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GLEANINGS FROM A COMPARATIVE READING OF EARLY CANONICAL BUDDHIST AND JAINA TEXTS¹

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Following many other scholars, it is proposed, in this paper, to consider some parallelisms or similarities, in beliefs and customs, that can be seen to exist in Buddhism and Jainism. Naturally, since the XIXth century, such questions have been investigated more than once². Nevertheless attention can be drawn to various interesting details that have come to the fore in the last decades, but risk being completely ignored in the present circumstances, when we all are eager to know more concerning the recent discoveries of Buddhist documents, that have been so remarkably presented in 1999, in Lausanne, during the XIIth International Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, and again in Bangkok, at the XIIIth International Conference.

As far as ancient Buddhism in particular is concerned, Ludwig Alsdorf has emphasised that “C’est... le bouddhisant pour qui la connaissance du jainisme et la comparaison des deux doctrines peuvent être d’une grande importance... les mêmes conditions leur ont donné naissance, elles ont de

¹ This is an enlarged version of the presidential address delivered at the 12th International Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies at Lausanne in August 1999.

² Cf. among others the survey by Ernst Leumann, *Buddha und Mahāvīra. Die beiden indischen Religionsstifter*, München 1922 (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Buddhismus 6). His student Walther Schubring in turn drew attention to “the consonance with the *tipiṭaka* and the *āṅga* of the Buddhists” of Mahāvīra’s teaching, which, in the Śvetāmbara canonical texts, is called *duvālas’āṅga gaṇi-piḍaga*, “the basket of the teacher(s) containing 12 *Angas*”, or, more generally, *niggantha-pāvayaṇa* (cf. Pāli *pāvācana*, the technical name of the Buddha’s predication according, in particular, to Aggavamsa’s Pāli grammar, cf. Helmer Smith, *Saddanīti. La grammaire palie d’Aggavamsa IV.1*, Lund 1949, p. 1130 § 5.3.3.1). Cf. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas. Nach den alten Quellen dargestellt von...*, Berlin und Leipzig 1935 (GIAPhA III.7) / *The Doctrine of the Jainas. Described after the old Sources by...*, Translated from the revised German edition by Wolfgang Beurlen, Delhi... 1962) §37 [= *Lehre / Doctrine*].

nombreux traits communs, à ce point qu'on a pris récemment l'habitude en Inde d'opposer leur civilisation monacale et ascétique, que l'on qualifie de "śramanique", à la civilisation "brahmanique"³. As a matter of fact, the versatile scholar P.S. Jaini, in the Preface to his *Collected Papers on Jaina Studies* and *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* explains: "Seven papers in the Buddhist Studies volume appear under a sectional heading of Buddhism and Jainism. These are primarily based on Buddhist material but include also a number of Jaina sources. Seven papers in the volume on Jaina Studies are also relevant to Buddhist studies. They demonstrate the interdependent nature of these two traditions and stress the need for exploring them together"⁴.

Such a comparison is all the more natural as the two spiritual teachers, the Jina Mahāvīra and the Buddha Gautama are more or less contemporary — a point that has easily been deduced from the sūtras of both their communities, and is regarded as practically certain by scholars including those who, in recent years, have reexamined "The Dating of the Historical Buddha"⁵. Further, the two Masters stem from neighbouring

³ *Les études jaina. État présent et tâches futures*. Conférences par..., [Paris] Collège de France, 1965, p. 3. Alsdorf observed that less attention has been paid to the Digambara than to the Śvetāmbara church: this is mainly due to the fact that Śvetāmbara documents have been more easily available. Hence, in most cases, the present paper also will mostly refer to the latter (though, thanks to several prominent Digambara scholars' efforts and publications, their achievements are now better known).

⁴ The preface is almost identical for the two volumes, Delhi 2000, 2001, p. xiv. Compare Jacobi's Preface to his translation of the Āyāraṅga Sutta (p. viif.): "The insertion of a Jaina text in the publications of the Pāli Text Society will require no justification in the eyes of European scholars. For them all Jaina documents would have an interest of their own, even if they did not throw a light on the times, or the moral and intellectual world, in which Buddha lived. But it is possible that Buddhist subscribers, who aid our labours by their accession to the Pāli Text Society, and by the interest they show in it, might take umbrage at the intrusion, as it were, of an heretical guest into the company of their sacred Suttas. Yet if they look him attentively in the face, they will find there many traces that will interest them strongly, though they may not come to like them. The Nigaṅṭha Nātaputta was, it is true, an opponent, if not an enemy, of Gotama the Buddha. Still he was one of his contemporaries; and in the writings handed down amongst his successors and followers there are treated many of those questions and topics for which the superior genius of Buddha found the solutions which still form the tenets of the Buddhist Saṃgha in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon..."

⁵ Cf. Heinz Bechert (ed.), *The Dating of the historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*. Parts 1-3. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung IV/1-3 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte

kingdoms and from comparable *kṣatriya* families, at a time when these social groups seem to have developed “an independent world-view... which was opposed to many brahmanic ideas rooted in ritualistic thinking”⁶. They moreover appear to have boldly vindicated their rights and status against the brahmanic claims to superiority: both the Buddha and the Jina are regarded as having embodied the “śramanic” ideals, as illustrated in many of their pamphlets, where attacks are repeatedly made against the Vedic animal sacrifice and the violence it involves, as well as against the social hierarchy that is upheld in the brahmanical cast-system: *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmaṇas* are contrasted in many Buddhist and Jaina poems with “the true brahmin” and with “the true sacrifice” which is internal and purely spiritual⁷.

1. Did the Jaina attitude towards the brahmanic system even harden at some time? Perhaps this could be deduced from details that, in the Śvetāmbara canonical tradition, surround Mahāvīra’s prebirth. In an old text, the *Āyāraṅga-sutta*, it is reported how the future Vardhamāna “first took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devānandī, wife of the Brāhmaṇa Ṛṣabha...⁸ Then... the compassionate god (Indra), reflecting on what was

Folge, Nr. 189, 194, 222), Göttingen 1991, 1992, 1997. Cf. the critical review by D. Seyfort Ruegg, “A new publication on the date and historiography of the Buddha’s disease (*nirvāna*): a review article” (BSOAS 62.1, 1999, p. 82-87); see the conclusion: “a time frame between 420-350 B.C. emerges as most likely” (p. 86); contra Alex Wayman, *Indologica Taurinensia* 23-24 (1997-98), p. 205-216, who prefers the “long chronology”.

⁶ Cf. Hans-Peter Schmidt, “Ahiṃsā and Rebirth”, in *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts. New Approaches to the Study of the Vedas*. Edited by Michael Witzel (HOS Opera Minora 2), Cambridge 1997, Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, p. 207-234 (p. 219), referring, in particular, to the comprehensive study by Paul Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*, Vorstufen der indischen Seelenwanderungslehre, Asiatische Studien 25, Bern 1971. — But H.-P. Schmidt also points to the necessity of taking into account the multiple aspects of the Vedic culture, and the gradual interiorization of the ritual.

⁷ Cf., e.g., the 25th and the 12th lessons of the *Uttarajjhāyā*, respectively on the “true sacrifice”, and on the “muni” Harikeśa, of śvapāka descent: the latter has been compared with the Pāli *Mātaṅga-Jātaka* (cf. Michihiko Yajima, “A Note on Uttarajjhāyā 12 and Pāli Mātaṅga-Jātaka”, CASS Studies 5, University of Poona, Pune 1980, p. 179-185, ubi alia).

⁸ In another important canonical text, it is recorded how Mahāvīra himself once declared to his chief disciple that his real mother was the brāhmaṇī Devānandā: *Devānandā māhaṇī mama ammagā, ahaṃ ṇaṃ Devāṇandāe māhaṇīe attae, Viyāhapannatti* IX 33 (ed. JAS I p. 453.13f.).

the established custom (with regard to the birth of Tīrthakaras) removed the embryo from the southern brahmanical part of... Kundapura to the northern kṣatriya part of the same place..., lodged the fetus in the womb of Triśalā..., wife of the Kṣatriya Siddhārtha”⁹. Another sūtra, the *Jiṇacariya*, explains the reason: “the following... idea” had occurred to Śakra: “It never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen that Arhats... in the past, present or future should be born in low families... beggars’ families... or brahmanical families. For indeed, Arhats... are born in high families, noble families, royal families..¹⁰”. Then he entrusted the task of removing the embryo to “Hariṇegamesi, the divine commander of the foot troops”, who perfectly executed the order¹¹. This prebirth episode is unknown to the Jaina Digambara tradition. It is nevertheless famous, for it is represented on a Jaina relief found in Mathurā¹², and is often depicted in Jaina manuscripts¹³, where Hariṇegamesi is shown on his delicate mission, respectfully bowing to, and transporting Vardhamāna’s embryo. In any case it is significant of the Jainas’ old, lasting and unflinching opposition to the brahmanic hierarchical order.

