

THE IDEA OF AHIMSA AND ASCETICISM IN ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION

(Modern text-historical analysis of Vedic rituals
with special reference to the ~~Śramaṇa~~ śramaṇism)

Prof. Dr. Bansidhar Bhatt

B. J. INSTITUTE OF LEARNING AND RESEARCH
AHMEDABAD - 380 009

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Complimentary Copy

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The B. J. Institute received a special donation of about Rs. 25,000 from the Arun Mills charity Trust through the late Shri Surottam Hathisingh in 1965. The amount is being utilised in inviting different scholars to deliver lectures on the various aspects of Indian Culture and publishing them. Eminent Scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumadar, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Shri D. R. Mankand, Dr. V Raghvan, Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Dr. P. L. Gupta, Shri C. Sivarammurti, Dr. K. Krishnamoorti, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Prof. K. D. Bajpai have delivered lectures under this series. All these lectures have been published in book-form.

For the eleventh series of lectures, we invited Prof. Dr. Bansidhar Bhatt (Münster), a distinguished scholar of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Indology in genral and Jain philology in particular, to deliver lectures on 'The Idea of Ahimsa and Asceticism in Ancient Indian Tradition.' He was generous enough in accepting our invitation and delivered four lectures on the subject.

The Series contains discussions on (i) Ahimsa, Asceticism and Early Vedic rituals, Later phases, spread of Ahimsa and Ascetic Ideas (ii) Reform Religions and Ahimsa and Reform Religions and Vedic sacrifice. (iii) Holy cow in Indian tradition, the Vegetarianism and Ahimsa Miscellany. The lectures were delivered here under the chairmanship of Shri Chinubhai Chimanbhai on 22nd, 23rd and 24th February, 1993 respectively.

The fourth lecture (delivered on 25th Feb.) was in Gujarati Language, the topic being 'Luptapraya Adikalina Jain Tattvajñāna Ghoḍha Saṃketo : Jain Āgamonuṃ Aitihasika Viśeṣaṇa'. This lecture will be published separately in 'Samūpya' - the research Journal of B. J. Institute.

Prof. Bhatt has attempted here to give a comprehensive review of the subject with a historical outlook in an admirably brief and critical way. He has thrown ample light on the theme of ahimsa and asceticism in their historical aspects, their origin and developments in ancient Indian Culture. The author has represented the recent views in the field of Indo - European (Vedic and Brahmanical), Buddhist and Jain Philology. In his second lecture, Dr. Bhatt has discussed the reform

religions and Ahimsa and also Vedic sacrifices. The third lecture incorporated the discussion on Holy cow in Indian tradition and the Vegetarianism.

The author has included appendix I - Bibliography and abbreviations, appendix II - Published material on the Ahimsa and appendix III - Index of Names, words and terms at the end.

I express sincere thanks to my colleagues Dr. Bharati Shelat and Dr. R. T. Savaliya for looking after the press-work throughout.

I hope this monograph will prove to be interesting not only to the students of Indian History and Culture, but also to all others interested in the subject.

Ahmedabad
26th April, 1995

P. C. Parikh
Director

FOREWORD

The present monograph, an outcome of the three research lectures I delivered in February 1993 at the B.J. Institute of Learning and Research (Ahmedabad) is, apart from some alterations and additions, identical with the one that was presented earlier in December 1992 for publication at the Centre for Indian and Inter-religious Studies, Rome (Italy). It was practically impossible for me to work out a new theme for the research lectures within the limited period of scarcely seven weeks which were at my disposal after receiving the kind invitation in January, 1993 from the B.J. Institute (Ahmedabad). Moreover, during this period, I had also other responsibilities in Germany.

As regards the monograph, I deal with the theme of **ahimsa** and asceticism in their historical aspects - their origins and developments in ancient Indian culture containing many related issues with variety of mutually intricate structures posing numerous problems. I tried to solve them with some supporting views of modern scholars known in the research-world for their significant contributions to the study, and balanced views in the field of Indo-European (Vedic and Brahmanical), Buddhist and Jaina philology. My main aim is to offer the reader an opportunity to rid themselves of some false notions prevailing among most of them about the **ahimsa** and asceticism in ancient India. I shall be contented even with this type of service I could rather render to the academic circles in this part of the world.

Once again, I express my sincere thanks to the members of the Executive Committee, particularly to the Chairman Shri Chinubhai Chimanbhai Sheth, the Director Dr. Pravinchandra C. Parikh, and Mrs. Prof. Dr. Bharatiben K. Shelat, B.J. Institute of Learning and Research (Ahmedabad) for kindly inviting me for the lectures and accepting them in their research publication series.

Indological Seminar
Westfalian University
Münster (Westfalen)
Germany.
Dt. 03-07-1993.

Bansidhar Bhatt

CONTENTS

| | Pages |
|--|-------|
| Publisher's Note | iii |
| Foreword | v |
| Contents | vi |
| 1. Introduction: | 1-3 |
| a. Relevant remarks | |
| b. Literary sources | |
| 2. Ahimsā, Asceticism and Early Vedic Rituals: | 4-29 |
| a. Rituals | |
| b. Brahmacarins | |
| c. Rituals and renunciatory ideas | |
| d. Karma and its origin | |
| e. Metempsychosis | |
| f. Ahimsa-asceticism and ritualism | |
| g. Vanaprasthas | |
| h. Gr̥hasthas (brahmins) | |
| j. The entire society | |
| 3. Later Phases, Spread of Ahimsā and Ascetic Ideas: | 30-35 |
| a. Inner values: himsa-ahimsa | |
| b. Conspectus (An over-all Survey) | |
| c. Indus Valley Culture | |
| 4. Reform Religions and Ahimsā: | 36-46 |
| a. Reform religions and something introductory | |
| b. Buddhism | |
| c. The Buddha and meat-eating | |
| d. Jainism | |
| e. Monks and nuns: meat-fish in alms | |
| f. The Mahavira and meat-eating | |
| g. The separative tendencies | |
| h. Magico-ritualistic taboo | |
| 5. Reform Religions and Vedic Sacrifices: | 47-58 |
| a. Substantial research survey | |
| b. No one against Vedic sacrifices | |
| c. Parallelism: Brahmanical and Uttarajjhaya views | |
| d. Ahimsa not in the foreground | |
| e. Were the Vratyas śramaṇas ? | |
| f. Ground for separation | |
| g. Śramaṇologism | |

| | | |
|-------|---|--------------|
| 6. | Holy-Cow in Indian Tradition: | 59-64 |
| | a. Vedic religion | |
| | b. Edicts of Asoka and other sources | |
| | c. Cow products and Zoroastrianism | |
| | d. Indus Valley: animal-killings and Tantrism | |
| 7. | The Vegetarianism: | 65-71 |
| a. | Brahmanism | |
| | b. Jainism | |
| | c. Buddhism | |
| | d. Vegetarianism and ahimsa | |
| 8. | Ahimsa Miscellany: | 72-76 |
| | a. Ahimsa, a negative concept ? | |
| | b. Ahimsa in modern India. | |
| | c. Is ahimsa practicable ? | |
| | Appendices: | 77-98 |
| I | Bibliography and Abbreviations: | 77 |
| II(a) | Published Materials on Ahimsa: | 84 |
| II(b) | Chronological Arrangement of II (a) | 93 |
| III | Index of Names, Words and Terms: | 95 |

1. INTRODUCTION

(a) Relevant remarks :

Let me, in the beginning, sincerely thank the Executive Committee and particularly Sheth Shri Chinubhai, the President of the Committee and Professor Dr. Pravinchandra Parikh, Director of the B.J. Research Institute (Ahmedabad) and Prof. Dr. Smt. Bharatiben Shelat, for inviting me to deliver some lectures for the Lecture Series of the year 1993. I was little embarrassed when I received this kind invitation in early January this year and could not decide about any special theme for the Lecture Series, due to the fact that the time at my disposal was too short - hardly a month - to give proper justice to it. I had, therefore, to rely for some plausible grounds, on the present theme of ahimsa and asceticism, though abundant material - more than sufficient number of articles and books dealing with this theme at length has come to light in India and abroad since the last sixty years from the Vedic scholars or Indo - European philologists, and especially from the scholars on Jainism and Buddhism by means of fully utilizing some observations on the Indus Valley culture. Most of the works still appearing on the subject shed hardly any new light on the problem, but repeat more or less some age - old arguments favouring their interest and basing their conjectures on some working hypotheses of rudimentary stages.

I wish to offer here some views set forth through modern researches on the subject, and to the best of my knowledge, though these views would have probably reached India, but it seems, most of our scholars hardly bothered much to get themselves oriented in such modern research material as a whole. This is true so far as the complicated issue of ahimsa and asceticism is concerned. Moreover, I had earlier worked out on the subject and the matter was almost ready with me. I, therefore, wish to represent it faithfully in my lectures, so that it would be at least some contribution aiming at bringing historical facts to light and wiping away some misinterpretations and mis-representations prevailing generally among most of the Indians. I will feel myself contented if my effort as a whole would be proved worthy of further enlightenment.

First, coming to the theme of ahimsa as an ethical concept in Indian religious traditions, it involves variety of complicated issues which will be evident in course of these lectures. I will,

first, state important views of eminent scholars of Indology with some relevant remarks of my own. In doing so, I have to be much careful and restricted in my efforts, so that the present theme may not be of complex nature. It shall be critically informative rather than merely research oriented, and more scholarly than merely popular. Moreover, various related issues to be dealt with here are all in their Indian perspectives, keeping in view only the early Indian literature vis-a-vis religions in the centre.

Religion contains diverse elements and presents a complex structure. We can trace only their development and interactions, but it is difficult to decide with certainty the origin or development of one element from the other. The vedic religion is intermingled with ethical motives. Sometime the moral principles act as a part and parcel of even a religion of some of the primitive tribes such as those in Australia and the Andaman Islands. They believe in a highest being possessing a nature of goodness which obeys and commands the moral principles. This kind of belief is recorded in the ordeals, in the background of which the decision of such a moral power seems to be ever in force. But, unfortunately, we do not possess early reliable records of religions of the non-Aryan tribes, e.g. Dravidians, Mundas, Todas, Nagas, etc. on the soil of India. And what we possess may be slight earlier than the early Greek invasions on India. In absence of any independent literary records of ancient times, we cannot say something concrete about these religions, nor can we rely on the available Dravidian literature, though its influence on Hinduisim is noteworthy. Also, such literary records hardly provide to us any evidence of other faiths of ancient India. Anyhow, by the Indo-Iranian period, and to some extent, in the Indo-European period also, an element of love for offsprings effectively came into operation powerfully affecting the nature of gods. We can assume, such a belief in love for offsprings as an ethical motive has been introduced ab extra into religious scheme which may be existing independent of ethics. For earliest sources in support of morality and sin in Indo-European and Indo-Aryan cultures, some Vedic elements are worthy of our notes, e.g. Varuṇa is an omniscient god of ṛta-the cosmic order - and morality and mercy; Mitra is the god of satya (truthfulness); the ṛta, dharma and vrata are the commands of Varuṇa and the gods Ādityas punish the sinners. The

1. Cf. Keith, pp. 46,244,249,266,300 fol. with fns. 306 fol; for details, see Winternitz-3, pp. 220-250.

transfer of sins, faith and prayer are the means of forgiveness; prayāścittas - repentances - brahmacharya (celibacy) and fasting are the tapas (heat). The element of tapas is the earliest concept in Veda and it elevates man to supreme status. Through tapas, man wins magic or creative power and acquires ecstasy and the desired results including the final deliverance¹.

(b) Literary sources :

I wish here to wind up the above remarks of a general nature keeping in view the moral precepts and the sacred laws scattered over the religious scriptures of ancient India. Now, we have to examine relevant ancient texts and see how the concept of ahimsa once combined with early magico-ritualistic pattern has gradually been employed as an ethical principle. In India, ahimsa means more or less "to give up eating of meat (flesh), fish and also eggs" and to observe vegetarianism. To gather with these two concepts - ahimsa and vegetarianism - is linked up also a belief in the sacredness of cows which demands of almost all Hindus (including Sikhs and Jainas, etc.), prohibition of cow-slaughter and beef-eating. This belief of the holy-cow has such a strong and powerful impact on almost all Indians that even a non-vegetarian among them will renounce beef but will enjoy other meat-preparations in his diet. Few scholars have explained how these concepts have been linked up to gather in Indian tradition. It will be discussed here in short, after dealing principally with the ahimsa. Earliest available sources for the origin or historical developments of these concepts lie scattered over the ancient literature, i.e. Vedas, especially the ritualistic texts developed around the Vedas, viz. brāhmaṇas, sūtras, upaniṣads, some of the canonical texts of the Buddhists and Jainas. Sometimes references in the context of ahimsa appearing in these texts are apparently alien and new in their ritualistic set-up. Such references might be extent in the circles of non-Aryans, and the non-Vedic Aryans, i.e. common masses of the Aryan origin whose ideas and way of thinking have hardly been recorded or found any place in the Vedic literature. The later texts borrowed more or less from the earlier sources, the kernel - the central theme - of ahimsa and vegetarianism and elaborated it further. As such, it is worthwhile to concentrate more on the earlier texts - the locus classicus of the medieval literature so far as the present theme is concerned. Among these texts, the early sūtra texts require some explanation. They are composed or compiled in prose style in later Vedic period and deal with rules and

regulations of Vedic ritual practices and ceremonies. They are classified in three heads, viz. śrautasūtras, texts dealing particularly with Vedic sacrificial ceremonies, grhyasūtras, dealing with domestic rituals and householders' duties like sacraments (saṁskaras), etc. and are concerned with family life, dharmasūtras, describing human duties, right conduct, laws abiding the persons of various classes (varṇas) and stages (āśramas), taking into account the entire community as a whole. The latter two types of the sūtra texts coincide with each other in their subject-matter. The fourth type called the śulbasūtras, is relatively of later origin, and deals with mathematical calculations, etc. for fire-altars and sacrificial places. No importance is attached to it in the present discussion.

All these sūtra works give us some contradictory views from different sources. On account of a wide gap between such instances of contradictory nature and their traditional explanations, it is difficult to draw from them any decision regarding their contents and historical developments. Some sūtras mention names of some known or unknown "authors" or followers of their traditions or schools, some sūtras present a complex and composite structure, rendering it difficult to ascribe them to a single author. The textual material of the sūtra works seems to have been orally or otherwise transmitted and developed with additions and alterations, if any, by means of explanation and remarks of scholiasts of the same school of thought. Different sūtra texts actually came into existence in different times and different regions. We have to take all such factors into account.

It is also to be added that the dharmasūtras abound in materials relevant to the ahimsa concept. They furnish us partly and eventually with social and cultural aspects of the society, but it is, however, here risky to rely exclusively on them and to draw from them a real picture of the society so far as the ethical conduct of the peoples of those days is concerned. In short, these compendia reflect only a partial picture of the day to day life of a common man of the time. Generally the dharmasūtras do not show any influence of the existing reform religions, viz. Jainism and Buddhism. They seem to have originated possibly before the reform religions came into existence. Among the dharmasūtras, those of Āpastamba, Baudhayana, Vasiṣṭha, and Gautama existed relatively earlier. Their time may roughly be calculated between the 6th and the 2nd century before the Christ (cf. Gonda-2.). Many dharmasūtras quite often refer to the

views of Manu, or quote plenty with special interest in the name of Manu. This suggests that the ancient law-givers show high regards for Manu - an ancient law-giver whose views are considered more authentic by almost all ancient law-givers. This all provides us some historical evidences for the available metrical work called Manusmṛti (= MS). Manu's name and his views in ancient India have great charm for the law-givers. This all presupposes an existence of an old Manava Dharma-Sūtra which occupied as much high position even in those days, as the metrical Manusmṛti originated from the former, occupies in our days. Manu's name ranks first even among the other authors of the latter smṛti texts (cf. Bühler - 3. Intr. p.xx).

On the basis of the study of relevant sections of the Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra (= VDS) and MS, Alsdorf came to the conclusion that the former knew a certain treatise attributed to Manu (cf. Alsdorf-1. pp. 22-29). Some scholars including Alsdorf are also of the view that the MS and the greater part of the epic poem Mahābhārata (= MBH) depict a contemporary development in ideas (from ca. 2nd cent. B.C. till some centuries after the Christ), and the latter derived argumentation and other matters from the former (cf. Oldenberg : *Literature des alten Indiens*, p. 187. Alsdorf-1. p. 30). The later Hindu texts, e.g. purāṇas, etc. hardly add something important for an enquiry into the ahimsa problems.

We can add also to this list of sources some materials from the early Jātaka stories antedating Buddhism and Jainism, and some early canonical texts of the latter two. Moreover, we have to rely on some recent researches appeared on the basis of the discovered materials of the Indus Valley Civilisation.

2. AHIMSA, ASCETICISM AND EARLY VEDIC RITUALS

(a) Ritualists :

We will now deal with the early Vedic ritual text, and their interpretations offered by some Vedic scholars.

The killing and injuring of animals remained in centre of sacrificial rituals of the Vedic period. The ritual performers believed that trees, plants, and elements like water, earth, etc. possess spirits or souls, just as men and animal¹, and that an act of killing any creature in this world results in an inverted process in the world beyond, where the victim itself in turn takes the revenge and kills the killer after his death². Ideas behind the killing of animals and the ill-fate of the killer in the "other" world belong to ethnic cultures. They are taboos. They should not be connected with the later ahimsa ideal. The earlier belief is also evident in MS :

mām sa bhakṣayitā 'mutra yasya māmsam ihādmyaham /
etan māmsaya māmsatvaṃ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ // (5.56)

"māmsa" (meat) means: mām - me, sa (paśu, animal) - that on will eat in the next world, whose meat I eat here. The wise men pronounce that to be the meat's nature of being "mām-sa" ("me that one will eat") - meat." (also Lommel, p.220)

The Vedic ritualists, therefore, employed some formulas in order to avoid ill-fate they would meet with in the next world, on account of the killing of animals in sacrifices. The SkhB (11.3) describes the Soma sacrifice in which animals are offered. Here, the triṣṭubh meter identified with bala and vīrya is used before and after the brhatī (large) and the uṣṇis (small) meters of the morning prayer. This suggests that the cattle remaining in the middle, do not run away from the sacrifice due to the bala - force - and the vīrya - strength - used around them. The hotṛ priest reciting the prayer catches hold of the cattle with the

1. Cf. Keith. pp. 71 fol. for spirits; p. 185 for tree-spirits; p.277 for corn-spirits; pp.63-64 for plant-spirits.

2. Cf. MS 5.34, 5.56; SB 11.6.1.3: te hocur ittham vā ime asmān amuṣmīṇl loke asacanta tām vayam iha pratisacāmaha iti /; SkhB 11.3: ... yathā ha vā asmīṇl loke manuṣyāḥ paśūn aśnanti ... evam eva amuṣmīṇl loke paśavo manuṣyān aśnanti ... /; see also Schmithausen- pp.38-39.

morning prayer which is effective as an incantation that averts the evil which he would otherwise meet with in the next world. Here, in this particular context, the morning prayer and "catching hold of the cattle" imply "the winning of power over cattle in this and the next world", e.g.

...sa enān iha prātar anuvakenāvaruddhe taṁ ihāvaruddha
amuṣmilloke nāśnanti nainena pratibhunjate ... /

"He seizes this in this world through the morning litany, they, seized in this world, do not eat him in yonder world, do not partake of him ..." (Schmidt-1 pp.643-644).

A similar instance is found in the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa (= SB 11.6.1 = JB 1.42-44). It is related to a legend of Bhṛgu and his father Varuṇa ! Bhṛgu thinking himself superior to his father in knowledge, has been sent to the next world to teach him a lesson. Bhṛgu came across in the next world some curious events. Finding no proper solution, he came to his father, who explained him the events as follows :

The first event: a man cutting a man in pieces, indicates that the tree now in the form of a man is cutting that person into pieces in the next world, who had earlier cut that tree in this world. To avoid such an ill-fate in the next world, one should put fire-wood on fire in the daily agnihotra.

The second event of a man eating a man crying aloud, means: the one who is eating a man was earlier an animal which was slaughtered and eaten by the same man, who now the animal in the form of a man is eating. The charms for expelling ill-luck in the next world lie in the offering of milk in the agnihotra, since milk stands for cows and cattle in general.

The third event: a man eating a silent man is explained as follows: A plant now in the form of a man is eating a man who had earlier eaten this plant in this world. But the charms against such ill-luck is the illumination of the agnihotra milk with a straw in order to see in the darkness of the dusky-down or late evening, and to be able to prevent the milk from boiling over ... (Schmidt-1 pp.644-645; Della Casa, p.190). Schmithausen has analysed this and similar other legends and showed them as border-line cases of metempsychosis and metamorphosis (Schmithausen-1, pp.96-100 with fns. 531 fol.).

The Vedic man confronted with evil consequences, in the next world, of an act of killing any living being, devised some magic formulas due to which it is assumed that an act of killing in the sacrifice is eliminated, it is somehow pretended that the victim is not being slain or injured. Moreover, it was believed that the sacrificial victim is reborn and goes to the gods (cf. Heesterman-1, p.18). All this was meant to declare that the sacrificers are free from guiltiness of injuring or slaying an animal, or they can prevent the victim from taking a revenge in the next world. As such, meat-eating in the sacrifice was enjoined, it brings no evil to any. The classical law-books including MS also, refer to such rules, which Alsdorf has decided to be a second layer of interpolation (Alsdorf-1 p.19; see also Wezler 1 p.117), e.g. meat-eating for rituals is a divine rule, but on other occasion it is a damonic rule, cf.

yajñaya jagdhi mamsasyety eṣa daivo vidhīḥ smṛtaḥ /
ato 'nyatha pravṛttis tu rakṣaso vidhir ucyate // (MS 5.31)

Animal offered in the sacrifice is believed to have been restored to a sacred life by some magical formulas. These are precautionary measures, so that the victim cannot take a revenge on the priest and sacrificer. The SB (3.8.1.10) states that:

na vā etaṁ mṛtyave nayanti, yam yajñaya nayanti /

In cutting a tree for the sacrificial post, the sacrificer places a blade of grass on the spot where a blow of an axe is to be inflicted. The blade hidden on the spot is invoked to protect the tree, at the same time the axe is ordered not to hurt the tree. Thus, it has to be assumed that the tree is not injured and the injury to the life of the tree is eliminated, - the injury is diverted to the blade of grass³. Also the tree to be cut for the sacrificial post when falling down on the ground is praised and requested, so that the sky may not be injured by its upper parts, the intermediate world by its middle parts, and finally the earth when it is lying in a reclining position along the surface (see Mait.Sam. 3.9.3; Schmidt-1 p.647, fn.3). In the case of the killing by suffocation, the victim's body is sprinkled with

3. Cf. Mait.Sam. 3.9.3 :

oṣadhe, trāyasvainam iti āha svadhīte mainam hīmsīr iti / (Schmidt-1 p.647; Keith. p.185; Gonda-1 p.115; also Tait.Sam. 6.3.3.2; cf. Della Casa. pp.193 fol.) Probably in those days the blade of grass was considered without possessing any life.

water, and the rest of the water is then poured on the ground (cf. Heesterman-1 p.19). It suggests that the pain of the victim is transferred in the water and goes to the earth. Also, water heals up the burning pain and lets it go to the earth. As such, the victim is assumed to have become purified and beautified for the gods (Mait.Sam. 3.10.1). Water is considered to be an appeasing and healing element in Brahmanical literature.

Also, the ritualists employed their own meta-language and generally avoided words like "killing" and "dying" which are more common in use. Instead, they use words such as: a labhate, for "leading" the animal for the offer (cf. Schmithausen-1, pp.9-10), sam jñāpayati, for "consenting" the killing, śamitr (appeaser), for the slaughter, the act of śanti implies an elimination of the killing as such (see Alsdorf-1 pp.67-68).

We come across in such contexts, the term ahimsāyai - in dative, as privative infinitives, first in the Brahmanical texts, e.g.

"Thus he established them on a firm foundation, in order to prevent injury to himself to the sacrificer."

pratiṣṭhāyam evainau tat pratiṣṭhāpayaty atmanaś ca yajāmanasya cahimsāyai / (Ait.B. 1.30.11; see also Gonda-1 pp. 115).

