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Book Review

The Great Kushana Testament by B.N. Mukherjee, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1995, price: Rs. 100/-.

One of the greatest contributions to the area of ancient Indian history and culture is the discovery of the Rabatak Bactrian Inscription of the Kushana king Kanishka the First. This Inscription will act as a harbinger of historical studies for many decades of the twenty-first century. Although lots of discoveries were made in the last century, and in the beginning of the present century, there are still many more historical records which are still hidden from the eyes of the scholars in the abyss of edacious Time. It is true indeed that the history of the Kushana empire has been written and rewritten (even by Professor Mukherjee himself) because of the discoveries of new material, this discovery of Rabatak Inscription in the Bactrian language is a landmark in the history of the Kushana empire and also on the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Therefore, the Great Kushana Testament by Professor B.N. Mukherjee is a treasure-house for the history of ancient India. Professor Mukherjee, one of the brilliant outstanding authorities on the history of the Kushana Emperor, has contributed quite a lot to the history of the Kushana Empire by writing books, monographs and articles on this period of history. (*The Kushana Genealogy* 1967; *The Economic Factors in Kushana History*, 1970; *The Rise and Fall of the Kushana Emperor*, 1968). The present treatise is another such addition to this series and has shed many valuable information and food for the historians to interpret the history of the Kushana emperor Kanishka the First.

In March 1993 the Rabatak Inscription was discovered and Professor N. Sims-Williams of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, made a study of this Inscription, and sent a complimentary copy to Professor Mukherjee for his opinion. Professor Mukherjee, a veteran historian and a polyglot, immediately thought that instead of writing a review of the book, it would be better that a revised version with new interpretation of this Inscription would be rather a welcome idea for the proper understanding and interpretation of these newly discovered historical facts as recorded in this Inscription. To know the basic principles of the Bactrian language and to interpret accordingly became very much imperative and the learned scholar was deeply engrossed in explaining the Inscription both linguistically

and historically. The outcome of his research is the brilliant expose of the Kushan history in this book.

The Rabatak Inscription was found in a hill locally known as Kafir's Castle in a locality called Rabatak. The site is twenty-five miles north of Pul-i-Khumri in the Baghlan area of Kataghan in Afghanistan. In March 1993 the stone on which the Inscription is inscribed was found "together with fragments of a sculpture of a lion (four paws and a part of the mane) and architectural elements, including the base of a pilaster and a capital decorated on two sides with circular styled lotus motifs." "All these were noticed by an official party sent by the Governor of the area of Baghlan after hearing that the local people had been digging up in the hill bricks (20 x 10 x 8 cm) and carved stones for using them to rebuild their war ravaged residences."

The Rabatak Inscription consists of twenty-three lines. The text (pp. 13-14) is given in Greek script and it is transliterated into the Roman script (pp. 15-16) along with the English translation of the Inscription (pp. 16-17). These twenty-three lines have changed certain previous ideas and needs reinterpreting.

This Inscription has three features. Firstly, it is written in Greek script; secondly, the language is Bactrian, a middle Iranian language, and thirdly, the vocabulary of the Inscription is mainly of Indo-Iranian origin. There are abundant Indian words Bactrianised at that time in such a way that they indicated a close relationship between India and Iran in hoary antiquity.

Professor Mukherjee has informed us that the Greek characters in the Bactrian version of the Dasht-e-Nawur record included many ill-formed letters, one of which was the ancient use of the Greek sigmas. In the primitive Greek alphabet there was a sigma known as 'sampi' which was lost by the time of Homeric Greek (c. 800 B.C.). This sampi (=san) sigma of Greek was often used for numbers denoting 6, 90, and 900. Professor Mukherjee has said that the use of Doric 'san' sigma is very much noticeable in the Kushana records. The use of this Greek alphabet shows the antiquity and importance of this Bactrian Inscription. There are other peculiarities of this language which the author has discussed in the second chapter of the book.

Professor Mukherjee has further informed us quite rightly that the speakers of the Bactrian language adopted the Greek alphabet to write their speech, probably under the impact of the Hellenistic rulers. The use of the language spread to Sogdiana and to the South-east of

the Hindukush in the Kushana and post-Kushana periods. Hsuan-Tsang noticed in the second quarter of the seventh cent. A.D. the use of twentyfive Greek letters (24 basic Greek letters plus one san, a sigma). Among the latest use of the Bactrian language we can refer to the Bactrian version of the Tochi Valley Inscription of the year 862 A.D.

In the first line of the Inscription the name Kanishka Kushana (Bactrian *Kaneske Kosano*) occurs and the whole inscription describes the deeds and activities of the Kushana king Kanishka. In the third - fourth lines it is stated that Kanishka discontinued the use of the Ionian speech, one of the dialects of the Greek language, and in its place the Aryan speech (*ariao ostado*) was introduced. This shows how important is the Inscription in connection with the Indian context. In several lines of the Inscription the name of India as *Sindo* (= Sindhu) occurs, and it is said that several proclamations have been made to India in connection with the submission to the will of the king.

The masterly exposition of Professor Mukherjee is exhibited in Chapter III, where the historical interpretation of this Bactrian Inscription is expatiated. This chapter manifests not only the scholarship and deep study of the subject, but also the command over the ancient history of Iran and India to such an extent that one needs to study this chapter again and again. The author has also ferreted out the exegesis of this chapter by ransacking the Chinese and Greek sources including the Old Iranian in order to explain the historical background of this Inscription. It appears that the author's contribution to the interpretation of the historical information is unique and the identification of the Kanishka era with the Saka era 78 A.D. can be crystallised by this Inscription. It is further said in the Inscription that in the year 1 Kanishka I's authority was proclaimed in India in all Satrapis and in different cities, like *Koonadiano* (=Kaundinya), *Ozeno* (Ujjayini), *Zageda* (Saketa = Ayodhya), *Kozambo* (Kausambi), *Palabotra* (Pataliputra) and *Ziritambo* (Shri Champa). It is interesting to note that these cities lay to the east and south of Mathura upto which locality Vima had already conquered. So these cities in different areas must have been captured or subdued by Kanishka I himself.

The book contains copious plates of different sculptures and the Rabatak Inscription from different angles, coins, eye-copy of the Inscription, and an index. The paper and the printing of the book is excellent for which the Director of Indian Museum, Calcutta, is to be congratulated.

The Great Kushana Testament is an exceptionally well-written text with copious notes and bibliographical references. Every statement of Professor Mukherjee is authenticated by means of well-documented references. The books and journals consulted by the author are so rare and precious that unless one has an exceptionally rich private collection, it is difficult to accumulate all these references from one library. Rare Chinese and Greek sources are one of the remarkable features of this book. The method of research framed in this book is of a unique type and this treatise will act as a model for research work for the future generations to come. The book is also written in a very good florid and forceful style which is seldom seen in a foot-noted and serious book like the present one. In conclusion, it can be said that the Great Kushana Testament is one of the best contributions to the Kushana history at the end of the present century and every student of Indian history and culture must peruse this book as a part and parcel of his academic curriculum.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

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THE CONCEPT OF ŚĀSTRA-DĀNA IN JAINISM

HAMPA. NAGARAJAIAH

Books on Jaina discipline have prescribed the ideal path of the layman and has laid greater emphasis upon the secular aspects of the ritual. In the Jaina social organisation every householder is expected to carry out six duties :

Śrāvākācāra, book of layman's discipline, of Padmanandi, has listed the six duties of a laity (Ācārya Jinasena, Somadevasūri, Samantabhadra, Amitagati, Vasumandi and others have laid down similar prescription).

*devapūjā gurūpāsti svādhyāyaḥ samyamam-tapaḥ
dānam ceti gṛhasthānām ṣaṭ-karmāṇi dine dine*

The *Ṣaṭ-karmas* : the six acts prescribed for every laity are –

1. *Devapūja* : Worship of the Tirtankaras, the omniscient spiritual teachers or builders of the ford.
2. *Gurūpāsti* : Listening to venerate teachers.
3. *Svādhyāya* : The study of the scriptures.
4. *Samyama* : Restraint including observance of the eight basic restraints (mūlaguṇas) and minor Vratas pertaining only to lay people.
5. *Tapas* : Austerity, especially fasting on holy days.
6. *Dāna* : Charity, including giving alms to mendicants.

Of the above *Śrāvaka-Vratas*, the sixfold sets of practices which the householder were to perform as regularly as possible, *Svādhyāya* and *Dāna*, the study of scripture and charity are complimentary. These acts are contemplated to encourage the quality and capacity to engage in *dāna*, the act of giving. The act of *dāna* was conceived to refrain the lay votary from his too much involment in *lābha*, obtaining, *bhoga* enjoyment and *upabhoga*, repeated enjoyment. The act of *dāna-vrata*, the vow of charity has two faces, the spiritual and the cultural. It implies an objective of socio-economic discipline. For over two and a

half millennium the four-fold congregation of the Jaina-Sangha has practised this benevolence act of *dāna* and the spirit of it has never ceased. It is an historical fact attested by hundreds of inscriptions that this act of liberal grants by the Jaina laity, the secular and religious life of India is the beneficiary. There are four kinds of *dāna*, *āhāra*—food, *auśadha* olim *bhaiṣajya*—medicine, *abhaya*, shelter to living beings with fear of injury or death and *śāstra*, religious literature.

The donor should decide carefully which individuals are worthy to receive his gifts. The act of charity is so well designed that the members of the laity should choose the proper items, proper time proper recipients and proper cause, even in these meritorious pursuits. The act of sharing with ascetic or worthy guests or respectful service is called *atithi-sam-vibhaga* and *Vaiya-Vṛttya*. The delicacy involved in the issue of charity is worth pondering; there are five transgressions (*aticāras*) of this *dānavrata*—

1. Placing food on a living thing like green leaf.
2. Covering food with a living thing.
3. Delegation of host's duties to someone.
4. Lack of respect in giving, or being envious of another donor.
5. Not giving at the proper time.

Such acts of carelessness or lack of sincerity are forbidden. The donor should shun all ego, should be humble, should not expect any reward or fame in return, should not regret.

The unique concept of *Śāstra-dāna*, to distribute free copies of precious religious texts, has helped the *literati* to have an easy access to the required *Granthas*. Invariably a well-arranged and uptodate *Śruta-bhāṇḍāra*, library was attached to all Jain-temples; to-put it the other way, *Jinālayas* used to maintain good libraries. Jains had always given priority to learning and education. Whenever a monk or a nun required a *Śāstra-Grantha* a canonical text for *Svādhyāya*, it was made easily available in the *Śruta-Bhāṇḍāra* a system prevalent to this day, both in the north and south.