To a certain extent, this episode has a Buddhist counterpart, *viz.* in the Pāli *Nidānakathā*. While he prepares for his rebirth on earth, and looks for the suitable country, etc., and family in which to be reborn, it occurs to the Great Being that it is unsuitable for Arhants, etc., to be reborn in mean families; but it seems there was no fundamental objection to Buddhas being reborn in brāhmaṇa as well as in kṣatriya kulas. Nevertheless,

⁹ Cf. Āyār II 15, Jacobi’s translation, SBE XXII, p. 190; Jacobi’s ed. p. 121.23-122.13 (JAS 2.1 §§734 f.): *Usabhadattassa māhaṇassa... Devāṇaṃdāe māhaṇīe... kucchiṃsi gabbhaṃ vakkante... — tao ṇaṃ... aṇukampanteṇaṃ deveṇaṃ jīyaṃ eyaṃ ti kaṭṭu... dāhiṇa-māhaṇa-Kuṇḍapura-saṃnivesāo uttara-khattiya-Kuṇḍapura-saṃnivesaṃ Nātāṇaṃ khattiyāṇaṃ Siddhatthassa khattiyassa Tisalāe khattiyāṇīe... kucchiṃsi gabbhaṃ sāharati.*

¹⁰ *Lives of the Jinas*, Jacobi’s translation, SBE XXII p. 223 ff.; ed. Jacobi §§16 ff.: *tāe ṇaṃ tassa Sakkassa... ayam eyārūve... saṅkappe samuppajjithā: “na eyaṃ bhūyaṃ, na eyaṃ bhavvaṃ, na eyaṃ bhavissaṃ jaṃ ṇaṃ arahantā... anta-kulesu vā... bhikkhāga-kulesu vā māhaṇa-kulesu vā āyāṃsu vā āyāinti vā āyāssanti vā. Eyaṃ khalu arahantā... ugga-kulesu vā bhoga-kulesu vā... rāiṇṇa-kulesu vā... āyāṃsu vā 3.*

¹¹ *Ibidem*, §§22-30.

¹² Ascribed to the Kuṣāṇa period, cf. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras 1955, p.11 (referring to Bühler, EI II, p. 11ff.).

¹³ Cf. Jyotindra Jain and Eberhard Fischer, *Jaina Iconography I*, Leiden 1978 (Iconography of Religions XIII.12), p. 4ff., plate IV.

following the general consensus of the time, it is the kṣatriya family that is actually chosen¹⁴. Were the Buddhists more conciliatory than the Jains? Or did they consider the matter to be irrelevant? Be that as it may, there is no doubt that, in the suttas, e.g. the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, the superiority of the khattiyas, that of the Sakka princes in particular, is vividly vindicated¹⁵. Thus, by comparing the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions, the modern reader can get a better glimpse of the ancient disputes, and see how they were liable to rise and to subside. Can they ever be extinct? Not long ago, it was observed by a respected Jain scholar that “in Jainism, the Śramaṇa replaces the Brahman in the caste hierarchy, leaving no truly defined station for the latter. The Jina or his mendicant disciple may be called *māhaṇa* metaphorically, but he is certainly not a Brahman in the sense of a member of the classical Brāhmaṇa *varṇa*”¹⁶.

2. Even comparisons that, at first sight, would seem to be far-fetched might prove helpful in solving some vexed questions. The Jaina doctrine is repeatedly said to be very conservative and to have preserved archaic features — among others the theory of the “colours of the souls”, the *leśyā* (*lessā*) doctrine¹⁷. According to it the souls are supposed to radiate a particular lustre which, in fact, is indicative of their spiritual level. Following its defilement by karman, or, more accurately, by the karmic matter, the soul (*jīva*) is black (*kṛṣṇa*), blue (*nīla*), grey (*kāpota*), or yellow (*pīta*), lotus-pink (*padma*), luminous white (*śukla*)... so that six soul-types are

¹⁴ Ja I 49 [so read], 21-25 (quoted in P.S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979 [= *Path*], p. 7, n. 9): “*Buddhā nāma vessa-kule vā sudda-kule vā na nibbattanti, loka-sammute pana khattiya-kule vā brāhmaṇa-kule vā dvīsu yeva kulesu nibbattanti, idāni ca khattiya-kulaṃ loka-sammattaṃ, tattha nibbattissāmi*” ...

¹⁵ D I 87-110.

¹⁶ P.S. Jaini, “The Pure and the Auspicious in the Jaina Tradition”, in *Purity and Auspiciousness in Indian Society*, ed. John B. Carman and Frédérique A. Marglin, Leiden 1985 (International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology XLIII), p. 84-93.

Did comparable, albeit different, claims inspire Ambedkar and those Indians who, in the course of the XXth century, encouraged conversion to Buddhism?

¹⁷ Cf. Schubring *Lehre / Doctrine* §§18; 97; P.S. Jaini, *Path*, p. 114. On the etymology and meaning of *lessā* / *leśyā*, Jacobi, SBE 45, p. 196 n. 2; Kyōshu Tsuchihashi, “On the literal meaning of *leśyā*”, *Indologica Taurinensia* XI (1983), p. 195-202. — See, among others, *Viyāhapannatti* I 2 (Deleu p. 76, ubi alia; etc.); *Pannavaṇā*, chapter 17 (JAS 9.1, p. 274-303); *Uttarajjhāyā*, chapter 34; *Tattvārthasūtra* 2.6, etc.

thus defined. This teaching has been scrutinized more than once, and, given the fact that, according to Jainism, karman is a material substance, it has been supposed to reflect “primitive conceptions”¹⁸. On the other hand it has also been remarked that the Jaina theory is not totally isolated: “The notion of several soul-types, each with an identifying color... may have been a common belief among various śramaṇa groups in ancient times”¹⁹.

As a matter of fact, it appears to have been accepted by the Ājīvikas, who, as stated by the Buddha, distinguish six classes of mankind (*abhijāti*)²⁰. As far as the Jainas are concerned, they, explicitly or implicitly, consider these colours to be either spiritual, psychic (*bhāva-leśyā*) or material, physical (*dravya-leśyā*)²¹. The latter are said, in particular, to characterize the three / four main categories of gods. Their colours are black, further blue and grey, as far as the groups of infernal deities are concerned, yellow for the luminous divinities of the middle

¹⁸ Cf. Schubring, *Lehre / Doctrine* §18.

¹⁹ P.S. Jaini, *Path* p. 114 n. 26. The colours of the three *gūṇas* of the Sāṃkhya naturally come to mind; various other comparisons have been suggested, see Willem B. Bollée, *Studien zum Sūyagāḍa, Die Jainas und die anderen Weltanschauungen vor der Zeitwende*, I, Wiesbaden 1977 (Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 24), p. 144 ff., ubi alia.

²⁰ See A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas. A vanished Indian Religion*, London 1951, p. 139, 243ff., referring, in particular, to A III 383 f. (Sv I 162). He convincingly concludes: “The Ājīvika system of spiritual colours is a general classification of humanity according to creed or occupation, while that of the Jainas classifies man’s psychic development and virtue... It seems... probable that the two systems of colour classification are derived from a common body of ideas which was widespread among ascetic groups in the days of the Buddha.” According to the Buddhists, the Ājīvikas teach a supremely white group (comprising Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Saṃkicca, Makkhali Gosāla), a white category (containing the Ājīvikas and Ājīvikinīs), a green one (the householder clad in white robes, the disciple of the *acelakas*), a red one (*nigaṇṭhas* who wear a single garment), a blue one (*bhikkhus* who live as thieves, believers in karma), and a black *abhijāti* (whose members live by violence). The Ājīvika enumeration, which refers to the six constituents of the *society*, appears to partake of both the Jainas’ (supra) and the Buddhists’ (infra) scheme.

²¹ Cf. *Pannavaṇā* chapter 17.2 (ed. JAS I p. 279 ff.); further, *Viyāhapannatti* XII 5.3; the notes ad *Tattvārthasūtra* 4.2, by Sukhlalji and N. Tatia (referring to the *Svopajñā-ṭīkā*).

²² Six distinctive colours are also attributed to the 24 Tīrthaṃkaras: the majority, 14, are golden, 2 are yellow, the 8th and 9th are white, the 6th and 12th are red, the 19th and

world, yellow, pink, white as far as the gods of the upper world are concerned²².

