

# Spiritual Accounting

## The Role of the *Kalyāṇaka Patra* in the Religious Economy of the Terāpanth Śvetāmbara Jain Ascetics<sup>1</sup>

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In his seminal article *The Pure and the Auspicious in the Jaina Tradition*, Padmanabh Jaini has argued that the equation of ascetic purity (*śuddha*) and auspiciousness (*maṅgala*) was a historical innovation of Buddhists and Jains, who “attempted to assimilate the ascetic ideal into *maṅgala*, not by degrading the *śuddha*, but instead by raising *maṅgala* to a new status which incorporated both the worldly *śubha* and the supramundane *śuddha*. In this new scheme, anything which was not *śuddha* was considered to be *aśuddha*: activities which were not productive of salvation. However, this *aśuddha* was subsequently subdivided into the mundane pure (*śubha*) and the mundane impure (*aśubha*)”.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence, *maṅgala* was not only reserved for worldly, meritorious activities (*puṇya*), but came to refer “both to the transcendental (*śuddha*), as well as to that portion of the mundane sphere which was pure (*śubha*)” by virtue of “an association with the “truly” holy (*maṅgala*)”.<sup>3</sup>

Today, most practising Jains agree that, ultimately, only acts of renunciation are truly auspicious. But whether or not material acts of worship (*pūjā*) and religious gift giving (*dāna*) can also be classified as forms of renunciation (*tyāga*) is a conundrum that divides the Jain community.<sup>4</sup> The classical account of the second interpretation of purity and auspiciousness, mentioned by Jaini, is found in Umāsvāti’s *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, which endorses auspicious acts of charity (*dāna*) and compassionate help for all living beings as a means of advancing on the path of salvation (*mokṣa mārga*).<sup>5</sup> Auspicious acts (*śubha*), it states, produce good *karma*,

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Ācārya Tulsī and Ācārya Mahāprajña for their generous support of the research for this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Jaini 1985: 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> In the medieval *śrāvakācāra* literature of the image-worshipping traditions, *pūjā* is presented “as a mere aspect of *dāna*” (Williams 1983: 216).

<sup>5</sup> *Tattvārtha Sūtra* (TS) 6.13.

or merit (*puṇya*), and inauspicious acts (*aśubha*) produce bad *karma*, or demerit (*pāpa*).<sup>1</sup> The sequential transformation (*saṃkrama*) of *puṇya* and *pāpa* of the same basic type is automatically generated by the karmic mechanism.<sup>2</sup> Because the highly influential *Tattvārtha Sūtra* presents both purity and material wellbeing as products of good *karma*,<sup>3</sup> many Jain lay people, as John Cort observed, seem to act and live on the “assumption that one can have it both ways: following practices of the *mokṣa-mārg* brings one wellbeing and pursuit of wellbeing (within certain boundaries) advances one at least a small way along the *mokṣa-mārg*”.<sup>4</sup> This conception is popular in the Bīṣapanth, Mūrtipūjak, and Sthānakavāsī Jain traditions. However, Śvetāmbara Terāpanthīs do not recognise the practice of accumulating merit through charity as a religious value and, accordingly, strictly distinguish between religious (*dhārmik*) acts of asceticism (*tapas*), and social (*vyavahārik*) acts of charity (*dāna*),<sup>5</sup> as taught by the founder of their tradition, Ācārya Bhikṣu (1726-1803).<sup>6</sup> The distinction is not only applied to the sphere of lay religiosity, but is in similar form replicated within the monastic community itself, although its codes of conduct are regarded as *dhārmik* by definition.

### Asceticism and service

Max Weber has argued that there is a universal tendency for an originally strictly anti-economic monastic asceticism, practised as a means for individual salvation, to become transformed into an asceticism which motivates mendicants to work in the service of the hierocratic authority.<sup>7</sup> He also noticed that, in contrast to other Indian ascetics, the Jains (Nirgranthas) were “from the beginning” organised orders of “professional monks”.<sup>8</sup> Walther Schubring and Colette Caillat have

<sup>1</sup> TS 6.3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Krishan (1997: 528f.) insists that this process does not involve a ‘balancing’ of *karmas*. Cf. Jaini 1979: 121.

<sup>3</sup> TS 6.21-25, 8.26.

<sup>4</sup> Cort 2001: 200.

<sup>5</sup> Terāpanthīs regard *puṇya* as a mere side-effect of the elimination (*nirjarā*) of *karma* through ‘truly’ auspicious acts of self-restraint (*saṃyama*) and asceticism (*tapas*): *nirjarā neṃ pun ri karaṇi ek ho* (Bhikṣu 1997: 196, cf. Tulsī 1995: 69f., 162-176). For them, the only acceptable, ‘pure’ form of *dāna* for laity is giving provisions to Jain mendicants (Tulsī 1995: 172f.): “No religious activity is meant for the achievement of any worldly end” (Note by Tatia & Kumar in Tulsī 1995: 158). The principal source for the nine forms of *puṇya* resulting from *dāna* to ascetics only is *Thānāṅga* (*Sthānāṅga Sūtra*) (SthS) 9.3.676 (Bhikṣu 1997: 200).

<sup>6</sup> For the history of the Terāpanth see Mahāprajña 1968, Budhmal 1995.

<sup>7</sup> “Eventually, asceticism is completely re-interpreted into a means not primarily of attaining individual salvation in one’s own way, but of preparing the monk for work on behalf of the hierocratic authority.... Buttressed by its own charisma, such innerworldly asceticism always remained dubious to ecclesiastical authority, which relied solely on office charisma. But the advantages prevailed” (Weber 1978: 1167).

<sup>8</sup> Weber 1978a: 207. See *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra* (SKS) 1.14.

similarly shown how the growth of the Jain monastic orders after Mahāvīra led to the development of hierarchical institutions, based on the principles of inequality and group discipline and headed by *ācāryas*. These changes are reflected both in new organisational rules and in the formulation of a monastic jurisprudence in the *Cheda Sūtras*,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the emerging difference between a eremitical (*jīnakalpa*) and a cenobitical (*therakalpa*) mendicant culture.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of their investigations of this second layer of disciplinary canonical texts, both Schubring and Caillat concluded that, “theoretically, the Jaina monks live in complete subordination to one another”,<sup>3</sup> and that the “extremely hierarchical structure of the Jaina community favoured exchanges of service and the progress of everyone”.<sup>4</sup> They found that the *Cheda Sūtras* differentiate between superior acts of self-purification (*tapas*) and inferior acts of monastic service (*vaiyāṛṭṭya*), but treat asceticism and service as hierarchically complementary tasks,<sup>5</sup> somewhat analogous to the above mentioned hierarchical relationship between other-worldly purity and this-worldly auspiciousness (second interpretation). From a strictly soteriological point of view, service, like *dāna*, is a anomaly.<sup>6</sup> It does not conform to early canonical ideals of world-renunciation, because it is predicated on the value of the wellbeing of the monastic community and involves not only compulsory work for *tapasvīs* and the sick but also for all seniors and the *ācārya*.<sup>7</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup> Caillat 1975: 94f., 149ff.

<sup>2</sup> There are two types of rules within organised Śvetāmbara Jain monastic orders, which might be called individual and organisation rules of conduct: the rules concerning the primary and secondary qualities of a Jain mendicant, as laid down in the Jain canon (both together are called *mūlottara*), and the specific organisational rules (*maryādā*) and regulations (*vyavasthā*) of a particular monastic order (see n. 3, p. 186). It is unclear to what extent *jīnakalpa* was practised in the early period. The term probably refers both to individual ascetics and loosely organised groups without a disciplinary code.

<sup>3</sup> Caillat 1975: 48, with reference to *Īyavahāra Sūtra* 4.26ff.

<sup>4</sup> Caillat 1975: 59. See *Īyavahāra Sūtra* (VS) 10.3 and commentary (Schubring & Caillat 1966: 87); *Kalpa Sūtra* (KS) 3.21; Schubring 1978: 265, 283; Tatia & Kumar 1981: 6.

<sup>5</sup> Service “is often the complementary observance to the rejection of *karman* (*nijjarā*)” (Caillat 1975: 59): “service... often appears as the necessary complement of mortification” (p. 115). See Schubring (1978: 283) and Tatia & Kumar (1981: 73), who refer to the canonical distinction between “self-service and service to the fellow monks” (p. 8).

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the most popular verse amongst the Jain laity: *parasparopagraho jīvānām* - “souls render services to one another” (TS 5.21).

<sup>7</sup> See VS 5.20, and Schubring on Vav. 10.3 comm. in Schubring & Caillat 1966: 87. For *vaiyāṛṭṭya* (Pkt. *veyācaccā* or *veyāvaḍḍiyā*) see Caillat 1975: 112-115. Ten categories may claim services: 1. *ācārya*: teacher, 2. *upādhyāya*: preceptor, 3. *stharīna*: elder, 4. *tapasvī*: ascetic, 5. *glāna*: sick monk, 6. *śikṣa*: neophyte, 7. *sādharmika*: religious monk, 8. *kula*: sub-group of monks (lineage), 9. *gaṇa*: monastic group, 10. *saṅgha*: monastic community (VS 10.35, and UtS 30.33, cf. TS 9.24). Williams (1963) writes, “From this list it is clear that the scope of *vaiyāṛṭṭya* covers all reciprocal assistance within the community of monks and is not confined to services rendered by an inferior to a superior [which was nevertheless the rule]. It also includes services rendered by laymen”; *vaiyāṛṭṭya* “is the term used in the canonical texts for bodily services rendered to

theoretically, a Jain monastic order is a purely voluntary (*icchākāra*) organisation. Jain ascetics should be “absolutely independent and self-supporting” and have no right “for getting service from any other monk”.<sup>1</sup> Presumably in an attempt to reconcile the contradiction between asceticism and service, service was in late-canonical texts somewhat euphemistically defined as a form of ‘voluntary’ internal asceticism.<sup>2</sup>

The benefits of devoted service have been described in early Jain *vinaya* texts as being both spiritual and material, though the exact nature of the material rewards is not entirely clear.<sup>3</sup> Three types of benefits have been distinguished: karmic benefits, honours, and material benefits.<sup>4</sup> However, although during a penance a monk had to do some service, such as disposing of excretions (KS 4.26), service was not recognised as a standard form of penance.<sup>5</sup> It was therefore excluded from the mathematical calculation of karmic purity, which was introduced by the Jains, but originally restricted to the rites of atonement (*prāyaścitta*). Individual merit accounts were not used by early Jain mendicants.<sup>6</sup> Scholars of Jainism have therefore generally assumed that the aim of merit-making was limited to the sphere of the laity, the more so since all actions conducted in accordance with monastic law were defined as producing either only *nirjarā* or both *puṇya* and *nirjarā*.<sup>7</sup> However, nowadays the monastic economy of the Terāpanth is mediated by a form of money of accounts based on personalised merit-books, or *kalyāṇaka paṭras*, which allow the calculation of the value of each mendicant’s contributions to the common good, and an indirect trade-off between services and penances.

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monks, in particular attendance on the sick” (p. 242); “Such actions bring their own reward both in this life and in succeeding lives” (p. 243).

<sup>1</sup> Tatia & Kumar 1981: 8; SKS 1.13.18.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhagavati Sūtra* (BhS) 921a=UtS 30 (= *Aṇupātika Sūtra* 30). See n. 4, p. 182, and on the “speculative” extension of the *tapas* concept to *vinaya* and *jñāna*, Bruhn 1993: 36.

<sup>3</sup> The late canonical UtS 29.10 promises a better rebirth for those practising *vandanā*. See Tulsī 1995: 80.

<sup>4</sup> Caillat (1975: 59) noticed that the contributions of the *ācāryas* to the “material and spiritual well-being” of their orders “simultaneously” increased their “own gains in these two spheres”: “Their devotion brings them personal benefits; they hasten the elimination of their own karman; in addition, numerous honours fall to them - a secondary benefit, but one which seems to have been nonetheless much appreciated” (p. 55).

<sup>5</sup> Asceticism was virtually identical with fasting and predominantly performed as an atonement of a particular sin, whereas ‘voluntarily’ service was seen as merely beneficial for the elimination of *karma* in general (Caillat 1975: 112ff.).

