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# ATONEMENTS IN THE ANCIENT RITUAL OF THE JAINA MONKS

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**L. D. SERIES 49**

**BY**

**DR. COLETTE CAILLAT**

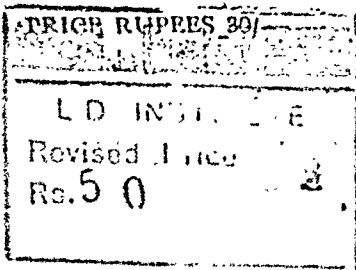
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**ATONEMENTS IN THE ANCIENT  
RITUAL OF THE JAINA MONKS**



## PREFACE

I have great pleasure in publishing 'Atonements in the Ancient Ritual of the Jaina Monks' by Prof. Dr. Colette Caillat. This was first published in French by The Institute of Indian Civilisation, Paris.

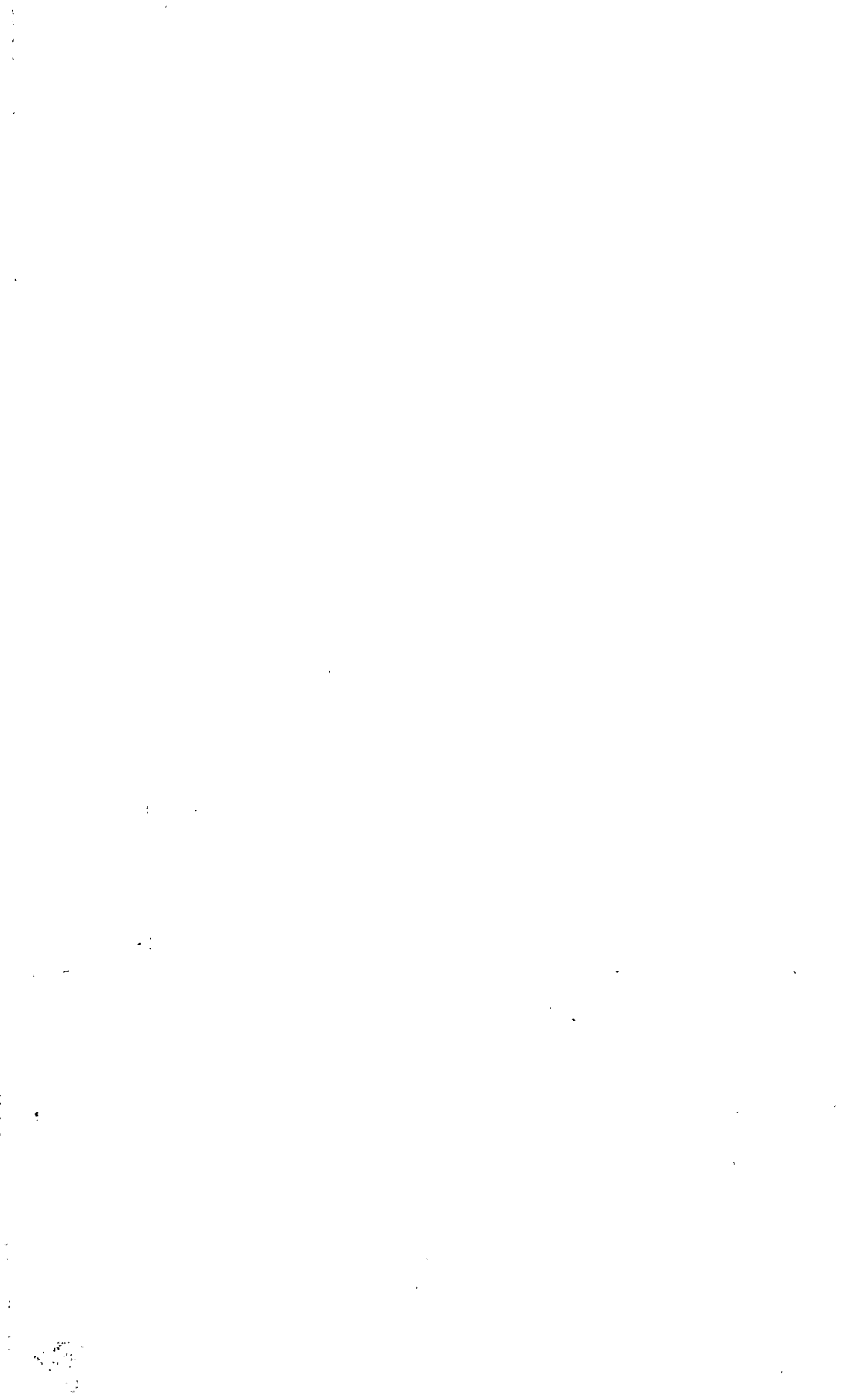
We are grateful to the Institute for allowing us to publish the English translation of the same. In this translation Dr. Caillat has added here and there some new information. We are thankful to Dr. Caillat for getting the book translated under her own supervision and also to the translators Mr. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Mc. Kenna, and Mr. Whitehouse.

The subject of atonements is for the first time exhaustively dealt with in modern times by Dr. Caillat and she is very faithful in interpreting the subject. Her critical insight is evidenced in the way she has utilized the uncritical edition of the Vyavahārabhāṣya. Theory and practice of atonements in the Jaina church have a long history. And this book throws much useful light on the subject. Problem of atonements is universal and concerns all religions. Dr. Caillat has ably compared the theory and practice of the Jaina atonements with those of the Hindu, Buddhist and others.

We thank Dr. Caillat for allowing us to publish this book in our L. D. Series. It is hoped that the publication of this important work will be of immense value to the keen students of the subject.

L. D. Institute of Indology,  
Ahmedabad-380009.  
15 May 1975

Dalsukh Malvania  
Director



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to whom I feel indebted. It will however, be obvious to readers of the text, that many pages of the book have been discussed by me with the Late Prof. Walther Schubring, whose witty discussions and letters I remember with affectionate gratitude. The present translation was begun as far back as 1965 at the request of Pandit Dalsukh Malvania, Director of the L. D. Institute of Indology, AHMEDABAD, and with the kind permission of Professor Louis Renou, the then Director of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne de l' Université de Paris. To all, and to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, I express my sincere thanks for their help and generosity.

I also wish to mention the keen interest the translators took in their task, the constant pleasure it has been to me to work with them though we sometimes had to face unexpected and awkward circumstances. As it proved difficult to get the text translated in Ahmedabad, I approached a young English tutor in the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines at the Université de Lyon, Mr. Jones, if he could suggest any solution of my problem. He readily agreed to undertake the task but at the same time recommended that the second half be entrusted to a colleague of his and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Mc. Kenna, who indeed brilliantly finished their part in a very short time. As for Mr. Jones, though pale and frail looking, he was an avid follower of football matches and spent all his spare time at matches being played in the Lyonnais and Beaujolais districts. This was certainly a shrewd way to learn about France. In fact, Mr. Jones was so successful that he was invited to be an interpreter for the World Cup Football matches which were being played during the next Summer. A well deserved distinction, which did not help with translation of my *prāyascittas*. In the meantime, though, I had been elected to succeed Prof. Louis Renou at the Sorbonne. Thus my contact with Mr. Jones lapsed, and I was fortunate to meet Mr Whitehouse, another English tutor, this time at the Sorbonne, who agreed to resume the translation of the first part and harmonise the whole. The work was in progress in May 1968 when Mr Whitehouse deemed it advisable to leave Paris to save his car from the French Barricades. Luckily for me, after six months lapse, Mr Whitehead and I met up again, he having meanwhile completed the translation of the Expiations — All is well that ends well !

As several years had passed since the treatise was first published in French, Pandit Malvania agreed to some additions being made to the French Text (these additions and new references being mainly to the foot-notes). In this connection, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the ready help of the Ramananda Printing Press and the generosity of the editor.



Finally it is with great pleasure that I see completion of the present work in 1975, the very year when the 2500th celebration of Lord Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa is taking place, and although resident in the West, I feel able, to a certain extent, to participate with the Jain Community and many Jain friends, in the commemoration of this important and solemn event.

**Colette Caillat**

Sèvres,  
May 1975.

status of the religious present. The ten characteristic prohibitions; importance of the prohibition of commensality; unavoidable circumstances, *parihāra* and the eremitical life. Service of the *āyariya* and of the *anuparihāriya*; the latter helps exclusively in obtaining correct conduct, the former in perfecting knowledge and faith. Unresolved points. Comparison with various Buddhist and Brahmanic penances.

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## FOREWORD

The majority of the communities in India encouraged their members to "purify themselves", to "purge themselves" of their transgressions. Whether Brahmanic, Buddhist or Jaina, scholars and books proclaim the need for periodic "atonements", which on the whole present striking analogies from one group to another.

In fact, these *prāyaścittas*, or rather the elements of which they are composed, were related in origin and underwent similar influences. These atonements were complex, and elaborated in harmony with the customs and beliefs peculiar to each society.

The Jaina monks class them in the first rank of the six "inner asceses"; to these are added the six "outer asceses". The aim of all these penances is to effect a more rapid elimination of the *karman* which the being may have stored up; whereas, conversely, practice of *saṃvara* "stops" all new "influx" of deeds. As a result of these efforts, the believer manages to free himself.

Yet the monk does not undergo atonement indiscriminately; he goes to the appropriate superior, who will decide upon the penance most suitable, bearing in mind the age and religious status of the wrongdoer, his physical, intellectual and moral capacities, his zeal and his responsibility; in short, all the circumstances of the offence.

Before studying the *prāyaścittas*, therefore, it will be appropriate to review in some detail how the monastic society is organised. It has often been described. It has a very strong hierarchical system, and is directed by a number of ministers of whom the principal ones are well-known. The precise role of the others is not altogether clear. All are obeyed and venerated; their mission is to help their flock along the path of deliverance.

As for the ordinary monks, the commentaries distinguish numerous types, dividing them into many categories. Several of them will undoubtedly appear to be purely scholastic. Nevertheless (and in spite of the gaps in our sources and the confused picture they consequently provide), it has seemed useful to mention them and to define them; on more than one occasion, it is true, they seem to have been conceived in relation to the *prāyaścittas*, the arrangement of which can consequently be recognised and understood more easily.

Naturally, I owe a great deal to my predecessors and teachers; I regret that it is impossible, here, to mention, by name personally, all those



# **INTRODUCTION**



## INTRODUCTION

p. 11

### 1. GENERAL REMARKS : LIMITS OF THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF THE JAINA RELIGION

From the 7th to the 5th centuries B.C., important changes had occurred in Northern India.

Some, of a political nature, following the "eastward march of Brahmanic civilisation", were perhaps favoured by Indian contacts with the Achæmenides<sup>1</sup>. More or less centralised kingdoms gradually supplanted various oligarchies, although, here and there, and for a long while to come, ancient clans (such as the Licchavi) continued to wield power. Their organisation has been described as "republican", and even "democratic". It is said to have inspired that of the Bauddha and Jaina communities, which were in fact founded or renewed by oriental princes of the time, Gotama the Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.<sup>2</sup>

The expansion of Iran and the discovery of iron in Southern Bihār modified economic condition; trade began to flourish, and the use of money spread fairly quickly.<sup>3</sup>

Social upheaval was the natural consequence, but our information on this subject is scarce. Stress has been laid on the disintegration of tribal organisation and the resulting instability and unease.<sup>4</sup> These are hypotheses, albeit plausible ones, but they cannot be given as established facts, as A. L. Basham very rightly emphasises. (*Sources of Indian Tradition*, 39ff.)

1. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens*, 207 ff.; A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that was India*, 47.
2. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, 60; OLDENBERG, *Ancient India* ch. III, 1; LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Indo-Européens* 226 ff.; *Inde classique* §§ 371; 390; BASHAM, *Wonder* 96 f.; S. DUTT, *Early Buddhist Monachism* 114 f. quoting K. P. JAYASWAL; R. K. MOOKERJI, *Hindu Civilization* 200; 204; 209. A. K. WARDER, *On the relationships between Early Buddhism and other contemporary systems*, *BSOAS*, 18, 1956, 43-63; LAMOTTE, *Histoire I*, 10 f.; cf. MAX WEBER, *The Religion of India* 90; Ch. DRECKMEIER, *Kingship and Community in Early India* 94 f.; 112 f.; see *infra* 19; NAND KISHORE PRASAD, *The democratic attitude of the Buddha*, *JOIB* 12, 3, 1963, 299-310.
3. BASHAM, *Wonder*, 47; 220 ff.; 225; Ch. DRECKMEIER, *ibid.*; 35; B. R. SUBRAHMANYAN, *Appearance and Spread of Iron in India*, *JOIB* 13, 4, 1964, 349-357.
4. A. K. WARDER, *ibid.*; Ch. DRECKMEIER, *ibid.*; 95; 283; cf. Gordon CHILDE, *What happened in History* (1942), 187 ff.

p. 12 There were at that time in India, and had been for many years perhaps, forest hermits,<sup>1</sup> wandering ascetics, and also thinkers and reformers, whose names have occasionally come down to posterity; these include the six masters whom the Buddhists quote to denounce their errors, and amongst whom are Mahāvira himself and the leader of the Ājivika group, Makkhali Gosāla.<sup>2</sup> Among the Brahmanic scholars, Yājñavalkya is one of the most famous.

During the 6th-7th centuries B. C., a period of intellectual ferment, there is also a tendency both to organise religious movements, and to give order to philosophical speculation.<sup>3</sup> The strong personalities of the day tended to attract a following of disciples and emulators. Of these gatherings, at least two were to become communities: that of the Buddhists, with its seemingly looser structure, and that of the Jainas which, theoretically at least, is strictly hierarchical. Today, after centuries of existence, they may well be very different from one another, but everything leads us to believe that, at the time they were being formed, they had many common features.<sup>4</sup>

\*

\*      \*

Their promoters, near contemporaries, and both born in Northern Bihār, belonged to the same society, being sons of Chiefs of Kṣatriya clans. Imbued with the same fundamental ideas, they were to address their preaching to their equals.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in many respects, their positions were identical. In all probability, it is true that their families were not of the same belief, and that their upbringing and personal experience seem to have carried them away from each other rather than to have brought them closer. Gotama

p. 13 left his palace as a young man to study with two masters who were at the time in great renown; disappointed by their teaching, he was to continue his spiritual quest alone, and finally awaken to the truth. The parents of Vardhamāna, on the other hand, are thought to have been followers of Pārśva, the twenty-third Saviour of the Jainas, the same Pārśva whose teaching Mahāvira was later to reform, after renouncing the world and living the life of an ascetic for a long time. Moreover, the Buddha is said to have been affable by nature, whereas his rival is believed to have been taciturn

1. GONDA, *Religionen*, I, 199; 283 ff.; *Inde classique*, §§ 2237 ff.; L. RENOU, *Hinduism* 47 f.; LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, 58, *ubi alia*; B. C. LAW, *Early Indian Monasteries*.

2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 47 ff.; A. L. BASHAM, *History and doctrines of the Ājivikas*, ch. I; II; MALALASEKERA I, p. 238 s. v. *Ājivakā*; II, p. 398, s. v. *Makkhali-Gosāla*; GONDA, *Religionen* I, 286, *ubi alia*.

3. GONDA, *ibid.*, 262; A. K. WARDER, *ibid.*

4. Cf. L. RENOU, *Religions of Ancient India*, 126; A. N. UPADHYE, *Mahāvira and his philosophy of life*.

5. JACOBI, *SBE*, 22, xxx f.; *Lehre* § 19; GLASENAPP, *Nachwort ad* OLDENBERG, *Buddha*<sup>13</sup> 470.



and reserved.<sup>1</sup> But the two heterodox sages are, for all this, very much sons of their time.<sup>2</sup>

Hence when scholars have interested themselves in Buddhism and Jainism, not only have they studied the specific features of each of the two systems, but also have very often attempted to analyse the extent to which they are similar.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, the likenesses between the two doctrines are many and striking, but it is rather rare to come across points of identification which can be followed up in any detail. Even when the notions and preoccupations are adjacent or parallel, their expression or their outward form are very often divergent.

Yet the similarities were at first sight so striking, that the initial independence of the two movements, (which Jacobi was to demonstrate so brilliantly) was denied.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean that comparisons are not acceptable, but it has to be recognised that they have their limitations, which, moreover, differ from one point to another. Some of the facts to which authors have drawn our attention may be recalled here for memory's sake.

Warder has drawn up a list of thirty-five Pāli terms whose Ardhamāgadhī equivalents have a very similar technical sense amongst the Jainas (and, he claims, amongst the Ājīvikas). If it is true that they are more abstract for the Buddhists, and for the others more material, their values are not exactly equivalent (*BSOAS*, 18, 1956, 49, n. 2); but close comparison of the two should enable us to reconstruct the "proto-Ājīvaka terminology." Jacobi pointed out at an early date that the common epithets and titles *jina*, *arhat*, *sarvajña...buddha* etc., have different uses (*SBE*, 22, Intr. p. 14 XIX). Conversely, A. N. Upadhye has shown that, taking into account certain peculiarities, different terms, though still comparable, can express very similar notions : thus he draws a parallel between the Jaina *anuprekṣās*, "reflections", and the Buddhist *anussatis* (*anusmṛti*).<sup>5</sup> In his study of the concept of morality in Buddhism and Jainism, B. C. Law emphasised that the two doctrines considered true knowledge and pure conduct as essential; and yet that the Buddhists lay more stress on the positive aspect of virtues, whereas the Jainas more commonly encourage abstinence from evil.<sup>6</sup> Further,

1. E. LEUMANN, *Buddha und Mahāvīra*, 28; also GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, 26, and *Lehre*, § 20, note 2, p. 31.

2. GLASENAPP, *Von Buddha zu Gandhi*, 16; BASAK, *Buddha and Buddhism*, p. 104.

3. RENOU, *Religions* 111 ff.; cf. *Lehre* §§ 6; 10; but CHARPENTIER, *CHI* 1, 161.

4. *Kalpasūtra*, Intr. 1 ff.; *SBE* 22, Intr. xix ff.; cf. *Lehre* § 3.

5. *Some parallel thoughts of Jaina Anuprekṣās*, *JOIB* 9, 1960, 419-21, *Svāmi-Kumāra's Kārttikeyānuprekṣā (Kattigeyānupekṣhā)*, p. 40 ff.;

6. *The concept of morality in Buddhism and Jainism*, *JASB* 34-35, 1959-60, p. 1-21. — The same themes are discussed, but with variants and the necessary adaptations; cf.

over the centuries, exchanges have inevitably taken place between the two movements (Cf. R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, XXIII) : Lüders notes cross-usage in the application of titles (*Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 50). D. B. Diskalkar points out the borrowing of a Buddhist *dhāraṇī* by the Jainas.<sup>1</sup>

The ethics of the two ideologies are expressed in the rules of discipline imposed upon the monks of each group. Here too, it has been possible to compare the name and manners of application of certain of the penances prescribed to transgressors : yet neither the former nor the latter are absolutely identical.<sup>2</sup>

The practice of confession is of prime importance, and follows strict rules in both communities; but this action is referred to by the verb *paṭideseti*, *pratidesayati* in Pā. and BHS; by *āloei*, *ālocayate* in Amg. and Jaina Skr. The name of the transgression denounced by the Buddhist by "turning away from it" (*paṭidesanīya*) has, it is true, been compared to that of the ceremony in which the Jaina publicly owns his misdeeds before continuing along the straight path (*paḍikkamaṇa*, *pratikramaṇa*, cf. Renou, *Religions*, 128) : but this time it is the ritual which is different.

p. 15 The existence of so many clear analogies between Jinism and Buddhism is obviously extremely valuable, for our knowledge is often fragmentary; the traditions to which we refer frequently proceed by allusion, and presuppose a knowledge of facts which escape us. When our information on one of the heterodox communities is incomplete, therefore, we may justifiably rely on facts observed in the other, in order to attempt a comprehensive reconstitution of their past.<sup>3</sup> For instance, the fact that Mahāvira taught a metaphysical system seems to Glasenapp an important argument among those which lead him to accept that the doctrine of the Buddha too was based on explicit metaphysics (*Hat Buddha ein metaphysisches System gelehrt*)<sup>4</sup>. One must nevertheless be extremely cautious; for, even when the Buddhist and Jaina practices and conceptions do probably have the same origins,

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Seiren MATSUNAMI, *Buddhistic Variants of two Portions of the Isibhāsiyāṃ*, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* IX, 2, 1961, 16-23.

1. *Studies in Jain inscriptions*, *JOIB* 9, 1959 (23-31), 30. Compare P. S. JAINI, *Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī : A Buddhist work in use among the Jainas of Gujarat*, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, 1968, I p. 30-45.
2. Cf. W. SCHUBRING, K., *Intr.*, p. 12 f.; S. LÉVI, *Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme*, *JA* X 20, 1912 (495-514), 505 f. E. J. THOMAS, *Prepālī terms in the Pātimokkha*, *Fest. Winternitz* 161-166; on the subject of this ceremony, compare, I. B. HORNER, *SBB* XIV, 131, n. 2, referring to RHYS DAVIDS, *ERE*, s. v. *Pātimokkha*. Cf., *On Saṃlekhaṇā or Suspension of Aliment*, N. TATIA, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, I 139-142.
3. GLASENAPP, *Jaina-Buddhist parallels as an auxiliary to the elucidation of early Buddhism*, *Belvalkar Felicitation Volume* 196-201; *Von Buddha zu Gandhi*, 103-110.
4. *Festgabe für Herman Lommel* 235-240; *Von Buddha zu Gandhi* 38-46.

it is very often difficult to discover the precise relationship which links them (cf. H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, 205-208).

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And yet, other evidence leads us in a different direction. Some customs to be found with slight variations among the Buddhists and the Jainas are also observed by Brahmanic ascetics. Continuing the studies begun by Weber and Windisch, Jacobi examined the vows pronounced respectively by one and the other as follows. Let us restrict ourselves to the five principal ones : the fifth great vow of the Jainas is more comprehensive than its Buddhist counterpart; and each of the two heterodox communities states the first four in a different order, the order of the Jainas conforming to that of the Brahmanic ascetics (*SBE*, 22, p. XXII ff.). In order to explain the fact that there is conjointly such a strong overall resemblance and a few differences in detail, one is led to admit that, prior to the 6th century, there existed a pan-Indian code of ascetism, which both *śaṃnyāsins* and *bhikkus* fashioned and adapted to their views.<sup>1</sup> Conforming to practices which are well-established in Brahmanic society, they honoured their masters and spiritual preceptors : the Buddhists conferred upon the *upādhyāya* the superiority that the Brahmanists, and the Jainas, following their example, reserved for the *ācārya* (Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, I, note 2 for page 178). On the whole, both Buddhism and Jainism reflect the customs, preoccupations and methods of the milieu in which they flourished.<sup>2</sup>

The documents that have come down to us lead us to believe that the problem of deliverance dominated all speculations, and that the doctrines generally received in Bihār were of a pluralist tendency.<sup>3</sup> Like the *Upaniṣads*, the heterodox communities sought salvation by way of gnosis.<sup>4</sup> In differing degrees, they admit the necessity of asceticism,<sup>5</sup> and practise yoga.<sup>6</sup> They hold

1. *Lehre*, § 172; RENOUE, *Religions* 126; cf. Adris BANERJI, *Origins of Jain Practices*, JOIB I, 1952, 308-316; *SBB* X, Intr. xxvii.

2. CHARPENTIER, *CHI* I, 161; RENOUE, *ibid.*, 132; *Lehre* § 8; with reference to JACOBI, *SBE* 45, xxxii. But see K. C. SOGANI, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism* 11-13, *ubi alia*.

3. STCHERBATSKY, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, BSOAS VI, 1930-32, (867-96), 871; GLASENAPP, *Nachwort ad* OLDENBERG, *Buddha*<sup>18</sup> 497; *Von Buddha zu Gandhi* 106.

4. *Lehre* § 6; STCHERBATSKY, *ibid.*, 884 f.; BASHAM, *Sources of Indian Tradition* 41. Concerning contacts between the *Upaniṣads* and, for instance, the tenets of later works, such as, Śrī Yogīndradeva's *Paramātmaprakāśa*, cf. A. N. UPADHYE's edition of this treatise, and its review by L. RENOUE, *JA* 249, 1, 1961, p. 92.

5. GONDA, *Religionen* I, 212; *Lehre* § 18.

6. GROUSSET, *Les philosophies indiennes* I, 40; FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* I 170 f.; RENOUE, *Religions* 125; GONDA, *Religionen* I, 204; FILLIOZAT, *Les origines d'une technique mystique indienne*, *Revue Philosophique*, 1946, 208-220; ELIADE, *Le yoga*; J. W. HAUSER, *Der Yoga* 161 ff.; 165 f.; 182; I. H. JHAVERI,

that passion, ignorance etc., are sorts of substances having material reality, a theory which will be elaborated later<sup>1</sup> : in that case, sin would leave an actual stain, which must be "washed away", "cleaned". To this effect, all Indians make use of "atonements", which are classified in minute detail (*prāyaścitti*, then *-citta*)<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the notions of transgression and atonement are known to have been extensively revised after the Vedic period<sup>3</sup>; the accepted expressions for describing these operations have persisted however, and where necessary, have been used metaphorically (*infra*, p. 30). The importance of the *prāyaścittas* is such that this subject constitutes one of

p. 17 the three which are the main themes of the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras*. In a more general way, attention has been drawn to the influence of expiatory theories on the legislation and the norms of Indian society.<sup>4</sup> The Buddhists, for their part, at a very early stage drew up the regulations of *prātimokṣa*, the solemn recitation of which constantly played a considerable role, and which was further reinforced by "disciplinary acts"<sup>5</sup>. We shall see that the infractions of the Jaina monk called for comparable remedies, which were similarly listed and classified.

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Thus, scholars could not confine themselves to comparing the conceptions of the Buddhists and the Jainas. They were also struck by the many similarities between these conceptions and the primitive beliefs and the *Sāṃkhya*<sup>6</sup>; by the constant analogies with Hinduism<sup>7</sup>; and by the connections with Kṛṣṇaism<sup>8</sup>.

There were also many links with Vedism : Mahāvira bears the Vedic epithet of Vardhamāna<sup>9</sup>. Sylvain Lévi noted that both the Buddha and the

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*The Jain concept of saṃvara and the Pātañjala concept of yoga*, JOIB 10, 1961, 297-300; CONZE, *Buddhist Thought in India* 17, and its review by M. SCALIGERO, in *East and West* 13, 1962, 392.

1. GLASENAPP, *Von Buddha zu Gandhi* 106.
2. On the formation of the noun, A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes* II §§ 750-756, with bibliography; more recently, L. RENO, *JA* 253, 2, 1965 p. 281 n. 1, (quoting GAMPERT, *Sīlmezeremonien*, 28, GONDA, *Religionen*, I 293), but preferring "thought (directed towards the sign) plus".
3. STENZLER, *On the Hindu Doctrine of Expiation*, OC, 1874, (205-212), 206 ff.; GAMPERT, *Sīlmezeremonien*, 200 ff.; RENO, *Inde classique* § 1246; ROHDE, *Deliver us from Evil*, 161 ff.; H. Daniel SMITH, *Prāyaścitta in the Canonical Works of the Pancarātrāgama, Brahmanvidyā, The Adyar Libr. Bull.* 30, 1-4. 1966, 23-43.
4. RENO, *Inde classique* § 1243; *Civilisation* § 38; A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes* II § 750.
5. LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, 60; *Inde classique* §§ 2376-2377.
6. *Lehre* § 6.
7. *Doctrine* § 11; R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* xxxii ff.; compare DUBOIS, *Inde* II, 516.
8. JACOBI, *SBE* 22.xxxi n. 2; *Lehre* §§ 16; 13; 17; RENO, *Religions* 112 f.; 114 f.; Further compare D. S. RUEGG, *Sur les rapports entre le bouddhisme et le "substrat religieux" indien et tibétain*, *JA* 252, 1, 1964, 77-95, *ubi alia* (especially n. 9 ff.).
9. L. RENO, *ibid*, 115; Amg. Vaddhamāna, for which see *Lehre* § 17.

Jina had as their immediate precursor "the Vedic 'seer' who merely by his outstanding intellect discovers the rite or the formula which guarantees success"; that conversely, similar ideas were expressed by the same set expressions (*buddha*, *arhat*) in the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* and among the heterodox communities<sup>1</sup>. A. K. Coomaraswamy drew many parallels and stressed that in many cases, the Vedic and Buddhist Scriptures presented different aspects of the same thought<sup>2</sup>. Better still, E. Frauwallner was able to show that it was Vedic models that determined the form of the oldest extracts of the Buddhists' *Vinaya*<sup>3</sup>; W. Schubring asks if the name of *aṅga* given by the Jaina to the teaching of Mahāvira might not have been suggested by that of the *vedāṅga* (*Lehre* § 37); and, recently, studying "the genre of the *Sūtra* in Sanskrit literature", L. Renou showed the links between the Bauddha and Jaina *sūtras* and "the ancient hieratic literature", and also their links with the tradition of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*<sup>4</sup>.

The customs and conceptions bequeathed by a very complex past were therefore adapted to the specific conditions of new groups and new times<sup>5</sup>. This could obviously be proved, for the concepts of 'connection' in Vedic, 'cause' in Buddhist<sup>6</sup>; and again by the practice of the *upavasathā*, in Vedic initially "vigil", and later "fast", especially during the syzygies, which becomes one of the very great ceremonies celebrated by the heterodox communities (Pā. (*u*)*posatha*, BHS (*u*)*posadha*, Amg. *posaha*). It continues to be held

1. *Doctrine du sacrifice*, Intr. 11.

2. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 56 and n. 186; 67 f.

3. *The Earliest Vinaya*, 64; referring to S. LÉVI, *Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques*, JA XI 5, 1915 (401-447), p. 441. In 1913, M. WINTERNITZ'S *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* had drawn attention to the links between the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Vinaya*-texts II, 1, 26.— Cf. also LAMOTTE' *Histoire* I, 627, referring to L. RENOU, *Inde classique*, I, p. 76-77.

4. *Sur le genre du sūtra dans la littérature sanskrite*, JA 251, 1963 (165-216), p. 173 f.; as well as notes 44 to 48 (with *addenda*) and 176.

5. Cf. RENOU, *Religions*, 46. On the subject of all these facts, one can compare what La Vallée Poussin says about the philosophy of canonical Buddhism (*Abhidharmakośa*, Introduction p. XII f.): "It would be quite inaccurate to say that we do not know the philosophy of canonical Buddhism; we know the essentials, the principles and the general themes, and many details. The history of this philosophy (.....) is less clear".

"It may be thought (.....) that we know no part of it completely, because we have such imperfect knowledge of the scholasticism which must have enriched it (.....); this, moreover, must, by its methods and its tendencies, be very similar to the early speculation from which canonical philosophy itself has developed. This philosophy is composed of the ancient layers of a speculation which has continued in scholasticism proper—both Pāli and Sanskrit.

6. L. RENOU, K. C. Kunham *Raja Presentation Volume*, 55-60.— On the contrary, other scholars stress the differences between brahmanism and shramanism; cf. K. C. SOGANI, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, 12-13, *ubi alia*, J. A. 2

more especially on days when the moon is full or new; the same discussions concerning the choice between the fourteenth and fifteenth day continue amongst them all; but its object and its procedure are totally renewed (Renou, *Religions* 127; *Le jeûne du créancier dans l'Inde ancienne*. Additional note JA 234, 1943-45, 124-130; *infra* 158).

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p. 19 Again, given the same general conditions and the same facts, as a consequence the same rules were likely to appear. In order to perfect their knowledge and their conduct, both Jaina and Brahmanic students could be temporarily admitted to a group or school to which they were alien. Lack of scruples was a common occurrence: in both societies, therefore, those who change their company too often (Amg. *gāṇaṃgaṇiṇi*), those who are motivated by greed, laziness etc., are fustigated (V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, 248 ff.; cf. *Vav T*, II 22a-24a).

On the whole, it is natural and frequent for rules of religious communities or of any closed community at all to reflect the general conditions of the society in which they have developed (cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India*, 428).

The spiritual bond (*vidyā-saṃbandha*) which exists between the Brahmanic student and his master is considered no less real than the bond of parentage (*yoni-s.*): the disciple derives his name from that of the *ācārya*, etc., (id., *ibid.*, 282 ff., referring to Pāṇini IV, 3, 77; VI, 2, 36; 104; *AV* XI, 5, 3). Similarly, the Jaina monk is represented as a "son" in relation to the master whose orders he obeys; a "grandson" in relation to the *mūl'ācārya*; he is surrounded by a group whose members constitute his family relations (*infra* 37). The nun is the "sister" of the man who takes his orders from the same *guru*, etc. And so certain transgressions are compared to incest – a comparison which is also encountered among the Hindus. (*Vav T* IV, 52b-53 a; Renou, *Civilisation* § 35). The status of the nun reflects the social condition of woman, who is always dependent (Manu V, 147 ff., IX, 3 ff.). This principle is constantly reaffirmed by the *smṛti*, and is adopted unconditionally by the Jains and the Buddhists; the result is that, whatever her seniority, the nun is always inferior in rank to the monk. (cf. *Vav*, 3, 12; *T* IV' 49b-50a; *Vin* II, 255; 257; 268; cf. IV, 52; Lamotte I, 63).

It has often been stressed that the organisation of the Buddhist and Jaina communities is apparently parallel with that of the political societies with which they were contemporary; at any rate, they are made up of units which bear exactly the same names; *kula* "family", *gaṇa* "flock", *saṃgha* "community" (Renou, *Civilisation* § 48; Agrawala, *ibid*, 426 ff.) It will also be apparent that the choice of a religious superior among the

Jainas is carried out in precisely the same way as that of a king<sup>1</sup>. The same virtues are required from both, and their effects, both soteriological and political, are exactly comparable (*Vav T* IV' 18 a; 44a). Before dying or resigning, both are theoretically obliged to make provision for their succession (*Vav T* ad 2, 26); in each case, their death is not mentioned as far as possible until their successor has been installed (*Vav Bh* 3, 223 ff). Even today, the title of *mahārāj* is given to Jaina *ācāryas*.

In the same way, U. N. Ghoshal has been able to draw parallels between the principles of government accepted by various Buddhist *Jātakas* and by the *Arthaśāstra* (*History of Indian Political Ideas* 73 ff).

In these conditions, it is not at all surprising that the Law Tribunal among the Jaina should, on the whole, operate according to the same rules as that of the king. The sentences of the religious teachers and those of the civil magistrates are often given as symmetrical, and the commentaries constantly stress the analogies between the two : one might say that they were two facets of the same reality.

There is no point in expatiating at this point on the similarity or the common roots of artistic inspiration, whose monuments are of relatively recent date.

Several scholars have pointed out, and in some cases studied, the recurrence of the same themes and the same stories, for example in the fairly ancient ballads of the Jaina *Uttarajjhāyā*, in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, and again in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*<sup>2</sup>. Later, the epic poems of the Jainas were to a very great extent to take their inspiration from the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>3</sup>.

Better still : in the field of the plastic arts, scholars have been unanimous in showing that the art of ancient India was not sectarian, Archite-

1. Compare BHAMVARLĀL NĀHTĀ'S remarks in *Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalyaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I (Hindi p. 49).
2. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II 466-470; *The Jaina in the History of Indian Literature*, 4-9; J. C. JAIN, *Life in Ancient India*...34-35 and n. 12 (*ubi alia*) and 13; Ernst LEUMANN, *Beziehungen der Jaina-Literatur zu andern Literaturkreisen Indiens*, OC 6, 469-564; CHARPENTIER, *Studien über die indische Erzählliteratur*, ZDMG 63, 1909, 171-188; ALSDORF, *Vāntam āpātum*, *Chatterji Jubilee Volume = Indian Linguistics* 16, 21-28; *The Story of Citta and Saṃbhāta*, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar *Felicitation Volume*, 201-208; *Namipavvajjā : Contributions to the study of a Jain canonical legend*, *Indological Studies in honor of W. Norman Brown*, 8-17; compare U. J. SANDESARA, *Some parallels between the Mbh. and the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, ABORI 36, 1955, 167-171.
3. V. M. KULKARNI, 'Rāmāyaṇa' in *Jaina Literature; The origin and development of the Rāma story in Jaina Literature*, JOIB 9, 1959, 189-204.— Further, see L. ALSDORF *Harivaṃśapurāṇa ... von Puṣpadanta*, particularly Abhandlung, 2.; Klaus BRUHN'S Introduction (II) (with a "bibliographical survey of comparative studies in the Universal History of the Jaina", p. 26-27), in *Cauppannamahāpurisacarīyam* by Śrī Śīlāṅka (ed. A. M. BHOJAK, Prakrit Text Society, 3).

ecture (with the *stūpa*), statuary (such as that of the *yakṣas*), symbolism (for example, the *triratna*) are similar particularly amongst the Buddhists and the Jainas. They undoubtedly conformed to the models most commonly in vogue, and they could have been produced by the same artists : their prototypes probably date back to distant origins<sup>1</sup>. Thus, despite their distinctive character, the Jainas did not lose contact with the life of their time, any more than did the Buddhists. They are even very much aware of these links : scholasticism generally – and in our opinion sometimes erroneously – distinguishes between the “worldly” causes and the “religious” causes of such and such a phenomenon (cf. *ad Vav* 2, 9 ff.). The comparisons advanced by the Jaina masters, to prove to their flock that the customs which held sway in the community were well founded, constantly refer to the practices and legislation of the world outside<sup>2</sup>.

B. J. Sandesara has rightly stressed that there was a constant osmosis taking place between Jinism and the surrounding milieu<sup>3</sup>. How could this fail to happen ? All the communities, living in the same period and in the same country, underwent the same influences. The reformers could hardly prevent it; they therefore tolerated it, provided that it did not interfere with their action, and were even willing to recommend the application to the Law, of any rule borrowed from secular life (*Uttarajjhāyā* 7, 14 ff.) :

*vavahāre uvamā esā evaṃ dhamme viyāṇaha* (*ibid* 15)

Under the circumstances, it seems useful, of course, to point out on occasion the analogies, the coincidences or the divergencies which may be noticed between the ways and customs of the Jainas and those of the Buddhists or the Brahmanic circles, when they are clear. But it would be erroneous to lay too much stress upon them, and to be obliged to make systematic and exhaustive comparisons. In the present state of our knowledge, priority should be given to the investigation of facts.

That is why, when, in the second part, I study the principles of Jaina procedure as revealed by the *Vavahāra* and its commentaries, I limit my references to a few works; moreover, any concordances which may be required can be found without much difficulty. The works to which I shall refer are : the Pāli *Vinaya* (almost all monastic rules are common to the different

1. Cf J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN DE LEEUW, *The 'Scythian' Period*, 150 ff.; who quotes, among others BÜHLER, *EI* 2, 1894, 311–323; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 13, and the review by W. N. BROWN, in *JAOS* 57, 1937, 115–117; Willibald KIRFEL, *Symbolik des Buddhismus*, 7; also H. ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, 208; *Mythen und Symbole indischer Kunst und Kultur*, p. 73; RENOU, *Religions*, 113.

2. Similarly Aśoka had called the attention of his subjects to both this world and the next.

3. *Progress of Prakrit and Jaina Studies*, *JOIB*, 9, 1959, (152–187), 186 f.



- p. 22 Buddhist sects<sup>1</sup>; the *Mānavadharmasāstra*; the *Arthaśāstra*. As for more recent studies and works, Gampert's *Sühnezezeremonien* and, naturally, P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* will be those most often quoted.

## 2—THE TEXTS

The Jaina śvetāmbaras, while in theory founding the religious procedure on five principles, in effect keep as the bases of their codes the second, *su(y)a* (*śruta*) and the fifth, *jī(y)a* (*jīta*), in other words religious Tradition and custom. From the latter comes the *Jīyakappa*, from the former come the *Kappa*, *Vavahāra*, and *Nisītha-sutta* (cf. Leumann, *Jīta* 1196, with reference to *Vavahāra Bhāsa* 10, 690 ff.). They belong to the group of the *cheya-suttas*, which, perhaps, are specially studied by monks having incurred the “(partial) forfeiture” of their religious seniority, *che(y)a* (*Lehre* §§ 51; 52; *IA* 39, 260; *infra* 200).

The present analysis will deal with the atonements which are connected with the Tradition. Their principles are, for the most part, expounded in the first three lessons of the *Vavahāra-sutta* (which form the first “section,” *khaṇḍa*, of this treatise) and in the commentaries relating to them. Two of the latter, the *bhāsa* (*Bh*), and the *ṭīkā* of Malayagiri (*T*), have survived (*infra*). In the absence of *T*, it would often be very difficult to understand the *sutta* and the *bhāsa*, and virtually impossible to give any real interpretation to the words. We shall see later that the tradition described by the commentaries may be considered to be, on the whole, authentic. The least study must, therefore, involve constant reference to it, and on occasion an account of the explanations provided by *T*, which obviously follows school courses. For this reason, it has seemed advisable not to confine the present chapter to a mere catalogue of the texts dealing with atonements: some of the procedures which are most favoured by the commentaries will be examined briefly; at any rate, they play an important part in the arguments of the Jinas. The other communities in India use comparable pedagogic devices, inspired by almost identical circumstances.

- p. 23 The objects of the *Kappa* and *Vavahāra-sutta* are not very different: both lay down the rules of monastic life; *K* is more interested in general arrangements; *Vav* goes into a greater number of details (Schubring, *Vav* p. 5 ff., *Lehre* § 51). The introduction (*pūṭhikā*) to the commentaries of the *Vav* foresees the risk of the pupil's being shocked because the two treatises resemble each other so closely:

*kappammi vi pacchittam vavahārammi vi tak' eva pacchittam  
kappa-vvavahārāṇam ko nu viseso tti coci (Vav Pūṭh Bh 152):*

1. FRAUWALLNER, *The Earliest Vinaya*, 2; cf. LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, 181.

Any monk who, as a result of a transgression, comes under the jurisdiction of the *Vavahāra*, comes at the same time under the jurisdiction of the *Kappa* :

*jo avitaha vavahārī so nīyamā vaṭṭae u kappammi*  
*iya bahu natthi viseso ajjhayaṇāṇaṃ duveṇhaṃ pi (ibid 153).*

But after this concession to an imaginary opponent, the master states that each code is specialised : the *kappa* is said to be theoretical, the *Vavahāra* practical :

*avisesiyaṃ ca kappe ihaṃ tu vīsesiyaṃ imaṃ cauḥā*  
*paḍisevaṇa saṃjoyaṇa ārovaṇa kuñciyaṃ ceva (ibid 155).*

The *Kappa-sutta* confines itself to dictating, to some extent in abstract terms, the obligation to submit oneself, where necessary, to a *pāyacchitta*. The *Vavahāra* considers the application of this principal, in other words the actual “granting” of the atonement (*dāna*). *Bh T* distinguish four varieties of atonement, according to the circumstances of the offence : sometimes, it is isolated (*pratisevanā-prāyaścitta*); sometimes it is “combined” with others (*saṃyojanā*), when it is felt advisable to propose a “supplementary” penance (*āropaṇā*); finally, it was sometimes dissimulated in various ways (*pratikuñcanā*).<sup>1</sup> Further, the *Vav* is concerned with adapting the atonement to the capacities and rank of the individual who is to undergo it: *tathā kalpādhyayane prāyaścittārlhā puruṣa-jātā na bhaṇitā iha tu bhaṇitā iti mahān viśeṣaḥ* (*Vav Piṭh T* 50b 6 ff. ; cf. *Bh* 159ff.). The result is that offences of equal gravity are expiated in varying degrees : *tulye py ābhavati prāyaścittie pṛthak...prāyaścittadānam* (*T* *ibid* 59a 6). Indeed, it seems that, in India, judges always gave great consideration to the circumstances of the transgression (*infra* 92).

p. 24

In the form that we know them – which is not the original one – the *K* and *Vav* are two of the oldest books of the śvetāmbara canon. They are, in fact, compilations of *suttas*, often linked by rather loose associations of ideas (cf. *Vav* p. 5 ff.). The *Kappa* is earlier than the *Vavahāra*; but the items of which it is composed do not all go back to the same period. An important criterion concerning their age and origin is provided, amongst other things, by the name given in them to the monk; first *niggantha*; later *bhikkhu*; the name of *samaṇa niggantha* seems to be current at first in the extracts which do not deal with discipline.

The *Nisīha-sutta* is very much later, and also subsequent to the “regulation for the rainy season”, the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* (*ibid*). The first twenty

1. Glossed *māyā*, *Vav Piṭh T* 47a 7.

*Kalpādhyayane ābhavat prāyaścittam uktam na tu dānam, iha tu dānam bhaṇitam iti viśeṣaḥ... (ibid 50b 5 ff.).*

*Vyavahārādhyayane punar idaṃ prāyaścittam...caturbhiḥ prakārair viśeṣitam. tān eva prakārān āha : pratisevanam saṃyojanam āropaṇam kuñcanam iti... (ibid 51b 6 f.)*

*suttas* of the *Vavahāra* (ed. Schubring) are to be found in the last lesson of the *Nisīha* (20, 1–20). Traditionally this treatise is considered to examine three objects : “The dejection”, “the absence of dejection” and “the increase” which contribute to modifying the amount of the atonement called *parihāra* (*ugghāya*, *aṇugghāya*, *ārovaṇā*; cf *Vav* p. 10). In fact, the major part of the work is a review of the transgressions which justify the *prāyaścitta* (1952 cases), which it briefly describes (cf. *Vav* T II 80b–81a). They last between one to four months, with or without “dejection” : lesson 1: cases of *parihāra* expiated by one month without dejections; lessons 2–5 : cases of *parihāra* expiated by one month with dejection; lessons 6–11 : cases of *parihāra* expiated by four months without dejection; lessons 12–19 : cases of *parihāra* expiated by four months with dejection.

It can be seen that the offences are classified according to the atonements that they entail. The same type of classification is adopted in the Buddhist *prātimokṣa* : Deo considers it unwieldy (*Jurisprudence* 54). Nevertheless, presented in this way, the *Nisīha* has a less disconnected appearance than the two treatises mentioned above.

The *Jīyakappa* is arranged according to the same principle : it claims to be a “summary” (*saṃkheva*, 1); it consists of a list of the ten atonements, and the transgressions from which they arise, in ascending order of gravity. It may be noted that it is the work of Jinabhadra alone (Leumann, 1195).

As they stand, these canonical texts, written in Ardha-māgadhī, would remain largely incomprehensible to us : for they use numerous technical words and expressions, and many allusive turns of phrase. They have been explained by a series of commentaries, at first in Prākṛit and later in Sanskrit

p. 25 (*Lehre* § 43; H. R. Kapadia, *The Jain Commentaries*, *ABORI*, 16, 1934–35, p. 292–312). The most ancient are the *nijjuttī* (\**nirvuyukti*) “analyses”, explained by their versified “commentaries” the *bhāṣas* (*bhāṣyas*) : that of *K* is due to Saṃghadāsa (*Lehre* § 51) : moreover, the teaching is “pulverised” in the *cunṇis* (*curnis*), that of the *K* being the work of Pralamba Sūri, that of the *Jīya* the work of Siddhasena Gaṇin. The stanzas of the *bhāṣas* (like those of the *nijjuttīs*) are very often cryptic : words are often merely juxtaposed, each signifying a particular commonplace, or a particular comparison which it is appropriate to develop at this stage in the exposition. The meaning would be lost to us but for the Prākṛit *cunṇis* and the Sanskrit exegeses (*ṭīkāś*, etc.), generally compiled well after the 8th century : those of the *K* and *Vav* were compiled by Malayagiri, in the 13th century (*Lehre* §§ 51; 43). These works are not, naturally, concerned with being original, with the result that analogous developments are to be found in one and the other.

The Sanskrit commentaries will, of course, be accused of being diffuse, repetitive, of lacking in critical spirit, or of being sometimes incomplete

by our own standards, as may be expected moreover from works intended for readers who were perfectly conversant with points of which we have no knowledge. Undoubtedly, the original value of certain Amg. terms, for which they propose dubious Sanskrit transpositions, has escaped them (*Lehre* § 43; cf. *rāṇiya*, *infra* 60 and note 2; *JA* 248, 1, 1960, 41 ff.; 249, 4, 1961, 497 ff.). However, allowing for this, they faithfully reported customs which were probably obsolete in their own time, and which tradition had no less faithfully transmitted to them. Held suspect by Barth, the Jaina tradition was, as we know, defended by Jacobi, and its authenticity was soon brilliantly proved by the archaeological discoveries in Mathurā<sup>1</sup>. Better still, E. Leumann demonstrated that the oldest Prakrit commentaries, *nijjuttis*, *bhāses*, are pure mnemonic plans which “sublimate” a Prakrit prose whose tenor was without doubt scarcely any different from that which the *cunṇis* have preserved for us (*Daśavaikālika-sūtra und-niryukti...*, *ZDMG* 46, 1892, 581-663, particularly 592; cf. *Lehre* § 43). His study, which long remained unrivalled, has been continued and completed by W. Schubring : *150 Strophen Niryukti. Ein Blick in die Jaina - Scholastik* (*Fest. Kirfel*, 297-319); also, recently, by L. Alsdorf (*oc* 28, 1971).<sup>2</sup>

p. 26

The Sanskrit commentaries which are of later date than the *ṭīkas* (*dīpikā*, “elucidation”) and the commentaries in modern languages—for example the Hindi commentary of the *Vav* compiled at Hyderabad in the 19th century—provide no information which is important for our purpose. It is therefore quite legitimate to look for an understanding of the most ancient canonical treatises in medieval commentaries. The Skr. of the *Ṭīkās*, which is also strewn with techical terms and acceptations, offers in addition certain peculiarities. Their language presents recent, dialectal features (B. J. Sandesara and J. P. Thaker, *Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit'* 1). It abounds in metaphorical and proverbial phrases. The same sincerity, it would seem, is detectable in the documents which they furnish concerning the monastic and secular life of their time.

Without the assistance of the *Vav* *Ṭ*, it was futile to try to discover the theory of atonements in the ancient Jaina ritual. In it are exposed the details of the atonement which is held to be the first : the *āloyaṇā*, “confession”, to which are closely linked “repentance” (*paḍikkamaṇa*) and the “mixed” atonement (*mīsa*). The same *Ṭ* provides information on the peculiar features of the *parihāra*, a singular atonement which is related, on the one hand, to the two most severe atonements, “destitution” and “exclusion”, and also to observances which are certainly of archaic character, in particular life “according to the rule of the Jina” (*jīṇa-kappa*).

1. G. BÜHLER, *On the authenticity of the Jaina tradition*, *WZKM* 1, 1887, 165-180; *Further proofs for the authenticity of the Jaina tradition*, *ibid* 3, 1889, 233-240; etc.; cf. *Lehre* p. 37, *ubi alia*.

2. See also A. M. GHATAGE, *The Daśavaikālika Niryukti*, *IHQ* 11, 1935, 627-639.

Thus, a great part of the information used in the present study is drawn from sections (*vibhāga*) II, III, IV, IV' of *Vav T* (on this subject, see page 221); they do not always agree with those summarily grouped together in the *Pūṭhikā* (*vibh.* I) which introduces them, the divergencies concerning the sixth atonement. Further, on the subject of repentance they had to be completed by the indications of the *Pakkhiya-sutta* (*Pākṣika-sūtra*), one of the ancient texts belonging to the *Āvassayanijjuttī* (*Lehre* § 55)<sup>1</sup>.

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p. 27 To enable us to appreciate more correctly the value of the documents at our disposal, it seems helpful at this point to list some of the methods of exposition used in the commentaries; they undoubtedly conform to the pedagogic procedure of the Jaina masters.

Some, many in fact, are purely scholastic and formal : they can be indicated briefly.

Jaina scholars, like the Indians in general, are reputed for their propensity for minute classification. It is very common for commentaries to analyse each fact or notion into what they consider to be constituent elements, to give these elements either a positive or negative sign, and to examine the result of the combinations achieved on this new basis. This procedure is encountered from the earliest canonical treatises onwards, for example in the course of the 10th lesson of the *Vav* (3-13). It is remarkable that the degree zero of these combinations is always stated and envisaged even if declared "void" or "vain" (*śūnya*) : for instance, when the distinction is made among scholars of canonical texts between the holder of the letter, *sūtra-dhara*, and the holder of the spirit, *artha-dhara*, four combinations result, the last of which (with its two negative elements) is obviously pointless :

1. On the other Jaina works to which I may have occasion to refer, see *Lehre* §§ 45-46; R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga*, pp. 1-31.

The texts and terms quoted in the present study will therefore be sometimes in Prākṛit (*Ardha-māgadhī* and Jaina *Māhārāṣṭrī*), sometimes in Sanskrit (in which case, I have followed the edition of *T*, which does not make a strict rule of systematically respecting the rules of external *saṃdhi*.)

The stanzas of the *bhāṣya* are generally composed in the *āryā* metre of recent type. One does meet a few *gītis*, and occasionally some *ślokas*. On the *āryā*, see JACOBI, *Ueber die Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit*, ZDMG, 38, 1884, (590-619), 595 ff.; *Zur Kenntnis der Āryā*, 40, 1886, 336-342; SCHUBRING *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 60; E. LEUMANN, *ZII* 7, 1929, 160-162; and, more recently, among others, VELANKAR, *Chando'nuṣāsana of Hemacandrasāri*, ALSDORF, *Itihā-parinnā, A Chapter of Jain monastic Poetry, edited as a Contribution to Indian Prosody III*, 2, 1958, 149-253; *Les études Jaina*, p. 54 ff.; *The Āryā Stanzas of the Uttara-jjhāyā...*, Abh. der Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akad. der Wiss. u. der Lit. in Main 1966, 2 p. 155-220.

1. *sūtra-dhara 'rtha-dharaḥ*; 2. *no sūtra-dhara 'rtha-dharaḥ*; 3. *sūtra-dhara no 'rtha dhara*; 4. *no sūtra-dhara nāpy artha-dharaḥ* (*T* IV' 35b-36a).

The commentators are, it seems, reluctant to admit that the *sūta* merely recapitulates by a general rule particular rules which have been previously stated (cf. *Vav* 1, 13 ff.): they then claim that a "combination" (*saṃyoga*) of *sūta* is implied. So, if we accept that the initial *sūtas* examined five cases, the combinations of *sūtas* exhaust the groupings of two, three, four or five of the said possibilities; and bring together successively 1+2, 1+3, 1+4, 1+5, then 1+2+3 and so on. In this way, and taking into account all the accompanying circumstances which may be introduced into the wording, the first sixteen *sūtas* of the *Vav* (ed. Schubring) finally imply "in brief", 8432 possibilities (*T* II 53b-56a).<sup>1</sup> The taste of the Jainas for mathematics has, in fact, been noted (*Lehre* § 21).

p. 28 Other developments are, for us at least, more pleasurable and more instructive. Certain of the rules formulated by the *sūtas* apparently need justifying. The objections that were no doubt held to be the most common were scrupulously recorded and refuted. They are put into the mouth of an imaginary contradictor (*codaka*), following a commonplace procedure in Indian argumentation, which makes the demonstration more lively (cf. Renou, *Terminologie*; s. v. *cud* - )<sup>2</sup>. This dissident element protests in particular against all appearances of injustice, even accuses the judges of partiality, and consequently rejects them (*nanu yūyaṃ na madhyasthā rāga-dveṣa-karaṇāt...na ca rāga-dveṣavantaḥ pareṣāṃ śodhim utpādayitum kṣamāḥ*, *T* II 47b-48a). To which the master (*sūri*) generally replies that atonements, like medicines, are adapted to the temperament of the patient : a malleable comparison, which permits the avoidance of contradictions : in fact, theoretically, the atonements grow in proportion to the merits and honours of the defaulter; it is only for robust temperaments that the prescription of energetic treatment is appropriate (cf. *T* III 7b-8a); but elsewhere it is admitted that the weak need remedies even more than the strong (*T* II 48a, *ad* 1, 7-12). Ultimately when the master has run out of arguments, he invokes the authority of the *sūtas* and the infallibility of their authors (II 48b-49a). He threatens his recalcitrant opponent with an increase of punishments in this world, and innumerable deaths in the course of transmigration. (*ibid* 52a-b).

The discussions between the master and pupil are not the only subjects that the commentaries recount for us. Sometimes they relate a public con-

1. See CAILLAT, in SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras*, p. 49 ff. See also the "permutations," LEUMANN, *Übersicht* 41 b.

2. Cf. RENOUE, *JA* 248, 2, 1960, 275-6, stressing that Ancient India's didactic literature is throughout engaged, so to say, in polemics and "tilt"—Compare the scheme of refutation, etc. summed up by Helmer SMITH, *Saddanṭi* p. 1129 (§ 5. 3, 2. 3).

trovery. Everything is indicated : the circumstances, the preparation for the debate, the general direction that it is fitting for it to take, the *captatio benevolentiae*.<sup>1</sup> The commentaries give a detailed account of the attacks, withdrawals, counter-attacks, stratagems, jokes, commonplaces, even the p. 29 proverbs and the formulae which are often metaphorical, that win over the audience and confuse the opponent<sup>2</sup> (cf. *Bh* 3, 295 ff., *ad* 3, 23-29). Real happenings very probably served as models for these plans (compare Schubring, *Studien* 6, p. 65 f.) : we know of these challenges, and public confrontations of, renowned sages, which were favoured by the Indian princes, whether it be Janaka, Harṣa, Jayasiṃha Siddharāja or Akbar.

Moreover, allegedly historical facts are sometimes evoked, sometimes related with a few details : they reinforce the argument and are advanced as matter for reflection (cf. the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, edited by Jacobi).

They are sometimes borrowed from religious chronicles; for instance the consolation addressed to the monk who was the brother of the former king Jitaśatru (who had been his superior in religion), on the death of the latter (*ad Vav* 2, 9, *T* IV, 28a-29a); or the difficulties of a contender at the sixth schism (*T* II 38a; cf. Leumann *ISi.* 17, 116-121; the conversion of "King Muṇḍa" (*Muṇḍa-rāyassa*) by the "milky" eloquence of the *āyariya* Khullagaṇi, (*T* IV' 32b-33a, *ad* 3, 3 ff.). The commentaries recall the royal displeasure unfortunately incurred by Vajrabhūti, a pastor who was not surrounded by disciples. The scene is at Bharukaccha, under Nahapāna. The litanies of the master have won the heart of Queen Padmāvati, and she wishes to visit him. On her arrival he goes out to fetch something to sit on. "Where is the *ācārya* Vajrabhūti?" she asks. "He has gone out," he replies; but her servant had recognised him. And the queen thinks: "Your reputation is worth more than the sight of you. Like the river Kaseru - its name is better than its water" (*T* IV' 74b-15a, *ad Vav* 3, 1).<sup>3</sup>

1. Any scholar passing through, when a verdict is contested, must fly to the assistance of the Law, without even taking time to clean himself up (*gantavva dhāli-jāṅghena*, *Vav Bh* 3, 302 a).

He will speak thus : "The *saṃgha* is most venerable, and I am merely a poor stranger here. I do not know the ways of the venerable *saṃgha*. And so the blessed will be kind enough to excuse my remarks. I am going to speak according to the teaching of the *sūtra*" :

*saṃgho mahā'ṇubhāgo ahaṃ ca vedesio ihaṃ bhayavaṃ;*

*saṃgha-samittiṃ na jāṇe, taṃ bhe savvaṃ khamāveṃi* (*Vav Bh* 3, 312)

2. Thus, when one challenges the sentence given by a judge suspected of appropriation of funds, one adds, as the case may be, that it smells of cooking-fat, sugar or a well-covered shelter :

*niddha-mahuraṃ nivāyaṃ,*

*aho snigdho vyavahāraḥ ... taila-ghṛt'ādi-saṃgrhītā evaṃ ete anyathā vyavaharanti* (*Bh* 3, 305 a; *T* IV' 65 a).

