Abstract
Early Statements Relating to the Lay Community in the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon
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In this thesis I examine various statements relating to the Jain lay

community in the early Śvetāmbara texts. My approach is deliberately and

consistently historical. The earliest extant Śvetāmbara writing presents an almost

exclusively negative view of all non-mendicants. In the context of competition

with other religious groups to gain the respect and material support of members

of the general population, the Śvetāmbara mendicants began to compose

positive statements about a lay community. Instead of interpreting the key terms

and formulations in these early statements anachronistically on the basis of the

later and systematized account of lay Jain religiosity, I attempt to trace how the

idea of lay Jainism and its distinctive practices gradually came into being. The

more familiar account that is often taken as the basis for understanding earlier

sources in fact emerges as the end product of this long history.

This historical reconstruction poses numerous challenges. There is little

reliable historical scholarship to draw from in carrying out this investigation. In the

absence of a widely accepted account of the formation of the Śvetāmbara canon,

the dates of the canonical sources that I examine remain uncertain. I argue that

by focusing on key passages relating to the Jain lay community it is possible to

establish a relative chronology for the composition of some of these passages

and for the compilation of some of the texts in which they appear. I thus suggest it is possible to observe development in the strategies employed by the mendicants as part of their effort to establish and maintain relations with a community of householders who respected and regularly supported them. What I offer here is a preliminary but important step toward writing a critical and comprehensive history of lay Jainism. More broadly, scholars of monastic religious traditions may be interested in this account of how one group of ascetics in ancient India garnered lay support and developed a role for non-monastic members of the community.

Early Statements Relating to the Lay Community in the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon

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Andrew More

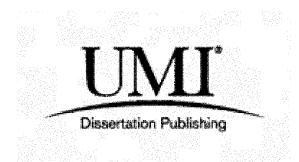Dissertation Director: Phyllis Granoff

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Chapter Two: The Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga* in the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara Canon

Chapter Three: Development of the List of Twelve Lay Vows

I dedicate this work to my parents and the rest of my family. I want to thank my supervisors for helping me to develop as a scholar and to improve this thesis. Thank you in advance to the professors who have agreed to be my dissertation readers. I also want to thank all of the professors and colleagues I have had throughout my academic career, all of the scholars whose work I have built upon, all of my friends, and everyone who has helped me during my time as a student or who has had a positive influence in my life to this point. I am honored that through this work I have associated myself with the Jain religion.

Introduction

In this thesis I discuss passages relating to the Jain lay community[1] that

are preserved in many of the Aṅgas and Uvaṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon.[2] My

approach is deliberately and consistently historical. I present a hypothetical

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[1] We find various terms used for "non-mendicants" and "the Jain lay community" in the Śvetāmbara canon. The subject of the passage discussed in my first chapter (which I take to be one of the earliest extensive statements about the Jain lay community) is "some men" (*saṃtegaiyā maṇussā*). The subject of the passage discussed in my second chapter is the "follower of the samaṇas" (*samaṇovāsaga*) and I argue that this term represents the ideal member of the lay community. In some other passages lay Jains are referred to as "householders" (*agāra*) in contrast to Jain mendicants who are referred to as "houseless" (*aṇagāra*). I will discuss these and other terms used for the Jain lay community in my second chapter. Hoernle suggests that a translation of the term *uvāsaga* with the English term layman "imports a set of ideas foreign to Jainism." (Hoernle 1885-90, 1, note 1) I use "lay person" in want of a better term for the householders who respected and supported the Jain mendicants.

[2] The early Śvetāmbara texts are usually listed as 45 in number, divided among the following categories: 12 Aṅgas (11 extant), 12 Uvaṅgas, 6 Cheyasuttas, 4 Mūlasuttas, 10 Paiṇṇaga, and 2 Cūliyāsuttas. In my study I have examined the following Aṅgas and Uvaṅgas: *Āyāraṃga, Sūyagaḍaṃga, Viyāhapannatti, Nāyādhammakahāo, Uvāsagadasāo, Aṃtagaḍadasāo, Vivāgasuyaṃ, Uvavāiya, Rāyapaseṇaīya, Jambuddīvapannatti,* and *Nirayāvalī.* I have thus read 7 of the 11 extant Aṅgas and 8 of the 12 Uvaṅgas. Note that the eighth Uvaṅga, the *Nirayāvalī,* consists of five texts (i.e. it also contains the ninth through twelfth Uvaṅgas). This body of material (with the exception of the *Āyāraṃga* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga*) can basically be considered the "story-literature" of the canon. I set out to study the "story-literature" because, as I will note again below in this introduction, scholars have previously associated this literature with the Jain lay community. I included the *Āyāraṃga* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* because these texts contain the earliest extant Jain writings and are considered the most authoritative Śvetāmbara texts. In addition to these Aṅgas and Uvaṅgas I read other early Śvetāmbara texts that seemed relevant for a study of the lay community and that were easily accessible, including the *Uttarādhyayana* and the *Āyāradasāo.* The *Uttarādhyayana* is listed as one of the Mūlasuttas. The *Āyāradasāo* (also called the *Daśāśrutaskaṃdha*) is one of the Cheyasuttas. It contains the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, one of the most important early Śvetāmbara texts. At times I also mention Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtra,* a text claimed by both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras (Dundas 2002, 86-87). Though I have included only 17 of the 45 texts usually found in a listing of the early Śvetāmbara literature, in making general statements about the texts I have studied as a group, mainly for the sake of convenience, I sometimes refer to "the Śvetāmbara canon". I ask the reader to keep in mind that my conclusions apply only to the texts I have studied. I will note below that I believe it appropriate to describe the texts included in this study as being part of a "canon" even though there are various listings of authoritative Śvetāmbara texts showing significant variation. I should also note here that I refer at a few points in this thesis to passages from Buddhist and Brahmanical texts.

reconstruction of the chronology of the passages and I discuss the possible

motivations of the anonymous monastic authors and compilers who produced

and arranged them.[3] The basic framework for this hypothetical reconstruction

derives from the fact that the earliest extant Śvetāmbara literature[4] presents an

almost entirely negative view of all modes of life apart from that of the Jain

mendicant (i.e. a negative view of all non-Jain mendicant groups as well as all

non-mendicants).[5] Jainism was thus originally an exclusively monastic tradition.[6]

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[3] The term "author" refers to the monks who composed the individual passages. The term "compiler" refers to the monks who brought various passages together to form a text. This distinction is sometimes problematic as in the case of a passage in a text that was created through a reworking of material occurring in other texts. It should also be noted that in some cases the "author" of a passage and the "compiler" of the text in which the passage occurs could have been the same person. At times in this thesis I use phrases like "the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon" in reference to the particular unidentified monks who wrote and compiled the individual passages and texts as well as in reference to the group of monks who accepted the texts as orthodox. Though I do not present arguments about the location of the production of the passages that I examine, it seems that the material in the Śvetāmbara canon was accepted as orthodox by Jain monks in north-western India in the early centuries of the Common Era. Dundas has suggested that in the early centuries of the Common Era the activities of Jain mendicants were centered around fixed dwellings in temples and monasteries (Dundas 1997a, 507).

[4] On the basis of analysis of the language and meter it is widely accepted that the first books (suyakkhamdha) of the Āyāraṃga and Sūyagaḍaṃga (the first and second of the Aṅgas) represent the earliest extant Jain textual material (Johnson 1995, 4). Schubring states that Jacobi suggested a date for this material of about the fourth or third century BCE (Schubring 1962, 81).

[5] In the earliest extant Śvetāmbara textual passages the emphasis is on the importance of the fact that the monk is homeless; residing in the home, with all its attendant attachments and necessary acts of violence, is almost always absolutely negatively valued (Dixit 1972, 9; Dixit 1978, 4, 12, and 17; Johnson 1995, 23ff). There are a few stray positive verses about householders in texts that are generally thought to be relatively early and I will mention these in chapter two, but there are no extensive positive statements about householders in what is considered the earliest extant Jain literature.

[6] Folkert has discussed the fact that Jainism is fundamentally a monastic tradition and has suggested that Jainism is thus different from most other religions with respect to the way in which the monastic and lay ideals appear (Folkert 1993, 177-179). His presentation basically lines up

Yet, it is clear from the earliest extant literature and from later material that the

Jain mendicants were in competition with other religious groups to gain the

respect and material support of non-mendicant members of the general

population.[7] It is in these circumstances, it seems, that the Jain mendicant elite

composed and incorporated into their texts positive statements about a

community of householders among the general population by whom the

mendicants hoped to be respected and regularly supported (i.e. they decided to

with the idea presented by other scholars that the exclusively negative view of non-mendicants in the earliest texts indicates a historical situation in which the Jain lay community did not exist (Dixit 1978, 4-5; Johnson 1995, 5, 27-29). Dundas has pointed out that, though the earliest extant literature does not mention a lay community, we can assume that there has always been at least semi-regular contact between Jain mendicants and householders (Dundas 1997a, 495-6, 510). These householders might be thought of as a "lay community" depending on how one decides to define such a community. When discussing the distinction between the earliest Jain texts, which do not mention the lay community, and later texts, which do mention the lay community, Dixit suggests there was a gradual division of the general population into lay communities associated with specific monastic groups occurring around the time of Aśoka (Dixit 1972, 8-9). It is impossible to tell whether or not Dixit's views are entirely accurate. As I will note again at the end of this introduction, in this thesis I am not concerned with the history of the Jain lay community, but rather with the history of the statements about the Jain lay community made by the authors and compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon.

[7] Dundas has noted that the early Jain mendicants were in competition with other religious groups to gain followers (Dundas 2003, 125). Ohira has also pointed out that during certain stages of the production of the Śvetāmbara canon there was aggressive propagation and counter-propagation among the various religious groups to dominate the others and to defend their own followers from being enticed by the others (Ohira 1982, 122). Based on analysis of early Buddhist texts, Harrison has described the first five centuries after the death of the Buddha as a time of ideological contestation in which various religious groups laid claim to the respect and material support of members of the general population (Harrison 1995, 63). In this thesis I will discuss references to what seem to be non-Jain lay communities in various early Jain texts including the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

write about a Jain "lay community").[8] References to the Jain lay community in the

Śvetāmbara canon should thus be seen in the context of competition among

various groups of religious elite[9] with respect to the goal of establishing and

maintaining ties with non-mendicant members of the population.

The early Śvetāmbara literature that I examine here can be said to form

part of a "canon" in the sense that these texts represent the positions of the

religious elite at the time of their composition and compilation.[10] Yet, there is

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[8] Dundas writes: "The gradual consolidation of Jain identity and the necessity for an expanding ascetic community to be supported on a regular basis led to an early acceptance of the lay estate as constituting a vocation in its own right." (Dundas 2002, 187)

[9] In speaking of a "religious elite" I mean, for each tradition, men of the type who wrote and accepted as orthodox the texts that we now have.

[10] The English word "canon" is used to signify a list of authoritative texts or authors, especially the books of the Bible (Guillory 1995, 233). The compilers of the biblical canon included work that they deemed orthodox and excluded work deemed heretical (Guillory 1995, 233). Likewise, it seems obvious that the passages included in the 45 texts that are generally considered to make up the Śvetāmbara canon represent the views of the mendicants who composed and compiled them. Some scholars have questioned use of the term "canon" for the early Śvetāmbara texts given the variation in the various traditional Śvetāmbara listings of authoritative texts (Folkert 1993, 47-48, 87; Bruhn 1981, 12). There are numerous similar versions of the list of the 45 texts showing variation in the number of texts, the division of the texts into classes, the names of the classes, the order of the texts in each class, and the names of the individual texts (Weber 1893, 7; Folkert 1993, 44-45; Bruhn 1987a, 102; Kapadia 1941, 53-55, 58). Furthermore, it seems that lists of this type are a late development, first appearing in the thirteenth century (Folkert 1993, 49; Kapadia 1941, 29, 34-35, 58). There are earlier listings of Jain scriptures preserved in four of the texts included in the medieval lists of 45 (i.e. the *Thāṇaṃga, Samavāyaṃga, Naṃdī Sutta,* and *Aṇuogaddārāiṃ*) and these listings show a different mode of classification where the Aṅgas are set apart from all other texts (Weber 1893, 2-7; Kapadia 1941, 20-27; Folkert 1993, 46-8; Bruhn 1987a, 102ff). In these early lists the non-Aṅga texts are subdivided primarily using the obscure terms *kāliya* and *ukkāliya* (Folkert 1993, 46, Kapadia 1941, 24, 26ff). The early lists include the titles of some texts that are no longer extant (Weber 1893, 5-7; Kapadia 1941, 24-26). It should further be noted that the 45 texts in the standard list of the Śvetāmbara canon do not have the same degree of authority for all of the various Jain groups. The Sthānakavāsins, a Jain monastic group originating in the fifteenth century, accept only 32 of the list of 45, omitting the ten Paiṇṇaga, the two Cūliyāsuttas, and one of the four Mūlasuttas (Kapadia 1941, 27, 43-44; Bruhn

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significant variation in the passages relating to the Jain lay community in the

Śvetāmbara canon and the statements are sometimes inconsistent or even

contradictory. It seems that the compilers were willing to include in the texts

whatever statements they felt should represent the orthodox position with respect

to the laity even when these statements added something new or contradicted

existing orthodox statements.[11] In reading the various passages relating to the

lay community I have created a typology. In discussing the passages I have

attempted to establish a chronology of the examples within a particular type or to

argue that one type of passage is earlier than another type. It appears to me that

the various types of statements relating to the Jain lay community represent

stages in the efforts of the mendicant compilers of the texts to promote and

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1987a, 100). Digambara attitudes to the Śvetāmbara texts are complex. They have their own set of scriptures and sometimes claim that the Śvetāmbara canonical texts are substitutes bearing the same titles as the original teachings (Folkert 1993, 49-50). Yet, some Digambara texts contain detailed information about the Śvetāmbara texts when discussing authoritative scripture (Shin 2007, 1ff). Finally, it should also be noted that both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras refer to a set of fourteen texts called the Puvvas that are now lost (Weber 1893, 2; Kapadia 1941, 70ff; Bruhn 1987a, 104). Given the variation in the listings of the texts and in the degree of authority that the texts hold, it is appropriate to qualify our use of the term "canon". Nonetheless, in my view the term remains useful in the sense of its primary meaning as "orthodox literature".

[11] In the first place, it does not seem to have been a significant problem for the mendicant compilers to include passages containing positive statements about the lay community in the same texts containing passages that condemned all modes of life apart from Jain mendicancy. In this thesis I demonstrate that we can observe the mendicant compilers attempt to resolve specific tensions or modify orthodox positions relating to the lay community by placing an existing passage in a new context, by modifying an existing passage, or by creating a new passage. There is also evidence indicating that the mendicant compilers at times attempted to cover up the fact that there was a historical development in the orthodox positions relating to the lay community, as I will discuss in my third chapter.

solidify relationships with a community of non-ascetics.[12] This view differs from

the traditional explanations for the variations in the passages, according to which

the key terms and formulations in what appear to be the earliest statements

about the lay community are interpreted anachronistically on the basis of the later

and systematized account of lay Jain religiosity (as represented especially in the

medieval śrāvakācāra literature).[13] I argue that the systematized account in fact

emerges as the end product of a long history. The passages relating to the Jain

lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon tell us what issues were important for

the mendicants and what strategies they employed in their effort to form and

maintain relations with a lay community. In cases where we can establish

chronological relationships among the passages we can observe how these

strategies evolved and how the important issues changed.

The establishment of chronological relationships among some of the early

passages relating to the lay community is significant because the biggest

obstacle in the study of early Jainism is that the dates of the composition of the

various passages in the early Śvetāmbara texts are uncertain and very little is

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[12] I have viewed the variations in the passages as reflecting historical development. It is perhaps also possible, given how segmented the early Jain community was, that some variations reflect regional differences and/or sectarian bias.

[13] I will mention this point again below when I discuss existing modern scholarly representations of lay Jainism.

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known about the process and dates of the compilation of the texts.[14] As I have

noted above, it is widely accepted that the first books (*suyakkhaṃdha*) of the

Āyāraṃga and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* (the first and second of the Aṅgas) represent the

earliest extant Śvetāmbara literature, perhaps dating from the fourth or third

century BCE.[15] However, the dating of the composition and compilation of almost

all of the other material in the Śvetāmbara canon remains debatable. It would

likely be generally accepted that the composition and compilation of the

passages I examine in this thesis occurred either in the final few centuries Before

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[14] The material in the Śvetāmbara canon spans almost a thousand years, perhaps dating from as early as 300 BCE and as late as 700 CE (Ohira 1994, 1, 3; Folkert 1993, 44). The various passages in the texts can only be roughly dated. In speaking of the date of an entire text, we can usually speak only of the date of compilation since the texts are in most cases made up of passages dating from various periods. In addition, for some texts there may be various stages in the process of compilation. Dundas suggests that the difficulty of dating the texts of the Śvetāmbara canon is the problem that has "the widest implication for the general interpretation of early historic India." (Dundas 2006, 385) He also provides an overview of what is known about the writing and compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon (Dundas 2006, 383-90). It appears that there was a single recension for most of the texts and that this recension was established through an editorial process that culminated in the fourth century council at Mathurā and the councils at Valabhī in the fourth and fifth centuries CE (Folkert 1993, 46; Dundas 2006, 389; Kapadia 1941, 61ff). There is no comprehensive study of the references to these councils and it is not entirely clear what happened at the councils. Early scholars (such as Jacobi 1879, 14ff, and Schubring 1926/2004, 1) tended to see the extant versions of the Aṅgas, Uvāṅgas, Cheyasuttas, and so on, as resulting from the last council in Valabhī (Folkert 1993, 46). Yet, it is not clear if this is the case. Weber notes that a hand "aiming at unification and order" has been brought to bear especially on the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas and he associates such order with the redaction of the texts, which he suggests occurred between the second and the fifth centuries CE (Weber 1893, 8, 11). In particular, Weber associates the recurring descriptions in many of the texts (the *varṇakas* or *vaṇṇao*) with the period of redaction (Weber 1893, 9). This may well be accurate, though Weber also notes that the present state of the texts is not the same as that produced at the councils, since there is evidence of numerous variant readings, lost passages, and interpolations, in addition to changes in the grammar and vocabulary (Weber 1893, 8).

[15] Johnson 1995, 4; Schubring 1962, 81.

the Common Era or else sometime in the first five centuries of the Common

Era.[16] The contribution that I make is to present specific arguments about the

relative chronology of particular passages. My work supports the idea that a

focus on passages relating to a particular theme (in this case the lay community)

can help us to improve our understanding of the chronology and process of

compilation of the early Śvetāmbara texts.[17]

In my first two chapters I focus on two passages that occur consecutively

in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.[18] The same two passages also occur consecutively in the

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[16] I say this thinking that that statements relating to the lay community were produced later than the material in the first books of the *Āyāraṃga* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga*, which, as I have noted, Jacobi dates to about the fourth or third century BCE (Schubring 1962, 81). The passages that I discuss were likely composed and the texts were likely compiled at various points before or around the time of the councils at Valabhī in the fourth and fifth centuries CE.

[17] Dixit has suggested that analysis of the contents of the texts is the best method for determining the chronology (Dixit 1972, 2). He offers four themes the analysis of which he suggests would be useful for tracing the historical development of the Jain texts: 1. treatment of ethical problems, 2. discussion of the laity, 3. monastic rules, 4. ontological problems (Dixit 1972, 13). In this thesis I discuss the dates and chronology of the passages only relative to the contents of the texts. For the most part, I have not considered other methods for dating the texts, such as analysis of the language, grammar, style, meter, and extant commentaries. The main exception to this is that I occasionally comment on the use of particular terminology with respect to the lay community as being indicative of the age of a passage. For general comments on the method of dating texts through analysis of the language, grammar, style, and meter see Dixit and Weber (Dixit 1972, 2, 13-14; Weber 1893, 5, 9-11). See Alsdorf on the subject of dating texts on the basis of the commentaries and see Deo for a list of the commentaries associated with the various texts (Alsdorf 1977/1998, 822; Deo 1956, 30-1).

[18] The *Sūyagaḍaṃga* is the second Aṅga. It is divided into two books (*suyakkhaṃdha*), which are each divided into lectures (*ajjhayana*). The passages that I focus on in this thesis occur in the second lecture of the second book (i.e. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2). The passages are sections 75 and 76 of this lecture in Jacobi's translation (Jacobi 1895, 381-4; Nathamal 1974a, 397-8).

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Uvavāiya.[19] The first of the passages, discussed in the first chapter of my thesis,

occurs only in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya.* I hypothesize that this

passage is one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the Jain lay

community in the Śvetāmbara canon. This passage presents the idea that non-

mendicants will attain a good form of rebirth depending on the degree to which

they behave like Jain mendicants.[20] This logic minimized inconsistency with the

earliest extant Jain writing (where Jain mendicancy is presented as the only

praiseworthy mode of living), but it also represents a significant development in

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[19] The *Uvavāiya* is the first Uvāṅga. There are no sub-divisions in this text, though there are basically two parts. The passages that I focus on in the first and second chapters of this thesis occur in the second part, close to the end of the text (Leumann 1883, §123-4, p.82).

[20] In an article entitled "Soteriology in Early Jainism," Bruhn suggests that the Jain texts offer no "clear answer to the question "how does a man or woman reach salvation?"" Yet, we often read in the texts that a householder can attain a positive form of rebirth by behaving like a Jain monk some of the time and in some respects. This answer, I think, satisfies the requirements that Bruhn stipulates in his article (Bruhn 1987b, 83). In discussing the Jain tradition, scholars sometimes focus on the fact that, according to some textual passages, only Jain mendicants can attain the ultimate soteriological goal of release from the cycle of rebirth. For example, Folkert states that, in the Jain tradition, the "basic teachings explicitly require the ascetic life-style in order for the human being to attain liberation or salvation" and that "there is no hope of salvation for anyone living outside of monastic orders." (Folkert 1993, 178) However, it is only the earliest parts of the earliest texts which contain no positive statements about householders and which explicitly require the ascetic life-style in order for one to attain a positive form of rebirth. The passage discussed in my first chapter, which I take to be one of the earliest extensive positive statements about some householders, refers to the soteriological possibilities of householders in the same manner as of ascetics. This is the case also in a few other passages that I take to be relatively early. I believe that it is partly in response to such passages that the compilers produced passages differentiating the soteriological possibilities of ascetics from those of householders by stating that householders are unable to attain the ultimate goal of *mokṣa* (what Folkert may mean with the phrase "liberation or salvation") and can only be born in one of the heavens. In making a distinction between the soteriological possibilities for laymen and mendicants the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon are able to offer a reason why mendicant life is necessary even while legitimating lay life. I will return to this issue briefly in my first chapter.

that it allows householders partial access to the spiritual benefits resulting from Jain monastic life. The compilers develop this logic in later canonical passages by legitimating temporary and partial engagement by members of the lay community in the types of "ascetic practice" undertaken by mendicants. The logic presented in this early passage thus underlies the standard list of lay vows (discussed in my third chapter) and much of the extensive literature relating to the lay community that emerges in the medieval period.

In my first chapter I argue that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied this early statement relating to the lay community (as well as the passage that follows it) from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Furthermore, I suggest that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* produced the second part of the text specifically in response to an inconsistency in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 the legitimating of lay life in so far as it approximates Jain mendicant behavior is problematic because in the same lecture the behavior of non-Jain ascetics (whose mode of living also approximates that of the Jain mendicant) is absolutely condemned. In response to this, the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* includes the passages about lay Jains from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as part of a hierarchy of beings (including also various classes of non-Jain ascetics) who will attain some form of divine rebirth because their modes of life were, in some respects, similar to Jain mendicant life. In considering this motivation for the compilation of the second part of the *Uvavāiya*,

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as well as the fact that the first part of the *Uvavāiya* includes what I believe to be

the earliest example of what becomes the standard listing of the lay vows (as I

will discuss in my third chapter), I suggest that this text should be considered

particularly important in any discussion of the legitimating of lay life in the Jain

tradition.

The passage discussed in my second chapter describes the

samaṇovāsaga ("follower of the samaṇas"), a term that I argue refers to the ideal

member of the Jain lay community. This is the second of the two consecutive

passages relating to the lay community in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*.

This passage also occurs in full at a number of other places in the Śvetāmbara

canon and is referred to in shorthand at almost every mention of the lay

community.[21] Because this passage occurs so frequently I refer to it as "the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*". This passage was likely the first

attempt to produce a description of the ideal Jain householder establishing

specific beliefs and behaviors as normative for the lay community. I suggest that

this passage may have been created at a later point than the passage discussed

in my first chapter since it employs a specific term for the Jain layman

(*samaṇovāsaga*) not seen in the other passage and because it offers a more

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[21] In the editions that I have used, in addition to its occurrence in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the
Uvavāiya, the full version of this passage occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, the *Viyāhapannatti*, the
Rāyapaseṇaīya and the *Uvāsagadasāo*. There are numerous shorthand references to the
passage, as I will note in my second chapter.

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developed statement about the Jain lay community. Nonetheless, there are various reasons to believe that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is relatively early among the various statements relating to the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon.[22]

I examine each section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in detail. In this passage the compilers present the lay community primarily as a group of householders who do not doubt that soteriological goals are attained through the forms of asceticism practiced by the Jain mendicant community. Furthermore, the final section of the passage states that the *samaṇovāsaga* at times engages in ascetic practice. The passage thus maintains the logic of the legitimating of lay life seen in the passage discussed in my first chapter, namely that householders can attain a good rebirth if they behave like Jain mendicants. In some versions of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (such as those occurring in the *Uvavāiya* and the *Uvāsagadasāo*) the final section

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[22] One reason the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* seems to be relatively early is that it contains what I take to be a relatively early listing of the *tattvas* (existent things). The *tattvas* summarize a Jain model of the contents and dynamics of the universe (Dundas 2002, 96). The usual list of *tattvas* contains seven or nine terms, while in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* we find eleven terms. The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* also seems to be a relatively early statement about the lay community because it does not contain explicit reference to what became the standard list of the twelve lay vows (i.e. the five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*). Rather, we find a phrase (i.e. *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*) that I take to be an early representation of the lay vows from a period before the list of twelve vows was formulated or became standard. Finally, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* includes what I take to be a relatively early statement about the ritual observance of specific days associated with the cycle of the moon (i.e. the *posaha* days). I will discuss all of this in detail in my second chapter.

(mentioning ascetic practice) is dropped. I argue that the versions in which the final section of the passage is dropped are later examples and I attempt to explain why the change occurred.

In the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*, in the second to last section, we also read that a Jain layman donates alms to Jain mendicants. I will point out that this part of the passage is related to a prohibition against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics that occurs in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. The sentiments seen in this prohibition are also seen in the commentaries on the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*. The prohibition reflects a strategy employed in the context of competition with other religious groups and can thus be seen in relation to the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics that occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and elsewhere in the Śvetāmbara canon. I have noted above that it is problematic to legitimate lay life in so far as it approximates Jain mendicant life while also condemning non-Jain ascetics (whose mode of living also approximates that of the Jain mendicant). Nonetheless, the compilers want to say that mendicants in the Jain tradition are exclusively deserving of respect and support or at least more so than non-Jain mendicants. At the same time, though they present mendicant life as ideal, the compilers attempt to present Jain lay life (i.e. a domestic mode of life) as preferable to non-Jain mendicant life. One

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strategy that the mendicants employ in their attempt to accomplish this is to

emphasize the importance of a correct understanding of Jain doctrine.

In my third and final chapter I discuss the numerous references to the lay

vows in the Śvetāmbara canon.[23] It seems clear that the passages discussed in

my first two chapters both predate the establishment of what became the

standard list of twelve vows because, though both passages contain sections

that clearly relate to what became the standard list, neither passage refers to all

twelve of the vows.[24] As I will discuss in my third chapter, there are also a

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[23] What became the standard presentation of the lay vows includes five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*. In the various lists of the twelve vows in the Śvetāmbara canon there is variation in the naming of the individual vows, the order in which the vows are listed, the manner in which the vows are categorized, and the naming of the categories. The twelve lay vows are basically as follows: 1. to desist from excessive inflicting of harm on living beings (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*); 2. to desist from excessive falsehood (*thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ*); 3. to desist from excessive theft (*thūlāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ*); 4. to desist from excessive sex (*thūlāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ*); 5. to desist from excessive accumulation of property (*thūlāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ*); 6. vow relating to the directions (*disivvayaṃ*); 7. restricting one's objects of enjoyment (*uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*); 8. to desist from harm committed without a purpose (*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*); 9. focused ascetic-like practice (*sāmāiyaṃ*); 10. restricting one's sphere of activity to a single place (*desāvagāsiyaṃ*); 11. the posaha fast (*posahovavāso*); 12. sharing with guests or donation of alms (*atihisaṃvibhāgo*).

[24] The passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter contains a version of the five *aṇuvratas* that is different from the version that became standard. In the usual listing of the five *aṇuvratas* we find that the lay community desist from excessive (*thūlāo*) engagement in each action, whereas the mendicants desist completely (*savvāo*) from each action. In the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter, in the place where we read that the mendicants abstain from each activity for their entire lives (*savvāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe*) we read for each vow that the lay people partly abstain and partly do not (*egaccāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā*). The passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 does not include mention of the other seven lay vows and thus I believe that it predates the point when the list of twelve lay vows was formulated or became standard. I have noted above that the passage discussed in my second chapter (i.e. the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*) contains a phrase (i.e. *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*) that is related to the list of twelve lay vows. The term *posahovavāsa*, for example, occurs as one of the *śikṣāvratas*. Yet, the standard description

number of other passages referring to the lay vows that appear to predate the development of the standard list of twelve. I argue that in developing the list of twelve vows the compilers incorporated specific practices mentioned in earlier textual passages. Further, after the compilers produced the standard list of twelve vows we can see development in the explanations of the vows and in the terms used to categorize the vows. In some cases we lack adequate documentation and we are left to speculate about what the mendicants had in mind when adopting a particular term or why they have introduced a particular change. In discussing these undocumented or less-documented elements I draw attention to the tentative nature of my arguments by calling them "speculative". However, there is extensive evidence supporting my central thesis in the chapter, that the list of twelve lay vows developed after many of the other statements relating to the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon. In attributing the teaching of the twelve lay vows to Mahāvīra we can observe the efforts of the compilers to obscure the fact that the list developed at a relatively late point. These efforts were successful in that, once it developed, the list of twelve lay vows became the standard way of describing lay Jain life.

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of the *samaṇovāsaga* does not mention all twelve of the lay vows explicitly and so I believe that it also dates to a period before the list of twelve vows was formulated or became standard.

In reading the passages relating to the lay community we can observe that the compilers attempt to resolve various tensions that arise from the decision to legitimate lay life by suggesting that householders can attain a good rebirth if they behave at least to some extent like Jain mendicants. I have noted above a tension relating to the attempt on the part of the compilers to present Jain mendicants as exclusively deserving of material support and to present Jain lay life as preferable to non-Jain mendicant life. A further problem that resulted from the development of the descriptions of the ideal lay Jain engaging in forms of ascetic practice is that not all members of the lay community could live up to the ideal. The compilers recognized this and eventually produced passages acknowledging that there will be variation in lay practice. The compilers also sometimes felt it necessary to emphasize that Jain lay practice is inferior to Jain mendicant practice. For example, as I mentioned in note 20 above and as I discuss at a few points in this thesis, we can observe a move on the part of the compilers to clearly differentiate the possible forms of rebirth of a Jain layman from those of a Jain mendicant, a distinction not seen in some of the early passages relating to the lay community.

Scholars are already well aware that the compilers of the Śvetāmbara

canon present lay Jainism as a form of mendicant life.[25] However, in the existing

scholarly literature there is little mention of the passages that I focus on here; this

reflects the fact that there has been no previous analysis of the historical

development of the statements relating to the lay community in the Śvetāmbara

canon.[26] Existing scholarly discussion of textual accounts of the Jain laity is

based on material that was produced later than most of the passages discussed

in my thesis, especially the medieval manuals for lay conduct (the śrāvakācāra

literature).[27] Though I have not studied in detail the relationships between the

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[25] For example, Dundas writes: "The lay path as described in the Śvetāmbara scriptures is heavily imbued with ascetic values." (Dundas 2002, 187) Folkert notes that according to the Jain textual tradition "lay life is seen as preparation for sādhuhood." (Folkert 1993, 170). Carrithers writes: "The question is: how could such a creed, so designedly opposed in all matters to everyday life, become a religion of ordinary people? The short answer is that Jainism developed a code of lay practice - śrāvakācāra, literally 'listener's deportment'. This was conceived as a diluted version of the ascetic's code, as lower steps on the ladder to true asceticism. The lay life was recognized as inferior to the ascetic's life, but at the same time a distinctly Jain identity for laymen was created. Jains were not only those who supported Jain ascetics, but also those who behaved in a particular way...This much is already clear from R. Williams' pioneering study *Jaina Yoga* (Williams 1963), which lays out in detail the precepts of the śrāvakācāra literature [i.e. the medieval manuals on lay conduct]." (Carrithers 1991, 15)

[26] Ohira's work on the *Viyāhapannatti* is perhaps an exception, though she is focused on the chronology of the various passages in one text and not specifically on passages relating to the laity. Johnson's work should also be noted. Though he does not specifically examine references to the lay community, he does suggest that almost all doctrinal development in the early Jain tradition should be associated with the move to legitimate lay life (Johnson 1995, 81).

[27] Williams' book *Jaina Yoga* (1963) on the medieval śrāvakācāra literature has been influential. Williams refers to passages in the Śvetāmbara canon at times, but this is not his focus. Early scholars tended to present lay Jainism in terms of the twelve vows and the idea that there are stages in lay life culminating in a mode of behavior very similar to the Jain mendicant (Cort 1990, 47). These ideas are seen in the Śvetāmbara canon as well as the medieval śrāvakācāra literature. Following the practice of early scholars, when describing "the textual tradition"

medieval manuals and the passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, it appears that

the medieval literature builds on passages in the Śvetāmbara canon that are

relatively late and attempts to smooth over the inconsistencies in the earlier

texts.[28] I will note at various points in this thesis that, when discussing what I take

to be the earliest statements about the lay community, the medieval

commentators generally interpret key terms and formulations anachronistically on

the basis of the later and systematized account of lay Jain religiosity. Likewise,

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(meaning the early Jain texts) Folkert refers to the lay vows and the *paḍimāo* (which in this context refer to stages of lay life, beginning with adoption of the Jain faith and culminating in ascetic-like retirement) (Folkert 1993, 169-170). He cites the work of Jaini 1979, 157-187 and Williams 1963, 55-181. In my third chapter I show that the list of twelve lay vows is a relatively late development in the Śvetāmbara canon. Though I do not discuss references to the *paḍimāo* in this thesis, I can note here that I believe the list of the *uvāsagapaḍimāo* in the *Āyāradasāo* to have developed after the passages that I discuss in this thesis and to have developed partly in attempt to give order to earlier passages (such as those occurring in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7) that allow for various modes of acceptable lay behavior. Scholarly discussion of lay Jainism also commonly mentions the *guṇasthānas* (another categorization of stages of life, beginning with those who possess wrong views and culminating with the state just before death of one who has attained the ultimate spiritual goal) and the *āvaśyakas* (a list of six specific ritual practices for Jain mendicants, of which there is also a lay version). The first of the *āvaśyakas* (*sāmāyika*, referring to ascetic practice of some sort) is also listed as one of the twelve lay vows. The other *āvaśyakas* include: praise of the Jinas, homage to the teacher (*vandana*), repentance (*pratikramaṇa*), positioning the body in a specific ascetic posture (*kāyotsarga*), and abandonment of various transgressions (*pratyākhyāna*) (Dundas 2002, 169-172). The text first describing the *āvaśyakas*, the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, was almost certainly produced after the passages that I discuss in this thesis, but its influence is seen in the abundant literature that developed in relation to it in the medieval period (Dundas 2002, 169-170). In the texts I have examined I only came across one reference to the term *āvaśyaka*, occurring in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* where we read that a Jain layman named Citta "performed the obligatory rites (*niyama*) and pronounced the (six) indispensible formulae for daily recital" (*kayaniyamāvassae*) before leaving his residence one morning (Bollée 2002, 85; Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 330). It is not clear if the term in this context refers to the list of the six *āvaśyakas*. In the Śvetāmbara canon, the *guṇasthānas* only occur in the *Samavāyaṃga* (Jain 1999, 46ff). Apparently they first occur in early Digambara works (Dundas 2002, 151). There is also reference to the *guṇasthānas* in the commentaries of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (Balbir 1990, 66).

[28] See the previous footnote.

there is a tendency in modern scholarship to gloss over the diversity in the

Śvetāmbara canon with respect to discussion of lay Jainism.[29]

Scholars have previously suggested, in a general way, that in producing

the so-called "story-literature" in the Śvetāmbara canon (which includes most of

the texts that I discuss) the mendicant compilers have attempted to meet the

needs of the lay community.[30] The contribution that I make is to discuss in detail

some of the most important early passages relating to the lay community and to

present a plausible reconstruction of the chronology of the production of these

statements and of the motivations of the monks who produced them. I also show

in concrete terms how the "story-literature" accomplishes its work: the

mendicants deliberately constructed statements about the lay community and

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[29] Flügel makes this point, for example, in his review of Cort's book *Jains in the World* (2001), noting that Cort does not point out "the structural and semantic inconsistencies in the Jain scriptures" but rather treats what he calls "the *mokṣa-mārg* ideology" as unchanging (Flügel 2006a, 96-7).

[30] Dixit, for example, states that the stories in the canon have been included because "the sociocultural evolution of the country had then reached a stage which required that the lay followership of a religious sect be provided with a mode of worship specially suited to its life-circumstances and a literature specially suited to its tastes and intellectual capacities." (Dixit 1978, 67) Elsewhere Dixit links the story-literature in the Śvetāmbara canon with a soteriology allowing good forms of rebirth for the lay community (Dixit 1972, 9). Ohira echoes Dixit when she surmises that the didactic stories of the canon reflect the fact that the Jains "entered the age of solid church construction and organization, consisting of the ascetic and lay communities." (Ohira 1994, 29) It should be noted that though the story-literature in the Śvetāmbara canon is certainly associated with the move to legitimate and standardize discussion of lay life, it is clear that some of the most important early statements about the Jain lay community occur in texts that would not be classified as "story-literature" (such as the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*).

repeated or strategically placed throughout this literature the statements they

wished to transmit as the normative view.

In this thesis I am not concerned with the question of what the texts tell us

about the history of the Jain lay community. Rather, as I have said, in examining

the various types of statements relating to the lay community I offer hypotheses

about the history of the actions and motivations of the mendicant authors and

compilers of the texts. These two subjects are not mutually exclusive. Though the

texts do not provide a complete picture of historical lay life, they are an important

source for a study of the early history of lay Jain practice, for which there is little

relevant epigraphical and archaeological material.[31] In analyzing the motivations

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[31] The archaeological remains from Mathurā are the main exception. These remains attest to the popularity of image and *stūpa* worship at that site from at least the first century BCE (Dundas 1997a, 506; Lüders 1961, 40, inscription numbers 14, 15, 16). The images were commonly set up by members of the laity "at the request of" a particular mendicant (Lüders 1961, inscription numbers 13, 14, 15, and 23). It is interesting that many of the inscriptions relating to the donation of images by lay Jains record donations made by females (Sahgal 1994, 224; Lüders 1961, inscription numbers 13, 14, 15, 20, and 23). Dixit has pointed out that the archaeological remains contrast to some extent with the picture that emerges from the texts, since the texts seldom mention image or *stūpa* worship (Dixit 1972, 10). There are certainly no explicit prescriptions in the texts I have studied for the laity to donate images or erect temples. Dixit does refer to textual examples of deities worshipping at temples and *stūpas* in the heavens and suggests that the authors may have incorporated these details "having in mind the fact that the contemporary Jaina community" engaged in such practice (Dixit 1972, 10). I think that he is likely correct in making this suggestion. It should also be noted that it is not clear whether the remains at Mathurā are exceptional or typical with respect to early lay Jain practice (Folkert 1993, 111). I am aware of only one other significant early inscription relating to Jainism, namely the Hāthīgumphā inscription of King Khāravela, which dates around the second century BCE. This inscription mentions that King Khāravela (of what is now Orissa) retrieved an image (*samnivesam*) known as "the Jina of Kaliṅga," which had been taken by King Nanda of Magadha. The inscription also refers to the loss of the Jain scriptures. Ohira states that there are only a few known Gupta inscriptions mostly recording the donation of images (Ohira 1982, 116). There are likely other relevant examples of inscriptions and archaeological remains which I have not found or have overlooked. There is no good overview of the material evidence relating to the early Jain tradition.

of the authors of certain types of passages we can sometimes present relatively

strong arguments suggesting that the passages indicate something of actual lay

practice.[32] However, it is clear that the texts generally present ideals and we can

only speculate about how such ideals relate to the actual history of the Jain lay

community.[33] In contrast, although at times we lack sufficient documentation and

are left to speculate about the motivations of the mendicants and about the

chronology of the passages, I present extensive evidence supporting the core of

my hypothetical reconstruction.

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[32] For example, I believe there is good evidence to suggest that some historical lay Jains regularly engaged in a ritual in which they temporarily abandoned all possessions and social relationships in a manner reminiscent of a Jain ascetic. There is criticism of this practice in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (III.70.1-3) in a passage describing lay Jain ritual observance of the *posaha* days (Woodward 1932, 185-6; Morris 1885, 205-6). In *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 we find a critique of what seems to be the same Jain practice attributed to the Ājīvikas and defense of the practice attributed to Mahāvīra (Bothara 2008, 102-3; Nathamal 1974b, 351). The fact that the Buddhists produced a textual passage criticizing this practice and the Jains produced a passage defending it suggests that the practice was distinctively Jain and that at least some lay Jains engaged in the practice. I have noted above that Dixit refers to textual examples of deities worshipping at temples and *stūpas* in the heavens and suggests that the authors of these passages may have incorporated these details "having in mind the fact that the contemporary Jaina community" engaged in such practice (Dixit 1972, 10). This is another instance where we can form arguments for a particular relationship between textual passages and historical behavior through analysis of motivations of the authors of the texts. In this case the argument seems particularly strong since it lines up with the archaeological evidence from Mathurā.

[33] I think it is important for me to note that I believe it is likely that some of the ascetic practices included among the lay vows played an important role in the lives of at least some ancient lay Jains even if we would expect that few or no lay Jains behaved exactly according to all of the textual prescriptions. I thus find it problematic, for example, when Cort juxtaposes the study of "practices and beliefs" to the study of "tenets, dogmas, and ideologies" (Cort 1990, 43).

Before proceeding I must note my reliance on particular editions of the texts.[34] At present there is no comprehensive critical edition for any of the early Śvetāmbara texts. One way that this project could be expanded is through a study of the passages discussed as they occur in the numerous published editions of the texts and in the extant manuscripts. Some of my arguments must be checked and supplemented through such a study. I hope that this thesis will serve as an initial step towards a better understanding of the actions and motivations of the mendicant community in composing and compiling some of the various passages relating to the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon. More broadly, this thesis deals with a problem that faced all monastic religions: how to garner lay support and find a role for non-monastic members of the community. Hopefully scholars of other monastic religious traditions will find much to reflect upon in this detailed account of how one ancient Indian group wrestled with these problems.

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[34] In undertaking this project I have used the editions that were regularly available to me. These are listed in the bibliography. For the Aṅgas I have used the edition of Muni Nathamal. This was the best edition of the Aṅgas that I could get regular access to. For the Uvāṅgas and other texts I have likewise tried to use the best editions available. For example, in quoting the *Uvavāiya* I have used Leumann's edition. For the remaining Uvāṅgas and for the commentaries I have mainly used the editions of Muni Dīparatnasāgara. There are numerous other published editions of the texts that could be compared. I have not looked at any of the manuscripts.

Chapter One: The Logic of the Legitimating of Jain Lay Life in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2
and the *Uvavāiya*

Introduction

In this chapter I focus on what I believe to be one of the earliest extensive

positive statements about the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon.[1] The

passage occurs in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2 as well as in the second part of the

Uvavāiya. As far as I am aware there is no other occurrence of the passage. I will

quote the passage below and I will discuss in detail its context in both texts. The

passage gives us a clear indication of the initial logic that lay behind the

legitimating of lay life. It is constructed out of material representing the

sentiments of the earliest extant passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, which

contrast Jain mendicant life (presented as ideal) with all other modes of life

(presented as imperfect and valued negatively). It appears that one monk or a

group of monks decided to modify this material to create the possibility of an

intermediate category of non-ascetics who will attain a good form of rebirth. It is

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[1] The phrase "legitimating of Jain lay life" in the title of the chapter refers to the process of writing
positive statements about the Jain lay community and incorporating such statements into the
canonical texts. I describe the passage discussed in this chapter as "one of the earliest extensive
positive statement about the lay community" because there are a few stray verses referring to
certain householders in a positive light that may be contemporary or earlier. I will mention some
of these verses in my second chapter when discussing the various terms used with reference to
non-ascetics and the Jain lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon.

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primarily in considering the manner in which the passage has been constructed

that I suggest it is one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay

community in the Śvetāmbara canon.

The date of the creation of the passage is unknown. I think one can safely

say that it dates from either the last few centuries BCE, or from the first few

centuries CE.[2] There is then the question of the date of the inclusion of the

passage in each text. Given the context of the passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, it

seems that the passage was created specifically for this text. Thus, the date of

the creation of the passage is the same as the date of its inclusion in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. As I will discuss below, it appears that other statements about

the Jain lay community were inserted into *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 directly following

this initial statement and there may have been more than one stage in the

compilation of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In this chapter I argue that the compiler of the

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[2] In my introduction I have discussed the difficulty of dating the material in the Śvetāmbara canon. The earliest extant passages are generally considered to be the first books (*suyakkhaṃdha*) of the *Āyāraṃga* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* (the first and second of the eleven extant Aṅgas). On the basis of analysis of the language and meter Jacobi suggested a date for these books of about the fourth or third century BCE (Schubring 1962, 81; Johnson 1995, 4). In these passages, the emphasis is on the importance of the fact that the monk is homeless; residing in the home, with all its attendant attachments and necessary acts of violence, is almost always absolutely negatively valued (Dixit 1972, 9; Dixit 1978, 4, 12, and 17; Johnson 1995, 23ff). Extensive positive statements about householders date from a later period. Thus, if Jacobi's dating is accurate for the earliest extant passages (fourth or third century BCE), then the earliest possible date for an extensive positive statement about householders would be roughly the third or second century BCE. The compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon is associated with a fourth century CE council at Mathurā as well as the councils at Valabhī in the fourth and fifth centuries CE (Folkert 1993, 46; Dundas 2006, 389). The passages that I focus on in this thesis were almost certainly produced before these councils.

Uvavāiya has copied the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.[3] Like the

Sūyagaḍaṃga, the *Uvavāiya* is made up of passages dating from various periods

and there may have been several stages in the process of compilation. It is likely

that some of the material in the *Uvavāiya* dates to a period before the time when

the compiler copied the passage about the lay community from *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2. However, I will argue that the second part of the *Uvavāiya* was formulated

specifically in response to *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Thus, the date of the compilation of

the *Uvavāiya* in its extant form seems to be the same as the date when the

compiler copied the passage about the lay community from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

In this chapter I will discuss all of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, not just the passage

that I take to be one of the earliest extensive discussions of the lay community,

because it is important to understand the context in which the passage occurs.[4]

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[3] In his translation of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, Schubring provides various notes about the relationship between the text and the *Uvavāiya*. In particular, he notes a connection between the passage discussed in this chapter as it occurs in the two texts (Schubring 2004, 72, note 153). He does not seem to argue for a particular chronological relationship between the two passages.

[4] A number of other scholars have discussed *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. I have used Muni Nathamal's edition and I have looked at the translations by Jacobi and Schubring. Ohira, Schubring and Dixit have commented specifically on the references to householders in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, but their comments are very brief. Dixit points out that the mention of the pious householder in this lecture is noteworthy (Dixit 1978, 35). Schubring notes that the 'mixed state' is first presented in a negative light (in the second treatise), when it refers to non-Jain ascetics, and in a positive light (in the third treatise) when it refers to the Jain laity (Schubring 2004, 74 note 162). Ohira writes: "Householders' activities are described in [*Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2] in the two lower grades, i.e., the intermediate and the lowest, in contrast to ascetics' activities which are classed in the highest grade." (Ohira 1994, 20) Bollée's studies of the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* do not include section 2.2. Johnson has discussed the first treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 noting the significance of the concept of *iriyāvahiya* relative to the legitimating of lay life. The term *iriyāvahiya* represents a category of action and karmic bondage that has negligible

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 appears to be made up of three treatises and I will discuss each of these treatises.[5] The passage that I take to be one of the earliest extensive discussions of the lay community occurs in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. It is the third version of three similar passages occurring in the treatise. The first version of the passage is presented in entirely negative terms and describes those who do not behave in the correct manner. The second version of the passage is presented in the opposite manner, in entirely positive terms, and refers to Jain mendicants. These two passages together recall the attitude of the earliest extant Jain literature, where we find a clear division between Jain mendicants and everyone else. However, in the third version of the passage the author presents an intermediate category of virtuous non-mendicants.[6] These non-mendicants are respectable and will attain a good form of rebirth because they behave like Jain mendicants at least some of the time and in some respects. This is the basic logic behind the move to legitimate lay

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consequences. Johnson suggests that this concept had important soteriological and social implications. He suggests that in this development we are brought close to Umāsvāti's reformulation of the cause of bondage, which reconciled the circumstances of the laity with the early ascetic doctrines (Johnson 1995, 43-5). Thus, various other scholars have noted the importance of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 relative to our understanding of the lay community.

[5] The creator of the passage legitimating lay life may or may not have been involved in the composition of the other treatises or in the compilation of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as a whole.

[6] It must be noted that there is no specific word referring to the "Jain householder" (such as "*samaṇovāsaga*" or "*sāvaa*") in this passage. One can infer that such a group is meant since the passage immediately following this one includes the term *samaṇovāsaga*.

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Jainism in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.[7] Though the logic is not well developed in the text,

the idea that lay life is respectable and can lead to a good form of rebirth

because it offers the opportunity to engage in practices associated with Jain

monasticism provides the basic foundation for later developments in the

Śvetāmbara canon in which the performance of temporary and partial asceticism

is recommended for the laity. It leads ultimately to the creation of a standard list

of lay vows.

Though the logic of the legitimating of lay life in this passage from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 is coherent in itself, it seems inconsistent with the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain mendicant groups that also occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2. The passage legitimating Jain lay life describes such a life as a mixed

(*mīsaga*) state between two radically differentiated categories, righteous and

unrighteous (*dhamma* and *adhamma*). Before this passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2,

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[7] In the introduction of my thesis I briefly commented on Bruhn's article entitled "Soteriology in Early Jainism," in which he suggests that the Jain texts offer no "clear answer to the question "how does a man or woman reach salvation?"" I suggest the answer to this question is that one attains a positive form of rebirth by behaving like a Jain monk at some times and in some respects. I have noted that the earliest extant Śvetāmbara texts explicitly require the ascetic life-style and contain almost no positive statements about householders. However, as I will note below in this chapter, the initial positive statement about householders in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 speaks of the soteriological possibilities of some householders with the same phrase used to characterize the possibilities for Jain mendicants. There are some later passages in which we read that the ascetic life-style is required in order to attain the ultimate soteriological goal of release from the cycle of rebirth. However, such passages make it clear that householders can be reborn in one of the heavens by behaving some of the time and in some respects like a Jain monk. Some of the later passages in which there is an explicit distinction between the soteriological possibilities of Jain mendicants and householders seem to have been created in response to earlier positive statements about householders in which such a distinction is not explicit. I will come back to this issue at a few points below in this chapter.

in the second treatise, one finds discussion of another mixed (*mīsaga*) state. This

other mixed state represents non-Jain mendicants, who are absolutely

condemned because they behave too much like the non-mendicants in the

adhamma category. The compilation of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as a whole thus

highlights a problem with the logic of the legitimating of lay life in the lecture. The

author of the passage legitimating lay life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 considers the life

of the Jain householder virtuous in so far as the householder approximates at

least temporarily the conduct of a Jain ascetic. Yet, as the recurrence of the term

mīsaga suggests, the non-Jain ascetics also behave like Jain mendicants at least

sometimes and in some respects. The absolute condemnation of non-Jain

ascetics is thus illogical. This tension is left unresolved in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

That this passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 was important in the early

Śvetāmbara tradition is seen in the fact that it occurs in almost the same form in

the *Uvavāiya*.[8] I argue that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has copied the passage

from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. One reason to believe this is that there is another

passage relating to the Jain laity in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 directly following the

passage discussed here and the same sequence of passages occurs in the

Uvavāiya. The second passage (discussed in my second chapter) is found in

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[8] I will discuss below the differences between the passage as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 compared to the *Uvavāiya*. I have used Leumann's edition of the *Uvavāiya*. The relatively brief comments he makes in his introduction and summary represent the most important modern commentary on the text. I have also looked at Lalwani's translation.

many other texts in the Śvetāmbara canon, but it is only in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

and the *Uvavāiya* that it is preceded by the passage that I discuss in this chapter.

It seems clear that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has copied from *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2 (and not the other way around) because, as I have mentioned, the first

statement about the layman in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is one of three similar

passages and the other two passages occur only in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.[9] We are

thus able to establish a relative chronology for the passage as it occurs in these

texts and to hypothesize about the motives of the compiler of the second part of

the *Uvavāiya* in copying the passage.

It appears that the second part of the *Uvavāiya* was compiled as a

response to the logical inconsistency evident in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The second

part of the *Uvavāiya* consists primarily of a hierarchy of sixteen classes of beings

(*jīva*) who will attain some form of divine rebirth. Though the compiler of the text

provides no clear explanation of why one group is higher than another, it seems

that he has developed the hierarchy relative to the basic logic of the legitimating

of lay life seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, namely that a person is considered virtuous

to the extent that he or she behaves at least temporarily and in some respect like

a Jain mendicant. The compiler seems to push this logic to its extreme in the

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[9] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we find passages describing all three categories (Jain ascetic; everyone else; intermediate category) while in the *Uvavāiya* we find only two of these categories (Jain ascetic; intermediate category). The compiler of the *Uvavāiya* includes a category of beings who are absolutely condemned, but it seems that he has copied this material from another text.

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lowest positions in the hierarchy, where we see that even those who

inadvertently behave a little bit like Jain ascetics (for example, those who

experience involuntary hardship) will attain one of the lowest forms of divine

rebirth. The passages relating to the Jain lay community from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

occur in the third highest position, below the Jain mendicants and below those

who have attained the ultimate soteriological goal. The compiler of the second

part of the *Uvavāiya* thus resolves, at least to some extent, the logical

inconsistency arising from the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics (the

other "mixed state") in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The hierarchy of beings in the

Uvavāiya includes various groups of non-Jain ascetics as well as some non-Jain

householders and all of these "mixed states" will lead to rebirth in one of the

heavens.

The logic of the legitimating of lay life seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

minimized inconsistency with the earliest Jain writings in that it maintained Jain

ascetic life as ideal. The compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* thus

accepted this logic, but also recognized its inconsistency with the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain ascetics. The hierarchy of beings is an attempt to

represent coherently the idea that the Jain mendicants are more deserving than

other ascetic groups of the respect and material support of the non-ascetic

population, while at the same time promoting the idea that lay Jain life (rather

than some other form of asceticism) is the best alternative to Jain asceticism.

The tension seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 thus remains in the second part of the

Uvavāiya, but it is less obvious. In the final part of this chapter I will point out that

the compiler of the first two lessons (*uddesa*) of *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2 attempts to

resolve this tension through an appeal to the importance of doctrine and correct

understanding.

The Legitimating of Lay Life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

The *Sūyagaḍaṃga* is the second of the twelve Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbara

canon. The text is made up of two books (*suyakkhaṃdha*). The first book is

divided into sixteen lectures (*ajjhayaṇa*) that are sometimes subdivided into

lessons (*uddesa*). The first book almost always presents a negative view of non-

mendicants.[10] The second book is thought to be later than the first book.[11] It is

divided into seven *ajjhayaṇa*. The first extensive positive statement about Jain

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[10] The book may have been intended as a guide for young monks (Jacobi 1895, xxxix). Jacobi writes: "According to the summary in the fourth Aṅga the object of the [*Sūyagaḍaṃga*] is to fortify young monks against the heretical opinions of alien teachers, to confirm them in the right faith, and to lead them to the highest good. This description is correct on the whole, but not exhaustive." (Jacobi 1895, xxxviii) At a later point Jacobi states that this description applied only to the first book of the text (Jacobi 1895, xxxix).

[11] Jacobi suggests that the second book is later than the first: "The Second Book, which is almost entirely in prose, treats of similar subjects [as the First Book], but without any apparent connection of its parts. It may therefore be considered as supplementary, and as a later addition to the First Book." (Jacobi 1895, xxxix) The various lectures in the two books likely date from a number of different periods. There is no thorough study of the relative dates of the various parts of the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*.

householders is found in the second lecture of the second book (*Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2).

There is a contradiction between the negative view of non-mendicants in the first book of the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* and the legitimating of lay life seen at various points in the second book. The author of the passage legitimating lay life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the compiler of the lecture would certainly have been aware of the negative view of non-ascetics seen in the first book. The second verse of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.1 states that those who own property or consent to others owning property will not escape suffering.[12] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 this type of sentiment sits side by side with the legitimating of lay life. There is no explicit attempt to reconcile the legitimating of lay life with the negative view of non-mendicants seen in the earliest texts. One can infer from the structure of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 that the author of the passage legitimating lay life and the compiler of the lecture see the Jain householders as a unique category of non-ascetics. There is no contradiction between the negative view of non-ascetics and the positive statements about Jain householders if the former group does not include the latter group. However, there is no explicit recognition in

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[12] Jacobi translates *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.1.1.2 as follows: "He who owns even a small property in living or lifeless things, or consents to others holding it, will not be delivered from misery. (2)" (Jacobi 1895, 235) The Prakrit reads as follows: "2. cinttamaṃtamacittaṃ vā parigijjha kisāmavi | aṇṇaṃ vā aṇujāṇāi evaṃ dukkhā ṇa muccaī | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 253)

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 of the fact that some of the earlier Jain writings seem to

preclude such a distinction.

In this respect, I think it is significant that the first extensive positive

statement about householders in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* is created through a

reworking of material representing the sentiments of the earliest passages in the

Śvetāmbara canon. As I have noted above and will discuss further below, the

positive statement about householders in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

represents a mixed (*mīsaga*) state between two radically differentiated categories

(*dhamma* and *adhamma*). In the earliest passages in the Śvetāmbara canon we

find only two radically differentiated categories (Jain mendicants and everyone

else). The fact that the first extensive positive statement about householders in

the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* was created in this manner, out of material representing the

sentiments of the earliest passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, seems to indicate

an attempt to harmonize the legitimating of lay life with the existing orthodox

scriptures. In creating one of the initial extensive positive statements about some

householders, the reworking of existing material may have been seen as

preferable to the composition of an entirely original passage.

The legitimating of lay life is also complicated by the need to distinguish

the Jain mendicant tradition from non-Jain mendicant groups. The condemnation

of non-Jain mendicants is prominent in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*. As Jacobi points out,

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the first section of each book is concerned with the refutation of heretical

doctrines.[13] These attacks are often linked with the negative view of non-

ascetics. Jain ascetics are often called "the houseless" (anagāra).[14] False

ascetics leave domestic life, but arrive at "a middling position" (missībhāva)

between true asceticism and the life of the householder.[15] This complicates the

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[13] Jacobi 1895, xxxviii.

[14] For example, Jacobi translates Āyāraṃga 1.1.5 as follows: "He who does no acts (relating to plants), has ceased from works; he who has ceased them is called 'houseless.'" (Jacobi 1884, 9) The Prakrit reads as follows: "92. taṃ je ṇo karae esovarae, etthovarae esa aṇagāretti pavuccai | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 11) Jain monks are also called "houseless" (aṇagāra) in Āyāraṃga 1.2.2 (Nathamal 1974a, 20; Jacobi 1884, 17) and Āyāraṃga 1.5.2 (Nathamal 1974a, 41; Jacobi 1884, 45). The term aṇagāra continues to be used in later texts with reference to Jain ascetics.

[15] Jacobi translates Sūyagaḍaṃga 1.4.1 as follows: "Though many leave the house, some (of them) arrive but at a middling position (between householder and monk); they merely talk of the path to perfection. The force of sinners is talking." (Jacobi 1895, 273) The Prakrit reads as follows: "17. bahave gihāiṃ avahaṭṭhu missībhāvaṃ patthuyā ege | dhuvamaggameva pavayaṃti vāyāvīriyaṃ kusīlāṇaṃ | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 289) The same idea is seen also in the first lecture of the first book of the Āyāraṃga, which repeatedly distinguishes Jain ascetics from other ascetics who "pretend to be houseless". For example, Jacobi translates Āyāraṃga 1.1.2: "See! there are men who control themselves, (whilst others only) pretend to be houseless (i.e. monks, such as the Bauddhas, whose conduct differs not from that of householders)." (Jacobi 1884, 3-4) The Prakrit reads: "17. lajjamāṇā puḍho siyā | | 18. aṇagārā motti ege pavayamāṇā | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 5) This phrase recurs in 1.1.3 (Nathamal 1974a, 7; Jacobi 1884, 5-6), 1.1.5 (Nathamal 1974a, 11; Jacobi 1884, 9), and 1.1.6 (Nathamal 1974a, 13; Jacobi 1884, 11). The same theme dominates Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.1 in the metaphor of four men who get stuck in the mud while trying to obtain a white lotus. These men represent categories of heretical ascetics who get stuck between the life of the householder and the true ascetic life. For example, it is said of the first of the four categories: "They have left their former occupations, but have not entered the noble path. They cannot return (to worldly life), nor get beyond it; they stick (as it were) in pleasures and amusements." (Jacobi 1895, 342) The Prakrit reads as follows: "pahīṇā puvvasaṃjogā āriyaṃ maggaṃ asaṃpattā – iti te ṇo havvāe ṇo pārāe, aṃtarā kāmabhogehiṃ [kāmabhogesu] visaṇṇā | " (Nathamal 1974a, 353) At another point in the same lecture (Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.1) we read that some śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas kill living beings just as householders do: "Here, indeed, householders are killers (of beings) and acquirers of property, and so are even some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas." (Jacobi 1895, 350) The Prakrit reads: "§54 iha khalu gāratthā sārambhā sapariggahā, saṃtegaiyā samaṇā māhaṇā vi sārambhā sapariggahā." (Nathamal 1974a, 363)

legitimating of lay life because the Jain monks must somehow legitimate lay life

while also explaining why the life of the non-Jain mendicant is entirely illegitimate

or at least not preferable to lay Jain life. It is this issue that is the focus of this

chapter. This issue is conspicuous in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 because the mixed state

is condemned in the second treatise when it refers to non-Jain ascetics, but

praised in the third treatise when it refers to Jain householders.

It is clear that *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is made up of at least three separate

treatises.[16] The text treats the same subjects over and over in various ways. The

title of the lecture is *kiriyāṭhāṇe* ("the subject of activity").[17] The contents are

summarized briefly at the beginning of the treatise.[18] The two subjects are

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[16] The history of the construction of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is complex. Jacobi suggested in his translation that the lecture seems to contain three distinct treatises and this division is useful for my purposes. His note on §25 reads as follows: "Not only this paragraph but also all that follows up to the last paragraph seems to be a later addition. For in the last paragraph the subject treated of in §§1-27 is taken up again and brought to its conclusion. After the supplement §§25-27 a separate treatise on the main subject is inserted §§28-60 (28-57 on demerit, 58-59 on merit, §60 on mixed state); after this follows a similar treatise in §§61-77 (61-68 on demerit, 69-74 on merit, 75-77 on a mixed state). In §78 we have again a supplement, and §§79-82 contain another supplement (or perhaps two). §§83-85 give the conclusion of the first treatise (§§1-24) and must originally have followed immediately after §24. So we have here, besides some appendices, three distinct original treatises on the same subject, very awkwardly pieced together to form one continuous lecture." (Jacobi 1895, 365, note 3)

[17] Jacobi 1895, 355 note 2.

[18] Jacobi translates the beginning of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as follows: "O long-lived (*Gambūsvāmin*)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following Discourse from the Venerable (Mahāvīra). We now come to the lecture called 'On Activity.' The contents of it are as follows: It treats, briefly, of two subjects: merit and demerit. (The former is when the Self is) at rest, (the latter, when it is) in disturbance. (1)" (Jacobi 1895, 355-6) The Prakrit reads: "1. suyaṃ me āusaṃ! teṇaṃ bhagavayā evamakkhāyaṃ – iha khalu kiriyāṭhāṇe ṇāmajjhayaṇe paṇṇatte | tassa ṇaṃ ayamaṭṭhe, iha khalu

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dhamma and *adhamma*. The former is qualified with the word *uvasaṃte*

(perhaps meaning something like "(when one is) calm"[19]) and the latter with its

opposite *aṇuvasaṃte*. The subject matter of the chapter distinguishes the

monastic mode of life from other modes of life and so *dhamma* and *adhamma*

here mean something like 'the religious life' and 'the irreligious life'. There are

only two categories at this point.

The first treatise discusses thirteen kinds of activity (*kiriyāṭhāṇāiṃ*): twelve

kinds of *daṃḍa* (sin) [§2-22][20] plus *iriyāvahiya* (the proper monastic life) [§23-4].

The terms *adhamma* and *dhamma* do not occur. The twelve kinds of sins include

various circumstances for killing living beings, lying, stealing, and various

negative mental states. Some, though not all, of the first eleven types of sin seem

to be associated particularly with householders since there are a number of

references to social relationships.[21] Johnson points out that "'accidental'

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samjūheṇaṃ duve ṭhāṇā evamāhijjaṃti, taṃ jahā -- dhamme ceva adhamme ceva, uvasaṃte
ceva aṇuvasaṃte ceva | | " (Nathamal 1974a, 368)

[19] The term *uvasaṃte* means "calmed". Sheth refers to *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.6 and defines the term
as "*krodhādi vikārarahita*," which means something like "devoid of agitation, like anger and so on"
(Sheth 1928, 180). I have not found this term in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.6.

[20] These numbers refer to the paragraphs in Jacobi's translation and their use here will make it
easy for the reader to follow the discussion. When appropriate I will give references to Muni
Nathamal's edition as well as to the English translations in my notes. The numbering of the
sections is different in Muni Nathamal's edition.

[21] For example, Jacobi translates the description of the first kind of committing sins as follows:
"The first kind of committing sins is that prompted by a motive. This is the case when a man for
his own sake, for the sake of his relations, his house, his family, his friends, for the sake of
Nāgas, Bhūtas, or Yakshas does injury to movable or immovable beings, or has it done by

(*akasmāt*) sin and sin committed through an error of sight" are included here.[22]

Dixit associates discussion of the twelve types of sin with the negative view of the

householder seen in the first books of the *Sūyagadaṃga* and the *Āyāraṃga*.[23]

The twelfth type of sin, that done out of greed, seems to refer to non-Jain and

perhaps especially Brahman ascetics.[24] At the conclusion of the twelfth type of

sin the text states that *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* (*māhaṇas*) should recognize

these twelve kinds of sin, so we know that the text is addressed to ascetics.[25]

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another person, or consents to another's doing it." (Jacobi 1895, 357) The Prakrit reads:
"paḍhame daṃḍasamādāṇe aṭṭhādaṃḍavattie tti āhijjai – se jahāṇāmae kei purise āyaheuṃ vā
ṇāiheuṃ vā agāraheuṃ vā parivāraheuṃ vā mittaheuṃ vā ṇāgaheuṃ vā bhūyaheuṃ vā
jakkhaheuṃ vā taṃ daṃḍa tasathāvarehiṃ pāṇehiṃ sayameva ṇisirati, aṇṇeṇa vi ṇisirāveti
aṇṇaṃ pi ṇisiraṃtaṃ samaṇujāṇati | " (Nathamal 1974a, 369)

[22] Johnson 1995, 16. That the Jains condemn accidental sin seems to line up with the idea
presented in the second part of the *Uvavāiya* that involuntary asceticism may result in a good
rebirth.

[23] Dixit 1978, 35.

[24] Jacobi translates this section as follows: "We now treat of the twelfth kind of committing sins,
viz. through greed. Those (heretical monks) who live in woods, in huts, about villages, or practise
some secret rites [*je ime bhavaṃti āraṇṇiyā āvasahiyā gāmaṃtiyā kaṇhuīrahassiyā*], are not well
controlled, nor do they well abstain (from slaying) all sorts of living beings. They employ speech
that is true and untrue at the same time: do not beat me, beat others; do not abuse me, abuse
others; do not capture me, capture others; do not torment me, torment others; do not deprive me
of life, deprive others of life." (Jacobi 1895, 363; Nathamal 1974a, 374-5) Jacobi suggests that the
passage refers to Brahmans: "The meaning is that Brahmans declare it a capital crime to kill a
Brahman, but a venial one to kill a Śūdra." (Jacobi 1895, 363 note 2)

[25] Jacobi translates: "These twelve kinds of committing sins should be well understood by a pious
Śramaṇa or Brāhmaṇa. (22)" (Jacobi 1895, 364) The Prakrit reads: "§15 iccetāiṃ duvālasa
kiriyaṭṭhāṇāiṃ devieṇaṃ samaṇeṇaṃ māhaṇeṇaṃ vā sammaṃ suparijāṇiyavvāṇi bhavaṃti | | "
(Nathamal 1974a, 375) This phrase may indicate that the twelve types of sin originally formed a
distinct treatise and that the thirteenth type of action, the religious life (*iriyāvahiya*), was added
later. Johnson points out a number of other reasons why this thirteenth type of activity was likely
inserted into the passage at some point (Johnson 1995, 43-4). Johnson follows Dixit in this
respect (Dixit 1978, 37).

The thirteenth type of action is that of "[the houseless] who controls himself for the benefit of his soul" (*attattāe saṃvuḍassa aṇagārassa*). There is a short description of Jain monastic behavior and it is explained that the karma resulting from such action is destroyed within moments.[26] There is no explicit mention of a mixed state at this point in the text, though the twelfth type of sin could perhaps be understood as a kind of mixed state since it seems to refer to non-Jain ascetics. This first treatise is concluded at the very end of the lecture [§83-5] after the two other treatises have appeared.

After the description of *iriyāvahiya* (the proper monastic life) [§23-4] in the first treatise the text turns again to negative forms of behavior. The adverb *aduttaraṃ* marks that a new section is beginning. First there is a list of *vijaya* (quasi-magical practices) [§25-27] including various spells and forms of divination. Then occurs an extended list of *adhamma* (bad actions) [§28-57]. Jacobi takes this list of bad actions as the beginning of the second treatise.[27] Like the twelve kinds of *daṃḍa* (sin) [§2-22] in the first treatise, this list of bad actions seems to apply particularly to non-ascetics since various social relationships and

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[26] Nathamal 1974a, 375-6; Jacobi 1895, 364-5.

[27] Jacobi interprets the list of bad actions [§28-57] as the first part of the second treatise and calls the list of *vijaya* a supplement (Jacobi 1895, 365, note 3).

professions are mentioned.[28] At the end of the passage we read that such

actions are not holy, etc. and do not lead to the ultimate soteriological goal.[29] The

final statement marks the conclusion of a section discussing *adhamma*.[30]

Both the beginning and the end of the section on *dhamma* in the second

treatise [§58-9] are marked in the same way.[31] This section repeats a lengthy

description of the Jain ascetic from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.1.[32] The section ends with

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[28] At times we read specifically about men who steal from or abuse *śramaṇas* and *māhaṇas* [§48, 53-54]. It is noteworthy that much of the list has to do with professions that deal with livestock and with the maltreatment of animals.

[29] Jacobi translates: "(This conduct described in the preceding) part is agreeable to some (heretical) monks, to some householders, to men governed by love of life. This conduct is unworthy, impure, void (of virtues), not holy, not right, not eradicating sins; it is not the road to perfection, liberation, Nirvāṇa, final delivery, not the road of those who are freed from all misery; it is thoroughly untrue, and bad." (Jacobi 1895, 372) The Prakrit reads: "§32 iccetassa ṭhāṇassa uṭṭhittā vege abhigijjhaṃti, aṇuṭṭhittā vege abhigijjhaṃti, abhijhaṃjhāurā abhigijjhaṃti | esa ṭhāṇe aṇārie akevale, appaḍipuṇṇe, aṇeyāue asaṃsuddhe asallagattaṇe asiddhimagge amuttimagge aṇivvāṇamagge aṇijjāṇamagge asavvadukkhapahīṇamagge egaṃtamicche asāhū | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 383-4) Here the terms "*uṭṭhittā*" and "*aṇuṭṭhittā*" are translated as "monks" and "householders." The third category (*abhijhaṃjhāurā*) is translated as "men governed by love of life."

[30] Jacobi translates: "This is the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit. (57)" (Jacobi 1895, 372) The Prakrit reads: "esa khalu paḍhamassa ṭhāṇassa adhammapakkhassa vibhaṃge evamāhie | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 384)

[31] Nathamal 1974a, 384, 389; Jacobi 1895, 372.

[32] Jacobi translates: "Now the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit, is as follows: Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some men, viz. Āryas, non-Āryas, (all down to) ugly men. They own fields and houses, (&c., all as in II, I, §§34-59, down to) reach final beatitude. (58)" (Jacobi 1895, 372) Jacobi's translation of the relevant section of 2.1 (beginning actually at §35 rather than §34) is on pages 347-355. For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 360-367 and 384-389. The two sections seem to be practically identical in the Prakrit though I did not go through them carefully.

the statement that such conduct is holy, etc. and leads to the ultimate

soteriological goal.[33]

In the third section of the second treatise we find the first mention of a

mixed state (*mīsaga*) [§60]. The beginning and the end of this section are also

clearly marked.[34] This section repeats a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.1 that

describes the non-Jain ascetic who is stuck between the life of the householder

and true asceticism.[35] The section ends with the same statement that occurs at

the end of the section on *adhamma*, namely that such conduct is not holy, etc.

and does not lead to the ultimate soteriological goal.[36] The mixed state here is

thus absolutely condemned. The end of the second treatise is marked with the

statement that the third subject, the mixed (*mīsaga*) state, has been explained.

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[33] Jacobi translates: "(The conduct described in this) part is holy, right, (all just the reverse of what was said in §58, down to) thoroughly true, and good." (Jacobi 1895, 372) Jacobi is actually referring to §57 (i.e. the end of the previous section on *adhamma*) rather than §58. The Prakrit reads: "§55 esa ṭhāṇe ārie kevale, paḍipuṇṇe, ṇeyāue saṃsuddhe sallagattaṇe siddhimagge muttimagge ṇivvāṇamagge ṇijjāṇamagge savvadukkhapahīṇamagge egaṃtasamme sāhū | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 389)

[34] Nathamal 1974a, 389; Jacobi 1895, 372-3.

[35] Jacobi translates: "Now the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state, is as follows: Those who live in woods, in huts, near villages, (&c., all as above, § 21, down to) or blind." (Jacobi 1895, 372-3) Jacob's §21 is the twelfth type of sin from the first treatise, which seems to refer to non-Jain and perhaps especially Brahman ascetics (Jacobi 1895, 363). For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 374-5 and 389. The two passages are identical in the Prakrit.

[36] Jacobi translates: "(The conduct described in this) part is not holy, (&c., all as in § 57, down to) thoroughly untrue, and bad." (Jacobi 1895, 372-3) The Prakrit reads: "§57 esa ṭhāṇe aṇārie akevale, appaḍipuṇṇe, aṇeyāue asaṃsuddhe asallagattaṇe asiddhimagge amuttimagge aṇivvāṇamagge aṇijjāṇamagge asavvadukkhapahīṇamagge egaṃtamicche asāhū | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 389)

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The section that follows (i.e. the third treatise) begins with the phrase, "Now the explanation of the first subject, viz. (*adhamma*)."[37] The third treatise then proceeds again to describe *adhamma* [§61-8], *dhamma* [§69-74], and another mixed state [§75-78]. The sections on *adhamma* and *dhamma* in the third treatise are similar to the equivalent sections in the first and second treatises. However, in contrast to the second treatise where the mixed state is absolutely condemned, the mixed state in the third treatise is presented in a positive light.[38] In his commentary on the mixed state in the third treatise, the ninth century Śvetāmbara monk Śīlāṅka states that in this mixed state *dhamma* predominates over *adhamma*.[39] The fact that the "mixed" category is condemned in the second treatise and then praised in the third treatise is conspicuous in the text.

Each of the sections in the third treatise, i.e. that on *adhamma*, *dhamma*, and *mīsaga*, begins with a variation on one particular passage. In the section on *adhamma* the men have particular negative characteristics [§61-62], in the section on *dhamma* the men have the opposite positive characteristics [§69], and

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[37] Nathamal 1974a, 389; Jacobi 1895, 373.

[38] Schubring notes this phenomenon. He points out that the mixed state is first presented in a negative light, when it refers to non-Jain ascetics, and then in a positive light when it refers to the Jain laity (Schubring 2004, 74 note 162).

[39] The commentary reads: "athāparasya tṛtīyasya sthānasya miśrakākhyasya vibhaṅgaḥ samākhyāyate - etacca yadyapi miśratvāddharmādharmābhyāmupapetaṃ tathāpi dharmabhūyiṣṭhatvāddhārmikapakṣa evāvatarati." (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 364)

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in the mixed section the men have the same positive characteristics but in a

manner that is mixed to some extent with the negative characteristics [§75].

Following the variations on this introductory passage, each section (*dhamma*,

adhamma, and the mixed state) contains a number of unique passages. Since all

three sections begin with a variation on one particular passage, it is unnecessary

to quote all three variations. I will provide the version of the passage in the mixed

section (which occurs after the sections on *dhamma* and *adhamma* in the text)

since this is the passage that I take to be one of the earliest extensive positive

statements about the Jain lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon. Jacobi

translates:

> Now the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state, is as follows: Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some such men as have few desires, few undertakings, few possessions, righteous men, men practicing righteousness, [very righteous men, men speaking righteously, living righteously, thinking righteously, given to righteousness, men of righteous character and conduct,][40] men gaining a righteous livelihood. They are of good character and morals, easy to please, and good. They abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of killing living beings, but they do not abstain from another, [they abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of falsehood, but they do not abstain from another; they abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of theft, but they do not abstain from another; they abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of sexual behavior, but they do not abstain from another; they abstain, as long as they live, from one kind of accumulation of property, but they do not abstain from another; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, love, hate, quarrel, calumny, reviling of others, aversion to control and delight in sensual things, deceit and untruth, and the sin of wrong belief, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from bathing, rubbing, painting, anointing themselves, from sounds, touches, tastes, colours, smells, from wreaths and ornaments, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live,

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[40] In his translation Jacobi omits the section in square brackets, writing as follow: "men practicing righteousness (&c., all as in §69, down to) men gaining a righteous livelihood." (Jacobi 1895, 382) Jacobi's abbreviations are somewhat confusing since his translation of §69 is also incomplete, referring back to §58, which then refers to §§34-59 of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.1 (Jacobi 1895, 372, 377). I have supplied a modified version of his translation of §61, which is the "*adhamma*" section of the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (Jacobi 1895, 373).

