

## Mona: The Path of the Sage\*

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It is a well-known fact that the Bhābrā Edict (=Calcutta-Bairāṭ Edict) of King Aśoka lists the names of seven “texts on the Dharma” (*dhaṃmapaliyāya*) to which monks and nuns should listen frequently and on which they should meditate.<sup>i</sup> One of these texts is the *Moneya-sūtte*, and upon comparison with the extant scriptures of Early Buddhism it would seem reasonable to identify it with the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta,” representing *sutta* 11 in Chapter 3 of the *Suttanipāta* (i.e., Sn 699-723).<sup>ii</sup> In these verses Gotama explains *mona* (or *moneyya*) for Nālaka, who wishes to become a renunciant and practise mendicancy (*bhikkhācariya*), and they might be fittingly called the *Moneya-sūtte*.

To begin with, let us summarize the content of the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta.”<sup>iii</sup>

1. Because *moneyya* is ‘difficult to practise’, it requires a resolute attitude. (Sn 701)
2. One should practise ‘equanimity’, being unmoved by both praise and abuse. (702)
3. One should reject the seductions of women and observe ‘celibacy’. (703-704b)
4. Realizing the equality of all living beings, one should practise ‘non-violence’. (704cd-706)
5. One should observe ‘moderation in eating’ and suppress one’s desires. (707, 716)
6. One should practise ‘meditation’ in a grove or at the foot of a tree. (709)
7. Instructions for ‘alms-begging’; indifference regarding whether or not one receives food, etc. (708-713)
8. One should observe ‘silence’ when begging for alms (713); ‘taciturnity’ is the ideal for the *muni*. (720-723)
9. One’s ultimate aim should be holy living (*brahmacariya*), and one should have no

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attachment to the secular world, enjoy solitude, etc. (715, 717-719)

In sum, *mona* or *moneyya*<sup>iv</sup> as described here signifies a body of rules for cultivating the way of the renunciant (centred on alms-begging) or the mental attitude and ideal figure of the sage (*muni*). Reference is, of course, also made to maintaining ‘silence’ when begging and to observing ‘taciturnity’ in everyday life, and in this respect *mona* could be translated as “the vow of silence.” But these verses also mention various other rules to be observed by the renunciant, referring to them collectively as *mona* or *moneyya*, and so here these terms represent a system, albeit simple, for the cultivation of the path of the renunciant, and they will hereafter be provisionally translated as “path of the sage.”

When, then, would this system of cultivation called *mona* or *moneyya* have come into being? And what significance does it hold in the history of Buddhist theories of religious cultivation? Buddhist sources, it has to be said, are, however, too few to provide any answers to these questions. Apart from the main section of the above “Nālaka-sutta,” there are almost no other systematic accounts concerning the ‘path of the sage’, the sole exception being a reference to the “three *moneyya*” relating to the body, speech and mind in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya and elsewhere.<sup>v</sup> Of course, if the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta” can be identified with the *Moneyya-sūtte* mentioned in one of Aśoka’s edicts, as suggested above, then there could be little objection to considering at least the “framework” of the ‘path of the sage’ to have been established prior to Aśoka. But positive proof of this has yet to be found.

It is to be surmised that questions pertaining to this ‘path of the sage’ have an importance that cannot be overlooked not only for the elucidation of the actualities of religious praxis in early Buddhism, but also in connection with the ‘stage of the sage’ (*mauna*), counted as one of the *brahmacarya* in the Upaniṣads.<sup>vi</sup> In the following, I propose to take up for consideration some material from the early Jaina canon in particular in an attempt to shed some light on the points at issue.

The Ardha-Māgadhī word *moṇa* appears occasionally in the early Jaina canon too, and it is frequently used in the verbal phrase *moṇam* √*car*, meaning ‘to become a renunciant (and live the life of a sage)’.<sup>vii</sup> It may, in other words, be interpreted in the sense of ‘path of the sage’, ‘path of the renunciant’ or ‘life of the renunciant’, as in the case of the Pāli *mona* or *moneyya*. It could be said that this meaning and usage are in fact more fully established in Jaina scriptures than in Buddhist scriptures.<sup>viii</sup> (It might be

pointed out in passing that in later Jaina texts this meaning was completely lost, and the term was incorporated into the system of ‘ascetic practices’ [tava = tapas], coming to mean simply ‘[the practice of] silence’.)<sup>x</sup> But worthy of our attention is the fact that it is not easy to find any systematic account of the ‘path of the sage’ in Jaina scriptures similar to the Buddhist case cited earlier. At least, there are no scriptural passages that clearly define its actual content in terms of the ‘path of the sage’. This would suggest that in Jainism this term was used primarily in the general sense of ‘path of the renunciant’ or ‘life of the renunciant’ and that it was not used, even temporarily, as a technical term for the purposes of systematization.

But was this indeed the case? The reason that this question arises is that a careful reading of the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I (= *Bambhacerāiṃ*), considered the oldest Jaina scripture, reveals vestigial evidence that hints at the existence of a similar system of religious praxis referred to as *moṇa*. Although the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I would appear to have undergone considerable modifications during the course of its transmission and to retain almost none of its original form, by piecing together a number of fragmentary passages there emerges a picture, albeit hazy, of a ‘path of the sage’ comparable to that described in the main section of the Buddhist “Nālaka-sutta.” Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the various items that would here appear to be set forth in terms of the ‘path of the sage’ are in other texts frequently mentioned in connection with the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’, and this would seem to reflect a historical transition whereby the ancient ‘path of the sage’ fell into decline and was dissolved and absorbed by the newer ‘path of the *samaṇa*’.