This paper attempts to illustrate how the act of *Śāstra-Dāna* has helped the field of religion and literature in *Karṇāṭaka*, by citing out of a number of instances, only two examples of the Women celebrities.

(A)

Attimabbe (C.950-1018 C.E), an illustrious lady was honoured by Tailapa-II (973-997), the emperor of the *Kalyāṇa Calukyas* with the coveted title of *dānacintāmaṇi* which means 'a gem yielding everything

wanted by its possessor. She was a *dāna-vinode*, a woman taking pleasure in giving gifts. She had the following cognomen:

- a. Guṇadaṅka-Kārthi : Famous in possessing all the virtues.
- b. Mahā-sati-ratna : Jewel head of the great women.
- c. Kavivara-kāmadhenu : A Desire fulfilling cow of the great poets.
- d. Jinadharmā-patāke : Fluttering flag of the Jainism.
- e. Abhilaṣitārtha-dāna-vinode : She who takes pleasure in giving whatever gifts asked for.
- f. Kaṭaka-pavitre : Immaculate of the army.

Attimabbe was a great patron of art, architecture and literature. During her life time she caused 1501 temples; a great feat that no where and at no time, in the world a similar instance is found where a single person is responsible for constructing 1501 temples in one's life time. When Attimabbe learnt that the palm-leaf copies of Śāntipurāṇa [a poem authored by Ponna (C.E. 960), a poet and polymath, a biography of the sixteenth Tirthankara, consisting of twelve cantos in campū style] are no more available to the learned section, she immediately got another thousand copies of palm-leaf manuscripts by employing regular proficient copyists; and she freely distributed it as an act of śāstra-dāna; thanks to her timely action the poem has survived to this day [I should humbly record here that I had the honour and pleasure of editing the above work with the introduction and prose translation]. Attimabbe also patronised Ranna (C. 960-1016), a poet laureate in the court of the Calukya kingdom, who composed *Ajīta-purāṇam*, (C.E. 993) the biography of the second Tirthankara, and the palm-leaf copies of the *kāvya* poem were distributed as sastra-dana; it is considered as one of the best classics of Kannada literature.

(B)

The illustrious erudite Virasena-ācārya who was a royal teacher to both Jagattunga and Nṛpatunga who had Amoghavarsa-I (814-877) as his second name, kings of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, wrote *Dhavalā-Ṭikā*, the commentary of Saṅkhaṇḍāgama of 72 thousand verses using both Prakrit and Sanskrit languages (C.E. 815). When the copies of the above *Dhavalā-Ṭikā* were not available to either the public or the ascetics, a pious lady took the onus of getting the canonical text copied; how it was done, needs an *in extenso* description, because it is an interesting episode.

Bācaladevī, a consort of Bhujabala-Ganga-Permmāḍideva, king of Mandali-thousand, a principality in Shimogha district, had caused a beautiful *cattyālaya* at Bannikere. It was the best of temples in the Mandali-nāḍ dedicated to Arhat-Pārśva, the 23rd Tirthankara.

Śubhacandradeva-munipa, a pupil of Maladhārīdeva-yamīna, who was a moon to the ocean of mūla-saṅgha, Deśiga-gaṇa, was the chief-preceptor of the Bannikere Caityālaya. He had mastered the āgama literature and had the cognomen *Siddhānta-ratnākara*, an ocean to the dogmas of Jaina philosophy. Once he wanted to read the *Dhavalā-Ṭikā* to teach his pupil but the palm-leaf text was not there in the *Śrutabhāṇḍāra* of the Bannikere *Caityālaya*. Devamati alias Ratideviyakka [the mother-in-law of Maṇḍali-nāḍ ruler and the mother of Ganga-mahādevī the crown-queen of Bhujabala-Ganga-Permmadideva-II (1103-1118) a lady votary of the ascetic Śubhacandra-Siddhāntadeva, had camped at Bannikere Jīna-Pārśva temple for the ceremony of the concluding religious observance of *Śrutapañcamī-vrata* the restraint (vow) of the 'scripture-fifth', a Jaina holiday; it is observed usually during the month of June, commemorating the day of C.E. 150, when the adept Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta first put the *āgamas* scriptures into written form. During the observance of the vow *Śrutapañcamī*, literature of the scriptural material symbolising the sacred teachings of the Jinas, will be donated to the temple or monk or nun.

Knowing the need and excellence of *Dhavalā-Ṭika*, Deviyakka immediately arranged for copying the text. Because of the timely action of Deviyakka, a copy of Viresena-ācāry's *Dhavalā-Ṭikā* was made available not only to her revered guru Śubhacandra-Siddhānta-Deva but the whole world, because that is the one and only copy available to this day.

Deviyakka (Devamathi, Demati, Ratidevi), daughter of Nāgale, sister of both Daṇḍanāyakitti Lakḥale (wife of general Gaṅgarāja) and Būcīrāja, was wife of Cāmuṇḍa, a royal merchant. She has been compared to Sitā, Lakṣmī and *śāsana-devatā*, attendant goddess of Jīna, the agent in giving protection to the supreme Jaina faith. Devamati, liberal in giving food to the people, refused to be frightened; good medicine to those rendered miserable by disease and science and the *āgamas* (scriptural knowledge) to those desirous of learning them. Devamati, at the close of her life, fixed her mind on the Arhat, according to the prescribed rites for all lay votaries, observed *sallekhanā* at Śravaṇabelgoḷa on the Candragiri hill, and entered the high heaven as if her own home in C.E. 1120. Her elder sister Lakḥale alias Lakṣmī, set up a nisidhi stone pillar, resembling a column of victory, for that excellent lady Demavati [EC. II (R) 158 (129) 1120. pp. 99-101].

Whoever conceived the act of *śāstra-dāna*, their dream is realised, there is no other holier or greater *sastra-dana* ever known than this in the annals of Jainism.

Similarly another pious lady Mallikabbe, a queen consort of Śāntisena-rāja also got copied by the skilled and professional copyists, Mahā-dhavalā (Mahābananā). She is praised with the epithets *Śīlanidhi*, an abode of amiable disposition and *mahā-yāśasvini*, a great splendour of glory. Mallikabbe, to commemorate the completion of the Sripañcami-vrata, she had the Mahā-dhavalā copied and respectfully dedicated to her preceptor Māghanandi-muni, as an act of śāstra-dāna, providing āgama texts, one of the six essential duties of an householder. Though further details about Mallikabbe and her spouse Śāntisena-rāja are still lacking, yet it can be safely said that Mallikabbe, perhaps on the guidance of Devamati, did this act of greater significance, in the beginning of 12th century. Māghanandi-Siddhānta-Deva was also a senior confrère of Śubhacandra-Siddhānta-Deva, in the Maṇḍali-nāḍ principality.

The copyists of the *Dhavalā* commentaries were also Jains and well-versed in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kannada. They have taken extra care and bestowed keen interest in selecting 'Sītāḷe' the best variety of palm-leaf more flexible and durable, with the maximum length of thirty inches long and 3½ to 4 inches in width. Instead of using 'Kanṭha', an iron style to write on the palm-leaf, the devoted copyists have used a specially prepared ink that would last long for centuries. Miniature paintings on the palm-leaf, wherever possible, is done with extraordinary details and care.

The resplendent Śubhacandra-Siddhāntadeva was a pontiff of Mūlasangha, Desiya-gaṇa, Pustaka-gaccha and a chief pupil of Maladhārideva-yamina. One of the inscriptions of Śravaṇabelagoḷa, where the ascetic expired on 3-8-1123, Friday, has recorded in detail the achievements of Śubhacandradeva in detail, he is praised as a crest-jewel of philosophy, benefactor of the world, destroyer of the pride of the cupid. He was the preceptor of the entire family of the illustrious Gaṅga-rāja, the *Mahā-pracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* the general of Viṣṇuvardhana, the Hoysala king. Gaṅgarāja consecrated the *nisidhi* at Śravaṇabelagoḷa where the seer died; on that occasion Jakkaṇabbe, another disciple of the monk and elder brother's wife and sister-in-law of Gaṅgarāja, also arranged for the worship of Jina. [EC. II (R). No. 135 (117). A.D. 1123. pp. 79-83].

THE BASIC IDEA OF GOD

HARISTYA BHATTACHARYYA

Subjectively speaking, religion is a consciousness, establishing the closest possible relationship between a man and being, transcending that man's ordinary empirical self. Religious beliefs and practices are due to the various attempts to establish that relationship. Although this general statement may be made about all the religions, current or past, in their positive and concrete forms, they have differed from each other more or less widely. Some religions are polytheistic, believing in a number of gods; some, henotheistic, in which one of the gods is given the supreme position, while the others are more or less subordinated to him; Zoroastrianism, in some of its aspects, seems to posit two contending deities; while monotheism admits only one God. As regards the question of the God's creating the universe, the religions do not seem to have been unanimous. Some maintained that God created the universe out of nothing; some held that matter in its ultimacy was independent of God and was only shaped and moulded in definite forms by the creator; others contended that not only matter but time, space and an infinite number of souls had independent realities of their own and that the creator's business was only to build up bodies and environments or requisite circumstances for those psychical beings. It is, however, manifest that creation involves an internal urge in the Creator and as such implies some sort of imperfection in him. Accordingly it is only a finite being that can be a creator in any sense, so that if God be conceived as the supreme Being with infinite perfection, he cannot be supposed to be the Creator of the Universe. As a matter of fact, some of the rational religions maintain that man alone is the creator of his own destiny and dispense with the hypothesis of the world-creator.

Amidst the variednesses of religions, it is certainly difficult to pick out the fundamental features which can be found in all religions. The conception of some sort of God as a being superior to the finite beings is of course the central doctrine in all forms of religion but differences crop up when we look to the positive contents of this idea of God. We have seen how world-creation has not been attributed to God by some religions. Upon a careful survey of all the most basic doctrines connected with the theories of God, it appears that all religions, of whatever age and in whatever stage of development they may be, agree in attributing 'power' to their God or Gods. Even in totemism, a 'totem'

is held sacred, because it is supposed to have the 'power' of protecting the worshipper from evil or of curing his disease; because, in other words, beneficial influences are believed to be exercised upon the worshipper by the 'totem', while it is held to punish the disregard of its sacredness. Similarly, in fetichism; the 'fetich' e.g., a stick or a piece of stone is venerated, because a peculiar 'potency' is attributed to it by reason of some peculiarity in its structure or of its being informed by a powerful spirit or of its being a sign or a representation of a transcending deity. God is thus in all religions, essentially a 'powerful' being. Another fundamental characteristic of the God in all religions is that he has the 'immediate apprehension' of all things. A third similar divine feature is the 'Omniscience' of God, i.e. the fact of his truly knowing all things and phenomena. The last attribute that is ascribed to God in every religion is that he is essentially a being in uninterrupted 'joy'. So, these four, —infinite 'power', infinite 'apprehension', infinite 'knowledge' and infinite 'joy' are the features, attributed to God, in every religion.

