāha*
- (4) Using the pronoun *keci*

8 Reference to a grammar by its title or its author

The grammatical works referred to in our passage are the Mukhamattadīpanī (= Nyāsa) of Vimalabuddhi, the Rūpasiddhi of Buddhappiya, the Atthabyākhyāna (a lost treatise, see fn. 102), Cāndra's grammar and its *vṛtti* by Dharmadāsa.

The Rūpasiddhi is by far the most quoted work, and the reader will have noticed that the formula usually reads: *rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana* "However, in the Rūpasiddhi". This formula introduces a discrepancy. The frequency of this formula and the fact that Chapaṭa is always against Rūp are solid grounds to deduce that Kacc-nidd was meant to correct some wrong analyses found in Rūp. For instance: Chapaṭa criticizes Rūp for understanding the rule *siyo-aṅyo-nāhi-sanaṃ-smāhi-sanaṃ-smiṃsu* (Kacc 55) as a definition of *vibhatti* (see 5.1.3 of the previous textual

¹²⁰ See Petra Kieffer-Pülz' and Chiara Neri's contributions in this volume.

analysis). I think Chapaṭa's point is that Buddhappiya's analysis is too naive, because it does not recognise the true peculiarity of Kacc 55, which is to match the singular and plural case endings: first case singular with first case plural, and so on.

It could be that Chapaṭa was correcting Rūp using the textual materials at his disposal, for we know Pagan was still a major centre for grammatical studies in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.¹²¹ However, nowhere do we see Kacc-nidd quoting other opponents to Rūp. It seems that the critique came from Chapaṭa himself. Even though he conceals his judgment of the Rūp quite often, sometimes he points out Buddhappiya's mistakes very openly. For instance: "In the Rūpasiddhi, however, it is said: 'go has a feminine -o ending'. But it (the word *go*) has to be considered as being always masculine"¹²² (see 3.3.1.2)—i.e. Rūp is mistaken. The case is of much interest if we take into consideration that Buddhappiya's Rūpasiddhi was probably the most prominent Kaccāyana commentary in South India and Sri Lanka after the eleventh century A.D., because Buddhappiya belonged to the prestigious lineage of Sāriputta.¹²³ As a matter of fact, Rūp is, still today, much more popular than Kacc-nidd.

It is not unlikely that Chapaṭa was thinking of works such as Rūp, and not only of Mmd, when he composed the introductory verses saying: "Even if the old masters wrote many commentaries, their exposition is of a general type".

The quotations from Mmd are also meant to show a divergence, if not a contradiction, between Chapaṭa's view and Vimalabuddhi's text. They are also introduced by a formula: *nāse pana* "In the Nyāsa, however...". The most illustrative instance of this phenomenon is in 3.3.1.1: "In the Nyāsa, however, thinking that 'the word *go* is trigender', [the masculine] is said to have six types". In Kacc-nidd, the masculine is considered to have seven types. Minor divergences in typology are something apparently normal among Pāli grammarians. In Dhammasenāpati's Kārikā, a work Chapaṭa consulted and quoted, there are six, and not five, genders:

*ithilingaṅ ca pulliṅgaṃ napuṃsakaṃ dvilingikaṃ
tiliṅgaṅ ca aliṅgaṅ ca nāmikaṃ chabbidhaṃ matam.*¹²⁴

In Mmd, however, only three genders are recognised: masculine, feminine and neuter.¹²⁵

Another work Chapaṭa frequently consulted is the Atthabyākhyāna. The pattern seems to be the same as in the case of Rūp and Mmd. Kacc-nidd quotes the source in order to show a different, but wrong, interpretation of a particular passage. For instance, in Kacc-nidd upon Kacc 57 (see 6.2.2): "In the Atthabyākhyāna, however, it is said: "[The word *tad* is used] in order to discard the nominative singular"—scilicet "but that is not necessarily so".

In the passage under consideration (see 3.4.3) we have an example of a quotation from a Sanskrit grammar, namely the Cāndravyākaraṇa. Our author refers to the

¹²¹ PLB, 101.

¹²² *rūpasiddhiyaṃ pana gosaddassa ithilingokārantabhāvo vutto, so pana niccapulliṅgo ti daṭṭhabbo.*

¹²³ PLC, 211.

¹²⁴ Kārikā 150.