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from cars, carriages, vehicles, litters, swings, coach and pair, palankins, beds, seats, from enjoying a ride or drive, from having many followers, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from buying, selling, doing business with Māshas, half Māshas, and Rupees, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from silver, gold, riches, corn, precious stones, pearls, conches, stones, and corals, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from using wrong weights and measures, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from undertakings and slaughter, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from working and making others work, from cooking and making others cook, but they partly do not abstain; they partly abstain, as long as they live, from cutting, pounding, threatening, beating, binding, killing, and causing pain, but they partly do not abstain;][41] whatever suchlike wicked actions there be, that cause pain to other beings, from some of them these men abstain as long as they live, from others they do not abstain. (75)[42] (Jacobi 1895, 381-2)

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[41] In his translation Jacobi omits the section in square brackets, writing as follow: "(&c., similar as in §62, all down to) whatever suchlike wicked actions there be..." (Jacobi 1895, 382) I have supplied a modified version of his translation of §61, which is the "*adhamma*" section of the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (Jacobi 1895, 373).

[42] The Prakrit reads: "ahāvare taccassa ṭhāṇassa mīsagassa vibhaṃge evamāhijjai - iha khalu pāīṇaṃ vā paḍīṇaṃ vā udīṇaṃ vā dāhiṇaṃ vā saṃtegaiyā maṇussā bhavaṃti, taṃ jahā – appicchā appārambhā appapariggahā dhammiyā dhammāṇuyā • dhammiṭṭhā dhammakkhāī dhammappaloī dhammapalajjaṇā dhammasamudāyārā ° dhammeṇa ceva vittiṃ kappemāṇā viharaṃti, sussīlā suvvayā suppaḍiyāṇaṃdā susāhū, egaccāo pāṇāivāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | • egaccāo musāvāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo adiṇṇādāṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo mehuṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo pariggahāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo kohāo māṇāo māyāo lohāo pejjāo dosāo kalahāo abbhakkhāṇāo pesuṇṇāo paraparivāyāo arairaīo māyāmosāo micchādaṃsaṇasallāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo ṇhāṇummaddaṇa-vaṇṇaga-vilevaṇa-sadda-pharisa-rasa-rūva-gaṃdha-mallālaṃkārāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo sagaḍa-raha-jāṇa-jugga-gilli-thilli-siya-saṃdamāṇiyā-sayaṇāsaṇa-jāṇa-vāhaṇa-bhoga-bhoyaṇa-pavittharavihīo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo kaya-vikkaya-māsaddhamāsa-rūvaga-saṃvavahārāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo hiraṇṇa-suvaṇṇa-dhaṇa-dhaṇṇa-maṇi-mottiya-saṃkha-sila-ppavālāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo kūḍatula-kūḍamāṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo āraṃbha-samāraṃbhāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo karaṇa-kārāvaṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo payaṇa-payāvaṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | egaccāo kuṭṭaṇa-piṭṭaṇa-tajjaṇa-tāḍaṇa-vaha-baṃdha-parikilesāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā ° | je yāvaṇṇe tahappagārā sāvajjā abohiyā kammaṃtā parapāṇaparitāvaṇakarā kajjaṃti, tao vi egaccāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 397-398) The parts within the marks "•...°" are replaced with the shorthand "*jāva*" ("and so on") in some manuscripts.

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The subject in each of the three versions of the passage (*adhamma*,

dhamma, and mixed) is "some men" (*saṃtegaiyā maṇussā*). The mixed version

of the passage is distinguished from the versions in the sections on *adhamma*[43]

and *dhamma*[44] in that the men described in the mixed version partly abstain, as

long as they live, from the various actions, but partly do not

(*egaccāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā*). In the *adhamma* version

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[43] Jacobi translates the section on *adhamma* as follows: "Now the explanation of the first subject, viz. demerit [*adhamma*], is as follows: Here in the East, West, North, and South live some men; they are householders, men of great desires, great undertakings, great possessions, unrighteous men, men practicing unrighteousness, very unrighteous men, men speaking unrighteously, living unrighteously, thinking unrighteously, given to unrighteousness, men of unrighteous character and conduct, men gaining an unrighteous livelihood. (61) They beat, cut, pierce, skin, are bloody-handed, violent, cruel, wicked, rash; they habitually practice bribery, fraud, deceit, imposture, dishonesty, and trickery; they are of bad character and morals, they are difficult to please, they do not abstain from killing living beings; as long as they live they do not abstain from wrath, (&c., all as in II, I, 51, down to) the sin of wrong belief; nor from bathing, rubbing, painting, anointing themselves; from sounds, touches, tastes, colours, smells; from wreaths and ornaments; from cars, carriages, vehicles, litters, swings, coach and pair, palankins, beds, seats; from enjoying a ride or drive; from having many followers; from buying, selling, doing business with Māshas, half Māshas, and Rupees; from silver, gold, riches, corn, precious stones, pearls, conches, stones, and corals; from using wrong weights and measures; from undertakings and slaughter; from working and making others work; from cooking and making others cook; from cutting, pounding, threatening, beating, binding, killing, and causing pain; and whatever other suchlike wicked and sinful actions of worthless men there be, that cause pains to other beings: these men do not abstain from them as long as they live. (62)" (Jacobi 1895, 373-4) Jacobi includes the English word "householders" at the beginning of his translation of this section, but there is no corresponding term in the Prakrit. For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 389-390.

[44] Jacobi translates the section on *dhamma* as follows: "Now the explanation of the second subject, viz. merit [*dhamma*], is as follows: Here in the East, West, North, and South there are some such men as abstain from undertakings and possessions, righteous men, men practicing righteousness, (&c., all as in §58, but substitute 'righteous' for 'unrighteous,' down to) men gaining a righteous livelihood. They are of good character and morals, they are easy to please and good. They abstain from killing living beings as long as they live they, (&c., all just the reverse of what is said in §62, down to) do not abstain from wrath, (&c., all as in II, I, 51, down to) whatever other suchlike wicked actions there be, that cause pains to other beings: these men abstain from them as long as they live. (69)" (Jacobi 1895, 377) For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 393-4.

the men, as long as they live, do not abstain from the various actions

(*savvāo...appadivirayā jāvajjīvāe*) and in the *dhamma* version the men do

abstain from the various activities for as long as they live (*savvāo...padivirayā*

jāvajjīvāe). Likewise, where we find "little possessions" (*appapariggahā*) in the

mixed section, we find "great possessions" (*mahāpariggahā*) in the section of

adhamma, and "no possessions" (*apariggahā*) in the section on *dhamma*. In this

manner the author has created three categories.

As I have alluded to above, it appears that the author of the third treatise

created the three versions of the passage (*adhamma, dhamma,* and mixed) out

of material that originally occurred in the context of condemning all modes of life

apart from Jain mendicancy. Parts of the passage are seen also in

Sūyagadamga 2.1, where non-Jain ascetics are criticized because they behave

too much like householders and where Jain mendicancy is presented as the only

respectable mode of life.[45] Further, the passage at times mentions activities that

all householders engage in, such as bathing, cooking, buying, and selling.

Reference to such activities makes sense in the context of juxtaposing Jain

mendicant life with other modes of life. The idea that some people partly abstain

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[45] The phrase at the beginning of the passage (referring to some men in the East, West, North, and South) occurs in *Sūyagadamga* 2.1 §35 (Jacobi 1895, 347; Nathamal 1974a, 360). The list mentioning "wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, love, hate, quarrel, calumny, reviling of others, aversion to control and delight in sensual things, deceit and untruth, and the sin of wrong belief" is seen in *Sūyagadamga* 2.1 §51 where it is given as list of behaviors that a Jain monk should avoid (Jacobi 1895, 352; Nathamal 1974a, 365).

from such activities seems to reflect a reworking of material describing Jain

mendicant life, rather than an attempt to describe or prescribe lay practice. It

should be noted, however, that the version in the *dhamma* section contains

reference to the five mendicant vows (the *mahāvratas*) and the reworking of the

passage in the mixed section results in an early presentation of the first five lay

vows (the *anuvratas*), which become an ideal for the lay community.[46]

Though the author creates three categories, the version of the passage in

the mixed section is sometimes identical with the version in the section on

dhamma. In the section on *adhamma* we have "unrighteous men" (*adhammiyā*)

while in both of the other sections we have "righteous men" (*dhammiyā*).[47] This is

also the case at the end of each section of the treatise (*adhamma, dhamma,* and

mixed) after the unique material in each section. After the variations on the

passage just discussed and the unique material, each section ends with the

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[46] A form of the five mendicant *mahāvratas* is seen in the section on *dhamma*. For their entire lives the mendicants completely abstain (*savvāo...padiviraya jāvajjīvāe*) from each activity (i.e. inflicting harm on any form of life (*pāṇāivāya*), falsehood (*musāvāya*), theft (*adiṇṇādāṇa*), sex (*mehuṇa*), and the accumulation of property (*pariggaha*)). In the mixed section we read for each vow that the people partly abstain and partly do not (*egaccāo...padiviraya jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appadiviraya*). This formulation is different from, but clearly related to the standard list of the five lay *anuvratas*, where the term "*savvāo*" ("all") in each of the five *mahāvratas* is replaced by the term "*thūlāo*" ("big/extensive"). I will discuss the lay vows extensively in my third chapter.

[47] It should also be noted that one phrase in the section on *adhamma* does not occur in the other sections. In the *adhamma* section we read that the men "beat, cut, pierce, skin, are bloody-handed, violent, cruel, wicked, rash; they habitually practice bribery, fraud, deceit, imposture, dishonesty, and trickery." The Prakrit reads: "'haṇa' 'chiṃda' 'bhiṃda' vigattagā lohiyapāṇī caṃdā ruddā khuddā sāhassiyā ukkaṃcaṇa-vaṃcaṇa-māyā-ṇiyadi-kūda-kavada-sāi-saṃpaogabahulā". This line is omitted in both the *dhamma* section and the mixed section.

same statement that also ends each section of the second treatise, namely that the particular conduct is holy (or unholy), etc. and leads to (or does not lead to) the ultimate soteriological goal. As noted above, in the second treatise, both *adhamma* and the mixed state are not holy, etc. In contrast, here in the third treatise the mixed state is holy, etc. like the conduct described in the section on *dhamma*.[48] The basic logic appears to be that this mixed state (the life of the Jain householder) is holy and leads to the ultimate soteriological goal because it lines up to some extent with the life of the Jain mendicant (described in the section on *dhamma*).

The introductory part of each section of the third treatise (*adhamma*, *dhamma*, and mixed), quoted at length above for the mixed section, and the recurring final statement about whether or not the conduct is holy, etc. serve as a framework for each section. Following the introductory passage and before the recurring final statement about whether or not the conduct is holy, etc, each section contains unique material. In the section on *adhamma* there are descriptions of sinful activity [§63-64], somewhat like the twelve sins in the first treatise of the lecture, as well as a statement that such men will go to hell [§65] and a short description of the hells [§66-7]. The section on *dhamma* has at this

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[48] For the ends of each section of the third treatise see Jacobi 1895, 377, 381, and 384 as well as Nathamal 1974a, 393, 396-7, and 399.

point descriptions of ideal Jain monastic life [§70-2], as well as a statement that

such men, dying in a particular manner,[49] will obtain the ultimate soteriological

goal [§73] or rebirth in one of the heavens, which are briefly described [§74].

The additional material after the introductory passage in the mixed section

of the third treatise (i.e. after the passage that I take to be one of the earliest

extensive positive statements about the Jain lay community in the Śvetāmbara

canon) includes various other statements relating to the Jain lay community. The

first passage that is added [§76] consists of a description of the *samanovāsaga*

(the ideal Jain layman). This passage occurs in many other texts in the

Śvetāmbara canon and I thus refer to it as the "standard description of the

samanovāsaga". I discuss this passage at length in the second chapter of my

thesis and I will also mention it again briefly below in this chapter since its

occurrence in the *Uvavāiya* helps to prove that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has

copied from *Sūyagaḍamga* 2.2. The "standard description of the *samanovāsaga*"

represents a more developed statement about the Jain lay community than the

reworked introductory passage. In the introductory passage [i.e. §75], for

instance, the subject is *samtegaiyā maṇussā* ("some men") and there is no

specific term for the Jain lay community as there is in §76. The introductory

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[49] I think that §73 (as well as §77 in the mixed section) refers to the ritual fast to death though this is not clear from Jacobi's translation. See Nathamal 1974a, 395-6 and 398 as well as Jacobi 1895, 380 and 384. Dixit also seems to think that these sections refer to the ritual fast to death (Dixit 1978, 35).

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passage has been reworked from existing material in attempt to produce an initial

positive statement about some householders, while the "standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga*" represents an attempt to produce a description of the ideal

Jain householder.

Following this "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" we read that

such men, dying in a particular manner, will obtain rebirth in one of the heavens

[§77]. I have not included extensive discussion of references to the mode of

death in my thesis. Here I would like simply to note that this passage is different

from the equivalent passage in the section on *dhamma* [§73-4] in that in the

mixed section there is no mention of the ultimate soteriological goal.[50] This

seems to reflect an attempt to differentiate the soteriological possibilities of the

monk and the Jain householder. The differentiation here, however, is partly

inconsistent with the concluding statement of the entire section, which, as noted

above, is the same as that in the section on *dhamma* (i.e. the concluding

statement of the entire 'mixed' section states that the mixed state is holy, etc. and

leads to the ultimate soteriological goal).[51] It is also inconsistent with the only

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[50] This is partly obscured in Jacobi's translation since he does not translate the entire section, but rather refers back to §74 (Jacobi 1895, 384).

[51] Jacobi's translation reads: "(&c., all as in §74 down to) it is thoroughly true, and good. This is the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state." (Jacobi 1895, 384) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§74 esa ṭhāṇe ārie kevale, paḍipuṇṇe, ṇeyāue saṃsuddhe sallagattaṇe siddhimagge muttimagge ṇivvāṇamagge ṇijjāṇamagge savvadukkhapahīṇamagge egaṃtasamme sāhū | taccassa ṭhāṇassa mīsagassa vibhaṃge evamāhie | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 399)

other statement about Jain householders in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, which occurs

after the concluding statement of the mixed section in what appears to be a

summary of the entire third treatise. This summary relates to the *"dhamma-*

*adhamma-*mixed" classification and it reinforces the idea that the conduct of the

Jain householder is holy, etc. and leads to the ultimate soteriological goal.[52]

This inconsistency seen in comparing the various statements relating to

the lay community in the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

is seen elsewhere in the Śvetāmbara canon as some passages present the

soteriological possibilities for a Jain householder in the same manner as for a

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[52] Jacobi translates: "He who does not practice cessation [note 3: "Virati."] (from sin), is called a foolish man; he who practices cessation (from sin), is called a wise man; he who in one regard practices cessation (from sin) and in another does not, is said to be in a state of partaking of that of a wise man and that of a foolish man. The conduct of him who does not practice cessation from all (sins), is that of a man who kills living creatures; it is unworthy, (&c., all down to) thoroughly untrue, and bad. The conduct of him who practices cessation from all (sins), is that of a man who does not kill living creatures; it is worthy, pure, (&c., all down to) thoroughly true, and good. The conduct of a man who in one regard practices cessation from all (sins) and in another does not, is that of a man who kills some living creatures and does not kill others; it is worthy, pure, (&c., all down to) thoroughly true, and good." (Jacobi 1895, 384-5) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§75 aviraiṃ paḍucca bāle āhijjai | viraiṃ paḍucca paṃḍie āhijjai | virayāviraiṃ paḍucca bālapaṃḍie āhijjai | tattha ṇaṃ jā sā savvao aviraī esaṭṭhāṇe ārambhaṭṭhāṇe aṇārie [note 1: "saṃ° pā° -- aṇārie jāva asavvadukkha°"] •akevale appaḍipuṇṇe aṇeyāue asaṃsuddhe asallagattaṇe asiddhimagge amuttimagge aṇivvāṇamagge aṇijjāṇamagge° asavvadukkhappahīṇamagge egaṃtamicche asāhū | tattha ṇaṃ jā sā [note 2: "sā savvao (ka, kha)"] viraī esaṭṭhāṇe aṇārambhaṭṭhāṇe ārie [note 3: "saṃ° pā° -- ārie jāva savvadukkha°"] •kevale paḍipuṇṇe ṇeyāue saṃsuddhe sallagattaṇe siddhimagge muttimagge ṇivvāṇamagge ṇijjāṇamagge° savvadukkhappahīṇamagge egaṃtasamme sāhū | tattha ṇaṃ jā sā [note 4: "sā savvao (ka, kha)"] virayāviraī esaṭṭhāṇe ārambhāṇārambhaṭṭhāṇe, esaṭṭhāṇe [note 5: "asya pāṭhasya punarullekhaḥ viśeṣatvasūcanārtham, yathā vṛttikāra -- etadapi kathañcidāryameva"] ārie [note 6: "saṃ° pā° -- ārie jāva savvadukkha°"] •kevale paḍipuṇṇe ṇeyāue saṃsuddhe sallagattaṇe siddhimagge muttimagge ṇivvāṇamagge ṇijjāṇamagge° savvadukkhappahīṇamagge egaṃtasamme sāhū | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 399)

Jain mendicant while other passages make a differentiation by stating that a Jain

householder can only hope to attain a divine rebirth.[53] It is my view that the

compilers moved to produce passages explicitly differentiating the soteriological

possibilities of the monk and the Jain householder because such a differentiation

was not made in some of the earliest positive statements about householders. In

presenting the ultimate soteriological goal of release from the cycle of rebirth as

resulting exclusively from Jain mendicant life the compilers of the Śvetāmbara

canon are able to offer a reason why mendicant life is necessary even while

[53] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we find two statements in which the life of the Jain householder is said to
be holy and to lead to the ultimate soteriological goal just as Jain mendicant life does. There is
the final statement which recurs in each section (*dhamma/adhamma/mixed*) in the third treatise
about whether or not the conduct is holy and leads to the ultimate soteriological goal (Jacobi
1895, 384; Nathamal 1974a, 399). There is also a similar statement after the concluding
statement of the mixed section in what appears to be a summary of the entire third treatise
(Jacobi 1895, 384-5; Nathamal 1974a, 399). An analogous situation is seen in
Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 where we read that both the lay and mendicant dhamma lead to the
ultimate goal of rebirth at the summit of the world (*loyaggapaiṭṭhāṇā*) (Bothara 1996, 254;
Nathamal 1974c, 123). In contrast, the description of the forms of rebirth resulting from lay life in
§77 of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 differs from the equivalent section on monastic life
in §73-4. In this case, mendicants are said to obtain the ultimate soteriological goal, while laymen
are said to obtain rebirth in one of the heavens. Such a differentiation is seen also in verses from
chapter five of the *Uttarādhyayana*. In verses 23 and 24 of this chapter we read that a faithful
householder (*saḍḍhī*) should observe the posaha days and that, living in this way, a householder
can obtain a rebirth as a *yakkha* (*jakkhasalogayaṃ*) (Jacobi 1895, 23; Dīparatnasāgara v.28,
206). Directly after this, in verse 25 it is said that a mendicant will obtain rebirth as a *deva* or the
ultimate goal of freedom from all misery, both of which are preferable to rebirth as a *yakkha*
(Jacobi 1895, 23; Dīparatnasāgara v.28, 207). The attempt to differentiate the result of Jain lay
and mendicant life is seen also in *Viyāhapannatti* 1.8. In this passage we find three distinct
descriptions of the possible forms of rebirth for the foolish non-Jain (*egaṃtabāle*), the Jain laity
(*bālapaṃḍie*), and the Jain mendicants (*egaṃtapaṃḍie*) (Bothara 2005, 178-180; Nathamal
1974b, 59-60). This passage from *Viyāhapannatti* 1.8 employs terminology like that seen in the
passage that seems to serve as a summary of the entire third treatise from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2
where the conduct of foolish non-Jains (*bāle*) is described in entirely negative terms and is said
not to lead to the ultimate soteriological goal, while the conduct of both Jain laymen (*bālapaṃḍie*)
and Jain ascetics (*paṃḍie*) is described in the opposite manner (Jacobi 1895, 384-5; Nathamal
1974a, 399).

legitimating lay life. The inconsistency in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is further indication

that the mixed section of the third treatise is made up of a compilation of

originally independent statements about the Jain householder. The compiler of

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 seems to add what he felt were other important statements

about Jain householders after the reworked version of the recurring introductory

passage (i.e. after the passage that I take to be one of the earliest extensive

positive statements about the Jain lay community).

After the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, an introductory verse marks a

return to the subject of *adhamma* [§79-82]. Jacobi calls this "another

supplementary section (or perhaps two)."[54] Finally there is the conclusion to the

first treatise. The first twelve types of sin are distinguished from the thirteenth

mode of conduct, that of the Jain mendicant [§83-84].[55] The text says that a

monk (*bhikkhu*) should act according to this thirteenth mode of conduct.[56] The

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[54] Jacobi 1895, 365, note 3.

[55] Jacobi translates: "Thus those beings who practice the first twelve kinds of actions [note 3: "Described in §§5-21. See p.365, note 3."], have not attained perfection, (&c., all down to) have not, nor do, nor will put an end to all misery. (83) But those beings who practice the thirteenth kind of action, have attained perfection, (&c., all down to) have put, or put, or will put an end to all misery. (84)" (Jacobi 1895, 387-8) The Prakrit reads: "§80 iccetehiṃ bārasahiṃ kiriyāṭhāṇehiṃ vaṭṭamāṇā jīvā ṇo sijjhiṃsu ṇo bujjhiṃsu ṇo muccimsu ṇo pariṇivvāiṃsu ṇo savvadukkhāṇaṃ aṃtaṃ karemsu vā ṇo karemti vā ṇo karissaṃti vā | eyaṃsi [note 6: "etammi (ka)"] ceva terasame kiriyāṭhāṇe vaṭṭamāṇā jīvā sijjhiṃsu bujjhiṃsu muccimsu pariṇivvāiṃsu savvadukkhāṇaṃ aṃtaṃ karemsu vā karemti vā karissaṃti vā | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 402)

[56] Jacobi 1895, 388; Nathamal 1974a, 402.

text thus returns abruptly to the situation where the place of the Jain householder is not included. This is the end of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

The creation of a positive statement about some householders in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 can be understood as a move to legitimate the place of householders within the Jain tradition. The redactors apparently had no problem with the fact that *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 legitimates the mode of life of some householders while the first book of the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* often condemns all forms of domestic life. In fact, the initial legitimating of lay life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 has been created out of material that juxtaposed the praiseworthy conduct of the Jain ascetic with the censured behavior of everyone else. For the author of the first extensive positive statement about some householders, the virtue of the lay Jain resides in the ability to approximate the conduct of a Jain monastic, at least temporarily and in certain respects. The author of the passage thus maintains Jain ascetic life as ideal. Yet, the logic behind the initial legitimating of lay life in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is potentially inconsistent with the absolute condemnation of non-Jain mendicant life that is found in the second treatise of the lecture. Non-Jain ascetics can also behave like Jain mendicants and it is not clear why one group of those who are sometimes similar to Jain mendicants, the Jain laity, is praised, while another, the non-Jain ascetics, is absolutely condemned.

The *Uvavāiya* and the Legitimating of Lay Life

In the introduction to his edition of the *Uvavāiya* Leumann points out that the text contains passages found in various other texts that are put together without any evident governing principle.[57] He also notes that the *Uvavāiya* contains many variant readings and evidently was passed down in a number of recensions. Nonetheless, Leumann sees that the text is made up essentially of two main parts: §§1-61[58] tell of the procession of King Kūṇia to hear a sermon given by Mahāvīra and the remainder of the text contains a classification of sixteen types of beings (*jīva*) that will achieve (*upapāda*) some form of divine rebirth or release from the cycle of rebirth.[59] He says that these two parts were originally separate works. The text takes its name from the second part.[60] Here I will argue that the second part of the text was compiled in response to the logical

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[57] Leumann writes: "Vorderhand sieht man nur, das seine grosse Masse traditioneller Theorien und Vorschriften bei einer Redaktion derselben, welche auf Devarddhigaṇin zurückgeführt wird, auf verschiedene Bücher (anga & upānga) in ziemlich principloser Weise vertheilt worden ist." (Leumann ed. 1883, 20) The notes to his edition of the text provide concordances with the *Viyāhapannatti* (the fifth Anga), the *Pannavaṇā* (the fourth Uvānga), the *Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ* (the tenth Anga), and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* (the second Uvānga).

[58] In discussing the *Uvavāiya* I will use references to the paragraphs in Leumann's edition of the text.

[59] Leumann suggests that §30 and §131-153 were added after the original compilation and so these sections might be considered a third part (Leumann ed. 1883, 20).

[60] Leumann ed. 1883, 1-2, 20.

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inconsistency evident in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 where the legitimating of lay life and the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics occur together.

The second part of the *Uvavāiya* mainly consists of a hierarchy of sixteen categories of beings. The sixteenth category [§130] seems to include those Jain mendicants that have obtained (or are guaranteed to obtain) the ultimate soteriological goal. The pious Jain mendicants are found in the fifteenth category [§§125-129] and they will achieve the highest form of divine rebirth if not release from the cycle of rebirth. In the fourteenth category [§§123-124] are the Jain householders who may attain rebirth in one of the highest heavens.[61] The remaining categories (one through thirteen) are made up of non-Jain ascetics (and perhaps some Jain ascetics who do not behave properly) as well as various types of householders. All the people described in categories one through thirteen may attain some form of divine rebirth and some of them may even attain the same type of rebirth as the Jain householders.[62]

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[61] The Jain householders can obtain rebirth in the Acyuta Kalpa, which is the highest of the twelve Kalpas. See Caillat and Kumar (1981, 20-26) as well as Barnett (1907, 140) on the various forms of divine rebirth. One can also see Kirfel (1920, 261ff).

[62] Generally, the higher categories (i.e. those listed later in the text) can attain a better divine rebirth than the lower categories. The only exception to this is that the Jain ascetics who cause dissension (*ṇiṇhagā*) described in the thirteenth category can obtain rebirth in a higher heaven than is possible for the Jain householders described in category fourteen. The Ājīvika mendicants in the eleventh category can attain the same type of rebirth as the mendicants in the twelfth category and the Jain householders in the fourteenth category. Leumann's introduction offers a convenient overview of the hierarchy (Leumann ed. 1883, 14-15).

The description of the Jain householders in the second part of the

Uvavāiya consists of two passages [§123-124]. There is good reason to believe

that both of these passages have been copied from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In the

first passage relating to Jain householders in the second part of the *Uvavāiya*

[§123] we find a passage that is clearly related to the "mixed" version of the

recurring introductory passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 [§75],

which I have quoted at length above. Lalwani translates the corresponding

passage in the *Uvavāiya* as follows:

In the villages, towns, [etc.],[63] there are men who do little harm, who have little accumulation of property, who are pious, who pursue the spiritual path, who rate religion the highest, who preach religion, who consider religion to be palatable, who are dyed (saturated) in religion, who mould conduct as prescribed in religion, who earn livelihood in a manner not contrary to the code, who are good in their behaviour, who practice what is right and who take delight in maintaining good attitude. Who under the advice of monks desist for a while from slaughter but not for their whole life, [desist for a while from falsehood but not for their whole life, desist for a while from theft but not for their whole life, desist for a while from sex but not for their whole life, desist for a while from accumulation of property but not for their whole life].[64] They desist for a while from anger, pride, attachment, greed, lust, aversion, quarrel, rejection, slander, speaking ill of others, restlessness and non-restlessness, falsehood and the thorn of wrong faith by their mind, words and body, but not for their whole life. Who desist in part from slaughter and from causing slaughter and in part do not desist, who desist in part from action and instigating action and in part do not desist, who desist in part from cooking and ordering others to cook and in part do not so desist, and like that for life. Who keep aside in part from activities like beating, hurting, rebuking, giving a slap, killing, binding with a rope, and causing pain, and in part do not so desist, and like that for life, who desist in part from bath, rubbing, painting, besmearing, sound, touch, taste, shape, smell, garlands and ornaments, and in part do not so desist, and like that for life. And likewise, from many sinful and condemnable deeds, they desist in part, and in part do not so

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[63] The Prakrit here employs a shorthand device (*gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu*). Lalwani translates: "villages, towns, till *sannivesas*".

[64] The Prakrit here employs a shorthand device (*evaṃ jāva pariggahāo*). Lalwani translates: "till accumulation of property."

desist, from deceit and crookedness, or anything which is painful to others, they desist in part, and in part do not so desist [...]⁶⁵.⁶⁶(Lalwani 1988, 272-275)

There are a number of differences if we compare this passage from the

Uvavāiya with the "mixed" version of the recurring introductory passage from the

third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is

explicitly introduced as a "mixed state" and as the third in a series.[67] This does

not occur in the *Uvavāiya*. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 then presents the subject of the

passage as "some men in the East, West, North, and South,"[68] a phrase found at

other points in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*. In the *Uvavāiya* the subject is men who live in

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65 Lalwani adds at the end of the passage: "like the followers of Śramaṇa path." However, as is clear in Leumann's edition, these words (*taṃ jahā samaṇovāsaga*) are actually the beginning of the next passage, which I call "the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*".

66 The Prakrit reads as follows: §123 Se-jje ime gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu maṇuyā bhavanti, taṃ jahā: [app'-ārambhā apariggahā] dhammiyā dhammāṇuyā dhammiṭṭhā dhamm'-akkhāī dhamma-paloī dhamma-palajjaṇā dhamma-samudāyārā dhammeṇaṃ ceva vittiṃ kappemāṇā [su-sīlā] su-vvayā su-paḍiyāṇandā sāhūhiṃ egaccāo [pāṭh. ant.: egaiyāo] pāṇāivāyāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo apaḍiviraya, evaṃ jāva pariggahāo 2 [note 12: "2 bedeutet hier, dass jedesmal sowohl eg. paḍiv. als apaḍiv. zu ergänzen sei."] egaccāo kohāo māṇāo māyāo lobhāo pejjāo dosāo kalahāo abbhakkhāṇāo pesuṇṇāo paraparivāyāo arairaīo māyāmosāo micchādaṃsaṇasallāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya, egaccāo ārambha-samārambhāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya, egaccāo karaṇa-kārāvaṇāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya, egaccāo payaṇa-pāyāvaṇāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya, egaccāo koṭṭaṇa-piṭṭaṇa-tajjaṇa-tālaṇa-vahabandha-parikilesāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya, egaccāo ṇhāṇa-maddaṇa-vaṇṇaga-vilevaṇa-sadda-pharisa-rasa-rūva-gandha-mallālaṃkārāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya; je yāv'aṇṇe taha-ppagārā sāvajja-jogovahiyā [vāc. ant.: sāvajjā abohiyā] kamm'antā para-pāṇa-pariyāvaṇa-karā kajjanti, tao vi egaccāo paḍiviraya jāvajjīvāe egaccāo apaḍiviraya. (Leumann 1883, §123-4, p.81-82)

67 Jacobi translates: "Now the explanation of the third subject, viz. the mixed state, is as follows." The Prakrit reads: "ahāvare taccassa ṭhāṇassa mīsagassa vibhaṃge evamāhijjai."

68 The Prakrit reads: "iha khalu pāīṇaṃ vā paḍīṇaṃ vā udīṇaṃ vā dāhiṇaṃ vā saṃtegaiyā maṇussā bhavaṃti."

various places like villages, town, and so on,[69] a phrase that begins each of the

various categories of people described in the second part of the *Uvavāiya*. This is

obviously a minor difference. A further difference is seen in that the *Uvavāiya*

includes the term "*sāhūhiṃ*," which Lalwani translates as "under the advice of

monks". In the same place in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we find "*susāhū*" ("good") as an

adjective at the end of a list of other similar adjectives (*sussīlā suvvayā*

suppaḍiyānaṃdā susāhū).[70] The reading "*susāhū*" seems to be the original.[71]

Finally, it can be noted that the order of the compounds occurring in the latter

part of the passage is different in the two texts and that a number of the

compounds seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 do not occur in the *Uvavāiya*.[72] I do not

see any significance in the different order or the omission of certain compounds.

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[69] The Prakrit reads: "se-jje ime gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu maṇuyā bhavanti."

[70] Jacobi translates: "They are of good character and morals, easy to please, and good."

[71] This seems clear because in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 all three versions of the passage have the nominative plural (Nathamal 1974a, 389-390; 393-4; 397-398). Furthermore, as I will note again below, the section describing Jain mendicants in category fifteen of the hierarchy in the second part of the *Uvavāiya* contains a passage corresponding to the *dhamma* version of the recurring passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and in this case the *Uvavāiya* has the reading "*sāhū*" (Leumann 1883, §125, p.82).

[72] The compound that begins with reference to bathing (*ṇhāṇummaddaṇa-vaṇṇaga-vilevaṇa-sadda-pharisa-rasa-rūva-gaṃdha-mallālaṃkārāo*) occurs at a later point in the passage in the *Uvavāiya* as compared to the passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The passage in the *Uvavāiya* does not include the compound beginning with reference to carts (*sagaḍa-raha-jāṇa-jugga-gilli-thilli-siya-saṃdamāṇiyā-sayaṇāsaṇa-jāṇa-vāhaṇa-bhoga-bhoyaṇa-pavittharavihīo*) or the compound beginning with reference to buying and selling (*kaya-vikkaya-māsaddhamāsa-rūvaga-samvavahārāo*). The *Uvavāiya* also lacks the reference to using wrong weights and measures (*kūḍatula-kūḍamāṇāo*).

Despite these minor differences, it is clear that the two passages are related, as they are for the most part identical.

I have just discussed the relationship between §123 of the *Uvavāiya* and the "mixed" version of the recurring introductory passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 [§75]. There is also an obvious relationship between the second of the two passages relating to Jain householders in the *Uvavāiya* [i.e. §124] and the first of the unique passages that follows the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 [i.e. §76]. That is to say, we find the same two passages occurring consecutively in both *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 [§75-76] and the *Uvavāiya* [§123-124]. As I have noted above in my brief discussion of the unique material that follows the recurring introductory passage in the mixed section of the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, I call the passage that occurs second in each of these texts "the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" because it occurs so often in the Śvetāmbara canon. I will discuss this passage at length in my second chapter. The only significant difference between "the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" as it occurs in *Uvavāiya* §124 and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 §76 is that a few words found at the end of the passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 are dropped in the

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Uvavāiya.[73] Despite this difference, the fact that both *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the

Uvavāiya contain basically the same two passages occurring consecutively is

clear evidence that the two texts are related.[74]

There are a number of reasons to believe that the compiler of the

Uvavāiya has copied the two passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, rather than the

other way around. The differences between the two "mixed" passages that I have

outlined above seem to support this conclusion. I have noted that in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 we find what I take to be the original reading in the term

"*susāhū*," while in the *Uvavāiya* we find the term "*sāhūhiṃ*," which I take to be a

later reading. Furthermore, in considering the fact that some of the compounds

occurring in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 are not seen in the *Uvavāiya*, I think it is more

likely that these compounds would drop out of the text rather than be added

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[73] In the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 the last two lines or so read: "bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ [note 9: "ahāpaḍi° (kha)"] tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti | | " (Nathamal 1974a, 398) These lines have been omitted in the *Uvavāiya*. The compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has added instead the following lines: "viharanti, 2ttā bhattaṃ paccakkhanti; te bahūiṃ bhattāiṃ aṇasaṇāe chedenti, 2ttā āloiya-paḍikkantā samāhi-pattā kāla-māse kālaṃ kiccā ukkosenaṃ Accue kappe devattāe uvavattāro bhavanti." (Leumann 1883, §124 p.82) These lines are found in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 in the section mentioning the manner of death (§77), which directly follows the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" (§76). In the second chapter of my thesis I will note that the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" is found in many other texts and that there are many examples where the last two lines are dropped as they are in *Uvavāiya* §124. I argue that the examples in which these lines are dropped show the influence of the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

[74] As far as I am aware, these two passages occur consecutively only in these two texts. As I have noted, the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" occurs in many other texts, but always without the passage that precedes it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*.

later.[75] Yet, the best evidence to suggest that the original version is that found in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 comes in considering the context of the passage in each text.

I have noted above that the three sections (adhamma/dhamma/mixed) of the

third treatise in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 all begin with versions of the same passage. In

the Uvavāiya, in addition to the "mixed" version of the passage (occurring in the

fourteenth category of the hierarchy of beings), which I have just quoted, we also

find (in the fifteenth category of the hierarchy of beings) a passage corresponding

to the "dhamma" version of the passage from the third treatise of Sūyagaḍaṃga

2.2.[76] Yet, the "adhamma" version of the passage from the third treatise in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 does not occur in the Uvavāiya. This situation seems to prove

the direction of borrowing since it seems certain that the original "mixed" version

of the passage would occur in a text that also contains both the dhamma and

adhamma versions of the passage.

Though the compiler of the Uvavāiya copies two passages from the mixed

section of the third treatise of Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2, he makes some changes and

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[75] Likewise, I argue in my second chapter that the versions of the "standard description of the
samaṇovāsaga" in which a few words at the end of the passage are dropped (as in the Uvavāiya)
are later than the versions in which these words occur (as in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2).

[76] The section on monks in the Uvavāiya (Lalwani 1988, 279-285; Leumann 1883, 82-3) begins
as does the introductory passage from the third treatise in the section on dhamma in
Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 (Jacobi 1895, 377-81; Nathamal 1974a, 393-8). The Prakrit in paragraphs
125-129 of the Uvavāiya omits some of what is in found in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. Paragraph 126 of
the Uvavāiya is like what follows the introductory section in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 (Nathamal 1974a,
394, §64). After this in the Uvavāiya there is some material that is not found in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2.

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he does not copy the entire mixed section of the third treatise. One significant

difference between the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

and the second part of the *Uvavāiya* is that there is no indication in the *Uvavāiya*

that Jain householders can achieve the ultimate soteriological goal. In the third

treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 each section (*dhamma/adhamma/*mixed) ends with

the statement that the particular conduct is holy (or unholy), etc. and leads to (or

does not lead to) the ultimate soteriological goal. The life of the Jain

householders (i.e. the mixed category) is said to lead to the ultimate

soteriological goal. The compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has not copied this statement.

He seems to participate in the attempt to differentiate the soteriological

possibilities of the monk and the Jain householder that is seen at various points

in the Śvetāmbara canon.[77]

It seems that in creating the classification of beings (*jīva*) the compiler of

the *Uvavāiya* responds specifically to the inconsistency in the legitimating of lay

life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Since he has copied the "mixed" introductory passage

[§75] from the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the compiler of the second part

of the *Uvavāiya* must accept the logic of the legitimating of lay life presented

there, namely that a person is considered virtuous in so far as he or she

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[77] I have discussed this issue above in connection with one of the unique passages (§77) that follows the "mixed" version of the recurring introductory passage in the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

approximates at least temporarily and in some way the conduct of a Jain

mendicant. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 this logic is inconsistent with the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain ascetics seen in the second treatise. The compiler of

the second part of the *Uvavāiya* presents a more consistent version of this logic.

He has not copied the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. Rather, he includes various groups of non-Jain ascetics

among those who may attain a divine form of rebirth, thus recognizing the fact

that some non-Jain ascetics lived in a manner similar to the Jain ascetics. The

logic of the legitimating of lay life is pushed to extremes in the lowest categories

of the hierarchy, as I will discuss further below. Though he responds to the

inconsistency in the legitimating of lay life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the compiler of

the second part of the *Uvavāiya* still attempts to present the idea that lay Jain life

(rather than some other form of asceticism) is the best alternative to Jain

asceticism. The tension seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 thus remains in the second

part of the *Uvavāiya*, but it is less conspicuous.

In addition to the material from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the second part of the

Uvavāiya also contains material found in the *Viyāhapannatti* (the fifth Aṅga). The

description of Goyama (Mahāvīra's disciple) that begins the second part of the

Uvavāiya occurs almost word for word at the beginning of the *Viyāhapannatti*.[78]

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[78] Leumann 1883, 66; Lalwani 1988, 197; Nathamal 1974b, 4; Bothara 2005, 8.

There are also a number of other parallels.[79] The relationship between these texts is more complicated than the relationship between the second part of the *Uvavāiya* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In the case of the *Viyāhapannatti*, the direction of borrowing is not obvious to me.[80] However, it is clear that, like the second part of the *Uvavāiya*, the compilers of the *Viyāhapannatti* often deal with the logic of the legitimating of lay life seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and with the tension between this logic and the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics. In this section of the chapter I will confine detailed discussion of such passages from the *Viyāhapannatti* to my notes. At the end of the chapter, however, I will point out that the compiler of *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1-2 deals with the tension seen in

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[79] There is reference to the descriptions (*vaṇṇao*) occurring in the first part of the *Uvavāiya* at the beginning of the *Viyāhapannatti* (Nathamal 1974b, 3; Bothara 2005, 5). One might further suggest, though there is no exact parallel, that the description of trees at the end of *Viyāhapannatti* 1.1.10-11 (i.e. the description of the heaven) would not be out of place as part of the description of the forest surrounding the city of Campā at the beginning of the *Uvavāiya* (Leumann 1883, 22-5; Lalwani 1988, 9-16; Nathamal 1974b, 15; Bothara 2005, 48). Leumann points out that the first part of the *Uvavāiya* is much like book XV of the *Viyāhapannatti* (Leumann ed. 1883, 20) further showing a relationship between the two texts. I will note below some additional parallels that are more pertinent to the subject discussed in the chapter.

[80] According to Weber, Leumann described the second part of the *Uvavāiya* as a more detailed treatment of the *Viyāhapannatti* 1.1.77. Weber writes regarding the *Uvavāiya*: "The second part, which contains the essence of the work, is in extent scarcely more than a third of the whole, and looks, as Leumann says, like a more detailed treatment of Bhag. 1, 1, 77 (see Bhag. 1, 162)." (Weber 1893, 68) The German reads: "Der zweite Theil, resp. der eigentliche Kern des Werkes, dem Umfang nach aber wenig mehr als ein Drittel des Ganzen, "der wie eine ausführlichere Behandlung von Bhag. 1, 1, 77 (s. Bhag. 1, 162) aussieht" (Leumann)..." (Weber 1883-85, v.16, 378). Weber does not provide a reference to indicate where Leumann makes this statement and it does not seem to occur in Leumann's edition of the *Uvavāiya*. If Weber's statement is accurate then it seems that Leumann thought the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied from the *Viyāhapannatti*.

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 in a manner different from the compiler of the second part of

the *Uvavāiya*.

In the second part of the *Uvavāiya*, after the description of Goyama,

Goyama asks Mahāvīra about the ultimate fate of various classes of beings.

Before the sixteen categories of beings that will obtain a good rebirth we find a

general statement about the theory of rebirth [§64-6]. Beings that are

uncontrolled, unresigned, and who do not avoid and renounce sins (*asaṃjae*

avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāya-pāvakamme), that undertake actions (*sakirie*),

that do not behave with care (*asaṃvuḍe*), that are entirely sinful (*eganta-daṇḍe*),

entirely foolish (*eganta-bāle*), and entirely asleep (*eganta-sutte*) obtain bad

karma.[81] This type of statement recalls the negative view of non-Jain ascetics

and all non-ascetics found in the earliest extant Jain literature. In fact, in

Viyāhapannatti 7.2.1 we see that bad renunciation (*dupaccakkhāyaṃ*) is

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[81] Lalwani translates: "Gautama: '*Bhante!* Does a living being get entangled in sinful *karma* in case he has not practiced restraint, he has done harm to living organisms, he has not reduced the intensity of sinful *karma* by renunciation and stopped the inflow of sinful *karma* through complete renunciation, he has not desisted from physical and other activities, he has not restrained his senses, he chastises self and other by sinful deeds, he has wrong outlook in all respects and he is wholly asleep under the spell of falsehood?' Mahāvīra: 'Yes, he does.'" (Lalwani 1988, 200) Beings like this acquire *mohaṇijjaṃ* and *veyaṇijjaṃ kammaṃ* (Lalwani 1988, 201-2; Leumann 1883, §65-6, p.66). The Prakrit reads as follows: "§64 Jīve ṇaṃ bhante asaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāya-pāvakamme sa-kirie asaṃvuḍe eganta-daṇḍe eganta-bāle eganta-sutte pāvakammaṃ aṇhāi? – hantā aṇhāi." (Leumann 1883, §64, p.66)

described in this manner and that the pious Jain ascetic is described in the opposite manner.[82]

Though the language here [§64-6] is reminiscent of the negative view of all modes of life apart from Jain mendicancy seen in the earliest extant Jain literature and though pious Jain mendicants are the only category of beings who do not obtain significant bad karma, in the second part of the *Uvavāiya* this general statement about the theory of rebirth does not seem to include all non-Jain ascetics or all non-ascetics. As the text continues we find fourteen categories of beings who will obtain rebirth as a deity. Even though these fourteen categories of beings obtain some significant bad karma, they should not be described as entirely sinful (*eganta-daṇḍe*), entirely foolish (*eganta-bāle*), and entirely asleep (*eganta-sutte*). This apparently general statement about the theory of rebirth thus seems to apply only to certain types of people. Here we see the compiler struggle to relate the ideas of the earliest Śvetāmbara texts to the legitimating of lay life.

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[82] *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1 distinguishes good renunciation (*supaccakkhāyaṃ*) from bad renunciation (*dupaccakkhāyaṃ*). I will mention this passage again at the end of this chapter. Bad renunciation is characterized with the terminology seen here in the *Uvavāiya* (Nathamal 1974b, 278). Good renunciation is characterized in the opposite manner: "*saṃjaya-viraya-paḍihaya-paccakkhāyapāvakamme, akirie, saṃvuḍe, egaṃtapaṃḍie*" (Nathamal 1974b, 278). In the first treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we read that the karma deriving from the proper monastic mode of conduct (*iriyāvahiya*) is destroyed within moments.

In §67 we find the only category of beings in the second part of the

Uvavāiya that will not obtain a good rebirth. Here we have the same description

that occurs as in §64 (*asaṃjae jāva eganta-sutte*), but it is added that the beings

in this category kill other living beings (*ussaṇṇaṃ tasa-pāṇa-ghāi*).[83] These

beings that kill other beings are reborn in one of the hells (*neraiesu uvavajjai*).

The additional clause seems to make it clear that not all of those included in §64

are included here. Yet, as I have stated, the sixteen categories of beings who will

obtain a good rebirth likewise seem to be excluded from §64. Thus it seems

unclear who exactly is included in §64.

Following this, in §§68-9, we have the first of the sixteen categories of

beings who will obtain a good rebirth.[84] This category again employs terminology

from the general statement about rebirth [§64], however in this case some of the

terms are dropped. This category of beings is described only as uncontrolled,

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[83] Lalwani 1988, 203; Leumann 1883, §67, p.66.

[84] Lalwani translates: "When living beings residing in villages, mines, towns etc. etc., who are not actuated by a desire to uproot (exhaust) *karma*, but who torture self by stopping the intake of food and drink, by practicing celibacy, by hardship arising out of non-bath, cold, heat, mosquito, sweat, dust, dirt and mud, for short or for long, who are thus tortured, such ones, dying at a certain point in eternal time, are born in one of the heavens occupied by the Vāṇavyantara gods as celestial beings." (Lalwani 1988, 205) They remain there for 10,000 years (Lalwani 1988, 206).The Prakrit reads as follows: "§69 Se keṇ' aṭṭheṇaṃ bhante evaṃ vuccai: "aṭṭhegaie deve siyā?"
Goyamā, je ime jīvā gām'-āgara-saṃvāha-sannivesesu akāma-taṇhāe akāma-chuhāe [note 2: "Fehlt in Cß. D hat khuhāe."] akāma-bambhaceravāseṇaṃ akāma-aṇhā-ṇaga-sīy'-āyava-daṃsa-masaga-seya-jalla-mala-panka-paritāveṇaṃ appataro vā bhujjataro vā kālaṃ appāṇaṃ parikilesanti, appataro vā bhujjataro vā kāla-māse kālaṃ kiccā aṇṇayaresu Vāṇamantaresu devaloesu devattāe uvavattāro bhavanti." (Leumann 1883, 67)

unresigned, and not avoiding and renouncing sins (*asaṃjae avirae*

appaḍihayapaccakkhāya-pāvakamme).[85] The terms *eganta-daṇḍe* (entirely

sinful), *eganta-bāle* (entirely foolish), and *eganta-sutte* (entirely asleep) have

been dropped because the adjective "*eganta*" does not allow for the possibility of

good behavior. The adjectives *sakirie* (undertaking actions) and *asaṃvuḍe* (not

behaving with care)[86] have also been dropped because these terms are

associated particularly with the attack on non-Jain ascetics and the entirely

negative view of the householder. As in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, it seems that by

modifying a description that originally placed the Jain ascetic in opposition to all

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[85] The passage in *Uvavāiya* §68-9 is seen also in *Viyāhapannatti* 1.1.10-11 (Nathamal 1974b, 14-15; Deleu 1970, 75 (34a-b); Bothara 2005, 47). In *Viyāhapannatti* 1.1.10-11 there are three categories of people: the houseless one who conducts himself carefully (*saṃvuḍe aṇagāre*), the houseless one who does not conduct himself carefully (*asaṃvuḍe aṇagāre*) and the one who is uncontrolled, unresigned, and who does not avoid and renounce sins (*assaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāyapāvakamme*). These three categories are never listed together in a sequence. Rather, we have a passage on *asaṃvuḍe aṇagāre* followed by the opposite of the same passage for the *saṃvuḍe aṇagāre* and finally a discussion of the *assaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāyapāvakamme*. It seems that the third category has been added on to an original discussion of the *saṃvuḍe* and *asaṃvuḍe aṇagāre*. The tension seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is also seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 1.1.10-11, since the *asaṃvuḍe aṇagāre* does not reach the ultimate soteriological goal and we do not read anything positive about this group, while some of the *assaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāyapāvakamme* will go to heaven.

[86] The term *saṃvuḍa* is seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.1.2 where it is said of those who have sinful thoughts that "they do not conduct themselves carefully" (*ṇa te saṃvuḍacāriṇo*) (Nathamal 1974a, 259; Jacobi 1895, 243). It is used as a positive description of the conduct of monks in the first verse of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.2.3: "*saṃvuḍakammassa bhikkuṇo*" (Nathamal 1974a, 272). Jacobi seems to translate this as: "a monk who abstains from actions." (Jacobi 1895, 257)

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other types of beings the possibility for a positive view of those other than the

Jain ascetics has been created.[87]

Though the beings in this category [§68-9] are uncontrolled, unresigned,

and though they do not avoid and renounce sins (*asaṃjae avirae*

appaḍihayapaccakkhāya-pāvakamme), they may nonetheless obtain rebirth in

the heavens occupied by the Vāṇavyantaras[88] where they may stay for as long

as 10,000 years. This is because they undergo various hardships. These beings

are not motivated by a desire to eliminate *karma*, as Jain mendicants are in

undertaking ascetic practice. They obtain benefit from behaving like Jain monks

even though the behavior is involuntary.[89] In this passage the logic of the

legitimating of lay life from the "mixed" section of the third treatise of

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[87] It must be noted, however, that the phrase "*assaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāyapāvakamme*" also occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.4 in the context of an exclusively negative view of non-ascetics. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.4, like the entire first book of the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*, does not allow a place for the idea of a pious householder, upholding the life of the Jain monk against all other modes of living.

[88] The Vyantara ('Interstital') gods are one of the lowest classes of divinities. They usually live in the middle world above the highest hell and below the earth (Caillat and Kumar 1981, 23).

[89] Leumann says these beings undergo an involuntary renunciation: "sich unfreiwillige (*a-kāma*) Entsagungen auferlegen müssen." (Leumann ed. 1883, 8) Descriptions of Jain ascetic life often contain phrases like those in this passage (for example, the phrase "suffer pain for a short or a long period without volition due to thirst, hunger, celibacy, cold, heat and insect-bite (mosquitoes, wasps etc.) as well as discomfort due to not bathing, sweating, smearing of dust, dirt and slime"). In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.3.1 we read that monks must bear cold, heat, thirst, and insect bites. In the second lecture of the *Uttarādhyayana* there is a list of twenty-two troubles (*parīsaha*) borne by ascetics including hunger, thirst, cold, heat, flies and gnats (*daṃsa-masaga*), and dirt (*jalla*) among other things. We have seen in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 that monks abstain from bathing.

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 is pushed to its extreme. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we read that

some people who are not Jain mendicants will nonetheless attain a good form of

rebirth because they behave to some extent like Jain mendicants. Here in the

Uvavāiya [§68-9] we read about beings who are uncontrolled, unresigned, and

who do not avoid and renounce sins (*asaṃjae avirae appaḍihayapaccakkhāya-*

pāvakamme). This mode of life is completely opposite to Jain mendicant life. The

only similarity with Jain mendicant life is that these people experience hardships

and this similarity is not strong since they experience hardships involuntarily.

Nonetheless, the loose parallel with Jain mendicant life is enough to result in a

decent form of rebirth.

The second category [§70] in the hierarchy of beings includes those who

have been maimed or who have died in a bad manner. This category thus seems

to have the same logic of involuntary hardship behind it as the first category,

though it may also deal with popular ideas about the fate of those who die in an

unpleasant manner. Such beings may also obtain rebirth in the heavens

occupied by the Vāṇavyantaras, but they may stay there for up to 12,000 years.[90]

In §70 it seems that householders are meant rather than or as well as

mendicants since the term "*maṇuyā*" ("men") occurs where in some later

passages terms like *tāvasā* [§74], *samaṇā* [§75], and *parivvāyā* [§§76-81] occur.

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[90] Leumann ed. 1883, 8, 67; Lalwani 1988, 209-11.

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Categories 3-5 [§§71-3] seem also to describe householders since we have the terms *manuyā*, men, [§71, 73] and *itthiyāo*, women [§72]. Leumann does not make much of these categories as he is more interested in the various types of ascetics that follow.[91] These categories are important for my study, however, since they contain descriptions of non-ascetics. The first of these categories [§71][92] is partly like the descriptions of householders that we have seen in the recurring introductory passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 in that these people have little (*appa*) property and so on where the Jain monk would have none. We are also told in particular about the respect that these householders have for their parents. These people are good since it is in their nature (*pagai*). Like those who undergo involuntary suffering, these people may also obtain

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[91] Leumann writes: "Aus dem zweiten Theil des Aup. S. hebe ich als besonders wichtig hervor, dass in §§73-122 eine Gradation unter den zeitgenössischen Bettelmönchen aufgestellt wird, welche für die Kenntniss der übrigen Secten und Religiosen von grosser Bedeutung ist." (Leumann ed. 1883, 2)

[92] Lalwani translates: "Those human beings who live in villages, mines, towns, etc., etc., who are gentle by nature, who are tranquil by nature, who have little anger, pride, attachment and greed, who are tender, sheltered with their elders, polite, serving their parents, who never violate the words of their parents, with little hankering, little endeavour, little property, little slaughter, little torture, little slaughter-torture for the earning of their livelihood, if people live like this for many years, such ones, after death at some point in eternal time, are born in one of the heavens meant for the Vāṇavyantaras...for 14,000 years." (Lalwani 1988, 212-3) The Prakrit reads: "§71 Se-jje ime gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu maṇuyā bhavanti, taṃ jahā: pagai-bhaddagā pagai-uvasantā pagai-taṇu-koha-māṇa-māyā-lobhā miu-maddava-sampannā allīṇā [kvacid: bhaddagā] viṇīyā ammā-piu-sussūsagā ammā-pīīṇaṃ aṇaikkamaṇijja-vayaṇā app'-icchā app'-ārambhā appa-pariggahā appeṇaṃ ārambheṇaṃ appeṇaṃ samārambheṇaṃ appeṇaṃ ārambha-samārambheṇaṃ vittiṃ kappemāṇā bahu-vāsāiṃ āuyaṃ pālenti, 2ttā kāla-māse kālaṃ kiccā aṇṇayaresu Vāṇamantaresu taṃ ceva savvaṃ ṇavaraṃ ṭhīī coddasa vāsa-sahassāiṃ." (Leumann 1883, §71 p.68)

rebirth in the heavens occupied by the Vāṇavyantaras, but they may stay for as

long as 14,000 years. Exactly who the compiler has in mind in composing this

passage is not clear. However, we can keep in mind that this is category number

three, far below category fourteen where we find the description of the Jain

householders copied from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. This category thus seems to

include pious householders who are not considered lay Jains.

The fourth and fifth categories [§72 and §73] are particularly interesting

since they include householders who follow specific modes of conduct that are

not found elsewhere in the Śvetāmbara canon at least in this form. It is

interesting that they occur at this point in the hierarchy of beings, beneath various

categories of non-Jain ascetics and well beneath the description of Jain

householders [§123-4] that occurs also in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The reason for this

seems to be that these descriptions represent householders who are pious, but

not Jain. The fourth category [§72] refers exclusively to women.[93] The category

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[93] Lalwani translates as follows: "Women living in villages, mines, towns, etc., etc., residing in the harem, whose men have gone out of the country, who have become widows in rather young age, who have been abandoned by their men, who are sheltered by their mothers, fathers or brothers, who are protected by the paternal families or by the father-in-law's families, who have their nails, hairs and hairs of the armpits overgrown, who keep aside from flowers, essence, garlands and ornaments, who bear the hardship of non-bath, sweat, dust, dirt and mud, whose food does not contain milk, curd, butter, ghī, oil, jaggery, and salt, and also honey, alcohol and meat, whose desires are few, who do little harm, whose accumulation is little, who commit little slaughter, who inflict little torture, who earn their livelihood from simple calling, women who live contented like this (with their men whom they had once acquired, but never coveting the company of another),-- till the length of their stay is sixty-four thousand years." (Lalwani 1988, 214-5) The Prakrit reads: "§72 Se-jjāo imāo gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu itthiyāo bhavanti, taṃ jahā: anto-antepuriyāo gaya-patiyāo maya-patiyāo bāla-vihavāo chaḍḍiyalliyāo māti-rakkhiyāo bhāti-rakkhiyāo pati-

seems to be made up of chaste widows.[94] They live like ascetics in that they are

chaste and in that they show no concern for cleanliness, bearing the hardship of

dirt, etc. Like those in §71 they have little property and so on. What is perhaps

most conspicuous in this description are the types of foods that they avoid: milk,

curd, butter, ghī, oil, jaggery, salt, as well as honey, alcohol and meat. Though

there are references to dietary restrictions for Jains at various points in the

Śvetāmbara canon[95] there are no rules regarding food in "the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga*" (which I discuss in chapter two) or in the

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rakkhiyāo kula-ghara-rakkhiyāo sasura-kula-rakkhiyāo [kvacid: mitta-nāi-niyaga-sambandhi-rakkhiyāo] parūdha-naha-kesa-kakkha-romāo [pāthānt: °kesa-mamsu-romāo] vavagaya-dhūva-puppha-gandha-mallālamkārāo anhānaga-seya-jalla-mala-panka-paritāviyāo vavagaya-khīra-dahi-navanīya-sappi-tella-gula-lona-mahu-majja-mamsa-paricatta-kay'-āhārāo app'-icchāo app'-ārambhāo appa-pariggahāo appenam ārambhenam appenam samārambhenam appenam ārambha-samārambhenam vittim kappemānīo akāma-bambhaceravāsenam tām-eva pati-sejjam nāikkamanti, tāo nam itthiyāo eyārūvenam vihārenam viharamānīo bahūim vāsāim sesam tam ceva jāva causatthi vāsa-sahassāim thīi pannattā." (Leumann 1883, §72 p.68)

[94] One can compare this discussion of widows in second part of the *Uvavāiya* to discussion in the Brahmanical Dharmaśāstras (Kane 1962-75 v.2, pt.1, 583ff). In the Dharmaśāstras we see restrictions on types of food and the use of ornaments for widows, as well as a demand for celibacy and the possibility of forced tonsure.

[95] Kapadia notes a number of references to the prohibition on flesh eating (Kapadia 1933/2010, 165; Alsdorf 1962/2010, 13-14). The *Vivāgasuyam* is particularly concerned with condemning the consumption of meat. We also see mention of food rules (specifically a prohibition against eating meat and drinking alcohol) in the *Sūyagadamga* (with respect to monks) and the *Uttarādhyayana* (perhaps with respect to laymen). Ohira says: "the *Uttara* V.9 condemns meat-eating and liquor-drinking as the actions of a fool (i.e., layman)." (Ohira 1994, 18) She points out that monks are not forbidden to eat meat in the earliest texts. Alsdorf discusses a number of early passages in Jain texts that seem to refer to monks eating meat (Alsdorf 1962/2010, 6-7; 11). Discussion of the Ājīvikas in the *Viyāhapannatti* also refers to restrictions on food. Bothara translates this section as follows: "Their deity is an Arhat (a self-proclaimed omniscient named Goshalak). They serve their parents. They do not eat five types of fruits – [Udumbar, Banyan, berries, Satari (wild asparagus), and Pipal (long pepper)]." (Bothara 2008, 114-15) The Prakrit reads as follows: "arahamtadevatā, ammāpiusussūsagā, pamcaphalapadikkamtā, [tam jahā - umbarehim, vadehim, borehim, satarehim, pilakkhūhim]" (Nathamal 1974b, 354)

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standard list of the twelve lay vows (which I discuss in chapter three). We might

speculate that some of the various groups of householders followed various rules

about food and that such rules eventually became a key mark of the lay Jain

community.[96]

The fifth category [§73] seems to be related to the fourth [§72] though it is

focused on men.[97] These men seem to be householders who undertake various

types of fasts (*daga-biiyā daga-taiyā daga-sattamā daga-ekkārasamā*)[98] and

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[96] Ohira suggests that the Digambara monk Pūjyapāda (sixth century CE) was the first to criticize meat eating and that "the rigid vegetarianism of the present day Jainas commenced at such a later time, most probably after the mass exodus of the Jainas from Mathurā to the South and West, where they were bound to impress the local people by their exemplary deeds in order to sail out for their new settlement life in the migrated places." (Ohira 1994, 19) It is not clear whether or not this view is accurate.

[97] Lalwani translates as follows: "Those living in the villages, mines, towns, etc., etc., whose intake consists of two items including water or three items including water, or seven items including water or eleven items including water, or those who earn their livelihood by using the oxen, who observe vows about cattle, who are sincere householders, who have devotion with humility, who believe in inactivity (*akriyāvādī*) and who are *brddha-śrāvakas* (or who are *tāpasas* and *brāhmaṇas*), for such men the following items with a distorted taste, viz., milk, curd, butter, ghī, oil, jaggery, honey, wine and meat are prohibited, the only exception being mustard oil. Such men have few desires, the rest as before, the stay is stated to be sixty four thousand years." (Lalwani 1988, 216) The Prakrit reads: "§73 Se-jje ime gām'-āgara jāva sannivesesu maṇuyā bhavanti, taṃ jahā: daga-biiyā daga-taiyā daga-sattamā daga-ekkārasamā goyama-govvaiya-gihidhamma-dhammacintaga-aviruddha-viruddha-vuḍḍha-sāvaga-ppabhitayo, tesi ṇaṃ maṇuyāṇaṃ ṇo kappanti imāo nava rasa-vigaīo āhārettae, taṃ jahā: khīraṃ dahiṃ ṇavanīyaṃ sappiṃ tellaṃ phāṇiyaṃ mahuṃ majjaṃ maṃsaṃ, ṇo aṇṇattha ekkāe sarisava-vigaīe; te ṇaṃ maṇuyā app'-icchā taṃ ceva savvaṃ ṇavaraṃ caurāsīiṃ vāsa-sahassāiṃ ṭhiī paṇṇattā." (Leumann 1883, 68)

[98] See Abhayadeva's commentary (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 160). Leumann's glossary reads: "daga udaka...°biiya °taiya u. s. w. Der Wasser als Zweites, Drittes u. s. w. geniesst, d. h. Der ausser dem Wasser nur eine oder zwei u. s. w. Speisen zu sich nimmt." (Leumann 1883, 124)

observe types of vows that are related to cows (*goyama-govvaiya*).[99] They are

certainly presented as householders because they are said to follow

gihidhamma. This passage also refers to food rules that are similar though not

identical to those in the previous section on the chaste women. As in the two

previous categories these men have few desires and so on. The possible length

of stay in the heavens occupied by the Vāṇavyantaras (64,000 years) is

significantly longer than that for the lower categories. That the women in the

fourth category [§72] and the men in the fifth category [§73] are somehow related

is suggested in the fact that the possible length of stay in heaven is the same for

each. Though the behavior described does not seem entirely inconsistent with

other passages describing the Jain laity, these two passages seem to describe

non-Jain householders.

The phrase "*aviruddha-viruddha-vuḍḍha-sāvaga-ppabhitayo*" seems to be

important for understanding the identity of the householders in the fifth category.

Lalwani's translation of this phrase follows Abhayadeva: "[those] who believe in

inactivity (*akriyāvādī*) and who are *vṛddha-śrāvakas* (or who are *tāpasas* and

brāhmaṇas)." Abhayadeva says that *aviruddha* means they are well behaved and

viruddha means that they are *akriyāvādī*, i.e. they do not believe that people have

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[99] Abhayadeva says that they follow the cows around, drinking when the cows drink and so on.
He cites a verse regarding this behavior (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 160-1).

agency with respect to the attainment of soteriological goals. The Jains are

known to be *kriyāvādī* and so Abhayadeva takes these householders to be non-

Jains. The terms "*aviruddha-viruddha*" may actually indicate a mixed state of

partial restraint in the manner that we have seen in the mixed section of the third

treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Perhaps this category represents a group of

householders who have in part adopted ascetic behavior. The terms "*vuḍḍha-*

sāvaga" may refer to a class of non-Jain ascetics as Lalwani interprets them.[100]

Abhayadeva says they are Brahmins.[101] Given that the householders in this

category are said to observe types of vows that are related to cows, one can note

that there are various ceremonies involving cows in the Brahmanical Gṛhya-

Sūtras.[102] This may also support the idea that the category represents a certain

group of Brahmins. Whomever the passage refers to, the compiler of the second

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[100] In his tenth century commentary on the astrologer Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*, Utpala elaborates on a class of ascetics known as Vṛddhas calling them Vṛddhaśrāvakas or Kapālīs, the skull-bearing Śaivite ascetics (Basham 1951, 169). Though I have not surveyed the entire literature on this point, there is one passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 where the term *sāvaga* is used apparently with reference to ascetics. This occurs close to the end of the lecture, after the third treatise. Jacobi translates as follows: "There are enumerated three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools: those of the Kriyāvāda, those of the Akriyāvāda, those of the Agñānikavāda, and those of the Vainayikavāda. These (philosophers) teach final beatitude, they teach final deliverance, they speak as *Śrāvakas*, they speak as teachers of *Śrāvakas* [note 2: "I.e. they learn these heresies from their teachers, and teach them to their pupils."]." (Jacobi 1895, 385) The Prakrit reads: "tevi lavaṃti sāvagā, tevi lavaṃti sāvaittāro |" (Nathamal 1974a, 400)

[101] The commentary reads: "vṛddhaśrāvakā brāhmaṇāḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 161).

[102] For example, in the *Gṛhya-Sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin* (2.3.9.7) we see reference to a sacrifice to be performed on the path where the cows travel (Oldenberg 1892, 224). In the *Gṛhya-Sūtra of Gobila* (4.10.18-20) we find reference to the setting loose of a cow (Oldenberg 1892, 131).

part of the *Uvavāiya* is compelled to include mention of this group as part of his attempt to address the inconsistency in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 of legitimating Jain lay life, while condemning non-Jain ascetics and non-Jain householders.

Categories six to nine [§§74-117] include various classes of ascetics. These include non-Jain ascetics and perhaps also Jain ascetics who have some particular fault.[103] All of these ascetics can achieve rebirth in heavens that are higher than those occupied by the Vāṇavyantaras. This situation is clearly different from the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics seen in the second treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. We can see a striking example of the compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* struggling with the logic of the legitimating of lay life in the section describing the ascetic named Ambaḍa [§§82-116].[104] Ambaḍa

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[103] Though he may be correct, I question Leumann's assertion, as Lalwani would seem to on the basis of his translation, that in category seven (and other categories) we know that Jain monks are meant by the terms *pavvaiyā samaṇā* because it is said that these ascetics do not confess before they die. Leumann writes: "Dass wirklich jinistische gemeint sind, geht ausser aus Anderem auch daraus hervor, dass von ihnen hernach das Sterben ohne Beichte prädizirt wird." (Leumann ed. 1883, 9, note 1)

[104] Lalwani translates the relevant section as follows: "Gautama: *Bhante!* Is it possible for Amvaḍa Parivrājaka to get himself tonsured by thy hand, give up his home and join the order of monks? Mahāvīra: No, it is not. But, Gautama, Amvaḍa Parivrājaka will be a worshipper of the Śramaṇa path [*samaṇovāsae*] and live on enriching himself with the knowledge of soul and matter, and be without a home etc. (applicable to a household follower). Amvaḍa is renounced of slaughter in general, falsehood in general, sex in general and accumulation of property in general, speciality being that he is renounced of sex for life (being already a monk)." (Lalwani 1988, 242-3) The Prakrit reads: "§93 pabhū ṇaṃ, bhante, Ammaḍe parivvāyae Devāṇuppiyāṇaṃ antie muṇḍe bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae? §94 ṇo iṇam aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe Goyamā; Ammaḍe ṇaṃ parivvāyae samaṇovāsae abhigaya-jīvājīve jāva appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai ṇavaraṃ ūsiya-phalihe avangu-duvāre ciyatt'-anteura-ghara-dāra-pavesī [kvacid: ciyatta-ghar'-anteura-paveso]; eyaṃ ṇaṃ vuccai: §95 Ambaḍassa ṇaṃ parivvāyagassa thūlae pāṇāivāe paccakkhāe jīvajjīvāe jāva pariggahe ṇavaraṃ savve mehuṇe paccakkhāe jīvajjīvāe." (Leumann 1883, §93-5, p.73-4)

seems to have been a particularly well-respected non-Jain ascetic. He is called

an ascetic (*parivvāyae*) and is at times described as such.[105] However, he is also

called a *samaṇovāsaga* and is described with a shorthand reference to the

"standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" found in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as well

as in category fourteen of the *Uvavāiya* and elsewhere.[106] He has renounced

sex, but he has only partially renounced the taking of life and is thus not

equivalent to a Jain mendicant. Following the logic of the legitimating of lay life

seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, he is akin to Jain householders in that both non-Jain

ascetics and Jain householders are thought of as imperfect Jain ascetics.

The category after these ascetics [the tenth category; §§118-19] describes

five-sensed animals that have taken Jain lay vows.[107] As Leumann points out,

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[105] Leumann's summary points out that Ambaḍa follows the fourth vow (celibacy) like a monk and follows a specific vow about water (Leumann ed. 1883, 11). The passages that follow contain vows of various ascetics that have occurred elsewhere in the *Uvavāiya* like avoiding food prepared in certain ways, avoiding specific foods, and following specific rules about accepting water (Leumann ed. 1883, 12).

[106] The shorthand reference to the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*" reads as follows: "samaṇovāsae abhigaya-jīvājīve jāva appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai." This reference is strangely followed by the obscure third section of the full version of the same standard description (ṇavaraṃ ūsiya-phalihe avangu-duvāre ciyatt'-anteura-ghara-dāra-pavesī). I am at a loss to explain the reason for this.

[107] Lalwani translates as follows: "With the recovery of a long memory of past lives, they themselves court the five lesser vows, and live for many years practicing restraints, controls and atonement, living temporarily like a monk and observing fasts. They give up food and miss many a meal. They discuss their lapses and be careful not to indulge in them any more. They enter into a state of trance. Living like this for many years, they die at a point in the eternal flow of time and are born in heaven called Sahasrāra celestial beings." (Lalwani 1988, 266-7) The Prakrit reads: "§119 tae ṇaṃ te samuppaṇṇa-jāisaraṇā samāṇā sayam eva pancāṇuvvayāiṃ paḍivajjanti, 2ttā

this category displays awareness of the stories in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* in

which animals adopt the Jain lay vows.[108] Here we can see that, in his response

to the inconsistency seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the compiler of the second part

of the *Uvavāiya* is aware of diverse stories in the Jain textual tradition, and thus

includes animals in addition to the various non-Jain religious groups among the

categories of beings in the hierarchy.

Categories 11-13 [§§120-2] describe more classes of ascetics. The

eleventh category is the Ājīvika ascetics. They may obtain the same type of

rebirth as the Jain householders. The compiler of the *Uvavāiya* must have

recognized that Ājīvika mendicants were much like Jain mendicants.[109] This

situation contrasts with passages in both the *Viyāhapannatti* and the

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bahūiṃ sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ [āhā-pariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ] appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā bahūiṃ vāsāiṃ āuyaṃ pālenti, 2ttā bhattaṃ paccakkhanti, bahūiṃ bhattāiṃ aṇasaṇāe chedenti, 2ttā [āloiya-paḍikkantā samāhiṃ pattā] kāla-māse kālaṃ kiccā ukkoseṇaṃ Sahassāre kappe devattāe uvavattāro bhavanti." (Leumann ed. 1883, 80)

[108] Leumann writes: "Ein Spezialfall hierzu kommt gegen den Schluss von Jñātādh. I. vor, wo ein Elephant sich der früheren Existenz erinnert." (Leumann ed. 1883, 14, note 1) We can add also the story of the frog in the same text. These stories are also taken into account in the classifications of beings presented in the *Viyāhapannatti*.

[109] That Jain and Ājīvika mendicants were similar is seen, for example, in the fact that the categories 'nirgrantha' and 'Ājīvika' are often confused in the Buddhist texts (Basham 1951, 138). The Ājīvika begging and dietary practices as described in the *Majjhima Nikāya* are much like those of the Jains (Basham 1951, 118) though the *Uvavāiya* seems to associate specific practices with the Ājīvika ascetics (Leumann ed. 1883, 80; Lalwani 1988, 267). Basham also points out that the account of Gosāla's death in the *Viyāhapannatti* suggests that the Ājīvika ascetics may have performed a ritual death through extreme asceticism much like the Jain fast to death (Basham 1951, 127ff).

Sūyagaḍaṃga ridiculing the Ājīvikas.[110] There is also a story of an Ājīvika layman

converting to Jainism in the *Uvāsagadasāo*.[111] It seems that the Jains were well

aware of the Ājīvikas when the hierarchy of beings in the *Uvavāiya* was compiled.

The Jain mendicants wanted to claim superiority over this group, but the logic of

the legitimating of lay life seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the second part of the

Uvavāiya demanded their inclusion in a relatively elevated category in the

hierarchy of beings.

The twelfth category refers again generally to ascetics (*pavvaiyā samaṇā*),

though Leumann suggests in his summary that Jain ascetics are meant. These

ascetics can obtain the same type of rebirth as the Ājīvika ascetics. The

thirteenth category specifically refers to ascetics called "*ṇiṇhagā*," a term that

seems to refer to Jain ascetics who cause dissention.[112] These ascetics can

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[110] Leumann points out that the style of *Viyāhapannatti* 15 is much like the first section of the *Uvavāiya* (Leumann ed. 1883, 20). This chapter, as Basham describes in some detail, contains the story of Mahāvīra's relationship with the Ājīvika founder Gosāla. Though we might question the extent to which Basham accepts the historicity of the story, he is certainly correct when he points out that the author wishes "to stress the inferiority" of Gosāla and when he says that "the whole chapter is pervaded by sectarian prejudice" (Basham 1951, 40, 66). Though we find such criticism of the Ājīvikas in the *Viyāhapannatti*, Basham states that the Ājīvika ascetics are also said to attain one of the heavens in the *Viyāhapannatti* [1, 26] (Basham 1951, 140). Likewise, at another point in the *Viyāhapannatti* a list of particular Ājīvika laymen are praised directly after the Ājīvikas have been criticized (Basham 1951, 122). The Ājīvikas are also presented in a negative manner in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*. Śīlāṅka identifies the opponents in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* i.3.3.12 as Ājīvikas or Digambaras (Basham 1951, 121). *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.6 portrays Gosāla criticizing Mahāvīra (Basham 1951, 53).

[111] This occurs in the seventh lecture of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. See Hoernle 1885-90, 118-133.

[112] Pischel translates the term as "heretic" (Pischel 1981, 195). Lalwani translates as "distorters" (Lalwani 1988, 270). The description of these ascetics refers to various points of doctrine.

obtain rebirth in a heaven higher than is possible for the Jain householder

described in category fourteen.[113] As I have noted above, the pious Jain

mendicants are described in the fifteenth category, while the sixteenth category

includes those Jain mendicants that have obtained (or are guaranteed to obtain)

the ultimate soteriological goal.

The compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* thus responds in some

detail to *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 there is a tension between the

logic of the legitimating of lay life and the absolute condemnation of non-Jain

ascetics. The compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* presents the view that

non-Jain ascetics and non-Jain householders will obtain some form of divine

rebirth depending on how closely their modes of life line up with that of the Jain

ascetic. In this manner, the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* presents a more coherent

legitimating of Jain lay life than is seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. This motive for the

compilation of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* is consistent with the contents of

the first part of the text in that the first part is also important for the legitimating of

lay life.[114] As noted above, the main subject in the first part of the text is the

procession of a king (the ideal non-ascetic) to hear a sermon delivered by

Mahāvīra. We are told that the queen also attends the sermon, as if the compiler

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[113] The Jain ascetics in the thirteenth category may be born in the upper Graiveyakas.

[114] See Leumann ed. 1883, 1-20 for a summary of the contents of the text.

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would like explicitly to include women as part of the lay community. The sermon

ends with a clear statement that the Jain religion includes both male and female

ascetics and householders and also provides what I take to be the earliest

example of what became the standard listing of the twelve lay vows.[115]

Given that the *Uvavāiya* is an important text for legitimating lay Jainism,

perhaps we can begin to think about the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon in

a new way. The *Uvavāiya* is an important text with respect to the formation of the

Jain canon in that it contains the extended versions of many of the descriptions

(*vannao*) referred to elsewhere in the canon. Other canonical texts (especially

the story literature) commonly refer to Mahāvīra's sermon just as they refer to the

description of Campā found at the beginning of the *Uvavāiya*. The recurring

references to the *Uvavāiya* in the Śvetāmbara canon and the evidence presented

in this chapter are perhaps reasons to think that the compilation of the canon, at

least at certain crucial points, was fundamentally tied with the move to legitimate

and standardize discussion of the lay Jain mode of life.

