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The A(n)calagaccha viewed from inside and outside

Nalini Balbir

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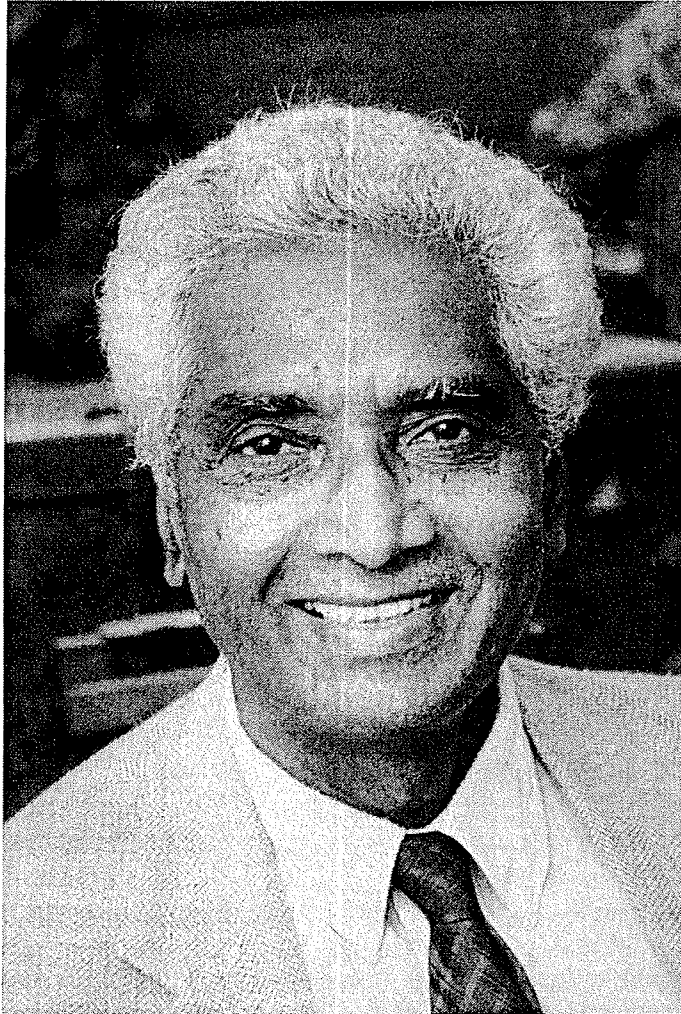
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Padmanabh S. Jaini

I wish to dedicate this volume to my wife, Shashi Jaini, in gratitude for her support and encouragement throughout my academic career and to the memory of our daughter, Asha Jaini.

P.S.J.

JAINISM AND EARLY BUDDHISM:

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF

PADMANABH S. JAINI

Part I

Edited by

Olle Qvarnström



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Layout by Lennart Warnemyr.

Preface

When spring just had arrived and the blossoming magnolias added to the beauty of the mediaeval town of Lund, the Department of History of Religions organized an international conference on Jainism and Early Buddhism. The year was 1998 and the conference was held in honour of our dear friend and most respected colleague, Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini. Joined by scholars from all over the world, we thus celebrated a person whose contributions to Buddhist and Jaina scholarship can hardly be overemphasized. His erudition and intellectual clarity in combination with his humour and joy have served as a great inspiration for all of us and leading authorities have even come to talk about a pre-Jaini and a Jaini period of research into Jainism.

It has thus been a sheer joy to collect the articles from the conference and put them into the present volume. In this connection, I would first of all like to express my sincere gratitude to Lennart Warnemyr, M.Sc., for his constructive criticism, scholarly assistance and priceless computer skills. I also would like to convey my deepest gratitude to Dr. Kristi Wiley for her constant encouragement as well as editorial and Jainological expertise.

I am greatly obliged to Krookska Fonden, the Swedish Institute, the Wenner-Gren Center Foundation, and the Swedish Research Council for financing the conference. I also want to express my sincere thanks to the Institute of Jainology, Crafoordska Stiftelsen, International Mahavir Mission, and to the Jain Academic Foundation in North America for their contributions to the present volume. I also would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dilip Bobra and Premchand Gada of the Jain Academic Foundation in North America (JAFNA) for their generous contribution. Finally, I would like to thank Mukesh Jain at the Asian Humanities Press for publishing the present volume.

Lund, July 2003
Olle Qvarnström

The A(ñ)calagaccha Viewed from Inside and from Outside*

Nalini Balbir

I

Starting with Mahāvīra's reform of Pārśva's fourfold *cāujjāma-dhamma*, continuing with the 'seven schisms' contemporary with Mahāvīra and the famous split between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, to mention only a few prominent instances, it is well known that the Jain church has been all along agitated by various movements and undercurrents which have given rise to new identifiable groups. Some have been only short-lived, whereas others have been enduring. In many cases only minor details make the difference: in his Toronto evening-lecture (1995) and in the ensuing publication, Prof. P. S. Jaini has shown how such details can be discovered and need to be interpreted.¹ The medieval period seems to be an especially creative period from this angle. The A(ñ)calagaccha² is one of these groups which emerged among the temple-going and image-worshipper (Mūrtipūjak) Śvetāmbaras in the 12th century and still exists today. Its investigation hardly needs any justification, since to quote P. Dundas's words, it is 'as yet almost completely unstudied from the historical point of view'.³ One could add: 'as well as from other points of view', since to my knowledge no field-work or anthropological study seems to have been done either. The present paper is nothing more than a preliminary investigation meant to arouse curiosity for this *gaccha* and, more generally, an attempt at defining how 'sectarian awareness'⁴ expresses itself among Jains and what makes the specificity of a religious group in medieval or contemporary India.

* I am thankful to Dr. K.V. Sheth (Ahmedabad), Mr. R. L. Sheth and Mrs N. R. Sheth (Mumbai) who kindly introduced me to Ācārya śrīKalāprabhasāgarasūriśvara, Number 2. of the A(ñ)calagaccha. Our visit to him in the developing suburb of Mumbai located near Mira Road station on 27th December 1998 was memorable. The Ācārya's readiness to talk (in Gujarati and Hindi) and his broad-mindedness were helpful, as well as his spontaneous offer to help by presenting some publications to me. The *darśan* of Sādhvī śrīArunodayaśrījī and her group, especially the young Sādhvī śrīBhāvagaṇāśrījī, met in Shahi Bag (Ahmedabad) on 29th December of the same year, was also rewarding in the context of the present study.

¹ Jaini 2000.

² On the reason for the spelling A(ñ)calagaccha, see below *III* end.

³ Dundas 1992: 120.

⁴ My pleasure to take over an expression used by P. S. Jaini in a short article of his (Philadelphia, 1984).

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A terminological clarification is perhaps not out of place: I use the term 'group', admittedly a rather vague word, or 'order'. Neither the term 'school' nor the term 'sect' can be deemed adequate in such a case, because, as will be seen, firstly the A(ñ)calagaccha is a subdivision of the Śvetāmbaras and basically agrees with all the tenets Śvetāmbaras generally admit, secondly their followers distinguish themselves from other *gacchas* (such as the Kharatara- or the Tapā-) much more on matters of praxis than on their doctrine or philosophical options: the differences between these *gacchas* are not fully those which can be seen between the Buddhist schools of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas.¹ Hence the expression 'monastic traditions' (favoured by E. Zürcher) or 'ascetic lineage' (see J. Cort and L. A. Babb)² would be more appropriate for designating them. As a matter of fact, the existence of several of these groups is not sufficient to endanger and mask the unity of the Jain community as a whole. On the contrary, by providing frames for the interpretation of scriptures and transmission of learning, they keep the Doctrine away from the danger of somnolence and stress its basic unity.³



Plate 1. Bowls and some other implements used by mendicants belonging to the A(ñ)calagaccha

II

Today, the A(ñ)calagaccha is the second Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak *gaccha* in number, far behind the Tapāgaccha where the total of mendicants numbered 5775 in 1994. Comparative statistics over the last twelve years show the following picture:

	Monks	Nuns	Total
1986	40	184	224
1990	37	194	231
1994	40	204	244
1995	39	203	242
1997	41	220	261
1998	36	220	256 ⁴

As in all Śvetāmbara groups, nuns are far more numerous than monks. Their number increases regularly, even if not in large proportions. Deaths are

¹ The term 'school' is however used by Folkert 1993: 153ff.

² Cf. Cort 1991 and Babb 1996: 54.

³ See Folkert: 163.