In the PVB (7.9.9.) the vāmadevya-chant is invoked in order to prevent injuries to the cattle - paśūnam ahimsāyai⁴. But any clear reference restricting the meat-eating only to sacrificial occasions is rare to be traced in Vedic literature. The earlier one of its kind of the reference can be traced from the Ch.Up. which deserves our special attention. It says :

tad haitā Brahma Prajapataye uvāca, Prajāptir Manave, Manuḥ prajābhyah: acārya-kulād vedam adhītya yatha-vidhanam guruḥ karma atīṣeṇābhisamāvṛtya kuṭumbe sthitva śucau deśe svādhyāyam adhīyano dharmikan vidādhad atmani sarvēndriy āni sampratiṣṭhāpya-ahimsāyai sarva-bhūtananyatra tirthēbhyah sa khalv evam vartayan yavād-ayusam Brahma-lokam abhisampadyate, na sa punar avartate / (Ch.Up. 8.15.1)

4. See also ahimsāyai:- Tait.Sam. 3.1.5.1; Ait.B. 8.10.9; SB 11.5.4.4: ariṣṭyai = ahimsāyai; ibid., 7.1.1.38; for details about it, Gonda-1 pp.115-116; cf. Schreiner. p.295, fn.12.

Manu, the ancient law-giver, on the authority of his predecessors, viz. Brahma and Prajapati, instructs the sacred laws to his progeny, that a man after studying the Veda should return home from his teacher's house and he should then establish his family, do religious duties and continue the Vedic study. Having concentrated all his sense-organs on the self, he has to avoid injury to all beings, except at the holy places (i.e. sacrifices). Living in this way in his whole life, he attains the world of Brahma, and never returns (i.e. he is not reborn). These and other similar statements are the instances of the magico-ritualistic pattern of the Vedic religion.

The ahimsayai in dative in the Brahmanical passages is not employed in its technical sense, it has to be interpreted in its ritual context only. Its employment in this literature may be categorized under the name: "a ritual ahimsa-theory". Such references are the earliest ones in the Vedic literature. They are the main sources for the later development of the ahimsa in the Indian culture. It can be traced even in the later religious texts of India. However, A. Wezler is skeptic and critical about Schmidt's explanation of the ritual ahimsa-theory which according to him is "mono-kausal" (Wezler-1 p.87, fn. 252).

(b) Brahmacārins :

In course of time, the Aryans divided their life span in four successive stages - āśramas, viz. the preliminary stage of brahmacharya - initiation in the Vedic knowledge, also known as brahmacharin or student of the sacred Veda, the householder's stage, viz. grhastha, the vānprastha stage- hermit living in the forest, and the last stage of samnyāsin, the ascetic who renounces the world. The stages are often found in the dharmaśāstra literature.

Among the four stages, in the primary stage of studentship, a student gets initiative in the Vedic knowledge and has to study the sacred texts (svādhyaya) and observe chastity and continence. At this stage, the religious student is yet unripe for, and not conversant with the magico-ritualistic tactics of the priests for saving his life from evils of injurious activities, he has, therefore, to be more cautious and alert in his undertakings, and to abstain himself from hurting or injuring any living being.

Vedic students do not perform sacrifices, but their daily duties,

e.g. svadhyaya, sleeping on the ground, celibacy, ahimsa, etc. are valued as much as the ritual acts. Any clear reference to the ahimsa as a duty to be observed by any brahmacarin is hardly traced in the dharmaśūtras. The Paraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra:

ahimsann aranyat samidha ahr̥tya .../ (2.5.9; cf. Della Casa p.194)

instructs the student to fetch the samidhs - the fire-wood - from the forest without injuring any trees or animals etc.. It suggests that he should collect only those samidhs which are fallen down on the ground, but he should not cut off the living trees for the sake of the fire. Such rules may be compared with those for the renunciators who, for the sake of their food, are permitted to collect fruits, etc. fallen down from the trees on the ground, but not directly from the trees (cf. GDS 3.20). It should, however, be noted that ascetics living in the forests in olden times were not vegetarians (cf. Wezler-1 p.99).

The teacher entrusts his student to the care of the gods and also to the care of other living beings in order to protect him from injuries, e.g. ŚB says:

... viśvebhyas tva devebhyah paridadāmi, sarvebhyas tva bhūtebhyah paridadāmi, ariṣṭya iti / (ŚB 11.5.3-4; see also Schmidt-1 pp. 639-640.)

It is also instructed that the brahmacarin should avoid meat-eating, killing (vadha) of the beings. This rule is reflected in the MS:

varjayan madhu-maṁsaṁ ca gandha-mālyaṁ ... striyaḥ / śuktāni yāni sarvaṇi prāṇināṁ caiva himsanam // (MS 2.177; cf. also GDS 2.19)

The prohibition of meat-eating for the brahmacarins may be due to the taboo, that the meat of the dead animal is connected with the spirit and hence it is dangerous to the eater himself (cf. Keith. p.307).

(c) Rituals and renunciatory ideas :

Some scholars trace origins of especially the hermit-life and the ascetic life outside of the Indo-Aryan culture. They contend that these two modes of life-stages were gradually accepted

from the existing non-Aryan cultures and were ultimately integrated in the Aryan way of life, i.e. in the later four-fold āśrama-system, and the ahimsa which was originally an element of the non-Aryan cultures, was also integrated into the framework of the Aryan life in India (cf. Schmidt-1 p.651). Consequently, many doctrines of the non-Aryan ascetic philosophy are assimilated into the Brahmanical philosophy, e.g. the karma of any type binds the soul and offers no freedom whatsoever. It results in the transmigration of the soul (metem-psychosis). Therefore, a man aspires after the emancipation, and desires to deliver himself from this evil by renouncing the vicissitudes of the karmic world, and living a life of an ascetic according to the doctrine of ahimsa⁵.

The Vedic texts abound in descriptions of rituals which are mainly centred around householder's life, but these texts hardly show any interest in describing other modes of life, i.e. other than the mode of life of householders. However, we can collect some data of different modes of life indirectly from the description of the life of Vedic students-brahmacārins - who sometime, without living a householder's life, wish to adopt other mode of life, whose essential characteristics are similar to those through which the sacrificer has to pass in the rituals (cf. Olivelle-2 pp.79 fol.,81). J.C. Heesterman studied the ritual literature from this particular angle and traced origin of the three āśramas, viz. brahmacharya, vānaprastha, and samnyasa from within the ritual structures of Vedic literature (cf. Wezler-1 pp. 110 fol.).

Since the ahimsa doctrine played an important part in the renouncer's mode of life, we describe in short in the following paragraphs how the recent studies of the problem of the āśramas vis-à-vis ahimsa arrived at a certain conclusion.

For the Vedic Aryans, ritual and the brahmin priest, both are pure. Person wishing to get himself rid of the evil of death and to be reborn pure out of the sacrifice, has to perform a sacrifice which is the only means of purifying his self. He has, therefore, to undergo initially a particular ceremony called dīkṣa, so that he gets himself entitled for the sacrificial ritual.

5. For views that asceticism comes from the non-Aryan sources, the reader is referred to: Winternitz-1; Skurzak-1; Olivelle-2; and "Entwicklung und Theorie der Āśrama-Lehre" by F.Weinrich (Arch. f. Rel.-wiss. 27, 1929), 'Die vier indischen Āśramas' by B. Liebich (Breslau 1936).

During the period of the *dikṣa*, the sacrificer has to observe some vows, e.g. sleeping on the ground, *ahimśa*, chastity, fasting, celibacy, etc. He has become thus a *dikṣita*. The ceremony of the *dikṣa* underwent a change in the later period in which the *dikṣa* purifies the sacrifice and transfers the *dikṣita* as a pure brahmin. The role of the sacrifice has been thus taken by the *dikṣa*, in later classical rituals.

By means of various rituals, e.g. *dvadaśaha* (of twelve days), i.e. offering of an animal, and giving *dakṣiṇas* - gifts - to the priest, the *dikṣita* gets rid of his impure soul (Kāth. Sam. 34.8.11; Tait. Sam. 7.2.10.2; cf. ĀŚS 13.6.4-6), and he is reborn pure after the end of the sacrifice. But, he is considered to be impure with evils so long as he is a *dikṣita*. In ancient times, evils were transferable to others. It is stated that *dikṣita*'s evil goes partly to them who eat his food or mention his name (cf. Kāth. Sam. Black Yaju. 23.6). It can be designated as "dangerous sacredness" since "... evil and impurity were essential in the sacrifice. What is, originally, at stake in the sacrifice is the canalizing of these impurities into proper channels so that they remain within the cycle of production and procreation." (Heesterman-1 p.24, for relevant details, see Heesterman-1 pp.11-15).

The brahmin priest in rituals undertakes the responsibility of taking over the impurity of the *dikṣita* - the *yajamana* (sacrificer) by eating from the offering, and by accepting the gifts. Acceptance of the gifts involves greater danger, so the priest is advised to accept the gifts by "turning away" his face, but not face to face - or directly according to the Tait.B. (2.2.5.1). A real brahmin does not accept the gifts 9cf. Heesterman-1 p.25). Subsequently, some sacrifices without any *dakṣiṇas* emerged in later classical rituals.

After the giving of *dakṣiṇas*, death-impurity of the *dikṣita*, on account of the offerings, is transferred to the priest, that means, the latter takes over the burden of death, in return, the former is reborn as a pure brahmin (a ritual birth). Such a process of exchange and reverse was predominantly functioning in the early ritual systems. The philosophy working behind this is: the evil should be passed on others, in turn the *śrī* - prosperity - should be reconverted (cf. Heesterman-1 pp. 24-26,27,29).

The priest, having become inferior in the society on account of accepting sacrificer's food and gifts, has also in turn to perform something to get himself pure. Such a reciprocal obligation of

transferring death-impurity and accepting purity is found in an episode of Prajapati and the seasons and the months. The seasons and the months as priests felt themselves cumbersome after having eaten the food and accepted the gifts in Prajapati's sacrifice. They in turn became the *dīkṣitas* and invited Prajapati as their priest in the sacrifice. At the end, both parties became balanced, firmly established in each other (cf. Ait.B. 4.25; Heesterman-1 pp.26-27; Heesterman-2 p.10).

The later idea of *punar-mṛtyu* - recurring death - seems to have originated on the basis of ritual ceremonies which involved a sort of reciprocal obligation of the sacrificer-priest-axis for transferring and reversing death-evils, impurities, etc. Here lies also an origin of the later *upaniṣadic* idea of transmigration of the soul and the mystery of the karma theory. Their development will be shown in course of the following discussions.

The mechanism of the ritual was rendered in a later phase more sophisticated with two rival parties competing with each other to win the sacrificial bounty. The *deva-asura* contests⁶ and the Season-Month and Prajapati contests should be evaluated from this perspective. Employment of the rival parties was also required for balancing their establishments (Heesterman-2 pp. 1-10). Since the mutual dependence on each other could not yield an absolute benefit to any of the parties in the sacrifice, the system of rival-parties was eliminated and the sacrificial mechanism was made functioning only on one single party, the *yajamana* himself, without involving anybody else. This is evident in the Prajapati-Mṛtyu contest in the *Jaim. B.* (2.69-70; also PB 16.7), wherein Prajapati discovered the *sampat* (symolical) and *samkhyāna* (numerical) equivalence and replaced thereby Mṛtyu (death) who was to become Prajapati's participant in rituals (Heesterman-1 pp. 19-20, 27). The knowledge of equivalence and the single-*yajamana* concepts came into being for conquering the recurring deaths (cf. *SB.* 10.5.2.23; 10.6.5.8; *BĀ. Up.* 1.2.5). As such, evils and impurities remained at a lower level of the hierarchy and the problem of their transfer or reversal ceased altogether. Heesterman calls it an individualization of the rituals.

6. Mrs.S.S.Dange's attempts in tracing non-Vedic rituals in the non-Aryan cultures on the basis of rivalry in sacrifices lack proper study of the Vedic rituals, see her views in: "Some non-Vedic Rituals in the Vedic Tradition", All-India Oriental Conference Proceedings, Poona 1987, pp.163-168.

The developments of the type brought forth revolutionary changes in the entire Aryan culture. The brahmin though a priest was ever pure, he enjoyed a higher status in the hierarchy. The yajamana-priest axis fused together in a one single individual, i.e. the yajamana himself worked also as a priest at the same time. He was considered as the atman - soul - of the sacrifice, and the priest are its limbs. There is no evil to be transferred. Both get absolute benefit of the sacrifice (cf. ŚB. 12.8.1.17).

The exponents of early Vedic rituals were unable to reconcile with the new trends of individualization vis-à-vis interiorization of the rituals in which lay hidden the ideas of world renunciation. The followers of the new trends were not convinced of the orthodox pattern of transferring evils of injuries by magical means which implied dependence on, or a sort of bond with the priests. Gradually there was a loss in the meaning of such a bond and system of exchange (Heesterman-1 p.18 fn.35).

Earlier the mode of life of the Aryans often fluctuated between two axes, viz. to live with the community and also (for some time) in the forest. It was an alternative cycle of living a life of both ways. Olivelli has to adjust his remarks to the historical fact proving something different from his calculations, and he has to admit the truth that the society of the time did absorb and integrate into the Aryan way of life, also the renouncer's mode of life (cf. Olivelli-2 pp.83 fol.). Heesterman has explained such a process of integration and assimilation in this way. Having performed the abhijit and viśvajit sacrifices, the sacrificer offers food and gives away -renounces - all his possessions as gifts to others. He then retires with his wife to the forest and lives there as a new dīkṣita for about twelve days, and observes some vows, e.g. ahimsa, celibacy, to wear a particular dress, etc. He lives alone, first, on roots and fruits for three days, then lives with some tribal people for three days, then for three days he is fed by alien (non-related) persons, and finally he lives with his relatives for three days. Due to his such a mode of life, he regains that what he had earlier given away. He thus returns home with vigour and strength to live a new mode of life⁷. It is tempting to mention here in this context an interesting literary piece of incident from Canto 4 of the Uttarāmacarita, a Sanskrit drama written

7. Cf. Jaim.B. 2.183; Kaus.B. 25.14; Heesterman-1 p.14; Heesterman-3 p.267; Schmidt-1 p.651. Also for a similar mode of life and the atonement ceremonies to purify the sinners, see MS 11.74.

by Bhavabhūti in about 628 A.D., since it reflects a similar cultural pattern of the early society. In it, the king Janaka visited the sage Valmiki who wished to entertain the royal guest by serving the beef. But Janaka refused to eat meat, because since the time his daughter Sita was in difficulties, he accepted the mode of life of an anchorite and was practising religious susterities - ahimsa, etc. - in a penance-grove, cf.

Dāṇḍayana - nivṛtta-māmsastu ... Janakaḥ / sa ...Sītayāḥ ...
daiva durvipakam upaśrutya vaikhāṇasaḥ saṁvṛttāḥ
/ tathāsyā katipaye saṁvatsaramś Candradvipe
tapo-vane tapas tapyamānasya /
(cf. also a king Rama's story in Wezler-1 pp.101 fol).

The alternating mode of life in the forest later turned out to be an extreme, but volutarily mode of life of a renouncer. The germs of renouncer's life lie in the early rituals like the sarvamedha sacrifice. Here, the sacrificer gives away all what he has gained. He resumes the sacred fire in himself and goes to the forest for ever, where he lives a life of a renouncer and never returns home⁸.

Such developments reflect a crucial aspect of "interiorization of the rituals". BĀ.Up (1.4.17) tells us that his atman possesses kṛtsnata - completeness -, manas is his self, voice is his wife, vital breaths his offsprings, the eye his human and the ear his divine properties, the self is his act. It is equated with the five-fold victim, etc. And, he obtains this all after knowing it thus. He resumes in himself the entire universe and performs the sacrifice in himself and by himself (Heesterman-2 p.23). The Mait.Up. (1.1 and 6.26) considers meditation on atman as the agnicayana ritual and prāṇāyāmas as pravargya ceremony (cf. also Tait.Up. 2.4-5). His offerings are his own self. His own self leads him after his death. He sees himself in all beings and all beings in himself (cf. SB. 11.1.8.6; BĀ.Up. 4.5.15). He offers only in his self. He contains in himself the three sacrificial fires, the prāṇa as the garhapatya fire, apāna as the dakṣiṇa fire, vyāna as the āhavanīya fire, udāna and samāna as the sabhya and the avasatha fires respectively (cf. BDS. 2.18.8; Ch.Up. 5.19-23; see also Olivelle-2 p.77, fn.9). He does not perform sacrifices as other gr̥hasthas. His life is full of tapas- observances of vows and penances - which is identified with sacred

8. Heesterman-2 p.26; Schmidt-1 p.651; cf. Skh.SS. 6.15.20 fol.; ASS. 20.24.16; SB. 13.6.2.20.

fire kindled in himself, that means, his sacrifice is an *atma-yajña* a sacrifice in his self. Begging of alms is his food, his *tapas*. He is detached from the taste, he has compassion for the living beings (cf. BDS. 2.10.18.8-10). He sees all living beings in his self, and his self in all living beings (Īś. Up. 6). He does not hurt any plants and trees and destructs no seeds. It suggests that the renouncer subsists on food devoid of life (i.e. food cooked by others), fruits fallen on the ground, etc. etc. (cf. GDS. 3.20: *brahmacārin's* rules for collecting the *samidhs*, etc. above 2.b). The MS (2.85) considers such *manasa-yajñas* (mental or spiritual sacrifices) thousand times more effective than the outward rituals.

It is thus clear that the absolute renunciatory mode of life which can be traced in the classical ritual texts is much more brahmanical in character. In this context one instance from the Buddha's life deserves our special attention. The Buddha's cousin-antagonist Devadatta insisted upon an ascetic practice by adherence to *ahimsa*, vegetarianism, and other strict rules of asceticism (cf. Alsdorf-1 p.6). Ruegg traces its reasons that he was a brahmin (Udana S 1.5, p.3) and in India "vegetarianism is of course characteristic of the classical concept of the *Brahmaṇa* as well as of the Renouncer (*śamnyasin*)." (Ruegg. p.234 and p.241, fn.6; for a difference in such a view, see Olivelle-2 pp. 75-83)

It is difficult to prove origins of asceticism from the non-Aryan cultures either. But it may be conceded that the renunciatory ideologies though similar in character but different in forms were prevalent in both cultures - among the Aryans of the Brahmanical times and among their contemporary non-Aryans or heterodox peoples. We can also say that the Aryans would have shaped their own ascetic way of life on the basis of the contemporary renunciatory beliefs and practices found among the non-Aryans or the heterodox circles. Such an influence, if any, on the existing Brahmanism, carries too minor an importance to bring about any revolutionary ideologies within the religious thinking of the Aryans (Heesterman-2 pp. 24-27; cf. Wezler-1 p.110).

The problem of freeing oneself from the clutches of the *punar-mṛtyu* - the recurring death - which was closely connected with and originated in the ritualism of the Vedic India (see above 2.c) could not be solved easily by the rituals of the late Vedic period. The SB (6.2.2.27) thinks that a man is depen-

dent on his own ritual karma. He is born in this world of his own creation, due to his own karmas, karmas in a broader sense : not only the ritual ones ! Any type of karma, whether good or evil, cannot be transferred to othes. The mystery of the good or evil karma is found in the BĀ. Up. (3.2.13)⁹. The karmas of any type cannot be transferred in this world. The man has to enjoy the results of his own karmas. The successful effort in rooting out the (result of the) karmas lies in only the individual man and his interior capacity. No outer force or any sacrifice too is helpful in this matter. Such ideas about karma and transmigration of the soul developed on the basis of the individualization and the interiorization of the ritual systems of the early upaniṣadic times. They do not show any impact of the non-Aryan sources on the Vedic Aryans (Heesterman-2 p.16; Schmidt-1 p.650 with fn. 2; Lommel. pp. 214 - 215).

(d) Karma and its origin :

Also, the belief in metempsychosis - transmigration of the soul, recurring deaths, the karma theory, etc. emerged gradually from the vedic ritualism - in the processes of individualization and interiorization, in its encounter with the renunciatory mode of life (cf. Schmidt-1. p.650; Heesterman-2.40). The recent study of Hermann W. Tull on the origins of the karmas in the vedic literature is worth noting. In his thesis: "The vedic origins of Karma", he observes that origins of karma lie in the vedic religion, in the ritual theology. The karma concept is as much old as the ritual theology of the Brahmana texts, ca.600 BC to 900 B. C. (Tull.p.15). According to him, the overvaluation of the upaniṣadic thinking overshadowed consequently some other aspects of the vedic religion. They were underestimated, but deserve all our attention. --- Man's birth after death depends on the moral quality of the karmas which he has done in his lifetime. This is reiterated in the BĀ. Up. (3.2.13) that man becomes good by his good karmas and he becomes bad due to his bad karmas of the past. The ritualists consider also the well-done - sukṛta - sacrifice, and its opposite, the sacrifice not well-done - duṣ-kṛta -, and the deciding factors for the next world accordingly. They also believe in the deva-yāna and the pitṛ-yāna, and

9. Due to the changed situation of rituals from the transversal axis to the "vertical axis of the individual life.." and also because it was the negation of the contest, Yājñavalkya had to go outside to explain the mystery of the upaniṣadic karma doctrine, but not in front of the participants of the verbal contest (cf. Heesterman-3. pp.34-35; also Heesterman-2. p.15, fn.31).

these two paths result from the distinction in ritual practices. By means of ritual practice, the sacrificer is "integrated with cosmos and enters into a kind of transformation". The fear of the death is largely reduced to an abstraction (Tull. p.111). Death is a reality and an essential part of the sacrifice. - - - The ritual texts believed, that the activities are generated and re-generated in a kind of cycle, e.g. smoke results ultimately in rain, the sacrificer gets a new birth in the sacrifice, he goes from this world to the next world and comes from there in this world, his death and rebirth, all these are generated and regenerated. - - - In the upaniṣadic literature, the inner sacrificial values were enhanced. But concepts about karmas in order to fulfil a karma doctrine had their place in the Brahmanical texts. The doctrine had their place in the Brahmanical texts. The doctrinal principles of the karmas operate in both the spheres almost alike. only they are merely extended from the ritual world to a still larger world of experience (Tull. p. 1220.)

(e) Metempsychosis :

On the basis of his study of various vedic legends, such as the Bhṛgu-Varuṇa and the like, Schmithausen observed that they contain borderline cases of metamorphosis and metempsychosis. Their underlying story describing the after-life birth shows the "zig-zag-pattern" in the early vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature as well (Schmithausen-1 pp. 96-101). So far the Bhṛgu-Varuṇa legend is concerned (see above 2.a), a plausible ground behind all the three victims - a tree, an animal, a plant - of this world which assumed a human form to revenge upon the men..... in the yonder world, may be functionally motivated for wielding axes and choppers, etc. as Schmithausen thinks, but it suggests, I think, something special. The victims like trees, animals and plants are living beings and they deserve equal treatment on par with human beings in this world. Men should not treat them merely as insignificant being worth to be injured. Conversely, in the case of victims of the yonder world, the three men have retained their human form of this world which suggests also the same matter. The events of killing actually the men bring out considerable effect and the dread in the foreground, Which would have hardly been so, had the men of this world assumed invertedly the non-human forms of a tree, an animal, and a plant, - since events of killing men in their non-human forms would have again been misjudged as insignificant events as in this world. And it would have surely missed the fundamental point of the teaching by mak-

ing easily accessible to the people,..... that even trees, animals, plants, etc. are no less significant beings than the human beings, and killing them is as much dreadful as killing the human beings. "The conception of yonder world as an inverted world" signifies first the "inversion" of only the two main objects, viz. a victim and a killer in this world, who accordingly are inverted as a killer and victim respectively in the yonderworld, considering the other matters not so much important. This is an inevitable course to impose upon men the dread of the killing. Had they had their rebirth (for the retribution) in this world instead of that in the yonder world, it would have presented a complex situation in deciding who the real victim or the real killer in the "past life" was. The concept of "yonder world" in legends is reserved specially for punishments and retribution.

