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THE ŚRAMAṆA RESPONSE TO THE HUMAN PREDICAMENT

DR VINCENT SEKHAR

Religion gives meaning to society. It operates from ultimate perspectives in terms of end or goal of life. It does not provide merely an abstract creed as a set of beliefs but offers as well at the level of behaviour certain ethical principles by which the behaving community seeks to attain the proposed goals. The different institutions in society may wield an autonomy of their own with their own objectives, but it is the task of religion to see to the overall purpose of these institutions, namely, the common good of humanity where individuals as well as groups cherish mutual love and respect in justice and freedom.

It is true that religion and society shape each other in history. Society, its cultural and other changes, might affect the external structure of religion. There might be structural adaptations, even renewals. For example, religions like Buddhism and Christianity have inculturated themselves in various lands, absorbing and expressing the cultural traits of the local people. But this does not mean that the basics of these religions have changed. The central figures of these religions, the worship and adherence to their precepts have remained the same throughout. It is such changeless elements that offer newness to life at all time. These changeless elements in religion do influence the life of the individual and of the society, challenging the structure and functioning of every human institution. The perennial features of Śramaṇa Dharma are still valid in the face of the corroding life situation.

1. The ugly face of the human situation

The current human situation can be broadly characterised by inequality, poverty and fundamentalism. The speciality of inequality in India, as Prof. Alfred points out, is that it tends to be cumulative in the sense that groups that are under-privileged in one sphere of life tend to be under-privileged in all other spheres.¹

¹ Alfred De Souza—The Relevance of Christianity in India today, Vidyajyoti Journal, No. 48, Delhi, 1984, p. 4-5.
The caste division in India which is one of the strong impediments to the development of the individual and society, the prevailing injustice in the agricultural sector in land ownership and illiteracy in general and women's illiteracy in particular, the degrading economic scene, the problem of inflation, inequality in income distribution, black money etc., the social injustice done to women and children, the dowry system, juvenile delinquency, gender discrimination in family and society are but a few samples of the deteriorating society.

1.1 Poverty and inequality

At present, in India what gives a low profile and an unstable condition to an individual is the thought that one is 'poor'. Not only that poverty affects the development of personality, it also leads, because of inadequate resources, to illness, mobility and mortality. Inequality, caste discrimination and poverty give birth to categories like the untouchables and the evil called untouchability. In the words of M.K. Gandhi: Socially, they (the untouchables) are lepers, economically they are worse than slaves. Religiously they are denied entrance to places we miscall 'houses of God'. They are denied the use, on the same terms as the caste Hindus, of public roads, public schools, public hospitals, public wells, public taps, public parks and the like. In some cases their approach within the measured distance is a social crime, and in some other rare enough cases their very sight is an offence. They are relegated for their residence to the worst quarters of cities and villages where they practically get no social service. Caste Hindu lawyers and doctors will not serve them as they do other members of society. Brahmins will not officiate at their religious function.2

There have been number of provisions and steps taken by the Government to abolish this inhuman practice: the abolition of untouchability (article 17, Constitution of India); appointment of a minister in charge of the scheduled castes in some states (article 164); reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha (article 330) and in the Legislative Assembly in every state and union territory (article 332); safeguards for the claims of the member of scheduled castes while making appointments to the Central and State Government jobs (article 335); appointment of a special officer to take care of the interests of the scheduled castes (article 338) and in pursuance of these provisions, the Parliament and the State Legislatures have enacted numerous laws but India has suffered, to this day, blame from global community.3

1.2 The Environmental degradation

Another area of concern is the environmental issue and people who are affected by it directly. Nature and humans are so close to each other for mutual existence and sustenance. To say that man lives from nature means that nature is his body with which he must remain in a continuous interchange in order not to die.  

But the growing menace of pollution of nature is like stripping the mother goddess naked and insulting her. The spoiling of man’s water resources like rivers, ponds, lakes and even oceans and the poisoning of the atmosphere with chemicals because of the high concentration of industries and factories, throwing out the garbage and solid wastes anywhere at our convenience, the high level noise specially in urban areas that harms the nervous system of man, the petrol and diesel fumes from vehicles which affect even some sensitive plants like tobacco, potato and some cereal crops and certain flowers etc. are but some of the results of the ‘pollution menace’. They harm both nature and man.

The environmental destruction had led to the intensification of poverty and destitution of the forest dwellers by way of non-availability of food, fuel, fodder, fertiliser and construction material, non-availability of medical herbs etc. While the ‘social cost’ in such a despicable condition is very much ignored the material side of the scene is still worse, namely, floods, droughts, sedimentation and other forms of ecological damage like soil erosion, wind and water erosion etc.

1.3 Problem of fundamentalism

India faces today the problem of fundamentalism. Basically it is a ‘defect’ in attitude. We all live a life of compartmentalisation. We often do not know what the other believes and practices. This type of ignorance sometimes leads us to petty quarrels, fights and other harmful relationships. At other times it takes the form of tolerance or to put it negatively ‘touch-me-not’ attitude. As long as one does not interfere in the other’s business there is no problem. But it is not definitely a ‘positive’ encounter, which implies seriousness and learning, adapting and modifying and becoming the other in sharing.

As long as one affirms one’s own faith or ideology as the only truth there is not much opening to such rare experiences. Fundamentalism is a kind of ‘closure’. The eyes are turned introvert and there is a

refusal to see the world at large. Such an attitude gives way to fanatic movements like 'save-the-faith', 'guard-the-temple' and the like. Today inter-religious or even inter-political dialogue is useful and necessary not merely to come to know the other better and to dispel prejudices etc. but much more for a healthy collaboration between religions, political ideologies in order to promote a common humanity based on justice and freedom.

Studying such a human-life situation in India and elsewhere one seeks for remedies. Indian philosophical and religious traditions have offered solutions to such evils. By Nirvāṇa the Buddhist tradition means cessation from pain, from birth, from ignorance, from karma etc. Liberation is not a 'positive' state although the description of a liberated person or state as found in scriptures is a state of overcoming the evil. Now one cannot find solution to evil situation unless one is aware of the cause for it.

2. Evil and its root cause

The root cause of all evil according to Jaina tradition is violence which again is caused by ignorance (abodhi) and carelessness (pramāda): ignorance is with respect to right knowledge, right vision and right conduct; and carelessness, by way of certain types of activities, like alcohol, sensual pleasures, the passions, sleep and unprofitable conversation. Hence Mahāvīra preached discrimination (viveka) and renunciation (vairāgya).

Buddhism also acknowledges that it is the passionate heart which is the primary cause of evil. Many Buddhist schools of thought like the Theravādins, Savastivādins and the Yogācāra school term these following six as the morally defiling passions (kilesa): greed (lobha), hatred (doṣa), delusion (moha), conceit (māna), speculative views or heresy (dīthi) and doubt or uncertainty (vicikkiccha). To these are usually added mental idleness (thina), boastfulness (iddhacca), shamelessness (ahirika) and hardness of heart (anottappa). Milindapañha too confirms this. All these amount to a fundamental element called 'desire' (trṣñā in Buddhist term and kaṣāya in Jaina term).

Indian tradition is correct in asserting that the root cause of all

evil is the ‘desire to be’ and the ‘desire to have’. The Śramana traditions have weighed life experiences and have come to the conclusion that the outcome of existence is pain and suffering. Hence Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa or the end of life will be based on such an existential phenomenon as suffering. It would mean cessation from all suffering. Early Buddhist and Jaina traditions therefore sought to practise good conduct and penance in order to achieve this life’s goal.

The root of desire is again traced to egotism or ahambhāva or the I-ness. The attitude of I-ness retains more than it shares, ‘grabs’ more than it gives. In Jaina tradition the intrinsic nature or svabhāva of the soul is pure consciousness and all others like egotism, desire, passions, activities, relations etc. are extraneous to it.² And hence according to the Jaina system the realisation of the ‘true’ self is not possible without abstinence from all passions, and from all forms of violence and hence we see the extreme ascetic life in a Jaina monk.

In Buddhist tradition the ideal Bodhisattva takes the hardships upon himself (an act of self-suffering and infliction of violence to oneself) in order to remove the pain of others and ensure salvation.¹⁰ Both the Śramana systems recognise hīṃsā or violence as the ultimate cause of all evils and lay stress on personal and social morality to remedy it.

Suffering, pain etc. are forms of violence. Inequality results in caste-class discrimination, unequal income distribution etc., the environmental disasters and ecological imbalances. All these are but a few manifestations of violence to ‘Life’ (jīva hīṃsā). Jaina metaphysics believes in the ‘pluralism’ and ‘equality’ of Jīva.¹¹ This concept of the ‘many’ and the ‘one’ deters one from violence to Life manifested in multi-various forms. The Jaina system proclaims that any form of violence done to any living organism is ultimately a violence done to oneself.

3. The phenomenon called ‘Violence’

Although the Jaina Ācāryas have expounded Ahīṃsā or non-injury to life, they have also described the phenomenal world of violence or hīṃsā. Through this they have made Ahīṃsā and its significance

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implicit. One of the earliest of Jama canons Ācārāṅgasūtra expounds the phenomenon of violence in these terms: the (living) world is afflicted, miserable, difficult to instruct and without discrimination. In this world full of pain, suffering by their different acts, see the benighted ones cause great pain. The very first sermon of Buddha in the deer park has all the elements of maitri and karuṇā and at the same time the 4 Noble Truths lay stresses on pain and suffering as forms of violence.

Prof. Dasgupta contends that both these systems appear to have arisen out of a reaction against the sacrificial discipline of the Brāhmaṇas and were marked by a strong aversion to the taking of animal life, and against the practice of animal sacrifice. Whatever may be the context in which these tradition evolved the phenomenon of violence and the consequent stress on Ahimsā have been the characteristic mark of the Śramaṇa attitude, religiosity and moral life down the centuries.

3.1 Meaning of violence

The general meaning of violence is malevolence, hatred vengeance, enmity, murder, injury, war, cruelty, barbarity, torture, deception, rape, look, exploitation and so on. Praśnavyākaraṇa gives nearly 30 Prakrit equivalents or synonyms to the word himsā and of these some of them are very important: destruction of life forces (prāṇavādha), carelessness (asaṃjama), wheel of birth and death (parabhāvasamkamakara), one which makes one devoid of virtues (guṇānāṃ virahana).

Himsā is the destruction of life-forces caused by carelessness which is actuated by passion like attachment and aversion. It destroys goodness and purity of the soul. In Buddhist tradition to destroy intentionally the life of any living being is termed as violence. In other places it is understood as cruelty, harming (killing), hurting etc.

12. Ācārāṅgasūtra, I. 1.2.1, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 22.
3.2 Aspects of violence

Himśa is both mental and physical in Jaina tradition. Himśa does not depend on acts alone. The law of love will be broken by the absence of compassion shown when a man allows himself to be carried away by anger. Hence a distinction has to be made between bhāva-himśa (the intention to hurt) and dravya-himśa (the actual hurt), and if one acts carelessly, moved by passion, himśa is certainly present whether a living being is killed or not.\(^\text{19}\)

In the Śūtrakṛtāṅga there is a long discussion between Sudharmā and Jambusvāmi as regards the judgement of an act whether it is violent or not. It finally concludes that there is sin though (the preceptor of an action) does not possess sinful thoughts, speeches etc.\(^\text{22}\) And those creatures such as the earth bodied etc. which have no development or mature reason nor consciousness nor intellect, nor mind, nor speech (those which lack judgement) are still full of hostility and wrong against all sorts of living beings. Thus even 'senseless' beings are reckoned instrumental in bringing about slaughter of living beings.\(^\text{23}\)

It may look irrational and unjust to think how these senseless beings are led to violent deeds. But the Jaina Ācāryas say that with regard to the six types of living beings, from earth bodied (one sensed), upto human beings (six-sensed) with the internal organ as the sixth sense, the self or Jiva is the same and it is this self due to wrong belief (mithyādṛśti) which commits sins of violence or cruelty to other creatures.\(^\text{24}\)

Buddhist tradition pays more attention to the intention of the doer. It demands or posits five necessary conditions in the crime of killing: the knowledge that life exists; the assurance that a living being is present; the intention to take life; some actions must take place and some movements towards that action; the life must actually be taken.\(^\text{25}\)

\(^{19}\) Tattvārthasūtra, ibid. 7.8.