¹²⁵ Mmd 70, 13–14: *tividhaṃ itthipumanapuṃsakavasena.*

school of Cāndra grammarians with the expression: *atha vā candappakaraṇākārakā siridhammādāsādayo ācariyā savibhattikaṃ nipphannaṃ liṅgaṃ ti vadanti. tesaṃ vādaṃ dassetuṃ savibhattikaṃ vuttan ti* “The author of the Cāndra handbook, and Siri Dhammādāsa and other masters [of the same school] say that *liṅga* is the word already formed with the case ending. It is in order to portray their view that we have used the term *savibhattika*”.

9 Using an *iti* clause

The *iti* clause is generally used to introduce all sorts of quotations, both explicit and implicit. Here by *iti* clause quotations we mean those implicit quotations only marked with the *iti* clause—not with the *vuttañ ca* (S. *uktañ ca*).

This marker is used to quote *suttas* from Kacc, *vuttis* from Kacc-v, or passages from Mmd. These are the main sources of the Kaccāyana System and therefore do not need to be named. In other words, one is not supposed to study Kacc-nidd unless one is well acquainted with the Kaccāyana System. It is difficult to consider them proper quotations, because Kacc-nidd is rather commenting on them.

On the other hand, we do find instances of *iti* used to quote external sources. The first case in our passage (see 2.3.1) is a quotation from an unknown source. The second one (see 2.3.3) is from a canonical passage in the Vinaya. Both of them are in verse. They are not grammatical authorities, but doctrinal authorities used to establish the etymology of the word *jina* in the compound *jinavacanayuttam*.

9.1 Using the formula *vuttañ ca* “In addition it has been said...” or *tenāha* “Therefore he [the author] says...”

In the passage under consideration, this formula is used to introduce versified quotations, whatever their origin may be. In this category we find both canonical and non-canonical references. The formula *vuttañ ca* (S. *uktaṃ ca*), which is very common in gnomic works such as the Pañcatantra, is traditionally used to support an argument with an authority. This is the reason why I could even translate it “For it has been said” instead of “In addition it has been said”. This explains why both canonical and non-canonical (in this case grammatical) authorities are quoted side by side. That is also the meaning of *tenāha* “Therefore he [the author] says”.

Some of the quoted stanzas are already found in Mmd or Rūp. There are other stanzas from the so-called “minor grammatical works” (Kārikā and Kaccāyanabheda), and some other stanzas I have been unable to trace back to any source, but are similar, in style, to the ones from the minor grammars.

It is interesting, in this respect, to see how textual divergences between Kacc-nidd, Mmd and Rūp are usually insignificant. Some stanzas or particular statements from Mmd or quoted in Mmd are quoted verbatim by Rūp and Kacc-nidd. Thus Chapaṭa probably quotes from a written copy of Mmd and Rūp, because he constantly refers to these works for further explanations, for instance, when he says: *vitthāro pana nāse gahetabbo, ito paresu pi chabbidhā suttavaṇṇanā vuttanayeneva veditabbā* “Furthermore, a detailed explanation (*vitthāro*) is available in the Nyāsa.

Henceforward, also, the six-fold method of commentary has to be understood accordingly to the given example”.¹²⁶ On the other hand, we find at least one instance where a divergence of interpretation is based on versified sources. Kacc-nidd and Mmd or Rūp follow different *kārikā* traditions, or maybe Chapaṭa edits the text (replacing *go* with *ti* in the *kārikā* giving the types of feminine) in order to suit his own agenda. Chapaṭa quotes the following verse (see 3.3.1.1) in order to prove that there are seven types of masculine (according to their stem vowel):

All types of masculines are summed up in this list: *purisa, guṇavā, rājā, sāggi, daṇḍī, bhikkhu, satthā, abhibhū, sabbañū, go*.

By contrast, Mmd and Rūp quote the same verse with *ti* at the end instead of *go* (and there is no way to decide which reading is the right one on the basis of the metre alone). Chapaṭa is well aware of this divergence, which he traces back to Mmd: “In the Nyāsa, however, the word *go* is considered trigender and therefore [the masculine] is said to have six types”.

With respect to the *Kārikā* (see 3.3.1.4) and Kaccāyanabheda (see 1.2.1) quotations, the first one is exact, the second one is almost exact, but the meaning does not change. It is difficult, if not impossible, to prove that Chapaṭa had actually written copies of these texts, and that he is not quoting from memory. However, his accuracy seems to indicate that he had the texts at hand.