⁴ Source of information: Jain 1998 (and preceding issues).

compensated by new initiations among them. On the other side, the number of male mendicants is rather decreasing, especially through giving up of monastic life (5 such cases between 1997 and 1998; 4 in 1998). The A(ñ)calagaccha has a hierarchical and centralized organization. It is headed by one *gacchādhipati*, at present Āc. śrīGuṇodayasāgarasūrīśvara (born 1931 CE, initiated 1957, head since 1993). Apart from him, there is only one monk with the title *ācārya*, at present Āc. śrīKalāprabha-sāgarasūrīśvara (born 1953, initiated 1969) who is a brilliant intellectual figure having a special interest for literature and art.¹ Three monks are *ganivarya*, whereas the rest of the mendicants are ordinary monks and nuns (*sādhus* and *sādhvīs*). The existence of a centralized organization is a notable feature which is not shared by all Śvetāmbara orders: while it is characteristic of the Terāpantha, it is not a part of the system of the Tapā- or the Kharatara-gacchas where small groups of mendicants and their respective *ācāryas* form the basic units. This situation accounts for the clarity of information available about the monastic group: complete and detailed bio-data lists of all monks and nuns are regularly found as appendices to various books published by them.² Far from being a matter of chance, their geographical distribution is an official matter decided by the head of the group, since he is responsible for the allotment of places for *cāturmāsa*-residence and for the grouping of mendicants. This is done every year in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May), after the Akṣaya-tṛtīyā festival, and, in a way, reminds of the *maryādā-mahotsava* of the Terāpantha. A comparison of the places selected for *cāturmāsas* in 1994 and 1998 shows that the A(ñ)calagaccha has firmly established itself mainly in two areas, namely Cutch, where their followers are prevalent and where their two present *ācāryas* originally belong, and Mumbai.³ Other areas covered by their mendicants are Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. However, in these states, as well as in the Southern states where they are present (Andhra Pradesh and Karnatak), their number is much less. The relationship between geographical distribution and sex-distribution is significant: monks are not numerous enough to be present in all the states, so that some of them are entirely left to the responsibility of nuns during the crucial period of *cāturmāsa*.⁴ This may be interpreted in two ways: either these areas are considered to be in the hands of other groups so that they are of no strategical importance, or, on the contrary, such a decision is a means for imparting a more conspicuous role to the female part of the monastic community. The position of the A(ñ)calagaccha regarding the question of the nun's status is not very easy to

¹ He also has the additional title *sāhitya divākara*.

² See e.g. Kalāprabhasāgar 1995: 504ff.

³ On merchant communities originating from Cutch and their organizations see Lachaier 1999 (and other works by this author).

⁴ In 1994, this was the situation in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh; in 1998 in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

determine. Officially none of them has any of the high titles, since only the designation *sādhvī* applies to them all. However, at least a superficial overview suggests that they have some prospects in the field of learning and intellectual achievements. Thus, for instance, they are allowed to preach, at least if no monk is present, which happens in the situations just mentioned.

In their outward appearance, the A(ñ)calagaccha mendicant looks like any of his colleagues belonging to other Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjak groups. There is only one sign of difference: the alms-bowls he carries are black, not red as in the case of most other groups (see Plates 1-2). According to Āc. Kalāprabhasāgarasūri's oral information, this is not an anciently established tradition, but an idiosyncratic feature fixed by Āc. Gautamasāgarasūri (1863-1952) in 1948. It is justified by reference to the system of colours attributed to the five entities addressed in the *pañcanamaskāra*: in this belief, attested at least since the 15th century miniature painting, the Arhats are associated with white, the Siddhas with red, the Ācāryas with yellow and the Upādhyāyas with blue. Black is the colour of Sādhus.¹ However, this is just a point of detail on which the group seems to be rather flexible. In case the decision would be made for the sake of Jain unity that all monks should have red bowls, says the Ācārya, they would readily accept it and would not stick to their peculiarity. As will be seen below (IV and V) it has not been the case in the course of history with other technicalities.

III

The documents available for a diachronic study of the A(ñ)calagaccha are of two types, internal and external. The first category includes the *paññāvalis* or *gurvāvalis* meant to ascertain the authoritative ascetic lineages and to underline the religious activities of the heads of the order, the *praśastis* of books written by monks belonging to it, inscriptions recording the consecration of images or temples,

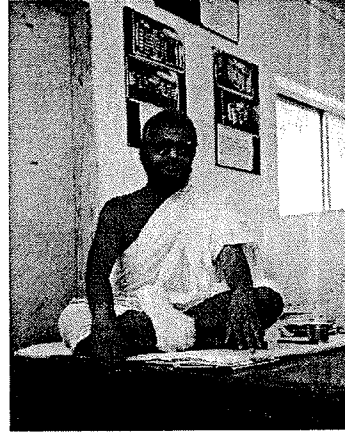


Plate 2. Ācārya
Kalāprabhasāgarasūri of the
A(ñ)calagaccha (Mumbai,
December 1998)

religious handbooks (i.e. the *Śatapadī*, see below) and modern secondary literature (in Hindi or Gujarati) composed among them.¹ All have an official authority.

The inventory of sources containing views on the A(ñ)calagaccha is a task in itself – a task which is still in progress. As expected, none of them is neutral in style, since they are authored by followers of other groups in response to the views of the A(ñ)calagaccha. The main writings surveyed until now come from monks belonging to the Tapāgaccha and go back to the end of the 14th century.²

At least three works are explicitly directed against the A(ñ)calagaccha's. They all have clearly polemical titles: Guṇaratnasūri's *Vāso'ntika-prakarāṇa* (VP), 'The treatise dealing with the adepts of the extremity of a cloth' otherwise named *Vāso'ntika-vitaṇḍā-vidambana* derogatorily refers to the main idiosyncrasy for which the group came to be known (*infra*). It is a rather disconnected set of points that are considered one after another. Harṣabhūṣaṇa-gaṇi's *Añcalamatadalana-prakarāṇa* (AMDP) is known in some manuscripts under the alternative name *Śrāddhavidbhiviniścaya*. The mysterious *Ācaraṇāśataka* (ĀŚ) seems to be of a similar vein and its unofficial title *Śatapadīpūrvapakṣarūpa* is a transparent reference to the A(ñ)cala's standard treatise. These three texts are unpublished.

Apart from these, there is a body of works which address various issues of sectarian relevance and aim at Jain opponents from different groups, where one can easily identify the tenets or usages defended by the A(ñ)calas: such is the case with the *Vicārāmṛtasamgraha* (VĀS) by Kulamaṇḍanasūri, the *Sāmācāriśataka* (SŚ) by Samayasundara (from the Kharataragaccha) or the *Pravacanaparikṣā* (PPar) by Dharmasāgara for whom the A(ñ)cala is one of the ten vicious groups – *kupakṣas* – subjected to criticism.

Even if to some extent each of these refutations has its individuality and would probably deserve micro-studies, a comparative reading shows a similar way of arguing and reference to the same instances or textual authorities. These authors obviously know each other's works and explicitly quote them or refer to them: for instance, Kulamaṇḍana's *Vicārāmṛtasamgraha* which is chronologically the first text in point (sam. 1443) is quoted by Guṇaratna, Samayasundara and Dharmasāgara.³ A comparison of the two extracts of Guṇaratna and Harṣabhūṣaṇa given below in the Appendix shows the interdependence of both authors: Harṣabhūṣaṇa seems to expand the terse wording of his predecessor. Such an interconnection is largely facilitated by the fact that some of these

¹ See the material listed in the Bibliography. For *Paññāvalis* and *praśastis* see especially Kalāprabhasāgar 1982: 381-418; for inscriptions relating to installation of images see Kalāprabhasāgar 1982: 419-464.

² I here confine myself to an overview. For more specific details see the Bibliography.

³ AMDP, B.L. fol. 21b.2: *ity anekavidhayaḥ santi, paraṃ teṣāṃ viśeṣākṣaraṇi Tapāmadguru-śrīKulamaṇḍanasūripādasamuddhātālāpakebhyo 'bhyūhyāni*; VP, fol. 5a.10-11: *śrāvakāṇāṃ mukhapotikā-caravalakāṃ siddhāntoktau siddhaṃ, viśeṣārthinā tu pūjyasrīKula-maṇḍana-sūri-kṛtaṃ Vicārāmṛtaṃ ulokantiyaṃ*; SŚ 121b: *ity alaṃ prasāṅgena, vistarārtha-gaveṣibhiḥ śrīVicārāmṛta-grantha draṣṭavyaḥ*.

¹ See for instance Shah 1955: 98.