\(^{21}\) Jaina Gazette, Vol. 16, p. 77.

\(^{22}\) Śūtrakṛtāṅga, 2.4.2, Hermann Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 45.

\(^{23}\) ibid., 2.4.9-10.

\(^{24}\) ibid., 2.4.3.

3.3. Justification of violence to life

3.3.1 Self-mortification and Self-sacrifice

Now there is one argument whether one is allowed to take one’s life in the process of saving oneself or others. How are self-mortification and self-persecution justified? Can we harm ourselves or others to safeguard our own interests?

We see in the Brahmanic tradition the sacrifice of animals, birds etc. in order to obtain wealth and prosperity to the *yajamāna*. The sacrifice of these birds and animals were justified saying that the victims will enjoy a better status in the life to come.26 L.C. Burman argues against this contention that the same soul works in all and it is sinful to kill any kind of animal at any time and at any place. *Śruti* does not set down injunctions to kill. Self protection is the aim of every creature and *ātman* has no narrow domains, it is all and everywhere.27 It is this attitude of the Brāhmaṇas of sacrificing animals etc. before God and in his name that led Hemacandra to call the law of Manu as the ‘*ḥimsā śāstra*’ or the law of violence.28 Whereas the Jaina Ācāryas like Amṛtacandra and Amitagati maintain ‘absolute *ahimsā*’ and say that it is wrong to kill even destructive animals.29

Self mortification is usually understood as inflicting pain upon oneself. But in a religious and ethical sense it does not result in pain. It is rather the joy of offering oneself in sacrificial service. When viewed outwardly it may evoke sympathy etc. But the motivation offers tremendous satisfaction and joy to the one who is involved in such a practice. In Buddhist tradition we have ample evidences for such self-sacrificial attitude of a Bodhisattva. According to the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*, *Śīksāsamuccaya* and other Mahāyāna texts, a Bodhisattva shows *karunā* chiefly by resolving to suffer the torments and agonies of the dreadful purgatories during innumerable aeons, if need be, so that he may lead all beings to perfect enlightenment.30 The story of Pūrṇa in the *Saṃyuttanikāyā* shows to what extent the forbearance of an individual can go.31 A Bodhisattva is the greatest in forgiving and the

embodiment of forbearance. Even if his body is destroyed and cut up into hundred pieces with swords and spears he does not conceive any anger against his cruel persecutors.\(^{32}\)

Jaina tradition upholds a practice called *Sallekhana*. This practice has been frankly recognised as religious self purification and it is highly commended for both laity and the monks. It is dealt with a length in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* (i. vii. 6ff) and its preliminaries are described in detail in the *Aurapaccakkhandha*, the *Saṃthāra*, the *Mahāpaccakkhandha* and the *Candavejjhaya*, the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th of the *Painnas*. Jaina tradition also gives a list of those who took to *Sallekhana*: Tirthanākara Pārśva and Ariṣṭanemi,\(^{33}\) monk Khandage,\(^{34}\) Layman Ambada\(^{35}\) and all those celebrated in the *Uvāsagadasāra*. From the Middle Age till recent years we witness this practice of extreme asceticism: Hemacandra in 1172 A.D., King Kumārapāla,\(^{36}\) a monk at Ahmedabad\(^{37}\) and a nun at Rajkot and so on.

This extreme self-mortification is undertaken when a Jaina monk suffers from a fatal disease or when he is unable to follow the rules of his Order\(^{38}\) or when he is faced with obstacles. The *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* claims that *sallekhana* is not suicide, because the passions are attenuated. But he who acts with full of passion is guilty of suicide. There are five desires that are fatal at the time of *sallekhana*, namely a desire to live, desire to die, attachment to friends, recollection of pleasures and desire for future pleasures.\(^{39}\) It is almost killing of activity in oneself besides the abnegation of desires.

*Extremism* is not accepted in Buddhism. Hence suicide is condemned without qualification: ‘A monk who preaches suicide, who tells man—‘Do away with this wretched life, full of suffering and sin; death is better’ in fact preaches murder, is a murderer, is no longer a monk.\(^{40}\) Buddhists object to ‘thirst for non-existence’ (*vibhāvatāṣṭā)*

\(^{32}\) *Śīkṣāsamuccaya*, *ibid.*, p. 103.
\(^{34}\) *Bhagawati*, p. 300.
\(^{35}\) *Ovāvāyasutta*, 100.
\(^{37}\) for 41 days, 1921 A.D.
\(^{39}\) *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya*, *ibid*. p. 177-178.
as they object to 'thirst for existence' (bhāvatṛṣṇā). A saint must abide in indifference without caring for life, without caring for death. He will not commit suicide in order to reach Nirvāṇa sooner. Is not suicide a desperate act of disgust and desire—disgust with existence and desire for rest? The pilgrim I-tsing says that Indian Buddhists abstain from suicide and in general from self-torture.41

But there are many stories42 to prove that suicide may be in certain cases the actual cause or the occasion of the attainment of Arhatship, one step lower than the ideal of Buddhahood, although in other cases it may be pre-mature and sinful. The Mahāyāna Buddhism praises and deprecates suicide as self-surrender and worship. The Bodhisattva of the past have practised in that way43 any heroic deed (dukkara) (e.g. in the ancient Buddhist canon Chariyapiṭaka, Jātaka).

3.3.2 Justification of violence for the sake of duty and promotion of social good

Besides religious suicide, self-mortification etc. which are justified on religious grounds, both Buddhism and Jainism seek justification for violence in certain other cases. Although Jainism is 'absolute' about non-injury to living beings (Amṛtacandra and Amitagati go to the extent of saying that it is sinful to kill even dangerous, poisonous animals), still it prescribes a different life style to the layman who engages daily in unavoidable injuries to living beings because of duty and responsibility.

To ascertain the truth that 'absolute' non-injury is the only requirement for Mokṣa, Jain tradition believes that as long as one is engaged in worldly life one cannot attain salvation as the scriptures prescribe. And hence one has to become a monk for sometime in life (or aspire to religious life) to practise the moral principle of Ahimsā in a more perfect manner. There have been Jaina kings generals and soldiers not only mythical but historical as well. The Jaina Ācāryas make mention of them in their sacred books. They do not call them heretics (mithyādṛṣṭi) because of blood they shed in wars.44

42. Story of Siha (Therigāthā, 77); of Sappadāsa (Theragatha, 408); of Vakkali (Theragāthā, 350); of Godhika (Kathāvatthu, 1.2); also Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 35. p. 273ff.
Thus we see in Jain tradition that unavoidable circumstances and duty-consciousness make allowance for violence. Although the Jains profess that there is no himsâ which has purely pleasant and agreeable consequences\(^\text{45}\) such violent activities performed by way of duty (punishment) are accepted for lay life. Buddhism considers danda or punishment as ‘unattached violence’. The crime includes both punishment of criminals and waging a righteous war.

A Bodhisattva can kill a person who intends to murder a monk or his own parents: it does not matter if I suffer in purgatory for this sin, but I must save this misguided creature from such a fate.\(^\text{46}\) Harsh speech is sometimes permissible to a Bodhisattva: he may speak harshly in order to retain foolish persons from evil actions.\(^\text{47}\)

While Buddhism is more liberal in its understanding of himsâ Jainism condemns even Euthanasia or mercy-killing. Purusârtha-siddhyupâya warns against wielding a weapon in the false belief that those living in great pain ought quickly to be released from their misery. Even those who are suffering should not be killed.\(^\text{48}\)

Generally violence is not justified except as a ‘necessary evil’ which is done out of sense of live, pity or duty, and this is the most controversial part of the doctrine of Ahimsâ: when is violence justified and in what forms and to what extent?\(^\text{49}\) There can be situations in which the use of violence alone can set the process of transformation in motion. What is important is not to know whether violence is required or not, but to know whether violence is necessary at all and whether it is oriented towards positive, meaningful changes in the social order or whether its objectives tend towards its total destruction.

For instance, to fight against unjust authority, to participate in military of revolutionary violence in order to attain ‘social just objectives’ etc. cannot be condemned, because to refuse to take a gun is to stand by while injustice does its work and the poor die of hunger. It is always the violence of the oppressor that prompts the counter violence of the oppressed. In most cases it is violence that assures the defence of the poor; only violence stands in the face of exploitation, coercion and oppression by the rich and their governments.

\(^{45}\) Acârângasûtra, ibid. 1.4.2.6.
\(^{48}\) Purusârtha-siddhyupâya, ibid. 85.
People today have realised that poverty is not a result of fate nor of the same nature as cyclones, but the result of forms of social and economic organisation. Therefore changing that organisation will end poverty. But anything that tends to perpetuate poverty or to divert forces that should be devoted to this collective struggle is treason to the poor. Jacques Ell says that remaining silent or passive in the face of evil reinforces evil.\(^{50}\)

Indian tradition upto Gandhi\(^{51}\) has accepted violence as means to promote social good. The Mahābhārata says that there are two things: abstention from injury and injury done with righteouse motives; of these two, that which brings in righteousness is preferable. Also there is no act that is entirely pure nor any that is entirely simple. In all acts, right or wrong, something of both prevails.\(^{52}\) Violence as such is ethically bad, but in life one has to consider the whole situation before deciding whether the use of violence is justified as a mixed good. The whole situation may not be dominated by one, single ethical principle.\(^{53}\)

\(^{50}\) Jacques Ellul, *Violence*, SCM Press Ltd., Great Britain, 1920, p. 33-34.

\(^{51}\) For Gandhi 'to cause pain or wish ill to or take the life of any being out of anger or a selfish intent is Ḥimṣā. On the other hand, after a calm and clear judgement to kill or to cause pain to a living being with a view to its spiritual or physical benefit from a pure, selfless intent may be the purest form of Ḥimṣā...the final test to its violence or non-violence is after all the intent underlying the act' (*Young India*, 4.10, 1928, published in book form by Tagore and Co., Madras, 1972); As such, killing is not Ḥimṣā when life is destroyed for the sake of those whose life is taken (Sharma: *Gandhi as a political thinker*, Indian Press, Allahabad, first impression, p. 52); Violence is admissible to Gandhi, (i) if non-violence would cause the sacrifice of some other values of great worth like honour of women, freedom and honour of the nation, overall strength and growth of the race, or survival of democracy was at stake (N.K. Bose : *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 155, 156, 168, 170), (ii) if a sufficient number of people were not ready and could not be persuaded to believe in and practice true Satyāgraha, violent struggles for just causes would be justified (Ibid. p. 169, 174), (iii) if there is a little prospect of the conversion of the oppressor to the course of justice through Satyāgraha, the victims must defend themselves violently. The heart of the doctrine of non-violence is the principle of 'universal convertibility' i.e. the belief that all evil does, any where and in all circumstances, can be persuaded to give up their course of evil if their victims practise Satyagraha (N.K. Bose : *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 159, 175-177).

\(^{52}\) Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 15.49-50, Adi Bhīṣma parvans, ed. V.S. Sukthankar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1933.

SEKHAR : THE ŚRAMAṆA RESPONSE TO THE HUMAN PREDICAMENT

4. Śramanā Counter-culture

(i) counter to social inequality and caste discrimination

Śramanā current of thought is said to be a reaction to the Brāhmaṇic Varṇa and Āśrama dharma, concept of deity and propitiation to gods by way of sacrifice etc. and the Vedic authority. Dharmakīrti says that there are five sins of the folly of those who have lost their intelligence belief in the validity of the Vedas, belief in a creator, expecting ethical merit from ablations, pride of caste and engaging in violence to be rid of sin. All these five elements are linked with the Brahmanical system of life and structure of the society.

Brāhmaṇas as the priest community occupied the prime place of honour, propitiated and consulted not merely in religious matters but also on every aspect of social and political life. Their authority was the authority of the Vedas; their sanctity was the sanctity of the various gods; their honour was the propitiation of these gods by way of gifts and sacrifices. Until post Vedic period Sannyāsa was not considered as the last stage of life and everyone who wanted to renounce this world had to go through the other stages of life. More than Sannyāsa, Gṛhaṭha dharma or the householder’s life was considered meritorious and significant.