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[115] The five *anuvratas*, three *gunavratas*, and four *sikṣāvratas*, along with right belief (*sammatta*), are presented as the key marks of lay Jainism in medieval Jain literature and in secondary scholarship relating to Jainism. Mahāvīra's sermon near the end of the first part of the *Uvavāiya* contains what I take to be the earliest version of the familiar listing of the lay vows employing the terms "*anuvrata, gunavrata,* and *sikṣāvrata*" (Lalwani 1988, 188-91; Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4). In my third chapter I will discuss references to the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon. In discussing the *Uvavāiya* I will note that Mahāvīra's sermon seems to be made up of what were originally a number of separate treatises and that the list of lay vows seems to be a relatively late passage when compared with other parts of the *Uvavāiya*.

<u>The Importance of Doctrine and Correct Understanding in the *Viyāhapannatti*</u>

In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the second part of the *Uvavāiya* the logic of

legitimating of lay life is complicated by the need for Jain monks to differentiate

the Jain ascetic tradition from other ascetic traditions. This issue seems also to

have concerned the compiler of the first two lessons (*uddesa*) of *Viyāhapannatti*

7.2. *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1 distinguishes good renunciation (*supaccakkhāyaṃ*)

from bad renunciation (*dupaccakkhāyaṃ*).[116] Even if one claims to renounce

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[116] Bothara translates: "[Q.1] *Bhante*! Is a person saying – "I have renounced violence towards all *pāṇa* (two to four sensed beings; beings), all *bhūa* (plant bodied beings; organisms), all *jīva* (five sensed beings; souls), and all *satta* (immobile beings; entities)" – liable of achieving good renunciation or bad renunciation? [Ans.] Gautam! A person saying – "I have renounced violence towards all *pāṇa* (two to four sensed beings; beings)... and so on up to... all *satta* (immobile beings; entities)" – is sometimes liable of achieving good renunciation and sometimes bad renunciation." Why? "If a person saying thus does not have complete awareness about, 'These are *jīvas* (souls), these are *ajīvas* (non-souls), these are mobile beings and these are immobile beings,' then his renunciation (*paccakkhāya*) is not good renunciation but bad renunciation." He is a liar and is "devoid of restraint (*asaṃjaya*), detachment (*aviraya*), control on and renunciation of sinful indulgence (*apaḍihaya* and *apaccakkhāya*) towards all *pāṇa* (two to four sensed beings; beings)... and so on up to... all *satta* (immobile beings; entities) through three means (*karaṇ*) and three methods (*yoga*). He is active (physically and otherwise), devoid of blockage of inflows of *karmas* (*asaṃvuḍe*), with singular indulgence in violence (*egaṃtadaṃḍe*) and a complete ignorant (*egaṃtabāle*)." (Bothara 2006, 350-2) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§27 se nūṇaṃ bhaṃte! savvapāṇehiṃ, savvabhūehiṃ, savva jīvehiṃ, savvasattehiṃ paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇassa supaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati? dupaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati?
goyamā! savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇassa siya supaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati, siya dupaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati | |
§28 se keṇaṭṭheṇaṃ bhaṃte! evaṃ vuccai - savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ •paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇassa siya supaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati°? siya dupaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati?
goyamā! jassa ṇaṃ savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇassa ṇo evaṃ abhisamannāgayaṃ bhavati – ime jīvā, ime ajīvā, ime tasā, ime thāvara, tassa ṇaṃ savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇassa ṇo supaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati, dupaccakkhāyaṃ bhavati |
evaṃ khalu se dupaccakkhāī savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ paccakkhāyamiti vadamāṇe ṇo saccaṃ bhāsaṃ bhāsai, mosaṃ bhāsaṃ bhāsai | evaṃ khalu se musāvāī savvapāṇehiṃ jāva savvasattehiṃ tivihaṃ tivihiṇaṃ asaṃjaya-viraya-paḍihaya-paccakkhāyapāvakamme, sakirie, asaṃvuḍe, egaṃtadaṃḍe, egaṃtabāle yāvi bhavati | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 277-8)

violence to all living beings, one's renunciation is not good unless one has a

proper understanding (*abhisamannāgayaṃ*) of which things are living beings and

which are without life, and among the living beings, which are mobile and which

are immobile (*ime jīvā, ime ajīvā, ime tasā, ime thāvarā*). One who lacks proper

understanding is to be described as uncontrolled, unresigned, not avoiding or

renouncing sins, possessed of actions, uncontrolled, entirely sinful and entirely

unwise (*asaṃjaya-viraya-paḍihaya-paccakkhāyapāvakamme, sakirie, asaṃvuḍe,*

egaṃtadaṃḍe, egaṃtabāle).[117] One possessed of the correct understanding is

described in the opposite manner (*saṃjaya-viraya-paḍihaya-*

paccakkhāyapāvakamme, akirie, saṃvuḍe, egaṃtapaṃḍie). The appeal to

doctrine and proper understanding provides a way to condemn non-Jain ascetics

even when they appear to be similar to Jain ascetics.[118]

Following the distinction between good renunciation and bad renunciation

in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1, *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 presents an important passage

again distinguishing types of renunciation but this time apparently legitimating the

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[117] As noted above, this is the same phrase found in the general statement about the theory of rebirth at the beginning of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* (§64).

[118] It is Jain ontology that distinguishes the teachings of the earliest Jain texts from other philosophical schools of thought. See Ohira 1994, ix, 5, though as Bruhn and Butzenberger point out in their preface to her work, one might not accept her idea that a kind of primitive animism preceded the Jain view (iv). One can read *Āyāraṃga* 1.1 for an example of the early Jain ontology.

life of the Jain householder and ignoring the non-Jain ascetic.[119] Here we read

that renunciation is of two types: renunciation in the domain of the fundamental

gunas (*mūlagunapaccakkhāne*) and renunciation in the domain of the additional

gunas (*uttaragunapaccakkhāne*). Each of these is either complete (*savva*) or

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[119] Deleu summarizes the passage as follows: "(295b) The ramification of renunciation: A) Renunciation in the domain of the five fundamental *gunas* is either a) total (*savva-mūla- guna-paccakkhāna*) or b) partial (desa-m.-g.-p.), which means that one abstains either from all or only from grave 1) offences against living beings, 2) untruthfulness, etc. [Cf. the five *mahāvayas* and the five *anuvvayas* resp., *Lehre* par. 170-171.] – B) Renunciation in the domain of the additional *gunas* is either a) total (*savva'uttara- guna-paccakkhāna*) in which case it has ten forms [see comm..; 1-8 form a gāhā] or b) partial (des'u.-g.-p.) in which case it has seven forms, viz 1) limitation of the area of one's undertakings etc. [Cf. the three *gunavvayas* and the four *sikkhāvayas*, *Lehre* par.170.] To the latter is added the recommendation of voluntary death by starvation." (Deleu 1970, 134) See Bothara for a translation (Bothara 2006, 353-7). The Prakrit reads as follows: "§29 kativihe nam bhamte! paccakkhāne pannatte?

goyamā! duvihe paccakkhāne pannatte, tam jahā – mūlagunapaccakkhāne ya, uttaragunapaccakkhāne ya| |

§30 mūlagunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! duvihe pannatte, tam jahā – savvamūlagunapaccakkhāne ya, desamūlagunapaccakkhāne ya| |

§31 savvamūlagunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! pamcavihe pannatte, tam jahā – savvāo pānāivāyāo veramanam, savvāo musāvāyāo veramanam, savvāo adinnādānāo veramanam, savvāo mehunāo veramanam, savvāo pariggahāo veramanam| |

§32 desamūlagunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! pamcavihe pannatte, tam jahā – thūlāo pānāivāyāo veramanam, thūlāo musāvāyāo veramanam, thūlāo adinnādānāo veramanam, thūlāo mehunāo veramanam, thūlāo pariggahāo veramanam| |

§33 uttaragunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! duvihe pannatte, tam jahā – savvuttaragunapaccakkhāne ya, desuttaragunapaccakkhāne ya| |

§34 savvuttaragunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! dasavihe pannatte, tam jahā –

    1, 2. anāgayamaikkamtam 3. kodīsahiyam 4.niyamtiyam ceva

    5, 6. sāgāramanāgāram 7. parimānakadam 8. niravasesam

    9. samkeyam ceva 10. addhāe, paccakkhānam bhave dasahā| |1| |

§35 desuttaragunapaccakkhāne nam bhamte! kativihe pannatte?

goyamā! sattavihe pannatte, tam jahā – 1. disivvayam 2. uvabhogaparibhoga-parimānam 3. anatthadamdaveramanam 4. sāmāiyam 5. desāvagāsiyam 6. posahovavāso 7. atihisamvibhāgo| apacchimamāranamtiyasamlehanājhūsanārāhatā| |" (Nathamal 1974b, 278-279)

partial (*desa*). The category *savvamūlagunapaccakkhāne* corresponds to the five

ascetic *mahāvratas* (though the term *mahāvrata* does not occur): abstaining

entirely from injury to living beings, falsehood, theft, sex, and the accumulation of

property. The category *desamūlagunapaccakkhāne* corresponds to the five lay

anuvratas (though this term does not occur): abstaining partially from injury to

living beings, falsehood, theft, sex, and the accumulation of property. The

category *savvuttaragunapaccakkhāne* seems to consist of ten modes of fasting. I

have not found reference to these terms in another Śvetāmbara text.[120] The

category *desuttaragunapaccakkhāne* consists of what we know as the three

gunavratas and the four *śikṣāvratas* associated with the Jain layman.[121]

Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2 thus seems to legitimate lay life with the same basic

logic that is found in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2 and the second part of the *Uvavāiya*.

There is a kind of symmetry where the term *desa* (partial) indicates practices

associated with the householder and the term *savva* (complete) indicates

practices associated with the Jain ascetic. The structure of this passage would

have it that the practice of the householder is to be conceived of as partial

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120 Strangely, in the *Mūlācāra*, an early Digambara work, these ten terms appear to be sinful
modes of fasting that are to be avoided (Deo 1956, 349).

121 I discuss the lay vows extensively in my third chapter. The three *gunavratas* are the vow
relating to the directions (*disivvayam*), restricting one's objects of enjoyment
(*uvabhogaparibhogaparimānam*), and to desist from harm committed without a purpose
(*anatthadamdaveramanam*). The four *śikṣāvratas* are focused ascetic-like practice (*sāmāiyam*),
restricting one's sphere of activity to a single place (*desāvagāsiyam*), the posaha fast
(*posahovavāso*), and sharing with guests or donation of alms (*atihisamvibhāgo*).

ascetic practice. Thus, as in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, in the first two lessons of

Viyāhapannatti 7.2 we have first the absolute condemnation of non-Jain

asceticism followed by the legitimating of lay life in so far as it corresponds to

Jain asceticism. The compiler of *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.1-2 attempts to resolve the

inconsistency seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 by condemning non-Jain ascetics

through an appeal to the importance of doctrine and proper understanding rather

than behavior. The appeal to doctrine and belief is a prominent feature in other

early passages relating to the Jain laity, including the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga, discussed at length in my second chapter.

Conclusion

The earliest extant passages in the Śvetāmbara canon present Jain

mendicant life as a necessity and contain no significant discussion of the lay

community. In the context of competition with other ascetic groups for the support

of non-ascetics the Jain monks composed scriptures legitimating the lives of the

non-ascetics who supported them. In this chapter I examined what I take to be

one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay community in the

Śvetāmbara canon. This positive statement represents an intermediate category

constructed out of material that juxtaposed Jain mendicant life with all other

modes of life, with Jain mendicant life presented as ideal and everything else

condemned, as seen in the earliest extant passages in the Śvetāmbara canon.

The passage suggests that non-mendicants will attain a good form of rebirth if

they behave like Jain mendicants at least some of the time and in some respects.

This is the basic logic behind the move to legitimate lay Jainism in *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2. This logic minimized inconsistency with the earliest Jain writings in that it

maintained Jain ascetic life as ideal.

The efforts of the Jain mendicants to compose scriptures that coherently

legitimated lay life were complicated by a number of factors. One of the main

complications was that, while legitimating lay life, they also had to present Jain

asceticism as superior to non-Jain asceticism. In the earliest extant passages in

the Śvetāmbara canon this was often accomplished through the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain mendicant groups. However, the logic of the

legitimating of lay life presented in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 seems inconsistent with

such absolute condemnation. In this chapter I argue that the compiler of the

Uvavāiya has copied some of the passages relating to the lay community from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 and that the second part of the *Uvavāiya* was compiled in

response to the logical inconsistency evident in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Rather than

condemning other religious groups as in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, he legitimates these

modes of life to some extent by suggesting that the type of rebirth one obtains

depends on the degree of correspondence with the ideal life of the Jain

mendicant. In the *Viyāhapannatti* we see another strategy for legitimating lay life while also condemning non-Jain ascetic life. In this text there is an appeal to the importance of doctrine and correct understanding.

The study of early Jainism is complicated by the difficulty of dating the texts of the Śvetāmbara canon and by a lack of understanding of the process of compilation of these texts. In this chapter I have argued for the relative dates of one passage as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*. I have also suggested that the second part of the *Uvavāiya* was compiled specifically in response to *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. I have further suggested that the passage discussed here as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon. In composing statements about the lay Jain community the Jain monks attempted not only to legitimate non-ascetic life, but also to promote the development of a distinct lay Jain identity as well as distinct lay Jain practices. In the next chapter of my thesis I examine the move to standardize the presentation of lay Jain life in the Śvetāmbara canon through the composition of the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*".

Chapter Two: The Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga* in the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara Canon

Introduction

The early Jain monks decided to compose and incorporate into their texts positive statements about a community of non-ascetics who respected and supported Jain mendicants as part of their effort to establish and solidify relationships with a community of this type. The initial step, an example of which was discussed in the previous chapter, was to create a place for such positive statements while also maintaining the ascetic ideal seen in the earliest Jain scriptures. Thereafter, the monks elaborated on the initial statements and sometimes even altered what had been written previously. For this reason, the various passages relating to the Jain laity in the Śvetāmbara canon are often quite different from one another and are at times even somewhat contradictory. In this chapter I focus on the single most prominent passage relating to the Jain laity in the Śvetāmbara canon. This passage, which is found in a number of different texts, represents a relatively well-developed statement about the lay community in comparison with the passage discussed in the previous chapter. I believe this passage to be the earliest attempt to produce a description that

established specific beliefs and practices as normative for members of the Jain lay community.

The Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon rely heavily on standard descriptive passages (*vaṇṇao*), often using shorthand devices referring to the full descriptions. These passages characterize places, gardens, holy sites or *caityas*, cities, for example, and types of people, kings, queens, monks.[1] There is also a recurring passage describing the *samaṇovāsaga*[2] (the Jain lay person). The full version of the passage occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, the *Viyāhapannatti*, the *Uvavāiya*, the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and the *Uvāsagadasāo*.[3]

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[1] The most common shorthand references are those made at the beginning of many stories to the descriptions of the city and the park, which occur in full at the beginning of the *Uvavāiya*. The passage I discuss in this chapter, what I call the "standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*," often occurs in the same stories containing shorthand references to these passages from the *Uvavāiya* and often occurs along with recurring descriptions of wealth and social influence. Weber associates such recurring descriptive passages with the period of the redaction of the canon (Weber 1893, 9). Ohira suggests that the standard descriptive passages derive from the last council, though, as Dundas points out, it is not clear if she means that the passages were composed or inserted in the various texts at this time (Dundas 2006, 388, note 8). The recurring passages and the shorthand references to them seem to indicate an organized compilation of the texts as a group, though it is not certain when the compilation occurred.

[2] The form "*samaṇovāsaga*" is undeclined. When I need the plural I use the declined third person nominative plural "*samaṇovāsagā*" in preference to a pluralized form of the undeclined *samaṇovāsaga* (such as *samaṇovāsagas*). When referring to a female I use the declined feminine singular form "*samaṇovāsiyā*".

[3] Scholars are aware that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* recurs in a number of places in the Śvetāmbara canon. In a footnote to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, Jacobi notes that the passage occurs elsewhere: "The same passage occurs below, 7, 4, [i.e. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 section 4] and *Aupapātika Sūtra*, §124. *Upāsakadasā*, §66." (Jacobi 1895, 384, note 1) Regarding Jacobi's mention of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, there must be some typographical error and he likely wanted to say that one could compare aspects of this passage with §66 of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, as he does in an earlier footnote (Jacobi 1895, 383, note 4). In Hoernle's edition and translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo* the shorthand reference to the

There are also a number of shorthand references to this passage in other texts of the Śvetāmbara canon.[4] Below I will discuss the context of the passage for all of the examples where the full version of the passage occurs as well as for many of the shorthand references. Because it recurs so frequently I refer to this passage as the "standard description of the *samanovāsaga*".

In this chapter I will first discuss the Prakrit term *samanovāsaga*, literally meaning "follower of the *samanas*". I will argue that the compilers employ this term with reference to members of the Jain lay community in general, rather than to members of a sub-group within the lay Jain community as may be the case at least at some points for similar terminology in the Buddhist tradition. In support of this claim I will give a brief overview of the characters who are described with the

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standard description of the *samanovāsaga* occurs in §64 (Hoernle 1890, 27; Hoernle 1885-90, 41). When discussing the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* scholars often note the fact that it occurs in the *Uvavāiya*. For example, Bollée refers to this text when discussing the passage in the *Rāyapasenaīya*: "Samanovāsae etc.: see Aup 124." (Bollée 2002, 64) Likewise, Barnett states: "The list of accomplishments and virtues of lay-worshippers (*samanovāsagā*), which begins with these words, is to be found in *Ovavāī*, §124." (Barnett 1907, 88) The reason to refer specifically to the *Uvavāiya* seems to be that texts commonly refer in shorthand to the descriptions that occur in full at the beginning of this text. However, references to the *Uvavāiya* are somewhat misleading if they are taken to suggest that the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* as it occurs in the *Uvavāiya* has the same relationship with other texts as the descriptions of the city and the park in this text have with other texts. The descriptions of the city and the park are unique to the *Uvavāiya* and are not found elsewhere in full. In contrast, the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* has copied the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* from *Sūyagadamga* 2.2 and the passage occurs also in various other texts.

4 It must be noted that some manuscripts of a text may represent the passage in shorthand at a particular place in the text, while other manuscripts of the same text give the passage in full. The shorthand references abbreviate the passage in a number of ways and the techniques employed may also vary by manuscript. I am relying on particular editions of the texts as I have noted in the introduction to the thesis.

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standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. I will also discuss other terminology

used for the Jain lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon as well as some of the

complications in determining the referent for the term *samaṇovāsaga*. In

particular, one must understand that the Śvetāmbara canon does not always

reflect an actual historical situation. The mendicant compilers presented the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* as an ideal for the Jain lay community

in general, though, as I will also discuss below, they recognized that not all

members of the lay community would live up to the ideal.

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* allows us to observe how

the compilers decided to describe the lay community over a particular period of

time. The passage appears to be made up of parts of various dates that were

originally separate from one another.[5] The date of the initial compilation of the

passage is uncertain. I think the compilation may have occurred later than the

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[5] This is seen, for example, in the fact that there are two separate references to observance of the *posaha* days. It can be noted that the description of the *posaha* ritual in what I call "part four" of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is identical to a description of the *posaha* ritual in a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, though I have been unable to establish a chronological relationship between this passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. That the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* includes sections that were initially separate is seen also in that a sequence of terms from what I call "part two" of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurs also in *Uttarādhyayana* 28.31. Finally, it can be noted that the compiler of the passage seems to have incorporated material from descriptions of ascetics. For instance, there is one unclear statement in the passage (*ūsiyaphalihā avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā*), usually taken as referring to the generosity and/or trustworthiness of the *samaṇovāsaga*. The term *ūsiyaphalihā* appears in other contexts as an adjective qualifying respectable ascetic life. All of these points will be discussed in detail below in this chapter.

legitimating of lay life in the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage

in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in the previous chapter, since

the standard description of the samaṇovāsaga clearly offers a more developed

statement about the Jain lay community.[6] Nonetheless, in comparing the

passage with other early Jain literature there are various reasons to believe that

the passage is relatively early.[7] I suggest at a few points in this chapter that

particular words or phrases occurring in all of the extant versions may not have

originally been part of the passage.[8] At the end of this chapter I will argue that

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[6] That the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* offers a more developed statement about the Jain lay community than the passage preceding it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is clear from several factors. One obvious factor is the presence of the term *samaṇovāsaga*. In the recurring introductory passage the subject is *saṃtegaiyā maṇussā* ("some men") and there is no specific term referring to the Jain lay community. Furthermore, unlike the recurring introductory passage, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* represents an attempt to produce a distinctive description of the Jain householder establishing specific beliefs and behaviors as normative for the lay community. In particular, there is an emphasis on doctrine and belief as well as on the donation of alms that is not seen in the passage that precedes it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

[7] One reason that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* seems to be relatively early is that it contains what seems to be a relatively early listing of the *tattvas* (a list of "existent things" providing a model of the contents and dynamics of the universe). As I will discuss below in this chapter, the classical lists of the *tattvas* include seven or nine terms, while the list in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* includes twelve terms. Another reason to believe that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is relatively early is that, as I will discuss below, it contains a phrase that I take to be an early formulation of the lay vows from a period before the lists of *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas* became relatively standardized. Below I will also note that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* includes what I take to be a relatively early statement about the *posaha* observances where there is no explicit mention of a fasting.

[8] There is some reason to believe that the phrase "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*" occurring in what I call "part six" of the passage did not occur in the original version. I will discuss the terms in this phrase below and I will suggest that the phrase may have been inserted into the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* because it introduces terminology that became associated with lay Jainism. If it is true that this phrase was inserted, this must have happened at a relatively early point, before the list of the twelve lay vows was standardized. I also suspect that the final phrase in what I call "part two" of the passage was

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the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* was altered owing to an effort on the part of the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* to emphasize that the lay Jain community should donate alms only to Jain ascetics and not to other ascetics. It is thus clear that the mendicant compilers employed the passage over a period of time, though the length of this period and the dates are uncertain.

By inserting this passage at nearly every point when the lay community was mentioned the mendicant compilers were able to present a relatively clear and consistent definition of the Jain lay community. That the mendicant compilers decided this passage would serve as the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* is evident in the fact that the full version of the passage is found in so many texts. We can also see evidence of the compilers' efforts to incorporate this passage in texts that dealt with the lay community. For instance, the full passage was incorporated into the third treatise of *Sūyagadamga* 2.2 immediately following the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage discussed in the previous chapter. As I will discuss below, it appears that a monk or a council of monks recognized that the subject of the mixed version of the

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inserted at some point. This phrase is a statement made by the laymen: "*ayamāuso! niggamthe pāvayane attha ayam paramatthe sese anatthe.*" Bollée translates: "This Jain doctrine, Sir, is the real thing; it is the highest truth, the others are futile." (Bollée 2002, 64) The main reason to believe that this phrase was inserted is that it is the only part of the passage written in the first person. In presenting the idea that all non-Jain doctrine is false this phrase is reminiscent of the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain mendicants seen in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. This formal promise is also written in the first person and it represents a relatively late development. I will discuss these ideas further below in this chapter.

introductory passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 was the lay

community and then decided that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

should be inserted directly after it. The numerous shorthand references to the

passages indicate that the passage was well known to the compilers of the texts.

In my analysis of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* I will

divide the passage into six sections: 1. doctrine; 2. faith; 3. an obscure phrase

usually taken as referring to generosity or trustworthiness; 4. observance of the

posaha days; 5. list of alms to be given to Jain mendicants; 6. a phrase referring

to lay asceticism. In a few examples part six is replaced with reference to a

specific fast that in some other passages in the Śvetāmbara canon is performed

by ascetics. In my discussion of the *posaha* observances in part four I will note

that observance of the *posaha* days is also mentioned in part six and I will argue

that the reference in part six reflects the development of specific practices that

allow lay Jains to behave like Jain ascetics on the *posaha* days. By including

reference to lay ascetic practice the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

partly maintains the logic of the legitimating of lay life seen in the mixed version

of the introductory passage from the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, namely

that lay life is legitimate in so far as householders behave like Jain mendicants.

Yet, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* also introduces new

strategies in the effort to solidify mendicant relationships with a lay community.

The passage is first and foremost a statement about Jain doctrine and strength of

faith. The compilers seem to recognize the usefulness of doctrine and the notion

of faith or belief in the move to establish a community of householders who

identify exclusively with the Jain community. Jain doctrine serves to establish

Jain mendicancy as the ideal mode of life and the *samanovāsaga* is presented

as a person who does not doubt the efficacy and necessity of specifically Jain

ascetic practice for the attainment of specific soteriological goals. The compiler

also includes a list of types of alms that should be given to Jain mendicants.

Obviously, one motivation for the mendicant community in attempting to solidify

connections with a community of householders is the need to secure material

support. In addition to presenting the idea that lay Jainism is a form of

asceticism, the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* states that a lay Jain

is someone who believes Jain teachings and who donates alms to Jain

mendicants.

The standard description of the *samanovāsaga*, like some of the other

standard repeated passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, does not always remain

exactly the same.[9] The final phrase of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga (part six, referring to lay ascetic practice) is sometimes omitted

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[9] The commentaries sometimes mention that there are various readings for the "standard" descriptions. See, for example, Dīparatnasāgara v.7, 34.

so that the passage ends with the list of items to be given as alms. It seems clear that the full version is earlier. The chronology can be established since the full version occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, while the shortened version is found in the second part of the *Uvavāiya*. In the previous chapter I established that the compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* copied the passages on the lay community from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Yet, he has (or later copyists have) decided to drop the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. The final phrase is also dropped in various other examples, including many of the shorthand references to the passage.

The dropping of the final phrase does not indicate a move away from the idea that lay Jainism involves ascetic practice. The lists of the lay vows (*aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*) also present an ascetic ideal for the lay community and these vows are prominent in both the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Uvavāiya*, texts in which the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is dropped. As I will note below, the exact relationship between the terms in the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the standard lists of Jain lay vows (*aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*) is unclear. Nonetheless, it is clear that the ascetic ideal for the lay community remains even when the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is dropped.

Below I will suggest that the examples of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga in which the final phrase is dropped show the influence of the

Uvāsagadasāo. My research indicates that the *Uvāsagadasāo* was compiled at a

relatively late point in the development of the Śvetāmbara canon. In the

Uvāsagadasāo the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* always ends with

the fifth section (i.e. with the list of alms that the *samaṇovāsaga* donates to Jain

mendicants). I associate the dropping of the sixth section of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in this text with a passage occurring in the first

story which prohibits the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics. In the place

where the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* usually occurs in other

texts (i.e. directly after a character adopts the lay vows), the compiler of the

Uvāsagadasāo inserts two unique and extensive elaborations on the lay vows as

well as an explicit prohibition against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics.

The prohibition against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics ends in exactly

the same manner as the fifth part of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga, i.e. with a list of alms that the *samaṇovāsaga* donates to Jain

mendicants. When the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurs at a

later point in the story, we find that the sixth section on ascetic practice is

dropped so that the description ends in the same manner as the prohibition

against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics (i.e. with the list of alms that the

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samaṇovāsaga donates to Jain mendicants). The shorthand references to the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in the other stories of the

Uvāsagadasāo have also been altered to end with the fifth section. Thus I

suggest that the examples of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in

which the final phrase is dropped were either produced after the compilation of

the *Uvāsagadasāo* or were altered owing to the influence of the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

Though the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* states that lay

Jains believe only in Jain doctrine and specifies that they donate alms to Jain

mendicants, there is no explicit restriction against donating alms to non-Jain

ascetics in the passage. In fact, as I will discuss below, the commentaries on the

obscure phrase in part three of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*,

usually taken as referring to the generosity of the *samaṇovāsaga*, express the

potential danger of indiscriminate generosity and interaction with non-Jain

ascetics.[10] It must be owing to this potential danger that the compiler of the

Uvāsagadasāo felt the need to add an explicit rule about the donation of alms. At

the end of this chapter, I will note the fact that the Jains are criticized in the

Buddhist Pali canon for the idea that Jain laymen should provide alms only to

Jain ascetics.

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[10] The Prakrit in this unclear statement reads as follows: *ūsiyaphalihā avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā.* I will discuss this phrase at length below.

In examining the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* we can thus

see some of the same themes that we saw in examining the logic of the

legitimating of lay life in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the second part of the *Uvavāiya*,

discussed in the previous chapter. In the previous chapter I showed that the

compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* abandoned the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain ascetics seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In contrast to the

compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya*, the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo*

adds the rule that the Jain lay community should give alms only to Jain

mendicants and thus presents a situation analogous to the absolute

condemnation of non-Jain ascetics seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. In criticizing the

idea that the Jain lay community should give alms only to Jain mendicants, the

Buddhist monks present a softer stance reminiscent of the compiler of the

second part of the *Uvavāiya*. The difference, of course, is that the Buddhist

monks present this stance in the form of a criticism of the Jain tradition, while the

compiler of the second part of the *Uvavāiya* does not overtly criticize the

apparent logical inconsistency evident in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

<u>The Term *Samanovāsaga*</u>

The term *samanovāsaga* means "follower of the *samanas*" and can be

translated with the English phrases "Jain lay person" or "Jain householder".[11]

This term seems to be connected with a particular stage in the organized move

to legitimate and standardize discussion of Jain lay behavior in the Śvetāmbara

canon. As I have noted above, the term *samanovāsaga* does not occur in the

introductory part of the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagadamga* 2.2

[§75] where the subject is *samtegaiyā manussā* ("some men"). In the first book of

the *Sūyagadamga* the terms *gārattha* and *agāra* seem to be used as meaning

'householder' or 'non-ascetic' as opposed to "the houseless" (*anagāra*), meaning

'Jain ascetic'. The people described with the terms *gārattha* and *agāra* are thus

generally presented in a negative light in early Jain literature, though there are

examples where these terms are used in a positive context.[12] There are a few

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[11] Hoernle suggests that a translation of the term *uvāsaga* with the English term layman "imports a set of ideas foreign to Jainism." (Hoernle 1885-90, 1, note 1) I use "lay person" in want of a better term for the householders who respected and supported the Jain mendicants.

[12] In the *Uvavāiya* the lay vows are introduced as "*agāra-dhammam*" (Leumann 1883, §57 p.63). Likewise, in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 we find reference to the "*agāravinaya*" (Nathamal 1974c, 122). The term *agārī* is used for Jain householders in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (Tatia 1994, 176). We find a few verses that speak positively about certain householders using the terms *gāratthā* and *gihattha* in the fifth lecture of the *Uttarādhyayana* (verses 20 and 22). Jacobi translates verse 20 as follows: "Some householders are superior to some monks in self-control; but the saints are superior to all householders in self-control. (20)" (Jacobi 1895, 22) The Prakrit reads: "samti egehi bhikkhūhim, gāratthā samjamuttarā | gāratthehi ya savvehim, sāhavo samjamuttarā | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.28, 205) Jacobi translates verse 22 as follows: "A sinner, though he be a mendicant (friar), will not escape hell; but a pious man, whether monk or householder, ascends to heaven. (22)" (Jacobi 1895, 23) The Prakrit reads: "pimdolae va dussīlo, naragāo na muccai | bhikkhāe vā gihatthe vā, savvae kamati divam | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.28, 205-6)

seeming references to pious householders in passages from the *Āyāraṃga* and

the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* that are thought to be relatively early. One of these is a

general statement about certain people who live in houses.[13] Elsewhere we find

the term *saḍḍhā/ī*, meaning "one who possesses faith".[14]

In the later tradition the term *sāvaa* (*śrāvaka*) is sometimes found in place

of the term *samaṇovāsaga*. The term *samaṇovāsaga* is usually taken to be

roughly equivalent to the term *sāvaa*, yet the historical relationship between the

two terms is not clear. Muni Amar suggests that a *samaṇovāsaga* has accepted

the lay vows, while a *sāvaa* is a lay Jain who has not accepted the vows.[15]

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[13] This occurs at *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.2.3. Jacobi translates: "The man also who still lives in the
house, should, in accordance with his creed [note 2: "*Ānupūrvyā*."], be merciful to living beings;
we are bidden to be fair and equal with all; (thereby even a householder) goes to the world of the
gods." (Jacobi 1895, 259) The Prakrit reads: "67. gāraṃ pi ya āvase ṇare aṇupuvvaṃ pāṇehi
saṃjae | samayā savvattha suvvae devāṇaṃ gacche salogayaṃ | | (Nathamal 1974a, 274) It
may be significant that the term "*aṇupuvva*" also occurs in a passage relating to the lay
community in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. In this passage, which I will discuss further in my third chapter,
the laymen state that they will "gradually conform to the Gotra" (Jacobi 1895, 423-4). The Prakrit
reads: "*vayaṃ ṇaṃ aṇupuvveṇaṃ gottassa lississāmo*" (Nathamal 1974a, 471-2).

[14] In *Āyāraṃga* 2.1.9 we find the phrase "*saṃtegaiyā saḍḍhā*" (Nathamal 1974a, 110), which
Jacobi translates as "some faithful householders" (Jacobi 1884, 111). We also find the term
saḍḍhī in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.1.3, which Jacobi translates as follows: "If a monk should eat forbidden
food which a pious (layman) has prepared for some guest, and which food has been mixed up
with even thousand (times more pure food) [note 1: "This might also be translated: 'though the
food passes through the hands of a thousand men before he accepts it.'], he would be neither
monk nor layman. (1)" (Jacobi 1895, 243-4) The Prakrit reads: "jaṃ kiṃci vi pūikaḍaṃ saḍḍhī
āgaṃtu īhiyaṃ | sahassaṃtariyaṃ bhuṃje dupakkhaṃ ceva sevaī | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 260)
Dixit has briefly discussed the use of the term *śraddhā*, though he does not provide textual
references (Dixit 1972, 8-9).

[15] Jain translates: "*Upasak* is that person who listens to the spiritual lecture of the monks sitting
close to him or who serves a monk. He is also called *Shramanopasak*. Although the words
Shramanopasak and *Shravak* are used to denote the same meaning, still there is difference in

Dundas relates the etymology of each term to a historical development in forms of lay practice.[16] However, neither Muni Amar nor Dundas provides examples of the usage of the terms to support their explanations. In one passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 the term *sāvaa* seems to refer to ascetics.[17] In the second part of the *Uvavāiya* the term is used with reference to what seems to be a group of non-Jain householders.[18] In *Viyāhapannatti* 2.1 there is a relatively early

the underlying idea. A person who listens to the scriptures is called *Shravak* and a person who has right spiritual perception also deserves to be called as such. In *Agam*, a householder who has accepted twelve prescribed minor vows is called *Shramanopasak*. Keeping note of this distinction, a person who has right perception but who has not accepted any vow is a *Shravak* and one who has accepted the vows too is a *Shramanopasak*." (Jain 2005, 71)

[16] Dundas writes: "Much more significant for an understanding of the development of the layman's role within Jainism is the gradual supplanting of the term *upāsaka*, which signified the advanced individual who performed the *pratimās*, by another term for the Jain layman, *śrāvaka*. *Upāsaka* in its sense of 'one who attends, serves' reflects an ancient view of the layman as having true significance only through catering to the needs of monks and partial imitation of them. *Śrāvaka*, on the other hand, means 'hearer' and signifies the layman as someone who not only listens to the doctrine being expounded and acts upon it but who is also a listener by virtue of performance of worship in the temple, each example of which replicates the preaching assembly (*samavasaraṇa*) of the fordmakers." (Dundas 2002, 188)

[17] This passage occurs close to the end of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, after the third treatise. Jacobi translates as follows: "There are enumerated three hundred and sixty-three philosophical schools: those of the Kriyāvāda, those of the Akriyāvāda, those of the Ajñānikavāda, and those of the Vainayikavāda. These (philosophers) teach final beatitude, they teach final deliverance, they speak as *Srāvakas*, they speak as teachers of *Srāvakas* [note 2: "I.e. they learn these heresies from their teachers, and teach them to their pupils."]." (Jacobi 1895, 385) The Prakrit for the final part of this passage reads: "tevi lavaṃti sāvagā, tevi lavaṃti sāvaittāro | " (Nathamal 1974a, 400)

[18] In the hierarchy of beings listed in the *Uvavāiya* the term *sāvaa* occurs with reference to a class of people who follow a householder-dhamma and are characterized by an obscure phrase (*aviruddha-viruddha-vuḍḍha-sāvaga-ppabhitayo*). I have discussed this passage in my previous chapter, suggesting that this class of people represent a group of non-Jain householders. In his explanation of this passage, the commentator Abhayadeva states that the term "*śrāvakā*" refers to Brahmans (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 161). The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurs at a later point in the hierarchy of beings in the *Uvavāiya*.

occurrence of the term *sāvaa* where the referent of the term is unclear.[19]

Harrison has commented on the use of the term *sāvaa* in Buddhist sources, where the usage also seems to be unclear.[20] There are times in the Śvetāmbara canon when the term *sāvaa* clearly refers to the Jain laity such as when we read that a character adopts the *sāvayadhammaṃ*, a phrase found in some texts where the expression *gihidhammaṃ* is found in others.[21] Usage of the term *sāvaa* and its relation to the term *samaṇovāsaga* require further study.

The commentary on the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* explains that a *samaṇovāsaga* is one who serves the *samaṇā*.[22] The term *samaṇā* in this context refers exclusively to the Jain mendicant community. In *Antagaḍadasāo* 6.3, while on his way to

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[19] In *Viyāhapannatti* 2.1 we find a character described with the expression "*niyaṃthe vesāliyasāvae*." The full description reads as follows: "tatha ṇaṃ sāvatthīe nayārīe piṃgalae nāmaṃ niyaṃthe vesāliyasāvae parivasai" (Nathamal 1974b, 83). Bothara translates: "In Shravasti also lived a *Vaishalik Shravak* (a person profoundly devoted to the words of Bhagavan Mahavir) named ascetic Pingal." (Bothara 2005, 238) This character plays only a minor role in the episode, questioning a non-Jain ascetic who is later converted by Mahāvīra. The commentary tells us that the term *niyaṃthe* here means a Jain ascetic (*śramaṇa*) (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 125). The phrase *vesāliyasāvae* is said to indicate that this ascetic is devoted to the words of Mahāvīra, since Mahāvīra was born in Vaiśālī and his mother can thus be called Viśālā (*viśālā-mahāvīra-jananī tasyā apatyamiti*). The meaning of *sāvaa* in this case remains uncertain.

[20] Harrison 1987, 81; Harrison 1995, 68, note 34.

[21] In the *Nāyādhammakahāo* (1.5, 1.12, and 1.13), the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* (2.1), and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*, characters who take lay vows are said to adopt the *gihidhammaṃ*. In the *Uvāsagadasāo* we find both the phrases *gihidhammaṃ* and *sāvayadhammaṃ*. In the *Nirayāvalī* we find a character who adopts the *sāvayadhammaṃ* (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, p.33; Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 71). The two phrases seem to be synonymous as they occur in the same contexts.

[22] The commentary for *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 reads: "śramaṇānupāsate - sevanta iti - śramaṇopāsakaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 364). The commentary for *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 reads: "se lepākhyo śramaṇān - sādhūnupāste - pratyahaṃ sevata iti śramaṇopāsakaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 445).

worship Mahāvīra, a merchant (*seṭṭhī*) identifies himself as a *samaṇovāsaga*.[23] In

the *Uvāsagadasāo* there is a character who is identified as an *ājīviovāsaga* ("a

servant of the Ājīvikas").[24] Cousins has noted the occurrence of the term

śākyopāsaka in early Buddhist inscriptions.[25] He further notes that in Pali sources

the term *mahā-upāsaka* apparently "indicates a wealthy lay supporter of status"

(compare *mahā-seṭṭhī*) while the phrase *paramopāsaka* refers to "a committed

lay supporter of high standing."[26] Study of the terminology in inscriptions and in

Buddhist texts is beyond the scope of my current work,[27] but the term

samaṇovāsaga seems at least roughly parallel to the terms *śākyopāsaka* and

ājīviovāsaga. The term seems to refer to a particular type of self-identity that is

formed in relation to the Jain ascetic community.

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[23] Barnett translates: "I am Sudaṃsane by name, a worshipper of the Ascetic [samaṇovāsaga], comprehending living and lifeless being, and I am faring to give praise to the Ascetic at the sanctuary of Guṇasilae." (Barnett 1907, 91) The Prakrit reads: "ahaṃ sudaṃsaṇe nāmaṃ samaṇovāsae - abhigayajīvājīve guṇasilae ceie samaṇaṃ bhagavaṃ mahāvīraṃ vaṃdae saṃpatthie | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 585) In this passage the term *abhigayajīvājīve* ("comprehending living and lifeless being") serves as a shorthand reference to the standard description. This character is introduced initially as a wealthy merchant (Nathamal 1974c, 582).

[24] Nathamal 1974c, 490; Hoernle 1885-90, 118.

[25] The term *śākyopāsaka* is found in inscriptions at Mathurā and Kuda. At Ajaṇṭā the term *śākya usaka* is found. The inscriptions at Kuda and Ajaṇṭā date from around the fifth or sixth centuries. That at Mathurā is dated on palaeographic grounds to before the Kuṣāṇ period and occurs as part of a donatory inscription on the base of a seated Buddha (Cousins 2003, 9).

[26] Cousins 2003, 16- 17.

[27] For an overview of references to the term *upāsaka* in Buddhist sources one can see the work of Agostini (Agostini 2002, 4ff).

In my view, the mendicant authors and compilers of the Śvetāmbara

canon developed the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* as an ideal for

all members of the lay community. Harrison has suggested that the term *upāsaka*

in at least some Buddhist texts refers to a special class of semi-ordained

householders, rather than to the lay community in general.[28] In my view it would

be incorrect to view the term *samaṇovāsaga* in the Śvetāmbara canon as

referring to a special class of semi-ordained householders. Harrison is correct to

point out that a division of Buddhist (or Jain) society into two ideal groups, clergy

and laity, would result in an inadequate representation of the actual historical

situation. In the Jain tradition, as in Buddhism, there would have been wide

variation in the behavior and beliefs of the non-ascetics who associated

themselves to a greater or lesser extent with the monastic community.[29]

Nonetheless, it is my view that the mendicant authors and compilers of the

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[28] Harrison suggests that "the terms *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* do not mean "layman" and "laywoman" in the usual English sense, but refer rather to persons hovering just below ordained status, those who are, as it were, semi-ordained." (Harrison 1995, 59-60) Dundas has raised the possibility that the term *upāsaka* in the Jain tradition may refer to advanced lay practitioners of the sort identified by Harrison (Dundas 2006, 391).

[29] One can see this variety represented in a passage in the first part of the *Uvavāiya* describing the excitement of the general populous in the city when they hear of Mahāvīra's arrival (Lalwani 1988, 127-33; Leumann 1883, §38 p.49-50). This passage includes lists mentioning many different types of people who attended the sermon as well as various possible motivations for going to hear the sermon, such as curiosity, a desire to worship the Jina, and a desire to learn more about Jain doctrine. For some people it is the first time attending such a sermon, while others have attended such sermons before.

Śvetāmbara canon developed the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* as an ideal for all of the householders who respected and supported them.

One reason to believe that the term *samaṇovāsaga* refers to the lay community in general rather than a special category of lay Jains hovering just below ordained status is that there are textual examples (in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and elsewhere) of characters who undertake, towards the end of their lives, semi-renunciation similar to that described by Harrison in the case of the Buddhist *upāsakas*, and these characters are called *samaṇovāsagā* even before they begin such practice. The variety in the identities of the numerous characters who are identified as *samaṇovāsagā* in the Śvetāmbara canon, as I will discuss extensively below, further supports the idea that the term refers in a general way to the Jain lay community. In my view, the best evidence to suggest that the term *samaṇovāsaga* refers to the lay community in general is seen in that, even as they present an ideal, the monastic compilers allow room for variation in the behavior of a *samaṇovāsaga*. Below in this chapter I will note that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* includes a clause (*ahāpariggahiehiṃ*) in the final section on ascetic practice that may indicate that each *samaṇovāsaga* has some choice regarding which practices to undertake. I will also refer to a number of passages in the Śvetāmbara canon that explicitly permit variation in the adoption of the lay vows. Further, in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we find a number of

passages describing "some *samanovāsagā*" (*samtegaiyā samanovāsagā*) and

these passages all describe different modes of behavior. For example, we read

that some *samanovāsaga* are not able to observe the posaha days.[30]

It seems likely to me that in developing the initial descriptions of the

samanovāsaga the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon had in mind the ideal

member of the Jain lay community and that they later saw the need to lessen the

demands on the lay community, thus composing passages describing "some

samanovāsagā" and allowing for variation in lay practice. The issue should

perhaps be seen in relation to a point of debate in the Buddhist tradition in north

India from the second through the fifth centuries CE discussed by Agostini. He

notes that the Kāśmīri Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivādins insisted all *upāsakas* had to

observe the five lay precepts, while other Sarvāstivādins centered in Bactria and

Gandhāra argued partial morality was a valid option and that the declaration of

taking refuge in the Buddha, *Dharma* (Buddhist teachings), and *Saṅgha*

(Buddhist community) was the only requirement of an *upāsaka*.[31] There may

have been a similar debate in the Śvetāmbara tradition given that the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga* presents an ideal. In my view, the fact that the

Śvetāmbara Jain mendicants decided to compose passages describing "some

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[30] Jacobi 1895, 429; Nathamal 1974a, 477.

[31] Agostini 2002, 38-39. Agostini also discusses the positions on this issue seen in other Buddhist schools and texts. For a summary of his discussion, see his table number 4 (Agostini 2002, 63).

samaṇovāsagā shows that, at least at the time when such passages were composed, the term *samaṇovāsaga* referred to members of the lay community in general. It seems harder to imagine that the term *samaṇovāsaga* referred to a special category of lay Jains hovering just below ordained status and that the compilers then saw a need to create exceptional classes within this special category that were yet distinct from a more general category of householders who respected and supported the Jain mendicants.

One complication in determining the referent for the term *samaṇovāsaga* is that, in the second part of the *Uvavāiya*, as noted in my previous chapter, the compiler finds it appropriate to describe a non-Jain ascetic (*parivvāyaa*) named Ambaḍa as a *samaṇovāsaga*.[32] This situation, however, does not necessarily indicate that all *samaṇovāsagā* lived like ascetics. It rather shows that the categories "respectable non-Jain ascetic" and "ideal Jain householder" are conceptually related in that both can be thought of as imperfect Jain ascetics. These are the two "mixed" categories from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Ambaḍa is likely called a *samaṇovāsaga* because he is a particularly well respected non-Jain ascetic.

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[32] In my previous chapter I have noted that in the description of Ambaḍa the shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (*samaṇovāsae abhigaya-jīvājīve jāva appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai*) is strangely followed by the obscure third section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (*navaraṃ ūsiya-phalihe avaṅgu-duvāre ciyatt'-anteura-ghara-dāra-pavesī*) (Leumann 1883, §93-5 p.73-4; Lalwani 1988, 242-3). I am at a loss to explain this situation.

A further complication is that there are some characters in the Śvetāmbara canon who seem to act like lay Jains, but who are not called *samaṇovāsagā* and who are not described with the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. In the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* we find a rich (*aḍḍha*) land-owner (*gāhāvaī*) named Sumuha who is not identified as a *samaṇovāsaga*.[33] This character honors and provides alms for a monk who visits his residence.[34] In this text, Mahāvīra tells this story about Sumuha as a previous life of prince Subāhu in order to explain why he has obtained such an excellent birth. In the story, Subāhu takes lay vows but we do not find the term *samaṇovāsaga* or reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.[35] In this case, both Subāhu and Sumuha seem to be lay Jains, though they are not identified as *samaṇovāsagā*.

There are other similar examples. The term *samaṇovāsaga* does not occur in the description of the excitement of the general populous in the city when they hear of Mahāvīra's arrival in the first part of the *Uvavāiya*. Further, in the same text King Kūṇia and Queen Dhāriṇī travel to Mahāvīra and praise him, though they do not take lay vows and are not called *samaṇovāsagā*. In

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[33] The character is introduced as follows: "tattha ṇaṃ hatthiṇāure nayare sumuhe nāmaṃ gāhāvaī parivasai - aḍḍhe | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 805)

[34] The monk is named Sudatta and is described as a disciple of the elder monk Dhammaghosa. The Prakrit reads: dhammaghosāṇaṃ therāṇaṃ aṃtevāsī sudatte nāmaṃ aṇagāre. (Nathamal 1974c, 805)

[35] Nathamal 1974c, 804.

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.1, Abhayakumāra seems to be a lay Jain though he is not

called a *samaṇovāsaga*. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.2 we encounter a merchant

(*satthavāha*) who is not identified as a *samaṇovāsaga*. This merchant is

described with the recurring descriptions of wealth[36] and social influence[37] and

his wife is described with the complete version of the recurring standard

description of the beauty of a woman.[38] The author or compiler draws a

connection between the behavior of this merchant and proper Jain monastic

behavior. The merchant takes Jain monastic vows at the end of the story.

The absence of the term *samaṇovāsaga* and the standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga* in the descriptions of some characters who might

nonetheless be considered to be part of the lay Jain community should not be

taken as evidence for the idea that the term *samaṇovāsaga* refers only to a

specific sub-class of the lay Jain community. Rather, such passages were likely

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[36] The Prakrit reads: "§7 tatha ṇaṃ rāyagihe nayare dhaṇe nāmaṃ satthavāhe – aḍḍhe ditte vitthiṇṇa-viulabhavaṇa-sayaṇāsaṇa-jāṇa-vāhaṇāiṇṇe bahudāsī-dāsa-go-mahisa-gavelagappabhūe bahudhaṇa-bahujāyarūva-rayae āoga-paoga-saṃpautte vicchaḍḍiya-viula-bhattapāṇe | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 75)

[37] Bothara translates: "As he did in such matters in the family, Dhanya merchant also enjoyed a high reputation as a trouble shooter and counselor for social and other matters and problems in the trading community as well as all the eighteen castes and sub-castes." (Bothara 1996, 165) The Prakrit reads: "§10. tatha ṇaṃ se dhaṇe satthavāhe rāyagihe nayare bahūṇaṃ nagara-nigama-seṭṭhi-satthavāhāṇaṃ aṭṭhārasaṇha ya seṇippaseṇīṇaṃ bahūsu kajjesu ya kuḍumbesu ya maṃtesu ya jāva cakkhubhūe yāvi hotthā | niyagassa vi ya ṇaṃ kuḍumbassa bahūsu kajjesu ya jāva cakkhubhūe yāvi hotthā | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 75)

[38] Nathamal 1974c, 75; Bothara 1996, 164.

composed or compiled at a time before the term *samaṇovāsaga* became the

primary marker of lay Jain identity, or else by monks who for some reason

neglected to include reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

and the term *samaṇovāsaga*. This situation can be observed in the descriptions

of Mahāvīra's Kṣatriya parents Siddhattha and Tisalā. In *Āyāraṃga* 2.15, though

the full version of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* does not occur,

Mahāvīra's parents are identified as *samaṇovāsagā* and followers of Pārśva

(*pāsāvaccijjā*).[39] The *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, on the other hand, does not

contain the description of Siddhattha and Tisalā that identifies them as

samaṇovāsagā and followers of Pārśva. From this we can infer that the story in

Āyāraṃga 2.15 was composed or compiled in a place and at a time when the

term *samaṇovāsaga* was an important marker of lay Jain identity. It is beyond the

scope of my current work to establish a relationship between *Āyāraṃga* 2.15 and

the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. The point that I want to make here is that

characters who are not identified as *samaṇovāsagā* in one text may be identified

as *samaṇovāsagā* in another text. This situation makes it unlikely that the

compilers intended to specify a particular category of lay Jain with the term

samaṇovāsaga.

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[39] Jacobi translates: "The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the *Śramaṇas*." (Jacobi 1884, 194) The Prakrit reads: "§25 samaṇassa ṇaṃ bhagavao mahāvīrassa ammāpiyaro pāsāvaccijjā samaṇovāsagā yāvi hotthā |" (Nathamal 1974a, 235)

One final complication in the attempt to establish that the term

samanovāsaga refers to the lay Jain community in general is that the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga* usually occurs beside other recurring

("standard") descriptions, including descriptions of riches and social influence.[40]

One might thus suggest that only rich and influential people could be considered

samanovāsagā. However, we must recall again that the texts represent an ideal

and that they employ various literary conventions. There are examples where the

recurring standard descriptions of wealth and social influence occur without the

standard description of the *samanovāsaga*.[41] This situation may tell us something

about the process of the compilation of the texts, indicating that the descriptions

of wealth and social influence were initially separate from the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga*. The references to riches and social influence

can be seen therefore as a separate literary trope. It is, no doubt, significant that

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[40] The compiler of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 has not included such passages, but we find some such
reference to the wealth and social influence of the *samanovāsaga* in almost every other case (for
example in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5, *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3, *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.8,
the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*, as well as throughout the *Uvāsagadasāo*).

[41] Both the recurring standard descriptions of wealth and social influence occur in
Nāyādhammakahāo 1.2 without the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*. The shorthand
reference to riches occurs in a description of the garland maker (*mālāgāra*) at the beginning of
the *Antagaḍadasāo* 6.3: "ajjuṇae nāmaṃ mālāgāre parivasai – aḍḍhe jāva aparibhūe | |"
(Nathamal 1974c, 579) This character is described as a worshipper of a *yakṣa* named
Moggarapāṇi (*moggarapāṇi-jakkhabhatte*) (Nathamal 1974c, 580). In the *Nirayāvaī* we find a
Brahman (*māhaṇa*) who is described with the shorthand reference to riches: "tattha ṇaṃ
vāṇārasīe nayarīe somile nāmaṃ māhaṇe parivasati, aḍḍhe jāva aparibhūte riuvveya jāva
supariṇiṭṭhite |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 32)

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the compilers and authors have taken time to describe most of the

samaṇovāsagā in the Śvetāmbara canon as wealthy and influential, perhaps

implying thereby that adherence to the lay *dhamma* has practical benefits or

perhaps simply hoping that the householders who respected the Jain mendicant

community would be wealthy enough to regularly donate alms. Yet, the fact that

the ideal lay Jain is described as wealthy does not necessarily mean that only the

rich and influential could be considered *samaṇovāsaga*.[42]

The Characters Identified as *Samaṇovāsagā*

In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (and in the *Uvavāiya*) the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga occurs as a description of a class of people. In other examples

the passage serves as a description of a particular character or a group of

characters. The term *samaṇovāsaga* and the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga usually occur when a character is first introduced or else after the

character has adopted the lay vows. The standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga is found in association with characters who are land-owners,

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[42] It can also be noted that there is no standard recurring reference to caste or *jāti*. One of the few references to *jāti* occurs in the *Viyāhapannatti* where we read that the mendicant followers of Pārśva are endowed with *jāti* (*pāsāvaccijjā therā bhagavaṃto jātisampannā*) (Bothara 2005, 292). In this case *jāti* does not refer to any specific caste, but implies in general a high social status. There are some passages in the Śvetāmbara canon presenting restrictions on categories of employment and these could perhaps be understood as a move to exclude certain classes of people from the tradition. The traditional understanding of such restrictions on employment is, of course, that a pious Jain must choose a career that does not cause harm to living beings.

merchants, ministers, Brahmans, kings, and women, including a female political leader. It is used with respect to worshippers of the Jinas Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The variety of characters who are identified as *samaṇovāsagā* further supports the idea that the term refers in a general way to the Jain lay community.

In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurs following shorthand references to the descriptions of a town and a suburb.[43] We read that there is a householder or land-owner (*gāhāvaī*)[44] named Lepa in this suburb and we have a short description of his wealth.[45] Then we

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[43] There is also a unique reference to buildings for which the source is not clear. Jacobi translates: "At that time, at that period, there was a town of the name Rāgagṛha: it was rich, happy, thriving, &c. [p.419, note 2: "This '&c.' refers to the typical description of towns. Our text contains only the first words of the description, but the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, § 1, gives it at length."] Outside of Rāgagṛha, in a north-eastern direction, there was the suburb Nālandā; it contained many hundreds of buildings, &c. [p.420, note 1: "I cannot tell where the full description occurs."]" (Jacobi 1895, 419-20) See Nathamal 1974a, 468.

[44] The term *gāhāvaī* is used in the initial descriptions of all of the Jain lay characters in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. In such cases, the term *gāhāvaī* likely has the more general meaning of "householder". This is the meaning that Hoernle adopts in his translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Hoernle 1885-90, 3, note 7). In translating *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, Jacobi likewise translates *gāhāvaī* as "householder" (Jacobi 1895, 420) and the commentary on *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 says that *gṛhapati* means *kuṭumbika* (householder or a married man): "'gṛhapati' kuṭumbika āsīt" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 444). Yet, in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 I think that "land-owner" might be a better translation since the term occurs in a context where in other texts we find terms like *seṭṭhī* ("merchant"), *amacce* ("minister"), and *kumbhakāre* ("potter"). Hoernle notes the term *gāhāvaī* is explained in a commentary on the *Āyāraṃga* by the Sanskrit "*grāma-mahattarādi* or 'chief of a village, etc.'" (Hoernle 1885-90, 3, note 7). He also cites the meaning "*ṛddhimad-viśeṣaḥ*, 'a kind of owner of dominion, a landowner, a squire.'" It can be noted that, in descriptions of the characters identified as *gāhāvaī*, we often find the recurring description of wealth, which seems to rule out the possibility that the term *gāhāvaī* has the meaning of peasant or cultivator.

[45] Nathamal 1974a, 468-9; Jacobi 1895, 420.

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read that Lepa is a *samaṇovāsaga* and we find the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga.[46]

In *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5 the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

applies to a group of many *samaṇovāsagā* from the city of Tuṃgiyā. The

passage begins with references to the standard descriptions of the city and the

park found in the Uvavāiya.[47] We find the complete standard description of the

extreme wealth of these *samaṇovāsagā* as we do for Lepa in *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.7.[48] In Muni Nathamal's edition the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

follows seamlessly from the standard description of wealth.[49] The standard

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[46] Jacobi recognized that this standard description occurred also in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. He translates *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 as follows: "This householder Lepa, a follower of the *Sramaṇas*, comprehended (the doctrine of) living beings and things without life, (&c., all as in II, 2, 76, p.382, down to the end of the paragraph). (3)" (Jacobi 1895, 420) The passage is not abbreviated in Muni Nathamal's edition (Nathamal 1974a, 468-9, §4).

[47] Nathamal 1974b, 102.

[48] Bothara translates as follows: "Many *Shramanopasaks* (devotees of ascetics) lived in that Tungika city. They were affluent (*aadhya*) and self-respecting (*deept*). They had many grand mansions. They owned unlimited furniture, vehicles (chariots, carts, etc.), and mounts (horses, ox, etc.). They had abundant wealth (coins) including gold and silver. They were proficient in a variety of methods (including money lending) of expanding their wealth (*ayoga*), and putting them to use (in other trades) with great efficiency (*prayoga*). Large quantity of food was cooked in their kitchens as many people ate there. They had innumerable servants and maids and also had abundant livestock including cows, buffalos and sheep. They could not be subdued by many individuals collectively." (Bothara 2005, 291) The Prakrit reads: "§94 tatha ṇaṃ tuṃgiyāe nayārie bahave samaṇovāsayā parivasaṃti – aḍḍhā dittā vitthiṇṇavipulabhavaṇa-sayaṇāsaṇa-jāṇavāhaṇāiṇṇā bahudhaṇa-bahujāyarūva-rayayā āyogapayogasaṃpauttā vicchaḍḍiyavimpulabhattapāṇā bahudāsī-dāsa-go-mahisa-gavelayappabhūyā bahujaṇassa aparibhūyā (Nathamal 1974b, 103)

[49] In *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5 the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* reads as follows: "abhigayajīvājīvā uvaladdhapuṇṇapāvā āsava-saṃvara-ṇijjara-kiriyāhikaraṇabaṃdha-pamokkhakusalā asahejjā devāsuranāgasuvaṇṇa

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description of the *samanovāsaga* in *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5 is basically identical to

that found in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.[50]

In *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3 we find a merchant (*seṭṭhī*) who is a

samaṇovāsaga.[51] There is a shorthand reference to the standard description of a

samaṇovāsaga: *abhigayajīvājīve jāva viharai.* The term *aḍḍha* is a shorthand

reference to the wealth of this merchant. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.8 there are

also shorthand references to wealth and the standard description of a

samaṇovāsaga.[52] The rich Jain householders in this case are identified as sea-

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jakkharakkhasakiṇṇarakiṃpurisagarulagaṃdhavvamahoragādiehiṃ devagaṇehiṃ ṇiggaṃthāo
pāvayaṇāo aṇatikkamaṇijjā, ṇiggaṃthe pāvayaṇe ṇissaṃkiyā ṇikkaṃkhiyā ṇivvitigicchā
laddhaṭṭhā gahiyaṭṭhā pucchiyaṭṭhā abhigayaṭṭhā viṇicchiyaṭṭhā aṭṭhimiṃjapemmāṇurāgarattā
ayamāuso! ṇiggaṃthe pāvayaṇe aṭṭha ayaṃ paramaṭṭhe sese aṇaṭṭhe, ūsiyaphalihā
avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-gharappavesā' cāuddasaṭṭhasuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu
paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā, samaṇe ṇiggaṃthe phāsu-esaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-
pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kambala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ pīḍha-phalaga-sejjā-
saṃthāreṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇā bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-
paccakkhāṇa-posahovabāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā
viharaṃti | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 103)

[50] The only significant variation is that in *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5 the term *veyaṇa* does not occur in the list of the *tattvas*. I will discuss this further below.

[51] Barnett translates: "Now there dwelt in this city of Rāyagihe a merchant named Sudaṃsane, rich... This Sudaṃsane was a worshipper of the Ascetic, comprehending living and lifeless being..." (Barnett 1907, 88) The Prakrit reads: "§31. tatha ṇaṃ rāyagihe nagare sudaṃsaṇe nāmaṃ seṭṭhī parivasai - aḍḍhe | | §32. tae ṇaṃ se sudaṃsaṇe samaṇovāsae yāvi hotthā - abhigayajīvājīve jāva viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 582)

[52] Bothara translates: "47. In that city of Champa lived Arhannak and other wealthy and reputed Sanyantriks (merchants who went to other countries for trade) and Nauvaniks (merchants who carried their merchandise in boats). Arhannak was a Shramanopasak (a worshiper of Shramans or a Jain) and conversant with fundamentals like being and matter (details as before)." (Bothara 1996, 344) The Prakrit reads: "tattha ṇaṃ campāe nayarīe arahaṇṇagapāmokkhā bahave saṃjattā-nāvāvāṇiyagā parivasaṃti – aḍḍhā jāva bahujaṇassa aparibhūyā | |
§65. tae ṇaṃ se arahaṇṇage samaṇovāsae yāvi hotthā – abhigayajīvājīve vaṇṇao | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 167)

merchants (*saṃjattā-nāvāvāṇiyagā*). In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.12 a minister

(*amacca*) is identified as a *samaṇovāsaga*.[53] In this case the term

samaṇovāsaga alone seems to imply the entire standard description. In the same

story this minister converts King Jiyasattū who is then described as a

samaṇovāsaga.[54]

There are a number of *samaṇovāsagā* who are followers of Pārśva in the

Śvetāmbara canon. The group of *samaṇovāsagā* from the city of Tumgiyā in

Viyāhapannatti 2.5 worship and ask questions of mendicants who are described

as worshippers of Pārśva.[55] In the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* we find a mendicant named

Kesī who is a follower of Pārśva.[56] In this text the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga occurs after a character takes lay vows in the presence of Kesī.

The character is Citta, eldest cousin and charioteer of prince Paesi. Citta is

described with the standard shorthand reference to wealth[57] and with a

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[53] Bothara translates: "The prime minister of the king was named Subuddhi. He was loyal to the king and looked after all the affairs of the state. Subuddhi was a Shramanopasak having knowledge of the fundamentals like soul and matter." (Bothara 1997, 66) The Prakrit reads: "subuddhī amacce jāva rajjadhurācimtae, samaṇovāsae | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 227)

[54] The Prakrit reads: "§37. tae ṇaṃ jiyasattū samaṇovāsae jāe – abhigayajīvājīve jāva paḍilābhemāṇe viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 234)

[55] The Prakrit reads: "pāsāvaccijjā therā bhagavaṃto" (Bothara 2005, 292).

[56] The Prakrit reads: "Pāsāvaccijje Kesī nāma kumāra-samaṇe" (Bollée 2002, 43). See Bollée's index for other references to Kesī (Bollée 2002, 244).

[57] Bollée translates: "[He is] rich (... [cf. Aup 102] up to) regarded with respect by many people." (Bollée 2002, 30) The Prakrit reads: "addhā jāva bahujaṇassa aparibhūe" (Bollée 2002, 29)

description related to his role in running the state.[58] The standard description of

the *samanovāsaga* occurs directly after Citta has taken the lay vows. The

passage is basically the same as that found elsewhere apart from the addition of

a final line relating to the observance of royal duties.[59]

In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 we find both lay and mendicant followers of the

twenty-second Jina, Nemi. There are two references to the standard description

of the *samanovāsaga* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5. The first of these occurs after a

king named Selaga has taken lay vows in the presence of Thāvaccāputta who is

a disciple of Nemi.[60] The king's ministers also become *samanovāsagā*. The

second reference to the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* occurs when

a merchant (*nayarasetthī*) named Sudaṃsana[61] takes lay vows. This merchant

had become a follower of a non-Jain ascetic named Suya.[62] Sudaṃsana is

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[58] Bollée 2002, 30.

[59] The Prakrit for the final part about observance of royal duties reads as follows: "jāiṃ tattha rāyakajjāni ya jāva rāyavavahārāni ya tāiṃ jiyasuttaṇā raṇṇā saddhiṃ sayameva paccuvekkhamāṇe 2 viharai." (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 324)

[60] Muni Nathamal's edition includes the entire standard description (Nathamal 1974c, 120). Bothara translates a shorthand reference to the standard description (Bothara 1996, 249).

[61] This character is introduced on page 120 of Muni Nathamal's edition (Nathamal 1974c, 120) and on page 249 of Bothara's translation (Bothara 1996, 249).

[62] Nathamal 1974c, 120-2; Bothara 1996, 250-2.

converted by Thāvaccāputta and then he is described as a *samanovāsaga*.[63] In

this manner the text presents followers of Nemi and of Thāvaccāputta as

samanovāsagā.

Finally, it is significant that there are a number of female characters in the

Śvetāmbara canon who are identified as *samanovāsiyā*. Above I have noted that

Mahāvīra's Kṣatriya mother Tisalā is identified as a *samanovāsiyā* in *Āyāraṃga*

2.15. In *Viyāhapannatti* 9.33 Mahāvīra's Brahman mother Devānaṃdā is also

described with the standard description of a *samanovāsiyā*.[64] The descriptions of

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[63] Muni Nathamal's edition (Nathamal 1974c, 124) differs from Bothara's translation (Bothara 1996, 256) at the end of the passage. Such variation at the end of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* will be discussed further below.

[64] Bothara translates: "2. In that Brahman Kundagram lived a Brahman named Rishabhdatt. He was very rich, opulent, famous ... and so on up to ... insuperable. He was an expert of four *Vedas* namely *Rigveda, Yajurveda, Saam-veda, Atharvaveda*. Like Skandak Tapas he was a scholar of many other Brahman scriptures (Bhagavati v.1, 2/1/12). He was a devotee of *Shramans*, understood the fundamental entities including soul and matter, and very much aware of the basics about virtues and vices ... and so on up to ... He spent his life enkindling (*bhaavit*) his soul (with ascetic religion and austerities). 3. That Brahman Rishabh-datt had a wife named Devananda. Her limbs were delicate ... and so on up to ... she was charming and beautiful. She was a devotee of *Shramans*, understood the fundamental entities including soul and matter, and very much aware of the basics about virtues and vices, ... and so on up to ... She spent her life enkindling (*bhaavit*) her soul (with ascetic religion and austerities)." (Bothara 2008, 432-3) The Prakrit reads: "§137 tenaṃ kālenaṃ tenaṃ samaenaṃ māhanakuṃdaggāme nayare hotthā - vannao | bahusālae ceie - vannao | tattha ṇaṃ māhanakuṃdaggāme nayare usabhadatte nāmaṃ māhane parivasai - addhā ditte vitte jāva vahujanassa aparibhūye rivveda-jajuvveda-sāmaveda-athavvanaveda-itihāsapaṃcamānaṃ nighaṃtuchatthānaṃ - caunhaṃ vedānaṃ saṃgovaṃgānaṃ sarahassānaṃ sārae dhārae pārae sadaṃgavī satthitaṃtavisārae, saṃkhāne sikkhākappe vāgarane chaṃde nirutte jotisāmayane, annesu ya bahūsu baṃbhannaesu nayesu suparinitthie samanovāsae abhigayajīvājīve uvaladdhapunnapāve jāva ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appānaṃ bhāvemāne viharai | tassa ṇaṃ usabhadattassa māhanassa devānaṃdā nāmaṃ māhanī hotthā – sukumālapānipāyā jāva piyadaṃsanā surūvā samanovāsiyā abhigayajīvājīvā uvaladdhapunnapāvā jāva ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appānaṃ bhāvemānī viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 432)

these women are tied to the descriptions of their husbands. We see a similar situation in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. When he returns home after taking lay vows in presence of Mahāvīra, Āṇaṃda tells his wife Sivaṇaṃdā to do just as he has done.[65] The descriptions of her preparations and her adoption of the twelve vows are based on the descriptions of her husband. Though Sivaṇaṃdā is not identified explicitly as a *samaṇovāsiyā*, this identity can be assumed on the basis of the adoption of lay vows and the parallel with her husband.

We also find women in some stories who are *samaṇovāsiyā* and whose husbands are not said to be *samaṇovāsagā*. In these cases the standard description of the *samaṇovāsiyā* is found as it is with reference to male characters in other texts. In the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*, Paesi's description of his grandmother includes a shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.[66] This description begins with a shorthand reference to a passage describing religiosity and good conduct (*dhammiyā jāva vittiṃ*

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[65] Nathamal 1974c, 407; Hoernle 1885-90, 37-8.

[66] Bollée translates as follow: "Now it is a fact, Venerable Sir, that my grandmother just here in the town of Seyaviyā was religious (...) up to: properly dealt with (the burden of taxation), a supporter of the renouncers, comprehending (the doctrine about) living beings (and things without life) - the whole description up to: purifying herself. She accumulated as you would say a good deal of wholesome karma, died after some time and reached the status of a deity/was reborn as a deity in one of the heavens." (Bollée 2002, 106) The Prakrit reads: "evaṃ khalu bhaṃte ! mama ajjiyā° hotthā iheva seyaviyāe nagarĕ dhammiyā jāva vittiṃ kappemāṇī samaṇovāsiyā abhigayajīvā° savvo vannao jāva appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇī viharai, sā ṇaṃ tujjhaṃ vattavayāe subahuṃ puṇṇovacayaṃ samajjiṇittā kālamāse kālaṃ kiccā annayaresu devaloesu devattāe uvavannā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 334)

kappemāṇī).[67] Following this description we find a long form of the shorthand

reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (*samaṇovāsiyā*

abhigayajīvā° savvo vannao jāva appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇī viharai). Finally we read

that she acquired much merit, died and was reborn as a deity. We can see here

how a number of passages including the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga are brought together to create a description of prince Paesi's

grandmother.

In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.14 we find another example of female religiosity

in the description of Poṭṭilā, who is identified as the daughter of a goldsmith and

wife of a minister. In this case we find a shorthand reference to the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* but instead of the usual ending we read that

the *samaṇovāsiyā* donates a list of items to Jain ascetics. Bothara translates:

Now Pottila became a *Shramanopasika* and started spending her days donating various things
needed by the ascetics. (These things include – consumables like food, apparel, utensils, rugs,
towels, medicines, and other such things and returnable durables like seat, bench, bed, abode,
and bed made of hay, and other such things suitable and prescribed for an ascetic.)[68] (Bothara
1997, 127)

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[67] The full version of this description occurs in the negative, in a description of the irreligiosity and
bad conduct of King Paesi occurring earlier in the *Rāyapasenaīya*. Bollée translates the full
version of the negative passage as follows: "He was a materialist, very impious, notorious for his
injustice, not following the dharma, only having an eye for evil, [etc.]" (Bollée 2002, 21). The
Prakrit reads: "adhammie adhamm-itthe adhamm-akkhaaii adhamma-paloi adhamma-palajjane
adhamma-siila-samuyaacaare adhammena c'eva vittim kappemaane" (Bollée 2002, 20). Bollée
notes that this negative description occurs also in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.58 and 2.7.22, *Vivāgasuyaṃ*
1.1.47 and 1.3.19, as well as in the commentary on *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.18.137 (Bollée 2002,
24-25).

[68] The Prakrit reads as follows: "§49. tae ṇaṃ sā poṭṭilā samaṇovāsiyā jāyā jāva •samaṇe
niggaṃthe phāsueṇaṃ esaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattho-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-

In this case the standard description of a *samaṇovāsiyā* does not end in the usual manner with the phrase "*appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇī viharaī*" ("passed the time purifying herself [by engaging in various ascetic practices]"), but rather with the phrase "*paḍilābhemāṇī viharaī*" ("started spending her days donating [various things needed by the ascetics]"). Below I will discuss the fact that, in this and many other examples the standard description of a *samaṇovāsaga* ends with "part five" on donating alms to Jain ascetics. I will suggest that the change is to be associated with the insertion in the *Uvāsagadasāo* of a passage in which a *samaṇovāsaga* promises to donate alms only to Jain ascetics and not to other mendicant groups. The change is thus not to be associated particularly with depictions of females.

The description of Poṭṭilā as a *samaṇovāsiyā* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.14 occurs after she takes lay vows from a group of Jain nuns who had come to her house for alms.[69] We find a similar scenario with reference to a group of nuns in a story from the *Pupphiāo* (the third book of the *Nirayāvalī*).[70] In the *Pupphiāo* we

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pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ osahabhesajjeṇaṃ pāḍihāriena ya pīḍha-phalaga-sejjā-saṃthāreṇaṃ° paḍilābhemāṇī viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 256)

[69] The nuns are identified as follows: *suvvayāo nāmaṃ ajjāo*. This may be the name of a particular group of nuns, but more likely indicates that the nuns were scrupulous in observing the vows.

[70] Here the nuns are also identified with the phrase "*suvvatāto ṇaṃ ajjāto*" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 41).

find two shorthand references to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

The first instance occurs after Subhaddā, wife of a merchant (*satthavāha*) named

Bhadda, takes lay vows. Gopani and Chokshi translate as follows:

Thus that housewife Subhaddā became a lay-disciple of the Ascetic *Lord Mahāvīra* [i.e. a
samaṇovāsiyā] (*and so forth, down to*) passed her time *happily*.[71] (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 92)

The second instance occurs after a Brahman woman named Somā takes lay

vows. Gopani and Chokshi translate as follows:

Then that female Brahmin Somā will become a devotee of the nuns [i.e. a *samaṇovāsiyā*] (*and so
forth, down to*) will pass her time happily.[72] (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 107)

In the second example the ending "*appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇī viharatī*" clearly refers to

the usual standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the reference to lay

asceticism rather than the version that ends with the reference to giving alms.

The first example, ending with the phrase "*jāva viharati,*" could refer to either

version. Thus, we see that female characters are described as *samaṇovāsiyā*

just as male characters are with shorthand references to the usual standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

It thus appears that the mendicant compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon

used the term *samaṇovāsaga* for members of the Jain lay community in general

and that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* represents what the

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[71] The Prakrit reads: "tate ṇaṃ sā subhaddā satha° samaṇovāsiyā jāyā jāva viharati | "
(Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 41)

[72] The Prakrit reads as follows: "tate ṇaṃ sā somā māhaṇī samaṇovāsiyā jāyā abhigata jāva
appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇī viharati" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 45)

monks envisioned as the ideal lay Jain over a particular period of time. We find

the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* used with reference to land-

owners, merchants, ministers, Brahmans, and kings. It is used with respect to

worshippers of Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Female characters are described in

the same manner as male characters. In describing the characters in the stories

of the Śvetāmbara canon it does not seem that the compilers attempted a

systematic representation of the actual diversity of the practice of members of the

lay community. Nonetheless, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is

used with reference to a significantly diverse group of characters. This seems to

support the idea that the term *samaṇovāsaga* was used with reference to

members of the Jain lay community in general, rather than to a sub-group within

the lay community.

The Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga* in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

In the previous chapter I noted that a number of other statements about

the Jain lay community were inserted into *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 directly following

the initial legitimating of lay life in the mixed section of the third treatise. The

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is the first of these passages. One

reason to assume that the passage did not originally occur after the legitimating

of lay life in the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, but has

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been inserted at some point, is that the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga occurs in many other texts on its own (without the passage that

precedes it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*). Furthermore, the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* presents the first occurrence of the term

samaṇovāsaga in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*. Finally, we can note that the compiler has

added the Prakrit phrase "*se jahā nāmae*" ("for instance") at the beginning of the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 apparently in

attempt to integrate the passage into the text.[73]

The idea that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* has been

inserted into *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 may also be supported by the commentaries.

The commentary at this point in the text, as given in Muni Jambūvijaya's edition,

reads as follows:

iha ca prāyaḥ sūtrādarśeṣu nānāvidhāni sūtrāṇi dṛśyante na ca ṭīkāsaṃvādyeko
'pyasmābhirādarśaḥ samupalabdho 'ta ekamādarśamaṅgīkṛtyāsmābhirvivaraṇaṃ kriyate
ityetadavagamya sūtravisaṃvādadadarśanāccittavyāmoho na vidheya iti | (Jambūvijaya 1978, 224)

Jacobi provides a summary of this statement:

'The MSS. of the text generally differ from one another in this passage; the text commented upon
in the *Ṭīkā* does not agree with that of any MS. I therefore comment upon the text exhibited in one

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[73] The terms "*se jahānāmae*" do not usually occur at the beginning of a passage. Schubring has
pointed out that this phrase usually introduces a comparison but that in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 there
is no comparison (Schubring 2004, 72, note 154). The same phrase (*se jahānāmae*) occurs at the
beginning of the description of monks that follows the introductory passage in the section on
dhamma in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (Nathamal 1974a, 394). It thus appears that the
compiler of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 has added this phrase at the beginning of the standard description
of the *samaṇovāsaga* in attempt to link the passage with the passage that precedes it (i.e. in
attempt to link the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* with the mixed version of the
recurring introductory passage in the third treatise, discussed in my previous chapter).