3. Cf. S. LÉVI, *Kaṇiṣka et Śātavāhana*, *JA* 228, 1936, (67-121), 71 f.

Other facts are borrowed from political history. For instance, the conquest of the two *Mathurās* by the armies of Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna. At the same time as he hears this news, the king learns that a son is born to him, and that in addition he has become the owner of a treasure. The result is a fit of exaltation, of which he would not have been cured but for the wisdom, self-control and devotion of his minister Kharaka (*T* IV 36a-37b, *ad Vav* 2, 10; cf. Lamotte, *Histoire* 1, 530). The best-known episode is undoubtedly the capture of Ujjainī by the Śakas at the instigation of Kālakācārya: the story is often mentioned by the Jainas, and is in turn exploited and contested by modern historians.<sup>1</sup>

p. 30 The Jaina scholars not only invited one to meditate upon the lessons of history. They were sensitive to the spectacle of the world, and sought to make the religious life understandable by means of various metaphors (*dṛṣṭānta*).

Moreover, we know that no Indian literary genre hesitated to use the multiple resources of the comparison (cf. Gonda, *Remarks on Similes in Sanskrit Literature*). Many of those used by the Jainas are banal.

Entry into the religion, the observances, are often compared to medical or surgical treatment to which docile and complete submission is fitting. Penances are on many occasions presented as remedies; and also as more or less thorough cleaning ( *(vi)śuddhi* ) of abodes or clothes. Gampert also points out, in the *Dharmasūtras* and the *smṛti*, the use of *bheṣaja* and of *pavitra*, *(vi)śuddhi*, etc., as synonyms of *prāyaścitta* (28f.). Of the monk who is actually undergoing an atonement, the Jainas say that he is "redeeming" (cf. *nirvisamāṇa Vav* 1, 17 ff.; *Lehre* §§136; 162; compare *nirveṣa* etc., Gampert, *ibid.*)<sup>2</sup> The assessment of atonements offers convenient analogies with commercial transactions (*T* II 49b-50a, *ad* 1, 7-12). Stockbreeding, agriculture, fishing, hunting, lent themselves to many comparisons. Political life, court etiquette, administrative and judiciary customs also provide abundant illustrations. In seeking to simplify and embellish their teaching by means of metaphors, the scholars were following the example of Mahāvira.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. *Lehre* § 24, *ubi alia*; W. NARMAN BROWN, *The Story of Kālaka...the Kālākācāryakathā*, Washington, 1933; LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, 502; LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *The (Scythian) Period* 330 f.; contested by BASHAM, in the detailed review he has made of this book (*A new study of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa Period*), *BSOAS* 15, 1953 (80-97), 83, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 99-124.; U. P. SHAH, *Jain monk Kālākācārya in Suvarṇabhūmi*, *JOIB* 5, 1956, 281-290.

2. Cf. GONDA, *Gods and Powers*, 81.

3. AMULYACHANDRA SEN, *Mahāvira as the ideal Teacher of the Jainas*, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 3, 1941-42, 87-89, referring to SCHUBRING, *Worte* 21; *Lehre* 183=§ 166; see also § 20).



Finally, the commentators did not miss the opportunity to enliven their material by introducing lions, jackals and other animals into it. Sharing the general predilection of the Indians for apologues, they readily inserted them into their developments. Several serve to show whom to choose as superior of a group, or whom to avoid. Beware of the *gaṇadhara* who, both spiritually and materially, is likely to be ill-prepared. He is said to be like the jackal who considers itself capable of the prowess of the lion and brings about the downfall of all his companions as well as his own (T IV' 6a ff., ad 3, 1). These are undoubtedly more than mere fables. It will be seen that in certain circumstances, the novice is compared to a jackal, or again to a wild animal (*mṛga*), the master to a lion; that the advanced monk is often called *vṛṣabha* "bull" (cf. *infra* 47 and note ).

Without any doubt, all these methods help the catechumen to penetrate the meaning of the Doctrine (*artha*). The essential, however, is to know the *sūtra*, the letter (*Piṭh Bh* 131, T 45a-b).

It is important that they should be saved from oblivion. One can understand this preoccupation. The Śvetāmbara Jainas make no secret of the fact that their canon is relatively recent: the knowledge of the "primitive" (*puvva*) books had gradually been lost (*Lehre* § 37; compare *Mahānīṣṭha* III §§25; 46; *Isibhāsiyāṃ* 1942, p. 500). So when, due to unfortunate circumstances, there is a risk that *suttas* and their exegesis may disappear, the ignorant monks must take instruction from colleagues even if the latter are in religious terms unworthy, or even from laymen well-versed in the Law; *a fortiori* their prerogatives will be restored forthwith to honourable monks, who, for personal reasons, have provisionally given up the habit, and thus have lost their seniority (*Vav* 3, 10, T IV 39a-42b).

It is also known that four periods in the day were compulsorily devoted to study (*Lehre* § 148); that the methods of teaching were duly catalogued (*Uvav* 30, IV'; *Uttar* 30, 34; cf. *Mahānīṣṭha* III 37, 4; *Jīya* 22; *Vav Piṭh Bh* 115 f.).

Finally, in order to check more easily the knowledge of a possible candidate for various posts, the canonical *suttas* are taught according to three methods (*paripāṭi*):

*sūya-pārāyaṇaṃ paḍhamam, biṇe pad'ubbhediyaṃ  
taiyaṃ ca niravasesaṃ* (*Vav Bh* 3, 354)

The first (*sūcaka-pārāyaṇa*) consists of reciting the *suttas* with breaks depending on the sense (*artha-parisaṃpāṭya pada-cchedena sūtrōccāraṇaṃ saṃhitēti*); the second, analytical and critical, considers the words one by

ōhe, glossing them, (*padārtha-mātra-kathana-pada-vigraha-phalā dvitīyā paripāṭi*); the third is simple continuous recitation (*niravaśeṣaṃ cālanā*, T IV' 71a). It will be recalled that the two principal types of Vedic recitations are the *padapāṭha* and the *saṃhitāpāṭha*.

Paṇini also points out the recitation of the complete text or *pārāyaṇa* (V. S. Agrawala, *India* 293ff.).

It can be seen from the above that all means were adopted to avoid any further loss to the Jaina tradition.

**PART ONE**  
**ORGANISATION OF THE MONASTIC LIFE**



p. 35      The atonements which it was possible for the Jaina religious to incur are in theory directly related to the status and to the physical, intellectual and moral aptitudes of the transgressor (cf. *Vav Bh* 1, 422 ff. = *Nis Bh* 6655; 6657). They are most often practised within the group of which he is a member. Before studying the atonements, therefore, it seems advisable to sum up the main divisions of the Jaina community and in particular the minutely classified hierarchical system within which the defaulter holds a very strictly defined rank (*Lehre* §§ 138 ff.; Deo, *History* 143 ff., 216 ff.). In order to understand how justice was carried out, it will be necessary to bear in mind certain distinctions and classifications which appear in the commentaries although not necessarily in the canon. The opposition between the *gīyatthas* and the *agīyatthas*, for example, plays an important role, although it does not feature in the *suttas*. (*infra* 46).



## THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COMMUNITY

p. 37 Taken as a whole, the Jaina community, like that of the Buddhists, is called *saṃgha*, "gathering". This term sometimes refers to more restricted companies of monks. The *saṃgha* is described figuratively as the "treasure of hundreds of qualities", *guṇa-sayâgaro saṃgho* (*Bh* 2, 244a; cf. *saṃgho guṇa-saṃghāto*, (*Bh* 3, 322a). It is compared to a cool house which affords comforts during very hot weather both to those who live there and to those who come from outside. It is formed when a number of men come together who, having relinquished all worldly ties (mother, father, etc.), and undertaken to acquire the controls (*saṃyamas*), combine knowledge and good conduct:

*gihi-saṃghāyaṃ jahium saṃjama-saṃghāyagaṃ uvagaṇaṃ  
nāṇa-caraṇa-saṃghāyaṃ saṃghāya tato havai saṃgho* (*Bh* 3, 332).

This figurative meaning is used as an argument in a public debate (*T* IV' 66a 6 ff.). It is thus probable that it met with general acceptance.

The *Mahānīṣiṭha* says that the *saṃgha*, the embodiment of the Doctrine, is based on the *gacchas*, which themselves are based on correct faith, knowledge and conduct: *titthe puṇa cāuvaṇṇe saṃaṇa-saṃghe. se ṇaṃ gacchesuṃ paitṭhie, gacchesuṃ pi ṇaṃ sammad-dāsaṇa-nāṇa-cāritte paitṭhie* (*V* §4).

The ancient parts of the canon speak of *gaṇa* instead of *gaccha*. This concept dates back to the beginnings of the Jaina movement. Both the word and the idea are attested amongst the Buddhists.

There were also smaller groups – in particular spiritual "families", i. e. the schools which were formed around individual outstanding philosophers and their followers (*kula*). Some of them are so highly esteemed that for the common good their members may benefit from occasional exemptions (*Vav* 3, 9; Guérinot, *Religion* 44; *Lehre* §141 and n. 4).

The entourage (*parivāra*) of an instructor (compared to the father) includes on the one hand his "descendants" (pupil, pupil's pupil, and also pupil of the pupil's pupils), and on the other his "ancestors" (in other words, the monk who made up the followings of his own "father", "grandfather" and "great grandfather")

p. 38 A "lineage" is thus constituted by seven generations – reminiscent of the number of the *sapiṇḍa*<sup>1</sup> :

.....*purisa jugam sattahā hoi* (*Bh* 3, 112b)

1. Cf. Manu V, 60; but IX, 186f.

The monks who have been brought up in the same "families" and the same "flocks"—and consequently in the same religious customs (*pravrajyā*), and those who have received the same teaching (*śruta*) from the same teacher are "members of the same party" (*egapakkihiya Vav* 2, 26; *Bh* 2, 325). An educational community produces the strongest affinities. It is admitted that the religious, although reasonably tolerant in matters of instruction, obstinately cling to their habits. As a result, in order to avoid the "splintering of a flock" (*gaṇasya bheda*)<sup>1</sup> it is thought advisable to choose a superior who has received the same education and the same instruction as his subordinates; failing this, a superior who has received the same education, (*Vav* 2, 26; cf. *T* IV 74b-75a), unless the flock wishes otherwise (*Vav, ibid*). The attitude of the Jaina provides no cause for surprise: in a general manner, all observers have noted the tolerance of Indians in matters of dogma and have called attention, for example, to the fact that Hinduism is less a faith than a practice.<sup>2</sup>

The *sambhoga* could be a subdivision of the *gaṇa* (*Lehre* § 139, referring to *K* 4, 18-20; Deo, *History* 230 and n. 88). Its members are called *sambhoiya* (*sāmbhogika*) "commensal" or "companion", if such conventional translations are acceptable; the ties which join these religious together are not only allmentary (*infra*). *Bh T* often render the derivative by *samañunna*, *samañojña*,—"one who has the same tastes." (*Vav T* II 17a 4; 17b 3, etc.; cf. *sāmbhogika samasukha-duḥkha T* IV' 45a 3).

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The role of the *sambhoga*, which is not altogether clear to us, seems to have been important. Bühler and Leumann took it to be a community of a geographical and political nature, comparable to the *maṇḍala*, "district", of the Digambaras (cf. *Lehre, ibid*; Guérinot, *Religion* 44). Deo retains this explanation, which could be supported by the evidence of certain inscriptions, although of a relatively late date (*History* 151 n. 58); *bhoga* refers to a territorial unit, and *bhogika* to its supervisor. W. Schubring, however, following *T*hāṇ *T*, considers the *sambhoga* rather as a group of religious bound to the same observances during the quest and utilisation of alms (cf. *Vav T* IV' 33b 8; 34a 12 ad *Bh* 3, 157); they are also bound to the same disciplinary rules, as is evident from the *Vav*. The *Vav Bh T*

1. Among the Buddhists also, a *sangha-bheda* is sometimes the result of dissensions concerning "discipline" (*vinaya*) (cf. H. BECHERT, *Aśokas "Schismenedikt" und der Begriff Sanghabheda, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 5, 1961, 18-52); cf. Lamotte, *Histoire*, I, 260.
2. DUBOIS, *Inde* I 278. Max WEBER, *The Religion of India* 21; 117; 189; GONDA, *Religionen* I 351; cf. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Hindouisme et bouddhisme*, trad. fr. 59; Ch. VAUDEVILLE, *La conception de l'amour divin chez Muhammad Jāyasī*, JA 250, 1962, (350-367) 354; O. LACOMBE, *Gandhi* 57.



emphasise the fact that the “commensals” follow an identical course of conduct, whereas theoretical differences may separate them; hence a commensal who seeks admission to a *gaṇa* different from his own, may be received if he comes to improve his faith and knowledge, but not if he comes to improve his conduct :

*samaṇunna duga-nimittam uvasampajje.....*

*samanojñasya samīpe samanojña upasampadyamāno dvika-nimittam upasampadyate, tad yathā jñānārtham darśanārtham ca, na cāritrārtham yena caraṇam prati sadrśa eva (Bh 1, 64a=Nis Bh 6324).*

The *Samavāya* glosses *sambhoga*, and then defines the twelve varieties of this type of association. By *s.*, he understands “the fact that the religious of the same discipline eat together” *saṃ ekābhūya samāna-samācārāṇāṃ sādḥūnāṃ bhojanaṃ sambhogah* (22b 7; compare the commentary of *Uttar* 25, 33, quoted in *K* p. 43, *ad* 4, 18). *Samav* distinguishes from the *sambhogikas* on the one hand the religious who belong to another commensality and are “zealous” (*anyasambhogika saṃvigna*, *Samav* 23a 4; cf. *infra* 55f.) and, on the other hand, the religious who have cut off from the commensality (because they lack zeal, for example: cf. *bhinnasambhogika amanojña asaṃvigna*, *Vav T* II 21a 6); and also the *visambhogika*, who are excluded from all commensalities, as are the *pārsvasthas*, and, on principle, nuns (*saṃyati*, *Samav* 22b 10 ff.).

More or less severe restrictions limit the connections between the *sambhogikas* and the *visambhogikas* on the twelve points considered characteristic of the *sambhoga*, namely:

1. gathering and using objects of every day use (clothing, bowl);
2. studying;
3. eating, drinking, giving food;
4. greeting;
5. transferring a group of students to another master;
6. speaking;
7. standing up as a mark of politeness;
8. expressing respect;
9. giving “service”;
10. gathering together to attend a religious ceremony;
11. meeting formally on certain occasions (a rule which concerns the *āyariyas*);
12. giving certain speeches :

*uvahi suya bhatta pāṇe añjali-paggahe tti ya |*  
*dāyaṇe ya nikāe ya abbhutṭhāṇe ti āvare ||1||*  
*kiikammaṣṣa ya karaṇe veyāvacca-karaṇe i ya |*  
*samosaraṇam saṃnisijjā ya kahāe ya pabandhaṇe ||2||*

(*Samav* 21b-24a quoted *Abhidhāna* 7, 207, a-b=Nis Bh 2071 f.).

If a *sambhogika* trespasses on more than three occasions, despite the atonements which redeem the transgression itself, he is often liable to be rejected from the commensality (*visambhogârha*, *Samav* 22b 9; *visambhogya*, *ibid* 23a 1-2; 6). *Vav* 7, 2 and 3 teach how to denounce correctly the bond of *sambhoga*.

The verb *sambhuñjittae* appears, in conjunction with *saṃvasittae*, "to live together," in the formula which denotes the admission of a monk into a specific religious group (*Vav* 6 10f.; 7, 1; 4f.; cf. *K* 4, 4; 1, 35). It seems in fact that commensality and living together often go together (*T* IV' 33b 10). However, «commensality» is sometimes forbidden to monks who are, on the other hand, authorised to live together and to study together (*Vav* 2, 27; 1, 21).

p. 41 Like the commentaries of *Uttar* and *Samav* the Hindi commentary of Hyderabad accept that the *sambhogikas* are those who eat together in the same circle: *ek hī maṇḍal par āhār bhogavane vālā* (p. 25; ad 1, 35). It may be noted that, in certain circumstances at least, the communal meal served to manifest the bond of *sambhoga*; the ritual of the *vihār'āloṣaṇā* confession - i.e. that of a "commensal", makes provision for the religious who comes to confession to take his collation with the other members of the group - after confession, if the transgression is a small one, before, if the transgression is serious enough to entail a form of excommunication (*T* II 17 b). All eat "in the circle" *maṇḍalyāṃ bhuñjate* (*ibid*). What does this mean? It can be seen elsewhere that out of compassion for the weak and inexperienced, whose alms are liable to be insufficient, the religious normally eat «together in a circle»: *sarvais taḥo-viśeṣa-pratipanna-varjitaiḥ sādhubhiḥ ekaṭra maṇḍulyāṃ bhoktaṇḍyam* (IV 82b-83a). Was this 'circle' (*maṇḍali*) physical or symbolical? It was undoubtedly both. We learn from *Jīva* 26a that it was felt advisable to remove the dust from the ground before going inside it. The *cunṇi* of Siddhasena adds that 'circles' are known of for three occasions - studying the text, studying the interpretation, and eating (cf. Leumann 1204).

The *Vav Bh T* in fact mention «circles» of study, *sūtra-maṇḍali*, *artha-maṇḍali*, towards which are sometimes directed those monks whose aptitudes one wishes to test, or who need to be distracted from their passions (IV' 18a 4; 16b 5ff.; 52a 7; *infra*). It is also from the «circle», from the ground on which their companions meet, that monks "worthy of dismissal" or "excluded monks" are cut off (*maṇḍalyā vyavacchina; bahiḥ kṣetrād avatiṣṭhate* IV 26a 9; 53b 4 f.).<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, it is highly probable that the main activities of the *sambhoga* were formerly carried out on a specific piece of ground. Its qualities seem much more specialised than those of the *gaṇa*; apparently consisting in

1. On the symbolism and virtues of the *maṇḍala*, cf. G. TUCCI, *Teoria e pratica del Mandala* 29 ff.

determining various points of «religious conduct» (*ācāra*) which is one of the three “jewels” recognised by Jinism (*infra* 78).

The Buddhists, too, had grouped themselves into *saṃbhogas* and *saṃvāsas*. But the definitions they give of these groups, although not invalidating what has just been said, do not correspond. The definition which they offer of the *saṃbhoga*, although apparently rigid, is by no means precise. It insists most of all on the idea of exchange in connection with both spiritual and material foods. With the Buddhists, contrary to the practices of their rivals, it does not seem that this “company” needed to know anything more particular of the conduct of its members.<sup>1</sup>

1. The idea of the *saṃbhoga* is still extant amongst the Buddhists, who by gradual degrees have elaborated it considerably (cf. Paul Mus, *Barabouður* \*264). In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the term is sometimes coupled with *saṃvāsa*, which is no less important (*SBB* X, 58 n. 3)

There is a third type of society – consisting in sleeping under the same roof : *saha vā seyyaṃ kappeyya* (glossed *eka-cchanne nipajjati*, cf. *Vin* IV, 137, 16 \*\* ; 138, 3' f.). This formula has no other accepted meaning.

On the other hand, according to the commentaries, *saṃbhoga* is taken sometimes to have its literal meaning and sometimes, apparently, it is more readily given a figurative meaning. There would thus be a “commensality of meats” consisting in offering or accepting food, and a “commensality of the Law”, consisting in reciting and listening to recitation : *saṃbhogo nāma dve saṃbhogā āmisa-saṃbhogo ca dhamma-saṃbhogo ca. āmisa-saṃbhogo nāma āmisaṃ deti vā paṭigaṇhāti vā dhamma-saṃbhogo nāma uddisati vā uddisāpeti vā* (*Vin* IV, 137, 29' ff.).

For *saṃvāsa*, the textual commentary accepts only the figurative meaning : it is the unit of practical conduct and teaching, the sharing of like instruction : *saṃvāso nāma eka-kammaṃ ek'uddeso sama-sikkhātā* (*ibid* III, 47, 24'). Elsewhere this community is said to consist in observing together the ceremonies of confession at the end of the fortnight and at the end of the monsoon, and the official acts of the *saṃgha* (*uposathaṃ vā pāvāraṇaṃ vā saṃgha-kammaṃ vā karoti*, *ibid* IV, 138, 1' f.). It appears from the *Mahāvagga* that belonging to the same residence eventually results from a decision of the person involved or of his group (*ibid* I, 340). For Buddhaghosa it is equivalent to associating oneself with those who confess the *dhamma* (cf. *SBB* XIV, 487, n. 1). Oldenberg, however, noticed that “co-residents” usually came from the same parish (*Vin. Texts* II, 269, n. 3). Apparently, the precise meaning of the term has become blurred. It is thus very possible that, originally at least, this last type of association consisted in sharing a material object, or, more precisely, the ground used as a place of residence, to which the teaching, conceived as a refuge, was compared. This hypothesis is plausible considering the use and meaning of *saṃvāsa* and *saṃbhoga* amongst the Jains. The presumption is further strengthened by examining the measures envisaged, according to the *Abhidharmakośa*, to be taken against the *patanīya* religious : “The Master cuts off the man guilty of *patanīya* from all intercourse (*saṃbhoga*) with the Bhikṣus, he forbids him to partake of a mouthful of food and does not allow him a single foot of the monastery. (IV, 96, in the translation LA VALLÉE POUSSIN).

In a somewhat similar manner, Brahmanic society closes its doors to those who have fallen (*patita*) from their caste (cf. *infra* 195).

p. 42      Everything leads us to believe that the memory of ancient institutions had continued to survive, more or less intact at a time when the Baudddhas and Jainas had already revised the prerogatives of the *sambhogas* and *saṃvāsas* in order to adapt them to the particular characteristics of their doctrine and discipline.

In addition, whatever the precise meaning of the term, it seems that the severest forms of atonement with both the Jainas and the Buddhists were characterised by a strict refusal of admission to one or the other or to several of these types of association or communion.

## THE JAINA RELIGIOUS: THEIR TITLES

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The monks who formed the *saṃgha* bear different names, depending on the text and period; these names, despite widely different etymologies, have come to acquire the same value.

W. Schubring has shown that in the Amg. disciplinary texts, the Jaina religious has been variously referred to as *niggantha* (fem. -ī), *bikkhu* (formerly *nigganthī*, and later *bikkhuṇī* were used as feminine forms), *samaṇa niggantha*, and *sāhu* (fem. *sāhuṇī*); *aṇagāra* ("without home") is rare in treatises on discipline. These last two terms, which do not appear in *K*, are found in passages of the *Vav* – although these passages tend to be of relatively late date (2, 24f.; 9, 35; 10, 1. cf. *Lehre* § 137; *IA* 39, 259; *Vav* pp. 6–8)

The name which appears to apply specifically to the Jaina monk is *niggantha*. An alternative form, *niyaṇṭha*, is also known (*Lehre* *ibid*; *Vav* p. 8). The one has its counterpart in the Skr. *nirgrantha*, the other in the Pāli *nigaṇṭha*<sup>1</sup>. It is the most common term in the *Kappa*, implying the end of bondage – i. e. the bonds attaching one to the world (*grantha*, *granthi*, cf. *Lehre* § 6 n. 3 of page 11–12) and perhaps also the bonds, resulting from the *karman*, which bind the soul, the two ideas being complementary, as seen in *Uttar* 29, 31: *vivitta-sayaṇāsanaṇayāe naṃ bhante jīve kim jaṇayai...aṭṭhaviha-kamma-gaṇṭhiṃ nijjare* "sleeping and sitting in solitude, what does the being achieve?...He destroys the eightfold bond of deeds". Originally, then *niggantha* must have meant "the unattached".<sup>2</sup>

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In the *Vavahāra* the more common *bikkhu* is used in discussions of varying content. In this case, unlike *niggantha*, it is not distinctive term: it has been pointed out that in Skr. *bhikṣu* was found in the *Dharmasūtras*, though not invariably, as a name for the Brahmanic ascetic (Bühler, *SBE*

1. The form *niyaṇṭha* is also attested in Amg., (*Sūya*, *Viyāh*), similar to the Pā. *nigaṇṭha*, BHS *nigrantha* (concurrently with *nirgrantha*). Aśoka, pillar 7 *nigaṇṭha*, On these forms, see JACOBI, *IA* 9, 1880, 158 f; and, more recently, K. R. NORMAN *Middle Indo-Aryan Studies* II, *JOIB* 10, 1961 (348–352) 349 f.

2. Cf. *T* IV' 27 b 6: *nirgato granthād dravyataḥ suvarṇ'ādī-rūpāt, bhāvato mithyāt' ādi-lakṣaṇād iti nirgranthaḥ*. Compare *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 6, 15:

*Yadā sarve prabhidyante hṛdayasya granthayaḥ atha martyo 'mṛto bhavati*, "When the bonds of the heart (scil. the bonds of ignorance and doubt) split asunder,..."; cp. *Muṇḍaka Up* 2, 2, 9; *bhidyate hṛdaya-granthiḥ...kṣīyante cāśya karmāṇi...*; *Chāndogya Up* 7, 26, 2. Moreover, F. Edgerton, *The Beginnings of Indian philosophy*, 138, n. 1 (*ad BAU* 3, 2; with reference to Deussen).

Compare A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *JAOS* 62, 1942, 341; ELIADE, *Le «dieu lieu» et le symbolisme des noeuds*, *RHR* 134, 1947–48; 5–36; *Religions* 386.

On symbolism of the knots A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes* II, 68 a, *ubi alia*. On nudity *ibid.*, 766 a,

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2 Intr. LV); and the Buddhists who reserve *nirgrantha* (Pā. *nigaṇṭha*) for Nātaputta - i. e. Mahāvira - use *bhikṣu* to refer to the monk of their own community. It is accepted that the term first alluded to "one who lives of charity", the "beggar"<sup>1</sup>. But, as it is used in the *K* or the *Vav*, the term does not seem to allow of this interpretation. It is expressly contested by Malayagiri; whatever the etymology may be, he says, usage dictates that we call *bhikkhu* not one who lives of charity etc., but one who correctly devotes all his efforts towards his salvation, and who knows how to control himself.<sup>2</sup> The definition of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇis* in the Pāli *Vinaya* bears p. 45 witness to the same semantic development (III 24, 3-12'; IV 214; 4-13').

The religious can also be called *samaṇa niggantha*, etymologically "un-attached ascetic"; a compound word current in title which both Mahāvira and the Buddha apparently assumed (*Lehre* § 17; Burnouf, *Introduction*<sup>2</sup> 245 and n. 2)<sup>3</sup>

1. BURNOUF, *Introduction*<sup>2</sup> 245; *Inde Classique* § 2369; AGRAWALA, *India* 382, referring to Pāṇini 3, 2, 168. W. SCHUBRING, *IA* 39, 259, notes that in discussions dealing with questions of food, the use of *bhikkhu* is preferred. The summary of *Vav* p. 5-6 goes counter to this hypothesis.

2. Cf. MEILLET: "Un mot n'est pas lié par ses origines étymologiques" *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* 1, 276).

A distinction is commonly made by Indian grammarians between a word of "traditional" (or "conventional") meaning (*rūḍhi*), and a word whose meaning is obtained by derivation or etymology (*yoga*) (RENOU, *Terminologie*, s. vv.)

For *bhikkhu*, *bhikṣu*, Malayagiri proposes two explanations (*T* II 1b-4b): if connected with the notion of "begging" (*bhikṣi yācāyām*, 1b 11), it is to be taken figuratively, in the sense of applying oneself to deliverance by following the rules and precepts, whether in fact one is begging or not.

Malayagiri prefers to connect it with *bhid-*!, in which case the *bhikṣu* is one who "cuts" the eightfold hunger for deeds (*ṣuḍhā-bubhukṣāyām*) through his knowledge, faith, religious conduct and asceticism. Just as the wheelwright splits the wood with his axe, so the *bhikṣu*, through his knowledge, breaks the being, (*bhāvasya bhedaḥ bhikṣur*, *bhāvasya bhedanāni jñānādāni bhāva-bhettavyam karma* II 5b-6a, cf. *Bh* 1, 11; compare *infra*, *Abhidharmakośa*).

On the translation of the Pā. *bhikkhu*, *SBB* X, XL f.

Jaina scholasticism teaches four principal sorts of *bh.* sometimes with their variations: *nāmaṃ śhavaṇā-bhikkhū davve bhikkhū ya bhāva-bhikkhū ya* (*Bh* 1, 5a = *Nis* 6 274); of the *bh.*, the first has the name, the second the appearance, the third the substance (i. e. sacred knowledge which remains a dead letter; or the body), and the fourth has the nature: he is three times master of himself in the three fields (*samyata samyak trividham trividhena* 3b-4a).

The *Abhidharmakośa* informs us likewise that "there are four *bhikṣus*: the *samjñā-bhikṣu*, *Bhikṣu* in name, a man called *Bhikṣu* although not ordained; the *pratijñā-bhikṣu*, self-styled *Bhikṣu*, immoral, incontinent etc; a man called *Bhikṣu*, because he begs (*bhikṣata iti bhikṣuḥ*), a beggar and nothing more; a man called *Bhikṣu* because he has overcome the passions *bhinnakleśatvāt*, i. e. the Arhat" (IV. p. 96 f. of the translation La Vallée Poussin).

3. Cf. *Vav* *T* IV' 27 b 6: *śrāmyati tapasyatīti śramaṇaḥ, sa ca śāky'ādir api bhavati*. Compare BURNOUF, *Introduction*<sup>2</sup> 245 and n. 5.

Finally, *sāhu* may at first have been he “who achieves”—who attains deliverance as it appears in the *Mahānīsīha* (III, 9, 20). There is no evidence to suggest that there were in the Jaina community ascetics of a lower order to whom the term might have been applied specifically, as in Skr. *sādhu* (*Inde classique* § 1237).<sup>1</sup>

The *Vav Bh T* distinguish twelve *sāhammiyas* (*sādharmikas*) depending on that which they have in common — name, occupation, object, country, age, designation, insignia, beliefs, instruction, observances, vows, thoughts and feelings. The term is thus valid for all ‘brethren’, whatever flock or *sambhoga* they belong to (cf. *supra* 39)<sup>2</sup> The term, and its feminine form *sāhammīṇī*, are well attested in *K* and *Vav* (*K* 4, 3; *Vav* 2, 1ff., 5, 11).

The etymological value of all these titles had become blurred; their usage was dictated by a complex tradition now unknown to us: it will therefore be preferable to refer to these various titles by a neutral and more general term such as “religious”.

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Considering atonements and penances, the commentaries are led to establish important distinctions between the religious. Some, being indifferent (towards the flock and towards their own person) are called *niravekkha* (*nirapekṣa*.) These are the *jinakappiyas* etc. — three types of penitent (*infra*). Those who on the other hand care for the flock, (*sāvekkha*, *sāpekṣa*), are likewise three in number: *āyariya*, *uvajjhāya*, *bhikkhu* (*T* III 48b).<sup>3</sup> The religious of the first category are, moreover, outside the flock (*gaccha-niggaya*) as opposed to the various superiors, who reside within it (*gaccha-vāsi*) (IV 7b). This distribution alone shows that certain observances entailed the loosening of those bonds which united the monks and their group.

The *jinakalpikas* have necessarily “accomplished the (religious) act (*kṛtakaraṇa*): in other words, they have succeeded in observing the fasts of

1. *accanta-kaiṣṭha-ugg'uggayara-ghora-tava-caraṇ'āi-aṇega-vaya-niyamōvavāsantāṇā'bhiggaha-visesa-saṃjama-parivālaṇa-sammam-parisahōvasaggāhiyāsaneṇaṃ savva-dukkhaviṃokkhaṃ mokkhaṃ sāhayanti tti* «*sāhavo*» (*Mahānīsīha* III 9, 20).

On the (etymological) meaning of ved. *sādhu*, L. RENOU, *Indo-Iranica Mélanges...* Georg Morgenstierne, 164.

2. *nāmaṃ ṭhavaṇā davie khetṭe kāle ya pavayaṇe liṅge*  
*daṃsaṇa nāṇa cāritte abhiggahe bhāvaṇāe ya* (*Vav Bh* 2, 10).

As is to be expected these elements may be combined.

*Vav T* IV' 26 b 8 : *sādharmikāḥ svagaccha-vartinaḥ paragaccha-vartino vā*.

*Vav T* III 69 b 12 f. : *sādharmikāḥ liṅga-sādharmikāḥ pravacana-sādharmikā vā samvigna-sambhogik'ādayaḥ*.

3. *T* III 48 b 1 : *tatra ye gacchaṃ 'sarīraṃ vā'pekṣante te sāpekṣā, ye punar gacchaṃ 'sarīraṃ vā nāpekṣante te nirapekṣāḥ, tatra nirapekṣā jin'ādayo jīnakalpikā ādiṣabbdāt 'suddhapārihārikā yathālandikāḥ pratimā-pratipannā's ca, ete niyamataḥ kṛtakaraṇāḥ. sāpekṣāḥ trividhā ācāry'ādayaḥ, acāryōpādhyāyā bhikṣava's cēty arthaḥ.*  
IV' 62 a 4 f. : *nirapekṣo bāl'ādīṣu cintā-rahitaḥ*.

three and a half days or more. Those who form an integral part of the *gaṇa* have in some cases successfully observed the fasts, in others not. (*akṛtakaraṇa*) (T III 48a-49a). A distinction is also made between the "strong" (*sthira*) and "the weak" (*asthira*) *bhikṣu*, the later lacking in firmness and resolution (*asthira dhr̥ty-avaṣṭambha-rahite* III, 11b 7).

*kayakaraṇā iyare yā sāvekkhā khalu taḥ eva niravekkhā  
niravekkhā jīṇa-m-āī sāvekkhā āyariya-m-ādī*

*ahavā sāvekkh' iyare niravekkhā nīyamasā u kayakaraṇā  
iyare kayakayā vi ya thirāthirā honti gīyatthā*

(Bh 1, 418; 420 = Nis Bh 6 649; 6 651; cf. Vav Pūṭh Bh 160).

The old canonic texts do not account for the opposition between *gīyatthā* and *agīyatthā* ((a)*gūtarthā*) which plays a leading role in the *Mahā-nisīha* and in the commentaries (*Lehre* § 151). According to *Vav Bh T*, the title of *gīyatthā* was once reserved for the monk instructed in the fourteen *Puṇṇas*; nowadays, it is applied to the monk who is familiar with at least the *Pakappa* (i. e. the *Nisīha*):

*puṇṇam caudasa-puṇṇā, inham jahanno Pakappa-dhārī u* (Vav Bh 3, 173a)

p. 47 The *Jīyakappa* employs its synonym *kaḍajogī*; and its *cunṇī* accepts that he knows both the text and meaning of the treatises on the quest for food, the quest for clothes and bowls, as well as the *chieya suttas*; *kaḍajogī gīyattho bhannaī. Piṇḍ'esaṇā Vatīha-Pā'esaṇā Cheya-suy' āiyam sutt'atthao ahīyānī jeṇa so gīyattho* (ad Jīya 16 a; Vav Pūṭh Bh 109; T 38 a 10). Whatever the case may be, this is clearly a well-educated religious especially in the treatises on discipline. This term may be tentatively translated by "adept" and *agīyatthā* by "postulant". The former is sometimes compared to a "bull" (*vasaha*; *vṛṣabha*) cf. Deo, *History*, 226; *Jurisprudence* 26); the latter to "game", to a "deer" (*miga*, *mṛga* Vav Bh 3, 264; 272; T IV 49a 12; 58a 9; cf. III 42a).<sup>1</sup> This symbolism, the equivalent of which appears to have existed in Buddhist writings, seems to have remained extant with the Jains - at least at the time of the confession.<sup>2</sup>

1. Vav T IV 49 a 12 : *mṛgā agītarthā kṣullak'ādayaḥ*; IV' 57 a 7 *mṛga...bāla-saikṣ-yak'ādī*.

Cf. the assimilation of divine justice to the bull, *vṛṣa*, MANU VIII, 16.

2. The *ācārya* is thus "in the image of the lion" (*siṃhānuga*), and an inferior religious "in the image of the jackal (*kroṣukānuga* III 42a) — a comparison which may have its counterpart with the Buddhists.

The *arhats* who sat on the council of *Rājagṛha* were lions. One of the *arhats*, upon hearing of his convocation and the death of the Buddha, had prepared to enter the *nirvāṇa* immediately. His name was *Gavāṃpatī*, "the Bull"; he wore ox hooves and ruminated unceasingly (PRZYLUSKI, *Concile*, 115; 239 ff.). According to the *Kia-ye Kie King*, he feared the influence upon the Law of "the perverse multitude of heretics. The heretics are animals. They are like a herd of frightened deer" (quoted by PRZYLUSKI, *Concile* 8; cf. 239 f. cf. *Inde Classique* § 2215).

In the account of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*, the Great Kāśyapa opposed the invitation of Ānanda in these terms: "No! If a man, while still studying, came into the assembly of those who have completed their studies, who have acquired powers, strength



p. 48 Along with the *gīyattha* and the *agīyattha* are classed "those who rely upon them" ( *(a)gītārtha-nīśrita* ), who listen to their advice and imitate their conduct (*ibid* IV 7b f.)

So that the atonements might be properly adjusted to the personality of the monk who incurred them, it was felt necessary to extend these classifications still further.

The "incompetent" monk (*akovidā*) is opposed to the monk whom experience has made "(very) competent" (*vikovidā*): the latter being an 'adept'

and mastery, it would be as though a mangy jackal had come into a band of lions." And Ānanda, who had been informed of these words, "made the following remark: (.....) «The Great Kāśyapa is well aware of my lineage and reputation. It is because my bonds are not yet destroyed that he has spoken thus.» (ID., *ibid*, 208).

The *Account of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka* tells that after Ānanda had in fact rejected these bonds he "went to the Grand Assembly (like) a fearless lion (.....) Kāśyapa addressed him in these terms: «Go up onto the raised seat, smile joyfully and give forth the roar of a lion» (.....) Kāśyapa said to Ānanda, «The moment has come to recite the sacred Words (.....).» Ānanda gave a long smile. Like a lion he shook himself and panted. In all four directions, he surveyed the seated multitude. He said, 'Thus have I heard...' " (*ibid*, 98-104)

(My friend André Bareau has been kind enough to check that the names of animals have been translated literally).

According to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* it is in their heroism that the lion and the *bhikṣu* are compared (cf. WAYMAN, *The Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript* 72).

Amongst the animals which the Jains give as emblems to several Tīrthaṅkaras, the bull belongs to the first, and the lion to the last. Although not mentioned in the canonical documents, this symbolism could nevertheless date from a very remote period. The fact that the first of them bears the very name of Isabha, Ṛṣabha, would suggest this conclusion. As for Mahāvīra, at the very moment he falls into the bosom of Devānandā, the wife of the Brahman Usabhadatta (Ṛṣabhadatta!) he is said to be "of leonine ancestry": *sīh'ubbhava-bhūṇaṃ appāṇaṃ* (this in *Ayār* 2, 121, 22 - thus in a relatively ancient canonical book). W. Schubring refers us to *Lalitavistara* VII, where the young Buddha is called *siṃhāvalokita* (*Lehre* § 14; *Doctrine* and n. 3 for p. 24). On the points of similarity between Usabha and Mahāvīra, *Lehre* § 16.

On the symbolism of the lion and the bull, W. KIRFEL, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jnismus*, *passim* and 87, 182 f.; *Symbolik des Buddhismus*, *passim*; on the bull in particular, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 78, 1953, 83 ff.

The lion, the bull and the jackal feature in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*, called "Disunion of friends" (the lion and the bull).

The lion here does not appear to enjoy unqualified esteem: his valour makes him formidable, it is true; but he is tiresomely naive; the bull is learned and intelligent; the jackal is lowly. It was the bull Saṃjīvakā who educated Piṅgalaka the lion: *aneka-Śāstrārtha-praṇihita-buddhivāc ca Saṃjīvakena nabhijñā 'pi vanyatvāt Piṅgalako' lpenaiva kalena dhīmān kṛtaḥ*, *Tantrākhyāyikā* recension, ed. HERTEL 13, 23; cf. *Pañcākhyānaka*, ed. HERTEL 24, 25 ff.);

or *bhikṣu* who has already carried out a *prāyaścitta* (i. e. probably a *parihāra* *infra* 119), or who corrects himself at the slightest remonstrance.<sup>1</sup>

p. 49

A further distinction is made between “postulants” who satisfactorily “digest”, assimilate, the teaching and regulations (*pariṇāma*), and those who do not “assimilate” them (*aparīṇāma*) (through lack of spiritual maturity), and who consequently will be afraid of not being totally purified when the atonement actually imposed is inferior to that theoretically deserved. Finally, those who carry the “assimilation” too far and fail to understand the eventual meekness of the verdict, become prone to excessive indulgence (*atipariṇāma*) towards themselves. When the master notifies a *prāyaścitta* he must take into consideration the capacity of the subject for understading its full significance, and modify the terms accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

The distinctions which we have just listed are summed up in the following table:

<i>niravekkha</i>	<i>sāvekkha</i>	
they are <i>gaccha-niggaya</i>	( cf. the superiors, who are <i>gaccha-vāsī</i> )	
3 : <i>jinakappiya</i> <i>pārihāriya</i> <i>ahālandiya</i>	3 : <i>āyariya</i> <i>uvajjhāya</i> <i>bhikkhu</i>	
necessarily <i>kayakaraṇa</i>	either <i>kayakaraṇa</i>	or <i>akayakaraṇa</i>
	either <i>thira</i>	or <i>a(t)thira</i>
	either <i>gīyattha</i> = <i>kaḍḍajogī</i> = <i>vasaha</i>	or <i>agīyattha</i> = <i>miga</i>
	is normally  <i>pariṇāma</i>	sometimes <i>pariṇāma</i> sometimes <i>aparīṇāma</i> sometimes <i>atipariṇāma</i>
	is <i>vikovida</i>	sometimes <i>vikovida</i> sometimes <i>akovida</i>

1. *gīto vikovido khalu kaya-pacchitto siyā agīto vi* (Vav Bh 1, 280a); *gīto gītārthaḥ khalu kīta-prāyaścitto vikovidāḥ, yo' py ukto yathā ārya yadidaṁ bhūyaḥ seviṣyase, tataḥ chedaṁ mālaṁ vā dāsyāmaḥ*, so 'pi vikovidāḥ, tad-viparīto 'gītārthaḥ. yaś ca prathamatayā prāyaścittam pratipadyate, yaś cōkto 'pi tathā na samyak pariṇamayati, sa syād bhaved akovidāḥ (Vav T II 97 b 5 ff.).

2. Cf. Vav T II 58 b 6 f.: *pariṇāmo yaduktārtha-pariṇāmanam yasya sa, tathā āstām agītārthaḥ...atipariṇāmaḥ ativyāptiyā pariṇāmo yathōkta-svarūpo yasyāsāv atipariṇāmaḥ*.. On the consequences of a false interpretation of the *prāyaścitta*, *ibid.*, 59 a-b.

p. 50 The division of the religious into "postulants" and "adepts" entails important practical considerations: it is one of the criteria which make it possible to adjust correctly the penance to the individual, and to make a judicious choice of masters. Nevertheless, other considerations sometimes prevail. Although theoretically no responsibility is entrusted to a "postulant", the commentaries point out exceptions to this rule: for example, in cases of emergency and, readily, in favour of well born or good-looking men (cf. *agūtarīho 'pi ākṛtimān*, *T ad Bh* 3, 97). Generally, however, superiors are chosen from among the adepts, according to the needs of the flock. On the other hand, a *giyattha* may deputize for a superior who is unable to be present at the time of the confession (II 38a 6; 17a).

This title was reserved for the *niggantha*, well versed in the treatises on discipline : its meaning was more precise than the expression *bahussuya babbhāgama* (*bahuśruta bahvāgama*), which is found commonly in the *Vav* (1, 33 and *passim*; cf *K* 4, 25). The qualifications implied in this expression are required of the future dignitary for example, from the *uvajjhāya* to the *āyariya* (*Vav* 3, 3-8). But, in these *suttas*, the knowledge required of the masters varies with the responsibility which they are allowed to solicit (cf. 10, 20-33) : the use made of the expression does not therefore imply a knowledge of specific texts, less still that of lost texts (the primitive canon, sometimes styled *āgama*), but simply, as the commentaries occasionally point out, a knowledge of the letter and the spirit:

*bahussuya bahuāgamiyā, sutt'attha-vīsārayā dhīrā*

(*Bh* 3, 122b; cf *bahvāgamāḥ bahuḥ prabhūta āgamo 'vagamo yeṣāṃ te T IV* 28b 8f.) The expression thus applies to a religious "instructed in the text and its interpretation", "well instructed and well aware."<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \*

When his status does not result automatically from circumstances, the adept can choose to maintain more or less close relations with the *gaṇa* : he follows the "rule of the theras" (*thera-kappa*) or that of the Jina (*jīna-kappa*) (cf. *K* 6, 14 and *Lehre* § 26). He usually complies with that of the *theras* (*Lehre, ibid*).

In this case, the monk is dependent upon a specific "flock", whose members are allowed to be neither alone nor, unless they be dignitaries, in twos (cf. *Vav* 4, 1 ff.; 5, 1ff.; *Vav Bh T ad* 2, 1ff.).

p. 51 There may in fact have been some minor infractions, as some monks confess to being exasperated by the constant supervision to which they were subjected in their original flock – even when attending to the calls of nature – and wish to change their *gaṇa* in order to escape it (*T* II, 23b).

Living with one companion exposes the monk to various temptations and errors, so much so that it is forbidden to ordinary monks:

1. Concerning the *bahuśrutas* among the Buddhists, see LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, p. 81.

*jamhā ete dosā tamhā donham na kappati vihāro*

(Bh 2, 49a) : this stems from the fear that their many failings might bring dishonour upon their own or another religious community, or upon a layman, as the case may be. The most common of these failings concern the place of residence, the care one should give to a man whose strength fails him, and who remains in the shelter: there is the possibility that he might be alone when he dies, and might not have confessed his errors :

*donha vi viharantāṇaṃ sa-līṅga giha-līṅga anna-līṅga ya*

*hoi bahu dosa vasahi gilāṇa maraṇe ya salle ya (Bh 2. 34)*

The risks would be even more serious if a religious who lacked the necessary maturity were left to himself or to an equally inexperienced companion. They would commit one infraction after another in the course of their wanderings and studies: they would fall into error, make mistakes while begging charity, fail to observe the necessary caution when travelling through difficult country, etc; it is even feared that they would go so far as to rob :

*magge seha vihāre micchatte esaṇḍi visame ya*

*sohi gilāṇaṃ ādi teṇā.... (Bh 2, 24).*

At times, however, it is in the monks' own interests to retire in twos from community life. In the case of a disaster, at time of scarcity (*avamau-darya*), when threatened by a prince or on the order of a superior, retreat would enable the monk to devote his time to perfecting his instruction or his faith (*yatamāna*). The difficult treatises, those just learned, those which strengthen belief, have constantly to be restudied, and the demand of community life would only be a distraction – so much so that permission to go into retreat is actually asked for. On the other hand, a *guru* who goes from one place to another must have a companion. It is thought good to send a companion to someone who wishes to withdraw from the world, so as to strengthen his purpose. A monk is accompanied when he goes to greet a member of his family, as this is thought to be a dangerous step to take (cf. *Vav* 6, 1; *K* 4, 9) :

*asive omoyarie rāyā saṃdesaṇe jayantā vā*

*ajjāṇa guru-niyogā pavvajjā nāti-vagga duve (Bh 2, 51).*

p. 52 These two monks never leave each other; they beg and carry out all their instruction jointly (*samayaṃ*, *Bh*; *yugavat*, *T*): for it is not so easy to sin in twos as alone (*Bh* 2, 52b).

A monk who has the necessary wisdom may be allowed by the superior to lead a "solitary" life (*egalla-vihāri*, *Lehre* § 157; *Vav Bh* 1, 150ff., *ad Vav* 1, 25).

The religious who are "apart from the flock" and who are indifferent towards it (*gaccha-niggaya*, *niravekkha*), are classed under three headings. We give them in the order constantly repeated by T : the *jinakalpika* (*jinakappiya*), the *parihāraṇisuddhika* or *suddhapārihārika* (cf. Amg. *pariharakappa-tthi(y)a*, or *pārihāriya*), the *yathālanda*-(*pratimā*)*kalpika* (*ahālandiya*).

A study of the atonement known as *parihāra* will show the provisions which determine the status of the second.

The *jinakappiya* is "of the rule of the Jina". He goes about alone, naked, carrying no belongings, enduring inconvenience and discomfort, and making his quest comply with various restrictions concerning time, food, and place<sup>1</sup>. In all these mortifications, he imitates the conduct of Mahāvira after his enlightenment, during the twelve years he lived as a wandering ascetic (*Āyār* 1, 29f.; 40 ff.; *Worte* p. 115ff.)

The solitude to which the *niggantha* is bound is thus in direct contradiction to the express injunction generally incumbent on the Jaina monk never to be alone (*supra*). Thus compared with the norm of the elders, the rule of the Jina can justifiably be considered as archaic.<sup>2</sup>

The observance called *yathālanda-pratimā* is so obsolete that the *Pravacanasāra* is non-committal when relating the details of its provisions (*gāthā* 611-628; p. 172b-176a; cf. *itthaṃ tāvad asmābhir vyākhyātam*, 174a 4).

Its name derives from the fact that the religious who follow this practice, impose upon themselves amongst other things a time limit : *landaṃ tu hoi kālo* (*ibid* 611)<sup>3</sup> — their quest in one particular area must not exceed five days :

p. 53

*ettha puṇa pañca-rattam ukkosam hoi ahālandaṃ*

*jamhā u pañca-rattam caranti tamhā u hanti 'hālandā* (612f.)<sup>4</sup>

The area may be a village, in which case they visit six a month. If the town is of some size, the area will be one of six districts or streets (*vāthī*) — an imaginary division made for their own religious purposes. They will cover this area completely within the allotted time. During the course of the year, they change their place of shelter at the same time as they change donor : but during the monsoon their place of residence remains fixed, and they are obliged to make the second type of round (173b). Their status is midway between that of the *jinakappiya* and that of the *therakappiya*; moreover, it is not uniform.

They do not live alone, but in groups of five :

1 Cf. K p. 47 quoting Abhayadeva; JACOBI, *SBE* 22, 57 n. 2; *Worte*, 100.

2 It would appear in fact that the earliest religious in India lived in solitude.

3 Cf. *K Bh* 4 743, *ad K* 3, 25; compare JACOBI, *Kalpa*, p. 121, n. *ad Pajjos* 9.

4 Mahāvira had stayed one day in villages, and five days in towns (*Lehre* § 18).

*pañc' eva hoi gaccho tesim ukkosa-parimāṇaṃ* (613; cf. 173a)

Certain of the *ahālandiyas* still need a master to help them complete their knowledge; they remain "attached to the (central) flock", and consequently outside the "rule of the Jina"; the remainder have no longer any connection with the *gaṇa* (*gacche pratibaddhā apratibaddhāś ca*, *ibid* 173a 14).

Despite the features shared by those two types with the *jinakappiyas*, they remain distinct from the latter on three specific points : knowledge, the manner of begging, and the length of time they are allowed to remain in the same place (cf. *supra*). It is apparently the latitude shown concerning the length of stay in one place that distinguishes all the *ahālandiyas*, without exception, from the *jinakappiyas* :

*ahalandiyāṇa gacche appaḍibaddhāṇa jaha jīṇaṇaṃ tu  
navaraṃ kāla-viseṣo uuvāse paṇaga caumāso* (615; cf. 173b).

The territory which is allotted to them (*oggaha*) is the same as is granted to their *āyariya*; it has five *krośas* :

*oggaha jo tesim tu so āyariyāṇa ābhavai* (616)

Those who remain attached to the central flock are obliged to do so by the gaps in their knowledge. They know the text, but not the meaning of certain passages :

*atthassa u desammi ya asamatte tesī paḍibandho*

p. 54 (cf. *arthasyaiva na sūtrasya* 618; cf. 174a). They thus consult the *guru*, but being henceforth apart from the flock, they are not bound by the common rules.

Their own place of sojourn is situated outside and even well away from the ordinary domain of the master (174a 11 f.). He meets them there and there gives them necessary instruction. If his journey is a difficult one he is met half-way by one of the *ahālandiyas*, chosen for his excellent memory; the master is, however, accompanied by an ordinary monk, bearing food and drink for him from the main residence. In the evening, this latter goes back to his own monastery. If need be, the distance is halved or else the lesson is given in a lonely spot on the edge of the principal area. A further possibility is for the monk to be given shelter in a subsidiary building of the domain, or even secretly in the principal place of residence (174a-b). These precautions are dictated by the wish to avoid scandalising the world and disturbing the novices. For the religious *ahālandiya* greets no-one except the *āyariya* while he himself is greeted even by religious of importance (174b 1 ff.).

In addition, the two types noted in this category are distinguished by certain other features : help is not refused those who are close to the rule of the elders, in the event of their strength failing them; those who imitate the Jina are evidently left to themselves to a greater extent, and are also bound to observances of a much more rigorous nature (175b).

The most important thing to note is that this penance soon fell into disuse. Like a life lived according to the Jina, it represented a great stride towards deliverance : *abhyudyataram ekataram vihāram : jinakalpikam yathālan-dakalpa-vihāram vā pratipattu-kāmāḥ* (*Vav T IV' 41b 7*). It appears that both elders and superiors sometimes abandoned their responsibilities in order to devote all their energies to this discipline (*IV' 41b 7*).

The atonement observed by the *śuddhapārihārika*, being associated with these two clearly harsh and old-fashioned ways of life, might likewise have very ancient origins; it would be possible that it falls outside the later norm. It will be seen that its aim is to procure the benefits of the solitary life for a religious who continues to live within his flock, and who is even the object of real attention.

Thus, although monastic communities were already organised, it seems that their members still clung to the ideals of the solitary life.

p. 55

The Buddhists apparently shared these views. They emulously show the Buddha going away to abandon himself to meditation. A person who isolates himself, in fact, can hope to change himself radically. Channa attained Knowledge when he had fled his colleagues (*Vin II 292*). The Great Kāśyapa hastened the deliverance of Ānanda by driving him away from the *saṃgha* (*infra 215*).

But once out on his own, in the wilds, the religious often seems to have been seized with anguish. He who is still the Bodhisattva tells of the trials suffered by the *bhikkhu*, alone in the jungle, trying to maintain his composure and calm, when not yet trained in concentration : *haranti maññe mīṇa vanāni samādhiṃ alabhamāṇassa bhikkhuno ti MN I, 17, 9 f.* As for himself, before successfully overcoming his fear, he had to think back over his earlier spiritual victories : his gestures, his words and his life are pure (*parisuddha-kāyakammanta, parisuddha-vacikammanta, parisuddha-jivakammanta*); he covets nothing (*anabhijjhālu*); his thoughts are benevolent (*metta-citta*); he has warded off idleness and torpor (*vigata-thīna-middha*); his mind is at rest (*vūpasanta-citta*); he has overcome doubt (*tiṇṇa-vicikiccha*); he does not boast and does not disparage others (*anatt'ukkamsaka aparavambhā*); he no longer shudders with horror (*vigata-lomahaṃsa*); he has no more desires (*appiccha*); he has become a hero (*āraddha-vīriya*); he has fixed his attention (*upaṭṭhita-sati*); he has conquered the *samādhi* and conquered wisdom (*samādhi-saṃpanna, paññā-saṃpanna*) (*MN I 17 ff.*; cf. A. Bareau: *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitāka et les Vinayapitāka anciens*, p. 33 ff.).

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Members of the same *saṃbhoga* are bound to mutual displays of courtesy. (cf. *Samav*, *supra* 39 f.). The monks naturally owe respect to the dignitaries, but not to the layman (*grhastha*), nor to those of the community who fail in their duty and show no concern (*avāsanna*, *pārśvastha*, *kuśīla*, *Vav Pīṭh Bh* 67; 97).

p. 56 The *pāsattas* etc. are classed among the “proud”, *parihavanta* (*paribhavantāḥ pārśvasth’ādayaḥ*, *Vav T* II 28 a 2); they make no effort (*pārśvasth’ādau ayatamāne*, *Abhidhāna* 5, 659b, s. v. *parihavanta*); they have abandoned the *dharma* (*dharmāc cyuta*, *Samav* 23a 12). Consequently, they are sometimes contrasted to the “anxious”, *saṃviggā* (*saṃvigna*), or “zealous” *jāyamāṇa* (*yātāmāṇa*) (*Vav T* II 28a 1). The latter “aspire to deliverance”, (*saṃvigna mokṣābhilāṣin*, *ibid* IV’ 73a 11); they “wish to lead the religious life” (*viḥāram icchanti*, *ibid* II 26a 12); they fear the *saṃsāra* and are for ever asking themselves “What have I done ? What have I yet to do ? What am I capable of doing and do not do ?” (*kiṃ me kaḍaṃ, kiṃ vā me sesaṃ; kiṃ sakkanijjaṃ na samāyarami ity ādi*, *Abhidhāna* 7, 239a).

The *pārśvasthas* and similar figures are compared to those religious excluded from the *saṃbhoga* (*bhinna-saṃbhogikaḥ amanojño ’saṃvignaḥ*, *Vav T* II 21a 6). These few indications all tend in the same direction; others will corroborate them, as we shall see. The “proud” were apparently guilty of slips of behaviour. It is difficult to be more precise.

Tradition has preserved the names of six types of these poor disciplinarians,<sup>1</sup> but has apparently forgotten precisely what constituted their respective failings. The commentaries vary, or are not consistent. Etymology does not help to define further the particular nature of each. In the texts, they often go in groups. They are “those who are on the fringe” (*pāsattā*) “those who do as they please”, *ahāchanda* (*yathāchanda*); “those who have bad habits”, *kuśīla* (*kuśīla*); the “negligent”, *osanna* (*avasanna*); those who have not renounced the benefits of this world”, *nītiya* or *ñicca*; and the “defaulters”, *saṃsatta* (*saṃsakta*) (cf. *Vav T* IV’ 35b; *Nis Bh* 4 352; and *infra*).

The *gāthā* 3, 165 of the *Vav Bh* does not mention the *ahāchanda* and *nītiya* religious, but proposes synonyms for the other terms :

*osanna khuy’āyāro sabal’āyāro ya hoi pāsattāho*  
*bhinn’āyāra kuśīlo saṃsatto saṃkiliṭṭho u*

It follows from the relating *T* that their wrong stems from a failure to comply with the “rules of begging” or the daily “obligations” of a monk (*āvassaya*, *Lehre* § 149). It would appear that the latter were avoided by the *osanna* (*āvāsiyak’ādiṣu anudyamaḥ kṣat’ācārāḥ*); the *pāsattā* (*sabal’ācāra*) is thought to have accepted alms brought from another village (*anyāddgam’*

1 *Vav* 1, 28-32; cf. *Nisīha* 4, 28-37; *Mahānisīha* III; *Lehre* § 139 and n. 1 for p. 161; DELEU, *Studien*, ad III, 11-13.