Only certain types of people were admitted to Holy Orders of priesthood and women could never claim entrance to it. Similarly recitation of the Vedic texts was restricted only to the Brāhmaṇas and no outcast was accepted to the learning and life of a Brahmacārin. It is during the post Vedic time (the time of the Upaniṣads and the great Epics) we see a drastic change in the thinking pattern. The Śramana current of thought must have made a significant influence on the Brāhmaṇic society and its ideals. We see a reversal in the ‘criterion’ in defining a Brāhmaṇa. There are five requisites for being regarded as a Brāhmaṇa: Varṇa (ubhato sujāto hoti), Jāti (avikkito anupakutto jātiyādāna), Mantra (ajjhayako hoti mantradharo), śīla and pāṇḍitīya. But what really makes a person Brāhmaṇa is conduct and learning.  

The Vajrasuci Upaniṣad55 traces the source of Brāhmanhood to the purity of the heart. In the Mahābhārata56 king Yudhisthira is asked, ‘who, O king, is a Brāhman? The answer is ‘a Brāhmaṇa is one who

54. Dharmmapada,396-423, ibid., p. 91ff.
evinces the truth, liberality, forbearance, virtue, mildness, austerity and pity. Anyone who possesses these qualities should be called a Brāhmaṇa; anyone bereft of these should be called a śūdra. It is no more by ‘birth’ that someone claims to be Brāhmaṇa but by austerities (tāpas) and good conduct (cāritra); Visvāmitra, a Kṣatriya, claims the birth and rights of a brāhmaṇa by austerities.57

The Jaina canon asserts that it is by one’s deed that one becomes a Brāhmaṇa; one does not become a Śramaṇa by tonsure, nor a brāhmaṇa by the sacred syllable aum, nor a muni by living in the woods, nor a tāpas by wearing clothes of kusa grass and a bark. One becomes a Śramaṇa by equanimity, Brāhmaṇa by chastity, a Muni by knowledge and a Tāpas by penance.58 Anti-caste attitude in early Jaina canon is seen in the legend of Harikesa Bāla in the Uttarādhyayanasūtra.59

We could see a similar tone in the replies of Buddha to a question relating to his gotra asked by a Brāhmaṇa Sundarika of the Bhāradvāja gotra : 'I am not a brāhman, or the son of a king or a vessa; having taken a gotra that of common people, I wander about in the world, without possessions, meditating. Clad in the Sanghāti, I wander about houseless with my hair shaven, tranquil, not consorting with men in this world. Inopportune O Brāhman, dost thou make enquiry of my gotra.60

Thus ascetic life itself becomes a protest against the tyranny of caste. An ascetic surpasses caste and other such institution of the mundane life. He is casteless not because he is below caste but because he is above it. One of the secrets of the abiding popularity of the ascetic ideal and manner of life in India is the freedom enjoyed by the ascetic from the bondage and artificial restrictions of society which an ordinary man might not transgress.

The whole of Śramaṇa movement was a threat to class-caste controversies and Brāhmaṇa supremacy, anti-Vedic ideology and practice etc. It was originally a parallel monastic structure with a difference. The Saṅgha or the Holy Order admitted all types of people

57. The rivalry between the two great orders or castes: the story of Vaśiṣṭha and Visvāmitra, Mahābhārata, ibid.Ādiravān.
59. ibid. 12.
even outcasts and women. This was not possible in the Brāhmaṇic set up. Even the administration of the sangha was similar to that of the tribal organisation. All forms of democracy were followed especially with regard to admission into the order, regular meetings and consultations, authority and accountability among the residents, general governing of the Body etc. All these were prompted by the belief in social equality and the consideration of hierarchy not on the basis of caste-qualification but of conduct and experience.

(ii) counter to the accumulation wealth and private ownership

The attitude towards wealth and riches among the śramaṇas is highly contemptuous. They are well aware of the transient nature of things, and much more, of the harm these riches do to the moral progress of man: great wealth and women, a family and exquisite pleasures—for such things people practice austerities. All this you may have for your asking. What avail riches for the practice of religion, what a family, what pleasures? we shall become Śramaṇas, possessed of many virtues and wander about collecting alms.

In the Uttarādhyayanasūtra there is an interesting dialogue between a father and his sons. The father tells his sons, 'the study of Vedas will not save you; the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas will lead you from dreaminess to darkness and the birth of sons will not save you... pleasures bring only a moment’s happiness; they are an obstacle to the liberation from existence and are a very mine of evils. Finally the father persuades his sons to take to a life of renunciation: 'my sons, after you have studied the Vedas and fed the priests, after you have placed your own sons at the head of your house and after you have enjoyed life together with you wives, then you may depart to the woods as praiseworthy sages.

Jaina tradition is opposed to the accumulation of wealth. In several instances the Jaina canon points out the deadly nature of wealth and persuades the believer to follow the course of religious mendicancy. Every attachment is a cause of sin, an accumulation of karma for which one has to reap the consequences. Hence it calls for subduing

63. Uttarādhyayanasūtras, ibid. 14.16-17.
65. Ibid., 14.9.
66. Sūtrakrīḍāga, ibid., 1.3.2.13.
desire by 'desirelessness'\textsuperscript{67} giving up the world,\textsuperscript{68} his possessions and relations and all undertakings and become a wanderer and homeless without worldly interests.\textsuperscript{69} A muni is said to be the one who knows the doctrine of sin, who knows the time, the occasion the conduct, the religious precept and disowns all things as not required for religious purposes.\textsuperscript{70} In him there is no worldly desires and attachment.

Again in the Uttarādhyayanasūtra there is a conversation between King Nami and the god of gods Śakra in the guise of a Brahmaṇa: Śakra asks King Nami, 'Your place is on fire why do you not look after your seraglio?'. To this the king replies, 'Happy are we, happy we live, we who call nothing our own; when Mithilā is on fire, nothing is burnt that belongs to me. To a monk who has left his sons and wives and who has ceased to act, nothing pleasant can occur, nor anything unpleasant. There is much happiness for the sage, for the houseless monk, who is free from all ties, and knows himself to be single and unconnected (with the rest of the world)'.\textsuperscript{71}

These mendicants provide an alternative to wealth and the rich blessings of the world. They give priority to religion and religious living as sure means to attain the goal of life: 'Making faith his fortress, penance and self-control the bolt (of its gate), patience its strong wall....making zeal his bar, its string carefulness in walking (ṝiyā) and its top (where the string is fastened content, he should bend (this bow) with Truth, pliercing with the arrow, penance, (the foe's) mail, karma (in this way) a sage will be the victor in battle and get rid of the samara.\textsuperscript{72}

The reason for such a persuasion is that wealth cannot give what is necessary to man. Moreover if there were numberless mountains of gold and silver, as big as Kailāśa, they would not satisfy a greedy person; for his activity is boundless like space.\textsuperscript{73} Wealth cannot really save: It is only a fool who thinks that his wealth, cattle and relations will save him; they him or he them. But they are no help, no protection.\textsuperscript{74} The fourteenth chapter of the Uttarādhyayanasūtra

\textsuperscript{67} Walter Fernandez, ibid., p. 18.
\textsuperscript{68} Ācārāṅgasūtra, ibid., 1.2.2.1.
\textsuperscript{69} Sūtrakṛtāṅga, ibid., 1.2.1, 21-22; 1.9.7.
\textsuperscript{70} Ācārāṅgasūtra, ibid., 1.7.3.2.
\textsuperscript{71} Uttarādhyayanasūtra, ibid., 9.12-16.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 9.20-22.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 9.48.
\textsuperscript{74} Sūtrakṛtāṅga, ibid., 1.2.3.16.
describes how two sons took refuge in the path of the Jina. As the father discourages and dissuades his sons from a life of austerities, the sons reply to him, 'if the whole world and all treasures were yours you would still not be satisfied, nor would all this be able to save you. Whenever you die, O king, and leave all pleasant things behind, the law alone and nothing else in this world, will save you a monarch.\footnote{75}

It is easier for a monk to lead a life with frugal means. The structure and life-style of a mendicant provides austerity measures because as one single individual, he may be weak and slip back into his old ways,\footnote{76} but assisting one another they would strengthen one another’s efforts. The structure, for instance, has provided rules for begging of food, clothes, couch, bowl and regulates the possession of a mendicant.\footnote{77} A householder, on the other hand, is thrown in the midst of a world with vast differences in attitude and behaviour. He has to swim though all that is negative and compete with all that is positive. Specially when the world prefers artha and kāma to Dharma and Moksha, a householder is at a loss to balance between needs and wants. He observes the two extremes of life : luxury and poverty, power and powerlessness, name, influence etc. and to be hidden and unknown etc. The choice is left to him to balance his life.

(iii) counter to attachment and individualism

The word parigraha metaphorically refers to ownership. On the psychic level, it is an attitude of detachment and in the economic realm it is non-obsession with material things or simply non-possession. Aparigraha, besides being a vow, is an attitude towards life, particularly the material universe. This vrata implicitly affirms the autonomy of the material universe. It again implies that what we call wealth, possessions and the pleasures etc. are strictly outside one’s self. They may be meant for oneself but does not really belong to the self.

This basic understanding comes from the idea that Jīva is full of consciousness and all others, like pleasures, activity etc. are extraneous to it. So in order to attain the objective of life, namely, the realisation of the true self which is devoid of all that is extraneous to it, Aparigraha vow has been proposed. This vow clarifies the vision regarding the true nature of the self and to respect the autonomy of the material universe.

\footnote{75} Uttarādhyāyanasūtra, ibid., 14.39-40.  
\footnote{76} Paul Carus, ibid., ch. 17, Verse 2.  
\footnote{77} Ācāraṅgasūtra, ibid., 2.1-2, 5-7.
But is it possible at all for embodied beings to keep the material universe away from them? Although Jaina tradition from the absolute and nīscaya point of view upholds that it is possible and necessary to have nothing to do with the material universe, yet from a practical point of view one cannot be without the material universe, because the embodied being itself is a combination of mind and body, spirit and flesh. But in what way has one to conduct oneself with the material universe? Is it by domination or by collaboration? As one with sound knowledge and faith (a Jaina visionary) one chooses the latter namely, collaboration because in domination one is a slave to the passions which is a sure sign of karmic accumulation and the subsequent rebirth and suffering. It is only in collaboration that there can be the attitude of detachment and indifference. Hence Aparigraha vow helps one to achieve this ownership not by quarrel, fighting or domination, but by collaboration. Aparigraha would then mean ownership-by-collaboration. Any possession out of greed and other passions would come under dravya-himsā, i.e. violence for the material world.

Amitagati\(^{78}\) says that violence is committed for the sake of parigraha. Hence a householder should constantly try to limit his activity to obtain possessions. Ownership can have two results: attachment and aversion. The former manifests itself as a tendency to accumulate (possessing, grabbing etc.) and the latter as violence. Ownership is in possession of land, house, jewels, money, livestock, servants and other luxury items.\(^{79}\) The attitude of attachment and the desire to accumulate wealth are present when one is seen to be extremely sad at a loss incurred in some transaction, hoarding grains and other items to sell them at higher price at a later date, overloading animals and extracting more work from servants etc.\(^{80}\) It is also seen when one takes things that are not one’s own or when nor given\(^{81}\) dealing with illicit bossiness,\(^{82}\) indulging in adulteration use of false weights and measures\(^{83}\) and writing false statements or forgery.\(^{84}\)

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81. Ibid., 57.
83. Tattvārthasūtra, ibid., 7.22; Ratnakaranākaśravakācāra, 58.
84. Upāsakadosānga, 1.46, with comm. of Abhayadeva, ed. with tr. by Hoernle, Bibliotheca Indica, No. 105, Calcutta, 1890.
SEKHAR: THE ŚRAMAṆA RESPONSE TO THE HUMAN PREDICAMENT

Thus the Jaina ethical literature elaborately deals with the way has to acquire the means of livelihood. Whatever be one's profession one cannot escape the parīgraha or the grabbing tendency. Hence one has to keep a check on oneself mainly in the way one acquires wealth and other possessions. First of all, the Jaina householder chooses a profession that involves least violence to sub-human beings. This does not mean that he can conduct himself in such a way as to do violence to human beings—his partners in business, his servants, the customers etc. Secondly he takes to Dig-vrata, a vow which literally means control of directions. This vow restricts not only one’s movements to avoid violence to the maximum extent but also to minimise greed. It gives a limit for freedom of movement going outside the limit by climbing, ascending mountains, descending into the well or underground storehouse etc., entering a cave etc. and a corollary to this is the Desavakarka vrata, the vow of limiting the extent of territory for movements and objects of senses.