10 Referring to a particular collective or School of grammarians

We have two instances of quoting collectives with the pronouns *eke* and *keci*. In this context, both words mean exactly the same. The first example is not from the Kacc-nidd itself, but from its source passage in the Mmd (see fn. 75).

The second instance is found in Kacc-nidd on Kacc 52 (see 2.1.2). Here Chapaṭa says that some (*keci*) analyse the word *jinavacanayuttam* as *liṅgathaniddesa* “expressing the meaning of the nominal base”, instead of *kammatthaniddesa* “expressing the meaning of the object” or *visesananiddesa* “expressing a qualifier”. The difference is important—of metaphysical implications, so to say. Our author allows two different interpretations; both of them relate Kacc 52 to Kacc 53, connecting the word *jinavacanayuttam* with the verb *nippaccate*. Conversely, the third interpretation takes the word *jinavacanayuttam* as a mere heading, a section title (and this could be on account of their understanding it as one word in loc. sg. *jinavacanayuttamhi*). Even if this interpretation is technically valid, Chapaṭa wants to make clear that *liṅgam* in Kacc 53 is connected with the *jinavacanam* of Kacc 52. In his own words: “In this treatise of Kaccāyana, however, i.e. by whatever means, the nominal base is posited (*thapīyate*), i. e. formed (*nippahjate*), it will be exactly as it is suitable, i.e. applicable, to the words of the Buddha (*jinavacana*)” (see 3.2.1). Otherwise we could mistakenly understand that Kacc explains what is suitable to the Buddha’s teachings and also the nominal morphology, as two different or independent things.

¹²⁶ Kacc-nidd 6, 9–10.

11 Grammatical background references

The reader will have noticed that Kacc-nidd introduces the Nāmakappa with a short theoretical passage. One of the topics dealt in this preface is the meaning of the word *liṅga*. The word *liṅga* in Kacc is a technical term borrowed from Kātantra that can be translated as “nominal base”. It is known in Pāṇinian grammar as *prātipadika*. This fact was already noticed by Ernst Kuhn,¹²⁷ one of the first Kaccāyana experts in Europe. The twofold division of *liṅga*, being a signifier and a signified at the same time, reminds us, somehow, of Bhartṛhari’s theory of the twofold *śakti*.¹²⁸ This discussion was actually inherited by Chapaṭa, for we find it already in the Rūpasiddhi.

The second example of background terminology is the classification of *adhikāra* or heading rules into *maṇḍūkagati*, etc. (see above 2.2.1, and the corresponding fn.) The word *maṇḍūkagati* is found in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya ad A 2.3.32.¹²⁹ Here Chapaṭa follows the Sanskrit tradition. Mmd and Rūp (and probably other treatises) had dealt before Kacc-nidd with the nature of the *adhikāra* rule that opens the Nāmakappa. Having already covered the sandhi section, one could ask why the author of Kacc is so late in telling us that his grammar describes only what is suitable to the Buddha’s teachings. In order to solve this contingency, Pāli grammarians resort to the *sīhagatika* type of *adhikāra*.¹³⁰ In this way the heading covers the whole grammar, backward and forward. The Rūpasiddhi also allows the *anupubbagati* type of interpretation, but again Chapaṭa seems to censure Buddhappiya’s innovations.

12 Did Saddhammajotipāla use the Pagan Library?

We cannot finish this essay without mentioning the well-known Pagan Inscription of 1442 A.D. As we have seen before, Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla is supposed to have travelled to Sri Lanka in ca. 1447 A.D. The second half of the fifteenth century seems to have been a relatively peaceful era both in Sri Lanka and Burma. King Dhammaceti ruled in the prosperous kingdom of Pegu, in Lower Burma. Pagan was no more the powerful capital of an empire, but the city somehow preserved its

¹²⁷ See Senart (1871, 34): “M. E. Kuhn (p. 12) a parfaitement reconnu le sens spécial de ‘liṅga’ dans notre grammairien, où il signifie: thème nominal. En voici du reste l’explication donnée par le Bālāvātāra (p. 8, l.20): ‘Dhātupaccayavibhattivajjitaṃ atthayuttaṃ saddarūpaṃ liṅgaṃ nāma’ qui n’est qu’une transposition en pāli du sūtra Kātantra: ‘Dhātuvibhaktivarjam arthaval liṅgaṃ’ ”.