*ādi-bhojin*); the *kusīla* to have accepted provisions, etc., procured for him by his family (*jāty-ājīvan'ādi-para*); while the *saṃsatta* is alleged to have taken objects which were deposited in a precise place, for himself or for other monks (*sthāpit'ādi-bhojin*). Other passages seem to make it clear that p. 57 the latter owes his name to the fact that he keeps the company of the former, or that he has something of all their faults.<sup>1</sup> In IV' 65b 3, the *Vav Tīkā* presents the *avasanna* in more general terms : as a poor disciplinarian who has no regard for the vows and Law of the *samaṇa*, the purity of the alms, the *saṃmitis* etc. : *avasanne śīthilatām gate caraṇa-karaṇe vrata-śramaṇa-dharm'ādi-piṇḍa-viśodhi-samity-ādi-rūpe yasya so 'vasanna-caraṇa-karaṇaḥ*. As for the *kusīla*, the *Mahānīsiha* attributes him with so many characteristics – and, what is more, in the three fields of knowledge, faith and discipline – that it lists nearly two hundred sorts (III). This semantic extension is clearly of a later date.

These remarks, and the commentary of *Nis* 13, 42ff., show that the conduct of the “proud” presented a threat to good religious morals (*āyāra, ācāra*). If we accept broadly the equivalent values drawn up by *Vav Bh* 3, 165, it is clear that the vices of these *pāsathas* are incompatible with the *cursus honorum* (cf. *Vav* 3, 3 ff.).

Their knowledge and faith, however, should not be looked down upon. The commentaries allow for the possibility, in exceptional circumstances, of the *bhikkhu* requesting their teaching or assistance.

Thus it is that when the Doctrine is in danger of being lost, for want of religious learned enough, the monk studies under their guidance (*Vav Bh* 3, 213 f. *ad Vav* 3, 10). Malayagiri also admits that, in case there is no qualified religious at hand, the *bhikkhu* should confess to a *pāsatha* (*ad Vav* 1 35; cf. *Abhidhāna* 2, 425a)

In between the good religious and the layman there are other stages. The *sārūviya* (*sārūpika*) is in a way a religious “in (outward) appearance”. He has the outward appearance, but lacks the feelings: *sārūpika saṃyatarūpa-dhārin* (*Vav Tī IV'* 45a 5)<sup>2</sup>. The information concerning this figure is not always consistent. It seems he was clean shaven. Some passages lead us to believe he had a whisk (not of the prescribed type), a stick, a bowl. Elsewhere, he is described as a layman – having no whisk, begging, without a wife, but not vowing himself to chastity (*abhārya, abrahmacarya*) (cf. *Bh* 134, *ad Vav* 4). The *Bhāsa* and *Tīkā* of *Vav* 1, 35 next make mention of the p. 58 *pacchākaḍa, paścātṛta* (cf. *Tī IV'* *ad Bh* 3, 214). This term seems to apply

1 Communication from Pr. Schubring, who has also pointed out to me the definitions of the *nītiya*.

2 Compare *saṃyatarūpin*, applied to a religious when observing the ninth or tenth atonement (*infra*).

to "one who has remained behind", momentarily at least (cf. *Bh.* 134 *ad Vav* 4). According to *PSM*, this is a layman who has been a monk : this meaning is confirmed by the expression *samaṇovāsaga pacchākāḍa* (which appears for example in the lesson of *Vav* 1, 35 given by the Hindi commentary).

It can be seen moreover that necessity makes law (cf. *infra* 97 ff.). The Hindus likewise yielded to adverse conditions. In exceptional circumstances, the Brahmanic student (*brahmacārin*) becomes the pupil of a teacher who does not belong to the Brahman class, and he serves him with respect for the whole duration of his studies (*Manu* II 241).

## THE HIERARCHY

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However organised the community may appear to us, and whatever the constraint and vigilance which classing the religious into different categories favoured, it seemed on the whole necessary to subject them to the overall "direction" (*disā, diś*) of an *āyariya* (*ācārya*) and an *uvajjhāya* (*upādhyāya*), and to the "secondary direction" of an *āyariya-uvajjhāya* (*aṇudisā, anudiś*, *Vav* 2, 26 and *T* IV 72a 11; also *Lehre* § 140, *ubi alia*). These can be either permanent or temporary (*Vav, ibid*).

A religious who has been less than three years with the community is called *nava*, "new comer", "novice" (*pravrajyā-paryāyeṇa yasya trīṇi varṣāṇi... eṣa...bhavati navaḥ* (*Vav T* IV' 47a 2). Whatever his actual age, he is under the supervision of an *āyariya* and an *uvajjhāya* (*Bh* 3, 221b). Once the three years are over, he is classed according to his age amongst either the *ḍahara(ga)s* "children" (between four and fifteen), the *taruṇas* "young people" (between sixteen and forty)<sup>1</sup>, the *majjhimas* (*madhyamas*) "middle aged" or "adults" (between forty and sixty-nine, or the *theras* (*sthaviras*) "seniors" (over seventy):

*te-variso hoi navo ā solasagaṃ tu ḍaharagaṃ benti  
taruṇo cattā satar'ūṇa majjhimo therā to seso*

(*Vav Bh* 3, 220; cf. *janma-paryāyeṇa catvāri varṣāṇi ārabhya.....T*, *ad loc.*) The adolescent (*ḍaharaga-taruṇaga*) must come under the authority of an *āyariya* and an *uvajjhāya* (*Vav* 3, 11). In the same conditions, a nun is moreover under the supervision of a *pavattiṇi* (*ibid* 12):

*aṇavassa vi ḍaharaga-taruṇagassa niyameṇa saṃgahaṃ binti  
em eva taruṇa majjhe therammi ya saṃgaho navae* (*Bh* 3, 221).

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Similarly, the Buddhist religious were called *nava(ka)s* until they had spent four years in the order; *majjhimas* after five years; *theras* after ten years (cf. *SBB*, XIV, 141, n. 2).<sup>2</sup> After twenty years in the order, the Buddhist religious enjoyed relative independence and is no longer answerable

1. At least if one can rely on the commentaries. Pr. Schubring tells me however that *nava*, *ḍaharaga*, *taruṇa* are no doubt only synonyms, collected together as so often happens in Jaina writings (cf. SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras*, 69-70).
2. Other titles, and a different but parallel hierarchy have been noted by S. LÉVI and Ed. CHAVANNES: "From the beginning of ordination until the ninth year, one is *hia tso*, 'low seat'; from the tenth year to the nineteenth year, one is *tchong tso*, 'middle seat'; from the twentieth year to the fortieth year, one is *chang tso*, 'high seat'. Over fifty years (of age), one is respected by all monks and receives the name of 'Elderly'. *Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du bouddhisme indien*, *JA* XI 5, 1916 (193-223), p. 211.

to his master (Eggermont, *Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, 16, quoting Hofinger, *Étude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī*, 88).

Theoretically, the Jaina monks live in complete and constant subordination one to another (*Vav* 4, 26, ff.; 24-25). The younger in the order naturally are submitted to the "older" or *rāñiya* (Skr. *ratniya*)<sup>1</sup>. The *suttas* K 3, 19-21, *Vav* 4, 26, confirm this precedence.

The Buddhists likewise recommend respect to those who are older (S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, 144 f. and n. 4). The *rāñiya* seems to me to have an equivalent with the Buddhists, with the similar title of *rattañña*, *rattaññū*. He, too, is an object of veneration: the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* says (1, 6 = *DN* II, 77, 6 ff.)<sup>2</sup> that the Law will grow in stature so long as the monks continue to revere the older *theras* long since ordained.

1. In Jaina Skr., *ratniya*, derivative of *ratna*, "jewel", compare *SnA* (note *infra* p. 61). In fact, derivative of *rayaṇī*, "night", i. e. English "day", unit of time; cf. *Lehre* § 138 and p. 159 n. 3.

On the same use of *rātri* by Patañjali, and on the expressions *naktamdivam*, *rātrimdivam* and *ahorātra* in Pāṇini, see V. S. AGRAWALA, *India*, 171 and n. 1 *ubi alia*. Compare *varṣā-rātri*, synonym of *°kāla*; Pkr. *varisā-ratta*; perhaps Nepalese *barsāt* (TURNER, *Nep. Dict.*, s. v.; CDIAL 11398).

Same usage amongst the Buddhists, cf. *PED*, s. v. *ratti*; *SBB*, XX, 48 n. 4, on the subject of the compound *ratti-ccheda*. Pā. *cira-ratta*, "a long time", corresponds exactly to Amg. *cira-rāya* (*Āyār* 1, 29, 27; *Sūya* 1, 2, 3, 9; cf. *Āyār* 1, gl., s. v.; JACOBI, *SBE*, 22, 57 n. 3, who compares *dirgha-rātra*, attested amongst both Bauddhas and Jains).

The habit of counting in nights is Indo-European (cf. A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes*, II, 924a, *ubi alia*; compare VENDRYÈS, *MSL* 20, 280; referring to LOTH, *Revue Celtique*, 25, 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET, *Dict.*, s. v. *nox*). Cp. *RS*, 1, 50, f: *ahū mīmāno aktūbhīḥ*, "measuring the days with (that measure) the nights", according to RENOU, *EVP* 15, 3 (*ubi alia*).

During the ceremony of "repentance", the third plea for reprieve mentions "those whose religious age numbers many days", *je kei bahudevasiyā sāhuṇo* (glossed *bahu-divasa-paryāyāḥ*) (*infra* 160).

2. To refer to one who has been in the religious order a long time, Pāli uses *rattaññū* – traditionally interpreted as a compound; sometimes of *ratta*, *ratna*, "jewel": "he knows the jewel, i. e. the *nirvāṇa*" (cf. *SnA*, quoted *PED*, s. v.: cf. Jaina Skr. *ratniya*, Vedic *ratnin*); sometimes of *ratta*, doublet of *ratti* "night": *pabbajjato paṭṭhāya atikkantā bahū rattiyo jānāti ti* (*DA* quoted *PED*, *ibid*). In fact, the adjective might well be a derivative of this *ratta* or *ratti*.

Canonic Pā. had developed an adjective ending *-añña* (Skr. *-an(ā)ya-*, and *-īnya-*): Pā. *akammañña* (*akarmaṇya*), *aggañña* (cf. the Skr. acc. *agrayam*): whence *vaṃsa-ñña* (cf. *CPD*, s. v. *aggañña*), and, possibly, *rattañña* (in addition *abhiññāta-kolañña* Skr. *kaulīnya*; *rohañña*, cf. Skr. *rohiṇyaḥ*).

Further, from *JÑA-* "to know", it had two agent nouns: *-ñña*, and, more often, *ññū* (Skr. *-jñā-*, "who knows"; cf. *Saddanīti*, V, s. v.; *Ai* II, 2, §§ 23a: 287 e note); this last seems to be western (cf. Pkr. *māhārāṣṭrī-ññu*, *-ññua*, PISCHEL § 105, whereas Ardha-māgadhī seems to prefer *-nna*, *Āyār* 1, gl., s. v. *na*).

The existence of these doublets *-ñña*, *-ññū*, (like *-ga*, *gū* from *GA-*; *-khū* from *KHA-*) was followed by the creation, opposite *-añña*, of an ending *-aññū*, attested as early

When an older religious is alone with a junior, it is taken as a rule that he supervises. He appears at time, however, to have made himself unbearable by his vanity, unwarranted public warnings and groundless reprimands. Sometimes the junior would have recourse to slander in an attempt to have his mentor demoted (cf. *Vav* 2, 24; *Vav* T IV 59a-b).

The dignitaries of the Jaina community are numbered in a formalised list: *āyariya*, *uvajjhāya*, *ṣavattī*, *thera*, *gaṇī*, *gaṇahara*, *gaṇāvaccheiya* (*K* 3, 14; 4, 15-23; *Lehre* § 140). It is worthy of note that the *āyariya-uvajjhāya*, who has a definite role according to the *Vavahāra*, is not mentioned in this list (cf. *Vav* 4, 1 ff; § 141).

p. 62 Some of the terms mentioned above lend themselves to different uses. *Thera* is often an honorary title, applied to the *āyariya* (cf. *Vav* 2, 28 ff. and the corresponding commentaries); *āyariya* sometimes seems to have a generic meaning and to refer to any superior (*infra*); this could also be the case with *gaṇahara* (*Vav* 3, 1 f.), a term which in the commentaries is interchangeable with *āyariya* (*infra*). *Gaṇī* is the name given to "one who has a *gaṇa*" — in other words, a circle of monk: *gaṇo 'syâstīti gaṇī sādhu-parivāravān yo vartate* (T IV' 22a 4), a rather loose definition! Elsewhere, the term is synonymous with *uvajjhāya* (*infra*). Moreover, the functions of these monks sometimes have overlapped (cf. Deo, *Jurisprudence*, 35; compare Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, I, 178, n. 2).

Their main role is defined by means of an etymological exercise and a metaphor: taking five of them (*pañca*: *ācārya*, *upādhyāya*, *pravartaka*, *sthavira*, *gaṇāvacchedaka*), they can be compared to the "cage" (*pañjara*) which serves as refuge to a bird: the bars (i. e. the encouragements, the warnings which accompany the granting of an atonement, the prohibitions) prevent the religious from going astray:

*pañag'āi-saṃgaho hoi pañjaro, jā ya sārāṇa 'ṇṇoṇṇaṃ*  
*pacchitta camadhaṇṇhiṃ nivāraṇaṃ, saṇṇi-ditṭhanto* (Bh 1, 90)

Referring to a monk who has left his flock of "zealous" companions, the cage is said to be broken (*pañjara-bhagna*); a monk who leaves a

as *Sn*; *avadaṇṇū* (doublet of *avadaṇīya*, *ibid*; cf. *CPD* s. v.); hence, *rattaṇṇū*: *rattaṇṇa*).

The rules of precedence amongst the Jaina monks are those of Indian society in general; cf. *Kumārasaṃbhava*, VI, 49; *Milindapañha* 24, 4-10). Young Buddhist monks learn to calculate immediately their religious age by measuring the shadow thrown (*Vin* I, 95, 36; cf. *SBB* XIV, 124, n. 1; compare M-L. DAVIDIAN, *At Bīrūnī on the time of day from shadow lengths*, *JAOS* 80, 1960, 330-335).

See *Arth* 1, 19, 5 : *nālikābhīr ahar aṣṭadhā rātriṃ ca vibhajet, chāyā-pramāṇena vā*,

“proud” group and joins another flock so as to improve his conduct, is said to “aspire to a cage” *pañjarābhīmukha*, *Ṭ* II 28a 5; 7 ff.).

As a general rule, the religious are “taken in hand twofold by the *āyariya* and the *uvajjhāya*”; the nuns “threefold, by the *āyariya*, the *uvajjhāya* and the *pavattiṇī*” (*Vav* 3, 11 f.). All three exist in the Buddhist system; and the Brahmanic student likewise is subordinate to an *ācārya* who teaches him the Veda, and ordains him, and to an *upādhyāya* who instructs him in the *aṅgas* (*Inde Classique*, § 1240; *Manu*, II, 140 f.). Amongst the Jains, the first is of a higher rank than the second, as shown by the seniority and knowledge required of the candidates (*Vav* 3, 3–8) — a type of hierarchy which conforms with that recognised by the Brahmanic *Dharmasūtras*, but which is opposed to that favoured by the Buddhists (Lamotte, *Histoire*, I, 61; Oldenberg, *Vin. Texts* I, 178 n. 2). The latter require the *ācariya* to have been six years in the order, and the *upajjhāya* ten years (Buddhaghosa, *ad Mahāvagga* V, 4, 2). A Jaina religious who is otherwise duly qualified can claim the responsibility of an *uvajjhāya* after three years, and that of an *āyariya* after eight years (*Vav* 3, 3 ff.).

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The ultimate responsibility for the religious life as a whole falls to the *āyariya*. He is the “superior” or the “minister”, (cf. Guérinot, *Religion*, 307). In the field of instruction, he teaches the “spirit” while the *uvajjhāya* or “tutor” teaches the “letter” (*Lehre* § 141; *Vav* 10, 11 f.). The former, as a teacher of morals, dispenses praise, admonishment, criticism or help to his flock:

*anusiṭṭhi uvālabhe uvaggahe c’ eva* (*Vav Bh* 1, 374b; cf. 380).

The latter may be of a material nature: when for instance he distributes wooden bowls, food and clothing.<sup>1</sup> Were there specialised *āyariyas*? *Vav* 10, 11 f. seems to divide the tasks between either initiating or ordaining, or both; *Vav* 10, 12 distinguishes between masters of interpretation and of recitation, or masters of both (*uddesañāyariya vāyañāyariya*). Anyone who is neither one nor the other is a “minister of the Law” (*dhamm’ā*). But there are also the ignorant who have no authority (*Ṭ* II 24 a–b). It is known that the Buddhists acknowledge several types of *ācariya* (*Vin* I, 187; cf. *SBB* XIV, 249 n. 3).

According to *Vav Ṭ* (III 42a 5), the *ā*. who is installed on his high seat of honour and teaches the letter and the spirit is in the likeness of a lion (*yo mahatyāṃ niṣadyāyāṃ sīhitaḥ san sūtram arthaṃ vācayate tiṣṭhati vā sa sīṃhānugah*)<sup>2</sup>.

1. Whence the quadruple scholastic distinction between the *ā*, (1) useful for the here and now but not for the hereafter, (2) useful for the hereafter, but not for the here and now, etc. (*Ṭ* III 36a 1 f)
2. The others sit on an article of clothing or a piece of sacking, and resemble the bull or the jackal (*supra*).

p. 64 As a professor of dogma, the *uvajjhāya* “dispenses the *sūtras*” (*sūtra-pradāyī*, *T* II 13a 2; *sūtradātā*, *T*hān *T* 244b). He provides a training for the religious in the subjects taught by the *āyariya*, “service”, etc. (*pravartayati sādhuṇ ācāryōpadiṣṭeṣu raiyāvṛṭṭy’ādiṣv iti*, *T*hān *T*, *ibid*). When the latter is detained, he deputizes for him, in his duties towards the penitents for example (*Bh* 2, 241 f. *ad Vav* 2, 7 f.).

The “direction” exercised by the *āyariya-uvajjhāya* appears to be considered as secondary (*aṇudisā*, *Vav* 2, 26 and *Vav T* IV’ 72a 11).<sup>1</sup> However, one might be tempted to think (despite the *Bh T*, it is true) that *Vav* 3, 5-6 is defining the qualifications required of this dignitary; in which case, he would occupy an intermediary position between the *āyariya* and the *uvajjhāya*.

The *pavattī* (*pravartinī*) the “promotor” or “instigator”, the official in charge of discipline, is rarely mentioned in the texts. *K* does not mention him, except in the formalised list of masters; *Vav* never mentions him. The role of the *pavattinī*, however, is indicated (*K* 1, 41 f.; 3, 13 f.; *Vav* 3, 12; 5, 1 ff.): she is a “supervisor” whose status in fact appears to be rather poorly defined, being parallel sometimes to that of the *āyariya*, (*K*), sometimes to that of the *āyariya-uvajjhāya*, and sometimes perhaps to that of the *uvajjhāya*<sup>2</sup> (compare *Vav*, *uddesa* 4 and 5, 1-2; 5-6; *Lehre* § 141). In short, she is thought to have embodied authority for the nuns. The mission of the

We may think of the “lion’s throne”, occupied by Ānanda in order to preach the *dharma* at the council of Rājagṛha – “like the king of the lions living amongst the assembled lions” (cf. the texts collected by PRZYLUSKI, *Concile* 18; 34; 71).

The Indian habit of adjusting the skin used to sit upon to the status of a particular person and to the different situations he finds himself in, is well known: lion-skin in theory, in practice, generally a tiger-skin for the king. The man thus shares the virtues of the animal upon whose skin he is sitting *AV* IV 8, 4; DUBOIS, *Inde* I, 170 and n. 1; 220; 248 f.; J. J. MEYER, *Zusätze zur “Trilogie.....”* WZKM 46, 1939 (47-140) 88; J. AUBOYER, *Le symbolisme du trône* 35; 177 ff; 181 ff; GONDA, *Religions* I, 200; J. C. HEESTERMAN, *The ancient Indian royal Consecration* 106; 108 f.). We are reminded for instance of the wearing of a black antelope skin, incarnating the *Brahman*, by the *brahmacārīn* of the Brahmanic caste (MANU II, 41; GONDA *ibid*, 147).

Concerning the Brahmanic *ācārya*, “the man who knows, adheres to and (or) practices the traditional good behaviour.....”, see GONDA, *Change and Continuity*, p. 235.

1. *Vav T* IV 72a 11: *disam* (scil, *uddeṣṭum*) *ācāryatvam upādhyāyatvaṃ vā anudisam vā ācāryopādhyāya-pada-dvīṭṭya-ssthāna-vartitvam...*
2. *Vav T* IV’ 50a 4 would lead us to take the *pravartinī* as a homologue of the *upādhyāya*: *evam āryikāṃ api gurur ācāryo gaṇī upādhyāyaḥ gaṇinī pravartinī rakṣanti*.

In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the *pavattinī* proposes nuns for ordination (*upasampadā*) and guides their religious life (II, 273, 24 ff.). The title is attested from the *Pātimokkha* onwards (IV, 326, 1\*\*), remained as accepted usage, though not very common (cf. 325, 24); in the old commentary, it is glossed by *upajjhā* (*sic*; IV 326, 4’).

*pavattī*, such as the commentaries define it, consists in stimulating those who stumble in trying to follow the Law.<sup>1</sup>

Next come the *gaṇāvaccheiyyas*, *gaṇāvaccheiṇīs* (*Vav*, *udd* 4 and 5, *su* 3-4; 7-8). These are in a way "censors" or "coadjutors". In *Vav* 2, 6-23, the *g.* is responsible for coming to the help of penitents and monks who suffer from some illness or weakness; he is responsible for expelling and, should the case arise, for rehabilitating the guilty religious. It was thought that he was "at the head of a section of the flock" (*Lehre* § 140; Deo, *History* 221). According to the commentaries, his prime function seems to have been that of providing the *gaṇa* with material resources most needed (lodging, implements); he watches over it, and sees to it that it attains the other world – a task which is, in fact, incumbent on all the masters (*gaṇāvacchedako gaṇa-tapti-kāri, eṣa lokōttariko lokōttara-bhāvī, Vav T II 13a 3*)<sup>2</sup>.

The office of *gaṇahara*, "bearing responsibility for a flock," does not feature in *K*, except in the formalised list of dignitaries (*supra* 62). He is not specifically mentioned in the *Vavahāra*, but there is reason to suppose that the verbal expression *gaṇaṃ dhārettae* (3, 1 f.) alludes to him. His function is not defined. His intervention, however, permits the spread of groups of monks, and this role is perhaps his also in other texts (cf. *Lehre*, p. 161 n. 2).

As is known, this title was that borne by the eleven disciples to whom Mahāvira entrusted the responsibility of the flocks (*Lehre* § 22). *Thāṇ T* reminds us of this fact, and adds that the *gaṇahara* is the official in charge of educating the nuns, that he is well versed in the Doctrine, and that he is responsible for a section of the *gaṇa*.<sup>3</sup> The commentaries relating to *Vav* 3, 1 f. lead us to understand that the term may have a generic value; in fact, they give the name *gaṇa(d)hara* to the religious who assumes responsibility for a monk's early instruction; but this title is often exchanged with that of *āyariya*, *ācārya*. The *gaṇahara* is thus thought to be a "master". His role as deputy appears to be confirmed by the wording of *Vav* 3, 1 f., for, curiously enough, in the *sutta*, the person for whom he deputizes is not given any of the above mentioned titles. He is called *bhagavaṃ*, "Blissful", the name which seems to be applied above all to Mahāvira (as also the Buddha, cf. *Lehre* § 17 f.). This association of words could thus have very distant origins. It is true that *bhagavaṃ* and *bhante* are the honorary titles

1. *pravartayatīty evaṃ-sīlaḥ pravartā pravartakaḥ, dharme viśīdatāṃ protsāhakaḥ (T II 13a 2; cf. Thāṇ T 244b).*

Pr. Schubring points out to me that to-day there are *pravartakas*, masc.

2. Cf. *Thāṇ T*, *ibid* : *yo hi taṃ gṛhītvā gacchāvaṣṭambhāyaivāpadhi-mārgaṇ'ādinimittam viharati; Abhidhāna, s. v.; Lehre* p. 161, n. 2 *gaccha-kārya-cintaka.*

3. *Jina-sīṣya-viśeṣaḥ, āryikā-pratijāgarako vā sādhu-viśeṣaḥ samaya-prasiddhaḥ, gaṇasyāvacchedo deṣo 'syāstīti, Thāṇ T, ibid.*



used to refer to the Master (*sthavīro nāma ācāryaḥ, asāv eva pūjā-vacanena bhagavān śabdenōcyate, Vav T IV' 7 b 10*). *Bhante* features in the later phrase *se kim āhu bhante*, – “Why does the Master say that?” or, “What does the Master mean?”

p. 66 Age, knowledge and religious seniority are qualities of the *thera* (*sthavira*) “elder” (*Vav 10, 14*). The title is normally used in the plural. It is well known to the Buddhists. For the Jainas, it can be applied to a religious who is at least seventy years old (*ibid*; cf. *Vav. Bh 3, 220b; 105a; 237a*); to one who has spent twenty years in the order (*Vav, ibid*); to one who has precise scriptural knowledge (that of the *Samavāya*, etc.). It is thus given quite naturally to the *āyariya*, who fulfils this requirement (*Vav 3, 7*; cf. *Vav T IV' 1b; supra*). This distinction seems to be conferred with a certain solemnity; there are in a way confirmed elders, “endowed with the rank of elder”, *thera therā-bhūmi-patta* (*Lehre* § 141; *Vav 5, 17 f; 8, 5*). It is apparently one of their privileges to grant dispensations to the penitent (*Vav 1, 21; 2, 28; 29 f.*), along with other special rights including the power to create a new flock (*ibid, 4, 19; 6, 1; 3, 2*). Their jurisdiction extends over a *gaṇa* (*gaṇo asyāstīti, Thāṇ T, 244b*); and within it they are the highest authority (*gaccha-mahattara-rūpa, Vav T IV' 26a 12*; cf. Deo, *Jurisprudence*, 23).

In the lowest ranks of the community, the student, *seha*, and the “pupil,” *antevāsī* appear to be opposed to the *thera* and the *āyariya* respectively (*Vav 10, 14 f.; 11–13*). These two ranks also exist in the Buddhist communities; and the Brahmanic *Dharmasūtras* oblige the *antevāsin* to live in the Master's home<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, the commentaries give the name *paṭicchaya* (*pratīcchaka*), “disciple”<sup>3</sup>, to the monk who comes to another *gaṇa* in order to study at a higher level. Before being admitted, he undergoes a form of examination, and makes confession to his new master (*infra 77 ff*).

It will be seen that the Jaina community seems to have included a great number of dignitaries. The names given to the principal of these are known to us also through Buddhist and even Brahmanic institutions (V. S. Agrawala, *India*, 283 f.; 292). By and large, their roles are more

1. *bhaddante ti gurv-āmantraṇe rūḍhatvāt, Vav T II 33b 4 f.*

2. Concerning the *antevāsin*, “resident pupil”, GONDA, *Change and Continuity*, 231, and n. 9.

3. *śiṣyaḥ sva-dīkṣitāḥ, pratīcchakāḥ paragaṇa-vartī sūtrārtha-tadubhaya-grāhakaḥ, T IV' 67a 7; gacchāntarād adhyayanārtham adlikṛta-gacchōpasampadam prapannaḥ, ibid IV 75b 8.*

p. 67 or less comparable. But the Jaina religious seems to have been by far the most strictly bound to a set framework and to supervision. The speciality of his masters, however, is not always precisely defined – far from it. It seems that relatively little trouble was taken in allotting tasks, which no doubt, moreover, varied with the importance of the *gaṇa*; that one wished rather to provide the religious with supervisors whose presence alone would remind them of their duties, with helpers who would give them material assistance, with guides who would direct their studies, strengthen them in their beliefs, encourage them to put them into practice, and provide them with necessary help and comfort during penances and atonements.

## THE MASTERS

69

According to the commentaries, the role of religious superiors is exactly comparable to that of princes who govern the State. Equivalent virtues and aptitudes are thus demanded of them. These are specified, negative and positive alike, in the third lesson of the *Vavahāra* (and the *Bh* 3, T IV').

We may assume that the most important concern ways of life, for it is not the scholars who show the way to deliverance, but those who strictly control all their activity :

*sīso paḍicchao vā āyariyo vā na soggaṃ neti*

*je sacca-karaṇa-jogā te saṃsārā vimoenti*

(*Bh* 3, 327; *ye satya-karaṇa-yogāḥ samyamānugata-vyāpārās te ...*).

It devolves upon the masters to look after the material and spiritual safety of their flock, more especially when they are distressed or seek to mend their ways by observing atonements (cf. *Vav* 2, 6 ff.). Their devotion brings them personal benefits; they hasten the elimination of their own karman; in addition, numerous honours fall to them - a secondary benefit, but one which seems to have been nonetheless much appreciated. (*infra*).

p. 70

Naturally, low extraction, the exercise of certain arts or trades, or physical defects disqualify anyone from holding responsibilities, or even from being ordained (*Vav* T IV' 21a; *Lehre* § 137). The same restrictions are ratified by the Buddhists and by Indian society in general (*Inde Classique* § 2369; *Arth* 3, 5, 30; 3, 11, 28 f.).<sup>1</sup> Certain feelings, attitudes and

### 1. And outside India.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition : *Leviticus* 21, 16-23.

—16 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

—17 Speak unto Aaron, saying, Whosoever he be of thy seed in their generations that hath any blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God.

—18 For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach : a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous,

—19 Or a man that is broken-footed, or broken-handed.

—20 Or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvey, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken;

—21 No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord made by fire : he hath a blemish; he shall not come nigh to offer the bread of his God.

—22 He shall eat the bread of his God, both of the most holy, and of the holy.

—23 Only he shall not go in unto the vail, nor come nigh unto the altar, because

manners, and also certain vices, are considered to be eliminatory (*Bh* 3, 99 ff.; cf. *Bh* 289). An *āyariya* who becomes infirm or crippled has to be removed from his office (*Bh* 3, 96). He withdraws and is made to live outside the main group in a cave or a thicket, like the blind buffalo which has been stolen and must be hidden from view. He is seen as an insult to the Doctrine and could give the king a pretext for annoying the saṃgha (*pravācana-hīlanā prasakte rājñādi-doṣa-prasaṅgaś ca*). However, even after he has been dismissed, the whole community, with the elder at the head, provide him with care and attention (*Bh* 3, 96 f.)

Spiritual incompetence is naturally incompatible with the tenure of an office (*T* IV' 1 b 4).

Superiors who transgress their monastic vows are demoted – temporarily if they are able to observe some discretion, as is often the case apparently with those who do not manage to respect the vow of chastity (*Vav* 3, 15; 17); and permanently, if they deliberately violate it or if they are dishonest (*idid*, 14; 16; 19 ff.).

The future master must have proved himself in the fields of faith (*daṃsaṇa*), knowledge (*nāṇa*), good religious conduct (*caritta*), and ascetics (fasting, etc., *tava*). For he has to guide his flock towards salvation (cf. *Mahānisiha* V § 19). The necessary qualities are carefully classified : eight are demanded of the *gaṇī* by the *Dasāo* (= *Thāṇ*, *Lehre* § 140); five are demanded of the *gaṇahara* by the commentaries of the *Vav* 3, 1: they are described in terms of imagery :

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he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries for I the Lord do sanctify them.

Cf. Note a (Jerusalem Bible) : God is the creator of the physical world in its entirety. The infirmity of the priest, called to draw nearer to God and to take part more closely in His holiness, would prevent him.

A similar act of exclusion is pronounced in the Code of canonical Law (Canon 984 f.). And recently in the *Apostolic Letter "Summi Dei Verbum"* from H. H. Pope Paul VI to the episcopate of the whole world (4-5 November 1963) it was said :

"It is well to note that for the vocation to the priesthood it is not only spiritual gifts, in other words gifts appertaining to the intelligence and free will of the candidate, which come into play, but also those appertaining to the faculties of sense and to the body itself. It must be the whole man who is fitted to assume the severe duties of a holy charge. These duties are generally linked with harsh difficulties, which sometimes, following the example of Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd, demand the sacrifice of one's own life. We must therefore never think that God calls to the priesthood children or adolescents who would not have the necessary qualities of intelligence or will, or who from birth have psychical defects or physical deficiencies which would make them be considered unfit to exercise worthily many duties of their charge and to fulfil the obligations of the ecclesiastical estate. On the other hand, there is an encouraging sentence of the Angelic Doctor. It reaffirms that what St. Paul says of the first preachers of the Gospel be applied to each priest : "Those whom God chooses for a task, are prepared and directed by Him in such a way that they be fitted for the task for which they were chosen."

*paḍibohaga desiya sirighare ya nijjāmage ya bodhavve  
tatto ya mahā-govo eyā paḍivattio pañca (Bh 3, 17) :*

p. 72 he awakens those who are asleep in the house of *saṃsāra*, when it is on fire (or: he takes good care to appoint everybody to their appropriate post and to watch that they remain diligent, *pratibodhaka-dṛṣṭānta*); being a good guide, his conduct is faultless for the greater benefit of the flock (*deśaka-d.*); he is an expert in "jewels" (knowledge etc; cf. *infra* 78); as a result, he increases the treasure which is entrusted to him (*śrīgṛhaka-d.*); he brings his flock safely into harbour after crossing the ocean of rebirths (*niryāmaka-d.*); he is able to protect his flock in times of difficulty (*mahāgopa-d.*, *Vav T IV' 4b-5b*).

The same qualities which go to make a good prince and heir to the throne also go to make a good *ācārya* (*kumāra-dṛṣṭānta*, *ibid IV' 5b ff.*); both are honest, heroic, magnanimous, resolute, energetic, morally and physically strong, generous, intelligent ( $\langle \text{ } \rangle$  *buddhi*), well bred, and able to bring a task to a successful issue (*karāṇe*  $\langle \text{ } \rangle$  *kuśala*) :

*sūre vīre sattiḥ vavasāya thire ciyāya dhitimante  
buddhī viñīya karāṇe .. (Bh 3, 78).*

In short, they resemble the lion, not the jackal (*T IV' 6a-8a*).

Under the guidance of a master who has these qualifications and who devotes himself to his task (*vyāpāra-yukta*), the flock prospers at the same time as the *karman* of the minister is eliminated :

*taha taha gaṇa-parivaddhī nijjara-vaddhī vi em eva (Bh 3, 56b).*

He allots suitable tasks to everyone : collecting alms, teaching the *suttas*, answering contradictors, preaching the Law and caring for the weak. On the other hand, the flock suffers in the hands of someone who does not bother about it. It is the same in the world beyond as it is in this world on earth. Imagine two brothers, each having his own estate : the energetic brother increases the prosperity of his land and his reputation, whereas the unenergetic brother jeopardizes both (*Bh 53 f.*).

It is important that the text, and if possible the interpretation of the Doctrine, be transmitted correctly to the disciples. The dignitary is thus expected to have scriptural knowledge which increases as his responsibilities become greater (*Vav 3, 3 ff.*). It will be remembered that in order to make it easier to examine this knowledge, it is recited following a threefold pattern (*supra* 31). In addition, the provisions of the canonic treatises are supplemented by precepts which are handed down orally, from master to master, and which are also considered as indispensable : they are known as the

“superior’s companions” (*ācāryadvitīyaka*) (*Bh* 3, 76)<sup>1</sup>. They stipulate that the theoretical examination of a candidate for the honours must be followed by a complementary practical examination (*parīkṣā*). The dignitary is given the task of educating a “little one” (*kṣullaka*), an “elder”, an “adolescent” or a “waster”<sup>2</sup>:

*suddhassa ya pāricchā khuddāya there ya taruṇa khaggūde* (*ibid*, *Bh* 66a).

If he proves his dedication and instructs and reforms them, the principal *āyariya* (*mūl’ āyariya*) puts him in charge of a “circle” where he teaches the interpretation, and a “circle” where he teaches the text of the Law. He is finally put in charge of a flock, if he has borne this double burden without failing :

*iya suddha sutta-maṇḍali dāvijjai attha-maṇḍali c’ eva dohṭm pi asīyante, dei gaṇaṃ...* (*Bh* 3, 73).

In this way the aptitude of the candidate will have been tested, as gold is tested by heat or by touchstone : he may now be considered as a “chosen vessel” and endowed with a *gaṇa*<sup>3</sup>.

However, add the commentaries, men of experience recommend that any religious chosen as a future superior be endowed with the “signs of the *ācārya*”, (*ācārya-lakṣaṇa*) : auspicious signs (*lakṣaṇa*) are also characteristic of an heir to the throne. These “marks”, in a way, guarantee the future prosperity of the *gaṇa* or the kingdom (*Bh* 3, 205 f.).

Consequently, *Bh* 7 not only require of a prospective superior the absence of all physical deformity, which is a negative condition, but also they tend to stipulate the contrary positive condition, for alms fall naturally to someone who is physically gifted<sup>4</sup>. So much so that in the absence of an “adept” (sometimes even in preference to an adept), a “postulant” is chosen who is “as beautiful as Love”<sup>5</sup> : The esteem which a person enjoyed in secular life as a result of his extraction, his wealth or his power, follows him into the religious life and is a benefit to the whole community. His presence not only strengthens his discouraged companions and prompts laymen to be generous, but also apparently forestalls many awkward situations. A doctor, when consulted, will take good care to prescribe appropriate treatment. If a king abducts a nun, he will return her discreetly. The

1. But as it is said *sācakāt sūtram*, any proposition may be authenticated !

2. *khaggūda...vakk’ācāra* (*T* IV’ 16b 6). But see *PSM* (s. v.)

3. *tasmin parīkṣite pātre gaṇo dīyate*, *T* IV’ 20a 2.

4. *tasya mūlam ākṛtiḥ*, *T* IV’ 15a ff.

5. *yo cāpy agatārtho ’pi ākṛtimān rūpeṇa Makaradhvaja-tulyaḥ sa gaṇadharapade nivēṣyate*, *T* IV’ 22a 5.

p. 74 reputation of the minister ensures that in a discussion his *sādhus* prevail and that his enemies are rendered powerless, for everyone is automatically on his side :

*sāhū vīṣṭyamāṇo ajjā gelanṇa bhikkha uvagaraṇā  
vavahāra itthiyāe vāe ya akiñcaṇa-kare ya (Bh 3, 198).*

The monks were evidently subject to trials and tribulations. The minister needed material protection as well as moral encouragement.

Whatever the master's extraction, considerable honours are owing to him. To render these honours is to fulfil the order of the "Blessed".<sup>1</sup> They are listed in a *gāthā* :

*gaṇadhāriss' āhāro uvagaraṇaṃ saṃthavo ya ukkoso  
sakkāro sīsa-paḍicchaehi gihi-annatitthāhiṃ (Bh 3, 46).*

"food, implements, praise, deference <are due> to one who is in charge of a flock, from his disciples, lay believers, and followers of other masters". Hymns are sung in praise of his superior knowledge of the letter and the spirit, his care and attention in penetrating the hidden secrets of the treatises, his birth, the purity of his thoughts which aspire to nothing else but to traverse the *saṃsāra* and to bring others safely through it (Bh 3, 47).

These honours, however, are accessory. If one solicits an office, it is in order the more quickly to eliminate former deeds, and to expedite the hour of deliverance (*tattvataḥ karma-nirjaraṇa-nimittam gaṇo dhriyate, tathā 'pi pūjām eṣa prāpṇuyāt, T IV' 12a 11; cf. Bh 3, 13).*

The presence of a circle of disciples constitutes both an honour and an opportunity for dedication. The disciples will be at least three in number (T *ibid* 13b 3, 10b 13). One remains with the master, accompanies him when he goes to the lavatory (*saṃjñā*) and acts as an interlocutor (*ālaptā*). The two others help him during his begging, accompany him to the place of study, and through discussion enable him to reach certainty :

*ego ciṭṭhai pāse sannā-ālotta-m-ādi kajjatthā  
bhikkhādi viyāra duve paccaya-heuṃ ca do hontu (Bh 3, 51).*

p. 75

Thus the extremely hierarchical structure of the Jaina community favoured exchanges of service and the progress of everyone (cf. *Lehre* § 148). The importance of the "service" (*veyāvāḍiya*) will also be seen. It is often the complementary observance to the "rejection of the karman" (*nijjarā*). By involving himself in the material and spiritual well-being of his flock, the minister simultaneously increased his own gains in these two spheres.

1. *Bhagavatām hi Tīrthakṛtām iyaṃ ājñā yad uta guroḥ sadā pūjā kartavyā, T IV' 13a 1.*

Basically, he followed an identical aim to that of the *jinakappiyā*, but in the opposite way. Consequently, the ideals which they embody have appeared contradictory. Whereas the master devotes himself to his flock, the religious who follows the “rule of the Jaina” belongs to those who “think only of themselves” (*attacinta, ātmacintaka*)<sup>1</sup>. The ethics of the *ātmacintakas* are in no way criticised; their conduct, however, renders them “unworthy” of promotion to the rank of master (*dvāv api ātmacintakāv anarhau*). They are denied responsibilities in exactly the same way as the religious who are suffering and in need of help, those who are unable to be useful, those who, through laziness, refuse responsibilities (*nēcchai, samartho 'py ālasyena gaṇaṃ dhārayituṃ nēcchati*), or those who, through egoism, prefer to remain alone – so much so that they are compared to a mother who brings still-born children into the world (*nindū*), to a crow who only gives birth once (*kāṭi*) or to a barren woman (*vandhyā, Vav Bh 3, 99 ff.*).

p. 76 These comparisons do not appear very flattering for the *ātmacintakas*, and particularly for those of them who follow the “rule of the Jina”. But they have been suggested quite naturally by reality and the facts. The spread of the way of life according to the “rule of the Jina” was clearly incompatible with the existence of an organised community. The “rule of the elders”, on the other hand, gave it a chance to exist, and even made its spreading more easy. It can be seen how, when faced with new circumstances, one type of institution (*thera-kappa*) came to be widespread at the expense of another (*jina-kappa*). The growth of ideas which resulted from this in some ways recalls that undergone by Buddhism. Here and there, altruistic concerns made themselves felt more and more urgently : in the present case, we see them expressed within the monastic community.

1. Amongst the *attacinta, ātmacintaka*, are classed, on the one hand the *jinakalpikas* and *yathālandiyas*, and on the other hand the religious who, although living within the flock, do not concern themselves for their brethren. The category thus more or less coincided with that of the *nirapekṣas* (*supra 46*) : *ya ātmānam eva kevalaṃ cintayan manyate yathā : 'ham abhyudyataṃ jinalpa-yathālandakalpānāṃ ekataraṃ vihāraṃ pratipatsye iti ātmacintakaḥ, yo 'pi gaṇe 'pi vasaṇ...na vahaṭi...taptim anyeṣāṃ sādhiṇāṃ so 'py ātmacintakaḥ. etau dvāv apy ātmacintakāv anarhau* (*Vav T IV 22 b 6 ff.; cf. Bh 3, 101*).

Compare *T IV' 62a 4 ff.* : *ātmacintako yo 'bhyudyatā-maraṇaṃ vā pratipattuṃ niṣcetaḥ..., nirapekṣo bāl'ādiṣu cintā-rahitaḥ...ete 'pi...bhikṣavo atyantam ācāryatv'-ādi-padānāṃ anarhāḥ...*



## CHANGES OF GAṆA

p. 77

In ancient India, it was not uncommon to see masters and pupils travelling all over the country.

It was also permitted that a student, in order to improve his knowledge, could be transferred to a new school, and benefit from the knowledge of a professor specialising in a particular field (cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India*, 305).

The Jainas also practised this custom, calling it *uvasampayā* (*upasaṃpad*), and classing it as the tenth and last of those customs which, in their opinion, constitute perfect conduct (*sāmāyārī*; *Lehre* § 136, with references particularly to *Uttar*, 26, 1-7.)

But with the Jainas, as in Brahmanic society, it could lend itself to abuses. There were unstable religious who changed *gaṇas* too often and who were consequently known as *gāṇaṃgaṇīyas* (*Lehre* § 139). Pāṇini quoted the *tīrtha-dhvaṅkṣas* or *-kākas* (V. S. Agrawala, *ibid*, 284).

Some were only yielding to their own leanings toward wrong. This explains the fact that admission to a different *gaṇa* was granted only after a double examination. The commentaries set out the conditions of this examination when dealing with the "confession of *uvasampayā*" (*uvasaṃpay-āloyaṇā*), as it directly precedes it (*infra*).

An initial examination makes it possible to discover the motives which caused the religious to leave his former flock (*Vav T II 20b-25b*). If he passes this, he then undergoes another examination: for three days his behaviour is closely observed, to check that he conforms with the Doctrine. This enquiry is not necessary if the monk is already known (*jñāta*, *T II 20b 5*). The formalities differ, moreover, depending on whether or not the *bhikkhu* belongs to the same "commensality" (*saṃbhoga*) as the monks of the flock he wishes to join.

After consideration of the avowed aims of the candidate, those who do not offer sufficient guarantees – religious, intellectual, social or even physical – are eliminated (*infra*).

p. 78

The three fields in which it is thought advisable to approach the level of perfection are "knowledge" and "faith" (which go together), and "conduct". These are the "three jewels" *ratna-traya* (R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, 32 ff.).

1. They take the following form:

Helen M. Johnson notes that at the end of the *rohiṇī* penance, a solemn ceremony takes place. He who is performing the sacrifice procures the objects necessary for the three ends: books, in connection with the *jñāna*; dish, fabrics, fly-swatter, *cakra*,

*So puṇa uvasaṃpaj'e nāṇ'atthā dāṃsaṇe caritte ya*  
*Vav Bh 1, 101 a; cf. T II 21 a 6 f.).*

Newcomers have sometimes left flocks of "zealous" monk, sometimes groups of "proud" monks (*lasyôpasampadyamānasya gamanam dvābhyām sthānābhyām bhavet, tad yathā : yalamānebhyaḥ paribhavadbhyaś ca...* (*T ibid*, 28a 1 ff.). The "zealous", by definition, conduct themselves correctly. It is therefore on the other two points – namely, knowledge and faith – that they seek to improve themselves. On the other hand, the above mentioned "proud" wish to improve their conduct.

*Dāṃsana* (*darśana*) can be taken to mean the *suttas* relating to the purification by penance; *nāṇa* (*jñāna*) can be understood as all the others (*darśana-viśodhikāṇi yāni sūtrāṇi śāstrāṇi vā tāni darśanam, śeṣāṇi sūtrāṇi śāstrāṇi vā jñānam*, *T II 32b 7 f.*; cf. *III 19a 15 f.*; *IV' 14b 6*). The religious seeks to master them in three respects: the text, the meaning and both together. Three possibilities present themselves: the monk revises what he already knows (*varṇanā*); he memorises what he has forgotten (*saṃdhanā*); he learns something new (*grahaṇa*) (*II 32a-b*).

As for the religious who come to conduct themselves well, they have one or other of two motives: to "serve" (*vaiyāvṛtṭya-nimittam*) or to "fast" (*kṣapaṇa-nimittam*):

*dāṃsaṇa-nāṇe sutt'attha-tadubhae vattaṇā ya ekk'ekke*  
*uvasaṃpayā caritte veyāvacce ya khamaṇe ya*

p. 79 (*Vav Bh 1, 103 = Nis Bh 6362*; cf. *Vav Bh 1, 102 = Nis Bh 6361*). This may be for only a while (*kāle, kālato; itvara*), or permanently (*āvakahāe, yāvat-kathika; yāvajjivam; ibid*).

Serving and fasting are, in fact, two complementary aspects of the same conduct, which, taken as a whole, is aimed at shaking off the burden of the *karman* (cf. *infra*). The roles of the monks involved are exactly similar to those of the superiors and subordinates of a flock – roles involving mutual demands and help. For in "serving" a religious who devotes all his energies to asceticism, or a superior absorbed in other tasks, the servant, for his part (like the *ācārya*, for example), succeeds in breaking the sequence of his deeds.

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*kalaśa* and what is needed in the temples, in connection with the *darśana*; various articles of use to the religious, covers, clothing... in connection with the *cāritra* (*Rohiṇī-Aśokacandrakathā, JAOS 68, 1918 (168-175), 168*).

Przyłuski has examined the opposition which occurs in Buddhism between the religious "who maintains the defence" (*sic; śīla-dhara*), and the religious who has "heard much" (*bahuśruta*). He has shown how the varying popularity of Ānanda, the first of the *bahuśrutas*, reflects this rivalry (*La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka 21 f.*; 43; cf. *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha, JA XI 12, 1918 (401-456), 452-454*).

Should the newcomer wish to improve his conduct, specific questions are asked, of both a theoretical and a practical nature. The presence of this religious might be prejudicial to those already resident: he may suppress opportunities of "service" for others, he may himself demand service to such an extent that those serving would have no strength left for their studies.<sup>1</sup> The *ācārya* receives a monk who has come to learn good conduct only after consulting those under his administration, and after gaining their assent (*T* II 34a; 36b). This is not all. The examination is taken further, and he ascertains that the presence of these new members will not make the material tasks of his flock too burdensome. He compares the alms received by the outsider who is seeking to serve, and those of the resident who already provides service. He refuses entry to the *gaṇa* to anyone wishing to observe fasts notwithstanding his weakness (*Bh* 1, 111=*Nis Bh* 6368).

Despite these reservations, changing flock is lawful and praiseworthy if it stems from a wish to better oneself. The superior ascertains that such is in fact the motive of the religious by a first examination; he asks why and how the *bhikkhu* has left his previous masters and companions. It appears from the commentaries that his reasons were sometimes far from edifying.<sup>2</sup>

p. 80

Occasionally, his main desire is to gratify his vices (gluttony, sloth, selfishness...). But even if innocent of these undesirable tendencies, he may

1. E. LAMOTTE notes that the tasks entrusted to a Buddhist monk, nevertheless leave him leisure enough in which to meditate, etc. *Histoire* I, 67.
2. One of them has made a mistake in the company of layman or religious. Another complains of wasting away in body, soul and memory, because he is deprived of milk and foods obtained from it, as well as of other fortifying delicacies (*vikṛti*): in the same way, young sugar cane dries up when deprived of water. Another bemoans the fact that one day only comes between the fast or the meal of gruel (*ācāmla*) and the yoga exercises: that the latter, even when successful do not give one the right to the *vikṛtis*, and that they are too severe. Another has an enemy who is on the look-out for his least failings, reprimands him sharply, gives pitiless reports of his mistakes to the guru, who consequently reprimands him. Another, who does not like being disturbed, depends on a master who is forever supervising: every time he walks past, the monk must stand up, thus contracting lumbago and forgetting what he has learned. Another, deprived of milk, cream and cakes, cannot bear to see the superior eating them, or keeping them for the very young, the old, the infirm or the newcomers. Another fears a master who is very strict in punishing all failings (forgetting formulas etc.). Another is suffering from the length and hardship of a round of alms-begging in a flock overloaded with children and old men, and in too small a territory: he is unhappy at being reprimanded when alms are insufficient and having, as a result, to begin his begging again. Another cannot stand the sight of religious who conduct themselves badly; who argue amongst themselves and then eat together. Finally, another of an independent frame of mind, protests that he always has someone on his heels, even when he goes to the lavatory (*T* II 22a- 23b)

have failed; for example, by abandoning a superior, an elder or a sick person in great need of his help (*ibid*, 74).

Religious who have left their former flock without good reason are generally refused entry to another *gaṇa*; by receiving them the *ācārya* would incur an expiation of the *parihāra* type, whose length would depend upon the fault attributed to the candidate (*T* II 23b; 24a; 25a).

A monk who is deemed fit for admission undergoes a practical test: the examination of his religious conduct. In this way it is seen whether or not he has the faith, *kim eṣa dharma-śraddhāvān kiṃ vā nēti* (*ibid* 25b-26a). This examination lasts three days, and deals with the following subjects: daily obligations (*viussagga* ..., *infra*), inspection of articles of everyday use, study, food, manner of speech, bearing (outside the shelter), care shown to invalids and manner of accepting alms:

*āvassaya paḍilehaṇa sajjhāe bhunjaṇā ya bhāsā ya  
vīyāre gelaṇṇe bhikkhā-gaṇaṇe paricchanti* (*Bh* 1, 83).

Correct conduct neither exceeds nor falls short of what is required; and must observe the correct order (*hīṇāhiya-vivartē*, *ibid* 85)

In actual fact, the examination is reciprocal, the master observing the monk and vice versa.<sup>1</sup>

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The outsider mingles with the other monks. His possible failings are not pointed out by the *ācārya*, who does, however, reprimand those of his own flock who do wrong. But let him harbour no illusions on this score: a monk who rejoices is eliminated.<sup>2</sup>

The religious must profit by the reprimands addressed to his companions, fall at the feet of the superior and, overcome with grief, stammering and shedding necklaces of tears, beseech him: "I have sought refuge with you. Now, through your anger, I am deprived of your teaching; this ill befits the lord who is all-merciful; grant me your pardon and teach me despite my failings" (*T* II 26a-27a). In this case, the religious is received (*pratigrāhyaḥ*). When the person seeking admission is an *ācārya*, he observes the conduct of his colleague. If the latter tolerates negligence on the part of those under his administration, he points it out to him. The defaulter may correct himself, but occasionally he answers back, "what concern is it of yours?" The outsider will flee such a bad company (*ibid* 28a).

What benefits does the newcomer gain from being admitted to a new flock? He is closely observed and assisted in his spiritual quest. He must be brought to order with an especial politeness and kindness; even though

1. *paraspram ācārya-śiṣyau parikṣete* *T* II 26a 5.

2. *sukham iha vasitum iti sa līlhaṃ-bhūtaḥ ... na pratīcchanīyaḥ* (*sic*), *ibid* 26b 11.

he is a pupil, he is given the title *bhante*, theoretically reserved for the *āyariya* : "Lord, do that for which you were admitted" :

*sāreyaavo niyamā : "uvasaṃpanno si jaṃ-nimittam tu  
taṃ kuṇḍasu tumam bhante" : akaremaṇe vivego u (Bh 1, 105).*

He may be admonished in this way three times. If he then fails to correct himself, he is expelled (T II 33 b 1-6). In order to drive him away (*naṣṭavyam*), as when eliminating someone who has been politely shown to the door after the first examination but seeks to assert himself even so, they act clandestinely (*channena*). They take advantage of the moment when he is away begging alms, or the moment he is in a deep sleep at night, to abandon him (*tyaktvā*); and not a word is said, for one must not disturb inexperienced novices (30 a 4-8).<sup>1</sup>

p. 82. This review of the provisions governing admission to a new flock shows that the Jaina sages are not lacking in humanity. They take care not to maltreat their flock, not to saddle them with excessively demanding tasks which would mean they had to neglect their spiritual tasks. Towards all those who wish to improve themselves, they show great kindness and much concern.

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1. In a desire to be tactful with people's sensitivity, and to avoid incurring a bad reputation in the world, the Jainas recommend not dismissing the undesirable in too brutal a manner (T II 31b ff.). A man who has done wrong in leaving his master when he was in need, if he has done this out of good motives, is reprimanded, "Your departure, my friend, is contrary to the rule. How were *you*, a treasure of virtues, able to do this? You must immediately make atonement, and go back." To the others, the objection is made that they will find in the flock to which they are asking admission, just the opposite of what they are looking for; little knowledge, little gentleness, constant and nagging supervision, strict discipline, etc : "So go elsewhere," (*ibid* 29b).

Even so, one may sometimes be led to be indulgent to those whose departure was not provoked by a vice such as gluttony, by those who left after making a mistake, or in a fit of pique, complaining that they have an enemy (they still must go and present their apologies), or leaving their masters alone. They are accepted if duly repentant, and if they promise not to do it again and to scrupulously obey the superior's orders (*ibid* 31b-32a),



**PART TWO**  
**ATONEMENTS**





## CHAPTER 1

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES

All religious communities in India have made it their concern to encourage anyone who has committed a fault to atone for it by a penance which might reduce or, if possible, cancel out its consequences. In general, the principles which govern the imposition of penances vary little from one group to the next. They are very often comparable to those which are enumerated in the *Arthaśāstra*. The most important of them will be reviewed in this chapter, and the parallels between them will be briefly evoked.

Lists of the most diverse transgressions have been drawn up by the Jainas. The *Nisīha-sutta*, (which, as commentaries emphasise, is not exhaustive) has recorded, one after the other, almost two thousand transgressions that the monk is in danger of committing (*Vav T* II 81a). Similarly, the Buddhists have drawn up a list of some 250 faults, arranging them – from the heaviest to the lightest – according to the penalties incurred. This is the *prātimokṣa*, which is recited at the bi-monthly ceremonies of confession, and is one of the most ancient nuclei of the *Vinaya*<sup>1</sup>.

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In Brahmanic society, the classifications have varied, as is well known, and discrepancies have been noted between different epochs and texts. Gampert emphasises that, on the whole, there is a clear distinction between faults which involve loss of caste (*patanīya*, *mahāpātaka*, etc.), and other errors; that many points nevertheless remain indefinite (31 ff.); and that in the final analysis, the descriptions seem to be orderly, more than they are (46). He recalls that the faults, firstly concerning ritual, that are mentioned in the works on *dharma*, take on a more and more markedly moral character, and that they fall increasingly within the realm of law (2; cf. L. Renou, *Inde cl.*, § 1243). In fact, in the opinion of most experts, the Indians of antiquity never established the exercise of justice (*vyavahāra*) and the theory of expiation (*prāyaścitta*),<sup>2</sup> on absolutely independent bases. Although difficult to pinpoint, the cases of overlapping have without doubt not been rare, and, in any case, the interdependence of the two jurisdictions is generally admitted.<sup>3</sup> Together with the rules concerning good conduct (*ācāra*), these are the subjects which form the essential part of the treatises of *dharma*.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Inde classique* §§ 2376ff.; LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I 181 f.; cf. 59f.; 65.

2. But see GAMPERT 251 ff.

3. MANU VIII, 14 ff.; HOPKINS, *Priestly penance and legal penalty*, *JAOS* 44, 1924, 243–257, particularly 251; KANE IV, 69; 70; 75; L. RENOU, *Inde classique* § 1243; *Civilisation* § 38. Cf. concerning the cooperation of the religious and secular authorities, Max WEBER, *The Religion of India* 48.

4. STENZLER, *On the Hindu Doctrine of Expiation*, *OC* 1874, (205–212), 205; L. RENOU, *Inde classique* § 1243; KANE IV, 77.