(f) Ahimsa-asceticism and ritualism :

Now we have to evaluate the ahimsa in this context and to see that the dreadful consequences of the injurious activities (himsa) and their elimination, viz. ahimsa remained one of the fundamental duties - of the renouncers (cf. Schmithauser-2 pp. 18 fol. and fn. 106). We have already referred (above 2.b) to some extent to the earlier existence of the brahmacarins -students of the sacred lore, their initiation and duties, etc. Due to some similarities in the initiation rites and prescribed duties of the students (earlier phase) and duties of the renouncers (later phase), it has to be assumed that the duties for the renouncers are modelled more or less after those of the vedic students (cf. Schmithausen-2 p.61, fn. 338 for the remarks on vedic religion and the ascetic movement, ... brahmacārin and/or samnyāsin ...). The students are supposed to wear a particular dress and observe some vows, just as a dīkṣita does during ritual ceremonies. Similarly the students and the renouncers observe celibacy, practise ahimsa, do not perform sacrifices, and they live on begging of alms (Schmidt-1 p.651). Student's aim is to acquire knowledge of the veda, renouncer's aim is to achieve the knowledge of the self. The student can voluntarily adopt the renouncer's mode of life by observing life-long celibacy and living in his teacher's house. Consequently, he is also united with the brahmaṇa (n.) and is not born after his death just as the renouncer.

The initial ceremony for a vedic student corresponds to certain rites prescribed for the person who is ready to renounce the world and to become an ascetic (see below; also Schmidt-1

p.651; cf. Wezler-1 p. 215, fn.314). The difference between the two modes of life lies in their conviction. The students practise ahimsa, since they are still immatured in magical rituals and cannot compensate for evils and the misfortunes resulting from injuries to the beings. Whereas, the renouncers practise ahimsa as an accepted doctrine. They have rejected the magico-ritualistic aspect behind their practice, since they are convinced of the fact that ritual ahimsa-theory has no everlasting effect, it is temporary.

The interiorization of the rituals is found among both, the vedic student and the renouncer. Both, resorting to a forest life have to accept friendly nature with fearlessness and compassion towards all beings, insects, beasts, and birds, etc. in their surrounding. They have to observe the ahimsa very strictly (cf. Schmithausen-2 p.18). The older ritualism in its new phase of interiorization is found also in the upaniṣadic literature which may be called the meta-ritualism, a designation coined by L. Renou (*L'Inde classique* 1: Renou and Filliozat. Paris 1947, § 578 from Schmidt-1 p. 652). In the Upaniṣads, all accessories for the ritualism, viz. the priest, the offer, etc. are eliminated. Because they are of no use in achieving the freedom of the self. All these are replaced by the knowledge of equivalence (cf. Schreiner. p.304).

Persons wishing to enter the order of the world-renouncers (samnyasins or parivrajakas - the wandering ascetics) has to pass through some rites as prescribed in the BDS (2.10.17; cf. also Wezler-1 p. 105, and Olivelle-2 pp. 75-83). The renouncer has to promise fearlessness (abhaya, to all creatures, consequently he does not have fear from the living beings on the earth (cf. BDS 2.6.11.23, 2.10.17.29-30; MS 6.38-39; for Buddhism, cf. Schmithausen-2 p.31). Again, the renouncer has to observe the vows of the ahimsa - non-injury to beings - , truth, non-stealing, celibacy, and non-possession. He is "adrohini" (free from malice) by means of restraining his speech, thought and actions (cf. BDS. 2.10.18.2-3; MS 6.46).

The earliest usage of the term ahimsa as a doctrine is traced in the Ch. Up. (3.17.4) in which Ghora (Āṅgīrasa) teaches that the dakṣiṇas to the priest are the tapas (heat, penance, austerity), liberality, uprightness, ahimsa, and speaking the truth¹⁰ (cf. Winternitz-3 p.223). It can be here observed that the

10. atha yat tapo dānam ārjavam ahimsā satya-vacanam iti, asya dakṣiṇāḥ /

identification of these qualities with *dakṣiṇas* in the moral teachings of Ghora implies "varieties of self-denial". The *tapas* causes the body emaciated. It is an act of giving one's own physical substance, - an offering of the *dīkṣita*. Speaking the truth is a severe self-restraint. The *dīkṣita* has to speak the truth in Vedic sacrifices, since it leads him to the world of the gods (cf. *Ṛgveda* 7.86.6; *ŚB.* 1.1.1). The *ahimsa* saves life of the living beings, and the *dīkṣita* has to observe carefully the practice of *ahimsa*, since it is a natural tendency of injuring the living beings and to live on their flesh. The belief that the living being which is killed in the sacrifice is healed and restored to life and joins the gods by magical means, - this belief has been totally discarded in this moral teaching, and the *ahimsa* - non injury to any living being - achieved a place in the ethical sphere as a principle of morality Ghora has yet not involved in his teachings, the *karma* doctrine, the *atman* theory, and it appears that the textual portions dealing with Ghora's teachings in the *Ch. Up.* belong to earlier strata. An impact of the *Ṛgveda* (8.6.30 and 1.50.10) quoted in it in support of the teachings, is clearly evident. Ghora believed that a man without any "desire", is released from the death by seeing in himself, i.e. comprehending on the eve of his death, that he is the light imperishable, immovable, and that it is fixed upon the vital airs (cf. *Ch. Up.* 3.17.6). Here it is difficult to decide about an exact state of the released soul after the man's death. If it lies "in the realm of the light of the primeval seed ... beyond the sky and the sun ...", then Ghora's teachings may be assigned to a period before *Parśva* (ca. 5th or 6th cent. B. C.) and the *Mahavira* (the founder of Jainism, ca. 4th cent. B. C.) who also believed in a similar state of the released individual soul¹¹.

(g) *Vanaprasthas* :

The problem of deciding the origin and development of the *vanaprastha* mode of life in the early Vedic texts is also beset with difficulties. Ludwik Skurzak (Skurzak-2) has studied the problem by analysing various layers in the *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra*. He showed the rules for the *vanaprasthas* in *ADS* 2.9.21-

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11. Cf. Schmidt-1 pp.653 fol.; for the state of the released soul in Jainism, see *Doctrine*. § 129; for the renunciatory ideology of Ghora akin to that of the Brahmanism, see further Schmidt-1 p. 654; for an influence of Ghora's teachings on the *karma* doctrine in Buddhism, cf. F. Edgerton: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 8. Poona 1927, pp.219-249 noted by Schmidt-1 pp.657 fol., fn.6; cf. also Della-Casa. pp.194 fol.

2 and then again in ĀDS 2.9.21. 18-21 and 2.9.22. 1-5 in the main text. The latter are meant for the munis (silent ascetics) who are both, ascetics and householders¹². In the former layer, the vānaprasthas are referred to as living in huts in the forest and engaged in rituals. They live an ascetic mode of life. Skurzak finds the earliest phase of the muni - asceticism to have been superseded by the conception of the life of a hermit - vānaprastha. According to him, ascetics like parivrajakas, saṃnyāsins and śramaṇas were wandering all over the country. They were active priests in the region of Magadha before the time of Buddhism and Jainism, and they believed in fortune-telling, sorcery, etc. They were influenced by the Bon religion of the Himalayan regions. These are the ascetics - saṃnyāsins of the dharmasūtras, but they are different from the muni vānaprastha type of the Vedic texts¹³.

According to Patrick Olivelle (Olivelle-1 pp. 27-35), the Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra and the Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra believed only in the householder's mode of life, and the householders are given a preference for renouncing the world. The BDS (2.6.11.9-34) is an authentic text, but the rest of the text (BDS 3.3.1-22) is a summary of the Vaikhanasa-Sūtra, and is not authentic (cf. Wezler-1 p.112). Sprockhoff distinguishes saṃnyāsins, parivrajakas, bhikṣus, all the wandering ascetics from the vānaprasthas (i.e. hermits) as follows :

The ascetics receive something as gifts (e.g. food by begging), but do not give something in return. They visit casually villages for begging of alms, they do not offer anything, do not perform sacrifice and keep no fire, they live alone in the forest and possess no house. Vedic students and/or the householders are allowed to live such an ascetic mode of life.

On the contrary, the hermits - vānaprasthas - give something as gifts to others, but they do not receive anything as gifts. They do not live in village or even in the outskirts. They keep fire and ~~offer in the sacrifice~~ (cf. Wezler-1 p.105, fn. 296, p.116). live alone or together with their wife in a hut, etc. None of the Vedic students and/or the householders has any option to enter

12. Cf. Ait. B. 4.33.1: the muni-grhastha Aitāsa and MBH: śalya-parvan 49: Durvāsas visting a muni-grhastha called Mudgala, also MBH: vana-parvan 246, for details about it, see Wezler-1 pp. 86,90,91,115-116.

13. For criticism of such views, see Sprockhoff-1 pp.396,413 foll; cf. also Wezler-1 pp.104 fol and Wezler-2 pp.402,405.

the stage of the vanaprashta's life (Sprockhoff-2 pp.19-90; cf. Heesterman-2 pp. 29-29, fn. 50,51; for vanaprasthas and their tapas, see Wezler-1 p.87, fn.252).

Furthermore, Sprockhoff studied in detail the Vedic literature and showed the possible origin and development of the vanaprastha mode of life in his monumental thesis "Die Alten im alten Indien. Ein Versuch nach brahmanischen Quellen" (Sprockhoff-1) and criticized views of the Polish scholar Skurzak (Skurzak-1). He analysed in different forms the earliest hermit's life as follows:

(1) In the earliest layer, the aged father had to leave his house and children following the sampradāna (all-surrendering) rituals ("Übergabe-Ritual", cf. Kauś. Up. 2.25: Vṛddhāśrama and Skurzak-2). It is not certain at this layer whether the father, lived a wandering life or not (cf. king Rāma's story in Wezler-1 pp.101 fol.).

(2) In later layers,

(i) the aged father was allowed, after the sampradāna rituals, to live with his son under his full control, and the father had no freedom.

(ii) Alternatively he had to leave his son's house and to go far away from him, and remain in banishment (exile). He lived thus his life wandering in the forests (arāṇya) till his death. This is comparable to a Persian practice mentioned in Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and a commentary on it, in which old, weak, and sick parents used to kill animals, insects, etc. (sources from Halbfass. p.14, fn. 63-67).

(iii) Or, the old father decided at the time, either to commit "religious suicide"¹⁴ or to take a recluse in the forest (Sprockhoff-1 p.395, fn.75).

In the above-stated forms of the vanaprastha's life, there were some active factors in the family which pushed the aged ones into "exile", that means, the situation demanded of him to leave per force the home and live the rest of his life in any manner in banishment. Sprockhoff traced similar established customs

14. For "religious suicide", see Olivelle-3; "Fasting unto Death according to Āyāranga-Sutta and to Some Paimayas" (in: Mahāvira and His Teachings, Bombay 1977, pp.113-117) and "Fasting unto Death according to the Jaina Tradition" (Acta Orientalia 38, Copenhagen 1977, pp.43-66), both by C.Caillat.

also among the peoples of Scandinavia and the northern Germany (Sprockhoff-1 pp.385 fol., 398 fol.).

(iv) Irrespective of the forms stated above, there was also another form of the *vānaprasthas* who left the house and lived in the forest, it may be called an "emigration" of the aged ones from their house. This form is represented by the name *saṁnyāsa* - renunciation. In some cases, it was the duty of the grown up son to prepare a hut - *kuṭī* - outside of the village area for his aged father to live in. Probably here lies the germs of the later *kuṭī-caka* (possessing or living in huts) type of hermits. It is not certain whether the term *kuṭī-caka* stands for the non-Aryan wanderers (Sprockhoff-1 p.409; see Olivelle-2 p.76).

Sprockhoff at the end remarks that the *āśrama* system in the ancient Indian literature should not be misunderstood for "Altersstufen" (life-stages) or "Altersklassen" (old age group). The deciding criterion for the classification of a person is not his age but his status in society (Sprockhoff-1 p.431). The *vānaprastha* way of life was unknown also to the old *upaniṣadic* sections (Sprockhoff-2 p.67).

The *sampradāna* rituals were prohibited for the *śūdras*. In fact, the so-called third stage of the *vānaprastha* is quite unfamiliar in the Vedic literature. It is developed at a later stage, but in the medieval period it became soon obsolete. It is considered as a *kali-varjya* ! It has been stated above (2.c) that the early sources for the later *vānaprastha* and the *parivrajaka* modes of life in India can be traced in the *abhijit* and the *viśvajit* sacrifices (cf. also Wezler-1 p.104, fn.304). The preliminary stages of the later *vānaprastha* type are found also in the BDS (3.1-2). It describes two types of householders, *śālina* (living in huts) and *yāyavara* (wanderers). According to H.P.Schmidt (p. 645, fn.2), the *śālinas* attend only to their own ritual duties, and the *yāyavaras* move about frequently from place to place in order to perform sacrifices for others. *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra* (2.7.12) gives here some rules for those householders who follow an ascetic way of life. They sacrifice in the self by offering to the vital airs. This can be compared with renunciators' mode of life (above 2 f.). Among the other obligatory rules for such householders, the *ahimsa* is also one of them. It is considered essential for the internal purification of the soul. They observe a *palāni-vṛtti* (subsistence by the act of protecting) which is otherwise referred to as the *ahimsika* (non-injurious),

according to which they gather the husked rice or seeds from virtuous persons. This sort of food being "killed" (cooked) by others, but not by themselves, does not bring about any evil or impurity (BDS 3.2.13; cf. Wezler-1 pp.99-102; Wezler-3 p.474).

The *vanaprasthas* living in huts in the forest have to observe many vows among which the *ahimsa* is also traceable. They do not accept food prepared in a village (? *gramyam aharam*, MS 6.63: cultivated in village ?), probably the *vanaprasthas* do not visit villages nearby (cf. Sprockhoff-2 pp. 19-90, and see above 2.9.2. iv; cf. also Wezler-1 p.87, fn.252). The food either cooked on fire or ripened in course of time by natural way is permitted for them (cf. MS 6.21), or, they subsist only on flowers, roots, and fruits, etc. which are ripened on their own and fallen on the ground. They are compassionate towards all living beings. However, they can eat meat of animals provided the animals are killed by others (cf. GDS 3.31; see also Wezler-1 p.100). According to Wezler, the *vanaprasthas* would have developed a practice of eating the *kunapāhāra* - the left over meat of animals killed by wild beasts in the forest. The *kunapāhāra* is prohibited in Jainism (*Viyahapannatti*-S.I.8.9.350, p.568 and *Aupapatika* § 51; see Alsdorf-1 p.13), but earlier it was included in the *ucchiṣṭa* - *bhojans* - the left over food¹⁵. According to the BDS (3.3.6) such *vanaprasthas* cook their own food. Among the other rules prescribed for the *brahma-vaikhāṇasa* type of the *vanaprasthas* the rules such as not injuring gadflies and mosquitos (BDS 3.3.18-19) and entering into the water slowly (carefully), without beating it (ADS 2.9.22.13) imply the concept of *ahimsa* (for details, see Wezler-1 pp.107-108).

(h) *Gṛhasthas* (brahmins) :

We have seen how the ritual (magico-ritualistic) *ahimsa*-theory of the ritualists (householders, Vedic students, etc.) in the early Brahmanical literature developed gradually in a form of the so-called meta-ritualism of the early Upaniṣadic literature, where it was accepted by the ascetics including the hermits - *vanaprasthas*. The *ahimsa* doctrine of the ascetic order again influenced the brahmin class (*varṇa*) of the society. The rules for the brahmins of the time are found in the *dharmaśāstras* and

15. For the details, see Wezler-1 pp.104-105, 116 fol.; cf. *Vighāṣa-jātaka* No.393; MBH 12.11.7 and Wezler-2 pp.401 fol.; cf. also references to "man-eating or partaking of a corpse ..." in Heesterman-1 p.25.

the smṛti texts. We mention here some of the rules covering the concept of ahimsa for the brahmin class as a whole.

Generally a brahmin has to avoid injury to the living beings: adroheṇaiva bhūtanam

says the MS (4.2). A brahmin adopting his livelihood by means of agriculture should be careful so that no living being is injured. But such a profession should be avoided even if he is passing his life in poverty, since the living beings in the fields are injured by means of ploughing (cf. BDS 1.5.10.30; MS 10.83). A brahmin should not adopt a duty of a kṣatriya also - as a warrior in the army, since such a duty involves injury to living beings (BDS 2.24.17). The brahmins are again instructed not to take any weapon in hand, even for the sake of its examination (ĀDS 1.10.29.6). Gautama lays much weight on the eight qualities, viz. *daya* sarva-bhūteṣu - compassion for the living beings, *ksānti* (endurance), *anastya* (non-envious), purity, *anāyasa* (absence of weariness, exertion?), *auspiciousness*, *akarpanya* (absence of greed, magnanimity), *asprha* (absence of covetousness) by means of which a brahmin can be united with the brahman (n.), irrespective of the other forty sacraments he is expected to possess (GDS. 8.22-25). Here the terms such as *daya*, *abhaya*, *adroha*, etc. may be considered as synonyms of the *ahimsa* (cf. Schreiner. p.305). The brahmins can attain heaven and also the highest bliss by means of *ahimsa*, says the MS (4.246, 12.83). Quite often in some smṛti texts, non-injury to living beings - *ahimsa* - is mentioned as one among the many rules laid down for a brahmin *snataka* (student ready to enter the householder's mode of life; for such rules, see e.g. MS 4.164, 246, etc.; for details, see Schmidt-I pp.633-635).

(i) The entire society :

People of the other classes, viz. *kṣatriyas* (the warrior class), *vaiśyas* (merchants, farmers, etc.), and *śūdras* (the lower class) in the society followed in course of time the precedent of the brahmins, and adopted the *ahimsa*-doctrine. The MS mentions *ahimsa* among the other duties of persons of all the four classes, viz.

ahimsa satyam asteyaṃ śaucam indriya-nigrahaḥ /
etaṃ samasikāṃ dharmāṃ caturvarṇye 'bravīn Manuḥ //
 (MS 10.63)

"Non-injury, truth, non-stealing, purity, control upon the sense-organs: Manu declared this law in short for the four classes."

The 5th chapter of the MS is of special interest, so far as the ahimsa for all is concerned. Alsdorf has studied it specially for the theme of ahimsa and shown some structures in it (Alsdorf-1 pp.17 fol.; cf. Schmidt-1 p.626). In it, the first group of vss.5-25 gives a list of vegetables, and meat of different animals whether allowed or prohibited for all. This group has in fact nothing to do with the strict ahimsa ideal as such. But it is in line with the dharmasūtras in general¹⁶. The second group of vss.27-44 is not in line with the former group (see Wezler-1 p.117). Here the meat-eating is allowed and considered obligatory in the sacrifices. It is a divine rule (... daivo vidhiḥ ... vs.31). Meat-eating is permitted when the meat is offered to the gods in worship, and also to the pitṛs (the dead) and the guests:

devān pitṛmś cārcayitva khadan māṃsaṃ na duṣyati // (vs.32).

As a general rule, man should not eat the meat at any time, unless he is in distress, or, it is enjoined in the Veda:

nāveda-vihitaṃ hīṃsaṃ apady api samācāret // (vs.43, cf. vs.39)

The animal offered in the sacrifice takes also along with itself the offerer to the highest state in the heaven.

..... paśūn hīṃsaṃ /

atmānaṃ ca paśūn caive gamayaty uttamāṃ gatiṃ // (vs.42).

A man eating meat on any other occasion save the sacrifices, is eaten by the same animal in the next world:

jagdva hy avidhina māṃsaṃ pretas tair adyate 'vaśaḥ // (vs.33)

The god Svayambhū has created the animals for offering them in sacrifices, so killing them for the rituals is considered non-killing (vss.39, 44; cf. MBH vana-parvan 3.199.5). Plants, cattle, trees, and other animals, birds, etc. attain higher existence, when they are killed for the sacrificial purposes (vs.40; see also above 2.a).

The third group of vss. 44-55 in the 5th chapter of the Manusmṛti is again in contrast with the earlier two groups. Here

16. E.g. cf. BDS: 2.4.7, 6.2, 11.15, 12.8; ibid. 3.1.13, 4.1.— ADS: 1.17, 15.19; ibid. 2.17.26-18.3. — VDS: 14.12, etc. see Alsdorf-1 p.21 fn.3; Heesterman-R p.147; Wezler-1 p.117; Kane p.779.

the ahimsa is explicitly enjoined, the meat-eating is absolutely prohibited, and the vegetarianism is highly praised. The Vedic rituals are here not condemned, but much weight is given to the ahimsa which had earlier played a predominant role in renouncers' life. A person never eating the meat, enjoys as much the fruits of his meritorious karma, i.e. ahimsa, as the other persons enjoy by performing every year one aśvamedha sacrifice continuously for nearly one hundred years:

varṣe varṣe 'śvamedhena yo yajeta śataṃ samah /
 māṃsani ca na khaded yaś tayoh̐ puṇya-phalaṃ samam //
 (vs.53).

The word : māṃsa - meat - means : that (animal) will eat me in the next world, whose meat I eat here. The wise men pronounce that to be the meat's nature of being meat" (vs.55, see also above 2.a and Lommel, p.220.).

In some texts, the ahimsa is considered as a tapas and also one of the means for removing sins (cf. BDS 3.10.13: ahimsa satyam ... iti tapam̐si /) and it is stated that the soul is purified by the ahimsa (BDS 1.5.8.2). The wise man seeing all beings in his self is not perplexed. He should see the self everywhere (cf. ADS 1.8.23).

Generally most of the rules as laid down in the dharmasūtras and in the smṛti texts for the brahmins are framed keeping in view the ideal life of the renouncers whose main aim was to attain the knowledge of the self. BĀ. Up. (4.4.6) declares that the karmas - whether good or evil - are the main source for the cycle of births and deaths. Man should strive after the knowledge of the self. "The brahmin knows it by reciting the Veda, by sacrifice, by liberality, by tapas, by fasting. Having known this, he becomes a silent ascetic (muni). In search of him, the ascetics wander ahead. Both, what he had done and what not, do not burn him. The knower of this sees the self in his self and everywhere. His world is the world of brahman." (BĀ. Up. 4.4.22-23).

3. LATER PHASES, SPREAD OF AHIMSA AND ASCETIC IDEAS

(a) Inner values - **himsa-ahimsa** :

It is essential now to examine here in short at this stage the general situation prevailing in the contemporary ritualism and some new trends within the fold of Brahmanism or Hinduism, and then to evaluate the reform activities in this context, so far the theme of ahimsa is concerned. For this purpose we concentrate our attention on some passages of the MBH which Alsdorf has specially selected for his study from this particular angle (Alsdorf-1 pp.29-41). Some passages contain debates on topics like ahimsa or vegetarianism versus animal sacrifices or meat-eating. The bulk of the present MBH contains considerable material of the type which can well be assigned to a period before Buddhism and Jainism came into existence (Alsdorf-1 p.30; Oldenberg, op.cit. p.187).

Out of the earlier of such passages is an episode of Dharma-Vyadha - the holy-hunter in the MBH vana-parvan (3.191). The hunter living a religious life is satisfied with his strange means of livelihood, namely: hunting animals which though an evil karma by its very nature, but it is destined for him - for persons of his class, and therefore, he should not abandon it at any cost. But he fed the gods, the pitrs (the dead, fathers), guests, etc. from the meat of animals he hunted. He explains that there is hardly any person not committed to himsa - killing of any living being in the world. The entire world is full of living beings, and the one devours the other. The only dharma that we have to observe earnestly, is to somehow lesser, or root out effects of the evil karmas fallen to our lot, by strictly observing religious duties or the dharma, namely; liberality, truthfulness, obedience, etc. We should strive after the ahimsa everyday which assists us in lessening injurious activities (Alsdorf-1 p.30).

The anuśāsana-parvan (13.116.61) gives more weight to an abstinence from the meat-eating, and says, that to abstain from the meat-eating for one year equals to severe-most penances (tapas) for one hundred years. On another occasion it is stated that the ahimsa includes in itself all other dharmas, as a footprint of an elephant includes in it, footprints of all other In animals (MBH 12.237.18), that means, a person observing the dharma of ahimsa observes in fact all other dharmas !