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MS. If, therefore, my text does not agree with that (of the reader) he should not be alarmed.'
(Jacobi 1895, 382, note 1)

The author of this comment seems to be Harṣakula, who copied Śīlāṅka's commentary (ṭīkā) with some alterations.[74] Śīlāṅka does comment on the passage that I call the standard description of the samaṇovāsaga; it is thus clear that he had it in his manuscript of the text. Yet, Harṣakula's comment suggests that at some point in time, apparently even as late as the sixteenth century (when Harṣakula lived), there was more than one version of Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. It may be impossible to know exactly what the variant versions of the text looked like. There could be extant manuscripts preserving significant variations, but the modern printed editions that I have consulted and the manuscripts on which they are based seem to be relatively consistent. If Harṣakula's statement that the various manuscripts differ is to be associated in particular with the occurrence of the standard description of the samaṇovāsaga, then this would indicate that the standard description of the samaṇovāsaga was inserted into some versions of Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 at a relatively early point,[75] but not into every version.

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[74] The reason to assume the author is Harṣakula is that the comment refers to the author of the Ṭīkā, presumably meaning Śīlāṅka. Jacobi and Schubring have discussed this comment (Jacobi 1895, 382, note 1; Schubring 2004, 72 note 155). They both attribute the comment to Harṣakula.

[75] The insertion of the passage in some manuscripts must have occurred before the compilation of the Uvavāiya since both passages are found consecutively in that text just as they are in the extant versions of Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2.

Even if the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* was inserted into

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2, this does not in itself prove that the passage was compiled at

a later point than the passage preceding it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Nonetheless, I

think that it makes sense to assume that the compilers first had to create a place

for speaking positively about householders (as they do in the mixed version of

the introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2) before they

moved to present a more detailed description of Jain lay life. The commentary on

the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

might be taken to support this interpretation in that it begins by stating that the

standard description of the *samanovāsaga* provides detail (*viśeṣato darśayitum*)

about the passage that precedes it.[76] In any case, I assume that the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga* was inserted into the third treatise of

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 because this treatise was recognized as being an important

statement about the lay community and because, at the time when it was

inserted, the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* had become "the

standard description" of the Jain laity.

Above I have noted that the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*

also occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is the last chapter of the text

and is the only point in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* when shorthand references to the

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[76] Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 364.

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Uvavāiya occur. The references to the *Uvavāiya* in the introduction of the

chapter, as well as the fact that *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is the last chapter of the text,

suggest that the chapter belongs to a relatively late stage in the process of the

compilation of the text.[77] Yet, in my third chapter I will argue that parts of

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 date from a period before the establishment of the list of the

twelve lay vows. *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is an amalgam of a number of passages

relating to Jain householders. The fact that the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga occurs at the beginning of this chapter again suggests a

systematic move on the part of the compilers to insert the standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga* into lectures that were important relative to the Jain lay

community.

Interpretation and Analysis of the Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga*

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* takes up twelve lines of

text in Muni Nathamal's edition. Jacobi provides the following translation of the

passage as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2:

There are, for instance, followers of Śramaṇas, [1.] who comprehend (the doctrine about) living beings and things without life, who understand (the difference between) virtues and sins, who are well grounded in (the knowledge of) the Āsravas, Saṃvara, the realization and annihilation (of Karman), the subject of actions, bondage, and final liberation; [2.] who, without anybody to back them, cannot be seduced from the creed of the Nigranthas by hosts of gods, Asuras, Nāgas,

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[77] Ohira suggests that this chapter belongs to the later stages in the process of canon formation (Ohira 1994, 16, 21).

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Suvarṇas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, Garuḍas, and snake-gods; who have no doubts, scruples, or misgivings about this creed of the Nirgranthas, but have grasped its meaning, got hold of its meaning, got information about its meaning, ascertained its meaning, and understood its meaning; whose very marrow of the bones has been penetrated by their love (for the Nirgrantha creed), avowing that it alone is true, and all others futile. [3.] They keep the bar (of their gates) raised and their door open, having no desire to enter a stranger's house or his seraglio. [4.] They strictly keep the Posaha-fast on the fourteenth and eighth days of the month, on certain festivals, and on full moon days. [5.] They provide the Nirgrantha *Sramaṇas* with pure acceptable food, drink, dainties and spices, with clothes, alms-bowls, blankets and brooms, with drugs and medicines, with stools, planks, beds, and couches. [6.] They purify themselves by practicing the *Sīlavratas* and Guṇavratas, the Viramaṇa, the Pratyākhyāna, the Posaha-fasts, and austerities which they have vowed to perform. (76) (Jacobi 1895, 382-4)

Since there are problems with the interpretation of specific terms, I give here the

Prakrit for the passage as it occurs in Muni Nathamal's edition of *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2, rather than relegating it to a footnote:

§72 se jahāṇāmae samaṇovāsagā bhavaṃti – [1.] abhigayajīvājīvā uvaladdhapuṇṇapāvā āsava-saṃvara-'veyaṇa-ṇijjara-kiriya-ahigaraṇa' baṃdhamokkha-kusalā [2.] asahejjā devāsura-ṇāga-suvaṇṇa-jakkha-rakkhasa kiṇṇara-kiṃpurisa-garula-gaṃdhavva-mahoragāi-ehiṃ devagaṇehiṃ ṇiggaṃthāo pāvayaṇāo aṇatikkamaṇijjā, 'iṇamo ṇiggaṃthie pāvayaṇe' ṇissaṃkiyā ṇikkaṃkhiyā ṇivvitigicchā laddhaṭṭhā gahiyaṭṭhā pucchiyaṭṭhā viṇicchiyaṭṭhā abhigayaṭṭhā aṭṭhimiṃjapemmāṇurāgarattā "ayamāuso! ṇiggaṃthe pāvayaṇe aṭṭha ayaṃ paramaṭṭhe sese aṇaṭṭhe" [3.] ūsiyaphalihā avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā' [4.] cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā [5.] samaṇe ṇiggaṃthe phāsuesaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ pīḍha–phalaga-sejjāsaṃthāreṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇā [6.] bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti[78] | | (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

In my analysis I will divide the passage into six sections (as I have in the

translation and the Prakrit above by inserting square brackets): 1. doctrine; 2.

faith; 3. an obscure phrase usually taken as referring to generosity or

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[78] We can note that in the various texts and the manuscripts that their editors cite there is some variation in that certain terms may not occur, the order of some terms may shift, or particular letters may change. Despite these variations, Muni Nathamal's text at *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is generally representative of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in published editions of the Śvetāmbara canon.

trustworthiness; 4. observance of the *posaha* days; 5. list of alms to be given to Jain mendicants; 6. a phrase referring to lay asceticism.[79] As I have noted above, these various parts seem originally to have been separate, but were compiled at some point. Parts three and six (if not other parts as well) seem to have been formed on the basis of material that in other contexts referred to mendicants.[80] Interpretation of the passage remains debatable especially in part three. In discussing the meaning of the passage I will refer to Śīlāṅka's ninth century commentary on the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* as well as Abhayadeva's eleventh century commentaries on various other texts.[81] I will also discuss Malayagiri's twelfth century commentary on the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*.[82] There are also various translations of the passage.[83]

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[79] Dixit comments on the discussion of the Jain householder in the mixed section of the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. He writes: "In this context emphasis is laid on (i) a pious householder having firm faith in the Jaina scripture, (ii) his liberal offering of gifts to the monks, (iii) his adopting various restraints and observing the *pauṣadha*-fast, (iv) his fasting unto death." (Dixit 1978, 35) Dixit's points one to three seem to refer to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* [§76]. His point 1 likely refers to my points 1 and 2, his point 2 to my points 3 and 5, and his point 3 to my points 4 and 6. His point 4 ("fasting unto death") seems to refer to the passage immediately following the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* [§77]. Dixit does not seem to mention the reworked introductory passage [§75].

[80] This idea will be discussed further below. The situation recalls the manipulation of the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter.

[81] For the commentaries, I am relying on the editions edited by Muni Dīparatnasāgara.

[82] Bollée has discussed the confusion surrounding the issue of commentaries for the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. In the introduction to his edition and translation of the Story of Paesi he states that he could not find a copy of Abhayadeva's *ṭīkā* and that he believes there to be no such commentary in existence. He writes: "It must remain unclear why Schubring exchanged Malayagiri for Abhayadeva and speaks of a *vṛtti* in 1962. Muni Jambūvijaya and Professors

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As outlined above, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* usually

serves as the description of a particular character or group of characters in a

story.[84] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya* it serves as a description of a

particular class of people. We often find the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga after a standard description of the adoption of lay vows and/or

preceding a recurring description of the fast to death. I will discuss the lay vows

briefly below in this chapter and extensively in my third chapter. I have chosen to

omit discussion of the fast to death from my thesis. I will proceed to examine

each section of the passage and then discuss the fact that the final section (part

six) of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is dropped in some cases.

Bhayani, Chandra and Nagin Shah wrote me that as far as they know there is no extant commentary by Abhayadeva. So far, I have not seen a comparative study of the style and diction of commentators which might allow us to identify them." (Bollée 2002, 12) Bollée uses Malayagiri's *ṭīkā* as published in the edition edited by Becardās Jīvrāj Dośī. I have compared the commentary included by Bollée with that published by Muni Dīparatnasāgara and attributed to Malayagiri. The two seem to be identical. The issue of authorship could perhaps be settled through the type of comparative study that Bollée mentions. I can note that the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* commentary seems to offer a somewhat more extensive explanation of the passage than is found, for example, in the commentary on the *Viyāhapannatti*.

[83] Jacobi and Schubring have translated *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. Lalwani has translated the *Uvavāiya*. Bollée has translated the passage in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. Bothara has translated the passage in the *Viyāhapannatti* into English on the basis of Muni Amar's Hindi translation.

[84] It is always so in the case of shorthand references to the passage. As seen in some of the examples discussed above, an additional descriptive passage sometimes follows a shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

Part One: Doctrine

The passage begins by stating that the *samaṇovāsaga* understands

certain metaphysical tenets. The Prakrit in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is as follows:

§72 se jahāṇāmae samaṇovāsagā bhavaṃti – abhigayajīvājīvā uvaladdhapuṇṇapāvā āsava-
saṃvara-veyaṇa-ṇijjara-kiriya-ahigaraṇa–baṃdhamokkha-kusalā (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

Jacobi translates:

There are, for instance, followers of *Sramaṇas*, who comprehend (the doctrine about) living
beings and things without life, who understand (the difference between) virtues and sins, who are
well grounded in (the knowledge of) the Āsravas, Saṃvara, the realization and annihilation (of
Karman), the subject of actions, bondage, and final liberation. (Jacobi 1895, 382-4)

Prominent among the terms that occur here are the so-called nine *tattvas* (*jīva*,

ajīva, *puṇṇa*, *pāva*, *āsava*, *saṃvara*, *ṇijjara*, *baṃdha*, and *mokkha*).[85] Dundas

states that belief in these ontological categories was regarded as the mark of the

true Jain.[86] The inclusion of the *tattvas* at the beginning of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* confirms this idea.

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[85] The nine *tattvas* summarize a Jain model of the contents and dynamics of the universe that
developed in the context of karmic theorization (Dundas 2002, 96). Dundas summarizes the
tattvas as follows: "Along with the *jīva* and the four entities which constitute the *ajīva*, the reals
[*tattvas*] consist of the flowing in of karma (*āsrava*), *puṇya* and *pāpa*, respectively meritorious and
morally negative action which affect the quality of karma, the binding of karma (*bandha*), the
warding off of karma (*saṃvara*), the destruction of karma which has been bound (*nirjarā*) and,
finally, spiritual deliverance (*mokṣa*)." (Dundas 2002, 96) The term *jīva* is usually translated as
'soul', though Dundas suggests that 'life-monad' might be better (Dundas 2002, 93). The four
categories of *ajīva* are *dharma* (here meaning the principle of motion), *adharma* (the principle of
rest), *pudgala* (atoms or matter) and *ākāśa* (space).

[86] Dundas writes with respect to the *tattvas*: "Assent to these ontological categories was to be
regarded within the tradition, at least as intellectually formulated, as the mark of the true Jain."
(Dundas 2002, 96)

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It is important to recognize that the *tattvas* as a group fundamentally serve

to explain the necessity of monastic asceticism.[87] Most of the individual *tattvas*

are seen in the earliest Jain texts, where the focus is on monasticism and there

are no positive statements about householders.[88] The idea that karma (a form of

ajīva) becomes bound (*bamdha*) to the soul (*jīva*) through everyday actions

(especially violent actions) and thus prevents us from attaining the ultimate

soteriological goal of *mokkha* (*mokṣa*), sets up a metaphysical framework where

it is necessary to engage in ascetic practice in order to stop (*saṃvara*) the influx

of karma and to destroy (*nijjara*) karma that has been previously bound to the

jīva. In legitimating lay life the Jain mendicants want to maintain Jain mendicant

life as ideal. The standard description of the *samanovāsaga* thus presents the lay

community as accepting the philosophy represented in the *tattvas* and as

accepting the idea that some form of ascetic practice is necessary for the

attainment of the ultimate soteriological goal. This sentiment goes hand in hand

with the logic of the legitimating of life in the recurring introductory passage in the

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[87] The only terms among the *tattvas* that one might not accept as fundamentally serving to justify monastic asceticism are *puṇṇa* and *pāva*. Dundas suggests that these terms were included among the *tattvas* "in order to provide an ethical dimension which was meaningful not just for ascetics but for a community which as a whole also contained lay people and whose concerns were to be increasingly directed towards the gaining of merit rather than the achieving of deliverance." (Dundas 2002, 96-7)

[88] Dundas writes: "all the reals [*tattva*], with the exception of warding off of karma, are mentioned in the Ācārāṅga, although not in any systematized manner, which points to their presence at the very earliest stage of Jain teachings as textually constituted." (Dundas 2002, 96)

third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, namely that there are some householders

who will attain a good rebirth because they behave sometimes and in some

respects like Jain ascetics.

In addition to their presence at the beginning of the standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga*, the *tattvas* are found in a number of other early passages.

They are listed at *Uttarādhyayana* 28.14[89] and in Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha Sūtra*.[90] If

we compare the various early lists of the *tattvas* it is clear that the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* contains more technical terms than the other

lists. The final compound in the list at the beginning of the standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga* (*āsava-saṃvara-veyaṇa-ṇijjara-kiriya-ahigaraṇa–*

baṃdhamokkha-kusalā) contains three technical terms not seen in

Uttarādhyayana 28.14 or the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (namely *veyaṇa*, *kiriyā*, and

ahigaraṇa).[91] These terms are relatively prominent in early Jain literature and it is

beyond the scope of my current work to offer a full discussion of them. The term

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[89] The Prakrit reads: "jīvājīvā ya bandho ya puṇaṃ pāvāsavā tahā | saṃvaro nijjarā mokkho santee tahiyā nava | | 14 | |" (Charpentier 1922, 194)

[90] The Prakrit reads: "(1.4) jīvā-ajīvā-āsrava-bandha-saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣās tattvam" (Tatia 1994, 6).

[91] Dixit notes that the term *veyaṇa* occurs with the other *tattvas* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.5. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.5 the terms occur in five pairs as part of a list of things that a Jain monk should believe to exist: *jīvā-ajīvā* (v.13), *baṃdhe-mokkhe* (v.15), *puṇṇe-pāve* (v.16), *āsave-saṃvare* (v.16), *veyaṇā-ṇijjarā* (v.17) (Dixit 1978, 39; Jacobi 1895, 407; Nathamal 1974a, 459). It can also be noted that the term *kiriyā* is seen in the same list of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.5 in verse 19, though the term *ahigaraṇa* does not occur. The term *veyaṇa* drops out in a number of examples of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, perhaps owing to a move to standardize the *tattvas*.

veyana basically refers to the experience of karma. It is through the experience

of karma (*veyana*) that one gets rid of karma that has been previously bound

(*nijjara*). The term *kiriyā* refers to actions producing karma.[92] The term *ahigarana*

is sometimes associated with the term *kiriyā* and refers to the means through

which karma is produced.[93] The list of terms in the standard description of the

samanovāsaga with the extra ontological categories represents an alternate

formulation of the *tattvas*.[94] In my view, the extra terms suggest that the

formulation in the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* is relatively early,

predating the period when the listing of the *tattvas* was standardized.[95]

Regardless of the variation in the lists, it is clear that the *tattvas* supply an

explanation of spiritual bondage and present ascetic practice as the means to

eradicate this bondage and achieve salvation. The mendicant compilers of the

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[92] The terms *kiriyā* and *kriyā* seem to be synonyms (Sheth 1928, 245). Johnson and Ohira discuss the 25 types of *kriyā* (Johnson 1995, 58-9; Ohira 1982, 62-3).

[93] In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (6.7) *jīva* and *ajīva* are described as the *adhikarana* for the influx of karma (Johnson 1995, 64). Johnson briefly discusses the commentaries on this passage (Johnson 1995, 64).

[94] Ohira refers to a sequence of the *tattvas* like that found in the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* (*jīva-ajīvā, punya-pāpa, āsrava-samvara-nirjarā,* and *bandha-moksa*) as "the popular sequence of nine *tattvas*" (Ohira 1982, 55). She provides the following references: "*Sthāna* 9.867, *Prasamarati* 189, *Pañcāstikāya* 116, *Mūlācāra* 5.6 and so on." (Ohira 1982, 55) Ohira does not seem to mention the extra ontological categories seen in the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*.

[95] As I have noted above, the term *veyana* drops out in a number of examples of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*, perhaps owing to a move on the part of copyists of the manuscripts to standardize the listing of the *tattvas*.

canon thus present the Jain lay community as people who believe in the efficacy

and the necessity of ascetic practice.

Part Two: Faith

After the statement that the *samaṇovāsaga* understands the *tattvas*, we

read that he will not deny the reality of these metaphysical tenets under the

influence of any divine being and that he rejects the authority of all other creeds.

Jacobi translates *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as follows:

who, without anybody to back them, cannot be seduced from the creed of the Nigranthas by
hosts of gods, Asuras, Nāgas, Suvarṇas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas,
Garuḍas, and snake-gods; who have no doubts, scruples, or misgivings about this creed of the
Nirgranthas, but have grasped its meaning, got hold of its meaning, got information about its
meaning, ascertained its meaning, and understood its meaning; whose very marrow of the bones
has been penetrated by their love (for the Nirgrantha creed), avowing that it alone is true, and all
others futile.[96] (Jacobi 1895, 382-4)

Bollée notes that terms *nissaṃkiya-nikkaṃkhi-nivvitigicchā* ("who have no

doubts, scruples, or misgivings") occur in *Uttarādhyayana* 28.31.[97] In that text the

terms form part of a group of eight points, the remaining five of which do not

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[96] The Prakrit in Muni Nathamal's edition of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 reads as follows: "asahejjā
devāsura-nāga-suvanna-jakkha-rakkhasa-kinnara-kimpurisa-garula-gaṃdhavva-mahoragāi-ehiṃ
devaganehiṃ niggaṃthāo pāvayanāo anatikkamaṇijjā, 'iṇamo niggaṃthie pāvayane' nissaṃkiyā
nikkaṃkhiyā nivvitigicchā laddhaṭṭhā gahiyaṭṭhā pucchiyaṭṭhā viṇicchiyaṭṭhā abhigayaṭṭhā
aṭṭhimiṃjapemmāṇurāgarattā "ayamāuso! niggaṃthe pāvayane aṭṭha ayaṃ paramaṭṭhe sese
aṇaṭṭhe'" (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

[97] Bollée 2002, 65.

occur in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.[98] This may indicate that

this section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* has been compiled

out of material occurring in other texts. It is worth noting that the potential threats

to the faithful are a group of supernatural beings; none of the rival ascetic

traditions is named.

The final phrase in this section is a statement that is made by the

samaṇovāsaga: "*ayamāuso! ṇiggaṃthe pāvayaṇe aṭṭha ayaṃ paramaṭṭhe sese*

aṇaṭṭhe".[99] That this is a direct statement made by the *samaṇovāsaga* is not

clear in Jacobi's translation ("avowing that it alone is true, and all others futile").

Bollée's translation of the phrase in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* is thus preferable: "This

Jain doctrine, Sir, is the real thing; it is the highest truth, the others are futile."[100]

The fact that this is the only statement made by the *samaṇovāsaga* in the

passage may indicate that the phrase was added at some point. The phrase

attests to an exclusive acceptance of Jain teachings. This sentiment parallels the

promise made by the *samaṇovāsaga* in the *Uvāsagadasāo* to provide alms

exclusively to Jain ascetics, which will be discussed below. Like the final phrase

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[98] *Uttarādhyayana* 28.31 reads: "ṇissaṃkiya-ṇikkaṃkhi-ṇivvitigicchā amūḍhadiṭṭhī ya | uvavūuha-thirīkaraṇe vacchalla-pabhāvaṇe aṭṭha | | 31 | |" (Charpentier 1922, 196)

[99] Schubring's comments on this section of the text are partly confused (Schubring 2004, 73 note 160). He states that it is risky to take *ayaṃ* as related to the neuter *pāvayaṇe*. However, many neuter nouns become masculine in Prakrit.

[100] Bollée 2002, 64.

in this part of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*, the formal promise

to provide alms exclusively to Jain ascetics in the *Uvāsagadasāo* is a statement

spoken by the *samanovāsaga*. If the final phrase in this part of the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga* is to be associated with the *Uvāsagadasāo*

then this would indicate that the phrase is relatively late given my view that the

Uvāsagadasāo was compiled at a relatively late stage in the formation of the

Śvetāmbara canon.

I have used terms like belief, faith, creed, and doctrine with reference to

the first two sections of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* since

these sections seem clearly to cover some of the same ground as these English

terms. In general, the passage attests to the strength of the commitment that the

samanovāsaga has to Jain teachings. The commentary on *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

summarizes the first two sections of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga stating that the *samanovāsagā* are firm in their devotion to the

Jain dharma.[101]

The first two sections of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*

(doctrine and faith) account for more than half of the entire passage. This

emphasis on creed and belief is perhaps of interest for the comparative study of

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[101] The commentary reads: "te śrāvakāḥ parijñātabandhamokṣasvarūpāḥ santo na
dharmāccyāvyante meruriva niṣprakampā dṛḍhamārhate darśane 'nuraktāḥ |" (Dīparatnasāgara
v.2, 364)

the formation of religious communities. Lopez suggests that the notion of belief

helps establish a community of believers.[102] That the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga begins with an extensive statement about belief in a set of

metaphysical tenets underlies the importance of something like belief or faith

outside the Judaeo-Christian traditions.[103] As I have stated above with respect to

the *tattvas*, the primary function of Jain doctrine is to explain the efficacy and

necessity of Jain ascetic practice. The mendicant compilers of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* present the lay community as a group of non-

ascetics who do not question that soteriological goals are attained through the

practice of asceticism.

Part Three: An Obscure Phrase

The commentaries offer various explanations of the meaning and

significance of the statement that follows this emphasis on doctrine and faith. The

statement reads as follows: "*ūsiyaphalihā avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-*

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[102] Lopez writes: "the statement "I believe in ...," is sensible only when there are others who "do not"; it is an agonistic affirmation of something that cannot be submitted to ordinary rules of verification." (Lopez 1998, 33) In making this statement Lopez seems to accept the idea of the philosophers and theologians who "have argued that religious belief is qualitatively different from other forms of belief because it is an assent to that which can never be justified by conventional means." (Lopez 1998, 23)

[103] Lopez suggests that scholars have carried with them an ideology of belief derived from Christianity and have consequently described the "world religions" from the perspective of belief (Lopez 1998, 21). The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* shows that Lopez is misleading if he is taken to suggest that belief is not a category found in pre-modern Asia.

paragharadārappavesā.[104] As I will discuss further below, the first term

(*ūsiyaphalihā*) can refer to spiritual attainment. In this meaning I think one could

translate "they are ones for whom the bar is thrown up," or "they have thrown up

the bar." However, the term came to be understood as referring to the liberality of

the *samaṇovāsaga*: "one who keeps his door open." It seems possible also for

each of the remaining terms in the phrase (i.e. *avaṃguyaduvārā*, and

(a)ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā) to have a meaning relating to spiritual

attainment and also a meaning referring to the generosity of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

The term *avaṃguyaduvārā* can mean that "they are ones for whom doors are

opened" or that "they keep their doors open." The final phrase (*(a)ciyattaṃteura-*

paragharadārappavesā) can mean that "their entry into the houses and inner

chambers of others is desired" or it can mean that "they do not begrudge others

entry into their homes and inner quarters." The meanings relating to spiritual

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[104] Owing to the variety of meanings offered by the commentators, there is variation in the
modern translations. Jacobi translates *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as follows: "They keep the bar (of their
gates) raised and their door open, having no desire to enter a stranger's house or his seraglio.
(Jacobi 1895, 383) Bollée translates the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* as follows: "He kept the latch (of his
gate) raised and the door open, keeping a free (*ciyatta*) entrance to his house and harem."
(Bollée 2002, 64) Lalwani translates the passage in the *Uvavāiya* as follows: "Whose heart is as
stainless as crystal, who never shut their doors, whose entry into any one's harem, household or
door is welcome." (Lalwani 1988, 278) Bothara translates *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5: "They were so
liberal that in their houses inner door-bolts were always raised (*Uchchhrit phaliha*) or never used.
In their houses doors were never closed to anyone (including alms seekers) (*Apavritadvar*). Their
entry to the inner (ladies) quarters of any house never offended anyone (*Tyaktantahpura griha
dvar pravesh*). This also means that they always liked the entry of noble people into their homes."
(Bothara 2005, 292)

attainment could serve equally as a description of a Jain mendicant. The

meanings relating to generosity are suitable particularly for the lay community.

The earliest extant commentary on the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga is that on the Sūyagaḍaṃga. The commentary on Sūyagaḍaṃga

2.7 explains the phrase ūsiyaphalihā as being intended to indicate that the fame

of the samaṇovāsaga is spotless like crystal.[105] This is similar to the comments

on the word as it occurs in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2, where we read that the

samaṇovāsagā have minds as pure as crystal.[106] The Prakrit word phaliha can

mean "crystal" (sphaṭika) as well as "door-bolt" (parigha). However, it seems

inappropriate, as an adjective for a person, to describe crystal as being "raised

up" (ucchrita). For this reason Jacobi criticizes the interpretation of the

commentator on Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2, preferring to take phaliha in the meaning

door-bolt (parigha) as the later commentaries do.[107]

Yet, in providing an explanation of the term that is unrelated to door-bolts

and metaphorically related to spiritual accomplishment, the commentator on the

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[105] The commentary reads: "sāmpratam tasyaiva samyagdarśanajñānābhyāṃ kṛto yo guṇastadāviṣkaraṇāyāha - 'ussiya' ityādi, ucchṛtamprakhyātaṃ sphaṭikavannirmalaṃ yaśo yasyāsāvucchritasphaṭikaḥ, prakhyātanirmalayaśā ityarthaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 445)

[106] The commentary reads: "'jāva usiyaphalihā' ityāhi, ucchritāni sphaṭikānīva sphaṭikāni - antaḥkaraṇāni yeṣāṃ te tathā, etaduktaṃ bhavati - maunīndradarśanāvāptau satyāṃ parituṣṭamānasā iti, tathā aprāvṛtāni dvārāṇi yaiste tathā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 365)

[107] Jacobi writes that, with regards to the phrase, Śīlāṅka "mistakes phaliha for spaṭika [sic], and vainly labours to make out a sound meaning." (Jacobi 1895, 383, note 2)

Sūyagaḍaṃga seems to be relatively accurate about one possible meaning of the compound. In support of this interpretation we can refer to verse 398 of the Pali *Dhammapada*.[108] This verse (which is roughly equivalent to verse 42 of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*)[109] occurs among verses that characterize a true Brahman as opposed to a Brahman by birth. Here we find the term *ukkhittapaḷigham* (*ukṣita-phali'a* in Gāndhārī) occurring as an attribute for a person who should be called a Brahman. Norman has translated the verse:

398. Whoever having cut the strap and the thong, the fastening with appurtenances, has thrown up the bar (got rid of obstacles), is awakened, him I call a brahman.[110] (Dundas 1997b, 143, note 43)

In the context of this verse it is clear that *ukkhittapaḷigham* ("has thrown up the bar") is not to be taken as a literal statement about bolts in doors. As Norman points out, these words in this verse are used metaphorically.[111] This verse in the *Dhammapada* is found in the same context as statements about freedom from spiritual bondage and attachment (as in verses 384 and 397). Elsewhere, in the

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[108] The reference to the *Dhammapada* comes from Bollée, who refers to Dundas (Bollée 2002, 65).

[109] Dundas notes that John Brough dates the manuscript used in his edition of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* to the second century CE (Dundas 1997b, 142, note 41).

[110] The Pali is as follows:
"chetvā nandhim varattan ca
sandānam sahanukkamam
ukkhittapaḷigham buddham
tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam" (Dundas 1997b, 142).

[111] Norman writes: "In [Sanskrit] *parigha* is a beam for locking a gate. One who has lifted the beam up has therefore removed an obstacle in his path." (Norman 1997, 159)

same section of the *Dhammapada* (in verse 413), we find statements about

purity that are not far removed from the explanation of *ūsiyaphalihā* in the

commentary on the *Sūyagaḍaṃga*.[112] It thus appears that the term *ūsiyaphalihā*

in some cases had a metaphorical meaning appropriate in a description of

someone who has overcome spiritual obstacles.

Considering the commentary on the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* as well as the verse

quoted from the *Dhammapada*, I believe the term *ūsiyaphalihā* originally referred

to spiritual attainment and was appropriate as a description of an ascetic. The

final compound (*(a)ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā*) could perhaps also be

used as an adjective for an ascetic, since in the section on *dhamma* in the third

treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 the monks are characterized by the phrase

"*paragharapavese*" meaning "[they] entered the houses of strangers."[113]

However, it is not clear if these meanings, appropriate also for ascetics, were

intended by the compiler of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

Regardless of which meanings were intended by the compiler, it is clear that, at

some point, the three compounds came to be understood as referring to the

generosity of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

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[112] For example: "413. Whoever is spotless and pure like the moon, serene, not defiled..." (Norman 1997, 58)

[113] Nathamal 1974a, 396; Jacobi 1895, 380.

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In discussing the term *ūsiyaphalihā*, the commentaries of Abhayadeva and

Malayagiri note a meaning similar to that provided in the commentary on the

Sūyagaḍaṃga, identifying this as an old interpretation (*vṛddhavyākhyā*).[114] Both

commentators then provide an alternate meaning for the phrase based on a

literal interpretation of the words ("thrown up the bar") explaining why the doors

of the *samaṇovāsaga* are open.[115] The explanations offered by Abhayadeva and

Malayagiri for why the door is not bolted (*ūsiyaphalihā*) are partly repeated when

they explain why the door is thrown wide open (*avaṃguyaduvārā*). I will proceed

now to discuss the explanations offered by the commentators for the compounds

avaṃguyaduvārā and *(a)ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā*.

The commentary on the phrase *avaṃguyaduvārā* in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* is

tied with the commentary on the remainder of the section (*(a)ciyattaṃteura-

paragharadārappavesā*). In the comments on these phrases in *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

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[114] Abhayadeva writes: "'ūsiyaphaliha' tti ucchritam-unnataṃ sphaṭikamiva sphaṭikaṃ cittaṃ yeṣāṃ te ucchritaparidhāḥ maunīndrapravacanāvāptayā parituṣṭamānasā ityartha iti vṛddhavyākhyā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 145) Malayagiri writes: "'ūsiyaphalihe' iti ucchritam sphāṭikamiva sphāṭikam - antaḥkaraṇaṃ yasya sa tathā, maunīndrapravacanāvāptayā parituṣṭamānasā ityartha, eṣā vṛddhavyākhyā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

[115] Abhayadeva writes: "anye tvāhuḥ - ucchritaḥ - argalāsthānā dapanīya [urdhvokṛto] na tiraścīnaḥ kapāṭapaścādbhāgādapanīta ityarthaḥ parighaḥ - argalā yeṣāṃ te ucchritaparidhāḥ, athavocchrito - gṛhadvārādapagataḥ parigho yeṣāṃ te ucchritaparidhāḥ, athavocchrito-gṛhadvārādapatah parigho yeṣāṃ te ucchritaparidhāḥ audāryāti[raketaḥ] atiśayadānadāyitvena bhikṣukāṇāṃ gṛhapraveśanārthamanargalitagṛhadvārā ityarthaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 145) Malayagiri writes: "aparetvāhuḥ - ucchritaḥ argalāsthānādapanīya ūrdhvokṛto na tiraścīnaḥ, kapāṭapaścādbhāgādapanīta ityarthaḥ, utsṛto vā apagataḥ paridhā - argalā gṛhadvāre yasyāsau ucchritaparigha utsṛtaparigho vā, audāryātirekato 'tiśayadānadāyitvena bhikṣukapraveśārthamanargalitagṛhadvāra ityarthaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

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2.2 we read that the doors of the houses of the *samanovāsagā* are open, though they do not desire the entry of non-Jain ascetics (*'nyatīrthika*).[116] In the comments on *Sūyagadaṃga* 2.7 we read that the doors of the *samanovāsaga* are not blocked since non-Jain ascetics are unable to cause him to sway from Jain teachings and also that the *samanovāsaga* is well behaved even in the king's harem and is allowed entry in places where others are not allowed to go.[117]

In explaining the meanings of the terms *ūsiyaphalihā* and *avaṃguyaduvārā*, Abhayadeva and Malayagiri state that the *samanovāsagā* keep their doors open in order to give alms to the monks who enter. In explaining *avaṃguyaduvārā* both commentators refer to the idea seen in the commentary on the *Sūyagadaṃga* that non-Jain ascetics are unable to cause him to sway from Jain teachings, which is said to be an old reading.[118] In explaining the rest

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[116] The commentary reads: "anabhimato 'ntaḥpurapraveśavatparagṛhadvārapraveśo 'nyatīrthikapraveśo yeṣāṃ te tathā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 365)

[117] The commentary reads: "tathā 'prāvṛtam - asthagitaṃ dvāraṃ - gṛhamukhaṃ yasya so 'prāvṛtadvāraḥ, idamuktaṃ bhavati - gṛhaṃ praviśya paratīrthiko 'pi yadyatkathayati tadasau kathayatu na tasya parijano 'pyanyathā bhāvayituṃ - samyaktvāccyāvayituṃ śakyata itiyāvat, tathā rājñāṃ vallabhāntaḥpuradvāreṣu praveṣṭuṃ śīlaṃ yasya sa tathā, idamuktaṃ bhavati-pratiṣiddhānyajanapraveśānyapi yāni sthānāni bhāṇḍāgārāntaḥpurādīni teṣvapyasau prakhyātaśrāvakākhyaguṇatvenāskhalitapraveśaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 445)

[118] Abhayadeva writes: "'avaṃguyaduvāre' ti aprāvṛtadvārāḥ - kapāṭādibhirasthagitagṛhadvārā ityarthaḥ, saddarśanalābhena na kuto 'pi pāṣaṇḍikādbibhyati, śobhanamārgaparigraheṇodghāṭa - śirasastiṣṭhantīti bhāva iti vṛddhavyākhyā | anye tvāhuḥ - bhikṣukapraveśārthamaudāryādasthagitagṛhadvārā ityarthaḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 145) Malayagiri writes: "'avaṃguyaduvāre' aprāvṛtadvāraḥ bhikṣukapraveśārthaṃ kapāṭānāmapi paścātkaraṇāt, vṛddhānāṃ tu bhāvanāvākyamevaṃ - samyagadarśanalābhe sati na kasmāccit pākhaṇḍikādbibheti śobhanamārgaparigraheṇa udghāṭitaśirāstiṣṭhatoti bhāvaḥ |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

of the final compound (*(a)ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā*) Abhayadeva

and Malayagiri offer a number of possibilities.[119] We find the idea that the

samaṇovāsagā are allowed entry into the houses and harems of others because

of their trustworthiness. We also find the suggestion that the *samaṇovāsagā* do

not begrudge others entry into their homes and inner quarters.

In discussing the meanings of the terms relating to generosity the

commentators show that they are worried about the possible interpretation of the

phrases as referring to indiscriminant generosity and interaction with non-Jain

ascetics. The commentators are aware that if the *samaṇovāsagā* keep their

doors open in order to provide alms to mendicants then they may well encounter

non-Jain ascetics. Below I will discuss the fact that the compiler of the

Uvāsagadasāo shows the same concern in that he adds a prohibition against

donating alms to non-Jain mendicant groups. I will suggest that it is owing to the

insertion of this prohibition that the final section of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga is sometimes dropped.

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[119] Abhayadeva writes: "'ciyattaṃteuragharappavesā' 'ciyatto' tti lokānāṃ prītikara evāntaḥpure vā gṛhe vā praveśo yeṣāṃ te tathā, atidhārmikatayā sarvatrānāśaṅkanīyāsta ityarthaḥ, anye tvāhuḥ - 'ciyatto' tti nāprītikaro 'ntaḥpuragṛhayoḥ praveśaḥ - śiṣṭajanapraveśanaṃ yeṣāṃ te tathā, anīrṣyālutāpratipādanaparaṃ cetthaṃ viśeṣaṇamiti, athavā 'ciyatto' [tti] tyakto 'ntaḥpuragṛhayoḥ parakīyayoryathākathañcitpraveśo yaiste tathā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 145-6) Malayagiri writes: "'ciyattaṃteuragharapavese' 'ciyatte' ti nāprītikaraḥ antaḥpuragṛhe praveśaḥ - śiṣṭajanapraveśanaṃ yasya sa tathā, anenānīrṣyālutvamasyoktam, athavā ciyattaḥ - prītikaro lokānāmantaḥpure gṛhe vā praveśo yasyātidhārmikatayā sarvatrānāśaṅkanīyatvāt sa tathā" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

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Part Four: Observance of the *Posaha* Days

The next section in the standard description of the samanovāsaga states

that the *samanovāsaga* observes the *posaha* on the appropriate occasions.

Jacobi translates:

They strictly [observe the *Posaha*][120] on the fourteenth and eighth days of the month, on certain festivals, and on full moon days.[121] (Jacobi 1895, 383)

Rituals associated with the cycles of the moon were important across religious

traditions in ancient India.[122] In the Śvetāmbara canon, observance of the *posaha*

seems to be the most important ritual for non-ascetics. It is likely that the practice

lay Jains undertook on the *posaha* days changed over time and according to

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[120] Jacobi translates: "They strictly keep the *Posaha*-fast..." (Jacobi 1895, 383) However, there is no explicit mention of a "fast" in the Prakrit.

[121] The Prakrit reads as follows: "cāuddasaṭṭhamudditṭhapunnamāsinīsu paḍipunnaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ anupālemānā" (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

[122] The Prakrit term *posaha* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *upavasatha* and the Pali *uposatha*. There is a passage in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (III.70.1-3) describing three types of lay observance of the *posaha* fast: that of the shepherds (*gopālakūposatho*), that of the Jains (*niganṭhūposatho*), and that of the Buddhists (*ariyūposatho*). Below in this chapter I will briefly refer to the description of the Jain *posaha* fast in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya. Prasad has discussed this passage as well as a passage from the Buddhist Mahāvagga, in which King Bimbisāra asks the Buddha and his followers to begin observing the *uposatha* (Prasad 1972, 159-160). Discussion of rituals on the full and new moon days is seen in many of the Gṛhya-Sūtras including the *Sāṅkhāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra* (Oldenberg 1886, 16), the *Khādira-Gṛhya-Sūtra* (Oldenberg 1886, 389), the *Gṛhya-Sūtra of Gobila* (Oldenberg 1892, 15), and the *Gṛhya-Sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin* (Oldenberg 1892, 196-201). Though there are significant differences, there is also some overlap between these texts and discussion of the *posaha* days in the Śvetāmbara canon. Rituals associated with the moon are also important in other classes of Brahmanical literature. For example, see Kane and Prasad for discussion of the Śrauta Sūtras (Kane 1962-75 v.2, pt.2, 1009ff; Prasad 1972, 159). Prasad suggests that the earliest reference to "*upavasatha*" is seen in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* (Prasad 1972, 159).

location.[123] Full discussion of the numerous references to the *posaha*

observances must be left for a future project. Nonetheless, I want to briefly

discuss a few passages in the Śvetāmbara canon relating to the mention of the

posaha observances in the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*.

First, it should be noted that the description of the *posaha* ritual in part four

of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* is identical to a description of

the *posaha* ritual in a passage from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 describing "some Jain

laymen" (*samtegaiyā samanovāsagā*).[124] In this passage from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7

the laymen express an inability to adopt the mendicant vows, stating that they will

instead observe the *posaha* and undertake various other practices.[125] The

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[123] The commentary on *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 refers to such variance with respect to location by
saying that the description offered refers to the practices as carried out at particular places: "tathā
caturdaśyaṣṭamyādiṣu tithiṣūpadiṣṭāsu - mahākalyāṇakasambandhitayā puṇyatithitvena
prakhyātāsu tathā paurṇamāsīṣu ca tisṛṣvapi caturmāsakatithiṣvityarthaḥ, evaṃ bhūteṣu
pauṣadhamanupālayan sampūrṇaśrāvakadharmamanucarati, tadanena viśeṣaṇakalāpena
viśiṣṭaṃ deśacāritramāveditaṃ bhavati" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 445)

[124] I think that Dixit observed this relationship, since, when discussing *Sūyagadamga* 2.2, he
makes a link between "an item speaking of just the *pauṣadha*-fasts" (by which I think he is
referring to what I call "part four") and *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 (which he calls "chapter VII") (Dixit
1978, 35). Jacobi translates the relevant section of *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 as follows: "we shall strictly
observe the *Posaha* on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the new-moon,
and) full-moon days." (Jacobi 1895, 428-9) The Prakrit reads: "vayaṃ naṃ
cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā
viharissāmo | (Nathamal 1974a, 476) Compare the Prakrit from the fourth part of the standard
description of the *samanovāsaga* in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2: "cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu
paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā" (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

[125] The full passage from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 reads as follows: "And the Venerable One spoke
thus: "There are some followers of the Śramaṇas, who have made this declaration: we cannot,
submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state, but we
shall strictly observe the Posaha on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the
new-moon, and) full-moon days, we renounce gross ill-usage of living beings, grossly lying

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passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 seems to be relatively early because it provides

what I take to be a relatively early listing of the lay vows known as the

aṇuvratas.[126] Furthermore, the list of the *aṇuvratas* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 occurs

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speech, gross taking of things not given, (unlawful) sexual intercourse, (unlimited) appropriation of property; we shall set limits to our desires in the two forms and in the three ways. They will also make the following renunciation: 'neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' Having [...][125] abstained from eating, drinking, bathing, and using beds or chairs, may they, on their decease, be said to make a (righteous) end of their life?" 'Certainly, they do make such an end of their life.'" (Jacobi 1895, 428-9) Note that I have omitted a detail of Jacobi's translation near the end of the passage. In place of the square brackets ("[...]"), Jacobi writes: "(on Posaha-days)". However, it appears to me that this phrase (*te ṇaṃ abhoccā apiccā asiṇāittā āsaṃdīpeḍhiyāo paccoruhittā*) is not directly related to the *posaha* observances since it also ends another passage in Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 in which the laymen declare they are unable to observe the *posaha* fast (Nathamal 1974a, 477; Jacobi 1895, 429). The Prakrit for the passage reads as follows: "§20. bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ udāhu - ṇiyaṃṭhā khalu pucchiyavvā āusaṃto ! ṇiyaṃṭhā ! iha khalu saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā bhavaṃti | tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ evaṃ vuttapuvvaṃ bhavai - ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo muṃḍā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae, vayaṃ ṇaṃ cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā viharissāmo | thūlagaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ paccakkhāissāmo, evaṃ thūlagaṃ musāvāyaṃ thūlagaṃ adiṇṇādāṇaṃ thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ paccakkhāissāmo, icchāparimāṇaṃ karissāmo duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ | mā khalu mamaṭṭhāe kiṃci vi kareha vā kāraveha vā tattha vi paccakkhāissāmo | te ṇaṃ abhoccā apiccā asiṇāittā āsaṃdīpeḍhiyāo paccoruhittā te taha kālagayā kiṃ vattavvaṃ siyā ? sammaṃ kālagaya tti vattavvaṃ siyā |" (Nathamal 1974a, 476)

[126] I will discuss the lay vows in my next chapter. The reason to assume that the list of the *aṇuvratas* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is relatively early is that the fourth and fifth *aṇuvratas* as listed in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 are different from those listed at the end of Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya*. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 they are listed as renunciation of "extensive sexual intercourse" (*thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ*) and "extensive appropriation of property" (*thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*) (Nathamal 1974a, 476; Jacobi 1895, 428-9). In the *Uvavāiya* they are listed as "to be contented in sex behaviour with one's own wife" (*sa-dāra-saṃtose*), and "to limit one's desires" (*icchā-parimāṇe*) (Leumann 1883, §57, p.63-4; Lalwani 1988, 188-91). The terminology in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 seems to derive from a reworking of the mendicant vows, where the lay community does in part what the mendicant community do in full. Thus, we find the terms *mehuṇa* and *pariggaha* in the description of the monastic dhamma in the *Uvavāiya* (Lalwani 1988, 188-91; Leumann 1883, §57, p.63-4). The shift in terminology found in the *aṇuvratas* as presented in the *Uvavāiya* seems to result from an attempt to explain what is meant by the terminology seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (i.e. "*thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ*" means "*sa-dāra-saṃtose*" and "*thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*" means "*icchā-parimāṇe*"). This situation suggests that the list in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is earlier than that in the *Uvavāiya*.

without the other categories of lay vows (i.e. the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*).[127]

Though this passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* contain the identical phrase about the *posaha* observances, I do not see any evidence to establish that the compiler of one passage has copied from the other.

The other important point to note is that in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* the *posaha* observances are mentioned twice. The "*posaha* fast" (*posahovavāsa*) is listed with various other ascetic practices as part of the final phrase (in what I call "part six"). As Dixit suggests, the repetition of the term *posaha* likely indicates that these two sections of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* originally stood apart from one another.[128] In relation to this idea, we can note that Malayagiri's comments on part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* indicate that the phrase mentioning the "*posaha* fast"

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127 In the *Uvavāiya* we read that the lay *dhamma* consists of the five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*, and each of these vows is listed (Lalwani 1988, 188-91; Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4). Something like this list is found in most medieval and modern presentations of the Jain lay vows.

128 Dixit's comments on mention of Jain householders in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 are partly unclear. It seems clear to me, however, that he sees one of the two mentions of the *posaha* observance as "an interpolation" (Dixit 1978, 35). His full comments on *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 are as follows: "In this context emphasis is laid on (i) a pious householder having firm faith in the Jaina scripture, (ii) his liberal offering of gifts to the monks, (iii) his adopting various restraints and observing the *pauṣadha*-fast, (iv) his fasting unto death. [Here there also occurs in the second place an item speaking of just the *pauṣadha*-fasts in the manner of those passages from chapter VII. It was this item which was enlarged to yield the present item (iii) and the occurrence of both in our passage is anomalous. One of them must be an interpolation.]" (Dixit 1978, 35)

(*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*) did not occur in all

of the manuscripts available to him.[129] The editions that I have used and the

manuscripts the editors cite all seem to include the phrase. Nonetheless,

Malayagiri's comments may support the idea that the phrase mentioning the

"posaha fast" (*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*) in part six

of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* was not originally part of the

passage. I will return to this phrase below when discussing part six of the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

In part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* we have

mention of the "*posaha* fast" (*posahovavāsa*), while in part four there is only

mention of particular days[130] and no explicit mention of a fast. The commentators

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[129] I will discuss part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* below in this chapter. The Prakrit for part six reads as follows: "bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 398) In his comments on this part of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* Malayagiri first states that the phrase "*ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃtī*" is easy to understand. He does not initially mention the other words in the passage (i.e. "*bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*"). He then says that sometimes we find a different reading (*kvacitpāṭhaḥ*): "*bahūhiṃ sīlavvayaguṇaveramaṇaposahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai*." Here the terms *ahāpariggahiehiṃ* and *tavokammehiṃ* seem to be left out. Malayagiri's full comments read as follows: "ahāpariggahehiṃ tavokammoha appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai' sugamaṃ, kvacitpāṭhaḥ - 'bahūhiṃ sīlavvayaguṇaveramaṇaposahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai' iti, tatra śīlavratāni - sthūlaprāṇātipātaviramaṇādīni guṇavratāni - digvratāni - digvratādīni pauṣadhopavāsāḥ - caturddaśyādiparvatithyupavāsādistairātmānaṃ bhāvayan viharatiāste | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

[130] The *posaha* days seem to vary by tradition and through the centuries. The term can refer specifically to the full-moon day (Kane 1962-75 v.2, pt.2, 1010). According to Prasad, in the Buddhist tradition, originally the 8th, 14th and 15th days of a fortnight were regarded as *uposatha* days, and later the 8th was dropped (Prasad 1972, 160). Regarding the Jain tradition, Prasad

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do explain the mention of the *posaha* observances in part four with reference to

fasting.[131] However, these explanations could be anachronistic and the author of

part four of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* may not necessarily

have associated observance of the *posaha* with fasting. It seems to me that the

earliest references to the *posaha* observances in the Śvetāmbara canon lack any

explicit mention of ascetic practice. In support of this, I can note that there are

what I take to be relatively early references to the *posaha* observances in the

Uttarādhyayana and in these verses, as in part four of the standard description of

the *samanovāsaga*, there is no explicit mention of fasting.[132] Furthermore, there

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refers to Umāsvāti: "Umāsvāti gives the word *parva* as a synonym of *pauṣadha* and includes *aṣṭamī, caturdaśī* and *pañcadaśī* or any other day (*tithi*) of the month as suitable for *pauṣadha*." (Prasad 1972, 165) Prasad further notes that the commentator Siddhasenaganin explains Umāsvāti's statement by saying that observance of the *posaha* is necessary on *aṣṭamī, caturdaśī* and *pañcadaśī*, while other days can also be selected depending on personal convenience (Prasad 1972, 165).

[131] Abhayadeva offers the following explanation in his commentary on the *Viyāhapannatti*: "śīlavratāni - aṇuvratāni guṇā - guṇavratāni viramaṇāni - aucityena rāgādinivṛttayaḥ pratyākhyānāni - pauruṣyādīni paudhaṣaṃ - parvadinānuṣṭhānaṃ tatropavāsaḥ - avasthānaṃ pauṣadhopavāsaḥ, eṣāṃ dvandvo 'tastairyuktā iti gamyam pauṣadhopavāsa ityuktaṃ, pauṣadhaṃ ca yadā yathāvidhaṃ ca te kurvanto viharanti taddarśayannāha - 'cauddase' tyādi, ihoddiṣṭā - amāvāsyā 'paḍipunnaṃ posahaṃ' ti āhārādibhedāccaturvidhamapi sarvataḥ 'vatthapaḍiggahakambalapāyapuṃchaṇenaṃ' ti iha patadgrahaṃ - pātraṃ pādaproñchanaṃ - rajoharaṇaṃ 'pīḍhe' tyādi pīṭham-āsanaṃ phalakam-avaṣṭambhanaphalakaṃ śayyāvasatirbṛhatsaṃstārako vā saṃstārako-laghutaraḥ eṣāṃ samāhāradvandvo 'tastena 'ahāpariggahiehiṃ' ti yathāpratipannaimapunarhāsambītaiḥ | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 146) Malayagiri explains as follows in his commentary on the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*: "'caudasatthamuddiṭṭhapunnamāsiṇīsu paḍipunnaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇe' iti, caturddaśyāmaṣṭamyāmuddiṣṭamityavamāvāsyāṃ pornamāsyāṃ ca pratipūrṇam - ahorātraṃ yāvat ṣoṣadham - āhārādiposadhaṃ samyak anupālayat |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 324-5)

[132] In one verse (number 23) from the fifth lecture of the *Uttarādhyayana* the pious householder (*saḍḍhī*) is exhorted never to skip the *posaha* days. The use of the term *saḍḍhī* in this verse suggests that it is relatively early. Jacobi translates: "A faithful man should practice the rules of

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is indication in the Śvetāmbara canon that some householders observed the

posaha days with communal meals. An association between food and the

posaha days is seen, for example, at the beginning of Āyāraṃga 2.1.2 in

discussion of the mendicant rules for begging food.[133] The commentary on

Viyāhapannatti 12.1 records that, according to some people, observance of the

posaha involves the giving of gifts and food.[134] I have noted above that rituals

associated with the cycles of the moon were important across religious traditions

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conduct for householders; he should never neglect the Posaha fast in both fortnights, not even for a single night. (23)" (Jacobi 1895, 23) The word "fast" does not occur in the Prakrit. The Prakrit reads as follows: "agārisāmāiyaṃgāiṃ, saddhī kāeṇa phāsae | posahaṃ duhao pakkhaṃ, egarāiṃ na hāvae | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.28, 206) Charpentier has slight variations in his edition (Charpentier 1921, 87). In the ninth lecture of the Uttarādhyayana, King Nami decides to become a monk and the god Indra attempts to convince him to remain as a king. In one verse (number 42) from this lecture, Indra exhorts Nami to be content with observing the posaha days. Here again there is no mention of a "fast". Jacobi translates: "You have left the dreadful āsrama (that of the householder) and are wanting to enter another; (remain what you were), O king, and be content with observing the Posaha-days." (Jacobi 1895, 39) The Prakrit reads as follows: "ghorāsamaṃ caittā ṇaṃ, annaṃ patthesi āsamaṃ | iheva posaharao, bhavāhi manuyāhivā ! | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.28, 263) Charpentier has slight variations in his edition (Charpentier 1921, 99).

[133] Here I do not want to discuss this rule in detail. I simply want to note the apparent association between the posaha day and social gatherings involving food. The posaha day (aṭṭhamiposahiesu) is mentioned along with various other days. Jacobi translates: "A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., in the following case: when, on the eighth or paushadha day, on the beginning of a fortnight, of a month, of two, three, four, five, or six months, or on the days of the seasons, of the junction of the seasons, of the intervals of the seasons, many Sramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, guests, paupers, and beggars are entertained with food, &c., out of one or two or three or four vessels, pots, baskets, or heaps of food; such-like food which has been prepared by the giver, &c., (all down to) not tasted of, is impure and unacceptable. But if it is prepared by another person, &c. (see first lesson, § 13), one may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable." (Jacobi 1884, 92) For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 87.

[134] The commentary reads: "anye tu vyācakṣate - iha kila pauṣadhaṃ parvadinānuṣṭhānam, tacca dvedhā - iṣṭajanabhojanadānādirūpamāhārādipauṣadharūpaṃca" (Dīparatnasāgara v.6, 54)

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in ancient India and it is likely that lay Jain practice overlapped in some periods

and to some extent with non-Jain practice.

My research indicates that the Jain mendicant compilers of the

Śvetāmbara canon eventually developed distinctive rituals for the lay community

to observe on the *posaha* days. These rituals involved forms of temporary ascetic

practice. *Viyāhapannatti* 12.1 is an important passage relative to such

development since it presents temporary ascetic practice as an acceptable mode

of conduct for the Jain laity on the *posaha* days in an environment in which such

practice was, if not new, at least not the standard practice.[135] There is good

reason to believe that, at least at some point, the Jain mendicants encouraged

lay Jains to temporarily renounce their possessions and social relations on the

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[135] In this passage, a Jain layman (*samaṇovāsaga*) named Sankha agrees to pass the *posaha* days eating with other Jain laymen and then decides instead to engage in temporary ascetic practice. The laymen are upset with Sankha, but Mahāvīra tells them that Sankha is a good lay Jain (*piyadhamme ceva, daḍhadhamme ceva*, Nathamal 1974b, 542) and then confirms that there are three types of vigil (*jāgariyā*), including that of the layman. Deleu offers the following summary of the description of Sankha's ascetic practice in *Viyāhapannatti* 12.1: "Sankha...goes to the fasting hall (*poshah-sālā*), fasts (*posahiya*) and practises chastity (*bambhacāri*), having abandoned all [garlands,] ornaments [omukkamaṇi-suvaṇṇe vavagayamālā-vaṇṇagavilevaṇe] and weapons (*nikkhitta-sattha-musala*, cf. VII 1.8) and waking [i.e. staying awake] (*padijāgaramāṇa*, further on *dhamma-jāgariyaṃ-jāgaramāṇa*) alone (*ega abiiya*) on a bed of darbha-grass." (Deleu 1970, 181) This description of ascetic practice is seen at various other points in the Śvetāmbara canon and is the "standard" description of lay Jain practice on the *posaha* days. In such passages, the characters often undertake temporary ascetic practice in a "*posahasālā*". I have not come across reference to such structures outside of the Śvetāmbara canon and there is little evidence in the texts for what kind of structures these were, who constructed them, or who visited them. For the Prakrit of *Viyāhapannatti* 12.1 see Nathamal 1974b, 538-543.

posaha days.[136] The reference to the "posaha fast" (*posahovavāsa*) in part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* should perhaps be seen in light of the development of such practices. These ascetic practices seem to relate directly to the initial logic of the legitimating of Jain lay life, since they allow lay Jains to behave temporarily like Jain mendicants.

A full study of the references to the *posaha* rituals in the Śvetāmbara canon must be left for a future project. It remains unclear what practice the compiler of part four of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* had in mind when he says that lay Jains observe the *posaha* days. It is clear, nonetheless, that the mendicant compilers viewed observance of the *posaha* days as an important aspect of lay Jain practice since, in addition to the numerous other mentions of the *posaha* rituals in the Śvetāmbara canon, there is an explicit statement about observance of the *posaha* days in part four of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and further reference to *posaha* rituals in part six.

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[136] As I noted in the introduction to my thesis, the Buddhist *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (III.70.1-3) contains a description of the Jain *posaha* ritual that criticizes the lay Jain practice of abandoning all possessions and social relations on the *posaha* days (Woodward 1932, 185-6; Morris 1885, 205-6). Jacobi suggests that the description of the Jain *posaha* ritual here does not quite agree with the *posaha* rules of the Jains (Jacobi 1895, xvi-xvii). However, in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 we find a critique of the same Jain practice attributed to the Ājīvikas, and defense of the practice attributed to Mahāvīra (Bothara 2008, 102-103; Nathamal 1974b, 351). It is likely that the Buddhists criticize the practice because the statement about abandoning possessions and social relations was distinctively Jain and was well known to characterize lay Jain behavior.

Part Five: Giving to Jain Ascetics

Following the first mention of the *posaha* days in the standard description

of the *samaṇovāsaga* we read that the *samaṇovāsaga* gives various kinds of

alms to Jain ascetics. Jacobi translates *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 as follows:

They provide the Nirgrantha Śramaṇas with pure acceptable food, drink, dainties and spices, with clothes, alms-bowls, blankets and brooms, with drugs and medicines, with stools, planks, beds, and couches.[137] (Jacobi 1895, 383)

The mendicant community has a clear motivation in presenting the donation of

alms as an important activity for the lay community. The passage here states that

the *samaṇovāsaga* donates alms specifically to Jain ascetics, but there is no

explicit statement in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* prohibiting

donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics as is found in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. As noted

above, the third part of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* has been

taken by the commentators as referring to the possible indiscriminate generosity

of the *samaṇovāsaga*. A full study of the donation of alms in the Śvetāmbara

canon (which would include examination of examples of characters who donate

alms as well as discussion of the rules for alms as described in the Cheya

Suttas) is beyond the scope of my current work.

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[137] The Prakrit reads: "samaṇe niggaṃthe phāsuesaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ pīḍha–phalaga-sejjāsaṃthāreṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇā" (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

Part Six: An Obscure Phrase Referring to Lay Ascetic Practice

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* does not always end in the same manner. It sometimes ends with the section on donating alms to Jain ascetics (part five). However, it more commonly ends with reference to lay ascetic practice (part six) and this version (ending with part six) seems to be the original. Below I will suggest that part six is dropped in some versions owing to a move by the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* to include a prohibition against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics. Before explaining this hypothesis, I will first discuss the references to lay ascetic practice that usually end the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

Jacobi provides the following translation of the final section (part six) of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* as it occurs in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2:

They purify themselves by practicing the *Sīlavratas* and *Guṇavratas*, the *Viramaṇa*, the *Pratyākhyāna*, the *Posaha*-fasts, and austerities which they have vowed to perform. (76) (Jacobi 1895, 383-4)

The Prakrit in Muni Nathamal's edition reads as follows:

bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti | | (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

It is clear that according to this statement the *samaṇovāsagā* engage in various ascetic practices (*tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti*).[138] Here there

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[138] Hoernle translates "*appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā*" as "sanctified himself." He offers the following note: "Text *appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇa*, Skr. *ātmānaṃ bhāvayan*, explained by Skr. *vāsayan* in Skr. comm. to Nāy. § 5, 'training one-self (by self-mortifications) in holy thoughts,' raising up in one-self a holy

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is a direct parallel between the behavior of the *samaṇovāsaga* and that of the

Jain mendicants. If we compare the section on mendicant behavior (*dhamma*) in

the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 we find a similar phrase: *tavasā appāṇaṃ*

bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti.[139] I have argued above that the necessity of asceticism is

explained in the *tattvas* and in the logic of the legitimating of lay life in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*. The fact that what I consider to be the

original version of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* ends with

mention of lay asceticism shows that the compiler of the passage saw lay ascetic

practice as being important.

Though it is clear that this section of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga refers to lay ascetic practice, the precise meanings of the

individual terms in the compound "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-*

posahovavāsa" are not clear. I have noted above the possibility that this

compound did not originally occur in the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga.[140] However, the phrase occurs in every version of the standard

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frame of mind; cf. the Gujarātī paraph. to Ov., § 131, where *bhāviyappā*, is explained by *rūḍai bhāvio chāritrai ātmā.*" (Hoernle 1885-90, 41, note 112)

[139] Nathamal 1974a, 395, end of par. 65.

[140] I have noted above (in my discussion of the *posaha* observances) that in his commentary on part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* Malayagiri first comments only on the phrase "*ahāpariggahiehiṃ tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti*" stating that this phrase is easy to understand. He then states that there is sometimes a different reading (*kvacitpāṭhaḥ*) containing the phrase "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325). I think it is more likely that this phrase was added to some versions of

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description of the *samanovāsaga* in the editions of the texts that I have used

(apart from those versions where part six is altered or dropped entirely) and the

commentators all discuss the phrase.

The commentaries link some of the terms in this compound (*sīlavvaya-*

guna-veramana-paccakkhāna-posahovavāsa) with what became the standard

listing of the lay vows (*anuvratas, gunavratas,* and *śikṣāvratas*).[141] In his

commentary on this section of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2, Śīlāṅka finds it appropriate to mention the *anuvratas,*

gunavratas, and *śikṣāvratas,* but does not make any explicit correspondences

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the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* than it is that the phrase dropped out of some manuscripts.

[141] I will discuss the lay vows extensively in my next chapter where I will suggest that the earliest version of the familiar listing employing the terms "*anuvrata, gunavrata,* and *śikṣāvrata*" is found in Mahāvīra's sermon near the end of the first part of the *Uvavāiya.* I will provide in this note Lalwani's translation of the list of lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* as well as the Prakrit so that one can consider the correspondences between this list and the phrase "*sīlavvaya-guna-veramana-paccakkhāna-posahovavāsa*" in part six of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga.* Lalwani translates the list of lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* as follows: "The path for the householder contains twelve items which are five *anuvratas* (lesser vows), three *gunavratas* (improving quality) and four *śikṣāvratas* (educative formulae). Five lesser vows [*anuvratas*] are: to desist from a big slaughter / harm to life, to desist in general from false utterances, to desist in general from usurpation, to be contented in sex behaviour with one's own wife and to limit one's desires. Three items to improve quality [*gunavratas*] are: to avoid inclinations harmful to the property of the soul, to restrict directions for the length of movement and to limit the use and continuous use of objects. Four educative practices [*śikṣāvratas*] are: *sāmāyika* or sitting in equanimity, restricting inclinations, *pausadha* (living for a while like a monk) and fasting, entertaining (worthy) guests." (Lalwani 1988, 188-91) The Prakrit reads as follows: "agāra-dhammaṃ duvālasaviham āikkhai, taṃ jahā: a. panca anu-vvayāiṃ b. tinni guna-vvayāiṃ c. cattāri sikkhāvayāiṃ. a. panca anuvvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 1. thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramanaṃ 2. thūlāo musāvāyāo veramanaṃ 3. thūlāo adinn'ādāṇāo veramanaṃ 4. sa-dāra-saṃtose 5. icchā-parimāṇe b. tinni gunavvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 6. anattha-daṇḍa-veramanaṃ 7. disi-vvayaṃ 8. uvabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇaṃ c. cattāri sikkhāvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 9. sāmāiyaṃ 10. desāvayāsiyaṃ 11. posahovavāso 12. atihi-saṃvibhāgo." (Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4)

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between these sets of vows and the terms in the compound.[142] Abhayadeva and

Malayagiri both suggest that the term *sīlavvaya* refers to the *aṇuvratas* and that

the term *guṇa* refers to the *guṇavratas*.[143] Abhayadeva explains the term

veramaṇa as "the checking of desires" (*aucityena rāgādinivṛttayaḥ*) and

paccakkhāṇa as referring to "fasts like that known as *pauruṣī* (*pauruṣyādīni*).[144]

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[142] The commentary on *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 first paraphrases the section in Sanskrit (*tathā bahūni varṣāṇi śīlavrataguṇavratapratyākhyānapauṣadhopavāsairātmānaṃ bhāvayantastiṣṭhanti*), before referring to the *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*, and noting that the laymen offer service to the mendicants: "tadevaṃ te paramaśrāvakāḥ prabhūtakālamaṇuvrataguṇavrataśikṣāvratānuṣṭhāyinaḥ sādhūnāmauṣadhava[stra]pātrādinopakāriṇaḥ santo" (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 365)

[143] In his comments on the *Viyāhapannatti* Abhayadeva explains the term "*śīlavrata*" as "*aṇuvrata*" and the term "*guṇā*" as "*guṇavrata*" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 146). Malayagiri explains *sīlavvaya* as "abstention from hurting large living beings" (*sthūlaprāṇātipātaviramaṇādīni*). This is equivalent to Abhayadeva's explanation of *sīlavvaya* as referring to the *aṇuvratas*, since abstention from hurting large living beings (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*) is the first of the *aṇuvratas*. Malayagiri explains the term "*guṇa*" with reference to the vow relating to the directions and so on (*digvratādīni*). This vow (*disi-vvaya*) is listed as one of the *guṇavratas* (usually it is listed first among the *guṇavratas*, though it is listed second in the *Uvavāiya*), so Malayagiri sees the term *guṇa* as referring to the *guṇavratas*. Abhayadeva's full comments on the passage read as follows: "śīlavratāni - aṇuvratāni guṇā - guṇavratāni viramaṇāni - aucityena rāgādinivṛttayaḥ pratyākhyānāni - pauruṣyādīni pau[ṣadh]aṃ - parvadinānuṣṭhānaṃ tatropavāsaḥ - avasthānaṃ pauṣadhopavāsaḥ, eṣāṃ dvandvo 'tastairyuktā iti gamyam pauṣadhopavāsa ityuktaṃ, pauṣadhaṃ ca yadā yathāvidhaṃ ca te kurvanto viharanti taddarśayannāha - 'cāuddase' tyādi, ihoddiṣṭā - amāvāsyā 'paḍipunnaṃ posahaṃ' ti āhārādibhedāccaturvidhamapi sarvataḥ 'vatthapaḍiggahakambalapāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ' ti iha patadgrahaṃ - pātraṃ pādaprōñchanaṃ - rajoharaṇaṃ 'pīḍhe' tyādi pīṭham-āsanaṃ phalakam-avaṣṭambhanaphalakaṃ śayyāvasatirbṛhatsaṃstārako vā saṃstārako-laghutaraḥ eṣāṃ samāhāradvandvo 'tastena 'ahāpariggahiehiṃ' ti yathāpratipannairnapunarhāsaṃ bītaiḥ | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 146) Malayagiri's comments on the passage read as follows: "ahāpariggahehiṃ tavokammoha appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai' sugamam, kvacitpāṭhaḥ - 'bahūhiṃ sīlavvayaguṇaveramaṇaposahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai' iti, tatra śīlavratāni - sthūlaprāṇātipātaviramaṇādīni guṇavratāni - digvratāni - digvratādīni pauṣadhopavāsāḥ - caturddaśyādiparvatithyupavāsādistairātmānaṃ bhāvayan viharatiāste | |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325)

[144] The term *pauruṣī* is a measure of time. The day and night are each divided into four *pauruṣī*. Exactly what the *pauruṣī paccakkhāṇa* consists of requires further investigation. Hemacandra lists a fast associated with the term *pauruṣī* in his *Yogaśāstra* (Williams 1963, 208).

He states that the compound *posahovavāsa* refers to fasting (*upavāsaḥ*) on the

parvan days and he goes on to discuss the *posaha* fast in some detail.

Malayagiri does not discuss the terms *veramaṇa* and *paccakkhāṇa*. He ends his

comments on the section with a brief explanation of the *posaha* fast.

The identifications that the commentators make between the terms in this

section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and what became the

standard categories of lay vows appear to be anachronistic. None of the names

for the categories of lay vows (*aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*) occurs in

the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.[145] If adoption of the *aṇuvratas*,

guṇavratas, and *śikṣāvratas* was the key mark of lay Jainism at the time of the

initial compilation of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, then the

compiler of the passage would have used this terminology. As I noted above and

as I will discuss at length in my third chapter, the earliest example of the familiar

list of five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas* seems to occur at

the end of Mahāvīra's sermon in the first part of the *Uvavāiya*.[146] It appears that

the compilation of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurred before

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[145] Only the term *guṇa* occurs, but it occurs without the term *vrata* following. As I will note again in my third chapter, Williams suggests that the Digambaras used the term *sīlavvaya* with reference to the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* (Williams 1963, 55).

[146] Lalwani 1988, 188-91; Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4.

the compilation of the *Uvavāiya*[147] and so it is unlikely that the compiler had the

list of the "*anuvratas, gunavratas,* and *śikṣāvratas*" in mind when he included the

phrase *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa.*

Though it seems anachronistic to suggest that some of the terms in the

phrase *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* refer particularly

to the standard listing of the *anuvratas, gunavratas,* or *śikṣāvratas,* the

commentators make such an identification because there is clearly some sort of

relationship between the terms in the compound and what became the standard

lists of the lay vows. For instance, in the lists of vows the term *posahovavāsa*

occurs as one of the *śikṣāvratas* and the term *veramaṇa* occurs after various

terms as part of three of the *anuvratas* as well as one of the *gunavratas.*[148]

Furthermore, both the final section of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga and the lists of lay vows emphasize the importance of lay ascetic

practice. The phrase *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* can

thus perhaps be thought of as an early expression of the lay vows from a period

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[147] I say this given that I have established in my first chapter that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2.

[148] In the *Uvavāiya* the term *posahovavāso* occurs as the third of the *śikṣāvratas.* In the same text the *anuvratas* are listed as follows: "1. *thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ;* 2. *thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ;* 3. *thūlāo adiṇṇ'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ;* 4. *sa-dāra-saṃtose;* 5. *icchā-parimāṇe.*" (Leumann 1883, §57 p.64) The term *veramaṇaṃ* means "to desist from" the various activities. Lalwani translates: "to desist from a big slaughter / harm to life, to desist in general from false utterances, to desist in general from usurpation, to be contented in sex behaviour with one's own wife and to limit one's desires." (Lalwani 1988, 191) In the *Uvavāiya* the first of the *gunavratas* is "*anattha-daṇḍa-veramaṇaṃ,*" which means "to desist from harm committed without a purpose".

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before the lists of *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas* had become

standardized.

The exact meanings of the terms *sīla*, *vvaya*, *guṇa*, *veramaṇa*, and

paccakkhāṇa at the time of the compilation of the passage remain uncertain. Yet,

there is one passage in the *Uvāsagadasāo* where all of the terms in the

compound *sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* occur as

independent words.[149] Furthermore, the terms *susīlā* and *suvvayā* are found in

the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 in the

descriptions of both the Jain ascetics (in the section on *dhamma*)[150] and the Jain

householders (in the mixed section).[151] The negatives of the terms *sīla* and *guṇa*

(*nissīlā* and *nigguṇā*) occur in a description of the bad men of a future period in a

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[149] This passage occurs in the second lecture as a deity attempts to interrupt the practice of the Jain layman Kāmadeva. Hoernle translates: "though it does not become thee, O beloved of the devas, to depart from the practice of the virtues, duties, restraints, renunciations, and posaha abstinences, or to swerve from it, or to interrupt it, [etc.], yet if thou dost not this day forsake and interrupt thy practice of the virtues and (*as above*, down to) posaha abstinences, then I shall this day, with this sword of dark blue lustre (*and so forth*, as above), cut thee into small pieces, so that agonised by the intolerable force of thy agonies, O beloved of the devas, thou shalt, even before thy time, be deprived of thy life." (Hoernle 1885-90, 70-71) The Prakrit reads: "no khalu kappai tava devāṇuppiyā ! sīlāiṃ vayāiṃ veramaṇāiṃ paccakkhāṇāiṃ posahovavāsāiṃ cālittae vā khobhittae vā khaṃḍittae vā bhaṃjittae vā ujjhittae vā pariccaittae vā, taṃ jai ṇaṃ tumaṃ ajja sīlāiṃ vayāiṃ veramaṇāiṃ paccakkhāṇāiṃ posahovavāsāiṃ na chaḍḍesi na bhaṃjesi, to taṃ ahaṃ ajja imeṇaṃ nīluppala-gavalaguliya-ayasikusumappagāseṇa khuradhāreṇa asiṇā khaṃḍākhaṃḍiṃ karemi, jahā ṇaṃ tumaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! atta-duhaṭṭa-vasaṭṭe akāle ceva jīviyāo vavarovijjasi | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 526-7)

[150] Nathamal 1974a, 393.

[151] Nathamal 1974a, 397.

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passage in the *Viyāhapannatti*.[152] Without identifying exactly what these terms

refer to, we can note the likelihood that *sīla*, *vvaya* and *guṇa* should be

understood as three distinct terms. To take *sīlavvaya* as a single word seems to

be an anachronism.

Examination of the use of the term *paccakkhāṇa* shows that one must be

careful to consider the changing meanings of the terminology in the Śvetāmbara

canon. The term *paccakkhāṇa* is at times associated exclusively with mendicant

renunciation. The five ascetic vows are called *paccakkhāṇas* in chapter four of

the *Dasaveyāliya*.[153] *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.4, which is called "*paccakkhāṇakiriyā*,"[154]

justifies the mode of life of the Jain monk (*bhikkhu*).[155] There is no mention of the

Jain householder in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.4.[156] Likewise, in *Viyāhapannatti* 1.9.6 we

read that the non-renunciatory mode of conduct (*apaccakkhāṇakiriyā*) is the

same of a merchant (*seṭṭhiya*), pauper (*taṇuya*), beggar (*kivaṇa*) and *kṣatriya*

(*khattiya*) because they all lack restraint (*aviratiṃ paḍucca*).[157] Here all

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[152] Nathamal 1974b, 292; Bothara 2006, 405.

[153] Ohira 1994, 9.

[154] Nathamal 1974a, 449; Jacobi 1895, 398; Ohira 1994, 19.

[155] Nathamal 1974a, 456-7; Jacobi 1895, 405; Ohira 1994, 20.

[156] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.4 we see terms like *egaṃtabāle* and *avirae* used to describe the mode of life opposed to that of the Jain monk (Nathamal 1974a, 449).

[157] Bothara translates: "A merchant and a pauper, a beggar and a king (*kshatriya*) have the same *apaccakkhāṇakiriyā* (act and consequence of non-renunciation in terms of *karmic*

categories of householders appear to be grouped together in opposition to the Jain mendicant.

Though the term *paccakkhāṇa* can be used with specific reference to Jain mendicancy, it is also found with reference to the lay community. In the later tradition the term refers to the renunciation of future bad actions. This usage seems to derive from a passage in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5.[158] Yet, there does not seem to be any reason to assume this technical meaning for the term in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. In the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* the term seems to have a general meaning of renunciation. Thus, *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 describes both the lay and mendicant *dhamma* as forms of *paccakkhāṇa*, though the degree and object of the renunciation differs for the

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bondage)…because of the lack of abstinence (*avirati*)." (Bothara 2005, 210-11) The Prakrit reads: "§434 se nūṇaṃ bhaṃte! seṭṭhiyassa ya taṇuyassa ya kivaṇassa ya khattiyassa ya samā ceva apaccakkhāṇakiriyā kajjai?

haṃtā goyamā! seṭṭhiyassa ya taṇuyassa ya kivaṇassa ya khattiyassa ya 'samā ceva apaccakkhāṇakiriyā kajjai | |

§435 se keṇaṭṭheṇaṃ bhaṃte! evaṃ vuccai -- seṭṭhiyassa ya taṇuyassa ya kivaṇassa ya khattiyassa ya samā ceva apaccakkhāṇakiriyā kajjai?

goyamā! aviratiṃ paḍucca | se teṇaṭṭheṇaṃ goyamā! evaṃ vuccai -- seṭṭhiyassa ya taṇuyassa ya kivaṇassa ya khattiyassa ya samā ceva apaccakkhāṇakiriyā kajjai | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 72)

[158] Goyama asks Mahāvīra: "5. [Q.1] *Bhante*! If a [*samaṇovāsaga*] has not initially renounced killing of gross living beings what does he do when he renounces the same later?
[Ans.] Gautam! He atones for any killing he did in the past, refrains from killing in the present, and renounces killing in the future." (Bothara 2008, 106) The Prakrit reads: "§236 samaṇovāsagassa ṇaṃ bhaṃte! puvvāmeva thūlae pāṇāivāe apaccakkhāe bhavai, se ṇaṃ bhaṃte! pacchā paccāikkhamāṇe kiṃ karei? goyamā! tīyaṃ paḍikkamati, paḍuppannaṃ saṃvareti, aṇāgayaṃ paccakkhāti | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 352)

mendicant and the layman.[159] In my view, the presence of the term *paccakkhāna*

in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* likely relates to the fact that the

compilers of the canon justify lay life in so far as it conforms to mendicant life.