Tapāgaccha monks have a common spiritual lineage: both Kulamaṇḍana and Guṇaratna are disciples of the same teacher, Devasundara.¹ Guṇaratna is an authority for Harṣabhūṣana as well. The latter belongs to the same lineage, for he is a direct disciple of Munisundarasūri (51st pontiff) and an indirect disciple of Somasundarasūri (50th) and Devasundarasūri (49th).²

Finally, beside such comprehensive works, there are thematically oriented writings where specific issues for which the A(ñ)calagaccha holds distinct opinions are dealt with: in his *Paryuṣaṇāsthābitivācāra* (PSV), written six years after the *Añcalamatadalana*, Harṣabhūṣana only deals with this vexed calendrical problem and addresses all the groups who hold a position on which he disagrees, the A(ñ)calagaccha being only one of these. Although not explicitly mentioned as such, the A(ñ)cala is also clearly the addressee of the Vardhamānasūri who wrote the *Mukhavasārikāsthāpanaprakaraṇa* (MP).

The history of the A(ñ)calagaccha as such would need a proper study, but nothing more than underlining a few points is possible here. It separated from the Pūrṇimā-gaccha; later other divisions crept in, giving rise to new *śākhās*.³ The founder is Āryarakṣita, a monk who lived in the 12th century (born sam. 1136 = 1079 CE; initiated in sam. 1142; died in sam. 1226 or sam. 1236 = 1169/1179 CE).⁴ His activity as well as the further evolution of the group partly account for its sacred geography: Dantāñī, a village of Rajasthan not far from Abu, which is the birth-place of Āryarakṣita, is an old *tīrtha*, but there had been a tendency to replace it by Bhadreśvar in Cutch, which he is known to have established. This shift from Rajasthan to Cutch is parallel to the growing settlement of A(ñ)calagaccha-followers in this part of Gujarat and is also conspicuous in the geographical origins of the various heads of the order.⁵ Although the *paṭṭāvalīs* all cover the pre-history of the order and start their lists with the name of Sudharmasvāmin, one of Mahāvīra's chief disciples who is unanimously said to be at the start of Śvetāmbara *gacchas*, continuing with 46 other masters, the group's birth is precisely dated in sam. 1169 (= 1112 CE) and the present Ācārya is the 77th. Apparently Āryarakṣita's capacity of attracting enough followers to be in a position to establish an independent group was due to the magico-spiritual power he is said to have acquired through severe asceticism resulting in the manifestation of the goddess Cakreśvarī (the *yakṣiṇī* associated with the first Jina, Rṣabha). Since then the order is placed under the auspices of this tutelary deity.

¹ See the *paṭṭāvalīs* of the Tapāgaccha or some *prastāvis* of manuscripts which all mention five prominent disciples of Devasundarasūri, i.e. Jñānasāgarasūri, the author of many *avacūṛṇīs*, Kulamaṇḍanasūri, Guṇaratnasūri, the author of a commentary on Haribhadra's *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, Somasundarasūri and Sādhratnasūri.

² AMDP, B.L. 12a.16: *tathā cābur asmad-guru-śrīGuṇaratnasūripādāḥ*.

³ See 'Shivaprasad' 1999 and 2000.

⁴ For more details see 'Pārśva': 22ff.; Kalāprabhasāgar 1980a: 33-57 and 1980b.

⁵ See Kalāprabhasāgar 1980b; Desai and the convenient charts in Kalāprabhasāgar 1995.

Consequently the following stanza borrowed from the *Sūrimantrakalpa* by Merutuṅgasūri occurs at the end of the *namaskāra-mantra*:

*vidhatte yasya sāmīdhyam devī Cakreśvarī sadā
śrīmadAcalagacchākehyo Vidhipakṣo jayaty asau.*

Performing such an achievement was not unique to Āryarakṣita. Several of his successors are also credited with the recitation or composition of mantras and miraculous cures.¹ Later on, from the 18th cent. on, worship of the goddess Mahākālī or Kālīkādevī also strongly developed and expressed itself in new temples.² In the narratives handed down by the A(ñ)calas, the origin of the group and the name 'Añcala' are associated with highly respected figures of the Jain community. Among them is king Jayasiṃha of Gujarat, whose patronage was secured by Āryarakṣita:

Once, it is said, king Kumārāpāla invited Āryarakṣita to Patan, after having heard praises of him. On one occasion he saw that the laypeople around him used the extremity of their outer garment to clean the ground before bowing down to their *ācārya* in the ritual of *vandana*. The king asked the learned Hemacandra as to whether there was something like that in the *sāstras*. Hemacandra's answer was positive, so the king imposed the name of *Añcala* to the followers, a name which has remained famous since then.³

Here, from the author's viewpoint legitimacy, authority and credibility are probably enhanced by the reference to an undisputed model of scriptural knowledge such as Hemacandra, all the more so since he does not himself belong to the A(ñ)calagaccha. In the context of Jainism, the guarantee of the Tradition is indeed the only valid one.

Unsurprisingly, the picture given by the polemicists fully disagrees with the A(ñ)cala version. In this case Dharmasāgara is the only source, for the other Tapāgaccha-teachers are interested in points of doctrine and practice only, not in (pseudo-)history. But Dharmasāgara, faithful as he is to his intention to show that the *kupakṣas* have recent more or less odd origins, delights in narrating how the *gaccha* came to existence as ironically as possible.

'On one occasion while he [= Narasiṃha, a one-eyed talkative monk of the Paurṇamīyakapakṣa] was living in Bīuṇa, a rich blind woman named Nādhī came for the usual Vandana, but had forgot to bring her covering for the face. So Na-

¹ Merutuṅgasūri (1346-1414 CE) is famous in this respect. He was 'an accomplished Māntrika' (Jhavery 1944: 239) and composed several *kalpas* among which a *Sūrimantrakalpa*. See 'Pārśva': 199ff., *ubi alia*.

² Already mentioned in PPar 5.7.

³ 'Pārśva': 37; Kalāprabhasāgar 1980b: 18ff.; *ubi alia*.

rasimha directed her to use the Añcala or the border of her cloth instead, as there was no mention made in the scriptures of a covering for the face in the case of the laity. She did accordingly, and they both established the Āñcalika sect with her money. Nādhī prevailed upon a Naṭipadrīya Caityavāsīn to give Narasimha the Sūripada with the name of Āryarakṣita. After doing away with the face-cloth and with it also the Rajoharaṇa, Narasimha did away in the case of the laity with those observances in which principally they were used, such as the Pratikramaṇa. Some say the order in which the things were given up was the reverse of this, i.e., the Pratikramaṇa was first prohibited, and then the face-cloth. But it was not so. The Pratikramaṇa was forbidden after Narasimha was cast out by the Paurṇamīyaks.¹

The features betraying an unsympathetic observer seem clear in this account, although it contains a few disguised historical facts such as the reference to the Pūrṇimā-gaccha as being at the source of the A(ñ)cala.² In the Indian context where physical infirmities are motives of social exclusion, the rather odd pair formed by Narasimha and Nādhī can only provoke mockery. But even worse: given the fact that monastic ordination is normally permissible only to those with physical integrity, what can be expected from an order who would have disabled persons as its leaders?³ Thus this narrative component, added to the presence of a lady as playing a key-role in the process, is a way to at once deprive the new group of all religious legitimacy since it goes against the teachings. Other elements point in the same direction: the founder's connection with the *caityavāsīns* and the fact that he is said to have been given his own status by one of their followers can hardly be seen as a positive factor: it will be remembered how these 'religious and social leaders who made temples (*caityas*) their seats of powers, lived well from temple endowments, and gathered monastic followers around them'⁴ were considered as representatives of laxity and lapses, giving rise to reform groups such as the Kharatara- and the Tapāgaccha. Not to speak of the last item: the suppression of *pratikramaṇa* from the religious schedule ascribed to this group! Since this obligatory and daily observance which is to be performed both by monks and laypeople is really at the heart of Jain praxis, this amounts to saying that the Añcala is totally heretic. – Which is precisely the aim of Dharmasāgara's polemical strategy.

The A(ñ)calagaccha came to be known mainly under three names, which are all meaningful. The designation *Vidhipakṣa* 'The Party [that follows the

¹ PPar 5.1-6. For the sake of convenience I have quoted Bhandarkar Report 1883-1884: 152.

² See also PPar 5: *ye tv Āñcalika-Sārdhapaṇṇimīyaka-Āgamika-nāmānaḥ kupākṣikās te paṇṇimīyaka-mūlakā eva.*

³ However note that Guṇasāgarasūri, one of the most esteemed modern leaders of the *gaccha*, was also one-eyed and is always photographed with dark glasses.