The finding that an idea of God with the above-mentioned four attributes, is immanent in all forms of religion leads one to make a guess about the fundamentals of a universal religion i.e., a religion, acceptable to all the religious-minded people. It is that the God of the universal religion, is the God of supreme 'power', of infinite 'apprehension', of 'omniscience' and of unobstructed 'joy'. It is to be noted, however, that while the belief in such a God is traceable in all religions, it would be wrong to hold that this belief is fully rationalised and perfected in all of them, so far as its object is concerned. It may be that people of all ages have an instinctive belief in some form of Divinity with its four aspects, as indicated above; but this intuition must be held in the process of continuous rationalisation throughout the course of the religious history of a people. In the course of evolution, the native religious predisposition is supplemented by the intellectualism of the people, so that they come to develop a more and more perfected idea of God and his four features. Often-times, a religious hero who is much in advance of the ordinary people and who is variously regarded as a 'Messiah', a 'Prophet', a 'Seer' or 'God's own begotten', gives a more comprehensive and rational account of God. Sometimes, thinkers again apply their intelligence to the problem and arrive at a more perfect conception of God. But whether the religious idea is developed in the former manner by the teachings of a 'Revealer', i.e., the so-called 'founder' of the religion or amplified by the speculations of philosophers, there is always that original basis or intuitive propensity for the religious attitude which underlies the later belief, based upon argumentation or the faith founded upon the instructions of the 'Teacher'.

The extremists of the evolutionist school do not admit the above innate religious tendency in man to believe in a God and try to prove that man began with a clean mind, clear of all religious pre-dispositions. But, however, much down in the mentality of primitive people we go, we always come across a groping there towards an 'indefinite' beyond the presentations of the senses, a leaving towards a 'being beyond', a 'more-than-I' – 'this 'indefinite being beyond' this 'more-the-I', being held as fit for being venerated, awed, believed in and depended upon. Accordingly, the genetic or the so-called scientific theory about the evolution of religion should not be unmindful of the intuitive basis. In fact, the intuition-theory and the evolution-theory have both their importance and usefulness in the history of religious progress. Evolution does not mean continuous and successive new creations out of nothing; it always implies a development or amplification of what already is, – may be, as potentiality or implicit possibility; evolution thus signifies a constitutive permanent element and a contingent element of change as well. The instinct-theory of religion – in however vague a manner it may do, – affirms that man has a native sense of the divinity with its four attributes. The business of the evolution school to show how the history of a religion has been continuously bringing out the inner and the real significance of that intuitive idea of God.

“Religion is intimately wrapped up”, says W. Wallace, “with the tillage of the fields the pasture of the flocks, the rules and modes of wed-lock, the customs of the market, with sanitary rules, with the treatment of disease”. In fact, the religious position of a man is connected with his whole psychical nature more or less intimately and is in this respect distinguishable from a particular theory of his, regarding, say, a particular physical or chemical phenomena. The religious consciousness is immediate and involves a commanding persuasion; in the words of Schilling, it means, “What is at once heroism, faith, fidelity to yourself and to God, – a trust and confidence in the divine which excludes or abolishes all choice”. This signifies that one’s religion or theory of God is essentially a conviction, – not merely a credulity nor even a critical knowledge of facts but rather a realisation of a law, in which he lives, acts, and has his being. This inseparable connection between god-consciousness and the consciousness of one’s own essential nature explains the best results we have of the rationalisation of a religion or of the original primitive notion of God. Kant’s critical researches led him to find out that some of the most essential matters of life, for their solution in accordance with the principle of practical reason, pointed to a regulative law, underlying and unifying them and that this law was identifiable with

God, who is thus in a very real sense immanent in the spiritual nature of man. God is no doubt conceived in most religions as an external being "Something beyond the cloud, some one beyond nature, the Great One who breaks the law and works his will for his own." "There is no denial also that this transcendent God with some of the primitive people is identified with the Law-giver, the priest, prophet of the Seer. But with the progress of the process of rationalisation, all this came only to mean that God is more than the perishing individual, a reality, greater than ones empirical self. Religion in the process of rationalisation is thus a progress from the objective to the subjective consciousness of God, the former, characterising generally the primitive and the less advanced outlook and the latter representing the more advanced, "finding the voice of God mainly in the inner shrine of the heart" (E. Caird). So far as the God-consciousness was concerned, the school of Schlimacher did away with all dualism between Verstand and Kernnuffi, the gulf between the pure and the practical reasons and found in the essential emotional nature of man, the explanation of the religious sense.

For the discovery of the true grounds of religious consciousness and for the matter of that, of the true nature of God in his aforesaid four-fold aspects, we are thus led to fall back upon the true nature of man. Now, undeniably man is a social being, he feels that there are other beings who are essentially like him; that, in other words, there are spiritual realities other than but similar to him. Even the primitive man has the sense that he is not religious by himself, that his God is not exclusively his, that he has not the liberty to choose his own God, nor the exclusive claim to enjoy his blessings alone. The nature of man is thus inseparably related to that of others like him. If then rationalisation requires that God is to be sought in the nature of man, there are apparent psychological reasons for an individual's looking upon his community as something divine. The State, for example, was looked upon as Divinity by some peoples and for similar reasons the religious Brotherhood, the Church, was recognised as God by most of the social religions. The most pronounced and unambiguous form of acceptance of a collection of man as the sole Divinity is that introduced by Auguste Comte in which the supreme God is identified with Humanity, whose worship is to be performed by an organised priesthood and Church through an elaborate system of rituals.

While it may be admitted that all rationalised religions must be based on a recognition of the other realities, separate from, yet similar to the individual, it is never right to obliterate the individual and fix upon the 'other element' as the sole real Divinity. For, the 'other

consciousness' is not the whole of one's consciousness; if a person has the apprehension in him, of persons other than him, he has also the consciousness of himself as an indubitable direct reality. This consciousness of the individual self as the primary reality asserts itself in a prominent manner in the religious theories and practices of a people. It is surmised that the practice of Sacrifice as a religious act was due to a sense of union or communion between a group of men and their Deity manifesting itself in the social banquet in which all the members of the community took their part. Sacrifice was thus due to the religious consciousness in its social aspect. But, on the other hand, the practice of Magic also in some form can be traced in all primitive religions. Magic consisted in attempts to interpret the past, to foretell the future, to cure diseases, to remove evils, to bring about health and prosperity and so on. It was believed that the powers of the magician to do these acts were due to his acquisition of some sort of control over nature. These powers were the magician's own individual attainments and were exercised by him alone through mysterious formulas and acts. The magical acts, it has been surmised by some, were not wholly fanciful acts but some of them at least were certainly due to the magician's careful observation of some natural phenomena. Whatever that might have been Magic, as distinguished from Sacrifice, consisted in setting up an individual's strictly private relation to the divine powers of nature and in divinising the individual man, so to say, in some manner. Comte's religion of Humanity had few adherents outside France; and Huxley characterised it as 'Chatholicism minus Christianity'. Humanity as a whole or a collective body has only a notional reality and the attribution to it of the four-fold divine features of power, apprehension, omniscience and blessedness can only be figurative. The individuals are real and each one of them can be accepted as the God. The fact of there being a number of individuals having similar natures may determine the nature of an individual in certain manners but this does not invest the totality of the community with any real living reality or negate the reality of the individual altogether. Comte's God was thus an unreal abstraction and could not accordingly command the heart-felt veneration of any truly religious-minded people. Another serious defect from which the so-called religion of Humanity suffers was that it identified divinity with the ordinary experimental nature of man, Comte was right in finding his only God in the nature of man but erred in holding that a man or a collection of men as finite beings and subject to all the ills, infirmities, misfortunes and limitations of a worldly life could nevertheless be regarded as God. God in a rationalised religion is certainly man, —or for the matter of that, any being having the principles of life and consciousness in

him; but divinity attaches, not to the ephemeral and the transitory aspect of the creatures nature but to what is eternal and fundamental in it.

A word of caution is necessary again when recognising the divinity in the essential nature of man, an ordinary animal suffering from the vicissitudes of the ordinary life, is not God; it is only his pure nature to which divinity can be attributed; and in this sense, it is but natural to look upon the high souled beings, – the super-ordinary persons who by their self-culture and self-development have realised their pure selves, as divine beings. This is done in most of the positive religions and is justifiable. But this would not warrant one to confine Godhood within the limited number of the prophets or messiahs of those religions. We must, on the other hand, recognise that every living being is essentially pure and has the capacity of fully developing its own nature. We must recognise, in other words, that every conscious creature is a God in potentiality and that when thus developed to perfection, this potential God in a living being appears in its true light, i.e., as a full-fledged God with his four-fold attributes.

The basic idea of God in all religions is thus one in which he is characterised by the four-fold features of infinite 'power', infinite 'apprehension', infinite 'knowledge' and infinite 'joy'. This fundamental God-idea when rationalised is found to be attributable not to any external transcendent being, but to the essential nature of every living being. The central feature in a conceivable universal religion is thus the recognition of the fundamental nature of all conscious beings, high or low, as divine.

It would be interesting to see how Jainism which is ordinarily dubbed as atheistic, fully recognises divinity of a rationalised religion, as described above. God in Jainism is not an outside being, creating the world. Divinity is to be attributed to the nature of man, as suggested by the Comtian school; but unlike Comte, Jainism refuses to recognise God in the empirical man; it holds that man and, for the matter of that, – every animal is a divine potentiality, so that when perfected and fully developed, this potentiality is realised as the true God with the four-fold glories of infinite Power, Knowledge, Apprehension and Joy, – '*Ananta-catuṣṭaya*' as they are called by the Jainas.

ESSENTIALS OF JAINA METAPHYSICS AND EPISTEMOLOGY

HARI MOHAN BHATTACHARYA

The contributions of the Jaina mind to Indian Culture are at once immense and outstanding. The Jain literature and Art, Religion and Ethics, Science and Metaphysics, Logic and Epistemology still pose indeed an alluring problem for explores of whom there have been a few in India and still fewer abroad. Among the continental scholars of Jainism, Professors Jacobi, Schubring and Winternitz deserve the high honour of pioneers in the field. Drs. S. C. Vidyabhusan, P.L. Vaidya and A.N. Upadhyaya are perhaps among the top-ranking Jain scholars of India. Deplorable and disappointing laments are repeated to this day, and there is no knowing if these laments will be silenced as to the neglect and apathy towards Jaina Culture, in spite of the fact that there is no dearth of finance among the Jainas, nor any dearth of scholars still in India who might take up the task of exploration of the buried treasures of Jaina Culture. What is really wanting is the warmth and enthusiasm among its votaries.