To be more precise, one finds in this convoluted text several instances of the expression “Live in accordance with this path of the sage!” (*eyaṃ moṇaṃ samaṇuvāsejjāsi*; Schubring’s edition: p. 10, l. 6; p. 22, l. 23 [...*sammam aṇu-*]; p. 24, ll. 29-30).<sup>x</sup> If one then examines the surrounding passages, one discovers that there are several sections similar in content to the ‘path of the sage’ described in Buddhist scriptures. Although there is little correspondence in actual wording, they are written almost entirely in *ślokas* (even if prosified), and in this respect too they resemble the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta,” which consists entirely of *ślokas*.<sup>xi</sup> This would suggest that it should at least be worth our while to compare these two texts on the assumption that there are certain parallels between them.

In the following, I will accordingly present the relevant sections of the *Āyāraṅga-*

*sutta* I, giving first a translation and then the original text, and also indicating correspondences with the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta.”<sup>xii</sup> However, for want of space, I will cite the text of the “Nālaka-sutta” only when there is some particular point that merits special mention. The gist of each section is given in square brackets at the start of the section, and elements shared with the “Nālaka-sutta” have been assigned corresponding numbers (e.g., [1. Difficult to practice], [4. Non-violence]) to facilitate comparison between the two.

→Āy, p. 23, *l.* 23 - p. 25, *l.* 7 (all in *śloka* metre except p. 24, *ll.* 28-29).

[Definition and goals of path of the sage; description of ideal sage] Āy, p. 23, *ll.* 23-30.

*ll.* 23-24: What you acknowledge as righteousness, acknowledge that as *moṇa*; what you acknowledge as *moṇa*, acknowledge that as righteousness. (*jeṇa sammaṃ ti pāsahā, taṃ moṇaṃ ti pāsahā; jeṇa moṇaṃ ti pāsahā, taṃ sammaṃ ti pāsahā*)<sup>xiii</sup>

*ll.* 24-26: This is not possible for those who are lax, weak, attached to sense-objects, ill-conducted, dissolute, and house-dwelling. (*na imaṃ sakkam siḍhilehiṃ ājja-mūṇehiṃ guṇ’āsāhehiṃ vaṅka-samāyārehiṃ pamattehiṃ gāraṃ āvasantehiṃ*)

[1. Difficult to practise]

*ll.* 27-30: A sage, acquiring sagehood, should shake off his karmic body. The heroes who look at everything correctly use rough (or ‘remote’) [couches] and coarse [food]. Such a man is called a sage who has crossed the flood, been liberated, and ceased [from acts]. Thus I say. (*muṇī moṇaṃ samāyāe dhūṇe kamma-sarīragam; pantaṃ lūhaṃ ca sevantī vīrā sammatta-damśiṇo. esa ohamtare muṇī tiṅṅe mutte virae viyāhie — tti bemi.*)

The last section (*ll.* 27-30) represents a complete *śloka*, and it would seem worth noting that it makes use of alliteration similar to that found at Sn 723cd: *sa munī monam arahati, sa munī monam ajjhagā*.<sup>xiv</sup>

[1. Difficult to practice and fraught with difficulties; 2. Equanimity] Āy, p. 24, *ll.* 1-6.

*l.* 1: When he wanders from village to village (*gāmānugāmaṃ dūjja-māṇassa*)

*l.* 2+*l.* 5: it is bad going and difficult proceeding for a monk who is young and inexperienced. There are very many obstacles that are difficult to overcome for the ignorant and the unseeing. (*dujjāyaṃ dupparakkantaṃ bhavai aviyaṭṭassa*)

*bhikkhuṇo sambāhā bahave bhujjo duraikkamā ajāṇao apāsao.)*

[1. Difficult to practise]

The corresponding passage in the “Nālaka-sutta” reads as follows:

Sn 701ab: I shall explain *moneyya* to you. [It is] hard to perform, hard to endure. Come now, I shall tell you about it. Stand fast; be firm. (*moneyyaṃ te upaññissam dukkaraṃ durabhisambhavaṃ, handa te naṃ pavakkhāmi, santhambhassu dalho bhava.*)

The above two lines from the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I (l. 2 + l. 5) clearly tally with a verse from the *Sagāthavagga*, another early Buddhist text (S I.2.7 [§Dukkaraṃ]): *dukkaraṃ duttitikkhañ ca avyattena ca sāmāññaṃ, bahū hi tattha sambādhā yattha bālo visīdati.*<sup>xv</sup> Both probably derive from the same prototype. What is especially important here is the fact that whereas it is the ‘path of the sage’ that is said to entail difficulties in the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I and “Nālaka-sutta,” in this verse from the *Sagāthavagga* it is the ‘path of the samaṇa’ (*sāmāñña*) about which the same thing is said. Furthermore, in Jain scriptures other than the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I the ‘path of the samaṇa’ (*sāmaṇṇa, samaṇattana*) is often said to be difficult to practise.<sup>xvi</sup> What does this signify?