The Buddhists did not share such a belief in soul-*leśyās*, that would evidently have been incompatible with their doctrinal tenets. But they also made use of colours as identifying marks: this is how, in particular, they distinguished the components of the social groups, whether divine or human. In the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta*, the Buddha draws the attention of the monks to the clothes and ornaments of the troupe of the Licchavis, whom he describes as being formed of four groups, each characterized by one colour, viz. black, yellow, red, white. He adds that this colourful procession is, on earth, an image of the Tāvātimsa gods²³. It has been convincingly argued that this fourfold Buddhist division results from the early adaptation to the fourfold *varṇa* system of the Indian society of a prehistoric Indo-European scheme: India appears to have transformed an older tripartite functional classification, that can similarly be traced in Rome, where such coloured symbolism is also seen to be in use²⁴. In this connexion, it is noteworthy that the Pāli commentators specify that the gods' colours are purely symbolic, it is "not their natural colour" (*na tesam pakati-vaṇṇā...*)²⁵. But these colours serve to distinguish different categories in an organic whole²⁶.

The above set of Jaina *leśyās* could thus be seen as a sort of synthetic representation, referring both to the metaphysical equality and similarity of all the *jīvas*, and, at the same time, to the various aspects of the transmigrating *jīva*, to the complexity of the existent; thus they remind us, ultimately, of the "two fundamental principles of life" taught by the *TattvārthaSūtra*: "that of spiritual and physical symbiosis and that of cause and effect" (through karma)²⁷. To sum up, thanks to the above

21st blue, the 20th and 22nd black, cf. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford University Press 1915 (Indian edition 1970), p. 312-314; A. Guérinot, *La religion djaina. Histoire, Doctrine, Culte, Coutumes, Institutions*, Paris 1926, p. 100ff.

²³ See D II 96.5ff.

²⁴ Thus, to distinguish those who participate in a race, cf. Georges Dumézil, *La cour-tisane et les seigneurs colorés et autres essais*, Paris 1983, p. 17-27.

²⁵ Cf. *Sumangalavilāsinī*, 1096-97, quoted by J.J. Jones, in the notes to his translation of the *Mahāvastu I*, London 1949 (PTS, SBB XVI), p. 214 n. 2.

²⁶ For identifying colours in the Epics and Hinduism, see V.M. Bedekar, ABhORI 1968, p. 329-338; W.B. Bollée, ad Sūy 2.1, p. 145, ubi alia; T. Goudriaan, *Māyā divine and human*, Delhi [1978], ch. 4, "Bewildering colours".

²⁷ Cf. N. Tatia's Introduction to his translation of TS, p. xix.

“śramaṇa” records, the modern reader can get a glimpse of an antique ideology and of old mental tools and methods²⁸.

3. Considerable significance being attached, in ancient India, to behaviour and discipline, it is not surprising that conduct has been, and remains, of vital concern in Buddhism²⁹. The subject has naturally led to numerous comparisons between Buddhism and Jainism, and between the latter’s monastic laws and certain prescriptions formulated in the early Brahmanic literatures, e.g. concerning “non injury”: H.-P. Schmidt recalls how “the renouncer (*sannyāsin*) or wandering ascetic (*pravrajaka*, *parivrājaka*) is subjected to the strictest rules of *ahiṃsā*”, how “rules similar to those for the *sannyāsin* apply to the *vānaprastha*, the hermit in the forest”³⁰. But these prescriptions concern individuals and definite circumstances, not a whole, well organized, community. On the contrary, at an early age, the Buddha and the Jina succeeded in bringing their followers together and organizing comparative large, long lasting *saṃghas*, united by clear codes of conduct. So doing, they naturally borrowed various rules and models accepted in the Indian society, *viz.* those that had been set by the Brahmanic ascetics, as demonstrated more than a century ago: H. Jacobi recalled how “Professor Weber has pointed out the near relation existing between the five great vows of the Jainas and the five cardinal sins and virtues of the Buddhists; and Professor Windisch has compared the Jaina vows (*mahāvratā*) with the ten obligations of the Buddhists (*dasasīl*)”; on the other hand Jacobi emphasized that “it can be shown however, that neither the Buddhists nor the Jainas have in this regard any claim to originality, but that both have only adopted the five vows of the Brahmanic ascetics (*saṃnyāsin*)”³¹. Such is the general situation; nevertheless it is remarkable that the Buddha and the Jina did

²⁸ Compare, e.g., the similar composition of two canonical treatises, following the increasing number of topics, the Buddhist *AnguttaraNikāya*, and, among the Śvetāmbaras, the *Thāṇaṅga* (in fact a common composition device, cf. that of a Śaiva manual edited by Bruno Dagens, *Le florilège de la doctrine śivaïte — Śaivāgama-paribhāṣāmañjarī de Vedāñjana*, édition critique, traduction et notes, Pondichéry 1979).

²⁹ As testified by several papers presented in the 1999 Lausanne Conference.

³⁰ H.-P. Schmidt, l. c. p. 210.

³¹ H. Jacobi, SBE XXII, p. xxii f., *ubi alia*; quoted in O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin New York 1996 (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 2

succeed in their organizing efforts. At the same time, the fact should not be minimized that an important process of methodical reflexion and redaction took place in both communities, resulting, in particular, in the composition of the Buddhist *Prātimokṣa* (included in the Pāli *Vinaya*)³², and, as far as the Jainas are concerned, of the Śvetāmbara *Chedasūtras*.

The formation of the Theravāda *Pātimokkhasutta* has recently been minutely investigated, and it has been shown how inherited material has been fundamentally reshaped and formulated anew, so as to result in a rationally and aesthetically well balanced law code³³. In his essay *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin*, O. von Hinüber develops the views he had already expressed in *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, and shows how “the legal structure of the Pātimokkha is quite obvious. The rules are arranged in such a way that the severest offenses are named first and the lightest... are placed at the end. The textual structure, on the other hand, shows that the Pātimokkha must have developed over a certain period before it was shaped by some redactor(s) to its present form”³⁴.

As far as the Jainas are concerned, they have elaborated a list of ten, or nine, atonements (*pāyacchittas*, *prāyaścittas*)³⁵ that include, apart from

[= *Handbook*] §18, with notes. — As far as Mahāvīra is concerned, he is regarded as having accepted, completed and perfected, the rules set by his predecessor (infra).

³² As is well known, the Pāli Pātimokkha “is a set of 227 rules for *bhikkhus* and 311 for *bhikkhunīs*”, K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature. Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayāna Schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden 1983 (A History of Indian Literature. Edited by Jan Gonda VII 2), p. 18. Also see *The Pātimokkha. 227 Fundamental Rules of a Bhikkhu*, with Introduction by Phra Sāsana Sobhaṇa (Suvaddhano). Translation of the Pāli by Ven. Nāṇamoli Thera, Bangkok 2535/1992.

³³ Cf., recently, O. von Hinüber, *Handbook* §§15-21; Idem, *Das Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin*. Seine Gestalt und Entstehungsgeschichte. Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus II. Stuttgart 1999 [= *Pātimokkhasutta*]; Idem, “Nochmals über das Pātimokkhasutta. Anmerkungen zu K. Klaus:”Zur Entstehung des Pātimokkhasutta der Theravādin“, WZKS XLV (2001), p. 41-58.

³⁴ Cf. O. von Hinüber, *Handbook* §18; and the table, in von Hinüber’s *Pātimokkhasutta*, p. 11f.; also Norman, l.c. p. 18f.: 1. *pārājika* (“Defeat”, 4 rules), 2. *saṃghādisesa* (“Formal meeting”, 13 rules), 3. *aniyata* (“Undetermined”, 2), 4. *nissaggiya-pācittiya* (“Forfeiture”, 30), 5. *suddhika-p.* (“Expiation”, 92 rules), 6. *pāṭidesanīya*. (“Confession”, 4 rules), 7. *sekhiya* (“Training”, 75 rules), *adhikaraṇa-samatha* (“Legal questions”, 7 rules).

³⁵ Cf. *Uttarajjhāyā* 30.31: *pāyacchittaṃ tu dasavihaṃ; Uvavāya* (ed. E. Leumann) § 30; cf. also the Digambara *Mūlācāra* 5.164f. (10 *pāyacchittas*: *pāyacchittaṃ ti... dasavihaṃ tu*); but *TattvārthaSūtra* 9.21f. (9 *prāyaścittas*).