<sup>6</sup> To date, I have only seen one printed merit book for the use of the Jain laity (of the *Botād Sampradāy*).

<sup>7</sup> Ācārya Bhikṣu (1997: 182-184) refers to UtS 29.43 for support of the view that service (as well as *vandanā* and listening to *dharma kathās*) produces both *puṇya* and *nirjarā*, i.e. simultaneously bondage and destruction of *karma*, while practising *tapas* produces only *nirjarā* (and *saṃvara*). But he maintains that the *vaiyāṛtya tapa* can also lead an ascetic close to *mokṣa* (p. 602). Cf. p. 664f. on StS 5.1.396f.; TS 9.3; Tulsī 1995: 80f.

By tracing its history and analysing the current function of the *kalyāṇaka patra*, this article attempts to show that, for Jain monastic jurisprudence, group service poses doctrinal problems similar to *dāna* in the sphere of the laity, since it involves not only self-restraint but also material benefits.

### The verse system

Ācārya Bhikṣu's constitution (*saṃvidhāna*) for the Terāpanth monastic order was written shortly before his death, on the 30.8.1803 (Bhādrapad Śukla 13 1860). It is still in force today, but has been supplemented by a number of additions and re-interpretations, most notably by Ācārya Jīṃmal (1803-1881) and Ācārya Tulsī (1914-1997). Jīṃmal, the fourth Terāpanth *ācārya*, is known under his epithet Jayācārya. He ruled the *saṅgha* from 1852 for thirty years, and introduced a number of institutional innovations between 1852 and 1865, which laid the foundations for the organisation (*vyavasthā*) of today's Terāpanth *śramaṇa saṅgha*. In 1852 the Terāpanth was in a desolate state. It was formally under the rule of a single *ācārya*, but effectively divided into smaller peripatetic groups (*siṅghāra*), lead by senior male and female ascetics (*agraṇī*), who acted virtually independently. With the permission of the *ācārya*, the *agraṇīs* recruited their own disciples and also privately owned religious manuscripts. Both personal disciples and certain material objects are regarded as inalienable 'possessions' by Jain mendicants. Jayācārya skillfully exploited this shared characteristic by shifting attention away from his prime objective of re-establishing central control over all members of the *saṅgha* to the issue of common access to monastic property. Access to the scriptural tradition was difficult at the time, not only because none of the *sādhus* knew Sanskrit and few *sādhvīs* could read at all, but also because the Terāpanth mendicants were initially not permitted to own any property beyond the canonically prescribed limits and relied on the libraries (*bhaṇḍāra*) of their lay followers and of other Jain sects.<sup>1</sup> The few texts owned by the male *agraṇīs* had to be carried by the junior monks, which set a natural limit to their possessions. At the time of Jayācārya's succession, the differential ownership (*svāmītvā*) of disciples and books created friction and threatened to fragment the ascetic community.



Muni Kumārśramaṇa with his *kalyāṇaka patra* in 1999.

<sup>1</sup> The question, whether *sādhus* who privately own even a single sheet of paper are still proper mendicants was an important issue for Ācārya Bhikṣu (1960: Ch. II.5).

The order came also under demographic pressure, due to the increasing influx of female recruits, who were only insufficiently incorporated into the still rudimentary organisational structure and not under the direct control of the *ācārya*.<sup>1</sup>

According to Jayācārya, the main problem of the order was the private property held by the *agraṇīs*, which impeded both equal access to the sacred scriptures and the re-integration of the *śramaṇa saṅgha* under the central command of the *ācārya*, who alone could enforce the purification of individual conduct in accordance with Ācārya Bhikṣu's austere vision of disciplined ascetic behaviour. Immediately after his inauguration in Bīdāsār on the 5.2.1852 (Māgh Śukla 15 1908), he succeeded in persuading the ascetics of the advantages of establishing communal ownership of manuscripts under the overall control of the *ācārya*, but only after ruling that junior ascetics could not be asked to carry privately owned manuscripts, only texts belonging to the *saṅgha*. From the 22.4.1852 (Vaiśākh Śukla 3 1909), at their first meeting in Lāḍnūn, the *agraṇīs* began to hand their books over to Jayācārya for redistribution.<sup>2</sup> His next aim was to increase the total number of available scriptures, in preparation for an improvement of the generally low standard of education of the ascetics. For this purpose, Jayācārya ordered the systematic copying of manuscripts from the *bhaṇḍāras* of other sects. The writing had to be done in microscript (*laghu patra*) to make transportation easier. To maintain the motivation for the copying work (*prati-lekhana*) and for writing well, he decided at first to allow the ascetics to keep the works which they had copied themselves in their own possession, even though they belonged to the *saṅgha*. But when the output began to decrease, he decided, in the same year, to provide spiritual and material incentives for the production of manuscripts, since he had no means of forcing the ascetics to engage in this task. The idea was that for every *śloka* (32 syllables) written, whether copying or producing one's own, a monk would be remunerated with one bonus point, called *gāthā* or verse,<sup>3</sup> which could be cashed in for certain goods and services within the monastic community. This innovative arrangement was called the verse system (*gāthā prañālī*) and regarded as an economic system (*artha prañālī*) for the *sādhus* and *sādhvīs*.

The spiritual rewards for producing verses were obvious. Writing was, by then, recognised as a legitimate Jain religious practice (*sādhana*) for the enhancement of mental concentration (*dhyaṇa*), asceticism (*tapas*) and religious knowledge (*jñāna*). But why should anyone collect *gāthās*, given the fact that the Terāpanth doctrine does not even accept the accumulation of *punya* as a legiti-

<sup>1</sup> 1851:168 *sādhvīs* in total.

<sup>2</sup> Budhmal 1995: 383f.

<sup>3</sup> *Gāthā* here means "any kind of writing using 32 syllables" which is well enough executed to be acceptable to the *ācārya* (the standard of calligraphy was set by a copy of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* in the possession of the *saṅgha*) (Budhmal 1995: 387). More precisely, one *gāthā* corresponds to one *anuṣṭubha śloka* consisting of 4 *pādas* of 8 syllables.

mate aim?<sup>1</sup> To solve this problem once and for all, Jayācārya simply imposed a 'tax' (*kaṛa*) of writing 25 *gāthās*, that is 800 syllables, per day on the *agraṇīs* for the duration of their leadership.<sup>2</sup> He decided that the female equivalent of the *gāthā* tax would be the production of one broom (*rajoḥaraṇa*) and one hand-brush (*pramārjanī*) per year by the female *agraṇīs*, and of one string (*ḍorī*) by every *sādhvī*. The value of a set of brooms - the ultimate status-symbol for the Śvetāmbara ascetic - was therefore rated at 25 x 365, that is 5125 *gāthās*.<sup>3</sup> Although violating early canonical prescriptions in so doing,<sup>4</sup> after a while, Terāpanth ascetics produced themselves most of the utensils they needed in their daily life, such as begging-bowls (*pātra*), mouthmasks (*mukhavastrikā*) and garments (*kaṭṭa*). They received the raw materials from the laity as *bhikṣā*.<sup>5</sup> The division of labour between the *sādhus*, who performed the intellectual labour, and the *sādhvīs*, who performed the manual labour, replicated the division of labour that was operating within the average Jain family. The products of their obligatory work, that is manuscripts on the one hand, and brooms, begging-bowls, mouthmasks and needlework on the other, were annually offered to the *ācārya* and then either redistributed by the *ācārya* or stored away for future use in the *sevā kendra* in Lāḍnūn, which was the only permanent abode of the Terāpanth in the late 19th century.<sup>6</sup>

The daily routine work, which is "not strictly speaking spiritual or intellectual, but practical or artistic",<sup>7</sup> such as emptying the chamber pots, cleaning the abode, washing up, doing the laundry, apportioning food, etc., had to be organised as well. In the time of Ācārya Bhikṣu, the number of ascetics was small and not much routine work had to be undertaken. The monastic economy was tradi-

<sup>1</sup> Whereas early canonical Jainism rejected writing altogether, traditional Jainism advocated the copying of manuscripts for the purpose of accumulating *puṇya*. The question, whether dictating texts to lay-scribes represents a form of *parigraha* or not is still contested within the Terāpanth *śramaṇa saṅgha*.

<sup>2</sup> Jayācārya gave the following recommendation to his successor: "O Master of the *Gaṇī*! If you wish the *Gaṇī* to grow, enjoin upon the leading *sādhū* in a group of three to compose about twenty-five *gāthās* (verses) every day. Thus should be done to keep in mind *dravya* (substances), *keṣetra* (area), *kāla* (time), *bhāva* (mental states) etc." (Jitmal 1981: 94). Ācārya Hukmīcand (died 1860), the founder of the Sthānakavāsī Sādhumārgī tradition, the local competitors of the Terāpanth in Bīkāner, also introduced the copying of scriptures as a form of "dāna" to the *saṅgha* on his monks (Suśīlkumār 1959: 489).

<sup>3</sup> Even today, while most *sādhvīs* are literate and produce their own writings, female *agraṇīs* are expected to present the *ācārya* with the 'tax' of one *rajoḥaraṇa* and one *pramārjanī* at the annual *maryādā mahotsava*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (AS) 2.5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Mahāprajñā 1994: 81. The term *dāna* refers only to laity, and *bhikṣā* to the ascetics.

<sup>6</sup> Only the possessions of an individual mendicant are precisely delimited.

<sup>7</sup> Shāntā 1995: 524.

tionally governed by the “principle of inequality”<sup>1</sup> and the rights and duties were determined by the order of seniority (*dikṣā paryāya*). The rule was that junior ascetics would perform service for the seniors (*sevā vyavasthā*). With the increasing ambitions and numbers of the Terāpanth ascetics, the tasks became more complex and had to be centrally organised, at least in the *ācārya*’s own group, called the *nāḥ*, which usually comprises 30-70 *sādhvas* and *sādhvīs*. Jayācārya felt that without supervision and a fixed institutional framework, community duties would not be performed to everyone’s satisfaction. He therefore introduced, on the 30.9.1852 (Kārtik Kṛṣṇa 2 1909) in Jaypur, compulsory community work based on the principles of equality and mutual help (*upakāra*), division of labour and job rotation.<sup>2</sup> The hierarchical order of seniority was thereby stripped of its traditional economic implications and encompassed by a strictly centralised and in this sense ‘egalitarian’ system, with only one principal *guru-śiṣya* relationship and a functional differentiation of tasks which cut across group boundaries.<sup>3</sup> The new monastic division of labour (*śrama vibhāga*) was predicated on the distinction between necessary (*āvaśyaka*) work for the community and unnecessary (*anāvaśyaka*) work for the individual, which corresponds to the canonical distinction of two types of monastic property, communal (*samuccaya*) and personal (*vyaktigata*).<sup>4</sup> The community work was compulsory and of three types: work for

<sup>1</sup> Schubring 1978: 283.

<sup>2</sup> Budhmal 1995: 394. In the first year of his rule, Jayācārya decreed that the procurement of water and food had to be allotted in turns in the sequence of monastic seniority, in order to reduce the overall workload and to prevent that every monk or nun had to do every task every day. This idea occurred to him after the initiation of an old man, Rāmadatta, who became too weak to perform all the daily duties of a junior monk and asked a senior monk who was much younger in age to do the work for him in exchange for receiving a massage of his feet.

<sup>3</sup> In the words of his heirs, the *ācāryas* Tulsi and Mahāprajña: “Jayacarya decided to lay the foundations of a disciplined religious organization.... He laid down the following guidelines: 1. Every male or female member of the organization will be the disciple of the *Acharya* only and of nobody else. 2. Nobody will be the owner of articles needed by the entire community. 3. There will be division of labour in the ascetic order. 4. Every ascetic will share his food with other ascetics. 5. There will be equal distribution of living space, clothes and articles needed by the ascetics. 6. It will be obligatory for every ascetic to offer his or her services to the ascetic community. 7. Ascetics will have to seek the permission of the *Acharya* in matters of their camps and migrations” (Tulsi & Mahāprajña 1981: xiii-xiv). According to current Terāpanth historiography, Jayācārya established a truly socialist organisation, not unlike the utopia of Karl Marx. However, in contrast to Marx, Jayācārya recognised the necessity of the state, and explained behaviour not only through contextual factors, but also in terms of psychological dispositions (ibid.; Tulsi & Mahāprajña 1981b; Budhmal 1995: 390).