⁴ Folkert: 162.

proper] Ritual' said to have been given by the founder himself underlines the reforming side which is typically the conceptual motivation of the emergence of many new *gacchas*: their alleged justification is not to bring something new but, on the contrary, to reestablish the original purity of the rule which they consider to be lost through various kinds of corruptions and laxity.¹ Although disguised in a narrative account, the designation *Acalagaccha* shows the same tendency: according to some sources, the name *acala* 'steady' was given by king Siddharāja to Āryarakṣita because he stood firm in order to keep his word on the occasion of some incident which nobody was able to face.² The third designation is *Añcalagaccha* which means 'the group professing the use of the border (of a cloth)' and refers to the rule that a layman should use the border of his garment when he performs all religious acts (and not the official mouth-cloth):

śrāvaka vastrāṃcala thī kriyā kare (Kalāprabhasāgar 1980b, 24)

pallava vastrāṃcalaḥ tam eva sāmāyikādan śrāvakāyām upadiśati Pallavika Āñcalikaḥ (PPar).

'Their group is called Pallavika or Āñcalika because it prescribes for the laymen the use of the border, of the edge of the garment, while performing sāmāyika and other religious acts.'

While the order's account ascribes a solemn and deliberate motivation to this practice, Dharmasāgara mocks it as merely resulting from the carelessness of a light-minded lady, saying that she was forced to use the border of her cloth in a ritual because she had forgotten her mouth-cloth. This feature, which is probably the most distinctive of the group, is also the strangest in the eyes of its detractors. When they use synonymic designations for our *gaccha*, their ironical and derogatory intention is doubtless: *vāso'nūka* 'followers of the border of the cloth-view' (Guṇaratnasūri) or *pallavia* (Dharmasāgara).³ One last harsh designation is *stanika* (Pkt. *thaṇiā*), of which Dharmasāgara seems particularly fond.⁴ One fact is clear: today's *gaccha* favours the designation *Acala* and tends to use it in most cases, as is evidenced both by modern publications and by the official doctrine as it was conveyed to me orally by Āc. Kalāprabhasāgarsūri. This may be a rather recent development motivated by the wish to stress both the ethical firmness of the group and its desire to avoid calling excessive attention on a point which was strongly condemned by their opponents in the course of time. This is why in the

¹ *Śīhilitā*, cf. Cort 1995.

² See e.g. 'Pārśva': 37.

³ Cf. Skt. *pallava* 'the end of a robe or garment' (Apte); Turner, CDIAL 7970, H. *pallā*, *pallū*.

⁴ PPar, chap. 5 and elsewhere; *Stanapakṣagaccha* seems to be attested in a *paṭṭhāvalī* (probably of another *gaccha* than the A(ñ)cala): 'Pārśva': 257.

present paper it has seemed preferable to write 'A(ñ)cala' all along, awkward as it may look.

IV

The A(ñ)calagaccha's own reference-book is called *Śatapadī*. It had a curious destiny, having been rewritten and readjusted in the course of time so that there have been so-to-say three redactions of it prepared by prominent pontiffs of the movement.

- 1) The initiator was Dharmaghoṣasūri who wrote it in Prakrit at the beginning of the 13th century (sam. 1263 = 1206 CE).¹ Unfortunately the text is lost. Only a few quotations are scattered here and there in polemical works coming from opponents (below). Its existence is confirmed by old catalogues of Jain books, from mentions in the *paṭṭāvalī*, and from statements by later authors. All the manuscripts recorded in fact correspond to the next work.
- 2) The *Śatapadī* was then adapted and translated by Mahendrasimhasūri who, about thirty years later (in sam. 1294 = 1237 CE),² wrote a Sanskrit rendering, with additions and corrections, apparently guaranteed by his predecessor with whom he worked.³
- 3) Finally came the abbreviator, Merutuṅgasūri who wrote a *Laghuśatapadī* towards the end of the 14th cent. (sam. 1450 = 1393 CE).⁴

However there is a paradox: while such a situation should have been promising and should have permitted a comparative study of the three versions, none of them is available at present in its original form. An edition of No. 2 is under preparation in India. What follows is based on the editor's preliminary paper (Pagaria 1994), on a Gujarati rendering of Mahendrasimhasūri's text, followed by a gist of the *Laghuśatapadī*, and on scarce external evidence.

All the three versions have the same literary form. They belong to the category of *Praśnottara*-texts – *Praśnottarapaddhati* is recorded as the alternative title of Mahendrasimhasūri's *Śatapadī*⁵ – and take place within a long tradition initiated in the Śvetāmbara Canon by the tenth Aṅga, the so-called *Pañbhāvāgarāṇām*, 'Questions and Explanations'. However, there is a basic difference between this old archetype and the later representatives of the category: whereas the tenth Aṅga uses the question-answer frame more as a literary device, the other works can be labelled as sectarian and are meant to

¹ See 'Pārśva': 87-101; Kalāprabhasāgar 1980a: 73-80.

² See 'Pārśva': 102-122; Kalāprabhasāgar 1980a: 81-86.

³ Dharmasāgara's information thus seems reliable: *Mahendrasūriṇā sam. 1294 varṣe Śatapadī pūrva-Śatapadīto 'mśena vistaravatī racitā*, PPar 437 (on 5.17).

⁴ See 'Pārśva': 199-235; Kalāprabhasāgar 1980a: 107-119.

⁵ See Velankar 1944: 371. On one representative of this genre, see Dundas 1999:19.

ascertain and infuse in their followers the right view on certain points on which they disagree with other groups. They are set in a debate format, even exhibiting formal features of oral debate and are more than mere catechisms. This strategy has an impact on the organization of the material. The table of contents of such books consists in lists of headings referring to the points of contention called *vicāra* which are discussed each in turn, either briefly or in details with reference to the Scriptures and with numerous quotations. This is the way the *Śatapadī* – 'The hundred points' book, – in fact 117 – proceeds. The method adopted therein has a consequence: the points of difference are stressed, what is common with other groups disappears in the background. Although it is difficult to accurately define the ordering principles at work in such books where the questions are just numbered and follow one another without any chapterwise organization or headings, a rough classification can be attempted. Moreover, the recourse to a general pattern which establishes a difference between rules of general impact and specific restrictive rules for situations of emergency (*apavāda*) sets the whole in a familiar frame. The topics dealt with in the *Śatapadī* are:

- Points of behaviour of the monk and the nun including general rules and exceptions. One of the main specificities is that the mendicants are not allowed to directly conduct the installation of Jina images (*pratiṣṭhā*) which they are only allowed to instigate. Thus, as some inscriptions indicate, they have to take help from *ācāryas* belonging to other groups.¹
- Points concerned with the code of conduct of the layman;
- Points concerning both categories;
- Points connected with worship (*pūjā*) as a whole: modes of worship and procedure, religious images, religious calendar;
- Critical assessment of other groups such as the Kharataragaccha or the Digambaras.

Even if superficial, this overview is sufficient to underline the prevailing importance of *ethics*, daily religious matters and proper practice in the definition of group identity.

Now if we compare the version which is the last in chronological order with the one which preceded in time, we see that history has motivated readjustments in the tradition: out of 52 points discussed in the short *Śatapadī*, 45 are common with the standard version of Mahendrasimhasūri. But their discussion is not a mere repetition, it is implemented through the incorporation of arguments or material derived from the criticisms coming from other groups which are reassessed. On the other hand, there are 7 new points that probably reflect contemporary concerns.

¹ *Śatapadī* rule No. 3.