¹²⁸ *dviśaktiḥ śabda ātmaprakāśane ’rthaparakāśane ca samarthaḥ. yathā pradīpaḥ ātmānam prakāśayan nidhyarthān prakāśayati. yas tv ādhyātmikaḥ indiyākhyāḥ prakāśaḥ sa ātmānam aprakāśayan bāhyārtham prakāśayati*, MBD, p.6 l.4. Joshi and Roodbergen (1986, 21) quote this passage and comment: “This tallies with VP 1.56, *grāhyatvaṃ grāhakatvaṃ ca dve śakti tejaso yathā / tathaiva sarvaśabdānām ete pṛthag avasthite* ‘just as light has two powers, (namely) that of being perceived and that of causing to perceive, so also these two (powers) have been separately established for all words’ ”.

¹²⁹ *atha vā maṇḍūkagatayaḥ adhikārāḥ. tat yathā maṇḍūkāḥ utplutya utplutya gacchanti, tadvat adhikārāḥ.*

¹³⁰ A *siṃhāvalokitanaya* is already used in the Kāśikā ad A 3.3.49: *vṛkṣāṇaṃ vibhāsāgrahaṇam iha siṃhāvalokitanayena sambandhyate.*

Pagan Inscription	Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa
Mahākaccāyana	Kaccāyanappakarāṇa
Nyāsa	Nyāsa
Than-byin-ṭīkā	Nyāsa-ṭīkā
Mahāthera-ṭīkā	Therapothaka
Rūpasiddhi-aṭṭhakathā	Rūpasiddhi
Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā	
Bālāvatāra	Bālāvatara
Vuttimoggallāna	Moggallāna
Pañcika-Moggallāna	
Pañcika-Moggallāna-ṭīkā	
Kārikā	Kārikā (Kārakā?)
Kārikā-ṭīkā	
Liṅgatthavivarāṇa	
Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-ṭīkā	
Mukhamattasāra	Mukhamattasāra
Mukhamattasāra-ṭīkā	
Mahāgaṇa	
Cūḷagaṇa	
Abhidhāna	
Saddanīti	Saddanīti
Cūḷanirutti	Niruttijotaka; Niruttijotakavaṇṇanā; [Mahā]nirutti
Cūḷasandhivisodhana	
Saddatthabhedacintā	
Saddatthabhedacintā-ṭīkā	
Padasodhana	
Sambandhacintā-ṭīkā	
Rūpāvatāra	
Saddāvatāra	
Saddhamadīpaka	
Padāvahāmahācackka	
Ṅvādi	

Pagan Inscription	Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa
Katacā	
Mahākā	
Bālattajana	
Suttāvali	
Akkharasammohacchedanī	
Cetiddhīnemipariḡāthā	
Samāsataddhitadīpanī	
Kaccāyanasāra	
Bālappabodhana	
Kaccāyananissaya	Kaccāyananissayappakarāṇa
Rūpasiddhinissaya	
Kalāpapañcikā (= Kātantra)	
Kalāpapañcikā-ṭikā	
Kalāpasuttapratīñāsakuṭikā	
Rattamālā	
Rattamālā-ṭikā	
Chandovicitī	
Candaprutti (= Cāndravṛtti)	Candappakarāṇa
Candrapañcikāra	
Caṅkadāsa (Caṅgadāsa, Kātantra School, author of a Caṅgakārikā)	“kārakā” ?
Saddakārikā	
Kāśikāpruttīpalīnī (commentary upon the Kāśikāvṛtti)	
Bālappabodhanapruttīkarāṇa	
Atthabyākhyam	Atthabyākhyāna
Cūḷaniruttīmañjusā	
Mañjusāṭīkābyākhyam	Ṭīkāvyākhyā; Mañjusāṭīkā
Kaccāyanarūpavātāra	
Saddatthabhedacintānissaya	
Bījakkhyam	Bījākhyā (=Bījākhyāna?) (= Niruttībījākhyāna?)
	Saṅgahakāra
	Bhassakārī (Patañjali?)