Though the word *samaṇa* appears frequently in both the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I and the *Suttanipāta*, the term ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ is not used even once in either of these texts. This could be seen as evidence that the term ‘path of the sage’ is the older of the two terms. If one now considers the above verses with this point in mind, the situation is, I think, quite clear and beyond dispute. That is to say, initially the ‘path of the sage’ was said to be difficult to practise, but subsequently the same thing came to be said of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. This allows us to posit, with respect to difficulty of practise, a shift from the ‘path of the sage’ to the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ in the early scriptures of Buddhism and Jainism.

ll. 3-4: Some men will become angry when censured with speech. And a man with haughty pride is stultified because of great delusion. (*vayasā vi ege buiyā kuppanti māṇavā, uṇṇaya-māṇe ya nare mahayā moheṇa mujjhai.*)

ll. 6-8: Let that not be your case! That is the doctrine of the clever one. [One should] examine it, seek liberation therein, revere it, and rely on it. (*eyam te mā hou! eyam kusalassa daṃsaṇam, tad-diṭṭhīe tam-muttīe tap-purakkhāre tan-nivesane.*)

[2. Equanimity]

The corresponding passage in the “Nālaka-sutta” reads as follows:

Sn 702: One should practise equanimity, [for] there is praise and abuse in a village. Guarding against anger in the mind [even if abused] and not haughty [even if praised], wander calmed. (*samānabhāvaṃ kubbetha gāme akkuṭṭhavanditaṃ. manopadosaṃ rakkheyya santo anuṇṇato care.*)

Thus, ‘equanimity’ is stressed in both texts, but this is not the only point they have in common, and it is also worth noting that in both cases this equanimity is mentioned *in conjunction with* the difficulties entailed in practising the ‘path of the sage’. Furthermore, it is important to note that in other Jaina scriptures equanimity is spoken of in connection with the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. For instance, in the *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* (5.2.30) we read as follows: “Do not be angry at someone when not revered by him. Do not be arrogant when revered. For him who begs in this manner, the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ is established.” (*jena vande na se kuppe, vandio na samukkase, evam annesamāṇassa sāmannam anuciṭṭhā.*) It could be said that there is here to be discerned a shift such that the surmounting of difficulties and the maintenance of equanimity, both initially essential conditions of the ‘path of the sage’, later came to be spoken of in the context of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’.

[4. Non-violence] Āy, p. 24, ll. 9-17.

ll. 9-17: Living carefully, one’s mind turned downwards, examining the road, avoiding places of offering, and looking out for living beings, one should go [on one’s business] (ll. 9-11: *jayaṃ-vihārī citta-nivāī pantha-nijjhāī bali-bāhire pāsīya pāṇe gacchejjā*), advancing and retreating, contracting or stretching [the limbs], changing direction, and sweeping [the road] (ll. 12-13: *se abhikkama-māṇe padikkamamāṇe saṃkucemāṇe pasāremāṇe viniyaṭṭamāṇe sampalimajjamāṇe*). Sometimes, though a person be endowed with virtue, while he is walking, living beings, coming in contact with his body, will die. [But] it should be realized that this occurred as something that beings must experience in this world. (ll. 14-15: *egayā guṇa-samiyassa rīyao kāya-saṃphāsaṃ aṇuciṇṇā egaiyā pāṇā uddāyanti; iha loga-veyaṇa-vejj’āvāḍiyam*).<sup>xvii</sup> Knowing well and renouncing the act performed as [deliberate] killing, he dissociates himself from it. He who knows the Vedas praises such dissociation due to carefulness (non-heedlessness). (ll. 16-17: *jaṃ auṭṭī-kayaṃ kammaṃ, tam*

*parinnāya vivegaṃ ei; evaṃ se appamāenaṃ vivegaṃ kiṭṭai veyavī.*)

Only the virtue of ‘non-violence’ runs through this section, which is in fact extremely ‘Jainist.’ (There is an important parallel passage relating to ‘killing’ at p. 15, ll. 18-19; see below.)

[3. Celibacy; 5. Moderation in eating (fasting)] Āy, p. 24, ll. 18-27.

ll. 18-21: He who has vast insight and vast knowledge and is calm, perfected, and always restrained considers and reflects within himself: “What should this person [=I] do? That women in this world should [still] be my greatest pleasure!” (*se pabhūya-damsī pabhūya-parinnāṇe uvasante samie sahie sayā jae daṭṭham vippaḍiveei appāṇaṃ: ‘kiṃ esa jaṇo karissai? esa se param’ārāme, jāo logammi itthio’.*) [3. Celibacy]

ll. 22-27: Thus indeed was declared by the sage:—When strongly vexed by the senses, one should eat unnutritious food, or eat sparingly, or stand upright, or wander from village to village, or take no food at all, or withdraw one’s mind from women. First violence, then pleasures; first pleasures, then violence. Such strife creates bonds [with the world]. Considering this and well understanding it, one should eschew sexual activity. Thus I say. (*muniṇā hu eyaṃ paveiyaṃ: ubbāhijjamaṇe gāma-dhammehiṃ avi nibbalāsaē, avi om’oyariyaṃ kujjā, avi uḍḍham ṭhāṇaṃ ṭhāṇejjā, avi gāmāṇugāmaṃ dūiijejjā, avi āhāraṃ vocchindejjā, avi cae ithīsū maṇaṃ: puvvaṃ daṇḍā pacchā phāsā, puvvaṃ phāsā pacchā daṇḍā — icc-ee kalahā saṅga-karā bhavanti. padilehāe āgamettā āṇavejjā aṇāsevaṇāe — tti bemi.*) [3. Celibacy; 5. Moderation in eating (fasting)]

The above section explains the need for eating sparingly or not at all in order to maintain celibacy, but in the “Nālaka-sutta” ‘celibacy’ (Sn 703-704ab), ‘non-violence’ (704cd-705[-706]), and ‘moderation in eating’ (707) are mentioned separately, and no special connection is made between celibacy and moderation in eating.

