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Esa dhamme vusīmao
"Such is the law of the Sage"

Colette Caillat

The fifth lecture (*ajjhayaṇa*) of the *Uttarajjhāyā* deals with the two types of death recognised by the Jains, 1. the "fools' death", "against one's will" (*bāla-* or *akāma-maraṇa*), 2. the "voluntary death" "of the wise" (*sakāma-* or *pañḍiya-maraṇa*). This latter part is introduced by six *pādas* (17c-d-18), and is concluded by four *pādas* (29), in which the topic under discussion is stated. In both these introductory and concluding *slokas* an even *pāda* recurs, in which the commentators have noted a grammatical peculiarity. The stanzas run thus:

etto sakāma-maraṇaṃ pañḍiyāṇaṃ suṇeha me

vippasannaṃ aṇaghāyaṃ saṃjayāṇa vusīmao (17c-d - 18c-d);

tesaṃ soccā sapujjāṇaṃ saṃjayāṇa vusīmao
na saṃtasanti maraṇ'ante sīlavantā bahussuyā (29).
[For the v.l., see p. 95]

Following the commentaries, Jacobi translates:

17. "now hear from me the wise men's 'death with one's will'.

18. Full of peace and without injury to anyone is, as I have heard (from my teachers), the death of the virtuous who control themselves and subdue their senses".

29. "Having heard (this) from the venerable men who control themselves and subdue their senses, the virtuous and the learned do not tremble in the hour of death".¹

Thus, *saṃjaya* and *vusīma(ṇṭ)* are taken as more or less synonyms.

Is this interpretation to be accepted without further enquiry? Or, if the etymology of the word can be elucidated, will it throw some light on the original meaning of *vusīma(ṇṭ)* and its evolution?

As a matter of fact, in the present passage, *vusīmao* is glossed *vaśya-vatām*,² "controlling, exerting oneself", by Devendra and others, who moreover observe the change in the number: *vusīmao āṛṣatvād vaśyavatām* ...³ Such an interpretation is certainly plausible in the above contexts, all the more so as it is not rare to meet with two near synonyms following one another in asyndeton, in one and the same phrase.⁴

Nevertheless, it should be observed that, in the last pāda of Utt 5:29, the two associated terms *śilavantā* and *bahussuyā* do not convey similar but complementary meanings, the former referring more to character and conduct, the latter to learning and actual knowledge.⁵

Now, though the above quoted gloss is well accredited, the commentators seem at a loss to explain the equivalence *vusīmao vaśyavatām* - except as the result of an Amg peculiarity (*āṣatvāt*). For, not only is the phonetical evolution unusual, but the sudden shift, in the same phrase, from the gen. pl. to the gen. sg. though the two adjectives have the same referent, is unexpected, as remarked by Jacobi.⁶ In fact, this "irregularity" points to a set form, and all the more so as it features in the cadence of an even śloka pāda. It can thus be surmised that *vusīmao* was a fixed form, the original meaning and usage of which had probably become obsolete. Can we trace them?

Charpentier considers the commentators' etymology as "extremely doubtful", but "can offer no plausible explanation", - except "a slight possibility that *vusīmant* might be *vyavasāyavant*, 'resolute, energetic, painstaking'; but he proposes no explanation for the phonetic evolution from the latter.³

Pischel (§ 602) accepts a derivation from the base *VASāya-* (with the suffix *-ima*), comparable to *pūrima*, *saṃghāima*, etc., from *pūraya-*, *saṃghātaya-*, etc. But, if such were the case, the expected form would be **vāsima*.

A totally different etymology has been proposed by PSM and ĀŚK. It is more economical and convincing, for it fits well in the conceptual universe and the figurative terminology of the "sramanic" poetry. Both PSM and ĀŚK derive *vusīma(t)* from **vṛṣīmat* (**bṛṣīmant-*).

Though the simplex **vusi* seems not to occur in Amg and Pk texts, there is a possibility that this stem is actually preserved in the compound *vusi-rāi(ya)*,⁷ and in an adjective derived with the possessive suffix OIA *-mant-* MIA *-man(t)*, *-ma(t)*: MIA **vusī* could continue OIA *bṛṣi-* (also written *vṛṣi-*), and denote an ascetic's seat (= *muni kā āsan*, PSM); thus, in PSM *vusīma(t)* is translated *saṃyamī*, *sādhu*, *muni* (s.v. *vusī*).

It is true that the Sk equivalent, **bṛṣī-mant-* is not registered in the dictionaries. But the fem. *bṛṣī* is well known from the Sūtras onwards, in the meaning "Wulst, Bausch von gewundenem Gras, u.s.w., Polster" (PW), "a roll of twisted grass, pad, cushion, (esp. the seat of a religious student or of an ascetic" (MW). The word, probably of ultimately Iranian origin,⁸ is apparently akin to the well-known ved. *barhīṣ-*, "bed of grass, sacrificial grass",⁹ itself the base of the possessive adjective *barhīṣ-*

mant-, "der Opferstreu hat" (KEWA II 415), generally applied, in the RS, to the officiant.¹⁰ The formation of Amg *vusīma(t)* could thus be compared with that of ved. *barhīsmant-*.

At this point, attention should be paid briefly to the phonetic history of *bṛsī* in LA.