MBH 14.28 contains a heated contest between the adhvaryu priest and an ascetic (yati) on the matter of offering a goat in the sacrifice. The priest on the Vedic authority explained the ascetic, how the ritual assured the victim a best possible life and enjoyment in the heaven. Being not convinced, the yati pleaded again for the ahimsa, but the priest replied that there is not a single gesture in man's normal behaviour which would be without himsa - injury:

nāsti cēṣṭa, vinā himsam ... /

Complete non-injury to all living beings is hardly possible (cf. Schmithausen-2 p.29, fn. 153). The only remedy against such an evil is to live together with good persons (?). It is here difficult to understand what the priest intended by the word: good ! (for "good", see Wezler-1 p.109; for a similar contest, see in Jainism: Utt. Chs. 12, 25 below 5.b).

Another episode (MBH 12.246) teaches that the ahimsa is the dharma complete in itself, the himsa, therefore, should have no place in sacrifices :

ahimsa sakalo dharmo himsa yajne `samahita /

(for ritualism versus ahimsa vis-à-vis vegetarianism, see Alsdorf-1 p.37 and Wezler-1 p.106).

In an episode of a shopkeeper: Tuladhara and an ascetic: Jajali (MBH 12.253 fo.), truthfulness, namaskara (homate), and dama (self-restraint, control over senses) are considered much valuable as a sacrifice in general (cf. Winternitz-2 pp.697 fol.; Schreiner. pp. 296-298 and fn.15).

In the Vicakhnu-gīta (MBH 12.257, see also Schreiner. pp.298-299), king Vicakhnu disputes the cow-offer in sacrifice and reiterates that Manu evaluated the ahimsa as the best of all dharmas:

ahimsaive hi sarvebhyo dharmebhyo jyayasi mata /

The meat, honey, wine, fish, rum, etc. are adopted as means of enjoyment in life by the wicked persons, but these means are in fact not ordained in Veda (vs.9). The brahmins knew among all sacrifices only the one that is Viṣṇu, to whom milk and flowers are traditionally enjoined as an offer (vs.10). Here we have early sources of Viṣṇuism connected with vegetarianism (cf.

also Gokapiliya in MBH 12.260 fol. and Schreiner. pp.301-303). The kind Vasu episode in the MBH (12.264) is a classical piece of Viṣṇuism showing an attempt to reinterpret the Vedic sacrifices. It contains conflict between the gods and the ṛṣis (seers). It is here declared that in the golden age of kṛta-yuga, no animals were sacrificed :

idaṃ kṛta-yugaṃ nāma kalāḥ śreṣṭhaḥ pravartitaḥ /
ahimsyaḥ yajña-pasavo yuge śmin na tadanyatha // (vs.73).

But the animals were sacrificed in the treta-yuga, the next silver age where the whole of the dharma is reduced by half. Again, in reply, the ṛṣis protected against animal sacrifice to the god : Indra. They declared that hiṃsā is no dharma at all. In both cases, the ṛṣis opposed and favoured an offer of aja - cereal corn (i.e. a-ja = not born, ungerminating corn) - and meant aja not as goat. Such an interpretation was then accepted by the opposition party, the gods.

The description with the work aja as corn in the Brahmanical sacrifices recurs with some changes in some Jaina texts: viz. Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa, Jinasena's Harivaṃśapurāṇa (17.38-164), and Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (7.2.362-514). The view of the ṛṣis of the MBH episode, that the corn of three years old should be used for the sacrifices, has been explained in Jainism that the three-year-old corn is "dead", it is not capable of germination (cf. Uttarapurāṇa 17.69, sources from Alsdorf p.40).

P. Schreiner has on the basis of his study observed that the Śantiparvan (Chs. 248-267) in the MBH is a collection of literature. Though a few handful of orthodox brahmins still believed in Vedic ritualism and tried to escape themselves from the evil consequences of the animal killing in sacrifices by means of magical formulas or by adopting some reinterpretations in the Vedic rituals, but their belief found no support among majority of the followers of Brahmanical or Hindu faith. materials consisting of the central theme of ahimsā. These materials have also been rendered spurious in course of time, and their earliest core lies in the discussion between Kapila and Syumaraśmi in the Gokapiliya (MBH 12. Chs. 260-262; see also Alsdorf-1 p.34). The style and manner of the discussion and conflict interwoven around the episode presents a picture of the so-called Hinduism appearing to be emerging at the same time out of the Vedic religion. Such instances reflect many

socio-religious aspects worthy to be noted here. It attracted many persons interested in expressing their concern, for the first time, over social and religious aspects, such as arbitrary authority and greedy attitude of the brahmins and their unreasonable killing of animals, abuse of political power, etc.

Moreover, new ethical ideals and new concepts of final deliverance developed around the *ahimsa* concept and took a definite shape, e.g. interiorization and spiritualization of the sacrificial ritualism (cf. Heesterman-1 pp.14 fol. and Heesterman-2 pp.16 fol.; Schmidt-1 pp.651 fol.), secularization of the renouncers' ideals and the values of *abhaya* - fearlessness -, *samatva* - equanimity -, freedom from passion, etc. which were giving a determined values to the renouncers' mode of life (Schreiner. p.304).

Many *purāṇas* in general and later *smṛtis* in Hinduism contain innumerable passages similar in nature and contents (see e.g. Wezler-1 p.109). This all attracts and interests us all, but radically they add nothing to what we have so far stated. Moreover, the *purāṇas* are plenty in number, and their chronology is not yet certain. We, therefore, do not deal with relevant passages from them concerned with *ahimsa*. But the passages so far mentioned strike us more, not because they contained powerful argumentation and heated discussions against the *himsa* or animal sacrifices in particular, but because they show a growing tendency among the persons of all classes within the fold Brahmanism or Hinduism, a tendency of revolting against and expressing their utter disregard for the sacrificial *himsa*, though it was earlier sanctioned in Vedic

Such and similar other passages in the Brahmanical or Hindu literature, have one and almost the same moral to teach, viz. the *dharma*, righteousness, the *ahimsa*, and the knowledge that the soul is one and resides in all beings, the soul in one person is the same one that resides in others, i.e. animals, birds, insects, plants, trees, and what not. As such, an injury to any living being is an injury to one's own self. This is the fundamental teaching, the all-pervading *atman* theory of the *upaniṣadic* thinking which has been an early incentive for the *ahimsa* doctrine in India. The MBH says :

na hi prāṇat priyataraṃ loke kiṃcana vidyate /
tasmad dayam naraḥ kuryād yathātmani tathā pare //
(anuśāsana-parvan: 113.12).

"There is nothing more beloved to the living beings in the world than their own vital breaths. Therefore, man should be compassionate to others as to one's own self." - - -

And also:

ahimsa satya-vacanam sarva-bhūta-hitam param /
ahimsa paramo dharmah sa ca satye pratiṣṭhiṭaḥ // (MBH 3.200.4)

"ahimsa and truth (speaking the truth) are the supreme welfare of all living beings. Ahimsa is the supreme law, and that law is established in the truth."

(b) Conspectus : (An Over-all Survey)

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Vedic literature Brahmaṇas, etc. ca. 1500 BC onward | Ritualism | Brahmins: (householders, brahmacarins) | Ritual ahimsa-theory |
| Upaniṣads, etc. ca. 900 BC onward. | Meta- ritualism | Ascetics: (saṁnyasins, | ahimsa- doctrine vanaprasthas) |
| Sūtra literature (dharmasūtras, etc.) ca. 600 BC onward. | more upaniṣadic | Entire brahmin-class | ahimsa- doctrine |
| Smṛtis and MBH (MŚ, etc.) ca. 200 BC onward. | more upaniṣadic | Entire society | ahimsa doctrine |

Note : The Conspectus presents a plain picture of the situations prevailing in successive phases within the fold of Brahmanism. It is difficult to illustrate here various complex structures of the brahmanical literature and society connected with the ahimsa concept. The time limitations (for events, etc.) indicated in literary phases are fluctuating. That means, events intervening the phases overlap and coincide to some extent with those of the preceding and/or the succeeding phases, e.g. ritualism or the ritual ahimsa-theory may recur to some extent in later phases, and the upaniṣadic thinking may go back to some extent to its earlier phase, the brahmanical literature.

(c) Indus Valley Culture :

Some relevant matters like animal-offerings at the Durga-puja festivals in India deserve all our attention in the context of the Indus Civilisation and the ahimsa in general. Origin of the

worship of the goddess Durga or Kali, the wife of the god Śiva has been traced in the Indus Civilisation. It is well-known that many goats and buffalows have been sacrificed and slaughtered on the Kalighat for the Durga-pūja festivals in Calcutta every year. Earlier, and perhaps even today (?) human beings were sacrificed at the Durga festivals in Nepal, which is noted by Filchner-Marathe in a published book: "Hindustan im Festgewand" (pp.132-137). Also, Bhavabhūti (ca. 7th cent. AD) describes in his *Malatīmādhava* drama an instance of a human-sacrifice, the description would be poetic, but such events would certainly have taken place somewhere in India. R. v. Nebesky-Wojkowitz ("Wo Berge Gotter sind", pp.180-184) describes such an offer to the goddess Kali in Darjiling in the year 1951. It is certain that such bloody sacrifices have no origins whatsoever in the Vedic or Indo - Aryan culture, the deities like Durga, Kali can never be considered as Aryan ones, they can be more connected with the Tantrism.

The old sacrifices of the Vedic religion have been later replaced by the pūja ceremonials of the type as described above, where animals are sacrificed to gods and goddesses. These sacrifices are no longer Vedic in character, but belong to the non-Aryan culture, or the Tantrism in general. It is worthwhile at this stage also to mention about a ritual killing in a Śaivite Tantrism in the name of Yoginis. The offer of a living creature is motivated by a desire of liberating the creature from the sins, etc. ... of worldly existence (cf. *Netratantra* Ch.20). The Śaivites have adopted and extrapolated the Vedic pattern of ritualism, their ritual hīṃsa in similarly apologetic (cf. Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantraloka* Ch.26; sources from Halbfass. p.12).

Similarly the origin of the late developed form of the god Śiva, and the phallus-worship (*linga-pūja*) in India seem to be non-Aryan in character, and the blood-shed in offer to the goddess Durga or Kali, the wife of the god Śiva can be connected with the type of religious sects of India, which subsequently merged in Hinduism. The ideal of *ahimsa* was, in fact, quite unknown to the non-Aryan cultures in India.

4. REFORM RELIGIONS AND AHIMSA

(a) Reform religions and something introductory:

It is now clear that the Brahmanical asceticism developed parallel to the Vedic rituals and it was Indo-Aryan in character. It is also clear that the Vedic ritualists anticipated the dread of killings and showed even aversion to it, and that out of the magico-ritualistic ahimsa of the priest-sacrificer axis, emerged in due course, the ahimsa as a doctrine, and so also from within the Vedic ritualism itself, emerged some concepts of the renunciatory vis-à-vis the Upaniṣadic thinking, even before the two reform religions, viz. Buddhism and Jainism came into existence. Due to individualization and interiorization of the rituals, the entire ritualism was absorbed by the individual and the ahimsa tendency increased among the brahmin-householders who desired to live an ideal life as an ascetic for some time and who simultaneously defined in this context what a true sacrifice and the true brahminhood should be (Schmidt-1 pp.650 fol.). The priest-sacrificer axis was replaced by, and centralized in one individual self evolving in a new thinking: Man's freedom from fear in this world and the next one, rests fully on attaining the union of his self with the self of all living beings, on seeing him in all and all in him - in his self - by means of ahimsa - to live and to let other live.

Such reinterpretation of rituals and establishment of higher internal values became principal reformative issues of the Brahmanical religious scriptures, e.g. Upaniṣads, dharmasūtras, smṛtis, the MBH, etc. and subsequently the teachings of Gotama, the Buddha and Vardhamāna the Mahāvīra, the two reformists, who lived in about the 4th century B.C.¹

(b) Buddhism :

The meat-eating in Buddhism is not absolutely restricted. The Vinaya texts dealing with disciplinary rules for the Buddhist monks and nuns allow meat and fish, considered as one among the five superior and delicate sorts of food. A monk or a nun, healthy or otherwise is allowed to eat meat and fish. The Vinaya texts contain a list of certain kinds of meat which is prohibited

1. Cf. Heinz Bechert: "Die Lebenszeit des Buddha ..." Nachr. Akad. Wiss., Göttingen 1986 Nr.4, pp.129-184, also "Die Datierung des Buddha ..." by H.Bechert (Saeculum 39.1, 1988).

for monks and nuns. As such, a monk or a nun has to see and ascertain what kind of meat is received in alms. The main Vinaya rules for begging for alms are as follows:

A monk or a nun should not eat knowingly the meat of an animal which is killed for him or her (*uddissa-kāṭa*). It means, he or she should have not seen (*a-ditṭha*), not-heard (*a-suta*), and not doubted (*a-parisaṅkita*), that the meat he or she is eating is of an animal killed particularly for him or her. The meat is thus considered to be pure, i.e. eatable in three respects².

There is also a story in the Buddhist tradition that the Jains proclaimed Gotama the Buddha guilty of consuming meat knowingly, that his host, the general Sīha had killed the animal only for entertaining Gotama and his disciples. The general Sīha then declared this proclamation to be false and ascertained that neither he himself had killed the animal nor had he consented any other person to do so, but he sent a servant to find out elsewhere whether the meat was available in hand. In this way, it was "*ti-koṭi-parisuddha*" - pure in three respects, i.e. it was not - seen, not-heard, and not-doubted whether the meat was received on account of killing any animal intentionally for the monks :

ajja Sīhena ... thūlaṃ paṣaṇaṃ vadhitva samaṇassa Gotamassa bhattaṃ kaṭaṃ, taṃ samaṇo Gotamo jānaṃ uddissa kaṭaṃ māṃsaṃ paribhujati ... / (from Alsdorf-1. pp. 7-8, for the details regarding this, see Schmithausen-1. pp.70-71, fn.400).

(c) The Buddha and meat-eating :

The Buddha was not vegetarian and the *Dīgha-nikāya* mentions that he dies of eating the soft meat of a wild boar (*sukara maddava*) served to him by Chunda, a blacksmith in the town of Pava³. The Vinaya rules allow even the *śrāvakas* - laypersons or disciples - to eat meat provided it is pure in three respects - *ti-koṭi-parisuddha*, but such rules are criticised in the

2. It means: "*ti-koṭi-parisuddha*", *Mahāvagga* 6.31.12-14, *Cullavagga* 7.3.14 fol., sources from Alsdorf-1. p.6; see also Ruegg. pp.234-235; also *Majjhima-nikāya* I.p.368, *Aṅguttara-nikāya* 4. p.187 (i.e. Ruegg. p.235); also Wezler-1. pp.39-40, fn. 116, pp.100 fol. and Wezler-2. p.401. For such a rule in *Brāhmanism*, see Alsdorf-1. p.12 and fn.1.

3. Cf. "A Buddhist Bifle", ed. D.Goddard, Boaston 1970, p.18 and Alsdorf-1. p.6.

Laṅkavatara - sūtra. The Abhidharma- samuccaya finds a lack of compassion in any act of killing or harming (Ruegg. p.235). Among the Mahayanists, some of the Buddhists in Tibet and Central Asia are not strict vegetarians, some Buddhists in China have largely given up the meat-eating (Ruegg. p.237). The Buddhist monks and nuns on begging for alms are bound to accept any eatable presented by pious donors in good faith, and their failure in accepting it, is considered to be an interference with the fair reward and good fruits of karmas which the donors were in turn entitled to receive (Ruegg. p.239).

It is thus clear that the meat-eating was not absolutely prohibited in Buddhism (cf. Schmithausen-2. pp.40 fol. with fns.) That means, ahimsa was "not the core of the early Buddhist teaching" (Schmithausen-2. p.58, also fn.326). The other details regarding various schools of Buddhism and their own ways of practising ahimsa or vegetarianism show a later development and are not relevant to our present theme. They are given by Akira Hirakawa in the "Encyclopaedia of Buddhism" (vol.1, ed.G.P. Malasekera, Ceylon 1961, entry: "ahimsa", pp.287a to 292a; see also: Ruegg.pp.234-241).

(d) Jainism :

The case of ahimsa in Jainism is unique. Jainas - laypersons and the ascetics believe that the idea of ahimsa originated in Jainism right from the time of their first tīrthāṅkara Ṛṣabha. Historically, the earlier 22 tīrthāṅkaras including Ṛṣabha in Jainism are legendary, except the 23rd one: Paśva in ca. 6th cent. B.C. and the 24th one, Vardhamāna, generally known as the Mahāvīra - the great hero - who lived in ca. the 4th cent. B.C. (cf. Doctrine. §§ 14-19). The ahimsa and Jainism go together, both remain invariably connected with each other to that extent, that they might be treated to be synonyms of each other, viz. Jainism is ahimsa and conversely also ahimsa is Jainism ! Jaina laypersons and monks and nuns have so vehemently propagated ahimsa-origination in Jainism that they, including almost all scholars from the Jaina faith, are never prepared to believe or accept even some historical facts that might tell us something contradictory to their traditional ahimsa belief.

(e) Monks and nuns: meat-fish in alms:

But a historical fact discovered by unbiased scholars has to be

accepted, and fact remains a fact, whether the traditionalists or orthodox accept it or reject it. We are here concerned with facts. Schubring has traced some sources from the early corpus of the Jaina canonical texts that tell us, that right from the beginning of Jainism, monks or nuns accepted and consumed meat and fish freely in their ascetic order. It means, they were not prohibited to do so even in early Jainism. The Āyara, the earliest canonical text of the Śvetambaras, say

bahu-y-aṭṭhiyaṃ vā māṃsaṃ maccham vā bahu-kaṇṭayam...
bahu-ujjhiya-dhammie, na paḍigahejja /

(Āyara JĀgS 2.1.10.403, pp.139-140)

"... meat with many bones or fish with many thorns containing a greater amount to be thrown away (but only little amount remains to be eaten), should not be accepted."

The next sūtra 404 further instructs the monks and the nuns who in case unknowingly receive such a piece of meat or fish from someone, then instead of returning it rudely to the giver, they should go to a lonely place, such as a garden or a shelter-room, and consume it freely, but the bones or thorns should be placed separately as per instructions for that (cf. JĀgS p.140).

This prose line of the sūtra 403 in Āyara is originally a matrical line - a disturbed śloka line - and it recurs, also in Dasaveyaliya (5.1.73) with some variants as follows,

bahu-aṭṭhiyaṃ poggalaṃ aṇimisaṃ vā bahu-kaṇṭayam /
(Dasa-S. p.143 = Dasa-L. p.621)

Here, poggala stands for meat (cf. the explanation offered by Alsdorf-1. pp.8-9). The following sūtras 403-404 in the Āyara are elaborated in Dasaveyaliya 5.1. vss. 73 84-85.

The Curni on the Āyara ascribed to Jinadāsa (ca. 6th or 7th cent. AD in Gujarat ?) interprets the sūtra 403 appropriately as it appears in the Āyara, that in accepting meat or fish, there is a deviation (virahana) from the self - restraint (saṃjama), the self (aya) and the holy scripture (pavayana), but it (= deviation) is justified for the monks or nuns on the ground of illness.

karaṇiga-gilaṇass' aṭṭha ...

(cf. Āyara-Cūmi. SS. p.344, line 3; see also Doctrine. S 154).

This is an earliest record on the basis of which, a medical or a metaphorical interpretation of such sūtras referring to meat-eating is suggestive in the Jaina tradition. Silanka's (ca. 9th cent. AD, in Cambay, Gujarat) commentary on the Āyara is the first available interpretation of the type (see below) in Jainism.

Also the Cūrṇi on the Dasaveyaliya attributed to Jinadāsa explains the verse 73 without twisting its normal meaning. He says : though the meat is not to be accepted by the monks or the nuns, but this sūtra (i.e. vs. 73) somehow being contingent on time and place, by chance, appeared here. The verse means : meat with many bones and fish with many thorns should be avoided- (so far it is possible, they should be handed over back?):

kiṃ ca "bahu-atthiyaṃ" silogo: māṃsaṃ va n' eva kappati sahaṇaṃ.
kaṃci kaḷaṃ deṣaṃ paḍucca imaṃ suttam agatam.

"bahu-atthiyaṃ va māṃsaṃ va macchaṃ va bahu-kaṇṭayaṃ /"
pariharitavva /

(Dasa-Cūrṇi-SS. p.184, lines 12-13)

It seems, this verse 73 in the Dasaveyaliya version used by Jinadāsa for his Cūrṇi-interpretation is the same one, viz. the sūtra 403 in the Āyara cited above. It is without any alteration. Further, the author of the Cūrṇi explains vss.84-85 that, in case the monks (and nuns) depending on time and place (i.e. in crisis) accept meat or fish with many bones or thorns, then they should not take out the bones or thorns by hands throw them away anywhere, but should go to a lonely place and keep them in a bare (pure ?) ground :

... jai tassa sahaṇo tattha bhujamaṇssa deṣa-kaḷādhiṇi paḍucca
gahie māṃsādīe anna-pāṇe atthi kaṇṭakā va hujja ... (vs.84). ...
taṃ atthigādi haṭṭhādhiṇa no ukkhivīṇa nikkhivejja... tamha ...
eg'-antam avakkmejja ... accitte thaṇḍile ... paḍitthavejja ... /
(Dasa-Cūrṇi-SS. p.187, lines 9-14 and p.188, lines 1-2).

The second Cūrṇi on the Dasaveyaliya (ascribed to Agastyaśiṃha, ca. 6th or 7th cent. AD, place ?) has nothing to add further to an explanation of the verses (73, 84-85, etc.) :

... poggale prāṇi-vikaro, taṃ bahu-atthitaṃ nivarijjati /
(Dasa-Cūrṇi-PTS. pp.118 and 121).

Silanka in his prose commentary in Sanskrit on the Āyara has left the above-stated sūtras (403-404, etc.) unexplained, but his remark on them suggests that he believed the sūtras not meant for actually the meat or fish as such, since meat, fish, etc. are clearly against the ahimsa ideal, accordingly, he interprets the words : māṃsa and maccha (meat and fish) for some medicines prescribed against diseases like lūta (? a kind of cutaneous disease, said to be produced by the moisture from a spider ?) It is most likely that Silanka got an idea of medicinal use of meat and fish from the Āyara-Cūrṇi in which the acceptance of meat and fish is sanctioned on a medical ground, e.g. cf.

evaṃ māṃsa-sūtram api neyam asya cōpadānam kvacil lūtādy-
upa-śamanārtham sad-vaidyōpadeśato bahya-paribhogena
svedādina jñanādyupakarakatvat phalavad dr̥ṣtam.

(Āyara-Silanka. p.236)

But Haribhadra (ca. 8th cent. AD, in Cittore, Rajasthan) is more faithful in interpreting the verses 73, 84-85 of the Dasaveyaliya (see above). In his prose commentary in Sanskrit on the said verses, he affirmatively stated the fact that poggala and aṇimisa stand for meat and fish respectively, though they do not suit to the ahimsa ideal. Further he mentioned views of others who, to suit to the ahimsa ideal, twisted the normal meaning, and explained the words metaphoric for some fruits, etc.

(f) The Mahāvīra and meat-eating :

The other instance of meat-eating has aroused severe dispute among many scholars and the traditionalists. It is related to a statement in the Viyahapannatti Ch.15 about the Mahāvīra himself and the meat-eating. The story tells us that the Mahāvīra having got an attack of bilious fever in the Salakoṭṭhaya sanctuary, sent his disciple Siha to a woman Revaī at Mendhiya-gama with an instruction to fetch from her the cooked meat of a cock which was killed by a cat, instead of bringing the two pigeons which she had specially prepared for him - the Mahāvīra :

... tattha naṃ Revaie gahavainie mamaṃ atthae duve kavoya-
sarira uvakkhadiya, tehiṃ no attho. atthi se anne pariyaṣie
majjara-kadae kukkuda-mamsae, taṃ aharahi, eemaṃ attho.

(Viyahapannatti-JĀgS. 15.121, pp.729-730)

The only available Sanskrit prose commentary on this canonical passage is written by Abhayadeva (in Dharapurī, near Gujarat

?) in the later half of the 11th century. He explained it with confidence what the words : kavoya-, majjara-kāḍa-, kukkūḍa-māṃsa - in the passage at the outset denote, without twisting them unnecessarily for the sake of the ahimsa ideal. He explained in the same way as it is translated above. He then mentioned some views of other scholiasts who tried to adjust the passage to their ahimsa ideal. Accordingly,

"kavoya-sarira-" normally : "body of pigeons", is metaphoric interpreted for "kūṣmāṇḍa" - "pumpkin-gourd" (Beninkasa Cerifera), since both are similar in colour !

