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BHAGAVAN MAHAVIRA : HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINES

K.C. LALWANI

In the six century B.C., when human society has reached its 'adolescence' and men's minds were astir 'from Athens to the Pacific', a large number of religious reformers and spiritual leaders appeared in different parts of the world. Bhagavan Mahavira, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jainas, was one of them.

It will be wrong to suggest that Mahavira was the founder of Jainism, since according to tradition, there were 23 more Tirthankaras before him, each appearing with a time gap of a few centuries from his predecessor, and of these, the 23rd, Arhat Parsva, has been identified by historians as a prince from Varanasi, and the 22nd, Arhat Aristanemi, happened to be the cousin of Bhagavan Kṛṣṇa. The first Tirthankara, Rsabha, a prince from Ayodhya, had been noticed in the early *Vedas* (*Rig Veda* X. 166). He gave the religion of the Jinas with its root deep in antiquity.

Bihar is the cradle of Jainism, though its founder, Rsabha, was born at Ayodhya, 22 out of 24 Tirthankaras, including Bhagavan Mahavira were born in Bihar and achieved *nirvāṇa* in that State, 20 of them passing away on the Parsvanath Hills in Bihar, traditionally called Sammata Sikhara. Strictly speaking, this region was outside the pale of Aryan expansion, the traditional 'Middle Country' and was ruled by the Vratya Ksatriyas, who were the believers of the *Vratas* or Vows. It is no wonder then that all the early rulers of Rajagrha, and later at Pataliputra, till the appearance of the Guptas, belonged to one or other form of Sramana religion, which in the post-Mahavira period acquired the name of Jainism. Even Buddhism was a form of Sramana religion.

History

It has been the fancy of Indo-Aryan writers of Indian history to present both Mahavira and the Buddha as the two most successful and illustrious leaders of the 'reaction' against the rituals and sacrifices of the Brahmanical religion. It is far from true and it is necessary to

recognise that the Sramana and Brahmana currents of religion were independent and mutually exclusive of, and had nothing to do with, each other. Had they been leaders of 'reaction' their antagonism to the religion of the *Vedas* would have found vent in some form or other and would have been recorded in their literatures. But nowhere in the *Jaina Agamas* or the Buddhist *Tripitakas* does one come across any mention of the Vedic religion, still less any rancorous or malicious expression against it. This should establish that neither Jainism nor Buddhism was a 'reaction', but both emerged and existed in their own rights. Once this fact is recognised, the entire outlook of Indian history gains a new perspective.

Mahavira and Buddha

Western scholars identified Jainism from Buddhist sources in which Mahavira has been called Nigantha Nataputta (Nirgrantha Jnataputra) and his followers Niganthas. Some have gone to the extent of calling Mahavira and the Buddha the same persons, and Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism. "From all credible testimony..... it is impossible to avoid the inference that the Jainas are a sect of a comparatively recent institution who came into power and patronage about the 8th and 9th centuries, they probably existed before that as a division of the Bauddhas." (*Works of Wilson*, 1861, Vol. I, p. 334). Thanks to the researches of two German scholars Hermann Jacobi and George Buehler, Jainism is no longer considered to be a mere offshoot of Buddhism, but an independent and earlier system. Jacobi wrote : ".....As it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both the creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the Nirgranthas were not a newly founded sect of the Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the *Pitakas*, too."

In the sixth century B.C. there were 363 rival schools of Sramana religion in Bihar centering round nine fundamentals (*nava tattva*) which differed from one another in matters of minor details. More important of these were *Kriyāvāda*, *Ajñānavāda*, *Vinayavāda*, and *Cāturyāma* religion of Parsva. It is a part of the spiritual mission of a Tirthankara to counteract all rival schools within the fold of his religion and effect a unification of the church, which Mahavira did. Of these 363 schools the one that proved the most formidable was the Ajivaka sect headed by one Gosalaka who was fatalist and believed in human life to be a thing determined rather than itself being the determinant of things.

The Jaina texts have noticed the rivalry of this man at several places. As to the absorption of the remnants of the order of Parsva into that of Mahavira, there are on record many occasions when the

monks of the earlier order met those of Mahavira's order, discussed their differences, and being convinced that Mahavira was the leading light for the new age, joined his order. A new light was indeed emerging at the same time from Gautama Buddha who was a junior contemporary of Mahavira, and even though the Buddhists were immensely 'interested' in the followers of Nigantha Nataputta, the reverse was not the case. To quote, "I have not yet come across a distinct mention of the Baudhdhas in any of the old Jain *Sūtras*." (Jacobi). The most significant fact is that even though Mahavira and the Buddha were contemporaries for many years and lived and moved in the same part of India at times residing in the same city, the two never met.