As far as the evolution of OIA *br-* (a rare sequence!) is concerned, H. Berger notes the outcome MIA *bu-*.¹¹ Though he does not mention *bṛsī*, the word can be added to the list he has given: the expected MIA form would then be precisely *busī*. Actually, this form is quoted in the ĀyārangaCunṇi in a gloss on a versified passage of Āyār 1 (38,24*, to be considered later):

saṃjamo busī [sic], *so jattha atthi jattha vā vijjati so vusimaṃ* [sic] ... *vusimaṃ ca vusimaṃto*. The relationship between *busī*, and, on the other hand, *busimanto*, *vusimaṃ*, *vusimaṃto* is thus clearly stated. This gloss, *busī* = *saṃjamo* (*saṃyamah*) or "self-control", possibly favoured, or even determined, the preservation in C of the probably original reading (lost in the Āyār vulgate, infra p. 84):

*b(/v)usimanto ma(t)imanto*¹²

As far as the fluctuation *bu-* / *vu-* is concerned, it is not surprising, considering the widespread hesitation *b/v* observed throughout the history of LA,¹³ and the variations which often occur in borrowed words. As for the fact that the name of the ascetic's pad, *busī*, could be used metaphorically to express (one of) the virtues on which the muni firmly stands, it is but natural: suffice it to refer to the last lecture of Āyār 1, called *uvahāṇa-suyam* (*/ohāṇa-s.*), i.e. "the pillow of righteousness", as translated by Jacobi.¹⁴

Some Jaina canonical texts will now be considered.

From the accounts of the voluntary death of Jaina legendary heroes, it can be seen that a set ceremonial is in force at these last moments: it consists of several stages, the seventh of which is almost always mentioned; it concerns the careful arrangement of a layer of *darbha* grass on a pure, flat, piece of ground, where the dying man will take his place, facing the East, *dabbha-saṃthārayaṃ saṃtharai, 2tā puratthāhimuhe saṃpaliyanka-nisanne* ... (Viṃ 425, 7f.).¹⁵

Attention is called to both the posture *and* the preparation of the seat chosen for this ultimate sacrifice. For, as is well known, the *paṇḍiya-*

progressive and solemn renunciation, the last stages of which are dealt with, towards the end of the first book of the Āyār, in the lecture called *Vimoha*.¹⁶ The relevant instructions are given first in prose, and then in 25 ślokaś.¹⁷

When, after he has already restricted his food, the monk comes to the conclusion that he should abandon his body, he goes to a settlement, begs for (a layer of) grass, looks for a solitary place, inspects and cleans the ground, spreads the grass and conducts temporary fasts. Having successfully completed these, he repeats the same preliminary rituals; then he renounces 1. his body, 2. all movements of his limbs, 3. all motion,¹⁸ *aṇupavisittā gāmaṃ vā ... taṇāiṃ jāejjā ... egantam avakkamejjā ... paḍilehiya 2 pamajjiya 2 taṇāiṃ saṃtharejjā ...* (37, 20 ff.). This is summarized in the seventh śloka:

*gāme vā aduvā raṇṇe thaṇḍilaṃ paḍilehiya
appa-pāṇaṃ tu vinnāya taṇāiṃ saṃthare muṇi* (39,5*f.)

The topic had been announced in the first stanza, of which the vulgate text reads:

*... vimohāiṃ jāiṃ dhīrā samāsajja
vasumanto maimanto savvaṃ naccā aṇelisam* (38,23*f.).

The text thus deals with "the (methods of) liberation, thanks to which the wise-and-imperturbable (*dhīrā*) (attain the Goal), - those who are rich (spiritually) (and) endowed with understanding, - who have totally known the Incomparable".¹⁹

According to the T (p. 289), *vasu* means *dravyam* ("wealth"), *saṃyamah* ("self-control"): *tadvanto vasumantaḥ*. The spiritual meaning is evidently to be preferred in the Āyār context which deals with the *paṇḍiya-* or *sakāma-maraṇa*; hence Jacobi's translation "rich in control". This amounts in practice to the same as the gloss of the (probably original) reading preserved in the C (*b(/v)usimanto* (supra), the etymology and the meaning of which had, it seems, soon baffled any precise definition (hence its replacement). But, as in the case of Utt 5. 18d (supra), the question arises whether the qualifications implied in the two possessive adjectives *b(/v)usimanto maimanto* here used in asyndeton were originally meant to be complementary or more or less equivalent. The Sūyagaḍa occurrences (infra) appear to point to the latter interpretation.

In any case, all the texts insist on the general necessity of a firm religious background and basic knowledge, which results in pure conduct. This is clearly stated again in the (later) collection of "Miscellanies"

(Paiṇṇayas). The Candāvejḥhaya emphasises that, at the hour of death, it is important to remember the (even unique) pāda thanks to which one's conversion has taken place:

*ekkammi vi jammi pae saṃvegaṃ vīyarāya-maggammi
vaccai naro abhikkhaṃ taṃ maraṇ'ante na mottavvaṃ.*²⁰

As for the Saṃthārāya, its name clearly refers to the death bed, the "bed of grass" on which the pious muni has taken place,

tiṇa-saṃthāra-nisanno vi muṇi-varo (48)

Nevertheless this pamphlet also emphasises that the so-called *paṇḍiya-* or *sakāma-maraṇa* is the culminating point of a long process of learning and self-improvement. It is expressly stated that liberation "is due not to the grass layer or to the purity of the earth (on which it is strewn): oneself is one's own bed (of salvation), if one's conduct has been pure":

*na vi kāraṇaṃ taṇa-mao saṃthāro na vi ya phāsuyā bhūmi:
appā khalu saṃthāro havai visuddhe carittammi (53).*²¹

Thus, though the emphasis can shift from right knowledge and/or faith to right conduct, or vice versa, all the three Jaina ratnas appear to be strictly intertwined, - like a mat or a well tied bunch (cf. *bṛsī!*).²² Hence it could be suggested that *b(//)vusīman(t)* was not, originally, just a synonym of *saṃjaya* "well controlled": rather it is not unlikely that it denoted the perfected niggantha, well equipped in all the three "jewels": being *vusimaṃ*, he does not only practise, he also thoroughly knows and understands the precepts and their doctrinal basis, like the *sīlavantā bahussuyā* of Utt 5.29; he has faith in the law and is an experienced sage.