4. Eating when performing *poṣadha* (*paṣadha-bhojana-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*): the permission to do so is not granted by the A(ñ)calas, granted by the Tapās (VĀS 79-81) and Samayasundara (SŚ 66a-67b), which means that the latter admit partial *poṣadha*, while the former reject it.
5. Questions connected with worship (*pradīpa-rātrika-bali-naivedya-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*). Night worship and use of lamps are rejected by the A(ñ)calas, while the Tapās see no reason for that and find instances to support their view from various texts, including extra-canonical ones such as the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. Offering of solid food in *pūjā*, including fruit and seeds, is considered as against the Tradition by the A(ñ)calas, but is permissible to the Tapās and the Kharataras (SŚ 115b-117a). Thus the A(ñ)calas are not in favour of the classical eightfold worship. On the other hand, they seem to have introduced the tradition of bathing and anointing images, an innovation which attracted many followers and was therefore also adopted by other groups: see ĀŚ.
6. Wording of the *pañcanamaskāra*-mantra: see below (V).1.
7. About the performance of *kāyotsarga* in front of a territorial deity (*śrūta-kṣetra-devatā-kāyotsarga-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*): such an act is seen as a possible occasion for wrong faith (*mithyātva*) by the A(ñ)calas, a fear mocked at by the Tapās (VĀS 58-59). See also SŚ 186b-189b.
8. Number of reverent salutations (*vandanas*) to be performed in various religious contexts such as confession, *pratikramaṇa*, etc. (*ṣaḍ-vandanaka-dāna-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*).
9. Number of *khamāsamaṇas* to be uttered in performance of religious acts (*kṣamāśramaṇa-dvaya-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*). The A(ñ)calas admit only one, the Tapās two, Samayasundara prescribes four (SŚ 73a-74a).
10. About varieties of fasts (*sarva-tapo-dṛṣṭāntaḥ*) on Jñānapañcamī and other occasions.

Quick reference to other formulas and practice, for the details of which the reader is referred to Kulamaṇḍanasūri's *Vicārāmṛtasamgraha*.

V

A full-fledged investigation of all the points defined by the *Śatapadī* and refuted by the opponents of the A(ñ)calagaccha being out of reach in the present context, two issues will be singled out for closer consideration: 1) the wording of the *pañcanamaskāra*, and 2) the controversy about the use of the mouth-cloth and the broom by the layman. The A(ñ)cala followers should forgive me if in the following paragraphs it seems to them that the discussion is unbalanced and gives more weight to their opponents' views than to their own reasoning: for such

ethical topics, the external sources are (unfortunately) more numerous and extensive.

1

According to the A(ñ)calagaccha, the *pañcanamaskāra* reads:

*namo aribantāṇaṃ,
namo siddhāṇaṃ,
namo āyariyāṇaṃ,
namo uvajjhāyāṇaṃ,
namo loe savva-sābhūṇaṃ,
eso pañca-namukkāro savva-pāva-ppaṇāsaṇo
mangalāṇaṃ ca savvesiṃ paḍhamam hoi mangalaṃ.*

The specificity is in the reading *hoi* instead of the common *havai* in the final part (anuṣṭubh) of the litany. That in the believers' eyes this reading is not a mere variant or a mistake, but something deliberate and important is supported by internal modern sources and older ones as well. Just to quote a significant instance: in a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* copied by a monk of our *gaccha*, the initial *namaskāra* precisely reads *hoi*.¹

The *Śatapadī* expectedly devotes a paragraph to the topic.² First, the problem concerns the status of the anuṣṭubh: does this 'appendix' (*cūlikā*) belong to the whole or not? The question arises because the homage as attested right in the beginning of the *Bhagavatī* (= *Viyāhapannattī*) only includes the five statements starting with *namo*. Hower, philology is taken recourse to by the *Śatapadī* where it is argued that this is a rather exceptional case and that the appendix should be taken as an authentic component of the litany: in all manuscripts of texts such as the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-cūrṇī* and the *Kalpa-cūrṇī*, in several manuscripts of the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī*, it is stressed, the end is *paḍhamam hoi mangalaṃ*, and also in the abridged recitation of the *Bhagavatī*, as attested by 'one manuscript kept in the big library of Jalore (Rajasthan) in possession of the monk Hariścandra'. The latter statement is obviously impossible to check, but it shows the type of arguments adduced in such discussions and the importance given to scriptural evidence. Hence, according to the A(ñ)calagaccha, both the verse and the reading *hoi* are to be admitted as valid.

This is precisely the point of contention which the external sources strongly oppose.³ Although they occasionally admit that the difference of reading has no

¹ British Library manuscript Or. 11921.

² Point No. 100, p. 131.

³ See Roth 1974: 4: 'This variant excited since long the critical and attentive mind of learned Jaina-s'. It is amusing to see that the version cited by Roth (p. 2) has the reading *hoi*, although it is certainly not the most common one. I do not know the sectarian affiliation of Balabhadra Jain, the editor of the *Bhakti-Gucbaka*, vira s. 2483 which is Roth's source.

impact on the meaning,¹ they consider that the discussion is of some importance and that the only acceptable reading is *havai*. Both Kulamaṇḍana and Harṣabhūṣaṇa invite to distinguish between the full version of the litany and its incomplete version.² Thus, the *Bhagavatī*-formula containing only the five statements and not the verse is regarded as incomplete and not meant for recitation. The standard version containing the full text, to which the *hoi*-adepts are referred, is the *Mahānīśūhasūtra*. The reason why the A(ñ)calas do not mention it may be its apocryphal position within the tradition. Kulamaṇḍana, Harṣabhūṣaṇa, Samaya-sundara and Dharmasāgara also take as a reference-work Malayagiri's 'big commentary' on the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra* and *-niryukti*, where the litany is given in full and ends with *havai mangalam*. In their eyes, this ascertains the authenticity of this reading, all the more so since it is found in 'old manuscripts'.³ Then comes the metrical argument: although the Gujarati rendering of the *Śatapadī* does not take it into account when favouring *hoi*, the Tapāgaccha's answer presupposes that it might have been adduced: with this reading the *anuṣṭubh* would have eight syllables, whereas *havai* yields nine. This is no valid reason for any of the opponents, for all of them recognize nine-syllabled śloka as a relatively common fact in the canon and consider it rather typical of Jain texts.⁴ They all quote the same stanzas in support of their view, but none of them goes so far as to consider the rhythmical equivalence of both forms (– U = U U U).⁵ Even if these arguments are not of great importance, as Samayasundara seems to think, there is another one which needs consideration and is connected with the increasing role of the *namaskāra-mantra* as a powerful (if not magic) formula and an object of meditation (*dhyāna*). In this connection the number of syllables is highly significant in relation with the diagram (*yantra*) to be drawn as a support. This point is stressed and expanded by all non-A(ñ)cala teachers who refer to various specialized treatises on the subject.⁶ Samayasundara concentrates on the *cūlikā*, explaining that a śloka with 33 syllables is necessary in order that both the 32 petals of the lotus-diagram and its central pericarp be

¹ E.g. SŚ 123a.

² VĀS 77; for the AMDP see below Appendix: extract 2; Guṇaratna also considers the question (L.D. ms fol. 2a): see below Appendix: extract 3.

³ PPar 14; AMDP: *jñānadarśeṣu*, see below Appendix: extract 2. On the contrary, Samayasundara does not seem to stress so much the evidence from manuscript which he considers conflicting (*Āvaśyakādarśeṣu 'havai' 'hoi' iti pāṭha-dvayam api drśyate*, 123a).

⁴ *Ārṣa-ślokesu babuṣo navākṣarasyaṅgī pādasya darśanāt*, SŚ 123a.

⁵ See Appendix: extract 2 for references. For the rhythmical tendency and its development in Epic Sanskrit and Middle-Indian see Smith 1949.

⁶ *Namaskāra-āvalikā* (SŚ 123b), *Bṛhannamaskāra-pāṭhala* (VĀS 78; AMDP: see below; SŚ 124a), *Namaskārapañjikā* (VĀS 78; AMDP: see below; SŚ 124a), *Aṣṭaprakāśī* (VĀS 78; SŚ 124a), *Namaskārapāṭhala* (SŚ 123a), Devendrasūri's *Bṛhadṛṭṭi* on the *Saṅghācāra* (SŚ 124a; AMDP: see below). On such texts see Shah 1955: 102.

filled.¹ He then pursues along this line of discussion by quoting various sources which all establish 68 as being the total number of syllables of the complete litany: 35 for the five statements (7 + 5 + 7 + 7 + 9) and 33 for the 'appendix'. What is meant is this: had *hoi* been the original or commonly accepted reading, sources giving 67 as the total amount of syllables could be traced, but this is not so. The number 68 is said to have the authority of tradition and to date back to Vajrasvāmin, who is regarded as responsible for the inclusion of the *namaskāra-mantra* (or *Pañcamāṅgala*) in the *Mahānīśūha*, while Haribhadra is supposed to have edited it whole.² Since Vajrasvāmin is highly respected and faithful to the Tirthaṅkaras' words, says Dharmasāgara, and since he made no change in the tradition, it means that *hoi* is completely without ground and represents one of these 'Neuerungen ohne Autorität'³ which he hates.⁴ Harṣabhūṣaṇa also considers the problem in connection with the *yantra* to conclude that since the Siddhacakra-yantra and the Namaskāra-yantra have 68 compartments (*koṣṭhaka*), one would remain empty with a formula consisting in only 67 syllables.⁵ The figure he has in mind is probably a square or a rectangle, where an even number of compartments is required. The discussion also shows another affinity between the famous Siddhacakra- and the Namaskāra-yantras: in most cases the former is worshipped in the form of a diagram which has the form of an eight-petalled lotus with the Arhats in the centre, and the other entities in the main directions (Siddhas in the north, Ācāryas in the east, Upādhyāyas in the south and Sādhus in the west), while the intermediate directions are occupied by the 'four essentials'.⁶ The Namaskāra is a variant-form of it, when the four essentials are replaced each by one pāda of the verse *eso pañcanamukhākāro*, as Samayasundara proposes.⁷

In short: though this discussion may look subsidiary, it is meaningful because full accuracy in itself is a major issue when it concerns such a sacred utterance and clearly appears to have some impact on the power ascribed to it. It is one instance of the direction taken by the manifold speculations on the *namaskāra-mantra*, which is considered as both seminal and quintessential.⁸

¹ SŚ 123b.