In addition to the confusion regarding the phrase *sīlavvaya-guṇa-*

veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa, the significance of the term

ahāpariggahiehiṃ is also debatable. Abhayadeva suggests that this term means

"as they have been properly expounded" (*yathāpratipanna*) and "not as they are

practiced by those who are not properly restrained" (*na punar hāsaṃvīta*).[160]

However, the term could also acknowledge that the ascetic practices will be

adopted in various manners according to the situation of the individual.[161] There

is a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 describing "some laymen" (*saṃtegaiyā*

samaṇovāsagā) who do not observe the posaha fast.[162] In the *Uvāsagadasāo*,

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[159] In this passage the categories *mūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe* and *uttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe* are subdivided with the prefixes *savva* and *desa*. The mendicant *dhamma* is associated with the term *savva* and the lay dhamma is associated with the term *desa*. See Deleu 1970, 134; Bothara 2006, 353-7; Nathamal 1974b, 278-279.

[160] The commentary reads: "'ahāpariggahiehiṃ' ti yathāpratipannair na punar hāsaṃbītaiḥ" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 146). Here "*asaṃbīta*" is a misprint for "*asaṃvīta*" and "hā" for "hy". The modern commentary of Ghasilalji Maharaj seems to follow this explanation when *ahāpariggahiehiṃ* is explained as *yathāvidhisvīkṛta*, meaning that everything is done according to the proper rituals. Phyllis Granoff has given me the information in this note.

[161] The modern Gujarati translation/commentary of Artibai Mahasati gives the meaning *yathāśakti*, according to ability. Phyllis Granoff has given me the reading of Artibai Mahasati. The term *bahūhiṃ* ("many") at the beginning of part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* seems likewise to allow for the possibility of variation.

[162] Jacobi 1895, 429; Nathamal 1974a, 477.

the vows adopted by the laymen vary depending on the amount of wealth and

the number of possessions of the characters.[163] The possibility of variation in the

adoption of the lay vows is also seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5.[164] I have suggested

above that the issue of lessening the demand on the lay community may have

been a point of debate for the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon, as it was in

North Indian Buddhism from the second through the fifth centuries CE.[165]

Regardless of the meaning of the term *ahāpariggahiehiṃ*, it is clear that the

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[163] For instance, in the eighth lecture we read that the wealth of the layman Mahāsayaga is eightfold and that he has thirteen wives (Nathamal 1974c, 514; Hoemle 1885-90, 153). When he adopts the lay vows, his vows relate specifically to his wealth as well as the number of wives and he also adds a special vow not found elsewhere in the text (Nathamal 1974c, 514; Hoemle 1885-90, 153).

[164] In *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 we find reference to 735 possible variations with respect to the adoption of the *anuvratas*. Goyama asks Mahāvīra what a layman should do if he has not initially adopted the first of the *anuvratas*, but later decides to adopt the vow (Nathamal 1974b, 352; Bothara 2008, 106; Deleu 1970, 148-9). Mahāvīra replies that the layman should atone for any killing he did in the past, refrain from killing in the present, and renounce killing in the future. We further read that, with respect to actions in the past, he can atone in forty-nine ways, "namely in the domains of own doing, causation and consent, in thought, with word and body (*tivihaṃ tivihenaṃ*) or leaving out one or two of the two groups of three alternatives." (Deleu 1970, 148-9) In counting also the present and future actions, there are 147 possibilities for each of the five *anuvratas* (735 total possibilities). It is clear from this passage that, at least at the time the passage was compiled, Jain laymen were not necessarily expected to adopt all of the lay vows. The significance of the permutations deserves further analysis, but, in thinking about such permutations, the compiler of *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 seems to acknowledge that there will be substantial variation in lay conduct.

[165] Agostini discusses the Buddhist situation in his thesis. As I noted above, the Kāśmīri Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivādins insisted all *upāsakas* had to observe the five lay precepts, while other Sarvāstivādins centered in Bactria and Gandhāra argued partial morality is a valid option and that the declaration of taking refuge in the Buddha, *Dharma*, and *Saṅgha* (Buddhist community) was the only requirement of an *upāsaka* (Agostini 2002, 38-39). Agostini also discusses the positions on this issue seen in other Buddhist schools and texts. For a summary of his discussion, see his table number 4 (Agostini 2002, 63).

compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon eventually composed passages emphasizing

that there are various possible modes of conduct for the lay community.

Though the exact referents for some of the terms found in the sixth section

of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* remain unclear, it is clear that

according to this statement the *samaṇovāsagā* engage in various ascetic

practices. It is significant that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

ends with reference to such practices. Though the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga emphasizes that the *samaṇovāsagā* believe in Jain doctrine and

give alms to Jain ascetics, in the final section we can observe again the idea that

the *samaṇovāsagā* are respectable in so far as they behave like Jain

mendicants.

Variation in the Final Part of the Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga*

In *Viyāhapannatti* 7.9, instead of the phrase "*bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-*

veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ" that is found in

the usual sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, we find

reference to a specific fast in which "every sixth (meal) is (eaten, or) not laid

aside" (*chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭheṇaṃ aṇikhitteṇaṃ*). Bothara translates as follows:

Gautam ! During that period of time there was a city named Vesālī. In that city lived Varuṇa, the
grandson of householder Nāga [*nāganattue*].[166] He was affluent... and so on up to ... could not

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[166] The term *nāganattue* can be translated as "grandson of Nāga". Exactly what is meant by this
term is unclear to me. The story does not mention anyone by the name of Nāga.

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be subdued. He was a *samaṇovāsaga* and had complete knowledge of fundamentals including the living and the non-living. He lived enkindling his soul by serving [Jain mendicants] and observing a series of two day fasts.[167] (Bothara 2006, 444)

In this description of the householder Varuṇa, we find the usual shorthand

description of wealth (*aḍḍhā jāva aparibhūyā*) and then the beginning of the

usual shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*

(*samaṇovāsae, abhigayajīvājīve jāva*). However, this shorthand reference skips

only sections one through four. All of section five (on giving alms to Jain ascetics)

is included after the shorthand referent *'jāva'*. This situation parallels other

examples of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, to be discussed in

the next section of this chapter, in which the sixth section is dropped. In

Viyāhapannatti 7.9, however, section six is not dropped, but rather is altered to

include reference to the fast in which "every sixth is not laid aside"

(*chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ aṇikhittenaṃ*). Only part of the sixth section (i.e. the

phrase "*bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*

ahāpariggahiehiṃ") is dropped.

The version of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in

Viyāhapannatti 7.9 should perhaps be seen in relation to Malayagiri's

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[167] The Prakrit reads as follows: "teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ vesālī nāmaṃ nagarī hotthā - vaṇṇao | tattha ṇaṃ vesālīe nagarīe varuṇe nāmaṃ nāgaṇattue parivasai - aḍḍhā jāva aparibhūyā, samaṇovāsae, abhigayajīvājīve jāva ṇiggaṃthe phāsu-esaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ pīḍha–phalaga-sejjā-saṃthāreṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇe chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ aṇikhittenaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharati | | " (Nathamal 1974b, 305)

commentary where the presence of the phrase "*sīlavvaya-guna-veramana-paccakkhāna-posahovavāsa*" is identified as a variant reading.[168] Though the term *ahāpariggahiehim* does not occur, *Viyāhapannatti* 7.9 should perhaps also be seen in relation to the fact that the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon allow variation in lay practice. The "*chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ anikhittenaṃ*" fast is an example of an ascetic practice that can be adopted by a *samanovāsaga*. It seems that this fast was relatively popular given the fact that it is mentioned in a number of other places in the Śvetāmbara canon. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.16, Draupadī performs the *chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ anikhittenaṃ* fast while waiting to be rescued.[169] Elsewhere in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* we read about a frog who recalls its previous life as a Jain layman and then adopts the lay vows along with this fast and a further restriction.[170] In the third lecture of the *Pupphiāo* (the third

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[168] I have discussed above Malayagiri's comments on part six of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*. See Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325.

[169] Vaidya translates: "Then Draupadī stayed there, practicing continuously fasts of two days, and observing Āyambila austerities, and thus exerting herself." (Vaidya 1940, 42) The Prakrit reads: "§211 tae nam sā dovaī devī chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ anikkhittenaṃ āyambila-pariggahienaṃ tavokammenaṃ appānaṃ bhāvemānī viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 314) The phrase *āyambila-pariggahienaṃ* seems to further characterize the fast or to be another type of fast. This phrase occurs elsewhere in the context of lists of fasts associated with punishments for mendicant offences (Prasad 1972, 224).

[170] Bothara translates the relevant statements of the frog as follows: "Starting from today I shall purify my soul by doing the penance of a two day fast followed by a day of eating and so on throughout the rest of my life. Also, on the day of eating I shall take only the fallen crumbles of slime shed by human beings who take bath with the clean water of this pool on its shore." And it commenced the penance and the disciplined life immediately after the resolve." (Bothara 1997, 102-3) The Prakrit is as follows: "kappai me jāvajjīvam chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭhenaṃ anikkhittenaṃ tavokammenaṃ appānaṃ bhāvemānassa viharittae, chaṭṭhassa vi ya nam pāranagaṃsi kappai

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section of the *Nirayāvalī*), a *samaṇovāsaga*, owing to lack of contact with Jain

monks, decides to join a non-Jain ascetic group and then adopts various ascetic

vows including this fast.[171] In this example from the *Nirayāvalī* it is clear that the

fast is an ascetic practice. We can thus see that the sixth section of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, even in the altered form occurring in

Viyāhapannatti 7.9, clearly refers to lay ascetic practice.

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me naṃdāe pokkhariṇīe pariperaṃtesu phāsuenaṃ ṇhāṇodaenaṃ ummaddaṇāloliyāhi ya vittiṃ kappemāṇassa viharittae" (Nathamal 1974c, 245) The additional restriction relates to the manner in which the sixth meal is to be obtained: "chaṭṭhassa vi ya ṇaṃ pāraṇagaṃsi kappai me naṃdāe pokkhariṇīe pariperaṃtesu phāsuenaṃ ṇhāṇodaenaṃ ummaddaṇāloliyāhi ya vittiṃ kappemāṇassa viharittae." Schubring's translation differs from that of Bothara: "Reumütig will er ein *chaṭṭha*-Fasten machen, nur am rande in rituell reinem Wasser schwimmen und sich nur von solchen Fliegen ernähren, die ihn belästigen (*ummaddaṇāhiṃ loliyāhi ya* [es fehlt *macchiyāhiṃ*] *vittiṃ kappemāṇe*)." (Schubring 1978, 44)

[171] The *samaṇovāsaga* is initially identified as a Brahman. He joins a non-Jain ascetic group called the Disāpokkhiyā. This story makes it clear that a *samaṇovāsaga* is superior to a non-Jain ascetic, since a deity chastises the Brahman for abandoning the Jain lay vows. This story thus partly reflects the same tension between lay Jainism and non-Jain asceticism seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*. Gopani and Chokshi translate the reference to the fast as follows: "and having got myself initiated at their hands by the vow of sprinkling water on the ground to purify it, I shall take the following vow: It is proper for me to practise, uninterrupted upto the end of my life, two days' fasts (in which six meals are cut off), and to mortify myself by practising Disāchakkavāla penance holding my hands up on the heated ground with my face turned towards the sun." (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 75) The Prakrit reads: "tattha ṇaṃ je te disāpokkhiyā tāvasā tesiṃ aṃtie disāpokkhiyattāe pavvaittae pavvayite vi ya ṇaṃ samāṇe imaṃ evārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhiginhissāmi - kappati me jāvajjīvāe chaṭṭhaṃ chaṭṭhe ṇaṃ aṇikkhitteṇaṃ disācakkavāleṇaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ uddhaṃ bāhāto pagijjhiya 2 sūrābhimuhassa ātāvaṇabhūmīe ātāvemāṇassa viharattae tti" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 34)

The Dropping of the Sixth Section of the Standard Description of the

Samanovāsaga and the Emphasis on Giving Only to Jain Mendicants in the

Uvāsagadasāo

I have noted above, for example in the preceding discussion of

Viyāhapannatti 7.9 and in the section on Jain lay-women (_samanovāsiyā_), that

there is some variation in the shorthand references to the standard description of

the _samanovāsaga_. There are two basic types. Either the reference ends with the

usual sixth section and the phrase _appānaṃ bhāvemānā viharati_,[172] or the

reference ends with section five and thus with the phrase _paḍilābhemāne_

viharai.[173] In the latter case, sometimes the participle is preceded by a list of

items that are to be given.[174] We have seen that in _Viyāhapannatti_ 7.9 the

shorthand skips sections one through four, but includes section five as well as

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[172] Bollée translates "_appānaṃ bhāvemānī viharaī_" as "purifying herself." (Bollée 2002, 106)

[173] We see this, for example, in _Vivāgasuyaṃ_ 2.1. Chokshi and Modi translate: "Then that prince Subāhu, who had become a devotee of the Samana and who had acquired knowledge of the living and the non-living beings (_and so forth_, down to) passed his time in making _the monks_ accept _his_ gifts." (Chokshi and Modi 1935, 125) The Prakrit reads: "§29. tae naṃ se subāhukumāre samanovāsae jāe – abhigayajīvājīve jāva paḍilābhemāne viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 807)

[174] This is seen in the description of the _samanovāsiyā_ Poṭṭilā in _Nāyādhammakahāo_ 1.14. Bothara translates: "Now Pottila became a _Shramanopasika_ and started spending her days donating various things needed by the ascetics. (These things include – consumables like food, apparel, utensils, rugs, towels, medicines, and other such things and returnable durables like seat, bench, bed, abode, and bed made of hay, and other such things suitable and prescribed for an ascetic.)" (Bothara 1997, 127) The Prakrit is as follows: "§49. tae naṃ sā poṭṭilā samanovāsiyā jāyā jāva •samane niggaṃthe phāsuenaṃ esanijjenaṃ asana-pāna-khāima-sāimenaṃ vattho-paḍiggaha-kambala-pāyapuṃchanenaṃ osahabhesajjenaṃ pāḍihāriena ya pīḍha-phalaga-sejjā-saṃthārenaṃ° paḍilābhemānī viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 256)

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reference to a specific fast in section six. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 we find a

shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* ending

with section six and, a few paragraphs later, another ending with section five.[175]

Despite the somewhat irregularly patterned variation, I suggest that the

dropping of the sixth section is a later phenomenon. In particular, when a text or

a passage drops the sixth section I suggest that this shows the influence of the

Uvāsagadasāo since the sixth section of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga is dropped throughout this text. The *Uvāsagadasāo* seems to

have been compiled at a relatively late point in the process of the compilation of

the Śvetāmbara canon.[176] We can see that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo*

has included or reworked a number of the standard recurring passages found in

other texts.[177] The text, especially the first story of Āṇanda, has been influential in

the later Jain tradition.[178]

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[175] §47 of *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 has the usual standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* ending with *appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai* (Nathamal 1974c, 120). §64 ends with *paḍilābhemāṇe viharai* (Nathamal 1974c, 124). See Bothara 1996, pages 248 and 256.

[176] The title of the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains the latter term (*uvāsaga*) in the compound *samaṇovāsaga*. The title means "ten (examples of) *uvāsaga*". The presence of the term *uvāsaga* in the title may be enough to suggest that the *Uvāsagadasāo* does not belong to the earliest material relating to the Jain lay community. As I will note in my third chapter, the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains a list of typical offences for each of the twelve lay vows, which further suggests that the text was compiled at a relatively late point.

[177] The text begins with shorthand references to the descriptions of the same town (named Campā) and *ceiya* (named *puṇṇabhadda*) as found at the beginning of the *Uvavāiya* (Hoernle 1885-90, 1-2; Nathamal 1974c, 395). Each story within the text also begins with such shorthand references though the names of the towns and *ceiyas* change. We also find the full version of the standard description of riches (*aḍḍhe... aparibhūe*) as found, or referred to in shorthand, in a

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The omission of section six of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga in the *Uvāsagadasāo* seems to be related to the insertion in the

story about Ānanda of a formal promise made by the *samanovāsaga* to donate

alms only to Jain ascetics and not to other ascetics. In this story, as with

characters in many other stories, Ānanda goes to worship Mahāvīra and to hear

a sermon. After the sermon he takes lay vows as many characters in other texts

do.[179] Normally in the Śvetāmbara canon, after a character takes lay vows we

find the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*.[180] Instead of the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga*, at this point in the *Uvāsagadasāo* there are

two unique and extensive elaborations on the vows he adopts.[181] At the

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number of other texts (Nathamal 1974c, 397). The text contains an additional apparently unique description wealth specifying particular amounts, as well as a unique description of social influence (Nathamal 1974c, 397; Hoernle 1885-90, 7). Though these descriptions seem unique, there appears to be some overlap with other passages, for example with *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.2 (Nathamal 1974c, 75, §7 and 10).

[178] The first of the *uvāsaga* in the text is Ānanda who is taken in the later tradition as the model Jain layman. Hoernle points out that the householder Ānanda "is adduced by Hemachandra, in his *Yoga Shāstra* (III, 151) as a typical example of a faithful *shrāvaka* or lay adherent of Jainism." (Hoernle 1885-90, 7, note 10)

[179] Hoernle 1885-90, 10; Nathamal 1974c, 399.

[180] For example, in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 we find the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* after King Selaga has taken lay vows in the presence Thāvaccāputta. Muni Nathamal's edition includes the entire standard description (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20). Bothara translates a shorthand reference to the standard description (Bothara 1996, 249).

[181] These two sections of the text seem to act partly as a commentary explaining what the lay vows are. In the first section, Ānanda makes specific promises about what he has decided to renounce from this point onward (Hoernle 1885-90, 11-21; Nathamal 1974c, 400-403). The promises relating to the fifth *anuvrata* (*icchā-parimāne*) and two of the *gunavratas* (*uvabhoga-paribhogavihiṃ and anatthādaṃdaṃ*) in particular seem to serve as something of a commentary

conclusion of this discussion of the vows we find another passage that is unique

to the *Uvāsagadasāo*. This is the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain

ascetics. Hoernle translates:

Then the householder Ānanda, in he presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, took on himself the twelvefold law of a householder, consisting of the five lesser vows and the seven disciplinary vows; and having done so, he praised and worshipped the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, and then spake *to him* thus: "Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me, from this day forward, to praise and worship any man of a heterodox community, or any of the devas of a heterodox community, or without being first addressed by them, to address them or converse with them; or to give them or supply them with food or drink or delicacies or relishes; except it be by the command of the king, or by the command of the priesthood, or by the command of any powerful man, or by the command of a deva, or by the order of one's elders, or by the exigencies of living. *On the other hand* it behoves me, to devote myself to providing the Samaṇas of Niggantha faith with pure acceptable food, drink, delicacies and relishes, with clothes, blankets, alms-bowls, and brooms, with stool, plank and bedding, and with spices and medicines." To the above effect he made a formal promise.[182] (Hoernle 1885-90, 34-37)

The beginning of this section, which states that Ānanda adopted the lay

vows (*tae ṇaṃ āṇaṃde gāhāvaī samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtie*

paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiaṃ-duvālasavihaṃ sāvayadhammaṃ

paḍivajjati), is a line that normally occurs before the standard description of the

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on these vows. Following Ānanda's promises, Mahāvīra lists "typical offences" (*atiyārā peyālā*) for each of the lay vows (Hoernle 1885-90, 21-34; Nathamal 1974c, 403-406). I will discuss these passages in my third chapter.

[182] The Prakrit reads as follows: "§42. tae ṇaṃ āṇaṃde gāhāvaī samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtie paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiaṃ-duvālasavihaṃ sāvayadhammaṃ paḍivajjati, paḍivajjittā samaṇaṃ bhagavaṃ mahāvīraṃ vaṃdai ṇamaṃsai, vaṃdittā ṇamaṃsittā evaṃ vayāsī – no khalu me bhaṃte ! kappai ajjappabhiiṃ aṇṇautthie vā aṇṇautthiya-devayāṇi vā aṇṇautthiya-pariggahiyāṇi vā arahaṃtaceiyāiṃ vaṃdittae vā namaṃsittae vā, puvviṃ aṇālatteṇaṃ ālavittae vā saṃlavittae vā, tesiṃ asaṇaṃ vā pāṇaṃ vā khāima vā sāimaṃ vā dāuṃ vā aṇuppadāuṃ vā, nannattha rāyābhiogeṇaṃ gaṇābhiogeṇaṃ balābhiogeṇaṃ devayābhiogeṇaṃ guruniggaheṇaṃ vittikaṃtāreṇaṃ | kappai me samaṇe niggaṃthe phāsu-esaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ pīḍha-phalaga-sejjā-saṃthāraeṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ ya paḍilābhemāṇassa viharittae – tti kaṭṭu imaṃ eyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigiṇhai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 406-7)

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samaṇovāsaga.[183] Yet, after the equivalent of this line in the *Uvāsagadasāo*,

instead of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, we have this formal

promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics. What is particularly significant

about this formal promise is that it concludes with a list of items to be donated

exactly like the fifth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga.*[184]

It appears that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* has reworked material from

other texts, including the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, in order to

incorporate the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics. The fact that

the formal promise is a statement made by Āṇanda in the first person may

suggest that the mendicant community encouraged some lay Jains to recite this

promise.

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* occurs in the

Uvāsagadasāo shortly after this formal promise. Āṇanda returns home and tells

his wife to take the vows as he has done. Goyama then asks Mahāvīra if Āṇanda

will ever take mendicant vows and Mahāvīra says that he will not.[185] Then we

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[183] Compare §46 in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5: "tae ṇaṃ se selae rāyā thāvaccāputtassa
aṇagārassa aṃtie cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ uvasaṃpajjai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 120)

[184] In both passages we read as follows: "kappai me samaṇe niggaṃthe phāsu-esaṇijjeṇaṃ
asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ pīḍha-phalaga-
sejjā-saṃthāraeṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ ya paḍilābhemāṇassa viharittae."

[185] Hoernle 1885-90, 38-41.

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have the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* for Ānanda[186] and his wife.

Yet the standard description here ends with the fifth section, in the manner of the

formal promise.[187] Neither the extensive discussion of the vows nor the formal

promise occurs in the remaining sections of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. Yet, shorthand

references to the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* recur throughout the

text and always end with the fifth section.[188]

It may be that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* intentionally dropped the

sixth section of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* so that the

standard description of the *samanovāsaga* would be associated with the formal

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[186] Muni Nathamal provides the full standard description, but notes that some manuscripts have only a shorthand reference: "sam° pā° - abhigayajīvājīve jāva padilābhemāne | (Nathamal 1974c, 410, note 4) The full description is as usual, though ending with section five: "§55. tae nam se ānamde samanovāsae jāe – abhigayajīvājīve uvaladdhapunnapāve āsava-samvara-nijjara-kiriyā-ahigarana-bamdhamokkhakusale asahejje, devāsura-nāga-suvanna-jakkha-rakkhasa-kinnara-kimpurisa-garula-gamdhavva-mahoragāiehim devaganehim niggamthāo pāvayanāo anaikkamanijje, niggamthe pāvayane nissamkie nikkamkhie nivvitigicche laddhatthe gahiyatthe pucchiyatthe abhigayatthe vinicchiyatthe atthimimjapemānurāgaratte ayamāuso ! niggamthe pāvayane atthe ayam paramatthe sese anatthe, ūsiyaphalihe avamguyaduvāre ciyattamteura-paragharadāra-ppavese cāuddasatthamudditthapunnamāsinīsu padipunnam posaham sammam anupālemāne samane niggamthe phāsu-esanijjenam asana-pāna-khāima-sāimenam vattha-padiggaha-kambala-pāyapumchanenam osaha-bhesajjenam pādihāriena ya pīdha–phalaga-sejjā-samthārenam padilābhemāne viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 410) See Hoernle 1885-90, 41.

[187] We can see that Hoernle is confused by this repetition of the fifth section since he refers to the formal promise (his §58) when giving a shorthand reference to the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*: "Then that Ānanda, having *now* become a servant of the Samana, devoted himself to mastering *the discrimination of* the living and liveless and (*as before*, para. 58, down to) supplying the Nigganthas." (Hoernle 1885-90, 41)

[188] For example, in the case of Kāmadeva: "§16. tae nam se kāmadeve samanovāsae jāe – abhigayajīvājīve jāva samane niggamthe phāsu-esanijjenam asana-pāna-khāima-sāimenam vattha-padiggaha-kambala-pāyapumchanenam osaha-bhesajjenam pādihāriena ya pīdha–phalaga-sejjā-samthārenam padilābhemāne viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 423)

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promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics. The compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* may have felt free to drop the sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* given that the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains extensive discussion of the *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*, which, as explained above, effectively replaced the list of ascetic practices usually occurring in section six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (i.e. *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*).[189] Alternatively, the sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* might have been dropped accidentally by later copyists of the manuscripts who may have been confused by the fact that the last

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[189] One might think that the omission of the sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in the *Uvāsagadasāo* is to be explained as an attempt to omit the terms "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*," given that the relationship between these terms and the *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas* was uncertain. Yet, this list of terms ("*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*") is found at other points in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. The list is seen directly following the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in the story of Ānanda. In other texts, this statement usually occurs before a *samaṇovāsaga* decides to leave his family and to focus on ascetic practice without taking full mendicant vows. Hoernle translates as follows: "Then fourteen years passed by during which that Ānanda, the servant of the Samaṇa, sanctified himself by unwearying exercises in the moral restraints *imposed* by the religious vows as well as the *general* renunciations and *special* posaha abstinances." (Hoernle 1885-90, 41) The Prakrit reads: "§57. tae ṇaṃ tassa āṇaṃdassa samaṇovāsagassa uccāvaehiṃ sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇassa coddasa saṃvaccharāiṃ vīikkaṃtāiṃ |" (Nathamal 1974c, 411) The term "*uccāvaehiṃ*" here replaces "*bahūhiṃ*." Hoernle offers the following note: "Text *uchchāvaya*, Skr. *uchchāvacha*, lit. 'high and low,' i.e. of every kind." (Hoernle 1885-90, 41, note 113) We also find the same phrase (*bahūhiṃ sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvettā*) near the end of the story in the summary of Ānanda's religious life as a layman as also in other texts. The Prakrit reads as follows: "§84. tae ṇaṃ se āṇaṃde samaṇovāsage bahūhiṃ sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvettā, vīsaṃ vāsāiṃ samaṇovāsagapariyāgaṃ pāuṇittā, ekkārasa ya uvāsagapaḍimāo sammaṃ kāeṇaṃ phāsittā, māsiyāe saṃlehaṇāe attāṇaṃ bhūsittā, saṭṭhiṃ bhattāiṃ aṇasaṇāe chedettā, āloiya-paḍikkaṃte, samāhipatte, kālamāse kālaṃ kiccā, sohamme kappe sohammavaḍeṃsagassa mahāvimāṇassa uttarapuratthime ṇaṃ aruṇābhe vimāṇe devattāe uvavaṇṇe ||" (Nathamal 1974c, 420)

part of the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics is the same as the

fifth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

Though I have described the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain

ascetics as being unique to the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the logic of this promise recalls

that of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 where the mixed section is portrayed as absolutely

negative when referring to non-Jain ascetics. We can also note that in the

second section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, discussed

above, the *samaṇovāsagā* state that only the Jain teachings are true.[190] In the

usual fifth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, though there

is no prohibition against giving alms to non-Jain ascetics, we read that the

samaṇovāsagā specifically give alms to Jain ascetics.[191] The explicit prohibition

against donating alms to other mendicant groups does not seem incongruous

with these aspects of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

Furthermore, the fact that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* includes the formal

prohibition against donating alms to non-Jain ascetics should perhaps be seen in

relation to the concerns of the commentators with respect to the obscure third

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[190] Bollée translates this phrase as follows: "This Jain doctrine, Sir, is the real thing; it is the highest truth, the others are futile." (Bollée 2002, 64) The Prakrit reads: "ayamāuso! niggaṃthe pāvayaṇe aṭṭha ayaṃ paramaṭṭhe sese aṇaṭṭhe." (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

[191] The usual fifth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* reads: "samaṇe niggaṃthe phāsuesaṇijjeṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ vattha-paḍiggaha-kaṃbala-pāyapuṃchaṇeṇaṃ osaha-bhesajjeṇaṃ pīḍha–phalaga-sejjāsaṃthāreṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇā" (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. The commentators were concerned about interactions between the *samaṇovāsagā* and non-Jain mendicants should the *samaṇovāsagā* keep their doors open. The explicit promise to donate alms only to Jain mendicants counteracts such a danger.

Buddhist Criticism of the Formal Promise to Donate Alms Only to Jain Ascetics

In the Buddhist Pali canon we find a recurring passage that criticizes the Jains for the sentiments found in the formal promise in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. The passage occurs in the *Mahāvagga* (VI, 31) and the *Majjhima Nikāya* (56).[192] In each case it is found after the conversion of a Jain householder. In the *Mahāvagga* the character is introduced as a "general-in-chief" (*senāpati*) and a lay Jain (*niganthasāvaka*) named Sīha.[193] In the *Majjhima Nikāya* the character who is converted is named Upāli and is identified throughout the text only as a householder (*gahapati*). Nonetheless, an association with the Jains can be assumed because Upāli is staying and conversing with Mahāvīra (Nigantho

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[192] Jacobi discusses these stories in the introduction to his translations of the *Uttarādhyayana* and the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* (p.xvi-xvii), though he does not make special note of this criticism or mention its relation with the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

[193] The Pali reads: "Sīho senāpati niganthasāvako" (Oldenberg ed. 1879, 233). Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg translate: "1. At that time many distinguished Li*kkh*avis were sitting together assembled in the town-hall and spoke in many ways in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the Saṃgha. At that time Sīha, the general-in-chief (of the Li*kkh*avis), a disciple of the Niga*ntha* sect, was sitting in that assembly." (Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg 1882, 108)

Nātaputto) and another Jain monk.[194] Mahāvīra is confident that, even if Upāli

speaks to the Buddha, he will not go to discipleship (sāvakattaṃ upagaccheyya)

under the Buddha and Mahāvīra even suggests that the Buddha may well go to

discipleship under Upāli.[195] However, having spoken at length with the Buddha,

both Sīha and Upāli repeatedly state their desire to become disciples (upāsaka)

of the Buddha.[196]

The passages are almost identical in the Mahāvagga and the Majjhima

Nikāya.[197] When Sīha and Upāli first state their desire to become his disciples the

Buddha tells them to take a second to be sure that this is what they want to do.

The householders reply that this statement has further increased their faith in the

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[194] We are introduced to Upāli in the following way: "Now at that time Nātaputta the Jain was sitting down together with a very large company of householders headed by Upāli of Bālaka village." (Horner 1957, 38) The Pali reads: "Tena kho pana samayena Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto mahatiyā mahatiyā gihiparisāya saddhiṃ nisinno hoti bālakiniyā Upāli-pamukhāya." (Trenckner ed. 1888, 373)

[195] Horner translates: "It is impossible, tapassin, it cannot come to pass that the householder Upāli should come to discipleship under the recluse Gotama. But this situation exists - that the recluse Gotama might come to discipleship under the householder Upāli." (Horner 1957, 40) The Pali reads: "Aṭṭhānaṃ kho etaṃ Tapassi anavakāso yaṃ Upāli gahapati samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakattaṃ upagaccheyya, ṭhānañ ca kho etaṃ vijjati yaṃ samaṇo Gotamo Upālissa gahapatissa sāvakattaṃ upagaccheyya." (Trenckner ed. 1888, 375)

[196] Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg translate Mahāvagga VI, 31, 10 as follows: "10. When he had spoken thus, Sīha, the general, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! (&c., as in chap. 26. 9, down to:) may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.' (Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg 1882, 114) The Pali reads: "evaṃ vutte Sīho senāpati bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: abhikkantaṃ bhante - la - upāsakaṃ maṃ bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ - ti." (Oldenberg ed. 1879, 236)

[197] I will discuss Mahāvagga VI, 31. For Majjhima Nikāya 56 see Trenckner ed. 1888, 378-9, and Horner 1957, 44-45. Horner says to see the 'Dialogues of the Buddha' i. 177, n.3 for further references (Horner 1957, 44, note 4).

Buddha since other teachers would parade around the city with banners to announce their conversions and so they state their desire to become disciples of the Buddha a second time.[198] The Buddha then asks the householders to continue to donate alms to Jain ascetics. This is where we find the criticism of the sentiment found in the formal promise in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg translate as follows:

11. 'For a long time, Sīha, drink has been offered to the Nigan*th*as in your house.[199] You should therefore deem it right (also in the future) to give them food when they come (to you on their alms-pilgrimage).'
'By this, Lord, my joy and faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: "For a long time, &c." I have been told, Lord: "The Sama*n*a Gotama says: "To me alone gifts should be given; to nobody else gifts should be given. To my pupils alone gifts should be given; to no one else's pupils gifts should be given. Only what is given to me has great reward; what is given to others has not great reward. Only what is given to my pupils has great reward;

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[198] Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg translate *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 10 as follows: "'Consider first, Sīha, what you are doing. It is becoming that well-known persons like you should do nothing without due consideration.' 'By this, Lord, my joy and faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: "Consider first, &c." Had the other Titthiya teachers, Lord, got me as their disciple, they would carry around their banners through the whole of Vesāli (and cry): "Sīha, the general, has become our disciple!" But the Blessed One says to me: "Consider first, &c." For the second time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the Bhikkhu-sa*m*gha: may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him."" (Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg 1882, 114-15) The Pali reads: "anuvijjakāraṃ kho Sīha karohi, anuvijjakāro tumhādisānaṃ ñātamanussānaṃ sādhu hotīti. iminā p' ahaṃ bhante bhagavato bhiyyosomattāya attamano abhiraddho yaṃ maṃ bhagavā evaṃ āha: anuvijjakāraṃ kho Sīha karohi, anuvijjakāro tumhādisānaṃ ñātamanussānaṃ sādhu hotīti. mamaṃ hi bhante aññatitthiyā sāvakaṃ labhitvā kevalakappaṃ Vesāliṃ patākaṃ parihareyyuṃ Sīho amhākaṃ senāpati sāvakattaṃ upagato 'ti. atha ca pana maṃ bhagavā evaṃ āha: anuvijjakāraṃ kho Sīha karohi, anuvijjakāro tumhādisānaṃ ñātamanussānaṃ sādhu hotīti. es' ahaṃ bhante dutiyam pi bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghañ ca, upāsakaṃ maṃ bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gatan ti. [10]" (Oldenberg ed. 1879, 236)

[199] Note 1: "Literally, 'your house has been an opāna to the Nigan*th*as.' Opāna may either be avapāna or, as Buddhaghosa seems to understand it, udapāna (compare oka = udaka)." (Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg 1882, 115, note 1) Horner translates: "For a long time, householder, your family has been a well-spring to the Jains." (Horner 1957, 44)

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what is given to the pupils of others has not great reward.'" But the Blessed One exhorts me to give also to the Niganthas. Well, Lord, we will see what will be seasonable.[200] For a third time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, &c.'[201] (Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg 1882, 115-16)

This passage suggests that the Buddhists were aware that the Jain mendicants might tell the *samaṇovāsagā* to give alms only to Jains. This position is presented in a negative light in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Majjhima Nikāya*. It is not possible to know the extent to which this passage represents actual Buddhist attitudes towards the donation of alms. There are other passages in Buddhist texts presenting a different view.[202] The formal promise in the *Uvāsagadasāo* can be understood as a strategic move to create exclusive bonds between the Jain mendicant community and a community of Jain householders, while the Buddhist position can be understood as a move attempting to create a desire to donate

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[200] Horner translates: "Indeed, revered sir, we shall know the right time for that." (Horner 1957, 45)

[201] The Pali for *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 11 is as follows: "dīgharattaṃ kho te Sīha niganthānaṃ opānabhūtaṃ kulaṃ yena nesaṃ upagatānaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ dātabbaṃ maññeyyāsīti. iminā p' āhaṃ bhante bhagavato bhiyyosomattāya attamano abhiraddho yaṃ maṃ bhagavā evam ahā: dīgharattaṃ kho te Sīha niganthānaṃ opānabhūtaṃ kulaṃ yena nesaṃ upagatānaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ dātabbaṃ maññeyyāsīti. sutaṃ metaṃ bhante: samaṇo Gotamo evam āha: mayham eva dānaṃ dātabbaṃ, na aññesaṃ dānaṃ dātabbaṃ, mayham eva sāvakānaṃ dānaṃ dātabbaṃ, na aññesaṃ sāvakānaṃ dānaṃ dātabbaṃ, mayham eva dinnnaṃ mahapphalaṃ, na aññesaṃ dinnnaṃ mahapphalaṃ, mayham eva sāvakānaṃ dinnnaṃ mahapphalaṃ na aññesaṃ sāvakānaṃ dinnnaṃ mahapphalan ti. atha ca pana maṃ bhagavā niganthesu pi dāne samādapeti. api ca bhante mayam ettha kālaṃ jānissāma. es' āhaṃ bhante tatiyam pi bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ... saraṇaṃ gatan ti. [11]" (Oldenberg ed. 1879, 236-7)

[202] For example, Muni Nagarajaji notes a passage in *Dhammapada* 8.5 where the Buddha states that even a single small offering to Buddhist monks is worth more than thousands of years of offering to Jain ascetics (Nagarajaji 1986, 618). Regarding Mahāyāna Buddhism, Harrison writes: "The evidence is slim, but what there is suggests that the Bodhisattvayāna demanded that its adherents devote themselves exclusively to Buddhism, and regarded other faiths as beyond the pale." (Harrison 1987, 85)

alms to Buddhist mendicants among members of the general populace and

perhaps particularly among those who also supported Jain mendicants.

Conclusion

One strategy employed by the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon in their

attempt to create and maintain bonds with a community of non-ascetics was to

standardize discussion of these non-ascetics. Thus, the standard description of

the *samaṇovāsaga* is found at almost every mention of the lay community in the

Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon. The compiler of *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.2 inserted the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* directly following the

initial legitimating of lay life (i.e. the "mixed" version of the recurring introductory

passage in the third treatise, discussed in my previous chapter). The compiler of

the *Uvavāiya* copied both the initial legitimating of lay life and the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The full version of the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is also found (without the passage

that precedes it in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*) in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7,

the *Viyāhapannatti*, the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and the *Uvāsagadasāo*. In addition, there

are numerous shorthand references to the passage. I have not been able to

establish which particular example is the earliest, but I have argued that the

version in which the sixth section is dropped (as seen in the *Uvavāiya*, the

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Uvāsagadasāo, and elsewhere) appears to be a later development. In examining

the passage we can observe various stages in the attempts of the early Jain

mendicants to solidify relationships with a community of non-ascetics.

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* functions like and often

occurs along with other standard descriptive passages (*vaṇṇao*). However, unlike

some other standard descriptive passages, the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga was compiled with a particular agenda, namely as part of the

mendicant effort to solidify relationships with a community of non-ascetics. In

reading the passage we can see what the mendicant compilers envisioned as the

ideal lay Jain at a relatively early point.[203] The various sections of the passage

seem originally to have been separate.[204] The compilation of the passage may

represent the work of a single monk, although it is impossible to be certain about

this. That the monastic community in general approved of this work is seen in the

fact that the passage is found so often in the Śvetāmbara canon.

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[203] As I have noted above, the listing of the *tattvas* in part one, the description of the *posaha* observances in part four, and the description of ascetic practice in part six all suggest to me that the passage is relatively early in comparison with other early statements about householders.

[204] This is seen in the fact that a part of the section on belief occurs in the *Uttarādhyayana*, the fact that the three phrases about open-doors seem to be taken out of context, and the fact that the term *posaha* is mentioned twice. I have also noted that the description of the *posaha* ritual in what I call "part four" of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is identical to a description of the *posaha* ritual in a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, though I have not established a relationship between *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and the original version of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

The standard description of the *samanovāsaga* offers a relatively well-developed statement about the Jain lay community, particularly when compared to the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. The standard description of the *samanovāsaga* is first and foremost a statement about Jain doctrine and strength of faith. The compilers seem to recognize the usefulness of doctrine and the notion of faith in the move to establish a community of householders who identify exclusively with the Jain community. The doctrine presented is a version of the *tattvas* and the *tattvas* as a group serve to justify monastic asceticism. The monastic compilers thus present the lay Jain community as people who accept that Jain forms of ascetic practice are necessary for the attainment of soteriological goals.

The statement about Jain doctrine and strength of faith in the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* thus goes hand in hand with the logic of the legitimating of lay life in the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, namely that lay life is legitimate in so far as it corresponds to Jain mendicant life. Furthermore, the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* includes reference to lay ascetic practices (namely the posaha fast as well as the other terms occurring in the sixth section). These practices seem to provide some details about how lay life can correspond to Jain mendicant life. I have suggested that the reference to the "*posaha* fast" in part six of the passage

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reflects the development of specific practices that allowed lay Jains to temporarily mimic the behavior of Jain mendicants. I have also suggested that the phrase *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* occurring in part six can be thought of as an early expression of the lay vows from a period before the lists of *aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas* had become standardized. In addition, I have noted that, even as they presented an ideal, the monastic compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon allowed room for variation in the type of practice that a *samaṇovāsaga* undertakes.

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* also includes a list of types of alms that should be given to Jain mendicants. In explaining the obscure phrase "*ūsiyaphalihā avaṃguyaduvārā 'ciyattaṃteura-paragharadārappavesā*," the commentators express concern that the *samaṇovāsagā* may also come in contact with non-Jain ascetics. The compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* goes so far as to include an explicit statement that Jain laymen should provide alms only to Jain ascetics and not to other types of ascetics. It is the inclusion of this statement, I have argued, that led to the dropping of the final phrase in some versions of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. The logic of this promise recalls the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. It can be understood as a strategic move in the attempt on the part of the monastic compilers to solidify relations with a community of non-ascetics. The Buddhist

criticism of this strategy is a counter-move in their attempt to secure material

support from among the Jain laity as well as members of the general populace.

I have suggested that when a text or a passage drops the sixth section of

the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*, this shows the influence of the

Uvāsagadasāo since the sixth section of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga is dropped throughout this text. In the previous chapter I argued

that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied the mixed version of the recurring

introductory passage in the third treatise as well as the standard description of

the *samanovāsaga* from *Sūyagadamga* 2.2. However, the situation is

complicated by the fact that the sixth section of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga occurs in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2, but does not occur in the *Uvavāiya*.

I would explain this situation as resulting from the influence of the *Uvāsagadasāo*

on the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* or on the mendicants who copied the

manuscripts of the *Uvavāiya*. There appears to be a relatively close relationship

between the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Uvavāiya*.[205] I believe that the standard

description of the *samanovāsaga* may have been incorporated into

Sūyagadamga 2.2 before the *Uvāsagadasāo* was produced or became influential

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[205] The two texts are related by the fact that both are important with respect to the legitimating of lay life. It can also be noted that the *Uvāsagadasāo* refers in shorthand to the descriptions at the beginning of the *Uvavāiya*. Furthermore, in the *Uvāsagadasāo* Mahāvīra lists "typical offences" (*atiyārā peyālā*) for each of the lay vows (Hoemle 1885-90, 22-34; Nathamal 1974c, 403-406) and the listing basically corresponds to the list of the lay vows in Mahāvīra's sermon at the end of the first part of the *Uvavāiya*.

and that the sixth section of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 was not altered at a later point because this text was not

closely associated with the *Uvāsagadasāo*. These comments and some of the

other ideas presented in this chapter are subject to correction on the basis of a

detailed study of the manuscripts and commentaries. Nonetheless, it is through

attention to such details that we can make progress in our attempt to better

understand the process of the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon.

Chapter Three: Development of the List of Twelve Lay Vows

Introduction

Every scholarly discussion of lay Jainism mentions the list of twelve lay

vows comprised of the five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*

(which I will describe below).[1] Scholars are generally aware that there is

significant variation in the numerous references to the lay vows in the

Śvetāmbara canon, yet there has been no thorough study of these references. In

this chapter I attempt to present a framework for understanding some of the

references to the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon in relation to one another.

There are two basic types of references to the lay vows. In one type there is a list

of the vows. In the other type there is no list, but there is mention that a character

adopts a specific number of lay vows and sometimes mention of the categories

of vows. In examining the various references to the lay vows I suggest that it is

possible to observe stages in the development of what became the standard

presentation.

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[1] Williams (1963) has discussed each of the lay vows as well as other subjects covered in the medieval literature relating to lay Jainism (i.e. the śrāvakācāra literature). Hoernle (1885-90) discusses each of the vows in the notes to his translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, especially in the list of the typical offences for each vow. Jaini (1979, 170-182) and Dundas (2002, 189-192) both provide overviews of the lay vows. When he mentions the lay vows Jacobi refers to the work of Bhandarkar (Jacobi 1895, 410).

There is a recurring ("standard") description of characters adopting the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara texts and I will discuss this passage briefly below. In examining the various examples of the standard adoption of the lay vows there appears to be variation in the number of vows mentioned. In some cases we find reference to only four lay vows, while in the same context in other cases we find reference to twelve. To my knowledge there is no example of a list of four lay vows corresponding to such references to four lay vows. In this chapter I argue that the references to four lay vows occurring in the standard adoption of the lay vows in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and the *Rāyapasenaīya* are earlier than the reference to twelve lay vows occurring in the same context in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. I also note that there is evidence in the editions and translations available to me suggesting that there was a move to replace some of the references to the fourfold dhamma in the early texts with mention of the twelvefold version. This evidence lines up with my general argument in this chapter that the list of twelve vows developed at a relatively late point in the process of the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon and that once it developed, the list of twelve vows became the standard way of portraying lay Jain life. I will also note below that the references to the four lay vows seem related to the traditional Jain idea that there was variation in the number of mendicant vows taught by the various Jinas, though it is not clear to me whether the references to the four lay vows reflect or

have influenced the development of the tradition about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas.

My analysis of the references to four lay vows lines up with the fact that there are other passages in the Śvetāmbara canon relating to the lay vows that appear to predate the development of the list of twelve vows. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13, and the *Uvāsagadasāo* (in the list of Āṇaṃda's promises) we find passages referring to or listing the five *aṇuvratas* alone (without mention of the three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*) or else listing the five *aṇuvratas* along with only a few of the other lay vows. It appears that the compilers judged certain practices to be particularly important for the lay community and these practices were sometimes listed along with the five *aṇuvratas*. Eventually the compilers produced the familiar list of twelve vows.

There are listings of the twelve lay vows in four of the texts that I have included in my study: the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2, the *Uvāsagadasāo* (in the list of typical offences), and the *Uvavāiya*. I will discuss each of these listings below. In these lists we find variation in the naming of the individual vows, in the order in which the vows are listed, in the manner in which the vows are categorized, and in the naming of the categories. Of the four lists, the only one to employ the categorization of "five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*" is that in the *Uvavāiya*. In this chapter I argue that this

presentation of the lay vows represents a late development and that the initial list

of twelve vows consisted of the five *aṇuvratas* along with seven other vows that

were listed as a single group. The standard adoption of the lay vows often

includes reference to "five *aṇuvratas* and seven *śikṣāvratas*". Furthermore, in the

Tattvārtha Sūtra, Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2, and the *Uvāsagadasāo* we do not find the

terms "*guṇavrata*" or "*śikṣāvrata*" and no explicit distinction is made among the

twelve vows apart from separating the first five from the other seven.

The five lay *aṇuvratas* derive from the five mendicant *mahāvratas* and are

listed together with the mendicant vows in the *Uvavāiya* and in *Viyāhapannatti*

7.2.2. In *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 the mendicant vows are listed as follows:

1. to desist from inflicting harm on any form of life (*savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*)
2. to desist from falsehood (*savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ*)
3. to desist from theft (*savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ*)
4. to desist from sex (*savvāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ*)
5. to desist from the accumulation of property (*savvāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ*)

This expression of the monastic vows is similar to that seen in the *Uvavāiya*[2] and

to that seen in the "*dhamma*" version of the recurring introductory passage in the

third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (discussed in my first chapter).[3] The *Tattvārtha*

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[2] In addition to these vows in the *Uvavāiya* we find reference to not eating at night. The Prakrit reads as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, musāvāya-adatt'ādāṇa-mehuṇa-pariggaha-rāībhoyaṇāo veramaṇaṃ." (Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4)

[3] In the section on "*dhamma*" in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 the monastic vows are listed as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo musāvāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo mehuṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo pariggahāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe." (Nathamal 1974a, 393-4; Jacobi 1895, 377)

Sūtra employs different terminology, but the meanings of the vows seem to be the same.[4] Though one can find explanations of these vows, the general meanings are relatively clear since the mendicants completely desist from the various activities.

The lists of the five lay *aṇuvratas* are constructed on the model of the *mahāvratas*. In the list of the *aṇuvratas* in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 the term "*savvāo*" ("all") in each of the five *mahāvratas* is replaced by the term "*thūlāo*" ("big/extensive"). This becomes the standard presentation of the *aṇuvratas*. In the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 in the place where we read that the mendicants abstain from each activity for their entire lives (*savvāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe*)[5] we read for each vow that the lay people partly abstain and partly do not (*egaccāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appaḍivirayā*).[6] The five lay *aṇuvratas* thus consist of partial observance of the five mendicant *mahāvratas*. It is important to note, though, that the term *aṇuvrata* is not always seen when the

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[4] In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* the monastic vows are listed as follows: "hiṃsā-nṛta-steyā-brahma-parigrahebhyo viratir vratam." Tatia translates: "Abstinence from violence, falsehood, stealing, carnality and possessiveness - these are the vows." (Tatia 1994, 169).

[5] Nathamal 1974a, 393-4; Jacobi 1895, 377.

[6] Nathamal 1974a, 397-8; Jacobi 1895, 381-2.

five vows known as the *anuvratas* are listed. It appears that the list predates the

naming of these five vows as "*anuvratas*".

Considering the manner in which the *anuvratas* were produced (as a

reworking of the *mahāvratas*), I think it unlikely that the compilers had specific

practices in mind when producing the list. The later compilers, however, felt the

need to explain what it means to partially desist from some of the activities. Thus,

for example, we find a shift in the terminology used for the fourth and fifth

anuvratas. I suggest that in earlier passages (like *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and

Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2) the fourth *anuvrata* is "*thūlāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ*" ("to

desist from excessive sexual intercourse") and the fifth *anuvrata* is "*thūlāo

pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ*" ("to desist from excessive appropriation of property"),

while in later passages (like the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Uvavāiya*) the fourth

anuvrata is "*sa-dāra-saṃtose*" ("to be contented with one's own wife") and the

fifth *anuvrata* is "*icchā-parimāṇe*" ("to limit one's desires"). There is extensive

discussion of the fifth *anuvrata* in the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the

Uvāsagadasāo. The first *anuvrata*, "avoidance of excessive harm to living

beings" (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*), becomes directly associated with a

practice described in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 involving a vow to renounce the harming

of mobile (*tasa*) beings and thus to harm only immobile (*thāvara*) beings. I will

discuss all of this below.

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There is some variation in the listing of the remaining seven lay vows. It

seems that the standard practice for medieval Śvetāmbara authors was to divide

these seven vows into three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas* as seen in the

Uvavāiya.[7] However, the listing of the vows in the *Uvavāiya* presents a slightly

different order in the three *guṇavratas* as compared to *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and

the *Uvāsagadasāo* and it is the sequence in these texts that Williams identifies

as the relatively standard order in the medieval texts.[8] The list of the three

guṇavratas in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* is as follows:

6. vow relating to the directions (*disivvayaṃ*)
7. restricting one's objects of enjoyment (*uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*)
8. to desist from harm committed without a purpose (*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*)

The order in the *Uvavāiya* is: 6. *aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*, 7. *disivvayaṃ*, 8.

uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ. The reason for the variation is not clear.

The standard Śvetāmbara listing of the four *śikṣāvratas* is as follows:

9. focused ascetic-like practice (*sāmāiyaṃ*)
10. restricting one's sphere of activity to a single place (*desāvagāsiyaṃ*)
11. the *posaha* fast (*posahovavāso*)
12. sharing with guests or donation of alms (*atihisaṃvibhāgo*)

I have noted above that in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* there is no distinction between

the three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*. This is clear because the seven vows

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[7] I say this on the basis of Williams' discussion of the lay vows (Williams 1963, 55ff).

[8] Williams 1963, 56-57.

are listed as part of a single compound.[9] Furthermore, the order in which the

vows are listed in the compound is different from the order in the Śvetāmbara

texts and seems to preclude a distinction between the three gunavratas and four

śikṣāvratas.[10] According to Williams, medieval Digambara authors often followed

the order given in the Tattvārtha Sūtra.[11]

It is said in the commentaries that the anuvratas and the gunavratas are

adopted for life whereas the śikṣāvratas are practices undertaken on specific

occasions. Scholars have generally accepted this distinction as being

fundamental to the list of lay vows.[12] However, as I have noted above, for various

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[9] In the Tattvārtha Sūtra the seven lay vows are listed as follows: "dig-deśā-narthadaṇḍavirati-sāmāyika-pauṣadhopavāso-pabhogaparibhogaparimāṇā-tithisaṃvibhāgavratasampannaś." (Tatia 1994, 177)

[10] For example, the disivvayaṃ and the desāvagāsiyaṃ are listed consecutively at the beginning of the compound in the Tattvārtha Sūtra. These vows would not have been listed consecutively at the beginning of the compound if the author had a distinction between the gunavratas and śikṣāvratas in mind since the disivvayaṃ is a gunavrata and the desāvagāsiyaṃ is a śikṣāvratas.

[11] Williams 1963, 56-57.

[12] Williams states that the gunavratas are special cases of the anuvratas, while the śikṣāvratas refer to spiritual exercises (Williams 1963, 57). Hoernle has discussed this distinction on the basis of comments from Muni Ātmārām-jī (1837-1896): "According to Muni Ātmārām-jī, the gunavrata or 'salutary vows' are called so, because they confer additional merit or excellence on the anuvrata or 'lesser vows' (anuvratā ko guna hotā hai or anuvratā kā vriddhi hotī hai). Perhaps it might be better to say, that they are called so because they confer additional merit on the person who keeps them in addition to the 'lesser vows.' The term, therefore, should be rather translated 'meritorious vows.' The term shikṣā, in shikṣā-vrata or 'disciplinary vows,' is explained by the Muni to mean 'repeated exercise' or 'repeated discipline' (bār bār abhyās kar'nā); and those vows are said to be so called, because they are taken upon one's self for a short time, while the anuvrata or 'lesser vows' and the gunavrata or 'meritorious vows' are taken upon one's self for one's whole life. The intention of the former is, to discipline a person from time to time in the keeping true to one's religious profession." (Hoernle 1885-90, appendix 3, p.33-34)

reasons I believe that these vows were initially listed together as one group of seven. In addition to the fact that the list of seven vows seems to be earlier than the distinction between three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*, in my view it is only the first three of the four *śikṣāvratas* (*sāmāiyaṃ*, *desāvagāsiyaṃ*, and *posahovavāso*) that seem to be particularly similar to one another as they refer to ascetic-type practices in which a lay person may temporarily engage. We can only speculate as to why the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* was introduced. Below I will discuss the possibility that the distinction developed as part of an attempt to explain why the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo* does not refer to all twelve of the lay vows.

We can also only speculate regarding what the compiler of the list of lay vows had in mind with respect to each vow. As in the case of the *aṇuvratas* we find various late explanations for the remaining vows in the canonical texts and in the commentaries.[13] In the *Uvāsagadasāo* the final vow is listed as *ahāsaṃvibhāga* ("sharing in the proper manner")[14] instead of *atihisaṃvibhāga* ("sharing with guests"). I think that this shift occurs because it is not explicit to whom the word "guest" (*atihi*) refers.[15] I thus associate the shift with the concern

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[13] See Williams (1963) for discussion of each vow as described in the medieval literature.

[14] Hoernle 1885-90, 33, note 91.

[15] The term "*atithi*" means "no date" and refers to a guest who arrives without invitation (Jaini 1979, 217-218). Williams states that for the Jains the term refers specifically to Jain mendicants

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that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* has regarding interaction between lay

Jains and non-Jain ascetics. In my previous chapter I discussed the prohibition in

the *Uvāsagadasāo* against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics. I also noted

in my previous chapter that the fifth section of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga refers to the donation of alms. A full study of references to the

donation of alms is beyond the scope of my current work.

One can recall that the *posaha* observances are mentioned twice in the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. I suggested in my previous chapter

that the earliest references to the *posaha* observance do not explicitly refer to a

fast, while the reference to the "*posaha* fast" as seen in part six of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the list of lay vows represents a later

development. The compilers obviously saw observance of the *posaha* days as

important for the lay community. The numerous references to the *posaha*

observances in the Śvetāmbara canon should be the subject of a separate study.

The vow of restricting one's objects of enjoyment

(*uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*) should likely be seen in relation to the mixed

version of the recurring introductory passage from the third treatise of

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 (discussed in my first chapter) in which members of the lay

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who are said to have "no date" because the festival days important for secular life are
unimportant for them (Williams 1963, 150).

community have few possessions and few desires while other people have many and the Jain mendicants have none. Later commentaries explain the phrase "*uvabhogaparibhoga*" as referring to things of repeated use and momentary use,[16] but it is not clear whether this was the original meaning. There seems to be some overlap between this vow and the fifth *anuvrata*, which, as I have noted, is listed either as "to desist from excessive appropriation of property" ("*thūlāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ*") or "to limit one's desires" ("*icchā-parimāṇe*"). There also seems to be some overlap with the vow called *anatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*.[17] We find extensive discussion of the vow called *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ* in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and in this text the explanation of the vow in the list of Āṇaṃda's promises (where the vow is associated with the limiting of use of various items including certain foods) is different from the description of the same vow in the list of typical offences (where the vow is associated with various dietary restrictions as well as a list of various categories of employment that are to be avoided). This inconsistency with respect to the meaning of the vow called *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ* as well as the overlap between this vow and some of the other vows suggests to me that the meanings of the vows were not entirely fixed even after the list of twelve vows became relatively standard.

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[16] Hoernle 1885-90, 14, note 25; Williams 1963, 102.

[17] Williams has noted the overlap between the vows called *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ* and *anatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ* (Williams 1963, 102, 123).

The term "*sāmāiya*" is seen in various contexts in the early Śvetāmbara

texts referring to both lay and mendicant practice. The term seems to have

referred to ascetic-like religious practice of some kind, though the meaning may

have shifted through the ages.[18] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we find reference to a

practice called "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*". These two terms are listed separately in

the list of twelve vows as two of the *śikṣāvratas*. It is noteworthy that directly after

mention of the practice called "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we

find a passage relating to the term "*aṇatthadaṇḍaveramaṇaṃ*". Dixit has

previously pointed out that some of the practices mentioned in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7

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[18] Williams notes the term is also listed as one of the six *āvaśyakas* where it refers to lay life when it is temporary (*itvarika*) and to mendicant life when it is permanent (*yāvat-kathita*) (Williams 1963, 131). The commentaries variously define the term as relating to the attainment (*aya*) of equanimity of mind (*sama*), a practice designed to help produce a state of one-ness (*ekatva-gamana*), or the cessation of blameful activity (Williams 1963, 131-132). Williams refers to a lay ritual called *sāmāiya* described as an ascetic-like practice in the *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇī* (Williams 1963, 132). Jaini has also discussed this ritual (Jaini 1975, 1-8). In discussing the Āvaśyaka literature Balbir notes that *sāmāiyaṃ* for the lay community is a practice that allows them to behave like monks (Balbir 1993, 37). She suggests that this practice forms a common point of discipline between the monastic and lay communities and that this commonality may explain the tendency in the later tradition to include discussion of lay conduct in works dealing primarily with monastic conduct (Balbir 1993, 38). In another context, Balbir states that in the Āvaśyaka literature the term *sāmāiyaṃ* "refers most generally to the acquisition of a state of mind which makes a person conceive of worldly life as negative and realize that he should leave it." (Balbir 1990, 71). Jaini notes that in the medieval period the meaning of the term *sāmāyika* broadened to include image worship and that the term eventually became "a cover term for all types of spiritual activity." (Jaini 1979, 190). Bruhn has provided references for further discussion of the term (Bruhn 1981, 24 note 22a, 37 note 51). Hoernle has discussed the explanation of the term given in the commentary on the *Uvāsagadasāo* where the term is taken as referring to a "calm temper and firmness of mind" that is "wholly given to religious practices." (Hoernle 1885-90, 31, note 81)

are found also in the list of lay vows.[19] As I will discuss below, I believe that the

passages from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 predate the formation of the list of twelve lay

vows and that the compilers have included some of the twelve vows (particularly

desāvagāsiyaṃ and *aṇatthadaṇḍaveramaṇaṃ*) because of the relative

importance of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 among the various early passages relating to

the lay community. Below I will also refer to a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7

that I take as an early representation of the lay vows in which we find a listing of

the five *aṇuvratas* (though the term *aṇuvrata* does not occur) along with mention

of the *posaha* observances (without reference to the other vows listed among the

guṇavratas and *śikṣāvratas*).

The practice called "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" seems to be a form of

"*sāmāiya*" in which one confines one's movement by remaining within particular

spatial limits. The *desāvagāsiyaṃ* is related to the *disivvayaṃ* in that both involve

the establishment of spatial limits. I have not come across reference to the term

disivvayaṃ in the Śvetāmbara canon apart from its occurrence in the list of the

twelve lay vows. In the later tradition the *disivvayaṃ* is distinguished from the

desāvagāsiyaṃ in that the *disivvayaṃ* is said to refer to the establishment of life-

long spatial limits and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* is said to refer to a more severe spatial

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[19] In particular Dixit refers to observance of the *posaha* days and the *sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*. He notes a further parallel in that the fast to death is discussed in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 while it is also usually listed along with the twelve vows (Dixit 1978, 35).

restriction undertaken on specific occasions.[20] The distinction between these two

vows is thus made in the same manner as the distinction between the

guṇavratas and the *śikṣāvratas*. Because my research suggests that the

distinction between the *guṇavratas* and the *śikṣāvratas* was not fundamental to

the list of the lay vows, I think it is possible that the distinction between the

guṇavratas and the *śikṣāvratas* developed as the compilers thought about the

distinction between the *disivvayaṃ* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ*. I will note below that

the practice of establishing both temporary and permanent spatial limits seems to

derive from Jain mendicant practice.

It is clear that the compilers present the lay vows as a form of asceticism. I

will discuss below the relationship between the standard description of the

adoption of lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon and examples of the adoption of

mendicant vows. I will also discuss *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 where it is clear that

the compilers define the Jain community (including the lay community) relative to

other religious traditions as a group of people who accept the necessity of ascetic

practice for the attainment of soteriological goals. That the lay vows are

conceived as a form of asceticism is explicit also in the relationship between the

aṇuvratas and the *mahāvratas* and in the terminology used in the categorization

of the lay vows in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 where the lay people do in part (*desa*)

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[20] Hoernle 1885-90, 26, note 65; Williams 1963, 139.

what the mendicants do completely (*savva*). Because the lay vows are conceived

as a form of asceticism the compilers sometimes feel it necessary to emphasize

that lay practice is distinct from mendicant practice. I will point out below that this

is seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 in the discussion of the practice called "*sāmāiya*

desāvagāsiya". At the same time, though the lay vows are presented as an ideal

for lay Jains, we find passages in which the compilers acknowledge that there

will be variation in the way that lay Jains adopt the vows. The lay vows should be

seen relative to the initial logic of the legitimating of lay life as providing specific

ways in which members of the lay community can live to some extent like Jain

mendicants and thus can achieve a good form of rebirth.

The Standard Adoption of Lay Vows

There is a "standard" adoption of lay vows just as there is a standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga*. Though there are some significant variations,

we find basically the same passage occurring when characters adopt lay vows in

the *Nāyādhammakahāo, Uvāsagadasāo, Vivāgasuyaṃ, Rāyapaseṇaīya*, and

Nirayāvalī.[21] The compilers of the texts sometimes look to the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* as

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[21] In Muni Nathamal's editions these texts all contain full length versions of the standard adoption
of the lay vows. There are also various modes of shorthand reference to the adoption of lay vows.

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the original version.[22] For this reason (and since Bollée has provided a good

translation of the standard adoption of lay vows in the *Rāyapasenaīya*) I will use

this version as an example. In the *Rāyapasenaīya*, Citta, eldest cousin and

charioteer of prince Paesi, adopts the lay vows after hearing a sermon delivered

by Kesi who is a mendicant disciple of Pārśva.[23] Bollée translates the standard

adoption of lay vows as follows:

After listening to and learning the doctrine from Kesi (...) Citta (...) rose, happy, [satisfied, his mind delighted, gratified to the highest degree of happiness, his heart expanded with joy],[24] performed a threefold circumambulation (etc., as in 687 up to:) bowed down and spoke thus: "Venerable Sir, I believe in (...), put my faith in (...) approve of (...), accept the teaching of the Jains. Thus is the teaching of the Jains: so it is indeed, Venerable Sir, it is not false, Venerable Sir, it cannot be

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[22] In *Nirayāvalī* 5.1 we find explicit reference to the story of Citta when prince Nisaḍha adopts lay vows after hearing the sermon of the Jina Nemi: "saddahāmi ṇaṃ bhaṃte niggaṃthaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ jahā citto jāva sāvagadhammaṃ paḍivajjati 2 paḍigate." (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 54) This shorthand reference encompasses the entire passage cited from the *Rāyapasenaīya*. Gopani and Chokshi translate: "Venerable Sir, I believe in the doctrine of the Nigganthas." (*Everything else is to be described here* exactly as in the case of Citta, down to) he accepted the *twelve-fold* duty of a layman, and having done so he returned." (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 131-2). One must note that Gopani and Chokshi indicate that the term "twelve-fold" does not occur in the Prakrit by using italics. The Prakrit only says *sāvagadhammaṃ*. The standard adoption of lay vows in the *Rāyapasenaīya* is basically identical with that in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5. Muni Nathamal notes that in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 a few sections of the standard adoption of lay vows are abbreviated using the term *"jāva"* and that the full versions of these sections are to be found in the *Rāyapasenaīya*.

[23] The text does not contain a full sermon, but only a reference to a fourfold restraint (*cāujjāmaṃ dhammaṃ*). Below I will discuss references to the fourfold restraint at length. In the *Rāyapasenaīya* the fourfold restraint is described as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo a-dinnādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo bahiddhā-dāṇāo veramaṇaṃ." Bollée translates: "abstinence from any violence, lying, taking what has not been given and any giving away [i.e., ejaculating]." (Bollée 2002, 58) In most other texts there is no explicit mention of the contents of the sermons that inspire the characters to adopt lay vows.

[24] The Prakrit here employs a shorthand device (*"haṭṭha jāva hiyae"*) referring back to an earlier passage. Bollée translates: "happy (etc., as in 681 up to) his heart" (Bollée 2002, 60). For the sake of clarity I have supplied the part in square brackets from Bollée's translation of section 681 (Bollée 2002, 34).

doubted (Venerable Sir, it is desirable, acceptable, desirable and acceptable); this is the real thing, Venerable Sir, what you say." With these words he saluted and bowed down before him and then said: "I cannot possibly (*no khalu*) - as many Uggas {and their relatives}, Bhogas (...) up to: wealthy men [and] their relatives part with their bullion and coined gold as well as (*evaṃ*) money, grain, troops, fleet of vehicles, treasure, ware-house (or: granary), town, harem; give away much money, gold, silver, riches and the best available gems, pearls, conches, precious stones and corals; hand out, distribute and present kinsmen with them; tear out their hair and leave home in order to become religious mendicants - (I cannot) in that way part with my gold (....) and leave home, (but) I will accept in your presence the twelvefold duties of a layman consisting in the five small and the seven strengthening vows." [Kesi replies[25]: "May it so please you. Have no obstacle in your way."][26] (Bollée 2002, 60-1)

The standard adoption of lay vows is partly made up of phrases that are found elsewhere in other contexts.[27] It begins with a lengthy assertion of faith and

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[25] Bollée translates the final part of the passage (*ahāsuhaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! mā paḍibaṃdhaṃ karehi*) as follows: "Please, Sir, don't tarry." (Bollée 2002, 60-1) He takes the phrase to be part of Citta's request rather than Kesi's reply. I have amended Bollée's translation since I believe the phrase to be Kesi's reply. I will discuss this further below.

[26] The Prakrit reads as follows: "tae ṇaṃ se citte sārahī kesīssa kumārasamaṇassa aṃtie dhammaṃ soccā nisamma haṭṭha jāva hiyae uṭṭhāe uṭṭhei 2 ttā kesiṃ kumārasamaṇaṃ tikkhutto āyāhiṇaṃ payāhiṇaṃ karei 2 vaṃdai ṇamaṃsai 2 ttā evaṃ vayāsī –
saddahāmi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ pattiyāmi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ roemi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ abbhuṭṭhemi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ evameyaṃ niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ tahameyaṃ bhaṃte !° avitahameyaṃ bhaṃte !°, asaṃdiddhameyaṃ° sacce ṇaṃ esa aṭṭhe jaṇṇaṃ tubbhe vadahattikaṭṭu vadai ṇamaṃsai 2 ttā evaṃ vayāsī – jahā ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyāṇaṃ aṃtie bahave uggā bhogā jāva ibbhā ibbhaputtā ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ ciccā suvaṇṇaṃ evaṃ dhaṇaṃ dhannaṃ balaṃ vāhaṇaṃ kesaṃ koṭṭhāgāraṃ puraṃ aṃteuraṃ ciccā viulaṃ dhaṇakaṇagarayaṇamaṇimottiyasaṃkhasilappavālasaṃtasārasāvaejjaṃ vicchaḍḍaittā dāṇaṃ dāiyāṇaṃ paribhāittā mumḍe bhavittā āgārā aṇagāriyaṃ pavvayaṃti, no khalu ahaṃtā saṃcāemi ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ taṃ ceva jāva pavvaittae | ahaṇṇaṃ devāṇuppiyāṇaṃ aṃtie paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiyaṃ duvālasavihe gihidhammaṃ paḍivajjittae, ahāsuhaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! mā paḍibaṃdhaṃ karehi" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322)

[27] These include the general description of happiness, the list of groups of people, and the list of types of wealth. Bollée has noted such examples and provides references in his discussion of the passage (Bollée 2002, 61). In addition, some of the language in the section where the character expresses an inability to become a monk is seen also in a description of some Jain laymen (*saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā*) occurring in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. In the standard adoption of lay vows we read "no khalu ahaṃtā saṃcāemi ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ taṃ ceva jāva pavvaittae" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322). In the description of "some Jain laymen" (*saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā*) in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we read: "ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo mumḍā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae" (Nathamal 1974a, 476). Jacobi translates: "we cannot, submitting

in this sense it recalls the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*.[28] After this,

the character acknowledges that many other people have given away all their

possessions and have become Jain mendicants, but expresses an inability to do

the same. Having expressed the inability to adopt mendicant vows, the character

expresses a desire to adopt instead the lay vows. There is some uncertainty as

to whether the final part of the passage (*ahāsuham devānuppiyā ! mā*

padibamdham karehi) ends the character's request to adopt the vows or is an

acceptance of the request spoken by the mendicant.[29] However, the same

phrase occurs in other contexts including when characters adopt mendicant vows

and it seems clear in at least one of these examples that the phrase is an

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to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state..." (Jacobi 1895, 428) I do not see solid evidence to establish the direction of borrowing.

[28] Given that parts of *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 occur in both the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* and the standard adoption of the lay vows, it is noteworthy that there is a further unique expression of faith in *Sūyagadamga* 2.7. Jacobi translates: "This creed of the Nirgranthas is true, supreme, excellent, full of virtues, right, pure, it removes doubts, it is the road to perfection, liberation, Nirvāna; it is free from error and doubts, it is the road of those who are free from all misery; those who adopt it will reach perfection, (&c., all down to) put and end to all misery; exerting ourselves we shall control ourselves with regard to all kinds of living beings." (Jacobi 1895, 426-7) For the Prakrit see Nathamal 1974a, 475.

[29] In his notes, Bollée argues that this phrase (translated "Please, Sir, don't tarry") is part of the request rather than, as Leumann thought, Kesi's reply to the request (Bollée 2002, 62). Bollée thus follows Hoernle (1885-90, 11). In translating the same passage in the *Vivāgasuyam* Chokshi and Modi make this Kesi's reply: "Then the Samana replied: 'May it so please you. Do not make any delay.'" (Chokshi and Modi 1935, 119-121) Vaidya also makes this Kesi's reply (Vaidya 1934, 69)

acceptance of the request spoken by the mendicant.[30] The phrase seems to

emphasize that in order to become a layman a householder requires that the

mendicant community does not object. Following this passage we usually read

that the character adopts the lay vows, bows to the mendicant, and returns

home. Directly after this we usually find the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga as, for example, in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and in

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5.

Because the standard adoption of the lay vows often precedes the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*, many of the characters who adopt

lay vows are the same as those mentioned in the previous chapter. The

characters include animals, women, Brahmins, jewelers, landowners, ministers,

and kings. Usually the characters have no other explicit religious affiliation before

adopting the vows. There are examples in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (chapter seven)

and the *Nāyādhammakahāo* (1.5) where the adoption of lay vows marks the

conversion of a lay follower of a non-Jain religious tradition. In the *Uvāsagadasāo*

it is an Ājīvika layman who is converted. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 the layman is

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[30] In *Viyāhapannatti* 9.33 this phrase is explicitly attributed to Mahāvīra after Jamālī's parents
present him to Mahāvīra at the time of his monastic initiation (Nathamal 1974b, 455; Bothara
2008, 482). In addition to the examples where characters adopt mendicant vows, the phrase also
occurs in *Viyāhapannatti* 2.1 after the mendicant Khaṃdaa asks Mahāvīra for permission to
engage in specific ascetic practices (*bhikkhupaḍima*), though in this case it is not made explicit
that the phrase is spoken by Mahāvīra (Nathamal 1974b, 93; Bothara 2005, 260).

a follower of an ascetic who seems to be linked with the Sāṃkhya school. The

example from *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 will be discussed extensively below.

In the stories, the lay vows are usually taken in the presence of Jain

mendicants. There are two examples of characters who adopt lay vows in the

presence of mendicants and then later re-adopt lay vows on their own. In

Nirayāvalī 3.3 a Brahmin named Somila adopts lay vows.[31] He loses his faith

owing to lack of contact with Jain mendicants (*asāhudaṃsaṇeṇa*).[32] He then

decides to join a group of non-Jain ascetics (*disāpokkhiyā tāvasā*) and to

undertake various ascetic vows.[33] A deity appears to him and tells him he is ill-

initiated (*dupavvaitaṃ*) and that he should re-adopt the Jain lay vows. Somila

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[31] The text reads: "saṃbuddhe sāvagadhammaṃ paḍivajjittā paḍigate |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 33)

[32] Gopani and Chokshi translate: "Then that Brahmin Somila, at a certain time on account of want of good faith, on account of the want of waiting on righteous monks with wrong inclinations of false faith increasing and good inclinations of right faith decreasing, got 'micchhatta' - false faith *rooted in him.*" (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 71) The Prakrit reads as follows: "tate ṇaṃ somile māhaṇe annadākadāyi asāhudaṃsaṇeṇa ya apajjuvāsaṇāe ya micchattapajjavehiṃ parivaḍḍhamāṇehiṃ 2 sammattapajjavehiṃ parihāyamāṇehiṃ micchattaṃ paḍivanne |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 33)

[33] Gopani and Chokshi translate: "and having got myself initiated at their hands by the vow of sprinkling water on the ground to purify it, I shall take the following vow: It is proper for me to practice, uninterrupted up to the end of my life, two days' fasts (in which six meals are cut off), and to mortify myself by practicing Disāchakkavāla penance holding my hands up on the heated ground with my face turned towards the sun." (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 75) The Prakrit reads as follows: "tattha ṇaṃ je te disāpokkhiyā tāvasā tesiṃ aṃtie disāpokkhiyattāe pavvaittae pavvayite vi ya ṇaṃ samāṇe imaṃ evārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhiginhissāmi - kappati me jāvajjīvāe chattham chaṭṭhe ṇaṃ aṇikkhitteṇaṃ disācakkavāleṇaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ uḍḍhaṃ bāhāto pagijjhiya 2 sūrābhimuhassa ātāvaṇabhūmīe ātāvemāṇassa viharattae tti" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 34)

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follows this advice.[34] In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 we encounter a frog who recalls its previous existence as a jeweler (*maṇiyārasetthī*). In the previous life, the jeweler had adopted the lay vows in the presence of Mahāvīra, but then had lost his faith as in the case of Somila.[35] The frog thus decides to re-adopt the lay vows along with additional ascetic practices.[36] Though these characters re-adopt lay vows on their own, the stories clearly show that the compilers wanted to emphasize the importance for the lay community of regular contact with the mendicant community.

There is also an example (*Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.12) where a king adopts lay vows in the presence of a *samaṇovāsaga*, who is one of his ministers.[37] The

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[34] The text reads: "tate ṇaṃ somile māhaṇarasī teṇaṃ deveṇaṃ evaṃ vutte samāṇe puvvapaḍivannāiṃ paṃca aṇuvvayāiṃ sayameva uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharati |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 39)

[35] The frog recalls the situation as follows: "tae ṇaṃ mae samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtie paṃcāṇuvvaie sattasikkhāvaie-duvālasavihe gihidhamme paḍivaṇṇe | tae ṇaṃ ahaṃ aṇṇayā kayāi asāhudaṃsaṇeṇa ya jāva micchattaṃ vippaḍivaṇṇe |" (Nathamal 1974c, 245) The jeweler's initial adoption of lay vows is implied with the term *samaṇovāsaga*: "§11. naṃde maṇiyārasetthī dhammaṃ soccā samaṇovāsae jāe | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 238)

[36] The text reads: "taṃ seyaṃ khalu mamaṃ sayameva puvvapaḍivannāiṃ paṃcāṇuvvayāiṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae - evaṃ saṃpehei, saṃpehettā puvvapaḍivannāiṃ paṃcāṇuvvayāiṃ āruhei, āruhettā imeyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigiṇhai – kappai me jāvajjīvaṃ chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭheṇaṃ aṇikkhitteṇaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇassa viharittae, chaṭṭhassa vi ya ṇaṃ pāraṇagaṃsi kappai me namdāe pokkhariṇīe pariperaṃtesu phāsueṇaṃ ṇhāṇodaeṇaṃ ummaddaṇāloliyāhi ya vittiṃ kappemāṇassa viharittae - imeyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigeṇhai, jāvajjīvāe chaṭṭhaṃchaṭṭheṇaṃ aṇikkhitteṇaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai" (Nathamal 1974c, 245)

[37] Bothara translates: "The prime minister of the king was named Subuddhi. He was loyal to the king and looked after all the affairs of the state. Subuddhi was a Shramanopasak having knowledge of the fundamentals like soul and matter." (Bothara 1997, 66) The Prakrit reads: "subuddhī amacce jāva rajjadhurācimtae, samaṇovāsae | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 227)

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layman impresses the king with his knowledge about how to purify water.[38] The

king then asks him to deliver a sermon on Jain teachings.[39] After reference to the

sermon we find the standard adoption of lay vows, with a few minor alterations,

followed by a shorthand reference to the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga.[40] This is the only example where a character adopts the lay

vows in the presence of another lay person.