Thirdly, he takes to Bhogapabhogaparimāṇa vrata or a vow which puts a limit to his use of objects in order to minimise attachment to them. They include meat and honey, intoxicants, ginger, faddish, carrot, butter, unsuitable means of conveyance or unsuitable ornaments, the use of bizarre dresses. The householder should avoid the use of 5 udumbara fruits and abandon the use of non-sentient but life-substances like roots, fruits, seeds etc. without boiling them. Finally a Jain householder is expected to fast on aṣṭamī, caturdāsi and pūrṇimā. Āśādhara, Vasunandān, Amṛṭacandra and others have

86. There is a general impression that the Jains, being a business community, have an objective of accumulating wealth by any means. There are several ideas and values in Jaina ethics to show that they are consistent with the spirit of capitalism (Arvind K. Agarwal, 'Jaina Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism—A critical reappraisal of Weber' in Ideal, Ideology and Practice, Studies in Jainism, ed. N.K. Singhi, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1987, p. 199-202; also see another article in the same book 'Jainism and its Perversions in Actual Practice' by Tarachand Agarwal, p. 124-136.
87. Tattvārthasūtra, ibid. 7.25.
89. Sāgāradharmāṁṛta, ibid., 5.15-17, of Āśādhara, Manikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, No. 2, Bombay, 1917.
90. Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya, ibid. 61.
91. Kārtikeyanupreṣā, ibid., 379.
92. Siddhasena on Tattvārthasūtra, 7.16, Surat. 1930.
prescribed the procedure for fasting, meditation, study of scriptures, worship of Jina, saluting and feeding the sādhus, vigilance in conduct and thinking of anuprekṣas or themes of contemplation etc. The means of livelihood from the choice of a profession including the practice of it according to the tenets of religion till the use of articles, food etc. according to the prescribed restrictions, not only prepares a Jaina householder mentally with attitudes of detachment but externally curtails him from hoarding.

(iv) Call to sharing

Another important antidote to the hoarding mentality is the practice of gift offering or dāna. It is followed both in Buddhist as well as in Jaina tradition as a characteristic religious duty. Without this there cannot be ascetics and therefore no transmission of the sacred doctrine. Dāna in its largest sense may include the giving of one’s daughters to wife and the transmission of property to one’s heirs, the exercise of charity to relieve want even outside one’s own community, the construction of temples and community institutions such as posadhaśālas (common dining), and even the performance of pūjā viewed as the giving of flowers, incense, flag staff and similar offerings. Generally ascetics are given food and drink, clothes, blankets, bedding, rajo haranās (a bunch of peacock feather) and other necessary accessories.

Āhāra, abhaya, śāstra and bhaisajya are the four types of gift offering made to the ascetics. Ācārya Vasunandin says that in any act of gift offering five factors have to be considered: the recipient (pātra), the giver (dātry), the thing given (dātaryā dravya), the manner of giving (dāṇa-vidhi) and the result of giving (dāṇa-phala). Like other meritorious acts it can contribute to the extinction of karma or to the amassing meritorious karma or may find requital in the present life.

Ācārya Hemacandra proposes a scheme wherein illustrious disciple

93. Sāgāradharmāṃśa, ibid., 5.36-38.
94. Ibid., 5.36-38.
95. The ideal of aparigraha (non-possession of wealth) is an underlying tenet for the simplistic, austere life of a Jain householder which provides ample empirical and logical evidence that the earning of profits is not for the sake of non-productive consumption but for reinvestment. This tenet also explains the large scale philanthropic activity done by such the minuscule Jaina community in Indian society’ (Idea, Ideology and Practice, ed. N.K. Singh, p. 200).
sows his wealth on the seven fields with compassion for those in great miser. They are (i) Jaina images: wealth is spent on them by setting them up, by performing the eight-fold puja, by taking them in procession through the city, by adorning them with jewels, and by dressing them with fine clothes; (ii) Jaina temples: new domes are to be built and old ones are to be restored; (iii) Jaina scriptures: the copying of the sacred texts and the giving of them to learned monks to comment on; (iv) monks: ordinary alms giving; (v) Nuns: ordinary alms giving; (vi) Layman: the inviting of co-religionists to birth and marriage festivals, distribution food, betel, clothes and ornaments to them, constructing public posadhasālās and other buildings for them, and encouraging them in religious duties. Charity is to be extended to all those who have fallen into evil circumstances and (vii) Lay women: all the duties under the last head apply equally to women.

Hemacandra goes on to say that a mahāsravaka or an illustrious householder should use his wealth indiscriminately to assist all who are in misery or poverty, or also are blind, deaf, crippled or sick etc. Such sowing of one's substance is to be made with limitless compassion. For a Buddhist layman practice of generosity has been cast in certain routine forms since earliest days of Buddhism. It consists largely in remunerating the monk’s services to villagers. Thus merit is gained by layman in giving food, robes, money (often to the head of monasteries for the community’s needs) to monks or sometimes land or materials or labour for building a new monastery or Vihāra.

The immutable message of the Śramaṇa can be brought under these few capsules of perennial wisdom: (i) A broad attitude of acceptance and accommodation of different categories with all their qualifications and nuances. It is this attitude of dynamic pluralism that helps life to transcend all particularities, with due place and respect to each, in order to embrace the whole gamut of life spread over multi-dimensions of race, colour, caste, creed, language, ideology etc. This

97. Yogasāstram of Ācārya Hemacandra, 3.120, ed. by Vijaya Dharma Suri, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1921.

98. It is important to note that the Jaina householders pay attention to this aspect of Dāna and we could see in any Indian city and elsewhere hospitals, community halls etc. for public consumption. Social service and welfare have become one of the key notes of Jaina morality.

99. Anāthapindikā, a man of unmeasured wealth and who was called ‘the supporter of orphans and the friend of the poor’ offers Jetavana (Paul Carus, Gospel of Buddha, ibid., Ch. 25): King Senia Bimbisāra offers the Bamboo grove or Veluvana (Ch. 21): Vishākā, a wealthy woman offers Pubbārama or Eastern garden (Ch. 34).
sentiment is the present need of every country which likes to cherish the art of inter-being, inter-relating and globalizing the earth-communities rampant with violence, bloodshed and human-nature right violations (iii) *Ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *Anekānta* (non-absolutism) and *Aparigraha* (non-grabbing) are the three essential means proposed by the Śramaṇas as a fitting response to the great questions regarding the meaning and purpose of life, and whose contemporary relevance cannot be denied and which assures the earth a life in its fullness.
RESEARCH IN SANSKRIT AND Jaina LITERATURE
SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

PART I : THE DISCOVERY OF SANSKRIT*

1. Preamble

Before I begin the subject, "Research in Sanskrit and Jaina Literature", let me confess at the very outset that in this short limited space and time it is not possible for me to discuss the problem to a great extent. The utmost that is possible is to give a kaleidoscopic view of the subject, so that we can form our basic ideas on what we mean by research and how the Sanskrit and Jaina literature are affected by it.

Though, we think, that research is the contribution of the modern world, particularly with the introduction of European education in India, but, in reality, we can say at the same time that research in Sanskrit and Jaina literature has been going on from time immemorial—from hoary antiquity down to the modern age. The process or method of research throughout its history—ancient, mediaeval and modern—has not always been the same. The conception of research varies from age to age, from country to country, and even from person to person, depending on the interpretations of the documentary evidence and the development of human ideas and thoughts. It was always objective in all respects though guided by subjective impulse or principles. Keeping this fact in mind, I shall discuss the problem in a nutshell by dividing it into three broad periods—ancient, mediaeval and modern—pointing out as far as possible the basic tenets of research in all these periods.

2. What is Research

Though this is not the place where I should dilate upon the definition of research, I can only say that lexicographically research means diligent and systematic inquiry or investigation into a subject in order to discover or revise facts, theories, applications etc.” In whatever way we try to describe the term, it is, in a sense, ‘self-explanatory’, and therefore, understood by all. The crux of the whole problem is that as there is no specific and systematic type of definition to fall back upon,

*The part I of this paper was read at a National Seminar organised by Sahitya Akademi and Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, on 24 May 1992.
every scholar has his own way of interpreting or understanding the subject. As a result, controversy is centered round the conception of research, though it is pretty certain that through research we all try to find out the truth. We all know that research reveals what is hidden from the eyes of the common people; it manifests the hidden treasure of human knowledge buried under the debris of antiquity; it dispels the misconception of human understanding by removing one’s own prides and prejudices; it revises our earlier notions of certain ideas, dogmas and imaginary things; it replaces our older theories in the light of the newer ones; it unfurls certain facts or identifies missing links in our ideas which were never known to us before; it eradicates our fanciful chimeras and establishes a firm faith in the minds of others, and gives hope and confidence to generations to come.

Research is the sign of progress of human civilization. It is the vehicle of knowing the past in the true perspective. When a country has a strong civilization with a good amount of literature and other documentary evidence, Research will help us to know and understand the past. Literature, in a sense, is the depository of human thoughts and ideas, their history and culture, their manners and customs, and above all, all aspects concerning human life and society as were current in their times. In addition to this, the religious beliefs and philosophical enquiry, the folk-lore and tradition, the then conception of cosmogony and cosmology, in one word, the human experiences and all the facets of human life under the sun are registered in literature. It is to be remembered that we cannot think of our past, obviously different from the present, living in our present situation and surroundings. It is a fact worth noting that “the opulence and luxury of ancient India are only a dream to us. The atmosphere the poets breathed, the luxury in the midst of which they wrote, the natural surroundings and social environments that actuated them in giving free vent to their genius, were quite different from the circumstances we are in; and as such, no study of scientific nature can be carried on without an acquaintance with them. Indeed, the writings of a poet cannot but embody the crying sentiment of the time, the social vices and virtues, and what may appear an insoluble mystery to us must have been as patent in the days of the poet as the noonday sun.” It is to be remembered at the same time that if we do our research without understanding this very fundamental sentiment of the past, its time and environments, its phenomena and other paraphernalia, our endeavour to know the past through researches will be as futile as the attempt of a blind man to paint a landscape. If a researcher wants to do research on the past history and culture of a country, he will have to go back to the past, at least, by imagination, he will have to think in terms of those past
people who had gargantuan contributions to the progress of civilization, and he will have to garb himself in the attire of the ancient people; otherwise his researches will not help us in understanding the past; on the contrary, they will be treated as trivial or meretricious.

With regard to doing research on ancient things, or any past things for that matter, what is wanted is the power of imagination for accumulating and analysing facts, for vivisecting the inner system of an object, for shaking off the prides and prejudices of one's own beliefs and customs. Research is not to be motivated to prove or disprove something deliberately; facts are to be analysed with a free and open mind.

3. Ancient Method of Research

In this short paper, my main object is to focus the point of how the method of research has been going on throughout the ages beginning from the ancient times to the present day; whether in ancient India any method of research was evolved in its own way, or, whether there was any documentary evidence by which we could form our ideas about the ancient method of research. If we explore the Jaina and Sanskrit literature, we can find out many evidences for the research methodology of the ancient people of India. Both in Sanskrit and Jaina literature ample passages are found where it is stated how one should interpret the ancient texts, be it in Sanskrit or in Pali or Prakrit. Their methods of approach are obviously different from age to age and from person to person, but there was a method of interpreting the śāstras and to write the books. Let me examine some of their statements to show how the Sanskrit and Jaina authors ponder over the matter of interpreting the texts.