(1-2) “confession” and repentance (*āloyañā*, *ālocanā*; *paḍikkamaṇa*, *pratikkramaṇa*), etc., such sanctions as (6) ascetic exercises (*tava*, *tapas*)³⁶, further (7-8) partial or radical suppression of religious seniority (*cheya*, *cheda*; *mūla*), ultimately (9-10) demotion and total exclusion from the *saṃgha* (*aṇavatthappa*, *anavasthāpya*; *pārañciya*, *pārāñciya*). The latter has naturally been compared with the Buddhist *pārājika*³⁷. On the other hand, the Jainas, besides the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* (the first sūtra of the first section of the Śvetāmbara canon) that teaches right conduct, have devoted a section of their canon to the enumeration of the faults and expiations possibly incurred by the monks and nuns: the name, *Cheyasutta* (*Chedasūtra*), apparently borrows that of the seventh *prāyaścitta* (supra). This section includes seven treatises, traditionally referred to as the *Dasā-Kappa-Vavahāra*. Thus this ancient threefold dvandva refers (i) to the ancient “Ten (books)”, the last of which, the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* (or *Sāmāyārī*) collects prescriptions for the right monastic conduct during the rainy season. The above dvandva further refers to the two important sūtras concerned (ii) with the “Rules” (*kappa*, Sk. *kalpa*) prescribed for the lives of the monks and nuns (*niggantha* [*nirgrantha*], *nigganthī*; also *bhikkhu*; infra), and (iii) with the “Procedures” (*vavahāra*, Sk. *vyavahāra*). The first twenty sūtras of the latter also feature in the twentieth and last chapter of the next *Cheyasutta*, the *Nisīha-sutta*³⁸. Viewed as a *Cheyasutta*, the *Nis* seems more or less to aim at a systematic and comprehensive reorganization and continuation of the *Kappa-Vavahāra* codes³⁹. But, according

³⁶ In the Śvetāmbara tradition, *tava*, *tapas* (often interpreted as “fasting”), appears to have replaced the so-called *parihāra*: the latter, that is prescribed in the *Kappa*- and *Vavahāra-suttas*, consisted in the temporary isolation from the *saṃgha* (infra). The Digambara list reads: ... *tava chedo mūlaṃ pi ya parihāro c’eva saddahaṇā*, *Mūlācāra* 5.165; TS 9.22: *tapascheda-parihārōpasthāpanāni*.

³⁷ Already by Sylvain Lévi, “Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme”, JA 12.2 (1912), p. 495-514 (p. 503ff.). — On the *pārājika*, cf. infra.

³⁸ On this title, see W. Schubring, *Doctrine* §51, Vav p. 9 (< *niseha*, “prohibition” x *nisīhiyā*, “place for study”).

³⁹ On the composition of the *Nis*, *Doctrine* §51, *Drei Chedasūtras* p. 92. Like *K-Vav*, it is concerned with the *parihāra*. It offers lists of transgressions and sanctions reaching successively from one to six months, liable to be reduced or not: *uddesa* 1, 1 month with no reduction; *udd.* 2-5, 1 month, liable to be reduced; *udd.* 6-11, 4 months, no reduction; *udd.* 12-19, 4 months, liable to be reduced *udd.*20: up to 6 months. — According to Schubring, though apparently well balanced, the detail of the *Nis* is chaotic!

to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Nis, before being an independent treatise, had served as the last “appendix” (*cūlā*) of the *Āyāraṅgasutta* (supra)⁴⁰. To conclude, there can be little doubt that the *Cheyasutta* section of the Canon has been submitted to a deliberate, protracted, process of remodelling⁴¹. But, whereas the Buddhist *Prātimokṣa* finally appears as definitely well planned, the Jaina *Chedasūtras* are seen, so to say, as still in the process of rearrangement.

In this matter the Buddhists’ approach appears to have been much bolder than that of most of their contemporaries. Indeed, the example had been set by the Buddha who, having experienced, and discarded, the ways of the practitioners of meditation as well as ascetic training, had attained the *Bodhi* all by himself, had discovered the “Four Noble Truths” and taught the “Noble eightfold Path” which avoids the extremes of pleasure and self-torture. Though more conservative, Mahāvīra nevertheless can also be regarded as a successful reformer and organizer: having first accepted the dharma preached by his predecessor Pārśva, that was characterized by four restraints⁴², he soon replaced it by the “dharma of the five great vows, with <confession and> repentance included”, or “including meditation”⁴³, thus insisting on the ethical and spiritual aspect of his message. Assuredly, it is not to be denied that, in contradistinction to the Buddha’s “Middle Path”, the Jina’s dharma lays more emphasis on the benefits to be derived from asceticism⁴⁴, but it should be kept in mind that *tavo*, *tapas*, in Jainism, is said to be twofold, both external and internal. The latter includes expiations, good behaviour, service to others, study, meditation, abandonment (of all activity, so as to remain in a motionless position and meditate)⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ On this restructuring, cf. Jacobi, SBE XXII, p. L; Schubring, Vav p. 8.

⁴¹ Schubring also notes how, in the K / Vav, the *niggantha-* and *bhikkhu-suttas* tend to be specialized in different subjects, Vav p. 5ff.

⁴² All Tīrthaṃkāras, except the 1st and 24th ones, are said to have preached the *cāujjāma dhamma*, Thāṇ §§ 266, 692; *Doctrine* §16. — For a different interpretation, P.S. Jaini, *Path*, p. 17, ubi alia.

⁴³ It is known as the *pañca-mahavaiya sa-ṣaḍikkamaṇa dhamma*, cf. *Doctrine* §16; *Viy* XX 8; JAS ed. p. 877; Deleu p. 256; or *sa-bhāvaṇa dhamma*, Thāṇ § 693.

⁴⁴ Cf. E. Leumann, *Buddha und Mahāvīra*, passim, opposing their names (p. 17ff.), their goals and means (“Askese und Samyak”, p. 22ff.), etc.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Doctrine* §179, ubi alia; see the lists, in Ernst Leumann, *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, Leipzig 1883 (AKM 8.2), p. 40ff.: *pāyacchitta*, *viṇaya*, *veyāvacca*, *sajjhāya*, *jhāna*, *viulossagga*.

4. The Jaina *Samgha* has always been fourfold, being composed of lay men and women, and of companies of ascetics, either men or women. The ascetics were to be totally “free from all ties”, whether external or internal, and hence were technically called *ni(g)gantha*, *ni(g)ganthī* in Prākṛit, *nirgrantha*, *-ī* in Sanskrit. They are also named *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhuṇī* (cf. Pali *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhuni*). But, unlike the early Theravāda Buddhists, the Jainas composed no special section for their nuns in their canonical law books — though, naturally, some rules were completed, or added with the *bhikkhuṇīs* in view⁴⁶. On the other hand, though in religion as in society women are always dependent, their presence seems to have been readily accepted at least in the Śvetāmbara Samgha, where they have always been, and still are, by far in the majority⁴⁷. The Śvetāmbaras even consider that the 19th Tīrthaṅkara, Malli, was a woman⁴⁸. The Digambaras, though, were not as tolerant⁴⁹.

In religion, the general rule for the Buddhists and Jainas is to live as members of a given group (the *gaṇa* or *gaccha* of the Jainas). But the old Śvetāmbara disciplinary texts mention exceptions (whether momentary or definitive) that are sporadically alluded to or discussed in the

⁴⁶ Concerning the Buddhists, cf. U. Hüsken, “Die Legende von der Einrichtung des buddhistischen Nonnenordens im Vinaya-Piṭaka der Theravādin” (ubi alia), *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Bechert, hrsg. von R. Grünendahl, J.-U. Hartman, P. Kieffer-Pülz, Bonn 1993 (Indica et Tibetica 22); Idem, *Die Vorschriften für die buddhistische Nonnengemeinde im Vinaya-Piṭaka der Theravādin*, Berlin 1997 (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 11). — It has been suggested that the Buddha’s hesitation concerning the ordination of women was not due to personal reluctance, as he was broad-minded, but to the desire not to hurt the feelings of his contemporaries, not to go against the normally accepted behaviour. Nuns in early Buddhism have recently been the subject of several papers, e.g. by Peter Skilling, also in recent issue of *JIABS*, 24.2 (2001), an issue precisely on “Buddhist Nuns”.

⁴⁷ *Doctrine* §20, ubi alia, in particular *Viy IX 33*, concerning the conversion of Devānandā, who is entrusted to Ajja-Candaṇā. — The Jaina tradition mentions no episode comparable to Mahāprajāpati’s request to be ordained as a nun, and the rebuff she and her companions first had to suffer from the Buddha. Or is it significant that the first Jaina schism is ascribed to Jamālī, the husband of Mahāvīra’s daughter?

⁴⁸ With this belief compare the story of “Gautama’s last Female Incarnation”, cf. the two articles by P.S. Jaini, reproduced in his *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, Delhi 2001, chapters 22, 23. — The above data would tend to show that the position of women has been a disputed subject, at least in śramanic circles, cf. *Doctrine* §16.