<sup>4</sup> Some of the oldest Jain scriptures unequivocally state that private property of certain essential objects is legitimate and that no ascetic may use the property of another without his or her permission (e.g. AS 2.5-2.7).



the whole community (*samuccay kā kārya*),<sup>1</sup> work for the *ācārya* (*bājoṭ kā kārya*),<sup>2</sup> and work for the *sājh* (*sājh kā kārya*), that is for a commensal group (*samḥboga*) within the *rāj*.<sup>3</sup>

In 1857, the first *sevā kendra*, or service centre, a nursery home for elderly nuns, was opened in Lādnūn and periodic service to the old and sick nuns was made compulsory (*sevā anivāryatā*) for all *sādhrīs*. Subsequently, Jayācārya incorporated community service into the *gāthā* system, and determined that the value of one day of *sevā* was also worth 25 *gāthās*. Slowly, more and more routine work was made compulsory for all *sādhrīs* and *sādhvis* and rewarded with *gāthās*, for instance, carrying the baggage of the group, sewing clothes,<sup>4</sup> dyeing and varnishing the

<sup>1</sup> The works for the whole community were, at first, mostly associated with the centralised management of the daily food-supply (*āhār samvibhāg*): the task of keeping the records concerning food-distribution (*samvibhāg patra*) and dividing the collected food (*dhare kā kām*) was done by one person (*dhāravāla*); counting, inspecting and distributing the food, and cleaning the ground after the distribution was done by four persons (*bāntane kā kām*); collecting, carrying, straining, measuring and distributing water was done by several persons (*pānī kā kām*). All the works connected with the centralised distribution of food and water were stopped in 1949 by Ācārya Tulsi. He simplified the procedures and ordered that the collected food had to be shared informally within the *sājh* only (Budhmal 1995: 390-92; Tulsi & Mahāprajñā 1981a: 120). Nevertheless, the food collected during the almsround (*gocarī*) continues to be shown to the *ācārya* to assure the correct methods of procurement have been observed, and to enable the *ācārya* to select bits and pieces of the collected food for himself before it is redistributed (cf. AS 2.1.10.1-3, KS 1.39-42). The much reduced function of accountancy (*lekhakāra*) is today mainly performed by the *yuvācārya*. There are several discarding (*pariṣṭhāpana*, Mv. *paratthānā*) and cleaning-up tasks, called *rokī* (care-taking), such as washing-up (*dhonā kā kām*), doing the laundry (*vastra prakṣālan*), sweeping the abode (*sthān kā pramārjan*), inspecting the abode (*sthān pratilekhanā*), inspecting the books (*pustakom kā pratilekhanā*), emptying and cleaning the chamber-pots (*pariṣṭhāpana* or *utsarga vyavasthā*) (Budhmal 1995: 387f.).

<sup>2</sup> The *ācārya* is assisted by several senior monks and nuns, who are appointed to serve the throne (*bājoṭ*). They collect and serve food and water for the *ācārya*, look after his health and security, carry his *pātras*, do the *pratilekhanā* for him, etc. The menial and discarding work, such as cleaning-up, is done by several freshly initiated monks, who are under the personal supervision of the *ācārya*.

<sup>3</sup> Budhmal 1995: 396-401. The members of each commensal group share a room within the abode of the *rāj*. Until recently, a basic division of labour operated within the *sājh* between those who inspected the books (*pustak pratilekhanā*), a task which was reserved for specially skilled ascetics in order to prevent the tearing of pages (each inspector was given two books to do), and less qualified ascetics who had to inspect and to clean the abode, the begging-bowls, the carrier-bags (*pholī*), etc., and to do the *gocarī*. The two types of tasks were seen as complementary and once governed by the rules of monastic seniority. However, Jayācārya and Ācārya Tulsi, in particular, decided that both functions should be reckoned to be of equivalent value in order to raise the respect for manual labour and to create the awareness that no work is low. However, even today the seniors tend to do the inspection work, while the cleaning jobs are done by the juniors.

<sup>4</sup> Although stitching robes was not permitted by the oldest canonical scriptures, it was later allowed by the *Cheda Sūtras* (*Nisītha* 1.31, 1.49, in Prasad 1972: 133).

almsbowls, etc. The respective *gāthā* values of all essential works were fixed by decree (*nirṇay*). However, the system was flexible. Individual tasks could be avoided through the simple payment of a certain amount of *gāthās* to other monks or nuns who would perform the work instead. But it was decided to apportion the overall compulsory workload of each mendicant into 25% writing and studying (*svādhyāya*) and 75% service (*sevā*) and work (*śrama*).<sup>1</sup> Because *sevā* was now recognised to be proportionally more important than writing, it was also determined that no *sādhū* or *sādhvī* could refuse serving an elderly or sick monk or nun, no matter how many *gāthās* they had accumulated. But they would always receive the appropriate amount of bonus points for their work.

With time, the *gāthās* acquired the role of a medium of exchange (*vastuvinimaya kāmā madhyam*) and effectively functioned as a kind of money (*dhana*), because almost all obligatory works and services were evaluated in terms of *gāthās*. Muni Budhmal noticed that under Jayācārya 'voluntary' service that was once undertaken for the reduction of one's karmic burden (*nirjarārthitā*) slowly became replaced by compulsory service (*sevā kārya*) undertaken in exchange for *gāthā* bonus points.<sup>2</sup> With the express permission of the *ācārya*, for a certain amount of *gāthās*, services and other requisites, even manuscripts, could be acquired for personal possession or consumption. The rate of exchange (*bhāva*) fluctuated, but the value of certain essential works, such as sewing and dyeing, was fixed by decree of the *ācārya*. During their lifetime, the ascetics could dispose of their *gāthā* capital (*pūñjī*) as they wished. With permission of the *ācārya*, they could spend it on works and services done for them, or give it away (*pradāna*) as presents. However, on the point of death their *gāthā* accounts were closed. In this way, no inheritance or capital accumulation could take place. Moreover, the traffic of goods and services was not straightforward. *Ācārya* Bhikṣu had stressed that ascetics should not exchange their personal possessions.<sup>3</sup> Transactions between individual ascetics could therefore not take place directly, but only through the mediation of the *ācārya* who - like a patrimonial king - redistributed the gifts (and tributes) which he received according to individual need.<sup>4</sup> All exchanges were (and still are) clad in the form of gifts (*bhemi*) or presents (*upahāra*) which were given

<sup>1</sup> Tulsī & Mahāprajña 1981a: 119.

<sup>2</sup> Budhmal 1995: 389. Compassionate help, "altruistic concerns" or "unselfishness" (Cailat 1975: 59f., 188) are not an issue here (p. 55).

<sup>3</sup> Likhat 1795, in Jitmal 1983: 464, 468.

<sup>4</sup> Effectively, different spheres of exchange exist within the Terāpanth monastic economy, one based on seniority and the other on equality. In accordance with scriptural precedence, fine clothes and all other essential paraphernalia of a mendicant, which are held in private possession although ultimately belonging to the *saṅgha*, like the *rajabaraṇa*, *pramāṇjanī* and the *pātras*, are distributed according to monastic status (cf. KS 3.19-20); while food and drinking water is principally considered collective property and has to be shared equally, although the seniors enjoy precedence (cf. AS 2.1.5.5; UtS 11.9).

without any expectation of return in kind.<sup>1</sup> The words *bhakti* and *dāna* are still used to stress the anti-economic form of these transactions. Conversely, everything that was given by the *ācārya*, who bestowed, as it were, 'exchange value' on the objects and services he received, was acceptable. Because direct exchange, or barter, was not permitted within the monastic community, all gifts and services, particularly those between *sādhus* and *sādhvīs*, whose chances for interaction are limited,<sup>2</sup> had to be noted down to be (retrospectively) authorised by the *ācārya*, who monitored all monastic transactions with the help of an elaborate system of book-keeping.

The accounting of the *gāthās* was first done whenever there was free time, but later always at the *maryādā mahotsava*, the annual assembly of all Terāpanth ascetics in January-February, which was first held in Bālotarā in 3.2.1865 (Māgh Śukla 7 1921) for the principal purpose of rotating the mendicants amongst the *agraṇī*-lead itinerant groups and checking their individual contributions to the common good of the order.<sup>3</sup> At these occasions, a few ascetics (*lekhākartā*) were appointed to undertake the calculations for each *sādhu* and *sādhvī* in descending order of seniority. Any ascetic could get his or her *gāthās* recorded and then accepted by the *ācārya*. Before the accounts, the ascetics had to show their *gāthā* record (*lekhā patra*) and their work to the *ācārya* and had to confirm their dedication to the *saṅgha* in his presence. Then they received a stamp (*mudrāṅkan*) and went to the accountants, where they left their records, the copied manuscripts and other work. The accountants counted the number of syllables of the first four or five lines of each piece of writing and on this basis estimated the average number of syllables per line. The total number of *gāthās* of a given text was then calculated by counting the lines of one page multiplied by the number of pages, times the average number of syllables per line. Finally, the entire account of incomes and expenditures (*āy-vyay*) was established for each individual and recorded on the *lekhā patra*, a copy of which was given to the individual concerned. The completed account recorded the types of activities (services or writing) and their value.<sup>4</sup> If a *sādhu* copied a manuscript for himself, he was not entitled to

<sup>1</sup> If, for instance, a *sādhvī* wants to give to her brother, who is also a mendicant within the community, some embroidery as a present, she will give it first to the *ācārya*.

<sup>2</sup> A give and take of essential items like food and water between *sādhus* and *sādhvīs* can, if unavoidable, take place, but has to be recorded in the diaries (*rihāra vivaraṇa*) of the *agraṇīs* and reported to the *ācārya* at the end of the *rihāra*. It is neither conceived as exchange, nor as sharing, but as a exceptional form of compassionate and devoted service (*bhakti*), and is strictly regulated (Jitmal 1983: 368; cf. Williams 1963: 241).

<sup>3</sup> Budhmal 1995: 412.

<sup>4</sup> The total value of *gāthās* collected by each individual may have been entered into a central register which remained with the *ācārya*. But this is not the case today. The accountancy method of the traditional Indian money-lender involves two records: a cash book (*rokaṭ bābī*)

receive any *gāthās* nor the seal of approval. The text was not considered to be the communal property of the *saṅgha* until his death, after which the *ācārya* could redistribute the book, since Bhikṣu ruled in 1803 that everything that was “made or accepted while staying in the *saṅgha*” was communal property.<sup>1</sup> Copies which were unacceptable to the *ācārya*, because they were badly written or unnecessary, could be kept both for personal use or to be given away. To distinguish between the books which were personal possessions and those which were the communal property of the *śramaṇa saṅgha*, the latter were marked with a special stamp from 15.5.1857 (Jyēṣṭh Kṛṣṇa 7 1914).<sup>2</sup> Personal possessions are still labelled by writing one’s name on the object concerned.

### Individual and corporate purification

It is not known why Jayācārya imposed the exact figure of 25 *gāthās* as a ‘tax’ on his ascetics. But it must be assumed that it was not chosen arbitrarily, since it also plays a role in the obligatory rites of repentance (*āvaśyaka* or *pratikramaṇa*), which are the most important daily ritual practices of the Terāpanth ascetics.<sup>3</sup> The most significant part of these rites is the fifth or *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka*. It involves asking for forgiveness for one’s transgressions (*Prāyaścitta Sūtra*), assuming a posture of motionlessness in body and mind (*Kāyotsarga Sūtra*) and reciting the inspirational hymn to the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras (*Caturvīṃśatīstava* or *Logassa*) four times in meditation and once aloud, in order to cast off the body and to ‘realise’ the true self.<sup>4</sup> The repetitive and motionless recitation of the *Logassa* is performed with the sole aim of destroying (*nijjarā*) the short-term or *īryāpātha karmas*, which were accu-

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or daily account book (*roṣṇāmcā*), to record the daily transactions, and a ledger (*khātā bahī*), which contains the names of all customers with date references. See Jain 1929: 83, 90.

<sup>1</sup> Bhikṣu in Jīṃtal 1983: 469.