In some of the ancient texts, we get references as to how to write a book or a śāstra, or in other words, in interpreting or writing any texts, some sorts of basic principles based on common logical grounds are to be adopted. For example, Kauṭilya (4th cent. B.C.) in the 15th book of his Arthaśāstra, called Tantra-yukti, has nicely adumbrated the methodology to be adopted in writing a book. In the beginning of this chapter he explains and illustrates the various stylistic devices to be used in elucidating a scientific subject. These devices are thirty-two in number. They are—topic or subject-matter (adhikarana), statement of contents (vidhāna), employment of sentences (yoga), the meaning of a word (padārtha), the purport of reason (hetvartha), mention of a fact in brief (uddēsa), mention of a fact in detail (nīrdeśa), guidance (upadeśa), quotation (apadeśa), application (atideśa), the place of reference (pradeśa), simile (upamāna), implication (arthāpatti), doubt (saṃśaya), reference to similar procedure (prasaṅga), contrariety
(viparyaya), ellipsis (vyāśeṣa), acceptance (anumata), explanation (vyākhyāna), derivation (nirvacana), illustration (nidarśana), exception (apavarga), the author’s own technical terms (sva-saṁjñā), prima facie view (pūrvapakṣa), rejoinder (uttarapakṣa), conclusion (ekānta), reference to a subsequent portion (anāgatāvekṣana), reference to a previous portion (atikrāntāvekṣana), command (niyoga), alternative (vikalpa), compounding together (samuccaya), and determinable fact (uhyā). He has explained and illustrated them in the subsequent portion of the chapter. Most of these points are not only modern, but are also instructive for writing any dissertation. In short, all these points can be reduced to three small śāstras; such as, i) pada-śāstra (i.e. vyākarana and kośa), ii) vākyā-śāstra (i.e. Mimāṃsā and Ālaykāra), and iii) pramāṇa-śāstra (i.e. Darśana or Philosophy). Practically, all these points are essential for writing a dissertation.

In the Yukti-dipikā (6th or 7th cent. A.D.), composed after Diṅnāga (450-520 A.D.) and before Vācaspāti (841 A.D.), similar type of statement is made, but from the point of view of philosophical question. It is stated in the introductory explanation (upodghāta-viṣṭa) that a treatise like Yukti-dipikā, should follow certain principles in establishing the author’s arguments:

sūtra-pramāṇa-vayav-opapatti-anyūnata saṁśaya-nirñayokti /
uddeśa-nirdēsam anukramaśca saṁijñopadeśaviha tantra-sampat//

“a dissertation is to be made in a nutshell (sūtra) with pramāṇa (full of proofs) and avayava (limbs); it must raise some doubts (upapatti) and without any deficiency (anyūnati); it must remove all apprehensions (saṁśaya) and establish (nirñaya) truth (uktī); it must have a purpose or proposition (uddeśa) and a detailed exposition (nirdēsa); the subject-matter must be described in a methodical order (anukrama) and a definition (saṁjñā) and the result of one’s own investigation (upadeśa) must be delineated.”

All these procedures show how this author is methodical in composing a philosophical treatise. To put it in modern terminology, I can say that in ancient period the authors were cautious and meticulous in composing a treatise in order to make it authoritative and authentic. It must have a proposition and a conclusion through verification and logical argument by removing doubts.

In a similar way, Kumārila (700 A.D.) in his Śloka-vārttika has laid down some principles, based on common logical grounds to be adopted while interpreting some śāstras. It is stated:

jñātārthaṃ jñāta-sambandham śrotum śrotā pravartate /
granthādāu tena vaktavyah sambandhaḥ saprayojanaḥ //
That is to say, at the beginning of a śāstra the four things, commonly known as anubandha-catuṣṭaya, must be stated first:

1) Viśaya, i.e. the subject-matter of the treatises must be indicated at the very outset, so that the readers can easily understand what they are going to know from the treatises.

2. Sambandhaḥ, i.e. what is the relation of the text to the common human knowledge and how this relationship can be achieved (by way of writing this particular treatise).

3) Prayojanam, i.e. the necessity or utility of the subject is also to be indicated in the beginning. Unless the utility is shown the reader may be reluctant to know them. (prayojanaṁ anuddīśya na manda'pi pravartate-Mahābhāṣya. Paspaśā.)

4) Adhikāra, i.e. an adhikāra is he who wants to know the subject (taj jijnāsur adhikāra).

Whether the original composer of the text normally follows this dictum or not is a matter of investigation now. But it is true that from almost all the Śāstras these anubandha-catuṣṭayas can be found.

From this it can be interpreted that in ancient times the primary methodology was to indicate the four points discussed above. It means in order to make the book authoritative, the Śāstrakāras have followed certain principles. Patañjali, while interpreting the sūtras of Pāṇini, actually followed the same principles in his book. He has indicated first the subject-matter of his book (atha Śabdānuśāsanam). Then he has enumerated the necessity of studying grammar (śabdānuśāsanasya prayojanāni). In between the interpretation he has indicated the relationship (sambandha) of grammar with the use of language (laukika vyavahāra) and obviously an adhikāra is he who intends to study grammar. In this way, many texts can be ransacked for finding these anubandha-catuṣṭaya. This is practically the earlier stage of methodology for writing a text.

In a research process the authority of the earlier documents are generally accepted by judging the validity or genuineness of the statement mentioned in the earlier documents. It is to be noted that the most fundamental issue of research is the authoritativeness of verbal testimony. The Naiyāyikas at a much later time summed up the conception of verbal testimony in the following verse:

śakti-graham vyākaranopamāna-kosāpta-vākyat vyavahārataśca/ vākyasya śeśād viśier vadanti sānnidhyataḥ siddhapadasya vṛddhāḥ//

[Bhāṣa-pariccheda, Muktāvali on verse 81].
1. Vyākarana: We learn from grammar the meanings of roots and suffixes and the relation of words in a sentence, etc.
2. Upamāna: In some cases the meaning of a word can be ascertained by means of similarity or comparison.
3. Kosā: We know the synonymous meaning of a word from a dictionary.
5. Vyavahāra: the practical.
6. Vākyāśeṣa: literally, Vākyāśeṣa means 'the end or rest of the passage'; i.e. it means the context. From the context the meaning of a passage comes out. E.g., in the Vedic passage aktaḥ śarkara upadadhāti, the exact meaning of aktaḥ is ghṛta which is understood from the context (tejo vai ghṛtam). In the Pūrva Mīmāṃśa (I. 4.29) this idea is expressed by sandīgpāheṣu vākyāseṣāi.
7. Viśrta: From explanation, sometimes we can get the meaning of a word, e.g. rasāla means āmra.
8. Siddhapadasya vṛddhāḥ: Sometimes the meaning of a word may be gathered from the utterances of well-known people.

At a much later time in the 12th cent. A.D. Ballālasena whose literary activity could be placed around 1150-1175 A.D. in his Dānasāgara (ch. 43, atha vidyā-dāna-svarūpaṁ tat-phalaṅca) has hinted at several places the procedure followed by him in writing the book. In the introductory verses (11-20) he has first stated the texts he has consulted for his Dānasāgara to prove his book an authoritative one. He has consulted 13 Purāṇas, 8 Upapurāṇas and 28 Smṛti texts along with the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. In his colophon also he has mentioned the books he has utilised. It should be noted that he has also mentioned the books not consulted by him, and he has adduced reasons for that. This bibliographical procedure which can go on a par with the modern methodology is unique and shows how the author has tried his best to prove his treatise authoritative. Again in chapter 43, he has discussed several procedures on how to write a book, and how to correct a text copied from another book, and the methodology to be followed in reading a book and of writing one. As compared with our modern outlook, all these ideas can show how the ancient authors thought of the procedures of writing a book some thousand years ago. This procedure, I believe, can be regarded as methodology in terms of modern terminology.

All these references indicate that in ancient India some sort of methodology was followed for interpreting the respective texts of
Sanskrit. Their methodology may differ from the present time, but basically the problem is the same. The simple method is whatever subject-matter is to be stated, the interpretation must be logical, so that it can be accepted by all. In doing so some references are to be given in order to substantiate the author's case. And in this case authoritative books are cited as it is in modern times. These citations of books can be regarded as a sort of bibliography though not given in the form as it is given in modern times.

4. Methodology in the age of commentary

In the second stage the method of interpretation was slightly changed. It is the stage of commentary. In this commentary stage every commentator or rather interpreter of the Śāstras has stated first in their introductory verses how and in what way the respective texts are to be interpreted. To this class of thinkers belong Śaṅkaraśārya for interpreting the Vedic texts, Mallinātha for interpreting the works of Kālidāsa, Nilakaṭṭha for the Mahābhārata, Tilakaṭikā of the Rāmāyaṇa and many others. It is not possible to indicate the methods of all these commentators in this short space and time.

In general, the commentators have normally followed the same methods in interpreting or explaining the texts. There is a couplet which indicates how the ancient people thought of interpreting a text. The verse is

\[
pada-cchedaḥ, padārthoktir vigrho vākya-yojanā/\] 
ākṣepo'tha samādhānaṃ vyākhyānāṃ saḍvidhaṃ matam//

"Interpretation is considered to be concerned with the following six points: viz. the separation of the words, the rendering the meaning of the words, the analysis of the words formed by means of affixes or by composition, the construction of the sentences, the raising of objections, and afterwards the removal of them (Kielhorn)."

This indicates how the ancient people looked at the problem and wanted to solve it by following certain principles which are nothing but the methodology in the modern sense of the term.

In a similar way, Abhinavagupta (11th/12th cent. A.D.) in his Abhinavabhārati, a commentary on the Nātyaśāstra, has stated at the very beginning of his commentary the following lines:

\[
upādeyasya sampāṭhas tad anyasya pratikanam/\] 
sphuṭa-vākya virodhānāṃ pariḥāraḥ supūṃnataḥ//
lakṣyānusaraṇam śīṣṭa-vyakta-vyāmsa-vivecanam/

\[
saṅgath paunarakṣyānāṃ samādhānaṃ anākutam//\] 
saṅgrahaścetyayaṃ vyākhyā prakāro'tra samāśritaḥ//
The simple meaning of the above verses is to indicate the following:

1) the text is to be interpreted in a very lucid and clear way so that it can rouse confidence in the mind of the readers.
2) The explanation must be very exhaustive and will leave no doubt in the mind of the readers.
3) If there is a dispute it must be reconciled by means of argument and logical acumen.
4) A consideration of those portions of the text which should be śliṣṭas i.e. educated and accepted.
5) If there are repetitions a harmony is to be sought for.
6) And in fine, the solution of all these types of incongruities is to be offered by the interpreter.

These ancient methods find their culminating point in Sāyaṇā’s commentary on the Rgveda.

The main points of Sāyaṇācārya in interpreting the Vedic texts are the following:

i) The meaning of the hymn is given in simple prose-order.
ii) While giving meanings, if any elucidation is necessary, he has stated that as well.
iii) After these two, the grammatical discussion is followed, and the etymology of a word as well. And in this case he has quoted whenever and wherever possible from the Nirukta and sometimes also from Brāhmaṇas and other texts.
iv) He has also discussed the Vedic accent. And if there is any anomaly, he has tried to solve it.
v) He has indicated almost at the very outset of each mantra, the application of that particular mantra to a particular sacrifice (vinīyoga).
vi) In a similar way, he has also mentioned the āśīs, metre (chandah), and the gods (devatā) connected with that particular mantra.

Apart from all these things Sāyaṇācārya has often indicated the reference of a particular Vedic episode found or available in the Mahābharata, and in other texts.

All these things are stated by him in the very beginning of the interpretation of the first mantra.

\[ svāro varṇo'kṣaraṁ mātrā vinīyogārtha eva ca/ \]
\[ mantraṁ jijñāsāṃ añānena veditavyaṁ pade pade// \]

“One who asks the meaning of mantras should know at every step the accent, the alphabet and the syllable, the metre and the application of the mantras (hymns) and their meanings.”
This stanza is taken from Śadguruśiṣya's commentary on Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramaṇi. This shows that Sāyaṇācārya has used an authority in interpreting the Vedic texts. And in a similar way, he has quoted from the Brhaddevatā to indicate that if nobody knows the ṛṣi, chandaḥ, devatā and viniyoga he should be considered a sinful man. And the verse which supports his statements is—

\[
\text{aviditvā ṛṣiḥ chando daivatam yogam eva ca/}
\text{yo'dhyāpayej japed vāpi pāpiyān jāyate tu saḥ}/
\]

"Without knowing the seers (ṛṣis), the metres (chandah), the deities (devatās) and the application of the hymns (viniyoga), if one teaches or peruses (the Vedas), (he) becomes sinful."