I indulge from my readers, however, for brevity of my treatment of this comprehensive subject due to the limits within which I must have to keep myself for a comparatively elaborate treatment bringing out the rich and manifold implications of the subject I would like to refer my readers to my book "Jaina Logic and Epistemology" published by the Calcutta University.

1. Metaphysical portion of the Jaina. Jaina metaphysic is dualistic or rather pluralistic Realism. The entire existence, according to the Jaina, is divided into two hemispheres, of Alokākāśa and the Lokākāśa. The Alokākāśa is peopled by the *siddhas* or *Arhans* who have attained mokṣa and who are thus beyond the sphere of metaphysical and logical speculation. Lokākāśa is the abode of the *Saṃsārins* who have to philosophise about its contents and have to formulate their conceptions as to the Being and knowledge of these contents and thus we have metaphysic and Logic of the Jainas. The Alokākāśa or the Supramundane sphere being transcendental and a logical in character, all philosophy, metaphysic and Logic necessarily limited to the contents and their knowledge that obtain within the lokākāśa or the world of human experience.

The contents of the world of our experience are divided into Jīvas and Ajīvas, souls and non-souls. The souls are *svaparakāṣa*, self-luminous, and *svasamvedana*, self-knowing or self-conscious. The non-souls are *jaḍa aprakāṣa* or unconscious. The souls are independent of one another and are a plurality, and so are non-souls a plurality. Both the souls and non-souls are self-existent reals. They are not created or evolved by any higher being called God. Jaina metaphysic is thus dualistic or rather pluralistic Realism. Each and every one of these reals, conscious or unconscious is never static or immobile, but is always *pariṇāmī* or evolvent. But nevertheless in spite of its constant change or *pariṇāma* it keeps up its stability or character as an identical substance in and through its changes or *pariṇāmas*. It is thus a *pariṇāma nitya* as Umāsvātī puts it, *utpāda-vyaya-dhṛauvya-yuktam sat*. The sat or real is characterized by *utpāda* or origin and *vyaya* or annihilation. It does not originate out of nothing, nor does it lose its identity of substance in this annihilation, but it always has the third characteristic of *dhṛauvya* or stability, for otherwise it will forego its character as a *sat* or real. Changes or *pariṇāmas* are indeed going on in its life, but in the midst of its changes it retains its identity through its character as *dhṛauvya*, permanence or stability. The *guṇas* or qualities and *pariyāyas* or modifications that originate and are annihilated are replenished so as not to lose its character as *sat* or real by its *dhṛauvya* aspect. The Jaina metaphysic is thus distinctly realistic. Now the souls are conscious, and the non-souls are unconscious, one having nothing in common with the other. Here, as in all forms of Realism, explanation of knowledge, of how the soul knows the non-soul is a problem. Descartes dualistic realism in Western philosophy has offered Interactionism to explain knowledge by the mind of matter on physiological ground of a hypothetical pineal gland, and we all know how the flimsiness of this explanation has led his followers to introduce divine agency, Spinoza having recourse to 900 as Absolute substance whose parallel attributes are mind and matter consciousness and coleism and heibriz to his hypothesis of pre-established Harmony whereby God, or Master-minded who is the sufficient reason for effecting the harmony or knowledge relation between the two otherwise unrelated entities of mind and matter. This intervention of divine agency in explaining the problem of knowledge is evidently a mere sueterfuge, and has come down to us as a pseudo explanation of the relation between mind and matter in which all knowledge consists, and has been criticised as *deus ex machina* explanations of the knowledge problem. Hegel in order to get out of this untrasse has reduced mind and matter to a common spiritual determination by showing that both mind and matter have their origin

from the *One Absolute* spirit a God, and their difference is only a form of duality and not a rigid insoluble dualism. Thus the legacy of Dualism left by Descartes in modern Western Philosophy was reduced to Absolute Monism by Hegel who claimed monistic explanation of the relation between mind and matter which alone, he thinks, is the proper explanation of knowledge.

But the Jaina with all candour and freedom of thought, bases his findings on the headrock of commonsense and experience which should not be behind and flouted by any speculative bias and sows the problem of knowledge as it presents itself to his mind as something crystal clear from experience (*pratīti-siddha*). As I have understood the Jaina position, he has evinced a unique departure of thought in his explanation of knowledge consistently with his dualism between *Jīva* and *Ajīva*, soul and non-soul. From the very native of *pariṇāmitva* of both soul and non-soul, the non-soul modifies itself into the *pariyāya* of *being known*, and the soul modifies itself into the *pariyāya* of *knowing*. This *pariṇāma* of the soul and the non-soul is, according to the Jaina, gives us the real explanation of knowledge of matter by the mind, of the non-soul by the soul. The *aparīṇāmī* or static real, conscious or unconscious cannot afford us the *paricchitti* or knowledge which results only from the nature *pariṇāms*, evolution or change in the ever evolving *pariyāyas* of the soul and the non-soul. The dualism of Descartes and his followers in Western philosophy could not be solved because of their static view of mind and matter which were diametrically opposed to each other. We notice here that this *Evolutionary Realism* of the Jaina is indeed a unique explanation of knowledge within the frameworks of dualistic metaphysics which presented a stumbling block to the European thinkers. Hegel's nominalistic Idealism reduces matter to mind against the palpable difference of mind and matter revealed in experience, *pratīti*, and thus offends against common sense and experience. Bertrand Russell's reduction of mind to a feeling of organisation is opposite offence against realism which he himself profess, and unknowingly glides into the materialism of a worse type. The Jaina true to his dualistic metaphysics offers a better explanation of the knowledge-problem keeping himself within the bounds of common sense and experience when he thinks that mind and matter, or in his language, soul and non-soul enter into knowledge-relation, by evolving into the *pariyāya* of knowing and *pariyāya* of 'being known' respectively.

2. Another unique contribution of the Jaina is his outstanding solution of the relation between the soul to its knowledge. *Jñāna* or knowledge is to him, in a relation of identity the essence with the soul.

Kundakundācārya, who is, perhaps, the oldest of the Jaina epistemologists and stands as a link between the canonical and later classical ways of thinking, remarks in his *Pravacanasāra*; 'jo jānādi so ṇāṇam;' he who knows is knowledge. He means to say that knowledge to be of real significance must be regarded as identical in essence with the soul, which in knowing only modifies itself into knowledge; there is no separation possible of any kind between the knower and its knowledge, the soul which is *pariṇāmī* cannot be regarded as something different from its *pariṇāma*. *Knowledge as pariṇāma is the soul knowing.*

Now this may be said to be the keynote in solving the problem of knowledge as such, which we find has baffled the Naiyāyika, and the Mimāṃsaka who have taken the separatist view of the relation between the soul and its knowledge, the Advaitist who has taken a dubious view and the Buddhists in general who have denied one of the relation viz. mind as a reality which ought to enter into the knowledge relation. To the Naiyāyika knowledge is not the essential but an additional quality of the soul as a static reality to which knowledge comes and goes according to the presence or absence of the collection of the conditions (*karāṇasāmagri*) of knowledge and he goes to the extreme of supposing that since knowledge is the source of *karma* and therefore of all sin, it should better be eliminated to attain mokṣa which is thus the swimming back of the soul unto the Mimāṃsaka fares no better in explaining the relation of knowledge to the soul when he described it as an *avasthā* or state that comes and goes just like the *kuṇḍalāvasthā* or the *ārjavāvasthā* in the body of a snake in its own character. The Advaitist errs, the Jaina thinks, in so far as in the Advaita theory the soul which is free from all activity and process, knowledge is not due to the soul but only to the *antaḥ karaṇa vṛttis* which have in themselves nothing like the character of illumination of its object for the *antaḥkaraṇa*, though an internal sense is not better than the outer sense which is *jaḍa* or unilluminating in reality. The Advaitist tries to save himself from this difficulty by his supposition of the soul as *sākṣī* or transcendental witness to all intellectual activities. But the point remains that as a witness it cannot lend its illumining character to knowledge of objects nor is his position improved by calling to his aid the principle of *adhyāsa* the empirical application of the transcendental power of *Avidyā* which rules the realm of empirical knowledge, when he declares *anatmatatnopacarat*. The admittedly *anātmatva* of the *antaḥkaraṇa* changed into anything of the *ātmā* by mere magic of *Adhyāsa* and as such the *antaḥkaraṇa jīva* by nature, really fails to account for the illumination or knowledge of objects. Here also we notice the same inefficiency to explain knowledge owing to his failure to see that knowledge is always by the soul and occurs in the soul if it

occurs anywhere as its own modification and knowledge shares in the illumining character of the soul of which it is a modification. As the Jaina repeatedly tells us that knowledge is soul in knowing. So in so far as the Jaina insists that soul and in an intimate and in separable relation to each other, and that knowledge is both self-revealing and also revealing its object as a *pariṇāma* or evolution of the self-luminous soul he...clears of the difficulties of the separatist view or dubious view of the other Indian systems of thought as noted above, and thus seems to have struck the keynote of the proper relation that should subsist between the soul and its knowledge.

Apart from the above mentioned fundamental problem of Logic, the Jaina has contributed many others which bring to the forefront their dialectical acumen in contrast with those of the orthodox logical thinkers of contemporary India and these together make up that glorious history of Indian dialectical thought which any country may feel proud of.

3. In the sphere of systemic logic Siddhasena Divākara's contributions seem to be the most outstanding. His *Nyāyāvatāra* and *Sammattitarka Prakaraṇa* reveal the height of logical thought and still stand unparalleled. Compelled as we are to confine our statements within certain limits we would do well to mention only a few of their outstanding logical and epistemological contributions to the dialectical thought of India. The Jaina divides *Pramāṇa* or valid knowledge into *Pratyakṣa* and *Parokṣa*: *Pratyakṣa* with the Jaina is that form of direct valid knowledge which marks itself out from the *pratyakṣa* of the orthodox Indian systems by the very fact that it underlines their common concept of *Indriya Sannikarṣa* or constant of the senses with the object of perception. The Jaina with his fundamental stand that all *Pramāṇa* is constituted by *Svaparaḥasi Jñāna* points out that it is a knowledge whose character is that it always illumines itself and its other, the object, it does not require any element which is other than conscious. The senses and the object in perceptual knowledge being *jaḍa* came to have any direct determining part to play in the art of perception, though they may have a secondary roles in the completion of such knowledge. Mānikyanandī tells us that *pratyakṣam* is *Viśadam* as apposed to *Parokṣam* which is *aviśadam*. Its character of *Vaiśadīem* consists in its distinctness and clearness due to immediacy. Immediacy to him means its independence of any other condition. All the varieties of *parokṣa*, such as *samarāṇa anumāna* and *Pratyaviṣṭāna*, lack this independence to ensure its validity depending, as they all do, upon some other factors which enter into them for their validity. This contention in their distinction between *Pratyakṣa* and *Parokṣa* which

the Jaina carries out in a marvellously novel fashion at once brings out their important departure from the stereotyped orthodox way of treatment of the same problem. The inquisitive reader would do well to refer for this problem to the outstanding discussions given by Siddhasena, Abhayadeva Sūri and Hemacandra, embodied in my work "Jaina Logic and Epistemology."