<sup>2</sup> Budhmal 1995: 385. The *sādhvī saṅgha*’s property was overseen by the first *sādhvī pramukhā*, Sardārsatī (1808-1870), who was also the first *sādhvī* to copy a manuscript and, thus, to receive a bookstamp (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Flügel 1994. For English translations of the text of the elementary *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, which comprises only a small proportion of the entire text of the *āvaśyaka* ritual, see Williams 1983: 195f.; Bruhn 1997-1998.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that almost one third of the annual *saṃvatsarī pratikramaṇa* is taken up by the *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka*, that is an act of compulsory internal asceticism (*abhyantara tapas*) (UṭS 30.36, 29.12), underlines its importance. The *kāyotsarga* ritual itself has to be distinguished from the “low devotions” (Schubring 1978: 281) which are often associated with it, especially in the context of the *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka*, i.e. the recitation of hinduised devotional verses such as the *Logassa* as a “conjunction... to secure the favour of the divinity in the removal of all obstacles” (Caillat 1975: 146). The difference has been pointed out for instance by the Sthānakavāsī reformer Ācārya Dharmasimha, who devised a *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka* without the recitation of the *Logassa* (Flügel 2001: 65). The *kāyotsarga*, with or without the *Logassa*, is also performed independently from the *pratikramaṇa*: “there is a tendency to practise *kāussagga* before any enterprise - and, much more so, before an enterprise which is considered more difficult” (Caillat 1975: 147).

mulated in a specified time-period. If no acts of unavoidable violence or small transgressions of monastic rules were committed, the *kāyotsarga* is believed to contribute to the further reduction of the karmic burden.<sup>1</sup>

The 7 verses of the *Caturviṃśatistava* comprise 257 syllables, or 8 *śloka*s. Although there is no hard and fast rule, it is often said that the *Logassa* should be recited in meditation in no more than 25 controlled breaths (*śvāsa ucchvāsa*). Inhalation and exhalation are counted as a single breath.<sup>2</sup> These are sometimes also called *gāthās*, which offers a clue to the symbolism underlying Jayācārya's *gāthā* system.<sup>3</sup> During the daily *rātrik* and *daivāsik pratikramana*s, which expiate the sins of twelve hours, the mendicants recite the *Caturviṃśatistava* 4 times in meditation, which conventionally requires a maximum of  $4 \times 25 = 100$  breaths.<sup>4</sup> The ascetic aspect of the performance is enhanced on the days of the fortnightly *pakkhī pratikramana*s (12 recitations in 300 breaths), the quarterly *cāturmāsik pratikramana*s (20 recitations in 500 breaths), and on *saṃvatsarī*, the day of the annual *pariṇaya* *pratikramana*, which expiates the minor wrongdoings of one year (40 recitations in 1000 breaths).<sup>5</sup> The mendicants control their breathing during the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caillat 1975: 90.

<sup>2</sup> The first part of the first *gāthā* (*śloka*) is thus recited while breathing in: *logassa nījyagare*, "I shall praise those who have illuminated the world", and the second part while breathing out: *dhama-tittayare jine*, "the Jinas who proclaimed the sacred doctrine as a way across", etc. The number of breaths prescribed for the inner recitation of the *Caturviṃśatistava* does not coincide with the state of being of an average relaxed and healthy person, but requires a meditative slowing down of breathing or alternatively a speeding up of reciting in approximation of the meditative ideal.

<sup>3</sup> Schubring (1978: 281f.), Williams (1963: 215) and Caillat (1975: 146) observed: "The duration of the [*kāyotsarga*] observance is measured in "breaths" (*ucchvāsa*), a unit defined by the time necessary for the mental recitation of a *pāda* of *śloka*, or, according to others, of a "homage", *namaskāra*". Although the *Caturviṃśatistava* comprises 8 *śloka*s or 16 *pāda*s and should therefore be recited either in 8 breaths,  $2 \times 8 = 16$  breaths, or  $4 \times 8 = 32$  breaths, the Terāpanthis generally recommend its recitation in no more than 25 breaths, because they equate the value of the recitation of one *Logassa* with 5 recitations of the *Namaskāra Mantra* in  $5 \times 5 = 25$  breaths (*paccis ucchvās*). Several Terāpanth mendicants informed me that the *pratikramana* was recited in the past in "only 23 or 24 breaths" (instead of 25). Others believe that, because the *Logassa* contains 7 stanzas (colloquial: *gāthā*), it is equivalent to 7 *kāyotsargas*. Thus, 1 *Logassa* = 5 *Namaskāra Mantra* = 7 *kāyotsarga*. Many mendicants do not recite *śloka*s, but "gāthās", that is they attempt to recite the *Logassa* not in 8, but in 7 single breaths, or in  $2 \times 7 = 14$ , or  $4 \times 7 = 28$  breaths. When they recite the *Logassa* in public, they take conventionally  $4 \times 7 = 28$  breaths, i.e. 4 times more than in meditation.

<sup>4</sup> The performance of an entire morning or evening *pratikramana* ritual lasts about 48 minutes amongst the Terāpanth, or one *muhūrta*, a time period which, according to BhS 274b, normally comprises 3773 breaths.

<sup>5</sup> Devendramuni (1995: 278f.) cites other variants of this technique of recitation from Nemicandra's *Pravacanasāroddhāra* and from the writings of Amitigati and Aparājita. Many US-lay-Jains recite the *Logassa* only once (Dharmashila & Vora 1992: 1) and recommend the inner recitation in 25 breaths (pp. 9, 15). During a Mūrtipūjak *saṃvatsarī pratikramana* which I wit-

course of the recitations as an exercise of atonement (which may be one of the reasons why the recitation is performed in meditation). In the words of the present Terāpanth Ācārya Mahāprajña:

“*Kāyotsarga* is simulation of death. Two conditions are essential - (i) total cessation of voluntary movements, that is relaxed condition... of all skeletal muscles, and (ii) extremely slow rate of respiration as if the system has stopped working. Total relaxation is when there is an acute perception of this state which is neither imagination nor auto-suggestion but a real experience. The body is forgotten and cast away. It is further characterised by an actual experience of floating outside one's body and this is 'death' while living.... The essence of this exercise is the actual awareness of the truth that the conscious element is not identical with the inert body”.<sup>1</sup>

Outwardly, the *kāyotsarga* appears purely as an act of non-action. Yet, the achievement of absolute motionlessness and the “attempt to stop all activities of body and mind, including even breathing”<sup>2</sup> is not regarded as an aim in itself, but merely as preparatory for achieving the ultimate goal of all forms of Jain meditation, that is discriminating insight or the direct experience of the soul, which is traditionally conceived as a life-force that is intrinsically active (*vīrya*), all-knowing (*sarva-jñāna*) and fundamentally distinct from the body it animates. For Jains, as for Hindus, breath (*prāṇa*) is the bridge between the body and the vital energy (*prāṇa śakti*) of the soul.<sup>3</sup> Only under this premise can the control of breathing (*prāṇāyāma*) be conceived as a conduit for releasing life-energy (both from *nīścaya*- and *vyavahāra naya*).<sup>4</sup> Although the control of breathing during the *kāyotsarga*

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nessed in London 1990, 148 *Namaskāra Sūtras* were recited. Schubring (1978: 282) pointed out that such repetitive recitations of the *Namaskāra Sūtra* in 8 to 1008 breaths are mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (ĀvS) 19; SthS 212b and in Jinabhadra's *Jītakalpa Sūtra*. Balbir (1993: 74) quotes *Āvaśyaka Nijjukti* 1517-39 and Bh 232-5 for the practice of breath control during the *pratikramaṇa*.

<sup>1</sup> Mahāprajña 1989a: 14.

<sup>2</sup> Bronkhorst (1986: 37), who quotes the late-canonical UṭS 29.72 as evidence for the interpretation that early Jainism pursued the telos of motionlessness, because it conceived the soul as a intrinsically passive substance. Schubring (1978: 127f., cf. 152) emphasised the intrinsically 'active quality of the soul' and the significance of 'right action' in canonical Jainism. The issue is contentious and has led to sectarian divisions within the Jain tradition. On the significance of insight and meditation in the context of the *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka* rites see Caillat 1975: 108, 167.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. AS 1.4.1.1. This is not the place to explore the history of these ideas.

<sup>4</sup> “Breath and life are practically synonymous.... Vital energy itself is activated by the subtle body (*taijasa śarīra*). At the ultimate end of this chain is soul or consciousness. And hence perception of the vibrations of breath, body, vital energy and karmic energy is equivalent to cognition of the SELF - the conscious energy which animates all other energies including vital energy.... The deeper and slower is the breathing, the greater is the production and availability of energy. The soul, the conscious element of the psychic existence, possesses infinite vitality and power” (Mahāprajña 1989b: 1). Cf. Schubring 1978: 144f., 315. From a Aristotelian or a

*āvaśyaka* is primarily practised for achieving self-purification through the annihilation of obstructive *karma*,<sup>1</sup> it is simultaneously believed to be a means of psycho-physical empowerment. Moreover, amongst the Terāpanth mendicants, the two functions, purification and empowerment, are automatically transposed from the individual to the corporate level by virtue of the fact that the mendicants perform the *pratīkramaṇa* collectively.<sup>2</sup> Individual and corporate purification are fused qua aggregation through subtle forms of social coercion.

Why was service as such not recognised as a form of atonement? The standard canonical list of ten atonements (*prāyaścitta*) can be broadly divided into the atonements which are directly or indirectly related to the *āvaśyaka* rituals (1-5) and those which are not (6-10).<sup>3</sup> The *āvaśyaka* rituals are unique because they combine different atonements, and are obligatory, routinely performed collective rituals. They are also the only expiatory rites which atone exclusively for the unavoidable violence committed during routine actions within the order.<sup>4</sup> Atonements for specific transgressions are received individually from the *ācārya*, either on request, after prior confession, or imposed as a punishment.<sup>5</sup> Traditionally, the

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'Tantric' perspective, a mendicant's exertions could be portrayed as a way of accumulating the 'vital breath'. Jaini (1979) stresses (therefore) that there is in the "ancient texts no mention of yogic control over respiration (*prāṇāyāma*)" (p. 254); *pace* Caillat 1975: 145, n.; Bronkhorst 1986: 37.

<sup>1</sup> UtS 12.44.

<sup>2</sup> Usually, the text of the Terāpanth *pratīkramaṇa* is recited by the *ācārya* or his representative. During the sections which require a regulation of breath, the ascetics accommodate their breathing to the rhythm of the recitation. However, this method, which is also used by the Śthānakavāsīs, is not consistently applied. Mūrtipūjak ascetics practice the *pratīkramaṇa* individually and instead of the *Caturviṃśatīstava* recite the *Namaskāra Sūtra*.

<sup>3</sup> The ten forms of atonement of the standard list are arranged in a sequence of increasing severity in UtS 30.31=BhS 920a=SthS 484a: 1. *ālocanā*: confession, 2. *pratīkramaṇa*: repentance, 3. *adubbhaya* [*mīṣa*]: the combination of both [mixed], 4. *virēka*: restitution (to give up mixed things), 5. *vyutsarga* [*kāyotsarga*]: abandonment of the body, 6. *tapas*: asceticism, 7. *cheda*: reduction of seniority, 8. *mūla*: complete reduction of seniority and re-initiation (as a mendicant), 9. *anavasthāpya*: temporary exclusion and re-initiation (as a householder), 10. *pārāñcita*: exclusion with or without the possibility of re-initiation after self-criticism (having remained a householder for 6 months). TS 9.22 lists only 9 atonements.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SKS 1.8.8, 2.2.23; BhS 754a.