As a matter of fact, the occurrences of *vusimaṃ*, *vusīmao* in the Sūy would point to this conclusion.

They will be considered now.

The occurrences of the gen. sg. *vusīmao* will be examined first. It recurs three times, in a set formula (an even śloka pāda), used in three different lectures of the first book of Sūy. The wording is:

esa dhamme vusīmao,

which Jacobi translates "this is the Law of him who is rich in control".²³ But it will be seen that this interpretation, although in accordance with the common Jaina exegesis, is too restrictive. Further, the gen. *vusīmao* is once echoed by the nom., *vusimaṃ* which also occurs in Sūy 2.6.14*, that is in a passage bearing on doctrine(s) (and the conduct derived therefrom).

The teachings included in the three lectures where the evidently old formula *esa dhamme vusīmao* occurs (1.8; 1.11; 1.15) will now be reviewed.

Sūy 1.8 is concerned with *vīriya*, "exertion", of which two sorts are defined, one, to be blamed, which leads to karman, the other, to be praised, which leads to absence of karman. The first is that of the stupid fools (*bālāṇaṃ*), the second that of the wise (*pañḍiyāṇaṃ*).²⁴ It is further specified in śloka 14 ff., that faultless conduct ensues from all religious instruction;²⁵ that a wise man, when he knows death to be drawing near, should quickly learn the (relevant) teaching" (*sikkhaṃ sikkhejja paṇḍie*, 15d); "should crush together his sins by means of meditation" (*pāvaī ... ajjhappeṇa samāhare*, 16),²⁶ his meditation evidently bearing, among others, on the prohibitions expressed in the mahāvratas (19a-c), which, in turn, are, so to say, summarized in pāda d:

esa dhamme vusīmao.

It is thus clearly stated that wise conduct is thought of as necessarily founded on right faith and knowledge. The context of the above passage is compelling to the point that Śīlāṅka's T gives as the first meaning of *vusīmao*: *jñānādimataḥ*, "of him who is equipped with right knowledge, etc. (viz. *darśana* and *cāritra*)". It then adds the alternative equivalent, *vaśyēndriasya* (T 173).

Similar views are developed in Sūy 1.11, which deals with "the Path" (*magga*) preached by the "wise Brāhmaṇa", *māhaṇeṇa maimayā* (1b), viz. by the *Tīrthakṛt*, or Mahāvīra, the Great Hero (T 198): "having attained the Path, one will cross the flood (of the *samsāra*)".²⁷ The teacher emphasises that he imparts the essence of this Path (*magga-sāraṃ*, 4d): it considers the various classes of living beings, which have to be analyzed "with all means of philosophical research" (*savvāhiṃ aṇujuttihim*, 9a): "this is the quintessence of the wise: not to kill anything",

eyam khu nāṇiṇo saram jaṃ na hiṃsai kaṃcaṇaṃ (10 a-b).

The rules of right conduct are thus shown, as in Dasaveyāliya 4, to result immediately from the philosophical tenets professed by Jainism.

Hence the general conclusion, culminating in the last pāda of the lecture (1.11.38d):

evam kevaliṇo mayam,

"this is the doctrine of the Kevalin".

It is in the light of this concluding stanza that the recommendations formulated in 15a (to abstain from all foul behaviour) and the motto *esa dhamme vusīmao* (15b) will be read.²⁸

Despite the gloss (*vusīmao* = *samyak-saṃyamavataḥ*, T 201), it is possible to understand the formula used in 15 as an expression equivalent to *evam kevaliṇo mayam*. The parallel is all the more striking as the same images are used in both contexts: the pious man versed in the Law taught by the Jina is said, in śl. 32, to be able "to cross the dreadful current" of the saṃsāra:

*imaṃ ca dhammaṃ ādāya Kāsaveṇa paveiyaṃ
tare soyaṃ mahā-ghoraṃ ...,*

while, in 23, he "shows (*ākhyāti*) the island" to others:

āghāi sāhu taṃ dīvaṃ.

As for *ajjhayaṇa* 1.15, it is just as explicit. After the praise of the Leader's (*nāyaka*) omniscience (1-2), śloka 3-4 link knowledge and benevolence: "always he who possesses the truth feels kindness towards his fellow-creatures",

sayā sacceṇa'saṃpanne mettīṃ bhūehī kappae (3c-d; cf. 13).

According to the constant pattern of this *ajjhayaṇa*, 3d is then echoed by 4a (*bhūehiṃ na virujjhejjā*), - an injunction followed (in 4b) by the motto *esa dhamme vusīmao*, which, in turn, gives rise to 4c-d:

vusimaṃ jagaṃ parinnāya assīṃ jīviya-bhāvaṇā,

"the v. knows(-and-renounces)²⁹ the world, and given this (knowledge meditates on the) reflections on life".³⁰ In the sequence 3c-d - 4a-b, the pāda 4b, *esa dhamme vusīmao*, obviously refers to 3c (where truth, *sacca*, is in evidence). Once more, then, this burden appears to be more or less

equivalent to *evaṃ kevaliṇo mayaṃ* - a conclusion supported by the next stanzas of 1.15:

5. "He whose soul is purified by meditating on those reflections (*bhāvaṇā*-) is compared to a ship in water; like a ship reaching to the shore he gets beyond misery",

nāvā va tīra-sampattā savva-dukkhā tiuṭṭai.

7. "... he verily understands (*vijānai*) karman: having understood he (becomes) a Great Hero",

vinnāya, se Mahāvīre ... (7c).

Given the nautical simile, T (on 4b) is led to render '*vusīmao*' by *Tīrthakṛtaḥ* (after which it naturally adds the common gloss *sat-saṃyamato vēti*, T 255).