² *Mahānīśūhasūtra* 3.25: see VĀS 78, AMDP: below Appendix: extract 2; SŚ 123b-124a and 124b, PPar 14.

³ Weber 1882: 810.

⁴ PPar 14.

⁵ AMDP: see below Appendix: extract 2.

⁶ See Shah 1955: 98 and fig. 85. The current Jain exhibition in Antwerp has seven nice instances of such diagrams (see the catalogue, *Steps to Liberation*. Antwerp 2000, fig. 100, etc.).

⁷ SŚ 124a.

⁸ For modern speculations see, for instance, Acharya Sushil Kumar, *Song of the Soul*. An introduction to the Namokār Mantra and the science of sound. Siddhachalam Publishers, New Jersey 1973. Unfortunately the book by Nemichandra Jain, *Maṅgalmantra Namokār: Ek Anucintan*. Varanasi 1964 (mentioned in Dundas 1992) was not available to me.

Although a glance at the book of discipline of the A(ñ)calas – the *Śatapadī* – shows that the specificity of their praxis has several sides, the point which has been the most striking for Jain observers from other groups and has appeared to them as having a defining value concerns the use of the mouth-cloth (Pkt. *potta*, *muhapottiyā*, Skt. *mukhavastrikā*, mod. *mumhpatti*) versus the use of the border of a garment (*añcala*). It is also the main point which they have singled out for non-stop criticism.¹

Generally speaking, the performance of religious acts (*kriyā*) connected with the necessary duties (*āvaśyaka*) and the utterance of the formulas associated to them are an essential point which accounts for sub-sectarian divisions among the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjaks. The A(ñ)calas are no exception and have their peculiarities. One of them is often stressed by modern informants: unlike what happens in other groups, laymen and mendicants perform the *pratīkramaṇa* in total separation. Mendicants are not present to instruct the laymen on the correct procedure. According to Dharmasāgara, ‘prohibition of *pratīkramaṇa*’ is even one of the three characteristics of the order.²

The peculiarity of the A(ñ)calagaccha is to prohibit the use of the mouth-cloth to the layman while performing the necessary duties (*āvaśyakas*) and main religious acts (*kriyā*) on the ground that it is a monk’s implement. They prescribe, instead, the use of the extremity of one’s upper garment. The prohibition extends to other implements too, for on the same ground they forbid the use of the broom which they call *caravala(ka)* / *calavala(ka)* in contrast with *rajobaraṇa* for the monk.³ Whatever their characteristics, both the mouth-cloth and the broom have a key-role, since when it comes to the performance of religious acts *abhiṃsā* does not suffer the least transgression: the mouth-cloth is meant to block the killing of minute aerial beings, the broom prevents from hurting insects on the ground where the performer has to sit or kneel. Moreover, the A(ñ)calas also banish the use of the guru’s symbol (technically named *sthāpanācārya*) which they think fit only for the monk.⁴ Their position is summarized by one of their opponents:

¹ See VĀS 96-105; MP; PPar 5.9 (*ussuttaṃ... muhāpoiāḍ paḍisebo*) and *passim* in this chapter. For Dharmasāgara it is as characteristic of the A(ñ)calas as nudity is characteristic of the Digambaras (456 on 5.42); SŚ 118a-121b. Most stray allusions to the A(ñ)calas focus on this point: see e.g. Kīrtivijaya’s *Vicāraratnākara* 118a: *kecī ca śrāvaka-śrāvīkāṇāṃ mukhavastrīkāṃ niṣedhayanī, apare ca rajobarāṇaṃ bhūmi-pramāraṇam itī kṛtvā mukhāgre na sthāpanīyaṃ kintu bhūnyām eva sthāpanīyaṃ ityādi*.

² PPar on 5.39 and see Dharmasāgara’s account of the origin of the A(ñ)calagaccha: III. above.

³ The usage of the first word and its origin will be discussed on another occasion.

⁴ See for instance PPar 454-456.

śrāddhādīnāṃ mukhavastrīkā-caravala-ka-pratīkramaṇa-sthāpanācāryādīkaṇi na kalpate sādhu-lingatvāt.¹

The Tapāgaccha (and Samayasundara) strongly oppose what they see as a strange innovation which goes against scriptural evidence and quote several passages, from the Aṅgas, the Chedasūtras, the Āvaśyaka-literature, the *Ogha-* and *Piṇḍaniryukti*, etc., but also from later narrative texts such as Hemacandra’s biographies of the 63 *mahāpuruṣas*. According to them the use of these implements is deeply rooted in the Tradition and their being common to the four components of the *saṅgha* makes no difficulty. As a matter of fact recourse to Tradition is a key-argument since both the Tapās and the A(ñ)calas claim that the authority of the texts is on their side. There are two main justifications on the Tapāgaccha’s side: 1) They advocate that the mouth-cloth and other implements do not function as identifying signs of a monk if there is no plucking out of the hair for the whole life. In so doing they establish an interesting distinction between external outfit and bodily emblems;² 2) They repeatedly insist on what they see as a fact: performing religious acts makes the layman partly identical with a monk. For instance, Harṣabhūṣaṇagaṇi quotes the famous stanza:

*sāmāyami u kae samaṇo iva sāvaḥ bhavai jambā
eṇa kāraṇeṇaṃ bahuso sāmāyaṃ kuñjā* (= Āvaśyakaniryukti 801).³

‘When he performs *sāmāyika* the layman becomes like a monk. Therefore he should perform it repeatedly’.

The problem is connected with the more general and fundamental question of the polarity of the monk and the layman.⁴ An attempt will now be made to demonstrate this point.

At the earliest stage this question is addressed in the Śvetāmbara books of discipline, the so-called Chedasūtras. Before entering into the details of the atonements, the imparting of which depends on the status of the person who has to perform them, these texts describe the various categories of mendicants and know of several intermediate stages between the layman at one extreme and the monk at the other one.⁵ Among them is the *sārūvīya* (*sārūpīka*), whose name means ‘having the outward appearance’. Even if ‘the information concerning him

¹ AMDP, L.D. 4617, 1b.6 (Passage absent from mss belonging to group I: see below Bibliography under AMDP).

² See for instance PPar on 5.12.

³ AMDP, L.D. 4617, 3b; PPar 5.12 is very close to this stanza, and 5.10 is also inspired by it.

⁴ ‘Categorical difference between householder and renouncer’: Laidlaw 1995: 202.

⁵ Compare the intermediate categories of *samaṇis* and *samaṇis* in the Terāpantha; the *yatis*, especially in the Kharataragaccha: Babb 1996: 55, Laidlaw 1995: 52; etc.

is not always consistent',¹ it is enough to draw his picture and show that he is a kind of middle figure associating some features of a mendicant and some of a layman. 'Some passages lead us to believe he had a whisk (not of the prescribed type), a stick, a bowl. Elsewhere, he is described as a layman – having no whisk, begging, without a wife, but not vowing himself to chastity.'² We see that the difference of conception of the *sārūviya* as to whether he belongs to the mendicant's category or to the layman's category is marked by reference to the presence or absence of certain insignia, among which the broom (*rajoharaṇa*), or by their adjustment: even when the *sārūviya* is described as a monk, his difference from a true monk appears from the fact that the broom he uses is of another variety than the standard one.