<sup>5</sup> The present Terāpanth *ācārya* Mahāprajña (1968) acknowledged the contradiction between forced punishment (*daṇḍa*) and voluntary atonement (*prāyaścitta*): "At times the *Ācārya* has to impose external limitations on an underdeveloped or little developed devotee when he lacks self-discipline. Whether external limitations should be imposed may be a matter well worth considering from the point of view of non-violence, but it cannot be helped in a group life. They may be useful for the organization as a whole, but they have little value from the devotional point of view. A sincere devotee finds only such limitations useful and necessary as are self-generated" (p. 113). Budhmal (1995) writes, in the spiritual world the believer 'takes' the punishment 'given' as an atonement, whereas the doubter 'takes' the atonement 'given' as a forced punishment: *daṇḍa aur prāyaścitta mein yahi to antar hai ki ek balāt thopā jātā hai aur dūsra*

“atonement par excellence” was penance no. 6, *tapas*, or fasting, which replaced the older *paribhāra*, or isolation from the group, “at a fairly early date”.<sup>1</sup> However, the atonements 6-10 were, at least in theory, treated as mutually interchangeable, if only for the purpose of calculating the appropriate intensity of the penance which, as Colette Caillat has shown, had to be “exactly proportional to monastic status”.<sup>2</sup> Service (*vaiyāvṛtṭya*) was not included in the standard list of atonements. However, it was accepted as one of the six forms of internal asceticism (*abhyantara tapas*), along with study (*svādhyāya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and, paradoxically, the atonements (*prāyaścitta*) themselves.<sup>3</sup> Caillat’s evidence suggests that, according to the *Cheda Sūtras*, service could not be substituted for any of the *prāyaścittas*, because it was not acknowledged as a form of atonement-cum-punishment for a particular sin,<sup>4</sup> but merely as a voluntary form of asceticism for the elimination of *karma* in general.<sup>5</sup>

Under Jayācārya, the somewhat fictitious distinction between “compulsory” atonements and “voluntary” asceticism was abandoned, and specific services and works categorised as *pariṣṭhāpana* (Mv. *parathāṇā*), discarding, became the preferred means of atonement of transgressions of the basic organisational rules of the Terāpanth. However, they were not measured in terms of *gāthās*.<sup>6</sup> Nowadays, service and routine work is regularly bestowed as a penance for specific rule transgressions within the Terāpanth. This new development was rendered possible through the introduction of an element of compulsion into monastic service; a decision which - like the imposition of the *pratikramaṇa* ritual by Mahāvīra - begged the question of legitimacy, since, in principle, “no coercion or compulsion is desirable in monastic deportment”.<sup>7</sup> It seems, the unit of ‘25 *gāthās*’ was con-

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*ātmasuddhi ke lie svikār kiya jāta hai* (p. 407). See also Schubring 1978: 278; Caillat 1975: 70; Dumont 1980: 179.

<sup>1</sup> Caillat 1975: 102, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Caillat 1975: 95. In practice, only *cheda* and *tapas* are persistently treated as mutual substitutes. Today’s Terāpanthis use the equation: 1 *upavāsa*=1 day *cheda*.

<sup>3</sup> External asceticism (*bāhya tapas*): 1. *anaśana*: fasting (not-eating), 2. *avamandarikā*: abstinences, 3. *bhikṣācaryā*: restraint in begging alms, 4. *rasa-parityāga*: renunciation of delicacy, 5. *kāya-keśa*: self-mortification, 6. *saṃlīnatā*: renunciation of temptations by retreating from the world. Internal asceticism (*abhyantara tapas*): 1. *prāyaścitta*: penance, 2. *vinaya*: respect to the elders, 3. *vaiyāvṛtṭya*: service, 4. *svādhyāya*: study, 5. *dhyāna*: meditation, 6. *kāyotsarga*: abandonment of the body (UV 30=BhS 921a=UtS 30). It is widely recognised that there is “some confusion in this list” (Williams 1963: 238). Cf. TS 9.20, Schubring 1978: 312f., Caillat 1975: 93.

<sup>4</sup> Malayagiri’s 13th C. I’*yavahāra Sūtra* commentaries “sometimes” describe meditation, study, and compulsory service as forms of penance (Caillat 1975: 158, 83).

<sup>5</sup> A ‘voluntary’ co-operative course of purification through service (*paribhāra viśuddhi*) is outlined in the canonical literature as the third of the five stages of monastic conduct. See Tatia & Kumar 1981: 69ff.; TS 9.18; Caillat 1975: 41, 169.

<sup>6</sup> Tulsi 1962.

<sup>7</sup> Tatia & Kumar 1981: 6.



trived to answer to the problem of legitimacy. Conceivably, Jayācārya tried to transform mandatory work into a intrinsically meaningful religious endeavour by associating community service with established forms of monastic morality, particularly the compulsory disciplinary rites of repentance. But an acceptable association between community service and the rituals of corporate purification, i.e. compulsory work and compulsory atonements, could only be constructed artificially, through the formal analogy between the '25 *gāthās*' of daily obligatory monastic labour and the '25 breaths' that are recommended for the recitation of the *Caturviṃśatistava* during the *kāyotsarga āvaśyaka* rites.<sup>1</sup>

### Official merit

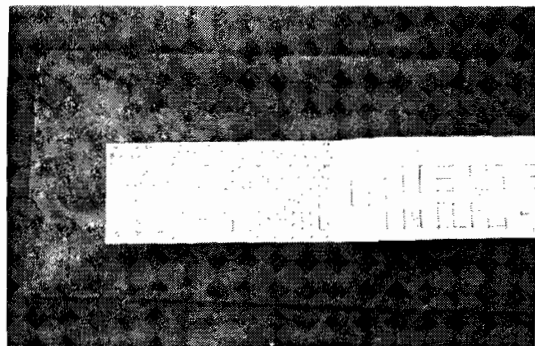
With the recognition of *vaiyāṛṭṭya* as a form of internalised asceticism in late-canonical texts such as the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, self-purification and 'voluntary' service became theoretically fused, and, in principle, the door was open for a transformation of the self-imposed "rule of religion" into a command economy. Apparently, Jayācārya was the first Jain *ācārya* to take this step, by shifting the emphasis from 'voluntary' service to obligatory work (*kārya*) and group discipline (*anusāsana*). He also abandoned the traditional penitential system, in which the severity of the atonements is proportional to monastic status, in favour of an egalitarian system, predicated on the rule that everyone receives the same penance for a certain type of transgression.<sup>2</sup> The contradiction between the ideal of self-purification and the artificial constraints of organised collective life was thus, in principle, no longer bridged by the institutions of monastic seniority and office, but by a system of mediation based on the symbolic medium of the *gāthās* and a central 'bank of accounts'.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the old system of ascribed hierarchical status was encompassed by a new 'egalitarian' system based on achievement and merit, as judged by the *ācārya*, who not only bestowed public honours in return for meritorious acts, but also supervised the fair and just allocation of goods and services. The *gāthā* value of a recognised 'act of merit', i.e. official

<sup>1</sup> x karmas = 7 kāyotsarga = reciting 1 Logassa in 25 breaths: writing 25 *gāthās* = 1 day service = y goods. There is no evidence that the religious value of reciting 25 '*gāthās*' and of writing 25 *gāthās* was equated by Jayācārya, which would have been farcical.

<sup>2</sup> Jayācārya excluded the possibility of a direct trade-off between obligatory services qua penances and obligatory services measured in *gāthās* by distinguishing different spheres of action.

<sup>3</sup> Gombrich (1991: 279) quotes Buddhist texts where a fund of merit is treated "like a bank account... as a kind of spiritual money". Caillat (1975: 20) found similar statements in the Jain commentaries, where "The assessment of atonements offers convenient analogies with commercial transactions (T H49b-50a, ad 1, 7-12)." For a critique of the "western" idea of a balancing of good and bad types of karma, see Krishan 1997: 523f.

merit<sup>1</sup> as opposed to putative karmic merit,<sup>2</sup> existed only in the flexible judgement of the *ācārya*. In this sense, the *ācārya* acted as the universal equivalent for the services and products exchanged, somewhat similar to money in a market economy.<sup>3</sup> However, although a 'meritorious deed' gained social currency only through his official acknowledgement, the *ācārya* was not regarded as the source of merit himself but only as its witness.<sup>4</sup>



Detail of the *kalyāṇaka patra* of Muni Kumārśramaṇ in 1999.

To some ascetics, such as Chog and Caturbhuj, who severed themselves from Jayācārya, whose reforms they rejected, the emerging discourse of monastic merit-making was an embarrassment, because of Ācārya Bhikṣu's vehement rejection of the late- and post-canonical morality of good deeds (*puṇya*). However, although it was employed as an attribute of 'good deeds', i.e. positive contributions to the material

wellbeing of the order, technically, the concept of merit underlying the *gāthā* system referred to individual 'acts of asceticism' (*tapas*).<sup>5</sup> 'Good deeds', ordained by the *ācārya*, were rewarded on the grounds that, by definition, all rule abiding actions of a mendicant contribute to the shedding of *karma*,<sup>6</sup> and that the main characteristic of an act of asceticism is the inner attitude of self-restraint.<sup>7</sup> A more fundamental problem, which could not be deflected so easily, was the principal incompatibility of the ontology of *karma* and the symbolic medium of the *gāthās*. Compulsory work performed for *gāthā* bonus points could not be integrated with the rites of atonement, predicated on the doctrine of individual *karma*, without

<sup>1</sup> See Weber (1978: 1167). Gombrich (1991: 88) recalls Dickson's distinction between 'outward' and 'inward' merit in his remark that the word *pinkama* (*puṇya karma*) is in Sri Lanka only applied "to the outward manifestation of merit-earning - the public, not the private event".

<sup>2</sup> Caillat (1975: 112) translates the word *guṇa* as monastic 'merit'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aristotle (1985: 126): "the judge is intended to be a sort of living embodiment of what is just" (1132a20-21) "the judge (dikastes) is a bisector (dichastes)" (1132a30).

<sup>4</sup> The concept of transfer of merit via *anumodanā*, or consent, is not explicitly invoked.

<sup>5</sup> Tulsī 1995: 69. Paradoxically, '*karma*' refers both to action and its result (p. 58).

<sup>6</sup> Terāpanthis distinguished "pure" (*lokottara*) and "impure" (*laukika*) or social forms of merit (*puṇya*). From the *lokottara* perspective, impure merit equals demerit (*pāpa*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tatia & Kumar, in Tulsī 1995: 158.

producing a contradiction. Collecting *gāthā* bonus points was thus simply defined as a pragmatic, socio-religious endeavour without ultimate religious significance.<sup>1</sup>

The main point is that after Jayācārya's reforms, the rites of purification and the regulation of the monastic economy through the *gāthā* currency were only theoretically integrated into a single coherent symbolic system revolving around the 'life-giving' personality of the *ācārya*. In practice the *ācārya* acted as the exemplary embodiment of the value of discipline, which alone bridged the contradiction between individual asceticism and group organisation.<sup>2</sup> Max Weber highlighted the universal significance of 'rational discipline' for the 'rationalisation of charisma', noting that it "eradicates not only personal charisma but also stratification by status groups, or at least transforms them into a rationalizing direction".<sup>3</sup> In his analysis, 'rational discipline' consists in nothing but the "methodically prepared and exact execution of the received order, in which all personal criticism is unconditionally suspended".<sup>4</sup> However, he also stressed that instrumental rationality, metaphysical rationality, and ethical rationality rarely coincide. Effectively, the fundamental contradiction between karmic merit and official merit – between the rites of atonement and the *gāthā* economy – remained unreconciled within the Terāpanth, because Jayācārya did not permit the reckoning of services performed for *gāthā* bonus points and services performed as atonements. An extensive trade-off between religious work and penances was not possible until the reforms of the late Ācārya Tulsī, who attempted to integrate the two spheres by proclaiming work performed as a penance to be also equivalent to a certain amount of *gāthās*. With this, a sufficient degree of rationalisation of the realm of "innerworldly asceticism" within the Terāpanth order was finally achieved, without recognising merit-making as a value in itself. After Jayācārya, monastic economy of the Terāpanth was threatened with the prospect of the development of an internal market within which the *gāthā* currency was sought after as a value in itself, and thus with an ensuing collapse of its ideal monastic communism.<sup>5</sup> The prevention of such a development along with the reduction of the role of compulsion in monastic life must have been important considerations, informing Ācārya Tulsī's decision to abolish the *gāthā* system "for the time being" in 1970. However, the

<sup>1</sup> By definition, all activities of Terāpanth mendicants who act within the rules of the order are 'religious'. Collective work for the order can therefore be called 'socio-religious'.