Often, we cannot discern the dividing line between civil and religious law, if indeed these two do not overlap. It is often stipulated that the second should conform to the first (Kane IV, 75) : a point to which the Jainas often return. Thus in studying the problem of responsibility, they insist upon the fact that it is linked to liberty, in religion as in the world in general (*Bh* 2, 141; cf. *infra* 129). When the opposite is the case, it becomes on occasion the object of detailed commentary. It is an accepted adage in secular life that where a fault is committed by several individuals, a hundred are to be spared the penalty of death, and a thousand the penalty even of chastisement; but this does not hold good for the tribunal of the Law which sets itself the task of checking the evil inclinations of every individual :

*logammi sayam avajjham hoi, adaṇḍam sahasa; mā evaṃ  
hohiti uttariyammi vi ... (Bh 3, 284).*

It is known that, generally speaking, the civil authority took into consideration the region, caste, family, community or group to which its subjects belonged (*deśa, jāti, saṃgha, grāma*).<sup>1</sup> In what is in a way the opposite of this, it seems that, in certain circumstances, rulers were able to influence the verdict of the *pariṣad*<sup>2</sup>. The Jainas admitted, if need be, that it is open to the king to pardon a guilty religious, and to intercede for him before the *saṃgha* (*T* IV 56a-b).

p. 87 In general, in India, sentences seem to be passed and executed, in a parallel and complementary way, by the royal power and by the learned Brahmins gathered in a council (*pariṣad*), which had the prerogative of imposing the suitable penance and of deciding on the subject's possible reintegration into society<sup>3</sup>. For the prince, it was a strict duty to punish infractions of the law correctly. If he neglected this, he would compromise the orderly functioning of the universe and the prosperity of the realm (*Arth* 3, 1, 38 ff.\*; *Manu* VII, 20 ff.). Furthermore, the fault, at least in part, would have devolved upon him (*Manu* VIII, 18; 316)<sup>4</sup>. The Jaina superior has the same obligation : not only would he be guilty in disregarding the fault, but he would also be held responsible for the subsequent errors into which his negligence might lead his subordinate, (cf. *Vav T* IV' 26 a 14; compare *Mahānīṣīha* V, 14).

Atonements were intended to mitigate, if not to prevent, the harmful consequences of the fault. On the spiritual plane, the *Dharma-sūtra* do not

1. *Arth* III, 7, 40\*; *MANU* VIII, 41; 46; GAMPERT 225. referring to BÜHLER, *SBE* 14, 4, n.; cf. L. RENOU, *Civilisation* § 40. KANE IV, 82.

2. Cf. GAMPERT 219 ff., with restrictions.

3. GAMPERT 215 ff.; KANE IV, 63; L. RENOU, *Civilisation* § 40.

4. Cf. L. RENOU, *Civilisation* §§ 36; 39; BASHAM, *Wonder* 114 f. and the discussion of GAMPERT 122 ff.

always agree in recognising their absolute efficacy in all cases. On the social level, at least, they normally allowed the individual who submitted himself to them to escape rejection by his fellows<sup>1</sup>. In religious communities of Buddhists and Jainas, the monk is naturally accountable for every moment of his life. It can be seen that he would have to atone for his slightest transgression by an adequate penance : the least violation of a monastic vow involves, sooner or later, almost inevitably the violation of all the others : *ekavrata-lope sarva-vrata-lopa iti* (*Vav T IV' 73 b 7 f.*; cf. II, 99a)<sup>2</sup>. The atonement was imposed by the religious tribunal in the shape of assemblies of monks – or rather, at least among the Jainas, by the superior of the group to which each individual is responsible (Deo, *History* 238). They could, if necessary, excommunicate and rehabilitate.

p. 88. The method of assigning penances is regulated by the *vavahāra*, *vyavahāra*, or “procedure” – that is the manner “in which, as it is being imposed, the atonement to which the offence has given rise is designated” :

*vyavahriyate 'parādha-jātaṃ prāyaścittaṃ pradānato yena sa vyavahāraḥ āgam'ādi-rūpa-pañca-prakāraḥ* (III 18 a 10 f.).

This sense of “judicial procedure” is very ancient and can also be found, as well, in the writings of the Bauddhas, and in inscriptions, etc.<sup>3</sup>. It is met with in the *Arthasāstra* (3, 1, 39 ff. \*). In Sanskrit, the term can have a more general connotation, and signify an “affair” (‘transaction or dealing’, Kane III, 245). Among the Jainas, *Vav Bh T* teach that it connotes confession, purification and atonement :

*vavahāro āloyaṇa sohī pacchittam eva eg' atthā* (*Vav Bh 2, 90 a*).

This “procedure” is said to be sometimes of five, sometimes of three kinds.

It is of five kinds according to *Vav 10, 2* (cf. *T, supra*) : *pañcavihe vavahāre pannatte, taṃ-jahā : āgame sue āṇā dhāraṇā jīe* : it is based on the sacred Texts, religious Tradition, a commandment, the rule, and custom.

*Āgama* and *suya* (*śruta*) can be regarded as two aspects of the same institution (cf. *T II 43 a 8 f.*; compare *Lehre* § 160). The present five fundamentals recall the four “feet” or four “bases” of justice (*catuṣpāda*) which the *Arthasāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstras* recognise : “trial by ordeal” or “avowal” “testimonies”, “written documents”, “the decree of the king”<sup>4</sup>, *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *caritra*, *rāja-śāsana* (*Arth 3, 1, 39 \**). Kauṭilya emphasises on this occasion that the royal edict must be logical :

*nyāyas tatra pramāṇaṃ syāt* (*ibid*, 45 \*).

1. JOLLY, *Recht und Sitte* § 38; GAMPERT 204; 228 and n. 3; KANE IV, 63; U. C. SARKAR, *Sociological importance of prāyaścitta*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 1963, I, 91-101.

2. Compare *Abhidharmakośa* IV, 97.

3. KANE III, 245-247; V. S. AGRAWALA, *India* 414; cf. R. LINGAT, *JA* 1962, 489.

4. On this subject, see R. LINGAT, *Les quatre pieds du procès*, *JA* 250, 1962, 489-503.

And the *Dharmaśāstras* themselves express the desire that, for the greatest good of the Law, the verdicts should be dictated by reason and good sense, quite as much as – and indeed more than – by the letter of the treatises<sup>1</sup>.

p 89 From another point of view, and at a later date, the Jaina procedure is said to be of three sorts: according to the gravity of the penance, it is said to be “heavy”, “light”, or “very light” (*guroo*, *lahuo*, *lahusao*), and each of these degrees is itself divided into three parts – at least if one follows the commentaries (*guroo*, *guruyayarāo*, *ahāguroo* : *lahuo* ...)². In any case, K 5, 53, *Vav* 2, 6-17 prescribe “the lightest possible form of the procedure”, *ahālahusae nāmaṃ vavahāre*.

As for the judges, the scholastics distinguish two types, which are said to be equal: those who proceed according to the *āgama*, the *āgama-vyavahārin*, and those who follow Tradition, the *śruta-vyavahārin*. The first type are the *kevala*, *manah-paryāya-jñānin*, *avadhi-jñānin*, experts in the fourteen, ten, and nine *pūrvas*, and therefore more or less legendary monks whose knowledge was intuitive and concerned moreover with precanonical texts which had disappeared at an early date (*Vav Bh* 1, 135 = *Nis Bh* 6 393). The second type base themselves on the *Kappa* (that is the *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, *Kappa* and *Vavahāra*, and the *Pakappa* (that is the *Nisīha*) (*Vav Bh* 1, 137 a = *Nis Bh* 6 395 a).

The *Arthaśāstra* asks of magistrates that they be upright, even-tempered, affable, and that they practise the greatest circumspection (3, 20, 24\*; cf. 4, 8). Among the Jainas, the confessor (who, when the time comes, also passes sentence) must be skilful, discreet, benevolent and useful (*Vav Bh* 1, 337 : cf. Deo, *History*, 152; *infra* 141). The judge must preserve himself from pity, as from feelings of aversion (*T* III, 32 b-33 b). He will remain impartial (II 47 b - 48 a).

In the eyes of Kautīlya, the depositions of the parties in a trial are subject to caution (3, 1, 47\*). From the religious point of view, confession of a fault (Amg. *āloyaṇā*, Skr. *ālocanā*; cf. Pā. *pāṭidesanīya*, *pāṭimokkhuḍḍesa*) takes a capital importance, which would have come to it originally from the magical powers which it was thought to possess.<sup>3</sup> Confession, in itself,

1. KANE III, 259; cf. U. N. GHOSHAL, *History of Indian Political Ideas* 48.

2. Cf. *Vav Bh* 2, 91 f. and K. p. 14 n. 1; gl., s. v. *ahā-lahusaga*; *Lehre* p. 177, n. 4. It will be seen that the procedure *ahālahus(s)age* is very ancient. It might be thought that it served as a base for the whole edifice (communication from Professor Schubring).

3. GAMPERT 233, PETTAZZONI, *La confessione dei peccati* I, 233.

p. 90 constitutes an atonement and a purification<sup>1</sup>. It is a step along the road to spiritual attainment<sup>2</sup> (*infra* 136 ff.). Scholars have often quoted this statement of the *Śatapaṭha Brāhmaṇa* : that a sin which has been confessed is reduced in gravity "since it becomes truth" (II, 5, 2, 20). It is therefore essential that the confession should take place as quickly as possible<sup>3</sup>, even if the atonement is not carried out immediately<sup>4</sup>. It is necessary also, that the confession should be full, sincere and perfectly honest (*apaliuñciya*, *Vav* 1, 1 ff.; cf. Gampert, 236). The Jainas make sure of this by having it repeated three times (*Vav Bh* 1, 137 = *Nis Bh* 6 395; cf. *infra* 143). They regard the confession as truthful if the three versions are identical. In the same way, *Vav Bh T* say, at the tribunal of the king the depositions are made three times over :  
*tiṇṇi u vārā jaha daṇḍiyassa* (*Bh* 138 a = *Nis Bh* 6 396).

Similarly, among the Buddhists, the invitation to confess is repeated three times (*Vin* 1, 103, 35; 159, 34 – 160, 1)<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, Manu, as is well known condemns the plaintiff who contradicts himself (VIII, 54). A person who is  
 p. 91 investigating an affair takes note of the behaviour of the accused. It seems

1. Cf. *Vav Bh* 134; *infra* 139; MANU XI, 288; KANE IV, 40, with quotations from *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, *Ś Br*; LAMOTTE, *Histoire* I, 78
2. *Vav Bh*, *ibid.*; 50; *Vin* I, 103 f.; II, 126, etc.
3. KANE IV, 85; II, 970; *Vav Bh* 1, 49.
4. GAMPERT 237; cf. *infra* the "light" (*laghu*) atonements of the Jainas.
5. A particular importance seems to have been attributed to the number "three". Malayagiri notes elsewhere that a condemnation by the king is only to be executed when it has been repeated three times : ... *loe vi pucchanti u tiṇṇi vāre* (*Vav Bh* 3, 243 b ad *Vav* 3, 13).

Among the Jainas, each true penance has three degrees, except the last, which has only one (*infra* 116). It is necessary to wait three full years before a religious who has left off his habit in order to break the vow of chastity can be authorised to undertake the least charge (*Vav* 3, 13–22).

We have seen a distinction made between two triads of religious : the *nirapekṣas* (*jinakalpika*, *śuddha-pārihārīka*, *yathālanda-(pratimā-)kalpika*) and the *sāpekṣas* (*ācārya*, *upādhyāya*, *bhikṣu*); or again the three *gaccha-nirgatas* and three *gaccha-vāsins*. When the religious pronounces his vows, he does it "triply, under three headings" *tīvihaṃ tīviheṇaṃ* (*Lehre* § 171), since he keeps three "whatches" (*gutti*) over his mind, his words and his body (*ibid*). This triad is very ancient and common in India (GAMPERT 204); it offers, moreover, variations, to which attention has been drawn by PRZYLUSKI (*Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, 948 f.). Z. FEER had found it also in Iran (*OC* VI 3, 2, p. 70; cf. PRZYLUSKI *ibid.* 150 f.)

We have already seen that the commentaries do not hesitate to formulate triple subdivisions of triple divisions (*supra* 89 and n. 7)

Among the Buddhists, the triple repetition of an apostrophe, a question, an invitation or a prayer seems to have been required by etiquette (cf. *Vin* II, 156; 155; 181; 188; 253; 254). In the assemblies, certain motions are proclaimed three times before being adopted (III, 24); they are then irreversible (cf. *SBB* XIV, p. XVIII f.). The solemn formulae at the ordination of the *pātimokkha*, .... are pronounced three times running (*Vin* I 22; 56; 103 f.; II 273 ...)

The *Abhidharmakośa* recalls that the *upāsaka* "obtains discipline by taking once, twice, three times the triple refuge" (IV, 72, cf. transl. La VALLEE-POUSSIN)

that this forms part of the evidence at the trial (*Vav Bh* 1, 140 : *T* III 15 b 10 ff.; *infra* 143). This is an established practice in India and is recommended as well in the *Arthaśāstra* (4, 6, 2, but 4, 8, 11 f.), and in the Laws of Manu (VIII, 25 f.)<sup>1</sup>. Jaina religious collect testimonies diligently (cf. *ad Vav* 2, 25). They could make their own the maxim of the *Arthaśāstra* :

*tatra satye sthilo dharmo vyavahāras tu sākṣiḥ*

(3, 1, 40\*; cf. 47\*; 12, 53\*; 11, 27; compare 4, 8, 13; Renou, *Civilisation* § 41) Trickery and spying which for Kauṭilya remain the surest ways of getting at the truth are practised by Jaina monks<sup>2</sup>, but these last give great weight to the word of the accused (*Vav* 2, 24 f.). It is well known that the Buddhists were anxious to guarantee the rights of the defence (*Vin* II, 73; 83)<sup>3</sup>.

The investigation of these various elements allows the passing of a just sentence. The atonement is proportional to the fault, and especially to its duration, which is translated by the commonly-used expression : *se s'antarā chee vā parihāre vā*, "the corresponding" *ch.* or *p.* <sup>4</sup>. The *Arthaśāstra* made identical provisions : *yathā'parādham iti Kauṭilyaḥ* (2, 7, 15; cf. 2, 9, 18; *passim*). In the case of a false deposition, the penance of the Jaina or Buddhist monk is increased, as the first *Suttas* of the *Vavahāra* teach (cf. *T* 11, 54 a, 2 ff.). Thus one proceeds as in the royal tribunal, which punishes, first the lie, and then the misdeed itself :

*atth'uppattā asarisa-niveyaṇe daṇḍa paccha vavahūro  
iya lo' ullariyammi vi kuñciya-bhāvaṃ tu daṇḍanti*

According to *SBr.* the triad is an attribute of the gods (5, 1, 4, 11, quoted in GONDA, *Religionen* I, 155; cf. 303 n. 4).

On the triad in India, Langlois had already read a memoir to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, at the annual public meeting of 25th November, 1853.

Its importance had been noted by DUBOIS (*Inde* I, 218 n. 2) and has often been pointed out since. For instance, see BERGAIGNE, *La religion védique* I, 2, ff.; III, index II, s. v. "nombres" RENO, *Inde classique* § 648.

For a study of the number "three", see G. DUMEZIL, for instance *Mythe et Épopée* I p. 615 and n. 5, referring to W. DEONNA, "Trois superlatif absolu..." *Antiquité classique* xxiii 1954, f., 403-428.

Moreover, the part played by numbers in the literature and religions of India is well known. On Jaina tetrads and pentads see R. WILLIAMS' remarks, *JRAS* 1966 p. 2 ff. On a sort of "ontologie arithmétique" in Indian speculations, MUS, *Barabudur*, p. 159, n.

1. Compare *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 4, 4, 3 ff. Cf. Lucio ROCHER, *Caṇḍeśvara's Vyavahāratnākara*, *JOIB* 5, 3, 1956, 254; J. D. M. DERRETT, *Vyavahāra : Light on a vanished controversy from an unpublished fragment*, *BSOAS*, XV, 3, 1953, 601. Compare B. BRELOER, *Drei unbenannte Megasthenesfragmente über die pravrajyā*, *ZDMG* 93, 1939, (254-293) 256; L. RENO, *Civilisation*, § 41.

2. *Vav T* IV 61 a-b; *Arth* 2, 9, 12; *passim*; cf. L. RENO, *Civilisation* § 55.

3. Cf. *SBB* X, 280, n. 3.

4. *K.* 2, 4-7; *Vav* 1, 21; 22-24; 4, 11 f.; 15 f.; 19; 5, 11 f.; cf. *K.* v. 13, n. 1; *Lehre* § 162 (*s'antarā*=*sva-kṛtā* *antarāt*).

(*Bh* 1, 139 = *Nis Bh* 6 397; cf. *Vin.* II, 40 ff.; III, 186)<sup>1</sup>.

It is recognised that fraud takes different forms (cf. *Vav* 1, 17 ff.). This is mentioned also in the *Vinaya*, which reproves and punishes lies by omission; (I, 103,9 f.; 104, 2 f.; II, 40-42) and in the *Arthaśāstra* which, for example, likens ante- or post-dated entries to misappropriation of funds (compare *Vav*, *ibid*)<sup>2</sup>.

The judges take into account possible extenuating or aggravating circumstances<sup>3</sup>: indulgence is required for the old, the sick, children, the ignorant the weak and the afflicted; the *Arthaśāstra* stipulates: *puruṣâparādha-viśeṣeṇa daṇḍa-viśeṣaḥ kāryaḥ*<sup>4</sup>.

The punishment is increased according to the religious or social rank of the offender<sup>5</sup>; it must be admitted that the application does not always seem to have conformed with the theory<sup>6</sup>. On this point the Jainas are categoric; Deo, consequently, has insisted on their democratic character (cf. *Monastic Jurisprudence* 52). However, their practice also seems to have been more flexible – to such an extent that the commentaries sometimes experience some embarrassment in trying to justify it.

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Finally, religious magistrates will naturally take into account the intentions of the culprit (I, 17 ff.; *infra* 126 f.)<sup>7</sup>

It is well known that the *Arthaśāstra* punishes negligence in the exercise of a charge (2, 30, 47 f.; 2, 36, 42). Hindu doctors have discussed at length, and sometimes obscurely, the expiability of a deliberate infraction<sup>8</sup>. It is expiated doubly<sup>9</sup>. The Pāli *Cullavagga* prescribes as many days of "probation" (*parivāsa*) as there have been days during which an offence has been knowingly concealed (*Vav* II 40 ff.). Finally the Jainas, while taking note of the

1. Foreigners had pointed out the Indians' aversion to lying. Compare BERGAIGNE, *Religion védique* I, p. XXIII stressing that sincerity is the vedic virtue *par excellence*, Cf. MEGESTHENÈS (ed. SCHWANBECK. fragment XXXIII, p. 124). ARRHIANOS, *Indiké*, 12, 5: The sixth class is formed by those called 'inspectors' — They are forbidden to make an untrue report; and no Indian was ever accused of lying: (...) Compare the absolute condemnation of lying, *Ahlidharmakośa* IV, 82. However, *infra* 98 f.; 143 and n. 1.

2. In the belief of the Indians, errors concerning time were considered very serious, as is well known; KANE V, I, 73; cf. GONDA, *Religionen* I, 116; ff. compare *SBB* XI, 336, n. 2.

3. KANE IV, 75 ff., *ubi alia*; 81; 85; *Inde classique* § 2377; RENOU, *Civilisation* § 41.

4. *Arth* 3, 20, 20 ff.; cf. 4, 8, 14 ff.; 17; compare 2, 28; 18; KANE IV, 79 f.; 86; *Vav* 2, 6-17; *Vin* III 33; 100; 213; 215; 217; 248

5. Cf. *K*, p. 12; *Vav Bh* 1, 422 f. = *Nis Bh* 6 55; 6 657; *T* III 49 a ff.; *Arth.* 3, 10, 43; MANU VIII, 337 f. but GONDA, *Religionen* I, 295; see the subtle exposition of BASHAM, *Wonder* 120-121.

6. ALTEKAR, *State and Government in Ancient India* 251 f.; GAMPERT 214.

7. Cf. KANE IV, 64; 75; 83; *Vin.* III, 33, 32 f.; cf. III, 35 f. 100.

8. GAMPERT 228 f.

9. KANE IV, 64; 80; 83.

premeditation, the pride (*darpa*), the carelessness (*pramāda*) of the offender, cause them to be expiated by a "repentance" only (*pratikramaṇa*) – at least when he is under the "rule of the *theras*". Real penances atone for grave errors of conduct (*anācāra*), in so far as they have been committed in complete freedom and not under any constraint (cf. *infra* 128). After these must be considered the additional faults which can vitiate the confession (*Vav* 1, 17 ff.) and the sentiments that the wrongdoer exhibits (*rāga-dveṣa-vṛddhi-vaśataḥ prāyaścitta-vṛddhir upalabdhā*, *T* III 14, a 1; cf. II 50 a 1; Manu XI 230 f.).

It seems to be generally admitted in India that the penalty is increased in the case of relapse<sup>1</sup>. On this point the Jaina differ from the others: the *Vavahāra-sutta* expressly prescribes the same penances when the fault is repeated (*bahuso vi* 1, 7–12; 14; 16; 18; 20)<sup>2</sup>. In spite of their ingenuity, the commentators have great difficulty in justifying this provision which ran the risk of encouraging abuses. When finally bereft of the arguments, they invoke the authority and the infallibility of the *sutta* (*Vav Bh* 1, 145), Munimahārāj Puṇyavijayajī, when consulted on this point, replied without hesitation that the essential thing is to have confessed, and to have made atonement. In other words, the Jainas are concerned before all else to rectify the sentiments and the conduct of their adherents.

p. 94 Notwithstanding this peculiarity, it can be seen that most of the principles which guide a Jaina in the exercise of religious justice are very close to those to which the codes of other communities conform. It will have been noted especially that the magistrate's investigation is supposed to bring to light the specific circumstances of the offence, subjective as well as objective. This very vivid sense of relativity is one of the constant characteristics of Indian law, which admits in particular many exceptions in the case of difficult circumstances (*āpad-dharma*, cf. Manu X 101 ff., etc.)<sup>3</sup>. The *Kappa* and *Vavahāra* give the necessary exceptions to the rule (cf. *Vav* 2, 6–17; 28–30; 3, 9–10). Justice is never administered mechanically or blindly.

Magistrates, whether religious or civil, must take pains to facilitate the triumph of truth, *satya*, – a concept whose importance is well known, and which is the very foundation of the judicial procedure: *sacca-paṇṇā vavahārā* (*Vav* 2, 24 f.)<sup>4</sup>. By the imposition of a penance, they propose to purify the guilty one (cf. *prāyaścitta-dānena me sodhiḥ kṛtā*, *T* III 4 a 2)<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Arth* 2, 27, 18 and KANGLE, note *ad loc.*; 4, 10, 1; MANU IX, 277; KANE IV, 17; 82,

2. Once or twice, three times and more; — *tri-prabhṛti-vārān āstām ekaṃ dvau vā vārāv ity api śabdārthaḥ*, *T* II 47 a 13.

3. GHOSHAI. 160; *Arth*, *supra*.

4. Compare *Arth*, *supra*.

5. Cf. MANU VIII, 318; KANE IV, 63 f., etc.



I will not investigate here the extent to which this legislation aims at preserving society as a whole from contamination. This preoccupation is not expressed even when as a consequence of the penance which is inflicted on him, the religious is banished to a greater or lesser extent from his group (compare Gampert, 125). The important thing is the personal atonement of the offender.

Nor will I try to detect the modifications introduced in the course of time by the Jainas in their procedure. Their legislation certainly changed, as did that of other Indians<sup>1</sup>.

We know that in Brahmanic society, the inevitable evolution of custom had caused justice to alter in conformity with it and had consequently brought about the gradual reshaping of the code – although these changes were apparently neither arbitrary nor abrupt<sup>2</sup>.

p 95 We see that the Buddhists recognise, more or less explicitly, that the execution of certain penances varies. The compilers of the Pāli *Vinaya* seem scarcely any longer to pronounce the *brahmadanḍa*<sup>3</sup>. More generally one could ask with Przyluski : “what is the *Vinaya*, finally, if not a collection of rules intended to legitimise the abandonment of the primitive *dhūtaṅgas* ?” (*La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, 182).

As for the Jainas, their commentaries point out that the *prāyaścittas* in the course of the ages have lost their severity, just as men lose their strength. By virtue of the principle which suits the penance to the penitent, they nevertheless keep their initial efficacy (*Bh* 3, 180, *ad Vav* 3, 9; cf. Gampert, 44; Kane IV, 126 ff.)<sup>4</sup>. The history of this evolution is nowhere outlined for us; but it would seem indeed that justice was no longer entirely based on religious Tradition (*śruta*) as the *Kappa* –, *Vavahāra* – and *Nisahasutta* had recorded it. A summary of the law “of custom”, the *Jīyakappa* was, it will be recalled, compiled by Jinabhadra<sup>5</sup>, and it makes a brief allusion to the mitigation of the heaviest penances which would have been permitted in the time of Bhadrabāhu. It must have been followed by a revival of severity. Indeed the excommunication which in the oldest period

1. Compare R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* XIX : “The changelessness of Jainism is no more than a myth.”
2. ALTEKAR, *State and Government in Ancient India* 255; R. M. DAS, *Women in Manu and his seven Commentaries* 55; 103; 105; and its review by Ludwig STERN-BACH *JAOS* 83, 1963, 256–258.
3. Cf. *Vin* II, 290; 292; compare T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *ERE* 9, 675 ff., s.v. *Pāti-mokkha*.
4. Cf., referring to vedic and brahmanic rites, Sylvain LEVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice* 138; HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur* 77.
5. Cf. LEUMANN, *Jita* p. 1195 f., referring to *Vav Bh* 10, 690 f.

characterised the two last *pāyacchittas* must have fallen into disuse, and then came once more into force. The same *Jīyakappa* confirms the substitution of the *tava* "mortification, fasting" for *parihāra* "isolation". Thus, changes came about which were doubtless fairly important. The documents nevertheless remain fragmentary and allusive. It would hardly be possible to present a history of Jaina atonements.

## CHAPTER II

### DISPENSATIONS

#### DISPENSATIONS FROM THE SECOND AND FOURTH "GREAT VOWS"

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Scholars have drawn attention to the dispensations permitted by Brahmanic law in the case of calamity (*āpad-dharma*). Heterodox communities permitted the monastic rule to be bent in favour of religious who found themselves in abnormal circumstances. The mitigations of Buddhist discipline from which the small communities of Avanti benefited are often quoted (Lamotte, *Histoire* I, 22). The Jainas have likewise taken into account regional peculiarities (Deo, *Jurisprudence* 54; cf. 14); they have bowed before the necessities of the moment (R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, XIX).

Religious life was constantly influenced by secular life (cf. *Vav*, ed. Schubring, note p. 21) and considerations which would have seemed of a purely temporal nature eventually played a great role, as has already appeared from the preceding chapters.

The desire to collect copious alms – which one has often seen expressed – contradicts in certain respects the fifth great vow, the vow to possess nothing. On this point, several of the instructions formulated by the commentaries will be recalled.

It will be remembered that a religious sometimes asks to be admitted into a group to which he is normally a stranger but where he proposes to serve the teacher and his flock. Before giving his decision, the superior questions the candidate and carefully compares the alms that the newcomer can collect (his "earnings", *labha*) with those of the actual holder of the office of "servant". The "service" is given to the "one who can earn most" (*śalabdhika*, *labdhimant*, cf. *Vav Bh* 1, 108).

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Among the "signs" which distinguish the good superior (*ācārya-lakṣaṇa*), worldly success, physical beauty, prestige, influence – which all stimulate lay people to be generous – count as much as intellectual and religious success. This, at least, is what is taught by the extra-canonical precepts called "companions of the *ācārya*" (*T IV* 43b; cf. *supra*).

In fact, although the Jainas emphasise the importance of the five major vows and the necessity of keeping them all with equal care, they admit

that they can be infringed in case of need. They even go so far as to make provision for their violation (*infra*). In fact, they follow the higher interests of the community; they recognise the frailty of human nature and prefer to guide it rather than use it roughly.

The most striking example of tolerance concerns the second and fourth great monastic vows : the prohibition against lying (*aliya-vayaṇa*) and against faults concerning chastity (*abambha*). The same indulgence can be found in other Indian communities. Thus it is that the Brahmanic treatises do not exact a heavy penance for lying, and they tolerate it in case of circumstances beyond one's control (Gampert, 157; cf. Dubois, *Inde* I, 242)<sup>1</sup>. The Buddhists allow a monk to renounce his vows (*infra*).

In a number of circumstances, the commentaries suggest stratagems to avoid scandalising the world, troubling the conscience of novices, sending a monk back to secular life, or even to avoid repaying a layman who considers that his financial interests have been thwarted.

The teacher foresees the accusation of lying, hypocrisy, duplicity and lack of frankness, and refutes it. A person is innocent of these vices when he keeps a close watch on his speech, when he avoids the gossip of envious ill-wishers, when he harms no-one, when he is ultimately successful, and in addition, when he is of use to all interested parties<sup>2</sup>.

Once this axiom is admitted, several expedients are given to rid oneself of the monk who wishes at all costs to impose himself, when his presence is judged undesirable (*T* II 31b; cf. *supra*). There are many subterfuges which allow one to put an end to the possible claims of laymen. Concerning the *Vav* 2, 17, the commentaries deal with the case of the monk over whom a courtesan or a master claims rights<sup>3</sup>.

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The woman comes to demand that her former lover (who has become a religious), or the money he owed her, be returned to her. On the advice of the elder, he takes a pill which changes his voice and his complexion, takes emetics which cover him with vomit and make him repulsive or sedatives which give him a cadaverous appearance – unless, indeed, he can simulate death. And if it is impossible to use these ruses, the *sthavira* would

1. However *supra* p. 92 and n. 1 of the same.

2. Cf. *Bh* 1, 97 = *Nis Bh* 6 357 : *Vav T* II 31a; 31b. Compare R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* 71; 77 f.

3. Compare, *mutatis mutandis*, Robert LINGAT, *Vinaya et droit laïque. Etudes sur les conflits de la loi religieuse et de la loi laïque dans l'Indochine hinayaniste*, BEFEO 37, 1937 415-477.

have the relatives and friends of the courtesan intervene to persuade her to renounce her prey (T IV 46 b-4 7b)<sup>1</sup>.

Although it is forbidden to ordain individuals who are not free agents, it seems that certain individuals moved to another region, concealed their tutelary status and entered the community. Chance could bring together a master and his former servant. Now "even in foreign countries merchants take what belongs to them". Fortified by this adage, the merchant would declare : "He is my slave; I will not let him go". The monk should protest : "I am not the one, I was born in another province" and try to elicit favourable testimony from those looking on. If this is of no avail, the monks do their best to have the sovereign intervene in their favour. They call to their aid religious of other sects or colleagues who can give vigorous assistance. They try to arouse the pity of the plaintiff. "We have no money. Religious have no wealth except mortification. We possess nothing but the Law : you, also, should be satisfied with the Law." They take good care however not to give him the Law in its entirety. In the last resort they buy out the monk by drawing on secret funds for the necessary money (T IV 47 b- 51 b).

The Jainas did not easily succeed in having the vow of chastity respected. *Sūya* 1, 4 warns against lust and its consequences (cf. Alsdorf, *Itihāparinnā*, IJ 2, 1958, 249-270). The *suttas* 3, 13-17 and 18-22 of the *Vavahāra* lay down the sanctions to be inflicted on the monks and teachers who give in to their desires. Access to honours is forbidden to them for three years if they have sinned, but with some restraint. Honours are definitely barred to office-bearers (*āyariya-uvajjhāya* or *gaṇāvacccheiya*) who have not placed their charge in the hands of the superior.

p. 100 The commentaries tell how a patient may be cured of his incontinence.

It will be seen that the cure is divided, if necessary, into two periods. During the first, the monk keeps his habit and all the paraphernalia of his religious state (*liṅga*). If these curative measures are not sufficient, he submits himself a second time to the same regimen, but at a certain moment will have to leave off his religious paraphernalia.

To these two phases correspond the two groups of *suttas* below. The first concern the monk who, after other treatments have failed, has relations with a woman (*bhikṣu-maithuna-sūtras* : 13-17), but who confines himself to leaving his company. The following *suttas* deal with the religious who is

1. Compare J. C. JAIN. *Life in Ancient India*...p. 52.

more seriously affected : he shall leave his group and take off his habit (*bhikṣur-avadhāvana-sūtra*). Departure with the intention of abandoning the paraphernalia of a religious mendicant is called *avadhāvana* (*etad eva ca avadhāvanam yad līṅga-viveka-buddhyā gamanam*, T IV' 56 a 8 f.) : "One leaves the paraphernalia, the broom etc., so as not to harm the Doctrine" (*tad eva avadhāvanam yad dravya-līṅgam rajoharaṇ'ādikam ujjhati mā pravacana-syôddāho bhūd iti kṛtvā*, *ibid* 8 f.; cf. *Bh* 3, 260)<sup>1</sup>.

Before giving in to his desires, the religious will have engaged in several struggles (*infra*). If however, unable to control himself, he finishes by soliciting a woman's favours, it is important that he should choose her correctly. He will not approach any woman indiscriminately. The rules relating to love affairs take into account the characteristics of the two partners and especially the external signs of their state - whether religious or lay. To make legislation easier, the commentaries give four "combinations" which are partly specious : 1) wearing his own insignia, the monk approaches a woman who wears the same insignia (that is, a nun); 2) or he approaches a woman of different insignia (that is, a lay woman); 3) or he wears insignia that is not his own and has relations with a woman of his own state; 4) or he has relations with a woman of a different one (*sic*!)<sup>2</sup>.

Relationships of the first type, which are formally forbidden, are to be atoned for by the final, supreme expiation<sup>3</sup>. Those which take place p. 101 between a monk wearing insignia other than his own, with a woman likewise provided with a different insignia, are punished by the radical suppression of seniority (type 4). Varieties 2 and 3 lend themselves to making of distinctions :

*līṅgammi u cau-bhaṅgo; paḍhame bhaṅgammi hoi carama-payam mūlam cauttha-bhaṅge bitie tatie ya bhayaṇā u* (*Bh* 3, 248).

Type 2 : the penance depends on the rank of the woman : exclusion, if she is a royal wife, or a young woman of family; dismissal, if she is the wife of a minister; otherwise *mūla* and reinstatement. Type 3 : a monk has changed his regalia (cf. *infra*), but the insignia of his normal religious life is in fact the same as the woman's. The fault is expiated according to their degree of relatedness : exclusion, if he has received the favours of a "daughter" or "sister", in short of a woman of the same "house" (*kula*); dismissal, if the woman belongs to the same group (*gaṇa*); a radical sup-

1. In the whole of this section, T uses *veda* in the sense of *moha* : *udīrṇôdayaprāpte mohe udite vedēty arthaḥ* (T IV' 51b 1; cf. *SBE* 45, p. 162, n. 4). Compare R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* 33.

2. T IV' 53a 3 : 1. *sva-līṅgena sva-līṅge vartamāṇam sevate*, 2. *sva-līṅgena anya-līṅge*, 3. *anya-līṅgena sva-līṅge*, 4. *anya-līṅgena anya-līṅge*.

3. For all of these penances, see the second part.

pression of seniority if she belongs to the same community (*saṃgha*) (T IV' 53 a-b).

The monk who has had relations with a woman whom he should at all costs avoid, or with a courtesan, will be classed among the *nirapekṣas* who have no care or respect for decency. They are considered together with those who depart without taking leave of the teacher and those who do not keep a watch on their actions. On the contrary, the *sāpekṣas* show the *guru* all the consideration that could be wished :

*duviho sāvikkh' ivaro : niravekkh' udiṇṇe jāi 'nāpucchā  
jogaṃ ca akāṇaṃ jāva sa ves'ādi sevejjā* (Bh 3, 240).

The person who is scrupulous will have asked permission to depart. This request is a sort of confession and, like a confession, is repeated three times (*infra*). The monk who shirks this duty, or who carries it out negligently – or the teacher who does not return the monk's salutation – incurs four months of the sixth atonement.

Once this sort of confession has been made, the superior undertakes to care for the *bhikkhu* in accordance with the rule :

*āloiyammi guruṇā tassa cikissā vihiṇṇe kāyavvā  
nivvittiga-m-ādīyā nāyavva kameṇ' imeṇaṃ tu* (Bh 3, 244).

First of all it is necessary to distract the religious from his lust : and, if this last is irresistible, it is important at least that he should not compromise the results of his previous spiritual efforts. He is helped unremittingly in such a way that he continues to keep a firm check on his conduct.

He is first forbidden certain dishes : the *vikṛtis* (dairy products, honey, butter, ....., *infra* 109). Then he is forbidden three meals out of four. Next he is forced to do "service" (*vaiyāvṛtya*), which, as we have seen, can be exhausting. He is ordered to adopt various mortifying postures, to accompany those going about the country trying to recruit brethren. If the temptation persists, and if he has the necessary knowledge, he is given the charge of directing "study circles".

*nivvīya oṃa tave veyāvacce tah' eve thāṇe ya  
āhindane ya maṇḍali ...* (*ibid* 245).

A wise distraction : it is the same for the monk as for the young woman who remains alone in the home. Secretly warned of her misconduct, her father-in-law cleverly defends her virtue by overloading her with domestic duties. When, in the evening, the arrival is announced of the lover for

whom she had sent, she remarks : "I haven't even time to die. How would I have time for a man?"

If these measures are not sufficient to appease the monk's desires, he gives in to them.

He moves into special quarters in company with the elders who have enjoyed the pleasures of this world<sup>1</sup>. It is hoped that in this way, at one time or another, he will succeed in taking hold of himself<sup>2</sup>.

It will not have been forgotten that this cure is prescribed for the monk who has never abandoned his zeal (*yatanā*). Thus his vagaries are regulated. He avoids women who, in religion, could be taken for his relatives : his pupils; those he has ordained; those who are as it were of the same region and of the same birth (*sa-deśā samāna-deśa-jāti-siṣyīṇī svahasta-dīkṣitā*); those who are in some sense his sisters (that is to say, widows or young women of an ordinary family who belong to the same religious group (*kula, gaṇa, saṃgha*, Bh 3, 247) (*supra* 101).

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During the first cure, the *bhikkhu* does not leave his companions and keeps wearing his (religious) paraphernalia (*sva-līṅgena*). Since love affairs of the first of the types described earlier are categorically forbidden, there remain only those which in the second type are considered tolerable. He conceals these affairs in a deserted house or temple (T IV' 54a 2f.). If he returns to his senses and promises not to repeat his sin, he is subjected to four "heavy" months of the sixth atonement<sup>3</sup>.

If his lust is not assuaged, he recommences the cycle described earlier, of fasts, service, etc.; and if this is of no avail, he goes to find a woman once more, but this time in accordance with the fourth of the categories we have discussed<sup>4</sup>.

Thus he will go into another "country" in order to spare his own the shame<sup>5</sup>. There he takes off his habit – and therefore his religious paraphernalia – abandons his baggage and presents himself as a layman<sup>6</sup>. However,

1. *asthāne veśyā-pāṭake sthāviraiḥ saha vasatiṃ gṛhṇāti ...; upabhukta-bhogasthāvirāts taiḥ sahitaḥ ...*, T IV' 52b 5; 53b 11.
2. *dūṣya-palāśa-patrāntaritam ekaṃ dvau trīṇ vārān hastakarma karoti*, T IV' 52b 8. *kṛtrīmāyā(ṇ) tiryag-yonāv acittāyāṃ maithuma-karma ekaṃ dvau trīṇ vārān karoti tathā 'py anupaśāntau kṛtrīmāyāṃ mānuṣya-yonau ...* T *ibid* 54a 1 ff. *mānuṣya-yonāv acittāyāṃ tathā py atisīḥati sacitte ...* *ibid* 52b 8.
3. *śuddhasyōpaśānta-vedasyākarāṇāya upasthitasyaḥ bhūyutthitasya ...*, *ibid*, 54a 4.
4. *pārvoktena vidhinā, dvitīya-vāram api strī-sevā'nantaram bhūyo nirvikṛtik'ādike vidhau kṛte yadi nōpaśāmyati vedas, tatra para-deśaṃ gantavyam* (ad Bh 3, 262).
5. *sa sāpekṣaḥ svadeśa-pariharaṇārtham para-deśaṃ vrajati*, T IV' 56a 7.
6. *gatvā anya-deśaṃ ... līṅga-vivekaṃ kṛtvā ātmīyam ācāra-bhāṇḍam samastam api kva cin nīkṣipyānya-līṅgaṃ vā gṛha-līṅgaṃ vā gṛhṇtvā ...* T IV' 57b 4 ff.



not for an instant has the religious abandoned his zeal. In particular, at the moment of his departure he is careful to put on the wrong scent those of the flock whom he must not scandalise – the very young, the pupils..... those called “miga”, “mṛga” (*Bh* 3, 264 a; cf. *T* IV’ 57 a 7, etc.). He speaks incoherently, walks around like someone out of his mind, until the novices are convinced that he is mad (“*satyaṃ ayaṃ unmattaka eva*”, *ibid* 4). The “bulls” (that is to say the “adepts”) cause him to be bound – rather loosely however – and let it be heard that he could escape never to be seen again. And so it happens. By night, at an hour when the novices are sound asleep<sup>1</sup>, the monk takes leave of the teacher (*guru*, that is *ācārya*): “I am going to such and such a country.” In the morning there is great commotion. The “bulls” conclude: “He is lost. The *piśāca* is nowhere to be seen” and they abandon the search.

The monk, however, avoids the places that his presence at that moment would profane in some way: the places where he has led the religious life or received the Doctrine, or fasted; the companies in which he has served, the places where many superiors meet, etc.

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Having taken these precautions, he looks for a woman, always keeping clear of pupils and of all those who are too closely related to him, keeping also a strict watch over his expenditure: *prathamato bhāṭīm vinā tad-abhāve bhāṭy apity arthaḥ* (*T* IV’ 58a 2). He tries therefore to find one of the faithful – because, through shame, she will make no demands on him – and he takes her off into a deserted place<sup>2</sup>.

He does not always meet with these ideal conditions. In that case he tries to persuade his partner to be satisfied with clothes; but when she is intractable, he resigns himself to having to pay her! If the assignation cannot take place outside the village, it takes place inside.

All these circumstances are taken into account when the calculation of the suitable atonement is made (*Bh* 3, 267 f.).

Throughout the treatment, he takes care to spare living beings, watches over the purity of his food and, moreover, does not make love continually: .....*na ya abhikkha-niseva* ..... (*Bh* 3, 269a).

Once cured (*evaṃ moha-cikitsāṃ kṛtvā*), he picks up his baggage and goes off to purify himself in a company other than his own, where he confesses and does penance as he is commanded:

*āgantum anna-gaṇe, soḥim kāuṇa, vūḍha-pacchitto* (*ibid* 270a). Then he manages to meet religious of his former *gaṇa* in the course of their

1. *mṛgeṣv ajñeṣu bāla-śailēṣyak’ādīṣu prasupteṣu*, *ibid.*, 57a 7.

2. Cf *Bh* 3, 266b.

*T* IV’ 57b: *saḍḍhi tti avirata-samyagdṛṣṭikā ... sā hi lajjāto na kiñ cid api yūcate... kiḍḍhi tti kṛṣyate* (sic) *saṃbhogo yaḥ pratirikte sthāne nṛyate*.

begging. They are careful not to insult him. They must inform the superior of their encounter and report the monk's words to him : "Shame prevents me from appearing before the *guru*. I don't remember what I could have done inside the shelter. The only thing that I remember is that I left" :

*beti ya lajjāe ahaṃ gantum na tarāmi guru-samīvaṃ tu  
nā ya tattha jaṃ kayā me, niggamaṇaṃ c'eva sumarāmi (Bh 3, 271).*

Upon which, the superior sends the "bulls" to find him. He reprimands him in front of the lesser members of the flock with feigned severity (*kaitavana*). The "bulls" warn him : "My friend, don't do it again" and ask him how it could all have happened. "Where have you been, without permission ? The monks have worn themselves out looking for you !" He, for his part, pretends to know nothing about it. The *ācārya* forbids him to be greeted for three years. This is his punishment :

*kattha gato anapucchā, sāhu kiliṭṭhā tumāṃ vimaggantā;  
mā naṃ aṃjo vandaha tinnī u varisāṇi dāḍo se. (Bh 3, 273).*

On condition that he does not fall again, access to honours can be re-opened to him once the three years have elapsed<sup>1</sup>.

The commentaries summarise the cases of definite disqualification (*Bh 3, 275 f.*) : when the religious has not handed over his charge (cf. the *sutta*); in addition, if he has been lacking in zeal, if he has transgressed in his native region or in a place where he is leading his religious life, or if, though he is innocent in respect of points 1 and 2, the transgression has occurred in his own fatherland<sup>2</sup>.

In short, the community always remains unperturbed. It condemns deviations with severity, to the extent that it hopes to be able to limit them. It deplores the aberrations of the monk and on all occasions is appreciative of his good intentions and his efforts. The community is strict, doubtless, but it is also humane.

The Buddhists exhibit almost the same toleration. They foresee that the monk, who has been seduced by the deceitful pleasures of the world, might want to abandon the religious life, and they give the rules which it

1. *tiṣṇāṃ samānāṃ ... purataḥ punar yadi nirvikāraḥ ... cf. Bh 3, 274a.*

2. 1) *anikṣipta-gaṇaḥ*; 2) *yatanā-yogam akṛtavān*; 3) *junmādhikṛtya svadeśe 'kṛtya-sevi*; 4) *sva-vihāra-bhāmāv akārya-sevi*; 5) *nikṣipta-gaṇaḥ kṛtayatanā-yogo 'pi san sva-deśe bhavaty akārya-sevi, T IV' 59a.*

behaves him to respect. The *bhikkhu* must at the same time “declare his weakness” and “solemnly renounce the Instruction”, that is to say the Law, the Community, etc. : *dubbaly’ āvikammaṃ c’eva hoti sikkhā ca paccakkhātā* (Vin III, 26, 32 ff.). If he does not observe the procedure, he is “excluded” (*yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūnaṃ sikkhā-sājīva-samāpanno sikkhaṃ apaccakkhāya dubbalyaṃ anāvikatvā methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya antamaso tiracchāna-gatāya pi, pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso ’ti*, Vin III, 23, 33-36 \* \*).

p. 108 Thus the Buddhist monk, also, must continue in these circumstances to control and master himself, but he either is not bound permanently by his vows (cf. I. B. Horner, *SBB*, X, p. XLVII)<sup>1</sup>. Also, when he takes leave of his companions to return to secular life, he as it were breaks down his departure into two periods. The general provisions and rules to be applied recall those in force among the Jains.

1. Cf. Robert LINGAT, *Vinaya et droit laïque*, BEFEO 37, 1937, p. 416; O. LACOMBE, *Gandhi* 89 f.; 91 f.



## CHAPTER III

### ATONEMENTS

*THE ATONEMENTS* (*pāyacchitta*, *paschitta*; *prāyaścitta*); *AND MORTIFICATION* (*tava*, *tavo*; *tapas*).

In submitting himself to penances, the religious observes the first of the six "interior mortifications" (*infra*).

The *pāyacchittas* purify the offender from the stains which he has contracted by sinning. Correctly applied, they wash away the fault, just as water judiciously used cleanses spots from a garment and dirt from a dwelling (*Vav Bh* 1, 322 ff.). They permit the attainment of "sinlessness; the person who carries them out correctly cleanses the way and the fruit of the way (which is true knowledge), attains correctness of behaviour and (the deliverance which is) the fruit of correct behaviour": *pāyacchitta-karaṇaṃ bhante jīve kiṃ jaṇayai ? pāyachitta-karaṇaṃ pāva-visohiṃ jaṇayai niraiyāre yāvi bhavai. sammaṃ ca ṇaṃ pāyacchittaṃ paḍivajjamāṇe maggaṃ ca magga-phalaṃ ca viṣohei āyāraṃ ca āyāra-phalaṃ ca ārāhei* (*Uttar* 29, 16; cf. *SBE* 45, 164 and n. 4).

Or again, expiation "extracts the darts", the symbols of the offences which are piercing the sinner (*Vav Bh* 2, 47; cf. 1, 46 f.). The image is so commonplace that it has given its name to the first chapter of the *Mahā-nisīha* : *sall'uddharaṇa*. It is likewise said of the Doctrine that it "withdraws the arrows" (*salla-kattaṇa*, *Uvav* 56; cf. *Condāvejhhaya* 152-173.)<sup>1</sup>.

These metaphors, which are scattered throughout the Jaina teachings are met also in the Brahmanic *Dharmasūtras* (cf. Gampert 28 f.). Their equivalents could easily be found in the Christian scriptures. It is certain that elsewhere the Jainas define sin theoretically as a material substance. Scholars have sometimes drawn arguments from this fact to oppose the Jaina ideas to those of the Buddhists. The Jainas have not been credited with true sense of morality as readily as have the Buddhists<sup>2</sup>.

1. Compare the title of Ch. 4 of the *Arthaśāstra* : *Kaṇṭhaka-śodhanam*.

2. Cf. H. ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India* 254 f.; PETTAZZONI, *La confessione dei peccati* I, 273.

Max Weber however applies to Buddhism the same sort of reasoning. He recalls that, for the Bauddhas, the real evil is not sin, but impermanence. Essentially, then, moral preoccupations are foreign to the doctrine (*The Religion of India* 208, cf. 249). With this theoretical view, compare sensitive remarks of BERGAIGNE, who observes the "undisputable manifestations of a moral sense" in the oldest Indian literature (*Religion védique* I, XXII ff.). (Further, one could compare FESTUGIÈRE, *Hermès Trismégiste*, IV 255, underlining the concrete reality of divine grace).

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But words should not deceive us; *salla*, *śalya* is generally understood in a figurative sense and at the very most symbolises the offence (*śalyam aticāra-rūpam*, *Vav T* II 16 a 6; *śalyam aparādha-lakṣaṇam*, *ibid* IV 13 b 13). Its dart pierces the guilty one particularly when he is concealing his fault<sup>1</sup>. No sinner could neglect to extract them without exposing himself to the direst consequences. On the contrary, their removal brings happiness: *suhī bhavē*, says *Mahānīśiha* (II 196\*).

Moreover, an atonement is never performed in vain. When it is observed because it has been prescribed and no fault has been committed, it helps to shake off the *karman* which has not yet matured (*kamma-nijjara*). This is the benefit that the innocent religious, for example, receives on occasions from the compulsory twice-daily ceremony of "repentance" (*paḍikkamaṇa*; cf. *Abhidhāna* 5, 264a).

The various observances which, with the *pañcācchittas*, are grouped under the name of "mortification", *tavo*, *tapas* contribute to the same result: "When one prevents water from reaching it, a great well dries up as people draw on it and as the water evaporates. The religious who has interrupted the inflow of evil deeds will shake off, by his ascetic fervour, the *karman* accumulated during tens of millions of existences":

*jahā mahā-talāyassa saṁniruddhe jal'āgame  
ussimcaṇāe tavaṇāe kameṇaṁ sosaṇā bhavē*

*evaṁ tu saṁjayassāvi pāva-kamma-nirāsavē*

*bhava-koḍī-saṁciyaṁ kammaṁ tavaṣā nijjarijjai* (*Uttar* 30, 5-6; cf. 29, 27)<sup>2</sup>.

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Two types of mortification are recognised: external (*bāhira(y)a*), and internal (*abbhantara(y)a*, or *abbhintara(y)a*). Both have six subdivisions. The external mortifications consist in omitting meals (for a limited period, or for a whole life-time); in retrenching (on food, personal possessions and emotional attachments); in begging alms (while imposing many res-

1. Cf. CHARPENTIER, *Uttar* p. 383, ad 30, 3: «pain, trouble, sin», rectifying Jacobi's translation by "delusions" *SBE* 174. See also R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yōga* 213, «evil»; and the re-statement of DELEU, *Studien*, p. 149 ad *Mahānīśiha* I 4.

2. Conversely, the Jaina religious takes care to prevent the accretion of any new *karman*. An important group of precautions permits him to be armed against its assaults (*saṁvara*). By practising jointly *nirjarā* and *saṁvara*, one attains deliverance (cf. *Inde classique* § 2487). See the critical study of *Uttar* 30 (called *tavomaggagai*) by L. ALS-DORF, *The Aryā stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā*, 57-62 (*Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, Akademie der Wiss. und der Literatur in Mainz, 1966. 2, p. 155-220).

traints on oneself); in renouncing tasty food; in mortifying the body (by taking up various ascetic postures); in withdrawing into oneself (in such a way as to remain indifferent to the allurements of the outside world); and in withdrawing into solitude :

*se kiṃ taṃ bāhiraḥ ? chavvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā : I aṇasaṇe, II omoyariyā<sup>1</sup> III bhikkhāyariyā, IV rasa-pariccāe, V kāya-kilese, VI paḍisaṃlīṇayā.*

"The internal mortifications consist in (confessing and) expiating; in being polite; in serving; studying; meditating; and abandoning (one's body etc.)

*se kiṃ taṃ abbhintaraḥ tave ? chavvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā : I' pāyacchittaṃ, II' viṇae, III' veyāvaccam, IV' sajjhāo<sup>2</sup> V' jhāṇam, VI' viosaggo (Uvav § 30, and W. Schubring, *Die Jainas*, 23; *Lehre* §§ 178 ff.; *Mahānīśīha* III § 44, 17 ff.; cf. R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, 238 f.).*

It will have been noted that, among the external mortifications, the majority consist of various restrictions on food. R. Williams points out that in fact *bāhya tapas* is "virtually synonymous with fasting" (*Ibid.*)

It can be understood then why *tavo, tapas* is not employed solely in the generic sense of which we have just spoken. Outside the most ancient treatises of discipline, it can designate the sixth atonement – the one occupying the position which initially belonged to the *parihāra* (*infra*), and in which fasts and restrictions on food occupy a preponderant place (*ĀDMG* 60, 1906, 538; *Lehre* § 161).

The simplest fast is that of the *niṣvīya* (*nīrvikṛtika*), who deprives himself of the ten *vigai* (*vikṛti*) : milk, curds, fresh butter, ghee, oil, molasses, alcohol, honey, meat, and *avagāhima*<sup>3</sup>. It has been noted that in P. 110 Brahmanism "a fasting diet is based on milk" (cf. A. Minard, *Trois Enigmes*, II 254 a). Nevertheless we occasionally see the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* forbidding foods containing milk, spices and salt to one who is doing penance (I, 10, 28, 11; I, 9, 26, 3; *akṣīrākṣarāḷavaṇa*).

1. Vav 8, 16 defines *omoyariyā* : "the taking of 24 mouthfuls (the size of the egg of a hen) a day," *cauvisam kukkuḍi-aṇḍa-ppamāṇa-mette kavale āhāraṃ āhāremāṇe nigganthe omoyariyā*, while a man's norm is 32 mouthfuls, *ibid* (see SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras* p. 82, referring to *Uvav* 30 II, *Viyāh*; the latter analysed by DELEU, VII 17 b); cp. *Tandulaveyāliya*, ed. SCHUBRING p. 12, 20; *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, ed. FÜHRER 6, 20; SBE 14, 37, note.

2. On *sajjhāya*, *Pravacanasāra*, 3, 32 ff.

3. Cf. *Lehre* § 156; WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* 39 and 40. The *vikṛtis* are products of a "transformation", particularly of milk and of sugars. On this specialisation of sense, R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* 40 : compare *gavyena payasā tad-vikṛair vā, Viṣṇu* 80, 12, quoted in L. ALSDORF, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, *Abh. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1961, n° 6, p. 614.

Another restriction on food which was practised by the Jainas and which was relatively benign consisted in feeding oneself on a sour gruel cooked in water without adding any fat at all. It was called *āyambila* in Aṃg., *ācāmla* in Skt.<sup>1</sup>

Penitents could in addition renounce one or several meals. Fasts were ordered according to arrangements of varying complexity.<sup>2</sup>

In Brahmanic circles, it was established that the *tapas* reduces the consequences of transgressions (Kane IV, 43; Gampert, 255) and that, in addition, fasts and restrictions on food are among the commonest and most important observances practised in the course of the *prāyaścittas* (Kane IV 84; 124; Gampert, 255 f.). It is known that they were practised very generally throughout India from the very earliest times (Lamotte, *Histoire I*, 77).

Buddhist texts give fairly precise information about the fasts practised by the Buddha. When he undertakes to deliver himself up to these austerities, he reduces his food and prepares himself to take "one handful after the other of a mash of beans, vetches, chick peas or peas". When subsequently he decides to break his fast (of which he has gauged the futility) he remarks: "I must now take some substantial food – boiled rice or sour gruel" (*odana-kummāsa*). However, after the fast on the days which preceded the Awakening, the Buddha accepts the homage of the two merchants, in the form, according to the Theravādins, of "a churned beverage" (*mantha*) and a "ball of honey" (texts collected and translated into French by A. Bareau, *Recherches*, 45 ff., 55. ff., 106; cf. also 127)<sup>3</sup>.

1. Lehre § 156; R. WILLIAMS, *ibid* 40; SANDESARA, and THAKER *Lexicographical studies in «Jaina Sanskrit»* 9; 44; 108; cf. *infra*.

2. Uttar 30, 10-11; cf. SBE 45, 175, n. 4; *Antagaḍadasāo* ch. 8, and the notes of the BARNET translations: Lehre § 156; DEO, *History*, 190-198; etc.

3. The *Abhidharmakośa* expatiates rather lengthily on the discipline of fasting (cf. IV 44 ff.; 63 ff.; and n. 1, p. 64, concerning the *upoṣadha* of half a month observed by Bhavagat, *Mahāvastu* III, 97: "prolonged abstinence, in the manner of the Jainas"). The etymological speculations reproduced by the *Abhidharmakośa* reveal the virtues with which the Buddhists credited fasting: "i. The fast is called *upavāsa* because, since it entails a manner of living which conforms to that of the Arhat [...] it places one close to (*upa*) the Arhats. According to another view, it is called this because it places one close to discipline for a whole lifetime [...]."  
"ii. The purpose of fasting is to obtain (*dhā*) the growth (*poṣa*) of the roots-of-goodness (*kuśala-mūla*) for men whose roots-of-goodness are only small. Since it secures the growth of goodness, Bhavagat said: 'It is called *poṣadha*.'" (IV 66).



## THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

Traditionally, ten atonements are enumerated :

*pāyacchittam tu dasaviham* (Uttar 30, 31).

They are given in a famous *gāthā* which figures in *Vav Piṭh Bh* 53 :

*āloyaṇa 1 paḍikamaṇe 2 mīsa 3 vivege 4 tahā viussagge 5  
tava 6 cheya 7 mūla 8 aṇavatṭhayā 9 ya pārañcie 10 c'eva*

(cf. the introductions to *K*, p. 12; *Jīya*, p. 1196, n. 1, *ubi alia*). The list is found again with a slight variation ((*tad*)*ubhaya* instead of *mīsa*), in *Uvav* (30, I), *Jīya* (4). They are called : "confession, repentance, mixed, restitution, undisturbed abandonment (of the body), mortification, (partial) or radical (suppression) (of religious seniority), demotion, and exclusion".

Some of these, it is true, seem more theoretical than real (*K* p. 15; *Lehre* § 161). This does not prevent the Digambaras, also, from counting, with some variations, ten expiations – which for the most part correspond to those of the Śvetāmbaras.

*pāyacchittam ti tavo jeṇa visujjhadi hu puvva-kaya-pāvaṇ  
pāyacchittam patto tti teṇa vuttam dasaviham tu*

*āloyaṇa paḍikamaṇam ubhaya vivego tahā viussaggo  
tava chedo mūlam vi ya parihāro c'eva saddahaṇā* (*Mūlācāra* 5, 164 f.).

Confusions and re-arrangements probably occurred fairly soon. They led, for example, to a list like that of the *Tattvārtha* : *ālocana-pratikramaṇa-tadubhaya-viveka-vyutsarga-tapaś-cheda-parihārôpasthāpanāni* (9 articles, cf. *ZDMG* 60, 538).