Concerning the use of *vusīmaṃ*, it should moreover be noted that, in 4c, it is associated with *parinnāya*, a term which had first implied thorough knowledge, "discrimination between the good and the evil", which hence (later) meant "abstinence from sinful activities".³¹ It would seem therefore that the emphasis tended to shift and concentrate on behaviour: both *parinnāya* and *vusīmaṃ* could have undergone a similar semantic evolution.

The last occurrence of *vusīmaṃ* to be examined is in Sūy 2.6.14, where, again, this qualification is associated with the observance of the mahāvratas: "because of solicitude towards living beings, - the v. does not blame (anybody) in the world",

no garahai vusīmaṃ kiṃci loe.

This triṣṭubh concludes a development where doctrine had been the main topic: the nigganthas blame not the philosophers (*pāvāiṇo*), but only the wrong doctrines (*garahāmo diṭṭhiṃ*, 12); and they make known "the supreme, right, Path, taught by worthy, good men",

*magge ime kiṭṭie āriehiṃ
aṇuttare sap-purisehī anjū (13).*

The conviction that benevolence in words and deeds is intrinsically linked with right knowledge and faith is again emphasised; this view is moreover expanded in the conclusion of this same Sūy 2.6 (55):

*buddhassa āṇāḥ imaṃ samāhiṃ
 assiṃ sūthiccā tivihēṇa tāi
 tariṃ samuddaṃ va mahābhavōhaṃ
 āyāṇavaṃ dhammaṃ udāharejjāsi,*

"A (monk) who has achieved his religious perfection through the instruction of the Awakened One, and stands firm in it ..., and who possesses the things requisite for crossing the immense ocean of existence, may preach the Law" (Jacobi's translation [on *udāharejjāsi*, Pi 460]).

In other words, he is worthy of being called *vusimaṃ* who knows, believes in, and practises the Path; hence, he who is qualified to preach it.

From the above survey two conclusions can be drawn; they can moreover be corroborated by a comparison with an old Buddhist poem.

1. The best gloss of *vusimaṃ* is probably *Tīrthakṛt*, "ford-maker", prophet, sage. Further, the motto *esa dhamme vusīmao* appears to be more or less equivalent to *evaṃ kevaliṇo mayaṃ*. It may be that these two phrases are differentiated by some shade of meaning, *kevaliṇo mayaṃ* insisting more on the doctrinal aspects, *dhamme vusīmao* more on the ethical consequences of knowledge and faith, especially at the crucial moment of death; but the purport of the two formulas appears to be very similar.

2. The etymology of *b/vusimaṃ* evidently soon escaped the commentators and a fortiori the copists: it has been noted above how the canonical tradition as embodied in the manuscripts of Āyār 1 has replaced *b/vusimanto* by *vasumanto*, while the former is preserved in the ĀyārC.³² On the other hand, it would appear that the commentaries accept as optional:

*vasumaṃ ti va vasimaṃ ti va vasati va vusimaṃ va.*³³

But the data collected in the "seniors" of the canon leave almost no doubt that *vusīman(t)* / *busīman(t)* is a possessive adjective derived from *vusī* / *busī* (Sk *bṛsī*), which primarily had referred to a "layer (of grass)", especially the layer used by the religious ascetics, thus, among others, by the wise *niggaṇtha* well trained in the three intimately connected *ratnas* of Jainism (in particular when he conducts the ultimate fasts which are to end in "death with one's will"). The importance attached to the choice of the seat is not surprising in the general Indian context.³⁴

The Buddhist, for their part, have given more and more details on the seat of *darbha* grass on which the Bodhisattva takes his place when preparing for the meditation which results in the Bodhi.³⁵ Though comparatively late, the Jātaka nidāna or the LalitaVistara probably reflect earlier traditions.

In any case, the meaning and use of *bhisī*³⁶ in Sn command attention. It appears that this (carefully) arranged layer (of grass, etc.) can be used as a well trimmed raft thanks to which the flood (be it of a river or of the saṃsāra) can be successfully crossed.

This (which agrees with the similes developed in Sūy 1.15, supra) ensues from two stanzas (in dialogue form) of the Dhaniya-sutta (Sn 20-21). The herdsman Dhaniya, who has just settled on the bank of the river Mahī, expresses his satisfaction, seeing his cows graze the lush grass; despite the threatening rains, he imagines the place to be safe (20) - an idea which the Buddha rejects. To prove his point, he contrasts Dhaniya's situation with his own, summed up in stanza 21:

*baddhā hi bhisī susaṃkhatā (iti Bhagavā),
tiṇṇo pāragato vineyya oghaṃ:
attho bhisīyā na vijjati,*

"Yes the raft has been tied together, perfectly well trimmed: (I have) crossed over, gone to the far-shore, having overcome the flood. - There is no need of a raft (any more)!"³⁷

Commenting upon this last stanza, the Paramatthajotikā (II 34 f.) gives two meanings for *bhisī*: literally, commonly (*loke*), it is said of a *baddha-kulla*, a raft, made of grass, sticks, branches and foliage (*tiṇa-katṭha-sākhā-palāsaṃ saṃkaḍḍhitvā*),³⁸ tied together (by means of creepers, etc.),³⁹ which has been laid down and spread out - and is ready for safe use: *bhisī ti, pattharivā puthulaṃ katvā baddha-kullo vuccati loke* (Pj II 34, 23 f.). In the spiritual world implied by the Buddha, this is evidently one of the numerous designations of the *ariya-magga*, for which several other equivalents are listed:

*maggo pajjo patho ...
nāvā uttara-setu ca kullo ca bhisī saṃkamo* (ib. 26ff.).