<sup>2</sup> "Discipline is necessary both for self-purification and group-organisation. One of them is the definite side and the other practical. A Muni accepts the five great vows for his life-time; this is the definite side of discipline" (Mahāprajña 1968: 118). For canonical sources on the difference between *tapas* and *saṃyama*, see Schubring 1978: 30, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Weber 1978: 1149.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The *ācārya*'s control over the coupon system and the principal arbitrariness of his judgements is the only barrier to this becoming reality. See Flügel 1995-1996: 160.

main reason was the fact that the increasing use of the printing press made the compulsory copying of scriptures by hand superfluous.<sup>1</sup>

### The record of achievement

Once established, the practice of reckoning works and services was difficult to stop. On the 4.11.1960 (Kārtik Pūrṇimā 2017), Ācārya Tulsī therefore promoted the *pariṣṭhāpana* system as a replacement for the *gāthā* system, and decided that 20 *gāthā* points could be converted into one *pariṣṭhāpana* (Mv. *parathānā*) bonus point.<sup>2</sup> The word *pariṣṭhāpana* denotes the carefully regulated practices of discarding (fifth *saṃiti*), such as throwing away what is inedible or emptying the chamberpots at night, which is usually done in rotation and often imposed as a *prāyaścitta*. The *pariṣṭhāpana* was one of the Terāpanth-specific collective works-cum-atonements, which Jayācārya imposed for transgressions of basic organisational rules.<sup>3</sup> Its precursor was a *prāyaścitta* called *maṇḍaliyā*. The *maṇḍaliyā* was a piece of cloth that was spread on the floor, upon which the food was divided among the monks.<sup>4</sup> The washing of a certain number of floor cloths was either given as a *prāyaścitta* or recorded as a meritorious deed which could compensate for a future *prāyaścitta* of the same kind. This innovative idea of balancing the account of negative and positive deeds lies at the heart of Ācārya Tulsī's *pariṣṭhāpana* system, although the *maṇḍaliyā* penance itself was discontinued in 1949 due to the abolition of the system of central distribution of food within the *rājī*. In 1978, at the *maryādā mahotsava* in Rājaldesar, Ācārya Tulsī replaced the somewhat negative word *parathānā*, discarding, with the word *kalyāṇaka*, or auspicious action, and introduced the individual record of achievement, or *kalyāṇaka patra*, for the recording of the merits and de-merits which the *ācārya* ascribes to the reported deeds of each mendicant.<sup>5</sup>

The *kalyāṇaka patra* comprises five categories: *amar nidhi*, fixed deposit; *cal nidhi*, withdrawal; *anugrah*, credit; *nigrah*, debit; and *dey*, debit balance. At the time of initiation, each initiate is granted a fixed deposit of 101 *kalyāṇaka* points by the

<sup>1</sup> Budhmal 1995: 389, n.1.

<sup>2</sup> *ācārya tulsī ne saṃvat 2017 kārtik pūrṇimā ke avsār gāthā ko bhī use prapta karme kī sādhan sthīr kīyā. ab 20 gāthā ke barābar 1 parathānā mānā jāegā* (Tulsī 1962: 1f.).

<sup>3</sup> There are two types of transgressions: (1) transgressions of the primary qualities (*mūla guṇa*) and of the secondary qualities (*uttara guṇa*) of a Jain mendicant, as laid down in the Jain canon (both together are called *mūl'ottara guṇa*), and (2) transgressions of the specific organisational rules and regulations (*vyavasthā* and *maryādā*) of a particular monastic order (*vyavasthā guṇa*). Theoretically, transgressions of the first type can be rectified through the *prāyaścittas* prescribed in the canonical scriptures, and transgressions of the second type through the *prāyaścittas* prescribed in the judicial literature of each sect. In practice, the sect-specific *prāyaścittas* are often based on selected canonical rules and administered to both types of transgressions.

<sup>4</sup> Budhmal 1995: 398-400.

<sup>5</sup> Tulsī carefully avoided the words *puṇya* and *pāpa*.

*ācārya* to open his or her *kalyāṇaka* account.<sup>1</sup> The first performance of *keśa lu-ñcana*, the obligatory plucking of the hair and beard, is rewarded with 150-200 *kalyāṇakas*. Further credits are either awarded for specific individual achievements, such as exemplary service to the order, the production of works of art, oratory, writing, singing and study, or indiscriminately for all monks and nuns on auspicious occasions, such as the installation ceremony (*paññotsava*) of a new *ācārya*, or at special anniversaries. *Kalyāṇakas* are usually not granted for exemplary performances of voluntary fasting, but regularly for short term fasts (*vigaya var-jana*). There are thus two occasions for bestowing *kalyāṇakas*: *Kalyāṇakas* are given in recognition of the religious work of an individual, and in acknowledgement of the collective achievement of the whole community. An exception is the gift (*bakhsīs*) of a temporary or lifelong exemption from service, which is occasionally granted to an individual as a reward for consistently outstanding contributions.<sup>2</sup>

*Kalyāṇaka* points can only be added or deduced by the *ācārya*. They cannot directly be claimed as payment for services from another monk. The bestowal of *kalyāṇaka* points is always an act of grace of the *ācārya*. But there are two exceptions. With permission of the *ācārya*, *agranīs* may bestow a maximum of 3x9 *kalyāṇakas* per annum to a maximum of three ascetics under their supervision for special services.<sup>3</sup> The *sādhvī pramukhā* may also impart a limited amount of *kalyāṇakas*. Additionally, she can perform deductions on the *sādhvīs'* accounts without asking the *ācārya* for permission. The *ācārya*, the *yuvācārya* and the *sādhvī pramukhā* are the only mendicants who do not possess *kalyāṇaka* accounts themselves, because this would interfere with their administrative status. The *ācārya* himself does not need *kalyāṇakas*, because, qua office, he is merit personified. In principle, there is no limit to the amount of *kalyāṇakas* he may bestow, since he acts not as an individual, but as the trustee of the purity and well-being of the community as a whole. *Kalyāṇakas* are not awarded through a transfer of personal merit (*puṇya*), which is impossible according to Jain doctrine, but as the quasi-material correlate of the official recognition or honouring (*saṃmān*) of a mendicant's work.<sup>4</sup> This procedure presupposes a conceptual separation of inward and

<sup>1</sup> The opposite procedure is cited by Schopen (1997) from the *Upasampadakammavaca*, "where the candidate for ordination transfers his merit to the ordaining monk" (p. 54, n. 95).

<sup>2</sup> Certain types of *bakhsīs* (*bhaksīs*) are also given for limited periods of up to several years; e.g. exemptions from: light fasting (*vigaya bakhsīs*), carrying baggage (*bhāra bakhsīs*), serving old or sick ascetics (*sevā bakhsīs*), community work (*saṃmūhikā kā kām bakhsīs*) such as preparing *rajobaraṇas*, etc. Shortly after his death, the accessories of the late Ācārya Tulsī have been honoured with 51 *kalyāṇaka* points each and/or certain annual or lifelong *bakhsīs*; for example, the exemption from collective work in the cold season (*śītakālīn samuccay ke kārya bakhsīs*), exemption from begging medicine or clothes, or the appointment of another mendicant for carrying their burden (*nijī bojbbhār*) (Sumeramal 1998: 142f.).

<sup>3</sup> Tulsī 1989b: 11.

<sup>4</sup> Flügel 1995-1996: 156.

outward aspects of 'good deeds', that is putative karmic merit (*nirjarā*) and official merit (*kalyāṇaka*).<sup>1</sup> Honours and *kalyāṇakas* share with knowledge the characteristic that they can be handed out without substantial loss to the giver. However, once created, the *kalyāṇaka* bonus points can be used as currency for the transfer of merit from one mendicant to another under the premise that one ascetic's gain is another's loss, which is accepted practice amongst contemporary Terāpanth ascetics.<sup>2</sup> Although their methods of measurement may appear crude and arbitrary, there can be no doubt that the stout pragmatism of the Terāpanthīs assures that only real efforts demanding great restraint are rewarded.

*Kalyāṇaka* bonus points function in two ways: as rewards and punishments. If the *ācārya* is pleased with the work of an ascetic, he may credit his or her account with a gift (*upahāra*) of as many *kalyāṇaka* points as he sees fit. Conversely, when a *sādhū* or a *sādhvī* does something wrong, a certain amount, corresponding to the gravity of the offence, is debited to his or her account. All minor transgressions of the *mahāvratas*, the *gūptis*, the *samitis* or the *maryādās*, or any other oversight (*pramādyā*) or fault (*doṣṭ*) committed during the course of duty can be sanctioned with a deduction of *kalyāṇakas*. *Kalyāṇaka* points are debited, for instance, when a ascetic leaves his abode at night to go out for excretory or other purposes. During the night, a mendicant is not permitted to enter the *achāyā*, the unprotected terrain under the open sky, because of the danger of inadvertently stepping on small insects, etc. As a rule, one should not go out in the dark unless it is absolutely necessary, for instance for purposes of study. Even then, one has to cover one's head to protect it from the moisture of the dew and should later ask for the appropriate penance. A similar unwritten rule is that nothing belonging to the *saṅgha* should be left outside overnight. All minor transgressions of this sort usually have to be atoned for as soon as possible.<sup>3</sup> Deductions are also imposed if food and water are kept overnight, if medication is taken after dark, or if the possessions of the ascetics have not been properly inspected. If a *sādhvī* did not perform the *pratīlekhana*, the inspection of her clothes and other utensils, she has to report this to the *sādhvī pramukhā* and receives from her a deduction of 2-5 *kalyāṇakas*. If a *sādhū* or a *sādhvī* collected untreated living (*sacitta*) water from a well or from a pipe outside a house, he or she receives a *nigrah* of 2-3 points. The following list indicates typical transgressions sanctioned by *kalyāṇakas* and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gombrich 1991: 88. Transactions within the monastic economy are not governed by the notion of putative karmic equivalencies, which Humphrey (1992: 132-4) observed amongst the Buddhist Lhomi in Nepal. See also Krishnan 1997: 531f.

<sup>2</sup> The highest honours are titles which are not associated with material benefits.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Budhmal 1995: 398.

values accorded to them. Actual punishments vary, because individual circumstances are taken into account:<sup>1</sup>

<i>Transgressions</i>	<i>Deductions</i>
1. If small things, like a thread, were left under the open sky during the night.	1
2. If medium-size things were left under the open sky during the night.	3
3. If large things, like a loin-cloth, were left under the open sky during the night.	5
4. If things became wet.	9
5. If the inspection has not been done for small things, like a hand brush.	1
6. If the inspection has not been done for the curtain, and the high stool.	3
7. If a needle was broken, or kept overnight.	1
8. If a needle was lost, or if a knife or scissors were kept overnight.	2
9. If a pen has been broken, or lost.	5
10. If a mortar or large medicine bottle has been broken.	9
11. If the inspection has not been done for the broom, or the loin-cloth, etc.	2
12. If one forgot to remind the next monk to take his turn doing the collective work.	1
13. If one forgot to do the collective work.	5
14. If one had walked more than thirty feet without a broom.	1-2
15. If the doors of the nuns' abode were left open during the night.	5
16. If one forgot one's belongings, and if a householder had to return them.	5-9
17. If anything belonging to a monk or nun fell from a	1 per

<sup>1</sup> Loin-cloth=*colapaṭṭa*, inspection=*pratīkṣanā*, hand-brush=*pramāṇī*, curtain=*cimbili*, high-stool=*bājoṭ*, (medical) mortar made out of stone=*kharala*, broom=*rajoḥaraṇa*, collective work=*samuccaya kārya*. This list was communicated to me from Ācārya Mahāprajña, via letter from J.C. Jain, Lādnūn 22.5.1998. It is derived from Tulsī's (1962) list of 40 *parathanās* (= *kalyāṇakas*), but does not mention the transgressions of the rules of excretion. In 1989, a shorter list of *prāyaścittas*, which puts even greater emphasis on forms of internal asceticism, was introduced by Tulsī (1989a). Today, only the killing of living beings is still punished with compulsory fasting. The principal *kalyāṇaka prāyaścittas* are left more or less unchanged. However, the introduction of meditation as a form of penance is a major innovation.

multi-storied building.	floor
18. If water has been spilled from a drain.	5
19. If water has been spilled at the place of a sermon, or on a householder.	9
20. If a manuscript that was tied with a thread was dropped on the floor.	13
21. If the wooden cover of a manuscript was broken.	9

Initiates are instructed never to get into deficit, which is recorded in the *kalyāṇaka patra* under the rubric of debit balance (*dey*), and, if ever this should be the case, to atone for any debit as soon as possible. There are two principal ways of squaring one's debt, both of which are considered as forms of atonement: work for others and work for oneself, i.e. community service, on the one hand, and canonical forms of atonement such as fasting, on the other. The most common method to gain *kalyāṇaka* points is to undertake extra work for the community under the overall supervision of the *ācārya*. For instance, stitching clothes, varnishing *pātras* or emptying the chamberpots for the old or sick monks or nuns, which is not necessarily an obligatory daily duty, but may earn 5 *kalyāṇakas*. Alternatively, one may fulfil more than one's quota of compulsory work, such as inspecting the abode and the *āchāya* and collecting all items that are left (*cokī karnā*) (25-50 points for 10 days), preparing the list of required food items (until 1949), washing the cotton wrappings (*pallā*), which are used to cover the handwritten manuscripts, or to inspect the *cilmilī*, the large white curtain which protects the ascetics from public view while they are eating. Renouncing one or more of the 10 processed foods (*viḡaya*) for a defined period or performing other fasts is also accepted as a method of scoring *kalyāṇaka* points, though it is rarely practised for this purpose, and tables of equivalencies of fasts and services have been drafted in 1989.<sup>1</sup> However, if one has gathered a debit of more than 20 points and does not compensate for it, the *ācārya* may impose special penances such as reciting a certain number of *gāthās*, or performing compulsory *parathanās* or one of the ten types of fast (*pratyaḡhyāna*). All atonements can only be performed with permission of the *ācārya* or the *sādhvī pramukhā*.