"majjara-kāḍa-" normally : "killed by a cat", is interpreted as something prepared (kāḍa) for relieving the teatulency trouble, i.e. gas in the stomach or intestines (majjara). --- But, some scholiasts believe "majjara" to be a "species of plant" which is otherwise known by the name : "viralika" or "Vidarika" (cf. Sodhala- Nighantu 1.179) out of which the

"kukkūḍa-māṃsa-" normally : "meat of a cock",

metaphorically, a "bījapūra-kāṭaḥ" (Citrus Medica ?; for kāṭaḥ, see Sodhala-Nighantu II.589) is cultivated (kāḍa) (cf. Alsdorf-1. p.12, fn.2; also : Viyāhapannatti - JĀGŚ. p.730, fns.1-4 from Abhayadeva's commentary)

In fact, many canonical texts of the Jainas teach qualities of a good monk in general, that he should not drink liquor, nor eat meat, he should not be envious, etc. e.g.

a-majja-māṃsāsi a-maccharī va ... /
(Dasaveyaliya 12.7, cf. Suyagāḍa-Silāṅka.2.2.38, p.222)
(Dasa-S. p.196 ; Dasa-L. p.642).

These qualities are derived originally from the Uttarajjhaya which enumerates generally the vices of ignorant persons, e.g.

hiṃsa bale musa-vaī maīlle piṣuṇe saḍhe /
bhūñjamaṇe suraṃ māṃsaṃ seyaṃ eyaṃ 'tti mannaī //

(Uttarajjhaya 5.9 = Uttarajjhaya 7 :vss.5a,6c,7;cf. Uttarajjhaya 19: vss.69 fol. for liquor and meat)

"As ignorant man kills, lies, deceives, caluminates, dissembles, drinks liquor and eat meat, thinking that this is the right thing

to do : (Jacobi-2. p.21; Charpentier. p.85).

Dasaveyaliya 12. vs. 7 cited above is late and has no special connection with or reference to the statements regarding the meat-eating and/or fish-eating as mentioned above from the Āyara, Dasaveyaliya and the Viyahapannatti.

It has to be remarked that the medical texts (e.g. Nighaṇṭu and Suśruta, etc.) in their present form consist of various interpolated structures, and they may be attributed to the period ranging between ca. the 1st (ur-texts) and the 10th cent. A.D. (the present form). Moreover, it seems, origin and the codification of metaphoric names of some plants (majjāra), fruits (kavoya), diseases (majjāra), medicines (kukkūḍa-māṃsa), etc. in medical texts of India existed surely very late, the passage cited above from the Jaina canon are earlier than the metaphoric names.

(g) The separative tendencies :

From the above instance, we can say with certainty that even some traditional scholiasts offer correct explanations of the canonical passages, among them are the two Cāṃi-karas - Jinadāsa and Agastyaśiṃha (both: ca. 6th or 7th cent.) -, Haribhadra (8th cent.) and Abhayadeva (ca. 11th cent.). It is quite plausible that about the time when the Jaina canonical texts were compiled and arranged in ca. 6th or 7th cent. AD in Valabhī (Gujarat) under the headship of the Jaina monk Devardhigaṇi, propagation and monopolization of the ahimsa ideal as the only and unique characteristic of Jainism would have acquired considerable momentum among the Jaina orthodoxy of Gujarat, in order to distinguish Jainism from the other faiths of India. This situation spread over the entire Jaina community, e.g. veda and six upaṅgas are a false śāstra, so declares the Nandī viz. ... miccha-suyam ... ahava ... cattari veda sāṅg - ov - aṅga.

(Nandī-JĀG.72, p.29; cf. Anuoga-JĀG.20-27, pp.63-64)

Of course, the ahimsa is not the only ideal, but is one of the five vratas - austerities, viz. abstinence: from killing the beings, from accepting what is not given, from sexual intercourse, and from accumulation of property. These five vratas come originally from the early Brahmanical dharmasūtras (see above 2.c). But the orthodoxy gave much value and utmost importance only to ahimsa and rendered their vow of speaking the

truth to a lower and subordinate level with determined attempts for suppressing the canonical sources and historical facts in favour of their own interpretations.

During the third redaction of the Jaina canonical texts in Valabhi, round about one thousand years after the death of the Mahavira, all the earlier and the earliest sūtras have been collected and compiled together with even some of the later developed sūtras in the one text concerned. It is, therefore, essential, first to decide and distinguish with certainty the earlier and the later characters of any of the sūtras or passages before citing them in support of a statement.

(h) Magico-ritualistic taboo :

It is true, Jainism and Buddhism teach full animism in all spheres, earth, water, air, fire, plants and seeds, etc. But it is not new. Earlier, the vedic ritualists also believed the world full of animism. Therefore, it was a general practice not to hurt any of these elements which are supposed to have possessed soul as the other living beings (see below ch.6).

Particularly the Jaina monks and nuns do not drink the normally cold or fresh water, since they believe that it contains innumerable fine or tiny souls (sacitta cf. Bruhn . p.38, lines 18-26), but they drink only the boiled water, so that it is thereby rendered "soulless" and "unnatural", they call it: *viyaḍa*-modified ! Such a practice is not found in Buddhism. The Buddhist monks or nuns drink fresh or cold water (cf. Schmithausen-1. p.72). But the act of boiling the water, - making it *viyaḍa*-drinkable -, is not to be undertaken by any Jaina monks or nuns, since they would thereby commit an act of *himsa* - killing innumerable water- souls, and it is prohibited for them. On the other hand, it is an activity, an imposed responsibility of only the lay-persons who have to boil the water and keep it ready for the monks and the nuns. The Jaina monks or nuns can accept it for their own purpose. Similarly, meat of an animal killed by any other persons or beasts (for its details, see Doctrine. S 154), but not specially cooked or kept reserved for the monks and the nuns (*uddesiya*) can be accepted by them without any objection to it. That means, the water rendered *viyaḍa* and kept reserved for the monks or nuns is through *uddesiya* - intentional but permitted. But if the food is *uddesiya* - intentionally kept reserved for them, then it is not accepted. This involves no killing and no sin in eating meat or fish, because monks or nuns

themselves have not killed any animal or fish. Even the Buddhist monks and nuns believed in animism, but they are not so strict and rigid as the Jainas. Also, the *ahiṃsa* is not the main teaching of Buddhism (for the details about Buddhist animism and *ahiṃsa*, see Schmithausen-2.pp.5 fol. and p.58, fn. 326).

Due to this fact, the Mahāvīra had instructed his disciple Sīha to fetch the meat of a cock killed by a cat, but not the two pigeons specially prepared for himself on demand (*uddesiya*, see above 4.h; also for different canonical sources, see Doctrine. S 154). Exactly in the same way monks and nuns accept normal food when it is not *uddesiya* - cooked by laypersons only for them, but it should be cooked by laypersons only for themselves but not for monks or nuns.

The *uddesiya* food of the Jainas is the same as *uddissa-kata* of the Buddhists (for minor differences, see Schmithausen-1. pp.70 fol.). This condition implies that an injurious activity (killing an animal for meat, boiling the water, cooking the food, etc.) of laypersons is nothing less than an act of non-injury, *ahiṃsa* for monks or nuns. Laypersons take responsibility of injuring the animals for letting monks and nuns live a life with an ideal of *ahiṃsa* (cf. Wezler-1. p.105) ! As a matter of fact, this is not an ethical but a magicoritualistic taboo which has been adopted in Jainism and Buddhism from the early Vedic ritualism. In it, the officiating priest obliges the *dīkṣita* - sacrificer - by taking the officiating priest obliges the *dīkṣita* - sacrificer - by taking the responsibility on himself of killing the animal in sacrifice and consuming first the meat. The *dīkṣita* consumes it afterwards, and avoids an offence of killing the animal and saves himself from the law of retribution and sin. The Priest has to consume the meat, his refusal to do is met with dire consequences, according to the *Manusmṛti* (cf. Heesterman-R. p. 148). Similarly, in receiving a guest, the host should offer a cow to serve him the beef. The guest orders its killing and accepts the sin incurred due to that. The host can consume the beef after feeding the guest, and thus saves himself from the sin in killing a cow (see below 6.a; also: Alsdorf-1. p.18). It is called *nṛ-yajña* (cf. Wezler-1. pp.80 fol.; for different citations from early source, see also Wezler-1. pp. 105 fol.). According to Manu, munis (silent ascetics) also accepted meat and lived generally on meat of animals that were killed by some beasts (see Schmidt-1. p. 638). The *vanaprasthas* were allowed to eat meat of animals when they had been killed by wild beasts or other persons (cf. GDS. 3.31; BDS. 3.3.6).

This magico-ritualistic background of vedic ritualism vis-a-vis religion remained intact in the reform religions, viz. Jainism and Buddhism. The Jaina and the Buddhist monks and nuns should not prepare themselves food and drink or meat and fish. But they can accept it, if it is not uddesiya or uddissa-kata-prepares specially for them (cf. Ruegg. pp. 234-235; Wezler-1. pp. 100 fol.). The paśupata mendicants in Śaivism also observe such a practice of accepting in alms the food or meat which is "para-kṛta" - prepared by others⁴.

4. cf. Minoru Hara: "A Note on the Pāśupata Concept of Ahimsā" in: *Rtam* - Shri Gopal chandra Sinha Comm. Vol. (vols. 16-18), Lucknow 1986, pp. 145-154; especially pp. 148-153.

5. REFORM RELIGIONS AND VEDIC SACRIFICES

(a) Substantial research survey :

It is now clear from the previous discussion, that the ethical motivation of the ahimsa is secondary, the original motive was fear, a fear that resulted from the breakdown of the magico-retualistic world-conception, but it paved the way for establishing higher values (schmidt-1. p.655). It has also been discussed, that from the early times, meat-eating was not prohibited for the Buddhist as well as the Jaina monks and nuns, and even for the tapasas - ascetics - living in the forest (cf. Wezler-1. pp. 99 fol.). The practice of meat-eating especially in Jainism appears to have continued till about the 7th century in Gujarat and about the 11th century in India as a whole. It is, therefore, quite obvious to state, that the theme of ahimsa had never been a burning issue for both religions for attacking the early Vedic or Brahmanical culture. It is wrong and unjustified to teach or propagate that Buddhism and Jainism opposed Vedic rituals and animal-sacrifices, that Buddhism and Jainism did not belong to the Indo-Aryan culture, that they strictly adhere to the principle of ahimsa and come from the Indus Civilisation, and last but not least, that their's is a śramaṇa culture. On the contrary, their earlier canonical sources tell us something quite different, that both, Buddhism and Jainism showed basically no concern for sacrifices-acceptance or rejection of sacrifices -, or showed no concern over sacrificial offer, and that both were indifferent in the matter whether a brahmin is superior or not.

(b) No one against Vedic sacrifices :

Many scholars have brought these aspects into light since (1962) the last thirty years. Their observations deserve our special attention particularly in the context of the ahimsa. As such, we first deal here with two chapters on the earlier ascetic poetry, viz. Chapter 12 (vss. 1-47): Hariesijja and Chapter 25 (vss.1-45): Jannaijja of the Uttarajjhaya - the first mūla - sūtra of the Svetāmbara Jains canon, on the basis of their critical study presented by Ludwing Alsdorf in his valuable contribution to the text history and interpretation of the Uttarajjhaya (Alsdorf-2. pp.243-251 and Alsdorf-1. pp.47-49). These two chapters had been earlier studied by a Swedish scholar Jarl Charpentier who

traced some parallels from early Buddhist literature and discussed them at length in his articles (ZDMG 63, pp. 171-188 and WZKM 24, pp. 63 fol.). But Alsdorf brought some aspects such as meters, corrections and corruptions in readings, etc. more vividly and critically in light which had been somehow left unobserved in the studies of his precursors: Hermann Jacobi (Jacobi-2) and Jarl Charpentier. I will elaborate some relevant points which Alsdorf by chance missed in his thesis.

Both chapters of the Uttarajjhaya contain almost a similar story and topic with slight variations of minor importance. The main story runs as follows :

A Jaina monk (belonging to a śūdra class) while on a begging tour for alms came to a Brahmanical sacrifice¹ and asked for the alms (Ch.12: vss. 1-9; Ch.25: vss. 1-5). It was refused on the ground that the food was prepared for the brahmins only (Ch.12: vss. 10-11; Ch.25: vss. 6-8). This on the spot raised a disputation between them (Ch.12: vss. 12 fol.; Ch.25: vss. 9 fol.), whereupon the monk explained that the true brahmin is an ascetic like himself, and the true sacrifice consists in ascetic austerities and disciplines.

The Chapter 12 is a later jainized version of the earlier Pali version of the Jataka No.497, that means, at an initial stage, the earliest version of the Jataka is neither Buddhist nor Jainist. At a later - second - stage, it was buddhized in the Pali canon (Pali version) from which, in the third - still a later - stage, it was then adopted with alterations and additions, and fully jainized in the Uttarajjhaya - one of the Jaina canonical texts. This has been discovered first by Carpentier (op.cit.).

In the Uttarajjhaya Chs. 12 and 25, the Jaina monks criticize unjustified behaviour of brahmins performing the sacrifices. The monks recommended them to perform "true sacrifice" which means, to live a renunciatory mode of life. A true characteristic of a brahmin does not rest on priesthood, but on his preaching and practising the values of renunciation. The Chapter 12 concentrates more on the true character of sacrifice. Here, the brahmin wished to know from the monk the ways and means of the true sacrifice and of avoidance of sinful activity:

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1. The monk's presence at a sacrificial spot suggests the preclassical pattern of rituals (see Heesterman-2. p.28,fn.49).

kahaṃ care bhikkhu, vayaṃ jayamo pavai kammai paṇullayamo /
akkhaṃhi me saṃjaya, jakkha-pūya kahaṃ su-jatthaṃ kusala
vayanti //

(Uttarajjhaya 12.40)

The monk then explained, that by means of non-injury to six classes of jīvas (earth, water, fire, wind, plants, the moveable beings) - i.e. ahimsa -, by not attending upon the wrong- i.e. satya-, and dishonest- i.e. asteya-, the restrained ones wander after renouncing determinedly property - i.e. aparigraha-, wives- i.e. brahmacharya -, pride and deceit :

chajjaiva-kāe asamarabhanta mosāṃ adattaṃ ca asevaṃ /
pariggahaṃ itthio maṇa-mayaṃ evaṃ parinnaya caranti danta //

(Utt.12.41; cf. Alsdorf-1. p.48)

He, who is well-protected by the self, by austerities and is unattached to the worldly life, achieves the great victory, the best of sacrifice (vs.42). The monk further explains the internal sacrifice in this manner:

Penance is fire, the self is the fire-place, right exertion the sacrificial ladle, body the dried up cow-dung, karmas the fuel, self-control a right exertion, and tranquillity are the oblations. The monk himself performs this (true) sacrifice (cf. huṃami), it is praised by the sages:

tavo jōi jīvo joi-ṭhaṇaṃ joga suya sarīraṃ karisaṃgam /
kamm'-eha saṃjama-joga-santi homaṃ huṃami isiṇaṃ pasatthaṃ /

(Utt. 12.44)

Moreover, he makes oblations and gets himself rid of the hatred, his celibacy is his neat and holy bath-place (i.e. for the dīkṣa ?) for purifying the self :

dhamme harae bambhe santi-titthe aṇavile atta-pasanna-lese /
jahiṃ siṇao vimalo visuddho susī-bhūo pajahami dosaṃ //

(Utt.12.46).

The verse 18 of the Uttarajjhaya Chapter 25 describes the monk to have his study and penance (sajjhaya-tavasa) hidden like fires covered by ashes (Alsdorf-2. p.250).

... gūḍha sajjhaya-tavasa bhasa-cchanna iv' aggiṇo /

A similar discussion is found partly *varbatim* also in early Buddhist literature. The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (*Dīgha-nikaya* 5) explains that the best sacrifice is to live a monk's life which leads persons to spiritual freedom (Heesterman-2. p.42).

The *Jannaijja, Uttarajjhaya* Chapter 25 is much interested in describing the true nature of a brahmin. A true brahmin has no worldly attachment (vs.20), he observes a vow of non-injury to the living beings - i.e. *ahimsa* -, cf.

tasa-paṇe viyaṇetta saṃgahena ya thavare /
jo na hiṃsai tivihena taṃ vayaṃ būma maṇaṃ // (vs.23)

"Who, knowing fully the moveable and the immoveable beings, does not injure in three-fold manner (thought, words, action), him we call a brahmin."

He observes also the other vows, viz. truthfulness - *satya* (vs.24), honesty - *asteya* (vs.25), celibacy - *brahmacarya* (vs.26). He is not greedy, he has no house, and no property, i.e. *aparigraha*, cf.

....aṇaḡaraṃ a-kimcaṇaṃ / asaṃsattaṃ gihatthesu ...// (vs.28)
He is not defiled by pleasure of the world as a lotus is not wet in the water, cf.

jaha poṃaṃ jale jayaṃ novalippai varīṇa /
evaṃ alittaṃ kamehiṃ taṃ vayaṃ būma maṇaṃ // (vs. 27)

He is not attached to the worldly enjoyments (vs.29). One becomes a *śramaṇa* by equanimity, a brahmin by chastity, a silent ascetic (*muni*) by knowledge, and a *tāpasa* by penance (vs.32). The monk also explains: "The fastening of animals at a sacrificial stake, all Vedas, and sacrificial performance do not protect the ill-disposed one from the evil karma, since the karmas are powerful." (vs.30), cf.

pasu-bandha savva-veya jātthaṃ ca pava-kammaṇa /
na taṃ tayaṃti dussīlaṃ kammaṇi balavanti hi //

Alsdorf suggested a correct reading:- *kammaṇo* (vs.30b) for *-kammaṇa* (Alsdorf-1. p.49).

At the end of discussion, the brahmin being fully convinced of the true nature of a brahmin (vs.37) says to the monk,

"You are a sacrificer of sacrificers, the knower among those knowing the Veda, you know the dharma perfectly." (vs.38: Tr. from Jacobi-2. p.141). cf.

tubbhe jaiya jannanam tubbhe veyā-viā viā /
jois' -anga-viā tubbhe tubbhe dhammaṇa paraga //

(c) Parallelism : Brahmanical and Uttarajjhaya views :

The nature of a true sacrifice described in the above Uttarajjhaya chapters 12 and 25 is nothing but an interiorization of the rituals which we have been explained above in Chs. 2-3. We illustrate here some relevant matters only. The BDS (2.7.12) describes the atma-yajña, manasa-yajña and the like, which is characteristic of a renouncer. The central idea is to perform sacrifice only in himself and by himself. Here, the Jaina monk equates his life to the sacrifice. By his interior sacrifice (Utt.12.44), the penance, he becomes emaciated, gives away as oblations, portions from his own body, his karmas are burnt off as fire-wood, etc. which can be compared with a similar instance of the Ch.Up. (3.17.4) discussed above (2.c). Some terms used in Uttarajjhaya 25.18, e.g. sajjhaya-tavasā remind us of the SB. (11.5.6.3-9) considering the svadhyāy - study of Veda - as one of the aspects of an interior sacrifice.

The BDS (2.10.18.2-3 and 3.10.13) gives much weight to the five vows, viz. ahimsā (non-injury to living beings), satya (truth), asteya (honesty), brahmacarya (celibacy) and aparigraha (renouncing of any possession). This can be compared with Uttarajjhaya Ch.12. vs.41 and Ch.25. vss. 23-26,28 (each verse contains one vow respectively). The GDS (3.11) enjoins that an ideal brahmin has no provisions even for the next day! Further, what Uttarajjhaya 25.32 (see above) says is a repetition of the BA.Up. :

The brahmins wish to know it by recitation of the Veda, but sacrifice, by liberality, by tapas, by fasting, and knowing this, he becomes a silent ascetic, cf.

taṃ etaṃ vedānuvacanena brahmaṇa vividiṣanti yajñena danena tapasāśakenaitaṃ eva viditva munir bhavati ... /

The five vows or austerities including the ahimsā in Jainism and Buddhism are borrowed from the early Brahmanical dharma-sūtras (cf. Jacobi-1. Introd. pp. 22 fol.). The textual passages

from the Brahmanical literature referred to above belong to early periods before Jainism and Buddhism came into existence (see above 3.d).

(d) Ahimsa not in the fore-ground :

We notice, there is a lament of ahimsa in the polemic, but it is casually just mentioned, not appearing as the main issue in this ascetic poetry of the Uttarajjhaya Chs. 12 and 25. In the entire description consuming more than 90 verses of these two chapters, we can find only at two places, viz. Ch.12: vs.41 and Ch.25: vs.23 where himsa-ahimsa are just mentioned, not as the special teaching in contrast with sacrificial rituals, but because ahimsa falls under the five vratas - vows, it has to be mentioned when the monk wished to describe all the five vratas one by one. And actually a mention of animal-offer as such is found only once, i.e. in Ch.25. vs.30 (see above 5.b), but this is just in passing ! The matter of ahimsa is but one of the many requisites of an ascetic life as a whole. Nor do we find here any opposition against the animal-killing as such. The renouncer of the world is not necessarily an anti-Vedic thinker in this poetry. On many issues, both orthodox and heterodox thinkers of early times agreed with each other to a greater extent. There existed no rivalry between them. Alsdorf has rightly observed that the protest against the animal-killing in Vedic sacrifices has been given preference only in the later literary pieces of the Jainas, which on the contrary show an impact of such polemic, originally appearing in the Brahmanical literature (cf. Alsdorf-1. pp.48-49; see also the Vasu episode: MBH 12.264, above 3.d). The nature of a true brahmin and of a true sacrifice has been the central theme of the teachings by way of different legends in the Brahmanical texts, so also is the case in the Jaina and the Buddhist texts. There is no fundamental difference in their teachings.

The pair of samana-mahana often traced in Jatakas and in the two reform religions, viz. Jainism and Buddhism also very much suggests the ascetic community (samana) and the true brahmins (mahana) who though householders, enjoy renunciatory mode of life (temporary or otherwise) in the forest (see above 2.c). And it is most likely that following similar principles or pattern of the classical Vedic ritualism, Jainism too adopted in its order temporary monastic life for the lay-followers. Regarding such a Jaina practice, Schubring remarks: "The ancient sources fail to provide us with details concerning this temporary monastic

life, (Doctrine. § 164; for relevant details, see further Doctrine. §§ 163, 165, 170-171). The importance of the knowledge of the self and the like, which is insisted at every step in the individualization or interiorization processes of the classical rituals, and in other texts, such as the upaniṣads, dharmasūtras, smṛtis, the MBH, purāṇas, etc. (see Chs. 2 and 3) is also advocated in Jainism. The brahmanical thinking concentrates on the knowledge (jñāna) of the self, while the Jaina thinking, on the knowledge (pariṇa) of the karmas or satthas, both types of thinking ultimately lead to renunciation (for relevant details, see Bhatt-2. p.151; cf. Bruhn's observations: knowledge, etc. p.38, lines 26-28).

It is quite obvious, that the Vedic culture that expanded in other parts of India from the north should have many encounters with and merged in it, various beliefs and practices of different forms of asceticism or renunciatory ideas. But they could not, in fact, change radically the interior structure of the religious thought. On the contrary, ascetic practices and ideas adjusted themselves into the main stream and emerged further in their distinct forms, without disturbing the internal developments of Vedic thought. Beliefs and practices of various ascetics were in principle, not different from those of the followers of even pre-classical ritualism (individualization and interiorization). The orthodox Brahmanism and the heterodox renunciatory ideologies had no conflicts and clash with each other. It seems highly probable that the brahmanical thinkers had shaped their own ascetic mode of life on the basis of the beliefs and practices of the non-Aryan ascetics of the time. But such an influence was very insignificant for any revolutionary changes inside the brahmanical religion itself (cf. Heesterman-2. p.24; Heesterman-3 p.40; Wezler-1. p.110, fn.304 and p.127).

(e) Were the Vratyas śramaṇas ?