The list is quoted in the Saddanīti,⁴⁰ where it is further explained that the name is *bhisī* because it resembles a *bhisī*: *bhisī viyā ti bhisī*. For the spiritual raft supposes the perfect assembling of the elements of the Path, tied together by the tie of knowledge, etc. ..., and impossible for any one to loosen or undo: *mayā pana eka-citte magg'angāni samodhā-*

*netvā ñāna-bandhanena baddhā ahosi, bhisī ca ... kena ci mocetum asakku-
neyyatāya ... susaṃkhatā* (Pj II 35, 2-7). Elsewhere also, the Buddha
shows how the dhamma can be compared with a raft, *kullūpamaṃ ...
dhammaṃ desissāmi*.⁴¹ In such passages, the carefully arranged layer of
grass, etc., is considered a good and safe preparation in view of a
difficult journey: it is fit to take the wise and well trained individual to
the other shore (*pāraṃ*), to the end of a dangerous crossing, at the
completion of which, overcoming the flood, he will reach, and lead his
followers to, an island or a safe refuge.

To conclude: it appears that Sk *bṛsī*, "a roll of twisted grass, pad, (esp.)
the seat of a religious student or of an ascetic", had several MIA
counterparts. Among them, Amg *busī* / *vusī* survived as the base of a
possessive adjective suffixed with *-ma(nt)-*. Though soon obsolete the
latter is known thanks to some old canonical *pādas*: either in the nom.
sg. *vusimaṃ*, or in the gen. *vusīmao* (with a sing. or a plur. referent).

While there is no evidence that *vusimaṃ* ever denoted specifically a
religious equipped with some material layer of grass or a pad, it is true
that the Jaina monks were attributed different kinds of seats according to
their proficiency. In any case, the canonical passages examined in the
present paper show that *vusimaṃ* is applied to a niggantha particularly
remarkable for his self imposed discipline (*busī* = *saṃyama*); or, rather,
originally, to a niggantha perfected in faith, knowledge and conduct.

These three ratnas of Jainism, being firmly tied together, build a sort
of raft (cf. Pa *bhisī*), thanks to which the accomplished monk crosses to
the other shore of the *samsāra*, and also shows his followers the safe ford
leading to liberation. Thus *vusimaṃ* could have been an old equivalent of
tīrthakṛt, a "fordmaker", or a "sage".

As a matter of fact, the Buddhists make use of the same metaphor
when the Buddha explains how he has had at his disposal a well built and
strongly tied raft (*bhisī*). Thus he could overcome the flood, cross over,
attain the far shore and be definitely safe. Having reached the end of his
journey, he can proclaim:

"There is no need of a float. So rain, sky(-deva), if you wish".⁴²

*Abbreviations

Languages: Amg = Ardha-māgadhī; BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; IA = Indo-Aryan; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; OIA = Old Indo-Aryan; Pa = Pāli; Pk = Prākṛit; Sk = Sanskrit.

Abbreviations of titles of Pa texts are as in Epilegomena to vol. I of A Critical Pāli Dictionary (= CPD). Those of Jaina texts are as in Walther Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin, Leipzig 1935 (GIAPhA 3.7), p. 247. An asterisk (*) after a reference to a text written in prose and verses refers to a passage in verse.

Ācār = Ācārāṅga-sūtra. Erster Śrutaskandha ... ed. W. Schubring, Leipzig 1910 (AKM 12.4), ref. to page and line; German translation, Id., in Worte Mahāvīras, Göttingen, Leipzig 1926 (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte); cf. Āyār; - ĀgS = Āgamodaya Samiti, Mhesana, Surat, Bombay; reed. of Ācārāṅgasūtram and Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtram, with the Niryukti of Ācārya Bhadrabāhusvāmī and the commentary of Śīlāṅkacārya ... by Jambūvijaya, Delhi 1978; - ĀŚK = Āgama Śabda Kośa, Ed.-in-Chief Ācārya Tulasī, I Ed. Yuvācārya Mahāprajña, Ladnun, Jain Viśva Bhārati; - AiG = J. Wackernagel - A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik; - Aup = Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... ed. Ernst Leumann, Leipzig 1883 (AKM 8); cf. Uvav; - Āyār = Āyāranga-sutta, Indian ed.s cf. n. 12; ed. H. Jacobi, London 1882 (PTS); English transl., H. Jacobi, in SBE 22, London 1884; - C = Cunpi; - CDIAL = R.L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages; - Charpentier = notes to Utt; - G = W. Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg 1916 (GIAPhA 1.7); - JĀS = Jaina Āgama Series, Bombay (Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya) - KEWA = M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen; - MW = Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary; - Nis = Nisīha-sutta, ed. W. Schubring, Vavahāra- und Nisīha-sutta, Leipzig 1918 (AKM 15.1); Nis ed. with Bh(āṣya) and C by Amaracandra and Kanhaiyālāl, Agra 1957 (Sanmati-Jñāna Pīṭha); - PED = The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary; - Pi(schel) = R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen, Strassburg 1900 (GIAPhA 1.8); - PSM = Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo; - PW = O. Böhtlingk u. R. Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, Petersburg, 7 vol.; - SBE = Sacred Books of the East; - Sūy = Sūyagaḍanga-sutta, ed. Jambūvijaya, Bombay 1978 (JĀS 2.2); English transl., H. Jacobi, in SBE 45, London 1895; - Ṭ = Ṭikā; - Utt = Uttarajjhāyā; references are to The Uttarādhyaṇasūtra, ed. by Jarl Charpentier, Upsala 1921-22, 2 vol. (Archives d'Etudes Orientales 18:1, 18:2); English transl., H. Jacobi, in SBE 45, London 1895; - Uvav = Uvavāiya-sutta, references are to Leumann's ed., cf. Aup.