Withdrawals (*cal nidhī*) are recorded separately from deductions (*nigrah*), as fluctuations can occur in two different ways. The *ācārya* may punish an offender with a deduction, and *sādhus* and *sādhvīs* can withdraw *kalyāṇaka* points from their account to "trade" them for services, in the same way as *gāthā* bonus points in the earlier system. For instance, if a *sādhvī* with a positive account needs help with the stitching of his clothes, he may be helped by a *sādhvī* for a certain amount of *ka-*

<sup>1</sup> See Tulsī 1989b: 11f.



*lyāṇaka* points.<sup>1</sup> However, *kalyāṇakas* are not a currency in the market economic sense, though they function as a means of payment, money of accounts (book credit), and capital within the centrally regulated monastic economy.<sup>2</sup> It is only with the express permission of the *ācārya* that one may “barter” the *kalyāṇaka* points which were earned through his grace. The mendicants are never indebted to each other, only to themselves, or rather to the *ācārya*, to whom they ‘owe’ good behaviour, because he ensures that the ascetics reduce their karmic burden and contribute to the well-being of the community. Although a deduction of *kalyāṇaka* points can buy services and compensate for minor transgressions, the quantity of the individual *kalyāṇaka* capital has no immediate bearing on the overall religious status of a monk or nun, whether conceived in terms of monastic seniority, administrative position, or putative karmic purity. The official recognition of meritorious deeds through the bestowal of *kalyāṇaka* points has only an effect on the compulsory workload and what may be called the socio-religious capital of a mendicant.<sup>3</sup> At stake is not a system of transactional ranking, but a centrally regulated system of justice.<sup>4</sup> What counts is merit acquired through recognised acts of exertion, that is religious work done both for one’s own karmic benefit and for the community. After all, the most significant innovation of Jayācārya and Tulsī was not the introduction of a gift economy into the monastic order, but the recognition of community work as a form of atonement. Their main intention was to infuse monastic life with an element of economic rationality and to complement the traditional system of religious sanctions with a system of tangible rewards as opposed to putative karmic effects in order to create a positive motivation for religious work.

The internal safeguards of the supervised system of accounting methodically prevents individual profiteering by not only recording positive deeds on their own, which is common for instance in Buddhist lay merit accounts, but negative deeds as well. In contrast to the earlier disjunction of *prāyaścittas* and *gāthās*, the record of achievement computes both atonements for specific transgressions and positive efforts to reduce one’s karmic burden through religious work on a single

<sup>1</sup> Most nuns have accumulated more than 1000 *kalyāṇaka* points, whereas no monk has more than 1000 at present (2001).

<sup>2</sup> “Standard, or accounting, use of money is the equating of amounts of different goods either for the purpose of barter or in any other situation involving the need for accountancy. The sociological situation is that of bartering, or of administrative management of quantifiable objects. The ‘operation’ consists in attaching numerical values to the various objects so that their summations may be eventually equated” (Polanyi 1968: 192).

<sup>3</sup> Because, for all practical purposes, both *karma* and *kalyāṇaka* are used as symbolic attributions, the term ‘socio-religious capital’ is preferred to Bourdieu’s notion of ‘symbolic capital’.

<sup>4</sup> See *Nicomachean Ethics* 1133a19ff.; Marx 1981: 66-69; Polanyi 1968, and Mary Douglas (1967) on the delicate function of coupons in centralised bureaucratic economies “to reduce or eliminate competition in the interest of a fixed system of status” (p. 133).

scale and thus allows a trade-off between debits and credits. Through the mediation of the *kalyāṇaka patra*, services and minor fasts can be treated as functional equivalents. Minor atonements, such as optional fasts, study or meditation, can therefore be avoided by a simple deduction of *kalyāṇaka* points.<sup>1</sup> This decidedly modern procedure can either be interpreted as a further decline in ascetic standards<sup>2</sup> or as a more flexible form of proportional justice, which not only punishes transgressions, like the canonical rules and regulations, but also rewards positive contributions to the welfare of the community.

### Modern atonements

Fasts and services are still not entirely congruent. But service is today one of the five types of atonement recommended for Terāpanth mendicants. Most of them are derived from the standard list of six types of internal asceticism: 1. *kāyotsarga*, 2. *svādhyāya*, 3. *dhyaṇa*, 4. *tapas*, and 5. *kalyāṇaka*.<sup>3</sup> Each of these atonements expiates different types of transgressions, though no systematic tabulation exists.<sup>4</sup> In practice, there is considerable overlap and flexibility in the implementation of these categories. *Kāyotsarga* is commonly performed for the expiation of acts of unintentional violence against (microscopic) living beings committed during the almsround (1 *Logassa*) or at night outside the abode.<sup>5</sup> It is practised by assuming a motionless posture while breathing in a controlled way (*śvāsochvāsa*). Sometimes, additionally either the *Namaskāra Sūtra* or the *Logassa* is recited in meditation (5 *Namaskāra Sūtra* = 1 *Logassa*). For the expiation of specific transgressions, alternatively the recitation of verses (*vācana*), study (*svādhyāya*), meditation (*dhyaṇa*) or fasts (*pratyākhyāna*)<sup>6</sup> can be performed. The equivalents of one day fasting

<sup>1</sup> Until recently, the Terāpanthīs distinguished between *pakka upavāsa*, compulsory fasts, and *kacca upavāsa*, optional fasts, which could be substituted by the study or recitation of an equivalent amount of *gāthās* or the deduction of *kalyāṇakas*. In 1989, *upavāsa*, *gāthās* and *kalyāṇakas* lost their status as preferred atonements to *prekṣā dhyaṇa*. But they are still practised.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Caillat 1975: 97ff. Similar processes are documented in the Dharmaśāstras.

<sup>3</sup> This classification was ratified by Ācārya Tulsī in 1989.

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis see Flügel (forth.).

<sup>5</sup> *śvāsochvāsa* is now one of the favourite atonements-cum-punishments. For instance, leaving the abode once during the night is punished by 12 breaths (2x=18, 3x=25, 4x=30), inadvertently crushing one small insect is punished by 25 breaths, etc. (Tulsī 1989a).

<sup>6</sup> 1. *navkārsī* (*namaskāra sabhīya*): not to eat during the first 48 minutes after sunrise, 2. *prabara* (*paṇṇī*): not to eat in the first 3 hours after sunrise, 3. *purimāḍḍha* (*dina pūrvārdḍha*, *purimārdḍha*): not to eat until midday, 4. *ekāṣana*: not to eat more than once a day, 5. *ekasthāna*: to eat only once a day within one hour, silently in only one position, 6. *nirīgaya* (*vikṛti niṣedha*): not to eat *īgaya* food, such as milk, yoghurt, butter, etc., 7. *āyambila* (*ācīmāmla*): to eat only once a day one unsalted cereal, 8. *upavāsa* (*abbaktārtha*): to fast for 24 hours, or to drink only water (*anupavāsa*), 9. *divasa carima* (*carama*): not to eat or drink one hour before sunset, 10. *abhiḡraha*: not to eat without prior fulfilment of the special vows one has accepted (ĀvS 6.1-10, in Williams 1983: 207-13).

(*upavāsa*), for instance, are either the faultless recitation of 2000 *gāthās*, the study of 1200 *gāthās*, or the meditation and reflection upon the meaning of 8 *gāthās* selected from the *Āgamas*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, the abbreviation '*gāthā*' has multiple contextual meanings. From 1989, meditation is also practised in the form of insight meditation (*prekṣā dhyāna*), i.e. without concentrating on a text.<sup>2</sup> Small fasts, such as renouncing one or more of the processed foods (*vīgaya*, Skt. *vīkṛti*),<sup>3</sup> or omitting soup, vegetables or other foodstuffs for one or more meals, are traditionally performed for minor transgressions of the basic ascetic rules, unconnected to collective work. The *nirvikṛti* fast is, for instance, given for sleeping during the day, crying in public, overeating, or asking for specific items during the almsround, etc.<sup>4</sup> From this, it emerges that between 1960 and 1989, fasts became slowly replaced by study and meditation as the preferred atonement. The main official reason for this is that mendicants who fast are too weak to work. In other words, the old ascetic morality is progressively substituted by a modern work ethic. However, compulsory fasts are still imposed for violations of the basic ascetic rules, i.e. the *mūla guṇas* and the *uttara guṇas*, while the deduction of *kalyāṇakas* is applied to transgressions of the organisational rules (*vyavasthā guṇa*) and offences related to compulsory service.<sup>5</sup> The *ācārya* invariably imposes severe punishments (*daṇḍa*), notably monthly, four-monthly and six-monthly fasts, etc., for transgressions of the *mahāvratas*, such as killing five-sensed beings, sexual misconduct, stealing, or repeated transgressions, which are considered too serious to be compensated with a deduction of *kalyāṇaka* points.

### Spiritual accounting

Most Terāpanth ascetics live in small groups (*śiṅghāra*) of three to seven mendicants who roam independently from the central group of the *ācārya* and therefore cannot receive instant assessment of their deeds. In such cases, all infringements are written down and later reported to the *ācārya*. However, to prevent a fresh influx of *karmas* adhering permanently to the soul, a transgressor should perform penances immediately and not wait for the *ācārya*'s verdict. The official judgement

<sup>1</sup> The treatment of study and fast as alternative forms of penance or voluntary asceticism (some prefer fasting, others studying) seems to be a modern phenomenon. It has not been discussed by Schubring nor by Caillat. The manual of the Līmbdī Sampradāya *muni* Bhāskar (1987: 167) and the Sthānakavāsī Śramaṇa Saṅgha *Samācārī* (AISJC 1987: 98) also state that reciting 2000 *gāthās* equals 1 *upavāsa*. The fact that the present penal code of the Terāpanth contains generally more lenient rules shows that, at present, a greater value is attributed to study and meditation than fast (cf. Tulsī 1962: 1; Tulsī 1989a).

<sup>2</sup> Both forms of meditation fall outside Bronkhorst's (1986: 53) definition of 'mainstream meditation' in terms of the aim of 'absolute motionlessness'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Caillat 1975: 91.