In the above celibacy would seem to be expounded as a requisite for the ‘path of the sage’, but in other texts it is mentioned as a necessary condition of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. For example, in the *Uttarajjhāyā* (Utt 2.16) we read: “Women in this world are an attachment for men. Knowing well [the nature of] women and renouncing them, he is skilled in the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’.” (*saṃgo esa maṇusānaṃ jāo logammi itthio, jassa eyā*

*parinnāyā sukadaṃ tassa sāmānam.*)<sup>xviii</sup> Here we again find the expression *jāo logaṃmi itthio*, which also appeared in the above section from the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I. It is thus evident that there was a shift from the ‘path of the sage’ to the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ with regard to celibacy too.

[8. Silence, taciturnity] Āy, p. 24, ll. 28-29(-30).

ll. 28-29: He is not a talker, nor someone who asks questions, nor someone who spreads rumours, nor [someone who says] “mine,” nor [someone who says] “I have done what should be done.” Careful in his speech and guarding his mind, he should always avoid sin. (*se no kāhie no pāsāṇie no māmae no saṃpasārae no kaya-kirie; vai-gutte ajjhappa-saṃvuḍe parivaḷḷajae sayā pāvaṃ.*)

There is a parallel passage in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga-sutta* I.2, in *vaitālīya metre*,<sup>xix</sup> and it is conceivable that it was quoted from there. But if one transposes the *pādas* in the second line, it can also be read as a hypermetric *śloka*. Therefore, it is also possible that originally there was this one line, and the foregoing line was then quoted in connection with *vai-gutte*. Schubring does not recognize even the possibility that this could be a quotation.<sup>xx</sup>

ll. 29-30: Live in accordance with this *moṇa*. Thus I say. (*eyaṃ moṇaṃ samaṇuvāsejjāsi — tti bemi.*)

If one considers only the immediately foregoing section on being careful in speech, it might seem possible to translate *moṇa* here as “the practice of silence.” But even though it may have this connotation, it does not refer to the practice of silence *per se*. The context is very similar to the final section of the “*Nālaka-sutta*” (Sn 720-723):

Sn 723: But he who, knowing[ly], is self-restrained, [and], knowing[ly], does not speak much, that sage deserves sagehood; that sage has gained sagehood. (*yo ca jānaṃ yatatto, jānaṃ na bahu bhāsati, sa munī monaṃ arahati, sa munī monaṃ ajjhagā.*)

Āy, p. 25, ll. 1-3

ll. 1-3: Indeed I say: As if standing in a full pool on the flat earth, thus he pacifies the dust, and while taking heed, stands in the midst of the stream [of transmigration]. Look at the great renunciants of this world, who are wise, awakened, and have ceased activity. See this as right! Awaiting death, they wander about. Thus I say. (*se bemi, taṃ-jahā: avi harae paḍipuṇṇe samaṃsi bhome ciṭṭhai. uvasanta-*

*rae sarak-khamāne se ciṭṭhai soyamajjha-gae. se pāsa savva gutte, pāsa loe mahe'siṇo, je ya pannānamantā pabuddhā ārambhovarayā; sammaṃ eyaṃ ti pāsahā. 'kālassa kaṅkhāe parivvayanti' — tti bemi.)*

The meaning of the analogy of the “full pool” (*harae paḍipunṇe*) is by no means clear, but a similar expression is found in the “Nālaka-sutta.”

Sn 721: What is not full makes a noise. What is full is indeed silent. A fool is like a half-filled pot; a wise man is like a full pool. (*yad ūnakam, taṃ saṇati, yaṃ pūram, santam eva taṃ: aḍḍhakumbhūpamo bālo, rāhādo pūro va paṇḍito.*)

Common to both is the analogy of a “full pool” for describing the ideal sage,<sup>xxi</sup> and this can hardly be a mere coincidence.

→Āy, p. 10, ll. 1-29 (excluding ll. 7-11 [prose] and ll. 16-22 [triṣṭubh]).

[7. Rules for alms-begging; 4. Non-violence] Āy, p. 10, ll. 1-5(-6) & ll. 26-29.

ll. 1-5: “Look! [This] is not enough.”—Have done with it. O sage, regard this as a great danger. He should not harm anything whatsoever. He who does not loathe begging is called a hero. He should not get angry, saying, “[The householder] does not give me anything.” Even if he gains only a little, he should not complain. If rejected, change direction [and go elsewhere]. (“*nālaṃ pāsa*” — *alaṃ tava eehiṃ! eyaṃ pāsa, muni, mahab-bhayam, nāivāeja kaṃcaṇaṃ. esa vīre pasamsie, je na nivvijjai āyāṇāe: 'na me dei' na kuppejja, thovaṃ laddhum na khimsae, paḍiseho pariṇamejja.*)

l. 6: Live in accordance with this moṇa. Thus I say. (*eyaṃ moṇam samaṇuvāsejjasi — tti bemi.*)

ll. 12-15: The saint, exerting himself, houseless, of noble intellect, and of noble faith, saw that “this is the connection [with the secular world].” He should not accept or cause [others] to accept [what is forbidden], nor [should he] allow [it]. Knowing well and renouncing all tainted fare, become one who is free from tainted fare and wander about. (*samuṭṭhie aṇaḡāre ārie āriya-paṇṇe āriya-damsi 'ayaṃ samdhī' addakkhu se n'āie n'āiyāvae na samaṇujānāi. savva' āmagandhaṃ parinnāya nirāmagandhe parivvae.*)<sup>xxii</sup>

ll. 23-25: Clothes and alms-bowl, blanket and cloth for wiping the feet, abode and seat [—he should also know about these]. (*vattaṃ paḍiggahaṃ, kambalaṃ pāya-*