Similar type of idea is also expressed in the Sarvānukramaṇi by Kātyāyana—

\[
ṛṣi-chando-daivatāni brāhmaṇārtham svarādyapi/ 
aviditvā prayuñjāno mantra-kaṇṭaka ucyate/ 
\]

“One who applies [the Vedas] without knowing the seers (ṛṣi), the metres (chandah), the deities (devatā), and the meaning of the Brāhmaṇas and the accent, he is called a thorn of mantra (hymn).”

The above points are illustrated below:

Let us state the first mantra and see his method of interpretation—

\[
\text{agnim iḷe purohitam/yaññasya devam rṇvijam/}
\text{hotāraṁ ratna-dhātamam/}
\]

First, he has given where this mantra is used in a sacrifice. He says—"agnim iḷe’ iti sūktam prātar anuvāka āgneye kratau viniyuktam"—and that it should be applied in ‘āgneya-kratau’ is supported by Āśvalāyana quoted by Sāyaṇācārya in his commentary. There is a long discussion followed after it, where he has also quoted from the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra to establish his statement at every step.

Then he mentions the name of the ṛṣi Madhucchandā who is the son of Viśvāmitra. And why he has mentioned the name of the ṛṣi is also supported by a text, such as Brhaddevatā and Sarvānukramaṇi. After that he has mentioned the name of the metre which is gāyatrī and the meaning and significance of chanda.

Lastly, he has mentioned the deity who is nothing but agni.

After mentioning all these four Sāyaṇācārya has started interpreting the hymn as ‘agnim iḷe-agmināmakam devam stāumi.’ And in this way, he has given the meaning of other words of the verse.
Then Śāyaṇācārya has given the etymology of these words like ḷe, agni etc.

The root iḍ takes cerebral ḷ in between two vowels and he has quoted an authority for that. Śāyaṇācārya says that ḷ > ḷ according to Bahurca people. In the case of etymology of agni Śāyaṇa has given two or three interpretations all supported by authoritative texts like Nirukta. While giving the various meanings of agni connected with its derivation, he has always quoted lines from Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya-saṃhitā and so on for the justification of that etymological meaning.

And lastly for the accent he has also quoted from Pāṇini for giving reasons for udatta, anudatta and svartic accent.

Though the first mantra is very exhaustive and a very detailed analysis is given at every point, Śāyaṇācārya at the end of the first rka has humbly said that he has done this explanation briefly—

vedāvatāra ādyāyaḥ ṛcoʾṛthaśca prapaṇcitah/
vijñātaṃ veda-gāṃbhīryam atha saṃkṣipyā varṇyate//

One thing is to be noted that as far as we know Śāyaṇācārya has seldom quoted any lines from the Upaniṣads. He has interpreted the Vedic texts from the point of view of karmakāṇḍa and for that reason he has quoted from the Śrauta-sūtras, but as Upaniṣad belongs to jñānakāṇḍa he has naturally not quoted from them. There could be another reason as well, Upaniṣad developed nearly thousand years later than the Saṃhitā texts and has developed very independently without any reference to Karmakāṇḍa. The sacrificial texts (Śrauta-sūtras) also developed very late, but as they contain mainly the sacrificial process and, therefore, have quoted lines from the Saṃhitā texts, these are regarded as important texts for interpreting the Vedic sacrifices. And naturally Śāyaṇācārya will resort to these texts for Vedic sacrifices. These texts have also some foundations on Brāhmaṇa literature, where also some aspects of sacrificial things are found.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it can be said, though in modern times there are many elements known as methodology for writing a dissertation, the basic principles of methodology were also followed by Indian commentators while interpreting their respective texts.

After Śāyaṇācārya, the commentator worth mentioning is Mallinātha (14th cent. A.D.) who has commented upon almost all the important Mahākāvyas in order to restore the better meaning of works.
of the poets. Mallinātha has adduced reasons why he has undertaken a project of explaining the works of the poets. First, he has given his background where he has paraded his learning, so that the readers might have some confidence in the genuineness of his interpretation. In the preamb to his commentary he mentions the subjects he has studied. He says—

vāniṁ kānabhujim ajīganad avāsāsicca vātyāsikim
antas tantram arāṃsta pannaga-gavi-gumphaeśu cājāgarit/
vācām ākalayad rahasyam akhilaṁ yaścākṣa-pāda-sphurāṁ
loke'bhūd yad upaṁnam eva viduṣāṁ sāujanya-janyam yaśāḥ//

"Who had measured the words of Kanabhuk (i.e. mastered the philosophy of Kaṇṇa, viz, the Vaiśeṣika sūtras) and reached the end of the words of Vyāsa (i.e. the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Bhāṣyastha Vedānta and Yoga-sūtras) and revelled in the Tantra and had been awake in the collection of the words of the serpent (i.e. the incarnation of the Śeṣaṇāga, Patañjali— the celebrated author of Yogasūtras and the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini), who had fathomed the whole mystery of the words of Aksāpāda (the author of the Nyāya-sūtras, also called Gotama) and with whom began the fame of courteousness among the learned."

Mallinātha was quite aware of the commentators before him, as he says—

tathāpi daksṇāvarta-nāthādyāṁ kṣurṇa-vatmasu/
vayāṁ ca Kālidāsoktiśva vākāśaṁ labhemahi//

"Nevertheless, we are also entitled to an access to Kālidāsa's works following the path marked by Daksṇāvarta, Nātha and others."

After that he has stated the reasons for his endeavour:

bhārati Kālidāsasya durvāyākhya-viṣa-mūrchiṭā/
esā saṁjivanī tiṁkā tām adyoyiśvayiśvajati//

"Kālidāsa's muse lies under a swoon caused by the poison of wrong interpretation. This commentary, the Saṁjivani, will revive her now."

At the end he has stated his method of interpretation, in other words, his methodology of interpreting the sāstras:

ihānva-yaya-mukha evidence sarvaṁ vyākhyāyate maṭā/
nāmuḷaṁ likhyate kincin nānapekṣīlam ucyate//

"Here everything will be explained by me in accordance with the prose-order. Neither anything unauthorised will be written, nor anything irrelevant will be said."
5. The Discovery of Sanskrit by Europe: Modern age

With the advent of the Europeans in the modern age, the Sanskrit studies turned to a new direction. From the 16th to the late 18th centuries, it was the period of discovery of Sanskrit by the Europeans. Europeans, mostly missionaries, were busy in learning Sanskrit. Padre Pedro, St. Francis Xavier, Filippo Sassetti (1583-88), Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656), Père Vico, Abraham Roger, Heinrich Roth, John Marshall, Johann Hanxleden, Père Pons, Coeurdoux and many others were the pioneers in the formative stage of the European studies. But the real study of Sanskrit by the Europeans began after the epoch-making pronouncement of Sri William Jones in 1786 regarding 'the antiquity' and 'the wonderful structure' of Sanskrit.

Apart from the fact that the Western study of the Sanskrit literature had started with the Dutch translation of some of the Proverbs of Bhārtṛhari found in the book, Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom (“Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom”) written by the Dutchman Abraham Roger in 1651 (a German translation in Nürnberg in 1663), the actual starting point of Sanskrit studies was from the fourth quarter of the 18th century. Under the inspiration of Warren Hastings Viśādāṁvaṇaṇaśetu (“Bridge over the Ocean of Disputes”) was compiled by a number of Pundits, and the book was first translated into Persian from which again it was translated into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed and was printed by the East India Company in 1776 under the title “A Code of Gentoo Law.” Then followed the English translations of the Bhagavadgītā (1785) and the Hitopadeśa (1787) by Charles Wilkins. In the meantime Sir William Jones’ English translation of Śākuntalā (1789), and Charles Wilkin’s Śākuntalā episode from the Mahābhārata (1795) appeared. Jones also translated the Rūṣamṛta in 1792 and the law book of Manu under the title “Institutes of Hindu Law” in 1794 (a German translation appeared in 1797 in Weimer). With this background, the 18th century ended.

In the first quarter of the 19th century, the progress of Sanskrit studies was very meagre. We can know this from a study of August Wilhem von Schlegel’s essay, Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Indischen Philologie (“On the present condition of Indian Philology”) published in 1819, where the author could not mention more than a dozen Sanskrit books which were made known to Europe through editions or translations. By 1830 a good progress was made. Friedrich Adelung wrote his Versuch einer Literatur der Sanskrit-Sprache (“A study on the literature of the Sanskrit language”) in 1830 and published from St. Petersburg. In that book the author has mentioned over 350 Sanskrit books. By 1852 the number rose to 500 which we could know
from Albrecht Weber’s *Akademische Vorlesungen über indische literaturgeschichte* published in 1852. He has mentioned 500 works of Indian literature. Despite its defects in style, the book has remained as the most reliable and most complete handbook of Indian literature. We are amazed with just pride at the progress of Sanskrit studies which science had made in a comparatively short period of time.

The Europeans who studied Sanskrit were fully conversant with the classical languages of Europe—Greek and Latin—and they brought with them the refined knowledge of these two classical languages. When they looked at different problems of Sanskrit—its textual and linguistic—they turned to Greek and Latin for guidance, for acquiring the knowledge of how to edit a classical text. In one word, they modelled Sanskrit on Greek and Latin. It would be an enormous, a Sisyphean task, to write a history of their contributions to Sanskrit studies, but we can point out only this much how the knowledge of Sanskrit helped scholars to restore some hidden texts of some languages. The discovery of Avesta is one of such instances where Sanskrit played a major part in modern times.

(i) The Recovery of Avesta through Sanskrit

The knowledge of the Avesta texts and the religion, manners and customs of ancient Persia, was terribly shrouded in darkness until about two centuries ago. Herodotus (450 B.C) in his History (I. 131-141), Plutarch (A.D. C 46-C120) in his ‘On Isis and Osiris’ and Pliny (A.D. 23-79) down to Agathias (500 A.D.) talked about the teachings of Avesta. After the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, some Arabic writers, such as, Masūdī (940 A.D.) gave us information on the Avesta of Zeradusht and its commentary called Zend along with a Pazand explanation. Later on, Al-Biruni (about 1000 A.D.), Shahrastani (1150 A.D.) talked about the Zoroastrian religion. The text was not till then discovered by them.

It was in the middle of the 18th century that a young Frenchman Anquetil du Perron became interested in Avestan. Sometime in November 1754, he came to India, learned the language along with Persian, collected some manuscripts and went back to Paris in 1761. After ten years’ labour he published his translation of Avesta. This translation was severely criticised by scholars, and its authenticity was also challenged. Even the distinguished orientalist, Sir William Jones, called it a forgery. But it was the study of Sanskrit that finally won the victory and settled the authenticity of the sacred Books of the Parsis.
Sometime in 1825 the Avestan texts began to be studied by Sanskrit scholars. Though the affinity between Sanskrit and Avestan had already been noticed by different scholars, it was the Danish philologist Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787-1832) who made a systematic and elaborate comparative study between the two languages. He also brought back from India to the Copenhagen library many valuable manuscripts of the Avesta and of the Pahlavi texts. In 1826 his small book ‘On the Age and Authenticity of the Zend language’ appeared and he proved the antiquity of the language and showed that though the two languages are closely allied to each other, Avesta is quite distinct from Sanskrit. But almost at the same time the French Sanskrit scholar Eugène Burnouf took up the reading of the Avesta texts scientifically through his knowledge of Sanskrit, and at once found out the philological inaccuracies in the translation of Anquetil du Perron. Burnouf detected the inaccuracies of Perron’s translation through an old Sanskrit translation of a part of the Avesta. The first rendering of Avesta into Sanskrit was made by the great Zoroastrian Priest, Dastur Nairyosang Dhaval in 1200 A.D. from a Pahlavi version. “By means of this Skt. rendering, and, by applying his philological learning, he was able to restore sense to many passages where Anquetil had often made nonsense, and he was thus able to throw a flood of light upon many an obscure point. The employment of Skt. instead of depending upon the priestly traditions and interpretations, was a new step; it introduced a new method. The new discovery and gain of vantage ground practically settled the discussion as to authenticity. The testimony moreover, of the ancient Persian inscriptions deciphered about this time by Grotefend (1802), Burnouf, Lassen, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson, showed still more, by their contents and language so closely allied to the Avesta that this work must be genuine. The question was settled,” (Jackson, Avesta Grammar pp. xv-xvi). There is no denying the fact that it was the study of Sanskrit that helped the interpretation and meaning of the Avestan texts. Some portions of Nairyosang’s texts were published by I.J.S. Taparewalla and below is given one example from that published texts to show how Nairyosang’s interpretation helped to restore the meaning of the text.