⁴⁹ Cf. P.S. Jaini, *Path*, p. 39f., on the position of women, one of the “Points of Controversy between the Two Major Sects”.

corresponding commentaries. Exceptionally, some religious are seen to be “apart from the flock”, or “indifferent towards it”⁵⁰. In such cases, they are mentioned under three headings: the *jinakalpikas* (Amg. *jiṅakappiya*), the *parihāra-viśuddhikas* (Amg. *parihārakappa-ṭṭhiya*), the *yathālanda-(pratimā-)kalpikas* (Amg. *ahālandiya*). Following the observance called *yathālanda-pratimā* (which is particularly obsolete), the *nig-gantha* imposes upon himself, among other things, time limits: his quest in one particular area must not exceed five days. If submitted to the *parihāra-kappa* penance, he lives, for a limited time (theoretically from one to six months) separated from his *gaccha*: he is *gaccha-niggaya*, *niravekkha*⁵¹. As for the *jiṅakappiyas* / *jinakalpikas*, they conform to Mahāvīra’s standards, as recorded in the accounts of his last years⁵². According to this “rule” (*kalpa*), ascetics go about naked, have no baggage, observe severe penances, and, in particular they stay apart from the *gaṇa* and are constantly alone. This description reminds us of the Pratyeka-Buddhas, mentioned in Jainism as well as in Buddhism⁵³. It also reminds us of the ascetic behaviour known thanks to the famous Buddhist poem that extolls the *khadga-viśāṇa-kalpa*. Transmitted in several Buddhist traditions, whether in Pali⁵⁴, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit or Gandhari Prakrit, it “espouses the virtues of solitude”⁵⁵. The meaning of the compound has been abundantly discussed, and the refrain in which it is used (pali: *eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo*) has been variously translated: “one should wander alone like the rhinoceros” or “one should wander

⁵⁰ Ardhamagadhi *gaccha-niggaya*, *niravekkha*, cf. Caillat, *Expiations*, p. 52ff. [cf. n. 62].

⁵¹ Cf. *Expiations*, p. 52f.; p. 171ff.

⁵² Especially as summarized in *Āyārāṅga* 1, *Uvahāṇa-suyam*, “The Pillow of Righteousness” (Jacobi), “Die Überlieferung vom Fasten” (Schubring).

⁵³ Cf. the four Pratyekabuddhas in the Pāli *Jātaka* III 381.16*f., and in the Jaina *Uttara-jjhāyā* 18.46 (cf. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, 1886, p. 34): *Karakaṇḍū Kaliṅgesu Pañcālesu ya Dummuho / Namī rāyā Videhesu Gandhāresu ya Naggāi*.

⁵⁴ Sn 35-75.

⁵⁵ Solitude is also praised in many other passages, e.g. in the *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthās*, cf. Th 6, 31, 41, etc.; 49: *na me taṃ phandatī cittaṃ, ekatta-nirataṃ hi me*, “Amidst the... cries of the birds, this mind of mine does not waver, for devotion to solitude is mine” (translation K.R. Norman). — Also compare the “*araṇya-dwellers*” (examined by Sasaki Shizuda at the XIIIth Bangkok IABS Conference, December 2002, quoting a number of previous studies).

alone like the rhinoceros horn”..⁵⁶. Though the Pali commentaries understand *-kappa* as meaning *-sadisa*, “like”, an explanation that seems to have been often accepted, it would seem preferable, considering the above Jaina testimony, to retain the full meaning of the substantive *kappa*, *kalpa*, “usage, practice” (ifc.: “following the regulations or rule”)⁵⁷, thus, for *khadga-viṣāṇa-kalpa*, “following the habits of the rhinoceros”⁵⁸. Such an animal comparison is not surprising in India, and would not be exceptional in a Buddhist context⁵⁹: the fifth stanza of the same “Rhinoceros Sūtra” compares “an understanding man” with “a deer which is not tied up” and “goes wherever it wishes in the forest for pasture”⁶⁰; and the *Dhammapada* recommends, “if one does not find a zealous companion..., one should wander alone like a mātaṅga nāga elephant in the forest”⁶¹. As for the Jainas, the commentaries of some *Chedasūtras* liken

⁵⁶ For the references to, and summaries of the numerous discussions on the meaning of the compound, see K.R. Norman, “Solitary as Rhinoceros Horn”, *Buddhist Studies Review* 13.2 (1996), p. 133-142; Richard Salomon, *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra*. British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B, Seattle and London 2000. Concerning “the Meaning of *Khagga-visāṇa* / *Khadga-viṣāṇa*”, p. 10ff., he decides “not entirely without doubts, to understand the primary sense of the refrain of the verses of the Gāndhārī text, *eko care khargaviṣāṇagapo* as ‘one should wander alone like the rhinoceros’, with the proviso that the other possible sense, ‘one should wander alone like the rhinoceros horn,’ is by no means ruled out and in fact may have been understood to be equally and simultaneously valid” (p. 14). — For the association of the Rhinoceros Sūtra with the Pratyeka-Buddhas, or “solitary enlightened ones”, *Idem*, *ibidem*, p. 8, *ubi alia*.

⁵⁷ Cf. M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, s.v., 2.(i) (m.) a rule,... a practice; CPD III, s.v. ⁴*kappa*, m., usage, practice; also ⁷*kappa*, mfn. following the regulations or rules (of a religious community).

⁵⁸ Salomon (p. 11) refers to Norman’s comparison of the Pali simile with a prose passage of the Jaina *Kalpa-sūtra* (Jacobi’s “Jinacaritra” edition § 118): *khaggi-visāṇaṃ* [sic] *va ega-jāe* (i.e. [Jacobi’s translation], “single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros”), “where the neuter form” *-visāṇaṃ* “proves that it means ‘rhinoceros horn’ and not ‘rhinoceros’”. But, in the *Jinacaritra*, the prose passage is followed by a summary in the āryā metre (even pāda): *vihage khagge ya bhāruṇḍe* (“a bird, a rhinoceros, and Bhāruṇḍa”, Jacobi’s translation) which would tend to show that the comparison is with the animal (or both?).

⁵⁹ Cf. the *siṃha-nāda*, or lion’s roar of the Buddha, etc. Also see Jeannine Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme*, quoting Jean Przyluski, on “Le symbolisme du pilier de Sarnath”, p. 488. — C. Rhys-Davids, “Similes in the Nikāyas”, *JPTS* p. 52-151.

⁶⁰ Sn 39 (K.R. Norman’s translation): *miḅo araṇṇamhi yathā abaddho / yen’ icchakaṃ gacchati gocarāya, / viññū naro...*

⁶¹ Dhṃ 329 (K.R. Norman’s translation): *no ce labetha nipakaṃ sahāyaṃ / ... eko care mātaṅg’ araṇṇe va nāgo* = Ja III 488.20ff.

the young bhikṣu to the *mṛga*, the more senior monk to the *vṛṣabha*, the master to the *simha*: these comparisons are conspicuous in the ritual of confession⁶².

5. Confession plays an essential role in Jainism as well as in Buddhism⁶³. According to the old Jaina disciplinary books, it leads the transgressor from the avowal to the expiation of the fault. The process includes: (1) the declaration of the fault, (2) the repentance, (3) the guilt which he feels in his own conscience, (4) his self-reproach in the presence of the guru, (5) the repudiation of the sin, (6) the total purification, (7) the firm purpose of amendment, (8) the performance of the appropriate atonement⁶⁴. According to a later text, one has to remove all “darts” (*salla, śalya*) or unconfessed faults in order to acquire superior knowledge and supreme perfection⁶⁵.

Similarly, in several passages of the *Vinaya* concerning lay or religious transgressors, it is underlined that confession will result in spiritual progress: “in the discipline of the noble, this is growth: whoever having seen a transgression as a transgression, confesses it according to the rule, he attains restraint in the future”, *vuḍḍhi h’ esā... ariyassa vinaye yo accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā-dhammaṃ paṭikaroti āyatim saṃvaraṃ āpajjati*⁶⁶. The appropriate behaviour of the culprit is detailed e.g. in the development concerning Pācittiya VI: the lay follower, “saluting the

⁶² For references, cf. S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona 1956 (Deccan College Dissertation Series 17), p. 226; Colette Caillat, *Les Expiations dans le rituel ancien des religieux jaina*, Paris 1965 (Publications de l’Institut de Civilisation Indienne 25) [= Expiations. Revised English edition: *Atonements in the Ancient Ritual of the Jaina Monks*, Ahmedabad 1975 (L.D. Series 49)], p. 31, 47, 151f., ubi alia.

⁶³ For J. Duncan M. Derrett’s views on “Confession in Early Buddhism”, cf. *Baudhavidyāsudhākaraḥ, Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by P. Kieffer-Pülz und J.-U. Hartmann, Swisstal-Odendorf 1997 (Indica et Tibetica 30), p. 55-62. Reference could also be made to the recent book by Kuo Li-ying, *Confession et contrition dans le bouddhisme chinois du Ve au Xe siècle*, Paris 1994 (EFEO, Monographies n° 170).

⁶⁴ *Kappasutta* 4.25; *Vavahārasutta* 1.35: *bhikkhū ya annayaraṃ akicca-tṭhāṇaṃ sevittā icchejjā āloetae... āloejjā paḍikkamejjā nindejjā garahejjā viuttejjā visohejjā akaraṇayāe abbhutṭhejjā ahā’rihaṃ tavo-kammaṃ pāyacchittaṃ paḍivajjejjā*. Cf. Caillat, *Expiations*, p. 136f.