In his treatment of the problem of *Anumāna*, the logical agreement of the Jaina appears in a bold relief. The *vyāpti* or Avinabhava, as the Jaina more often calls it, is the inseparable relation between the Hetu and Sādhyā, familiar with the orthodox thinkers. But the Jaina recognises the same relation to include within its compass the part played by the *Pakṣa* and he reviews the entire situation of inferential knowledge and insists that the *vyāpti* to be a really effective instrument for inference cannot afford to ignore the *Pakṣa* which is also inseparably related to the *vyāpti*, the veritable logical basis of inference, and thus anticipates in a remarkable manner the nineteenth century logical savant of the West, namely Hegel, who, in his 'Principles of Logic' Part II has made it clear that the minor term in a syllogism has no less to contribute to the completion of the relation, than the major and the middle, which the fuller understanding of the syllogism rests. I must mention in this connection that *ūha* or *tarka*, which has been by passed by the orthodox writers, has been discussed with meticulous case by the Jaina who by his well-reasoned arguments has shown that *ūha* or *tarka* is the real means of knowledge, whereby *vyāpti* or *avinabhava* or inseparable relation between the *hetu* and the *sādhyā* has to be reached. It is indeed a treat to go through the Jaina argument here for eliminating, according to other *pramāṇas*, the *Vaiśeṣika*, contention that the knowledge of *vyāpti* is in the last analysis, the result of *pratyakṣa* of the positive and negative instances and the *Naiyāyika* position that the knowledge of *vyāpti* is obtained by the combined acts of *pratyakṣa* and *Tarka* and his conclusion is that *ūha* or *tarka* is an independent *pramāṇa* whose content is the knowledge of *vyāpti* on which *anumāna* rests (cf. *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā* of Hemacandra, Sūtra-5 ch II).

Anekāntavāda and Saptabhangī Naya

Without going further into other details of Jaina metaphysics logical contributions we would do well to satisfy ourselves with the most outstanding Jaina doctrine of *Anekāntavāda* and its logical deduction of *Saptabhangī-naya*, the theory of sevenfold predication which distinguishes Jaina philosophy from that of the other Indian systems of thought. Nay, it may be said to be the unique contribution to world

philosophy. As already indicated in the beginning of our paper, the Jaina is a professed realist depending upon the deliverances of common sense and experience. Experience reveals that a real is manifold in its facets or characters which it is impossible for experience to exhaust. So he begins by pointing out that it would be wrong to view the real absolutely in terms of one characteristic. The immediate target of his attack is on the one hand the Advaitist absolutism of the one spiritual real the *ātman*, static and immutable in essence and on the other absolute phenomenalism of the Buddhist to whom change is the only reality. Each of these angles of thought is an *Ekānta* or one extreme, and thus fails of its purpose of delivering us the truly concrete real which is neither purely static and immutable nor is pure change without the background of the changeless. The Jaina goes even deeper into the question and avers that the real may be regarded from one stand point as existent and from another, as non-existent, that we may...the real as conditions and circumstance under which we view it and the Jaina has given us these conditions and circumstances which are four in number, viz. the substance (*dravya*) of the real, its state (*bhāva*), the time (*kāla*) and the space (*deśa*) in which it exists. From each of these conditions and circumstances the same real will be regarded as existent and will be regarded as non-existent from the condition and circumstances other than the given one. Similarly the Jaina will regard the real as *sāmānya* or the universal from one standpoint and *viśeṣa* or particular from another standpoint, it will be regarded as *nitya* or eternal from one standpoint and *anitya* or non-eternal from another. In one of word the Jaina is Chary of committing himself to one-sidedness in his view the real, for the real for sooth, is *aneka-dharmātmaka* or manifold in character. The Jaina contends, very much in the same spirit as the modern realist and pragmatist that in spite of the privative or relative character of the specific concepts or judgments, the Vedantist, the Sankhyist, the Nyāya-vaīśeṣika thinkers and the Buddhists have each in his own way taken specific concepts or judgements, to represent the whole or absolute truth and have been led to the supposition that because a thing has one definable character it cannot have any other, that the formal principle of Identity or of contradiction has invulnerable rigidity alike in the realms of thought and things. An unbiased examination of facts, however, reveals the contrary. Each object of our experience to a home of apparently contradictory characters, a harbour of opposites which are governed not by the principle of contradiction, but only by principle of *contrarictety* rendering them predicable of the reality under alternative conditions. Hence the Jaina directs it dialectic still against what William James calls "Vicious Intellectualism or "Abstractionism", as exhibited by each

of the Advaitist, the Sankhya, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, and the Buddhist in so far as each of them uses concepts *privately*. L.S. confines them to one or other specific aspects of the concrete reality which is finitely rich (*Aneka-dharmātmaka*). To express the Jaina stand point in the language of Prof. Perry, the American Realist, is "The world may be truly conceived as permanent and unified since it is such in a certain respect : But this should not lead us, as it has led certain intellectualists, to suppose that the world is therefore not changing and plural. We must not identify our world with one conception of it. In its concrete richness it leads itself to many conceptions. And the same is true of the least thing in the world. It has many aspects, none of which is exhaustive of it. It may be taken in many relations and orders and be given different houses accordingly" (Prof. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies* p. 228). The Jaina has pointed out that any particular judgment confining us to any one particular aspect of the reality, such as pure *sat* or existent, *nitya* or eternal, *dravya* or Substance, pure *pariyāya* or modification, or change, pure *Sāmānya* or universal, *Viśeṣa* or particular, as against the opposite alternative aspect of which it is capable, will be sheer abstraction or *Nayabhāsa* as he calls it. The reality in its proper character is on the other hand is *Aneka-dharmātmaka* or manifold in its character. But a question may be raised, if it is manifold and therefore inexhaustible in our estimate of it, our knowledge of it in its true character is impossible, and we must turn out again.

But the Jaina has guarded us against agnosticism or scepticism as absolutism of knowledge and has pointed to Relativism as the proper attitude to knowledge. He has argued that we can arrive at knowledge of the reality by adopting any one of its manifold aspects and developing what he calls *Saptabhanginaya* out of that one chosen aspect. We can effectively establish this *Saptabhanginaya* or the doctrine of the Sevenfold judgement neither more, nor less, which is the logical and dialectical way of expressing and understanding the nature of reality. Since any one of the seven possible judgements cannot claim to stand for no more than one of the many possible aspects, its relativistic character is best expressed by appending the term *syāt* which means possibly and hence the Jaina has designated his doctrine of Truth and Reality and their expression by the significant term *Syādvāda*. The underlying implication of *Syādvāda* apparently is that Reality is not unknown and unknowable, is not unifold, but manifold, it is not a unity, but a plurality, that but that plural and manifold reality is best knowable in terms of the sevenfold judgment, *saptabhanginaya*.

An orientation of the Jaina position from the stand point of modern life reveals that it is at once a check to Agnosticism and nihilism and offers the doctrine of alternative truths in the sphere of thinking, and thus claims the credit of having resolved the present day conflict of ideologies the source of hatred and war that threatens the very existence of man and his civilization and culture.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN JAINISM IN KARNATAKA

KAMALA HAMPANA

While dealing with a subject of the status of women in Jainism, I have not attempted to analyse their position by taking the source material from primordial canonical texts. Since such attempts are made earlier, confining myself to Karaṇāṭaka, I have selected only historical characters, who prominently figure in the inscriptions and record their achievements. After a sample survey of selective and representative inscriptions of different periods and different areas, the following points are observed :

1. Normally equality of opportunity was not denied to women, both in social and religious sphere. Jain society is by and large, a patriarchal society with the sole exception of the south Kanara Jains in Karnataka, where the matriarchy was prevalent, i.e., the successor of the family would be the son-in-law, the husband of the daughter. But even in other patriarchal families, women have their legal rights; the unmarried daughters and sisters are entitled for a proportionate share.
2. Female infanticide or neglect of female children is not practised in Jain community; child marriage was most unusual; in spite of the preference to the male child with the usual dictum of *Suputraha Kuladīpakaha*—a good son is the lamp of the family, female child is not discarded.
3. Widowhood was not a taboo to deteriorate the position of women from participating in auspicious occasions. Widows were treated with equal status and respect and they were not tonsured or asked to wear yellow cloth.
4. The ethical discipline or the lay doctrines prescribed such as the Vratas—the aṇuvratas, guṇa vratas, sikhā-vratas are the same for both male and female. Administering of sallekhanā also follows a common methodology.
5. The custom of the *sati* was never encouraged, self-immolation is forbidden. Out of thousands of Jain inscriptions, there are only two exceptional cases of Jain women resorting to the act of *sati*, to burn one-self with the husband's corpse. Guṇḍamabbe, own sister and co-wife of Attimabbe, followed the pyre of her

husband Nāgadeva in the year of about 980 A.D. But the author Ranna, poet-laureate, who has recorded the incident, refers to the lady who preferred to live and boldly face life as a *mahā-sati*, lady of greater virtue, thereby suggesting that nobler is she who survives to serve more. Therefore the poet Ranna (C.E. 993) does not subscribe to the custom of *sati*. another incident of Jain women observing the act of *sati* comes from the period of Vijayanagara [EC. V111 (BLR) Sorab 104, 106, 134 : A.D. 1354].