It will be sufficient here to confine ourselves to the more ancient list of ten expiations, as it is given by the *Jīya*, *Uvav* (cf. Deo, *Jurisprudence* 40).

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The first two are quoted often and everywhere. The last four (which however are not mentioned in the non-disciplinary texts, even the canonical ones) are occasionally given in the most ancient disciplinary treatises (*Kappa-*, *Vavahāra-*, *Nisīha-sutta*, cf. *Lehre* § 161). They give some indications about the fifth (cf. *K*), but ignore the third and fourth.

As for the sixth (*tava*), it seems to have been substituted at a fairly early date for a more ancient one called *parihāra* (*infra*).

The link uniting all these atonements is sometimes very loose and sometimes very close.

Some authorities dispute their total number and hold that the last two – "demotion" and "exclusion" – form a single atonement (*Vav Piṭh T* 36

a 12). They eliminate the first two and keep the third, which is formed by uniting the first two practices which are in fact closely linked (*ubhaya* or *miśra*), calling it moreover "external" (*bāhya*) to the six others (*Vav Piṭh Bh* 100 b; 108 b)<sup>1</sup>. We know that the practice of confession, or rather of repentance, is one which Mahāvīra introduced into the community of Pārśva (*Lehre* § 16).

The heterogeneity of the observances in the traditional list did not escape the ancient doctors. Doubtless, it is the last five which are the atonements properly speaking. Nevertheless it was as a kind of atonement and even a very difficult one, that they regarded confession – which is inseparable from the *paḍikkamaṇa* and *mīsa*, as we have just seen. Besides it is the necessary prelude to the success of all the others. We shall study, then, its principles, and the ways in which it is put into practice.

The "restitution", which consists in renouncing an object received improperly but in all good faith, does not call for comment.

As for undisturbed abandonment, it is a practice which accompanies many acts of the religious life and is met with occasionally when penances are being performed.

p. 113 Thus there is nothing surprising about the grouping together of all these terms. But it is not surprising either in these conditions, that the commentaries on the first lesson of the *Vavahāra* link the second group of penances (6–10), not to confession etc., but to atonements which can spread over 25, 20, 15, 10, and 5 days, and also link these last to fasts of between four and a half and one and a half days, and finally to certain restrictions concerning food (*infra*). In the same way (but in the reverse order), *Vav Piṭh Bh* T teach that the atonements which precede the sixth consist first of all in depriving oneself of the *vigais*, in fasting during the first or the second half of the day, in eating nothing but sour gruel (*ambila*, *ācāmla*), and then in doing penance for five (or a multiple of five) days :

*niiviiē purimaddhe ekkāsana ambile cautthe ya  
paṇagaṃ dasa paṇarasā vīsā taha paṇavisā ya  
māso lahuo gurugo ... (Bh 164 f.).*

In the study of the *prāyaścittas* proper (6–10), several difficulties and contradictions will be encountered. Some of these disappear if it is admitted that the commentaries described, according to the passage concerned,

<sup>1</sup> *navadhā jassa visohi, tass' uvarim chaṇha bajjham tu (Vav Piṭh Bh 108 b).  
yasy' ācāryasya mate 'navasthita-pārāñcītayor aikya-vivakṣaṇān navadhā (nava-prakārā)  
viśodhiḥ (prāyaścittam), tasya dāya-prāyaścitta-dvayasyōpari yad vartate prāyaścittam  
tat saṇṇam uparitanānām bōhyam eva <tu>-śabdasyaivakārārthavāt, tataḥ chaṇham  
thaṇṇa bajjham tu iti tad-ubhayaṃ prāyaścittam pratipattavyam iti (ibid, T 38 a 5–7).*

sometimes theory and sometimes practice. Other contradictions cannot be easily resolved.

We have already seen several times that the *prāyaścitta* actually prescribed depends on the capacities of the penitent. Consequently, the weakest monks are excused the more rigorous atonements.

The only ones who are required to atone for their offence in full are the *niravekkhas*, who, since they have no concern for the company, devote all their efforts to their own spiritual progress (*Bh* 1, 422 f. = *Nts Bh* 655; 6 657). These are the religious, it will be recalled, who imitate the Jina, those who impose upon themselves the rule *ahālanda*, and those who observe the atonement called *parihāra*. For the *sāvekkha*, no provision is made for an atonement more severe than the eighth (*mūla*), no matter how capable they are of fasting successfully (*kayakaraṇa*). And this complete reduction in rank itself is inflicted only on the most qualified religious, the *āyariya* *kayakaraṇa*. As for the others, their sentence is reduced in accordance with their lesser capacities.

A theoretical system of equivalents, in which the atonements are exactly proportional to monastic status, has thus been established; it is reproduced in the table below :

[illegible]

p. 115. One constant fact will have been noticed from the time of the *K* and *Vav*: the severity of the *parihāra* may, or may not, be "lightened" by a "remission" of several days (*laghu*, *guru*; or else *udghāṭika*, *anudghāṭika*; cf. *Lehre* § 162; *infra* 174 f.).

In appearance this table shows how the penance can be adapted to the penitent, and could then be accepted as having a practical value, regulating details of the imposition of penances. In fact, its bearing seems, rather, to be theoretical.

Be that as it may, discrepancies concerning the sixth expiation are left unaccounted for: it figures on this table among the *prāyaścittas* occasionally prescribed for the "immature" (*agūārtha*). Now in the same way as the ninth and tenth atonements were reserved for the *nirapekṣas* alone, the *parihāra* is legitimately imposed only on the "adepts" (*gūārtha*) because it would be of no profit to others: at least, this is what is expressly taught elsewhere (*infra*). In passing, the symetry between the sixth and the last two *prāyaścittas* will be noticed. It seems that their histories also were parallel, at least for a time.

Unfortunately we know almost nothing about the evolution of the sixth atonement. If we did know about it, many difficulties would probably disappear. But the following point is clear.

The atonement called *tava* in *Uvav*, *Jīya* (cf. *Vav Piṭh*), etc., occupies in relation to the *cheya*, exactly the position that the first chapters of the *Vav Bh* and *T* reserve for the atonement which they indeed usually call *tava* (or *tavo*), *tapas*, but also, at the same time, *parihāra-tava*, *-tapas*, emphasising by the compound that they mean the atonement called *parihāra* in the *Vayahāra-sutta*<sup>1</sup>. In both of these penances, which are certainly different, fasting plays a very great part, while the manner of relegation, which in other respects characterises the penance of very early periods, has been abandoned. The *Jīya* makes no mystery of this substitution of the *tava* for the *parihāra* (cf. 61 and Leumann p. 1205). The *Vav Bh T* make incidental allusion to it:

*puvviṃ chammāsehiṃ parihāreṇaṃ ca āsi soḍhī tu  
suddhataveṇaṃ nivvittiy'ādiehiṃ visodhī tu*

1. Cf. *parihāratapasi uhiyamāne* ... , *T* III 26 a 4 (ad *Vav* 1, 17), etc. Examples of interchangeability between the two terms *parihāra* and *tapas* are not rare; cf. IV 26 a 6 ff.: *prāktana-sūtreṣu pārihārikaṃ uktaṃ ... prāk tapo'rhaṃ prāyaścittaṃ pratipanna-sya sūtram uktam*.

The commentaries say again *āpannaparihāra*, "p. incurred", in contradistinction to the *suddhaparihāra* invented by the scholastics (cf. ad 1, 1 ff.; *infra* 172). The expression *āpanna-prāyaścittaṃ caret* has been studied by GAMPERT, *Sühnezeremonien*, 200.

p. 116 (Bh 3, 180: *idāniṃ nirvikṛtik'ādibhir api ca śodhiḥ*) "previously purification used to be obtained by a *parihāra* of six months; today <it is obtained> through the *suddhatava*, that is to say through depriving oneself of *ulgai*, etc."

The *Jiya* and its *cunṇi* note in addition that at the time of Bhadrabāhu at least, fasting was regarded as an acceptable substitute for the final two atonements; which since then however entail, as originally, the effective expulsion of the monk (*Jiya* 91; 100; 102; and Leumann p. 1196).

The confusions and re-arrangements date no doubt from a fairly early period; the Digambaras also traditionally call the sixth, *tava*, and the tenth, either *pārañcika* (*Āśādhara*) or *saddahaṇā* (*Mūlācāra*); for the ninth they reserve, in point of fact, the name of *parihāra* (cf. *Tattvārtha*, *supra*; compare *Jiya* 93).

It is hazardous to try to reconstruct the history. Should we attempt it?

One point seems beyond doubt: the *parihāra* was first conceived as an atonement lower in grade than partial and complete suppression of religious seniority (cf. *infra* 118); and indeed *Bh T* usually distinguish the religious "who find themselves" isolated (*vaṭṭanta*) from those who, having "emerged" from this penance (*niggaya*) have to undertake a theoretically more onerous penance (*cheya*, *mūla*, *aṇavatṭhaya*, *pārañciya*). One goes about it as for the washing of a garment – in the house, if it is not too soiled, and outside in the river, if it is excessively dirty (*Bh* 1, 291; *T* III 15 a 3; 12 b ff.).

When, then, a monk initially engaged in the sixth atonement falls into new errors, the total penance imposed increases accordingly. From the sixth to the tenth, the commentaries give eleven or thirteen stages. The sixth indeed counts three of these (one, four, six months, heavy or light, cf. *supra* and *T* III 2 b 3). This is when it is not "cumulated" (*asaṃcayita*, *sic!*) – that is to say when it counts for as many months as were originally incurred; but it has only one degree in the contrary case. There would be in the same way a triple partial suppression of seniority, a triple radical suppression of seniority and a triple demotion, but a single proclamation of exclusion:

*tava-tiya cheya-tiyaṃ vū mūla-tiyaṃ aṇavathāvaṇa-tiyaṃ ca  
caramaṃ ca ekka-sarayaṃ ... (Bh 1, 295).*

p. 117 Clearly, however the most feared atonement is not the *mūla* but the *parihāra*. This last is not prescribed without many precautions and restrictions. The commentaries have even invented a substitute penance, the *buddhaparihāra*, for those who are insufficiently prepared, for example the "immature". As for the *mūla*, it is most often presented as a substitute, for

the *parihāra* especially (cf. *Bh* 1, 320 b; *infra*). *Bh* *T* speak without equivocation of the fear which this last penance inspires, and they specify what it is that the excommunicated monk fears : the moral isolation into which he will be plunged. In certain cases this causes attacks of nervous depression : *katham aham ālaṣaṇ'ādi-parivarjitaḥ sann ugriṃ tapaḥ kariṣyāmīti*, *T* III, 29 b 10, *ad Vav* 1, 17 (cf. *infra* 189).

It can be understood then that these last two penances, which involve the exile of the offender, have been reserved for monks who have already proved their ability to withstand solitude.

In addition, we can see the explanation for on the one hand, certain of the contradictions mentioned above, and on the other, the change of name of the sixth atonement.

Everything leads one to believe that in antiquity many monks lived in solitude, as in fact did Mahāvira.<sup>1</sup> Solitude, however, became more and more terrifying for monks whom their very rule obliged to be constantly in the company of others (cf. *supra* 50). From that time, the sixth atonement (*parihāra*), from being a penance of medium severity as it originally was, became in their eyes more feared than any loss of seniority whatever. The sort of quarantine which characterised it became all the more intolerable as, in fact, exile was no longer ever inflicted. In the same way that the ninth and tenth atonements had been reduced to fasts, the sixth had become *tava* "mortification" – in other words, above all, "restrictions on food" (*supra*). When however the Jainas reacted against this laxity, they could well decide to banish once more from the religious precincts the offender who was undergoing the two penances recognised as the most painful. But it was impossible to revive the ancient *parihāra*, with its moral exile; and nevertheless to maintain the traditional classification, with its many disciplinary implications.

When forced to choose, the Jainas kept to the hierarchy of atonements (*cheya*, *mūla* immediately before *aṇavaṭṭhaya* and *pārañciya*). It remained that the sixth atonement consisted of fasts. It lost the name of *parihāra*, which then became available, and took permanently the name of *tava* "austerity", "mortification".

The verbal substitution thus shows, in fact, a revolution in beliefs and customs.

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 55. Compare *eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo* (refrain of the famous Pāli *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*, *Sn* 35-75; cf. *Mvu* I 357, 21-359, 15).

Among all the atonements, the sixth seems to occupy a dominant position.

It commands those which follow, since a distinction is made between the religious "who is engaged in performing the penance" (*vaṭṭanta*) and the religious "who has come out of it" and who has fallen under a heavier penance (*supra*). It is this atonement, it seems, which is inflicted at first, and rarely the seventh or eighth. It is increased in the case of a new transgression. When he relapses, the "qualified" monk (*vikovida*) is submitted to the seventh, which seems moreover to be calculated in relation to the first (*infra* 198). In all respects, the commentators thus present the partial "suppression" of religious seniority as being closely linked to the sixth atonement. In doing this, they are very probably conforming to an ancient practice; for the two are associated in the ancient canonical formula *se s'antarā chee vā parihāre vā*, where the order of words follows rhythmic laws, in any case (cf. *infra* 198).

On coming out of the *cheya*, the religious risks the "radical" cancellation of his religious seniority (*mūla*). It will be remembered that this atonement is occasionally substituted for the sixth and seventh, and it is the severest imposed on the monk living in the midst of his company.

However, those "who are not concerned with the company", who live apart (the *jiṇakappiya*, *parihāriya*, *ahālandiya*), are then liable to demotion and exclusion. For two of them, the *jiṇakappiya* and the *ahālandiya*, whose isolation is lasting, this can easily be understood. But the isolation of the *parihāriya*, and consequently his status of *niravekkha*, more or less cease with his penance. Nevertheless this provision does not annul the preceding rule. It will be noted that passing from the sixth atonement to a triple *cheya*, and to a triple *mūla*, then to a triple demotion and to a single exclusion is more theoretical than real; it was indeed necessary to establish a theoretical scale, but the sentence must afterwards be adapted, taking into account a particular situation probably even more complex than those described in the commentaries ! So as to act completely in accordance with justice, they began by establishing the principles on which are based the many calculations which lead to the fixing of the net amount of the penance finally prescribed (compare *infra* 175).

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\* \*

In certain respects, the sixth seems to be the atonement par excellence.

We have just seen that, without it, the seventh and eighth hardly existed and moreover that the ninth and tenth which are not imposed



on a religious who normally lives within his company (according to the rule of the *theras*) – can on the contrary be prescribed for the *parihāriya*.

Moreover, it so happens that the commentaries present the sixth as if it were the only atonement. The pupil asks how many *prāyaścittas* there are. Answer: an infinite number, if one considers the spirit, but a limited number, if one confines oneself to the *sūtra* (that is to say to the *Nisītha*). Now this last enumerates, as the *Bh T* recall: 584 cases of *parihāra* of one month (alleviated or not); 1,368 cases of *parihāra* of four months. In all, then, there are 1,952 cases, all demanding exclusively the afore-mentioned penance (*kiyanti khalu prāyaścittāni ? ... arthato aparimitāni, sūtrataḥ punar idaṃ parimāṇam, Vav T II 80 b – 81 a; cf. Bh 1, 223–226*)<sup>1</sup>.

p. 120 When he submits himself to the sixth atonement, the religious is following, in several respects, the example of Mahāvīra: first in being “isolated” (although still among his companions, *infra* 171), and then – and the commentaries often insist upon this – in not being bound for more than six months to this sort of retreat. The maximum duration of the *parihāra* does not indeed exceed that of the longest penances which the Teacher has performed. Now Vardhamāna had performed penances for six months at the most (Rṣabha for twelve months, the intermediate Tīrthaṅkara for eight months)<sup>2</sup>. This is the theoretical explanation of all the various kinds of abatements, reductions, indulgences and remissions allowed to the offender.

It will be seen in addition that the monk *parihāriya* should carry to the second degree, if one can express it thus, respect for purity (*infra* 188).

1 Compare, in the following formulae, which mean practically the same, the use of *parihāra*, *tapas*, *prāyaścitta*: *tataḥ param ... parasmīn śāṇmāsika-parihāra-sthāne pratisevite .. ta eva sthītāḥ śaṇ māsāḥ. tata ūrdhvam asmin tīrthe āropaṇāyāḥ asaṃbhavāt (T II 53 a II f.)*

*yato 'smākam etīvad eva Bhagavatā Vardhamāna-svāminā tapo'rhaṃ prāyaścittam vyavasthāpitam ... (ibid II 97 a 1).*

*śaṇ-māsāt parasya Bhagavad-Vardhamāna-svāmi-tīrthe tapo-dānasya saṃbhavāt (ibid III 16 b 5.)*

*prāyaścitta-mānaṃ Jinaiḥ Tīrthakṛdbhis trividhaṃ śodhikaraṃ bhaṇitam, tad yathā: prathama-tīrthakarasya dvādaśa māsāḥ, madhyama-tīrthakṛtām aṣṭau māsāḥ, Vardhamāna-svāmināḥ ṣaṭkaṃ śaṇ māsāḥ: ito 'dhikaṃ na dīyate (ibid, II 79 a 11 ff.; compare T III 1 b 9).*

2 Cf. the preceding note. In addition, *Piṭh 48 b 1: uktaṃ ca cūrṇau: chaṃ-māsāṃ param jaṃ āvaffai taṃ chaṇḍijjai; Bh 1, 220; 278.*

The penances of the Saviour are given as a model of the sixth atonement when this is the *parihāra* (*supra*), and also when it is reduced to the *tapas*, as in the *Jītakalpa*: *ucyate, iha jītakalpo 'yam, yasya Tīrthakarasya yāvat-pramāṇam utkṛṣṭam tapaḥ-karaṇam, tasya tīrthe tāvad eva śeṣa-sādhūnām utkṛṣṭam prāyaścitta-dānam. carama-tīrthakarasya tu Bhagavato Vardhamāna-svāminā utkṛṣṭa-tapaḥ śāṇmāsikam, tato 'sya tīrthe sarvōtkṛṣṭam api prāyaścitta-dānam śaṇ māsā evēti ... (ibid, II 47 a 7 ff.).*

All these characteristics converge, leading one to think that the *parihāra* was, at one time, the atonement par excellence. The same importance is accorded to its later substitute - the *tava* - to which the *Jīyakappa* devotes 57 stanzas (23-79) out of the 103 of which it is composed.

## THE OFFENCES (*paḍisevaṇā*; *pratisevaṇā*, fem., nt.).

The order adopted by the Jainas in describing the offences to be confessed and expiated varies according to the text. In certain circumstances (for example in confession), it is fixed and obligatory (*infra*). In the *Mahānistha*, the seventh lesson considers the faults which are likely to occur in conjunction with the various "obligations" (*āvassaya*) which must be observed as the day progresses.

The treatises on discipline generally classify the transgressions according to the penances which they demand (*supra*), for the latter conform to the former and are closely linked to them :

... *paḍisevaṇa vviya pāyacchittam* ...

(*prāyaścittam pratisevaṇā-rūḥam*, *Vav Pūth Bh* 52 b; *T* 20 a 10).

It will be remembered that the penalty is, however, adapted to suit the offender (*Vav Pūth T* 60 a 13; cf. *supra* 92). The relative character of the sentence is commonly and variously expressed in the *K*, *Vav*. Sometimes the atonement is said to be "appropriate" : *ahā'riham pāyacchittam* (*K* 4, 25; *Vav* 6, 10 f.; 7, 1); sometimes the stereotype formulae insist on the cause-and-effect relationship : "in consequence, suppression of seniority, or isolation", *tap-pattiyam chee vā parihāre vā* (*Vav* 4, 13; 14; 6, 5); and again : "suppression of seniority, or the isolation, which result from it" (that is to say, they are proportional to the duration of the offence), *se' s'antarā chee vā parihāre vā*, expressed in skr. by *svakṛtād antaṛāt* ..... (*K* 2, 4-7; *Vav* 1, 21; 22 ff.; 4, 11; 12; 15 f.; 5, 11; 12; var. *se s'antarā cheo vā parihāro vā*, *Vav* 3, 2).

However, even in the treatises which are based on religious Tradition (*suya*), the total amount of the prescribed penance is occasionally stipulated in more positive form – *K*, *Vav* enjoin : one month of *parihāra* without mitigation (*Vav*, 6, 8); four months with mitigation (*K* 4, 11; 12); four heavy months (*K* 1, 38; 3, 34; 2, 18; 4, 9-10; 5, 1-4; 6-10; *Vav* 6, 9).

As for the *Nistha* – which, although it is later, itself follows the *suya* – it devotes nineteen of its twenty lessons to the enumeration of transgressions according to the various degrees of *parihāra* which they entail. To review them would be tantamount to translating the treatise almost in its entirety.

Finally, the *Vav Bh T* constantly indicate, in connection with each infraction, the *parihāra* which it necessitates (most often four heavy or light months).

Thus everything proceeds as if there existed a sort of scale of atonements,

The scale which "custom" has ratified constitutes the *Jīyakappa*, where the penalty is, very approximately, the same as in the *Vav Pūhikā*. This last thus allows one to get a general view of the relationship between transgressions and penances, as they were commonly admitted in relatively recent times. Here are some of the provisions which it has recorded.

In general, the most venial infraction must be confessed. The *Pūh* occasionally exempts from the *ālojaṇā* when the fault is slight, and on some occasions (T 21 b).

Evidently confession is credited with a primary educative value (cf. *Mahanisīha* 1, 63 f. \*). It purified the imperfect religious (*chaumathassa* [= *chadmasthikasya*] *visohi*, *Jīya* 5) and guided him.

In the course of the repentance, sorrow is expressed for faults against the three *gūptis* and the five *samitis* – on condition that they are simple (that is to say, that they have been committed thoughtlessly (*sahasā-kāratah*) and heedlessly (*anābhogo vismṛtiḥ*, *Vav Pūh* T 24 a 6; 7)) and that they have caused no harm to any creature. In addition, one must confess bad behaviour (*pratirūpa-yoga*), indifference to good manners, and transgressions which have unintentionally offended against the additional virtues (*uttara-guṇa*, *infra*) :

*guttisu ya samitisu ya paḍiruvī-joge taḥā 'pasatiḥe ya*  
*vaikkame aṇābhoge pāyacchittam paḍikkamaṇam* (*Vav Pūh* Bh 60).

The "mixed" penance is imposed : if there is any doubt, when one has acted thoughtlessly, under the influence of fear or of a physical weakness, in time of calamity and, finally, when through simple heedlessness, one has offended against the fundamental vows :

*saṅkie sahasāgāre bhay'āure āvatīsu ya;*  
*mahavayāticāre ya ...* (*ibid* 100).

"Restitution" consists in giving back an alms which had been accepted in complete good faith, but which was impure (*ibid* 109 f.).

*Kāusagga*, the undisturbed abandonment of the body, must be practised before, during and after the principal acts of the religious life, and in p. 123 various circumstances which might be considered perilous (*ibid* 111; *infra* 169). Its duration varies according to the case.

According to the *Vav Pūhikā*, the sixth atonement (*tava*, *tapas*) can last 5, 10, 15, 20 or 25 days; or 1, 4 or 6 months, mitigated, or not.

The acts of the *niggantha* are analysed in their constituent elements and it is determined thus to what extent he has sinned or not. The typical example is that of the monk who picks up, or puts down, a stick. He is totally innocent if, for example, in taking hold of it or in laying it down,

he acts with attention and cleans it (the 4th case studied). He deserves five days of *tapas* if he is guilty of negligence on the first or second point (cases 2, 3), or on both (1st case). It is still necessary that no creature should have been injured. It is the same for a person who takes a boat, who spits, who scratches himself, who carries a garment out of the sun into the shade or vice versa, who passes from one type of ground to another – or from a road to a village, etc. It is the same again when one omits the customary formulae on departure or arrival, or when one does not show to the *guru* the respect due to him (*T* I 42 b – 43b; *ad Bh* 126 f.).

It is no longer days but months of *tapas* which must be observed to atone for the harm caused to a living creature when one spits, etc. (cf. *T* I 43b–46a). Consequently a month – with or without mitigation according to the case – is imposed on the religious who receives alms in a wet bowl; a month on the religious who omits a period of study, whether it is of the text or of its interpretation; the same period on the religious who does not surrender himself as he should as he carries out his daily “obligations”, who neglects to inspect the utensils of lesser usefulness, who neglects the fasts of the 8th, and 15th days, or who does not salute statues and shrines.

A graver fault would incur a penance of four months: if one were to neglect the inspection of the objects of primary usefulness, and the fasts considered the most important :

*sajjhāyassa akarāṇe kāussagge taḥā apaḍilehā*  
*posahiya taye ya taḥā avandaṇā ceiyāṇaṃ ca.* (*Vav Pīṭh Bh* 130).

The seventh atonement is intimately linked to the sixth; the *Pīṭhika* is explicit on this point. It is imposed when the same fault has been repeated three times running by a religious who is, moreover, in perfect health and bereft of any excuse. It consists (according to whether the duration of the *tava* was calculated in days or in months) sometimes of five days etc., and sometimes of one, four or six months :

*eesiṃ aṇṇayaraṃ nirantaraṃ aticarejja tikkhutto*  
*nikkāraṇaṃ agilaṇe pañca u rāṇḍiyā chedo* (*ibid* 128; cf. 135).

p. 124 The death of a living creature entails complete loss of seniority (*ibid* 136).

This last, it will be remembered, is the heaviest penance exacted of any religious living within the community.

In the *Vav Pīṭhikā*, information concerning the *cheya* and *mūla* remains rather sketchy. The *Jīya* gives in addition the following information.

The *cheya* or the *mūla* are, it seems, the penalties which can be imposed upon the religious who boast of performing without difficulty the sixth atonement, who would not be able to bear it, who do not believe in its efficacy, whose passions are not restrained by it, who might be led to judge their failings with excessive indulgence, who might be too strongly inclined towards evil (80; 84).

In addition, the *cheya* is prescribed for whoever constantly fails in respect of the "additional merits" (*uttara-guṇa*), who persists in committing faults which demand the *cheya* (*chey'āvattisu pasajjamāṇo*). It is also prescribed for the religious whose transgressions should be expiated by atonements of a rank higher than the *tava*, on condition that he still has the necessary seniority (*Jīya* 81-82; cf. *Abhidhāna* 3, 1362 a).

As for the *mūla*, it is prescribed for the monk who injures or kills a creature with five senses, who deliberately (*dappena*) offends against chastity (*infra* 127), who falls several times into the three other capital sins. Or, again, it is prescribed for anyone who rejects faith or good conduct, or who abandons his duties, for the novice, for the person who fails totally in respect of his religious engagements (*accant'osannesu*), who assumes the insignia either of a layman or of a religious of another sect, who commits an act necessitating the *mūla* (!), or who, being a simple *bhikkhu*, has deserved the ninth and tenth atonements. It is also prescribed when seniority has been reduced by repeated *cheya*. Thus the "complete (suppression)" of religious seniority would intervene, sometime as a consequence of specific transgressions and sometimes when the monk is obstinate in error and relapses (*Jīya* 83-86).

The foregoing details have been reproduced merely as an indication, and only because, as we shall see, the *Vav Bh T* provide incomplete and fairly discordant information about the seventh and eighth atonements. But the provisions laid down in the *Jīyakappa* are valid, it will be remembered, only for a relatively late period. It could not be said that they had a similar force of law in the more remote times of the *Kappa-Vavahāra* and *Nisāya-sutta* - texts which say very little about the *cheya* and still less about the *mūla*.

## TRANSGRESSIONS AND MERITS. LIBERTY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

Transgression may be considered in relation to the "merits" or "principles" against which they offend. In the case of a monk, these are the five "fundamental merits" (*mūla-guṇa*), and the ten "additional merits" (*uttara-guṇa*) (cf. *Lehre* §§ 170 ff.; R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga* 50 ff.). In a negative form<sup>1</sup>, they are enumerated in a fixed order, which is scrupulously respected when making the confession :

*mūl'uttara-paḍisevā, mūle pañcaviṣṭe, uttare dasahā (Vav Bh 1, 38 a).*

The "fundamental merits"<sup>2</sup> consist in : 1) not injuring living creatures; 2) not lying; 3) not appropriating what has not been freely given; 4) not offending against chastity; 5) not possessing anything. To this list of *guṇa*, a sixth was soon added; one must refrain from eating at night.

The *uttara-guṇas* oblige the religious to respect : 1) the three *guptis*; 2) to 6) the five *samitis*; 7) the six external mortification (*tapas*); 8) the six internal mortifications; 9) the twelve observances of the monks (*bhikṣu-pralimā*); 10) the rules concerning the substance, place and time of alms-giving and the sentiments which inspire the donor (*abhigraha*) (*ad Vav Bh 1, 38*).

Those religious who imitate the Jina (*jinakalpika*) make atonement for the least departure from good conduct. They are, however, sufficiently advanced spiritually not to permit any transgression (*Vav T II 88 b 3*).

As for those who follow the rule of the elders (*sthavirakalpika*) the commentaries of the *Vavahāra* recognise that the *Nisīha-sutta* does not mention the venial offences which they are likely to commit (*atikrama*, *vyatikrama*, *alicāra*, cf. *infra*). It is concerned solely with their grave transgressions against religious conduct (*anācāra*) :

*saṁve vi ya paṇḍita je sutte te paḍucca 'ñāyāraṁ  
therāṇa bhavē kappe : jīṇakappe causu vi paesu (Vav Bh 1, 253)<sup>3</sup>*

The *Vav Bhāsa* and the *Ṭikā* have none the less analysed the three stages which precede the committing of the *anācāra*. The monk indeed is regarded as guilty when he allows himself to be seduced (*atikrama*), and

1 This type of statement has nothing specifically Jaina about it, as R. WILLIAMS pertinently emphasises, referring to the Decalogue (*Jaina Yoga*, XIX). Compare the remarks of GONDA, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* 110 ff.

2 Compare the five *yamas*, constituent of the first *aṅga* of Yoga (*ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, *aparigraha*).

3 The *Mahānīti* imposes the obligation of expiating certain serious offences even if they are committed in thought only (I, 214\*; 215\*; II § 23: 188\*).

led astray (*vyatikrama*), and when he breaks the rule (*aticāra*) – for example if he listens to the offer of an impure alms, if he goes out of his way to receive it, if he accepts it : *sthavirakalpikānām triṣu atikram'ādiṣu padeṣu prāyaścittam bhavati* (*Vav* 7 II 88 a, cf. *Vav Pīṭh Bh* 107 f.). But up to this point his transgressions are considered minor; and so long as he has not gone as far as a grave infraction (for example using the forbidden alms), it is sufficient for the *sthavirakalpika*, to expiate the three types of offences just defined, to express his full and sincere repentance : *mithyā duṣkṛta-mātra-pradānenāpi śudhyati* (7 II 88 b 1 f.).

Should he persist in his error to the extent of violating the code of religious conduct, he expiates, at the same time as the *anācāra*, the three moments of sinfulness above-mentioned which have led him into “misconduct”, for the *anācāra* is inevitably conditioned by the moments which precede it, in such a way that they are naturally taken into account in the calculation of the *parihāra*. Thus without being explicitly mentioned in the *Niṣṭha*, in effect they do figure in it, by implication (cf. 7 II 88 a-b).

The analysis and discussion just undertaken show the Jaina teachers as being anxious to correct more than just the comportment of the monks. They try to redeem and reform even the very impulses and intentions of their flock.

The pastors take trouble to divine these intentions correctly and to appreciate exactly the responsibility of the offender.

It will be recalled that the Jainas, like other Indians, distinguish between what is done in act, in word, and in thought (*supra* 90 and n. 3); and that they distinguish even further in differentiating the actions that the agent does personally, those which he causes someone else to do, and those in whose execution he helps. One cannot then take the accusations of the Buddhists literally when they accuse the *nirgrantha* of not according any value to the intentions which motivate the individual<sup>1</sup>.

P. 127

Let us refer rather to the *Vavahāra Bhāsa* and the *Ṭikā*.

- 1 The *Abhidharmakośa* says : “According to the Nirgranthas, from murder—even when committed unwittingly and unwillingly (*abuddhi-pūrvāt*)—there results, for the person who committed it, sin, just as a burn results from contact with fire. On this score, a person is guilty (*pāpa-prasaṅga*) when he sees or touches involuntarily someone else's wife. [...] On the other hand, whoever causes the murder to be committed by someone else is not guilty, because one is not burnt when one causes someone else to touch the fire. Since no account is taken of the intention (*buddhi-viśeṣa*), the wood and the other materials, although bereft of consciousness are capable of murder when a house collapses and living beings perish.”

The passages of *Uttar* and *Sūya* adduced by La Vallée Poussin (IV 155 p. 2 n 3), are not conclusive.



When there is a question of "fundamental merits" or of "additional merits", they distinguish two types of transgressions : some are caused by the presumption of the subject (*darpa*) and others arise in the exercise of the Rule (*kalpa*) :

*ekk' ekkā vi ya duvihā dappe kappe ya nāyavvā (Bh 1, 38 b).*

It is specified that these last (*kalpika*) have a cause (*infra*) : the resurgence of the *karman* previously accumulated (*karmôdaya*, cf. *Bh 1, 41 f.*)

One might perhaps wonder how a zealous monk could transgress. It could happen that he stumbles on a rough road, that he slips in the mud etc. (*Bh 1, 39 f.*). The fault arises then on the very path of virtue: from this comes its name of *kalpika* "a sin<involuntarily committed while carrying out>the rule." On the other hand, the offence which does not result from the *karman* is "without cause" – deliberately committed by a person who displays no zeal at all, it is a "sin of pride" (*darpika*) (*yā kāraṇam antareṇa pratisēvanā kriyate sā darpikā, yā punaḥ kāraṇe sā kalpikā (Vav T II 14 b 4 f.)*). It can be seen then that the first sort of offence contributes – indirectly, it is true – to the annihilation of the *karman* (*kamma-kkhaya-karaṇi*) and that the second gives rise to it (*kamma-jaṇaṇi*) (*Bh 1, 42*). This particular case contradicts the general theory (recalled by *Bh 43*), according to which the fault and the *karman*, like the grain and the plant, beget one another indefinitely.

From the foregoing distinction, there follow four types of sins defined by the commentaries: 1. *kāraṇe yatanayā*; 2. *kāraṇe ayatanayā*; 3. *akāraṇe yatanayā*; 4. *akāraṇe ayatanayā* (cf. *Bh 1, 425*). It is true that there is no trace of these combinations in the *Vavahāra-sutta*. But they are not superfluous in the *Bhāsa* and *Tīkā* : they permit the correct assessment of the penance appropriate to any fault. For it is well known that, in the theory of the atonements, all cases are particular *prthag anyo 'nyo dāna-vidhiḥ (scil. prāyascittasya dāna-v., Vav T III 50 a 11 f.)*.

p. 128 There is hardly room for doubt that the authors of this casuistry attach great importance to the intentions of the monk.

The *Vav.Piṭh* mentions other forms of the act which are likewise found in the *Thāṇ*, *Viyāh* (and recorded by Deo, *History*, 152). Certain acts are committed through carelessness, lack of thought, etc.; others are caused by adverse circumstances (*āvaṭi*). It is known that in the case of circumstances beyond one's control, the Jainas have no more hesitation than the Hindus in lifting the usual prohibitions (cf. *K 6, 3-12; supra 97.*)

Moreover, they lay it down formally that the responsibility of the religious is directly related to his freedom of action. He is not considered

guilty of faults committed under constraint. In such a case, it is of little importance whether or not he is conscious of his actions:

*ceyaṇam aceyaṇam vā paratanlattenā do vi tullāim* (Vav Bh 2, 139 a)

If he is physically deficient, or if he is possessed by a *yakṣa*, or if he is manipulated by his family, he is considered to be under the control of others and his actions are considered to be independent of his own will. Thus he is obviously innocent, and will be just as innocent from a religious point of view: *loko yo yatrânātmavaśatayā pravartate tam tatra nirdoṣam abhimanyate, tato loka tathā-darśanatas tam api kāya-vyasana-hetum nirdoṣam abhimanyatām* (T IV 35 a; Bh 2, 141). Actions done under constraint do not produce any *karman* (*aphala*), on condition, naturally, that one has not actively consented to them (*asāijjamāṇe*) (Bh 2, 322).

This question is debated at length in the commentaries. The teacher affirms that if a religious is, for example, suffering from a mental illness, his conduct is predetermined. He does not accumulate any *karman* and has therefore nothing to expiate: (*kṣipta-citte cāritram avasthitam ato nāsau prāyaścitta-bhāg iti*, T IV, 33 b 13; *kṣipta-cittasya rāga-dveṣābhāvataḥ karmā-pacayābhāvaḥ*, *ibid*, 34 a 12).

To illustrate his arguments, the teacher gives the example of the marionette<sup>1</sup> whose many actions are in fact caused by someone else and bring it no benefit:

*kunamāṇi vi ya citṭhā paratantā natṭiyā bahuvihāo*

*kiriya-phaleṇa jujjai na jahā, em eva evaṃ pi*

(*yathā nartakī yantra-kāṣṭhamayī paratantrā...*) (Bh 2, 137).

P. 129 This is the point of view maintained by the teacher against the *codaka* and, naturally, he wins the argument (T IV 33 b ff.).

Consequently, on the one hand, the companions of a religious who has lost his reason are required to guard him or to watch him closely, since there would be added to any penance which their negligence might earn them, the penances necessary to atone for the transgressions and crimes committed by the sick man (murders, arson, theft...) (T IV 30 b - 33 a). Moreover, they take extreme care, whatever their "commensality" (*sambhoga*), to avoid all possible faults when they receive or procure for him food, ordinary objects, a bed, etc. (Bh 2, 130).

On the other hand - and in spite of what some authorities say - when the unfortunate monk has regained the liberty of action which he had momentarily lost, one must remember that he has sinned without either

1 Cliche? Draupadī also uses the image of the marionette when she denounces "the tyranny of the divinity" and deplores the creature's lack of liberty, *Mbh* 3, 31, 22; cf. 36.

desire or repugnance, like an automaton. Thus he will not be submitted either to the "heavy" procedure, nor even to the "light" procedure, but – for the sake of form – to the "lightest possible" procedure (*ahālahusae... vavahāre*): "solely that he might be pure" (*śuddhi-mātra-nimittam*), "in conformity with the teachings of the *sūtra* (*sūtropadiṣṭatvāt*, T IV 33 a 13-b 5; referring to *Vav* 2, 9 ff.). The procedure consists in the prohibition of all *vikṛtis* for five days (*nirvikṛtika* IV, 25 b).

It can be seen that the provisions – certainly ancient – of the Jaina canon incontestably linked the notions of sin, intention, freedom and responsibility (cf. for Buddhism, Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati*, I, p. 322; 332). The commentators have never denied this doctrine<sup>1</sup> which conforms moreover to the ways and customs of the world, as they are careful to emphasise (*loke tathā darśanataḥ*)

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Pravacanasāra*, 3, 17: *payadassa n'atthi bandho hiṃsā-metteṇa samidassa*, "there is no bondage for him, who is mindful in the items of carefulness, by mere (physical) harm." (transl. A. N. Upadhye, p. 407; with moreover, *ib.* n. 2, reference to *Tattvārtha* 7, 13).

## COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVANCE : THE SERVICE (*veyāvacca*; *vaiyāvṛtya*).<sup>1</sup>

If it is adequate, the atonement washes away the stain which the sin has made. It is necessary also to eliminate the karman accumulated in the course of the various existences (*kamma-niṣṣārā*, *karma-nirjarā*). This can be done by devoting oneself to the service of one's brethren, as is indicated in *Vav* 10, 35: *veyāvaccaṃ karemaṇe samaṇe nigganthe mahā-niṣṣāre mahā-pajjvasāṇe bhavaī*, "the religious...succeeds perfectly in shaking off <the karman>, and attains <his goal> in all its fullness." *Uttar* says, more precisely, that he then assures himself of a karman which will provide him with the name and the *gotra* of a Saviour: *veyāvacceṇaṃ bhante jīve kiṃ jaṇayai? veyāvacceṇaṃ tilthayara-nāma-gottaṃ kammaṃ nibandhai* (29, 43).

The purpose of the atonement is more particular, while the preoccupations of the person who performs the "service" are more general. The two of them are occasionally performed together: *ekaṃ tāraṃ me prāyaścittadānena śodhiḥ kṛtā, dvitīyaṃ vaiyāvṛtye niyuktasya mahatī me nirjarā bhaviṣyati* (*Vav* *T* III 4 a 2 f.). But not all religious are strong enough to carry out the two observances jointly. The scholastics thus distinguish four types of religious:

*pacchitassa u arihā ime u purisā cauvvīhā honti*  
*ubhaya-tara āya-taragā para-taragā anna-taragā ya*

(*Bh* 1, 298; not in *Nisīha*). The monk who is "doubly helpful" (*ubhaya-tara*) is useful to himself at the same time, in observing a *tapas* which could possibly last six months, as he is useful to the teachers, in serving them. The monk who, while specially gifted for mortification, is unsuited to service, is "helpful only to himself" (*ātma-t.*). The monk whose aptitudes are the reverse is "helpful to others" (*para-t.*). Finally, the monk who cannot perform the two observances at the same time is "helpful to each one in turn" (*anya-t.*) (*T* III 3 a 7 ff.)

He is compared to the man who does not have the strength to carry two pigeons on the same shoulder (*Bh* 1, 319 a; cf. 313 b). In a certain way, this fourth type includes the second and third (*anya-taro nāma dvīdhā ātma-taraḥ para-taraś ca*, *T* III 9 a 14).

No matter who benefits from the service, the one who carries it out always draws great merit from it (*T* II 35 a).

The following arrangement shows the value placed on the *vaiyāvṛtya* : in a company where there is nobody to perform the "service" of the

1. cf. *Pravacanasāra*, 3, 49 ff.

*ācārya*, a religious *anya-taraka* happens to deserve a penance. The penance will be deferred (*nikṣiptam kriyate*) and he will be charged with the service. Once this is finished, he will undertake his atonement. Now, if he commits a new offence while he is "serving", it is cancelled (*jhoṣyate*) (*T* III, 8 b); if, on the contrary, the fault is committed, not during the *vaiyāvṛtya*, but during the atonement, the total amount of this last is increased (cf. *ibid*, 10 b - 11 a, the same measure in favour of the *para-tara*).

The *Kappa* and *Vavahāra-sutta* allow us to imagine, more or less, what these benefits - sometimes spiritual but generally material (cf. *bhakti' ādibhir upaṣṭambhaḥ*, *Uvav* gl., s. v. v.) were. They naturally vary according to the abilities of the "servant" and the needs of those whom he serves. The *Vav* defines ten kinds of service (10, 35) : to the superior, to the preceptor, to the elder, to the pupil, to a sickman, to a penitent, to a religious, to the spiritual family, to the company and to the community (cf. *Uttar* 30, 33). Except in cases of circumstances beyond their control, ordinary monks and nuns "of the same commensality" (*sambhoiya*) do not serve each other (*Vav* 5, 20).

It will be seen that, in the course of certain atonements, the monk of necessity benefits from the help of particularly experienced companions.

Perhaps the removal of the corpse of a brother in religion would be placed among the *vaiyāvṛtyas* rendered to the company or to the religious community (*K* 4, 24). Certain individual services are related in some detail. The service which the "isolated" religious (*parihāriya*) owes, on occasions, to the teacher is defined in *K* 4, 26 : helping him to rise, to commence his journey, to sit down, to lie down, to remove or clean up his various excretions.

From *Vav* 1, 22 ff., it emerges that the religious observing the atonement called *parihāra* sometimes left his company to place himself at the disposal of an Elder outside it; and from *Vav* 2, 29 f. (and *Bh T*), it appears that he occasionally went begging alms in the Elder's place (cf. *K* 5, 53).

The service rendered to a sick person, or to a penitent who offers no resistance to the mortification undertaken, is of the same sort, despite slight variations. One helps the person who is sick at the end of a fast (*kṣapaṇa*) : " < he is helped to > examine < his belongings > , < one obtains for him > drink, < food, medicine > , < one removes and supplies > three pots < for excrement > :

*paḍilehaṇa saṁtharāe pāṇaga taha mattaga-tigaṁ ca* (*Vav Bh* 1, 112 b)

p. 132 . The religious who has undertaken the sixth, ninth or tenth atonement is not neglected if his strength abandons him (*no kappai ... nijjūhittae*); on the contrary, the "coadjutor" (*gaṇāvacccheiya*) looks after him zealously until he is completely well again (*Vav* 2, 6 ff.). Better still, if the religious in difficulty is a stranger to the company and asks to be admitted, his request is examined; and he will be received if his disease is not contagious. Precautions must be taken when an epidemic breaks out; the patient is received and accommodated apart from the rest; he is looked after even at the risk of offending the lay host, and if necessary by means of many stratagems (*Bh* 2, 87-89).

The service performed for the religious *parihāriya* is the concern of the teacher and the 'second.' It has two aspects - one largely material and the other largely spiritual (compare *Viyāh* V, 4, quoted in *Uvav* s. v. v.). Material help is given, in silence and at the express request of the penitent, by the one seconding him, or occasionally by the *gaṇāvacccheiya* (*Vav* 2, 5 f.). They help him to rise, to sit, to beg, to inspect his belongings.

*uttthijja nisījjā bhikkhaṃ hinḍejja bhaṇḍayaṃ pehe*

*Vav Bh* 1, 368 a = *Nis Bh* 2 885; cf. *Vav Bh* 2, 75). However as it is defined by the commentaries of *Vav* 1, 17, the service of the *parihāriya* could be considered in many respects spiritual (*bhave*). It is then dispensed by the teacher and consists in praising or exhorting, criticising and helping:

*aṇusiṭṭhi, uvālabhe, uvaggahe ceva* (*Bh* 1, 374 b; cf. *infra* 190)

The "demoted" monk and the "excluded" monk receive a visit from the *āyariya* every day - or, if he is prevented, from someone sent by him, since enquiries are to be made every day about his health; and he is helped, if necessary.

Care must be taken, naturally, that all these services do not unduly exhaust the members of the company - in particular the novices - and do not prevent them from studying (*T* II 36 a 10). This is why the *āyariya* must not accept lightly, and against the will of his subjects, a monk who is a stranger to the *gaṇa* and who wishes to enter it in order to devote himself to fasting (*ibid* 36 b).

p. 133 It will have been noticed that as a general rule the observance of any ascetical practice is greatly facilitated by the solicitude of brothers in religion. This solicitude is unfailing - even during the sixth, ninth and tenth atonements, which, however, banish the religious morally or in fact. One could see here one of those cases of complementarity to which Louis Dumont has drawn attention (*Le renoncement dans les religions de l'Inde, Archives de sociologie des religions*, 7, 1959, p. 49-50)

Not only do the mortifications of some call for the services of others, but one service begets another. During certain penances, the religious tries to serve the teacher, who, however, is engaged in assisting him. In addition, pastors devote the greater part of their activities to ensuring the well-being of their flock, who in return serve and venerate them.

Thus the structure of the community and the division of tasks between superiors and ordinary religious by the institution of the service – which often appears as the necessary complement of mortification – establish an uninterrupted cycle of mutual help, both material and spiritual. The result is that everybody attains deliverance sooner (compare R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga* xx f.).

Service was likewise practiced by the Buddhists (Pā. *veyyāvacca*, *veyyāvaṭṭika*). According to the article *vaiyāpatya* in the BHS Dictionary, the beneficiary is generally the Buddha, but it could also be the community or any individual monk. It is also said that the Bodhisattva served living beings. Those who serve increase their merits, as do the Licchavis by serving the Buddha and thanking him for his sermon (*Mvu* 1, 298, 19\*). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, in this way one prepares oneself to be reborn into a rich family (54, 16–55, 6; 347, 27 ff.; compare *supra*, *Uttar* 29, 43).

For the religious, “service” is obligatory. The Pāli *Suttavibhaṅga* condemns to an atonement any nun who has not personally served her superior for two years: *yā pana bhikkhunī vuṭṭhāpitā pavattiṇiṃ dve vassāni nānubandheyya, pācittiyaṃ ti* (*Vin* IV 326, 1 f.\*\* cf. *CPD*, s. v. *anu-bandhati*). The commentary specifies that she obtains for her soap-powder, tooth-picks and water to rinse her mouth, and does whatever there is to do (quoted by *SBB*, X(II), 378, n. 1). The *Mahāvagga* analyses the task of the pupil who ministers to the needs and desires of the superior with whom he lives (*saddhivihārika*). His task was clearly very demanding, requiring as it did continual vigilance and devotion. (I, 46–49).

p. 134 The Brahmanic student is also required to serve his master: he helps him with his toilet (*Baudh Dh S* 1, 2, 3, 35). Manu enumerates his obligations: to bring him a jug full of water, flowers, dung, earth, the herb *kuśa* and alms (II, 182). *Āp Dh S* I, 1, 4, 25 f. adds a spiritual service: the student on occasions recalls the *ācārya* to the path of duty – with all due discretion; and he can even atone in his place:

*pramādād ācāryasya buddhi-pūrvam vā niyamātikramam rahasi bodhayet anivṛttau svayaṃ karmāny ārabheta.*

## CHAPTER IV

p. 135

### THE FIRST ATONEMENT : CONFESSION

(*āloyaṇā; ālocanā*)<sup>1</sup>

The practice of confession was established in India at the time when the communities of Buddha and Mahāvira were taking shape. The latter must have introduced it among the adherents of Pārśva (*Lehre* § 16). The former seems to have instituted it to quench criticism, and following the example of other religious sects (*Vin* I 101 ff.; *SBB* XIV, p. 131 n. 2).

The existence of confession is, indeed, attested in the *Brāhmaṇas* (cf. Kane IV, 40). The qualities which are attributed to it in these texts seem not to have been contested subsequently. The offence which has been confessed is attenuated (*ŚBr* II, 5, 2, 20).<sup>2</sup> The offender is purified, and worthy to undertake penance (*Taitt Br* I, 6, 5, 2). But confession is as yet concerned only with faults of a sexual nature (Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati* I, 233 f.). Subsequently, the *Dharmasūtras* prescribe it for all grave faults (Kane IV, 41; *Inde classique* § 1248). The *smṛti*, finally, makes its use widespread and command the sinner to go as soon as possible before the assembly (*pariṣad*) to ask it to inflict a suitable penance (Kane IV, 84 f.). It is admitted still that a fault confessed is a fault at least partially expiated (cf. *Manu* XI, 228). Gampert insists upon the capital role of confession in Brahmanic ideas and customs. According to him, the place accorded to it by Buddhists is no greater (*Sühnezeremonien*, 233). It seems, at least, that among the latter (as among the Jainas) the observance is more systematic.

The Buddhists, we know, hold on fixed dates ceremonies traditionally called confession ceremonies. Some take place every fortnight (*pātimokkha-uddesa, prātimokṣoddeśa*) and others at the end of the monsoon (*pavāraṇā, pravāraṇā*). But the presence of an offender who has not confessed would prevent the proclamation of the "total purity" (*parisuddhi*) of the assembly of *pātimokkha*, would invalidate the meeting (*Vin* II 236), and would forbid the issuing of the "invitation" at the end of the rainy season (*ibid* I p. 135 170; cf. 164). The actual confession precedes the ceremony.

It has then a very pronounced lustral character. But it is also of positive use : "whoever admits his sin, confesses it and promises not to

1. Cf. *Pravacanasāra* 3, 12.

2. See GONDA, *Change and Continuity*, I. 399 and n. 409.



do it again is a gain for the Law" (*Vin* II 126 = 192; cf. IV 18-19; quoted by Lamotte). This is because it develops self-control (*Dhammapada* 185 = *DN* II 49, 28\*) and sincerity (*Vin* II 240, 24 f.\* = *Udāna* V 5\*; cf. *SBB* XX, 336 n. 1). Consequently, confession allows the attainment of various emancipations and deliverance (*Vin* I 103).

Thus it is recommended to the lay person, as well as to the religious (cf. *Vin* II 126).

The Jainas recognise in confession, as we shall see, virtues comparable to those just mentioned. There is no need to dwell upon these similarities.

The consequences of the slightest transgression are, in their eyes, so dire that it is important to mitigate them as effectively and as quickly as possible.

Expiation could not proceed, however, without a correct diagnosis – which confession alone would allow one to make. Atonement and confession are thus closely linked. The monk must practise them both with the same assiduity. It emerges from the *Vav Bh T* that the good religious expresses his regret at the same time as he proclaims his short-comings (II 57 b 1; 59 a 4 f.). It is the *āloyaṇā*, nevertheless, which makes it possible for all other observances to become fruitful on condition that this confession is sincere and complete. It would otherwise be in vain, or indeed harmful, because it would add new errors to the account of the offender. We can, though, understand his hesitation : we will see that all the texts insist that confession is a difficult exercise demanding courage and abnegation from the sinner. It is a heroic act (cf. *Lehre* § 158; *Mahānisiṭha* I 179\*; *infra* 140).

From the time even of their most ancient treatises, the Jainas had analysed the seven moments of the process which leads the sinner from confession to the expiation of his fault. The first six go in pairs (cf. *Lehre* § 160) . Their enumeration constitutes a stereotyped formula which appears in *K* (4, 25), *Vav* (1, 35; cf. 6, 10 f.; 7, 1). They are : the confession or the declaration of the fault (*K* : *āloetṭae*, *Vav* : *āloejjā*); the repentance (*paḍikkamittae*, *-ejjā*) by which the penitent expresses his regret for having done evil : “*mithyā duṣkṛtam*”; the guilt which he feels in his own conscience (*nindittae* : *ātma-sākṣikam*); his self-reproach in the presence of the guru (*garahittae* : *guru-sākṣikam*); the repudiation of the sin, by which he turns away from it (*viuṭṭittae* : *vyāvarteta*, *nirvarteta*); the total purification, by which he delivers himself from the sin (*mucyate*), at the cost of a

scarifying purgation (*visohittae* : *pāpa-mala-sphoṭanato nirmalikuryāt*); his firm purpose of amendment (*akaraṇayāe obbhuṭṭhittae*); and finally his performance of the appropriate atonement. *Vav* 4, 20 f. associate *āloyaṇā* and *paḍikkamaṇa* only.<sup>1</sup>

As can be seen, it is not merely expected of the offender that he takes steps to be delivered from evil. It is required that he completes this catharsis by a sort of conversion. The *Mahānisiṭha* does not hesitate to say that, having removed the darts (*śalya*) which were piercing him, he acquires correct faith, knowledge, conduct, and superior knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*), and that he attains deliverance (*mokṣa*) (I, 16\*; 31 f.\*; §13; cf. *Uvav*, *infra* 139).

The *Uttarajjhāyā* has attempted to define the benefits which accrue at some of the stages just analysed. It is confession, here again, which allows one to pluck out the arrows preventing one from following the road to deliverance and condemning one to endless transmigration. Confession engenders rectitude, and consequently sincerity. One does not allow oneself to be led astray by desire for women or for eunuchs (*sic*!). One throws off previous bonds (29, 5; cf. *infra*).

Self reproach makes one feel remorse (*pacchāñutavaṃ*). One divests oneself of all worldly attachments and one reforms oneself little by little (*ibid* 6).

As a result of the self-reproach, one experiences a feeling of humility. One turns away from blameworthy actions to praiseworthy ones, in such a way as to break the infinite chain of obstacles to salvation (*ibid* 7).

The repentance fills in the breaches which have been made in the vows...one behaves impeccably...(*ibid* 11; cf. *infra* 157).

According to *Uttar* 26 (41-42; cf. 49-50), the monks who apply themselves to the pursuit of perfect conduct (*sāmāyārī*) address their confession to the *guru*, at the end of each day and each night. It is preceded by *kāussagga* and by the greeting of the teacher, and is intimately associated with the subsequent repentance - which itself is followed, in the reverse order, by a salutation and *kāussagga* :

*pāriya-kāussaggo vandittāṇa tao gurum*  
*desiyam* (49 *rāiyam*) *tu aiyāraṃ āloejja jahakkamaṃ*  
*paḍikkamittu nissallo vandittāṇa tao gurum*  
*kāussaggam tao kujjā savva-dukkha-vimokkhaṇaṃ*

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These famous stanzas show that the step from confession to repentance is not a great one; but it will be noticed that this text is not very

1. Compare GAMPERT 233-237.

ancient (the nom. sing. is in-*o*). Neither *K* nor *Vav* mention the twice-daily confession.

It is to confession that, according to Malayagiri, the *Vavahārasutta* devotes the first *suttas* of the first lesson, those which are sometimes numbered from 1 to 10 corresponding to the su. 1-20 of the Schubring edition : *iha (...) sarvāṇy apy ālocanā-sūtrāṇi kila sarva-saṃkhyayā daśa bhavanti* (T III 20 a 9). There it is seen indeed that the sentence varies according to the frankness and truthfulness of the confession.

The ceremonial is described in the su. 1, 35; 4, 21 lay down that the religious who has set out on his peregrinations for more than four to five days must confess and repent as soon as he sees his *thera*; 5, 19, says that, theoretically, confession should not be made between ordinary monks and nuns "of the same commensality" (*sambhoiya*).

The *Vav Bh T* define three sorts of confession : *ālocanā tri-vidhēty uktam* (II 16 b 13). They are called : 1. *viḥār'āloyaṇā*; 2. *uvasaṃpayāloyaṇā* (*upasampad-ālocanā*); 3. *avarāh'āloyaṇā* (*aparādh'ālocanā*). The first is the confession of the religious life, which is exposed to the scrutiny of all : *viḥāram ... prakāṣayanti* (T II 17 a 6). According to the commentaries, it is this confession which the monks address to the superior of their "commensality" at definite times in their itinerant life (T II 17 a-b; cf. 38 b 9; *infra* 146 f.).<sup>1</sup> This first sort of confession could, then, be considered normal. The two others occur in particular cases.

The second confession is that which the religious makes in order to "rejoin" a company to which he is a stranger. The third is confession of an "offence" by a religious who has come from another company especially for this purpose.

I will discuss later the way in which each of these three types of confession is made. I preface this with some general observations : about the specific virtues of the observance (compare *supra* 136), the qualities of the confessor and the penitent, and the various rules common to the three varieties. Some similarities will be noted in passing between the beliefs and customs of the Jainas, those of the Hindus and especially those of the Buddhists. All three proclaim the vital importance of confession.

This person is a true believer who, like a docile horse, is not led astray by any temptation, who conquers himself and runs straight to the feet of his teacher to confess as soon as possible (*Bh* 1, 48 f.). In this way he removes the darts of his unconfessed faults (*śalya*). Should he so

1. *Viḥāra* signifies, indeed, the life in religion; the monks must not settle anywhere, except during the monsoon.

much as hesitate out of fear of the operation – and the darts penetrate deeper into his flesh – he falls deeper into sin, and his karman is increased (*Sūya* 2, 2, 20; cf. *Mahānisiha* p. 11).

Confession brings relief and gladness, puts an end to the crimes of the sinner and of others, puts one on the right path again, and purifies one. It constitutes an heroic deed, an example of excellence in conduct; and no arrows remain :

*lahuyā' lhādī-jaṇaṇaṃ appa-para-niyatti ajjavāṃ sohi  
dukkara-karaṇaṃ viṇao nissallattaṃ va sohi-guṇā  
(Vav Bh 1, 134 = Nis Bh 6 391).*

It will have been noticed that among the eight virtues here recognised in the *āloyaṇā*, there are positive virtues as well as negative ones.<sup>1</sup>

Confession is an essential stage on the road to deliverance, and one which makes possible all later efforts and progress. Whoever dies without having confessed is exposed to long periods of rebirth (*anālocite ca yadi mriyate, tato dirgha-saṃsāri bhavati*, *Vav T* II 16 a 2). He wanders endlessly in the thick, impassable jungle of transmigration (*Bh* 2, 47–48; compare *Uvav* §§ 88; 100; *Candāvejjhaya* 131–156; etc.).