Earlier researches associated the vratyas of the Vedic literature with the non-Aryans, and considered them to be the exponents of the non-Brahmanical religions, such as Śivaism, Paśupatism, Tantrism, Yoga, etc. (cf. J.W.Hauer: "Der Vratya", Stuttgart 1927). But according to recent researches, vratyas and brahmacārins belong to a pre-classical stage of the Vedic literature where the term: brahmacārin was not yet developed as a *terminus technicus*, as a novice learning the Vedas (cf. Heesterman-3. p.40, fn.79). Heesterman studied carefully the

problem of vrātyas of the Vedic texts in detail and discovered some revolutionary facts which he published in his learned research: "Vrātya and Sacrifice". We record here from it only some of the salient features.

"The vrātya-stomas are primarily intended to celebrate the gathering and uniting of a vrātya group at the beginning as well as at the end of ... their ... raiding expedition." (p.6) "... after performing the vrātya-stoma the vrātyas should resort to the way of living of those who know the Vedas ... they obtain access to social intercourse ..." (p.11) "The vrātya-stoma represents a festival celebrating the alliance of the vrātyas setting out on an expedition, and repeated at the end of their expedition." (p.14) "Vrātyahood periods point at an older state of affairs as the dīkṣa-periods. ... The vrātya is no less orthodox, not more outside brahmanical religion and society, than the dīkṣita." (p.15). There is no difference between the vrātya and the dīkṣita. (p.29) "The vrātya-stoma seems to be twofold: the celebration of the alliance, ... at the outset of their expedition, and the ritual involving an opposite party which receives, possibly on return of the vrātyas, the collected vrātya property." (p.34)"

... the vrātyas, ... are ethnically through their connections with the Kuru-Pañcalas, as well as religiously, through their links with the Maruts, authentic Aryans." (p.18) "...vrātya may be robbers on account of their violent character during expeditions." (pp.29-30) "Thus the vrātya appear not so much as prototypes of the yogin (Hauer) or of the Śaivite ascetic (Charpentier), but rather as the genuine predecessors of the śrauta sacrificer and dīkṣita." (p.34) "The vrātya are authentic Vedic Aryans, ... Their later developments such as yoga and Saivism, shamanizing techniques, etc. are known in the brahmanical literature." (p.36)

(f) Ground for separation :

What were then the factors that played a prominent part in separating the two streams of reform religions from their Brahmanical origin? I would venture the following suggestion, and I think, it will be accepted. Here, the main factor is the dialect used by the religious leaders as a medium of expression and it was more responsible for separating Buddhism and Jainism from the Brahmanism, and established them as non-Vedic or anti-vedic religions. The dialects like Pali and (Ardha)

Magadhī as mass media had not acquired a status of the language of the gods, the deva-bhāṣa - Sanskrit - which was privileged and reserved for the sacred dharma as a whole. The early phases of the canonical texts of the reform religions have nothing to say against the Brahmanical thinking². But the separative tendency often peeps through successive phases of these texts. Researches particularly in this direction would certainly offer some exciting results.

The separation of the two religions from the Brahmanism was at the full in deification of their leaders, Gotama, the Buddha and Vardhamāna, the Mahavīra, and ultimately after about the 1st century of our era, their teachings spread over with antagonism, and the orthodoxy drifted far away from Brahmanism. Now Jainas and the Buddhists claim their faiths to be non-Vedic or non-Aryan. The term: non-Vedic means: "not believing in the Vedic authority", and this is somewhat understandable. But going still further and employing the terms like non-Aryan and pre-Aryan or pre-Vedic for their religions carries no sense. What is non-Aryan or pre-Vedic? Their views or they themselves? Both terms are doubtful, vague and not understandable. None of these terms is applicable to the reform religions except both religions are absolutely excluded and dissociated from the Vedic culture since the Indo-Aryan people arrived in India and since the so-called pre-Vedic concepts originated and merged in reform religions. Use of such terms is absurd and ridiculous.

Statements regarding ascetic movements - the so-called śramaṇism supposed to have come from the Indus Culture, and developed only in reform religions, lack sufficient evidences. Whether the Indus Culture flourished in the north-west, expanded further approximately more than 3000 kilometers away till the extreme eastern regions of India, and covering some parts where the reform religions were originated, and how it left any of its surviving tracks directly and only on these religions this all is difficult to prove. Again, eastern parts of ancient India contained many pockets of tribal peoples like Mundas, Santhals, etc., and even before the existence of Jainism and Buddhism, the Aryan culture had reached this area to a considerable degree, and remained a centre of some upaniṣadic thinkers. Whether

2. For such matters in detail, see Bhatt-2. especially p.166; and D.D. Malvania: "Beginnings of Jaina Philosophy in the Ācārāṅga." (ANIS. 23, Wilesbadeb 1981, pp.151-153).

the thinking pattern in Upaniṣads and in other texts like MBH, etc. shows impacts on them of any alien features of tribal cultures, or of some non-Vedic Aryans, that means : vernacular Aryans who might be anti - or non-ritualists, or indifferent in rituals, or, the said thinking pattern was a sum-total of more than one culture, viz. Aryan and non-Aryan;- such and similar factors still need further studies in detail. Moreover, terminological differences in Brahmanism and the two reform religions were whether due to contemporary Indo-Aryan vernacularism, or, due to a mixture of Indo-Aryan and non-Indo-Aryan dialects or languages;- such and other relevant information is wanting (cf. Bhatt-1. *inter alia*). So far Jainism is concerned, I find no such differences, and if any, they are negligible - only terminological, on account of Indo-Aryan dialects, but not ideological (see further our foot-note 2 above). Strange names and terms are not the criteria to decide their non-Aryan character, unless they, as individual elements, are on by one intensively analysed, just as strange names or terms occurring in vedic or brahmanical texts. Before we proceed further on our issue, the readers are requested to refer to an article: "The Mythological Massacre at Mohen-jo-daro" by George F. Dales (Rtambhara: Studies in Indology, Gaziabad 1986, pp.70-73) against the fantastic belief that Aryans destroyed the Indus Culture, and also an article: "The Background of Early Buddhism" by J.W. de Jong (D.D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume, Varanasi, 1977, pp.55-65) for a balanced approach to the problem concerned, as against extreme views held by some scholars of Buddhist Studies. For a recent view against the proto-Śiva interpretation of an Indus Valley /Harappan Seal, refer to Walter A. Fairervis, Jr. on G.L. Possehl's and M.H.Raval's "Harappan Civilization and Rojdi", Review in JAOS. 111.1, 1991 pp.108-113, especially p.112a, p.113b.

But Jainas quite repeatedly advocate Jainism to be a śramaṇic culture originated from the Indus Civilization. I do not wish to illustrate here how ridiculously and extravagantly they use their same age-old argumentation in support of their so-called śramaṇologism, without looking into pros and cons of its implication, and last, but not least, in almost all cases, without being conversant with modern scholarly views and theories coming into light through relevant researches, and by keeping themselves absolutely indifferent and unconcerned in such relevant essential matters ! Earlier germs of śramaṇologism or pre-Vedicism are found in the Kalpantara-vācyani (ca. 12th cent.) on which a Jaina monk Jinaprabha-muni wrote a commen-

tary in about 1307 AD in Ayodhya (Weber. Ind.St.16. pp.474-476).

(g) Sramanologism :

A new chapter on the ahimsa-champions and the Indus-Valley-śramanologists has to be added to the history of ahimsa ideals in India. Exclusive monopolization of the ahimsa and a staunch belief, that its origin is from Jainism alone, reached a stage where some monks privileged themselves even to alter any canonical passages that dealt with himsa and the like, in favour of their new ahimsa ideals. The monks of the Sthanakavasī sect within the Svetāmbara Jainism use only a recently changed version of some of the canonical texts, e.g. "Sutt' agame" vols. I-II, ed Puppaha-bhikkhū (Gurgaon Cantt. 1953-1954). The recorded changes in the ahimsa context are as follows :

(1) **Āyāra 2.1.10.** sūtras 403-404 (JĀgS.pp.139-149): earlier reading:

sūtra 403 : bahu-y-atthiyam va mamsam maccham va bahu-kaṇṭayam ... bahu-atthiyam va mamsam maccham va bahu-kaṇṭyam ...

sūtra 404 : ... bahu-atthiena mamsena uvaṇimantejja ... bahu atthiyam mamsam paḍigahettae ? ... bahu atthiyam mamsam paḍigahettae. ... tavatitam poggalam dalaṇahi, ma atthiyam. ... bahu-atthiyam mamsam pariyaḥaetta ... mamsagam macchagam bhocca atthiyam kaṇṭae gahaya ...

Āyāra 2.1.10. sūtras 629-630 (S.I. pp. 47-48: sūtra-numbering different)

changed text:

sūtra 629 : bahu-bīyagam bahu-kaṇṭagam phalam ... bahu-bīyagam bahu-kaṇṭagam phalam ...

sūtra 630 : ... bahu-bīyaena bahu-kaṇṭageṇa phaleṇa uvaṇimantejja ... bahu-bīyaam bahu-kaṇṭagam phalam paḍigahittae ? ... bahu - aṇṭayam bahu-bīyaam phalam paḍigahittae. ... tavaiyam phalassa sara-bhagam dalaṇahi, ma ya bīyam. ... bahu - bīyaam 2(= bahu-kaṇṭagam) phalam paribhaetta ... phalassa sara-bhagam bhucca bīyam kaṇṭae gahaya ...

(2) Viyāhapannatti 15. sūtra 121 (JāgS. pp. 729-730)

earlier reading :-

...tattha naṃ Revaṇe gahavainie mamaṃ atṭhae duve kavoya-sarīra uvakkhadiya, tehiṃ no atṭho. atṭhi se anne pariyaṣie majjara-kaḍaḍe kukkuḍa-mamsae, taṃ aharāhi, eenaṃ atṭho.
(Twice)

Viyāhapannatti 15, sūtra 556 (S.I. pp. 731-732 sūtra-numbering different)

changed text :-

...tattha naṃ Revaṇe gahavainie mamaṃ atṭhae duve (kohaṃḍa-phala) uvakkhadiya tehiṃ no atṭho, atṭhi se anne pariyaṣie (phaṣue bīya-ūrae) taṃ aharāhi teṇaṃ atṭho ... (p.631, lines 27-29)

... Mahavīrassa atṭhae dūve (kohaṃḍa-phala) uvakkhadiya ... pariyaṣie (phaṣue bīya-ūrae) taṃ aharāhi ... (p.632, lines 11-12)

The Sthanakavasīs could not change vss.73 and 84-85 in Dasaveyaliya 5.1 (see above 4.e) only because it is difficult to take liberty with these metrical lines. As such, they added only a footnote and explained in their own way the relevant words (see S.II, p.957: footnotes 1-5).

I could have cited here a number of many vague statements regarding ahimsa and asceticism from works or articles on Buddhist or Jain Studies published by some scholars in India, but it would be tiresome to the reader on account of an age-old argumentation and lack of substantial matter found in them. Also, time and space in the present paper do not permit me to do so either. But such statements can easily be traced in these studies which are speculative and based on guess-work. Their authors are much inclined to make a statement, not consistently to their own (specialized) field alone. They mostly deal with their field of interest together with a jumbled mixture of almost all fields of study - from A to Z, as if they are "masters" of all fields, Vedic, Indo-European, Brahmanical, Upaniṣadic, early Buddhism, early Jainism, Indus Culture, etc. They show least interest in relevant views of researches of modern specialists. Their studies are not markedly determinative. These scholars are requested, first to study carefully and to show systematically the inconsistencies, if any, traced in rival theories advanced by modern researchers, the subject-specialists.

6. HOLY-COW IN INDIAN TRADITION

(a) Vedic religion :

We have yet to examine the belief in holy-cow and problems connected with it. We have earlier stated that the belief in cow's sanctity in Hinduism has such a powerful impact on almost all Indians that even a non-vegetarian among them will abstain from beef eating but will enjoy other meat-preparations in his diet. The belief has resulted in prohibition of cow-slaughter in India, especially in and around the thickly populated Hindu-colonies (including Sikhs, Jainas, etc.). Cow in Hinduism of to-day is regarded as sacred and consecrated to a status of a deity. It is holy almost for all Hindus. But by examining the existing literature early from the Vedas upto the tenth century of our era, passages about the holy-cow taboo are almost wanting. On the contrary, we find many references to beef eating and cow-slaughter. In the Vedic rituals, the officiating priest is obliged to consume first, the meat, and the sacrificer followed him afterwards. A priest refusing to eat meat in the sacrifice is met with dire consequences. It is needless to add that even cow was not an exception from animals to be offered in sacrifices. The brahmanical texts teach the householders to respect their guest and the ascetics, and to feed them unto their satisfaction. If they are maltreated, the householders get as a result, their evil karmas. The guests including the ascetics must not go away unfed by the host (cf. MS 3.100 fol. and ibid. 5.35; also cf. Wezler-1 p.115). A priest is treated to be a guest of the sacrificer. He takes initiative in, and the burden of, killing an animal in sacrifice. Hence the sacrificer - the host - is prepared to partake of the meat.

In Vedic literature beef has been given preference in entertaining a brahmin guest at home. It was customary. The Śatāpatha-B. instructs the host to cook and serve the beef or he-goat for entertaining a royal or a brahmin guest:

... atithir vā eṣa etasyāgacchati ... tasmā ... yathā rajne vā brahmaṇaya vā mahōkṣaṇ vā mahājāṇ vā pacet / (SB.3.4.1.2).

The Ait.B. (3.4.6) also refers to the beef-preparation for feasting a guest. What the SB has to say about entertaining a guest is repeated in the VDS:

athāpi brahmaṇaya vā rajanyaya vābhyagataya mahōkṣaṇ vā mahājāṇ paced ... atithyaṇ kurvanti / (VDS 4.8)

and it instructs to serve beef to the guests, viz. the brahmins, the *rajanayas* or the warriors, or any other invited. The Skh.GS advises to entertain a guest by serving him beef, or meat of any other animal, or a simple food (meal), but further remarks that the host should serve invariably the meat in hospitality:

go-paśum ajam annam ... nāmamso 'rghaḥ syāt / (Skh.GS.2.15.1).

Since it was obligatory to entertain a guest by serving him invariably the beef, the epithet like "goghna" ("cow-killer") e.g.

daśa-goghnaṁ sampradāne / (Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhyāyī: 3.4.73)

came into being as a synonym for guests in vedic times (cf. Wezler-1 p.82, fn.244). In SB (3.1.2.21), Yajñavalkya expresses his special taste for the beef, provided it is tender ! Offer of a cow was ordained for the *argha*, the second *aṣṭaka*, and the *metrimonial* rites (cf. AGS. 3.9). The *Manusmṛti* (3.268-271) explains how much a brahmin would be satisfied in receiving meat of which particular animal in the *śraddha* rites for the *manes* (*pitṛs*, the dead). The verse 271 informs that the beef, if served in the *śraddha* rites satisfies the *pitṛs* for one full year ! In the context, the word: "gavaya" in this verse has to be interpreted as "beef" (*gavaya* = *go-māṁsa*) on an analogy of a similar injunction in the ADS :

samvatsaram gavayena prītiḥ bhūyaṁsam ato mahiṣeṇa .../ (ADS.2.16.26-28; cf. Alsdorf-1 pp.57-58).

Vasiṣṭha's DS. informs about an offering of the meat of milch-cow and oxen in the *vajasaneyaka*:

... dhenv-anaduhau medhyau vajasaneyake vijñayate / (VDS. 14.45 fol.; cf. ADS. 1.17.30. fol.).

(b) Edicts of Aśoka and other sources :

Even the emperor Aśoka (ca. 3rd cent. BC) has not mentioned any prohibition of cow-slaughter in different edicts and inscriptions which abound in his propagation of the *ahimsa* or *anālamba* (non-injury, non-killing) and show his benevolent and compassionate attitude based on the pious *dharma* of the time. In his fifth pillar edict, he promulgated prohibition against

killing certain animals, birds, etc. (cf. Norman-1 pp. 26-32). In his rock edict, it is mentioned that, though earlier many hundred thousands of living animals were slaughtered daily for the meals in the royal kitchen, but from now on, only three animals are being killed daily, and soon none will be killed (cf. Alsdorf-2. p.461). But what strikes us the more is an utter absence of any statement with regard to prohibition of cow-slaughter vis-à-vis the holy-cow taboo in particular.

Studies in Aśokan edicts and inscriptions present a different picture of the emperor Aśoka. He is well-known for the righteousness in propagating and practising the dharma of ahimsa in particular. In one of his rock edicts, he informs : "At present thanks to the practising of the dharma by the king (Aśoka) ... that which formerly during many centuries had not existed, at present prospers by the instruction on the dharma of the king (Aśoka) ...: abstention from murder, abstention from harming living beings ... " (Alsdorf-2 p.434; cf. Norman-2 pp. 16-24, especially p. 16).

Aśoka treated every being equal, e.g. ascetics and householders, followers of different sects, e.g. Buddhists, brahmins, ajivikas, nirgranthas, etc. (cf. Alsdorf-2 p.438). Alsdorf has rightly observed on the basis of his studies in Aśokan edicts and inscriptions, that the ahimsa of Aśoka should not be considered Buddhist in character, it tends more towards vegetarianism. Neither the Buddhists nor the Jaina monks were vegetarians (see below Ch.4). Parallels to and origins of the vegetarianism of Aśoka cannot be traced in any Buddhist texts, but in the dharma-śāstras or in Kautalya's Śāstra, which abound in the teaching of ahimsa ideal, and objections raised against bloodshed in sacrifices (cf. Alsdorf-2 pp.462-463). Similarly, the Jataka gāthas (including the ur-Dhamma-padas) are non-Buddhist in character. They teach the "folk-religion" of the time which influenced emperor Aśoka's life, private and political. more than any other sects.

The Jataka stories also fail to provide us any clue to the problem of the holy-cow in Hinduism. The gaṇapati Jataka No.199 describes that on account of a severe famine in a village, the people living there casually got an old cow, killed it and subsisted on its flesh (gatha 2: mamsam jaraggavam ... /). Also some ancient works on Indian medicine prescribe beef against some diseases, e.g. Suśruta-Saṃhitā (sūtra-sthāna Ch.46) says :

śvāsa-kāsa-pratiśyaya-viśama-jvara-naśanam /
 śramāty-agni-hitam gavyam pavitram anilāpaham // (vs.89).

"Beef is holy and refringerant, prove curative in dyspnoea, catarrh, cough, chronic fever and in cases of a morbid craving for food (aty-agni) and destroys the deranged vāyu."
 (from Alsdorf-1 p.62, fn. 1).

Again, in the same work (śarīra-sthana Ch.3. vs.25), pregnant women are advised to consume beef to have their progeny especially a son strong and enduring all difficulties. These medical works may be assigned a period ranging from the 1st cent. upto the 10th cent. of our era. Bhavabhūti (ca. 7th cent. AD) following the extent law-books - dharmasūtras - describes a luxurious feast with beef items, which was specially arranged by the sage Vālmiki in honour of the distinguished guest - the sage Vasiṣṭha who visited his hermitage¹.

(c) Cow-products and Zoroastrianism :

But the kine-killing in general is counted in the Manusmṛti Ch.11 among some minor offences (vs.59), it is also stated that a man wishing to purify himself should take kin interest in protecting cows and brahmins, even at the cost of his own life (vss.78-79), he should eat and drink the cow-products, viz. milk, urine, butter, etc. (vs.91), a man killing a cow should bathe himself with cow-urine for two months (vs.109) and observe certain vows following normal activities of a cow (go-vrata, "bull-vow")². The pañca-gavya (five cow-products) is a purificatory substance against offences, such as, stealing some objects or eatable or fruits or flowers, etc. (MS 11.165, also cf. vss. 212 fol. server penances and the pañca-gavya).

1. Cf. Uttararāmacarita, Canto 4: beginning:

Saudhātaki :- mae una jānidam vaggho vā vio vā eso 'tti / ... jēna
 parāvāḍidena jevva sā varāṇi kavilā kallāṇi maḍamaḍāia /
 Dāṇḍāyana : sa-māṃso madhu-parka ity āmnāyam bahu-manyamānāḥ
 śrotriya-yābhyātātāya vatsatarim mahōkṣam vā mahājam vā nirvapanti
 grha-medhināḥ / tam hi dharmasūtra-kārāḥ samāmananti /

(Cf. ŚB : 3.4.1.2; VDS: 4.8; Śkh. GS: 2.15.1).

2. For the details about the go-vrata, see: "Cynics and Pasupatas" by Daniel H. H. Ingalls (The Harvard Theol. Review 55, Harvard 1962, pp.281-298, espseicly p.295) - - - see also : Kalidasa's Raghuvamśa Canto 2. Kalidasa's time :ca. 5th cent. AD.

Alsdorf traces an instance in the Atharvaveda (12.4-5) in which people are warned against injuring the cows of the brahmins. Wilhelm Schulze (Kleine Schriften : p.207) finds the custom of cow-protection, probably originated from the old Hellas, the ancient Greece where cow-slaughter was prohibited. This corresponds to the Vedic word : "aghnya", i.e. milch-cow which is not to be killed (Alsdorf-1 p.65, fn. 1). B.Schlerath has studied the problem and rightly observed that this word, viz. aghnya is used for the opposition against cow-sacrifices in the R̥gveda (Schlerath. p.133). It is an old Iranian epithet for cow, e.g. Yaśna 38.5 (cf. Weber : Ind.St.-17. pp.306 fol.). Schlerath thinks that the religious reformer Zarathustra fought against the cow-sacrifices in old Iran and due to this fact the sanctity of the cow got survived since then in Iran³. The followers of Zarathustra especially the Parsis of India believe cow as holy. This belief is prevalent also these days in Zoroastrianism in general and among the Parsis of India in particular. They wash with cow-urine their hands, feet and face daily in the morning, soon after rising from the bed. The custom of using the cow-urine as a holy substance is also described as "gaomez" in the Avesta. It will be of special interest to know about the cow-sanctity in the Parsi community of India and in the Zoroastrianism, from a work "Zoroastrian Theology from the earliest times to the present day" (New York 1914) in which its author : M.N.Dhalla Writes:

"High priest of the Parsis of North-western India (p.309) : ... "bull's urine, or golden water, as it is now called, has been an indispensable article in the purificatory rites and ceremonial ablutions among the Zoroastrians from the earliest times. ...A most extravagant sanctity came to be attached to the drinking of it. Elaborate rituals are now performed over the liquid, and the drinking of this consecrated fluid, forms an indissoluble part of certain Zoroastrian ceremonials. ... This sanctified liquid is the very life of religion." (p.350) "The very first thing that a Parsi is expected to do immediately after leaving his bed, is to take a handful of bull's, or cow's, or she-goat's urine, and upon reciting a spell composed in Pazand, to rub it over his face, hands, and feet. The reformer declared that the filthy practice was highly objectionable, and should be done away with. This shocked the sentiment of righteousness in the orthodox believer. He retorted that the liquid had great purifying qualities, and its use should be continued ... Tracts and pamphlets were

3. For controversies on the etymology of the term : aghnya, see Alsdorf-1 pp. 66 fol.

issued on both sides, and a heated controversy ensued in the Parsi press. The reformer today has given up the practice altogether, but the orthodox continues, still most scrupulously, to use it every morning."

Similar rituals are commonly accepted in classical Hinduism and are still current among many orthodox Hindus. The pañcagavya - five products of the cow - viz. milk, curd, butter, urine, and cow-dung or excrement (the refuse), out of which urine and the cow-dung are often in use as purifying objects in some sections on atonement or expiatory rites of the religious books of India which we have already stated above.

(d) Indus Valley : animal-killings and Tantrism :

Alsdorf attempted to trace origins of the holy-cow from the non-Aryan Indian aborigines (autochthon India). He rejected this hypothesis soon and came to the conclusion that the Indus Valley people too, were much fond of eating beef, which can be assumed on the basis of recent studies on the Indus Valley Civilisation. According to C. L. Fabri, people of the Indus Valley were much interested in bull-fighting sports, or bull-sacrifices as freely as those in Creta. On the basis of the finds of animal-bones at places in the Indus Valley, we are much inclined to say with certainty that the Indus people also enjoyed beef and meat in their meals quit often⁴.