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[38] Having shown the king the purified water, the king asks where Subuddhi has acquired this knowledge. Subuddhi replies: "Sire! I have acquired this knowledge due to my faith in the words of the Jina." (Bothara 1997, 77) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§32. tae ṇaṃ subuddhī jiyasattuṃ evaṃ vayāsī – ee ṇaṃ sāmī ! mae saṃtā taccā tahiyā avitahā sabbhūyā bhāvā jiṇavayaṇāo uvaladdhā | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 233)

[39] The text reads: "§33. tae ṇaṃ jiyasattū subuddhiṃ evaṃ vayāsī – taṃ icchāmi ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! tava aṃtie jiṇavayaṇaṃ nisāmittae | |
§34. tae ṇaṃ subuddhī jiyasattussa vicittaṃ kevalipaṇṇattaṃ cāujjāmaṃ dhammaṃ parikahei | "
(Nathamal 1974c, 234)

[40] The text reads: "§35. tae ṇaṃ jiyasattū subuddhissa aṃtie dhammaṃ soccā nisamma haṭṭhatuṭṭhe subuddhiṃ amaccaṃ evaṃ vayāsī - saddahāmi ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ | pattiyāmi ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ | roemi ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ | abbhuṭṭhemi ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ | evameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! tahameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! avitahameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! icchiyameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! paḍicchiyameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! icchiya-paḍicchiyameyaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! se jaheyaṃ tubbhe vayaha | taṃ icchāmi ṇaṃ tava aṃtie cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae |
ahāsuhaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! mā paḍibaṃdhaṃ kareha | |
§36. tae ṇaṃ se jiyasattū subuddhissa aṃtie cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ paḍivajjai | |
§37. tae ṇaṃ jiyasattū samaṇovāsae jāe – abhigayajīvājīve jāva paḍilābhemāṇe viharai | |"
(Nathamal 1974c, 234)

Some Relationships Between the Adoption of Lay and Mendicant Vows

The text of the standard adoption of lay vows is identical to some examples of the adoption of mendicant vows up to the point when the character expresses the inability to adopt mendicant vows.[41] Furthermore, the circumstances in which characters adopt the lay vows are generally the same as the circumstances in which characters adopt the mendicant vows, namely after hearing a sermon or after recalling a past life. There are some stories emphasizing the difficulty of Jain monastic life. In *Antagaḍadasāo* 1.1 a significant part of the text consists of Goyama's attempt to convince his parents to approve his decision to adopt mendicant vows. His parents emphasize the difficulty of Jain monastic life. There is a similar episode in *Uttarādhyayana* 19, where Miyāputtīya convinces his parents that he will be able to endure the difficult life of a Jain mendicant. Though there is no example in the texts of a character explicitly stating that mendicant life is too difficult as a reason for adopting the lay vows, it is obvious that the lay vows offer an easier way to follow the Jain teachings.

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[41] For example, in *Viyāhapannatti* 2.1, Mahāvīra converts a non-Jain mendicant named Khaṃdaa. Khaṃdaa is initially identified as follows: "gaddabhālassa aṃtevāsī Khaṃdae nāmaṃ kaccāyaṇasagottaṃ parivvāyage." (Nathamal 1974b, 83). When he is converted Khaṃdaa's initial statements are identical to the lengthy assertion of faith that starts the standard adoption of lay vows (Nathamal 1974b, 91; Bothara 2005, 257). Instead of expressing an inability to adopt mendicant vows, he expresses a desire to become a Jain mendicant.

When explicit reasons are given in the texts as to why the characters are

unable to adopt mendicant vows these reasons relate to forms of social pressure.

As noted, Goyama and Miyāputtīya must convince their parents before adopting

mendicant vows. Similarly, in the biography of Mahāvīra as presented in the

Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu we read that Mahāvīra waited until the death of his

parents before adopting the mendicant life.[42] There is no example in the texts of

a character who adopts lay vows owing to lack of permission from the parents to

adopt mendicant vows. However, we do find an example of a woman who

desires to adopt monastic vows, but who does not obtain the permission of her

husband and so adopts lay vows.[43] There is also a story in which a lay Jain

minister desires to adopt monastic vows, but remains as a layman because the

king tells him to postpone monastic renunciation for twelve years, saying that

they will renounce the world together at that time.[44] The lay vows allow the

characters to retain social obligations.

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[42] Jacobi 1879, 56; Jacobi 1884, 250.

[43] The story in *Nirayāvalī* 3.4 follows a female character through a series of births. In one birth she takes lay vows after hearing a sermon from a group of nuns (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 41; Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 91-2). In the subsequent birth, after hearing a sermon from a group of nuns, she desires to take monastic vows. However, she does not obtain the permission of her husband (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 105-6). She thus goes to the Upāshraya of the nuns and adopts the twelvefold duty of a laywoman (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 107).

[44] This episode occurs in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.12 (Bothara 1997, 79-81). There are also other stories mentioning characters who ask permission of the king before renouncing the world, though in these cases permission is granted. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5, King Selaa informs his ministers of his desire to renounce the world (Bothara 1996, 268). The ministers all decide to

A further connection between the lay vows and mendicant vows is that

some of the characters who take lay vows later go on to take mendicant vows.

Often, after a character adopts lay vows in the presence of a Jina, someone will

ask the Jina whether this lay person will be able to adopt mendicant vows at

some point. The answer can be yes or no. The characters in the *Uvāsagadasāo*

do not go on to adopt mendicant vows.[45] In this respect, this text seems to make

the point that monastic vows are not required as a prerequisite for the fast to

death or the *paḍimāo* (which in this text are ascetic practices undertaken towards

the end of one's life). Yet, in several other texts there are examples of characters

who adopt lay vows and then go on to adopt mendicant vows at a later point in

the story.[46]

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renounce the world with him since he is their support (Bothara 1996, 268-9). The Prakrit reads: "jai ṇaṃ tubbhe devāṇuppiyā saṃsārabhayauvvigge jāva pavvayaha, amhāṇaṃ devāṇuppiyā kimanne āhāre vā ālaṃbe vā?" (Bothara 1996, 268).

[45] Laidlaw states that adoption of the lay vows does not lead people towards monastic renunciation (Laidlaw 1995, 189). However, he focuses his analysis only on the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

[46] In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.14 a woman named Poṭṭilā adopts lay vows (Nathamal 1974c, 256; Bothara 1997, 126-7) and shortly thereafter adopts mendicant vows (Nathamal 1974c, 257-8; Bothara 1997, 127-9). The same scenario is seen in *Nirayāvalī* 5.1, in the case of a character named Nisaḍha (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 54-5; Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 131-2, 135-6). In *Vivāgasuyaṃ* 2.1 we find a similar story where a character adopts lay vows (Nathamal 1974c, 804; Chokshi and Modi 1935, 119-121) and then goes on to adopt mendicant vows (Nathamal 1974c, 808; Chokshi and Modi 1935, 125-127).

Variation in the Number of Lay Vows

The editions of the texts that I have employed indicate that there is one particularly significant variation in the various examples of the standard adoption of lay vows.[47] As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, in some examples of the standard adoption of lay vows the lay *dhamma* is characterized as being fourfold (*cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ*) while in other examples it is twelvefold (*duvālasavihe gihidhammaṃ*). My research indicates that the references to a fourfold lay *dhamma* (as occurring in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*) are earlier than similar references to the twelvefold lay *dhamma* (as occurring in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Vivāgasuyaṃ*). Furthermore, as I will discuss, there is evidence in the texts I have employed suggesting that there was a move to replace some references to the fourfold *dhamma* in the early texts with mention of the twelvefold version, which would become the standard presentation of the lay *dhamma*.

Adoption of Lay Vows in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 includes an example of the standard adoption of lay vows where the lay vows are characterized as being fourfold. This story is set

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[47] There are a few other minor variations in the various versions of the standard adoption of the lay vows. It is beyond the scope of my current work to examine all of the variations in detail.

in Gujarat in the time of the Jina Nemi and is focused on a Jain monk named

Thāvaccāputta. This monk was born in Kṛṣṇa's city of Dvārakā and it is Kṛṣṇa

who presents Thāvaccāputta to Nemi at the time of his initiation. Shortly after

taking mendicant vows Thāvaccāputta leaves Nemi to wander with a group of

one thousand monks. The text states that Thāvaccāputta delivered a sermon to a

king named Selaa who then adopted lay vows.

The section of the text where Selaa adopts the lay vows is introduced with

various shorthand devices. There is an introductory line naming a city, garden,

king, queen and prince [§42[48]]. We have a line about the king's ministers [§43].

We read that Thāvaccāputta arrived and that King Selaa went out to see him

[§44]. Then we have the standard adoption of the lay vows [§45-6][49] followed by

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[48] These numbers refer to Muni Nathamal's edition of the text.

[49] Bothara translates §42-8 as follows: "25. During that period of time there was a town named
Shailakpur. Outside this town there was a garden named Subhumi. The names of the king, queen
and the prince of this town were Shailak, Padmavati, and Manduk respectively. King Shailak had
five hundred ministers lead by Panthak. They were endowed with four types of wisdom and ruled
the kingdom ably. Thavacchaputra and his disciples arrived at Shailakpur. When the king came to
pay his respects to the ascetic he listened to Thavacchaputra's sermons. 26. After hearing the
sermons the king said, "Beloved of gods! Many persons from higher classes (like Ugra, etc.) have
abandoned wealth and grandeur and taken Diksha from you, but I don't find myself fit for that.
However, I wish to take minor vows under your guidance and become a follower of the
Shramans." And the king took the vows after knowing the fundamentals like soul and matter and
started leading a disciplined life. After this, Panthak and other ministers also became Shravaks
(followers of Shramans). Ascetic Thavacchaputra resumed his itinerant way." (Bothara 1996, 248-
249) The Prakrit for §45-46 reads as follows: "§45. tae ṇaṃ selae rāyā thāvaccāputtassa
aṇagārassa aṃtie dhammaṃ soccā nisamma haṭṭhatuṭṭha-cittamāṇaṃdie pīimaṇe
paramasomaṇassie harisavasavisappamāṇahiyae uṭṭhāe uṭṭhei, uṭṭhettā thāvaccāputtaṃ
aṇagāraṃ tikkhutto āyāhiṇa-payāhiṇaṃkarei, karettā vaṃdai namaṃsai, vaṃdittā namaṃsittā
evaṃ vayāsī –
saddahāmi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ |

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the standard description of a *samanovāsaga* [§47]. Finally it is noted that the

ministers also became *samanovāsagā* [§48]. In this version of the standard

adoption of lay vows we read that Selaa adopted the fourfold *dhamma* of the

householder (*cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ*). Muni Nathamal makes a few

comments on the phrase "*cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ*" in this passage from

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5. He notes that in the time of Nemi the *dhamma* was

fourfold. I will discuss this issue below. He also notes an alternate reading using

shorthand references and mentioning the five *anuvratas*.[50]

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pattiyāmi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ |
roemi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ |
abbhuṭṭhemi ṇaṃ bhaṃte ! niggathaṃ pāvayaṇaṃ |
evameyaṃ bhaṃte ! tahameyaṃ bhaṃte ! avitahameyaṃ bhaṃte ! asaṃdiddhameyaṃ bhaṃte ! icchiyameyaṃ bhaṃte ! paḍicchiyameyaṃ bhaṃte ! icchiya-paḍicchiyameyaṃ bhaṃte ! jaṃ ṇaṃ tubbhe vadaha tti kaṭṭu vaṃdai namaṃsai, vaṃdittā namaṃsittā evaṃ vayāsī – jahā ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyāṇaṃ aṃtie bahave uggā uggaputtā bhogā jāva ibbhā ibbhaputtā ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ, evaṃ - dhaṇaṃ dhannaṃ vāhaṇaṃ kosaṃ koṭṭhāgāraṃ puraṃ aṃteuraṃ, ciccā viulaṃ dhaṇa-kaṇaga-rayaṇa-maṇi-mottiya-saṃkha-sila-ppavāla-saṃtasāra-sāvaejjaṃ, vicchaḍḍittā, dāṇaṃ dāiyāṇaṃ paribhāittā, muṃdā bhavittā ṇaṃ agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaiyā, tahā ṇaṃ ahaṃ no saṃcāemi jāva pavvaittae, ahaṃ ṇaṃ devāṇuppiyāṇaṃ aṃtie cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ paḍivajjissāmi | ahāsuhaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! mā paḍibaṃdhaṃ karehi | |
§46. tae ṇaṃ se selae rāyā thāvaccāputtassa aṇagārassa aṃtie cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ uvasaṃpajjai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20) The Prakrit in the illustrated edition of the text uses shorthand references to both the standard adoption of the lay vows and the standard description of a *samanovāsaga* (Bothara 1996, 248).

50 Muni Nathamal's reference to the alternate reading is given as follows: "saṃ° pā° - paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ jāva samaṇovāsae jāe ahigayajīvājīve jāva appāṇaṃ |" (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20, note 6)

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Adoption of Lay Vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*

As mentioned above, in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* Citta adopts the lay vows after

hearing a sermon delivered by Kesi, who is a mendicant disciple of Pārśva. The

text does not contain a full sermon, but only a reference to a fourfold restraint

(*cāujjāmaṃ dhammaṃ*).[51] As in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5, the standard adoption

of lay vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* precedes the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga. The adoption of lay vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* has been

quoted above. It is basically identical to the passage in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5.

In analyzing this section of the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* it seems clear that there

was a move to replace references to the fourfold lay *dhamma* with references to

a twelvefold lay *dhamma*. In Muni Dīparatnasāgara's edition of the

Rāyapaseṇaīya as well as in most of the editions utilized by Bollée, the lay vows

are listed as "*paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiyaṃ duvālasavihe gihidhammaṃ*"

("the twelvefold duties of a layman consisting in the five small and the seven

strengthening vows."). However, in the edition edited by Yuvācārya Mahāprajña

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[51] The fourfold restraint is described as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo
musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo a-dinnādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo bahiddhā-dāṇāo
veramaṇaṃ." Bollée translates: "abstinence from any violence, lying, taking what has not been
given and any giving away [i.e., ejaculating]." (Bollée 2002, 58) In most other texts there is no
explicit mention of the contents of the sermons that inspire the characters to adopt lay vows.

they are listed as being fourfold (*cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ*).[52] We see the same situation occurring after the standard adoption of lay vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. Most of the editions state that Citta adopted the five *aṇuvratas* and so on.[53] Yuvācārya Mahāprajña's edition states that he adopted the fourfold restraint.[54]

It appears that Yuvācārya Mahāprajña's edition (referring to the fourfold lay *dhamma*) contains the original reading. The reason to believe this is that, as I have noted above, we have reference to a fourfold restraint (*cāujjāmaṃ dhammaṃ*) in the sermon just before the standard adoption of lay vows. As Vaidya pointed out, "it is strange that Kesikumāra should preach *cāujjāma dhamma* in the first part and administer to Citra *pancāṇuvvaiya dhamma* in the second part of the same para."[55] Vaidya explained the situation as follows: "the older version of the text mentioned only *cāujjāma dhamma*, but when the Jain

[52] Bollée includes reference to this reading (Bollée 2002, 60, note 352). He refers to Yuvācārya Mahāprajña's edition as "L" (Bollée 2002, 13). This edition was made on the basis of six 16th-18th century manuscripts from Rājasthān (Bollée 2002, 13).

[53] Bollée 2002, 62, note 356. The Prakrit reads: "tae ṇaṃ se citte sārahī kesīkumārasamaṇassa aṃtie paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ jāva gihidhammaṃ uvasaṃpajjittāṇaṃ viharati" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322)

[54] An apparent inconsistency in Bollée's translation reflects the confusing situation: "Thereupon Citta (...) accepted the fourfold restraint of a layman consisting in the five small vows up to (...) at the hands of Kesi (...)." (Bollée 2002, 62) This inconsistency arises because in some editions the lay *dhamma* is said to be "fourfold" while in others it is described as "consisting in the five small vows [etc.]."

[55] Vaidya 1934, 66-7; Bollée 2002, 58.

canon was re-edited time and again, the later phrase *pancāṇuvvaiyaṃ*

sattasikkhāvaiyaṃ duvālasa-viham gihi-dhammaṃ was put in."[56] I agree with

Vaidya's explanation. In this text, the lay vows were originally presented as being

fourfold. At some point, the mendicant community constructed a list of twelve lay

vows and decided that the list of twelve would be presented as standard in the

canonical texts. The fact that in most editions of the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* Citta adopts

twelve vows after Kesi teaches only four is to be explained as resulting from an

effort on the part of the mendicant community to replace the reference to four lay

vows with reference to what had become the standard list of twelve lay vows.

Adoption of Lay Vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo*

The historical situation outlined above is supported through an analysis of

the *Uvāsagadasāo*. This text, I suggest, was compiled after the decision was

made to present the lay *dhamma* as twelvefold. Evidence for this idea can be

seen in comparing the *Uvāsagadasāo* with the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. In the first story

of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Āṇaṃda adopts lay vows after attending a sermon

delivered by Mahāvīra. The sermon does not actually occur in the text; we read

only that Mahāvīra taught the *dhamma*:

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[56] Vaidya 1934, 67; Bollée 2002, 58.

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11. Then the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra, *expounded the Law* to the householder Ānanda and to the right great company *which had come with him.* (*Here* the sermon of the Law *should be supplied).* (Hoernle 1885-90, 10)

The Prakrit reads as follows:

§21. tae ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ mahāvīre āṇaṃdassa gāhāvaissa tīse ya mahaimahāliyāe parisāe jāva dhammaṃ parikahei[57] | | (Nathamal 1974c, 399)

The Prakrit term "*jāva*", which Hoernle has in mind when he writes "(*Here* the sermon of the Law *should be supplied)*", literally means "and so on". In its normal use the term indicates that the reader should supply from another text the passage occurring between the words that precede and follow (in this case between the Prakrit words "*parisāe*" and "*dhammaṃ*"). This is the usual manner in which shorthand reference is made to a longer passage. However, if we compare the same context in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* we see that the only word between "*parisāe*" and "*dhammaṃ*" is "*cāujjāmaṃ*" ("fourfold").[58] It seems that the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* has copied from the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*, but has replaced the reference to the fourfold *dhamma* with the term "*jāva*".[59] The

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[57] In Hoernle's edition this section ends with "*dhammakahā*" instead of "*dhammaṃ parikahei*" (Hoernle 1890, 6-7).

[58] The Rāyapaseṇaīya reads: "Tae ṇaṃ se Kesī kumāra-samaṇe Cittassa sārahissa tīse mah'-aimahāliyāe mahacca-parisāe cāujjāmaṃ dhammaṃ parikahei" (Bollée 2002, 58)

[59] There is one other difference seen in comparing the standard adoption of lay vows as it occurs in the *Uvāsagadasāo* with the versions in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. This is in the list of people who are able to adopt mendicant vows. Though there is slight variance, the list in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* is basically the same as that in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5, including reference to the Ugga and Bhoga clans and so on (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322; Nathamal 1974c, 119). In the *Uvāsagadasāo* we see a different list of people (Nathamal 1974c, 400; Hoernle 1885-90, 10-11). This seems to show a further distinction between the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and

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editions of the *Uvāsagadasāo* that I have employed appear to be devoid of reference to the fourfold *dhamma*. In the standard adoption of lay vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo* the lay *dhamma* is always presented as being twelvefold.[60]

Variation in the Number of Mendicant Vows

There appears to be a parallel between the references to the fourfold lay *dhamma* discussed above and the traditional Jain idea that the first and last of the twenty-four Jinas (namely Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra)[61] taught five monastic

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Nāyādhammakahāo on the one hand and the *Uvāsagadasāo* on the other. It can also be noted that we find the same list of people in the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* as in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and that the *Vivāgasuyaṃ*, like the *Uvāsagadasāo*, refers to the twelvefold lay *dhamma* (Nathamal 1974c, 804). With respect to the different lists of people, it may be that the categories mentioned in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and *Nāyādhammakahāo* (namely, Uggas, Bhogas, and so on) where no longer important to the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. It should be noted, though, that sections of the two lists are seen together in a list of the people who attend Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya* (Leumann 1883, §38, p.49). Bollée notes that parts of the list in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* occur in various other canonical texts (Bollée 2002, 61).

[60] In the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Āṇaṃda adopts the twelvefold lay *dhamma*: "paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiyaṃ duvālasaviham sāvagadhammaṃ." (Nathamal 1974c, 399-400) The standard adoption of lay vows is found in the same form in every story of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. In the story of Āṇaṃda it is found at Nathamal 1974c, 399-400 and Hoernle 1885-90, 10-11. The Prakrit for the relevant section in the remaining stories is found in Nathamal 1974c, 423, 442, 456, 469, 482, 496-7, 516, 528-9, 533-4. Hoernle uses a shorthand reference to the passage in the remaining stories in his translation. The same strategy is seen in some manuscripts. However, the Prakrit given by Muni Nathamal repeats the complete passage in each case.

[61] In Jainism there is the idea that the eras of time can be thought of as an endless series of downward and upward motions of a wheel (*avasarpiṇī* and *utsarpiṇī*). There are twenty-four Jinas in each *avasarpiṇī* and in each *utsarpiṇī*. Ṛṣabha was the first and Mahāvīra was the last Jina in the current *avasarpiṇī*. See Dundas 2002, 19-20. It is not clear when the idea of a series of twenty-four Jinas emerged (Dundas 2002, 40; Cort 2002, 73-74). The earliest evidence of the idea is likely the list of the twenty-four Jinas in the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu.

vows, while all of the other Jinas taught four.[62] I have noted at the beginning of

this chapter that the teaching of five mendicant vows is directly associated with

the teaching of twelve lay vows since the five lay *anuvratas* correspond to the

five mendicant *mahāvratas*. Likewise, it seems that the teaching of the four lay

vows should be associated with the teaching of four mendicant vows.[63] Though,

to my knowledge, there is no example of a list of four lay vows corresponding to

the references to four lay vows discussed above, I have noted that in the

Rāyapaseṇaīya the reference to the four lay vows occurs after a sermon

delivered by Kesi (disciple of Pārśva) that includes mention of four mendicant

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[62] The tradition about the variation in the number of mendicant vows is based primarily on a few verses from the twenty-third lecture of the *Uttarādhyayana*. In this lecture, Kesi, a disciple (*sīse*) of Pārśva, meets with Gautama, a disciple of Mahāvīra, to discuss the reason why Pārśva taught four mendicant vows while Mahāvīra taught five vows. In verses 26 and 27 Gautama explains that the first of the twenty-four Jinas (Ṛṣabha) and the last Jina (Mahāvīra) taught five vows, while all of the other Jinas taught four vows (Jacobi 1895, 122-3; Charpentier 1921, 172). The verses suggest that Ṛṣabha taught five vows owing to the inferior intellectual capabilities of his followers, while Mahāvīra taught five vows because his followers had difficulty observing the four vows in the proper manner. This explanation is somewhat reminiscent of the Buddhist doctrine of *upāya-kauśalya*. At the end of the chapter (in verse 87), Kesi adopts the five vows, essentially converting to become a follower of Mahāvīra (Jacobi 1895, 128; Charpentier 1921, 178). The *Ṭhāṇaṃga* also refers briefly to the idea that twenty-two of the Jinas taught a fourfold *dhamma* (Nathamal 1974a, 609). The *Mūlācāra* (an early Digambara text) refers to the same tradition (Jaini 2002, 120-124). The only other textual passages I am aware of that relate directly to this subject are a few examples where followers of Pārśva convert to become followers of Mahāvīra and the conversion is marked as it is in *Uttarādhyayana* 23 by the abandonment of the four vows and the adoption of five vows. Such conversions occur at the end of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (Jacobi 1895, 435; Nathamal 1974a, 486) as well as in *Viyāhapannatti* 1.9 (Nathamal 1974b, 72). Another example in *Viyāhapannatti* 5.9 refers back to *Viyāhapannatti* 1.9.

[63] I have noted above that Muni Nathamal refers to the idea that Nemi taught four vows when commenting on the reference to the fourfold lay *dhamma* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20, note 6).

vows.[64] Given the association between the lay and mendicant vows, it seems significant that it is Thāvaccāputta, disciple of the twenty-second Jina (Nemi), who teaches four lay vows in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and Kesi, disciple of the twenty-third Jina (Pārśva), who teaches four lay vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. These references to the fourfold lay *dhamma* thus line up with the idea that all of the Jinas apart from Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra taught four monastic vows. In my view, as I will explain below, the tradition about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas likely developed at a relatively late point as an attempt to authenticate a particular presentation of the Jain *dhamma*. It is not clear to me, however, whether the references to four lay vows in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* postdate (and reflect) or predate (and have influenced the development of) the tradition about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas.

Though there is a parallel between the examples of the disciples of Nemi and Pārśva teaching four lay vows discussed above and the tradition about a difference in the number of monastic vows taught by the various Jinas, there are

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[64] The fourfold restraint is described as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo a-dinnādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo bahiddhā-dāṇāo veramaṇaṃ." Bollée translates: "abstinence from any violence, lying, taking what has not been given and any giving away [i.e., ejaculating]." (Bollée 2002, 58) The first three of these vows are the same as the first three of the five mendicant vows that Mahāvīra is said to have taught. The five mendicant vows are listed in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 as follows: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo adinnādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ." (Nathamal 1974b, 278-279) Thus instead of "giving away [i.e., ejaculating]" (*savvāo bahiddhā-dāṇāo veramaṇaṃ*) there is desisting from sex and from the accumulation of property (*savvāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ*).

other examples where the parallel is not seen. Abhayadeva, in his commentary

on Haribhadra's *Śrāvaka-dharma-pañcāśaka*, states that, unlike the case of the

mendicant vows, there have always been five lay *anuvratas*. He refers to the

story from *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 discussed above, where (at least in some

versions) King Selaa adopts twelve lay vows in the presence of a disciple of

Nemi.[65] I have come across a similar example occurring in *Nirayāvalī* 3.3 where a

character adopts the twelvefold lay *dhamma* in the time of Pārśva.[66] Yet, it is

important to consider these examples referring to twelve lay vows in relation to

the examples referring to four lay vows. I believe that the examples in which

disciples of Nemi and Pārśva teach four lay vows are earlier than the examples

in which Nemi and Pārśva are associated with the teaching of twelve lay vows.

The examples referring to twelve lay vows, I suggest, were produced or altered

after the mendicant compilers had decided to present the standard version of the

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[65] Williams refers to Abhayadeva's comments (Williams 1963, 64). I have noted above that in
Muni Nathamal's edition of *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 King Selaa adopts the fourfold *dhamma*
(*cāujjāmiyaṃ gihidhammaṃ*) and that Muni Nathamal refers to an alternate reading that employs
shorthand references and mentions the five *anuvratas* (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20, note 6).

[66] In the *Nirayāvalī*, a text that is relatively late, we see a layman adopt the twelvefold *dhamma* in
the time of Pārśva. In *Nirayāvalī* 3.3, a Brahmin named Somila adopts the lay vows in the
presence of Pārśva. When he initially adopts the vows there is no mention of the number of vows:
"sambuddhe sāvagadhammaṃ paḍivajjittā paḍigate |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 33). This Brahmin
abandons his lay vows, becoming a non-Jain ascetic. After this, a deity appears to him and tells
him he is now ill-initiated (*duppavvaitaṃ*) because he had previously accepted, in the presence of
Pārśva, the twelvefold lay *dhamma*. The Prakrit reads as follows: "evaṃ khalu devānuppiyā !
tumaṃ pāsassa araho purisādāniyassa aṃtiyaṃ paṃcāṇuvvae satta sikkhāvae duvālasavihe
sāvagadhamme paḍivanne." (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 39) Somila thus re-adopts the five
anuvratas: "tate ṇaṃ somile māhaṇarasī teṇaṃ deveṇaṃ evaṃ vutte samāṇe puvvapaḍivaṇṇāiṃ
paṃca aṇuvvayāiṃ sayameva uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharati |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 39)

lay *dhamma* as twelvefold. This view lines up with the suggestion I made above

that we can observe an effort to replace references to the fourfold lay *dhamma*

with reference to the twelvefold lay *dhamma*. It appears that the later compilers

of the Śvetāmbara canon were more concerned with consistency in the

presentation of a twelvefold lay *dhamma* than with consistency with respect to

the idea that Nemi and Pārśva taught four vows.

When considering possible explanations for the parallel between the

references to the fourfold lay *dhamma* discussed above and the traditional Jain

idea about the difference in the number of monastic vows taught by the various

Jinas, it is important to note at the outset that the evidence dates from a period

well after the time of Mahāvīra. The texts may preserve some historical details

from earlier periods, but they also contain fiction. It seems problematic to view

the textual references to the number of vows taught by the various Jinas as

preserving actual history because, though scholars accept the historicity of

Mahāvīra and Pārśva, this is not the case with Nemi or most of the other Jinas,

whose existence is a matter of belief for those within the tradition but is not

accepted by scholars outside the tradition. Thus, for scholars outside the

tradition, the parallel between *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 (where Thāvaccāputta,

disciple of Nemi, teaches four lay vows) and the tradition about the number of

mendicant vows taught by the various Jinas (according to which Nemi taught four

vows) should not be explained as resulting from the preservation of a historical

detail about the teachings of Nemi. Nonetheless, many scholars have accepted

the historical accuracy of a distinction in the number of monastic vows taught by

Pārśva and Mahāvīra.[67] My research calls this view into question.[68]

The texts seem consistent in presenting Mahāvīra as teaching twelve lay

vows. In the *Uvavāiya* it is Mahāvīra who presents what has become the

standard version of the lay vows and it is Mahāvīra who lists "typical offences"

(*atiyārā peyālā*) for the twelve lay vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. However, my

research indicates that the list of twelve lay vows attributed to Mahāvīra was

produced at a relatively late stage in the process of the compilation of the

Śvetāmbara canon. It thus seems likely that, rather than preserving historical

fact, such passages were produced in attempt to authenticate a relatively late

decision to present the twelvefold lay *dhamma* as normative. Though I have not

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[67] According to Schubring, "it cannot be disputed" that Pārśva taught a fourfold *dhamma* while Mahāvīra taught a twelvefold *dhamma*. He writes: "It is a merit of Mahāvīra's that he did away with a certain vagueness in the terms of his predecessor." (Schubring 1962, 30) With respect to *Uttarādhyayana* 23, Jacobi writes as follows: "The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and this is possible only on the assumption of a sufficient interval of time having elapsed between the last two Tīrthakaras. And this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahāvīra came 250 years after Pārśva." (Jacobi 1895, 122, note 3) Jaini provides references for further scholarly discussion of the four vows (Jaini 2002, 119, note 3).

[68] Other scholars have previously questioned the distinction between the number of vows taught by Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Jaini notes that Modi questioned the authenticity of this distinction (Jaini 1979, 15-18). Jaini has questioned the entire tradition about the variation in the number of vows taught by the various Jinas (Jaini 2002, 125).

studied references to the mendicant vows, it is clear that the textual passages

specifying that Mahāvīra taught five monastic vows were also produced after the

time of Mahāvīra. It thus seems probable to me that the passages specifying that

Mahāvīra taught five mendicant vows were produced in attempt to authenticate a

decision, made after the time of Mahāvīra, to present the fivefold mendicant

dhamma as normative.[69]

It remains unclear exactly how to explain the parallel between the

traditional Jain idea about the difference in the number of monastic vows taught

by the various Jinas and the references to the fourfold lay *dhamma* in

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya*. I think it is likely that some of

the references to the fourfold *dhamma* in the Śvetāmbara canon occur because

in the early tradition (even after the time of Mahāvīra) it was normative to speak

of four vows. I suggest that, at some point, the compilers decided to present the

five mendicant vows and twelve lay vows as normative by attributing the teaching

of these vows to Mahāvīra. In my view, the tradition about the variation in the

number of monastic vows taught by the various Jinas emerged partly as a way of

acknowledging that in the early tradition it had been normative to speak of four

vows. I thus believe that some references to the fourfold *dhamma* in the

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[69] Dundas notes that the Buddhist Pali canon consistently presents Mahāvīra as teaching a
fourfold *dhamma* (Dundas 2002, 31). Jaini suggests that Mahāvīra may have taught a fourfold
dhamma (Jaini 2002, 120).

Śvetāmbara canon predate and influenced the development of the tradition about

the variation in the number of monastic vows taught by the various Jinas.

However, other references to the fourfold *dhamma* (such as the examples where

followers of Pārśva abandon the four vows and adopt the five vows as they

become followers of Mahāvīra) clearly presuppose (and could not predate) the

tradition about the variation in the number of monastic vows taught by the various

Jinas. As I have noted above, it is not clear to me whether the references to the

fourfold lay *dhamma* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* postdate

(and reflect) or predate (and have influenced the development of) the tradition

about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas.[70] Nonetheless, it seems clear to

me that in developing the tradition about the difference in the number of monastic

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[70] I think it is likely that the references to the fourfold *dhamma* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* existed before the idea emerged that all of the Jinas apart from Rṣabha and Mahāvīra taught four vows. However, it is possible that the texts were altered at a later point to make them line up with the tradition about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas. In the *Jambuddīvapannatti* we find that Rṣabha teaches five vows (Jain 2006, 90, 92). In this case I am likewise unsure whether the passage reflects or has influenced the development of the tradition about the variation in the teachings of the Jinas. Jaini suggests that the earliest association between the Jain tradition and a list of four vows is seen in one of the two extant versions (*pāḍho*) of the section on Pārśva (Pāsa) in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* (Jaini 2002, 125-126). In the first version Pārśva is associated, not with four vows, but with a fourfold cosmology. The second version refers to "killing living beings up to (*jāva*) possessions" (Jaini 2002, 125). Though this could be the earliest association between the Jain tradition and a list of four vows, the passage may represent a relatively late attempt to strengthen the association between Pārśva and the teaching of four vows. Schubring apparently viewed the second version of the section on Pārśva in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* as later than the first version (Jaini 2002, 126). It can be noted that in presenting the four vows as "killing living beings up to (*jāva*) possessions" the second *pāḍho* of the section on Pārśva in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* differs from the list of four vows seen in the sermon delivered by Kesi in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* where, as I have noted above, we find "giving away [i.e., ejaculating]" (*savvāo bahiddhā-dāṇāo veramaṇaṃ*) as the fourth vow.

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vows taught by the various Jinas and in attributing the teaching of the five

mendicant vows and twelve lay vows to Mahāvīra, the compilers made an effort

to authenticate these lists of vows and to present them as normative. This view

lines up with my argument that the list of twelve lay vows developed at a

relatively late point in the process of the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon.

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5: Lay Jain Practice is Ascetic Practice

I have suggested that Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 should be considered a

relatively early text because of the reference to four lay vows. In this lecture it is

particularly clear that the lay vows are conceived as a form of asceticism. This is

seen in the use of the term "vinaya" in association with lay behavior. It is also

seen from the context of the passage as I will proceed to discuss at length.

I have mentioned above that Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 is set in Gujarat in

the time of Nemi and that the story is focused on a Jain monk named

Thāvaccāputta. The passage describing lay practice as a type of vinaya occurs

when Thāvaccāputta encounters and eventually converts a merchant

(nagarasetthī) named Sudaṃsaṇa. The merchant Sudaṃsaṇa had been a lay

follower of a non-Jain ascetic (parivvāyaa) named Sua. When he meets

Thāvaccāputta, Sudaṃsaṇa asks him: "What is the fundamental principle of your

religion?" (*kimmūlae dhamme paṇṇatte?*)[71] Thāvaccāputta states that his

dhamma is "based on discipline" (*viṇayamūlae*) and that it is of two types: that of

the householder (*agāraviṇae*) and that of the houseless mendicant

(*aṇagāraviṇae*).[72] In Muni Nathamal's edition of the text, he notes that the

subsequent description of the lay *dhamma* is presented in some manuscripts as

being fourfold and in other manuscripts as being twelvefold.[73] I have discussed

such variation at length above. It is noteworthy that the examples referring to

twelve vows also include reference to the eleven lay *paḍimāo* (*ekkārasa*

uvāsagapaḍimāo), which here are specific ascetic practices.[74] I believe this is the

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[71] Bothara 1996, 253; Nathamal 1974c, 122.

[72] The full statement reads: "sudaṃsaṇā! viṇayamūlae dhamme paṇṇatte | se vi ya viṇae duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā -- agāraviṇae aṇagāraviṇae ya | " (Nathamal 1974c, 122)

[73] Muni Nathamal gives the reading "fourfold" in his version of the text: "tattha ṇaṃ je se agāraviṇae, se ṇaṃ 'cāujjāmie gihidhamme | tattha ṇaṃ je se aṇagāraviṇae, se ṇaṃ cāujjāmā, taṃ jahā – savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo bahiddhādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ' | " (Nathamal 1974c, 122) In his notes he provides the following variation: "[tattha ṇaṃ je se agāraviṇae, se ṇaṃ] paṃca aṇuvvayāiṃ satta sikkhāvayāiṃ ekkārasa uvāsagapaḍimāo | tatthaṇaṃ je se aṇagāraviṇae, se ṇaṃ paṃca mahavvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā -- savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ savvāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ savvāo rāibhoyaṇāo veramaṇaṃ jāva micchādaṃsaṇasallāo veramaṇaṃ, dasavihe paccakkhāṇe bārasa bhikkhupaḍimāo (ka, kha, ga, gha) | " (Nathamal 1974c, 122, note 7) The illustrated edition includes the version that refers to the twelve vows and Bothara translates this reading as follows: "My religion is based on discipline. The discipline is of two types – Agar-discipline or the way of life of the laity and Anagar-discipline or the way of life of the ascetic. The first includes five minor-vows, seven preparatory vows and eleven prescribed practices for the citizen. The second includes the five great vows...Also included are refraining from eating at night and pursuing misconceptions. Besides these, ten types of reversions and twelve prescribed practices for the ascetic are also added to these disciplines." (Bothara 1996, 253)

[74] In the *Uvāsagadasāo* it is clear that the *paḍimāo* are ascetic practices undertaken towards the end of one's life. Āṇaṃda engages in the *paḍimāo* after abandoning family life (Hoernle 1885-90,

only reference to the *uvāsagapaḍimāo* that occurs directly beside mention of the

lay vows. Its occurrence here seems to reinforce the idea that lay practice is

seen as a form of ascetic practice.

The use of the term *vinaya* and the reference to the *uvāsagapaḍimāo* line

up with the context of the passage. From the context it is clear that the Jain

mendicants defined themselves as well as their lay followers as ascetic

practitioners. The *vinayamūlae dhamme* of Thāvaccāputta is juxtaposed with the

non-Jain ascetic Sua's *soyamūlae dhamme* (purification-based *dhamma*). The

ascetic Sua likely represents an actual religious group. The description of this

ascetic mentions his knowledge of the Vedas and the *saṭṭhitaṃta* doctrine of the

Sāṃkhya school as well as specific sets of vows, rituals, and identifying

accessories.[75] In this section of the text the Jain lay *dhamma* is contrasted in

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45; Nathamal 1974c, 413). Through these exercises "he became withered *and so forth*, (down to) emaciated and reduced to a skeleton [lit. covered with veins]."(Hoernle 1885-90, 46) The Prakrit reads: "§64. tae naṃ se āṇaṃde samaṇovāsae imeṇaṃ eyāruveṇaṃ orāleṇaṃ viuleṇaṃ payatteṇaṃ paggahieṇaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ sukke lukkhe nimmaṃse aṭṭhicammāvaṇaddhe kiḍikiḍiyābhūe kise dhamaṇisaṃtae jāe | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 413) In chapter six of the *Āyāradasāo*, on the other hand, the lay *paḍimāo* are presented as being something like a ladder of progressively difficult stages in lay practice (Dīparatnasāgara v.23, 39-41; Jain 2005, 83-92). In my view, this use of the term *paḍimāo* represents a later development.

[75] Bothara translates as follows: "He was an accomplished scholar of all the four Vedas and the Shashtitantra. He followed the discipline of five Yamas and five Niyamas. He propagated the ten cleansing based tenets of the Parivrajak sect and preached for indulgence in charity, cleansing, and anointing of/at places of pilgrimage. He used to carry seven accouterments prescribed for a Parivrajak, namely - a trident, a Kamandal (a vessel made of gourd shell), an umbrella, Chhannalika (a wooden instrument), an Ankush (a lancet), a copper ring, and a piece of cloth. Thus Shuk Parivrajak arrived in the town of Saugandhika with one thousand of his Parivrajak disciples and stayed in a Math (a specific type of religious abode). There he started his practices based on the Sankhya ideals." (Bothara 1996, 250) The Prakrit reads as follows: "52. teṇaṃ

particular with the rituals of this religious group. When the non-Jain ascetic Sua

first converts the merchant Sudaṃsaṇa we read about these rituals in Sua's

description of his religion.[76] In this passage we have reference to specific

purification practices. There is reference to physical cleansing, by means of

rubbing with sand and washing with water, as well as ritual cleansing, by means

of *dabbha* grass and mantras. The practices are said to lead one to heaven. It is

after he hears about the rituals that Sudaṃsaṇa adopts this religion as his own

and becomes a lay follower.[77]

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kālenaṃ teṇaṃ samaeṇaṃ sue nāmaṃ parivvāye hotthā - 'riuvveya, ajajuvveya-sāmaveya-
athavvaṇaveya-saṭṭhitaṃtakusale saṃkhasamae laddhaṭṭhe paṃcajama-paṃcaniyamamajuttaṃ
soyamūlayaṃ dasappayāraṃ parivvāyagadhammaṃ dāṇadhammaṃ ca soyadhammaṃ ca
titthābhiseyaṃ ca āghavemāṇe paṇṇavemāṇe dhāuratta-'vattha-pavara'-parihie tidaṃḍa-
kuṃḍiya-chattachannālaya-aṃkusa-pavittaya-kesari-hatthagae parivvāyagasahasseṇaṃ
saddhiṃ saṃparivuḍe jeṇeva sogaṃdhiyā nayarī jeṇeva parivvāyagāvasahe teṇeva uvāgacchai,
uvāgacchittā parivvāyagāvasahaṃsi bhaṃḍaganikkhevaṃ karei, karettā saṃkhasamaeṇaṃ
appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 120-1)

[76] Bothara translates as follows: "Sudaṃsaṇe! The religion I preach is known as cleansing based
religion. The cleansing is said to be of two types - physical cleansing and spiritual cleansing. The
physical cleansing is done with the help of water and sand and the spiritual one with the help of
grass or coconut and mantra. O Beloved of gods! According to our tenets anything that becomes
impure is first rubbed with sand and then washed with pure water. This process turns impure into
pure. Similarly a being purifies its soul by anointing or taking bath with water and crossing every
hurdle reaches the heaven." (Bothara 1996, 252) The Prakrit reads: "evaṃ khalu Sudaṃsaṇā !
amhaṃ soyamūlae dhamme paṇṇatte | se vi ya soe duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā - davvasoe ya
bhāvasoe ya | davvasoe udaeṇaṃ maṭṭiyāe ya | bhāvasoe dabbhehi ya maṃtehi ya |
jaṃ ṇaṃ amhaṃ devāṇuppiyā ! kiṃci asuī bhavai taṃ savvaṃ sajjapuḍhavīe ālippai, tao pacchā
suddheṇa vāriṇā pakkhālijjai, tao taṃ asuī suī bhavai | evaṃ khalu jīvā jalābhiseya-pūyappāṇo
avigghaṇaṃ saggaṃ gacchaṃti | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 121)

[77] Bothara translates as follows: "Pleased with this discourse Sudarshan embraced the cleansing
based religion of Shuk. He started giving ample food, cloths, and other things as alms to
Parivrajaks." (Bothara 1996, 252) The Prakrit reads as follows: "tae ṇaṃ se sudaṃsaṇe suyassa
aṃtie dhammaṃ soccā haṭṭhatuṭṭhe suyassa aṃtiyaṃ soyamūlayaṃ dhammaṃ geṇhai, geṇhittā

The Jain monk Thāvaccāputta converts Sudaṃsaṇa to the Jain religion

after presenting the *viṇayamūlae dhamme* outlined above. Thāvaccāputta uses a

simile about cleaning a blood-stained cloth to contrast the Jain religion with the

cleansing-based *dhamma*.[78] The point of the simile is that purity is only achieved

through *dhamma* that is based on discipline (*viṇayamūlae*), including the practice

of the cessation of ill-usage of living beings (*pāṇāivāyaveramaṇa*) and so on.

One must infer that in the Jain view the Sāṃkhya rituals involve acts of violence.

The simile also suggests that the practice of disciplines like the cessation of ill-

usage of living beings involves a significant amount of physical exertion, just as it

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parivvāyae viuleṇaṃ asaṇa-pāṇa-khāima-sāimeṇaṃ paḍilābhemāṇe saṃkhasamaeṇaṃ
appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 122)

[78] Bothara translates as follows: "Thāvaccāputte put a question before Sudaṃsaṇe, "Sudaṃsaṇe!
If a person washes a blood stained cloth with blood only, would it become clean and pure?"
Sudarshan replied, "That is not right and it is not possible." "Similarly Sudaṃsaṇe! Even
according to your views purity cannot be achieved through such acts as violence. Sudaṃsaṇe! If
a person puts a blood stained cloth in a solution of caustic soda, boils it, and then rinses it with
clean water, would that blood stained cloth become clean and pure or not?" "Yes, it certainly
would." "Similarly, Sudaṃsaṇe! according to my religion purity is achieved through the practice of
disciplines like Ahimsa.'" (Bothara 1996, 254-5) The Prakrit reads as follows: "61. tae ṇaṃ
thāvaccāputte sudaṃsaṇaṃ evaṃ vayāsī – tubbhaṇṇaṃ sudaṃsaṇā! se jahānāmae kei purise
egaṃ mahaṃ ruhirakayaṃ vatthaṃ ruhireṇa ceva dhovejjā, tae ṇaṃ sudaṃsaṇā! tassa
ruhirakayassa vatthassa ruhireṇa ceva pakkhālijjamāṇassa atthi kāi sohī? no iṇaṭṭhe samaṭṭhe |
evāmeva sudaṃsaṇā! tubbhaṃ pi pāṇāivāeṇaṃ jāva bahiddhādāṇeṇaṃ [note 7:
"micchādaṃsaṇasalleṇaṃ (ka, kha, ga, gha)."] natthi sohī, jahā tassa ruhirakayassa vatthassa
ruhireṇaṃ ceva pakkhālijjamāṇassa natthi sohī |
sudaṃsaṇā! se jahānāmae kei purise egaṃ mahaṃ ruhirakayaṃ vatthaṃ sajjiya-khāreṇaṃ
ālimpai, ālimpittā payaṇaṃ āruhei, āruhettā uṇhaṃ gāhei, tao pacchā suddheṇaṃ vāriṇā
dhovejjā | se nūṇaṃ sudaṃsaṇā! tassa ruhirakayassa vatthassa sajjiya-khāreṇaṃ aṇulittassa
payaṇaṃ āruhiyassa uṇhaṃ gāhiyassa suddheṇaṃ vāriṇā pakkhālijjamāṇassa sohī bhavai?
haṃtā bhavai | evāmeva sudaṃsaṇā! amhaṃ pi pāṇāivāyaveramaṇeṇaṃ jāva
bahiddhādāṇaveramaṇeṇaṃ atthi sohī, jahā vā tassa ruhirakayassa vatthassa •sajjiya-khāreṇaṃ
aṇulittassa payaṇaṃ āruhiyassa uṇhaṃ gāhiyassaᵒ suddheṇaṃ vāriṇā pakkhālijjamāṇassa atthi
sohī | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 123)

takes physical exertion to clean the cloth. *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 specifies that

after becoming a lay Jain (*samanovāsaga*) Sudaṃsaṇa no longer honored his

former teacher.

The ritual practices associated with the *soyamūlae dhamme* (purification-

based *dhamma*) in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 are mentioned at a number of other

points in the Śvetāmbara canon. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.8 the *soyamūlae*

dhamme is criticized in the same way as in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5.[79] The

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[79] The passage is basically the same as that found in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5. Bothara
translates: "In Mithila lived a Parivrajika (a class of female preachers) named Chakkha. She used
to preach her religion of charity, cleansing, and bathing at a place of pilgrimage to various
important citizens of the town including the king. One day, carrying her trident, gourd-pot, and
wearing her ochre coloured dress, Chokkha left her abode and entered the palace along with her
disciples. She straight-away came to the inner par where Princess Malli stayed. She sprinkled
some water on the floor, spread some hay and her mattress and sat down. After this she started
her usual preaching on the religion of cleansing (etc.). Interrupting her, Princess Malli asked,
"Chokkha! What is said to be the basis of your religion?" Chokkha replied, "Beloved of gods! I
preach the religion that is based on cleansing. Our school propagates that every impurity is
cleansed with the help of sand and water. Thus, by bathing, a being becomes pure. By following
this religion only, a being gets liberated in the end." Princess Malli again asked, "Chokkha! If
someone washes blood stained cloths with blood only, does it cleanse it even a little?" Chokkha,
"No, that is not possible." Princess Malli, "So, Chokkha! as there is no denial for indulgence in the
eighteen sins including violence, misconception, (etc.) in the religion you preach, it cannot cause
any purification. Exactly like washing with blood cannot remove blood stains from a cloth."
(Bothara 1996, 376-8)The Prakrit reads as follows: "139. tattha ṇaṃ mihilāe nāmaṃ parivvāiyā –
riuvveya-•yajjuvveda-sāmaveda-ahavvaṇaveda-itihāsapaṃcamāṇaṃ nighaṃtuchatthāṇaṃ
saṃgovaṃgāṇaṃ sarahassāṇaṃ cauṇhaṃ vedāṇaṃ sāragā jāva baṃbhannaesu ya satthesu°
supariṇitthiyā yāvi hotthā | |
140. tae ṇaṃ sā cokkhā parivvāiyā mihilāe bahūṇaṃ rāīsara jāva satthavāhapabhīīṇaṃ purao
dāṇadhammaṃ ca soyadhammaṃ ca titthābhiseyaṃ ca āghavemāṇī paṇṇavemāṇī parūvemāṇī
uvadaṃsemāṇī viharai | |
141. tae ṇaṃ sā cokkhā annayā kayāiṃ tidaṃdaṃ ca kuṃḍiyaṃ ca jāva dhāurattāo ya geṇhittā
parivvāigāvasahāo paḍinikkhamai, paḍinikkhamittā pavirala-parivvāiyā-saddhiṃ saṃparivuḍā
mihilaṃ rāyahāṇiṃ majjhammajjheṇaṃ jeṇeva kumbhagassa raṇṇo bhavaṇe jeṇeva
kannaṃteure jeṇeva mallī videharāyavarakannā teṇeva uvāgacchai, uvāgacchittā
udayapariphosiyāe 'dabbhovaripaccatthuyāe bhisiyāe' [note 8: "paccatthuyāte bhisiyāte (kha,
gha)."] nisīyai, nisīittā mallī videharāyavarakannāe purao dāṇadhammaṃ ca •soyadhammaṃ ca
titthābhiseyaṃ ca āghavemāṇī paṇṇavemāṇī parūvemāṇī uvadaṃsemāṇī° viharai | |

hierarchy of beings in the second part of the *Uvavāiya* includes reference to

various ascetic groups described in the same terms.[80] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.7 we

find verses disparaging religious practices involving contact with water.[81] We can

assume that such practices were relatively popular among ascetics and

householders. In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 lay Jain practice is presented, in

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142. tae ṇaṃ mallī videharāyavarakannā cokkhaṃ parivvāiyaṃ evaṃ vāyasī – tubbhaṇṇaṃ
cokkhe! kiṃmūlae dhamme paṇṇatte?

143. tae ṇaṃ sā cokkhā parivvāiyā malliṃ videharāyavarakannaṃ evaṃ vāyasī -- amhaṃ ṇaṃ
devāṇuppiyae! soyamūlae dhamme paṇṇatte | jaṃ ṇaṃ amhaṃ kiṃci asuī bhavai taṃ ṇaṃ
udaeṇa ya miṭṭiyāe •ya suī bhavai | evaṃ khalu amhe jalābhiseya-pūyappāṇo° aviggheṇaṃ
saggaṃ gacchāmo | |

144. tae ṇaṃ mallī videharāyavarakannā cokkhaṃ parivvāiyaṃ evaṃ vāyasī -- cokkhe! se
jahānāmae kei purise ruhirakayaṃ vatthaṃ ruhireṇaṃ ceva dhovejjā, atthi ṇaṃ cokkhe! tassa
ruhirakayassa vatthassa ruhireṇaṃ dhovvamāṇassa kāi sohī? no iṇaṭṭhe samaṭṭhe |
evāmeva cokkhe! tubbhaṇṇaṃ pāṇāivāeṇaṃ jāva micchādasaṇasalleṇaṃ natthi kāi sohī, jahā
tassa ruhirakayassa vatthassa ruhireṇaṃ ceva dhovvamāṇassa | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 184-5)

[80] Leumann ed. 1883, 69-71; Lalwani 1988, 221-30.

[81] Jacobi translates these verses as follows: "Those who, touching water in the morning and
evening, contend that perfection is obtained through water (are easily refuted). For if perfection
could be obtained by contact with water, many beings living in water must have reached
perfection: (14) Fishes, tortoises, aquatic snakes, cormorants, otters, and demons living in water.
The clever ones declare those to be wrong who maintain that perfection may be obtained through
water. (15) If water did wash off the impure Karman, it must take off merit too. But this (assertion
of the heretics) has no foundation but their wish. As a blind man follows a guide (and misses his
goal), so a fool (who makes ablutions, &c. as a means of reaching Moksha) kills living beings.
(16) If water did wash off the sins of him who committed them, some would have obtained
perfection who killed water-beings. Therefore he is wrong who maintains the attainment of
perfection through water. (17)" (Jacobi 1895, 294-5) The Prakrit reads as follows:
"14. udageṇa je siddhimudāharaṃti sāyaṃ ca pātaṃ udagaṃ phusaṃtā |
udagassa phāseṇa siyā ya siddhī sijjhiṃsu pāṇā bahave dagaṃsi | |
15. macchā ya kummā ya sirīsivā ya maṃgū ya uddā dagarakkhasā ya |
atthāṇameyaṃ kusalā vayaṃti udageṇa siddhiṃ jamudāharaṃti | |
16. udagaṃ jaṭī kammamalaṃ harejjā evaṃ suhaṃ icchāmittameva |
aṃdhaṃ va ṇeyāramaṇussaraṃtā pāṇāṇi cevaṃ viṇihaṃti maṃdā | |
17. pāvāiṃ kammāiṃ pakuvvao hi sīodagaṃ tū jai taṃ harejjā |
sijjhiṃsu ege dagasattaghāṭī musaṃ vayaṃte jalasiddhimāhu | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 307)

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contrast to the cleansing rituals, as involving the performance of austerities and the observance of various restrictions, either through the rubric of four or twelve lay vows.

An Early Expression of the Lay Vows in Suyagadamga 2.7

Suyagadamga 2.7, the last lecture in the *Suyagadamga*, consists of material relating to the lay community including descriptions of various categories of lay people. Here I want to focus on one of the descriptions of "some Jain laymen" (*samtegaiyā samanovāsagā*), which seems to represent an early expression of the list of lay vows. Jacobi translates the passage as follows:

And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the *Sramanas*, who have made this declaration: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state, but we shall strictly observe the Posaha on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the new-moon, and) full-moon days, we renounce gross ill-usage of living beings, grossly lying speech, gross taking of things not given, (unlawful) sexual intercourse, (unlimited) appropriation of property; we shall set limits to our desires in the two forms and in the three ways. They will also make the following renunciation: 'neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' Having [...][82] abstained from eating, drinking, bathing, and using beds or chairs, may they, on their decease, be said to make a (righteous) end of their life?' 'Certainly, they do make such an end of their life.'[83] (Jacobi 1895, 428-9)

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[82] Jacobi here inserts in brackets "(on *Posaha*-days)". However, the same phrase (*te ṇaṃ abhoccā apiccā asiṇāittā āsaṃdīpeḍhiyāo paccoruhittā*) ends another passage in *Suyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 in which the laymen declare they are unable to observe the *posaha* fast (Nathamal 1974a, 477; Jacobi 1895, 429).

[83] The Prakrit reads: "§20. bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ udāhu - ṇiyaṃthā khalu pucchiyavvā āusaṃto ! ṇiyaṃthā ! iha khalu saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā bhavaṃti | tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ evaṃ vuttapuvvaṃ bhavai - ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo muṃḍā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae, vayaṃ ṇaṃ cauddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā viharissāmo | thūlagaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ paccakkhāissāmo, evaṃ thūlagaṃ musāvāyaṃ thūlagaṃ adiṇṇādāṇaṃ thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ paccakkhāissāmo, icchāparimāṇaṃ karissāmo duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ | mā khalu mamaṭṭhāe kiṃci vi kareha vā kāraveha vā tattha vi

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I have noted above that the expression of the inability to become a monk at the beginning of this passage is seen also in the standard adoption of the lay vows.[84] I do not see solid evidence to establish a direction of borrowing. Nonetheless, the fact that the phrase at the beginning of this passage occurs also in the standard adoption of lay vows shows a relationship between the passage and the lay vows.

In this passage, the first practice mentioned after the declaration of the inability to adopt mendicant vows is the *posaha* ritual. In the previous chapter I noted that the language in the mention of the *posaha* ritual in the fourth part of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* is identical to this passage, though again I am not certain of the direction of borrowing. As I noted in my previous chapter, I view this reference to the *posaha* observances as relatively early since there is no explicit mention of a "fast". In the standard list of twelve vows the "*posaha* fast" (*posahovavāso*) is listed as one of the four *śikṣāvratas*. This passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 seems to date from a period before the lists of *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* were established since, apart from reference

paccakkhāissāmo | te ṇaṃ abhoccā apiccā asiṇāittā āsaṃdīpeḍhiyāo paccoruhittā te taha kālagayā kiṃ vattavvaṃ siyā ?
sammaṃ kālagaya tti vattavvaṃ siyā |" (Nathamal 1974a, 476)

[84] In the standard adoption of lay vows we read "no khalu ahaṃtā saṃcāemi ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ taṃ ceva jāva pavvaittae" (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322). In the description of some Jain laymen (*saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā*) in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we read: "no khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo muṃdā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae" (Nathamal 1974a, 476).

to the *posaha* observances, none of the vows usually listed under these

headings occur. The fact that observance of the *posaha* days is the first thing

mentioned in this passage after the declaration of the inability to adopt mendicant

vows further attests to the general importance of the *posaha* days for the lay

community in the early Jain tradition. It is thus understandable that the *posaha*

fast would eventually be included as one of the twelve vows.

After mention of the *posaha* days, the passage then lists the five

anuvratas, though the term "*anuvrata*" does not occur.[85] The language employed

in the first three of these vows is basically the same as that seen in the list of

anuvratas in the *Uvavāiya*.[86] However, as I noted above, the terminology used for

the fourth and fifth *anuvratas* (*thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ*, "extensive sexual

intercourse," and *thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*, "extensive appropriation of property")[87]

is distinct from that seen in the *Uvavāiya* (*sa-dāra-saṃtose*, "to be contented with

one's own wife," and *icchā-parimāṇe*, "to limit one's desires").[88] This difference

seems to indicate that the list in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 is earlier. The terminology in

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[85] The five vows are listed as follows: "thūlagaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ paccakkhāissāmo, evaṃ thūlagaṃ musāvāyaṃ thūlagaṃ adiṇṇādāṇaṃ thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ paccakkhāissāmo." (Nathamal 1974a, 476)

[86] In the *Uvavāiya* the five *anuvratas* are listed as follows: "1. thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ 2. thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ 3. thūlāo adiṇṇ'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ 4. sa-dāra-saṃtose 5. icchā-parimāṇe." (Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4)

[87] Nathamal 1974a, 476; Jacobi 1895, 428-9.

[88] Leumann 1883, §57, p.63-4; Lalwani 1988, 188-91.

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Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 seems to derive directly from a reworking of the mendicant

vows, where the lay community does in part what the mendicant community does

in full.[89] The shift in terminology found in the *aṇuvratas* as presented in the

Uvavāiya may result from an attempt to explain what is meant by the terminology

seen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, i.e. "to renounce extensive sexual intercourse"

("*thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ*") means "to be contented with one's own wife" ("*sa-dāra-*

saṃtose") and "to renounce extensive appropriation of property" ("*thūlagaṃ*

pariggahaṃ") means "to limit one's desires" ("*icchā-parimāṇe*"). I will note below

that *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 employs the same terminology as *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7

and I take this correspondence as indicating that *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 is also

relatively early. On the other hand, the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains the same

terminology as the *Uvavāiya* and I take these texts to be relatively late.

Following the list of the *aṇuvratas* in this passage the laymen state that

they will set limits to their desires in the two forms and in the three ways

(*icchāparimāṇaṃ karissāmo duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ*). Thus, after the fifth *aṇuvrata*,

"to renounce appropriation of property" ("*thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*"), we find a

phrase employing the term that replaces the fifth *aṇuvrata* in the *Uvavāiya* (*icchā-*

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[89] Thus, we find the terms *mehuṇa* and *pariggaha* in the description of the monastic *dhamma* in
the *Uvavāiya*. Lalwani translates: "[A monk] desists from inflicting harm/slaughter on any form of
life, from falsehood, from usurpation, from sex behaviour and from the accumulation of property."
(Lalwani 1988, 188-91) The Prakrit reads: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, musāvāya-
adatt'ādāṇa-mehuṇa-pariggaha-rāībhoyaṇāo veramaṇaṃ." (Leumann 1883, §57, p.63-4)

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parimāṇa). In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 this phrase stands apart from the *aṇuvratas*. In

addition to an association with the fifth *aṇuvrata*, the practice of limiting one's

desires can be associated also with at least one of the *guṇavratas* (namely

uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ). Below I will discuss the description of the vow

called *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ* offered in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. As I noted in

my introduction, the idea of limiting desires seems to parallel the logic of the

initial legitimating of lay life discussed in my first chapter where we read, for

example, that the layman has few desires while other people have many desires

and Jain mendicants have none.

In this passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 it is specified that the layman

limits his desires "in the two forms and in the three ways" (*duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ*).

The same phrase is seen in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. This phrase means that with

respect to a specific activity the laymen will "not do it nor cause it to be done,

either in thought or in word or in deed."[90] Hoernle notes that this phrase should

perhaps be seen in contrast to the conduct of a Jain mendicant who is often said

to renounce three forms and three ways of acting (*tiviham tivihenaṃ*), i.e. doing,

causing, and consenting to actions in thought, word, and deed.[91] However,

Hoernle also says "it is possible that the two distinct forms, of 'conniving at evil'

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[90] Hoernle 1885-90, 11-12.

[91] Hoernle 1885-90, 11-12, note 21.

and 'causing evil,' are [in the cases which refer to the *duviham tivihenam*]

subsumed under the one form of 'causing evil.'"[92] It can be noted that there are

passages in the Śvetāmbara canon relating to the lay community that employ the

phrase *tiviham tivihenam.*[93] The reason for the inconsistency is unclear and it is

thus unclear whether the phrase *duviham tivihenam* is meant to represent a

distinction between lay and monastic conduct in the Jain tradition.

This passage from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 concludes with phrases that I take

as referring to ascetic-like retirement at the end of one's life and the fast to death

(i.e. "They will also make the following renunciation: 'neither do nor cause

anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' Having [...] abstained from eating,

drinking, bathing, and using beds or chairs, [and, having died]...").[94] The first part

of this statement seems related to the phrase *duviham tivihenam* since it

contains the terms "*kareha vā kāraveha vā*" (do or cause to be done). However, I

take the final part of the statement as referring to the fast to death and so the

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[92] Hoernle 1885-90, 11-12, note 21.

[93] As I will discuss below in this chapter, the phrase *tiviham tivihenam* is seen in association with laymen in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 (Deleu 1970, 148-9, §368b). In this case one might expect the phrase *duviham tivihenam*. The phrase *tiviham tivihenam* is also seen in another description of "some Jain laymen" (*samtegaiyā samanovāsagā*) from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 (Jacobi 1895, 429; Nathamal 1974a, 477, §21). This other passage from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 seems to relate to the fast to death and the phrase *tiviham tivihenam* may indicate that the layman has adopted a lifestyle like the mendicant at the time of the fast to death. Detailed discussion of the fast to death is beyond the scope of my current work.

[94] The Prakrit for this phrase reads: "mā khalu mamatthāe kimci vi kareha vā kāraveha vā tattha vi paccakkhāissāmo te nam abhoccā apiccā asināittā āsamdīpedhiyāo paccoruhittā."

words "*kareha vā kāraveha vā*" may refer to ascetic-like retirement at the end of

one's life. In the first story of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, in his fifteenth year as a

samaṇovāsaga Āṇaṃda, "while he was keeping religious vigils"

(*dhammajāgariyaṃ jāgaramāṇassa*), realizes that he is unable to follow the

teachings of Mahāvīra owing to the hindrance of social obligations.[95] He thus

decides to place his eldest son in charge of the household (*jeṭṭhaputtaṃ*

kuḍumbe ṭhavettā) and to live permanently in the *posahasāla* belonging to his

clan.[96] He tells his family to no longer bother him with family affairs.[97] Though

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[95] Hoernle translates: "on account of this hindrance, I am not able to live conformably with the teachings of the Law." (Hoernle 1885-90, 42) The Prakrit reads: "taṃ etenaṃ vakkhevenaṃ ahaṃ no saṃcāemi samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ dhammapaṇṇattiṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae |" (Nathamal 1974c, 411)

[96] There are many references to the term "*posahasāla*" in the Śvetāmbara canon and lay Jains commonly engage in ascetic-like practice in such locations. I have not come across reference to such structures outside of the Śvetāmbara canon and there is little evidence in the texts for what kind of structures these were, who constructed them, or who visited them. Bothara at one point explains the term *posahasāla* as an "(abode meant for ascetics)" (Bothara 1997, 90). Though this could be correct, I do not know of any evidence to support this idea. Hoernle translates the relevant section of the *Uvāsagadasāo* as follows: "having taken leave of my friends and of my eldest son, and having cleaned a house for *keeping* the posaha *observances* in the midst *of my people* of the Nāya clan, to live in conformity with the teachings of the Law as received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra." (Hoernle 1885-90, 41-2). The Prakrit reads: "taṃ mitta-nāi-niyaga-sayaṇa-saṃbaṃdhi-parijaṇaṃ jeṭṭhaputtaṃ ca āpucchittā, kollāe saṇṇivese nāyakulaṃ posahasālaṃ paḍilehittā, samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ dhammapaṇṇattiṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae." (Nathamal 1974c, 411-12) The term *posahasālaṃ* is qualified by the term *nāyakulaṃ*. I believe this to indicate that the *posahasāla* was communally owned by the *nāyakula*. Hoernle notes that the term *kollāe* refers to a part of the town: "Beyond Kuṇḍapura, in a further north-easterly direction lay the suburb (or 'station,' *sannivesa*) of Kollāga, which appears to have been principally inhabited by kshattriyas of the Nāya clan, to which Mahāvīra himself belonged; for in §66 it is described as the Nāya-kula." (Hoernle 1885-90, 4, note 8)

[97] Hoernle translates: "Do not you, beloved of the devas, from this day forward, any of you consult me or give notice to me regarding *any of the* many affairs (and so forth, *as above*, para.5) or cook and season for my behoof any food (etc.)." (Hoernle 1885-90, 43) The Prakrit reads: "mā ṇaṃ

there is no direct parallel in the language employed, I believe the statement

"neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake" parallels this

situation in the *Uvāsagadasāo*.

I have mentioned in a note that Jacobi takes the last phrase of this

passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (about abstaining from eating and so on[98]) as

referring to an aspect of the *posaha* fast. However, the same phrase ends

another passage in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 in which the laymen declare they are

unable to observe the *posaha* fast and which explicitly mentions the fast to

death.[99] The fact that both of these passages end with reference to death

indicates to me that this final phrase (about abstaining from eating and so on)

refers to the fast to death. This seems further reason to see this passage from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 as an early expression of the lay vows since, as I will note

below, there is reference to the fast to death also after the various lists of twelve

lay vows. According to this passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, some lay Jains

observe the *posaha* days, follow the *aṇuvratas*, limit their desires, and end their

lives in ascetic-like retirement culminating in a fast to death. All of this, with the

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devāṇuppiyā ! tubbhe ajjappabhiiṃ kei mamaṃ bahūsu kajjesu ya kāraṇesu ya maṃtesu ya
kuḍumbesu ya gujjhesu ya rahassesu ya nicchaesu ya vavahāresu ya āpucchau vā paḍipucchau
vā, mamaṃ aṭṭhāe asaṇaṃ vā pāṇaṃ vā khāimaṃ vā sāimaṃ vā uvakkhaḍeu vā uvakkareu vā
| | " (Nathamal 1974c, 412-13)

[98] The Prakrit for this phrase reads: "te ṇaṃ abhoccā apiccā asiṇāittā āsaṃdīpeḍhiyāo
paccoruhittā."

[99] Nathamal 1974a, 477; Jacobi 1895, 429.

addition of a few other practices, is seen in the list of twelve lay vows. At the end

of this passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we read that such a life is said to be

righteous (*sammaṃ kālagaya tti vattavvaṃ siyā*).

Reference to the *Anuvratas* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2

Like *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, the reworked introductory passage from the

mixed section of the third treatise in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (discussed in my first

chapter) contains reference to the *anuvratas* though the term "*anuvrata*" does not

occur. In the first chapter I noted that the three sections (*adhamma, dhamma,*

and mixed) of the third treatise all begin with a variation on one particular

passage. In the section on *dhamma* (referring to Jain mendicants) this passage

contains mention of the five monastic vows.[100] In the case of the section on

adhamma the people are said for as long as they live not to follow these vows

(*savvāo...appaḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe*).[101] In the mixed section, which refers to the

Jain laity, the people are said with respect to each vow, for as long as they live to

partly abstain and partly not (*egaccāo...paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo*

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[100] The Prakrit reads: "savvāo pāṇāivāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo musāvāyāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo mehuṇāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe, savvāo pariggahāo paḍivirayā jāvajjīvāe." (Nathamal 1974a, 393-4) For the English see Jacobi 1895, 377.

[101] Nathamal 1974a, 389-90; Jacobi 1895, 373-4.

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appadiviraya).[102] This passage can perhaps be thought of as an early expression

of the *anuvratas*. In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 there is no explicit mention of the other

seven lay vows (the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*). I believe this is because the

passage predates the establishment of the list of twelve lay vows. There is,

however, a loose parallel between other parts of the passage from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2 and the vow restricting one's objects of enjoyment

(*uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*), as I will discuss below.

Part Six of the Standard Description of the *Samaṇovāsaga*

In the previous chapter I suggested that part six of the standard

description of the *samaṇovāsaga* may represent an early formulation of the lay

vows. The Prakrit reads as follows:

bahūhiṃ sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ ahāpariggahiehiṃ
tavokammehiṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇā viharaṃti | | (Nathamal 1974a, 398)

Because there is some sort of relationship between the terms in the compound

"*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*" and what became

the standard list of the lay vows, in explaining this compound Abhayadeva and

Malayagiri both suggest that the term *sīlavvaya* refers to the *anuvratas* and that

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102 Nathamal 1974a, 397-8; Jacobi 1895, 381-2.

the term *guṇa* refers to the *guṇavratas*.[103] In my previous chapter I have

suggested that this is anachronistic, noting that the terms *sīla*, *vvaya*, and *guṇa*

appear in other passages as three separate terms.[104] Nonetheless, there is a

clear link between part six of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and

the standard list of lay vows in that the term *veramaṇa* occurs as part of three of

the *aṇuvratas* as well as one of the *guṇavratas*.[105] The presence of the term

"*posahovavāsa*" is the most direct link between the compound "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-*

veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ" and the list of twelve lay vows since

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[103] In his comments on the *Viyāhapannatti* Abhayadeva explains the term "*sīlavrata*" as
"*aṇuvrata*" and the term "*guṇa*" as "*guṇavrata*" (Dīparatnasāgara v.5, 146). Malayagiri explains
sīlavvaya as "abstention from hurting large living beings, and so on"
(*sthūlaprāṇātipātaviramaṇādīni*) (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 325). This is equivalent to Abhayadeva's
explanation of *sīlavvaya* as referring to the *aṇuvratas*, since abstention from hurting large living
beings (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*) is the first of the *aṇuvratas*. Malayagiri explains the term
"*guṇa*" with reference to the vow relating to the directions and so on (*digvratādīni*). This vow
(*disivvayaṃ*) is usually listed as the first of the *guṇavratas*, so Malayagiri sees the term *guṇa* as
referring to the *guṇavratas*.

[104] As noted in my previous chapter, there is one passage in the *Uvāsagadasāo* where all of the
terms in the compound *sīla-vvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* occur as
independent words (Nathamal 1974c, 526-7; Hoernle 1885-90, 70-71). Furthermore, the terms
susīlā and *suvvayā* are found in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 in the descriptions of both
the Jain ascetics and the Jain householders (Nathamal 1974a, 393, 397). The negatives of the
terms *sīla* and *guṇa* (*nissīlā* and *nigguṇā*) occur in a description of the bad men of a future period
in a passage in the *Viyāhapannatti* (Nathamal 1974b, 292; Bothara 2006, 405). Without
identifying exactly what these terms refer to, we can note the likelihood that *sīla*, *vvaya* and *guṇa*
should be understood as three distinct terms.

[105] In the *Uvavāiya* the *aṇuvratas* are listed as follows: "1. thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ; 2.
thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ; 3. thūlāo adiṇṇ'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ; 4. sa-dāra-saṃtose; 5.
icchā-parimāṇe." (Leumann 1883, §57 p.64) The term *veramaṇaṃ* means "to desist from" the
various activities. Lalwani translates: "to desist from a big slaughter / harm to life, to desist in
general from false utterances, to desist in general from usurpation, to be contented in sex
behaviour with one's own wife and to limit one's desires." (Lalwani 1988, 191) The first of the
guṇavratas in the *Uvavāiya* is "*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*," which means "to desist from harm
committed without a purpose".

this term is listed as one of the *śikṣāvratas*. There seems to be a parallel

between this phrase from the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the

passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 that I have just discussed, since in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 we also saw reference to the *posaha* observances (along with

the *aṇuvratas*) without reference to the other *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*.

Though the precise correspondences between the terms in the final section of

the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the terms as they are used in

the lists of lay vows are not clear, it is clear in each case that the mendicant

compilers wanted to emphasize the importance of some kind of lay ascetic

practice.

Reference to the *Aṇuvratas* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13

I have referred above to the story in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 in which a

jeweler (*maṇiyāraseṭṭhī*) adopts the lay vows in the presence of Mahāvīra, but

then loses his faith owing to a lack of contact with Jain ascetics (*asāhudaṃsaṇa*)

and is eventually reborn as a frog. The frog recalls its previous life and then

decides to re-adopt the lay vows along with additional ascetic practices. In this

lecture, when the frog recalls adopting the lay vows in his previous life there is

reference to twelve lay vows.[106] Yet, when the frog re-adopts the lay vows there

is mention only of the five *anuvratas*.[107] It is not clear how to explain this

variation. One might compare this situation with the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.7 in which the *anuvratas* are mentioned without the listing of the other lay vows

(though the term *anuvrata* does not occur). I am inclined to see the reference to

the five *anuvratas* in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 like the passage from

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 as dating from a period before the list of twelve vows was set.

As I have discussed at length above, I hypothesize that after the list of twelve

vows was established the compilers of the canon attempted to standardize

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[106] The frog recalls the situation as follows: "tae ṇaṃ mae samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtie pamcāṇuvvaie sattasikkhāvaie-duvālasavihe gihidhamme paḍivaṇṇe |" (Nathamal 1974c, 245) There is no explicit mention of the vows in the initial story about the jeweler. In the initial story the adoption of the lay vows seems to be implied with the term *samaṇovāsaga*: "§11. namde maṇiyārasetthī dhammaṃ soccā samaṇovāsae jāe ||" (Nathamal 1974c, 238)

[107] The Prakrit reads: "taṃ aho ṇaṃ ahaṃ adhaṇṇe apuṇṇe akayapuṇṇe ṇiggaṃthāo pāvayaṇāo natthe bhatthe paribbhatthe | taṃ seyaṃ khalu mamaṃ sayameva puvvapaḍivaṇṇāiṃ pamcāṇuvvayāiṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae - evaṃ saṃpehei, saṃpehettā puvvapaḍivaṇṇāiṃ pamcāṇuvvayāiṃ āruhei, āruhettā imeyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigiṇhai – kappai me jāvajjīvaṃ chatthaṃchatthenaṃ aṇikkhittenaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇassa viharittae, chatthassa vi ya ṇaṃ pāraṇagaṃsi kappai me naṃdāe pokkhariṇīe pariperaṃtesu phāsueṇaṃ ṇhāṇodaeṇaṃ ummaddaṇāloliyāhi ya vittiṃ kappemāṇassa viharittae - imeyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigeṇhai, jāvajjīvāe chatthaṃchatthenaṃ aṇikkhittenaṃ tavokammeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharai." (Nathamal 1974c, 245) Bothara includes the "seven disciplinary vows" in his translation, although there is no reference to these in Muni Nathamal's edition of the Prakrit. He translates: "Thus I am a wretched, ill fated, and virtueless individual. I have fallen from my grace and lost my faith in the word of the omniscient. Now it would be good for me if I once again take the five minor vows and seven disciplinary vows and spend the rest of my life observing them. Once he got the idea he immediately took the twelve vows and also resolved, "Starting from today I shall purify my soul by doing the penance of a two day fast followed by a day of eating and so on throughout the rest of my life. Also, on the day of eating I shall take only the fallen crumbles of slime shed by human beings who take bath with the clean water of this pool on its shore." And it commenced the penance and the disciplined life immediately after the resolve." (Bothara 1997, 102-3)

references to the lay vows. In my view, the reference to the *anuvratas* alone

likely dates from a period before the list of twelve vows became standard, while

the reference to the twelve lay vows entered the text at a later period. I see this

scenario as more likely than a scenario in which reference to the *anuvratas* alone

refers to all twelve of the vows or a scenario in which reference to the twelve

vows dropped out of the text.

The Lay Vows in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*

In the list of twelve lay vows in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* we find the term

anuvrata, but not the terms *gunavrata* or *śikṣāvrata*.[108] The relevant section

begins by listing the mendicant vows as follows: "*hiṃsā-anṛta-steya-abrahma-*

parigrahebhyo viratir vratam."[109] We can note that most of the terms here are

different from those used for the mendicant vows in the *Uvavāiya* and that the list

in the *Uvavāiya* also contains mention of the ban on eating at night (*savvāo*

pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, musāvāya-adatt'ādāṇa-mehuṇa-pariggaha-rāībhoyaṇāo

veramaṇaṃ). Despite the variation in terminology, the basic meaning of the

terms seems to be the same in each case. The mention of the ban on eating at

night may indicate that the list in the *Uvavāiya* is later than that in the *Tattvārtha*

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[108] Tatia 1994, 176-177.