⁶⁵ *Mahānisīhasutta* 1.16.

⁶⁶ Vin I 315.18ff. = II 126.18ff. = 192. 20ff. (Translation I.B. Horner).

feet of the venerable Anuruddha with her head, spoke thus to the venerable Anuruddha: ‘Honoured sir, a transgression has overcome me, in that I acted thus, foolish, misguided, wrong that I was. Honoured sir, let the master acknowledge for me the transgression as a transgression for the sake of restraint in the future’⁶⁷. Such assertions can be compared with the conclusive sentence of the text introducing the “recitation of the Rule”, according to Venerable Ñāṇamoli’s text and translation of the Pāṭimokkha: “false speech in full awareness has been pronounced by the Exalted One to be a thing obstructive (to progress); therefore any actual (undeclared) fault should be declared by a bhikkhu who remembers to have committed it and who looks for purification. To have declared it is for his good”, *sampajāna-musāvādo kho... antarāyiko dhammo vutto bhagavatā. Tasmā saramānena bhikkhunā āpannena visuddhāpekkhena santī āpatti āvikatabbā, avikatā hi’ssa phāsu hoti*⁶⁸. In this conclusive phrase, the adjective *phāsu*, a Middle Indo-Aryan derivative related to Pali *phasseti* (Sk. *sparśayati*), “to cause to touch, bring into contact”, “to touch”, retains its full meaning: it indicates the transformation of the fault which, thanks to the avowal, has become exactitude, truth, hence reaches, and leads to (the spiritual goal)⁶⁹.

Such an asseveration is best understood in the light of the historical and prehistorical confession doctrine. The latter has been reexamined recently by Calvert Watkins⁷⁰, who refers to Indo-European data, several Vedic passages (and Sylvain Lévi’s remarks on the subject⁷¹): “by the verbal act... of confession the sin itself becomes exactitude, reality, truth: Vedic

⁶⁷ Vin IV 18. 32ff. (translation I.B. Horner): ... *āyasmato Anuruddhassa pādesu sīrasā nipatitvā āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avoca: accayo maṃ bhante accagamā yathā bālaṃ yathā mūlhaṃ yathā akusalaṃ yāhaṃ evam akāsiṃ*.

⁶⁸ *The Pāṭimokkha. 227 Fundamental Rules of a Bhikkhu...* Translation of the Pāli by Ven. Ñāṇamoli Thera, Bangkok 2535/1992, p. 66f. cf. Vin I 103.8-11.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Journal Asiatique* 1960, p. 41-55; K.R. Norman, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda XI (1962), p. 32-34.

⁷⁰ Calvert Watkins, “On Confession in Slavic and Indo-European”, in Calvert Watkins, *Selected Writings*, ed. Lisi Oliver, Innsbruck (Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. 80), 1994, II p. 602-621 (first published in *Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt*, ed. by E. Scatton et al., *Folia Slavica* 2.1-3, Columbus (Ohio) 1978, p. 340-359).

⁷¹ Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas*, Paris 1898 (2ème édition 1966), p. 158, quoted by C. Watkins: “L’aveu rétablit les faits; il ne répare pas moralement la faute, il la fait disparaître, en effet, puisque l’acte et la parole sont dès lors conformes”.

satyām”, “the acknowledged existence of the transgression reestablishes exactitude, reality, truth”⁷².

Further, Watkins emphasizes that confession is intimately bound up with the ‘Act of Truth’ (Sanskrit **satyakriyā*)⁷³. Examples of the latter in Buddhist literature have been recently examined in a study that shows the vitality of this belief in Buddhism, in any case if one is to judge by the many occurrences quoted especially (though not exclusively) from Pali texts⁷⁴. The formulated Truth, conjuring up, as it does, an essential character of the performer, has an infallible issue. Similarly, an essential lie will entail the direst consequences. Both situations (first the negative, then the positive one) are enacted in the 12th lecture of the Śvetāmbara *Uttarajjhāyā*. The hero is Harikeśa Bala,

- “(1) born in a family of śvāpakas; he became a monk and a sage... who had subdued his senses.
- (3) Once on his begging tour, he approached the enclosure of a Brahmanical sacrifice...
- (7) ‘Who are you, you monster?... go, get away...’
- (8) At this turn, (a) Yakṣa... spoke the following words:
- (9) ‘I am a chaste śramaṇa... I have no property... and do not cook my food. I have come for food...
- (10) I subsist by begging; let the ascetic get what is left of the rest...’
- (11) — ‘We shall not give you such food and drink...
- (16) This food and drink should rather rot, than we should give it you, Nirgrantha.
- (18) Are here... no teachers with their disciples, who will beat him... and drive him off?’
- (19) On these words of the teachers, many... rushed forward, and they all beat the sage with sticks, canes, and whips.

⁷² Cf. C. Watkins, *ibid.*, p. 613, 617; p. 616 notes “the efficacy of the act of confession in ancient India”.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 614.

⁷⁴ Toru YAGI, “Once again on the Forms of Oath in Classical India (III): in Connection with *saccakiriya-*”, *Bulletin of the Cultural and Natural Sciences in Osaka Gakuin University*, Nos. 43-44, Osaka, December 2001, p. 47-90 (ubi alia); p. 59ff.: “(II. Three types of the Act of Truth)”; p. 60, “the asseveration of truth”. Also see Michael Witzel, “The case of the shattered head”, in *Festschrift Wilhelm Rau, Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 13/14 (1987), p. 363-415, ubi alia (see p. 383 n. 39; 410f.).

- (20) At that turn king Kausalika's daughter, Bhadrā,... appeased the angry youngsters.
- (21) 'He is the very man to whom the king... had given me, but who... has refused me.
- (22) He is that austere ascetic, of noble nature, who subdues his senses and controls himself.'
- (25) Appearing in the air... the Asuras beat the people. When Bhadrā saw them with rent bodies, spitting blood, she spoke again thus:
- (26) 'You may as well dig rocks with your nails... as treat contemptuously a bhikkhu...
- (28) Prostrate yourself before him for protection... if you want to save your life and your property...'”⁷⁵

It will have been observed that the situation brought about by the brahmins who made false statements concerning Harikeśa is reversed thanks to the intervention of a witness, who, moreover, is intitled to make a **satyakriyā*. By uttering a superior (/ metaphysical, ultimate, eternal) truth, she contributes to the restoration of the right order of the society and of the world (she restores *ṛta*).

Similarly, according to the Buddhists, because Devadatta pretends to be, or tries to be considered as, the supreme sage, superior to the Buddha, he signs his death sentence, that will be executed some way or other: blood spurts from the apertures of his face, etc⁷⁶. The Buddha himself, when he dismisses some brāhmaṇas' claim to a status superior to the

⁷⁵ *Uttarajjhāyā* 12, Jacobi's translation. For philological remarks and corrections (inserted infra), see L. Alsdorf, IJ 6 (1962), p. 128-133 (= *Kleine Schriften*, ed. A. Wezler, Wiesbaden 1974, Glasenapp-Stiftung 10, p. 243-248):

Hariesabalo nāma āsi bhikkhū jī'indiyo (1) // 'samaṇo ahaṃ saṃjao bambhayārī virao... / annassa aṭṭhā iha-m-āgao mi (9) //... sesāvasesaṃ labhau tavassī' (10) // 'na ū vayaṃ erisam anna-pāṇaṃ / dāhāmu tujjhaṃ (11) // ke ettha... / eyaṃ khu daṇḍeṇa phaleṇa hantā... khalejja jo ṇaṃ?' (18) //... tattha bahū kumārā / daṇḍehi vittehi kasehi c'eva samāgayā taṃ isi tālayanti (19) // ranno taṃhiṃ Kosaliyassa dhūyā Bhadda tti... /... kud-dhe kumāre parinivvaei (20) // 'dinnā mu rannā... /... jeṇ' amhi vantā isiṇā sa eso' (21) // te... (A)surā taṃhiṃ taṃ jaṇā tālayanti / te bhinna-dehe ruhiraṃ vamaṇe pāsittu Bhaddā iṇa-m-āhu bhujjo (25) // 'giriṃ nahehiṃ khaṇaha... /... je bhikkhuṃ avamanna (26) // sīseṇa eyaṃ saraṇaṃ uveha... / jai icchaha jīviyā...' (28) //

⁷⁶ On the numerous accounts of Devadatta's crimes and fate, cf., e.g., Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* I, s.v. (p. 1107ff.); A. Bureau, *Recherches sur la*

Tathāgata's, indirectly explains why Devadatta met such a gruesome fate: "the brahmin of Verañjā spoke thus to the lord:

'I have heard, good Gotama, that the recluse Gotama does not greet brahmins who are worn, old, stricken in years...; nor does he stand up or ask them to sit down. Likewise,... that the revered Gotama does not greet brahmins who are worn...; nor does he greet them or stand up or ask them to sit down. Now this, good Gotama, this is not respectful.'