<sup>4</sup> *Ācārya* Bhikṣu, Likhāt from 1777 and 1795, in Jītal 1983: 459-466; Tulsī 1989a: 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

is still received only once a year during the annual congregation of the Terāpanth ascetics in January/February, culminating in the *maryādā mahotsava*, festival of restraint, on Māgh Śukla 7. Not unlike Indian merchants, who settled their accounts before the beginning of the traditional business year on *dīvālī*, Terāpanth ascetics settle their spiritual accounts before the *maryādā mahotsava*, which marks the beginning of the Terāpanth religious year.<sup>1</sup> The following example of the merit account of Muni Rṣabhkumār, who was in his mid-twenties in 1995 and served the then *mahāśramaṇa*<sup>2</sup> Muni Muditikumār within the *rājī*, shows that both of his two major credits for the years 1989-1995 were given a few days before the *maryādā mahotsava*, on Māgh Śukla 3/4 and Māgh Śukla 5. The eighteen deductions were made irregularly, although six were made in the week before *cāturmāsa*, and three before *pakkeḥī* days.<sup>3</sup> It is not known to me why exactly they were imposed, but most likely as a result of routine confessions and purifications before the onset of *cāturmāsa* or *pakkeḥī*.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, none of the alterations took place on the auspicious days (*kalyāṇaka divas*) of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, as one might expect,<sup>5</sup> but on significant dates of the Terāpanth ritual calendar, which revolves around the periodal ceremonies for the corporate self-purification of the *saṅgha* - the *pañca pratikramaṇas* and the *maryādā mahotsava* - and the auspicious events (*puṇya tīthī*) in the lives of the Terāpanth *ācāryas* and in the history of the order.<sup>6</sup>

At the annual *maryādā mahotsava*, the merits and demerits of the conduct of each ascetic are evaluated by the *ācārya* on the basis of the annual report (*vibhāra*

<sup>1</sup> The merchant ethos has obviously permeated the monastic rites of atonement.

<sup>2</sup> The administrative post of the *mahāśramaṇa*, great worker, was created by Ācārya Tulsi on the 9.9.1989 for Muni Muditikumār, who is now called Yuvācārya Mahāśramaṇa.

<sup>3</sup> In the first column of the account, a credit of 5 points is recorded to bring the total account to 102. Six out of twenty entries were made on *pakkeḥī* days, the days of the obligatory fortnightly rites of repentance (*pākeṣik pratikramaṇa*) and forgiveness (*keṣamāpaṇā*). Other entries in Rṣabhkumār's account were made on special days: Māgh Śukla 3/4, the day of the Indian Constitution, January 26; Māgh Śukla 5 (*basant pañcamī*), the beginning of spring; Āṣāḥ Śukla 14 (*caṇmāsī caturdaśī*), a fast day preceding the four-monthly monsoon retreat; Āṣāḥ Śukla 15, the day of the first *cāturmāsik pakkeḥī* and the foundation day of the Terāpanth (*terāpanth sthāpanā divas*); Caitra Kṛṣṇa 8, the birthday and initiation day of Tīrthaṅkara Rṣabha (*Rṣabh janm evaṃ dīkṣā divas*) and the beginning of the 'one year-fast' (*varṣitap prārambh*).

<sup>4</sup> The *kalyāṇaka patra* of Muni Kumārśramaṇ for the year 1999 also records credits on Māgh Śukla 5-8 (altogether 148) and deficits on *pakkeḥī* days (Vaiśākh Śukla 15 and Jyēṣṭh Śukla 14: 10 and 16 points respectively). Credits of 101 points were received by all mendicants on Ācārya Mahāprajña's birthday (Āṣāḥ Kṛṣṇa 13). See Photographs.

<sup>5</sup> The *kalyāṇakas* are the five auspicious events in the life of a Tīrthaṅkara - conception (*garbha*), birth (*janma*), renunciation (*vairāgya*), enlightenment (*kevala jñāna*), and death (*nirvāṇa*) - which Jains celebrate as the paradigmatic markers of the ideal Jain life, and for merit and this-worldly welfare (Cort 2001: 179). The *kalyāṇaka* days and the *kalyāṇaka keṣetras* of the legendary twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras constitute the backbone of the Jain religious year and their sacred geography. Terāpanthis do not celebrate the *garbha kalyāṇakas*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Flügel 1994, 1995-1996: 133, n. 33, 155, n. 65.

*vivaraṇa*), written by the group leader, and personal interviews, a process called *sāraṇā vāraṇā*, or purging and restraining. At the moment of his/her arrival, the *agrarī* is obliged to go immediately to the *ācārya* to hand over his/her disciples, their books and reports and the products of their past year's labour for redistribution and assessment.<sup>1</sup> After reading the report of the group leader, the *ācārya* makes inquiries on the observance of the rules, the atonements, the mutual relations between the ascetics, and on the individual ascetic's progress in study, teaching and writing. Finally, he rewards each ascetic with *kalyāṇaka* bonus points for accomplishments, and imposes deductions or additional atonements for transgressions.<sup>2</sup> Until the process of appraisal is complete, all members of the *śiṅghāra* must fast.

The amendment of a *kalyāṇaka* account does not necessarily take place in the presence of the *ācārya*. Like the earlier and much more complex *gāthā* accounts, the records of achievement are monitored and updated by specially appointed ascetics. Of late, this work was done by the *mahāśramaṇa* Muni Mudīkumār, the present Yuvācārya Mahāśramaṇa (born 1962), who is responsible for much of the administrative work within the *śramaṇa saṅgha*. Once the value of the accomplishments of an ascetic, minus the transgressions, has been determined by the *ācārya*, an entry is made in the individual account. First, the submission under the *nīśā*, or authority, of the *ācārya* is confirmed in writing, using the shortened *mā.* for *mānatā* or *ācārya śrī tulsī ko mainī tīrthaṅkara deva tulya mānatā hūṃ* - "I believe in ĀcāryaŚrī Tulsī as the equal of the Tīrthaṅkara God".<sup>3</sup> Then the account is settled and the ascetic concerned confirms the correctness of the calculations by ticking off the respective date on the account sheet. Finally, the *kalyāṇaka patra* is returned to the ascetic. Its contents are usually not disclosed to the general public, but they are not secret. According to Ācārya Mahāprajña, the *kalyāṇaka patra* "is nothing but a record of appreciation by the *ācārya* of the distinctive works of the disciples".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *je sādhu (yā sādhuviām) aur pustakom sab āp ke caranom meṃ samarpit haiṃ. mainī bhī āp ke caranom meṃ samarpit hūṃ. āp mujhe jabāpī rakeṃ rahāpī rahne kē bhāṃ hai* (Jīṭmal in Tulsī & Mahāprajña 1981a: 116). Non-redistributed items are deposited in the Sevā Kendra.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Buddhmal 1995: 415.

<sup>3</sup> Ācārya Tulsī's successor Ācārya Mahāprajña is addressed in the same manner: *ācārya śrī mahāprajña ko mainī tīrthaṅkar dev tulya mānatā hūṃ*. The veneration of the *ācārya* as a godlike figure may come as a surprise, given the rationalistic tone of contemporary Terāpanth publications. However, a Jain *ācārya* has to appeal to a diverse audience. Numerous songs and prayers deify the head of the order in the manner of Hindu devotionalism. Cf. Caillat 1975: 59.

<sup>4</sup> Letter, Jain Viśva Bhāratī 27.4.1998.

## Conclusion

The interpretation of *sevā*, devoted service, as 'social work' is one of the hallmarks of religious modernism in South Asia.<sup>1</sup> This article has shown how, through a series of reforms from 1851, the Terāpanth *ācāryas* Jayācārya (1803-1881) and Tulsī (1914-1997) transformed originally 'voluntary' monastic service into a compulsory system of religious work for the welfare of the Terāpanth order. They motivated their disciples to serve even beyond the call of duty by rewarding both routine monastic work and voluntary contributions to the Terāpanth order with merit points which could be used to "buy" personal services and to compensate for small penances. These could also be gifted to other mendicants. The introduction of a economy of merit-making into monastic life was predicated on the transformation of the qualitative distinction of *tapas* and *sevā* into a mere quantitative difference. This was largely accomplished by defining service as a form of atonement, and by introducing the principle of equality into the monastic economy. An important component of this restructuring process was an increased emphasis on the internal rather than external aspects of asceticism and the gradual elevation of the standard six inner forms of asceticism to the status of preferred atonements. However, the key element in the transformation of a traditional monastic status economy, based on the hierarchical values of asceticism and service, into an egalitarian economy of individual achievement and collective welfare was the invention of the individual merit account, presently called *kalyāṇaka patra*, that is a symbolic medium of bonus points to make the accounting and transfer of publicly recognised merit possible. This calculus of individual merit, originally reserved for the rites of atonement, permits the spiritual accounting of both 'good deeds' and 'bad deeds'. It is predicated on a distinction between 'karmic merit' and 'official merit'. The apparent contradiction between the two types of merit, karmic and official merit, is bridged by the judgement of the *ācārya* and the periodic accounting of good and bad deeds with the help of the *kalyāṇaka patra*, which reflects the present monastic regime's

<sup>1</sup> On 'Jain modernism' see Flügel 2000: 39. On the conflict between modernity (*navīntā*) and antiquity (*prācīntā*) amongst Terāpanth ascetics, see Budhmal 1995.

THE KALYĀṆAKA-PATRA FOR MUNI RṢABHKUMĀR, S.V. 2046-2052 (1989-1995)<sup>1</sup>

kalyāṇak-patra	2046 pau.su. 15	2047 a.su. 14	2048 ā.b. 14	2048 bhā.su. 4	2048 phā.b. 6	2049 je.b. 2	2049 je.b. 12	2049 mā.b. 12	2049 mā.su. 5	2049 phā.b. 15	2050 ā.su. 11	2051 ā.b. 11	2051 a.su. 15	2051 śrā.b. 11	2052 ā.b. 12	2052 ā.su. 14	2052 śrā.su. 11	2052 kā.su. 12	2052 mā.su. 3/4	2052 ce.b. 8
ācārya śrī tulsī ko maiṃ tīrthaṅkar dev tulya mānatā hūṃ	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.	mā.
amar-nidhi	102	100	98	84	75	70	65	63	72	73	69	67	59	54	52	50	49	48	79	78
cal-nidhi	0	2	2	14	9	5	5	2	0	0	4	2	9	5	2	2	1	1	0	1
anugrah	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	0
nigrah	0	2	2	14	9	5	5	2	0	0	4	2	9	5	2	2	1	1	0	1
dey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
muni Rṣabhkumār	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

<sup>1</sup> b.=Badi/Kṛṣṇa (dark half), su.=Sudi/Śukla (bright half); ce.=Cait/Caitra (March-April), je.=Jeth/Jyeṣṭh (May-June), ā.=Asāṅh/Āṣāḍh (June-July), śrā.=Śrāvaṇ/Śrāvaṇ (July-August), bhā.=Bhādom/Bhādrapad (August-September), a.=Asoj/Āśvin (September-October), kā.=Kātik/Kārtik (October-November), mi.=Migasar/Mārgśīrṣ (November-December), pau.=Pauṣ (December-January), mā.=Māgh (January-February), phā.=Phāgun/Phālgun (February-March).

attempt to integrate ontological purity and corporate welfare through the imposition of self-discipline.

Using Aristotle's terms,<sup>1</sup> one may say that whereas in the traditional monastic system of the Terāpanth rights and duties were determined on the basis of the status of the parties involved, that is in terms of proportionate justice, they are now determined on the basis of equality, that is in terms of rectificatory justice. In the words of Durkheim,<sup>2</sup> the repressive rules of the canonical rites of atonement are in the process of being transformed into restitutive rules for the just distribution of community work. Max Weber has postulated similar developmental patterns in his analysis of the processes of rationalisation of charisma, and highlighted the significance of discipline as a rationalising factor. However, although the monastic economy of the Terāpanth is in the process of transformation, it is not yet systematically rationalised, because service as an atonement is not fully recognised as a functional equivalent of *tapas*. Severe violations of the fundamental ascetic rules still have to be expiated by compulsory fasting. Judging from the point of view of the legal treatises of Ācārya Jītmal and Ācārya Tulsī, the *ka-hyāṇaka patra* may, therefore, better be viewed as a preliminary, task-specific synthesis of incongruous classificatory and procedural patterns. In paraphrasing P.S. Jaini one might say, in conclusion, that the Terāpanth *ācāryas* attempted to raise service to a new status which incorporated both auspiciousness and supramundane purity. In this new scheme, anything which is defined by the *ācārya* as auspicious is considered to be pure: activities which are productive of salvation. However, as far as the atonements are concerned, monastic life is still divided into two incompatible spheres of action, asceticism and community work. Only the future can show to what extent Jītmal and Tulsī managed to turn the Jain ideal of world-renunciation not only into a monastic work-ethic but also into a motivating factor for world-transformation.

<sup>1</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics* 1130b30-1131a9.

<sup>2</sup> Durkheim 1984: 83ff.



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