6. Poet Pampa (A.D. 941) appears to have endorsed the idea of the spouses dying together simultaneously, but it does not suggest that he subscribes to the custom of *sati*.
7. Proper education was accorded to women on par with the male. Ṛṣbhadev, the first Tirthankara, had set in ideal model to the society by himself educating Brāhmī and Sundarī, his daughters in paleography and mathematics. Jain women stand next to Parsee, Jew and Christian women in the extent of literacy.
8. Kumārapāla, king of Gujarat with proper advice of Hemacandra-Ācārya, one of the greatest of Jain monks, unconditionally agreed to repeal the law of annexing the property of families to the state where there are no male issues. A similar position prevailed in Karnataka where from the beginning no royal dynasty ever thought of superseding the property of families without male issues.
9. Even though polygamy is extolled, monogamy was the practice more prevalent in Jain society.
10. The adept Jinasena has narrated the story of Sulocanā who chose her partner Jayakumāra alias Meghasena in the *svayamvara* [Ādipurāṇam : canto 43, śloka 310-25]. However the freedom of choosing the spouse did not become popular, but it is not forbidden.
11. a. Though intercaste marriage is not barred, generally it is not encouraged. There are instances of such marriages recorded in the medieval inscriptions. Śāntaladevī, crownqueen of Viṣṇuvardhana, Hoysaḷa king was an ardent Jain, whereas her husband was a proselytized Vaiṣṇava.
- b. Mācīkabbe, mother of the renowned queen consort Śāntaladevī, was a Jain and her husband Mārasīngayya was a devotee of Śiva.

- c. Candramouḷi, a minister of Hoysaḷa kingdom, was a Śaiva and his wife Ācāḷadevī was a Jain, she also has built a Jain temple at Śravaṇabelagoḷa like Śāntaladevī.
- d. Nāga-gāvunḍi, a Śaivite and head of Māheśvaragaṇa, was the consort of Sinda-gāvunḍa of Viragrāma, a bee at the lotus feet of Jinendra; the couple unanimously decided to grant endowments to god Siddheśvara.
12. There are a few more instances of similar nature. In such families peace and happiness prevailed, and in matters of religion or rituals, women had all freedom to worship the god of her choice, is something commendable. The inscriptions of Śravaṇabelagoḷa and Shimoga endorse the success of such inter-caste marriages [Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 11 (revised). Nos. 161, 162, 173, 174, 176 and 444, 571; EC. Vol. VII-1 (BLR) Shimoga. No. 39.A.D.1122].
13. Women were the safe custodians of art, architecture, culture and religion. Hundreds of charters have recorded the instances of construction and renovation of *Basadis*, and liberal grants extended to their perpetual maintainace caused by women.
14. Jain women were trained in performing arts like dance and music and they were allowed to give public performances if they so like it. Bācaladevī, a consort of Bhujabala-Gaṅga-Permmāḍidevī, a king of Maṅḍali-nāḍ-Thousand, was an expert dancer and muscian who was rewarded with the grant of a village for her excellent performance [EC. VII-1 (BLR) Shimoga, No. 97. A.D. 1113]. Śāntaladevī, senior queen consort of Viṣṇuvardhana, the renowned Hoysaḷa king, was considered the goddess of learning personified. It is believed that she was the figure dancer and a model for the bracket figures of the Belūr temple.
15. Jain women were never afraid of the inevitable death. They faced it so boldly that they had the courage to submit on their own and galdly accept the vow of sallehaṇā. Inscriptions have vividly described the instances of women who are sobre in the hours of final submission. The percentage of women is slightly higher than men in accepting the rite of sallekhanā.
16. The Upāsikās (Śrāvikās) lady votaries strictly adhered to the four types of charities prescribed for the housesholder; the friars and nuns were happily served the food, the destitute had a sigh of relief, the deceased could get timely medicine and religious

minded had the desired text including the precious *Dhavalā-ṭika* with them-thanks to the philanthropic Jain women. Thus charity was a synonym for Jain woman. The priority for the charity is their own choice. Palm-leaf manuscripts of Jaina classics were made available because of the Jain women who took initiative to get them copied whenever required.

17. Religion was their main plank and they were inspired by the ideals set by the great masters : to cause temples, to build tanks, dig wells, construct feeding houses and erect the *mānasthambhas*, Jain pillars of eminence.
18. Jain women of royal families were also trained in the art of war and horse riding; they were allowed to wage war. There are instances of Jain women leading the army to the battlefield and even crushing a heavy defeat on enemy. Attimabbe (A.D. 980) had successfully overcome the hostile army; Sāviabbe (A.D. 970) fought bravely against the formidable opponent, riding on her trained horse flourishing a sword. Rani Abbakkadevi had defeated the Portuguese armada and Jain women also efficiently ruled the kingdom or principality; they were county sheriffs. RāṇiCennabhairādevī ruled her kingdom as the only woman Mahā-Maṇḍaleśvarī in Karnataka [A.D.. 1542-69]. Jakkiyabbe (A.D. 870-918) was known for her bravery and she was the official head of a group of villages in Nāgara Khaṇḍa-70.
19. The contribution of Jain women to the cultural heritage of Karnataka is substantial and remarkable both in quality and quantity. In brief, Jainism has given greater attention and freedom to women. Illustrations of some Jain women recorded in inscriptions are given below :

1. Nāl-gāvunḍi Jakkiyabbe (A.D. 870-918)

During the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannara-Deva-II alias Kriṣṇa (878-914) and Indra-III (914-29), Kaliviṭṭarasa, a mahā-sāmanta, a governor entitled to the pañca-mahāśabda, the five big drums or the five great musical instruments (a horn, a tabor, a conch-shell, a kettle-drum and a gong) of far spreading sound, was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000 principality. He was of the Kāl-kadevaysara-anvaya, clan. Sattara-Nāgārjuna, a sub-ordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, holding the office of Nāl-gāvunḍa of the Nāgara khaṇḍa-seventy, while fighting the hostile under the orders of Kaliviṭṭarasa, his immediate officer, died in the war. Kriṣṇa-II, the king, favourable considering the valour and

loyalty of Nāgārjuna, gave the grade of Nālgāvunḍike to Jakkiyabbe, spouse of the deceased.

When Jakkiyabbe was holding the office of Nālgāvunḍa, Nandavura Kaliga was holding the office of Perggade to Kodangeyūr-seventy and the three hundred granted Avutavūr to Jakkiyabbe as promised. Jakkiyabbe, in giving away the dues of the Nālgāvunḍa in Avutaūr to Jakkiyabbe an account of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa – seventy, granted four mattal of rice-land, in Jakkili for the temple.

Jakkiyabbe had possessed the best *prabhuśakti*, skill in ability for good government, *jinendra-śāsana-bhakte*, faithful to the Nirgrantha creed. She was rejoicing in her beauty. She was protecting well the principality of Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70, though a woman. She was known for her heroic bravery.

When everything was going on well in her favour, bodily disease having made inroads, Jakkiyabbe decided that the joy of every day worldly life was vapid. She responded to the code of conduct prescribed in the Jaina scripture for the lay votaries that one should face the inevitable death with all willingness. She had *nīḥ-pratikāra-rujā*, a terminal illness from which death was imminent, one of the four situations in which *sallekhanā* can be performed. Hence Jakkiyabbe allowed no time to relax or waste; she sent words for her *priyātmaje*, dear daughter. Making over to her daughter all the legitimate property she owned, Jakkiyabbe freed herself from the entanglement of the chain of desire. She abdicated everything, left her home, reached the Bandaṇike, a pilgrimage centre of Jainism. She entered the temple with fixed devotion, approached the pontiff and prayed to administer her the vow of *sallekhanā*. She performed the vow and abandoned her mortals in meditation in the year A.D. 918.

It so happened that the office of the Nālgāvunḍike chief of a district, of Nāgarakhaṇḍa-seventy, the district comprising seventy towns, was continued to be held by the members of the Jakkiyabbe family for another four generations uninterrupted. Sattara-Nāgārjuna's great grand son was named after him as Sattara-Nāgārjunayya. Sattara was the family name, sattaras were genealogically related to the Sāntaras of Sāntaḷige-thousand, also a Jain dynasty. Sattara-Nāgārjunayya was ruling Nāgarakhaṇḍa-seventy during the reign of Jayasimha (1015-42), the Kalyāṇa Cālukya emperor. Manneya Nāgavarma, son of Sattara-Nāgārjunayya, while fighting the enemy was severely wounded on the battlefield and gained the world of gods. The genealogy of Jakkiyabbe continued to maintain the status of the dynasty.

2. Sāvīyabbe-the warrior (C. 980 A.D.)

A memorial stone of about tenth century, near the Bāhubali temple on the small hill also called Candragiri at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, though the latter portion of it is damaged, has registered an historically important episode. It has brilliantly captured the intrepidity of a Jaina lady.

Sāvīyabbe accompanied her husband to the battlefield and fell fighting by his side. The incident seems to have been taken place at Bagiyūr in about C.E. 980. It is very interesting to note that the undated inscription recording the incident has also the sculpture representing Sāvīyabbe riding on a horse and flourishing a sword, with a man, apparently aiming at her with some weapon held at the level of his waist is sitting on an elephant opposite to Sāvīyabbe.

The incomplete and partially erased charter successfully portrays the necessary facts about the life of Sāvīyabbe and her parents Bāyika and Jābayye. Bāyika, a warrior of eminence, had faithfully followed his master in his war operations and thus had spread his fame. Māduvara and Doyilamma were the two elder brothers of Sāvīyabbe alias Sāyibbe.

Lokavidyādhara alias Udaya-vidyādhara, son of Dhora, was the husband of Sāvīyabbe. Evidently Vidyādhara, as the very name suggests, was a scion of Ganga dynasty. Vidyādhara is a common and acclaimed name and a title of the Gangas. Vidyādhara, one of the great-grand-sons of Būtagua-II and the only son of Arumuḷideva-Gāvabbarasi, had the name of Rājāditya alias Lokavidyādhara.

However, the epigraph under discussion has registered the attainments of Sāvīyabbe who became celebrated in the world as an abode of wisdom and a collection of *dharma*. Are there any women who can be compared with her and with Sitā? When it is said that the world-renowned Loka-vidyādhara, son of Dhora, liberal to the learned, was her husband, can any other person be compared with her in glory? Know ye, that in the *śrāvaka-dharma*, duties of lay persons, Sāvīyabbe was the celebrated Śrāvakī, lay woman, Revati herself, there being no other to compare with her, in wifely conduct Sitā herself, in beauty Devakī herself, in greatness Arundhati herself, in pure devotion to Jinendra, *Jinaśāsanadevatā*, the goddess attendant on Jina herself.

The incognito author of the epigraph, in a frame of a small Campūkāvya, a poem with an admixture of prose and verse, with four *kāṇḍas* and one *utpalamāla* verses (there are two more verses in the

mutilated portion but not easily traceable), has portrayed the picture of a brave lady celebrity who was also known for her other virtues. This post-mortem memorial stone stands as an excellent testimonial of this illustrious devout lady lay votary (*śrāvaki*).