*puñchaṇam ogghaṃ ca kaḍ'āsaṇam*)

ll. 26-29: When he receives food, the houseless man should know the quantity required. This has been declared by the Reverend One: He should not be elated, saying, “I have received [food],” nor should he grieve, saying, “I have not received [food].” He should not store it away even when he has got too much. (*laddhe āhāre aṇagāro māyaṃ jāṇejjā se jah'eyaṃ bhagavayā paveiyaṃ: 'lābho' tti na majjejjā, 'alābho' tti na soyae, bahuṃ pi laddhuṃ na nihe.*)

The following two verses from the “Nālaka-sutta” correspond in content to the above sections:

Sn 712: “Since I received [something], that is well; I did not receive [any-thing], [that too] is good.” Being the same on account of both [occurrences], he goes back.... (‘*alatthaṃ yad, idaṃ sādhu, nālatthaṃ, kusalāṃ' iti ubhayen'eva so tādī...upanivattati.*)

713: Wandering about with bowl in hand, not dumb [but] thought to be dumb, he should not despise a small gift, [and] he should not disparage the giver. (*sa pattapāṇī vicaranto amūgo mūgasammuto appaṃ dānaṃ na hīḷeyya, dātāraṃ nāvajāṇiya.*)

There are many similar verses in early Buddhist and Jaina texts which state that the mendicant must remain indifferent whether he receives food or not, that he must know how much he requires, and that he must not store food away,<sup>xxiii</sup> and among these texts there some which make these stipulations requirements of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. For instance, the *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 5) to explaining rules pertaining to begging as part of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. This would suggest that with the decline of the ‘path of the sage’ begging too was incorporated into the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’.

→Āy, p. 15, ll. 18-19.

[4. Non-violence (equality of living beings)] Āy, p. 15, ll. 18-19 (→p. 25, ll. 20-25).

p. 15, ll. 18-19: Knowing the coessentiality of the world, look at the exterior [world from analogy with one’s own] self. Therefore, one should not kill [living beings] or cause [others] to kill. (*saṃdhim logassa jānittā āyao bahiyā pāsa; tamhā na hantā na vi ghāyae.*)<sup>xxiv</sup>

Although this section is somewhat removed from our other sections cited from the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I, it forms a *śloka* and also tallies in content with the following verse in the “Nālaka-sutta”:

Sn 705: “As I [am], so [are] these; as [are] these, so [am] I.” Comparing himself [with others], he should not kill or cause to kill. (*yathā ahaṃ tathā ete, yathā ete tathā ahaṃ.* ‘attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye.’)<sup>xxv</sup>

The two pādas “*yathā ahaṃ...*” would almost seem to be an explanation of the term *saṃdhi* (‘coessentiality of living beings’) in the Jaina passage, but the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I does in fact include a prose passage seemingly intended as an interpretive explanation of *saṃdhi*. This passage is, moreover, located closer to the other sections cited earlier.<sup>xxvi</sup>

p. 25, ll. 20-25: You yourself are he whom you intend to kill. You yourself are he whom you intend to order about,...he whom you intend to seize,...he whom you intend to torment,...he whom you intend to drive to death. He who awakens to and lives by this [truth] is a sincere man. Therefore, one should not kill or cause to kill. (*tumaṃ si nāma taṃ c’eva jaṃ ‘hantavvaṃ’ ti mannasi. tumaṃ si nāma taṃ c’eva jaṃ ‘ajjāveyavvaṃ’ ti mannasi, ... ‘pariyāveyavvaṃ’... ‘pariḥettavvaṃ’... ‘uddaveyavvaṃ’..., aṅḅū c’eyam-paḍibuddha-jīvī. tamhā na hantā na vi ghāyae.*)<sup>xxvii</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

As has become evident through the above comparisons, the passages in *śloka* metre centred on the statements “Live in accordance with the path of the sage!” in the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I share many points in common with the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta” regarding (1) difficulty of practice, (2) equanimity, (3) celibacy, (4) non-violence, (5) moderation in eating, (7) rules for begging, and (8) silence and taciturnity. The only important item missing in the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I is (6) meditation.

Of course, in view of the character of the text in question, not all the above sections can be said to be definitely related to the ‘path of the sage’, and it is also conceivable that there are other relevant passages as well. Therefore, we should not draw any hasty conclusions on these grounds alone, but nonetheless it could be said that in the very early stages of Jainism too there probably existed a similar theory of religious praxis known as the ‘path of the sage’. It is to be surmised, in other words, that there was transmitted from

early times in both Buddhism and Jainism a path for renunciants called the ‘path of the sage’ which set forth, in addition to the ‘silence’ and ‘taciturnity’ to be observed by the sage, basic rules for peregrination and mendicancy. This could, moreover, be considered to have represented one of the norms shared by the ‘renunciant community’ prior to the division of the *samaṇa* religion into independent religions such as Buddhism and Jainism. It would seem that in the case of Buddhism it only just survived in a group of verses in one of its early scriptures (i.e., the main section of the “Nālaka-sutta”), while in the case of Jainism it left no more than scant traces in one of its early scriptures (i.e., the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I).