But the problem as to why and how the holy-cow taboo of the Aryan origins became first extinct, and then emerged in the classical Hinduism, remains still unsolved and open for future discussion. Probably the earliest Indo-Iranian concept being yet extant among the Aryans of India emerged once again and was given a way with full swing gradually with the advent and spread of Mohmedan culture in India. This is a mere conjecture and it requires some historical evidences in support.

4. Cf. Alsdorf-1 pp.68-69, fn.1:- Sources : Marshall :- "Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus Civilization" I p.27. - - - Mackay :- "Die Indus-Kultur" p.139. - - - C. L. Fabri :- "The Cretan bull-grappling sports and the bull-sacrifice in the Indus Valley Civilization" (Annual Report Arch. Survey of India 1934/5. pp.93-101). - - - See also : Schmidt-1 p.627.

7. THE VEGETARIANISM.

(a) Brahmanism :

Vegetarianism advocates strickly a vegetable diet, excluding meat, fish, eggs, and sometimes also animal products, such as milk, butter, etc. In vegetables, can be included plants, seeds and the like which demand here a special discussion to give an idea how they were treated in the early Indian tradition and how the practice of vegetarianism developed and was connected with the ahimsa in course of time.

Almost all Indian religions teach animism in almost all spheres. Earlier, Vedic ritualists believed the world full of animism¹. Tait. Sam. says :

“O Earth, the worshipper of gods, may I not injure root of thy plant. ”

pr̥thvī deva-yajany oṣadhyas te mūlaṃ mā himṣīṣam / (1.1.9.1)

And, it is further stated that :

“Pure are the intentions, peace to the waters, to plants, to earth, to days and nights, O Plant, protect him. O Sword, do not hurt him.”

śuddhaś caritraḥ śam adbhyaḥ śam oṣadhibhyaḥ śam pr̥thivyai
śam ahobhyam, oṣadhe, trāyasvainam svadhite mainam himsīḥ /
(Tait. Sam. 1.3.9. 1-2)

The brahmins avoided agriculture as a means of earning for their livelihood, according to the Manusmṛti, e.g.

... kṛṣiṃ yatnena vārayet ... / (MS 10.83)

He should avoid it strenuously, since it involves himsa. An act of ploughing the fields and digging in the ground injures the earth and insects etc. living in it. The Manusmṛti declares :

1. For animism in literature, religion, etc. see Paul Thieme : “Beseelung in Sprache, Dichtung and Religion” (Kl. Sch. 1971. pp.313-324) ; also ; Wezler-1. p.87, fn.252 ; Schmithausen-1. pp.3 fol.

bhūmim bhūmi-śayams caiva hanti kaṣṭham ayo-mukham /
(MS. 10.84 = MBH. 12.254.44)²

The earth when dug is believed to be hurt. Some brahmin householders adopted their means of subsistence following the ahimsika-vṛtti in which they obtained husked rice and seeds, since it is believed that they are devoid of life, e.g.

tuṣa-vihīnamas taṇḍulaṁ icchati sajjanebhyo bijani va /
(BDS. 3.2.13)

H. P. Schmidt suggests tuṣa-vihīna to be construed with bīja also, so that it carries a proper sense (Schmidt-1. p.635, fn.5). Wezler interprets it in three ways. Actually the word rice in husk - in the form of paddy - is in Sanskrit : vṛhi (or śati ?) which is called dāgar (etymology uncertain, probably : kaḍam-kara ?), but the husked corn of rice is called cokho (probably from the desya word : cokkho = pure, clear) in Gujarat. The husked rice is called also tāḍul - in a strict sense, it is used particularly for rice-flakes - in the Saurāṣṭra area of Gujarat. But, tāḍul which is tāḍla also in Gujarati language is probably a different corn. It is yellow in colour and small and round like a sesamum seed. The tāḍla in husk is called : jhīṇo caṇo/cīṇo (a very tiny round grain, probably from : cīṇaka ?) in Gujarat, and is yellow in colour and extremely smooth and shining. - - - Whatever it may be, husked or unhusked rice is capable of germination. Some cereals, e.g. barley (yava) or oats are "injured" or "killed" and no longer viable when they are mechanically husked, but it is not the case for the corns like wheat (go-dhūma) or rye and some other seeds which are used as eatables in India. Therefore, the passage in question cited above would mean :

(i) tuṣa-vihīna are bījas and taṇḍulas : seeds and rice, both "killed" by being husked, - - - or,

(ii) tuṣa-vihīna are taṇḍulas : rice corns are "killed" by being husked, and seeds - it may be implied that they are also "killed" by whatever means, - - - or,

(iii) rice "killed" by being husked, and seeds, whether they are animate - capable of germination or not, such rice and seeds are allowed in food. Again, the type of cereals like rice is "killed" when crushed in a mortar. Such idea is intended in the

2. Cf. also : BDS. 1.5.10.30 and 3. 1-2 ; Mait.Sam. 3.2.3 ; Schmithausen-1. p.47, fn. 275.

dictum:

varjayed bija-vadham / (GDS. 1.3.23)

"The killing of seeds should be avoided."³

The Brahmanical ascetics do not cut any part or branch of plants or trees, cf.

asya somya, mahato vrkṣasya yo mūle 'bhyāhanyaḥ jīvan sraved ... as eṣa jīvenātmanā ... tiṣṭhati. asya yad ekaṁ śakhaṁ jīvo jahati. atha sa śuṣyati ... sarvaṁ jahati sarvaḥ śuṣyati. (Ch.Up. 6.11.1-2)

"My dear one, if somebody strikes at the root of this big tree, it would bleed being alive. It stand firm by its own soul. If the soul leaves one of the branches, then it dries up. If it leaves the whole (tree), then the whole dries up."

As such, the ascetics can take or collect branches when they are somehow cut off and lay on the ground (Schmidt-1. pp.637-638). The vanaprasthas observing the rules of the vaikhānasa-s subsist on flowers, roots, fruits, alone which are ripened by time and fallen on the ground. The Manusmṛti says:

puṣpa-mūle-phalair vāpi kevalair vartayet sadā /
kala-pakvaḥ svayaṁ śīmaḥ vaikhānasa-mate sthitaḥ //
(MS. 6.21)
(see also: Schmidt-1. p.638; cf. Wezler-1. p.108, fn.302)

In Vedic times, there is a mention of spirits dwelling in the fields. It is generally believed that trees and plants, or vanaspati as a whole - are conceived of possessing spirits (Keith. pp.63-64). The corn spirit is dead when the corn is cut, it is revived in the spring. But the belief whether grain of corn contains spirit or not seems to have not developed in the Vedic rituals (Keith. p.277). To cut grass with nails is also prohibited in the Manusmṛti,

... na cchindyaṭ karajais tṛṇam / (MS. 4.70)

The Vedic students should, as per instructions, collect only

3. See: Wezler-3. pp.474-475 and particularly fn.68; Wezler-4. pp. 111-131; Schmīthausen-1. p.3, fn.15.

those samidhs - wood - for the fire which are already fallen on the ground (see above 2.b). They should not cut them directly from the trees. ADS. (2.9.22.13) instructs not to best water while bathing oneself, since it hurts the water (Schmidt-1. p.639; cf. Schmithausen-1. p.72). Even corn or grain when thrashed, or ground, or husked for sacrificial cakes are considered injured⁴. Keith has observed the Vedic fire worship as animistic in nature (Keith. p.38). We have noticed sentient character of plants and trees in the Bhṛgu-Varuṇa legend of the SB. (above 2.a). Other elements like water also possess souls. The Manusmṛti instructs to drink water after it is strained so that small insects in it may not be injured, e.g.

... .. vastra-pūtaṃ jalaṃ pibet / (6.46)

The commentator Kullūka explains this that:

jaleṣu kṣudra-jantv-ādi-vāraṇārthaṃ vastra-śodhitam jalaṃ pibet. (p. 236)

In some texts it is restricted to spit on, or to pass urine into water (cf. BDS. 2.6.11.24; Schmidt-1. p.637; Schmithausen-1. p.52).

(b) Jainism :

Similarly, according to Jainism, all animals, plants and also other elements like earth, water, fire and air possess innumerable souls (Bhatt-2. pp.139 fol. on chaj-jīva-nikayas; Doctrine. SS 104 fol.; cf. Schmithausen-1. pp.3-4). Jaina monks and nuns avoid even beating and bathing themselves with water, using a fan, because of such activities, are injured water-souls, air-souls, etc. Jaina monks and nuns do not drink, therefore, normal fresh water without getting it boiled by laypersons (see above 4.g; cf. Bruhn. p.38: lines 18-26). This will be examined below in course of our discussion.

So also it is believed in Jainism that plants (vaṇassai) possess souls, they, like other living beings are by nature, born, grow old, possess consciousness (citta), and wither when wounded, or injured when cut, they subsist on food, so explains the Āy-ara, e.g.

4. See above; — also Wezler-3. p.474, fn.68; and W.Slajc: "Bewußtsein und Wahrnehmungsvermögen von Pflanzen aus hinduistischer Sicht" (in: "Umwelt" - Symposium, Graz 1989, pp. 149-169).

imam 'pi jati-dhammayam ... vuddhi-dhammayam ...
cittamantayam ... chinnam milati ... aharagam ... (Āyara-JāgS.
1.1.5.45, p.11) (also: Schmithausen-2. p.6; for details: Bhatt-2.
pp.136,140)

Dasaveyaliya adds to a list of four elements (earth, water, fire, air) trees and seeds among animals (tasa) having souls (Dasa-S. p.166). Jaina monks and nuns do not wander from place to place, but live at one place for four months during rainy season (vasa-vasa, rain-retreat), in order to avoid injury to the green grass, lawns, etc. grown on the ground, they should not be trampled under foot (cf. Doctrine. S 146). Similarly the Buddhist monks and nuns too, stay at one place during the rainy season, because of the same reason as stated above for Jaina monks and nuns. But, Buddhism is not much particular and so strict about this rule, as Jainism. It is considered as an unintentional offence in Buddhism, if green grass is crushed by chance in walking on it, or any insect is killed under foot (cf. Schmithausen-1. pp.24-26; also: Wezler-3. p.462).

Jaina monks and nuns are instructed, moreover, to remain ever elert in going for a natural call, so that plants or seeds, or any small tiny insects are not hurt (cf. circumspection, etc.: Bruhn.p.38, lines 26-30), e.g.

uccāram pasavaṇam khelaṁ siṅghāṇa jalliyam /
(Dasa-S. 8.18 = Uṭṭra. 24.15)

They should not eat fruits unless they are "killed", that means, fruits should be enough ripe and have no seeds, since seeds are capable of germination, e.g.

kande mūle ya sacitte ... / (Dasa-S. 3.7)

Raw seeds are sentient, not to be eaten by monks and nuns. They can accept fruits when they are cut in slices, or juice is extracted from them. Salad, seeds, fruits, etc. in their natural state are sentient. Also in Buddhism, fruits and vegetables should be first rendered "pure", that means, "killed" by some laypersons before they are accepted by monks or nuns (Schmithausen-1. p.31). Both, Jaina and Buddhist monks or nuns do not dig or scratch the ground, since it possesses soul (Dasa-S. 5.1.68 and 10.2; also: Vinaya 4.33). Jaina monks and nuns have to deposit the left over food or excrement, etc. in a (dead) barren or burnt ground (cf. Dasa-S. 8.18 and 5.1.84-85 see

above 4.g). They do not bathe themselves with water, but it is allowed only in exceptional cases like illness, etc., since taking a bath in water, as in the case of drinking fresh water, causes injury to innumerable water-souls. But they can drink only the boiled water⁵. They do not kindle or extinguish the fire, or a burning torch (Dasa-S. 8.8). Some Sthanaka-vaśī Jaina monks and nuns keep their mouth covered with a piece of cloth, so that the extra air coming out of the mouth at the time of uttering something, may not hurt the air-souls.

(c) Buddhism :

According to the earliest Buddhism, plants and seeds, earth and water, are all sentient. The plants possess one-sense-faculty (Schmithausen-1. p.4). They are included in the "stationary animate beings" (thavaras: Schmithausen-1. p.66). Sometimes it is believed that plants and trees are inhabited by divinities or spirits who protect the plants and the trees, but this belief is not strong in Buddhism (Schmithausen-1. p.8). Again, some Buddhists believed that plants possess Buddha-Nature, and are, therefore, sentient (Schmithausen-2. pp.22-23). According to Tarkajvala (a Buddhist work in Chinese), plants are not sentient, as such, eating cereals, fruits or vegetables would not cause himsa. In the case of vegetable food, complete abstention from killing is not possible, unless one is prepared to starve (cf. Schmithausen-1. pp.102, 105-106). It is practicable to believe earth, plants, etc. as non-sentient in nature.

Buddhist monks and nuns are not particular also about their food whether it is cooked for them or not (ddissa-kata). Here, the only exception is meat and fish. Buddhist monks and nuns accept also invitation from laypersons for their meals (Schmithausen-1. pp.70-71). Moreover, cooking vegetables, i.e. "killing" the plants, etc., for monks or nuns is not restricted. They are not particular in drinking water whether it is boiled or not. They drink normally the fresh water unlike the Jaina monks and nuns (Schmithausen-1. pp.72, 103).

Smithausen has critically analysed in detail almost all available sources in the Buddhism and observed that the animistic belief for the earth in Buddhism might be either adopted from other people, or "had at least not yet been abandoned by the Buddhist

5. See above: 4h, 7b; cf. also Dasa.S. 8.6-8, p.167 and Schmithausen-1. pp.53-54 and fn.313).

monks and nuns on a conscious or theoretical level." (Schmithausen-1. p.57). Further, he has noticed that water also was considered non-sentient in early Buddhism (Schmithausen-1. p.66). Similarly, the belief that plants are sentient, is not original in Buddhism. It may be "adapted from or inspired by a pre- or non-Buddhist tradition." (see: Schmithausen-1. p.69). "It is not initiated by Buddhism." (see : Schmithausen-1. pp.77, 91-96, 101-102).

Looking into the earliest layers of the Jaina canon, the situation is not quite different from that in the earliest Buddhism. Initially, Jainism had no concepts of earth-, water-, air-, and fire-souls (Bhatt-2. pp.135-143). That means, the elements are not sentient. the sentient beings were divided in *trasa* - mobile living beings - and *sthavara* - stationary living being - even before Jainism and Buddhism came into existence⁶.

(d) Vegetarianism and *ahimsa* :

According to H.P.Schmidt, strict vegetarianism in the earliest Vedic period is difficult to be traced. Effigies of animals made of flour - e.g. the *piṣṭapaśu* in the Skh.GS (4.19), or of corns, - e.g. the *Varunapraghasa* in Śrauta ritual for sacrificial victims, instead of real victims in the Vedic ritualism have no connection with *ahimsa* or vegetarianism (Schmidt-1. p.629). The *Sama-jataka* No.540 mentions that *Sama*, though a hunter's son, subsists on only vegetables (cf. Wezler-1. p.103). The *Vicakṣnu-gīta* in the MBH (12.257) is a classical piece of vegetarianism. But H.P.Schmidt's views regarding vegetarianism are worthy of our note. Accordingly, if plants and seeds are included in the category of animate beings, and if seeds are capable of germination, then it is *himsa* in eating vegetables, i.e. plants, seeds, etc. But seeds, cereals, etc. when somehow "killed" by anyone, before they are cooked for diet, then it is *ahimsa*. However, the problem remains still unsolved whether vegetarianism is either a "special development of, or grafted on the *ahimsa* doctrine (Schmidt-1. p.626; Schmithausen-2. p.61, fn.338). Vegetarianism was originally restricted to the ascetics, but later it became the fundamental basis of the *ahimsa* doctrine, and is now accepted by almost all, Hindus and Buddhists and Jains.

6. Cf. Schmithausen-1. pp.59-63 with various foot-notes; also: Wezler-4. pp.11 fol.; Schmidt-2. pp.234-239. - Schmithausen, however, wished me on p.54: fn.316 to reconsider my arguments regarding water and earth in Jainism. But unfortunately any supporting evidence in reconsidering sentient nature of water and earth is basically wanting in the earliest strata of Jainism !

8. AHIMSA MISCELLANY

(a) ahimsā, a negative concept ?

We wind up the issue of vegetarianism. We have discussed almost all principal sources of ahimsā and shown its origins and developments in the Brahmanism and early Buddhism and Jainism as well. Here, we wish to deal with some other issues, e.g. ahimsā and its negative concept, its practicability, etc. etc. Since it will be interesting to know about them now, at this stage of concluding the principal theme of ahimsā as a doctrine.

First, we will explain how the concept of ahimsā with its privative prefix, though giving a negative meaning, i.e. non-injury, implies only a positive sense. The well-known Dutch scholar Jan Gonda has discussed this aspect of the ahimsā and rightly observed that the term ahimsā denotes not only a negative sense of non-injury to living beings, but a positive concept also, i.e. subjective-fellow-feelings and compassion - dayā - towards all living beings. This is a basic idea underlying almost all Indian religions. Similar concepts with a negative sense due to the privative prefix, are not wanting in any language. The term: amṛta means "immortal", rather than "not-dead". It means: "free from death", but in reality it stands for "life", "vitality", "eternal goal or spiritual liberation", in contrast with the term: māra - "death" in Buddhism. It indicates also "no re-death or re-birth" in Indian philosophy. Other similar word is aja - "unborn", "the supreme reality" (Gonda-1. pp.97-98; also: cf. Della Casa. p.192; Schreiner. p.295,fn.12).

So also, the word: abhaya which though literary means "abstention from fear", but stands in reality for "safety" or "security". Even the word "secure" in English which contains a privative prefix se (without), has originally a negative sense: "without (se-) worries (cure)", but it denotes a positive aspect, viz. "secure", "safe", or "confident" (Gonda-1. pp.98-99; Della Casa. pp.191,192). Similarly, the word: ajara, avyaya, etc. with a privative prefix have negative meanings, e.g. "not of old age", "not liable to change", but denote positive concepts, e.g. "ever young", "steady", respectively (Gonda-1. p. 105). In Indian religions, the term: asteya, though with a negative sense, expresses a positive aspect, viz. "respect of other's property". Such terms are many, e.g. anādi, ananta, avidyā, akṣara, etc.

(cf. Della Casa. p.192).

Examples of the type can be gathered and enumerated in this context, e.g. "insane" (Latin: "insanus") which originally means: "not (in-) healthy (sane/sanus)", but it denotes only a positive sense: "mad" or "crazy".

As a matter of fact, though concepts with privative prefixes express an idea of contradiction, but they do not distinguish between the contradictory terms, e.g. hot and not-hot, and the contrary terms, e.g. hot and cold (Gonda-1. p.98). Generally, we reply "not bad" in the sense of that what excludes bad, and we mean thereby only "good" in response to anybody's question like "How are you ?" or "How is it ?"

Concepts with privative prefix and negative meaning, but at the same time expressing a positive sense or "an auspicious aspect" abounds in Sanskrit and also in old Greek language. They play a significant role in these languages (Gonda-1. p.101).

Man is confronted with evils and ever aspires in achieving what is good. The evil is an enemy of the good, which is accepted by the absence of the evil, e.g. we mean "peace" for "an absence of civil disobedience or war-fare" (Gonda-1. p.114).

The negative concept of the word *ahimsa* may be interpreted also in a different way. I think, the natural instincts like: fear, injury to anybody, revolt or assault, stealing or getting something somehow in one's own possession, sex, etc. are primitive instincts which have to be avoided by persons in a society. This is suggested by the privative prefix to be connected with them. For total abstinence from, or control over the primitive instincts, living beings should pass through severe discipline and proper training. As such, human qualities are cultivated and their field of application is widened. Ultimately such persons acquire love, compassion, friendship, etc. for all living beings. These qualities are refined, their field of practice is wider, and through constant and continuous practice, they become innate human nature. Accordingly, *himsa* is a primitive instinct, *ahimsa* is a cultivated refined nature. Probably due to this reason, words in the sense of "*himsa*" may be traced in the earlier available sources in different languages, but it is hardly the case for the word "*ahimsa*" with a privative prefix, e.g. the verb: *himsa* is used in the Brahmanical texts in the most general sense: "to injure" (cf. Bruhm, p.38,

lines 14-16). The earliest occurrences of the word: ahimsa in the saṃhita texts - e.g. Maitrayaṇīya-saṃhita (3.9.3; 3.10.1), Taittirīya-saṃhita (6.3.3.2) are in the sense of "prevention of injury to the sacrificer, ... safeguarded against any conceivable retaliation." (cf. Schmidt-1. pp.646,648-649). The vow of ahimsa is to refrain oneself from the animal instinct of himsa, and this stage is achieved by means of discipline - vow or vrata. In its matured stage the ahimsa is daya, abhaya, maitrī, karuṇā, or rather all these and such other qualities can well be expressed in one term: "humanitarianism".

(b) ahimsā in modern India :

The doctrine of ahimsa has widened its field of applicability and employment in different situations. There emerged also some new concepts considered to be meanings of ahimsa in different perspectives. And this has increased the list of meanings to be implied in the concept of ahimsa. The ahimsa as an ethic of non-violence played a prominent part in the politics of the mahatma Gandhi. Paul Hacker tries to find in Gandhi's acceptance of the ahimsa and its adaptation to changed circumstances - political or social -, an influence of Leo Tolstoy in particular and Christianity in general. He argues that Gandhi's notion of ahimsa has some aspects which are not original or traditionally Hinduistic in nature, but adjusted to the neo-Hinduistic practices, e.g. ahimsa is selflessness, goodwill towards all, charity, love, etc. (cf. Hacker-2. pp.17-18). But Hacker fails here in his evaluation that the widely spread and popularized ideal of the ahimsa doctrine, since its origin in India, has acquired in the foreground positive concepts like compassion, security, friendship, etc. and the negative concept of non-injury to living beings has remained in the background. Explanations of ahimsa differ from case to case relying on the sphere of its employment, e.g. "non-violence" (ahimsa) in context of ascetics is unlikely (Bruhn.p.38 lines 10-16). The core of the concept has remained Indian and the new concept of love acquired by ahimsa is thus purely Indian and is essentially distinct from the Christian concept of love. In this regard Ludwig Alsdorf remarks:

"Ohne weiteres unter Ahimsa fällt ihm (Gandhi) natürlich die Lehre der Berg-predigt und die christliche Nächstenliebe überhaupt. Zweifellos hat durch dieses christliche Gedankengut seine Ahimsa eine sehr wesentliche Bereicherung und Vertiefung erfahren. Trotzdem bleibt sie in einem entscheidenden Kernpunkt

völlig indisch und von der christlichen Liebe wesentlich verschieden."¹

Gandhi considered the ahimsa as the only means of realization of Truth which he equated with the God, and asserted that a perfect vision of Truth can only follow a complete realization of ahimsa². Once, Bernard Shaw declared :

"The vegetarianism of the cow makes no appeal to the tiger ..."

and interpreted Gandhi's ahimsa - the non-violence policy, ineffective against the British rule in India. But the fact remains and the concrete results of Gandhi's ahimsa itself as a whole, proved something different, astonishing and wonderful.

(c) Is ahimsa practicable ?

I would like to wind up the topic of ahimsa, since such matters have no scope in this theme. I now offer some casual observations regarding vegetarianism and the ahimsa doctrine in general.