The Brahmanic codes invite the sinner to appear before a council (*pariṣad*), and, in exceptional cases, before a person who is allowed to sit alone (cf. Kane II 2, 967 ff.).

p. 140 The Buddhist can address himself either to the community, to the group to which he belongs, or to an individual : *so pakāseyya saṃgha-majjhe vā gaṇa-majjhe vā eka-puggale vā* (*Vin* I 103, 26 f.). In practice, it seems that he seeks out a monk (*MN* II 248, 21 ff.; *infra*). It is also to an individual that the confession of a Jaina monk seems most often to be made. *Vav* 1, 35 recommends, in preference confession to religious teachers, the superior and the preceptor : *jatth' eva appaṇo āyariya-uvajjhāe pāsejjā, tes' antiyaṃ āloejjā...* But if none of these is available, the *sutta* allows them to address themselves to ordinary monks, or even to lay people. As far as possible, learned people must be chosen (*bahussuyaṃ babbhāgamaṃ*). The *sutta* gives, in order of preference : 1) a religious “of the same commensality” (*jatth' eva saṃbhoiyaṃ sāhammiyaṃ pāsejjā...*); 2) or a religious “of another commensality” (*annasombhoiyaṃ sāhammiyaṃ*)<sup>2</sup>; 3) or even a layman “who has the appearance” of a *bhikkhu* – that is,

1. PETTAZZONI has noted mainly the negative aspect of Jaina confession, adding that it conforms to the archaic character of the doctrine considered as a whole (*La Confessione dei peccati* I 273).

2. Failing this, a *pārīvastha*, according to *T*, *H*, but not according to *Vav*. Cf. *Abhidhāna* 2, 425 a

who wears the robe and carries the broom (*sārūviyaṃ*)<sup>1</sup>; 4) or else finally, the holy sanctuaries (*sammam-bhāviyāṃ*). Lacking all of these, one makes the confession in solitude addressing it to the "Perfect Saints" (*arahantāṇaṃ siddhāṇaṃ antie*). According to this text, it would seem that the identity of the confessor is of relatively small consequence. In the commentaries, it is normally the superior (*ācārya*) who receives the confession. If he is not available, he is replaced by the preceptor (*upādhyāya*), or even, if necessary, by an adept (*gītārtha*) (cf. *infra* 148).

Confession being a difficult undertaking, the teacher should take care to welcome amiably the religious who has come to confess – for example by the use of encouragements such as "you are fortunate; you are perfect; it is not hard to sin – the difficult thing is to confess correctly" (*dhaṇṇo si tumāṃ, sampunṇo si tumāṃ, na dukkaraṃ jaṃ paḍisevijjai, taṃ dukkaraṃ jaṃ sammam āloijjai*, cf. *T* III 39 b 12 ff.; cf. 40 b 2).

These words bring to mind Asoka's warnings in his fifth Rock-edict: "A good action is a difficult thing. Whoever gives rise to a good action has done a difficult thing...It is easy to sin" (Dhauḷi : *pāpe hi nāmā supa-dālaye*); and again in the third Pillar-edict : "One considers only the good : 'I have done something good', one says to oneself. On the other hand, one does not consider the evil; one does not say : 'I have done something bad', or : 'That is what is called a sin'. To tell the truth, it is a difficult examination" (*du(p)paṭive(k)khe ca kho esā*, *ibid* 163).

The teacher remains affable during the confession, under pain of himself incurring four months, without abatement, of the sixth atonement (*Vav T* IV 18 b 5 ff.).

The confessor's role is to help the offender to confess well, and to atone well. Various qualities are expected of him (cf. *Lehre* § 159, referring to *T*hāṇ.). *Vav Bh T* pick out the following nine : to be discreet (*nirapa-lāpin*); to possess the knowledge and the conduct etc., required of a religious (*ācāravant*); to be able to retain what is confessed (*ādharavant*); to know the procedure and apply it to the best of his knowledge (*vyavahāravant*); by being affable, to remove all false shame from the offender so that he will confess without reticence (*apavṛḍaka*); to reform the offender by a judicious choice of penance (*prakurvin*); to find out the penance which suits him best and will thus allow him to liberate himself (*niryāpaka*); to have the ability to represent to those who are recalcitrant the miseries to which they expose themselves both here and here-after (*apāya-darśin*); finally not to repeat what has been confessed (*aparīśravīn*) (cf. *Bh* 1, 337–338).

1. Failing this, say *Bh T* (but not *Vav*), a *paścātkyta*, that is, a layman who was once a monk (*Abhidhāna*, *ibid*)

On the other hand, there are some religious who have every chance of being able to confess well. *Bh* recognises ten qualities in them :

*jāi-kula-viṇaya-nāṇe dāṃsaṇa-carāṇehi saṃpanno*

*khante dantē amāi apacchatāvī ya hoti bodhavve* (*Bh* 1, 339 b-340 a)

They are of good birth on the mother's side (*jāti*) and of good family on the father's (*kula*). They possess education, knowledge of the doctrine (which permits them to confess correctly), faith in the purifying powers of confession, and good conduct (which will enable them to avoid relapsing into error). They tolerate remonstrances, control their senses, and are upright; and, instead of regretting having confessed, they rejoice at the thought that they have acquired merit (cf. Deo, *History*, p. 152).

One is recommended to make the confession in a straight-forward manner, like the child who entrusts himself to his parents :

*Jaha bālo jampanto kajja-m-akajjaṃ ca ujjuyaṃ bhaṇai*

*taṃ taha āloejjā māyā-maya-vippamukko u*

(quoted *ad Vav Bh* 1, 133=*Nis Bh* 6392=*Ohanijj* 801; nearly identical with *Āurapaccakkhāṇa* 32 and *Mahāpaccakkhāṇa* 22 (cf. *Bhattapaccakkhāṇa* 22); to which can be compared *Mahānisīha* I, 199 a\* :

*bhūṇe muddhadage bāle jaha palave ujju-paddharaṃ*).<sup>1</sup>

p. 142

Monks however sometimes have recourse to various stratagems. The commentaries catalogue ten of these, which are also recognised by *Thāṇ.*, *Viyāh* (cf. *Lehre* § 158; Deo, *History* 153). They consist in ingratiating oneself with the confessor; choosing a confessor who is indulgent; confessing only the misdeeds committed in the *guru*'s sight; confining oneself to grave offences, or to light offences; speaking in an inaudible voice; or speaking so loudly that one can be heard by inexperienced religious; confessing to several teachers in succession; confessing to an inexperienced teacher; or confessing to a teacher who, since he is guilty of the same offence, is led to punish it less severely :

*aṇukampiya aṇumāṇiya jaṃ-ditthaṃ bāyaraṃ ca suhumaṃ vā*

*chanhaṃ saddāulayaṃ bahu-jaṇa avvatta tas-sevī*

(*VavBh* 1, 341 = *Nis* IV, p. 363).<sup>2</sup>

The *Mahānisīha* gives many other examples of bad confessions I, §12\*, 144 ff.\*; 154 ff.\*).

Faults committed during the confession must be expiated in their turn (*Vav* 1, 17 ff.). The dishonesty (called "the second folly of the sinner")

1. On the "Child Behaviour," cf. H. NAKAMURA, *The Adyar Library Bull.* (Dr. V. Raghavan Felicet. Vol.) 31-32, 1937-69, P. 219 (and n. 4)-220

2. The edition gives *ākampeṭṭe aṇumēṭṭe*, which does not fit into the *āryā*. Professor Schubring has given me the variants here adopted, which appear in a quotation of the *Anagēradharmāṃṣa*, and which are satisfactory from a prosodic point of view.

seems one of those most severely condemned by the Jaina (cf. *Sūya* 2, 2, 20). It must be expiated – before the offence itself – by an additional month (cf. *ṣāliuñciya*, *Vav* 1, 1–16). It is also reproved by the Buddhists (*Vin* II 40–58) : since it is a deliberate lie, intentional deceit is barely expiable (*Vin* I 103–4; compare Kane IV, 75; 63; Gampert, 236).

Among the various faults that one risks committing during the ceremony, the commentaries pick out offences against precedence – which is here complicated by the fact that it is necessary at the same time to mark the superiority of the confessor over the one confessing, and to show the hierarchical relationship normally existing between two individuals present (*T* III 43 ff.; cf. *infra* 151 ff.).

p. 143 It will be recalled that confessors fall into two categories, *āgama-vyavahārin*, *śrūta-vyavahārin* (*supra* 89). The first, who possess in some ways superhuman knowledge, can immediately detect any lapses of memory which disfigure the confession. If they judge it beneficial, they jog the memory of the offender; and if they know him to be capable of reforming, they prescribe a penance for him. If not, they do not waste their time on him, since they never undertake anything which would be a mistake (*T* II 43 a–b; cf. *Bh* 1, 136).

The technique of the second sort of confessor is well established. To satisfy themselves that the confession is sincere and truthful, the confessors cause it to be repeated three times. The first time, they pretend to be asleep<sup>1</sup> : “I dropped off to sleep. I heard nothing. Begin your confession again”. The second time they say : “I was not paying attention and I did not understand you very well. Start again.” If the third version is identical with the other two, one concludes that the religious has not lied (*apratikuñco amāyāvī*) :

...āloyāventi te u tikkhutto

*sarīs’attham apaliuñcī visarisa pariṇāmato kuñcī*

(*Bh* 1, 137 = *Nis Bh* 6 395). It is in this fashion, apparently, that the secular judge proceeds (*daṇḍaka*, *karaṇa-pati*) when he questions himself about the good faith of those who appear before him. He causes the event to be related three times running :

*tiṇṇi u vārā jaha daṇḍiyassa...*

(*Bh* 1, 138 a = *Nis Bh* 6 396; cf. *Nis cuṇṇi* IV, 304).

The doctor *śrūta-vyavahārin* does his best, besides, to interpret the behaviour of the penitent. He recognises the rascal by his uneasy air, the

1. Note this untruth – But it is pure (cf. *supra* 98).

liar by his anxiety, the honest religious by the precision and clarity of his articulation, by his serenity and by the coherence of his discourse (T II 45 a 7 ff.); civil magistrates also make use of this procedure (*supra* 91).

After this review of the general conditions of confession, the three types recognised by the *Vav Bh T* (*supra* 138) remain to be examined. The explanations which they provide do not entirely dissipate all the obscurities.

Several times, Malayagiri justifies the account which he gives of the rules of confession by referring to a tradition, an ancient teaching (cf. *vrddha-saṃpradāya*, that is, the *Nisīha-cuṇṇi T* II 17 a 6).

Theoretically, each of the three confessions can be made "en bloc" (all together) or "in detail" (point by point) (cf. Deo, *History* 310, quoting p. 144 *Ohanijjuttī* 519). This is what is specified – apart, for the first (*oha-vibhāge iti... oghena vibhāgena ca, oghaḥ sāmānyam, vibhāgo vistarahaḥ Vav T* II 17 b; cf. *Bh* 1, 52), and jointly, for the two others :

*ohe ya paya-vibhāge ya,  
uvasaṃpayā'varāhe...  
(pratyekaṃ dvidhā... oghena pada-vibhāgena ca, Bh* 1, 62).

In effect confession "en bloc" seems hardly to be permitted except in the confession of the religious life (*vihār'āl.*), and only when the penance deserved does not exceed 25 days (*ibid* 1, 52 a). Beyond that, it is tolerated only in unavoidable circumstances (*ibid* b; cf. *infra* 146).

The same rules apply to the confession *uvasaṃpayāl.* if it is made by a religious who asks to be received back among his fellows, for the confession then constitutes only a particular case of the preceding form (*samanojño dvika-nimittam upasaṃpadyamāna ālocanāṃ vihar'ālocanāṃ iva oghena dadāti pada-vibhāgena ca T* II 21 a 4 f.). But when this confession of the second type is made by a religious who is a stranger to the company, it is normally made in detail. Confessions of the third type are in general also detailed, (*avarāh'āl.*). They are global only in an emergency (*tasyānyasyāsamanojñasya vā ālocanā utsargato vibhāgataḥ... tata eva kārāṇe... oghen'ālocanēti, ibid* 21 a 9 f.; *aparādh'ālocanāyām apy utsargata eva vibhāgena dātavyā. apavāda-kārāṇe punaḥ... oghenāpīti, ibid* 11 f.).

Definite examples of global confession are scarce. The commentaries mention it, at the same time as detailed confession, in the case of faults against the rules of precedence committed during the ceremony itself (T III 45 a 12 f.). For the person who confesses in detail, there exist, then, 81 possible varieties of transgression. For those who confess en bloc, there are 9 varieties. It seems that, in the last case, the atonement of the



fault confessed en bloc is severer than that of the same fault confessed in detail (*infra* 152 f.).

These provisions recall those made by the Buddhists : the *pātimokkha* can be recited in five ways. In cases of danger, and then only, the Buddha permits its recitation in summary (*Vin* I 112 f.; compare 168).

145 The duration and the time of the confession vary according to whether it is global or detailed, and according to the type of confession in question.

If it is global, it takes place in a single day (which is obvious from its very nature – either there is little to confess or there is little time in which to confess). It takes place towards mealtime, and therefore by day only, since the religious do not eat at night.

If it is detailed, it can possibly be finished in one day, or it can spread over several days. It can even be made at night, because sometimes the faults are numerous, and sometimes the confessor or the one confessing, fully occupied by his duties in the company, has little time at his disposal :

*ohe egadivasiyā, vibhāgato nega egadivasā u  
rattim pi divasato vā vibhāgato, ohato divasaṃ*

(*Bh* 1, 53 = *Nis Bh* 6 315).

In general, no account is taken of the propitious or unpropitious nature of the day (cf. *Bh* 1, 54). This is never considered when the confession is made en bloc, in view of the special circumstances which have made it necessary and the essential proximity of the meal (*bhāvān na praśastūpraśasta-dina-cintā, vibhāgataḥ punar asti, T* II 18 a 12). The first two confessions (*vihār'āl.*, *uvasampayāl.*) can also be made on an unpropitious day or night, without the least irregularity or disadvantage (*doṣābhāvāt*) – as the ancient teachers permitted.<sup>1</sup>

On the contrary, the “confession of offences” in detail, “on the order of the Jina”,<sup>2</sup> is carefully surrounded with auspicious circumstances (*T* II 18 b 2 ff.). Thus it must take place only on a propitious day or night.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever the type of confession, the religious recites his offences in an invariable order (*Vav Bh* 1, 55; 57; 119 = *Nis Bh* 6 316; 6 318; 6 376) : first, those contrary to the fundamental merits (*mūla-guṇa*), then those against the additional merits (*uttara-guṇa*), and then, the case being, his relations with lax religious and failures in his attempts to master himself.

1. *tathā pūrva-sūribhir anujñātātāt, T* II 18 b 1, repeated in 20 b 9.

2. *eṣā jin'ājñā T* II 20 b 11.

3. *aparādhi' ālocanā vibhāgato dīyamānā ... praśasta eva divase rātrau vā bhavati, ibid* 3-4, *ad Bh* 1, 54 b; and cf. *infra* 150.

p. 146 The Buddhists also recite the *pālimokkha* in a certain fixed order : the introduction; then, successively, transgressions "involving defeat", "entailing a formal meeting of the order" doubtful faults...(Vin I 112).

In what ways do the three types of confessions distinguished by the commentaries differ ?

In the bonds which unite the assembled religious (these being sometimes "commensals" and sometimes not); in the reason for which it is made (as a normal observance, at fixed intervals, for monks who, since they do not live on the spot, must make a special journey for that purpose : *prāghūrṇaka*<sup>1</sup>; or as an exceptional observance, either with the purpose of entering a *gaṇa* or of freeing oneself from faults.<sup>2</sup>

The confession *viḥār'āloyaṇā* is made between commensals (T II 17 a-b cf. 38 b 9). The religious desiring to confess arrive soon after the resident monks have begun their meal (*dara-bhutte iṣad-bhukte vāstavya-sādhubhiḥ*..., 17 b 2 ff. *ad Bh* 1, 52 = *Nis Bh* 6 314). The commensality is clearly marked by the fact that they all eat together - after the confession, if it is global and bears normally on offences expiated by 25 days of penance at the most; before the detailed confession, on the contrary, since this contains faults serious enough to incur the *parihāra* (*oghen' ālocayanti...eram ālocya maṇḍalyām bhuñjate...tad ālocanayā ālocya sādhubhiḥ sahaikatra samuddiṣanti*, T II 17 b 4 ff, cf. 18 b 9; *viṣvak samuddiṣanti paścād vibhāgen' ālocayanti*, 17 b 7 f.).

However, religious who deserve the *parihāra* are permitted to share the common meal in case of circumstances beyond their control (a disaster, an epidemic in the village or the departure of the caravan with which they came). The same toleration is extended to those who have no personal bowls. They confess en bloc and eat with the community; but as soon as each has his own bowl, they share the common meal, and p 147 finally confess in detail (*Bh* 1, 52 b = *Nis Bh* 6 374 b and the relevant C T).

The confession is made to the most senior person present (*rāṇiya*) - or to the second in seniority, or to an adept. In principle, it is made at

1. Usually meaning, "a guest"

2. Perhaps one might compare the three varieties of feasts with procession (*utsava*) of Vajras. The main one takes place on a fixed date; the second serves a display of faith and devotion to the god (*gradhā*); the third is decided as a result of evil portents (*manḍita*) with a view to conjuring misfortune (cf. GONDA, *Aspects of Early Vajrayāna*, 234 ff., following the *Kūjyapa-Saṃhitā*).

the end of each fortnight, or – in the absence of qualified religious, at the end of four months, or of a year, or of twelve years (a period which must not be exceeded under any circumstances; one must come even if it means a long journey). The chief of the little group of religious who are making the journey (*phaddaga-pati*, *spardhaka-pati*)<sup>1</sup> must also be present :

*pakkhiya cau samvacchara ukkosam bārasaṇha varisāṇam  
samanunnā āyariyā phaddaga-patiyā ya viyaḍanti*  
(*Bh* 1, 51; cf, *Nis C* IV 284, ad *Nis Bh* 6 313).

Concerning “global” confession, it is said only that it is followed by a meal “in the circle” (*supra*).

If it is made in detail, it takes place when the religious have gone off to beg alms or to find a place for meditation. How should one proceed ? Already *Bh* speaks of two traditions : either the head of the group confesses to the teacher thus left on his own, in secret; or he does this in the presence of the religious who have come with him, who recall anything he might have forgotten :

*bhikkhādi-niggaesum rahite viyaḍanti phaddaga-paṭi u  
savva-samakkham keṇ te vīsariyaṃ nūsārenti*  
(*Bh* 1, 56 = *Nis Bh* 6 317).

The *uvasampayāloṇā* is a very complex ceremony. The formalities which seem to be the necessary introduction to the confession proper give rise to a rather long exposition in the *Vav Bh T* (*Bh* 1, 61–119 = *Nis Bh* 6 322–6 376).

The ceremony is, in some ways, the examination either 1) for re-admission or 2) for the admission of a religious into the company in which he desires to perfect his knowledge, his faith, and (in the second case) his conduct.

Before admitting him, a check is made to ascertain whether his motives are pure. He is asked how and why he came. Then the correctness of his manner of acting on essential points is checked (*Bh* 1, 62 p. 148 *b* = *Nis Bh* 6 323 *b*). On the motives of the religious, the commentaries give many details – providing as many pictures of contemporary customs – which have been summarised previously (79 n. 2).

The interrogation, conducted by the *āyariya* of the company which the monk wishes to join, takes place, theoretically, on the day of his

1. For *phadda(ga)*, see *Lehre* § 139: the technical name of a small subdivision of the community of monks (cf. Gujarati *phaḍ*).

arrival : "Where do you come from ? Where do you want to go ? Why do you want to join us ?" (*T* II 21 b 2-3). However, if he is clearly tired, the superior can put off these questions until the next day. Whether he has been questioned or not, the monk is required to explain his reasons on the first day. Each day of delay must be expiated; the longer he waits, the greater the penance (*ibid*, *ad Bh* 1, 65 = *Nis Bh* 6 326).

An exception is given, as an appendix to the reception of a monk who has come in order to fast :

*kajje bhatta-pariṇṇā gilāṇa rāyā ya dhammakaha vādī  
chammāsū ukkosā tesim tu vaikkame gurugā (Bh 1, 116).*

When the *āyariya* is engaged in the performance of his duties (serving a dying or a sick monk, teaching the king, preaching in public, debating with a formidable adversary) *T* allows that the confession be postponed – by one, two, three days and so on up to six months. If necessary, the superior can be validly replaced by an adept (*gīyattha*) who is worthy of receiving the confession; or again he can hear the confession at night. The *āyariya* is forbidden to exceed a period of six months under pain of incurring a *parihāra* (of a duration which varies, however, according to the school). In any case, another exceptional extension of two or three days is permitted, if by chance the teacher's work is coming to an end. If this is not the case, he asks for permission to leave it and hears the confession of the religious.

Is the religious "pure" (that is, beyond reproach) or "impure" (*suddha-m-asuddho*) ? One takes into consideration how the *bhikkhu* left his former *gaṇa* and how he joined the new one (1. impure departure and arrival; 2. impure departure, pure arrival; 3. pure departure, impure arrival; 4. departure and arrival both pure). Reprehensible departures seem to have been rather frequent (*Bh* 1, 66-80 = *Nis Bh* 6 327-6 340). In this case, the superior must refuse the candidate (cases 1 and 2; cf. *T* II 24 b 12; 29 a 9) and in order to do this – which considerations of the greatest good of the company also require – all arguments were good. Any infraction will have to be expiated by the superior, and by the religious. Nevertheless, the rule permits some compromise, particularly when the monk repents (*Bh* 1, 99 = *Nis Bh* 6 359; *supra*).

Naturally, the monk must atone for the faults which he may have committed in the course of his journey (if, for example, he dallied in a district of abundant alms). But these faults are not of such a nature as to disqualify him (*T* II 25 b; *Bh* 1, 81 b).

If the newcomer is totally innocent, he is accepted, and for three days an examination is made of how he carries out his "obligations"

(*āvassaya*; *Bh* 1, 83). He, for his part, observes the *āyariya*. If the results of the examination are satisfactory to both parties, the candidate remains in the company, on condition that he is zealous.

Once admitted, the religious confesses his offences against the fundamental merits and the other merits, in the order laid down (*Bh* 1, 119 = *Nis Bh* 6 376).

Then, the one being admitted, bows to the teacher and says :

*āloyaṇā me dinnā, icchāmi sārāṇa vārāṇa coyaṇaṃ ti*

"Here is my confession. I desire you to advise < me >, preserve < me from evil > and stimulate < me >". To this the superior replies :

*ajjo amhe sārejjā vārejjā coiṇṇā iti*

"Friend, let us try<sup>1</sup> to advise < you >, preserve < you from evil > and stimulate < you > !" (*T* 38 b 11 ff.).

The *avarāh'āloyaṇā* is the confession of the religious who has come from a foreign company in order to confess specific offences (*Bh* 1, 120-133 = *Nis Bh* 6 377-6 390). He announces this from the beginning, whether he is questioned or not (*T* II 39 a 5). As in the confession *uvasaṃpayāloyaṇā*, the superior shows concern about the circumstances of his departure; why did he not confess on the spot ? He is received or sent away according to his reply (*ibid*).

It will be recalled that this confession is normally made in detail and carefully surrounded with auspicious circumstances (*supra*) - objects, places, times and conditions. The commentaries insist upon the choices to be made (*Bh* 1, 122 = *Nis Bh* 6 379). One should avoid ruins, heaps of unpleasant grain (sesamum, beans, millet seed), thorny trees, those without leaves, bitter plants, places burnt by fire or struck by lightning and the proximity of certain metals (iron, tin, copper and lead) (*Bh* 1, 123-125 = *Nis Bh* 6 380-82). Certain days are considered inauspicious (*paḍikutt'hellaga-divase vajjejjā*, the 8th, 9th, 6th, 4th and 12th of the two fortnights). Dawn or dusk, according to the school, is also unpropitious, as is the conjunction of the planets with the moon - which gives rise to various plagues (*Bh* 1, 126 ff. = *Nis Bh* 6 383 ff.). One should choose verdant and charming places (*Bh* 1, 130 = *Nis Bh* 6 387) - with leaves, flowers and fruit, rice fields or lotus pools; and one should choose auspicious conditions - when the constellations are at their apogee (*Bh* 1, 131 a = *Nis Bh* 6 388 a).

1. Singular.

Finally one orientates oneself in a favourable direction (*Bh* 1, 131 *b* = *Nis Bh* 6 388 *b*) : either towards the East or towards the North; or again towards the land which could be called the Land "of wandering", where the religious life has been led by the Blessed One, or by any other teacher whose knowledge is exceptional (*kevalin*, etc.), or again, according to Malayagiri, by any *yuga-pradhāna* (*carantī nāma yasyām* (*diśi*) *Bhagavān arhan viharati, sāmānyataḥ kevala-jñānī...yāvan navaḥpūrvī yadi vā yo yasmin yuge pradhāna ācāryaḥ sa vā yayā viharati*, *T* II 42 a 1 f.).

The culprit prepares a seat for the confessor with material of his own which has never been used, or failing this, with material belonging to another which it is permissible to carry (42 a 4 f.).

The respective positions of the two individuals are as follows : the *ācārya* sits facing East and the one confessing stands to his right (to the South) and faces North; or the *ācārya* sits facing North and the penitent places himself on his left, facing East or towards the Land of wandering (*carantī*).<sup>1</sup>

The penitent bows, makes the *añjali*, squats, usually on his heels, in the position called *utkuṭuka* (cf. *Lehre* § 157) and makes his confession. However if his faults are so numerous that the confession lasts a long time, or if he suffers from haemorrhoids, he seeks permission to use a seat, a mat or anything else, as is convenient (cf. *Bh* 1, 132 = *Nis Bh* 6 389; cf. *infra*).

His confession bears upon four points : objects, places, times and feelings; and it specifies whether the faults have been committed deliberately, or in spite of the attention paid to the Rule (1, 133 = *Nis Bh* 6 390).

The ceremony recalls somewhat that practised among the Hindus and, even more closely, that of the Buddhists. Among the former, the offender bathes himself and prostrates himself as soon as possible before the assembly (*pariṣad*) to which he makes his confession (*Kane* IV, 85). Among the latter, the monk goes to an Elder, with his robe arranged over one  
p. 151 shoulder, and prostrates himself at his feet squatting precisely in the position *utkuṭuka*; he makes the *añjali* and confesses *MN* II 248, 23 ff.; cf. *Vin* I 125-126)<sup>2</sup>.

Offences against the rules of precedence occupy the attention of the commentaries to a considerable extent (*Bh* 1, 400-410). It is in fact

1. Cf. GONDA, *Change and Continuity* p. 395 (*ubi alia*).

2. *bhikkhuṇā baḍḍhataro bhikkhu upasaṅkamitvā ekamsaṃ cīvaram katvā pāde vanditvā ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā añjalim paggaḥetvā evam assa vacanīyo...*, *MN*, *loc.cit.* "Squatting" (*utkuṭuka*) or kneeling, the monk shows his humility (cf. *Abhidharmakośa* IV, 65).

important to emphasise the superiority of the confessor over the one confessing, all the time taking into account the religious rank of the two individuals concerned. Through their persons, it is the Law which is involved.

The scholastics, who delight in subdivisions, count three varieties of *ācārya* (cf. *T* III 42 a 4 ff.), according as they deserve to be compared to the lion, the bull or the jackal (*ācāryas trividhaḥ śiṃhānugo vṛṣabhānugaḥ kroṣṭukānugaś ca*). They are distinguished according to the seat on which they sit and from which they preach : the lion-like *ācārya* sits on a high seat, the bull-like one on a piece of cloth (*ekasmin kalpe*), and the third on sacking or on a mat (*rajoḥaraṇa-niṣadyāyām aupagrahika-pādaproṇchane vā, ibid 5 ff.*). If there is no *ācārya* to be found, one approaches a "bull" (*vṛṣabha*) or, failing that, a monk. These also can be likened to the same three animals (42 a 8).

For their part, the penitents are similarly of three kinds : *ācāryas*, "bulls", or simple religious (*ācāryā vṛṣabhā bhikṣavaś ca*); and each of these categories in turn has its lions, bulls and jackals. Among these last, a distinction can be made between those who sit on a sack and those who confess squatting, in the position *utkuṭuka* (*ibid 10*); a seat is allowed them if they are ill, in the same way as provision is made for a seat for the superiors and the "bulls" (11). But squatting is the pure position : (*yady utkuṭukaḥ sann ālocayati, tataḥ buddhiḥ* (*T* III, 42 a 10). As is well known, this is the position of the Buddhist monk while confessing (*supra*).

Normally the elevated seat is the one proper to the *ācārya* (*sva-sthāna*, 42 b 10 ff.), in contrast to the cloth and the sacking (*para-sthāna*). The commentaries thus examine successively confession to all types of confessors by all the types of penitents :

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Confessor	Penitent	Thus :
<i>ācārya</i> : lion bull jackal	the 3 types of <i>āc.</i> "   " of bull "   " of jackal	$\begin{matrix} = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} = 9 \\ = 9 \\ = 9 \end{matrix}} \right\} 27 \text{ cases}$
<i>vṛṣabha</i> : lion bull jackal	the 3 types of <i>āc.</i> "   " of bull "   " of jackal	$\begin{matrix} = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} = 9 \\ = 9 \\ = 9 \end{matrix}} \right\} 27 \text{ cases}$
<i>kroṣṭuka</i> : lion bull jackal	the 3 types o <i>āc.</i> "   " of bull "   " of jackal	$\begin{matrix} = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \\ = 9 \text{ cases} \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} = 9 \\ = 9 \\ = 9 \end{matrix}} \right\} 27 \text{ cases}$

In all, then, there are 81 cases (45 a 13). It will be noted that the confession of same to same is expiated by a *parihāra* of one light month (*ibid 11*), and that, in general, no fault is to be imputed to the penitent who abandons the seat proper to his status to occupy a lower one (*ibid 12*).

It does not seem useful to recall all the details of the condemnations laid down by the commentaries. One example might suffice, chosen from the intermediate category (*T* III 44 a 5): the confessor is a bull; he can sit as a lion, a bull or a jackal; the one confessing is an *ācārya* :

confessor = bull	penitent : <i>ācārya</i>	atonement
assimilated to a lion	assimilated to a lion	4 light months
	to a bull	1 light month
	to a jackal	pure
assimilated to a bull	assimilated to a lion	4 heavy months
	to a bull	1 light month
	to a jackal	pure
assimilated to a jackal	assimilated to a lion	6 light months
	to a bull	4 light months
	to a jackal	1 light month

It will be seen later in what the atonement consisted.

The factors which make it heavier vary with the rank of the offender. For the teacher, these factors are the mortification and the length of time (*prāyaścittāni dvābhyāṃ gurukāṇi pratipattavyāni, tad-yathā tapasā kālena ca*). The penances of the 'bull' are heavy as regards mortification, light as regards duration; and those of the religious are heavy as regards duration, light as regards mortification (*Bh* 1, 405).

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The commentaries also lay down the penances incurred by faults against the rules of precedence when the confession is "global" (*oghato, T* III 45 a-b; cf. *supra* 143 f.).

The real rank of the penitent no longer counts, but only the status (of a lion, etc.) that he assumes for the moment. The 81 cases just enumerated are thus reduced to nine. Under these circumstances, offences seem to have required more costly expiation than after a detailed confession.

Confession to a person of equal rank is punished by 4 heavy months; confession made from a higher seat receives 6 months, light or heavy. Even confession made from a lower seat is punished by a light month, unless there is a reason (*kāraṇe*) which dispenses (*T* III 45 b-46 a). Only squatting in the position *utkuṭuka* is considered pure (*śuddha*).



## CHAPTER V

### THE SECOND ATONEMENT : REPENTANCE

(*paḍikkamaṇa; pratikramaṇa*)

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The *paḍikkamaṇa* (*pratikramaṇa*) "repentance" is a religious act whose purpose is expressed by the formula *tassa micchā me dukkaḍaṃ* "my fault < has been due > to error" (*Lehre* § 159; cf. *pratikrāmen mithyā duṣkṛtaṃ tad-viṣaye dadyāt, Vav T III 126 b 3*)<sup>1</sup>.

It is the "return" to right conduct of the believer – monk or layman – who renounces his evil deeds committed through negligence (...*pratīpaṃ kramaṇaṃ yad āha* : "*sva-sthānād yat paraṃ sthānaṃ pramādasya vaśād gataḥ. tatraiva kramaṇaṃ bhūyaḥ pratikramaṇaṃ ucyate*", *Pravacana* 39 a). This is the common acceptance of the term (*aśubha-yoga-vinivṛtti-mātrārthaḥ sāmānya-śabdaḥ parigrhyate, Abhidhāna*, 5, 262 a). It is thus defined as a sort of "conversion." Sometimes this "repentance" seems closely linked with confession, of which it would seem to be the complement. It will be remembered, moreover, that some dispute the dichotomy established between the *āloyaṇā* and *paḍikkamaṇa*, and that they remove from the list of atonements these two headings, and admit only the "mixed" observance which combines the two (*mīsa, ubhaya*) (cf. *supra* 112).

Sometimes, the repentance is the fourth of the ten "daily duties" *āvassaya*; cf. *Lehre* § 151). It follows the vow *sāmāya*, the hymn to the twenty four Jinas and the homage to the teacher; and it precedes the *kāussagga* and the "refusals" of food and drink (*paccakkhāṇa*). The *paḍikkamaṇa* is seen, then, as part of a complex whole.

In fact, neither *K* (4, 25) nor *Vav* (1, 35) make mention of a "repentance" as an independent ceremony. The commentaries of *Vav* recommend that, during the confession, the teacher should observe carefully the sentiments displayed by the religious as he proclaims his faults. This is taken into account in calculating the appropriate penance. It is increased when the offender shows obstinacy, and reduced when he is seen to experience sincere regret.<sup>2</sup> It seems desirable that he should reproach himself explicitly

1. "May (all) that evil have been done in vain" (R. WILLIAMS, *Jaina Yoga* 204). Further, *mithyā*, "null and void in effect", English Introduction (p.5) of *Padmanandi's Pañcaviṃśatī* (ed. Jivārāja Jaina Granthamālā, 10, Sholapur, 1962). But, as a general rule, *micchā* (*mithyā*) means "falsely" and is applied in particular to "a false outlook", *micchā-dīṭṭhi* (as opposed to *sammas-dīṭṭhi*); hence the present translation. Cf. Pāli *micchā* (*PED*, S. V.)

2. *Vav T II 50 a 11 f.* : *agītārtho' pi yo mandenādhyavasāyena bahūni māsikasthānāni pratisevya tīvrena vā 'dhyavasāyena pratisevya* "hā mayā duṣṭhu kṛtaṃ ity" *evam-ādibhir nindanair ālocitavān so' py ekena māsenā śudhyati*; cf. *ibid* 50 b 12.

(*nindana*), and be smitten with remorse (*anulāpa*). The formula used in the circumstances commences "Oh ! I have done evil...", *hā mayā duṣṭhu kṛtam* (T II 50 a 11; 59 a 4 f.; III 37 b 3); *hā duṭṭhu kayam hā duṭṭhu kāriyam duṭṭhu anumayam cēty anulāpa-karaṇato*, *ibid* II 57 b 1). This at least is what Malayagiri relates. The corresponding *Bh* confines itself to saying on occasions that the teacher has heard the confession : *aloyaṇam suṇettā* (I, 387 b = *Nis Bh* 6 618).

Now, this expression of regret recalls the one given as characteristic of the *paḍikkamaṇa*. It is so characteristic, in fact, that it comes to designate the second atonement itself.<sup>1</sup> It is with the formula *tassa micchā mi dukkaḍaṃ* (*śloka pāda* ?) that the *sutta* of the repentance ends (*Lehre* § 159 and n. 2 p. 177; *Doctrine*, p. 280 n. 1).

There are *suttas* for each category of faults (*Abhidhāna*, 5, 271 b ff.; Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prākṛit-Handschriften*, II, 2, 2, 269 ff.).

There also exists a global *sutta* which covers all the various transgressions (*Abhidhāna*, 270 b; Weber, *ibid*). After having paid "homage to the Saints, the Perfect and the Teachers" (*namo arihantāṇam...*), one recites : "I wish to repent of any transgression committed during the day in act, word or thought, which has drawn me away from the *sutta* and from the < right > path, which was contrary to the rule and to my duty, which results in my having meditated and reflected badly, which was contrary to right conduct, to what is desirable and to the behaviour of an ascetic in the realm of knowledge, faith, behaviour, religious tradition and equanimity—among the three "defences" (*guttīṇam*), the four "passions" (*kaṣāyāṇam*), the five great vows (*mahāvayāṇam*), the six groups of beings, the seven quests for alms (*piṇḍesaṇāṇam*), the eight vessels of the Doctrine (*pavayāṇa-māṇam*), the nine defences of the Brahmanic life (*bambhacera-guttīṇam*) in the tenfold Law of the ascetic : wherever there is an infraction or an offence, my fault < has been due > to error !"

In detail, the *suttas* of the repentance recall in turn the occupations during which a transgression could have been committed – begging, changing position, journeys, study, etc. (for example; *paḍikkamāmi cāukkālaṃ sajjhāyassa akaraṇāe...jo me devasio aiyāro kao tassa micchā mi dukkaḍaṃ*; cf. *Abhidhāna* 5, 273 b § 14; compare R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga* 203).

In addition, they give the number of "masteries" or "disciplines" infringed (*saṃyama* : one, two, three, etc., up to infinity, *Abhidh*, 5, 273 b ff., § 15).

1. *pratikkramaṇam mithyā duṣkṛta-pradāna-lakṣaṇam*, *Piṭh* T 23 b 4; cf. LEUMANN, *Jiya* p. 1207, ad 76 b; *Lehre* § 159; etc.

It would be the recitation of the *paḍikkamaṇa-sutta*, morning and evening, that the *Uttar* 26, 42; 50 recommends (cf. *SBE* 45, p. 148 n. 1).<sup>1</sup> Chapter 29 (11) describes the benefit which might be drawn from it : “he plugs the breaches < which have been made in the > vows, and thus arrests the inflow < of impurities >, behaves impeccably, devotes himself to the eight “vessels” of the Doctrine (*gutti* and *samii*), does not allow himself to be distracted, and keeps perfect control over his senses” :

*paḍikkamaṇeṇaṃ bhante jīve kiṃ jaṇayai? paḍikkamaṇeṇaṃ vaya-cchiddāṇi pihei. pihiya-vaya-chidde puṇa jīve niruddh’āsava asabala-caritte aṭṭhasu pavayaṇa-māyāsu uvautte apuhatte suppaṇihindie viharai.*

As far as the time is concerned, the repentance is said to be five-fold (*ibid.*), because it takes place on five fixed occasions: the faults of the day are deplored in the evening, and those of the night on the following morning; at the end of a fortnight, or of four months, or of a year, the faults which might have been forgotten in the course of the preceding *paḍikkamaṇa* are deplored (*Lehre: ibid; Ist. XV 433; Jacobi, Kalpa p. 117*).

All Indian communities paid great attention to these occasions. The members of Brahmanic society celebrate important sacrifices then : the sacrifice of *agnihotra* (Vedic); and, more recently, of *samdhya*, at dawn and dusk; the sacrifices at the new and the full moon (*darśapūrṇa-māsa*); and the sacrifices which terminate the cycles of four months or a year.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, as is well known, the subjects of Asoka were invited to spare animals in various ways “at the three full moons every four months, at the full moon of Tisya for three days : the 14th, the 15th and the 1st and constantly on days of fast” (Pillar 5)

The Buddhists hold their solemn confessions each fourteenth or fifteenth day on the one hand, and on the other at the end of the rainy season (which lasts for four months). Like the Vedic and Buddhist doctors who discussed whether the fortnight fell on the fourteenth or the fifteenth day, the Jainas discuss the date of the *pakkhiya-paḍikkamaṇa*. The *sūtra* allows either of these two days. Other authorities show a clear preference for the fourteenth (*Abhidhāna* 5, 281 a, stanza 1-3; 282 b, st. 4).

It is recorded that the intermediate Tirthamkaras (the second to the 23rd inclusive) require a “repentance” only after an actual transgression. But the first and 24th teach that it is obligatory on the dates prescribed

1. The Brahmanic doctors also recommend the recitation of prayers, morning and evening, as a help towards salvation (Manu II, 101 ff.; compare GAMPERT, 191, *ubi alia*.)

2. Considered in relation to the “inflow” of passions, false doctrines, etc., the repentance is also “five-fold” (*Lehre* 152, who follows *Thāṇ*).

3. *Inde classique* § § 713; 1200 f.; 714; 715; 718 ff.; GONDA, *Religions* I 154; 176 f.; 183.

The *acārya* replies : "I also salute them".

IV. "Your Grace, here I am, ready. I wish to < denounce myself >. As to what belongs to you according to the Rule (garments, bowl, blanket, mat, speech, hemistich, stanza, *śloka*, interpretation, reason, question, explanation) which you have given to me with friendliness and which I have received with rudeness - my fault has been due to error !"

The *acārya* replies : "All of these things belonged to the *acārya*, < my teacher >".

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V. "Your Grace, I want to < pay you > the respects that I have not paid < you > previously, since I lacked good breeding and manners. You have instructed me, have caused me to be instructed, have taken charge of me, equipped, advised, protected, stimulated me and spurred me on; and this spur has been a friendly one. I have sprung forward; thanks to your mortification, your brilliance and your splendour, I am going to tear myself away from this jungle of the four-fold *samsāra* and pass beyond it. This is why I salute you with my head, my heart and my forehead."

The *acārya* replies : "Cross over, pass on."

No purpose will be served by lingering on the ceremonial of the daily repentance which, though less grandiose, is quite as complex, and makes use of the same gestures and practices. According to the *Pravacanasāra*, the evening repentance comprised : the greeting of the statues, *kāussagga* in order to think over one's transgression, the inspection of the handkerchief covering the mouth, the homage, the confession to the *guru* of the faults recapitulated during the period of *kāussagga*, the recitation of the *sāmāyika-sūtra*, the homage to the twenty four Jinas, the begging pardon from the *guru* and the other religious present, the general homage, and *kāussagga* with a view to purifying one's conduct. There follows *kāussagga* for the purification of belief and of knowledge; *kāussagga* in honour of the divinity of the religious Tradition, for the fulfilment of this last and in honour of the divinities of the place, so as to remove all obstacles. After all this, one sits down. There follows a new inspection of the cloth covering the mouth and an auspicious homage. The religious then declares : "I desire instruction". A triple canticle follows, a praise of Śakra, a hymn and *kāussagga* to purge the faults of the day :

*cii-vandana ussaggo pottiya-padileha vandan' aloe*

*sullam vandana khāmana vandana ya caritta-ussaggo* (175)

*damšana-nān'ussaggo suya-devaya-khetta-devayāṇaṃ ca*

*putti ya vandana thui-tiya sakka-thaya thotta devasiyam* (176; p. 39 a 8-40 b 7);

The morning repentance is similar, except that several actions are transposed ( because the religious runs the risk of being still sleepy ) and that there is a reduction in the number of *kāussaggas* ( 40 a-41 b ).

The *Pravacanasāra* lays down that the repentance should take place in the presence of the *guru*, but that in his absence, the religious should perform it alone : *paḍikkamaṇaṃ saha guruṇā, guru-virahe kuṇai ekko vi* (p. 162 39 b 10). According to the above description, it seems that the ceremony is public. It will be recalled that in the case where the *bhikkhu* met nobody to whom he could make his confession in accordance with the Rule, he was authorised to make it alone, thinking all the while of the perfect saints (*Vav* 1, 35 )

It will of course have been noticed that unlike the ritual of the *ālo-yaṇā*, which is relatively simple, the liturgy of the *paḍikkamaṇa* seems extremely complex. This contrast has, in some ways, its counterpart among the Buddhists. When they commit a fault, they make an auricular confession of it. Moreover, on the fixed date, the religious, who must be washed free of all sins, gather in a solemn assembly, of which the purity is proclaimed. It has been thought that, among the Buddhists, private confession was the more recently instituted of the two ceremonies (Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati* I 312; 317; 324).

As for the Jainas, the most ancient sources give us no information about the existence of an independent "repentance". On the contrary, they devote several *suttas* to the rules concerning confession ( *supra* 138 ). It is not certain that chance alone could explain this singular fact. To a certain extent, it recalls the following peculiarity of Brahmanic society mentioned by Gampert : there, confession is widespread and important from the very earlier times; the expression of remorse, on the contrary, is recent (*Sühnezeremonien* 234 f. ).

in all cases. It is not in vain, even though the religious might be innocent of any sin; in that case, it contributes to the amendment of his conduct and to shaking off the karman :

*yady aticāra-doṣāḥ santi tatas tātān śodhayati, yadi na santi tatas cāritrām buddhatarāṃ karolīti, tataḥ sthitam idam : aticāro bhavatu vā mā vā tathā 'pi prathama-cārama-tīrtheṣu pakṣānt'ādiṣu pratikramaṇaṃ kartavyam evēti (Pakkhiya 1 b 14-2 a 1; cf. Pravacana 39 b 8 f.; Abhidhāna 5, 263 b).*

The ceremonial of the fortnightly repentance is known to us through an ancient text, the *Pakkhiya-sutta* (*pākṣika-sūtra*), on which Yasodeva has written a commentary (*Lehre* §§ 159; 55). Here are its principal phases, according to the *pakkhiya-cunṇi*, which he quotes (2 a-b).

p. 159 The monks first of all finish all their tasks. At sunset, they recite the *sāmāya-sutta* (cf. *Lehre* § 151). Then they perform the *kāuassagga* so as to recall the faults of the day. After the "homage" (*namokkāra*), they recite the hymn to the twenty four < Jinas >, clean themselves and pay their respects (*kiikamma*). After having prostrated themselves and then risen again, they confess in order of precedence and in all frankness, the sins that they have just recalled. The *guru* prescribes the penance. Having accepted it, and finding themselves in the appropriate spiritual state of mind, they recite the whole of the *paḍikkamaṇa-sutta*. The *guru* recites his part standing, and then sits down.

The monks prostrate themselves and say : "Your Grace, I am ready. I wish to beg pardon for the < faults > that I have committed during the fortnight" : *icchāmi khamā-samaṇo uvatthio mi abbhintara-pakkhiyaṃ khāmeuṃ*. The *guru* replies : "I also ask your pardon"; *aham avi khāmemi tubbhe tti.*"

The religious enumerates everything reprehensible done during this period. He does this three or five times (seven times at the four monthly or the annual repentance). It is emphasised that it is the oldest who must begin and that it is of the youngest that he first begs pardon for his various transgressions, of which he gives details (*ittho kaṇiṭṭheṇa jeṭṭho khāmeyavvo tti vuttam bhavai, Pakkhiya 2 b 3*). The latter, prostrate on the ground, makes the *añjali* and answers : "O Blessed One, I also beg pardon of you for (the faults of) the fortnight". The teacher pays his respects, stands up and begs pardon of each member present. When he has finished, the others, in order of precedence, follow his example. The ritual is thus organised in a way which inspires humility. Finally everybody, having paid their respects, proclaims that after confessing and repenting of the faults of the day, they

have repented of those of the fortnight. The teacher concludes : "Repent correctly", *sammam padikkamaha*.<sup>1</sup>

There follows : the undisturbed abandonment of the body, a meditation on the Law and the recitation of *sūtra*, of the five, or rather of the six great vows which one has sworn to observe (6 b - 57 a); the praise of Mahāvira (58) and of the religious Tradition (59 a - 71 a); the homage to its doctors, its guardians and its divinity (71 a-b). Finally, prostrated (with knees and hands on the ground), they formulate five requests for pardon (*khāmei*, *Lehre* § 159).

p. 180 I. "Your Grace, here I am, ready. I wish to beg pardon for the < faults committed > during the fortnight. During these fifteen days and fifteen nights whatever regrettable and detestable things I have done (whether they concern eating, drinking, good manners, service, a word, an exchange of words, being on an elevated seat, being in company, taking part in a conversation, holding a superfluous conversation) - whatever offence, trivial or serious, that I have committed against good manners which you know and I do not know - my fault < has been due > to error !"

The *acārya* replies : "I also ask your pardon".

II. "Your Grace, I would like - and this is a matter which is dear to me - to share what < you have, you who are > happy, contented, without suffering or defects, who respect virtue, respect the vows, you who also have a superior and a preceptor, who by knowledge, faith, right conduct and mortification seek to form yourself. It is in happiness, my Lord, that this day of transition, of the fortnight, has elapsed; and it is under favourable auspices that another day has come to meet you. I salute you with my head, my heart and my forehead".

The *acārya* replies : "You share these < advantages >".

III. "Your Grace, I desire < to convey my greetings >. I have previously saluted and revered, in your sight, the statues < of the Jina >. All the monks grown old < in religion > whom I have seen during my errands - those living < in the shelters >, or < according to the rule >, or going from village to village; all the Elders who ask for news of you; all the younger members and ordinary religious of both sexes; the faithful men and women who greet you - all of these I also salute three times with my head, heart and forehead, I whom no dart of < evil conscience > afflicts, who am without passion. I also cause the statues < of the Jinās > to be saluted."

1. PETTAZZONI reports that in Ceylon the bonzes assembled for the fortnightly meeting ask each other's pardon for their offences before commencing the recitation of the *pātimokkha* (*La Confession dei peccati* I 293 f.)





## THE THIRD ATONEMENT : MIXED

( *mīsa*; *miśra* or (*tad*)*ubhaya* )

It is not necessary to dwell on the combination of confession and repentance ( cf. *supra* 112 ). One confesses to the *guru*, and, following his directions, expresses regret for having acted badly (*Vav Pīṭh T* 36 b-37 a).

The originality of the mixed atonement seems to reside in two characteristics : 1) the expression of repentance is necessarily preceded by the confession, which is, on this occasion, addressed compulsorily to the teacher (compare on the contrary *supra* 140; 162); 2) the *paḍikkamaṇa* is carried out immediately after the *āloṇā*, and is pronounced according to the express prescriptions of the pastor<sup>1</sup>.

1. Cf. *Vav Pīṭh T* 20 b 6 ff. : *yasmin punaḥ pratisevite prāyaścittie yadi guru-samakṣam ālocayati, ālocya yo guru-saṁdiṣṭaḥ pratikramati paścāc ca mithyā-duṣkṛtam itī brūte, tadā śudhyati, tat ... miśram.*

*Ibid* 37 a 2 : *pārvaṃ guruṇām purata ālocanā tad-anantaram tad-ādeśato mithyā-duṣkṛta-dānam ity evaṃ-rūpaṃ tad-ubhayam.*



## CHAPTER VI

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### THE FOURTH ATONEMENT : RESTITUTION

( *vivega; viveka* )

### THE FIFTH ATONEMENT : UNDISTURBED ABANDONMENT OF THE BODY<sup>1</sup>

( *viussagga, kāussagga; vyutsarga* )

The "restitution" does not call for any comment. It consists in giving back an alms which after the event, is learnt to be impure, and is consequently unacceptable. The good faith of an "adept" (who is familiar with the rules of study and who knows the *cheyā-suttas*) could have been taken by surprise. To become pure again, it is sufficient for him to give back the alms in the correct manner :

*kaḍa-joginā u gahiyaṃ sejjā-saṃthāra-bhatta-pāṇaṃ vā*

*apphāsu esaṇijjaṃ nāu, vivega u pacchittaṃ (Vav Pīṭh Bh 109, T 38 (a-b)).*

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1. I follow R. WILLIAMS'S translation of *viussagga, kāussagga* (*Jaina Yoga*)



p. 167 The "undisturbed abandonment (of the body)" appears to be a psycho-physiological exercise which punctuates the religious life of the Jainas<sup>1</sup>. They translate *viussagga* in skr. by *vyutsarga* – wrongly, as it happens. The Buddhists in BHS use *vyavasarga* (pā. *vavassagga*) correctly, with the general sense of "abandon" (Edgerton, *BHS Dict.* s. v.; cf. Leumann, *Uvav* gl. s.v., who relies in particular on the form of the corresponding amg. verb, *vosir*–). The Jainas generally use *kāussagga* "rejection, abandonment of the body" (cf. K. 1, 19; 3, 1 f.; 3, 22). The exercise consists in detaching oneself, and in a total stripping away of the self. Various positions of the body help in this, particularly the one immortalised by the colossal statue of Bāhubali in Śravaṇa Belgola : standing, erect; with the arms by the side and slightly out from the body, with the eyes fixed on the tip of the nose (cf. Guérinot, plate XIX; Williams, *Jaina Yoga* 214).

At the end of the *kāyotsarga-sūtra*, the religious announces : "I strip my body by remaining motionless, and my Self by remaining silent and meditating" : *kāyaṃ thāneṇaṃ moṇeṇaṃ jhāneṇaṃ appāṇaṃ vosirāmi* (Williams, *ibid* 213). On this occasion, *jhāna* (*dhyāna*) signifies that the subject takes care to cease all movement – of body, speech and mind : *atha dhyānaṃ yoga-nirodh'ātmakam; tatra kāyotsarge kiṃ dhyānaṃ ? ucyate : dhyeyo yoga-nirodha iti pūrva-maharṣi-vacanāt, tac ca yoga-nirodh'ātmakam dhyānaṃ tridhā, tad-yathā kāyayoga-nirodh'ātmakam, vāgyoga-nirodh'ātmakam, manoyoga-nirodh'ātmakam...* (*Vav Piṭh* T 42 a 1 ff.; cf. *Abhidhāna* 3, 407 b);

As with so many other observances, the *kāussagga* has negative and positive virtues. The *kāyotsarga-sūtra* insists on its powers of elimination :  
p. 168 in practising it, the faithful follower sets himself to destroy his sinful deeds, (*pāvāṇaṃ kammāṇaṃ nigghāyaṇ'atthāe* (Williams, *ibid*). According to the *Vav Piṭh*, the exercise allows one to concentrate one's thoughts, to banish physical torpor and thus attain equanimity :

*māṇaso egaggattam jaṇayai dehassa vihaṇai jaḍattam  
kāussagga-guṇā khalu suha-duha-majjhatthayā c' eva*

(Bh 125; cf. *Abhidhāna* 3, 407 a § 7).

1. As is well known, the Indians were past-masters of this technique, which plays a considerable part in the yoga. One would immediately think of the third, fourth and fifth "articles" (*aṅga*) of this discipline :

3. *āsana*, "helpful positions of the body";

4. *prāṇ'āyāma* "control of breathing...";

5. *pratyāhāra* "retraction of the powers of sensation and action, of the *indriyas*..." (cf. J. FILLIOZAT, *L'arrière plan doctrinal du yoga* 16; also *La nature du yoga dans sa tradition* VI, X f.; and on the antiquity of the ideas upon which the control of breathing is based, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne* 152; 160).

Uttar says, with a greater display of fervour, that *kāussagga* totally purifies one of the transgressions, past and present, which require expiation. "The person feels relieved; like a porter who has put down his burden. He commences a praise-worthy meditation and leads his religious life with a feeling of perfect well-being" (29, 12).

The *kāussagga* will sometimes be observed as a means of assisting some specific enterprise and sometimes when one is training oneself in self-control (Williams, *ibid*, 214).

The duration of the observance is measured in "breaths" (*ucchvāsa*) a unit defined by the time necessary for the mental recitation of a *pāda* of *śloka*, or, according to others, of a "homage", *namaskāra* (*Lehre* § 161; Williams, *ibid* 215)<sup>1</sup> :

*pāya-samā ūsāsā kāla-pamāṇeṇa honti nāyavvā  
evam kāla-pamāṇam kāussagge muṇeyavvam*  
(*Vav. Pīṭh. Bh* 122; *Jīya* 22).

The length of the *kāussaggas* to be observed in the course of each ceremony, or in some given circumstance, is fixed (Williams, *ibid*). It increases with the solemnity or the gravity of the occasion. When, for example, the religious who is about to begin his journey notices a bad omen for the second time, he makes a *k.* of 16 "breaths"; the third time the *k.* is of 32 "breaths"; on the fourth occasion, he gives up the idea of going at all (*Vav Pīṭh Bh* 119).

The number of *kāussaggas* proper to each circumstance, finally, is determined (Williams, *ibid*).

During the ceremonies of "repentance", we have seen the *kāussagga* used for two purposes - either to help the religious to reflect calmly, to practise the difficult examination of conscience which is exacted of him, or to secure the favour of the divinity in the removal of all obstacles. That is, it is used as a propitiation and as a conjuration. The same sort of preoccupation has caused it to be prescribed normally : when the religious leaves the shelter and, as a result of certain circumstances, commits any transgression in the course of his rounds. He "abandons (his body)", if possible, in the middle of the journey, or when he returns (even before resting) if it was not possible to interrupt his business between his departure and his return. He must likewise practise *k.* if he is going to relieve himself more than a hundred *hastas* away. Again, he addicts himself to *kāussagga* to charm away sometimes the unpleasant presages

1. Compare the perfect correspondance established between constituent elements of the Vedic texts and astronomical times, J. FILLIOZAT, *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 82-83, 1963, p. 92 and n. 9.

noticed when he commences his journey, and sometimes bad dreams (those in which one sees the five fundamental vows violated); to put himself in the right mood for a period of study conducted in accordance with all the rules; and, finally, when he takes a boat to cross a river :

*gamaṇ'āgamaṇa viyāre sutte vā sumiṇa-daṇṣaṇe rāto*

*nāvā nai-saṃtāre pāyacchittaṃ viussaggo*

(*Vau Piṭh Bh 111; T 38 b - 41 b; cf. Jīya 18 - 22*).

It will be seen also that a *kāussagga* precedes the performance of the atonement called *parihāra*. Thus, say the commentaries, the other religious are warned, and the success of the penance is made more likely.

It seems that, in general, there is a tendency to practise *kāussagga* before any enterprise - and, much more so, before an enterprise which is considered more difficult.





## CHAPTER VII

p. 171

### THE SIXTH ATONEMENT : ISOLATION

(*parihāra*)

afterwards replaced by mortification (*tava, tavo; tapas*)

The atonement called *parihāra* consists in separating the offender from religious whose conduct is pure until he has finished expiating his transgression : *parihāro varjanam sādhor iti gamyate āpannaparihārah tathā hi : sa prāyaścittī avīśuddhatyād viśuddha-caraṇaiḥ sādhubhir yāvat prāyaścitta-pratipattiyā na viśuddho bhavati, tāvat parihriyate* (*Vav T II, 11 a 9 ff.*). This is the gloss which Malayagiri puts on the term when commenting upon *Vav I, 1 ff.* Subsequently, he often replaces it by *tapas* (*Bh : tava, tavo*), but it is the same penance which is signified, at least in *Vav Bh T II, III, IV*. With the description just given as a basis, I shall render *parihāra* by "isolation" – a loose translation, doubtless, but one which has the advantage of not being tainted with foreign values, as would 'excommunication', for example.