'Brahmin, I do not see him in the world of devas including the Māras, including the Brahmās, including recluses and brahmins..., whom I should greet or rise up for or to whom I should offer a seat. For, brahmin, whom a tathāgata should greet or rise up for or offer a seat to, his head would split asunder.'⁷⁷

In all the above examples, the transgression does not concern just some individual(s), but endangers the whole social group. Hence it is fundamentally heinous, and has to be dealt with appropriately, viz. by the complete annihilation of the danger.

Bearing this general conceptual context in mind, it might be worthwhile to reconsider once more the *pārājika* rules as taught in the Prātimokṣa. They have lent themselves to repeated comparisons both with prescriptions detailed in the Buddhist *Vinaya* itself⁷⁸ and with prescriptions valid among the Brahmanic and Jaina ascetics (supra). The technical

biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtraṭīka et les Vinayaṭīka anciens... III, Paris 1995 (PEFEO 178), p. [239 ff.] = BEFEO 78 (1991), p. 105ff. (his death, p. [246] = p. 112).

⁷⁷ Vin III 1.22-2.13: *atha kho Verañjo brāhmaṇo yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi...* *Eka-m-antaṃ nisinno kho Verañjo brāhmaṇo bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: "sutaṃ m' etaṃ, bho Gotama, na samaṇo Gotamo brāhmaṇe jiṇṇe vuḍḍhe mahallake... abhivādeti vā paccuṭṭheti vā āsanena vā nimanteṭīti. Ta-y-idaṃ bho G., itth' eva, na hi bhavaṃ Gotamo brāhmaṇe jiṇṇe v. m.... abhivādeti... nimanteti. Ta-y-idaṃ bho Gotama na sampannam evā ti. — Nāhan taṃ, brāhmaṇa, pasāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake..., yam ahaṃ abhivādeyyaṃ vā paccuṭṭheyyaṃ vā āsanena vā nimanteyyaṃ. Yaṃ hi, brāhmaṇa, Tathāgato abhivādeyya vā paccuṭṭheyya vā āsanena vā nimanteyya, muddhā pi tassa vipateyyā ti".* Translation, I.B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline* I p. 2f. (q.v. for concordances, and similar assertions in Theravāda literature). "The Shattered Head Split...", a well-known Vedic motive, has many later parallels, cf. Michael Witzel, l.c., p.381ff., §5, for references to "early Buddhist texts"; also to *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart 3, p. 114.12: *nāstica so satvo vā satva-kāyo vā yasya Tathāgate pratyupasthihante na saptadhā mūrdhnaṃ na spahaleyā*). Also see Stanley Insler, in *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 7/8 (1989-1990), p. 97-139.

⁷⁸ Cf. O. v. Hinüber, *Pātimokkhasutta*, p. 24ff. Also cf. the 4 *akaraṇīyas*, p. 41ff.

term *pārājika* has been translated as “Defeat” by I.B. Horner, a translation that has been widely accepted. It has generally been admitted that the Buddhist *pārājikas* have been rearranged on the model of the Buddhist *sīlas*, the moral “habits” or precepts, of which the counterparts are also prescribed for the Brahmanic and Jaina ascetics, though in a different order. Among others, the Śvetāmbara *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* prescribes the abstention (1) from injuring any [living] being, (2) from false speech, (3) from taking that which is not given, (4) from sexual acts⁷⁹. The fact that, in the Buddhist list, false speech is not the second but the fourth item is evidently intriguing, all the more as telling a conscious lie again recurs as the first of the *pācittiya* transgressions. But the latter is comparatively trivial, whereas the object of the fourth *pārājika* is fundamentally different⁸⁰. The exceptional nature of the 4th *pārājika* did not escape I.B. Horner⁸¹. She remarks: “The first three Pārājika rules are levelled against the breach of a code of morality generally recognized among all civilised communities: against unchastity, against the taking of what was not given, and against the depriving of life... The curious fourth Pārājika, concerned with the offence of ‘claiming a state of further-men’ (*uttarimanussa-dhamma*), seems to have been fashioned in some different mould, and to belong to some contrasting realm of values. It is by no means a mere condemnation of boasting or lying in general, for it is the particular nature of the boast or the lie which makes the offence one of the gravest that a monk can commit.⁸²”. As a matter of fact, it is exactly comparable to Devadatta’s attempts to supplant the Master, to control, and ultimately

⁷⁹ Cf. *Dasaveyāliya-sutta*, ed. Ernst Leumann, p. 615: *pāñāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ... musāvāyāo veramaṇaṃ... adinn’ādāṇāo veramaṇaṃ... mehuṇāo veramaṇaṃ* (cf. Schubring’s translation).

⁸⁰ Cf. O. v. Hinüber, *Pātimokkhasutta*, p. 45 (ubi alia).

⁸¹ Vin III 90.32*-91.2*: *yo pana bhikkhu anabhiḥānaṃ uttarimanussa-dhammaṃ attūpanāyikaṃ alamariya-ñānadassanaṃ samudācareyya iti jānāmi iti passāmi, tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā... evaṃ vadeyya: aḥānaṃ evaṃ āvuso avacaṃ jānāmi, appassaṃ passāmi, tucchaṃ musā vilapin ti, ayaṃ pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso ti*

⁸² BD I, p. xx-xxv. She adds: “... the boast of having reached some stage in spiritual development, only attainable after a long training in the fixed and stable resolve to become more perfect, and to make the potential in him assume actuality”. A complementary interpretation is proposed here. O. v. Hinüber’s suggestion that the *pārājikas* could have been arranged following a decreasing order of gravity does not seem convincing.

destroy the Saṃgha and the Doctrine. Hence the fourth *pārājika* naturally entails the religious death of the transgressor.

Could the exceptional character of the transgression explain why “falsely claiming a state of further men” occupies the fourth rank in the *pārājika* list, whereas avoiding false speech is mentioned as the second vow of the Brahmanic and Jaina ascetic⁸³? But perhaps there is more to it. For there seems to be some affinity between speech, language, and the number “4”. O. v. Hinüber points to the fourfold expansion *musāvāda + pisuṇā vācā pharusā vācā samphappalāpa*⁸⁴, merging in the *cattāro vohārā*, “the noble usage, noble mode”, mentioned in the *SaṃgītiSutta*⁸⁵. Further, in the Jaina *ĀyāraṅgaSutta* the rules concerning speech (*bhāsa-jāya*) are dealt with in the fourth lecture of the second section. It is stated that “For the avoidance of these occasions to sin, a mendicant should know that there are four kinds of speech: the first is truth; the second is untruth; the third is truth mixed with untruth; what is neither truth nor untruth, nor truth mixed with untruth, that is the fourth kind of speech: neither truth nor untruth. Thus I say”⁸⁶. The prominence of the number “four” in developments concerning speech is striking and reminds us of the four *pada-jātāni* in Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya Paspasā*, commenting upon the *catvāri padāni* in which *vāc* is measured according to RS 1.164: in the world-view of the Vedic poet, only one quarter of speech is used in every day language, whereas the other three quarters, dealing with esoteric, secret Truth(s), remain hidden to ordinary men. Given this general

⁸³ Cf. Charles Malamoud, in *Cuire le monde*, Paris 1989, p. 137-161 (in the chapter “Sémantique et rhétorique dans la hiérarchie hindoue des ‘buts de l’homme’”), the considerations on “Quatre égale trois plus un” [4=3+1], where it is observed that in a fourfold scheme, the quarters are not equal: “le quatrième élément complète, ou bien englobe, ou bien encore transcende les trois premiers” (p. 142).

⁸⁴ D I 4.13-29. — Compare Manu 4.138: *satyaṃ brūyāt priyaṃ brūyāt na brūyāt satyaṃ apriyaṃ / priyaṃ ca nānṛtaṃ brūyāt*, “Let him say what is true, let him say what is pleasing, let him utter no disagreeable truth, and let him utter no agreeable falsehood” (Bühler’s translation, SBE 25). Also “Prohibited speech and *subhāsita* in the Theravāda Tradition”, *Indologica Taurinensia* XII (1984) p. 61-73.

⁸⁵ D III 232. 7f. — Cf. *Pātimokkhasutta* p. 27f.; IT XII (1984) p. 67f.