The relationship between this ‘path of the sage’ and the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ (Pāli *sāmañña*; AMg *sāmaṇṇa*, *samanattana*) is, at any rate, quite important and will require further investigation in the future. However, as far as can be judged from the passages quoted above, it is possible to discern, as has already been indicated, a shift from the ‘path of the sage’ to the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ with regard to (1) difficulty of practice, (2) equanimity, and (3) celibacy, and it would appear that the old and simple system of the ‘path of the sage’ was dissolved and absorbed by the new and larger system of the ‘path of the *samaṇa*’. The term ‘path of the *samaṇa*’ is probably not all that old.

Lastly, it should be noted that the principle of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) found in the “Nālaka-sutta,” or the view of the equality of others with oneself—“As I am, so are these; as are these, so am I”—also finds clear expression in the *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I. Originally this principle would, I believe, have constituted an important element of the ‘path of the sage’ in Jainism too, and this notion of the “coessentiality (*saṃdhi*) of living beings”<sup>xxviii</sup> came to form the basis of the Jaina view of life, becoming an important concept which also gave rise to the idea of the soul (*jīva*) as the life-principle. While stemming from the same roots, in Jainism the real existence of such a soul was positively acknowledged, whereas Buddhism refused to recognize it as a real entity. What could have happened in the course of the dissolution of the ancient ‘path of the sage’?

### Principal Abbreviations and Texts Cited

Ns Nālaka-sutta (*Suttanipāta* III.11)

Āy I *Āyāraṅga-sutta* I (= *Bambhacerāṃ*)

W. Schubring, *Ācārāṅga-sūtra, erster Śrutaskandha. Text, Analyse und Glossar.*

Leipzig, 1910 (AKM 12.4).

Dasav *Dasaveyāliya-sutta*

E. Leumann, *The Dasaveyāliya-sutta* (tr. with Introduction and Notes by W. Schubring). Ahmedabad, 1932.

Sūy *Sūyagaḍaṅga-sutta*

W. Bollée, *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa, Textteile, Nijjutti, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Teil II (Sūy I.2~I.4). Wiesbaden, 1988.

Utt *Uttarajjhāyā*

J. Charpentier, *The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Being the First Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains, with an Introduction, Critical Notes and a Commentary*. Archives d'Etudes Orientales, Vol. 18, 1 & 2. Uppsala, 1921 & 1922.

Other abbreviations follow *A Critical Pali Dictionary* (Copenhagen, 1948), “Epilegomena to Vol. 1.”

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#### NOTES

<sup>i</sup> *imāni bhaṃte dhammapaliyāyāni* (1)*Vinayasamukkasā* (2)*Aliyavasāni* (3)*Anāgatabhayāni* (4)*Muniḡāthā* (5)*Moneyasūtte* (6)*Upatissapasine* (7)*e ca Lāghulovāde musavādaṃ adhiḡicya bhagavatā buddhena bhāsīte. etāni bhaṃte dhammapaliyāyāni icchāmi kiṃti bahuke bhikkhupāye cā bhikkhuniye cā abhikkhinaṃ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā. hevaṃmeva upāsakā cā upāsikā cā.* (J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka* [Paris, 1950], pp. 154-155) On the correspondences between these seven texts and early Buddhist texts, see Maeda Egaku 前田慧学, *Genshi Bukkyō seiten no seiritsushiteki kenkyū* 原始仏教聖典の成立史的研究 (A study of the history of the formation of the canon of primitive Buddhism; Sankibō Busshorin 山喜房佛書林, 1964), pp. 601-609, 612-613; Tsukamoto Keishō 塚本啓祥, *Ashōka ō* アショーカ王 (King Asōka, Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店 [Sāra Sōsho サーラ叢書 21], 1973), pp. 245-278.

<sup>ii</sup> AN III. 120 (see below). Some scholars (Winternitz, etc.) identify it with It. 67, but the case for Sn III.11 is stronger (see Maeda, op. cit., p. 606). The “Introductory Verses” (*vatthu-gāthā*) in *ānandajāta* metre (Sn 679-698), relating to the prognostication of the seer Asita, are of course excluded from consideration. However, although Sn 699-700 (in *sloka* metre like the main section of the Ns, with the former verse alluding to Asita) may also be excluded, as suggested by A.K. Warder (*Indian Buddhism* [Delhi. 1970], p. 256), matching passages are found in the corresponding sections of the *Mahāvastu* III (pp. 386-389) and *Fo pen-hsing chi-ching* 佛本行集經 38 (Taisho III, p. 830), indicating that there is a possibility that the link with Asita predates the addition of the “Introductory Verses,” and consequently care is needed in the treatment of these verses.

<sup>iii</sup> The phrase “I shall explain the path of the sage to you” (*moneyyam te upaṇṇissam*) appears twice in this text (Sn 701, 716), and in the latter case the Blessed One starts anew to explain the ‘path

of the sage'. There is some duplication of content with the foregoing verses regarding moderation in eating, silence, taciturnity, etc., and although the main section of the Ns may give the appearance of constituting a single work, it is not entirely inconceivable that originally consisted of two groups of verses.