[109] Tatia translates: "Abstinence from violence, falsehood, stealing, carnality and possessiveness
- these are the vows." (Tatia 1994, 169).

Sūtra. The fact that the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* does not include the terms *guṇavrata* or

śikṣāvrata likewise suggests that the presentation in the *Uvavāiya* may be later.

After discussion of this list of mendicant vows in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* we

read that there are two types of observers of the vows, namely householders and

house-less mendicants (*niḥśalyo vratī agāry anagāraś ca*). The text then reads

as follows: "*aṇuvrato 'gārī dig-deśā-narthadaṇḍavirati-sāmāyika-*

pauṣadhopavāso-pabhogaparibhogaparimāṇā-tithisaṃvibhāgavratasampannaś

ca."[110] The text goes on to mention the fast to death as we see also in the

Uvavāiya. There is thus no explicit listing of the five *aṇuvratas* in the *Tattvārtha*

Sūtra. The seven vows listed in the long compound after the term *aṇuvrata* are

the same as those listed along with the five *aṇuvratas* in other Śvetāmbara texts,

but the order of the vows is different and later Digambara authors often follow

this order.[111] As I have noted, I hypothesize that the list of lay vows in the

Tattvārtha Sūtra predates that found in the *Uvavāiya* since Umāsvāti, author of

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[110] Tatia translates: "The householder is the observer of the small vows [*aṇuvrato 'gārī*]. The seven supplementaries which enrich the observer of the small vows are: refraining from movement beyond a limited area [*dig*], restricting movement to an even more limited area [*deśa*], refraining from wanton destruction of the environment by thought, word or deed [*anarthadaṇḍavirati*], keeping aloof from sinful conduct for a set period of time [*sāmāyika*], fasting on sacred days and observing special restrictions at secluded places [*pauṣadhopavāso*], limiting the use of consumable and non-consumable goods [*pabhogaparibhogaparimāṇā*], offering alms to wandering ascetics [*atithisaṃvibhāgavratasampanna*]." (Tatia 1994, 176-177). It must be noted that Tatia has supplied the phrase "The seven supplementaries which enrich the observer of the small vows are:". Furthermore, the translation reflects a particular understanding of each vow. I have given my own translation for each vow at the beginning of this chapter.

[111] Williams 1963, 56-7.

the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, lists seven lay vows as a single group without any specific

heading, while in the *Uvavāiya* these seven vows have been divided into two

groups with the headings "*guṇavratas*" and "*śikṣāvratas*". Though the

chronological relationship with the *Uvavāiya* seems clear to me, I do not see any

way to establish a relative chronology between the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and the lists

of lay vows in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* that I discuss below

in this chapter.

The Seven *Śikṣāvratas*

In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* the seven lay vows (that go along with the five

aṇuvratas to make twelve in total) are listed as a group. This lines up with the

fact that commonly in references to the twelve lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon

we find mention of seven *śikṣāvratas*. This is seen in the *Uvavāiya* at the end of

a passage describing the excitement of the people in the city when they hear of

Mahāvīra's arrival.[112] Some of those who attend the sermon will shave their

heads and become mendicants (*[appegaiyā savvao savv'-attāe] muṇḍā bhavittā

agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaissāmo*). There is no mention of the mendicant vows.

Some other people who attend the sermon will adopt the twelvefold *dhamma* of

the householder consisting of the five *aṇuvratas* and seven *śikṣāvratas*

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[112] Leumann 1883, 49-50; Lalwani 1988, 127-133.

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(*pancāṇuvvaiyaṃ satta-sikkhā-vaiyaṃ duvālasaviham gihi-dhammaṃ*

paḍivajjissāmo). There is no mention here of the *guṇavratas*.

The same situation is seen in the passages form the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.5 that I have discussed above.[113] This is significant since I

have suggested that the references to the twelvefold *dhamma* in these passages

have replaced references to the fourfold *dhamma* and thus represent an attempt

on the part of the compilers to standardize discussion of the lay vows. It appears

that the "standard" version of the lay vows at one stage in the process of the

compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon consisted of five *aṇuvratas* and seven

śikṣāvratas. The presentation of the lay vows in Mahāvīra's sermon at the end of

the first part of the *Uvavāiya* includes the same vows, but instead of seven

śikṣāvratas we find three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*. As I have noted

above, the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* became standard.

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[113] I have noted above that in Muni Dīparatnasāgara's edition as well as in most of the editions utilized by Bollée, the lay vows are listed in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* as "paṃcāṇuvvaiyaṃ sattasikkhāvaiyaṃ duvālasavihe gihidhammaṃ." (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322; Bollée 2002, 60-1) I have also noted that Muni Nathamal provides a variant reading for a passage in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 that refers to the lay *dhamma* as consisting of "paṃca aṇuvvayāiṃ satta sikkhāvayāiṃ ekkārasa uvāsagapaḍimāo." (Nathamal 1974c, 122, note 7)

In *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 we find a further variation in the terminology used

in presenting the twelve lay vows.[114] In this passage we read of two different

types of renunciation (*paccakkhāne*): renunciation in the domain of the

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[114] Deleu provides a useful summary of the passage: "(295b) The ramification of renunciation: A) Renunciation in the domain of the five fundamental *guṇas* is either a) total (*savva-mūla-guṇa-paccakkhāṇa*) or b) partial (desa-m.-g.-p.), which means that one abstains either from all or only from grave 1) offences against living beings, 2) untruthfulness, etc. [Cf. the five *mahāvayas* and the five *aṇuvvayas* resp., *Lehre* par. 170-171.] – B) Renunciation in the domain of the additional *guṇas* is either a) total (*savva'uttara-guṇa-paccakkhāṇa*) in which case it has ten forms [see comm..; 1-8 form a gāhā] or b) partial (des'u.-g.-p.) in which case it has seven forms, viz 1) limitation of the area of one's undertakings etc. [Cf. the three *guṇavvayas* and the four *sikkhāvayas*, *Lehre* par.170.] To the latter is added the recommendation of voluntary death by starvation." (Deleu 1970, 134) For a complete translation see Bothara 2006, 353-7. In Muni Nathamal's edition of the text the Prakrit is as follows:

"§29 kativihe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! paccakkhāṇe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! duvihe paccakkhāṇe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – mūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya, uttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya | |

§30 mūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – savvamūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya, desamūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya | |

§31 savvamūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! paṃcavihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ, savvāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ | |

§32 desamūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! paṃcavihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo adiṇṇādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo pariggahāo veramaṇaṃ | |

§33 uttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – savvuttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya, desuttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ya | |

§34 savvuttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! dasavihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā –

    1, 2. aṇāgayamaikkaṃtaṃ 3. koḍīsahiyaṃ 4.niyaṃtiyaṃ ceva

    5, 6. sāgāramaṇāgāraṃ 7. parimāṇakaḍaṃ 8. niravasesaṃ

    9. saṃkeyaṃ ceva 10. addhāe, paccakkhāṇaṃ bhave dasahā | | 1 | |

§35 desuttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte! kativihe paṇṇatte?

goyamā! sattavihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – 1. disivvayaṃ 2. uvabhogaparibhoga-parimāṇaṃ 3. aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ 4. sāmāiyaṃ 5. desāvagāsiyaṃ 6. posahovavāso 7. atihisaṃvibhāgo | apacchimamāraṇaṃtiyasaṃlehaṇājhūsaṇārāhatā | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 278-279)

fundamental *gunas* (*mūlagunapaccakkhāne*) and renunciation in the domain of

the additional *gunas* (*uttaragunapaccakkhāne*). Each of these is either complete

(*savva*) or partial (*desa*). These four categories correspond to four sets of vows.

The category *savvamūlagunapaccakkhāne* corresponds to the five ascetic

mahāvratas. The category *desamūlagunapaccakkhāne* corresponds to the five

lay *anuvratas*. The category *savvuttaragunapaccakkhāne* consists of ten modes

of fasting. By analogy, this category seems to be associated with Jain

mendicants since the category *savvamūlagunapaccakkhāne* consists of the

mahāvayas. I have not found reference to these ten modes of fasting in another

Śvetāmbara text.[115] The category *desuttaragunapaccakkhāne* consists of what

we know as the three *gunavratas* and the four *śikṣāvratas* associated with the

Jain layman. The entire list ends with reference to the ritual fast to death.

There is no clear statement in this passage that

desamūlagunapaccakkhāne and *desuttaragunapaccakkhāne* are to be

associated with householders. However, there is a clear association between the

vows listed in these categories and the lay *dhamma* as listed at the end of

Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya*. There are two differences. One is in the

order of the first three of the seven vows (*disivvayam, uvabhogaparibhoga-*

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[115] Strangely, in the *Mūlācāra*, an early Digambara work, these ten terms appear to be sinful
modes of fasting that are to be avoided (Deo 1956, 349).

parimāṇaṃ, and aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ). The order given in Viyāhapannatti

7.2.2 is the same as that in the list of typical offences in the Uvāsagadasāo to be

discussed below. According to Williams, it is this order that is normally seen in

medieval Śvetāmbara texts.[116] As I have noted, the order in the Uvavāiya is

different (aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ, disivvayaṃ, and

uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ). The reason for this variation is not clear. The

other difference in comparing Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2 with other lists of the lay vows

is in the names used for the last two aṇuvratas. The names in Viyāhapannatti

7.2.2 correspond with the passage from Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 discussed above and

this suggests to me that Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2 predates the presentation of the lay

vows in the Uvāsagadasāo and the Uvavāiya.

The terminology of complete and partial renunciation found in

Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2 reflects the initial logic of the legitimating of lay life seen in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. The idea seems basically to be that it is possible to do in part

(desa) what the mendicants do completely (savva). The modes of fasting listed in

the category savvuttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe are not seen in other presentations of

the mendicant dhamma. They are likely included in Viyāhapannatti 7.2.2 since in

this formulation there must be a savva category for renunciation in the domain of

the additional guṇas (uttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe) to correspond with the desa

[116] Williams 1963, 56-57.

category.[117] In the presentation of the mendicant *dhamma* in the *Uvavāiya* we find only the five *mahāvratas* and nothing to correspond with the lay *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*. The presentation of the *dhamma* in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 makes explicit the parallel between lay and mendicant practice.

Explanation of the Lay Vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo*

There is no simple list of the lay vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. However, the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains extensive discussions of each of the lay vows individually. In the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Āṇaṃda adopts the lay vows (which are said to be twelvefold) in the standard manner. Normally, after a character adopts the lay vows we find the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.[118] However, at this point in the *Uvāsagadasāo* there are two unique and extensive discussions of the lay vows. These two discussions of the vows precede the formal promise to donate alms only to Jain ascetics, discussed in my previous chapter. These two discussions of the vows seem to act partly as a commentary explaining what

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[117] Schubring refers to the monastic *dhamma* at one point as "panca-mahavvaiya sapa-ḍikkamaṇa." (Schubring 1962, 31) I have not identified a text describing the mendicant *dhamma* in this way, but this formulation shows another way to form a clear parallel between the presentations of the mendicant *dhamma* and the lay *dhamma* (with the five *aṇuvratas* and seven further vows).

[118] For example, in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5 we find the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* after King Selaga has taken lay vows in the presence Thāvaccāputta. Muni Nathamal's edition includes the entire standard description (Nathamal 1974c, 119-20). Bothara translates a shorthand reference to the standard description (Bothara 1996, 249).

the lay vows are. I will note below that there appears to be some inconsistency in the explanations offered in the two discussions, most obviously with respect to the vow called *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*, perhaps indicating that there was uncertainty about or development in the precise meanings of the various vows.

In discussing these sections of the *Uvāsagadasāo* my focus is not on what the discussions tell us about the meaning of the vows, but rather on the relationship between the two discussions. In the first discussion (i.e. the list of Āṇamda's promises) we find reference to only seven of the vows in the familiar twelvefold list. The reason for this, I hypothesize, is that this discussion was produced at a time before the list of twelve vows was either finalized or generally accepted. In the second discussion (i.e. the list of typical offences) we find all of the items from the twelvefold list. It seems that the list of typical offences serves to align mention of the vows in the text with the twelvefold list seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and elsewhere. The order of the twelve vows in the list of typical offences is like that in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2. However, the terminology for the fourth and fifth *aṇuvrata* is like what is found in the *Uvavāiya*. This suggests to me that the list of typical offences in the *Uvāsagadasāo* was produced later than *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2. It also must be noted that the terms "*aṇuvratas*, *guṇavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*" are not seen in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. Below I will note the possibility that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* (or someone else)

introduced the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* as part of an

effort to explain the fact that the first discussion of the lay vows in the

Uvāsagadasāo (i.e. Āṇaṃda's promises) does not mention five of the twelve lay

vows.

Directly after he adopts the lay vows in the standard manner, Āṇaṃda

makes specific promises about what he has decided to renounce from this point

onward. Here we do not see reference to five of the usual twelve lay vows

(namely, *disivvayaṃ, sāmāiyaṃ, desāvagāsiyaṃ, posahovavāso*, or *atihi-*

saṃvibhāgo). The correspondence with the usual list of twelve vows is not self-

evident, but it can be seen in a careful reading. First, we find single statements

relating to each of the first four *aṇuvratas* (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo*

musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ, thūlāo adiṇṇ'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ, and *sa-dāra-*

saṃtose).[119] Next we have five statements relating to the fifth *aṇuvrata* (*icchā-*

parimāṇe), the limiting of desires.[120] Here Āṇaṃda renounces all possessions

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[119] These renunciations refer to gross ill-usage of living beings, grossly lying speech, gross taking
of things not given, sexual relations with women other than his wife (Hoernle 1885-90, 11-12).
The Prakrit reads as follows: "§24. tae ṇaṃ se āṇaṃde gāhāvaī samaṇassa bhagavao
mahāvīrassa aṃtie tappaḍhamayāe thūlayaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ paccakkhāi jāvajjīvāe duvihaṃ
tivihenaṃ - na karemi na kāravemi, maṇasā vayasā kāyasā | |
§25. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayaṃ musāvāyaṃ paccakkhāi jāvajjīvāe duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ - na
karemi na kāravemi, maṇasā vayasā kāyasā | |
§26. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayaṃ adiṇṇādāṇaṃ paccakkhāi jāvajjīvāe duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ - na
karemi na kāravemi, maṇasā vayasā kāyasā | |
§27. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ sadārasaṃtosīe parimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha ekkāe sivanaṃdāe
bhāriyāe, avasesaṃ savvaṃ mehuṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 400)

[120] The Prakrit reads: "§28. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ icchāparimāṇaṃ karemāṇe -

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excepting those he already possesses, with specific mention being made

regarding gold (*hiranna-suvanna*), animals (*cauppaya*), landed property (*khetta-*

vatthu), carts (*sagada*), and boats (*vāhana*).[121] Following this, we have twelve

statements relating to one of the *gunavratas* (*uvabhogaparibhogaparimānam*),

where Āṇaṃda limits the use of certain items (bathing towels, tooth cleaners,

fruits, ungeants, powders, washing water, clothes, perfumes, flowers, ornaments,

and incense).[122] The twelfth of these items, relating to food, consists of ten types

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(1) hiranna-suvannavihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha cauhiṃ hirannakoḍīhiṃ nihāṇapauttāhiṃ, cauhiṃ vaḍḍhipauttāhiṃ, cauhiṃ pavittharapauttāhiṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ hiranna-suvannavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(2) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ cauppayavihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha cauhiṃ vaehiṃ dasagosāhassieṇaṃ vaeṇaṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ cauppayavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(3) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ khetta-vatthuvihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha paṃcahiṃ halasaehiṃ niyattaṇasatieṇaṃ haleṇaṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ khetta-vatthuvihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(4) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ sagaḍavihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha paṃcahiṃ sagaḍasaehiṃ disāyattiehiṃ, paṃcahiṃ sagaḍasaehiṃ saṃvahaṇiehiṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ sagaḍavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(5) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ vāhaṇavihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha cauhiṃ vāhaṇehiṃ disāyattiehiṃ, cauhiṃ vāhaṇehiṃ saṃvahaṇiehiṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ vāhaṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 400-401)

[121] Hoernle translates *vāhana* as "boats" (Hoernle 1885-90, 14).

[122] The Prakrit reads: "§29. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ uvabhoga-paribhogavihiṃ paccakkhāyamāṇe – (1) ullaṇiyāvihiparimāṇaṃ karei – nannattha egāe gaṃdhakāsāīe, avasesaṃ savvaṃ ullaṇiyāvihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(2) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ daṃtavaṇavihiparimāṇaṃ karei - nannattha egeṇaṃ allalaṭṭhīmahueṇaṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ daṃtavaṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(3) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ phalavihiparimāṇaṃ karei - nannattha egeṇaṃ khīrāmalaeṇaṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ phalavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(4) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ abbhaṃgaṇavihiparimāṇaṃ karei - nannattha sayapāgasahassapāgehiṃ tellehiṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ abbhaṃgaṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(5) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ uvvaṭṭaṇāvihiparimāṇaṃ karei - nannattha egeṇaṃ surabhiṇā gaṃdhaṭṭaeṇaṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ uvvaṭṭaṇāvihiṃ paccakkhāi |
(6) tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ majjaṇavihiparimāṇaṃ karei - nannattha aṭṭhahiṃ uṭṭiehiṃ udagassa ghaḍehiṃ, avasesaṃ savvaṃ majjaṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi |

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(victuals, pastry, boiled rice, pottages, clarified butter, vegetables, liquors, fritters, drinking water, and mouth perfumes).[123] The final statement refers to another of the usual *gunavratas* (*anatṭhādamdam*).[124] The promises in this case relate to the general avoidance of bad actions.

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(7) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam vatthavihiparimāṇam karei - nannattha egeṇam khomajuyaleṇam, avasesam savvam vatthavihim paccakkhāi |

(8) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam vilevaṇavihiparimāṇam karei - nannattha agaru-kumkuma-camdaṇamādiehim, avasesam savvam vilevaṇavihim paccakkhāi |

(9) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam pupphavihiparimāṇam karei - nannattha egeṇam suddhapaumeṇam mālaikusumadāmeṇa vā, avasesam savvam pupphavihim paccakkhāi |

(10) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam ābharaṇavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha matṭhakaṇṇejjaehim nāmamuddāe ya, avasesam savvam ābharaṇavihim paccakkhāi |

(11) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam dhūvaṇavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha agaru-turukka-dhūvamā-diehim, avasesam savvam dhūvaṇavihim paccakkhāi | " (Nathamal 1974c, 401-402)

[123] The Prakrit reads: "(12) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam bhoyaṇavihiparimāṇam karemāṇe –
(a) pejja-vihiparimāṇam karei - nannattha egāe khatṭhapejjāe, avasesam savvam pejjavihim paccakkhāi |
(b) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam bhakkhavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha egehim ghayapuṇṇehim khamḍakhajjehim vā, avasesam savvam bhakkhavihim paccakkhāi |
(c) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam odaṇavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha kalamasāli-odaṇeṇam, avasesam savvam odaṇavihim paccakkhāi |
(d) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam sūvavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha kalāyasūveṇa vā muggasūveṇa vā māsasūveṇa vā avasesam savvam sūvavihim paccakkhāi |
(e) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam ghayavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha sāradieṇam goghayamamḍeṇam, avasesam savvam ghayavihim paccakkhāi |
(f) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam sāgavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha vatthusāeṇa vā tumbasāeṇa vā sutthiyasāeṇa vā mamḍukkiyasāeṇa vā, avasesam savvam sāgavihim paccakkhāi |
(g) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam māhurayavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha egeṇam pālamkāmāhuraeṇam, avasesam savvam māhurayavihim paccakkhāi |
(h) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam tamaṇavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha sehambadāliyambehim, avasesam savvam tamaṇavihim paccakkhāi |
(i) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam pāṇiyavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha egeṇam amtalikkhodaeṇam, avasesam savvam pāṇiyavihim paccakkhāi |
(j) tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam muhavāsavihiparimāṇam karei – nannattha pamcasogamdhieṇam tamboleṇam, avasesam savvam muhavāsavihim paccakkhāi | | " (Nathamal 1974c, 402-403)

[124] Hoernle translates: "Next he renounces the following four kinds of unprofitable employment, viz., malevolent conduct, inconsiderate conduct, giving of dangerous objects, and directing of sinful deeds." (Hoernle 1885-90, 20-21) The Prakrit reads: "§30. tayāṇamtaram ca ṇam

The elaborations on the fifth *anuvrata* (*icchā-parimāne*) and on two of the

gunavratas (*uvabhoga-paribhogavihim* and *anatthādamdam*) seem to serve as

something of a commentary on these vows. The idea of limiting the number of

possessions as well as the use of certain items recalls the mixed version of the

recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagadamga* 2.2. There

we saw that, with respect to various activities and the use of certain items, for as

long as they live, the men partly abstain and partly do not (*egaccāo...padiviraya*

jāvajjīvāe, egaccāo appadivirayā).[125] The men were also described as having few

possessions (*appapariggahā*). Though I do not see a direct parallel with the

language employed in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2, the promises that Ānamda makes in

the *Uvāsagadasāo* seem to elaborate on the statements that result from the

reworking of the introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagadamga* 2.2.

It seems strange that Ānamda's promises make no reference to five of the

usual twelve lay vows. Hoernle notes that the commentary attempts to explain

this situation by referring to a distinction between the *gunavratas* and the

śikṣāvratas.[126] The commentary suggests that Ānamda does not make promises

relating to the *śikṣāvratas* because these vows "are applicable to certain

cauvviham anatthādamdam paccakkhāi, tam jahā – 1. avajjhānācaritam 2. pamāyācaritam 3.
himsappayānam 4. pāvakammovadese | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 403)

[125] Nathamal 1974a, 397-8; Jacobi 1895, 381-2.

[126] Hoernle 1885-90, 26, note 65.

occasions before the occurrence of which they need not be taken."[127] This

explanation is complicated by the fact that Āṇaṃda's promises refer explicitly to

only two of the three *guṇavratas*. Hoernle attempts to explain this complication by

suggesting that the promises restricting the use of carts (*sagaḍa*) and boats

(*vāhaṇa*), which seem to relate to the fifth *aṇuvrata* (*icchā-parimāṇe*), the limiting

of desires, actually refer to the other *guṇavrata* (*disivvayaṃ*), the limiting of

movement.[128] Hoernle attempts to justify this idea noting, for example, that there

is no mention of carts (*sagaḍa*) or boats (*vāhaṇa*) in the list of "typical offences"

relating to the fifth *aṇuvrata*. However, the fact that there is no explicit mention of

the term *disivvayaṃ* (while we do find explicit mention of the other two

guṇavratas, *uvabhoga-paribhogavihiṃ* and *aṇatthādaṃdaṃ*) suggests to me that

such an explanation is anachronistic.

It is hard for me to imagine that the initial compiler of Āṇaṃda's promises

had in mind a distinction between the *guṇavratas* and the *śikṣāvratas* and for this

reason omitted mention of certain vows. It seems more likely to me that this part

of the text predates the development of the list of twelve lay vows or predates the

point when the list of twelve vows was accepted as standard. There is perhaps

some correspondence between the list of Āṇaṃda's promises and the passage

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[127] Hoernle 1885-90, 26, note 65.

[128] Hoernle 1885-90, appendix 3, p.35.

from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 discussed above where the five *aṇuvratas* are followed by the statement that the laymen set limits to their desires in the two forms and in the three ways (*icchāparimāṇaṃ karissāmo duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ*). Āṇaṃda's promises likewise include reference to the *aṇuvratas* and an extensive elaboration on the fifth *aṇuvrata* (here called "*icchā-parimāṇe*" rather than "*thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*" as in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7). Furthermore, the first of the *guṇavratas* discussed in Āṇaṃda's promises (*uvabhoga-paribhogavihiṃ*) relates directly to the limiting of desires. It can also be noted that the first three of Āṇaṃda's promises (relating to the first three *aṇuvratas*) contain reference to the two modes and three types of action (*duvihaṃ tivihenaṃ*) as seen also in the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7.[129] Though it does not seem possible to establish a direct relationship between Āṇaṃda's promises and the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, the correspondences suggest to me that this part of the *Uvāsagadasāo* was produced in a religious environment like that which produced the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 discussed above (i.e. at a time before the compilers accepted the list of twelve lay vows as standard).

Following Āṇaṃda's promises, Mahāvīra lists "typical offences" (*atiyāra peyālā*) for each of the lay vows. In addition to the twelve vows, he lists offences

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[129] The first three promises end with the phrase "*na karemi na kāravemi, maṇasā vayasā kāyasā*" (Nathamal 1974c, 400, §24-26; Hoernle 1885-90, 11-2).

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relating to right belief (*sammatta*), at the beginning, and the fast to death, at the

end. The first warning about offences relating to right belief begins with the first

part of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga* (i.e. the passage

discussed in my previous chapter).[130] This warning refers to concern with the

possibility of interaction with non-Jain teachers, which is also seen in the

standard description of the *samanovāsaga*. Discussion of the fast to death is

beyond the scope of my current work,[131] but it clear that this practice was

associated with the list of twelve lay vows from an early period since there is also

reference to the fast to death after the listing of the lay vows in the *Tattvārtha*

Sūtra as well as in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*.

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[130] Hoernle translates: "a disciple of the Samana, who has mastered *the discrimination* of the living and the lifeless and who wishes (*and so forth*, down to) not to be betrayed into any transgression (*of the Niggantha doctrine*), must know and avoid the following five typical offences against the law of right belief; *viz.*, skepticism, unstableness, distrustfulness, praising of heterodox teachers, and intimacy with heterodox teachers." (Hoernle 1885-90, 21-22) The Prakrit reads: "evaṃ khalu āṇaṃdā ! samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ abhigayajīvājīveṇaṃ uvaladdhapuṇṇapāveṇaṃ āsava-saṃvara-nijjara-kiriyā-ahigaraṇa-baṃdhamokkhakusaleṇaṃ asahejjeṇaṃ, devāsura-nāga-suvaṇṇa-jakkha-rakkhasa-kiṇṇara-kiṃpurisa-garula-gaṃdhavva-mahoragāiehiṃ devagaṇehiṃ ṇiggaṃthāo pāvayaṇāo aṇaikkamaṇijjeṇaṃ sammattassa paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. saṃkā, 2. kaṃkhā, 3. vitigicchā, 4. parapāsaṃdapasaṃsā, 5. parapāsaṃdasaṃthavo | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 403)

[131] Hoernle translates the warnings relating to the fast to death as follows: "against the law of a determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration; *viz.*, longing after this world, longing after the next world, longing after life, longing after death, and longing after sensual enjoyments." (Hoernle 1885-90, 34) The Prakrit reads: "§44. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ apacchimamāraṇaṃtiyasaṃlehaṇābhūsaṇārāhaṇāe paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. ihalogāsaṃsappaoge 2. paralogāsaṃsappaoge 3. jīviyāsaṃsappaoge 4. maraṇāsaṃsappaoge 5. kāmabhogāsaṃsappaoge | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 406)

Like the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* also contains a list of

transgressions for the vows.[132] Though there is some clear overlap between the

list in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and that *Uvāsagadasāo*, there are also significant

differences. It is beyond the scope of my current work to analyze the relationship

between these two lists.[133] My main interest in examining this part of the

Uvāsagadasāo is the relationship between the list of typical offences and the

preceding discussion of Āṇaṃda's promises. It is significant that, unlike

Āṇaṃda's promises, the list of transgressions of the lay vows in the

Uvāsagadasāo mentions all of the twelve vows in a manner similar to that seen

in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*.

Following the offences made with respect to right belief, we have offences

made relative to the twelve lay vows. It should be noted that the terms *aṇuvratas*,

guṇavratas, and *śikṣāvratas* do not occur and there does not appear to be any

differentiation made among the final seven vows. Nonetheless, for the sake of

clarity I will use the familiar terminology. First we find, in the usual order,[134] the

five *aṇuvratas* (*thūlayassa pāṇāivāyaveramaṇassa*, *thūlayassa*

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[132] Tatia 1994, 179-182.

[133] See Williams 1963 for discussion of the typical offences for each of the twelve vows.

[134] In Muni Nathamal's edition the order is somewhat confused since the *disivvayaṃ* (one of the *guṇavratas*) is listed fifth and the usual fifth *aṇuvrata* (*icchā-parimāṇe*) is listed sixth (Nathamal 1974c, 404-405). Hoernle's edition presents the expected order (Hoernle 1890, 18-19).

musāvāyaveramaṇassa, thūlayassa adiṇṇādāṇaveramaṇassa, sadārasaṃtosīe,

and icchāparimāṇassa).[135] As noted above, the terms for the fourth and fifth

aṇuvratas corresponds to those seen in the *Uvavāiya* (and are different from

those listed in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2). Then we find the

three *guṇavratas* in the order seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 (*disivvayaṃ,*

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[135] Hoernle translates: "against the law of abstention from gross ill-usage of living beings, *viz.*, tying them, bruising them, piercing *any of* their limbs, overloading them, and starving them in food and drink...against the law of abstention from grossly lying speech, *viz.*, false accusation *made* under the influence of passion, false accusation *made* under cover of secrecy, betrayal of the confidences of one's wife, communication of false information, and falsification of documents...against the law of abstention from gross taking of things not given, *viz.*, *receipt of* stolen property, employment of thieves, smuggling into a forbidden country, false weights and measures, and dealing with adulterate wares...against the law of contentment with one's own wife; *viz.*, visiting a kept woman, visiting a respectable woman, amorous dalliance *with other women*, arranging marriages for strangers, and excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures...against the law of limiting one's desires, *viz.*, exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* landed property, exceeding one's limit regarding the possession of gold, wrought and unwrought; exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* two-footed and four-footed creatures; exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* money and grain; and exceeding one's limit regarding *the possession of* metal utensils." (Hoernle 1885-90, 22-25) The Prakrit in Muni Nathamal's edition reads as follows: "§32. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayassa pāṇāivāyaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. baṃdhe 2.vahe 3. chavicchede 4. atibhāre 5. bhattapāṇavocchede | |
§33. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayassa musāvāyaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. sahasābhakkhāṇe 2. rahassabbhakkhāṇe 3. sadāramaṃtabhee 4. mosovaese 5. kūḍalehakaraṇe | |
§34. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayassa adiṇṇādāṇaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. teṇāhaḍe 2. takkarappaoge 3. viruddharajjātikkame 4. kūḍatula-kūḍamāṇe 5. tappaḍirūvagavavahāre | |
§35. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ sadārasaṃtosīe samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. ittariyapariggahiyāgamaṇe 2. apariggahiyāgamaṇe 3. aṇaṃgakiḍḍā 4. paravīvāhakaraṇe 5. kāmabhoge tivvābhilāse | |
§36. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ [icchāparimāṇassa] samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. khettavatthupamāṇātikkame 2. hiraṇṇasuvaṇṇapamāṇātikkame 3. dhaṇa dhaṇṇapamāṇātikkame 4. dupayacauppayapamāṇātikkame 5. kuviyapamāṇātikkame | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 403-404) In §36 I have substituted the term "*icchāparimāṇassa*" in place of "*disivayassa*" as is found in Hoernle's edition (Hoernle 1890, 18-19).

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uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ, and aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ).[136] I have noted

that this order is different from that in the *Uvavāiya* (where they are listed as

"*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ, disivvayaṃ, uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*").[137]

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[136] Hoernle translates: "against the law of the vow of the quarters, *viz.*, exceeding one's limit in the upward direction, exceeding one's limit in the downward direction, exceeding one's limit in the level direction, enlargement of one's area *of living*, and failure of memory...things of reiterate and of momentary use are of the following *two* kinds, *viz.*, those relating to one's food and those relating to one's occupation. Now, with regard to food, *he said*, a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five *typical* offences; *viz.*, using living things as food, using adjuncts of living things as food, eating unboiled vegetables, eating parboiled vegetables, and eating worthless vegetables. Then with regard to occupation, a disciple of the Samaṇa must know and avoid the following five fifteen ways of making a living; *viz.*, occupation with charcoal, occupation with plants, occupation with carts, occupation with fares, occupation with breaking ground, traffic in ivory, traffic in 'lac,' traffic in juices, traffic in poisons, traffic in hair, occupation with crushing by machinery, occupation with surgery, kindling of bush fires, draining of lakes, rivers and tanks, and bringing up women for immoral purposes... against the law of abstention from unprofitable employment, *viz.*, talking amorous nonsense, conducting one's self like a buffoon, talking impurities, acting the part of an accessory, and exceeding one's need in things of reiterate or momentary use." (Hoernle 1885-90, 26-30) The Prakrit reads: "§37. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ [disivayassa] samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. uḍḍhadisipamāṇātikkame 2. ahodisipamāṇātikkame 3. tiriyadisipamāṇātikkame 4. khettavuḍḍhī 5. satiaṃtaraddhā | |
§38. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ uvabhogaparibhoge duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃ jahā – bhoyaṇao kammao ya | bhoyaṇao samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. sacittāhāre 2. sacittapaḍibaddhāhāre 3. appauliosahibhakkhaṇayā 4. duppauliosahibhakkhaṇayā 5. tucchosahibhakkhaṇayā |
kammao ṇaṃ samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṇṇarasa kammādāṇāiṃ jāṇiyavvāiṃ, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. iṃgālakamme 2. vaṇakamme 3. sāḍīkamme 4. bhāḍīkamme 5. phoḍīkamme 6. daṃtavāṇijje 7. lakkhavāṇijje 8. rasavāṇijje 9. visavāṇijje 10. kesavāṇijje 11. jaṃtapīlaṇakamme 12. nillaṃchaṇakamme 13. davaggidāvaṇayā 14. saradahatalāgaparisosaṇayā 15. asatījaṇaposaṇayā | |
§39. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ aṇatthādaṃḍaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. kaṃdappe 2. kukkuie 3. moharie 4. saṃjuttāhikaraṇe 5. uvabhogaparibhogātiritte | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 405) In §37 I have replaced the term "*icchāparimāṇassa*" with the term "*disivayassa*" as is found in Hoernle's edition (Hoernle 1890, 19).

[137] It seems noteworthy that the order with *disivvayaṃ* listed first after the *aṇuvratas* corresponds with the idea that Āṇaṃda's promises restricting the use of carts and boats, which seem to relate to the fifth *aṇuvrata* (*icchā-parimāṇe*), actually refer to the other *guṇavrata* (*disivvayaṃ*).

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After the *guṇavratas*, we have the offences associated with the four

śikṣāvratas.[138] These are listed in the same order as found in *Viyāhapannatti*

7.2.2, the *Uvavāiya* and most later Śvetāmbara texts (i.e. *sāmāiyaṃ*,

desāvagāsiyaṃ, posahovavāso, and *ahāsaṃvibhāgo*). However, the language in

the last vow (*ahāsaṃvibhāgo*) is slightly different from the usual language

(*atihisaṃvibhāgo*). This change should perhaps be associated with the vow in the

Uvāsagadasāo to donate alms only to Jain ascetics. The commentators explain

the word "*atihī*" (guest) as referring to Jain mendicants.[139] I think that the

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138 Hoernle translates: "against the law of inward peace, *viz.,* ill behaviour in thought, ill behaviour in word, ill behaviour in act, obliviousness of the law of inward peace, and unstable attention to the law of inward peace...against the law of keeping within a certain place; *viz.,* employment of *family members* as messengers, employment of servants as messengers, communication by word of mouth, communication by gestures, and *notification by* throwing of clods...against the law of keeping the posaha abstinences; *viz., using* an unexamined or badly examined bed for sleeping, *using* an unwiped or badly wiped bed for sleeping, *using* an unexamined or badly examined spot for easing nature, *using* an unwiped or badly wiped spot for easing nature, and imperfect observance of the posaha abstinences...against the law of right distribution *of alms*; *viz.,* putting away among living things, covering up with living things, neglecting the appointed time, making a pretence of others, and acting from jealousy." (Hoernle 1885-90, 31-34) The Prakrit reads: "§40. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ sāmāiyassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. maṇaduppaṇihāṇe 2. vaiduppaṇihāṇe 3. kāyaduppaṇihāṇe 4. sāmāiyassa satiakaraṇayā 5. sāmāiyassa aṇavaṭṭhiyassa karaṇayā | |
§41. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ desāvagāsiyassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. āṇavaṇappoge 2. posa[sā?]ṇavaṇappoge 3. saddāṇuvāe 4. rūvāṇuvāe 5. bahiyāpoggalapakkheve | |
§42. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ posahovavāsassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. appaḍilehiya-duppaḍilehiya-sajjāsaṃthāre 2. appamajjiya-duppamajjiya-sijjāsaṃthāre 3. appaḍilehiya-duppaḍilehiya-uccārapāsavaṇabhūmī 4. appamajjiya-duppamajjiya-uccārapāsavaṇabhūmī 5. posahovavāsassa sammaṃ aṇaṇupālaṇayā | |
§43. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ ahāsaṃvibhāgassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. sacittanikkevaṇayā 2. sacittapihaṇayā 3. kālātikkame 4. paravavadese 5. macchariyayā | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 406)

139 Williams 1963, 150.

compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* decided to remove any ambiguity by changing the language to indicate that lay Jain should give alms in the proper manner or as directed (*ahā*).

Though the lists of typical offences offer important commentary on the meaning of the vows, it is beyond the scope of my current work to analyze the offences for each vow. However, I would like to note that in examining the typical offences we see some inconsistency relative to the list of Āṇaṃda's promises. In the list of Āṇaṃda's promises discussed above, the term *uvabhogaparibhoga* refers to the limiting of twelve types of items (bathing towels, tooth cleaners, etc.) including various foods. In the list of typical offences for this vow we find, in addition to dietary restrictions, a list of various categories of employment that are to be avoided.[140] This inconsistency between the explanations of this vow given in Āṇaṃda's promises and in the list of typical offences suggests that the meaning of the individual vows may have developed over time.

Discussion of the vows in the *Uvāsagadasāo* shows again that there are various formulations of the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon. Āṇaṃda's promises do not mention five of the usual twelve vows. This is one reason, I suggest, that the compiler must have felt the need to include the list of typical

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[140] This list of categories of employment given with the typical offences corresponds almost exactly with a list seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 (Bothara 2008, 115-116; Nathamal 1974b, 354).

offences. Though there are slight variations in comparing the list of typical

offences with the lists of the twelve lay vows in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the

Uvavāiya, the three lists are clearly related. By including the list of typical

offences, the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo* participates in the effort to

standardize discussion of the lay vows. The *Uvāsagadasāo* thus stands beside

the *Uvavāiya* in the later tradition in providing a framework for discussion of the

lay vows.[141] Examination of references to the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon

indicates that the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Uvavāiya* were compiled at a relatively

late time, a conclusion that I also presented in the previous chapter in the

examination of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*.

The Lay Vows in the First Part of the *Uvavāiya*

The list of lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* seems to be the first time that the lay

vows are categorized as five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four *śikṣāvratas*.

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[141] According to Williams, the list of typical offences in the *Uvāsagadasāo* provides the basic
framework for discussion of the lay vows in the medieval treatises (Williams 1963, xvi). He
suggests that in listing the order of the vows the orthodox Śvetāmbara tradition is rigidly faithful to
the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Williams 1963, 57). Like the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the medieval treatises often
begin with a discussion of *samyaktva*. It is perhaps no surprise, given its title, that the
Uvāsagadasāo was influential with respect to discussion of the lay community in the later
tradition. As in the *Uvavāiya*, it is Mahāvīra who presents the twelvefold list in the *Uvāsagadasāo*.
We find reference to Āṇaṃda (the main character of the first story in the *Uvāsagadasāo*) in
Nirayāvalī 3.1: "tate ṇaṃ se aṃgatī gāhāvatī sāvatthīe nayaṉe bahūṇaṃ nagaranigama* jahā
ānaṃdo |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 31). In his *Yogaśāstra* (III, 151), the twelfth century monk
Hemacandra refers to Āṇaṃda as the typical example of a Jain layman (Hoernle 1885-90, 7, note
10; Quarnström 2002, 74-5).

This terminology becomes standard in the Śvetāmbara tradition and is commonly found in modern secondary sources. In the first chapter of my thesis I have argued that the *Uvavāiya* was an important text with respect to the legitimating and standardization of lay life. The *Uvavāiya* is made up essentially of two main parts: §§1-61[142] tell of the procession of a king (an ideal non-ascetic) to hear a sermon given by Mahāvīra and the remainder of the text, discussed in the first chapter of my thesis, contains a classification of sixteen types of beings who will achieve rebirth in one of the heavens or release from the cycle of rebirth. These two parts are made up of various passages that have been compiled together.[143] Furthermore, the *Uvavāiya* contains many variant readings and evidently was passed down in a number of recensions. There has been no thorough study of the history of the compilation of the text.

The explicit statement that there are two kinds of Jain *dhamma* occurs in the first part of the text at the end of Mahāvīra's sermon (§57). Lalwani translates the passage as follows:

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[142] These references are to Leumann's edition.

[143] Leumann suggests that §30 and §131-153 were added after the original compilation and so these sections might be considered a third part (Leumann ed. 1883, 20). He suggests that the text contains passages found in various other texts that are put together without any evident governing principle: "Vorderhand sieht man nur, das seine grosse Masse traditioneller Theorien und Vorschriften bei einer Redaktion derselben, welche auf Devarddhiganin zurückgeführt wird, auf verschiedene Bücher (anga & upānga) in ziemlich principloser Weise vertheilt worden ist." (Leumann ed. 1883, 20) The notes to his edition of the text provide concordances with the *Viyāhapannatti* (the fifth Anga), the *Pannavaṇā* (the fourth Uvānga), the *Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ* (the tenth Anga), and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* (the second Uvānga).

This way (religion) has two facets to observe, one for householders, another for the homeless monk. Given below is the way of a homeless monk – One who in this world, in all respects, and with all sincerity, gets tonsured, gives up his home and enters into the life of a homeless monk desists from inflicting harm/slaughter on any form of life, from falsehood, from usurpation, from sex behaviour and from the accumulation of property. He desists from the intake of food at night. Such is the code or essential for a homeless monk. A tie-free man or woman planted on this path is a true follower, - such is the instruction. The path for the householder contains twelve items which are five *anuvratas* (lesser vows), three *gunavratas* (improving quality) and four *śikṣāvratas* (educative formulae). Five lesser vows are: to desist from a big slaughter / harm to life, to desist in general from false utterances, to desist in general from usurpation, to be contented in sex behaviour with one's own wife and to limit one's desires. Three items to improve quality are: to avoid inclinations harmful to the property of the soul, to restrict directions for the length of movement and to limit the use and continuous use of objects. Four educative practices are: *sāmāyika* or sitting in equanimity, restricting inclinations, *pauṣadha* (living for a while like a monk) and fasting, entertaining (worthy) guests. Finally to reduce body-weight through rigorous practices and to court death like the prudent – such is the path for the householder. In following the tenets of (this) religion, a householder man or woman really follows the order for a devotee, - such is the instruction.[144] (Lalwani 1988, 188-91)

After this passage, we read that some of the people take monastic vows, others take the lay vows, and others praise Mahāvīra. This is the conclusion of the first part of the *Uvavāiya*.

It is important to note that this passage listing the vows at the end of Mahāvīra's sermon (§57) seems to have been incorporated into the sermon at some point, perhaps at the time when the text was initially compiled. Though

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[144] The Prakrit reads as follows: "Tam- eva dhammaṃ duvihaṃ āikkhai, taṃ jahā: agāra-dhammaṃ ca aṇagāra-dhammaṃ ca aṇagāra-dhammo tāva: iha khalu savvao savv'-attāe muṇḍe bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaiyassa savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ, musāvāya-adatt'ādāna-mehuṇa-pariggaha-rāībhoyaṇāo veramaṇaṃ. ayam-, āuso, aṇagāra-sāmāie dhamme paṇṇatte, eyassa dhammassa sikkhāe uvaṭṭhie nigganthe vā nigganthī vā viharamāṇe āṇāe ārāhae bhavati. agāra-dhammaṃ duvālasaviham āikkhai, taṃ jahā: a. panca aṇu-vvayāiṃ b. tiṇṇi guṇa-vvayāiṃ c. cattāri sikkhāvayāiṃ. a. panca aṇuvvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 1. thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ 2. thūlāo musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ 3. thūlāo adiṇṇ'ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ 4. sa-dāra-saṃtose 5. icchā-parimāṇe b. tiṇṇi guṇavvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 6. aṇattha-daṇḍa-veramaṇaṃ 7. disi-vvayaṃ 8. uvabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇaṃ c. cattāri sikkhāvayāiṃ, taṃ jahā: 9. sāmāiyaṃ 10. desāvayāsiyaṃ 11. posahovavāso 12. atihi-saṃvibhāgo a-pacchimā-māraṇantiyā-saṃlehaṇā-jhūsaṇ'-ārāhaṇā. ayam-, āuso, agāra-sāmāie dhamme paṇṇatte, eyassa dhammassa sikkhāe uvaṭṭhie samaṇovāsae vā samaṇovāsiyā vā viharamāṇe āṇāe ārāhae bhavati." (Leumann 1883, §57 p.63-4)

some parts of the *Uvavāiya* may be relatively early examples of Jain writing, the

list of lay vows in Mahāvīra's sermon is not necessarily as early. The sermon as a

whole seems to be made up of what were originally a number of separate

passages.[145] It appears that the compilers decided at some point on a particular

presentation of the lay *dhamma* (with five *anuvratas*, three *gunavratas*, and four

śikṣāvratas) and incorporated this presentation into Mahāvīra's sermon. I view

the presentation of the lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* as being later than the

presentations in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (where the

terminology "*anuvratas, gunavratas*, and *śikṣāvratas*" is not seen). The influence

of the *Uvavāiya* is perhaps seen in that the categories "*anuvratas, gunavratas,*

and *śikṣāvratas*" become standard in the tradition.[146]

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[145] §56 in many ways seems separate from §57. For instance, §56 contains a general statement about the five *mahāvratas*, which are repeated in §57. Furthermore, §56 comments on itself in a number of ways. We are told that this teaching is true, etc. and that it leads to the ultimate soteriological goal or to one of the heavens (Leumann 1883, 62; Lalwani 1988, 183). Moreover, §56 includes a recapitulation in six verses. Finally, we can point out that the praise of the sermon in §59 does not seem to match the actual contents of the sermon and certainly has no mention of §57. It seems Leumann saw §56 as being separate from §57 given his summary of the sermon and from the way that he lays the text out (Leumann 1883, 6-7, 61-4). Leumann summarizes §56 as follows: "erst spricht er über die Principien des Seins (atthi und n'atthi), dann über die Vergeltung der guten und schlechten Thaten in der vier Wiedergeburtsstufen der Neraiyā, Tirikkha-joniyā, Maṇussā und Devā. – Dann folgen noch sechs recapitulirende Gāthā-Strophen." (Leumann 1883, 6)

[146] It should be noted again, however, that the order of the lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* is slightly different from that seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* (since we find "*anatthadaṃdaveramaṇaṃ, disivvayaṃ*, and *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*" rather than "*disivvayaṃ, uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*, and *anatthadaṃdaveramaṇaṃ*") and that, according to Williams, it is the order seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* that becomes relatively standard (Williams 1963, 56-57). I am not able to explain why the order of the vows is different in the *Uvavāiya*.

It seems clear that, at least at a certain point in time, the compilers

regarded the presentation of lay *dhamma* in the *Uvavāiya* as their primary source

of authority in the move to standardize the discussion of lay Jainism. It is the

sermon in the *Uvavāiya* that numerous passages in other canonical texts

(especially the story literature) commonly refer to just as they refer to the

description of Campā.[147] The influence of the list of vows in the *Uvavāiya* is seen

clearly in *Nirayāvali* 1.1 when queen Kālī adopts the lay vows. In this passage we

can see how shorthand references to the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga and the standard adoption of the lay vows have been replaced

with reference to the description of the lay vows in the *Uvavāiya*. Gopani and

Chokshi translate as follows:

Then the Ascetic, the blessed Mahāvīra (and so forth, down to) the recitation of the religious
sermon to that great queen Kālī (and so forth, down to) she became a lay disciple of Mahāvīra,
and living in that faith obeyed the master's instructions. (Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 8-9)

The Prakrit reads as follows:

tate ṇaṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ jāva kālīe devīe tīse ya mahatimahāliyāe dhammakahā bhāṇiyavvā
jāva samaṇovāsae vā samaṇovāsiyā vā viharamāṇā āṇāe ārāhae bhavati | (Dīparatnasāgara
v.14, 12)

In this passage we read that the sermon and the adoption of the vows are to be

told as in many other stories (*mahatimahāliyāe*[148] *dhammakahā bhāṇiyavvā*).

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[147] In most texts there is no explicit mention of the contents of the sermons that inspire the
characters to adopt lay vows. The commentaries sometimes refer the reader to the *Uvavāiya*.

[148] See Bollée's discussion of the term *mahatimahāliyāe* (Bollée 2002, 283).

The influence of the *Uvavāiya* is seen at the end of the passage (*jāva*

samaṇovāsae vā samaṇovāsiyā vā viharamāṇā āṇae ārāhae bhavati). It makes

no sense to include both the masculine (*samaṇovāsae*) and feminine

(*samaṇovāsiyā*) terms here. The reason they are included is that the compiler

has copied directly from the end of the list of lay vows in the sermon of the

Uvavāiya.[149] In the *Nirayāvalī*, which seems to be relatively late among the texts

of the Śvetāmbara canon,[150] the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and

the standard adoption of the lay vows are effectively replaced with reference to

the list of lay vows in the *Uvavāiya*.

The Terms *Guṇavrata* and *Śikṣāvrata*

I have suggested that the *Uvavāiya* is the earliest text to employ all three

of the terms *aṇuvrata*, *guṇavrata*, and *śikṣāvrata* in association with the list of

twelve vows. There is clearly a point when the vows are listed in Śvetāmbara

texts as five *aṇuvratas* and seven *śikṣāvratas*. The reason for the shift from

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[149] The relevant section from the *Uvavāiya* reads as follows: "ayam-, āuso, agāra-sāmāie
dhamme paṇṇatte, eyassa dhammassa sikkhāe uvaṭṭhie samaṇovāsae vā samaṇovāsiyā vā
viharamāṇe āṇāe ārāhae bhavati." (Leumann 1883, §57, p.63-4)

[150] In the *Nirayāvalī* we find reference to Āṇaṃda and thus we can see that this text was compiled
after the *Uvāsagadasāo*. The reference to Āṇaṃda reads as follows: "tattha ṇaṃ sāvatthīe
nayarīe aṃgatī nāmaṃ gāhāvatī hotthā, addhe jāva aparibhūte | tate ṇaṃ se aṃgatī gāhāvatī
sāvatthīe nayarīe bahūṇaṃ nagaranigama° jahā ānaṃdo |" (Dīparatnasāgara v.14, 30-1) For an
English translation see Gopani and Chokshi 1934, 63.

"seven *śikṣāvratas*" to "three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*" is not entirely

clear. Perhaps the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* (or someone else) saw a distinction

between the two groups of the seven vows and decided that it would be a good

thing to make this distinction clear. However, given that the story of Āṇaṃda

became paradigmatic in the tradition, it also seems possible that the distinction

developed in relation to the explanation for the fact that the list of Āṇaṃda's

promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo* does not mention all of the lay vows.

I have noted above that the commentary on the *Uvāsagadasāo* refers to a

distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* in stating that the *śikṣāvratas*

are applicable to certain occasions before the occurrence of which they need not

be taken.[151] As I noted in my introduction to this chapter, scholars have generally

accepted this distinction as being fundamental to the list of lay vows.[152] However,

I have also noted that there is no distinction between the three *guṇavratas* and

four *śikṣāvratas* in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* since the seven vows are listed as part of

a single compound.[153] Furthermore, I have discussed the references to seven

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[151] Hoernle 1885-90, 26, note 65.

[152] Williams 1963, 57; Hoernle 1885-90, appendix 3, p.33-34.

[153] Williams notes that when listing the lay vows the Digambaras generally follow the order given in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (Williams 1963, 57). He states that the Digambaras use "the collective designation of *śīlas*" in place of the three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas* (Williams 1963, 55).

śikṣāvratas in some early Śvetāmbara texts. This evidence suggests to me that

the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* was not fundamental.

In addition to the fact that the references to seven *śikṣāvratas* seem to

predate the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*, in my view it is

only the first three of the four *śikṣāvratas* (*sāmāiyaṃ, desāvagāsiyaṃ*, and

posahovavāso) that seem to form a group. These three vows seem to be ascetic-

type practices that lay people may undertake temporarily. As I have previously

noted, the term *posahovavāso* contains explicit reference to a fast. I will discuss

below the terms *sāmāiyaṃ* and *desāvagāsiyaṃ*, noting that these vows also

refer to ascetic-type practices. The last *śikṣāvrata* (*atihi-saṃvibhāgo*) refers to

the donation of alms. Although the donation of alms might be described as a

practice undertaken only on certain occasions, it is more likely that it was meant

to be a practice undertaken throughout one's life. Furthermore, the association

with the other *śikṣāvratas* does not seem particularly strong since the donation of

alms is not an ascetic practice.

The distinction between the *guṇavratas* and the *śikṣāvratas* might derive

from the distinction between the *disivvayaṃ* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ*. Both of

these vows relate to the establishment of spatial limits of some kind. The two are

distinguished in that the *disivvayaṃ* (like the other *guṇavratas*) is said to be taken

for life while the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* is described as an ascetic-type practice

undertaken on particular occasions. As I will note below, I have not come across

a reference to the *disivvayaṃ* in the early texts and so it is not clear that the

distinction associated with the categories *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* was

fundamental to the meaning of these vows. Nonetheless, the parallel in

terminology seems to demand that a distinction between the two vows be

made.[154] It may be that the distinction made between these two vows predated

and was the basis for the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*. As

I have noted, there is no distinction between the three *guṇavratas* and four

śikṣāvratas in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* since the seven vows are listed as part of a

single compound. The *disivvayaṃ* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* are listed

consecutively at the beginning of this compound.[155]

As I have discussed above, in the commentary on the *Uvāsagadasāo* the

distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* is associated with a particular

agenda. By distinguishing between these two categories and by suggesting that

some of the promises relating to the last *aṇuvrata* (i.e. the promises relating to

the use of carts and boats) actually refer to one of the *guṇavratas* (i.e.

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[154] It should be noted though that, according to Williams, there is little distinction in the medieval literature between the *disivvayaṃ* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* (Williams 1963, 99, 139).

[155] In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* the seven lay vows are listed as follows: "dig-deśā-narthadaṇḍavirati-sāmāyika-pauṣadhopavāso-pabhogaparibhogaparimāṇā-tithisaṃvibhāgavratasampannaś." (Tatia 1994, 177) In my view, the *disivvayaṃ* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* would not have been listed consecutively at the beginning of the compound if the author had a distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* in mind since the *disivvayaṃ* is a *guṇavrata* and the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* is a *śikṣāvratas*.

disivvayaṃ), it is possible to explain why Āṇaṃda's promises do not refer to all of the twelve lay vows (i.e. one can say that Āṇaṃda's promises refer only to the *aṇuvratas* and *guṇavratas*, not the *śikṣāvratas*). The commentary on the *Uvāsagadasāo* dates from the eleventh century and by this time the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* was likely well established. The explanation given for why Āṇaṃda's promises do not refer to all of the twelve lay vows may thus have nothing to do with the origins of the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas*. However, it is possible that the commentary preserves ideas introduced at a much earlier time. Given the importance of the story of Āṇaṃda in the tradition, it could be that the distinction between the *guṇavratas* and *śikṣāvratas* was introduced specifically as part of an effort to explain why the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo* does not mention all of the twelve lay vows.[156] I have explained above my view that the list of Āṇaṃda's promises does not refer to all twelve lay vows because the passage was produced before the list of twelve lay vows was either finalized or generally accepted.

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[156] If this is the case it is not clear to me why the order of the lay vows in the *Uvavāiya* is different from that seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* (since we find "*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ, disivvayaṃ,* and *uvabhogaparibhogaparimāṇaṃ*" rather than "*disivayassa, uvabhogaparibhoge,* and *aṇatthādaṃḍaveramaṇassa*"). As I have noted above, it is the order seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 and the *Uvāsagadasāo* (with *disivvayaṃ* listed as the first *guṇavrata*) that seems consistent with the explanation that some of Āṇaṃda's promises that appear to relate to the last *aṇuvrata* actually relate to the *disi-vaya.*

Just as we are left to speculate as to why a distinction was introduced between the *guṇavratas* and the *śikṣāvratas*, we are also left to speculate as to the reasons for the adoption of the terminology "*guṇavrata*" and "*śikṣāvrata*". In thinking about this issue, it can be noted that the term "*guṇa*" occurs in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 where we find reference to complete (*savva*) and partial (*desa*) renunciation in the domain of the fundamental *guṇas* (*mūlaguṇapaccakkhāṇe*) and renunciation in the domain of the additional *guṇas* (*uttaraguṇapaccakkhāṇe*). The term "*guṇa*" also occurs as part of the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (in the compound "*sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsehiṃ*"). I have discussed the loose association between this phrase and the list of lay vows. Even though the exact meaning of the term "*guṇa*" is unclear in these passages, it seems clear that the term is associated with asceticism. The presence of the term "*guṇa*" in these passages shows that there was an early association between the term and the lay *dhamma*. It is perhaps owing to this association that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* (or someone else) decided to use the term "*guṇavrata*" for some of the lay vows.

In relation to this hypothesis it is noteworthy that the final phrase of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* also includes the terms *sīla-vvaya*. I have suggested that *sīla* and *vvaya* should be understood as two separate terms,

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though the commentators explain *sīla-vvaya* as a compound referring to the

anuvratas. The presence of the term "*sīla*" here should perhaps be seen in

relation to the fact that, according to Williams, the Digambaras refer to the "*sīlas*"

instead of the three *gunavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*.[157] I do not know of any

textual example in Śvetāmbara literature where the term "*sīla*" is used with

explicit reference to the lay vows, but as with the term *guna*, the presence of the

term in the final phrase of the standard description of the *samanovāsaga*

suggests an early association between the term and the lay *dhamma*. The

significance of the distinction in terminology employed by the Śvetāmbaras and

Digambaras is not clear to me. I am also unsure why the Śvetāmbaras chose the

term "*śikṣāvrata*" for the seven vows.

The Term *Anuvrata*

I have suggested that the earliest listings of the lay vows include only what

became known as the five *anuvratas*. I have noted that in *Sūyagadamga* 2.2 and

Sūyagadamga 2.7 we find lists of the five *anuvratas* without mention of the term

anuvrata. Likewise, the five *anuvratas* are listed in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2 though

they correspond to the category called "partial renunciation in the domain of the

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[157] As noted above, Williams states that the Digambaras use "the collective designation of *sīlas*" in place of the three *gunavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas* (Williams 1963, 55).

fundamental *gunas*" (*desamūlagunapaccakkhāne*). I have also noted that in

Nāyādhammakahāo 1.13 the term *anuvrata* occurs without mention of the

gunavratas or *śikṣāvratas*.

One of the earliest uses of the terms *anuvrata* and *mahāvrata* together

may be in the sixth verse of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.6. Jacobi translates as follows:

He who (teaches) the great vows (of monks) and the five small vows (of the laity) the five Āsravas
and the stoppage of the five Āsravas, and control, who avoids Karman in this blessed life of
Śramaṇas, him I call a Śramaṇa. (6) (Jacobi 1895, 410)

The Prakrit reads:

6. mahavvae paṃca aṇuvvae ya taheva paṃcāsava saṃvare ya |
viraiṃ iha ssāmaṇiyammi paṇṇe lavāvasakkī samaṇe tti bemi || (Nathamal 1974a, 462)

It is beyond the scope of my current work to discuss all of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.6 or

even all of this verse. The verse is part of a defense of the fact that Mahāvīra

decided to teach and to have a group of followers rather than to wander on his

own as he had initially done. The verse refers to some important Jain teachings

including the idea that the goal of monastic life is to stop (*saṃvara*) the influx

(*āsava*) of karma.[158] Here once again we see that the teaching of five vows is

associated with Mahāvīra.

Jacobi follows the commentaries in interpreting the term *anuvrata* in this

verse as referring to the list of five lay *anuvratas*. In my view one should at least

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[158] These are two of the nine *tattvas*. On the subject of the influx of karma (*āsava*) see Dundas
2002, 96-97. Dundas notes the idea of karma as a substance that comes into contact with the
soul (*jīva*) is not seen in the earliest extant literature.

consider the possibility that such an association is anachronistic and that the

term *anuvrata* here does not refer to the list of five lay *anuvratas*. One reason to

consider this possibility is that immediately subsequent verses in *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.6 condemn all householders and merchants.[159] Furthermore, I do not recall the

use of the term *anuvrata* as referring to the lay vows elsewhere in the

Sūyagaḍaṃga. I have noted that in both *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.7 we find a list of the *anuvratas* without the term *anuvrata*. If the list of five lay

anuvratas is meant in this verse then it is significant that they are mentioned

alone without the other lay vows.

It is obvious that the term *anuvrata* should be seen in relation to the term

mahāvrata.[160] However, it seems probable to me that the term *anuvrata*, like the

term *mahāvrata*, originally referred to ascetic practice performed by mendicants

and that there came a time when the Jains decided that the term *mahāvrata*

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[159] This is seen, for example, in verses eight and nine: "Know this: those who use cold water, eat seeds, accept things especially prepared for them, and have intercourse with women, are (no better than) householders, but they are no *Sramaṇas*. (8) If those who eat seeds, use (cold) water, and have intercourse with women, are admitted to be *Sramaṇas*, then householders too are *Sramaṇas*; for they do the same things. (9)" (Jacobi 1895, 411) Verses 21-24 condemn merchants for killing living beings and for desiring wealth and property (Jacobi 1895, 413-414).

[160] With respect to the meaning of the term, Williams, apparently referring to Abhayadeva's commentary on Haribhadra's *Śrāvaka-dharma-pañcāśaka*, writes as follows: "Abhayadeva explains the term *anu-vrata* as meaning either a vow that is 'minor' (*anu*) in comparison with the major vows (*mahā-vratas*) or the vow of a person who is 'minor', that is of secondary importance, in comparison with an ascetic, or (in the form of *anu-vrata*) as a vow expounded subsequently to the *mahā-vratas*." (Williams 1963, 64) We can only speculate as to whether the term was originally chosen for all of the reasons that Abhayadeva mentions.

would refer to the five principal mendicant vows and that the term *anuvrata* would refer to the corresponding lay vows. The only other possibility would be that the Jain mendicants invented the term *anuvrata* specifically for the lay vows. In either case the fact that the *anuvratas* correspond to the *mahāvratas* shows again that lay practice was conceived fundamentally as a kind of asceticism.

The First *Anuvrata* and the Vow to Avoid Harming Mobile Beings in *Sūyagadamga* 2.7

I have discussed the fact that the first five lay vows (the *anuvratas*) correspond to the five monastic vows (the *mahāvratas*). As I said above in the introduction to this chapter, considering the manner in which the *anuvratas* were produced (simply as a reworking of the *mahāvratas*), I think it unlikely that the compilers had specific practices in mind when producing the list. However, the later compilers sometimes attempted to explain exactly what it means to partially desist from the various activities from which the mendicants completely desist. Thus I have noted above the shift in the terminology used for the fourth and fifth *anuvratas.*[161] I have also noted the extensive discussion of the fifth *anuvrata* in the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo.*

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[161] I suggested that in earlier texts the fourth *anuvrata* is renunciation of "excessive sexual intercourse" ("*thūlagaṃ mehuṇaṃ*") and the fifth *anuvrata* is renunciation of "excessive appropriation of property" ("*thūlagaṃ pariggahaṃ*"), while in later texts the fourth *anuvrata* is "*sa-*

In the medieval literature, the first *aṇuvrata*, "avoidance of gross harm to living beings" (*thūlāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇaṃ*), is directly associated with a vow to renounce harming a particular category of beings, i.e. mobile (*tasa*) beings.[162] The distinction between mobile (*tasa*) and immobile (*thāvara*) beings is linked with Jain ontology, according to which even the elements are thought to consist of various immobile microscopic living beings (*jīvas*).[163] Jain mendicants go to extreme lengths to avoid harming even immobile beings like those that make up the elements.[164] Householders are not able to go to such lengths and so they vow to renounce harming only mobile beings.

The vow to renounce harm to mobile beings is discussed at length in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. There seems to be a natural association between this vow and the first *aṇuvrata*. However, the association between the vow and the first *aṇuvrata* is not explicit in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and it is not clear when the direct association was first made between the vow to renounce harming only mobile

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dāra-saṃtose," "to be contented with one's own wife," and the fifth *aṇuvrata* is "*icchā-parimāṇe*," "to limit one's desires".

[162] In his study of the medieval literature, Williams says that the nature of the first *aṇuvrata* "depends on the distinction between *sūkṣma-hiṃsā*, the taking of life in any form, abstention from which is obligatory for the ascetic, and *sthūla-hiṃsā*, the destruction of the higher forms of life from *dvīndriyas* upwards, which is forbidden to all Jainas." (Williams 1963, 65-66)

[163] On early Jain ontology see *Āyāraṃga* 1.1.

[164] For example, in order to avoid harming elemental beings Jain mendicants refrain from digging, bathing, lighting or extinguishing a fire, and using a fan (Jaini 1979, 242-243).

beings and the first *anuvrata*. The distinction between mobile and immobile

beings is seen in the *Uttarādhyayana*, where we read that the true Brahmin

knows both of these categories and avoids harming them.[165] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga*

2.1 we read that a Jain monk does not kill mobile or immobile beings, nor cause

such beings to be killed by others, nor consent to another's killing them.[166] The

distinction between mobile and immobile beings is also seen in the *Tattvārtha*

Sūtra, though not in association with the first *anuvrata*.[167] The typical offences for

the first *anuvrata* as listed in the *Uvāsagadasāo* seem to refer exclusively to

mobile beings,[168] but there is no mention of the distinction between mobile and

immobile beings. Regardless of whether or not the vow to avoid harming mobile

beings developed specifically as an explanation of the first *anuvrata*, the fact that

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[165] Jaini 1979, 75.

[166] Jacobi 1895, 352; Nathamal 1974a, 365. We are introduced to the distinction between mobile and immobile beings at an earlier point in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.1, where we read that "all things are divided into living beings and things without life, (and living beings again into) movable and immovable ones." (Jacobi 1895, 352; Nathamal 1974a, 363)

[167] Tatia 1994, 41ff. The *Sarvārthasiddhi* commentary, by the sixth century Digambara monk Pūjyapāda Devanandi, does make an explicit association between the vow to avoid harming mobile beings and the first *anuvrata* (Tatia 1994, 176).

[168] Hoernle translates the five typical offences against the first *anuvrata* in the *Uvāsagadasāo* as follows: "against the law of abstention from gross ill-usage of living beings, *viz.*, tying them, bruising them, piercing *any of* their limbs, overloading them, and starving them of food and drink..." (Hoernle 1885-90, 22-24) The Prakrit reads: "§32. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ thūlayassa pāṇāivāyaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. baṃdhe 2.vahe 3. chavicchede 4. atibhāre 5. bhattapāṇavocchede | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 403-404)

the association is made in the medieval literature seems to show the importance

in the early tradition of the practice described in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7.[169]

In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, discussion of the practice of renouncing harm only

to mobile beings and not also to immobile beings occurs between Mahāvīra's

disciple Goyama and a follower of Pārśva named Udaka.[170] Udaka argues that

the continual cycle of rebirth renders the distinction between mobile and

immobile beings problematic and he states that a monk is wrong if he

encourages laymen to engage in such practice.[171] He suggests that this form of

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[169] In the later tradition the first *aṇuvrata* and the vow to avoid killing mobile beings are linked with the practice of vegetarianism, which today is the most important marker of Jain identity (Williams 1963, 70; Dundas 2002, 34, 176-177). I have noted in my first chapter that there is concern with vegetarianism in some of the later books of the Śvetāmbara canon.

[170] The Prakrit reads: "udae pedhālaputte bhagavaṃ pāsāvaccijje ṇiyaṃṭhe medajje gotteṇaṃ." (Nathamal 1974a, 469) Jacobi translates: "Udaka, the son of Pe*dh*āla, a Nirgrantha and follower of Pārśva [note - compare *Uttaradyayan* 22], of the Medārya Gotra." (Jacobi 1895, 420)

[171] Udaka's initial criticism reads as follows: "O long-lived Gautama, there are Nirgrantha *Śramaṇas*, called Kumāraputras, who profess your creed; they make a zealous householder, a follower of the *Śramaṇas*, renounce injury to movable beings except on the order (from an established authority), as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free. [Jacobi explains this phrase as follows: "These words seem to refer to an apologue told by the commentator: King Ratnaśekhara of Ratnapura, once making a pleasure trip, issued an order that nobody should remain in the town. Six brothers disobeyed, were brought before the king, and sentenced to death. Their father in vain implored the king to spare them, or to spare five, four, three, two of his sons. At last the king consented to pardon the eldest son, at which the old father rejoiced. – The six sons are likened to the six classes of living beings. As a householder cannot altogether abstain from injuring them, as monks do, he is content to abstain from injuring movable beings or animals." (Jacobi 1895, 421, note 2)] Those who make this renunciation, make a bad renunciation; those who cause this renunciation to be made, cause a bad renunciation to be made; in causing another to make this renunciation, they annul their own allegation. Why do I say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births; though they be (now) immovable beings, they will (some time) become movable ones, or though they be (now) movable beings, they will become immovable ones; when they leave the bodies of immovable beings, they will be born in bodies of movable ones, and when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in bodies of immovable ones. When they are born in bodies of immovable beings, it is no sin to kill them. (6)"

renunciation would be acceptable if the term "*tasehiṃ*" (movable beings) was

replaced by the term "*tasabhūehiṃ*" (creatures which are, for the time being,

movable beings).[172] Goyama states that the two expressions in effect refer to the

same thing.[173] Goyama convinces Udaka to accept that a layman can make a

meaningful renunciation in renouncing violence to only mobile beings and not

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(Jacobi 1895, 421-2) The Prakrit reads: "āusaṃto ! goyamā ! atthi khalu kammāraputtiyā ṇāma samaṇā ṇiggaṃthā tumhāgaṃ pavayaṇaṃ pavayamāṇā gāhāvaiṃ samaṇovāsagaṃ uvasaṃpaṇṇaṃ evaṃ paccakkhāveṃti - "ṇaṇṇattha abhijogeṇaṃ, gāhāvai-coraggahaṇa-vimokkhaṇayāe tasehiṃ pāṇehiṃ ṇihāya daṃḍaṃ |" evaṃ ṇhaṃ paccakkhaṃtāṇaṃ duppaccakkhāyaṃ bhavai | evaṃ ṇhaṃ paccakkhāvemāṇāṇaṃ duppaccakkhāviyaṃ bhavai | evaṃ te paraṃ paccakkhāvemāṇā aiyaraṃti sayaṃ paiṇṇaṃ | kassa ṇaṃ taṃ heuṃ | saṃsāriyā khalu pāṇā - thāvarā vi pāṇā tasattāe paccāyaṃti | tasā vi pāṇā thāvarattāe paccāyaṃti | thāvarakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā tasakāyaṃsi uvavajjaṃti | tasakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā thāvarakāyaṃsi uvavajjaṃti | tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ thāvarakāyaṃsi uvavaṇṇāṇaṃ ṭhāṇameyaṃ ghattaṃ |" (Nathamal 1974a, 469-470)

[172] Jacobi translates: "(But if they make him renounce) injury to creatures which are, for the time being, movable beings, except on the order (from an established authority) – as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free – (if they take this vow), those who make this renunciation, make a good renunciation; those who cause this renunciation to be made, cause a good renunciation to be made; in causing another to make this renunciation, they do not annul their own allegation. Though in this way [note 1: "I.e. by specifying the movable beings as beings which are movable ones for the time being."] a correct expression is found, some (monks) from anger or greed cause the householder to make the renunciation (without the necessary restriction). Is not this our interpretation right? O long-lived Gautama, do you approve of it? (7)" (Jacobi 1895, 422) The Prakrit reads: "evaṃ ṇhaṃ paccakkhaṃtāṇaṃ suppaccakkhāyaṃ bhavai | evaṃ ṇhaṃ paccakkhāvemāṇāṇaṃ suppaccakkhāviyaṃ bhavai | evaṃ te paraṃ paccakkhāvemāṇā ṇāiyaraṃti sayaṃ paiṇṇaṃ - "ṇaṇṇattha abhijogeṇaṃ, gāhāvai-coraggahaṇa-vimokkhaṇayāe tasabhūehiṃ pāṇehiṃ ṇihāya daṃḍaṃ |" evaṃ sai bhāsāe parikamme vijjamāṇe je te kohā vā lohā vā paraṃ paccakkhāveṃti | ayaṃ pi ṇo uvaese kiṃ ṇo ṇeyāue bhavai ? aviyāiṃ āuso ! goyamā ! tubbhaṃ pi eyaṃ evaṃ royai ?" (Nathamal 1974a, 470)

[173] Jacobi translates: "O long-lived Udaka, what you call beings which are, for the time being, movable ones, we call movable beings; and what we call movable beings, you call beings which are, for the time being, movable ones. Both expressions are equal, and mean the same thing." (Jacobi 1895, 423) The Prakrit reads: "je tubbhe vayaha tasabhūyā pāṇā tasā te vayaṃ vadāmo tasā pāṇā tasā | je vayaṃ vayāmo tasā pāṇā tasā te tubbhe vadaha tasabhūyā pāṇā tasā | ee saṃti duve ṭhāṇā tullā egaṭṭhā |" (Nathamal 1974a, 471)

also to immobile beings. The issue is presented here as a debate between two groups of Jains, but we can assume that non-Jain groups would have also attacked the practice.

We find a unique description of the Jain layman after this initial defense of the idea that a layman can make a meaningful renunciation in renouncing violence only to mobile beings. The description emphasizes this particular practice. It reads as follows:

And the Venerable One has spoken thus: Some men there are who say: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state, but we shall gradually conform to the Gotra (i.e. community of the monks).[174] Accordingly they make known the limits[175], fix the limits, determine the limits (beyond which they will not go in the enjoyment of worldly goods); and renounce injury to movable beings, except on order (of an established authority) – as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free.[176] And this turns out to their benefit.[177] (10) (Jacobi 1895, 423-4)

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[174] I have not seen elsewhere this phrase about gradually conforming to the gotra (*vayaṃ ṇaṃ anupuvveṇaṃ gottassa lississāmo*). It may be significant that the term "*anupuvva*" also occurs in a verse from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.2.3 that relates to pious householders. Jacobi translates verse 13 of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 1.2.3 as follows: "The man also who still lives in the house, should, in accordance with his creed [note 2: "*Ānupūrvyā.*"], be merciful to living beings; we are bidden to be fair and equal with all; (thereby even a householder) goes to the world of the gods." (Jacobi 1895, 259) The Prakrit reads: "67. gāraṃ pi ya āvase ṇare aṇupuvvaṃ pāṇehi saṃjae | samayā savvattha suvvae devāṇaṃ gacche salogayaṃ | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 274)

[175] Jacobi includes the following note on the word "limit": "Literally, the number. A sample of such vows is given in the beginning of the *Uvāsaga Dasāo*, see Hoernle's edition, §16 ff." (Jacobi 1895, 423, note 1) Jacobi thus associates the word "limit" ("*samkhaṃ*") with the list of Āṇaṃda's promises in the *Uvāsagadasāo*. This may be correct, but it can be noted that the relevant section of the *Uvāsagadasāo* does not include the word *saṃkhaṃ* (Nathamal 1974c, 400-401).

[176] This phrase also occurs in the defense of the idea that a layman can make a meaningful renunciation in renouncing violence to only mobile beings. As I have noted above, Jacobi explains the phrase as follows: "These words seem to refer to an apologue told by the commentator: King Ratnasekhara of Ratnapura, once making a pleasure trip, issued an order that nobody should remain in the town. Six brothers disobeyed, were brought before the king, and sentenced to death. Their father in vain implored the king to spare them, or to spare five, four, three, two of his sons. At last the king consented to pardon the eldest son, at which the old father rejoiced. – The six sons are likened to the six classes of living beings. As a householder cannot

There are a number of descriptions of categories of Jain laymen in

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7. This passage mentioning the renunciation of violence only to

mobile beings may be particularly early since we find the phrase "some men"

(*saṃtegaiyā maṇussā*) as in the reworked introductory passage in the mixed

section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, while in the other descriptions

of Jain laymen in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we find the phrase "some laymen"

(*saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā*). This passage is the first description of Jain laymen

in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, preceding the passage containing a list of the *aṇuvratas*

that I discussed above. As in the case of the passage containing a list of the

aṇuvratas, this passage begins with a statement about the inability to join the

monastic order that is related to a similar statement in the standard adoption of

lay vows.[178]

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altogether abstain from injuring them, as monks do, he is content to abstain from injuring movable beings or animals." (Jacobi 1895, 421, note 2)

[177] The Prakrit reads: "bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ udāhu - saṃtegaiyā maṇussā bhavaṃti, tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ evaṃ vuttapuvvaṃ bhavai - ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo mumḍā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae | vayaṃ ṇaṃ aṇupuvveṇaṃ gottassa lississāmo | te evaṃ saṃkhasāvemti - "ṇaṇṇattha abhijogeṇaṃ gāhāvai-coraggahaṇa-vimokkhaṇayāe tasehiṃ pāṇehiṃ ṇihāya daṃḍaṃ |" taṃ pi tesiṃ kusalameva bhavai | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 471-2) Note that in translating "they make known the limits, fix the limits, determine the limits" Jacobi works from a variant reading like the one given by Muni Dīparatnasāgara: "te evaṃ saṃkhavemti te evaṃ saṃkhaṃ ṭhavayaṃti te evaṃ saṃkhaṃ ṭhāvayaṃti." (Dīparatnasāgara v.2, 450)

[178] As noted elsewhere, if we compare the language in this passage with the standard adoption of lay vows in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* we see the same basic terminology. The relevant section of the standard adoption of lay vows from the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* reads as follows: "ṇo khalu ahaṃtā saṃcāemi ciccā hiraṇṇaṃ taṃ ceva jāva pavvaittae." (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322)

The statement relating to the vow to renounce violence only to mobile beings at the end of this passage parallels the language seen in the discussion between Goyama and Udaka where Goyama defends the idea that a layman can make a meaningful renunciation in renouncing violence to only mobile beings.[179] It is better to renounce violence to certain kinds of beings rather than to kill all types of beings. The qualifier "except on order" (*naṇṇattha abhijogeṇaṃ*) seems to be suited particularly to the vow to avoid killing mobile beings since, in some cases, such as in a time of war, a layman may be ordered to kill certain mobile beings.[180] There is a similar clause at a later point in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 in relation to immobile beings. In this case we read that the layman refrains from injuring immobile beings "without a purpose," but not "with a purpose" (*aṭṭhāe daṃḍe aṇikkhitte aṇaṭṭhāe daṃḍe ṇikkhitte*).[181] I will come back to this phrase below noting a parallel with one of the *guṇavratas* (i.e.