The question of whether the broom is to be used or not by the layman is not the exclusivity of the A(ñ)calagaccha, a fact which shows the crucial importance of its assessment. Several authors of handbooks dealing with the layman's conduct (*śrāvakācāra*) discuss this point when considering the procedure of the *poṣadha* observance, an essential part of which consists in carefully sweeping the ground. Not doing this task carefully is one of the cases for violation (*aticāra*): 'If the layman who is making the *poṣadhōpavāsa* is with a *sādhu* he is to ask him for his *rajo-baraṇa*, if he is at home he will use a *rajoharaṇa* if one is available, if not, the end of his garment.'³ Again, the use of the mouth-cloth (*mukhavastrikā*) and the broom (*rajoharaṇa*) are explicitly said to be indicative of the layman's second birth when he performs the ritual of reverent salutation (*vandana*).⁴

On the other hand, the apparently minor differences on which the A(ñ)calagaccha builds its identity cannot rightly be assessed independently from the general conception of the nature of *sāmāyika*, which is discussed by several Jain authors irrespective of any sectarian context. Let us listen to Hemacandra's view as exposed in his commentary on the *Yogaśāstra*. The starting point is the prohibition for the layman to perform worship of the images, for instance by bathing them (*devasnātrāpūjanādi*):

¹ Caillat 1975: 45.

² Caillat: *ibidem* with reference to Vyavahāra-bhāṣya 134 on Vyavahāra 4. See also on Bhāṣya 3671, Ṭikā p. 55: *sārūpiko śiro muṇḍo rajoharaṇarabito alābupātrena bhikṣām aṭati sabhāryo 'abbāryo uā;* and commentary on Vyavahāra 1.35 (*jatth'eva sārūviyaṃ pāsejjā*).

³ Williams 1963: 149. – Abhayadeva's commentary on Hariibhadra's *Śrāvakadharmapañcāśaka* vs. 30 listing the 4 *aticāras* of the vow: *tathāpīramāṅgito rajoharaṇādīnā, duṣpīramāṅgito 'nupayukṭayēti. nanu kiṃ paṣadhbikasya rajoharaṇam asti? astīti vayaṃ brūmah. yataḥ sāmāyikasāmācārīṇ bhaṇatāvaśyakacirīkṛtōkṭay:* "raoharaṇeṇaṃ pamajjai jao sādhuṇaṃ uvaggaḥiya raoharaṇam atthi taṃ maggati, asati pottassa anteṇaṃ" ti (p. 26b).

⁴ See Hemacandra, *vṛtti* on *Yogaśāstra* 3.129 in the explanation of the word *yathājātam*; Williams 1963: 201.

'But, says an imaginary opponent, since one does something which is not blamed, what is wrong in bathing the images, in *pūjā*, etc.? As a matter of fact, *sāmāyika* consists in the prohibition of blamable behaviours and in the prescription of unblamable behaviours. So what is wrong in worshipping the images, – an act which is not different from personal study, recitation or rehearsing?'

[Reply:] 'This is not so. The layman is not more entitled to bathe the images and worship them than the monk is. Mental praise is the ultimate aim of material praise. When one performs *sāmāyika* there is mental praise, so what would be the use of material praise?'

Then follows a quotation from the Āvaśyaka-Bhāṣya stating that superiority of material praise is the belief of non experts.¹

Such statements which are based on the very important opposition between *dravya-pūjā* (worship with material things) and *bhāva-pūjā* (mental worship) and their relative hierarchy are another way of expressing the temporary abolition of the otherwise clear boundary between the layman and the monk which is achieved during the performance of *sāmāyika* and *poṣadha*. As a matter of fact, worship with material things exclusively belongs to the sphere of the householder, is strictly forbidden to the ascetic and inconsistent with his ideal. Mental worship primarily belongs, on the contrary, to the ascetic's sphere; as such it is possessed with more value. When the layman is equated with a monk in specific contexts, his religious acts have to be in accordance with his new status. In other words, in an ideology where the mendicant's life is viewed as *the* ideal and where bridges are provided which enable the pious layman to slowly tend towards this ideal, the question of insignia is bound to be of some importance. This is shown again by the spiritual ladder in eleven stages, – the so-called *pratimās*. In the last one, say our non-A(ñ)cala sources and the standard description of Hemacandra, the layman 'has given up all worldly ties, begs his food and behaves exactly like a good monk (*susādhuvat samācarati*)', which means that he carries the monk's marks (*liṅga*)² consisting of the monastic robe and the broom (*rajoharaṇa*), as well as the bodily marks, since he normally has to pluck out his hair.

Thus the whole question goes beyond a mere controversy between two groups, namely the A(ñ)calagaccha and the Tapāgaccha, and involves central issues. Moreover they are not at all confined to Jainism: see for instance the study by P. Olivelle of the controversy which took place between Advaita and

¹ Commentary on *Yogaśāstra* 3.82.

² Cf. VĀS 98, SŚ 57b-58a. Prakrit stanza 7. quoted in the *vṛtti* on *Yogaśāstra* 3.148; Williams 1963: 180.

Viśiṣṭādvaita where the question of emblems is precisely crucial.¹ Such discussions are meaningful only because the emblem is not considered merely as an outward sign but is very intimately and invariably connected with the state it designates (renunciatory versus non renunciatory). The implications of the position taken by our Jain groups could then be summed up as follows:

Añcalagaccha: since the emblems have a defining and classificatory character, the householder can never use the mouth-cloth, the broom and the *sthāpanācārya* because a householder is not a renouncer.

Tapāgaccha + Samayasundara: since the emblems have a defining and classificatory character and since *sāmāyika* and other religious acts temporarily transform the householder into a renouncer, he can well use monastic emblems such as the mouth-cloth and the broom.

In other words, the whole controversy lays upon an irreducible distinction with regard to the conception of the *liṅga*: in the radical view of the A(ñ)calagaccha the emblems cannot be so-to-say borrowed by those to whom they do not basically belong.

Thus, far from being restricted to disputes between groups of different sectarian affiliations, these hair-splitting discussions often based on different understandings of the same texts are in fact superficial manifestations of issues which are deeply rooted in the pan-Indian tradition.²

Appendix

Extract 1

A quotation from (Dharmaghoṣasūri's Prakrit version of) the *Śatapadī* preserved in Harṣabhūṣaṇagaṇi's *Añcalamatadalana-prakarāṇa* (B.L. ms 'Or 2120B', fol. 3b; L.D. ms 4617, fol. 4b).

ya ca yenāñjīna Śatapadī-kārādīnā svakalpita-Śatapady-ādau:

1. kesā jāva palambā sirammī muhapattiyā na tā joggā
saḍḍhā dasa sa-sihāgā linga a-joggā jao bhañiyā.
2. muha-vattheṇa sa-sīsaṃ variyaṃ kāyaṃ pamajjiyaṃ saḍḍhā
vanadaṇagāi kuṇantā aha kāyaṃ kaha pamajjanti?
3. aha kāya-pamajjāyayaṃ calavalaenaṃ gihīṇa kāremo
iya vottuṃ pi na juttaṃ jamhā taṃ āgama-viruddhaṃ.

¹ Olivelle 1986 (vol. 1): 26ff.

² A similar conclusion has been reached at by Cort 1999.

A stanza very similar to 3. is ascribed to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi by Samayasundara (SŚ 58a).

Extract 2

Harṣabhūṣaṇagaṇi's discussion of the *pañcanamaskāra*-wording in the *Añcalamatadalana-prakarāṇa*. Sanskrit text (B.L. ms 'Or. 2120B', fol. 16b.9-17a.12; see the bibliography below for other mss consulted).

atha ṣaṣṭ[h]aḥ.