<sup>iv</sup> The terms *mona* (Sn 718c, 723c & d) and *moneyya* (700d, 701a, 716a) appearing in the Ns are translated by Nakamura Hajime 中村元 as 'path of the saint' (*seija no michi* 聖者の道) 'practice of the saint' (*seija no gyo* 聖者の行) and 'saintly conduct' (*kiyoki okonai* 聖き行い) respectively (*Buddha no kotoba* —*Suttanipāta*—ブツダのことば—スッタニパーター [The words of the Buddha: The *Suttanipāta*; Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 (Iwanami Bunko 岩波文庫), 1958], pp. 127-130, while K.R. Norman translates both as 'sage-hood' (*The Group of Discourses*, Vol. 1 [Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 44; London, 1984], pp. 118-120). In the following both terms are provisionally translated as "path of the sage," although the suitability of this translation and the differences in nuance between the two terms require further investigation. *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* gives the following equivalents—*mona*: "wisdom, character, self-possession"; *moneyya*: "state of a muni, muni-hood; good character, moral perfection." In the case of *mona*, it merely follows the interpretations of the commentaries (=ñāṇa or paññā), and one wonders why it has not added the meanings 'state of muni, muni-hood'.

<sup>v</sup> In AN III.120 (Vol. 1, p.273) and It 67 (p. 56) it is stated that there are the three *moneyya* of (1) body (*kāya*), (2) speech (*vacī*), and (3) mind (*mano*), and in the former they are defined in more detail: (1) abstention from taking life, from stealing, and from adultery; (2) abstention from falsehood, from slander, from harsh speech, and from frivolous talk; and (3) destruction of defilements (*āsava*), freedom from defilements, liberation of the mind, liberation by insight, and realization in this very life. Both texts then give the following *śloka*: *kāya-muniṇi vācāmuniṇi cetomuniṇi anāsavaṇi muniṇi moneyya* [It 67: *muni-moneyya*]-*sampannaṃ āhu sabbappahāyinaṃ* [It 67: *āhu niṇhātapāpakaṃ*]. Inasmuch as the 'path of the sage' here does not simply mean to be careful in speech, but is understood as being related to religious practice in general, it is similar to the conception of the 'path of the sage' in the Ns.

<sup>vi</sup> Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 8.5.2; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.5.1.

<sup>vii</sup> Utt. 15.1a: *monaṃ carissāmi samicca dhammaṃ* (He who adopts the Law in the intention to live as a monk,...[Jacobi, *SBE* 45, p. 69]); Utt 14.7cd: *tamhā gihaṃsi na raṃiṃ lahāmo āmantayāmo carissāmu monaṃ* (we take no delight in domestic life; we did you farewell: we shall turn monks. [*ibid.*, p. 62]); 14.32cd: *lābhaṃ alābhaṃ ca suhaṃ ca dukkhaṃ saṃcikkhamāno carissāmi moṇaṃ* (but looking with indifference on gain and loss, on happiness and suffering, I shall lead the life of a monk. [*ibid.*, p. 66]); 14.41b: *saṃtānachinnā carissāmi moṇaṃ* (I shall live as a nun, without offspring,...[*ibid.*, p. 67]).

<sup>viii</sup> The term *moṇa-paya* in the Sūy (1.2.2.3; 13.9) is no exception. Bollée considers this compound to be the equivalent of Pāli *mona-patha* (Sn 540) and suggests that *-paha* may have been miscopied as *-paya* on account of the similarities between the graphs *ya* and *tha*; see W. Bollée, *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa, Teil II* (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 48-49. He moreover translates this compound literally as "Mönchspfad" (pp. 48, 54).

ix “Mendicancy” 19, in “External Asceticism” 3. Cf. E. Leumann, *Das Aupapātika-sūtra, Teil I* (Leipzig, 1983), pp. 38-44.

x Schubring translates this expression as follows: “Diesen Mönchspflichten mögest du nachleben” (*WM*, pp. 77, 95); “Diesen Mönchspflichten mögest du fromm nachleben” (p. 92). Jacobi translates it as follows: “Thou shouldst conform to the conduct of sages” (*SBE* 22, p. 22); “He should maintain this sagedom” (p. 49); “Maintain rightly this state of a sage” (p. 45).

xi In Schubring’s numbering they correspond to 2D, 5B(2), and part of 3B.

xii The translations from the Āy have been adapted from Hermann Jacobi’s translation (*SBE* 22, pp. 46-49; 22-23; 31-32; 50), while the translations from the Ns have been adapted from K.R. Norman’s translation (*The Group of Discourses*, pp. 118-120).

xiii Schubring initially included this section in 5C (Triṣṭubh-Stil), but in his subsequent German translation he read *jeṇa* for *jaṃ* and moved it to 5B (Śloka-Stil); cf. *WM*, p. 93, n. 25.

xiv See also the *śloka* cited in n. 5.

xv Cf. Tanigawa Taikyō 谷川泰教, “Jainakyō seiten ni mirareru Saṃyutta-Nikāya 1. 2.7 no heikō ku” ジャイナ教聖典に見られるSaṃyutta-Nikāya 1.2.7の平行句 (Saṃyutta-Nikāya 1.2.7 and its parallels in the Jaina canon), *Mikkyō Bunka* 密教文化 132 (1980), p. 91; Yajima Michihiko 矢島道彦, “Āyāraṅga-sutta I to Pāri kosō seiten no ruiji, heikō ku” Āyāraṅga-sutta I とパーリ古層聖典の類似・平行句 (Some parallel passages found in the Āyāraṅga-sutta I and Pāli canonical texts), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 29, no. 2 (1981), p. 631.

xvi E.g., Utt 19.24b: *sāmanna[m] putta dukkaraṃ*; 39cd: *tahā dukkaraṃ kareuṃ je tāruṇṇe samanattanam*.