The religious subjected to this atonement has a special status, duly laid down in *K 6, 14* – that of the religious "who is doing penance", *nivvisamāṇa-kappaṭṭhi* (cf. *Lehre* § 162, with references to *Thān*).

As a consequence of this sort of eviction, the religious is henceforward "outside the company" and "without concern for it" (*gacchaniggaya, niravekkha*). Theoretically he is classed with the *jinakappiya* and the *ahālandiya* (*Vav T III 48 b 2; IV 7 b 2*).

Henceforward he considers only himself (*att'attha-cintaga, Bh 1, 363*). In other words, according to two interpretations which complete rather than exclude one another; (1) he concerns himself only with his own affairs and takes no notice of the novices, the sick, the old, etc. (*ātmana eva kevalāsyārtham bhakt'ādi-lakṣaṇam cintayati na bāl'ādīnām, T III, 30 b, cf. IV 22 b 6 f.; supra 75*); (2) he directs his attention to his own spiritual welfare and to attain this, makes his conduct conform scrupulously to the rule (*kalpa-samācārād ity ātmārtha-cintakaḥ T III, ibid*).

The semantic specialisation of the word *parihāra* is admitted without dispute by the commentaries. Nevertheless they profess to recognise, in p. 172 opposition to this "incurred *parihāra*" (*āpannaparihāra*), a "*pārihāra* of the pure", or perhaps a "pure *parihāra*" (*śuddhaparihāra*) (cf. *T II 11 a*).

It would consist in practising the rule, either while one was completely pure, or in all the purity of the rule. *Parihāra* would then signify *paribhoga* "performance, execution" (*ibid*). Instead of the compound which

indicates action, the commentaries sometime employ only *śodhi* "purification", which places the emphasis on the result (T IV 16 a 3; 5).

But this distinction is quite scholastic : there is not the least trace of it in the *K*, *Vav* or *Nisīha*. It provides the commentaries with an occasional substitute for the *parihāra* proper – which, it will be seen, is a difficult and dreaded atonement.

All those who are unable to bear it, or who would not profit from it are, therefore, spared this atonement. It is thus that *Bh T* prescribes "naturally" (*niyamataḥ*) in its place the *śuddhaparihāra*, for female religious, (*āryikānām*) because they do not possess the requisite moral and physical powers of resistance. They are, moreover, normally dispensed from most of the penitential exercises, just as Buddhist nuns are dispensed from the penances called *dhūtaṅga*. The ancient Brahmanic treatises, for their part, do not provide for penances for women (*Lehre* § 157; *Inde classique* § 2379; Gampert, 211). The same *śuddhap.* would be prescribed for the three types of religious : 1) the "immature", because their immaturity is incompatible with isolation (*agītārthatvena parihāratapo yogyatāyā abhāvāt*, *Vav T* IV 16 a 5; cf. 17 b 3; *passim*); however this restriction seems not to have been taken into consideration (cf. *supra* 114); 2) those who lack steadfastness, or whose physical strength has been undermined by illness, etc.; 3) those who have not a robust constitution :

*śuddhatavo ajjāṇaṃ agiyatthe dubbale asaṃghayaṇe*  
(*Vav Bh* 1; 359 a).

Elsewhere, however, it is the "radical < suppression >" of religious seniority which is substituted for the *parihāra* if the religious who deserved it is not sufficiently strong, either physically or morally, (*dhṛti-saṃhananā-bhyāṃ durbalatvāt tapaḥ kartum asamarthas tasmin dubbale mūlam*), or if he is not steadfast enough, and if he lacks endurance and perseverance (... *asthīre dhṛty-avaśṭambha-rahite mūlam*, *T* III 11 b 5 ff.; *Bh* 1. 320 b).

This substitution of the *mūla* for the *parihāra* is then undoubtedly a p. 173 measure of clemency. In a way, it is surprising, since of the two, the more severe is the "radical" retrogradation (*ibid.* III 49 b; *supra* 116; 118), and since in general neither the eighth (*mūla*) nor even the seventh (*cheya*), atonement is usually imposed directly (*supra* 118; *infra* 200).

The present provision shows nevertheless that the "radical" suppression of religious seniority could occasionally appear less drastic than isolation.

Its difficulty is such that the teacher does not inflict it without having checked on the aptitudes of the penitent, whom he might not know. In

particular, he makes sure that the penitent has completed his 29th year and has spent at least 20 years in religion (*igutisā vīsā yā jahanna ukkosa*, Bh 1, 353 b, T III 28 a 2 ff.).

Some measures of clemency are prescribed. The commentaries provide that this *pāyacchitta* should be carried out exclusively during the monsoon, even though it might have been incurred during the summer :

*gimhāṇaṃ āvanṇo, causu vi vāsāsu denti āyariyā* (Bh 2, 364 a).

During the rainy season, explains Malayagiri, there are fewer occasions for sinning : since the monk travels less, and does not go so far when begging alms, the period during which he must pay attention to sparing the various living creatures on the ground is shorter. Since he does not change his place of residence, he avoids, by this fact alone, the transgressions so easily committed on moving into a shelter and leaving it.

For all believers, moreover, the monsoon is the season in which they strengthen themselves by mortification, the season when their passions disappear and when, consequently, merit can be acquired (T IV 81 a 4 ff.).

From the *gāthā* 2, 364, just quoted, the result would seem to be that the effective duration of the *parihāra* does not exceed four months. And indeed, K, Vav, Nis, never prescribe more, although Vav (1, 1-20 = Nis 20, 1-20) mentions *parihāra* of five and six months. In the Vav Bh T, the situation is almost comparable : although in its third stage the *parihāra* lasts for six months, the most commonly imposed duration is four months<sup>1</sup>.

p. 174 This indulgence, nevertheless, seems to have been not universally admitted. It is not admitted in the commentaries on *Viyāh*, *Tāhā*, recorded by Deo. But they note that the length of the fasts observed varies with the season. The minimum periods, then, are :  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days in winter,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days in summer,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days during the rainy season. The maximum periods are, respectively :  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  days (*History* 155).

Finally the atmosphere in which the penitent finds himself should be helpful to his undertaking. Even an "adept" does not normally undertake the *parihāra* when, as a consequence of some tragedy, he finds himself alone. In that case he could not succeed : *ekākinaś ca sataḥ parihārataṇḍo na nirvāhati* (T IV 22 b 7). If there is no other adept in the company in which he lives (the *ācārya* being himself *parihāriyā*), he goes elsewhere (*ibid* 17 a 13). It will be seen that even though he is isolated much solicitude is shown for him. Various measures moderate the theoretical severity of the penance.

1. There is not, then, properly speaking, any contradiction between the texts (compare *Lehre* § 162).

However some monks fear the moral solitude into which *parihāra* plunges them so much that, before or during it, they fall into fits of grave depression. In such a case the *gaṇāyaccheiya* comforts them (*Vav* 2, 15; *Bh* 2, 193, *T*).



The *parihāra* can be of the “cumulative” (*saṃcayita*, *sic*!) or the “non-cumulative” (*asaṃcayita*) kind. Generally, provided that there are some subsequent “alleviations” (*infra*), the *parihāra* which is not cumulative counts as many months as the faults of the penitent demand. Three stages are envisaged: one month, two to four months, and six months. (cf. *tava-tiya*, *Vav Bh* 1, 295; 412; *supra* 116).

The *parihāra* is “cumulative”<sup>1</sup> when the religious has in reality incurred more than six months – from seven months at the least to 180 months at the most. The total must be reduced to six months, which constitutes the maximum length of the *parihāra* ever to be expiated, in the Doctrine of Mahāvīra: *yeṣāṃ saṇṇāṃ māsānāṃ parataḥ sapta-mās’ādikāṃ yāvād utkarṣato ’ṣītaṃ śataṃ māsānāṃ prāyaścittaṃ prāptam, te saṃcayitāḥ* (*T* III 1b 9).<sup>2</sup>

Each of the two types has two varieties, – sometimes “subject to abatement”, and sometimes not (amg. *ugghāiya*, skr. *udghātika*; *aṇugghāiya*, later *aṇugghāima*, skr. *anudghātika*). The commentaries generally prefer to say “light” (*la(g)hu*) and “heavy” (*guru*) (*Lehre* § 162). The “weight” of the penance is related to two independent factors; the length of time (*kāla*), and the kind of mortification (*tapas*) – that is to say, fasting and restrictions on food, etc. (cf. *tapo ’naśan’ādi*, *T* IV’ 14 b 6; cf. *Uvav* 30 I, *supra* 109). These two factors contribute to the definition of the penance: *atha kaṃ vyavahāraṃ kena tapasā pūrayatīti...gurukaṃ vyavahāraṃ māsa-parimāṇam aṣṭamaṃ kurvan pūrayati ...* (IV 25 b 2 ff.). Thus, the “heavy” procedure lasts a month and requires fasts of three and a half days; the “heavier” lasts four months, with fasts of four and a half days; the procedure “as heavy as possible” lasts six months, the fasts being of five and a half days. The details are given in the table on page 14 (n. 1) of *K*.

In contrast with the “heavy” penance, which takes effect as soon as the verdict is pronounced, the “light” penance begins only after some time (*infra* 179).

1. *Infra* (and compare, concerning impurity, *VāsiṣṭhaDharmaSāstra*, 4, 23-25; *GautamaDharmaSāstra* 14, 6-8; *ViṣṇuSmṛti*, 22, 35-37).

2. On these provisions, see SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras*, 94 f.

The "cumulative" *parihāra* expiates several transgressions. The total duration is the result of two operations which it is moreover useless to break down if the offender is an "adept" (*gīrārtha*), or a "competent" (*vīkovidā*) monk, or even if, though "immature", he correctly assimilates what is told to him (*pariṇāmaka*) : he then entertains no doubt as to the justifiability and efficacy of the *parihāra* suggested (*T* II 58 b – 59 a; cf. *supra* 48–49).

The first operation consists in "putting off", "postponing" till later the penance incurred. The months and days of the atonement are matched to the faults committed and whatever is reducible is put to one side : *yāvanto māsā divasā vā pratisevitās tāvantaḥ sarve ekatra sthāpyante, sthāpyitvā ca yat saṃkṣepārham viṃśik'ādikam pratisevitam tat sthāpyate, eṣā sthāpanā*. This first operation, called *sthāpanā* (sic) *sthāpanā*, amounts to a deferment (cf. *infra* 177).

The second operation, called *āropanā*, *āropanā* "addition", is defined thus : "Other months incurred afterwards must also be taken into account. This is why one takes (in proportion to the fault) the days, whether their number is even or odd (5, 10, 15...) below one month, and adds them all together : that is the addition. This operation must be continued until one reaches – with the "deferment", a total of six months and no more"<sup>1</sup>. It is these two operations (*sthāpanā*, plus *āropanā*) which bear the name of *saṃcaya* (*Vav T* II 58 b).<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that several sorts of *āropanā* exist.

Moreover, the commentaries mention several stages of *sthāpanā* and *āropanā* – subject, naturally, to "combinations" (*saṃyoga*)<sup>3</sup>.

1. *tad-anantaram ye 'nye māsāḥ pratisevitās te sapthalī-kartavyā ity ekakasmāt māsāt pratisevanā-parimāṇānūrūpam stokān stokatarān samān viśamān vā divasān gṛhṭvā ekatr' āropayati eṣā āropanā, eṣā cōṭkarṣatas tāvat kartavyā yāvatyā sthāpanayā saha saṃkalayyamānā (sic !)* *ṣaṇ māsāḥ pūryante nādhikāḥ. tataḥ sthāpanāropanayor yad ekatra saṃkalanam eṣa saṃcayaḥ.*

2. It permits the accumulation (up to six months) of the months of penance incurred. This is what emerges from the commentary of *Nis Bh* 6 427 (= *Vav Bh* 1, 168) : *saṃcaya tti ṭhavaṇārovanā-pagārehiṃ aṇṇoṇṇa-māsehiṃto diṇṇaṃ saṃciṇṇinto jamhā cham māsā. dijjanti tamhā chaṇhaṃ māṣāṇaṃ saṃcaya tti saṇṇā. adhavaṃ : saṃcaya tti ṭhavaṇārovanāhiṃ je saṃcaya-māsā laddhā te ṭhavaṇārovanā-ppagāreṇa cham māsā kām diṇṇavā*. Communicated to me by Professor Schubring.

3. The stages of *sthāpanā* are of 20, 15, 5 days, 1 day; the stages of *āropanā* are of 15, 5, 5 days and 1 day. Each of these stages increases in periods of five days, going : for the *sthāpanā* of 20 days, to 165; of 15 days, to 175; of 5 days, to 175; and for the *āropanā* of 15 days, to 160; of 5 days, to 165; of 5 days, to 175. The last stage increases in periods of one day (from 1 to 17<sup>0</sup>). Thus 30, 33, 35 and 179 stages

When the *parihāra* has thus been reduced to six months – or when its duration is shorter – it is ordered “to start” (*paṭṭhavaṇā*, *prasthāpanā* cf. *Vav* 1, 17). Malayagiri quotes the *Nisīha-cūṇṇi*, which glosses *paṭṭhavaṇā* by *dāṇa*, “gift” : *uktaṃ ca Nisīha-cūrṇau paṭṭhavaṇā nāma dāṇaṃ ti* (*Vav* T III 2 a 10; cf. *Bh* 1, 294 a).

The commentaries distinguish two types of *paṭṭhavaṇā* :

*duviḥā paṭṭhavaṇā khaḷu : ega-m-aṇegā ya...* (*Bh* 1, 412 a = *Nis* Bh 6 642 a).

One, whose duration is measured in complete months, is called “simple” (*eka*) : this is necessarily the case with that of the “cumulative” (*saṃcayita*) *parihāra* which is of six months. The “composite” (*aneka*) *paṭṭhavaṇā*, on the other hand, contains fractions of months – five, ten, fifteen, twenty, or twenty five days, this last number of days forming a “shortened month” (*bhinna-māsa*). These fractions of a month seem intended to expiate minor transgressions, committed in the course of the penance (*T* III 46 a; cf. *Vav* 1, 15–16 : *sāirega-cāummāsiyaṃ*). However, the *parihāra* proper counts exclusively for complete months, and not for periods of five days : *pañcak’ādiṣu bhinna-māsānteṣu parihāra-tapo na bhavati kiṃ tu mās’ādiṣu* (*T* III 46 a 12 f.). There is no doubt about this when the penance is of less than a month. This explains, in the confession of the type *viḥār’āloyaṇā*, the provision by virtue of which the religious who has just arrived confesses before or after the meal according as the fault is expiable by a penance of more or less than a month (*supra* 146).

As for the “additions” (*ārovaṇā*), they are of five kinds :

*paṭṭhaviyā ṭhaviyā yā kasiṇā’kasiṇā taḥ’ eva hāḍahāḍā*  
*ārovaṇa pañcaviḥā* (*Vah* Bh 1, 413 = *Nis* Bh 6 643)

*prasthāpanikā* (*T*) applies to the penance “already begun” (that is, the penance incurred in the first place, which the religious has begun to perform)<sup>1</sup>.

*sthāpita* is the atonement (newly) incurred and “postponed” till later, since the religious is, for example, occupied in the “service” of the *ācārya* and is unable to perform this at the same time as the penance.

(*sthāna*) of *sthāpanā* are defined. The number of stages of *ārovaṇā* is sometimes equal to this, and sometimes less (*Vav* T II 59 b 10 ff; 61 a 12–63 b).

It would be useless to go into detail about these very complex processes, which are largely formal and which moreover are beyond us, in many respects. In addition, they give hardly any information about the actual functioning of the penances.

1. Properly speaking, this would not then be an “addition”.

*hāḍahaḍā* is the name of the penance pronounced on the spot; this fifth variety lends itself in turn to three sub-divisions, according to the moment when it is performed<sup>1</sup>.

The two most important, it seems, of the five *ārovaṇās* are the third and fourth, the one "complete", *kasiṇā* (*kṛtsnā*, cf. *Vav* 1, 17 ff. and the other "incomplete", *akasiṇā*.

The total amount of this last is subject, regularly, to a "<variable> cancellation" according to what is necessary and sufficient to purify the offender (*T* II 86 b 10 ff.) (*jhoṣa*; *jhoṣa*, *jhoṣayati*) occasionally glossed *parityāga*, *parityajati*, *T* III 11 a 4 f.; 6 a 14-b 6. The part of the penance which would exceed six months is cancelled.

p. 178 Its opposite, which is called "complete", is certainly exempt from variable cancellation, but not from fixed; fifteen days are struck off at the beginning of each month, and five at the end (86 b 9 f.):

*kasiṇā-āruvaṇāe sama-gahaṇaṃ honti tesu māsesu*

*āruvaṇā kasiṇāe viṣamaṃ jhoṣo jahā sujje* (*Vav Bh* 1, 247).

It is the third type of *ārovaṇā* which is proposed, if one is to believe the commentaries, in the group constituted by the six introductory *suttas* of the *Vavahāra* (ed. Schubring), a group that the commentaries tend to consider together as the first *sutta*: *kasiṇāruvaṇā paḍhame* (*Bh* 1, 161 a)<sup>2</sup>. It is still the *kasiṇārovaṇā* which is inflicted – formally this time – when, after the *parihāra* has been pronounced, the penitent commits a new fault. It is imposed also, in general, to atone for all the faults committed by the same individual from his first transgression until the end of his *parihāra* (*se vi kasiṇe tatth'eva āruheyavve siyā*, *Vav* 1, 17 ff.).

*Nis* 20, 21-53 tells us to what the increase amounts. It is of twenty days if the additional offence normally requires two months, of fifteen days if it is normally expiated by a month. According to the *Nistha-cuṇṇi*, the increase is of 25, 30, 35 or 40 days if the new transgression is in general expiable by three, four, five or six months (cf. Schubring, *Drei Chedasūtras*, 95; *Lehre* § 162).

Several sorts of *kasiṇā* are distinguished – six, according to the commentaries of the *Vavahāra* and of the *Nisīha*; for even though it was "complete", this "addition" was not necessarily definitive:

1. Cf. *Nis cuṇṇi ad Nis Bh* 6643 (cf. *T*hāṇ *T* 325 b) : *jaṃ (ca) vahati pacchittam sā paṭṭhavatikā (ārovaṇā) bhayanti jhaviyā nāma jaṃ āvaṇṇo tam se jhaviyaṃ kajjati. kiṃ-nimittam? ucyate : so veyāvacca karaṇa-laddhi-sampanno jāva āyariy'ādīṇaṃ veyāvaccaṃ kareti tāva se tam jhaviyaṃ kajjati, do joge kāuṃ asamattho so veyāvacce samatte tam kāhiti tti, evaṃ jhaviyā* (cf. *Vav T* III 47 b). *L'ārovaṇā hāḍahaḍā* is explained *ibid*, *ad Nis Bh* 6 645; *T*hāṇ *T* 326 a says : *hāḍahaḍe ti yat laghu-guru-mās' ādikam āpannas tat sādya eva yasyaṃ dīyate sā hāḍahaḍāḍkete*. Communication from pr. Schubring. He compares Gujarati *hāḍohāḍ*, *Drei Chedasūtras*, 94.

2. Obviously, in the case in which the original offence is subsequently complicated by fraud (*palīṇciya āloetṭae*).

*padisevaṇā ya samcaya āruvaṇa anuggahe ya bodhavve  
anughāya niravasesam kasinam puna cha-vviiham hoi*

(*Vah Bh* 1, 385=*Nis Bh* 6 616); the first is when there is no call for punishing an offence other than the initial one; the second is for 180 months; the third is for six months; the fourth is "complete with remission" (*anugraha-kṛtsnā*)<sup>1</sup>; the fifth is "complete without abatement" (*anudghāta-k.*); the sixth is "as it stands". Among all these varieties, only the last counts exactly the duration incurred, neither more nor less, (*T* 179 III 37 a). The commentaries give details of the fifth, and especially of the fourth.

The refusal of abatement bears normally on the time (duration): the "heavy" months take effect immediately after the sentence; the "light" ones, shortly afterwards (*ibid* 37 a 10). Other authorities distinguish three "heavy" varieties. They would refuse the abatement to bear on the time (season), on the mortification, or on both of these factors together. Then the period chosen is a difficult season (the summer, etc.) – an aggravation of the penance that the *Vah Bh* seems to repudiate (cf. *T* IV 80 b *supra* 173). Heavy mortification would consist in fasting for three and a half days or from the announcement of the verdict. The "complete" "total" of the penance is doubly heavy if the religious is made to bear the weight of both time and mortification.

The commentaries explain how, in the fourth type of *ārovaṇā* the complete amount of the penance is reduced through indulgence (*Vav Bh* 1, 311=*Nis Bh* 6 549, *Vah Bh* 1, 387=*Nis Bh* 6 618). They study the case of the religious who is equally gifted for mortification and for "service" (*ubhaya-tara*).

A remission is granted when the offender, in his confession, condemns his fault "*hā duṣṭhu kṛtam*" *ity ādi*; or when he is known to be morally or physically weak (*dhṛti-saṃhananābhyāṃ durbalaṃ vijñāya*). If he persists in his fault, if his confession is vitiated by passion or hatred, or if he is robust, no clemency is shown (*T* III 37 b).

Remission works in the following way: a religious has incurred two consecutive six monthly "isolations". If he is granted clemency, he will in reality carry out only six months. Two cases present themselves.

– First case: out of the first six months, six days have already been observed when the religious commits an offence which necessitates a penance of six months. The five months 24 days which remain on account of the initial penance are cancelled: *pūrvam prasthāpita-saṃmāsānām pañca māsāś catur-viṃśatir dināś ca jhoṣyante*, *T* III 7 a 1). It is indeed admitted that the six months initially incurred are contained in the first

1. To mention it implies likewise the "complete" "addition", "without remission" *niraṇugraha-kṛtsna* (cf. *infra*).



six days (*pūva-prasthāpitāś ca śaṇ māsās teṣu eva ṣaṭsu divaseṣu galeṣu vyūdhṛeṣu parisamāptāḥ kriyante*, *ibid* 7 b 4 ff.). The six months made necessary by the second offence are imposed but with the effective suppression of six days, because the total time of a penance is limited to six months.

- Second case : out of the first six months, there are still six days to run. A new offence which deserves six months is committed. These months are then imposed, always in such a way as not to exceed six months in all; they are thus in fact reduced to six days (with cancellation of five months 24 days of the second penance and six days of the first: *teṣāṃ śaṇṇāṃ māsānāṃ ṣaṭ divasāḥ prāyaścittam, śeṣam samastam api jhoṣitam. pūva-prasthāpita śaṇmāsāṃ api ṣaṭ divasāḥ jhoṣitāḥ* *T* III 7 a 7 f.)

If there is no remission, the procedure is as follows (cf. *Bh* 1, 312= *Nis Bh* 6 552).

- First case (*T* III 7 a 10 ff.): the first penance should count six months. After six days, a new offence deserving six months is committed. The five months 24 days remaining are cancelled (*jhoṣitāḥ*) and the six following months are imposed in full. Total: six months six days.

- Second case : (7 b) : after five months 24 days of a first penance, there is a relapse necessitating a further six months. These last are maintained in full, while the six remaining days from the first offence lapse. Total : twelve months, less six days. It is the highest penance imposed - there is none more severe (*nātaḥ para tapo' rhe prāyaścitta utkr̥ṣṭatarā prasthāpanā'sti*).

As with the preceding penance, this atonement is imposed only on robust religious

The commentaries foresee the accusation of favouritism, and refute it (*Bh* 1, 313= *Nis Bh* 6 553, *T* III 7 b-8 a).

The fictitious opponent accuses the teacher of favouring the first penitent because he sees that he is still strong enough to be able to serve him agreeably; and he accuses the teacher of being severe on the second, who is too weakened by his penances to be useful to him. "Thus, you close one eye and open the other;...you raise up the one and you kill the other." The teacher replies that he does nothing of the kind. He compares the penitents to two fires—the weak one to a fire which is scarcely alight and cannot burn large logs, the strong religious to a fire which is well alight. Or, again, he compares them to two servants: to one is given, in one month, enough food for four, and to the other, for four months, enough food for a single month. One dies of indigestion and the other of hunger. In the same way, the first penitent would succumb under a penance which was too heavy, while the penance which was too light would not be sufficient to purify the second. The teacher concludes: in distributing the penance in each case as has been described, we remain

impartial. (*tathā durbale baliṣṭhe ca yathôkta-rūpaṃ prāyaścittam dadānā na vayaṃ rāga dveṣavantaḥ* *T* III 8 a 12).



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The two provisions which characterise the *parihāra* are apparently indicated by the two formulae *ṭhavaṇijjāṃ ṭhavaṭṭa* and *karaṇijjāṃ veyāvadiyaṃ*, which both appear in *Vav* 1, 17-20.

The practices to which they refer, and the rites preliminary to the atonement, are dealt with in the commentaries concerning the su. 1, 17. They are completed in 2, 27 and 2, 1 ff. Several examples of tolerance are discussed in 2, 28-30.

However, the penitent undertakes various rigorous, but commonplace observances. He carries out the "services" of the teacher; as far as possible, that is to say when he is of the number of those monks who are "helpful to two" people at once (*supra* 130). The custom is confirmed by *K* 4, 26; 5, 53; *Vav* 1, 22-24; 2, 29 f. He gives himself up to meditation and study - which last is sometimes presented as a severe penance (*T* II 35 b 4)<sup>1</sup>. It can even happen that he does this in the company of "pure" religious (*Vav* 1, 21: cf. 2, 27). In addition, and especially, he observes fasts and numerous restrictions on food. The former played such an important part in the penance that they contributed to its definition (*supra* 175; *Lehre* § 162). Added to the other mortifications, they ran the risk of putting the religious to too severe a test. This is why, before proposing the *parihāra* for a stranger, the teacher has to ask him what fasts he has already undertaken and with what result (*infra*). The quality and the quantity of the food are reduced; one is limited to one meal a day; *vikṛti* is totally eliminated (*Lehre* § 162), begging is confined to one household per day (*K* 4, 26).

All these observances, however, have nothing especially characteristic about them.

Essentially, the *parihāra* consists in removing from the society of his brethren the religious who is doing penance. This expulsion is not, however, total: the monk continues to live with the others and is helped in his tribulations by two duly-qualified religious.

Malayagiri summarises the *parihāra* as follows (*T* III 25 b ff.): the religious practises *kaussagga*. The teacher announces, in front of the company, the rank of the two *nigganthas* who are going to assist him.

1. On the importance attached to the study of the *ūgamas*, *Pravācanasūtra*, 3, 32; compare the importance of *nāṇa*, *Dasaveyāliya*, ch. 4 (and stanza 10), etc. Cf. *ApastambaDharmaSūtra*, 1, 4, 12, 1.

He specifies publicly the arrangements that must be made (*sthāpanīyaṃ sthāpayitvā*, *ibid* 26 a 1). Finally, the commentaries indicate what "services" the penitent will receive from his tutor and helper *vaiyāvṛtyaṃ karaṇīyaṃ*, *ibid* 2). This summary is then explained in great detail.

If there is call for it, one begins by checking whether the offender is adapted to being "isolated". The teacher therefore asks him who he is, how old he is, what his instruction has been, how he accepts alms, what fasts he is capable of, and if he can bear a severe one :

*ko, bhante, pariyāo, sut'tatthābhiggaho tavo-kammam  
kakkhaḍa-m-akakkhaḍe vā...* (*Vav Bh 1, 350=Nis Bh 6 584*)

Only the monk who, on all these counts, satisfies all requirements can undertake this penance (...*guṇa-samūha-yuktasya parihāra-tapo dīyate*). For others, the commentaries advise the *śuddha parihāra* (*T III 28 b*).

Before the *parihāra* is announced, the penitent recollects himself in public (*kāyotsargaḥ kriyate*, *ibid* 29 b 4, *Bh 360 a*). Like the *guru*, he is facing East or North or is opposite the superior (*caranti dik*, *supra* 150) or the shrines (*caitya*) and he stands to the left of the teacher or slightly behind him (*T III 29 b 4 f.*).

Both then pronounce the following formula : I am addicting myself to *kāussagga* because I want to begin the penance of *parihāra*. In faith, wisdom, steadfastness and preservance which accompany indifference to the attacks <of the outside world>, I strip my body by remaining motionless and my Self by remaining silent and meditating:" *parihāro tava-pavajjāvaṇ'atthā karemi. kāussaggaṃ niruvassagga-vattiyāe saddhāe mehāe dhīe dharaṇāe jāva vosirāmi* (29 b 5 f.)<sup>1</sup>. The purpose of the *kāussagga* is double; on the one hand to warn the religious of the company; *viussaggo jāvaṇ'atthā* (that is to say *sādhunām pariññānārtham*. *Bh 1, 360 a*), and thus to inspire in them a salutary fear which will dissuade them from sin; on the other hand to defend oneself against the provocations of the outside world, and to assure the complete success of the penance (*parihāra-tapaḥ samāptim yāyād iti*, *T III 30 a 6*);

*niruvassagga-nimittam bhaya-jāvaṇ'atthāe sesagāṇam ca* (*Bh 1, 361 a=Nis Bh 6 593 a*).

When these preliminary rites are over, a check is made that the astrological conditions are auspicious for both penitent and superior, and the *parihāra* commences (*Bh 1, 361 b*).

According to the commentaries, the teacher then says to the religious who is ready to perform his penance: "For you, I stand within the rule; and this adept is your second" :

1. *jāva* : the complete formula would doubtless give : *kāyaṃ jhāṇeṇaṃ, monaṇeṇaṃ jhāṇeṇaṃ appaṇaṃ* cf. *supra* 167).

*kappa-tthito ahaṃ te, anuparihāri ya esa te gīto*

183 (Bh 1, 362 a=Nis Bh 6 594 a). In other words, the penitent does not have to separate himself from the *guru* as he does from all the other monks.

The teacher and the "second" are the two men who are going to devote themselves to his "service" (*karaṇijjaṃ veyāvāḍiyāṃ*)<sup>1</sup>. The "second", who follows the penitent's every step<sup>2</sup>, is, if possible, a former *parihāriya*, who will thus know how to help him should the need arise; failing this, another religious is chosen who will at least be of robust constitution.

*puvvaṃ kaya-parihāro, tass 'asat 'iyaro vi dadha-deho* (Bh 362b=Nis Bh 6 6594 b). The "second" has a particular status: that of the religious "who has atoned": *nivuttiṭṭhakāriya-kappatthiṇ* (K 6, 14 and p. 47; *Lehre* § 162, referring to *Thāṇ* 167 b; 371 a).

The *suttas Vav* 1, 17-20 say nothing about the "servants" of the person who is subjected to "isolation"; but 2, 5 and 2, 6 specify the help which his "second" and the "coadjutor" (*gaṇāvaccheiya*) respectively will give him, if his strength begins to fail.

Moreover, whatever the circumstances, the "isolated monk" is always subject to, and the responsibility of, a monk who is following the Rule. Consequently, when in a group of two or more religious who live together, they are all offenders, one of them must be fictitiously "established" "regular" by his companions for the whole length, of their penance (*kappāgaṃ ṭhavaittā, kalpasthitāṃ sthāpayitvā...*), after which he, in turn, performs his (*Vav* 2, 2, 4; *T* IV 15 b-17 b; cf. *Lehre* § 162, referring to *SBE* 45, p. 157, n. 3).

The services performed for the penitent will be examined later. They will take on their full significance after his position has been defined.

This position is evoked in the formula *ṭhavaṇijjaṃ ṭhavaittā* (*Vav* 1, 17-20) - which is, it must be admitted, ambiguous. *T* hesitates between two interpretations: "having made arrangements for (= appointed) the men" (that is the *guru* and the "second", III. 30 b 3; compare Bh 1, 360, *T* III 29 b 8 f.; Bh 1, 373, *T* *ibid* 33 b 12); or "having instituted the arrangements", "having taken the necessary steps" (III 30 b 3; 31 b 10: *evaṃ sthāpanāyāṃ sthāpitāyāṃ*). Although the first interpretation would seem to be admitted - and though soon it may have been the only one (it is the one recognised by the Hindi commentary), there seems no doubt that we must adopt the second which has been recorded by Malayagiri

1. *kalpasthitenānuparihārikena ca yathā-yogam. .vakṣyamāṇa-vaiyāvṛtyaṃ karaṇiyam, Vav T III 28 a 1 f.; cf. 33 b 13.*

2. *anu paścāt pṛṣṭhato lagnaḥ san gacchatity anugacchatity anuparihāri (ibid 30 a 13.)*

and which is given in his textual gloss, in I, 17: *sthāpanīyaṃ vakṣyamāṇam ālāpāna-parivartan'ādi...sthāpayitvā* (T III 26 a 1; cf. Bh 1, 364, *infra*). It is also Malayagiri who says, elsewhere, more explicitly "it is necessary to set down the things which it is forbidden to do with the penitent" (*thavañijjaṃ thavaittā yat tena saha n' ācaraṇīyaṃ tat sthāpanīyam ucyate tat...sthāpayitvā*, T III 29 b 1).

And indeed the installation of the two "servants"-which is implied by the formula *karaṇijjaṃ veyāvāḍīyaṃ*-is not normally hindered by any difficulty. It would thus seem superfluous that it should be specifically mentioned elsewhere. However, it is quite a different matter with the *sutta* 2, 2 and 4, which formally enjoin the installation of a religious in the function of "regular", *egam tattha kappāgam thavaittā*. In the event, the *bhikkhu* is in actual fact an offender. The details provided by the formula are therefore necessary, to modify by means of a solemn act a situation which is intrinsically one of deadlock. Moreover, it is possible that the expression employed in this last case has contributed to changing the sense of *thavañijjaṃ thavaittā*-and this all the more easily since the services done for the penitent were considered more necessary.

As so often, they help in attaining the complete success of the penance. It is natural that the teacher should "lay down" from the beginning the principal "arrangements". After having specified the status of the two individuals who are going to assist with the *parihāra*, he enjoins the whole religious community not to disturb the concentration of the person being "isolated"; "This monk is undertaking a penance. He will speak to nobody. Let nobody speak to him. He is concerning himself with his own good. He must not, my friends, meet any obstacle":

*esa tavam padivajjai na kiṃ ci ālavati mā ya ālavaha*

*att'attha-cintagassā vāghāto bhe na kāyavvo.* (Vav Bh 1, 363=Nis Bh 6 595).

How could these obstacles be created? By disregarding the ten prohibitions which cut him off from the society of his fellows: *etaṃ padair vyāghāto na kartavyaḥ* (cf. T III 30 b 10). The Bh enumerates them in the stanza 364 (= Nis Bh 2, 881 and 6 596). It will be noted - and it is a provision of capital importance- that these prohibitions are reciprocal; and the resumé of the relevant *Tīkā*, which follows, is to be completed in this sense (III 30 b 13-31 a 9).

*ālāvaṇa padipucchāna pariyatt' utthāna vandanāga matte*

*padilehāna saṃghāḍāga bhatta-ddānaṃ sabbhūñjaṇā c'eva*

p. 185. This stanza enjoins the severing of all relations;

(1) The monk in isolation does not speak to his fellows, and no monk of his company speaks to him (*ālāpana*).

(2) He asks for no information concerning the text or the interpretation of the Doctrine (*pratipracchana* – read *pratiprechā*).

(3) He does not explore the Doctrine with others (*parivartana*).

(4) He does not rise (as a sign of respect) at the usual times, and in the usual circumstances (*utthāna*).

(5) He does not bow in greeting (*vandana*).

(6) He does not offer pots (for faeces, urine or phlegm) (*uccāra-prasravaṇa-khela-mātrak'ānayaṇa*).

(7) He does not inspect the baggage with the others (*pratilekhana*).

(8) He does not attend meetings with the others (*samghāṭaka*).

(9) He does not offer them either food or drink (*bhakta-dāna*).

(10) He does not eat with them (*sambhojana*; cf. *nāyaṃ yuṣmābhiḥ saha bhokṣyate nāpi yuṣmābhir elena saha bhoktavyam*, T III 31 a 6 f.)

Every infraction, on one side or the other, is punished, although differently according to the prohibition infringed and to whether the offender is the isolated religious or a monk who is in other respects innocent (III 31 a 9 ff.); or a monk who is himself guilty but whose isolation has been postponed (IV 17 b 1 ff.).

Transgression	by an <i>aparihāriya</i>		by a <i>parihāriya</i>	
	who is		who approaches a monk	
of point number	innocent	likewise guilty, but who will engage in, or has just finished the <i>parihāra</i>	innocent	likewise guilty, but who will engage in, or has just finished the <i>parihāra</i>
1 to 8	1 light month	4 light months	1 heavy month	
9 (gift of food)	4 light months	he gives 4 heavy months		
		he accepts it : 4 light months	4 heavy months	4 heavy months
10 (commensality)	4 heavy months	(unspecified)		

It will be seen that the strictest prohibition concerns commensality. This is the taboo which is protected by the heaviest penalties, and the otherwise innocent religious who violates it must expiate his offence as

dearly as the *parihāriya* who commits the same crime – contrary to what happens in other cases. We can be sure that this scale of atonements is not imaginary. Other measures, – such as that laid down by the su. 2, 27 (T IV 80 b 4 ff) corroborate it. At the end of the “isolation”, conversation etc. can be resumed; but for a period which varies from five days to a month, all commensality is forbidden; *ālāpan’ādini sarvāṇi kriyante, navaram ekam bhojanam ekatra varjyate* (80 b 11). It is the month “of the refusal of food”, or the month “of rejoicing”. In the same way, Malayagiri says that a vessel whose nauseous contents have left behind a stench must be allowed time to lose this odour before further use. In the same way also, when one leaves the tribunal after being acquitted, one begins by receiving the congratulations of parents and friends before going off to celebrate the event with them. These comparisons explain the names given to this extra month: *pūti-nivālāṇa-māsa, pāmoya-māsa* (Bh 2, 367). However the commentaries add another justification: because when he comes out of his retreat the religious “does not eat in the “circle”” (*na maṇḍalyām bhunkte*), his co-religious notice his emaciation, ply him with attentions and offer him the food best suited to restoring his strength (*ibid* 368).

An examination of the indulgences from which the *Vavahāra-sutta* would have the *parihāriya* benefit shows likewise that the prohibition of commensality was the most important one: 1, 21 considers lawful – on condition that the elder has approved – discussions and study periods between pure and “isolated” religious; 2, 27 allows their co-habitation, if they are moved by a common desire to study thoroughly the instruction of the Prophet (*tīrthakarōpadeśēccchayā na svachhandēccchayā iccheyuh... ekatra sthāne eka-māsam vā...vastum, ad* 2, 27, T IV 80 a 3 f.). But they must take their meals apart (cf. *supra*).

The prohibitions of commensality seem to have been lifted only in exceptional circumstances (2, 28, cf. K 4, 26; *Vav* 2, 29 f.).

According to 2, 28, the *parihāriya* can be invited by the elder to give out the food. Bh T specify that he is asked to divide the choice dishes (*vikṛti*) because of the needs of the moment, the confidence that the “circle” of the “commensals” might have in a distribution by one whose body is dessicated by mortification, or his natural aptitude for apportioning food (Bh 2, 371 f). For his part, the *parihāriya* has the right – but he must seek express authorisation – to eat what food remains on his fingers (Bh 2, 374).

The commentaries add that this is, in fact, a measure of clemency. Indeed, not only does he lick his fingers, but whatever is left over after distribution is his – just as, legally, the left-overs go to the cook (*sesa sūpassa, Bh* 2, 374).<sup>1</sup> By this stratagem then the teacher, if he sees that the

1. Cf. (on *kārpara ṍdana*) Om PRAKASH, *Foods and Drinks in Ancient India*, p. 56 and n. 3; Ch. MALAMOUD, *WZKOSA*, 16 (1972), p. 7-8 and n. 12; (*ubi alia*).

penitent is wasting away excessively, permits him to sustain himself, and to complete his penance without hindrance (*ibid*).

The *suttas* 2, 29-30 operate when an "isolated" religious and an elder remain alone together - for example as a result of a famine, or some other calamity. The teacher sick and confined to his shelter, may allow the *parihāriya* who happens to be serving him to make a single round begging alms, with a single bowl (that of the *parihāriya*, 2, 29, or that of the *thera*, 2, 30). But at meal-times, the Rule prescribes that the *thera* (29) or the *parihāriya* (30) should take out his own portion and put it into his own bowl before eating it. The *thera* eats first. The alms is carefully divided; the top, or one side for the elder; the bottom, or the other side, for the "isolated monk" (*T* IV 86 b 10). *Bh T* permit the two men to eat simultaneously, if time is short. In this case, the *parihāriya* eats his share as if with distaste, like a sick man who, to cure himself, eats dog's flesh - an unclean food, to be taken with tongs (*Bh* 2, 378; *T* IV 85 b; 87 a 4 f.).

From the *Nisītha-sutta*, it emerges that it is forbidden for the "isolated monk" to associate with a pure monk and *vice versa*. Infractions of this rule are to be expiated by one month, with possibility of abatement. The text does not waste time by studying them in detail. It is noteworthy, however, that on this occasion it mentions the various transgressions of the penitent, but those of the ordinary monk only when they concern food. Thus the *su* 4, 112 punishes the *bhikkhu* who invites a *parihāriya* to share the four different kinds of food (or who encourages this offence).

The power that can here be seen to be attributed to food is not surprising : it has been constantly extolled by Vedism and Brahmanism.<sup>1</sup> It was so decisive that the consumption of the smallest amount of food

1. Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6, 6 and 7; in addition, the Vedic and Brahmanic texts assembled by Ch. DRECKMEIER, *Kingship* 50; JOLLY, *Recht und Sitte* §59; Om PRAKASH, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Introduction; compare L RENOU, *III* 4, 1960, 106; A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes* II, 403 c, *ubi alia*; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Hinduism and Buddhism*. See also the reflections of Walter RUBEN, *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden*, 162 and *passim*; the remarks of O. LACOMBE, *Gandhi* 16, and his reflections on fasting, *ibid* 93 ff. Among the Buddhists, the *Abhidharmakośa* states that "the world continues, because of food" (III, 119, of LA VALLEE POUSSIN'S transl *āhāra-sthitaṃ jagat*); and, like other treatises, it distinguishes four kinds of food, on which it makes some speculations (*ibid*) 119-128; compare the texts assembled by Alex WAYMAN, *Analysis of the Śrāvakaśālistra Manuscript*, p. 136). Faithful to the "middle way", the Buddhists enjoin moderation, for example when they discuss the "knowledge of the (appropriate) quantity of food", *bhojane mātrajānātā*, WAYMAN, *ibid* 139-162.



p. 188 was normally surrounded by many precautions<sup>1</sup>. The regulations concerning the *parihāra* show that food could pass as being, in the eyes of the Jains, charged with more active power than speech,<sup>2</sup>

As for the scope of the sixth *prāyaścitta*, one of the measures laid down by the *Niṣiha-sutta*, helps us to form an idea of it. The su. 2, 40-42 deal with the *parihāriya* who has irregular relations with a *bhikkhu*. They provide that he must make atonement in the following cases : if he is in the company of a pure monk 1) when he enters or leaves a dwelling to receive an alms, 2) when he goes to the places of study or to relieve himself, or when he leaves them<sup>3</sup>, 3) when he goes from village to village (cf. *Āyār* 2, 1, 1, 7-9) In these three *suttas* the transgressions of the 'isolated' monk are mentioned at the same time as those of the *bhikkhu* who committed exactly the same faults in the company of a religious of another sect, or of a lay person. The transgressions of the *parihāriya* and those of the *bhikkhu* are represented as being on the same plane: the *parihāriya* must then, in a certain way, be purer than the pure. In this respect, as in several others, his penance imitates those of Mahāvira, and tends towards the ideal penance (*supra* 119).

p. 189 The total segregation to which the isolated monk was theoretically condemned was considered one of the severest tests. It is the one which the weak are spared; for them the *parihāra* is commuted to the *mūla*, or into that rather scholastic atonement that the commentaries call *śuddha-parihāra* (*yasmāi śuddhatapasi daśāṇpy ālāpaṇādāni padāni santi tena kāraṇena tat tapaḥ karkaṣaṃ na bhavati*, *Vat T* III 33 b 8).

As they assist at the preliminary *kāussagga*, the religious think : "He has committed this fault. The dreadful penance of "isolation" is going to be imposed on him. This sin must not be committed. It must be avoided with all one's strength", *asmai mahā-ghoraṃ parihāra-tapo dāsyate...* (*ibid* 30 a 7).

For his part, the penitent—thinking of the impending ordeal can easily sink into a fit of depression :

1. *Inde classique* § 1204; Om PRAKASH, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, p. XXIII and the passages devoted to this subject in each chapter; DUBOIS, *Inde* I, 258 ff.; compare I, 43 f.
2. With regard to silence, see A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes*, II, 61 a, *ubi alia*.
3. *viḥāra-bhūmiṃ vā viyāra-bhūmiṃ vā nikkhamai vā pavisai vā* (2, 41). The *Nis* *cummi* gives : *saṇṇā-vosiraṇaṃ viyāra-bhūmi, asajjhāe sajjhāya-bhūmi jā sā viḥārabhūmi* (2, p. 120). Compare K 1, 40-42, etc.

The commentary of *Pajjosavaṇā* (reported by Jacobi, *Kalpa* p. 124) says : *viḥāra-bhūmi's caitya-gamaṇaṃ vicāra-bhūmi's śarīra-cintādy-arthaṃ gamanam*. Jacobi translates : «for easing nature» (*SBE* 22, 306).

*ghorammi tave dinne, bhaeṇa sahasā bhavēja khitto u*  
(Bh 2, 102 a; *ghore raudre parihārik'ādi-rūpe tapasi datte...*, T IV 27 b; cf. *supra* 117). In this case, the *gaṇāvaccheiya* must comfort him, just as one would help and encourage anyone unfortunate enough to fall into an abyss or a river, or who is the victim of the ill-will of the prince. When he has recovered his composure, the *parihāra* commences.

The presence of two religious – one a “regular” (*kalpa-sthita*, cf. *kappāga*), and the other the “second” (*aṇuparihāriya*, *anuparihārika*) – somewhat mitigates the severity of his “isolation”. It falls to them to perform his “service” (*karaññaṃ veyāvādiyaṃ : kāryaṃ vaiyāvṛtyaṃ tābhyāṃ kartavyam*, Vav 1, 17 ff.; T III 34 a 1 f.). It consists in praising or exalting, criticising, helping. According to the commentaries, each of these acts takes on three aspects according as it is addressed to oneself, to someone else or to both at the same time:

*veyāvacce tivihe appāṇammi ya pare tad-ubhae ya*  
*aṇusitṭhi uvālabhe uvaggahe c'eva tivihammi*  
(Vav Bh 1, 374 = Nis Bh 6 605).

Thus this service is especially of a moral order. The “support” is called material when it consists in offering food and drink, and spiritual when it helps the isolated religious to amend his conduct.

*davveṇa ya bhāveṇa ya uvaggaḥo : dāva anna-pāṇāṃ*  
*bhāve paḍipucchāṃ karoti jaṃ vā gilāṇassa*  
(Bh 1, 378 = Nis Bh 6 610).

The tasks are apportioned and performed as follows.

p. 190

The *parihāriya* is not cut off from his teacher as he is from his brethren: the guru has proclaimed this from the beginning (*aham tava kalpasthitaḥ vandana-vācan'ādiṣu kalpa-bhāve sthitaḥ, na tu parihāryaḥ, śeṣāḥ punaḥ sādavaḥ parihāryāḥ*, T III 30 a 11 f.). The teacher allows the penitent to bow to him, to make his confession to him, to rise respectfully when he approaches, and to give him – when asked – news about his health. He tells him the abstinences to be observed in the morning and the afternoon. He answers the questions of the “isolated” religious concerning the text and the interpretation of the Doctrine :

*kiti-kanumaṃ ca paḍicchai pariṇṇa paḍipucchīyaṃ pi se dei*  
*so ciya gurum uvacitṭhai udantam avi pucchito kahai*

(Bh 1, 367 = Nis Bh 2 884; 6 599).

These indulgences almost remove the first five prohibitions and the eighth prohibition specified before (*supra* 184 f.), but not the last two,

those concerning commensality, which seem to have long retained great importance. It has been seen, however, that in case of circumstances beyond one's control, the two men resign themselves to eating together but display their repugnance at doing this (187); and that, on the other hand, the teacher, in his role of "support" can allow food to a faltering religious.

In short, according to this stanza, the role of the "regular" consists above all in helping his ward to make progress in the study of the texts and of their interpretation. The penitent shows his respect, as a disciple would show respect to his master. In dispensing his teaching, the *kalpa-shita* fulfils the third of the functions which fall to him – that of "support", and particularly of spiritual support (*supra*). The function of material support is not otherwise defined by the commentaries: it results naturally from the general duties of the *ācārya*, who watches over the general well-being of his whole company. It might be thought that he delegates this function, partially, to his "second" (*infra*).

The teacher likewise performed the first two charges of the "service": praise or exhortation (*anuśiṣṭih stuti-karaṇam vā*), and criticism – though this is always characterised by good will (*yat sâmunayôpadeśa-dānam eṣa upālam-bhah*, *T* III 34 a 6; 9).

They are presented in general form (cf. *supra Bh* 1, 374). The guru is supposed to exhort etc. "the religious who is isolated, his second, and the whole company" (*sa pārihārikasyānuparihārikasya samastasyāpi gaccha-syānuśiṣṭy-ādini karoti*, *T* III 34 b 9 f.).

p. 191 He invites the penitent to reflect upon chastisement which, in reality, is all that existence is. By purifying the soul, the atonement helps to ward off this chastisement. The atonement must not then be regarded as a punishment, but as a precious assistance offered by the merciful *ācārya* (*Bh* 1, 375 f. = *Nis Bh* 6 607 f.).

To criticise an individual is to remind him that he is the only one responsible for his offence, that he could not escape punishment even on this earth (and still less here-after), and that he must consequently perform the penance which he has deserved (*T* III 35 a; *Bh* 1, 377 = *Nis Bh* 6 608).

It is thus that the teacher called "regular" encourages, reprimands and instructs the *parihāriya*.

The role of the "second" is defined in the *gāthā* 368 (= *Nis Bh* 2 885; 6 600):

*utthijja nisijjā bhikkham hindejja bhaṇḍayam pehe  
kuiya piya bandhavassa va kareḷ iyarō vi tusiṇṇo*

The penitent who cannot rise says: "I am trying to get up, to sit down etc." Then the other must raise him, sit him down, go begging

alms, etc., and help him to inspect his baggage (cf. *Bh* 2, 75). But he performs his task without a word, just as one would for a near relation whom one loves but with whom one is angry (cf. *T* IV 26 a 11). This is how, according to the *Bhāsa* and *Tīkā* of the *Vavahāra-sutta* (1, 17 and 2,5), the “second”—or, occasionally, the *gaṇāvaccheiya*—“supports” the one who is “isolated” (cf. *T* III 35 b 1 f.). But it is not said that the superior must observe the same silence when by chance he offers food to his ward (*ibid.*).<sup>1</sup>

Even when, as in the case just discussed, the “service” is material, its most precious effects are evidently of a spiritual nature (compare *supra* 133): it is always salutary to act in accordance with the Rule. It is to attain this (and by virtue of the *su. Vav* 2, 5 f.) that the *anuparihāriya* and the *gaṇāvaccheiya* help the penitent who has been forsaken by his strength.

But it is the spiritual character of the services done for the isolated religious to which attention is very graphically drawn in the commentaries of *Vav* 1, 17.

p. 192 It seems that the *parihāra* is arranged in such a way that the superior can devote himself to the moral reformation of penitent. This can be seen from a comparative examination of the assistance afforded to the one being demoted and to the one being excluded, by a single helper – who is, generally, the *āyariya*. He visits them once a day, and on this occasion performs almost all the tasks which, as we have just seen, were divided between himself and the *anuparihāriya*. When he is prevented, he appoints the “preceptor” or an “adept” to go in his place. After giving the reason for his coming, the substitute carries out the orders received from the teacher, in silence. He behaves, then, rather as does the “second” of the isolated monk; and the “second”, considered in this light, appears as a messenger of the *āyariya*. It can be understood, then, that the service of the *parihāriya* had to be divided. If it is true that the latter could count upon a perpetual physical assistance, the task must have been very demanding. How could the *ācārya*, whose duties were very numerous, have attended to it alone?

As far as conduct (*cāritra*) is concerned, any “adept” at all is capable of giving good example, since by definition he knows and applies the rules governing begging (*supra* 47). There was thus no difficulty in entrusting him with responsibilities of this kind; so the superior was relieved of them. He had, consequently, the necessary leisure to instruct his flock – including the one who is isolated – to dispense to them his wisdom and

1. On the apotropaic virtues of knowledge according to the Hindus, see GAMPERT, 199, and n. 1, where the, in some ways, unstainable nature of the “brahmin” Gora is recalled (TAGORE, *Gora*, fr. transl. Gotz-Fallon 493)

to cause them to make progress in the realms of knowledge and faith, where his competence was unequalled.

As can be seen, the severity of the principles upon which the *parihāra* is based is, in practice, tempered in various ways.

Thus it is that the *parihāriya*—even though classified with the religious “who have left the company”—enjoys, by reason of his very status, the material and moral support of his confreres, who are chosen from among the best qualified. The duration of his penance is limited, no matter what the gravity of his initial offence and of those committed between his confession and the end of his atonement. Various dispensations temper the harshness of his lot : it seems that very often the Elder authorises him to continue his studies in the company of his fellow-disciples, and that restrictions on food, though more stringent, are also more or less lifted when circumstances require.

However these indulgences, which are contained in the *sutta*, seem to have been insufficient to make isolation beneficial for all religious without exception. According to the commentaries, it was imposed exclusively on those who had the status of an adept, and then only to the extent that they had the requisite strength and steadfastness.

But were there any uncertainties ? It seems to have been sometimes admitted that, at least in effect, the immature religious could be subjected to some *parihāra* (cf. *Vav T III 49 b*, recapitulated in the table *supra* 114).

No doubt the commentaries took little interest in these waverings, because the *parihāra* proper, had no longer any existence or any interest except theoretical. Other atonements had been substituted for it.

Its replacement by the “radical <suppression>” of religious seniority, which is often recommended, perhaps raised difficulties of principle, since the *mūla* was a heavier penance—objectively speaking—than the *parihāra*. The doctors thus invented the *suddhaparihāra* which they define first of all in terms of fasts, and by the absence of any excommunication. It seems that it was not much different from the *tava*, *tapas*, which is the atonement practised at the time of the *Jīyakappa*.

In one form or another, the observances concerning food have constantly played a preponderant role in the sixth atonement.

The importance so clearly accorded them is in no way typical of the Jainas, as we have seen. Considered separately, the beliefs and principles upon which the isolation is founded were no more characteristic. This is

not to say that other Indian communities practised the same penance. To be convinced of this, it will suffice to review briefly those which, in some respect, resemble the *parihāra*.

The *paṭichanna-parivāsa*, "probation", of the Buddhist has been compared to it (K. p. 12). The Buddhist penitent is indeed morally banished from the company of his brethren. He must not share a roof with an innocent person : *na...eka-cchanne āvāse vatthabbam, na eka-cchanne anāvāse vatthabbam, na eka-cchanne āvāse vā anāvāse vā vatthabbam* (Vin II 33, 194 12-15). But he must not install himself in a solitary residence either (*ibid* 32, 22 ff.). This mitigated form of exclusion recalls that imposed on the *parihāriya*. On the other hand, the monk undergoing "probation" must not be saluted; he is relegated to the last and lowliest places and no notice is taken of decisions which he might attempt to make concerning the company. But he does rise before a regular monk, and offers him a seat (*ibid* 31 ff.).

The same prohibitions characterise the atonement *mānatta* (cf. SBB, X, 196 n. 5), but the excommunication is again tempered, at least in the case of a nun. Indeed it is said that a nun upon whom it had been imposed would have remarked that two contradictory prohibitions had been placed on her: the penitent is forbidden to live alone, and any other religious is theoretically forbidden to live in her company. The Buddha would then have commanded the community to assign her a companion (Vin II 279 19 ff.).

What, then, happens to the "suspended" religious (*ukkhitta*)? He shows deference to the innocents by rising when they approach, but he is "forbidden all commensality with the *samgha*", *asambhogam samghena* (Vin II 21 f.). Words which recall the ninth and tenth provision of the *parihāra*. Was the punishment then ill-defined? The *Culla-vagga* forbids only the *sambhoga*, while the *Vibhaṅga* pronounces jointly three prohibitions of *sambhoga*, *śamvāsa* and sleeping under the same roof (IV 137, 19 f.). Regular religious must respect the prohibition, under pain of having themselves do penance (*pācittiya*, *ibid*).

As for the severest of all (*pārājika*), its proclamation is of necessity accompanied by an express prohibition of "cohabitation" (*saṁvāsa*): *pārājiko hoṭi asamvāso'ti* (Vin III 21, 25\*; 22, 34\*; etc.; cf. SBB X, xxvi

f.). The other "communions" are not mentioned. Were they automatically suppressed? The atonement is so complete that the *pārājika*'s status as a religious has ever been contested – though wrongly, it would seem (*Abhidharma* IV, 98 f., and notes).

It is known that Brahmanic society cuts off from the community whoever has sinned grievously. The extent of his exclusion varies according to the gravity of the fault committed.

In spite of the variations met with from one text to the next, it seems that in its main provisions the graduation is comparable to that laid down by the Jainas (cf *supra* 42). Also, the prohibitions mentioned in both  
p. 195 cases are of the same nature, no matter how they are applied.

When an offender does not perform the penance imposed on him, he is dismissed from his caste (*patita*). He has no further dealings with his relatives, does not speak to them and does not sit in their company. Should they meet him by chance, they fall at his feet and continue on their way without speaking to him. Nevertheless before their expulsion, an edifying discourse should be addressed to a wife, son or pupil to exhort them to a better state of mind. No food is offered to them, except to a mother – and even then, silently (Gampert, 204 ff.).

When an individual refuses to undertake a particularly important penance, he must live outside the village and make known by a sign that he is taboo (*ibid* 205, n. 3). The prohibitions incurred by a *mahāpātakī* are aggravated again if he does not perform the prescribed penances. He is met with increasing contempt, and the prohibitions concerning food become stricter and stricter. This progression recalls that elaborated by Jainas between the sixth and the last two atonements.

each monk is under the tutelage of someone older in religion, and to be promoted to an office he required not only merit, but also a religious seniority of three, five or eight years according to the office (cf. *Vav* 3).

It is rare for the most ancient treatises to prescribe a *cheya* purely and simply. *K* 5, 5 however enjoins a "suppression" of five days in the religious seniority of the religious who has committed an offence, has not expiated it, has joined another company and who finally wishes to be received back into his original company.

Generally *K* and *Vav* order a "proportional" *cheya* or *parihāra*, *se s'antarā chee vā parihāre vā* (*K* 2, 4-7, "*niggañhā-sutta*;" *Vav* 1, 21; 22-24; cf. 3, 2, all five *bhikkhu-suttas*"; 4, 11 f.; 13 f.; cf. 19, etc.). The order of the two words in the canonical formula is dictated by the rhythm, which requires that the shortest word should come first.<sup>1</sup> But this is contrary to the hierarchy of the penances, about which there can be no doubt (cf. *supra* 114; 118).