Haomō tās-cit yā kainino  Soma tāscit yāh* kanināh
антхаре дарям арн’о  āśire dirgham agruvah/
хайсим рάдэм-цэ бах’сайти  satyam *rādham ca bhaksayati
мосу жайямн’о хухрату’[  maksu gadyamānāh sukraṭuḥ]//

Eng. Tr. “Haoma doth grant unto all those who have remained virgins for a long time without husbands, faithful and loving (bridegrooms), as soon as the Wise One is entreated.” (Taparewalla)
As near Sanskrit rendering is given separately, I give here only the Sanskrit explanation of Nairyosang:

... yā kumārye (=kāumarye) nisidanti dirgham agrhitāh (aparītāh
ityarthāh)... prakaṭam dātāram ca varṣati (kila tābhya bhartāram
prakāśayati). aśu yācayitāram subuddhim. (kila tattālam eva antaḥ.
kārye saṃtiṣṭhamānam).

After the prophetic pronunciation of Sir William Jones in 1786, European scholars, having a real good knowledge of Greek and Latin at their back, started learning Sanskrit to find out the common source as mentioned by Sir William Jones in his speech. By the pursuit of their untiring zeal of research, the first use of Comparative Grammar (Vegleichende Grammatik) came into existence in 1808 when Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1824) wrote his book “On the Language and the Wisdom of the Indians.” Then followed hosts of scholars like Franz Bopp (1791-1867), Eugène Burnouf (1801-1882), Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), August Schleicher (1823-1868), Karl Brugmann (1849-1919) Berthold Delbrück (1842-1922), William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894), C.C. Uhlenbeck (1866-), Antoine Meillet (1866-), Arthur Anthony Macdonell and many others. All these pioneers have contributed so much to Indo-European philology that today in writing a book on Sanskritic studies, nobody could avoid their contributions to the subject. They have applied their philological or linguistic insight into Sanskrit texts. As these scholars were well-conversant with the classical languages of Europe, their outlook was always comparative. Linguistic Science has a discipline of its own. It is not mere comparative vocabulary that is linguistics, it is the inductive and deductive discipline of the subject is applied to all kinds of Sanskrit studies—be it textual or linguistic, religious or mythological, philosophical or social. At the initial stage, the main emphasis was on collecting common cognate vocabularies, on establishing a sort of root-theory once propagated by Yāsk in 500 B.C., on making phonological rules for common IE languages and a thorough systematic explanation of morphological matters. At a later stage of the same century a comparative syntax and semantic analysis were established. Beside linguistics, the most important contribution of the Europeans is the principles of editing Sanskrit texts—how to collate manuscripts and how to select the reading of a text. In this respect too, the European Sanskritists had to learn the principles as adopted in the case of Greek and Latin. It is there they succeeded most.

The Greek people had a tradition of preserving the text of Homer. In this respect Zenodotus (4th/3rd cent. B.C.) and Aristarchus (3rd/2nd cent. B.C.) were the pioneers. The scholars of Alexandria
started writing Greek grammar in order to reduce the actual forms of language to a system or order. Their main object was to publish correct texts of the Greek classics, and particularly of Homer. As a result they paid much attention to the exact forms of Greek grammar. When the Greek texts began to be considerably varied, as a result of which the grammarians were busy in determining the correct grammatical forms, their main object was to prepare not only *ekdosis*, rendered in Latin by *editio*, i.e., 'issues of books', but *diorthōsei*, 'critical correct editions'. Each reading of Zenodotus and Aristarchus was defended by establishing general rules on the grammar of the Homeric poems. Both Zenodotus and Aristarchus pondered over the use of article. It was their question — did Homer use the article? or if used, did he use if before proper names? Ultimately Zenodotus was the first to use the article before proper names in the Iliad and Odyssey.

(ii) The first Rgveda

Keeping this fact in mind, when the Europeans first started editing the Rgveda, they prepared a grammar of the Vedic language which, of course, was not always defended by Panini's sutras except by the sūtra-
*bahulaṃ chandasi*. A new vista of Vedic language was opened. Macdonell, after much deliberation, has accepted some sixty forms of pluperfect in the Rgveda, particularly when it is very difficult to distinguish between the imperfect of the reduplicating class and the reduplicating aorist. By their indefatigable labours, we also come to know that the Vedic language is profusely beset with innumerable aorist forms which, in a sense, dwindled down in classical Sanskrit. Unless the grammar of a language is systematised, the *diorthōsei* of a text is not possible. In this connection, I would like to mention that the first edition of the Rgveda was not prepared by Friedrich Max Muller, as it is commonly known, but by Friedrich August Rosen (1805-1837), a German scholar. He has two editions of the Rgveda—the first one was published perhaps sometimes in 1830 by the name of *Rigvedae Specimen*, and the second one in 1838.

The first Āṣṭaka of the Rgveda appeared some eleven years before Max Müller from London. The text is given in Nagari and Roman scripts without using any accent marks. It has a Latin translation and notes. The author prepared the text from a collation of two MSS, "one in the library of the Honourable East India Company, No. 2, 133; the other from which the text printed in Roman characters is transcribed, belongs to the private collection of Lady Chambers, and is marked in her catalogue D: it is in Octavo. In this manuscript the words are written separately without regard to the euphonic changes." In his notes he has also consulted other manuscripts, like, the
commentary of Śāyaṇa of the Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda Arcikā, Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu. All these Mss are in Devanagari character, and belong to the library of the Honourable East India Company. In the preface to that edition it is mentioned that the author has also consulted the translation of the Rev. J. Stevenson who published about five years before the publication of his edition at Bombay, a lithographed text and commentary of a part of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā with an English translation.

It is also stated in the preface: ‘Having soon discovered that the character and genius of the Indian literature and language could only be completely understood by tracing them back to the earliest periods to which the Vedas belong; he formed the project of endeavouring to remove the obscurity by which they are surrounded. As an intimation of this, he published in 1830 his Rigvedae Specimen, and although since that time he was occupied with several other literary works, his principal attention was directed to this main object.’ (p.iv). Rosen did not live long to complete the text, only the first aṣṭaka was published. Let us see how he translated the first ṛk of the Ṛgveda.

His Latin translation of the first mantra is –

Agnim celebro antistitem, sacrificii divinum sacerdotem, vocatorem
thesauris ditissimum.

agnim is the acc. sg. of Latin as it is in Skt: celebro (Eng. celebrate)
stands for iḷē, antistitem again acc. sg. meaning ‘a presiding priest’
(purohitam), sacrificii, a gen. sg. of sacrificium (a sacrifice) stands for
yajñasya, divinum (acc. sg) for devam, sacerdotem (acc. sg) of
sacerdotium meaning priesthood for rtvijam, vocatorem (acc. sg. of
vocator) meaning ‘an inviter’, hotāram perhaps connected with the root
hue to call, to summon, thesaurus (gen. sg. of thesaurus, Gk θησαυρός)
‘a treasure’, equivalent to Skt. ratna (ṣya) ditriśsimum (dis-acc. sg.)
most enriched with Skt. dhātāram.

His notes show how strong his scholarship was. He has quoted
from many authoritative works of Sanskrit, like, Taittiriya Saṃhitā,
Aitareya Br. Yāska, Pāṇini and many others. He has also referred to
Bopp’s Grammar, Colebrooke’s Miscellaneous Essays and Sanskrit
grammar and above all, some lines from J. Stevenson’s translation.
The most important is the quotation from Śāyaṇa’s commentary and
the use of cognate words from Greek and Latin, like, hotāram =θυγια. He
has also quoted from his earlier work Rigvedae Specimen. More
than 150 years ago, when there were practically no edited Vedic texts
available, it was an insurmountably difficult task to edit a Vedic text
with annotations. His notes reveal such type of scholarship.
Though the first philological investigation of the Vedas started by the publication of Rosen’s *The First Aṣṭaka of the Rgveda* in 1838, the foundation of the Vedic studies in Europe was laid by Eugène Burnouf who was a teacher at the Collège de France in the early forties of the 19th century. He had two brilliant pupils—Rudolph Roth and Friedrich Max Müller—both of them introduced Vedic studies in Germany. Rudolph Roth by his book *Zur litteratur und Geschichte des Weda* (“On the literature and history of the Veda”) published in 1846 created a burning zeal for the investigation into the various branches of Vedic studies among his pupils devoted to him. So also Friedrich Max Müller, another celebrated pupil of Burnouf, who contemplated a project on publishing the Rgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. The whole project was completed between 1849 and 1875 (a second improved edition was published in 1890-1892). But before Max Müller’s edition was completed, Theodor Aufrecht had published his handy edition of the complete text of the Rgveda in Roman script between 1861 and 1863. Both the latter scholars had rendered invaluable services to the scholarly world and the actual research on the Vedas was started by the publication of these Vedic texts.

The chief event in the history of Sanskrit research in the second half of the 19th century was the publication of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* compiled by Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth and published by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg in seven folio volumes in the years 1852 and 1875. This Dictionary is a brilliant monument to German industry and scholarship. Though later on, we have Sanskrit Dictionaries by Horace Hayman Wilson, Carl Cappeller, F. Max Müller and Theodore Benfey and Monler-Williams, none had surpassed the St. Petersbourg’s Sanskrit Dictionary.

In this way, the different branches of Sanskrit literature—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the Puraṇas, the Kāvyas, dramas, epics, grammar, lexicography, religious and philosophical texts, the texts on the Āyurvedas and many others were ransacked and the ancient hidden treasures were unfurled to the scholarly world. The Sanskrit language and literature as a vehicle of human knowledge was established in the ocean of knowledge of mankind.

6. Research in Modern Sanskrit literature

In modern times some modern Sanskrit scholars from Bengal, Bihar and Delhi prepared their doctoral dissertations on some modern Sanskrit poets, such as, MM. Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa, MM. Kalipada Tarkācārya, Pandit Śrī Viśveśvara Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Pandit Śrī Śrijiva Nyāyatirtha and others. They normally worked on the life and works
of these poets, they have analysed their poetic values and estimated these poets in the light of the ancient critics. The idea is welcome and I hope this trend will continue also in future. Some also worked on modern Sanskrit satire when the works of Siddheswara Chattopadhyaya, Biresvara Bhattacharya, Amiya Chakraborty and many others are analysed in the light of modern European critics.

In modern times lots of scholars composed works in Sanskrit on Kāvya—Mahākāvya, Khanḍakāvya (lyrical poets), dramas, satires, stories, and research papers. The Sankrit language they use is high-flown and can go on a par with the classical Sanskrit literature of Kalidāsa. Recently a Mahākāvya in Sanskrit was composed by Satyavrat on the Thai Rama legend which can vie with the compositions of Kalidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti and others. In a similar way mention can be made of a modern lyrical poem Vīlāpa-pañcikā by Dr Dipak Ghosh of Calcutta University.

One of the most important features of modern Sanskrit literature is the translation of some modern works into Sanskrit. These translations are made from Bengali works, or even at times from English literature, dramas or poems. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya’s Kapāla-kundalā was translated first by Haricarana Bhaṭṭacharya and was dramatised by his son Bishnupada Bhattacharya—both the works published from Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat. Tagore’s works Dākghar and Rath Darhi were translated as Vārtāgrham and Ratharajju by Dhyaneśh Narayan Chakraborty and Bimal Krishna Motilal respectively.