Scholars are of the opinion that the illustrious polyhistor poet Ranna, while staying with his patron and friend Cāmuṇḍarāya who caused the monolith colossus of Gommaṭa at Śavaṇabeḷagoḷa, has authored this inscription. According to the opinion of Hampa Nagarajiah, a research scholar, that Ranna started to *drive a quill* with this inscription in C.E. 980, and bid farewell to his magic wand by composing the Lakkuṇḍi inscription in C.E. 1007, both the writings being on the life sketch of pious and brave ladies of tenth century Kaṇṇāṭaka.

3. Pātra-Jagadale Bācaladevī (C. 1113. A.D)

The celebrated Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara Tribhuvanamalla-Bhujabala-Gaṅga-Permmāḍideva (C.E. 1103-18) was ruling the Maṇḍali-Thousand Kingdom in peace and wisdom; Edehalli was his capital, Ganga-Mahādevī was his crown queen. He had four sons known for their valour and who were ornaments of Gaṅgakula. Bācaladevī the King's other half and a prominent personality was a cream of Maṇḍali-nāḍ culture. She was to her King consort, a lady of wealth (*Śrī-vadhū*), victory (*Jaya-vadhū*), celebrity (*Kīrti-Śrī-vadhū*) and wisdom (*Vāg-vadhū*) personified, and a nonpareil to the spouses of other Kings. Among the sanghas the best is the *Mūla-sangha* and in it is the *Desiga-gaṇa* is the chief; Bācaladevī was a lady votary of Desiga-gaṇa. Bācaladevī ardently practised the four gifts of learning (*Śāstra-dāna*), food (*āhāra-dāna*), medicine (*bhaiṣajya*) and shelter (*abhaya*), as a part of the four duties of a lay woman (*Caturvidha-Śrāvikā-dharma*). Whatever she had legitimately inherited in cash and kind, Bācaladevī, happily distributed it to the needy and the deserved and subjected her human body to the severe religious rituals of vows (restraint). With her charitable disposition and other meritorious accomplishments Bācaladevī was a match to Attimabbe's proverbial bounteousness. Only such titles behove Bācaladevī as *dāna-kalpaje*, a legendary tree of heaven which grants all wishes, *dāna-vinode*, deserving pleasure in giving gifts asked for, *dāna-cintāmaṇi*, a gem yielding everything wanted by its possessor, *catur-vidyā-vindoe* deriving pleasure in the four fold learning, *Saubhāgya Śacidevī*, the prosperous Indrāṇi *Varadānagaṇa-bhūṣaṇe* adorned with great virtue of munificence, *Kasturikāmode* delectable like musk. Bācaladevī was idolised as the protector of the Nirgrantha church. Her head with its dark blue long hair was *sacro sanct* with the

sprinkle of hallowed water of God Jina's ablution. Her graceful gait is comparable only to the dignified elephant's walk.

Bācaladevī, a woman of renown, did not confine herself to the four walls of seraglio. A fortune's darling, a patron of goddess of speech ('the muse'), Bācaladevī encouraged art, architecture, religion and culture. She had earned nonpareil distinction in performing art. So versatile in the art of dancing was Bācaladevī that she had the immaculate fame of competing with the professional expert court dancers of Indra, the chief of gods, without any exertion at all.

The prowess of the Maṇḍali-Thousand King Bhujabali-Gaṅga-Permmāḍideva was such that the hostile rival kings were made to surrender and prostrate. Though the king had conquered the strong rulers by his might, Bācaladevī had conquered him by her talent and graceful coquetry. The way in which she captivated her husband was like a *nāṭaka*, a play. Pleased with her excellent dance performance, he gave her the befitting cognomen of *pātra-jagadale* 'chief of the world of dancers'.

Bācaladevī was also an adroit singer. She continued to glitter with unsullied fame in the field of vocal music that she effortlessly vanquished the opposite group of singers. Overjoyed with her genius, the Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara Bhujabala-Gaṅga, with his queen consort Ganga-Mahādevī, granted the town Bannikere to Bācaladevī and confirmed its enjoyment to the third generation. Her father was an officer appointed by the king to perform domestic and ceremonial duties of the palace. She was a female bee at the lotus feet of the Jina, the spiritual victor. She was dedicated to enhance the glory of her religion, so was her elder brother Bāhubali, who had earned name and fame as a devout Jaina. The patronisation of Bācaladevī to the cause of Jainism reached its apogee in the construction of a temple. Taking council with her brother Bāhubali, she caused a *Caityālaya* which was *par-excellence* to desiga-gaṇa and the Maṇḍali—Thousand. Looking at the best of *Caityālayas* a resonance of exclamation found a vent : 'a similar Jinabhavana neither existed in the past nor is seen now or will be found in future, in the heaven or in the Nāgaloka, the nether world'. Thus the construction of *Jina-Pārśvadeva Jinālaya* at Bannikere was praised as an extraordinary feat, not within the reach of ordinary persons; the *basadi* was an ornament of the Maṇḍali-nāḍ. In the ocean-girdled world, celebrated is Gangavāḍi-nāḍ, in it is the distinguished Maṇḍali-nāḍ, to which as the face Bannikere was its nose, blessing everyone was its Lord Pārśvanātha. For that holy God in the year C.E. 1113, the king Bhujabala-Gaṅga Permmāḍideva, his crown queen

Gaᅅga-Mahādevī, in the presence of *nāᅇ-prabhus*, county sheriffs, made a grant, free of all imposts, of Budanagare, certain lands in Bannikere, a garden, two oil-mills, and certain customs-dues in both those towns. Grants were also given to the stone mason Kāᅇoja and for the dancing girls. The donee was the preceptor of Bācaladevī, the chief of Mūla-saᅅgha, a Desiga-gaᅅa, Śubhacandra-deva munipa, a disciple of Maladhārideva-*yamina*, an ascetic. For the decorations of the god, Erekaᅅᅅam, Lokkiguᅅᅇi-prabhu, also granted one and a half *Lokki-gadyāᅅa*, a particular variety of gold coin minted at Lokkiguᅅᅇi, the place of Aᅅᅅigadeva, son of Attimabbe, to increase by interest some land. Benediction : Let the earth grow in plenty without any fib, the king Bhujabala-Gaᅅga stretch his kingdom with his strong shoulders and let Jainism flourish perpetually as long as sun, moon, and stars endure. The author of the inscription seems to have possessed the title of *Budhābja-vana-kala-haᅅsa*, a swan of art in the lotus pond of scholars.

The above grants and the presence of the king, queen, all the four princes, the *nāᅇ-prabhus* and ministers go to confirm the great influence of the towering personality of Bācaladevī, who rose to the status of queen from being born in the family of a county sheriff, by the virtues of her wisdom, genius and physical beauty [EC. VII-I. (OLD) Shimoga No. 97. C.E. 1113. Alahally. pp. 106-08]. The glory of this Bannikere did not stop at this, it made a further headway and an unforgettable landmark in the annals of Nirgrantha creed.

The Pārśvadevālaya of Bannikere very soon attracted the *bhavyas*, devotees from far and wide. The Pārśvajinālaya was a nerve centre of religious activities and Bannikere expanded as a Jaina settlement. The Jaina-Maᅅha to which the *basadi* was attached was flourishing; the chief abbatial monk of the diocese of Bannikere was the illustrious Śubhacandradeva-munipa who had the cognomen of a *Siddhānta-ratnākara* an ocean of the dogmas of Jainism. He was impeccable and the only head jewel of the noble religion in the world. Śubhacandradeva was a disciple of Maladhārideva-Yaminah, a dot-less moon to the ocean of Desiga-gaᅅa.

When the Pārśva Jinamandira of bannikere marched ahead alluring the votaries from different places, every *Caityālaya* would invariably be equipped with Śrutabhāᅅᅇāra, library of religious literature with canonical texts, The newly built Pārśvadevālaya of Bannikere was immediately in need of *Siddhānta-granthas*, in particular the *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā ᅇikās* and the primordial texts of Nirgrantha creed. The adept Śubhacandradeva himself a *Siddhānta-ratnākara*, well-

versed in canonical knowledge, wanted to teach his pupil. It was a rare co-incidence of providence that, during the same period of C.E. 1113, Rati-Deviyakka, an illustrious lady votary of ascetic Śubhacandradeva, had camped at Bannikere *basadi* for concluding her religious observance of *Śruta-pañcamī Vrata*. She learnt the immediate necessity of Dhavalā-Tikās and instantaneously made the required arrangement; forthwith came the skilled copyists and swung into action at once. Thanks to the timely action of the philanthropist and pious lady Deviyakka, a copy of the Virasena-ācāryas *Dhavalā-tīkā* was made available not only to her revered pontiff Śubhacandra-Siddhāntadeva but to the whole world, because that is the one and only copy available to this day.

Therefore, Bācaladevī, by causing a remarkable Jain temple at Bannikere, has helped the preservation of *āgama* traditional knowledge. However, to-day the Jina-Pārśva temple at Bannikere does not exist. Nevertheless Bācaladevī has carved a place in the niche of fame as a custodian of Jaina āgamas for having laid the foundation of creating a conductive atmosphere.

4. Poetess Jakkalāmbā (C. 1170-1212 A.D.)

During the region of the major dynasties, some minor dynasties also flourished; The Sānantaras of Cikka-Māgaḍi was one such. They ruled, as a tributary dynasty, from C.E. 902 to 1256, for three hundred and fifty years, as a part of Nāgarakhaṇḍa-seventy kampaṇa, with their residence at Cikka-Māgaḍi, now a village in Śikāripura taluk of Shimoga District in Karnataka. The Cikka-Māgaḍi dynasty originated from Aṇḍuvaṃśa and ruled as tributary family under Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Hoyasaḷas. They were strict and ardent followers of Jainism and facilitated the spread of their creed.

When Vira-Ballaḷadeva, the Hoysaḷa King was ruling, Cikka-Māgaḍi was a flourishing Nirgrantha centre, with splendored temples of Śāntinātha and a *Ratna traya-basadi*. Of the many lay votaries of the four-fold Jaina congregation, Jakkavve was an outstanding *upāsikā*. Her mother was Laccavva, a *śrāvikā*, her father Mudda, an ornament of vassals an *upāsaka*, her husband *vrūṭana* (novel) Bharata a renowned *śramaṇopāsaka*, her preceptor in penance Anantakīrti-munipa, a Jaina monk, her sister, Mallavve-gāvunḍi, an *upāsikā*.

Jakkalāmbā had other nomens; Jakkavve, Jakkiakka, Jakkāmbikā, Jakku-Mahāsatī. These aliases suggest the popularity she was enjoying.

Jakkalāmbā has carved a niche in the annals of the womanhood

and in the history of Kannada literature. She lived an immortal life, full of challenges, of agony, of virtue and sacrifice. Jakkāmbikā, an ideal model for men and women alike by courageously facing the adversity. The individuality of Jakkalāmba found its vent in two fields, in the sphere of literature and in the domain of religion, both as complimentary to each other.