Notes

1. SBE 45, 22 f. - *Silavantā bahussuyā* should be understood as "(both) virtuous and learned".
 2. Cf. the etymology accepted in Ratnachandra, An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary, s.v., (*vaśyamāt*).
 3. Cf. Charpentier 299, ad Utt 5.18, where Devendra's text is quoted: *ārṣarvād vaśyavaiām, vaśyāny āyattāni prakramād indriyāṇi vidyante yeṣāṃ te vaśyavantaḥ*.
 4. Cf. Utt 5.28b: *saṃjamaṃ tavaṃ* (two words which are often associated).
 5. *Bahussuya* probably moreover implies *babbhāgama*, a bahuvrīhi with which it is often coupled in the Jaina canon (cf. Vavahāra-sutta 1.35; 3.3; 6.1 f...). The phrase points to a religious "der ... gelernt hat in Texten (sūtra) und Tradition" (in this context, *āgama* = *artha*, according to the Ctt.), cf. W. Schubring, Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons, Hamburg 1966 (ANIS 11), p. 76; 69; thus, the expression relates to a monk who is knowledgeable and holds right views, cf. "instruit et averti", ib. 57.
- Compare Asoka Rock Edict XII J (Eṛṇaguḍi): *bahusutā ca kayānāgamā ca*, "sowohl gut informiert als auch aufgeschlossen" (U. Schneider, Die grossen Felsen-Edikte Asokas, Wiesbaden 1978 (FBI), 115).

Buddhist texts have expressions such as:

bahu-ssutaṃ dhamma-dharaṃ, Th 1030 (cf. 1031),

"who has great learning, is expert in the doctrine", (K.R. Norman, Elders' Verses I); cf., in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada (249 and 248):

bahu-ṣūda dhama-dhara and

dharma-kama baho-ṣūda.

Thus, in Utt 5.29d, it would seem that the three ratnas of Jainism (right conduct, right knowledge ([and faith]) are required.

6. SBE 45, 22 n.1.

7. Nisīha-sutta 16.13-15 (cf. Schubring, Drei Chedasūtras, 102, *vusi-rāya vṛṣi-rājita*); Schubring compares *vṛṣabha*, "bewährter Mönch". Cf. NisC NisBh 5420, infra and n. 33. - Probably a quasi synonym of *vusima(nt)*; here applied to a monk - a religious company.

8. Note -ṛṣ- ! Cf. AiG 1 p. 184; KEWA II 445, s.v. *br̥ṣī*.

9. KEWA, ib. and p. 415.

10. L. Renou, Etudes védiques et pāṇinienes 8, Paris 1961 (ICI 14), 82.

11. Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre, München 1955 (MIS 1), 55 f., ubi alia. - *br̥ṣī* (Pa *bhisī*) is quoted among the IA borrowings, p. 25.

12. For the text of C, cf. Āyār JĀS ed., p. 84 n. 14; cf. ed. Jain Viśwa Bhārati, Ladnun V.S. 2031=1975, p. 69 and n. 5 (*vasumanto* in the text; *vusimanto* C). According to Schubring's critical notes, p. 38 n. 24, C reads *busimanto*. - In the Glossar, s.v. *busimanta*, Schubring disjoins *b.* from *busima* (for which he refers to Pi 602).

13. AiG I 183 f., Nachträge, 101; O. v. Hinüber, Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick, Wien 1986 (Österreichische Ak. der Wiss., Philos.-Hist. Kl. 467) § 183. Also see the BHS forms quoted infra, n. 42.

14. SBE 22, 79; cf. Schubring, Ācār p. 59. Ācārṭ (ĀgS 297): *bhāvasyōpadhānam: ... jñāna-darśana-cāritrāṇi tapo vā ... (tena hi cāritra-pariṇata-bhāvasyōpaṣṭambhanaṃ kriyate yata evaṃ tasmāt jñāna-darśana-tapaś-caraṇair ihādhiḥkṛtam)*.

Once the "spiritual" had superseded the "material" meaning, it became easy to put together *busi* / *vusi* and, on the other hand, either *vasu*, which could refer to spiritual treasure(s), or the forms derived from the root VAS (VAŚ), referring to control (over the senses). This evidently favoured *vusi-manta* at the expense of *busi-manta*; hence, ultimately, the replacement of this obscure term by various synonyms (cf. NisBh 5420, infra). As a matter of fact, any possible link with *br̥ṣī* was deemed to fade away. For OIA *b-*, in words of foreign origin, often underwent various changes, as can be seen again in the case of *br̥ṣī*.

According to the Prakrit grammarians, it resulted in Pk *bisī* or *bhisī*. The latter is well known in Pa (cf. Pi § 209; G §40.1.a; PED; CDIAL 9301; moreover, infra). Further, from *br̥ṣikā*, the Prakrits derived the name of the "bundle", *bhisī(y)ā* (Pi, ib.). The Deśināmamālā (6.105) quotes: *bhisīā bisī* (/ *visī*). The Jaina canon uses *bhisigā bhisīyā* to denote the seat of brahmanical ascetics, as can be seen in Uvav § 86 (cf. E. Leumann, Aup. Glossar) or in Nāyadhammakahāo 8 (ed. G. Roth, Wiesbaden 1983) § 133. The word, moreover occurs in the list of brahmanas' or (false) sramanas' impedimenta, in Āyār 2.2.3.2 (JĀS ed. § 444) = Sūy 2.2.48 (JĀS ed. § 710, p. 170). Apparently the *bhisīyā* could keep, or be sprinkled with, fresh water (Uvav, Nāy), could be overstrewn with darbha grass (Nāy), thus be perfectly "pure" (cf. W. Schubring, Nāyadhammakahāo ... herausg. von J. Deleu, Mainz, Ak. der Wiss. u. der Lit., Abh. der Geistes u. Sozialwiss. Kl. 1978.6, p. 28, § 10).