Pagan Inscription	Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa
	Akkharasamūha
	Aṭṭhakathā-atthadīpanī
	Atthajotaka
	Nyāsapadīpaṭṭikā
	Nyāsapadīpappakaraṇa
	Atthavaṇṇanā
	Akkharapadamañjusā
	Atthavinicchayaṇṇanā

glorious tradition and its devotion to learning. That is at least what we infer from the long list of literary titles referred to in the Pagan Inscription of 1442 A.D.,¹³¹ and it would be hard to believe that Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla did not participate in that environment of intellectual activity.

The table above compares the grammar books listed in the inscription¹³² and the grammar books quoted in Kacc-nidd.¹³³

13 Conclusion

Pind has been the first to draw attention to the number of quotations in Kacc-nidd.¹³⁴ So far nobody has thoroughly, and critically, analysed these quotations. At first glance, naming an author seems tantamount to quoting an authority, but we have already seen in this essay that the opposite case is very common indeed. And what is still more interesting in the passage we have analysed is that, when the name of an author or a work is explicitly mentioned, they are meant to be discredited. When the authority is consistent enough, there seems to be no need to name it.

As a hermeneutist and transmitter of Buddhist literary lore, Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla seems to have a personal position. Even though it is mainly based on previous authorities, it nevertheless rejects some *idées reçues*. His erudition is not a gratuitous display of knowledge: it involves the creation of new standards. From the extant books by Chapaṭa we acquire a distinct perspective of a particular thinker from a particular place, not only mediated Theravāda ideology.

Future research will hopefully narrow down Chapaṭa's theoretical landscape and his particular approach to tradition. Thus, we will be able to understand a unique Theravāda author from the humanistic point of view.

¹³¹ PLB, 101ff.

¹³² As quoted in PLB, 101ff. "Together with a monastery, garden, paddy-lands, and slaves, the pious donors offered a collection of texts, of which a list is given". The list contains 295 items in total.

¹³³ According to Pind (2012, 59).

¹³⁴ Pind (2012, 59).

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Abbreviations

A	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī = Katre, 1989.
Abhid-s-nṭ	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-saṅkhepavaṇṇanā.
Chapaṭa	Chapaṭa Saddhammajotipāla.
CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary (http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/search.html).
CSCD	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD (www.tipitaka.org).
DP	A Dictionary of Pāli.
Gv	Gandhavaṃsa = Minayeff, 1886.
Kacc	Kaccāyana.Kaccāyana.
Kacc-v	Kaccāyanavutti.
Kacc-nidd	Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa.
Kā	Kātantravyākaraṇa.
Kā-v	Kātantravṛtti.
Mmd	Mukhamattadīpanī.
Mmd-pt	Mukhamattadīpanīporāṇaṭikā.
MBD	Mahābhāṣyadīpikā = Abhyankar & Limaye, 1970.
PED	Pali-English Dictionary = Rhys Davids & Stede, 1925.
PLB	Pāli Literature of Burma = Bode, 1909.
PLC	Pāli Literature of Ceylon = Malalasekera, 1925.
Rūp	Rūpasiddhi.
S.	Sanskrit.
Sadd	Saddanīti = Smith, 1928.
Sās	Sāsanavaṃsa = Bode, 1898.
VP	Vākyapadīya.

For the rest of the Abbreviations, I follow the Critical Pāli Dictionary. The list of abbreviations is available online at: http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/intro/vol1_epileg_abbrev_texts.html.

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 C^c, Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa, ed. Medhankara, Colombo, 1915.
 Cādra = Cādravyākaraṇa.
 CSCD Tipiṭaka (Roman), s.v. "Padarūpasiddhi," <http://www.tipitaka.org/romn/> (accessed 21/04/2012).
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 Kacc-v = Kacc.
 Kaccāyanabheda = Saddā ṇay 15 caung pāṭh.
 Kā = Saini, 1987.

- Kārikā = Saddā ṅay 15 caung pāth.
 Kāśikā = Kāśikāvṛtti, with two commentaries: Nyāsa or Pañcīkā of Jinendrabuddhi, Padamañjarī of Haradatta Miśra, vols. I–VI, Varanasi, 1965–1967.
 Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya, ed. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1880–1885.
 Mmd = Nyāsapāth (= Mukhamattadīpanī), Yangon, Sudhammavati cā pum nhip tuik, 1933.
 Mmd-ṭ = Thanbyin Ṭīkā, Kavi Myeh Hman Press, Yangon, 1917.
 Rūpasiddhi = CSCD Tipiṭaka.
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