Almost everywhere, the commentaries present the *cheda* as a sort of appendix to, complement of or substitute for the *parihāra*, and they often calculate its amount by reference to the *parihāra*. This fact emerges clearly from the *Vav* T. III 11, a 5 f.: having exhausted considerations about the *tapas* (that is to say about the *parihāra*), *T* imagines the case when a *cheda* has been incurred. In that case, there will be subtracted from religious seniority a number of days equal to that which would have characterised the sixth atonement (in other words, sometimes months, sometimes periods of five days): *tad evam tapo bhanitam yāni yatra bhinnamās'adāni vā tapah-sthānāni ṣaṭ-pañcēty-ādi-lakṣaṇāni tāvanti dināni cchedaprapte chedāḥ kartavyāḥ* (cf. *infra*, *Vav Pūh Bh. T*). The connection between the *cheda* and the *parihāra* is confirmed by other passages, but as we shall see, the rules for detailed application present some unresolved points.

In the long commentary which deals with *Vav* 1, 15, Mālayāgiri gives those penances by which a "competent" religious (*vikōvida*) expiates the faults which generally require penances lasting longer than six months. In the hypothesis postulated, he has incurred a *parihāra* of the "cumulative" type (*saṃcayita*). First a *parihāra* of six months "with abatement" is imposed, and in case of relapse, six months "without abatement". If he falls again, a *cheda* or *mūla* is imposed (*vikovidasya saṃnām māśānām upari*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. BEHAGEL, *Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern*, IF 25, 1909-1910, p. 110-142; *Ai.* II, 1, p. 166; A. MINARD, *Trois Enigmes*, II, 114 a; CPD, I, 35\*, the rule of wax(ing) comp(onents), *ubi alia*; *Saddanṭi*, IV, p. 1127, §5.3.1.



*bahuṣv apī pratiseviteṣu māseṣu prathama-velāyām udghātitaḥ śaṇ māsaḥ dīyante, dvitīya-velāyām anudghātitaḥ, tṛtīya-velāyām chedo mūlaṃ vā, (T II 97 b 2 f.).* The same passage adds that one must avoid imposing a *cheda* or *mūla* on an inexperienced monk (*akovidā*)<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, he would eventually be submitted to it if he kills a creature with five senses, or if he deliberately offends against chastity.

In III, 2 a-b the procedure is different, but only slightly : the *cheda* is prescribed after three *parihāras* of the "non-cumulative" type (*asam-cayita*), or one *parihāra* of the *samcayita* type. If the need arises, it is imposed three times, each one cancelling three days of religious seniority : *sarvatra trīṇi trīṇi dināni cchedaḥ* (III 2 b 4). This length of time is unusual - it seems that generally the demotion is one of five days (*supra*, K 5, 5; *infra*; *cheyam paṇaḥāyām pāvai*, Jya 82 b), and in fact this figure recalls the periods of five days by which the *parihāra* is sometimes completed.

p. 200. The measures laid down in T IV' 59 a (*ad Bh* 3, 277) are similar overall but some are different in detail. They enumerate the penances envisaged when a religious retains the charge of a company (*gaṇa*) though he should not : if the offence lasts seven days, a "penance" (*prāyaścitta*) of four months without mitigation; if it continues for another seven days, six months without mitigation; after a further seven days, "suppression" of six heavy months (*sat-guruka-cheda*); at the end of this time (that is, on the 43rd day) if there is still some seniority left, a "penance" (*prāyaścitta*, that is *mūla*); on the 44th day, "demotion"; on the 45th, "exclusion". It seems that six stages are here recognised, and not eleven or thirteen, as *Bh* 1, 294 f. would have led one to expect (*supra* 116).

The *Vav Pūthi*, finally, is explicit (*Bh* 128; 135; *supra*), and suggests a procedure different from the preceding ones. It retains two types of *tava* : those which number five, or a multiple of five, days; and those which last from one to six months. It determines the scale of "suppressions" as a function of the unit defined by the sixth atonement - months in the second

1. It is said that he will be awarded a *parihāra* of six months according to the method described above, of *sthāpanāropanā* (cf. 175 f.). *yo nāmāgītārtho 'pariṇāmako 'tipari-ṇāmako vā yo vā cched'ādikam na śraddadhātī tasya evam avasātavyam, śaṇ māsaṇām uparī subahubhir api māsaḥ pratisevitaiḥ chedo mūlaṃ vā na dātavyam aparīṇām'ādi-svabhāvatāyā tasya ccheda-mūlaṇarhātīvāt, kiṃ tu sthāpanāropanā-prakāreṇa śā, dīyante (Vav T II 97 a 10-13).*

This presents some difficulties since it is admitted elsewhere that the *agītārtha* is of necessity dispensed from the *parihāra* (*supra* 172). This does not prevent the present passage from being quite explicit : *avikovidā ukta-svarūpā... yadi... katham api ccheda-mūl'ādikam prāptās tāthā 'pi teṣāṃ chedo mūlaṃ vā na deyam, kiṃ tu śāṇmāsikam tapaḥ, yadi punar akovido 'py upetya pañcendriya-ghātaṃ karoti darpeṇa vā, maitṛiṇaṃ prati-sevate, tadā tapaḥ chedo mūlaṃ vā dīyate (ibid 97 a 13 b 1).*



**THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH ATONEMENTS :  
PARTIAL AND RADICAL SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS  
SENIORITY (*cheya*; *cheda. mūla*)**

While the commentaries analyse the *parihāra* minutely and at great length, they give very little information about the seventh and eighth atonements (cf. *Abhidhāna* 3, 1360 b, s. v. *cheda*; 1361 b-1362 a, s. v. *cheyāriha*; 6, 336 a-337 a, s. v. *mūla*; 377 a-b, s. v. *mūlāriha*). The information is not only meagre but – as will be seen – sometimes contradictory, at least if one examines certain details of the seventh.

These two *pāyachhittas* consist of a partial and a total suppression of religious seniority – from which comes their name, *cheya* (*cheda*) “cutting off”, and *mūla* “root”. In the disciplinary texts, *cheya* has become specialised in this sense. The commentaries recall that another “suppression” exists: that which cuts the religious off from the religious circle; but this measure is characteristic of the “demotion” (*chedaś ca dvidhā : paryāya-vyavacchedo maṇḍalī-vyavacchedaś ca...*, *Vav* T IV, 26 a 8).

It might be thought that T is here suggesting the existence of a sort of parallel between the seventh and eighth atonements on the one hand, and the ninth and tenth on the other. And, indeed, beyond the sixth, the *pāyachhittas* imposed on the offender amount, in the last analysis, to his exclusion from the monastic life – fictitiously, in a certain way, and retrospectively, when a part or the whole of his religious seniority is cancelled (7, *cheya*; 8, *mūla*); and effectively and immediately when he is forbidden to enter the shelter or wear the religious paraphernalia (9, *aṇavaṭṭhappa*; 10, *pārañciya*).

The *Vav Piṭh* compares the *cheya*, the partial removal of seniority, to the removal of a member: this action aims at preserving from evil the parts which are still healthy: *yasmin punar āpatite prāyaścitte saṃdūṣita-pūva-paryāya-deśa-cchedanam iva śeṣa-śarīrāvayava-paripālānāya kriyate, tat chedār-*  
p. 198 *hatvāt chedaḥ* (*Vav Piṭh* T 20 b 11; quoted in *Abhidhāna*, 3, 1360 b).

This all helps one to understand better why the *cheya* and *mūla* could be considered more severe than the *parihāra*. This last did not permanently affect the status of the religious, who resumed his rank in the company once he had completed the sixth atonement. But the seventh and eighth altered his whole career – and, as a consequence, ran the risk of upsetting the entire organisation of the community. For it will be remembered that

case, five days in the first (which would increase to ten for the *uvajjhāya* and fifteen for the *āyariya*, of *K* p. 12). The maximum duration is of six months (*ibid*).

The *cheya* prescribed for the monk who, while performing a *tava* commits the same fault three times running – when he is, moreover, full of vigour and without any excuse :

*eesim annayaram nirantaram aticarejja tikkhutto*

*nikkāraṇam agilāṇe pañca u rāimdiyā chedo* (*Bh* 128; cf. 135),

*T* 46 a 7 f. specify that the *cheya* is light or heavy according to the kind of mortification which it follows. It counts the same number of months as the latter.

All these passages confine themselves to giving theoretical information about the *cheya*. It is possible that there is hardly anything to add to it. However, it seems that the effects of the penance were consolidated by study – in particular, perhaps, by study of the *Cheya-suttas*.<sup>1</sup> These are the *Āyāradasāo* (among which is to be found the *Pajjosavaṇākappa*), the *Kappa*-, *Vavahāra*-, *Nisīha-sutta*, the *Mahānisīha-sutta*, the *Pañcakappa*, and finally the *Jiyakappa* – that is, collections which deal principally with discipline (cf. *Lehre* § § 51 f.).

It does not appear that the *Jaina cheya* had exact equivalents in the other religious communities of India. It has been compared to the *paṭicchanna parivāsa* of the Buddhists. We know that this “probation” is observed, if necessary, by a monk who has concealed his fault. It lasts as long as did his life by omission, after which the *bhikkhu* resumes his previous status. Or again, it is imposed on a religious from another sect who remains, in this way, four months in the rank of novice. The permanent loss of a part of one’s religious seniority is not the most characteristic trait of this observance.<sup>2</sup>

1. On this name, see H. R. KAPADIA, *A History of the canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 35 ff.; SCHUBRING, *Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons*, p. 2.

2. But *Vin* prescribes the *chedanaka pācittiya* (IV 168, 26,\*\* etc.), “offence of expiation involving cutting down” (Horner, *SBB* XIII, p. 90 and n. 5. etc.; cf. index 1, s. v. “cutting down”); cp. the *chejja* (-*vaithu*), “maiming”, “punishment” (*Vin* III 109, 24; 47, 7; *SBB* X 191 and n. 1; *PED*, s. v. *cheda*, *chedaka*, *chedana*, *chedanaka*: “Compare maiming as punishment (*karṇa* – *nāsū*) – *chedana*, *Arth* 4, 12, 33; also 4, 11, 24 (and the mitigation, *ib* 26\*).

The “radical <suppression>” of religious seniority (*mūla*), which constitutes the eighth and last of the penances prescribed, if necessary, for a Jaina religious living within the company is – as we have seen – closely linked to the seventh and beyond that to the sixth. Among those under the rule of the *theras*, the superior is the only one on whom it can normally be imposed (*supra* 113 f.).

He is completely demoted. He must begin all over again his religious career, starting from the taking of vows : *punar-vrat'āropanaṃ prāyaścittam* (*Vav T IV* 53 a 13). But he does not practise any mortification (*tapas*, cf. the commentary ad *K* 4, 2-3; *Tḥāṇ*). Moreover, it has been thought that he should study certain texts.<sup>1</sup>

*Vav Bh* 1, 320, enumerates those for whom the imposition of the *mūla* would be appropriate :

*tav'atīya-m-asaddahae tava-balie c'eva hoi pariyāge  
dubbala appariṇāme atthira abahussue mūlaṃ*

the one who deserves more than the sixth (and seventh) atonements, the one who has no faith in the purifying virtues of the sixth, or who can bear it so well that he is inclined to sin with gay abandon; the one who is not “senior” enough to be affected by a partial “suppression”, or who on the contrary is so “senior” that he is likewise unaffected by it. The one who is not strong enough to bear the (*parihāra*-)*tapas*, or who is not “mature” enough to see that this penance is the right one for his fault; the one who is physically and morally too weak to avoid sin; finally, the immature religious who might theoretically have deserved demotion or exclusion, which however he is incapable of undergoing successfully (cf. *T III* 11 a-b)<sup>2</sup>.

The last clause is surprising, since among those who follow the rule of the elders, the superior (*ācārya*) is theoretically the only one on whom

1. The *mūla-suttas*, which – like the *cheya-suttas* – form part of the Jaina-śvetāmbara canon (cf. *Lehre* §§54 ff.). They deal with more varied subjects than the *cheyas*, and are less ancient; they summarise, in a certain way, the Jaina tradition – of which the *Dasaveyāliya*, in particular, offers a kind of anthology (SCHUBRING, *The Dasaveyāliya sutta*, Intr. III f.).

But the name of this collection may be drawing attention to the fact that it groups “basic” texts which must be known before all else (cf. *Lehre* §40).

But *contra*, J.C. WRIGHT, *BSOAS*, 30, 2, 1967, p. 419 a.

2. Moreover, see *Vav* I, 33 : *bhikkhū ya gaṇāo avakamma ohāvejjā, se ya icchejjā doccaṃ pi tam eva gaṇaṃ uvasampajjittānaṃ viharittae, n'atthi naṃ tassa kei chee vā parihāre vā n' annattha egāe sehāvaṃhāvaṇiyācē*.

p. 204 this *prāyścitta* can be imposed. It will be noticed at least that the *mūla* is presented as being in some ways a substitute penance. It is substituted sometimes for the ninth and the tenth (from which the *sāpekṣas* are dispensed), sometimes for the sixth and seventh when they are insufficient, and sometimes for the sixth when, on the contrary, this would be too much for the strength or the maturity of the penitent.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE NINTH AND TENTH ATONEMENTS : DEMOTION AND EXCLUSION

(*anavaṭṭhaya*; *anavasthaya*. *pārañciya*; *pārāñcita*)

The ninth and tenth atonements are the "demotion" (*anavaṭṭhaya* for *anavaṭṭhaya*) and the "expulsion". No substantive exists to denote the tenth – the commentaries often speak of it as the "last" (*carama*); another way consists in naming the penitents instead of the penances (cf. *infra*). They are so closely linked that certain authorities consider them together (*supra* 112).

They are imposed exclusively on religious "who have no concern for the company" (*niravekkha*) – that is, the *jinakappiya*, *parihāriya* or *āhālandiya*, who have all proved already that they are adapted to living correctly more or less completely alone, for a limited or an indefinite period.

The "demotion" is pronounced against a religious who commits a theft (or practises a deception or pilfers) to the detriment of his brethren or other religious; and against the monk who deals a blow (*K* 4, 3 and *Bh ad loc.*).

A religious is "excluded" if he harbours ill-will or evil thoughts, if he is lazy, if he is guilty of homosexuality (*K* 4, 2). According to *Thān*, the religious are to be excluded 1) who break up a spiritual family or (2) a company; 3) who are always looking for an opportunity to commit violence (*himsa*); 4) whose defects encourage violence or forgetfulness of the Doctrine (*apabhraja*); 5) who are curious or who ask unbecoming questions (300 a).

It has been emphasised that these are not the actual faults with which the excluded monk is reproached; they indicate rather his disposition and temperament, which would indeed seem incompatible with the religious life (*Lehre* § 162). His banishment must, then, be permanent. The *Vavahāra-sutta* however makes provision for his rehabilitation (2, 21 and 23) – it is exactly similar to that of the demoted monk (2, 19 and 22). It is pro-

1. With the technical term *pārañciya*, *pārāñcita*, compare the name of the Brahmanic penance, *parāka* "beyond" (all guilts), *parāko nāma kṛcchro 'yam sarva-pāpāpanodanaḥ*. MANU XI 216; cf. 259; etc. See also *Arth.* 3, 19, 13, which consider the crime of (*hastā-pāda*)-*pārāñcika*, "dislocation (of hand and foot)"; so, KANGLE, *Arth* II p. 289 and n. *ad locum*; cf., on *Arth pārāñcika*, Jaina *pārāñciya*, Buddhist *pārājika*, Gustav ROTH, ZDMG 118 (1968), p. 342 f.

nounced by the *gaṇāvaccheiya*, taking into account the behaviour of the penitents and the wishes of their company. The only difference, apparently, concerns the time when the one and the other carry out the *tava* (fast ?): the demoted monk performs it after he is re-ordained, and the excluded monk before (Ctt. *ad K* 4, 2-3; *Thāṇ*). Moreover, the status of the two men seems almost identical, and is clearly defined in the commentaries in the *Vav* 2, 18-23, which occasionally treat the two together (*T* IV 52 a-58 a).

The Digambaras by and large cause the same faults to be expiated by atonements whose basic provisions recall those which we will see prescribed by the Śvetāmbaras.

The "demoted monk" (*aṇavattḥappa*) is temporarily but completely cut off from the "circle" where, it will be recalled, the religious study the texts and their interpretation and normally take their meals in common (*maṇḍalyā vyavacchinna anavasthāpya...*, *ibid* IV 26 a 9). More generally he is, like the "excluded monk" (*pārāñciya*), expelled from the area where the community to which he belongs is established (*yāvad anavasthāpyam pārāñcitam vā vahati tāvad bahiḥ kṣetrād avatiṣṭhate*, *ibid* 53 b 4 f.). This provision seems most important: in the same way as does his guilt, it makes the penitent not a "real" ascetic, but only a "sham ascetic" (*saṃyatarūpin*, *ibid* 55 b 1). This is what one of them explains to the king whom he tries to compel to listen to him (cf. *infra*): *yathā śramaṇā bhagavanto niraticārā na tathā 'ham te <śām> śramaṇānām pratirūpi na tu sākṣāt śramaṇa iti...viśodhiṃ karomi, tām ca kurvan nirvyūḍho 'smi niṣkāsito 'smi tata āstām anyat kṣetre 'pi yatīnām ahaṃ sthātum na labhe, tataḥ śramaṇa-pratirūpyam* (*ibid* IV 56 a 1 ff.; cf. *Bh* 2, 249 f.): "I am not innocent, like the blessed *śamaṇas*...I am purifying myself, and during this time, I am exiled...In addition, I have no right to install myself in the area where the religious are gathered. Consequently I am a sham ascetic".

In addition, the "excluded monk", says *Thāṇ*, *T*, has had to take off his religious paraphernalia (*apahr̥ta-līṅ'ādika*, 300 b). Neither he nor the "demoted monk" are, however, regarded as simple laymen. They undergo severe mortifications during the whole period of their expulsion. In particular they observe, while seeking food, restrictions and constraints similar to those which a *jinakappiya* would impose upon himself (*bahiḥ cāvatiṣṭhamānaḥ sa jinalpika iva bhikṣūcaryām alepa-kṛd-bhakt'ādigrahaṇ'ātmikāṃ karoti*, *T* IV 53 b 6). At the end of the period of banishment, they present themselves to the teacher as faithful laymen (*sa ca bahir yāvat tiṣṭhati tāvan na gr̥hasthaḥ kriyate kiṃ tv āgataḥ kariṣyate*, *ibid* 5).



A certain number of measures contribute to the tempering of the severity of these penances, and especially to making them profitable. They recall the services done for the "isolated" religious.

Each day, the *ācārya* visits the demoted monk, satisfies himself as to his well-being, helps him if he is weak (personally bringing him food and drink), and massages him :

*āharati bhatta-pāṇam uvvattāna-m-ādiyaṃ ti se kuṇāti*  
*sayam eva gaṇāhivati agilāṇo so sayam kuṇāti (Vav Bh 2, 239).*

In addition, he helps him with his instruction, receives news of his health and comforts him if the penance is wearing him out. Then he returns to the site where the *gaṇa* of which he is the head is established :

*ubhayaṃ pi dāṇa sapadipucchaṃ, vodhum sarirassa ya vaṭṭamāṇiṃ*  
*āsāsaittāna tavo-kilantaṃ tam eva khettam samuventi therā (ibid 240).*

If the superior is prevented (by sickness, exhaustion, the ill-will of the king), he appoints in his place the preceptor or any other qualified adept to replace him in this task. Whether asked about it or not, these substitutes tell the penitent of the circumstances obliging them to replace the *āyariya*. Then with everyone remaining silent, they carry out the orders of the teacher very scrupulously (*T* IV 54 b).

In spite of these precautions, it apparently happens that these exiles lose their strength completely (*gilāyamāṇa*, *Vav* 2, 7-8). They are succoured, in that case, as is the *parihāriya*. The "service" here prescribed falls upon the *gaṇāvaccheiya* to whom the demoted or excluded monk addressed himself, and upon the *āyariya*. The "coadjutor" inspects the belongings of the religious, helps him to rise and to sit down, goes begging in his stead (cf. *T* IV 22 a 10 f.). This is not to say that he approves of the conduct of the offender. But he knows that such is the order of the Omniscient and that in performing this service, he eliminates his own *karman* (*ibid* 26 a 11 f.). As for the superior, he goes in person to the penitent, hears his news, watches over his health and well-being : *glānasya sato gaṇāvacchedinā ācāryeṇa ca yathāsūtraṃ vaiyāvṛtyaṃ kartavyam*, *Vav T* IV 26 b 13; cf. 26 a 11). The teachers never relax their diligence (*ibid* 27 a 4 f.; *Bh* 2, 100; cf. *Vav* 2, 7-8, *agilāe*). Those who evade this obligation must, for their penance, observe four heavy months of the sixth atonement (*Bh* 2, 99).

The ceremonial for the acceptance back into the community of the demoted religious and the excluded religious is summarised in the *suttas* 2, 18-23 of the *Vavahāra*. In the last analysis, the company can impose it, no matter what the conduct of the penitent. On the contrary, the "coadjutor" to whom he presents himself has no right to re-ordain the demoted monk who does not approach him as a "faithful layman" (*gihi*) :

*atāvasthāpyam bhikṣum...agrasthikṛtam no kalpate yasya samīpe vatisthate  
tasya gaṇavacchedino gaṇa-svāmīna (sic!) upasthāpayitum (T IV 52 a-b).*

To attain this condition, the culprit first of all takes care not to commit the fault again. He observes the rule very strictly. The other *sādhus* – it is added – are so terrified that they take good care not to commit the same crime (*Bh* 2, 234). When he presents himself for rehabilitation, he does not take a bath. He adorns himself in his most splendid finery (*nepathya*) – at least, according to some commentators (*ege*); others (*avare*) would have him put on only two garments<sup>1</sup>. He goes to the assembly, presents himself to the superior and says : “My Lord, I wish to hear the Law”. The teacher recites it. The other then declares before the whole audience : “I have faith in this just Law. Make me leave the world” : *śraddhāmi samyag-dharmam eṇam iti mām pravrajayata*. He is presented with the religious paraphernalia and this action consecrates him (*dīkṣā-līṅga*). He is immediately reinstated :

*vara-nevattham ege nhāna-vivajjam; avare jugala-mettam  
parisā-majjhe dhammam suñeja tatto kaṇha dikkhā (Vav Bh 2,233).*

*Bh T* point out the four cases in which the penitent is dispensed from presenting himself as a faithful layman.

209 First case : out of respect for the king and consideration for the services rendered by the person concerned. Allusion is probably made to historical events (*Bh* 2, 243–254). The sovereign was hostile to the monks. Duly authorised by his teacher, the penitent succeeds in having himself introduced, thanks to his resourcefulness. He puts his case, taking advantage of the opportunity to allow the splendor of the Doctrine to shine forth and to convert the king. The latter takes an interest in this “sham ascetic” (*samyata-rūpin*, *supra*) and acquits the *saṃgha*. The other, far from becoming proud, begs the king to address himself directly to the *saṃgha* and to pay his respects to it. Whether the prince does this or not, the community is well satisfied, pardons the penitent and re-ordains him on the spot.

Second case : rehabilitation of an *ācārya* who is the victim of an intrigue in his own company (*Bh* 2, 255). Dismissed from it, he takes refuge in another *gaṇa*, where he makes known the true facts of the situation. While his enemies claim that he should do all that is necessary to become an “ordinary member of the faithful”, his other subjects – who have not been deceived – invent a stratagem, leave the territory of the company, join him desiring “that the dark designs of the wicked should fail”. The *ācārya* is reinstated without the formality of the “faithful layman”.

1. *T* understands : *apare dīkṣāntīyāḥ* (IV 52 b 12); thus it considers this last tradition “southern”.

Third case : the pupils of the superior (who are immature) show their attachment to their teacher and threaten to expel whoever opposes his immediate reinstatement (*para-mocāpana*, cf. *Bh* 2, 258 f.).

Fourth case (*Bh* 2, 260 ff.; *T* IV 58 a) : in the event of a debate between two companies. They are composed of immature religious. Their superiors (or at least one of them, if the other has finished it) perform the penance which leads them to the status of "faithful laymen". The two companies agree to consider mutually, without further delay, that the two teachers are ready for reinstatement. Although unfaithful, they are declared faithful. No matter what the personal wishes of the two teachers concerned are, the elder does what the company desires (*teṣu tathā anicchatsv api gaṇa-prīti-karakair mahadbhiḥ sthvirair...teṣāṃ dvayānām api gaṇa-sādhūnām icchā pūryatē*, IV, 5810 f; cf. *Bh* 2, 262).

It will be seen that the opinion of the company easily prevails even when its members are unqualified. Care is taken not to thwart them.

Among the Śvetāmbaras, demotion (and exclusion) were characterised by a relaxation of the bonds which normally unite the religious and the community. The status of penitent is not exactly that of a layman. This is what is conveyed by the leaving off or the wearing of the "insignia" proper to either of these conditions, and especially by the installation of the religious concerned outside the territory reserved for his former companions.

It is the same banishment that the Digambaras signify in sometimes calling the ninth atonement *parihāra* "isolation". After it comes "belief", "faith", *saddhāṇa* (*Mūlācāra* 5, 165), *śraddhāna* (*Āśadhara*, *Anagāradharmāmṛta* 7, 56). The information about the ninth given by the *Mūlācāra* on one hand and the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* on the other does not agree on detail. Nevertheless, it allows us to get an idea of the general provisions. Without corroborating in detail the measures prescribed by the Śvetāmbaras, they evidently rest upon the same fundamental principles. The *Mūlācāra* teaches that two types of *parihāra* exist - according to whether the penitent remains attached to his company or not : *api ca parihāro dvi-prakāraḥ gaṇa-pratibaddho pratibaddho vā*.<sup>1</sup> *Āśadhara* admits this double possibility and relates it to the penance which he calls (*an*)*upasthāna* (that is, *sthāpana*). Moreover, he adds to this "demotion" the penance of the *parañcika* (*sic*). It is the union of this last, with the one before which, according to him,

1. Compare the two categories of *ghāṇḍīya* (*supra* 53).

forms the *parihāra*.<sup>1</sup> It can be seen that it includes the ninth and tenth *prāyaścittas* of the Śvetāmbaras.

It can be summarised as follows :

-First variety : a) sometimes the *parihāra* expiates a transgression committed through negligence (*pramāda*) : *nija-gaṇānupasthāna* (that is, *-anupasthāpana*). After the offence is announced, the religious undergoing "demotion" does penance in his own *gaṇa*. He bows even to his juniors, receives no salutations whatever, confesses to the *guru* amid general silence, turns (?) his fly-whisk (*piccha*). His penance is one of five *upavāsas*, up to as much as six months.

(b) sometimes the *parihāra* expiates a fault committed deliberately through pride (*darpa*) : *sa-para-gaṇōpasthāna* (that is, *-gaṇānupasthāpana*). The announcement of the offence and the general arrangements are the same as for the preceding example. This time, however, the "demotion" is borne with the help (*sa-*) of *gaṇa* other than his own. The offender is sent from one *ācārya* to another, until he reaches the seventh, who sends him back to the first, who in turn pronounces sentence.

-Second variety of *parihāra* : that which is inflicted on the *pāraṇcika*. After the offence is announced, the offender is solemnly cast aside, in the presence of the assembled *saṃgha*. The atonement imposed upon him is the *anupasthāna* ! The *ācārya* banishes the religious, who goes to perform his penance in *gaṇas* where the rules in force are not those which he normally follows.

While the status of the *pāraṇcika* is attached to the *upasthāpana*, the tenth place in the list of expiations is occupied by the *śraddhāna*, to which, beside, the name *upasthāpana* is sometimes given ! It is said to have consisted in leaving the world once more (*pravrajyā*). The engagement was entered into before a religious who had previously fallen into error, or (according to another tradition) before a religious who in the past has seriously violated the great vows (*mahāvratā*). The *śraddhāna* is not, then, properly speaking, a penance.<sup>2</sup>

The *Mūlācāra*, which calls it *saddhaṇā*, gives its other names :

*porāṇa-kamma-kharaṇaṃ khivaṇaṃ nijjaraṇa sodhaṇaṃ dhuvaṇaṃ  
pumchaṇaṃ uchivaṇa chidaṇaṃ ti pāyachittassa nāmāṃ* (166) :

"the destruction of past deeds (*kṣapaṇaṃ vināśaḥ*), their rejection, elimination, cleansing, scattering and purification (*pucchaṇaṃ nirākaraṇaṃ*), their expulsion and annihilation". It appears to consist in re-acquiring a taste for

1. Nīdhara calls it triple: In reality, it can be seen to be double, with a subdivision of the first variety.

2. Communicated by professor Schubring.

truth, in abandoning the passions. In short, it is the end – instead of the means – which is presented here.

It is the same among the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. The latter, it will be remembered, emphasise that the last two penances are excessively rigorous – so rigorous, indeed, that the companions of the penitent are terrified of them. Thus they demand of the penitent a perfectly firm and solid faith which is, it seems, symbolised by the rites of a solemn reordination.

From the commentaries of the *Vāvaḥāra-sutta*, we can see that demotion and exclusion are closely associated and that they have links with “isolation” (*parihāra*). They can be regarded as kinds of excommunication in various degrees. All three are temporary – that is, the Jains never despaired of the sinner (compare Gampert, *Sühnezeeremonien*, 33 n. 1).

p. 212 They place him in a situation which helps him to get a grip on himself. Concern for the removal of the rest of the company from the physical contagion of evil is expressed by the suttas no more than it is by the commentaries. Naturally, they separate the religious who has yet to perform his penance (and is consequently impure) from the pure monks. They admit, in addition, that the sight alone of the penance inspires in these latter a salutary fear and the desire to act correctly. These are not, nevertheless, their overriding concern

On the contrary, everything seems to have been arranged so as to assist in reforming the offender.

Theoretically alone, and in any case relieved of his obligations towards his fellow religious, he has henceforward the leisure to perfect his instruction and his faith, and to attend to his conduct. Mortification helps him in this enterprise. His amendment is helped also by the scrupulous way in which his former colleagues keep away from him (cf. *Vav Bh* 1, 363; *supra* 184), and even more by the help afforded him by the superior and, if necessary, another teacher or competent monk.

Far from the “distractions” inherent in community life, the “isolated”, the demoted or excluded religious tries to imitate, as far as his experience, wisdom and strength allow, the religious life par excellence – after the example of the Jina. This is the life which the most advanced religious sometimes adopt in their energetic leaps towards Deliverance.

took off his leather sandals and confessed his six kinds of faults *duṣkṛta*. The Great Kāśyapa, with his own hand, led Ānanda out of the Saṃgha and said to him : 'Stanch the flow of impurities in you and you will then return. Do not return so long as your uncleanness and your ties remain.' Having spoken thus, he closed the door himself.

[...] Ānanda reflected [...] During the night he sat down in the *dhyāna* position (...) He obtained the three knowledges, the six supernatural penetrations, and total Deliverance ; and he became an Arhat of very great power (...) He came to the door of the room where the Saṃgha was assembled and entered through the keyhole. He said : 'Oh Great Kāśyapa ! Do not blame me any more !' The Great Kāśyapa touched Ānanda's head with his hand and said : 'I did it on purpose, for your own good, so that you would find the way. Do not feel bitter towards me. In this way I have led you to fulfill yourself.' " (quoted by Przy-luski, *Concile* 62-68).

It appears in this account that the victory goes to the *arhat*, that is, to the advocate of individual salvation. Is this characteristic recent – or, rather, archaic ? Certain provisions seem to show that the Jainas progressively recognised more of the virtues necessary for salvation in a monk's unselfishness than in his penances.

It has seemed useful to reproduce these long extracts. They allow us to see that Buddhists and Jainas practised comparable observances founded upon similar beliefs – and that they experienced the same contradictory aspirations. In organising their community, the Jainas were led to adapt ancient practices to new ends. They had to revise, if only implicitly, the concepts transmitted to them by their predecessors, and by their environment. In doing their best not to disown the past, they finally opened up an original way to Deliverance. This, in short, is what Buddhism attempted, with comparable means but with different success.

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*PSM* = Hārgovind Das T. SHETH. *Pāṇi-Sadda-Mahāṇṇavo*. Varanasi, 1963<sup>2</sup> (Prakrit Text Society VII).

B. J. SANDESARA and J. P. THAKER - *Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit*. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962, 241 p. (*The M. S. University Oriental Series*, No. 5). (Reprinted from the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*).

*ERE* = *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by HASTINGS J., 12 vol., Edinburg, 1908-1921.

## COLLECTIONS

*AKM* = *Abhandlugen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Leipzig.

*Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien* herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. Hamburg.

*AOS* = *American Oriental Series*. New Haven, Connecticut.

*EFEO* = *Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient*. Hanoi, Paris.

*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, begründet von

## CONCLUSION

213 In keeping with their taste for order and methods, the Jainas constructed a disciplinary system which is rigorously coherent - at least in appearance.

In reality, the classifications which they adopt seem sometimes rather superficial. They leave some points unresolved, and there are contradictions in matters of detail. This is because, inspite of the temptation of scholastic, tradition respected the facts of a situation instead of sacrificing them to the requirements of pure form.

The atonements occupy a clearly defined place - the front rank of "interior mortifications". But the doctors discuss their number and wonder whether it is legitimate to include confession and repentance among them. They seem inclined to attach the *parihāra*, not to the first five *prāyaścittas* on the theoretical list, but to various restrictions on food arranged in ascending order of severity.

In spite of the dryness and the length of the exegesis, a study of the atonements allows one to form an idea of the effort made by the Jainas to organise their religious life dynamically, starting from practices certainly ordinary enough at the time of Mahāvira, which reappear (but in different forms) in other communities in India. The most commonly-practised observances seem to have been those of the solitary life, fasting, abstinence and restrictions of all sorts, the vow of silence, psycho-somatic exercises, study, total submission to the spritual teacher.

Combined in various ways they make up the *parihāra*, which seems to have been for the earliest Jaina cenobites the atonement par excellence, by virtue of which the *parihāriya*, while remaining within the community, did his best to imitate the ideal of the religious life as it has been led by the twenty-fourth Tirthamkara.

p. 214 The study of the *prāyaścittas* also allows one to get a truer picture of the monks' personalities, and of their virtues and failings. It throws into relief the humanity of the teachers, their devotion to their cause and to their brethern, their anxiety to make rational use of the practices to which other religious seem to have abandoned themselves with less judgment. Without, like the Buddhists, going so far as to delineate a 'middle way' towards Deliverance, they are conscious that each observance has its limits and that it is necessary to counterbalance the excesses of each observance by encouraging the opposite.

To allow the majority of people to reach salvation, it was necessary to watch over and guide the faithful. Community life facilitates this



task, discouraging some from relaxing their zeal and others from undertaking excessive mortification which surpassed their physical and moral strength.

Once the rigorously hierarchic nature of monastic society was well established, the doctors could propose clear and firm references, so as to make the penance proportional to the offence. If some uncertainty persists, it is because there often remains a margin between theory and application and also because, beliefs and customs having evolved, it was not always easy to adapt the institutions.

It is generally possible in a community to remedy speedily the occasional faults of offenders. The penances and different kinds of mortification were quite naturally complemented by the reciprocal devotion of the members of the group who were called upon to render one another many "services".

This, however, was not without its disadvantages. Altruistic pre-occupations were in danger of absorbing the time and energy of the monks. It was the superiors' duty to ward off this danger by securing a balance in the exercises of their flocks. Besides, the doctors had guaranteed to the religious the possibility - which varied according to capability - of removing themselves from the communal life to devote themselves completely to their personal salvation. The old ideal of the solitary had not been repudiated by the Jāinas, but simply adapted and moderated.

The conflict between the two ways of life - eremitical and cenobitical does not show itself in their ancient disciplinary treatises. Among the Buddhists, it could be seen in somewhat dramatically symbolised by the struggle between the great Kāśyapa and Ānanda. If one were to re-read the account of the council of Rājagṛha as it is reported by the *Ta tche tou louen*, one would notice the role of observances which are likewise favoured by the Jāinas - and particularly the capital importance accorded to confession.

p. 215 Ānanda is considered undesirable at the council because he has not broken his bonds. "He said to the great Kāśyapa : 'I have the power and the strength, and in the long run I would have been able to find the way, but the Arhat, in the law of Buddha, can serve nobody, be at nobody's disposal, carry out no order. This is why I have remained in an inferior position, and why my ties have not been entirely broken'.

[...] The Great Kāśyapa said, 'You have committed six kinds of faults *duṣkṛta*. You must make a full confession of these faults in the Saṃgha'. Ānanda said that he agreed with this and would follow the instructions of the *āyusmat Mahākāśyapa* and of the Saṃgha. Then Ānanda fell on his knees, joined his hands, uncovered his right shoulder,

Georg BÜHLER. Fortgesetzt von Franz KIELHORN. Herausgegeben von Heinrich LÜDERS und JACOB WACKERNAGEL. Strasburg; Berlin.

HOS=*The Harvard Oriental Series*. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Ist.=*Indische Studien - Zeitschrift (Beiträge) für die Kunde des indischen Altertums*. Im Vereine mit mehreren Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. Albrecht WEBER. 17 vol., Berlin, Leipzig. 1850-1885.

PTS=*Pali Text Society Publications*. London.

*Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies*, Edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University.

SBB=*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*.-London 1895 - (PTS).

SBE=*Sacred Books of the East*. Translated by various Oriental Scholars and edited by F. Max MÜLLER. 50 Vol., Oxford, 1879-1900.

### PERIODICALS

ABORI=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

*Archives de Sociologie des Religions*. Paris.

BEFEO=*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient*. Hanoi, Paris.

*Bhāratiya Vidyā*. Bombay.

BSOAS=*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. London.

BSOS=*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. London.

*East and West*. Rome.

EI=*Epigraphia Indica*. Calcutta.

IA=*Indian Antiquary*. Bombay.

IF=*Indogermanische Forschungen*. *Zeitschrift für indogermanische Sprach und Altertumskunde*. Strasburg; Berlin and Leipzig; Berlin.

IHQ=*The Indian Historical Quarterly*. Calcutta.

IJJ=*Indo-Iranian Journal*. The Hague.

*Indian Linguistics*. Calcutta.

JA=*Journal Asiatique*. Paris.

JAOS=*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore; Maryland.

JASB=*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (New Series)*. Bombay.

JBBRAS=*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Bombay.

*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*. Tokyo.

JOIB=*Journal of the Oriental Institute M.S. University of Baroda*. Baroda.

MSL=*Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Paris.

OC=*Actes du Congrès international des Orientalistes*.

OLZ=*Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*.

RHR=*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. Paris (*Annales du Musée Guimet*).

*Revue Philosophique*. Paris.

*Vishveshvarānand Indological Journal* Hoshiarpur.

*WZKM*=*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Vlnna.

*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie.* Vienna.

*ZDMG*=*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* Leipzig, Wiesbaden.

*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* Berlin.

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

### JAINA

*Bh*=*bhāsa*

*C*=*cūṇṇi*

*T*=*ṭika*

*Bh T*, without any text-title, refer to *Vavahāra Bhāsa* and *Vavahāra Ṭikā*.

*Pṛh*=*pṛthikā*

### ĀSĀDHARA

*Sāgaradharmāmṛta.* Bombay, 1917, 692+35 p. (*Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, No. 2).

*Āurapaccakkhāṇa*, one of the *Paiṇṇas*, see *Catuḥśaraṇ'ādi*.

*Āyār. 1*=*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*.

Erster Śrutaskandha. Text, Analyse und Glossar von Walther SCHUBRING. Leipzig, 1910, IX+109 p. (AKM XII, 4). Translation of *Āyār. 1* by W. SCHUBRING, in *Worte Mahāvīras*, pp. 66-121.

*Āyār. 2*=*The Āyārāṅga Sutta of the Cvetāmbara Jains.* Edited by Hermann JACOBI. London, 1882, xvi+139 p. (PTS). Translation of *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, by Hermann JACOBI, in *SBE XXII* (1884), pp. 1-214.

*Bhattaparinnā*, one of the *Paiṇṇas*, see *Catuḥśaraṇ'ādi*.

*Catuḥśaraṇ'ādi* - *Marāṇasamādhya'antaṃ Prakīrṇaka-daśakam*, Bombay, Saṃvat 1983 (=1927), (ĀgS).

*Chēdasūtras*, *Cheyasutta*, see SCHUBRING Walther - *Drei Chēdasūtras*.

*The Dasaveyāliya Sutta*.

Edited by Dr. Ernst LEUMANN and translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Dr. Walther SCHUBRING. Ahmedabad, 1932, x+130 p.

*H* see *Vavahāra*,

*Isibhāsiyāṃ*=*Isibhāsiyāṃ*. *Aus sprüche der Weisen* - Aus dem Prākṛit der Jainas übersetzt von Walther SCHUBRING. Nebst dem revidierten Text. Hamburg, 1969. Pages 1-51+502-551 (*ANISH* 14).

*Jiya*=*Jinabhadra's Jitakalpa*,

mit Auszügen aus Siddhasena's *Cūṇi*, von Ernst LEUMANN. (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, (1892, pp. 1195-2110,

- K.* = *Das Kalpasûtra. Die alte Sammlung jainistischer Mönchsvorschriften.*  
 Einleitung, Text, Anmerkungen, Übersetzung, Glossar von Walther SCHUBRING. Leipzig, 1905, 71 p.
- The Kalpa-sutra. An old Collection of Disciplinary Rules for Jaina Monks.*  
 By Dr. Walther SCHUBRING, Berlin. (Translated from the German by May S. BURGESS). *JA*, 39, 1910, pp. 257-267.
- Kalpa(-sûtra)* = *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu.*  
 Edited with an Introduction, Notes and a Prākṛit-Samskr̥it Glossary by Hermann JACOBI. Leipzig, 1879, 176 p. (*AKM* VII, 1) (Groups *Jinacaritra*, *Sthavirâvali*, *Sâmâcârî*, that is *Pajjosavaṇṇa-kappa*).  
 Translation Hermann JACOBI, in *SBE* XXII (1884), pp. 217-311.
- Ernst LEUMANN—*Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka Literatur.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Walther SCHUBRING. Hamburg, 1934, D+IV+56 p. (*Alt und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität*, 4).
- Mahāpaccakkhāṇa*, one of the *Paiṇṇas*, see *Catuḥśaraṇ'ādī*.
- Mahānisiha* = *Das Mahānisiha-sutta.*  
 Von Dr. Walther SCHUBRING. Berlin, 1918, 102 p. + 1 plate. (*Abh. der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1918, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse No. 5).
- Moreover: *Studien* = *Studien zum M.* :  
*Studien zum Mahānisiha.*  
 Kapitel 1-5 von Jozef DELEU und Walther SCHUBRING.  
 Kapitel 6-8 von Frank-Richard HAMM and Walther SCHUBRING.  
 Hamburg, 1963, x+240 p; 1951, 116 p. *Alt - und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg*, 10; 6)  
 Roman numerals refer to the chapters of *Mahānisiha*.
- Mūlācāra*  
 = VATTAKERA, *Mūlācāra*, Bh. 1-2. Bombay, 1921-24. *Māṇikacandra-Digambara-Jaina-Grantha-Mālā* 19; 23).
- NEMICANDRA - See *Pravacana(sāra)*.
- Nis.* = *Nisiha-sutta*, see *Vayahāra - und Nisiha-sutta*.
- Nisiha-sūtram.*  
 Edited with Bhāṣya and Cūrṇi, 4 Vol. Agra 1957-1960.
- Pākṣika-sūtram.*  
 Edited with the commentary of YAŚODEVA, Bombay, 1911, (*Devchand Lālbhāi-Jaina Pustakoddhāra*.)
- Pavayaṇasāra, Pravacanaśāra* = ŚRĪ Kundakundācārya's *Pravacanaśāra* (*Pavayaṇasāra...*, ed. A. N. UPADHYE, Agas, 1964, 28\*+130+436 p.
- Pravacana(sāra)*

=NEMICANDRA, *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 2 vol., Bombay, 1922-1926.  
1-221; 225-519 p. (*Devacandra Lālbhai Jaina Pustakoddhāra*, 58 ; 64).

*Samav.*=*Samavāyaṅga* (= *Śamvāyāṅga*).

Edited with the *Vṛtti* of Abhayadeva. Bombay, 1918. (*Āgamodaya Samiti*.)

*Sūya*=*Sūyagaḍaṅga* (= *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*).

Edited with the *Ṭikā* of Śilāṅka, Bombay, 1917, (*Āgamodaya Samiti*),  
(Translation by Hermann JACOBI, in *SBE* XLV, pp. 235-435).

*Tattvārtha*

=*Eine Jaina-Dogmatik, Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* übersetzt  
und erläutert von Hermann JACOBI. (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, pp. 287-325;  
512-551).

*Ṭhāṇ*=*Ṭhāṇaṅga* (*Śihānāṅga*)

Edited with the *Vṛtti* of Abhayadeva. Bombay, 1918-20.  
*Āgamodaya Samiti* 1,2).

UMĀSVĀTI-See *Tattoārtha*.

*Uttar.*=*Uttarajjhāya*=*The Uttarādhyayanasūtra*.

Edited by Jarl CHARPENTIER. 2 Vol., Upsala, 1921-22, 409 p.  
(*Archives d'Etudes Orientales* 18; 1 et 2).

Translation Herman JACOBI, in *SBE* XLV (1825), pp. 1-232.

*Uvav.* (that is *Uvaṇḍiyya*)=*Das Aupapâlika Sūtra*.

Erstes Upāṅga der Jaina. I Theil. Einleitung, Text und Glossar.  
Von Dr. Ernst LEUMANN. Leipzig, 1883. 166 p. (*AKM* VIII, 2).

*Vav.*; *Nis.*=*Vavahāra* - und *Nisīha-sutta*.

Herausgegeben von Walther SCHUBRING. Leipzig. 1918, 72 p. (*AKM*  
XV, 1). In the present book, the Suttas are numbered following  
SCHUBRING *Drei Chedasūtras*.

*Viy*=*Deleu*, *Viyāhapannati*.

*Vyavahārasūtra*.

Edited with the *Bhāsa* and the *Ṭikā* of Malayagiri. Bhāvnagar, 1926,  
(1927), 1928.

Note the following concordances between text and commentaries:

*Peḍhiyā*

*Vav.* uddesa 1:1-14 : *Bh* 1 stanzas 1-288

15-35 289-429

1-334

udd. 2: 2

3: 3

4-10:

25

: *T* vibhāga I

II

III

IV

IV

(by mistake ?

Here IV)

no vibhāga,

H=(Hindi Commentary):

*Daśāśrutaskandha Sūtra*. Sikandarābād, Vira 2445, 148 p.

Studien – see *Mahānisiha*.

Viy=Delue, *Viyāhapannatti*.

*Viyāh.*=*Viyāhapannatti* (*Vyākhyāprajñapti*).

Bombay, 1918–21. (*Āgamodaya Samiti*).

Moreover:

A. WEBER, *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati* (*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1865, pp. 367–444; 1866, pp. 155–352). Berlin, 1866–1867.

BUDDHIST (Sanskrit and Pāli).

(abbreviations as in *CPD* or in *PED*).

*L'Abhidharma de VASUBANDHU*.

Traduit et annoté par Louis de LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. 6 vol., Paris, Louvain, 1923–1931.

AGGAVAMSA – See *Saddamti*.

*DN*=*The Dīgha-Nikāya*.

Edited by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS and J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

3 vol., London, 1890–1911. (*PTS*).

*Le Mahāvastu*.

Texte sanscrit publié(...) par E. SENART. 3 vol., Paris, 1882; 1890; 1897. LXII+635; XLIII+578; XLI+588 p.

*Société Asiatique, Collection d'ouvrages orientaux, Seconde série*).

English translation by J.J. JONES (*SBB* XVI, XVIII, XIX, 1949–1956).

*MN*=*The Majjhima Nikāya*.

Edited by V. TRENCKNER, Robert CHALMERS. 4 vol. London, 1888–1925. (*PTS*).

*The Milindapañho*. Being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena. The Pali Text edited by V. TRENCKNER. London. Edinburgh, 1880, viii + 431 p. English trsl. by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS (*SBE* XXV–XXVI, 1890–1894); by I. B. HORNER (XXII, XXIII, 1963–64).

French trsl. of pp. 1–89 by Louis Finot, *Les Questions de Milinda*. Paris, 1923, 166 p. (*Les Classiques de l'Orient*).

*Saddamti*. *La grammaire palie d'AGGAVAMSA*.

Texte établi par Helmer SMITH. 5 Vol., Lund, 1928–1954. xi+1460p. (*Acta reg. Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis*. XII: 1 à 5).

*Sn.*=*Sutta-Nipāta*.

New Edition by Dines ANDERSEN and Helmer SMITH. London, 1948, xiii+226 p. (*PTS*).

VASUBANDHU See *Abhidharmakośa*.

*Vinaya* = The *Vinaya Piṭakam* : one of the principal Buddhist holy scriptures in the Pāli Language.

Edited by Hermann OLDENBERG. 5 vol., London, 1879-1883.

(*Mahāvagga* = *Vinaya I. Cullavagga* = *Vinaya II*).

English trsl. by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and H. OLDENBERG.

(*Vinaya Texts* I, III, Oxford 1881-1885 = *SBE* XII, XVII, XX).

English translation by I. B. HORNER (*The Book of Discipline*, London, 1940-1952 = *SBB* X, XI, XIII, XIV, XX).

## OTHERS

*Āp Dh S* - *Āpastambīya dharmasūtram*.

*Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus*; by APASTAMBA, edited (...) by Georg BUHLER. 2 vol., Bombay, 1868, 8+118+154 p.

English translation by Georg BUHLER in *SBE* II (1879), p. 1-170,

*Arth.* = *Arthaśāstra*.

R. P. KANGLE - *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*. University of Bombay, 1960, 1963, 1965 (*University of Bombay Studies. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali*, Nos. 1, 2, 3).

Part I : A critical edition with a glossary 2+4+8+284+80+2p.

(= *Arth*).

Part II : An English translation with critical and explanatory notes, 14 + 608 + 2 p. (= Kangle, *Arth*)

## ASHOKA :

*The Inscriptions of Asoka*, New Edition by E. HULTZSCH, Oxford, 1925. (CII 1), reprint 1969.

*Les Inscriptions d'ASOKA*.

Traduites et commentées par Jules BLOCH. Paris. 1950, 220p.

(*Collection Emile Senart*).

*Atharva Veda Sanhita*

Herausgegeben von R. ROTH und W. D. WHITNEY.

Zweite verbesserte Auflage besorgt von Dr. Max LINDENAU.

Berlin, 1924<sup>2</sup>, 2 xx + 390 p.

Translated with a critical and exegetical commentary by William Dwight WHITNEY, revised by Charles J. Rockwell LANMAN. (Cambridge, Mass. 1905, CLXII+1046 p. (*HOS* 7-8).

*BĀU* = *Bṛha-Ādranyaka-Upaniṣad*. Traduite et annotée par Emile SENART, Paris; 1934, XIX+137 p. (*Collection Émile Senart*).

*Das Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*.

Von E. HULTZSCH. Leipzig 1922, XI+168 p. (*AKM* XVI, 2)

*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.

Traduite et annotée par Emile SENART. Paris, 1930, xxxiii+142 p. (*Collection Emile Senart*).

*Gautama Dharma Śāstra.*

*The Institutes of Gautama* edited with an index of words by Adolf Friedrich STENZLER, London, 1876, 78 p.

(*Sanskrit Text Society*).

English trsl. by Georg BUHLER in *SBE* II (1879), 173-307.

KĀLĪDĀSA - *Kumārasambhava*.

KAUṬĪLYA - See *Arthaśāstra*.

*Mānava-Dharma Śāstra (Institutes of Manu)*

With the commentaries of MEDHĀTITHI (...) and an appendix by (...)

Vishvanāth Nārāyan MANDLIK. 2 vol., Bombay, 1886,

4+1589 p. (+)

English translation by Georg BUHLER, *The Laws of Manu*. Oxford, 1886 (*SBE* XXV).

*Pañcatantra*

*The Panchatantra* - A collection of ancient Hindu tales in its older recension, the Kashmirian, entitled *Tantrākhyāyikā*. The original Sanskrit text, editio minor, reprinted from the critical edition major which was made for the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Cambridge, Mass., 1915, xv +143 p. (*HOS* 14).

*The Panchatantra* - A collection of ancient Hindu tales. In the recension (...) of the Jaina monk Purnabhadra, critically edited in the original Sanskrit by Dr. Johannes HERTEL. Cambridge Mass., 1908, XLVIII + 296 p. (*HOS* 11).

*Ś Br.*

*The Çatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, edited by Dr. Albrecht WEBER. Berlin, London, 1855, XIII +1194 p. *The White Yajurveda* edited by Dr. Albrecht WEBER in three Parts, Part II).

English translation by Julius EGGELING (*SBE* XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV).

*ARRIEN - Indikē*

Texte établi et traduit par Pierre CHANTRAINE. Paris, 1927, 93 p. (*Collection des Universités de France*).

*MEGASTHENES*

*Megasthenis Indica* Fragmenta collegit (...) E.A. SCHWANBECK. Bonn, 1846, xii + 196 p.

## STUDIES

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*Altindische Grammatik*, von Jacob (Jakob) WACKERNAGEL. 4 vol. Göttingen, 1896-1957.



ALSDORF Ludwig, *Les études Jaina. Etat présent et tâches futures* [Paris] 1965, 97 p.

ALTEKAR A. S. - *State and Government in Ancient India*. Varanasi, 1955<sup>2</sup>, x + 386 p.

AUBOYER Jeannine - *Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*. Paris, 1949, 228 p. (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes*, 55).

BAREAU André - *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens ; De la quête de l'éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et de Maudgalyāyana* Paris, 1963, 405 p. (EFEO, 58).

BASAK Radhagovinda - *Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism*. Calcutta, 1961, vi + 130 p.

BASHAM A. L. - *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvakas*. London, 1951, xxii + 304 p.

BASHAM, *Sources of Indian Tradition*=*Sources of Indian Tradition*, part two : *Jainism and Buddhism* (p. 37-202).

(*Sources of Indian Tradition*, compiled by Wm. Theodore DE BARY (etc.), New York, 1959<sup>2</sup>, xxviii + 962 p. *Introduction to Oriental Civilizations*, Wm. Theodore DE BARY editor, LVI. *Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies*. Edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University).

BASHAM A. L. - *The Wonder that was India. A survey of the culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*. London, 1961, xxii + 568 p.

*Felicitation Volume* presented to Professor Sripad Krishna BELVALKAR Varanasi, 1957, xxxiii+321 p., edited by S. RADHAKRISHNAN, V.V. MİRASHI, R. N. DANDEKAR, (...) A. S. ALTEKAR (Managing Editor).

BERGAIGNE Abel, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rg-Veda* 4 Vol. Paris, reprint 1963.

BLOCH Jules - *La formation de la langue marathe*. Paris, 1914, 284 p. (*Thèse pour le doctorat ès lettres*).

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BROWN *Indological Studies in honour of W. Norman BROWN*, edited by Ernest BENDER. New Haven, Connecticut, 1962, xx + 253 p. (AOS, 47).

BURNOUF Eugène - *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*. Paris, 1876<sup>2</sup>, xxxviii+587 p.

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*The Cambridge History of India, Volume I, Ancient India*. Edited by E. J. RAPSON, Cambridge, 1922 (=CHI).

CHATTERJI *Jubilee Volume*=*Indian Linguistics*, 16. Madras, 1955, xx+344p.

- HEESTERMAN J. C. - *The ancient Indian Royal Consecration. The Rāja-sūya described according to the yajus texts and annotated.* The Hague, 1957, viii + 235 p. *Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae*, II).
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 coadjutor : gaṇāvacchedaka, gaṇa-  
 vaccheiya  
 commensal : sāṃbhogika, saṃbhoiya  
 commensality : saṃbhoga  
 confession : ālocanā, āloyanā  
 demoted anavasthāpya, aṇavatthappa  
 excluded : pārāñcīta, pārāñciya  
 isolation : parihārika, parihāriya  
 isolation : parihāra, parihāra  
 preceptor : upādhyāya, uvajjhāya  
 recollection: vyutsarga, kāussaga  
 repentance : pratikramaṇa, paḍikka-  
 maṇa  
 second : anuparihārika, aṇuparihāriya  
 superior : ācārya, āyariya  
 troupe; flock; : gaṇa, gaṇa  
 tutor : upādhyāya, uvajjhāya



# ERRATA

[Figures before the point refer to pages  
and figures after the point refer to lines]

	Incorrect	Correct		Incorrect	Correct
4.8	6th-7th	6th-5th	75.37	6 55	6655
4.35	*KERA,I	*KERA, DPPN,I	81.27	incontinece	incontinence
4.37	262	218	82.3	yad	yal
7.37	212	283	83.36	evenining	evening
9.27	627	626	90.37	57-62	209-14
14.35	very much	definitely	91.5	jam	tam
15.3,8-12	dejection	abatement	91.33	VII I 7b	VII I <sup>7b</sup>
17.41	Main	Mainz	91.41	1961,n° 6,	1961,2,p.614
19.43	65	64	92.28	BARNET	BARNETT
20.32	NARMAN	Norman	95.9	655;	6655
21.26	IV	IV'	95.19	below	next page
27.18	cāritte	caritte	99.34	shows	seems to show
28.38	trad. fr.	Fr. transl.	108.39	perish."	perish." (cf.
29.41	207	208			La Vallée
30.10,25,	« »	" "			Poussin IV 155.)
31,34			112.4	accumuleted	accumulated
31.1	« »	" "	119.20	iife	life
33 32	hydyasya	hṛdayasyeha	133.21	151). It	151) : it
34.12	current in title	current in texts	134.17	Perfect	Perfect ones
		not dealing with	135.2	26,42;50	26(42;50)
		discipline. The	135.40	Religions I 154;	Religionen
		very general term		176 f. ; 183	I 125f. ; 144;150
		samaṇa is the title	136.13	kāusagga	kāussagga
36.4	later	latter	145.17	On this	In this case
37.20	chek	check		occasion	
39.2	consideration	consequences	151.28	155).	155; Lehre § 156).
41.26	hunti	honti	155.22	comits	commits
46.4	lesson	wording	155.39	L'	The
48.27	1,50, f	1,50,7	157.11	ṣāṃmāsāṃ	ṣāṇmāsānām
49.39	1,19,5	1,19,6	157.11	jhoṣitāḥ	jhoṣitāḥ
51.31	Religions I, 200	Religionen I 165	157.22	para	parā
56.4	buffallo	buffalo	158.8	in 2,	in the comment-
57.3	when it	which			aries of 2,
64.14	bhunjaṇā	bhuṇjaṇā	159.21	preservance	perseverance
64.38	paraspram	parasparam	159.41	appāṇam	appāṇam
64.38	ṣṣyau	ṣṣyau	160.41	gacchatity	gacchatīty
70.35	-sūtra	-sūtras	160.41	anugacchatity	anugacchatīty
71.18	judicial	juridical	163.25	svachha°	svaccha°
73.32	whatches	watches	174.10	-sutta	suttas
73.35	949f.) z.	148f.) L.	176.4	cheya	cheya is
73.38	n,7	n,1	176.24	life	lie
74.30	DUMEZIL	DUMEZIL	191.23	Cvetāmbara	Śvetāmbara
74.37	*ratnākara	*ratnakōra	192.40	28*+130+436	32*+130+433
75.27	MEGEST-	MEGASTHENES			
	HENES				





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