To sum up: the above evidence would point to various evolutions of OIA *br̥ṣī*. The resulting MIA forms would seem to have undergone a specialization in meaning (compare O. v. Hinüber, Überblick § 124): while *b(h)isī bhisī(y)ā* normally still referred to the object, Amg. *busī* / *vusi* was restricted to the designation of the pure and in many respects symbolic (Jaina) "layer"; as such, it survived mainly in the possessive adjective nom. *vusimaṃ*, gen. *vusīmao*, which is applied to the peerless niggantha.

[For the variation *b-/v-/bh-*, compare CDIAL 9308, *bēḍā-*, 'boat', 2. *vēḍā-*, 3. *bhēḍā-*].

15. Suttāgame ed., Gurgaon 1953. - Cf. also K. Oetjens, Śivāryas Mūlārādhana. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Sterbefasten-Literatur der Jainas, Hamburg 1976 (Diss.), 116 ff.

16. "Liberation", the "seventh" lecture in Jacobi's edition (where the present chapter is, erroneously, called *Mahāparinnā*, p. 32-39) and translation, SBE 22, 62-78. In fact, according to the Ācār tradition, it is the eighth, cf. Schubring, Ācār, p. 49 and 32; the latter's ed. (p. 32-40) is followed here.

17. PTS ed. p. 37-39; Schubring's ed. p. 37.14-38.22; 38.23*-40.8*.

18. See Schubring's analysis, German translation and critical notes in his Worte Mahāvīras, Göttingen, Leipzig 1926, 111-115.

19. See Worte, 113 and n. 4, 5, 6.

20. Ed. JĀS 17.1 (1984) gāthā 94.

22. Compare Pa *bhisi*, infra.
- Cf., in the Āyār passage, in pāda c, *maimanto*, and, in pāda b, *dhira*, the latter probably meaning both "wise", and "firm" (cf. KEWA II 105).
23. SBE 45, p. 300; compare, supra, his translation of *vasumanto*.
24. Sūy 1.8.9:
eyam sakamma-viriyaṃ bālānaṃ tu paveiyaṃ,
eyam akamma-viriyaṃ paṇḍiyanāṃ suṇeha me.
25. Sūy 1.8.14:
saha-sammuṇie naccā dhamma-sāraṃ suṇettu vā,
 "whether he know the pith of the Law by intuition or through instruction" (Jacobi).
26. 'Ādhyātmanā', *samyag-dharma-dhyānādi-bhāvanayā*,
 "by cultivating the right contemplation, etc. of the Law", T 172.
27. Sūy 1.11.1:
kayare magge akkhāye māhaṇeṇa maimayā
jaṃ maggam ujjuṃ pāvittā ohaṃ tarai duttaraṃ?
28. Sūy 1.11.15a:
pūi-kammaṃ na sevejjā,
 "he should not partake of a meal which contains but a particle of forbidden food" (Jacobi p. 312 and n. 1, following T 201).
29. 'Pariṇāya', *samyag avabudhya*, T 255 (absolute, Pi 592; cf. infra *vinnāya*). For the meaning, cf. infra, n. 31.
30. "He who is rich in control renounces everything, and in this (world meditates on the) reflections on life" (Jacobi).
31. Cf. Nathmal Tatia, "Parallel developments in the meaning of *pariṇā* (Prākṛit *pariṇā*, Pāli *pariṇā*) in the canonical literature of the Jainas and the Buddhists", *Indologica Taurinensia* 11 (1983), 293-302.
32. Cf. supra, and n. 12.
- Also see the hesitation of the mss. Nisīha-sutta 16.13-15: (a) *vusi-* / (a) *vusa-rāya*, cf. Schubring's ed. 1918 and Drei Chedasūtras 102 NisBh 5420.
33. In fact a quotation of the Nijjuttī on Nis 16. 13-15. C explains: 1) *vasu tti rāyaṇā ... bhāve nāṇādiyā* (v. = jewels; in a spiritual sense: (religious) knowledge, etc.); or (*adhavā*) 2) *indiyāṇi jassa vase vaṇṇanti so* (he whose senses are under control); or (a.) 3) *nāṇa-damṣaṇa-carittesu jo vasati nicca-kālaṃ* (he who always dwells in (right) knowledge, faith and conduct); or (a.), *vyutsrjati pāpam ...* (he expels evil) ... -- *Ahavā* could imply a progression, "or, preferably".
34. Cf. the numerous rules concerning seats, etc., in the disciplinary texts of all the Indian communities. In particular, at the time of confession (*āloyanā*), the Jainas mark the rank and the proficiency of the confessor and of the one confessing according to the seat which they are allotted: *mahatī niṣadyā*, or *kalpa*, or *rajoḥaraṇa* ...; but squatting (*utkaṭṭuka*) is actually the pure position for the one confessing (cf. Caillat, Atonements in the ancient ritual of the Jaina monks, Ahmedabad 1975 (L.D. Series 49), 131).
35. E.g. Ja I (nidāna) 70.32 - 71.6, quoted Sadd 526. 30 ff.; LalitaVistara, chap. 19, ed. Lefmann, 285ff.
36. Pa for Sk *bṛsi*, cf. supra n. 11; 14.
37. Cf. Pj II 34, 16-22; and the translations by Hare and by K.R. Norman et alii.
38. ... *samkaddhitvā, kullaṃ bandhitvā, taṃ kullaṃ nissāya hatthehi ca pādehi ca vāyamamāno*, M I 135, 4-6: "having collected grass, sticks, branches and foliage, and having tied a raft, depending on that raft, and striving with hands and feet, ...", I.B. Horner's transl., 173 (referring to S IV 174, 13-15, where the same parable and description occur).
39. Cf. Vin I 230,14 (Sp) = D II 89,16 (references in CPD II, s.v. *uḷumpa*, ubi alia).
 See J. Deloche, La circulation en Inde avant la révolution des transports. II. La voie d'eau, Paris 1980 (EFEO 122), 131: "On se laissait aussi porter sur des radeaux, *berā* (h.) ... Les villageois se contentaient souvent de simples assemblages de bambou, ... ou de quelques bottes de roseaux liées ensemble ...".
40. Sadd 525, 19 ff.
41. M I 134,30; 34 ff. = S IV 174,5 ff.; cf. Ud 90,3 ff. Compare the "nāvā-sutta", Sn 316-323 (especially 321-322):
yathā pi nāvaṃ daḷhaṃ āruhitvā