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[179] In this passage we read the laymen "renounce injury to movable beings, except on order (of an established authority) – as the householder caused one of the captured thieves to be set free. And this turns out to their benefit. (10)" (Jacobi 1895, 423-4) The Prakrit reads: "naṇṇattha abhijogeṇaṃ gāhāvai-coraggahaṇa-vimokkhaṇayāe tasehiṃ pāṇehiṃ ṇihāya daṃḍaṃ." (Nathamal 1974a, 471-472) The same phrase also occurs in the defense of the idea that a layman can make a meaningful renunciation in renouncing violence to only mobile beings (Jacobi 1895, 421-2; Nathamal 1974a, 469-470).

[180] Jacobi notes regarding such orders: "Abhiyoga. Śīlāṅka enumerates four kinds of *abhiyoga*: gana-, bala-, devatā-abhiyoga, and gurunigraha." (Jacobi 1895, 424, note 1)

[181] Jacobi translates: "from injuring which without a purpose the follower of the Śramaṇas abstains till death, but not with a purpose." (Jacobi 1895, 432) The Prakrit reads: "jehiṃ samaṇovāsagassa aṭṭhāe daṃḍe aṇikkhitte aṇaṭṭhāe daṃḍe ṇikkhitte." (Nathamal 1974a, 482) Jacobi notes that in this part of the text this clause "comes always after the words 'immovable beings.'" (Jacobi 1895, 432, note 1)

anatthadamdaveramanam). The ideas that lay people injure mobile beings only

when ordered to do so and injure immobile beings only when there is a purpose

for doing so both show a clear difference between the expectations for lay and

mendicant life, but also seem to emphasize that lay people divert from mendicant

behavior only exceptionally.

Sūyagadamga 2.7 and the Terms *Sāmāiya, Desāvagāsiya,* and *Anattha-danda*

I have noted above that in *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 we find discussion of a

practice involving the establishment of spatial limits referred to as "*sāmāiya*

desāvagāsiya".[182] This occurs in the description of the final category of people

mentioned in *Sūyagadamga* 2.7 where the subject again is "some Jain laymen"

(*samtegaiyā samanovāsagā*). The Jain laymen in this category cannot observe

the *posaha* fast or the fast to death. However, they do observe the practice of

spatial limits (*sāmāiyam desāvagāsiyam*). Jacobi may have had a different

version of the Prakrit than is seen in Muni Nathamal's edition, since he translates

that these laymen do perform the fast to death and thus he seems to associate

the practice known as "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" with the fast to death. I think that

the reading that negates performance of the fast to death (as given by Muni

Nathamal) is correct. I have discussed above a passage that begins with

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[182] Nathamal 1974a, 481; Jacobi 1895, 431.

reference to the *posaha* observances. The description of some laymen that

follows the passage beginning with the reference the *posaha* observances states

explicitly that the laymen are unable to observe the *posaha* ritual, but that they

will engage in the fast to death.[183] The statement mentioning the "*sāmāiya*

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[183] The passage that follows the passage beginning with reference to the *posaha* observances begins with a negation of the statement in the preceding passage about observing the *posaha* fast. There is then a reference to the fast to death (*vayam nam apacchimamāranamtiyasamlehanābhūsanābhūsiyā bhattapānapadiyāikkhiyā kālam anavakamkhamānā viharissāmo*). Next we see the term *savvam* before each of the five vows as occurs in the case of the mendicant vows. In the passage beginning with reference to the *posaha* observances the *anuvratas* were seen at this point with the term *thūlagam* instead of *savvam*. We also see in the passage referring to the fast to death the phrase *tiviham tivihenam* usually associated with mendicant renunciation, where in the passage beginning with reference to the posaha observances we saw the phrase *duviham tivihenam*. After this, there is the phrase about abstaining from actions and from food, drink and so on, also occurring in the same place in the passage beginning with reference to the posaha observances (*mā khalu mamatthāe kimci vi kareha vā kāraveha vā tattha vi paccakkhāissāmo | te nam abhoccā apiccā asināittā āsamdīpedhiyāo paccoruhittā*). Everything in this passage after the initial reference to the fast to death, including mention of the mendicant vows, is likely to be associated with the fast to death. Detailed discussion of the fast to death is beyond the scope of my current work. Jacobi translates this passage as follows: "And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the *Sramanas*, who have made this declaration: we cannot, submitting to the tonsure, renounce the life of a householder and enter the monastic state; we also cannot strictly observe the Posaha on the fourteenth and the eighth days of each fortnight, (on the days of new-moon) and full-moon; but while we are preparing ourselves for death by fasting [note 1: "*Samlehanaghūsanāghūsiyā.*"], we shall abstain from food and drink without longing for the end; we shall renounce all ill-usage of living beings, all lying speech, all taking of things not given, all sexual intercourse, all property, (saying): 'neither do nor cause anything (sinful) to be done for my sake.' (All the rest as in the preceding paragraph.)" (18)" (Jacobi 1895, 429) The Prakrit reads: "§21. bhagavam ca nam udāhu - niyamthā khalu pucchiyavvā āusamto ! niyamthā ! iha khalu samtegaiyā samanovāsagā bhavamti | tesim ca nam evam vuttapuvvam bhavai - no khalu vayam samcāemo mumdā bhavittā agārāo anagāriyam pavvaittae, no khalu vayam samcāemo cāuddasatthamudditthapunnamāsinīsu padipunnam posaham sammam anupālemānā viharittae | vayam nam apacchimamāranamtiyasamlehanābhūsanābhūsiyā bhattapānapadiyāikkhiyā kālam anavakamkhamānā viharissāmo | savvam pānāivāyam paccakkhāissāmo, evam savvam musāvāyam savvam adinnādānam savvam mehunam savvam pariggaham paccakkhāissāmo, tiviham tivihenam mā khalu mamatthāe kimci vi kareha vā kāraveha vā karamtam samanujāneha vā tattha vi paccakkhāissāmo | tenam abhoccā apiccā asināittā āsamdīpedhiyāo paccoruhittā te taha kālagayā kim vattavvam siyā ? sammam kālagaya tti vattavvam siyā |" (Nathamal 1974a, 477)

desāvagāsiya follows the passage relating to the fast to death and thus I would

expect that this passage describes people who do not observe the *posaha* or

engage in the fast to death, but who do engage in the practice known as

"*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*". Jacobi translates the passage as follows (though I have

amended the translation to reflect the Prakrit in Muni Nathamal's edition):

And the Venerable One spoke thus: "There are some followers of the *Sramanas*, who have made this declaration: we are not able to strictly observe the Posaha-days, [nor are we able],[184] when preparing ourselves for death by fasting, to abstain from food and drink without longing for the end. [However, we are able to perform the][185] Sāmāyika Desāvakāsika: (he declares) in the morning: (I shall travel) only thus or thus far in an eastern, western, southern, northern direction. He renounces injury to all beings: I shall cause peace and security to all sorts of living beings."[186] (Jacobi 1895, 431)

The practice known as "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" seems to be related to the

vow to avoid harming mobile beings in that these practices provide two ways of

limiting the amount of violence one commits with respect to living beings. In this

case, rather than vowing to avoid harming certain types of beings, one sets

spatial limits outside of which one vows to renounce harm to all living beings. The

relationship between the two practices is seen in that directly following the

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[184] In place of the section in square brackets, Jacobi's translation reads, "but we are able."

[185] In place of the section in square brackets, Jacobi's translation reads, "The vow of such a man is the"

[186] The Prakrit reads: "§29. bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ udāhu - saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā bhavaṃti | tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ evaṃ vuttapuvvaṃ bhavai - ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo muṃḍā bhavittā agārāo aṇagāriyaṃ pavvaittae | ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsiṇīsu paḍipuṇṇaṃ posahaṃ aṇupālittae | ṇo khalu vayaṃ saṃcāemo apacchimamāraṇaṃtiyasaṃlehaṇābhūsaṇābhūsiyā bhattapāṇapaḍiyāikkhiyā kālaṃ aṇavakaṃkhamāṇā viharittae | vayaṃ ṇaṃ sāmāiyaṃ desāvagāsiyaṃ - puratthā pāīṇaṃ paḍīṇaṃ dāhiṇaṃ udīṇaṃ etāvatāva savvapāṇehiṃ savvabhūehiṃ savvajīvehiṃ savvasattehiṃ daṃḍe ṇikkhitte pāṇabhūyajīvasattehiṃ khemaṃkare ahamaṃsi |" (Nathamal 1974a, 481)

passage on the "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" is a discussion of the fate of the mobile

and immobile beings residing inside and outside of the spatial limits. This

passage which follows the passage on the "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" will be

discussed again below. Though the "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" seems directly

associated with the limiting of the amount of violence one commits with respect

to living beings, it is not associated with the first *aṇuvrata* as in the case of the

vow to avoid harming mobile beings.

The terms *sāmāiya* and *desāvagāsiyaṃ* are listed as two of the twelve lay

vows. In the *Uvavāiya* they are two of the four *śikṣāvratas*. This seems to show a

further relationship between *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 and the list of twelve lay vows. I

hypothesize that *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 existed before the compilers developed the

list of twelve vows. The compilers incorporated the practice referred to as

"*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" by including the term "*desāvagāsiyaṃ*" as one of the

śikṣāvratas. I have not identified any other passage where the term

"*desāvagāsiyaṃ*" is seen. The term "*sāmāiya*," on the other hand, is seen in

various other passages referring to both lay and mendicant practice. As I noted in

my introduction, the discussion of the term provided by other scholars indicates

that the term referred to religious practice of some kind, though the meaning may

have shifted through the ages.[187] The passage mentioning the "*sāmāiya*

desāvagāsiya" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 may have influenced the Śvetāmbara

practice of listing the terms *sāmāiya* and *desāvagāsiyaṃ* consecutively as seen

in the list of lay vows found in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.2.2, the *Uvavāiya*, and almost all

medieval Śvetāmbara texts.[188]

Since the term *sāmāiya* is seen without the term *desāvagāsiyaṃ*, the

practice called "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 should perhaps be

understood as a particular form of *sāmāiya* involving the establishment of spatial

limits. The term *desāvagāsiyaṃ* means "restricting one's sphere to a single

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[187] In discussing the Āvaśyaka literature Balbir notes that *sāmāiyaṃ* for the lay community is a practice that allows them to behave like monks (Balbir 1993, 37). She suggests that this practice forms a common point of discipline between the monastic and lay communities and that this commonality may explain the tendency in the later tradition to include discussion of lay conduct in works dealing primarily with monastic conduct (Balbir 1993, 38). In another context, Balbir states that in the Āvaśyaka literature the term *sāmāiyaṃ* "refers most generally to the acquisition of a state of mind which makes a person conceive of worldly life as negative and realize that he should leave it." (Balbir 1990, 71). Hoernle has discussed the explanation of the term given in the commentary on the *Uvāsagadasāo* where the term is taken as referring to a "calm temper and firmness of mind" that is "wholly given to religious practices." (Hoernle 1885-90, 31, note 81) Jaini notes that in the medieval period the meaning of the term *sāmāyika* broadened to include image worship, and that the term eventually became "a cover term for all types of spiritual activity." (Jaini 1979, 190). Bruhn has provided references for further discussion of the term (Bruhn 1981, 24 note 22a, 37 note 51). Hoernle translates the list of typical offences for *sāmāiyaṃ* as follows: "against the law of inward peace, *viz.*, ill behaviour in thought, ill behaviour in word, ill behaviour in act, obliviousness of the law of inward peace, and unstable attention to the law of inward peace... (Hoernle 1885-90, 31-34) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§40. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ sāmāiyassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. maṇaduppaṇihāṇe 2. vaiduppaṇihāṇe 3. kāyaduppaṇihāṇe 4. sāmāiyassa satiakaraṇayā 5. sāmāiyassa aṇavaṭṭhiyassa karaṇayā | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 406)

[188] Williams 1963, 55-57.

place".[189] The list of typical offences for the *desāvagāsiyaṃ* in the *Uvāsagadasāo*

relates to forms of communication that should be avoided.[190] Hoernle points out

that the forms of communication refer to ways in which one can have influence

outside of the selected living area.[191] The "*desāvagāsiyaṃ*" vow thus involves a

form of withdrawal from society. The "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" seems to recall the

characters in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (mentioned above) who leave their families to

engage in ascetic-like retirement towards the end of their lives. These characters

ultimately fast to death and we can recall that Jacobi associated the "*sāmāiya*

desāvagāsiya" with the fast to death. Yet, there are also many examples in the

Śvetāmbara canon of characters who engage in temporary ascetic practice and

so I doubt that the association with the fast to death was essential. It should be

noted that the idea of setting temporary and permanent spatial limits seems to

derive directly from Jain monastic practice.[192]

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[189] Hoernle translates: "having some one place as one's sphere." (Hoernle 1885-90, 32, note 85)

[190] Hoernle translates the list of typical offences for *desāvagāsiyaṃ* as follows: "against the law of keeping within a certain place; *viz.*, employment of *family members* as messengers, employment of servants as messengers, communication by word of mouth, communication by gestures, and *notification by* throwing of clods." (Hoernle 1885-90, 31-34) The Prakrit reads as follows: "§41. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ desāvagāsiyassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. āṇavaṇappoge 2. posa[sā?]ṇavaṇappoge 3. saddāṇuvāe 4. rūvāṇuvāe 5. bahiyāpoggalapakkheve | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 406)

[191] Hoernle 1885-90, 32, note 85.

[192] In the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu there are references to limits set for monks during the rainy season on the area of residence (Jacobi 1879, 87; Jacobi 1884, 297), the area for collecting alms (Jacobi 1879, 87; Jacobi 1884, 297), and the area of possible travel (Jacobi 1879, 94; Jacobi

I have noted above that distinction between the *guṇavratas* and the

śikṣāvratas may derive from the distinction between the *disivvayaṃ* and the

desāvagāsiyaṃ. The *disivvayaṃ* (one of the *guṇavratas*) is presented as a

permanent limit on one's area of travel throughout one's life while the

desāvagāsiyaṃ (one of the *śikṣāvratas*) is a practice undertaken only on certain

occasions.[193] It seems impossible to know whether the two terms were originally

distinguished in this manner. The list of typical offences for the *disivvayaṃ* in the

Uvāsagadasāo only mentions exceeding, changing or forgetting the limits.[194] I

have not come across another early reference to the *disivvayaṃ*. I have noted

above that the two terms occur consecutively in a single compound in the list of

lay vows in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*. I have also noted above that, according to

Williams, there is little distinction in the medieval literature between these two

vows.[195]

1884, 310). In the *Bṛhatkalpa* there is mention of a general limit on the area of movement for a monk (Jain 2005, 271).

[193] Hoernle 1885-90, 26, note 65.

[194] Hoernle translates: "against the law of the vow of the quarters, *viz.*, exceeding one's limit in the upward direction, exceeding one's limit in the downward direction, exceeding one's limit in the level direction, enlargement of one's area *of living*, and failure of memory." (Hoernle 1885-90, 26-30) The Prakrit reads: "§37. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ [disivayassa] samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā peyālā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. uḍḍhadisipamāṇātikkame 2. ahodisipamāṇātikkame 3. tiriyadisipamāṇātikkame 4. khettavuḍḍhī 5. satiaṃtaraddhā | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 405) Note that in §37 I have replaced the term "*icchāparimāṇassa*" with the term "*disivayassa*" as is found in Hoernle's edition (Hoernle 1890, 19).

[195] Williams 1963, 99, 139

I have suggested that the vow called *desāvagāsiyaṃ* may have been

included in the list of twelve lay vows owing to the passage relating to the

"*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. Further, I suggested that the

order of the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara texts (with "*sāmāiya*" and

"*desāvagāsiyaṃ*" occurring consecutively) may have been partly influenced by

this passage. In relation to these ideas it is noteworthy that directly after the

passage describing the *sāmāiya desāvagāsiya* in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we find a

passage ending with the statement that Jain laymen refrain from injuring

immobile beings "without a purpose," but not "with a purpose" (*aṭṭhāe daṃḍe*

aṇikkhitte aṇaṭṭhāe daṃḍe ṇikkhitte).[196] Here we see the terminology used for

one of the *guṇavratas* (*aṇatthadaṃḍaveramaṇaṃ*). We have seen above various

statements relating to this vow in the *Uvāsagadasāo* in the list of Āṇaṃda's

promises and the list of typical offences.[197] In *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 we can perhaps

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[196] Jacobi translates: "from injuring which without a purpose the follower of the *Sramaṇas* abstains till death, but not with a purpose." (Jacobi 1895, 432) The Prakrit reads: "jehiṃ samaṇovāsagassa aṭṭhāe daṃḍe aṇikkhitte aṇaṭṭhāe daṃḍe ṇikkhitte." (Nathamal 1974a, 482) Jacobi notes that in this part of the text this clause "comes always after the words 'immovable beings.'" (Jacobi 1895, 432, note 1)

[197] In the list of Āṇaṃda's promises the term *aṇaṭṭhādaṃḍa* refers to general avoidance of four types of bad actions, i.e. "malevolent conduct, inconsiderate conduct, giving of dangerous objects, and directing of sinful deeds." (Hoernle 1885-90, 20-21) Hoernle translates the typical offences for the vow called *aṇaṭṭhādaṃḍa* as follows: "against the law of abstention from unprofitable employment, *viz.*, talking amorous nonsense, conducting one's self like a buffoon, talking impurities, acting the part of an accessory, and exceeding one's need in things of reiterate or momentary use." (Hoernle 1885-90, 26-30) The Prakrit reads: "§39. tayāṇaṃtaraṃ ca ṇaṃ aṇaṭṭhādaṃḍaveramaṇassa samaṇovāsaeṇaṃ paṃca atiyārā jāṇiyavvā, na samāyariyavvā, taṃ jahā – 1. kaṃdappe 2. kukkuie 3. moharie 4. saṃjuttāhikaraṇe 5. uvabhogaparibhogātiritte | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 405)

see the initial idea behind this vow. In any case, the various parallels between

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.7 and the list of lay vows are certainly conspicuous.[198] In my

view, the passages in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 were likely produced before the list of

twelve lay vows and it is owing to the importance of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 that some

of the terminology from the lecture was included in the list of twelve lay vows.

The Distinction Between Lay and Mendicant Practice in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7

I have discussed the vow to avoid harming mobile beings as well as the

"*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. In presenting such practices as

legitimate for lay people the compilers of the Śvetāmbara canon allow

householders partial access to the spiritual benefits deriving from Jain monastic

life. Yet, following the defense of the vow to avoid harming mobile beings we find

another discussion in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 that seems to insist upon a distinction

between the practice and Jain mendicant practice. Jacobi translates as follows:

And Udaka, the son of Pe*dh*āla, spoke thus to the Venerable Gautama: 'Is there not a chance, that a follower of the *Srama*ṇas, though he has renounced slaughter of but one class of living beings, ceases altogether to injure any? Why do I say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births, though they be (now) immovable beings, they will (some time) become movable ones, and though they be movable beings, they will become immovable ones. When they leave the bodies of immovable beings, all are born in bodies of movable ones, and when they leave the bodies of

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[198] I have noted above that Dixit has previously pointed out that some of the practices mentioned in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 (including observance of the *posaha* days, the fast to death, and the *sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*) are found also "in the classical Jaina concept of the twelve duties of a pious householder with fasting unto death as the thirteenth." (Dixit 1978, 35)

movable beings, all will be born in bodies of immovable ones. When they are born in bodies of immovable beings, they may be killed.' (12)[199] (Jacobi 1895, 424-5)

This passage is identical to parts of Udaka's criticism of the practice of renouncing violence only to mobile beings referred to above, except that the term *savve* ("all") has been added in two places. The issue here is whether or not, at some point, all the beings in the world could be mobile or immobile.[200] If there were only mobile beings, then by renouncing violence to mobile beings the layman would in effect renounce violence to all beings. If there were only immobile beings, then the vow to renounce injury to mobile beings would be pointless.[201] Goyama rejects both possibilities.[202] In arguing against the latter

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[199] The Prakrit reads: "natthi nam se kei pariyāe jamsi samanovāsagassa egapāṇāe vi damḍe nikkitte | kassa nam tam heum ? samsāriyā khalu pāṇā - thāvarā vi pāṇā tasattāe paccāyamti | tasā vi pāṇā thāvarattāe paccāyamti | thāvarakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā savve tasakāyamsi uvavajjamti | tasakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā savve thāvarakāyamsi uvavajjamti | tesim ca nam thāvarakāyamsi uvavanṇāṇam thāṇameyam ghattam | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 472)

[200] Jacobi points this out in a note: "The question discussed in the following paragraphs is whether, at some future time, all movable beings in the Samsāra might not die out, and none but immovable beings be left. This idea is combated at great length by Gautama." (Jacobi 1895, 424, note 4)

[201] Jacobi points this out in a note: "The meaning is, that at some future time movable beings may have ceased to exist, since they are all born as immovable beings, and vice versa. If the latter is the case, a layman, who abstains from killing animals, practically does injury to no being whatever; if the former is the case, he cannot transgress his vow even if he would." (Jacobi 1895, 425, note 1)

[202] Jacobi translates: "And the Venerable Gautama spoke thus to Udaka, the son of Pedhāla: "O long-lived one, we do not admit what you say; viz. that there is a chance that a follower of the Śramaṇas should cease to do injury to any kind of living beings. Why do we say this? Beings belong to the Circle of Births, (&c., all as above, down to) when they are born in bodies of movable beings, it is a sin to kill them. They are called animated beings, (animals) of large bodies, or of long life. There are always a great many animate beings, (the slaughter of) which a follower of the Śramaṇas must renounce, there are none, (the slaughter of) which he need not renounce. If he ceases, or has done with, or has given up (injuring) the large class of movable

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situation, the compilers again defend the legitimacy of the lay practice. In arguing

against the former situation, the compilers insist on a distinction between Jain lay

and mendicant practice.

Mention of the "*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 also occurs

in the context of defending against the idea that all beings might become mobile

or immobile. In this case the idea seems to be that, even within a limited space,

there will always be both mobile and immobile beings. After mention of the

"*sāmāiyaṃ desāvagāsiya*" there is extensive discussion of the fate of the living

beings within and outside of the spatial limits.[203] The possibilities for the mobile

beings within the limits are as follows: they can be reborn within the limits as

mobile beings, within the limits as immobile beings, or beyond the limits as

mobile or immobile beings. In a similar way, we then read about the possibilities

for immobile beings within the limits and for beings outside of the limits. After

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beings, his renunciation is good. What you or somebody else says, that there is a chance of a layman's ceasing to do an injury altogether, by renouncing slaughter of one kind of beings; this interpretation of your is not right." (13)" (Jacobi 1895, 425-6) The Prakrit reads: "atthi ṇaṃ se pariyāe je ṇaṃ samaṇovāsagassa savvapāṇehiṃ savvabhūehiṃ savvajīvehiṃ savvasattehiṃ daṃḍe ṇikkitte bhavai | kassa ṇaṃ taṃ heuṃ |
saṃsāriyā khalu pāṇā - tasā vi pāṇā thāvarattāe paccāyaṃti | thāvarā vi pāṇā tasattāe paccāyaṃti | tasakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā savve thāvarakāyaṃsi uvavajjaṃti | thāvarakāyāo vippamuccamāṇā savve tasakāyaṃsi uvavajjaṃti | tesiṃ ca ṇaṃ tasakāyaṃsi uvavaṇṇāṇam ṭhāṇameyaṃ aghattaṃ | te pāṇā vi vuccaṃti, te tasā vi vuccaṃti, te mahākāyā, te ciraṭṭhiiyā | te bahuyaragā pāṇā jehiṃ samaṇovāsagassa supaccakkhāyaṃ bhavai | te appayaragā pāṇā jehiṃ samaṇovāsagassa apaccakkhāyaṃ bhavai | se mahayā tasakāyāo uvasaṃtassa uvaṭṭhiyassa paḍivirayassa jaṃ ṇaṃ tubbhe vā aṇṇo vā evaṃ vayaha - "ṇatthi ṇaṃ se kei pariyāe jaṃsi samaṇovāsagassa egapāṇāe vi daṃḍe ṇikkitte" | ayaṃ pi bhe uvaese ṇo ṇeyāue bhavai | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 473)

[203] Nathamal 1974a, 481-485; Jacobi 1895, 431-433.

each of the possibilities we find reference to the denial of the possibility that in

renouncing violence towards one type of being a layman may cease all forms of

violence. At the end of the section the text again rejects this possibility.[204] Thus,

in this case also, the defense of temporary lay ascetic practice goes hand in

hand with the necessity of maintaining a distinction between Jain lay and Jain

mendicant practice.

Though they legitimate the vow to avoid harming mobile beings and the

"*sāmāiya desāvagāsiya*" the compilers also seem to insist on a distinction

between lay and mendicant practice. The same situation is seen in the

Viyāhapannatti when Mahāvīra defends the lay practice of temporarily

abandoning possessions and social relations while also maintaining that such

practice is distinct from Jain mendicant practice.[205] Likewise, in the case of the

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[204] Jacobi translates: "The Venerable One spoke thus: "It has never happened, it does not happen, nor will it ever happen, that all movable beings will die out and become immovable ones, nor that all immovable beings die out and become movable ones. Since movable and immovable beings never die out, there is no chance, as you or somebody else say, that a layman ceases to do injury altogether by renouncing slaughter of one kind of beings; this interpretation of yours is not right." (35)" (Jacobi 1895, 433) The Prakrit reads: "§30. bhagavaṃ ca naṃ udāhu - na eyaṃ bhūyaṃ na eyaṃ bhavvaṃ na eyaṃ bhavissaṃ jannaṃ - tasā pāṇā vocchijjihiṃti, thāvarā pāṇā bhavissaṃti | thāvarā pāṇā vocchijjihiṃti, tasā pāṇā bhavissaṃti | avocchinnehiṃ tasathāvarehiṃ pāṇehiṃ jannaṃ tubbhe vā anno vā evaṃ vadaha - "natthi naṃ se kei pariyāe jaṃsi samaṇovāsagassa egapāṇāe vi daṃḍe nikkitte" | ayaṃ pi bhe uvaese no neyāue bhavai | |" (Nathamal 1974a, 485)

[205] I am not able to offer a complete discussion of this passage. In the passage Mahāvīra defends the idea that possessions become non-possessions (*se bhaṃḍe abhaṃḍe bhavai*) for a lay person who temporarily abandons his possessions (Nathamal 1974b, 351; Bothara 2008, 102-103). Though they become non-possessions the possessions remain the property of the lay person. This is because the lay person does not renounce the sense of ownership (*mamattabhāve puṇa se aparinṇāe bhavai*) with respect to his possessions (Nathamal 1974b,

lay fast to death one of the key points of debate seems to have been the question of whether or not the laymen adopted mendicant vows as part of the practice.[206] The debate about whether or not the layman takes mendicant vows as part of the fast to death should likely be seen in relation to the distinction between the soteriological possibilities for laymen and mendicants discussed briefly in my first chapter, since if a layman can take monastic vows at the point of death then the distinction between the soteriological possibilities for laymen and mendicants would seem to be rendered meaningless. Even as they

351; Bothara 2008, 102-103). Following this, we read the same with respect to a layman's wife. It is clear, even without a close analysis of the details, that in this passage the Jains defend the temporary renunciation of possessions and social relations. Yet, there is a passage in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.1 that is similar to *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 which explicitly maintains the distinction between monastic practice and temporary asceticism performed by laymen (Deleu 1970, 130; Bothara 2006, 330; Nathamal 1974b, 272). In this case Goyama asks Mahāvīra, regarding a *samaṇovāsaga* engaging in *sāmāiya*, is the action to be classified as monastic activity (*iriyāvahiyā*) or as regular activity inspired by passion (*saṃparāiyā*). The answer is that it is regular activity (*saṃparāiyā*) because the layman remains an instrument of harmful activity (*āyāhigaraṇavattiyaṃ*). In *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 the compilers thus defend the efficacy of lay ascetic practice, while in *Viyāhapannatti* 7.1 they maintain that Jain mendicant life is distinct from all other modes of life.

[206] Williams notes that prescriptions for the fast to death are generally identical for laymen and mendicants in the canon, but at some point in the later tradition it became debatable whether or not the layman takes monastic vows as part of the ritual (Williams 1963, 166-9). Such debate may be anticipated in comparing passages from the *Uvāsagadasāo* and *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 referred to above in this chapter. The *Uvāsagadasāo* seems to make the point that laymen engaging in the fast to death do not adopt monastic vows, since Mahāvīra states explicitly at one point that Āṇaṃda will not adopt mendicant vows (Nathamal 1974c, 409; Hoernle 1885-90, 38-9). Yet, in the passage describing "some laymen" from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 that mentions the fast to death we find explicit mention of the monastic vows (Nathamal 1974a, 477; Jacobi 1895, 429). Likewise, in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 (Nathamal 1974c, 246-247; Bothara 1997, 105) and *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3 (Nathamal 1974c, 584; Barnett 1907, 90) we find lay Jain characters who adopt the mendicant vows as part of the fast to death.

legitimate lay life, the compilers must explain why it is necessary for people to

adopt monastic vows if at all possible.

Lay People Can Adopt the Lay Vows in Various Ways

In discussing the sixth part of the standard description of the

samanovāsaga in my previous chapter I noted that the phrase *ahāpariggahiehim*

is sometimes found and I suggested that this phrase seems to acknowledge that

there will be variation in the way that lay Jains engage in ascetic practice. In this

chapter I have discussed a number of passages from *Sūyagadamga* 2.7

describing various categories of lay people, for example some who observe the

posaha and others who do not. In examining references to the lay vows in the

Śvetāmbara canon it seems clear that the compilers acknowledged that the vows

could be adopted in various ways according to the situation of the individual. In

the *Uvāsagadasāo*, although Āṇaṃda serves as the model for the other

characters, there is variation in the amount of wealth and the number of

possessions of the characters and so there is also variation in the nature of the

vows. For example, in the eighth lecture we read that the wealth of the layman

Mahāsayaga is eightfold and that he has thirteen wives.[207] When he adopts the

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[207] Nathamal 1974c, 514; Hoernle 1885-90, 153.

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lay vows, his vows relate specifically to his wealth as well as the number of wives

and he also adds a special vow not found elsewhere in the text.[208]

The possibility of variation in the adoption of the lay vows is seen also in

Viyāhapannatti 8.5. Goyama asks Mahāvīra:

5. [Q.1] *Bhante*! If a [*samaṇovāsaga*] has not initially renounced killing of gross living beings what does he do when he renounces the same later?
[Ans.] Gautam! He atones for any killing he did in the past, refrains from killing in the present, and renounces killing in the future.[209] (Bothara 2008, 106)

As Deleu describes in his summary of the passage,[210] we further read that, with

respect to actions in the past, he can atone in forty-nine ways, "namely in the

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[208] Hoernle's translation reads as follows: "like Āṇaṃda, *Mahāsayaga also* went out, and *how* similarly he took on himself the law of a householder, only that *in his renunciations* he specified eight kror kaṃsa of gold and eight herds, and that, with the exception of his thirteen wives of who Revaī was chief, he renounced all other sexual intercourse. All the rest *is to be repeated* exactly as before. In addition he pronounced the following vow: '*Henceforth* it shall be a rule with me, every day to traffic with *no more than* one brass vessel holding two droṇa of gold." (Hoernle 1885-90, 153) The Prakrit reads: "§15 tae ṇaṃ se mahāsatae gāhāvaī samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtie sāvayadhammaṃ paḍivajjai, navaraṃ - aṭṭha hiraṇṇakoḍīo sakaṃsāo | aṭṭha vayā | revatīpāmokkhāhiṃ terasahiṃ bhāriyāhiṃ avasesaṃ mehuṇavihiṃ paccakkhāi | imaṃ ca ṇaṃ eyārūvaṃ abhiggahaṃ abhigeṇhati - kallākalliṃ ca ṇaṃ kappai me bodoṇiyāe kaṃsapāīe hiraṇṇabhariyāe saṃvavaharittae | |" (Nathamal 1974c, 514)

[209] The Prakrit reads: "§236 samaṇovāsagassa ṇaṃ bhaṃte! puvvāmeva thūlae pāṇāivāe apaccakkhāe bhavai, se ṇaṃ bhaṃte! pacchā paccāikkhamāṇe kiṃ karei? goyamā! tīyaṃ paḍikkamati, paḍuppannaṃ saṃvareti, aṇāgayaṃ paccakkhāti | |" (Nathamal 1974b, 352)

[210] Deleu writes: "(368b) With a layman (*samaṇovāsaga*) renunciation of grave (*thūlaga*) harming, untruth, taking what is not given, sexual enjoyment and possession means that he confesses (*paḍikkamai*) past, repels (*saṃvarei*) present and renounces (*paccakkhāi*) future grave harming etc. Each of these three he may do in forty-nine ways, namely in the domains of own doing, causation and consent, in thought, with word and body (*tivihaṃ tivihenaṃ*) or leaving out one or two of the two groups of three alternatives. Consequently there are one hundred and forty-seven possibilities (*sīyā bhanga-saya*) for each vow [scil. seven hundred and thirty-five possibilities for the five vows, Abhay.]. At the end it is stated that this applies only to Jaina, not to Ājīvika laymen. The v.l. (370a) ... *paccakkhāe ... paccakkhāvemāne* (instead of ... *apaccakkhāe ... paccāikkhamāṇe*) would imply that the text is an instruction for the use of gurus. – On the

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domains of own doing, causation and consent, in thought, with word and body

(*tiviham tivihenam*) or leaving out one or two of the two groups of three

alternatives."[211] In counting also the present and future actions, there are 147

possibilities for each of the five *anuvratas* (735 total possibilities).

This passage suggests that Jain laymen, at least at the time the passage

was compiled, were not necessarily expected to adopt all of the lay vows. We

can note that in this passage there is reference to the three types of action

(thought, word, and deed) as well as the three ways of acting (doing, causing,

and consenting). I have noted above that this type of renunciation (*tiviham*

tivihenam) is normally associated with Jain mendicants.[212] In contrast, in the

Uvāsagadasāo, we find the phrase *duviham tivihenam*, meaning that laymen will

"not do it nor cause it to be done, either in thought or in word or in deed."[213] I

have noted that the phrase *duviham tivihenam* is also associated with laymen in

Sūyagadamga 2.7. The reason for the inconsistency is unclear. Despite this

uncertainty, it does seem clear that the author of *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 expects that

there will be variation in lay conduct.

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permutation of the different possibilities Abhay. quotes two gāhās. Further on he gives six gāhās, quoted from a vrddhokti, in refutation of certain objections." (Deleu 1970, 148-9)

[211] Deleu 1970, 148-9.

[212] Jain monks renounce certain acts in this manner, as seen, for example, in *Āyāramga* 2, 15, §30 (Hoernle 1885-90, 11, note 21; Jacobi 1884, 76, 202, 204).

[213] Hoernle 1885-90, 11-12.

Conclusion

In examining references to the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon it is clear that there has been an evolution in the presentation of the vows. In this chapter I have shown some of the various stages in the development of the list of twelve lay vows that became standard. In the earliest stage what became known as the five *aṇuvratas* were conceived relative to the five *mahāvratas*. The term *aṇuvrata* was adopted at some point. In addition to these vows, a number of other practices were particularly associated with Jain lay behavior in the early passages relating to the laity in the Śvetāmbara canon. Eventually the mendicants developed a list of seven additional lay vows which at some point were called the *śikṣāvratas*. These vows were listed along with the five *aṇuvratas* to form a list of twelve lay vows. Finally it was decided that the seven *śikṣāvratas* would be split into three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāvratas*. What has become the standard presentation (with five *aṇuvrata*, three *guṇavrata*, and four *śikṣāvrata*) seems to represent a relatively late development.

Examination of the lists of lay vows suggests that the *Uvavāiya* and the *Uvāsagadasāo* were compiled at a relatively late stage. This supports the hypothesis that emerged in the previous chapter in discussion of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* that these texts represent a late stage in the

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move to legitimate and standardize lay Jainism. I have suggested in this chapter that the reworked introductory passages in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 (discussed in chapter one) and the original version of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (discussed in chapter two) both predate the establishment of the list of twelve lay vows. It also appears that *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 predates the list of twelve vows and that in developing the list of twelve lay vows the compilers incorporated some of the practices described in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. The list of twelve lay vows is attributed in the texts to Mahāvīra and we can observe efforts to obscure the fact that the list of twelve lay vows developed in a later period.

It appears that even after the list of twelve vows became relatively standard, the precise meaning of the individual lay vows was open to interpretation. Though the meaning of the individual vows was not completely fixed, it is clear that the lay vows as a group were conceived as a form of ascetic practice. The lay vows should thus be seen in relation to the earlier stages of the move to legitimate and standardize discussion of lay life. The initial logic of the legitimating of lay life was that lay life could lead to a good rebirth if it was to some extent similar to mendicant life. The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* included a few of the practices seen in the list of twelve lay vows. The lay vows provide some specific ways in which a lay Jain can behave to some extent like a Jain mendicant. At the same time, the compilers also maintain a

distinction between lay and mendicant practice. Furthermore, though the ideal lay

Jain adopts all of the twelve vows, the compilers recognized that not all lay Jains

would be able to live up to the ideal.

The standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* emphasized the

importance of belief in the *tattvas*, which justify monastic asceticism. Likewise,

the standard adoption of lay vows begins with an expression of faith in the Jain

teachings. The mendicant compilers defined the Jain tradition relative to other

traditions as a community who believed in the efficacy and necessity of specific

forms of ascetic practice for the attainment of soteriological goals. It is likely for

this reason that the medieval literature relating to lay Jainism (the śrāvakācāra

literature) usually follows the list of typical offences in the *Uvāsagadasāo* by

beginning with discussion of right belief (*sammatta*). The lay vows are also

usually associated with the fast to death. That the compilers legitimated the lay

fast to death near the end of one's natural life is seen, for example, in the story of

Āṇaṃda from the *Uvāsagadasāo*.[214] Other passages in the Śvetāmbara canon

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[214] I have noted that Āṇaṃda fasts to death above in this chapter. After he has decided to fast to death Āṇaṃda attains a form of supernatural knowledge (*ohi-ṇāṇaṃ*) (Nathamal 1974c, 414; Hoernle 1885-90, 47-49). When Mahāvīra's disciple Goyama encounters Āṇaṃda, Goyama confirms that householders (*gihiṇo gihamajjhāvasaṃtassa*) are able to obtain such supernatural knowledge, but he doubts that a householder is able to develop such knowledge to the extent that Āṇaṃda claims (Nathamal 1974c, 417; Hoernle 1885-90, 56). Goyama tells Āṇaṃda to acknowledge that he has committed a fault by misrepresenting the extent of his knowledge. Āṇaṃda says that Goyama is the one who has committed a fault in doubting the claim (Nathamal 1974c, 417; Hoernle 1885-90, 56). When Goyama returns to Mahāvīra, Mahāvīra confirms the extent of Āṇaṃda's supernatural knowledge and tells Goyama that he should ask pardon for having doubted Āṇaṃda (Nathamal 1974c, 419; Hoernle 1885-90, 60). At the end of the chapter,

show that lay Jains could state the intention to fast to death at any point when

they faced immediate threat of death.[215] The fast to death is another way in

which lay practice approached the monastic ideal.

Āṇaṃda fasts to death and is reborn as a deity. This episode confirms the legitimacy of ascetic practice like the fast to death undertaken by householders.

[215] In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 a frog who has adopted the lay vows is about to die having been trampled and so decides to fast to death (Nathamal 1974c, 246-247; Bothara 1997, 105). In *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3, a non-Jain garland-maker named Ajjunaa is possessed by a *jakkha* (*yakṣa*) named Moggara-pāṇī and then kills numerous people. When a Jain layman named Sudaṃsana meets this *jakkha* he fears that he may be killed and thus begins to perform the fast to death (Nathamal 1974c, 584; Barnett 1907, 90). He escapes with his life.

<u>Conclusion</u>

In this thesis I have discussed statements relating to the Jain lay community occurring in some of the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon. I selected the passage that is the focus of my first chapter because I take it to be one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon. The passage appears in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and the *Uvavāiya*, and the contrast between the two treatments of the passage is important in that it allows us to posit a direction for the development of canonical statements on the laity. The passage examined in chapter two, which I believe to be the earliest attempt to produce a description of the ideal Jain householder, occurs in the same two texts directly after the passage discussed in chapter one and also occurs at many other points in the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas. In the third chapter I have discussed the numerous references to the lay vows, showing the early development of what became the most common way to describe Jain lay life.

It is obvious that the Aṅgas and Uvāṅgas represent the orthodox positions of the mendicant elite who composed and compiled them. The presence in these texts of positive statements about the lay community contradicts the sentiments of the earliest extant passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, which condemn all modes of life apart from Jain mendicancy. It seems that the Jain mendicants

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produced positive statements relating to the lay community and included them in

authoritative texts because they were in competition with other religious groups

to gain the respect and material support of members of the general population.

The various passages relating to the lay community show us some of the issues

that were important for the mendicants and some of the strategies they employed

in their effort to establish and maintain relations with a lay community. My

research supports the idea that the move to legitimate lay life and to standardize

discussion of the lay community should be considered the central motivation at

least in certain key stages of the compilation of the Śvetāmbara canon.[1]

The dates of the composition of the various passages in the early

Śvetāmbara texts are uncertain and very little is known about the process and

dates of the compilation of the texts. Nonetheless, it seems clear in examining

the positive statements about the lay community in the Śvetāmbara canon that

certain passages were produced directly in response to others. Furthermore,

there are some obvious inconsistencies among the various statements. It seems

that the compilers were willing to change the orthodox position with respect to the

laity by placing existing material in a new context, by modifying existing

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[1] I have noted in my introduction that scholars have previously suggested that in producing the so-called "story-literature" in the Śvetāmbara canon (which includes many of the Aṅgas and Uvaṅgas) the mendicant compilers have had the concerns of the lay community in mind (Dixit 1972, 9; Dixit 1978, 67; Ohira 1994, 29). It is clear from my study that important statements about the Jain lay community are found also in texts that would not be classified as "story-literature" (such as the Sūyagaḍaṃga).

statements, and by producing new passages. It also seems that they sometimes made efforts to remove and/or explain some of the resulting inconsistencies. Though the issue of the history of the composition and compilation of the canon is extremely complex, in this thesis I have suggested that it is possible to establish chronological relationships among some of the various passages relating to the lay community and thus to observe development in the orthodox positions relating to the laity as the mendicant compilers attempted to resolve various tensions and to employ new strategies. I have also suggested that we can at times draw general conclusions about the relative dates of the compilation of particular texts.

In my first chapter I argued that the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* copied the passages relating to the lay community from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 and that he compiled the second part of the *Uvavāiya* specifically in response to a logical contradiction apparent in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2. That the extant version of the *Uvavāiya* was compiled relatively late is suggested also in that, as I argued in my third chapter, the list of the lay vows in Mahāvīra's sermon at the end of the first part of the text represents a relatively late development among the various references to the lay vows in the Śvetāmbara canon. It seems clear, however, that the first part of the *Uvavāiya* contains at least some material that predates

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the time when the second part of the text was produced as well as the time when

the list of the twelve lay vows was inserted into the first part of the text.[2]

I have suggested that the mixed version of the recurring introductory

passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter is

one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay community in the

Śvetāmbara canon. I have suggested this because the passage seems to have

been constructed out of material that in another context juxtaposed Jain

mendicant life to all other modes of life (i.e. out of material that represents the

sentiments of the earliest extant Jain writing). However, one can say little with

certainty about the date of this passage apart from the fact that it predates the

time of the compilation of the *Uvavāiya*. I have noted that the passage discussed

in my second chapter (i.e. the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga*) occurs

in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 after the mixed version of the recurring

introductory passage. It seems clear that the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga existed in another text before it was incorporated into

Sūyagaḍaṃga 2.2. In my view, it is likely that the compiler inserted various

passages relating to the lay community into *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 owing to the

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[2] I say this thinking, for example, of the description of the excitement of the people in the city
when they hear of Mahāvīra's arrival (Leumann 1883, 49-50; Lalwani 1988, 127-133), given that
this description refers to five *aṇuvratas* and seven *śikṣāvratas* (*pancāṇuvvaiyaṃ satta-sikkhā-
vaiyaṃ duvālasavihaṃ gihi-dhammaṃ*) rather than five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇavratas*, and four
śikṣāvratas as seen in Mahāvīra's sermon.

seminal importance of the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage.

However, it does not seem possible to establish with certainty that the first

passage in the mixed section of the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 predates

the date of the original composition of the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga, though I have suggested that this may be the case in comparing

the contents of the two passages.[3]

Regardless of its chronological relationship with the mixed version of the

recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the

standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* seems also to be a relatively early

statement about the lay community. I hold this view because, for example, the

passage contains what seems to be a relatively early listing of the *tattvas*

(existent things), including eleven items instead of the usual seven or nine. I have

also suggested that one of the references in the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga to observance of the *posaha* days (i.e. certain days associated

with the cycle of the moon) seems to be relatively early because it lacks explicit

mention of fasting. I noted that the same reference to observance of the *posaha*

days occurs also in a description of "some laymen" (*saṃtegaiyā samaṇovāsagā*)

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[3] I noted, for example, that the subject of the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 is "some men" (*saṃtegaiyā maṇussā*) and I suggested that the term *samaṇovāsaga* may represent a later development. I also suggested that, much more than the mixed version of the recurring introductory passage in the third treatise of *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2, the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* seems to represent an attempt to describe the ideal lay Jain presenting specific behaviors and beliefs as normative.

in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7, but I have been unable to establish a chronological

relationship between the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* and the

related material in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7. I have further suggested that the versions

of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* in which the final section of the

passage is dropped are late and that they show the influence of the

Uvāsagadasāo. On the basis of this I suggest that the *Uvāsagadasāo* was

compiled at a relatively late time. The fact that the *Uvāsagadasāo* contains the

list of typical offences commenting on each of the twelve lay vows likewise

suggests that the text was compiled at a relatively late point, after the list of

twelve vows was accepted as normative. Yet, it seems that the *Uvāsagadasāo*

also contains some earlier material, such as the section describing Āṇaṃda's

promises, which does not include mention of all twelve of the lay vows.

References to the lay vows seem to provide a relatively solid means of

establishing chronological relationships among the passages relating to the lay

community in the Śvetāmbara canon. In particular, I have argued in my third

chapter that the list of twelve lay vows represents a relatively late development. I

argued that the references to four lay vows occurring in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.5

and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* predate the references to twelve lay vows occurring in

the *Uvāsagadasāo* and elsewhere. I suggested that in attributing the list of twelve

lay vows to Mahāvīra the compilers made some effort to hide the fact that the list

was a late development. It seems clear that the passages discussed in my first two chapters both predate the establishment of what became the standard list of twelve vows because neither passage refers to all twelve of the vows, though both passages contain sections that clearly relate to what became the standard list.[4] In my third chapter I discussed other examples (including a passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7) that seem to predate the establishment of the list of twelve vows and I suggested that some of the material from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 influenced the production of the list of the twelve lay vows. Even after the list of twelve lay vows was formulated we can observe development in the terminology (particularly with respect to the terms used for the fourth and fifth *aṇuvratas* as well as the terms used to categorize the vows). On the basis of analysis of the terminology it appears that the lists in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Uvavāiya* are particularly late. This conclusion lines up with the arguments that I present in chapters one and two.

By establishing chronological relationships among some of the various passages relating to the lay community we can observe development in the

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[4] As I have noted at various points in this thesis, the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter contains a version of the five *aṇuvratas* that is different from the version that became standard. Yet, this passage does not include mention of the other seven lay vows and thus I believe that it predates the point when the list of twelve lay vows was formulated or became standard. I have also noted at various points in this thesis that the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* contains a phrase (i.e. *sīlavvaya-guṇa-veramaṇa-paccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa*) that is related to the list of twelve lay vows. Yet, because the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* does not mention all twelve of the lay vows explicitly I believe that it also dates to a period before the list of twelve vows was formulated or became standard.

orthodox positions relating to the laity as the mendicant compilers attempted to resolve various tensions and to employ new strategies in their effort to establish and maintain relations with a community of householders who respected and regularly supported them. The passages discussed in this thesis are consistent in presenting the idea that non-mendicants should be respected and will attain a good form of rebirth depending on the degree to which they behave like Jain mendicants. This idea forms the logical basis of the passage from *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.2 discussed in my first chapter (which I take to be one of the earliest extensive positive statements about the lay community). The same logic is seen in the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* (discussed in my second chapter) where it is said that the ideal lay person engages in certain forms of ascetic practice and where the compilers present the lay community primarily as a group of householders who do not doubt that soteriological goals are attained through the forms of asceticism practiced by the Jain mendicant community. The compilers eventually developed specific practices that allowed the lay community to engage partially and temporarily in some of the forms of ascetic practice undertaken by Jain mendicants. Most of the twelve lay vows, for example, were associated with such practices, as I have described to some extent in my third chapter.

The idea that non-mendicants should be respected and will attain a good

form of rebirth depending on the degree to which they behave like Jain

mendicants allowed the mendicant community to legitimate lay life while also

minimizing inconsistency with the fundamental principles of the earliest extant

texts. In this thesis I have shown that the compilers worked to resolve various

tensions resulting from this strategy. The logic of the legitimating of lay life seems

inconsistent with the absolute condemnation of non-Jain ascetics (since their

modes of life must have been, in some respects, similar to Jain mendicant life)

and I have argued that, for this reason, the compiler of the *Uvavāiya* produced

the hierarchy of beings, including various classes of non-Jain ascetics, who will

attain some form of divine rebirth. Presenting Jain mendicant life as ideal also

makes it difficult to explain, as the compilers would like to, why Jain lay life (i.e. a

domestic mode of life) is preferable to non-Jain mendicant life. One strategy that

the mendicants employed in their attempt to explain this was to emphasize the

importance of belief and a correct understanding of Jain doctrine. The compilers

also felt it necessary to differentiate the possible forms of rebirth of a Jain layman

from those of a Jain mendicant and thus to have a clear reason why Jain

mendicant life is always preferable to Jain lay life. A further problem in describing

the ideal lay Jain as a person who behaves to some extent like a Jain mendicant

and who engages in specific ascetic practices must have been that not all

members of the lay community could live up to the ideal. The compilers thus

produced passages acknowledging that there will be variation in lay practice.

There are passages in the texts I have read that relate to engagement by

members of the lay community in forms of asceticism, but that I have been

unable to discuss in this thesis. In particular, I have only been able to touch on

the numerous references to the *posaha* rituals and the fast to death. The

mendicant compilers present observance of the *posaha* days as the most

important ritual for the lay community, as indicated by the fact that observance of

the *posaha* days is mentioned twice in the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga and is included as one of the twelve lay vows. Rituals associated

with the cycles of the moon were important across religious traditions in ancient

India.[5] As I discussed briefly in my second chapter, study of the various

references to the *posaha* observances in the Śvetāmbara canon indicates that

the Jain mendicants developed distinctively Jain rituals for the lay community to

observe on the *posaha* days. These rituals, involving fasting and the temporary

renunciation of possessions and social relations, allowed lay Jains to behave

temporarily like Jain mendicants. I noted in my introduction that there is criticism

of such lay Jain practices in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (III.70.1-3) and I

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[5] In my second chapter I noted various references to rituals on the full and new moon days in Buddhist and Brahmanical texts.

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suggested that such criticism, along with the Jain defense of the practices in

Viyāhapannatti 8.5, are good reason to believe that at least some historical lay

Jains actually engaged in such practices.[6] It seems likely, in my view, that such

practice on the *posaha* days served to strengthen the bonds between the lay and

mendicant communities. There are various other subjects to discuss in

association with the numerous references to the *posaha* observances in the

Śvetāmbara canon. For example, I have observed a tension in the presentation

of lay ascetic practice as to whether or not it leads to material benefit in this life.[7]

It can also be noted that characters in the texts often engage in temporary

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[6] In my introduction I noted that in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (III.70.1-3) there is criticism of the lay Jain practice of temporarily abandoning possessions and social relationships on the *posaha* days (Woodward 1932, 185-6; Morris 1885, 205-6). In *Viyāhapannatti* 8.5 we find a critique of what seems to be the same Jain practice attributed to the Ājīvikas and defense of the practice attributed to Mahāvīra (Bothara 2008, 102-3; Nathamal 1974b, 351).

[7] This tension is seen, for example, in the concern in the texts with the *nidāna*. The *nidāna* is a kind of vow where one does something (such as engaging in ascetic practice) in order to get a particular reward. In the tenth chapter of the *Āyāradasāo* Mahāvīra states that the ultimate soteriological goal of liberation from the cycle of rebirth results from ascetic practice performed without a *nidāna* (Jain 2005, 183-184). The concern in the texts with the *nidāna* seems related to a key difference between the "standard" description of asceticism performed by characters in the hope of fulfilling a particular desire and the "standard" description of the lay Jain *posaha* ritual. These types of descriptions are clearly related, but the examples of asceticism performed in the hope of fulfilling a particular desire involve concentration of the mind upon a particular deity. For example, in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.1 prince Abhaya undertakes a three-day fast in the hope of fulfilling a pregnancy-desire (*dohala*) of his step-mother, queen Dhāriṇī (Bothara 1996, 51; Nathamal 1974c, 22-23). Here we read that prince Abhaya concentrates his mind on a deity (*devaṃ maṇasīkaremāṇe-maṇasīkaremāṇe citṭhai*). Towards the end of the fast, the deity realizes what is happening and so he appears to prince Abhaya in order to fulfill the wish (Bothara 1996, 55; Nathamal 1974c, 24-5). Descriptions of lay Jains (*samaṇovāsagā*) engaging in ascetic practice on the *posaha* days are related to such examples, but they do not include mention of concentrating the mind on a deity. See for example *Viyāhapannatti* 12.1 (Nathamal 1974b, 539; Deleu 1970, 181).

ascetic practice in a structure called a *posahasāla*.[8] With the exception of such

references there is nothing in the texts I have studied relating to the *posahasāla*

and I have not come across reference to such structures outside of the

Śvetāmbara canon. The various passages relating to the *posaha* rituals in the

Śvetāmbara canon should be the subject of a separate study.

Likewise, references to the fast to death in the Śvetāmbara canon should

be the subject of a separate study. I have noted in my third chapter that the fast

to death is commonly mentioned along with the listings of the twelve lay vows. I

also noted that the story of Āṇaṃda from the *Uvāsagadasāo* shows that the

compilers legitimated the lay fast to death near the end of one's natural life[9] and

that other passages in the Śvetāmbara canon, including stories from the

Nāyādhammakahāo and the *Aṃtagaḍadasāo*, show that lay Jains could state the

intention to fast to death at any point when facing immediate threat of death.[10]

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[8] For example, there is reference to a *posahasāla* in the description of Sankha's ascetic practice in *Viyāhapannatti* 12.1 (Deleu 1970, 181; Nathamal 1974b, 539) and in the story of Āṇaṃda in the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Hoernle 1885-90, 41-2; Nathamal 1974c, 411-12).

[9] I have discussed in a note at the end of chapter three the episode in the first story of the *Uvāsagadasāo* where Goyama doubts and Mahāvīra confirms the extent of the supernatural knowledge (*ohi-nāṇaṃ*) that Āṇaṃda attained through his ascetic practice (Nathamal 1974c, 414-419; Hoernle 1885-90, 47-60). This episode confirms the legitimacy of ascetic practice like the fast to death undertaken by householders.

[10] In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.13 we have the story of the frog who is about to die having been trampled and so decides to fast to death (Nathamal 1974c, 246-247; Bothara 1997, 105). In *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3, a Jain layman named Sudaṃsana begins to perform the fast to death when he encounters a man who is possessed by a *jakkha* (*yakṣa*) named Moggara-pāṇī (Nathamal 1974c, 584; Barnett 1907, 90). Sudaṃsana escapes with his life.

One of the central issues in discussion of the fast to death in the later tradition was the question of whether or not a layman adopts the mendicant vows as part of the fast to death.[11] I have noted in this thesis that the compilers of the canon sometimes felt the need to distinguish between lay and mendicant practice. Considering this tendency, there is some reason to believe that it was the compilers of the canon who initiated the debate about whether or not a layman adopts the mendicant vows as part of the fast to death, since in some passages we find laymen adopting the mendicant vows as part of the fast to death while the *Uvāsagadasāo* seems to make the point that Āṇaṃda does not adopt the mendicant vows.[12] There is a large amount of material relating to the fast to death in the Śvetāmbara canon and in other early Jain texts and so I have chosen to postpone extensive discussion of this ritual for a future project.

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[11] Williams suggests that prescriptions for the fast to death are generally identical for laymen and mendicants in the canon, but at some point in the later tradition it became debatable whether or not the layman takes monastic vows as part of the ritual (Williams 1963, 166-169).

[12] In the stories from the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* mentioned above, the lay characters adopt the mendicant vows as part of the fast to death. Likewise, in *Sūyagaḍaṃga* 2.7 one of the passages describing "some laymen" mentions engagement in the fast to death and also contains reference to the monastic vows (Nathamal 1974a, 477; Jacobi 1895, 429). Yet, in the *Uvāsagadasāo* Mahāvīra states explicitly at one point that Āṇaṃda will not adopt mendicant vows (Nathamal 1974c, 409; Hoernle 1885-90, 38-9). The debate about whether or not the layman takes mendicant vows as part of the fast to death should likely be seen in relation to the distinction between the soteriological possibilities for laymen and mendicants discussed briefly in my first chapter. If a layman can take monastic vows at the point of death, then the distinction between the soteriological possibilities for laymen and mendicants would seem to be rendered meaningless.

Though the idea that non-mendicants should be respected and will attain

a good form of rebirth depending on the degree to which they behave like Jain

mendicants is prominent in the Śvetāmbara canon, it is clear that the compilers

have employed various other strategies in their effort to establish and maintain

relations with a community of householders who respected and regularly

supported them. Dundas has mentioned as a likely factor in the establishment of

a Jain lay community the development of the institution of religious giving

(*dāna*).[13] In my thesis I have noted that the standard description of the

samaṇovāsaga and the list of lay vows both mention that lay Jains should donate

alms to Jain mendicants and I have also discussed the prohibition in the

Uvāsagadasāo against the donation of alms to non-Jain ascetics. Yet, there are

other passages in the texts I have examined relating to the donation of alms that

I have not discussed here. Furthermore, there is material relating to the donation

of alms in texts that I have not included in my study, such as the Cheyasuttas

(which contain rules for the mendicant community). Textual references to the

donation of alms could also form the basis of a separate study.

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[13] Dundas writes: "The blending of Indian conventions of hospitality and the reworking of the
ideology of brahman sacrificial ritual in the form of the institution of *dāna* which guaranteed the
gaining of (unseen) merit by the donor of food to a holy man must also have, as with early
Buddhism, provided a dynamic for the gradual formation of a Jain community with its own
patterns of routine and authority." (Dundas 2003, 130)

In addition to the legitimating of lay engagement in ascetic practice and

the prescriptions for the donation of alms, the mendicant compilers present as

legitimate various other practices including some that do not seem to have been

specifically Jain. For example, we often find references to life-cycle rituals

(especially birth-rites) in the Śvetāmbara canon.[14] We also find references to

ritual events like royal processions and the renunciation ceremony.[15] There are a

number of passages in the Śvetāmbara canon describing characters worshipping

living beings including Jinas and monks.[16] There are also examples of characters

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[14] The introduction of life cycle rituals is generally associated with Jinasena in the ninth century. In a review of Cort (2001), Flügel notes that previous studies had dismissed certain lay practices (those associated with what Cort calls "the value of wellbeing" as opposed to the ascetic ideology that is centered on the goal of *mokṣa*) as "non-Jain" because they are not accessible in textual form (Flügel 2006a, 92). However, some practices associated with "the value of wellbeing" (such as life-cycle rituals) are seen in the Śvetāmbara canon. References to life-cycle rituals, especially those associated with the birth of a child, are found throughout the Śvetāmbara canon. One example of the birth-rites is seen in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.1 (Nathamal 1974c, 28ff; Bothara 1996, 62ff).

[15] There are a number of examples of processions in the Śvetāmbara canon. One example is the procession of King Kūṇia when he leaves the city to see Mahāvīra in the *Uvavāiya* (Lalwani 1988, 156ff; Leumann 1883, §49ff p.55ff). An example of the renunciation ceremony is seen in *Viyāhapannatti* 9.33 in the story of Jamāli (Nathamal 1974b, 447ff; Bothara 2008, 467ff).

[16] I would have liked to have discussed in this thesis descriptions of lay behavior in the presence of mendicants or in the presence of the Jina. There is occasional reference in the canon to five specific rules for the laity to follow on these occasions. These rules are mentioned, among other places, in the *Uvavāiya* when King Kūṇia arrives in the presence of Mahāvīra (Lalwani 1988, 173; Leumann 1883, §55 p.60) and in *Viyāhapannatti* 2.5 as part of a description of a group of *samaṇovāsagā* when they are in the presence of senior ascetics (*therā*) who are disciples of Pārśva (Nathamal 1974b, 104-5; Bothara 2005, 296). The meaning of the rules is partly obscure and they are rarely mentioned in the secondary source literature. This behavior may also be related to the worship of mendicants who are physically absent. We see the laity as well as deities exhibit a consistent pattern of behavior in these cases, for instance in removing specific articles of clothing. One example of this is seen in the *Uvavāiya* when King Kūṇia first hears that Mahāvīra is staying outside of the city of Campā (Lalwani 1988, 41ff; Leumann 1883, §19ff, p.32ff).

engaging in worship of deities,[17] though I only came across one example of a

human character worshipping images of the Jinas.[18] I have noted in my

introduction that Dixit refers to textual examples of deities worshipping Jinas at

temples and *stūpas* in the heavens and that he suggests the authors of these

passages may have incorporated these details "having in mind the fact that the

contemporary Jaina community" engaged in such practice.[19] Dundas has also

discussed the importance of the Jain appropriation and reconfiguration of popular

deities[20] as well as of the Jain participation in a widespread literary culture.[21] The

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[17] One such example occurs in *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.2. In this story a woman worships various deities on the *posaha* days in hope of obtaining a child and there is extensive description of her worship (Bothara 1996, 170-3). In *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.8 we find reference to a snake-deity temple (*nāgagharae*) (Bothara 1996, 337). A queen named Paumāvaī travels to worship at the temple and there is description of her activity (Bothara 1996, 340). In *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 6.3 there is mention of the worship of an image (*paḍimā*) of a deity name Moggara-pāṇī at a shrine dedicated to this deity (*moggarapāṇissa jakkhassa jakkhāyayaṇe*) (Nathamal 1974c, 580; Barnett 1907, 86). In *Aṃtagaḍadasāo* 3.8 there is mention of worship of an image (*paḍimā*) of Hariṇegamesī (Nathamal 1974c, 552; Barnett 1907, 67).

[18] This is in the story of Draupadī from *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1.16 (Bothara 1997, 218). The passage says only that Draupadī goes to the house of the Jinas and worshipped images of the Jinas: "jeṇeva jiṇaghare teṇeva uvāgacchai, uvāgacchittā jiṇagharaṃ aṇupavisai, aṇupavisittā jiṇapaḍimāṇaṃ accaṇaṃ karei, karettā jiṇagharāo paḍinikkhamai." (Nathamal 1974c, 305) The lack of references to worship of Jain images would later provide fodder for an iconoclastic movement, whose leaders argued that image worship was alien to the canon.

[19] Dixit 1972, 10. In the texts we commonly see deities engage in practice (like image worship and celebration of the important moments in the life of the Jinas) that seems to parallel the non-ascetic religious practice of the laity. This is seen, for example, in the *Viyāhapannatti*, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, *Rāyapaseṇaīya*, and the *Jambuddīvapannatti*.

[20] The spread of Jainism involved the appropriation and reconfiguration of local religiosities such as "demiurges (*yakṣas*) and clan tutelary deities (*kuladevatā*)." (Dundas 2006, 391) See also Dundas 2003, 135.

references to various deities in the Śvetāmbara canon as well as the descriptions

of various forms of worship and other rituals are further subjects for future study.

There are also some references in the Śvetāmbara canon to the social

make-up of the early Jain community. In my second chapter I mentioned some of

the identities of the lay characters in the texts: land-owners, merchants,

ministers, Brahmans, kings, and women. In my third chapter I noted that there

are various lists of types of people occurring as part of the standard description

of the adoption the lay vows as well as in the description of people who attend

Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya*.[22] Such lists include reference to occupations

as well as various ancient clans.[23] The references to such clans may line up with

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[21] Jainism participated "in a large-scale north Indian literary culture during the first few centuries of the Common Era (Dundas 2006, 398). See, for example, Dundas 2003, 136, Dundas 2006, 397, and Dundas 2000, 95ff. This is seen most obviously in the Śvetāmbara canon in stories involving Kṛṣṇa.

[22] In the standard adoption of lay vows, as I noted in my third chapter, the character adopting the lay vows, before expressing the inability to adopt mendicant vows, acknowledges that various other types of people have been able to adopt mendicant vows. I noted that the list of such people in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* (Dīparatnasāgara v.8, 322; Nathamal 1974c, 119) is different than the list occurring in the same context in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* (Nathamal 1974c, 400; Hoernle 1885-90, 10-11; Nathamal 1974c, 804). I suggested it may be the case that the categories mentioned in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* and *Nāyādhammakahāo* (namely, Uggas, Bhogas, and so on) where no longer important to the compiler of the *Uvāsagadasāo*. I also noted that sections of the two lists are seen together in a list of the people who attend Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya* (Lalwani 1988, 131ff; Leumann 1883, §38, p.49) and that, as Bollée points out, parts of the list in the *Rāyapaseṇaīya* occur in various other canonical texts (Bollée 2002, 61).

[23] For example, the list of the people who attend Mahāvīra's sermon in the *Uvavāiya* includes "the Ugras, the progeny of the Ugras, the Bhogas, the progeny of the Bhogas, the Rājanyas, the progeny of the Rājanyas, the Kṣatriyas, the progeny of the Kṣatriyas, the Brāhmaṇas, the progeny of the Brāhmaṇas, heroes and their progeny, warriors and their progeny, readers of religious texts and their progeny, Mallakis and their progeny, Licchavis and their progeny, and

Dundas' suggestion that the heroic image of ascetics like the Jain mendicants

may have had popular appeal in a society in which the warrior ethos was

important.[24] It can also be noted that most of the characters in the texts are

described as wealthy.[25] We see followers of Mahāvīra, Pārśva, and Nemi, though

it is not clear whether such a distinction was important. In my third chapter I have

discussed passages outlining a prohibition of certain forms of employment.[26] I

have noted in my first chapter that there are a few references to dietary

restrictions in the Śvetāmbara canon and it is well known that vegetarianism

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many other chiefs, princes, nobles, māndavikas, kauṭumbikas, ivyas, śreṣṭhis, army commanders, foreign traders, and so on." (Lalwani 1988, 131-132) For the Prakrit see Leumann 1883, §38, p.49.

[24] Dundas writes: "The question remains: how did a soteriological path which had rejection of the world built into it from the outset gain recruits? Here we may do little more than speculate both about the ability of Jain teachings to provide a coherent explanation for the human condition in tune with contemporary preoccupations and also about the heroic image which ascetics like Mahāvīra and his disciples would have projected, an imperturbable fortitude in the face of physical difficulty of appeal to an early Indian society in which the warrior ethos was a significant component." (Dundas 2003, 130)

[25] This might be seen to line up with the evidence from Mathurā where we find the majority of lay Jains were members of bourgeois professional classes (Dundas 2003, 136). It might also be seen to line up somewhat with contemporary society where Jains appear to be disproportionately wealthy (Laidlaw 1995, 87; Ellis 1991, 75). On the other hand, we must keep in mind that the texts describe the ideal lay Jains.

[26] The restrictions on categories of employment, mentioned in chapter three, could perhaps be understood as a move to exclude certain classes of people from the tradition. The traditional understanding of such restrictions on employment is, of course, that a pious Jain must choose a career that does not cause harm to living beings. Folkert notes the reluctance of scholars to define Jain practice apart from Jain ideology questioning the common view that Jains are merchants and bankers by occupation because these activities result in the least amount of violent conduct (Folkert 1993, 170).

eventually becomes a strong mark of lay Jain identity.[27] Ohira has suggested that

the references to dietary restrictions in the Śvetāmbara canon were likely

included by the compilers in response to a changing religious environment,

perhaps owing to movement to a new location.[28] It is not clear whether or not this

view is accurate.

Studies of contemporary Jain communities suggest that in north India

there is sometimes a correlation between caste (*jāti*) membership and sectarian

(*gaccha*) affiliation among members of the lay community.[29] In the texts,

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[27] Though dietary restrictions are a key mark of Jain identity in contemporary society, such rules are not prominent in the texts. Nonetheless, as I noted in my first chapter, there are references to dietary restrictions for Jains at a few points in the Śvetāmbara canon (Kapadia 1933/2010, 165; Alsdorf 1962/2010, 6-14; Ohira 1994, 18). The *Vivāgasuyaṃ* is particularly concerned with condemning the consumption of meat.

[28] Ohira suggests that the Digambara monk Pūjyapāda (sixth century CE) was the first to criticize meat eating and that "the rigid vegetarianism of the present day Jainas commenced at such a later time, most probably after the mass exodus of the Jainas from Mathurā to the South and West, where they were bound to impress the local people by their exemplary deeds in order to sail out for their new settlement life in the migrated places." (Ohira 1994, 19)

[29] Flügel has noted such a correlation among some Digambaras in North India (Flügel 2006b, 341). There are several indications of the strength of Jain sectarian/*jāti* identities (Flügel 2006a, 96). For example, prospective ascetics are seen as emissaries of their particular caste group (Banks 1986, 450). Further, the individual *jātis*/sects hold processions on various occasions (Banks 1992, 78-9). Singhi notes that the names of Jain temples often indicate region, *gotra*, caste, and *gaccha* (Singhi 1991, 147). The names of the Jain *jātis*, like many of the names for the *gacchas*, commonly derive from the names of regions and towns (Folkert 1993, 163; Laidlaw 1995, 90). For lists of *jātis* see Sangave (Sangave 1959, 86). The image-worshipping Śvetāmbara ascetics are divided into *gacchas* while the non-image worshipping Śvetāmbara ascetics form a single *gaccha*. In opposition to Folkert, who suggests that the *gacchas* differ mainly according to ascetic practice, Balbir has shown that *gacchas* are doctrinally demarcated (Flügel 2006b, 312 note 4).

however, there is no mention of *jāti* or *gaccha*.[30] We can perhaps assume that

social organization played an important role in the early Jain tradition. I have

mentioned a few stories that specifically emphasize the importance for laymen to

meet regularly with Jain ascetics.[31] However, there seems to be little relating to

early Jain social structures in the texts that I have examined.

It is clear in examining some of the texts in the Śvetāmbara canon[32] that

the mendicant compilers employed various strategies in their effort to establish

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[30] As noted in my second chapter, the only occurrence of the term *jāti* that I noted is in the *Viyāhapannatti*. In this passage we read that the mendicant followers of Pārśva are endowed with *jāti* (*pāsāvaccijjā therā bhagavaṃto jātisaṃpannā*) (Bothara 2005, 292). Here the term *jāti* does not refer to any specific caste, but implies in general a high social status. One of the only details I observed that might relate to such sub-divisions in society is seen in the *Uvāsagadasāo* where an abode for lay ascetic practice (*posahasāla*) is qualified by the term *nāyakula*, which may indicate that the *posahasāla* belonged to this particular clan. It must be noted, though, that Hoernle does not take the term *nāyakula* in the same manner that I do (Hoernle 1885-90, 42, note 119). Hoernle translates the relevant passage as follows: "having taken leave of my friends and of my eldest son, and having cleaned a house for *keeping* the posaha *observances* in the midst *of my people* of the Nāya clan, to live in conformity with the teachings of the Law as received in the presence of the Samaṇa, the blessed Mahāvīra." (Hoernle 1885-90, 41-2). The Prakrit reads: "taṃ mitta-nāi-niyaga-sayaṇa-saṃbaṃdhi-parijaṇaṃ jeṭṭhaputtaṃ ca āpucchittā, kollāe saṇṇivese nāyakulaṃ posahasālaṃ paḍilehittā, samaṇassa bhagavao mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ dhammapaṇṇattiṃ uvasaṃpajjittā ṇaṃ viharittae." (Nathamal 1974c, 411-12) Hoernle notes that the term *kollāe* refers to a part of the town: "Beyond Kuṇḍapura, in a further north-easterly direction lay the suburb (or 'station,' *sannivesa*) of Kollāga, which appears to have been principally inhabited by kshattriyas of the Nāya clan, to which Mahāvīra himself belonged; for in §66 it is described as the Nāya-kula." (Hoernle 1885-90, 4, note 8)

[31] These are found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and the *Nirayāvaliyāo*. The stories were mentioned in chapter three.

[32] As noted in my introduction, partly owing to restrictions on my time, I have considered only 7 of the 11 extant Aṅgas, 8 of the 12 Uvaṅgas, and a few other texts. My study could be expanded by considering other literature. In particular, the remaining Aṅgas and Uvaṅgas as well as other Śvetāmbara canonical texts should be considered. The statements about the lay community in early Digambara literature and early Jain narrative literature (like the *Paumacariya*) should also be examined. Though I have tried to consult the commentaries, particularly when there is debate about the meaning of a particular term, I am aware that I could have made better use of them

and maintain bonds with a lay community. For each of the various aspects of the

texts one can speculate about the relationship with the historical realities. What

do the various details in the texts tell us about the identities of historical lay

Jains? How do the references to the various practices (birth-rites, royal

processions, acts of worship, the renunciation ceremony, the donation of alms,

the vow to avoid harming mobile beings, the vow to limit one's possessions, the

vow to limit one's objects of enjoyment, the vow to restrict one's sphere of

activity, the temporary abandoning of one's possessions and social relations,

fasting, the fast to death, and so on) relate to historical practice? How much did

lay Jains know about Jain doctrine? Though in some cases we may feel closer to

an answer than others, it seems generally very difficult to sort out which aspects

of the texts were invented by the compilers and which reflect the existing reality

of the period. There are some references to rituals and to Jains in non-Jain

literature with which to compare the Jain texts. Further, the archaeological

remains from Mathurā attest to the popularity of image and *stūpa* worship among

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(especially in chapter three). The commentaries on the texts that I have examined as well as the commentaries on other texts could form the basis of a separate study. In particular, the various commentaries on the first part of the sixth section of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (i.e. the section relating to the lay community) should be the focus of further study. There is also the possibility of examining the influence of the Śvetāmbara texts in medieval literature, perhaps especially the medieval manuals for lay conduct and the Pratikramaṇa Sūtras. Finally, there is a need to look more closely at non-Jain material to see how it relates to the Jain material. I should also repeat that in composing this thesis I have relied on particular editions and translations of the texts. My arguments should be checked and supplemented through a study of the passages discussed as they occur in the numerous published editions of the texts and in the extant manuscripts.

some members of the Jain community from at least the first century BCE.[33] Yet,

there is little other archaeological material and these remains, like the texts, do

not provide a full picture of ancient lay life. For the most part, we are left to

imagine what the actualities of early Jain life may have been. We can also only

speculate about how the Jains may have used their texts and how the texts may

have influenced Jain life through the centuries.[34]

With respect to the central idea of the passages discussed in this thesis,

namely the idea that non-mendicants should be respected and will attain a good

form of rebirth depending on the degree to which they behave like Jain

mendicants, I think it is particularly important to emphasize that we can only

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[33] Lüders 1961; Dundas 1997a, 506; Sahgal 1994, 224. As I noted in my introduction, the images were commonly set up by members of the laity "at the request of" a particular mendicant (Lüders 1961, inscription numbers 13, 14, 15, and 23). I also noted that many of the inscriptions relating to the donation of images by lay Jains record donations made by females (Lüders 1961, inscription numbers 13, 14, 15, 20, and 23). One might compare this fact to the lists of the congregations for the various Jinas in the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, which always include more nuns than monks and more lay-women than lay-men. The texts on the whole discuss laymen much more often than laywomen, though we do find mention of laywomen.

[34] Perhaps the monks recited the stories in the Śvetāmbara canon to gatherings of householders. One might speculate that the use of recurring passages may have helped monks to memorize the material. The fact that there are "standard" descriptions repeated over and over in the Śvetāmbara texts is generally discussed in the secondary literature only in terms of its literary function. I hypothesize that the standard descriptions of rituals may have been read in the later tradition as prescriptions for ritual behavior, even though they occur in a narrative context. This idea should perhaps be considered in relation to the fact that, as I have noted in my second chapter, the prohibition against the donation of alms in the *Uvāsagadasāo* and parts of the standard description of the *samaṇovāsaga* were composed in the first person and thus may have been recited by some historical lay Jains. I think one has to imagine, regardless of the historical uses, that the production of a canon of literature likely had a significant influence on the history of the tradition as the texts served to establish Jain orthodoxy. In general, we need to pay closer attention to the potential uses of the passages in the Śvetāmbara canon as well as their influence in later texts.

speculate about the relationship between the texts and historical lay Jain

practice. There is a tendency in modern scholarship to see the textual

prescriptions for lay ascetic practice as, at least for the most part, unrelated to

historical lay behavior.[35] Though it is important to recognize that the texts do not

provide a complete picture of ancient Jain lay life, it is also important that we

recognize the possibility that partial and temporary ascetic practice modeled on

Jain mendicant behavior may have been appealing to some members of the

general population in ancient India as an answer to the question of how to

improve one's lot in this life and/or the next. In this thesis I have focused on the

actions and motivations of the mendicant authors and compilers of the texts. This

is partly because the related question of what the texts tell us about the history of

the Jain lay community is so difficult, but also because the study of the actions

and motivations of historical Jain mendicants in composing their texts is an

important subject in its own right. I hope that my work will promote and perhaps

serve as a basis for further study of the passages relating to the lay community in

the early Jain texts.

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[35] In my introduction I referred to the distinction that Cort makes between the study of "practices and beliefs" and the study of "tenets, dogmas, and ideologies" (Cort 1990, 43). I mention Cort in particular because his work on the lay Jain community has been influential.

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