⁸⁶ *Āyār* II 4.1.4: *bhikkhū jāṇejjā cattāri bhāsā-jāyāim, taṃ jahā: saccam egaṃ paḍhamaṃ bhāsā-jāyaṃ, bīyaṃ mosaṃ, taiyaṃ saccā-mosaṃ, jaṃ n’eva saccam n’eva mosaṃ n’eva saccā-mosaṃ, a-saccā-mosaṃ taṃ cautthaṃ bhāsā-jāyaṃ, se bemi*; translation H. Jacobi, SBE 22 p. 150 (n. 2: “The first, second and third cases refer to assertions, the fourth (*asatyaṃṣā*) to injunctions”).

context, it can be surmized that, by pushing the offence of falsely “claiming a state of further men” to the 4th rank of the *pārājika* series, the *Pātimokkha* warns that such a pretence should not be considered inconsequential: attention is drawn to the pregnant potency of such utterances⁸⁷, to the fact that such deceptive speech and imposture in fact endanger the Community, will set it into chaos, hence finally entail the destruction of the Saṃgha.⁸⁸

The Jainas apparently do not enter into such considerations: they are more matter of fact, as can be seen in the *Āyāraṅga* (2.4, supra), or the *Dasaveyāliya* (chapter 7). The latter states that the monk “should not say that he will explain all, really all: a thoughtful [monk] should in all cases make a precise [and] complete report”. The chapter concludes: “[He who] speaks after consideration, controls his senses well, has overthrown the four passions, [and] is without [worldly] support, purges [his soul] of the dirt resulting from previous evil deeds [and] is sanctified in this world and the next. Thus I say”⁸⁹.

When faced with the same or similar problems, the Buddhists and the Jainas produced more or less comparable or divergent answers, as these had to fit into different systems. It is manifest that both Buddhism and Jainism have preserved a considerable amount of antique beliefs, customs, phrases...⁹⁰ On the other hand it is no less evident that they have

⁸⁷ It is therefore proper to distinguish this heinous offence from the false, abusive or slanderous speech for which *pācittiyas* 1-3 are prescribed. Compare the distinction made between killing a human (*manussa*) and another living being (*pāṇa*), respectively sanctioned by *pārājika* 3, and by *pācittiya* 61 (cf. O. v. Hinüber, *Pātimokkhasutta*, p. 40).

⁸⁸ It will also be remembered that, in the Brahmanic tradition, correct speech has more than once been considered to be of religious value, cf. L. Renou, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Lyon 1956, p. 6: “L’idée de la grammaire comme instrument de purification est présente dans le plus ancien commentaire grammatical, la Paspasāḍu du Mahābhāṣya, comme à travers toute la *Mīmāṃsā*” (quoted IT XII, p. 71 n. 53, ubi alia). — For South-East Asia, see F. Bizot / F. Lagirarde, *La pureté par les mots*, Paris... 1996, EFEO (Textes bouddhiques du Laos).

⁸⁹ Dasav 7.44, 57 (Schubring’s translation): ‘*savvaṃ eyaṃ vaissāmi, savvaṃ eyaṃ’ ti no vae / aṇuvīi savvaṃ savvattha evaṃ bhāsejja pannavaṃ // 44 // parikkha-bhāsi susamāhi’indie cauk-kasāyāvagae aṇissie / sa niddhune dhutta-malaṃ pure-kaḍaṃ, ārahāe logam iṇaṃ tahā paraṃ // 57 ti bemi.*

⁹⁰ Concerning *khaḍga-viṣāṇa-kalpa* (supra, § 4 and n. 56), Prof. K.R. Norman points out that the word *khaḍga* is ambiguous, and may mean both “sword (horn)” or “rhinoceros”. In the *Jiṇacariya* passage, therefore, it may signify that “the horn is solitary” or “the rhinoceros is solitary” [personal letter, January 2003].

transformed the old legacy, forged new conceptual frames and schemes, invented original rules, procedures and structures, that aimed at promoting the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the group as a whole and of each of its members individually.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

BUDDHIST TEXTS (editions and abbreviations as in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*)

Dhammapada

DīghaNikāya

Jātaka

Mahāvastu

MajjhimaNikāya

NidānaKathā, cf. *Jātaka* I p. 1-94; *The Story of Gotama Buddha...* Translated by N.A. Jayawickrama. Oxford 1990 (PTS).

Pātimokkhasutta: The Pātimokkha. 227 Rules of a Bhikkhu... Translation of the Pāli by Ven. Ñānamoli Thera, Bangkok 2535/1992.

Saddanīti

Suttanipāta

Vinaya

JAINA TEXTS

Ācārāṅga / Āyāraṅga: The Āyāraṅga Sutta of the Çvetāmbara Jains. Edited by Hermann Jacobi, London 1882 (Pali Text Society). — Translated from Prākṛit by Hermann Jacobi, Oxford University Press 1884 (reprint Delhi, etc., 1964, *Jaina Sūtras I* (Sacred Books of the East 22).

Āyāradasāo: see *Chedasūtra*.

Chedasūtra / Cheyasutta: Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons, Āyāradasāo, Vavahāra, Nisīha, bearbeitet von Walther Schubring. Mit einem Beitrag von Colette Caillat, Hamburg 1966 (ANISH 11).

Dasaveyāliya: Daśavaikālika-sūtra und -niryukti, nach dem Erzählungsgehalt untersucht und hrsg. von Ernst Leumann, ZDMG 46 (1892), p. 581-663. *The Dasaveyāliya Sutta...* translated with Introduction and Notes, by Walther Schubring, Ahmedabad 1932.

Dasā-Kappa-Vavahāra: see *Chedasūtra*.

JAS: Jaina Āgama Series, Bombay 1968 +.

Jinacarit(r)a / Jiṇacaria: The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu ed.... by Hermann Jacobi, Leipzig 1879 (AKM 7.1). – Translated from Prākṛit by Hermann Jacobi, “*Lives of the Jinas*”, SBE 22, 1884 (repr. Delhi 1964).

Kappasutta: Das Kalpa-sūtra. Die alte Sammlung jainistischer Mönchsvorschriften. Einleitung, Text, Anmerkungen, Übersetzung... von Walther Schubring, Leipzig 1905 (Indica 2).

Mahānisīhasutta: Studien zum Mahānisīha. Kapitel 1-5 von Jozef Deleu und Walther Schubring, Hamburg 1963 (ANISH 10).

Mūlācāra: Eine Digambara-Dogmatik. Das fünfte Kapitel von Vaṭṭakeras Mūlācāra hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Kiyooki Okuda, Wiesbaden 1975 (ANISH 15).

Nisīha-sutta: See *Chedasūtra*. — Ed. Walther Schubring, see *Vavahāra-sutta*.

Pannavaṇā: Paṇṇavaṇāsuttaṃ, Ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya, Dalsukh Mālvaṇiā, Āmrītlāl Mohanlāl Bhojak, Bombay 1969, 1971, 2 vol. (JAS 9).

Tattvārtha Sūtra, That which is, Umāsvātil/Umāsvāmī. Translated with an introduction by Nathmal Tatia, San Francisco, London, Pymble 1994 (Institute of Jainology).

Uttarajjhāyā: The Uttarādhyayanasūtra. Edited by Jarl Charpentier, 2 vol., København, 1921-22 (Archives d'Études Orientales 18). — Translated from Prākṛit by Hermann Jacobi, Oxford 1895 (SBE 45), (repr. Delhi 1964).

Uvavāiyasutta: Das Aupapātika Sūtra, erstes Upānga der Jaina. I. Einleitung, Text und Glossar. Von Ernst Leumann, Leipzig 1883 (AKM 8.2). Repr. Nendeln 1966.

Vavahārasutta: See *Chedasūtra*. — Ed.: *Vavahāra- und Nisīha-sutta*. Hrsg. von Walther Schubring, Leipzig 1918 (AKM 15.1). — *Vavahāra, in Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons* (supra).

Viyāhapannatti: Viyāhapannattisuttaṃ: Part I, Ed. Bechardas J. Doshi, Bombay 1974, Part II, III, Ed. Bechardas J. Doshi, assisted by Amrītlāl Mohanlal Bhojak, Bombay 1978, 1982 (JAS 4).

Further: Jozef Deleu, *Viyāhapannatti (Bhagavaī). The fifth Anga of the Jaina Canon*. Introduction, Critical Analysis, Commentary & Indexes, Brugge 1970 (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent (Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, 151. Aflevering).

*ERRATA IN THE JOURNAL OF THE
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Some errors occurred in the previous issue of the Journal and should be corrected.

1. The author's name of the "*In Memoriam, Professor Akira Hirakawa*" was misspelt and should read "Kotatsu FUJITA". We should also inform our readership that the author is Professor Emeritus at Hokkaido University in Sapporo, Japan.

Other *errata* in this article:

- p. 4, l. 1: read "prolific" instead of "polific".
- p. 4, l. 8: read "kairitsu" instead of "karitsu".
- p. 5, l. 5: read "though" instead of "through".
- p. 5, l. 33: read "Bhikuni-ritsu" instead of "Bikuni-Ritsu".

The capitalization of Japanese references was also inconsistent on a few occasions.

2. The running head of the article by Colette Caillat should read "*Gleanings from a Comparative Reading*".

Our apologies for these unfortunate errors.

The Editors JIABS.