śrīĀvaśyake bahvībhīr gāthābhīr 'arihanta-namukkāro' ity ādibhīr yathā baddho 'sti namaskāras tathā na smaryate bhavadbhiḥ. Bhagavatyāṃ tu pañcaivādyapadāny uktāni santī, na tu pūrṇo. 'loe' ity api padam nāsti. sampūrṇa-namaskāras tu śrīMahānīśithe spaṣṭa evāsti, tathā hi:

'tah' eva tad-atthāṇugamiyaṃ ekkārasa-paya-paricchinnā-ti-ālāvaga-tettis'-
akkhara-parimāṇam

eso panca-namukkāro, savva-pāva-ppaṇāsaṇo.

mangalāṇam ca savvesiṃ, paḍhamam havai mangalam

iya cūlam ti ahijjantūti,¹ bṛhad-ālāpakaḥ sampūrṇa-namaskāra-vidhi-vācako 'stīti, ataḥ sampūrṇa-namaskāram matvā tair Mahānīśitho 'havai mangalam' ity api mānanīye, no cet. katham sampūrṇaḥ sa guṇyate, kim-arthaś ca tal-likhana-lekhana-dravya-vyaya-vidhāna-vācanādibhīr mudhā kleśa-leśo 'pi.

anyac ca pūrvva 2 bahu-varṣīya-śrīĀvaśyaka-jrṇadarśeṣu śrīMalayagiri-sūri-nirmitāvaśyaka-bṛhad-vṛttau ca 'arahanta-namukkāro' ity ādikāsu 'eso panca-namukkāro' ity paryantāsu sampūrṇa-gāthāsu 'havai mangalam' ity eva pāṭho 'sti. na ca vācyam 'havai' ity pāṭhenānuṣṭup-lakṣaṇam vyapagacchad astīti: śrīUttarādhyayana-Daśavaikālikādy-āgame yathā-kramaṃ ekasyāṃ api gāthāyāṃ pratipādam vividha-cchando-'ntarāṇam navākṣaraika-padānām chandasām bahūnām api ca lakṣyamānatvāt. tathā hi:

'kayare āgacchai ditte-rūve kāle vigarāle pukka-nāse

oma-celae paṃsu-pisāya-bhūe saṃkara-dūsaṃ parihariya kaṇṭhe || 1 ||²

tathā:

'(jahā dumassa pupphesu) bhamaro āviyai rasam';

'(aham ca Bhoga-rāyassa), tam ca si Andhagavañhiṇo';

'(jahā se Kamboāṇam āinne kanthae siyā

¹ = *Mahānīśithasūtra* III.7.6 (Deleu-Schubring ed. p. 54; Indian ed. by Muni Puṇyavijaya / R.K. Pagaria. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society 1994, p. 42): 'In the same way the appendix... [which forms] three sentences consisting of eleven words and measuring thirty-three syllables, must be recited, true to sense'. Also quoted VĀS 78, SŚ 123b. Note *ahijjeyavam* (eds of the original source) against *ahijjantūti* in the quotations.

² = *Uttarādhyayana* 12.6 (Ed. *phokkakaṇṭhāse*). But the stanza is a triṣṭubh (on which see Alsdorf, *Uttarajjhāyā Studies* 129 = *Kleine Schriften* 244)! The first words are quoted as an example of *ārya* by Hemacandra (on 4.287) and Caṇḍa (on 2.10).

āse javeṇa pavare), evaṃ bhavai bahussue,³ ekādaśottarādhyayane navākṣarair etat paryantāḥ 14 gāthāḥ santīti.

api ca Caitiyavandanā-Kāyotsarge 'ṣtocchvāsa-mānaṃ Lalitavistarā-vṛttāv evoktaṃ yathā manyate tad Hariḥbhadrāsūriṇopadehikā-bhakṣita-pūrva-praty-upari yathādṛṣṭa-likhitākṣara-Mahānīśītho 'pi mānyas, tan-mānanāc ca 'havaī' ity api ceti.

'panca payānaṃ paṇatīsa vaṇṇa cūlāḥ vaṇṇa tettīsaṃ

evaṃ imo samappai phudam akkharam aṭṭhasaṭṭhīe', Navakāra-pañjikā-Siddhacakrādau.⁴

'satta paṇa satta satta ya nav'-akkhara pamāṇa payaḍa panca-payam tettī'-akkhara-cūlam sumaraha navakāra-vara-mantam', Bṛhan-namaskāraphale.⁵

'vann'aṭṭhasaṭṭhi nava-paya navakāre, aṭṭha-sampayā tattha

saga-sampaya paya-tullā satar'akkhara aṭṭhamī-dupayā' 30, asmadguru-Tapā-śrīDevendrasūri-kṛta-Caitiyavandanabhāṣye.⁶ athaitāny apramāṇam tarhi sampūrṇa-namaskārah kvāpi darśyatām. paramparāyā na iti cet, tarhi siddhāntānukta-śrāddhēyāpathikī 1, vandanaka-sūtrādy-uccāra 2, pauṣadha-grahaṇa-pāraṇa 3, jītakalpādy-uktayogā 4, locanāvidhi 5, prakaraṇokta-sūri 6, vācanācāryapada-pratiṣṭhā 7, sādhu-kalpādi-veṣa-yathāsthāna-paridhāna 8, karṇṇavedha 9, mukhamukhapotabandha 10, rakṣā-śiraḥ-śiroja-luñcana 11, 'Pajjosavaṇā-kappo divasao kaḍḍhiṃ na ceva kappai' ityādi Nīśīthacūrṇi 10 uddeśādy-ukta-paryuṣaṇā-dinārvāk catur-dina-nīśā-prati-kramaṇāntara-Kalpasūtra-karṣaṇa-mārgga-parityajana 31, divā śrāddha-samakṣa-vācana 11, samahotsava-caritra-jāgaraṇa-vācana 12, māyūra-daṇḍāsanakādy-abhyupagama¹³ vad aṣṭaṣṭy-akṣaratvam api tathāivābhy-upagantavyam. ity ubhayatrāpi tulyaiva yoga-kṣematā.

kiṃ ca: yadi namaskāre saptaṣṭy-akṣaratvam abhyupagamyate tadā Siddhacakra-yantra-Namaskārayantrayor aṣṭaṣṭi-koṣṭ[h]akeṣv eka-koṣṭ[h]asya śūnyatā-prasaṅgo bhāvīti cintyaṃ syād iti.

iti sampūrṇa-namaskāra-dṛṣṭāntaḥ 6.

³ Only the 9-syllabled pāda is not parenthesised for convenience. Sources of the quotations: *Daśavaikālika* 1.2ab; *Uttarādhyayana* 22.43ab; *Uttarādhyayana* 11.16 (a chapter with several metrical irregularities, see Bollée 1987-88: 145ff. All three examples also quoted in SŚ 123a; SŚ also quotes: *na ya koi uvahamāi* (= *Daśav.* 1.4b) and *chattassa ya dhāraṇ'aṭṭhāe* (= *Daśav.* 3.4b); VĀS 78 quotes only Utt. 11.16.

⁴ Also quoted VĀS 78, SŚ 124a.

⁵ Also quoted VĀS 78, SŚ 124a.

⁶ As indicated at the end of the quotation this is vs. 30 of Devendrasūri's *Caitiyavandanabhāṣya*. In several verses of this text the author is preoccupied by the number of syllables, words, etc. which make each and every sūtra that has to be pronounced during the performance of the ritual.

Extract 3

Guṇaratnasūri's statements on the same topic in the *Vāso'ntika-prakarāṇa* (L.D. ms. 406, fol. 2a, l. 16-18).

sampūrṇa-namaskāro yatrokto 'sti tan Mahānīśītham na manyate bhavadbhiḥ. tatra ca 'havaī' ity uktam asti. Āvaśyake punar gāthābhir bahvībhir 'arihanta-namukkāro' ityādibhir yathābaddho 'sti na tathā smaryate bhavadbhiḥ. Bhagavatyaṃ tu pāñcaivādya-pādāny uktāni santi, na tu sampūrṇaḥ. 'loe' ity api ca padaṃ Bhagavatyaṃ nāsti. ataḥ sampūrṇa-namaskāram matvā tair 'havaī'ity api mānanīyaṃ || 4

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AMDP

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Unpublished. – B.L. = British Library ms 'Or. 2120B'
L.D. = L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, ms. 4617.
Concordance:

	B.L.	L.D.
Chap. I	1a.1-4b.7	1b.1-6a.1
Chap. II	4b.8-6a.7	6a.2-8a.1
Chap. III	6a.9-11b.16	8a.2-11a.13
Chap. IV	11b.17-22a.12	11b.1-25a.5

Other mss which have been consulted are: B.L. ms 'Or. 2120C1', 21 fol.; L.D. mss No. 2245, 10 fol. and No. 5410, 28 fol. See further Velankar 1944 and Kapadia 1952: 126-130.

The mss can be classified in two different groups on the basis of their beginning part: Group I: 2 stanzas (with mention of the title *Śrāddhavidhiviniścaya*) followed by *iba pūrvaṃ kaiścin mukhavastrikādy-utthāpakaiḥ*. Includes B.L. Or. 2120B and 2120C1, L.D. 5410 – Group II: 2 stanzas (identical except for the title given as *Añcalamatadalanāprakarāṇa*) followed by *iba hi kuṅguru-guru-kuvāsanā*^o. Includes: L.D. 4617, 2245 and Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst. 360/1880-81. The remaining part of

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PSV

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SŚ

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