Jakkalāmbā [C. 1170-1212] was an authoress, perhaps, the only Jaina woman writer so far known for certain. Kanti, supposed to be the first Jaina and Kannada poetess and a contemporary of Nāgacandra, (C.E. 1046-1100), a court-poet of Cālukyās of Kalyāṇa and an author of two classics, is a mysterious character; the riddles attributed to her wisdom appear to be apocryphal of later origin. A poem, composed in *tripadī*, three-footed verses, called *Candanāmbikeya-Kathe* has come to light; it is a work of a Jaina poetess, an *incognito* authoress of fifteenth century. However Jakkalāmbā, the first known authoress, had a pseudonym also; 'Srimati' was her *nom de plume*. She had authored a poem called *Guṇāṅkamāle-carite* and unfortunately the work is not extant.

The *Guṇāṅkamāle-carite* of Jakkalāmbā had earned good reputation in the early thirteenth century. So prominent was the poetess Jakkalāmbā alias *Srimati*, her pen name, that Rāghavāṅka, a contemporary poet of distinction has mentioned her name (*Srimati*) in one of his verses of *Somanātha-carite* (c. 1225 A.D.). Nemasara, a later poet (c. 17th-18th cent.) respectfully mentions the name of *Srimathi* in his work *Lobahadatta-carite* along with the names of Pampa, Ponna, Ranna, Nāgacandra, Nemicandra and Janna, the luminaries of Kannada *literati*. After a careful scrutiny, the congregation of eminent scholars praised *Guṇāṅkamāle-carite* as a 'Suprabandha', a fine long poem composed by Jakkale; her fame reached the walls of all eight directions; now she reached the world of gods to continue to drive a quill; thus she bequeathed a great name [EC. VII-I (BLR) Sk. No. 196. c.e. 1212 p. 284] – is the opinion of her contemporary literary circle, as recorded in the epigraph. The above charter refers to the nature and form of Jakkalāmbā. *Jakkalāmbā's* poem as *prabandha*, which means evidently a *campū-kāvya*; Pampa himself and many authors of name in Kannada and Telugu have described their *campū* works as *prabandhas*. Hence we can safely conclude that *Guṇāṅkamāle-carite* the work of *Srimati* alias Jakkalāmbā, a *campū-poem* of greater merit.

Later half of Jakkalāmbā's life was on the wane; she and the members of her family were tortured by the religious fanatics; the innocent were butchered during daylight for nefarious ends, the friars

and nuns were beheaded, the holy places of worship were spoiled. It was a struggle of ascetic unarmed, *persona* of ancient provenance, against the armed militants. Jakkalāmbā, a woman of the world conceived her vexation. Jakkalāmbā after introversion preferred an honourable death to unholy life. She approached her religious teacher in the *Ratna-traya-basadi*, who, upon her request, administered the vow of *sallekhanā* properly thinning out the passions and the body.

Jakkale had her life, character and 22 titles composed in poetry, such as to gain the approval of the learned; having it inscribed before hand so as to reach all points of the compass, saying – ‘I will now take it to the heaven and have it inscribed among the gods’, the *mahā-sati* Jakkale ascended the *svarga*.

This excellent charter written in Kannada script contains in all 111 lines, composed both in Kannada and Sanskrit languages; lines from number 30 to 53 and 78 to 84 are in Sanskrit and the rest are in Kannada. This *nisidhi*, a post mortem memorial stone in honour of Jakkale, is a piece of good poem containing ten verses in Mattebhavikrīdita and campaka-māla metres, gives a graphic description of her devotion to god, dedication to her faith and the tranquility at the time of her death.

Jakkalāmbā had dispelled *mithyātva*, incorrect view of reality by consuming *Jina-Vākyāmṛta*’ the ambrosia of the teachings of the spiritual victor, her mind had the stamp of *darśana-samsuddhata*, the true spiritual insight; she knew that the profane does not belong to her, she made her heart a lotus seat to install the Jina – thus Jakkāmbikā discarded the transmigratic human body of karmic matter and her eternal soul smoothly reached the *samavasaraṇa*, the holy assembly of the Arhat, to worship the victorious.

Jakkave, through imbibing the nector of Jina’s teaching, the divine voice (*divya-dhwani*), having given up the false impressions of the mind, and being filled with desire to attain to the purity set forth in the doctrine. Having given up all, saying – ‘not so much as a grain is mine’, and thinking on her god, came to a decision. Thus placing herself at the lotus feet of Jina, fixing her eyes on the tip of her nose, and listening to the words of the *āgama*, scripture, the canonical literature with ears and eyes having completed *sanyāsana*, by the rite of *samādhi*, ritual death by fasting, Jakkale attained to the company of heaven.

Repeating the same description as above, recorded in the Sanskrit verse, the epigraphist puts it more graphically in the Kannada verse: while deeply immersed in meditation, Jakkāmbikā fixed her vision on

the lotus feet of Jina; her ears listening nothing but the chanting from the holy scripture; her lips moving only to utter *pañca-pada*, the reverent salutation to the five holy beings. Thus she had all her five senses concentrated on contemplation. She had no ill will against anybody; adopted the prescribed posture of reclining; by thought, word and deed she had lost all terrestrial interests of love or hatred to her kith and kin. Who on earth will not praise Jakkalāmbā, the best among womankind ?

Those who were present to see the mortals of Jakkāmbikā consigned to the fire said in one voice: At present, Bharata-kṣetra, our earth, is in *avasarpīṇī*, a state of regressive half-cycle with the cessation of the realm of enjoyment (*bhoga-bhūmi*) and the extremely unhappy period (*pañca-makāla* or *atidussama*); but the birth of the best of womanhood like Jakkalāmbā, the progressive period (*ut-sarpīṇī*) will increase step by step. Like the river washing the dirt with its flow, Jakkale, the chaste woman washed off the bondages and the creeper of her immaculate fame spread in all directions.

Mallavve-gāvuṇḍi, younger sister of Jakkale also followed the foot prints of her elder sister and accepted the rite of *sallekhanā*. Seeing the fate of both of his daughters, Muddaiah, the worthy father and a *sāmanta*, a governor, also preferred death while in meditation and willingly surrendered to the inevitable death.

The incognito author of the inscription, evidently a Jain by faith, is well-versed in the art of poesy and connoisseur in Kannada and Sanskrit languages.

5. Rāṇi-Cennabhairādevī (C.E. 1532-69)

During the reign of Sadāśivarāya, perhaps, Cennabhairā-devī, one of the greatest of women rulers of India, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*-Amma, the boon daughter (*Vara-Kūmari*) of Bhairādevi-Amma and a grand daughter of Virā-devī, deserves in extenso introduction. She ruled the principality of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-rājya (a Sanskritized form of this Kannada place name being Sangītapura) as an able administrator for more than two and a half decades. Though there are instances of some queens ruling major or minor kingdoms, they are the examples of either ruling for a very brief period or for the interregnum period. But as an exception Rāṇi ('the queen') Cenna-bhairādevī-Amma successfully controlled the affairs of the state; Cenna means pleasing, *Bhairādevi* is a cognomen of goddess Padmāvati, *Amma* means mother, but the word is also used as a term of respect while addressing a woman and it is added as a

suffix for the personal names of women; thus *Rāṇi-cenna-bhairā-devī-Amma* the very nomen has a special significance.

Cennabhairā devī is the only woman who was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*; since the noun is a masculine form, there is nothing wrong in using the corresponding feminine form, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī*; but somehow Chennabhairā-devī is described as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. Whatever be that, she was simultaneously ruling over Gerasoppa olim Nagire (also known as kṣemapura, Bhallātakipura), Hāḍuvaḷḷi (Skt. Sangītapura), Bhaṭakaḷa, Honnāvara (Skt. Suvarṇapurī), Bārakūr and other minor kingdoms. Jeṭṭināyaka was her minister and Viranāyaka her *senāpati*. Mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī Cennabhairādevī-Amma had her main residence at Sangītapura olim Hāḍuvaḷḷi. She was a niece of Devarasa-Oḍeya alias Kriṣṇadevanṛpati, a predecessor of Gururāya-oḍeya. Cennabhairādevī-Amma alias Cennādevī Amma succeeded to the throne after Gururāya-Oḍeya.

The queen Cennabhairādevī had to face a number of challenges both from outside and from within. At the very beginning of her reign, the Portugese captain of Goa laid seige to Bhaṭakaḷa, one of the vital centres of her kingdom. He burnt Bhaṭakaḷa, marched on the palace when Eṅkappa-nāyaka bravely stopped the enemies at the gates and fell fighting. The queen survived to rule unperturbed. Cennādevī-Amma reigned efficiently and long enough to have witnessed the fall of Vijayanagara empire (A.D. 1565).

Cennabhairava-Mahādevī, the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, was an ardent devotee of Nirgrantha creed. She was the first woman ruler and the last ruler of the line of Hāḍuvaḷḷi-dynasty. When the able queen was ruling, her kingdom was the scene of hectic Jaina religious activities and housed within its bounds *basadis* dedicated to *Tirthaṅkaras* and *śāsana-devatās* (the *yakṣa-yakṣīs*). She extended her patronage to her faith, exquisite monasteries were caused, the friars and nuns were highly respected. Thus Jainism rose to greater heights and it was the religion of the large section of the people.

Under her able reign the kingdom prospered by leaps and bounds, social and economic conditions improved. She was exporting black-pepper to foreign countries including Europe. The Portugese had nicknamed her as *karti-meṇasīna-rāṇi*, 'queen of black-pepper'. Foreign travellers of sixteenth century and the historians have praised her valour, efficiency, wisdom and virtues.

Of the Jain temples at Gerasoppa *Hire-basadi* ('senior-temple') olim Pārśvanātha *basadi*, Neminātha *basadi* olim Mūḍe-*basadi*,

Vardhamāna-*basadi*, Pārśvanātha-*basadi* and half a dozen completely ruined *basadis* speak of the past glory. The best of all temples is the *caturmukha-basadi*, a magnificent piece of art and architecture. Built on a terrace of 20' high, in the star shape, in the centre of the above temple are the grand images of four Tīrthaṅkaras seated back to back in *paryaṅkāsana* posture. The *basadi* has doors on all the four sides. Rāṇi Cenna-bhairādevī-Amma was a liberal patron of architecture.

A kingdom which was an important Jaina settlement, after the fall of the queen mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī Cennabhairādevī-Amma, wore a look of deserted capital, and the ruins are the mute witness of the glory that is no more.

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