Plants and vegetables, seeds and cereals, whether sentient or not, are most essential in day to day diet for everybody. They are considered the vegetable food, the real vegetarianism. If we exclude them from our daily diet only on the ground that they are sentient and it is himsa in eating them, and stick to the traditional belief in pure ahimsa, then, I am sure, probably we would be deprived of food and suffer from hunger for the whole life. On the contrary, we have to use them in our diet, it means, we have to "kill" them and call us vegetarians. It is a paradox, but it is quite inevitable (cf. Bruhm, p.38, lines 14-18). It is so-to-say, an unavoidable himsa, and still we consider ourselves practising the pure ahimsa. Anyhow, this is a lesser evil than the one involved in eating meat and fish and eggs, which is certainly a cruelty to the animal-world, and also against the eco-system. Also medically it is advisable and quite often recommended for a better health. From this point of view also, we have to avoid meat and fish and the like in our daily diet. As early as Manu in Ca. 2nd century AD, there is a standing warning against eating the meat and the like. Manu

1. L. Alsdorf: "Mahatma Gandhi, der Repräsentant und Erneuerer indischen Geistes" (Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 35, 1951, pp.45-68; also: K1.Sch.1974. pp.686-709, here p.701).
2. M.K. Gandhi: "An Autobiography..." (Translated in english by M.Desai. Ahmedabad 1948, p.615).

makes us cautions against a practice of piling up the flesh of animals in our stomach, the practice, which brings no benefit to anyone:

sva-māṃsaṃ para-māṃsena yo vardhayitum icchati / (MS. 5.52)
Of course, this statement of Manu has a different context, but what meat-eating would generally look like is expressed in this line very effectively. Meat-eating causes high cholesterol contents which tend to make the atherogenesis much faster. Bowel cancer is due to low fibre contents in animal diet. Animal food causes heart attack, increases the myo-cardinal infaction stroke. It increases bacterial anti-gens and viral anti-gens more and more, and affects adversely the entire immune system of the human body. There are many other factors also, which go in favour of vegetarianism vis-à-vis non-animal diet which is more beneficial and advantageous to human health and life as a whole. It is also relatively more economical than the non-vegetarian diet.

The modern methods of stimulating milk production by injecting with artificial hormones to animals like cows, and also calves, pigs, etc. are so terribly painful to animals, that we at once revolt against it, at least by avoiding from our daily diet, even dairy production coming through such torturing tactics to poor and innocent creatures. It is beyond the scope to deal here fully with all arts and manners employed by cruel human beings for torturing the creatures, just for human happiness, for experiments in technical fields, medicines, physics, chemistry, etc. I would like to conclude the principal theme and concur fully with Lambert Schmithausen by expressing my wishes, that we should decide firmly to accept willingly the vegetarian diet and to live a life according to the ahimsa ideal. We should not adopt any means of our survival at the cost of the lives of poor and innocent creatures - small, tiny or big -, we should let them live with due respect, but without injuring or torturing them any time. If we can, we should protest against industries and firms, where all possible cruel tactics accepted are detrimental to creatures and eco-system, we should boycott their dairy products and cosmetics, etc. for our daily life. We should insist in our diet on fruits, vegetables, which are grown or cultivated in natural procedures, without use of any chemicals and the like. We should protect nature, natural products, and the animal world surrounding us, and avoid any means that causes hazard to their lives. We should live with all in harmony and with goodwill (see: Schmithausen-2. pp.26-27).

APPENDIX - I

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- Āyara-Silāṅka** : see: Silāṅka.
- AWLM** : Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur in Mainz.
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Vol.I : Āyāra pp. 1-99. Viyāhapannatti pp. 384-939.
Vol.II : Dasaveyaliya pp. 947-976.
- SB : Śatapatha Brahmana, ed.: A. Weber. Berlin 1855. 2nd ed.: Chaukambha Skt. Ser. 96. Varanasi 1964.
- SBE : The Sacred Books of the East Series, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford.
- Schalerath : B. Schlerath: "Opfergaben" Festgabe für Herman Lommel, Wiebaden 1960, pp. 129-134.
- Schmidt : Hans-Peter Schmidt:
1. "The Origins of Ahimsa : Mélanges D'Indianisme a la memoire de Louis Renou, Paris 1968, pp.625-655.
2. "Ancient Iranian Animal Classification" SII 5-6, 1980, pp. 209-244.
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2. "Buddhism and Nautre" Lectures Expo 1990. Studia Philo. Buddhica, Paper Ser. 7. Tokyo 1991.
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- Skh.GS : Sankhayana-Gṛhya-Sūtra, Critical ed.: S.R. Sehgal. Delhi 1960.
- Skh.SS : Sankhayana-Śrauta-Sūtra, vols. 1-4. ed.: Alfred Hillebrandt. 1885-1899. Reprint: Delhi 1981.
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1. "Etudes sur l'origine de l'ascetisme indie" Travaux

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1. "Die Alten im alten Indien ein Versuch nach brahmanischen Quellen." *Saeculum* 30.4, Freiburg-München 1979, pp. 374-433.
 2. "Aranyaka and Vanaprastha in the vedischen Literature." *WZKS* 25. 1981, pp. 19-90.
- SS : Rṣabhadevijī Kesarīmālījī Śvetāmbara Saṁstha, Ratlam.
- Sūyagāḍa-Sīlāṅka : see: Sīlāṅka.
- Tait.Sam. : Taittirīya Saṁhitā, with Sayana's comm. *And. Skt. Ser.* 42. Poona 1940-1951.
- Tait.Up. : Taittirīya Upaniṣad. *And. Skt. Ser.* 12. Poona 1929.
- Tull : Hermann W. Tull: "The Vedic Origins of Karma. Cosmos as Man in Ancient Indian Myth and Rituals". New York Press 1989. Reviewed by Bodewitz: *JAOS* 3-1, 1991, pp.173-174.
- Utt. : see: Charpentier.
- Uttarādhyāyana : see: Charpentier.
- Vasiṣṭha : see: VDS.
- VDS : Vasiṣṭha-Dharma-Sūtra, ed.: A.N.Fuhrer. BORI 1930.
- Viyāhapannatti : see: S.I.
- Viyāhapannatti-JAGS. : Viyāhapannatti vols. 1-4. *JāgS* 4. 1974-1982 (Viyāhapannatti Ch.15: in vol.2.)
- Weber : Albrecht Weber. see: *Ind. St.*
- Wezler : A. Wezler:
1. "Die wahren Speiserestesser ..." *AWLM* 1978; see also: No.2.
 2. "The True Vighaśin Remark on Mahābhārata XII 214 and XII 11." *Diamond Jub. Vol. Annals: BORI*, 1978, pp.397-406; see also: No.1.
 3. "Cattle, Field and Barley." *Ady. Lib. Bul.* 50. Madras 1986, pp. 431-477.
 4. "On the Term antaḥsaṁjñā-." *Annals: BORI* 1987 (R.G. Bhandarkar Vol.), pp.111-131.
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1. "Zur Lehre von der Āśramas" Festgabe H. Jacobi. Bonn 1926. also: *Kl. Sch. Pts.* 1-2. 1991, pp.500-512.

2. "Some Thoughts on Ahimsa" The Golden Book of Tagore, Calcutta, 1931; also: Kl.Sch.Pts. 1-2. 1991, pp.699-701.
 3. "Ethics in Brahmanical Literature." Prabuddha Bharati 41. Calcutta 1936, pp.165-170; also: Kl.Sch.Pts. 1-2. 1991, pp.220-225.
- WZKS : Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens, Wien.
 ZDMG : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.

APPENDIX - II (a)

Published Materials on the Ahimsā.

1. A list of works/articles on ahimsa in its wider sense with the notion of non-killing the living beings and the like in their titles or contents.
2. In the case of publication completed in a series or volumes in more than one year, only final year of its publication is mentioned.
3. Year of publication appearing fully for the first time is taken into consideration, but years of its later (repeated) appearances are neglected.
4. The list includes also some materials on the Gandhian philosophy of the Non-violence. Such materials could not be listed separately, since their treatment touched or somehow it was based upon the early ahimsa doctrine.
5. However the list is not complete or exhaustive. Most of the material is taken from a Bibliography of an unpublished dissertation by Jose Peringamala (see: "Peringamala Jose" below) who at places has not given some sources in detail. I could not supply here the needed details on account of lack of required materials and the sufficient time for that at my disposal.

GM: "Gandhi Marg" Periodical (India)

IPQ: "Indian Philosophical quarterly" Journal (India)

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11. 1984 pp. 171-180.
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APPENDIX - II (b)

Chronological Arrangement of Appendix II (a)

1. The year of publications at the left is followed by names of their authors in alphabetical order, if their publication appear in the same year. Names of some authors are repeated in the case their works/articles are published even in the same year.
2. Appendix II (a) should be referred to for relevant details such as titles, place of publication, etc.

| | | |
|--------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1886: | Schwab Julius. | Jha H. M. |
| 1896: | Jolly Julius. | Mookherji S. B. |
| 1907: | Luders Hernrich. | Nelson S. |
| 1908: | Rhys Davids T.W. | Schlerath Bernfried. |
| 1912: | Crookes W. | Sharp G. |
| 1927: | Meyer J. J. | Sharp G. |
| 1929: | Prakash Om. | Tahtinen Unto. |
| 1930 ? | Patel G. J. | Thieme Paul. |
| 1931: | Winternitz Moris. | 1961: Alsdorf Ludwig. |
| 1933: | Kapadia H.R. | Hirakawa Akira. |
| 1935: | Fabri C.L. | Miller W. R. |
| 1939: | Shridharan K. | Nair V. G. |
| 1941: | Kane P.V. | 1962: Gandhi M. K. |
| 1942: | Bedi B.P.L. | 1963: Bhawe Vinoba. |
| 1945: | Horner I.B. | Khantipalo B. |
| 1947: | Ramapuria S.C. | Wolff O. |
| 1949: | Gandhi M.K. | 1964: Bristol J. E. |
| | Jain H. | Miller W. R. |
| | Jain Hirr Lal | Miller W. R. |
| | Upadhye A.N. | 1965: Dellinger D. |
| | VARIA-1. | Silbey M. |
| | | 1966: Frank J. D. |
| 1950: | Benoy G.R. | Heesterman J. C. |
| | Eaton J. | Pantev Brick S. |
| 1951: | Bebeskey-Wojkowitz R.V. | 1967: Sogani K. C. |
| 1952: | Amar Muni. | 1968: Schmidt Hans-Peter. |
| | 1953: Filchner W. and... | 1969: Braganza R. |
| | Gandhi M. E. | Haring B. |
| | Marathe Sridhar... | Kytte C. |
| 1957: | Chakravarti A. | 1970: Douglas J. W. |
| 1958: | Gandhi M. K. | Lassier S. |
| | Menon K.P.S. | Marcuse H. |
| 1959 | Gandhi M.K. | Mehendale M. A. |
| | Gonda Jan. | Satish K. |
| 1960: | Ensink Jacob. | 1971: Horsburg H.J.N. |
| | Gandhi M. K. | 1972: Desai D. |
| ? | Hausleiter J. | Mitscherlich A. |
| | | Rao K. M. |

- 1973: Sinha B. N.
Kotturan G.
- 1974: Dev Usha.
Japoy O. P.
- 1975: Bhargava Daya Nand.
Bhargava P. L.
Dhadhale M. G.
Ensink Jacob.
Malvania Dalsukh D.
Samtani N. H.
Skatch A. F.
- 1976: Bonino J. M.
Della Case, Carlo.
Tahtinan Unto.
- 1977: Gaur V. P.
Muller J. M.
Upadhye A. N.
- 1978: Ciarre G. and others.
Hacker Paul.
Singer P.
Wezler Albracht.
Wezler Albracht.
- 1979: Heinrich A.
Joshi D. G.
Kalghatgi T. G.
Schreiner P.
- 1980: Ruegg D. S.
Sharp G.
Tahtinen Unto.
- 1981: Diwakar R. R.
Rani A.
Welbon G. R.
- 1982: Spera Giuseppe.
- 1983: Halbfass Wilhelm.
Vyas Nitin J.
- 1984: Bharadwaya V. R.
Chemello A.
Clark H. and others.
Claver F.
Toulat J.
- 1985: Chandy K. R.
Eckartsberg R. von.
Jain P.
L'Abate A.
Mohapatra G.
- 1986: Bharadwaj A. B.
Bharadwaj A. B.
Cruz R.
Dales George F.
Hare Minoru.
Murthi Maitri
Oldfield K.
Vyas R. T.
Wezler Albrecht.
- 1987: Bothara Surendra Kumar
Bruhn Klaus.
Jain Bhagchandra,
Bhaskar.
Jurgensmeyer M.
Proudfoot.
Puri R.
- 1988: Acharyya N. N.
Bondurant J. V.
Das R. P.
Jaini Padmanabh C.
Magno J. A.
Mahapragya Yuvacharya
Rajapakse V.
- 1989: Abdhul Rashid P. A.
Dastidar K. G.
Kuttianical J.
Shah Kokila H.
Slaje Walter.
Tripathi Pratibha.
- 1990: Mohapatra G.
Piretti Santangelo L.
Pringamala Jose.
Shreshta B. and ...
Van den Hoek, A. W. ...
- 1991: Das R. P.
Jain Hemchand
Schmithausen Lambert.
Schmidt Hans Peter
- 1992: Meisig Kenrad.
- 1993: Bruhn Klaus.
Schmithausen Lambert.
Srinivasan S. A.
VARIA-2
Wezler Albrecht.

APPENDIX - III

Index of Names, Words and Terms.

The numbers refer to chapters followed by alphabets referring to paragraphs. The list contains only selected Names, Words and Terms which appear in the text just casually.

fn. = foot-note

Ch. = Chapter.

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- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Abhayadeva: 4f. fg. | aṣṭakā: 6a. |
| Abhidharma-ośa: 2g. | a-suta: 4b. |
| Abhidharma-samuccaya: 4c. | Atharvaveda: 6c |
| abhijit: 2c, 2g. | Australia: 1a. |
| Abhinavagupta: 3c. | autochton India: 6d. |
| aborigines: 3d. | Āvasatha: 2c. |
| adhvaryu: 3a. | Avesta: 6c. |
| a-diṭṭha: 4b. | Āyara: Ch.2 fn.14, 4e, 4f, 5g, 7b. |
| Ādityas: 4a. | Āyodhya: 5f. |
| Agastyasimha: 4e, 4g. | banishment: 2g. |
| aghnya: 6c, Ch.6 fn.3. | Bechert Heinz: Ch.4 fn.1. |
| agnicayana: 2c. | Bhavabhūti: 2c, 3c, 6b |
| ahavaniya fire: 2c. | bhikṣus: 2g. |
| ahimsāyai: 2a. | Bhṛgu: 2a, 2c. |
| ahimsika: 2g. | Bhṛgu-Varuṇa (legend): 2a, 7a. |
| Aitaśa: Ch.2 fn.12. | bījapura-kāṭha: 4f. |
| aja: 3a, 8d. | Bon religion: 2g. |
| ajīvikas: 6b. | brahma-vaikhāṇasa: 2g. |
| a labhate: 2a. | brhatī: 2a. |
| Altersklassen: 2g. | Buddha-Nature: 7c. |
| Altersstufen: 2g. | "bull-vow": 6c. |
| anāmbha: 6b. | Caillat C.: Ch.2 fn.14 |
| anasūya: 2h. | Cambay: 4e. |
| anayāsa: 2h. | Central Asia: 4c. |
| Andaman Islands: 1a. | chaj-jīva-nikāyas: 7b. |
| Aṅguttara-nikāya: Ch.4 fn.2. | China: 4c. |
| Anuoga: 4g. | Chittore: 4e. |
| a-parisankita: 4b. | Christianity: 8b. |
| aranya: 2g. | Chunda: 4c. |
| artificial hormones: 8c. | Citrus Medica: 4f. |
| Aśoka: 6b. | cosmic order: 1a. |
| aśrama: 2b, 2c. | cow-killer: 6a. |
| Aṣṭadhyāyin: 6a | Creta: 6d. |

Cullavagga: Ch.4 fn.2.
 Daṇḍayana: 2c, Ch.6 fn.1.
 dakṣiṇa fire: 2c.
 Dales, George F.: 5f.
 "dangerous sacredness": 2c.
 Dange S.S., Mrs.: Ch.2 fn.6.
 Darjiling: 3c.
 Dasaveyaliya: 4e, 4f, 5g, 7b.
 de Jong, J.W.: 5f.
 deva-bhaṣa: 5f.
 Devadatta: 2c.
 Devardhigani: 4g.
 deva-yāna: 2d.
 Dhalla M.N.: 6c.
 Dhamma-padas: 6b.
 Dharapuri: 4f.
 Dharma-vyadha: 3a.
 Dīgha-nikāya: 4c, 5b.
 dīkṣa: 2c, 5b, 5e.
 Dravidians: 1a.
 Durgā: 3c.
 Durvasas: Ch.2 fn.12.
 duṣ-krta: 2d.
 dvādaśāha: 2a.
 Edgerton F.: Ch.2 fn.11.
 ethics: 1a.
 exile: 2g.
 Fabri C.L.: Ch.3 fn.4, 6d.
 Filliozat: 2c.
 "folk-religion": 6b.
 fortune-telling: 2g.
 gadflies: 2g.
 gaḥapati-jātaka: 6b.
 Gandhi, mahatma: 8b.
 M. K. : Ch. 8 fns. 1,2.
 "gaomez": 6c.
 gārhapatya fire: 2c.
 gavaya: 6a.
 Ghora (Āṅgīrasa): 2c.
 Goddard D.: Ch.4 fn.3.
 go-ghna: 6a.
 Gokapiliya: 3a.
 go-vrata: Ch.6 fn.2, 6c.
 grāmyam aharam: 2g.

Greece: 6c.
 Greek: 1a, 6d, 8a.
 Guṇabhadra: 3a.
 Hara Minoru: Ch.4 fn.4.
 Haribhadra: 4e, 4g.
 Hariesijja: 5b.
 Harivaṃśa-purāṇa: 3a.
 Hauer J.W.: 5e.
 Hellas: 6c.
 Hemacandra: 3a.
 Himalayan region: 2g.
 Hirakawa Akira: 4c.
 holy-hunder: 3a.
 "humanitarianism": 8a.
 Indo-European: 1a.
 Indo-Iranian: 1a.
 Ingalls, Daniel H.H.: Ch.6 fn.2.
 "insane": 8a.
 Iranian: 6c.
 Jajali: 3a.
 Jannaijja: 5b.
 Jayaratha: 6d.
 Jinadasa: 4e, 4g.
 Jinaprabha-muni: 5f.
 Jinasena: 3a.
 Kali: 3c.
 Kalidasa: Ch.6 fn.2.
 Kali-varjya: 2g.
 Kalpantara-vācyāni: 5f.
 Kapadia H.R.: 5g.
 Kapila: 3a.
 Kauṭalya: 6b.
 killing by suffocation: 5f.
 knowledge of equivalence: 2c.
 kuṇapāhāra: 2j.
 Kuru-Panchālas: 5e.
 kuṣmaṇḍa: 4f.
 Kuṭadanta Sutta: 5b.
 kuṭi-caka: 2g.M.K.: Ch.8
 fns.1,2.
 Laṅkavatara-sūtra: 4c.
 Latin: 6d.
 Liebich B.: Ch.2 fn.5
 linga-pūja: 3c.
 love for offsprings: 1a.

- lūta: 4e.
 Mackay: Ch.3 fn.4.
 Magadha: 2g.
 Mahavagga: Ch.4 fn.2.
 Mahayanists: 4c.
 Majjhima-nikaya: Ch.4 fn.2.
 Malasekera G.P.: 4c.
 Malatīmadhava: 3c.
 Malvaniya D.D.: Ch.5, fn.2.
 Mānava-Dharma-Sūtra: 1b.
 Marshall: Ch.3 fn.4.
 Maruts: 5e.
 Mendhiya-gama: 4f.
 mercy: 1a.
 meta-language: 2a.
 meta-ritualism: 2c.
 Mitra: 1a.
 Mohmedan culture: 6d.
 "mono-kausal": 2a.
 morality: 1a.
 mosquitos: 2j.
 Mudgala: Ch.2 fn.12
 mūla-sūtra: 5b.
 Mundas: 1a, 5f.
 muni-asceticism: 2g.
 muni-gr̥hastha: Ch.2 fn.12.
 muni-vānaprastha: 2g.
 mystery of karma doctrine:
 Ch.2 fn.9.
 Nagas: 1a.
 Nandī: 4g.
 Nepal: 3c.
 Netra-tantra: 6d.
 Nighaṇṭu: 4f.
 nirgranthas: 6b.
 Non-Aryan tribes: 1a.
 non-Vedic Aryans: 1b.
 nṛ-yajña: 4h.
 numerical equivalence: 2c.
 palāni-vṛtti: 2g.
 pañca-gavya: 6c.
 Paṇini: 6a.
 "para-kṛta": 4h.
 Parasis: 6c.
 parinnā: 5d.
 Parśva: 2c, 4d.
 Paśupata: Ch.4 fn.4, 4h, Ch.4 fn.2.
 Paśupatism: 5e.
 Pāvā: 4c.
 phallus-worship: 3c.
 Piretti, Santangelo L.: 6d.
 piṣṭapaśu: 7c.
 pitṛ-yāna: 2d.
 Prajāpati-Mṛtyu contest: 2c.
 Prāvargya ceremony: 2c.
 Prayaścittas: 1a.
 Puppā-bhikkhū : 5g.
 Raghuvamsa: Ch.6 fn.2.
 "religious suicide: 2g, Ch.2 fn.14.
 Renou: 2c.
 repentances: 1a.
 Revai: 4f.
 Rṣabha: 4d.
 ṛta: 1a.
 sabhya: 2c.
 Salakotthaya: 4f.
 śālina: 2g.
 Sama-jātaka: 7d.
 samaṇa-mahāṇa: 5d.
 samatva: 3a.
 śamitṛ: 2a.
 saṃ jñāpayati: 2a.
 saṃkhyāna: 2c.
 sampat: 2c.
 sampradāna: 2g.
 Santhals: 5f.
 śanti: 2a.
 Saudhātaki: Ch.6 fn.1.
 Saurāṣṭra: 7a.
 Schulze Wilhelm: 6c.
 Season-Month and Prajāpati: 2c.
 "security": 8a.
 Shaw Bernard: 8b.
 Sīha: 4b, 4f, 4h.
 Sikhs: 1b, 6a.
 Sīlāṅka: 4e, 4f.
 Sīta: 2c.
 Śiva: 6d.
 Śivaism: 4h, 5e.
 Slaje Walter: Ch.7 fn.4.

Sodhala-Nighaṇṭu: 4f.
 sorcery: 2g.
 śraddha: 6a.
 śramaṇism: 5f, 5g.
 Śrauta ritual: 7d.
 śrī: 2c.
 Sthanakavasi-sect: 5g.
 sukara maddava: 4c.
 su-kṛta: 2d.
 sulba-sūtras: 1b.
 Suśruta (saṃhita): 4f, 6b.
 Syumaraśmi: 3a.
 tādul: 7a.
 Tantraloka: 3c.
 Tantrism: 3c, 6d.
 Tarkajvala: 7c.
 teatulency trouble: 4f.
 Thieme Paul: Ch.7 fn.1.
 Tibet: 4c.
 ti-koṭi-parisuddha: Ch.4
 fns, 4b, 4c.
 Toḍas: 1a.
 Tolstoy Leo: 8b.
 Triṣaṣṭīśālikapuruṣacarita: 3a.
 triṣṭubh: 2a.
 Tulādhara: 2a.
 Tull, HermannW.: 2d.
 "Übergabe-Ritual": 2g.
 ucchiṣṭa-bhojana: 2g.
 uddesiya: 4h.
 uddissa-kata: 4h.
 upāṅgas: 4g.
 uṣṇis: 2a.
 Uttarapurāṇa: 3a.
 Uttarāmaacarita: 2c, Ch.6 fn.1.
 Vaikhanasa-sūtra: 2g.
 vajasaneyaka: 6a.
 Valabhi: 4g.
 Valmiki: 6b.
 Varuṇa: 1a, 2a.
 Varuṇapraghaṣa: 7d.
 vasaṣa: 7b.
 Vasiṣṭha: 6b.
 Vasu: 3a, 5d.
 Vasubandhu: 2g.

Vicakhnu (gīta): 3a, 6d.
 vidarika: 4f.
 Vighasa-jataka: Ch.2 fn.15.
 Vinaya: 4b, 4c.
 viralika: 4f.
 Viṣṇuism: 3a.
 viśvajit: 2c, 2g.
 viyāda: 4h.
 Viyāhapannatti: 4f, 5g.
 vṛatya-stoma: 5e.
 vṛddhaśrama: 2g.
 Vyas R.T.: 1b.
 Weinrich F.: Ch.2 fn.5.
 Yajñavalkya: Ch.2 fn. 9, 6a.
 Yaśna: 6c.
 yati: 3a.
 yāvavara: 2g.
 Yoga: 5e.
 Yoginīs: 3c.
 yuga, kṛta ...: 3a.
 tretā...: 3a.
 Zarathustra: 6c.
 "zig-zag-pattern": 2c.
 Zoroastrianism: 6c.