The adaptation of English drama into Sanskrit was started in the last decade of the nineteenth century. R. Kṛṣṇamachari translated into Sanskrit Shakespeare’s Midsummer Night’s Dream in 1892 in his Vāsanātika-svapna published from Kumbhakonam. In the middle of the 20th century Hamlet was translated into Sanskrit as Chandralekha by one Maharastrian poet and also by Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya as Hemalekham. Gray’s Ellegy Written in a Country Churchyard is translated into Sanskrit by one Gosvami in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā.
PART II: THE DISCOVERY OF PRAKRIT
AND JAINA LITERATURE

7. The beginning of Prakrit studies in Europe

When the Europeans started studying Sanskrit sometime in the middle of the 17th cent. A.D., they did not have any idea about Prakrit, a language which was current in ancient India side by side with Sanskrit, at least, from the 6th cent. B.C. onwards. And for a long time till the translation of Sir William Jones (1746-1794) was published in 1789, there was no record, at least, in the Western world that they knew Prakrit. When the translation of Śakuntalā by Sir William Jones was published in 1789, they came to know the existence of Prakrit from the title page where it was captioned “translated into English from the original Sanskrit and Prakrit”. This was, as far as we know till today, the earliest reference to Prakrit as a separate language in a book of the Western world. We do not know whether it had any impact on the Western world to increase the curiosity of the Western people to know about Prakrit, but it had, at least, one result quite clearly which was that Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), a Sanskrit scholar, wrote two articles (The Sanskrit and Prakrit Language and the Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetry) on Prakrit published in the Asiatick Researches in 1801 and 1808 respectively. In these two articles he has practically given some information about the Prakrit language and a survey of its literature, where the books like Gāthāsaptāśati, Setubandha, Gaudāvahā and similar other Prakrit texts are mentioned. However, these two articles have a great impact on the scholars in subsequent times. Colebrooke’s later article – ‘Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus (1832) also contains information about Prakrit and Jaina sects. In 1827 Horace Hayman Wilson’s (1784-1860) ‘Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus’ was published. There he puts the question whether Prakrit “represents a language that was ever spoken or is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, derived to adopt the latter to peculiar branches of literature. And he answered hesitatingly that “the latter seems to be the most likely”.

However, after this, there appeared a sensational work in 1837. It was the work of Christian Lassen whose book, Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae (Bonnae ad Rhenum) had given for the first time the characteristic features of Prakrit in a modern linguistic method. He has also given some chapters of Vararuci’s Prākṛta-Prakāśa and some portions of Kramadīśvarā’s Prakrit grammar. It is a voluminous work containing 581 (=488+93) pages. Because it was written in Latin, very few people could consult it in a proper way. This book has a supplementary by Nicolaus Delius whose Radices Pracritcae (1839)
gives the Prakrit roots where he has consulted mainly the roots of Vararuci’s *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* and Kramadīśvara’s Prakrit Grammar. These two works are such that they are regarded as complement and supplement to each other.

Then followed the editions of Prakrit texts prepared by different scholars. Though there was no systematic plan as to which of the texts or what kind of texts is to be edited first, simultaneous effort was going on to publish several Prakrit texts as they came in the hands of scholars. J. Stevenson’s translation of *Kalpasūtra* along with a short exposition of the nine principles of Jainism (=Navatattva) in appendix appeared in 1847. Though he has translated the book from a manuscript, the reading of the text does not really differ very much from the printed text of the present day. The most monumental work done for the first time is Albrecht Weber’s edition of the *Bhagavatīsaūtra* (1866-67). This edition has shown the beacon light for the next generation and tells us how to edit a Prakrit text from a collation of several manuscripts. Then followed several other editions, of which Weber’s *Saptaśati* (1870), H. Jacobi’s original work of the *Kalpasūtra* (1879) and Ācārāṅgasūtra (1889), Siegfried Goldschmidt’s *Setubandha* (1880), Bühler’s *Pāśalacchināmāla* (1879), R. Pischel’s *Siddha Hemaśabdānuśāsana* (1877, 1880)) are noteworthy. So far scholars were engaged to some extent in editing Jaina canonical and some Prakrit texts.

In the meantime another branch of Prakrit literature drew the attention of scholars. This time it was grammar. The first complete Prakrit grammar that was edited by E.B. Cowell is Vararuci’s *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* published in 1854. This edition of Cowell was criticised by A. Weber, and the effect of that criticism was such that Cowell had to revise the edition in the light of the suggestion given by Weber, and the next issue was published in 1868. Since then Cowell’s edition of Vararuci’s *Prakṛta-Prakāśa* has been regarded as an authentic edition even till today. Though there are several other editions of Vararuci’s *Prakṛta-Prakāśa* with different commentaries, such as, Baladeva Upādyāya’s edition with the commentaries of Vasantarāja and Sadānanda (1927), Rāmapāṇi Vāda’s commentary (1946), Raghunāthā’s commentary (1954), Vidyā Vinodācārya’s commentary (1975), the edition of Cowell with Bhāmaha’s vṛtti has still been popular and well-consulted. After Cowell comes Richard Pischel (1849-1908) whose contributions to the field of Prakrit grammar and language is a landmark of Prakrit studies. In 1874 his little book *De Grammaticis Pracriticis* (Vratislaviae) offered some aspects of Prakrit which were not only unique at that time, but also remarkable. His edition of
Hemacandra’s *Siddha-hema-śabdamūśāsana* in two parts (Vol-I, 1877, Vol-II, 1880) is still a true and best critical edition of Hemacandra’s Prakrit grammar. It was subsequently followed by his magnum opus, *Grammatik der Prakrit sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900. Later on several scholars have published several Prakrit grammars of different authors, such as, the Prakrit grammars of Trivikrama, Laksāmidha, Simharāja and so on.

The field of Prakrit lexicography was also explored in the 19th century. Bühler’s edition of Dhanapāla’s *Pāialacchīnāmamāla* (1879) has filled a vacuum in the Prakrit lexicographical studies. In a similar way Pischel’s edition of Hemacandra’s *Deśīnāmamāla* (1880) has really filled a vacuum which can only be explained in eloquent words. This *Deśīnāmamāla* is a store-house of *deśī* vocables, four thousand, which are not only important for Prakrit studies alone, but also for Indian Philology as a whole. It has recorded words of Indo-Aryan origin side by side with 10th/11th centuries Dravidian vocabularies. Recently a *Deśī-śabdā-kośa* (1988) is published by the Jain Vishva Bharati, Ladnun. This is, in a sense, the first of its kind in modern times.

However, for nearly one hundred and fifty years the discoveries of Prakrit have been immense. It covers the Jaina canonical literatures of both Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jains, the *Nīryuktis* and the *Cūṛṇīs* of the canonical texts, the Prakrit *Mahākāvyas*, lyrics, historical Kāvyas, narrative literature (*Kathānaka-kāvyas*), grammar, metres, rhetorical works, and lexicographical treatises, and similar other works of repute. In a sense, a vast amount of Prakrit literature has been discovered throughout the centuries, where scholars, editors and authors have shown their critical acumen and long standing perseverance for unearthing lost and precious works of Prakrit literature. The amount of Prakrit literature discovered so far can go on a par with Sanskrit literature as a whole. It has produced works in all departments of human knowledge. Today Prakrit has reached such a state that it needs revaluation of the studies done so far.
JAIN BHAWAN : ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS

The establishment of the Jain Bhavan in 1945 in the Burra Bazar area of Calcutta by eminent members of the Jain Community, the Jain Bhawan has kept the stream of Jain philosophy and religion flowing steadily in eastern India for the last over fifty years. The objectives of this institution are the following:

1. To establish the greatness of Jainism in the world rationally and to spread its glory in the light of new knowledge.
2. To develop intellectual, moral and literary pursuits in the society.
3. To impart lessons on Jainism among the people of the country.
4. To encourage research on Jain Religion and Philosophy.

To achieve these goals, the Jain Bhawan runs the following programmes in various fields.

1. School:
To spread the light of education the Bhawan runs a school, the Jain Shikshalaya, which imparts education in accordance with the syllabi prescribed by the West Bengal Board. Moral education forms a necessary part of the curricula followed by the school. It has on its roll about 550 students and 25 teachers.

2. Vocational and Physical Classes:
Accepting the demands of the modern times and the need to equip the students to face the world suitably it conducts vocational and physical activity classes. Classes on traditional crafts like tailoring, stitching and embroidery and other fine arts along with Judo, Karate and Yoga are run throughout the year, not just for its own students, but for outsiders as well. They are very popular amongst the ladies of Burra Bazar of Calcutta.

3. Library:
"Education and knowledge are at the core of all round development of an individual. Hence the pursuit of these should be the sole aim of life". Keeping this philosophy in mind a library was established on the premises of the Bhawan. With more than 10,000 books on Jainism, its literature and philosophy and about 3,000 rare manuscripts, the library is truly a treasure trove. A list of such books and manuscripts can be obtained from the library.

4. Periodicals and Journals:
To keep the members abreast of contemporary thinking in the field of religion the library subscribes to about 100 (hundred) quarterly, monthly and weekly periodicals from different parts of the world. These can be issued to members interested in the study of Jainism.

5. Journals:
Realising that there is a need for research on Jainism and that scholarly knowledge needs to be made public, the Bhawan in its role as a research institution brings out three periodicals: Jain Journal in English, 'Titthayara' in Hindi and 'Shramaṇa' in Bengali. In 32 years of its publication, the Jain Journal has carved out a niche for itself in the field and has received universal acclaim. Shramaṇa, the Bengali journal which is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary
this year, has become a prominent channel for the spread of Jain philosophy in Bengal. Both the Journals are edited by a renowned scholar Professor Dr Satya Ranjan Banerjee of Calcutta University. The Jain Journal and Shravana for over twentyfive years have proved that these journals are in great demand for its quality and contents. The Jain Journal is highly acclaimed by foreign scholars. The same can be said about the Hindi journal “Titthayara” which is edited by Mrs Lata Bothra. In April this year it entered its 22nd year of publication. Needless to say that these journals have played a key role in propagating Jain literature and Jain philosophy. Progressive in nature, these have crossed many milestones and are poised to cross many more.

6. Seminars and Symposia:
The Bhawan organises seminars and symposia on Jain philosophy, literature and the Jain way of life, from time to time. Eminent scholars, laureates, professors etc. are invited to enlighten the audience with their discourse. Exchange of ideas, news and views are the integral parts of such programmes.

7. Scholarships to researchers:
The Bhawan also grants scholarships to the researchers of Jain philosophy apart from the above mentioned academic and scholastic activities.

8. Publications:
The Bhawan also publishes books and papers on Jainism and Jain philosophy. Some of its prestigious publications are:

The Bhagavati Sūtra (in English) Parts 1 to 4
Barsat ki Rat (A Rainy Night) (in Hindi), Panchadarshi (in Hindi)
Baṅgāḷ ka Ādī Dharma (Pre-historic religion of Bengal)
Praśnottare Jaina-dharma (in Bengali) (Jain religion in questions and answers).

9. A Computer Centre:
To achieve a self reliance in the field of education a Computer training centre was opened at the Jain Bhawan in February 1998. This important and welcome step will enable us to establish links with the best educational and cultural organisations of the world. With the help of E-mail, internet and website we can help propagate Jainism throughout the world. Communications with other similar organisations will enrich our own knowledge. Besides the knowledge of programming and graphics, this computer training will equip our students to shape their tomorrow.

10. Research:
It is, in fact, a premiere institution for research in Prakrit and Jainism, and it satisfies the thirst of many researchers. To promote the study of Jainism in this country, the Jain Bhawan runs a research centre and encourages students to do research on any aspects of Jainism. In a society infested with contradictions and violence, the Jain Bhawan acts as a philosopher and guide and shows the right path. Friends, you are now aware of the functions of this prestigious institution and its noble intentions. We, therefore request you to encourage us heartily in our creative and scholastic endeavours. We hope that you will continue to lend us your generous support as you have done in the past.
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Mahāvīr's Vānī

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Uttarādhayayana Sūtra 25. 31-32.

Lily Ghosh (Dugar)
Narottam Ghosh
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Pure beauty may, one day, bring back
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We believe so.
And therefore we try—
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