*piyen' arittena samangi-bhūto,
so tāraye tattha bahū pi aññe
tatūpaya-ññū kusalo mutimā, (321)*

*evam pi yo vedagu bhāvit'atto
bahussuto hoti ...
so kho pare nijjhāpaya pajānaṃ (322),*

"Just as one embarking upon a stout boat, provided with oar and rudder, could bring many others across there, being skilful, thoughtful, and knowing the means thereof.

In the same way, one who has knowledge ..." (K.R. Norman's translation).

42. K.R. Norman's translation.

I thank Mr. K.R. Norman who was kind enough to amend the English text of this paper.

As suggested by him, Pa *vusima(t)*, though not so well documented as Amg *vusīma(nt)* should, naturally, be included in the present discussion.

Helmer Smith (Pj II 3, 768, s.v.) compares the Pa word with Āyār *busimanta* (supra). - K.R. Norman takes it as representing Sk **vaśamat* ("The labialisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan", StIIr 2 (1976), 41-58, § 2.9 and n. 38; cf. § 3.5 and n. 56). - PED, s.v. *vusimant*, notes that it is "difficult to explain", and refers to the two (even) pādas A IV 340 (14*b) and Sn 1115(f): in both, *v.* is seen to follow *brāhmaṇa*.

A IV 340, 2-13 (prose) gives eight equivalents (*adhivacana*) for *tathāgata*, successively, *samaṇa*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vedagū*, etc. In the versified passage 14*ff., *brāhmaṇena* is immediately followed by *vusimatā*, glossed in Mp IV 159,3: *vusimatā ti brahmacariya-vāsaṃ vutthena*; hence Hare's translation of the sutta, "by brāhmaṇa by god-life" (GS IV 223 and n.4).

In Sn, the gen. sg. *vusimato* (here again at the end of the pāda) is preceded by *tassa brāhmanassa*, which refers to the Tathāgata; the corresponding gloss (Pj II 601) is *vusita-vāsassa*, generally taken to mean "having led a pure life", having observed brahmacarya. Nevertheless, the Sn context is concerned essentially with the real knowledge and insight of the Tathāgata, whom Posāla has come to question (Sn 1112-1115), for he is eager to know the philosophical views of the Master:

etaṃ āññaṃ tathaṃ tassa brāhmanassa vusimato.

Thus, the Pa evidence is similar to what has been observed in the Jaina tradition. The adjective *vusima(t)* appears to be an archaic survival, confined to more or less set phrases and places; the earlier occurrences seem to refer predominantly to the supreme knowledge and perfection of a Tathāgata; later, the commentaries tend to insist preferably on the chaste life led by him who observes restraint, compare supra and n. 31.

In BHSD, on the other hand, the following forms are registered: *b/vṛṣikā* - *b/vṛṣikā* - *visikā*. No possessive adjective is quoted.

Addenda ad Utt 5,18; 29 (supra p. 81)

In fact, some comparatively old manuscripts of Utt appear to write *busimao*.

A short visit (in February 1989) to the L.D. Institute of Indology and the L.D. Museum, Ahmedabad (whom I thank for the kind help extended to me on this occasion) provided an opportunity to check the readings in four mss. of their collection. They are:

Ms. 26105 (V.S. 1456 = A.D. 1400), fol. 80 a 12 - 80 b 1 and 82 a 14 (Utt. 5. 18d and 29b): *vusimao*.

Illustrated ms. no. 55 (V.S. 1548 = A.D. 1492), fol. 9 b (at present in the L.D. Museum; Utt 29 b): *busimao* (ct.: *vaṣyavatām*).

Ms. no. 23100 (beginning of XVIth cent.), fol. 8 a 3 and 8 b 2: *busimao*.

Ms. no. 23102 (V.S. 1569 = A.D. 1513), fol. 11 b 9 and 12 b 3: *busimao* (hesitatingly).



Rāma and Sītā on a raft, painting in Vat Bho, Siem Rāp, Cambodia (drawing by Odette Mukherjee, after a cliché by Madeleine Giteau).

According to Mlle. Giteau, this painting could refer to a passage in the Khmer Rāmakerti. Cf. Rāmakerti (XVIe.-XVIIe. siècles). Traduit et commenté par Saveros Pou, and Texte khmer publié par Saveros Pou, Paris, 1977, 1979, EFEO 110, 117.

Stanzas 623-627 run thus (translation by Saveros Pou):

623. After listening to the Lord (= Rām), who was worried about how to take gentle Sītā across the huge river inhabited by dangerous aquatic beasts, Laks who is very keen on looking after his elders,

624. determines to save them any worry. Thus, he fells some trees with his divine and keen sword, fastens the trunks

625. into a raft upon which he sets a couch. He picks flowers, strews them over it and makes some thick and heavy garlands.

626. He, thus, achieves a heavenly flower-rug to cover the divinely magnificent raft.

627. Then, he humbly presents it to his elders who embark for the crossing, whilst he himself swims along and guides the raft.

[My thanks are due to Mmes. Giteau, Mukherjee and Pou for their kind help.]