xvii *loga-veyaṇa-vejja’āvaḍiḍa* = ◦-*āvaḍiḍa-vejja*, “zu wissen als etwas, was eingetreten ist als Schmerzempfindung für die Feschöpfewelt”; d.h. in diesen Falle ist der Mönch, der es an Achtsamkeit nicht fehlen ließ (*guṇa-samiya*), unschuldig; vielmehr erfüllte das verletzte Wesen sein eigenes vorgewirktes Geschick. (Schubring, *Ācār*, “Glossar,” p. 98)

xviii Cf. Āy, p. 41, l. 14: *jaśa’itthio parinnāyā*; p. 40, l. 20: *itthio tattha se parinnāyā*.

xix Cf. Sūy 1.2.2.28: *no kāhiḥ hojja saṃjāe pāsanie na ya sampasārae naccā dhammaṃ anuttaraṃ kaya-kirie ya na yavi māmae; vai-gutte ajjhattasamvuḍo*. See Enomoto Masaaki 榎本正明, “Sūyagaḍaṅga daiippen dainishō no kenkyū—wayaku—” Sūyagaḍaṅga 第一編第2章の研究—和訳— (A study of the Sūyagaḍaṅga 1.2: Japanese translation), *Bukkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyū Kiyō* 仏教大学大学院研究紀要 14 (1986), pp. 17-54.

xx *WM*, p. 95, n. 1.

xxi Cf. Sūy 1.2.2.7: *bahu-jaṇa-namaṇammi saṃvuḍo savv’atṭhehi nare anissie harae va sayā anāville dhammaṃ pāu-r-akāsi Kāsavam*; 8cd: *mona-pavam uvaṭṭhie [=3c] viraim tattha akāsi pandie* (both in *vaitaliya* metre). The likening of a ‘wise man’ (*paṇḍita*) to a ‘clear pool’ (*anāvila, rahada-*) is also found in Buddhist texts.—Dh 82: *yathā pi rahado gambhīro vipvasanno anāvilo, evaṃ dhammāni sutvāna vipvasīdanti paṇḍitā (śloka)*. *nalām...kamcaṇaṃ* = p. 28, ll. 1-2.

xxii It is very unusual to encounter the words *āmagandha* and *nirāmagandha* in Jaina texts (on their meaning, see Schubring, *Ācār*, “Glossar,” p. 68), and this is probably their sole occurrence. They are uncommon in Buddhist texts too, and in the Sn, apart from the chapter “Āmagandha” (Sn II.2), the

word *nirāmagandha* occurs only once in the Ns (Sn 717cd: *nirāmagandho asito brahmacariya parāyano*). On *āmagandha* and *nirāmagandha* in Buddhism, see D. Seyfort Ruegg, “Ahiṃsā and Vegetarianism in the History of Buddhism,” in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula* (London & Sri Lanka, 1980), p. 240 (Appendix: *āmagandha*).

<sup>xxiii</sup> E.g., Dasav 5.2.6c: ‘*alābho*’ *tti na soejjā*; 26cd: *amucchio bhoyaṇammi māyanne esaṇā-rae*; 8.24ab: *sannihim ca na kuvvejjā anumāyaṇ pi samjjae*; 29cd: *havejja uyare dante, thovaṇ laddhum na khimsae*; 30c: *suyalābhe na majjejjā*; Sn 366: *laddhā parabhojanaṇ na majjae*; Sn 924: *laddhā na sannidhim kayirā, na ca parittase tāni alabhamāno*.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Cf. Dasav 6.10: *jāvanti loe pāṇā tasā aduva thāvarā te jāṇaṇ ajāṇaṇ vā na haṇe no va* (v.l. *no vi*) *ghāyae*. On the word *saṃdhi* in the Āy, see below.

<sup>xxv</sup> Sn 705cd = Dh 129cd, 130cd (→J iii, 292). Cf. S i, 75; *Bhagavadgītā* 6.32: *ātmaupamyena sarvatra samaṇ paśyati yo’rjuna sukhaṇ vā yadi vāduhkaṇ, sa yogī paramo matah*. “*Ātmaupamyā* means equality of others with oneself” (S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā* [London, 1949], p. 205).

<sup>xxvi</sup> It is included in Schubring’s 5B; cf. *Ācār*, “Analyse,” p. 48.

<sup>xxvii</sup> As regards the meaning of this passage, Winternitz has written, “The intended meaning is: The consequences of the action return to yourself” (*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II [New Delhi, 1972 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)], p. 436, n. 2). But this is not so, and it alludes only to the coessentiality (*saṃdhi*) of oneself and others. Cf. Āy, p. 3, ll. 13-15 (= 1.27) “One should not deny living beings, nor should one deny the self. He who denies living beings denies the self.” (*n’eva sayamaṇ logamaṇ abbhāikkhejjā, n’eva attāṇaṇ abbhāikkhejjā. je logamaṇ abbhāikkhai, se attāṇaṇ abbhāikkhai.*)

<sup>xxviii</sup> The word *samayā* (= *samatā*; “Gleichheit zwischen dem Menschen und den anderen Geschöpfen” [Schubring, *Ācār*, “Glossar,” p. 105]) is also used to express a similar notion; e.g., p. 13, l. 10: *samayaṇ logassa jāṇittā*; p. 15, l. 23: *samayaṇ tath’uvehae appāṇā vipasāyae*.

Key words: mona, muni, sāmāñña, samaṇa