Vaisali Confederacy

The line to which Mahavira belonged was identified by Western scholars from the Buddhist texts in which he has been called 'Nataputta'. As Buehler wrote, "The discovery of the real name of the founder of the Jainas belongs to Prof. Jacobi and myself. The form 'Jnataputra' occurs in Jaina and north Indian Buddhist books, in Pali it is 'Nataputta' and in Jaina Prakrit 'Nayaputta'." (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 143) This establishes beyond doubt that Mahavira was born in the Jnatr clan of the Vajjis who were the rulers at Vaisali and was well-connected from his parents side. According to Rhys Davids and Cunningham the Vajjis to whom the Jnatrs belonged were a large confederacy which had within its fold at least eight clans (*aṭṭhakulas*), of which the Videhans, Licchavis, the Jnatrs and the Vajjis proper were the foremost. The Videhans had their capital in Mithila, but a section of them might have settled in Vaisali, and Mahavira's mother, sister of king Cetaka of the Haihaya dynasty, and the head of the Confederacy, probably belonged to this section. The Jnatrs had their seat at Kundapura or Kundagrama and Kollaga, both suburbs of Vaisali which has been identified with Besarh (to the east of Gandak) in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. This city was also the seat of the entire confederacy. People were called 'inner Vesalian' or 'outer Vesalian' according to their residence in the city proper or in the suburbs, and by this criterion, Mahavira was an outer Vesalian.

Kalpa Sūtra by Bhadrabahu which is the traditional source on the life of Mahavira, who is supposed to have been in 599 B.C. and initially named Vardhamana is an event-free record of his life in which his birth is narrated at some length, followed by his exit being not a response to any challenge, as it happened in the case of Gautama Buddha, but in fulfilment of a mission, his attainment of the supreme knowledge at 42 and ultimately his *nirvāṇa* at 72. The only important

event noticed in the *Kalpa Sūtra* is that immediately after Mahavira's *nirvāṇa*, 18 princes who were present there declared : "The light of intellect is gone; let us light earthen lamps." The hardships undergone by Mahavira as a monk, his differences with other schools of Sramana religion and unification of the remnants of the church of Parsva with that of Mahavira have been described at length in some of the older canonical texts. The myth about his life on which contemporary biographies of Mahavira are based must have developed long after his *nirvāṇa* by people who had never seen and known him personally. The Digambara sources on Mahavira's life, *Ādipurāṇa* and *Uttarapurāṇa*, were produced in the medieval period and were to a large extent based on myth.

Although we do not have details about the first 30 years of his life at the palace, it is certain that for the greater part of it he lived like a prince. This did not prevent his final exit. As a boy, he was endowed with a strong and graceful body, was fearless, courageous and intelligent and was by nature serious and grave. He desired to quit the palace at 28 but deferred it by a couple of years at the request of his elder brother. Thereafter he started his career as a monk with the motto 'all sinful acts become unworthy of my indulgence', and this part of his life lasted 12 years during which he visited different parts of the country, including 'non-Aryan' Radha and Singhabhumi and Vajjabhumi in West Bengal and underwent severe hardships. In the 13th year enlightenment came to him. This made him Mahavira or the Great Hero. As an omniscient personality, he lived for 30 years fulfilling his spiritual mission and inspiring and setting people on the road to liberation. If we are to believe in the account of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the Church of Mahavira included within its fold several thousand persons outstanding in one field or the other. At the age of 72, Mahavira passed away in perfect health and while delivering his last sermon, at Madhyama Pava, which it is widely believed to be near Nalanda.

Metaphysics

Metaphysics for which another name is ontology, is devoted to the consideration of real or reals. It has been the unanimous finding of all religions that God is the only real, God transcendental more than God immanent so that everything else is unreal, a mere illusion or falsehood, or a mere manifestation of the will of the real. The Jainas have not viewed reality in this manner. To them, whatever exists is real or reality in existence. This makes the universe as well as life real, because they are eternal, ever-existent and never to end, though they assume and pass through innumerable modes and categories. This subtle doctrine has been expressed by Mahavira in three words : *utpāda-dhrauvya-*

vyaya or genesis-permanence-destruction. This is as much true of the universe of animate as of that of inanimate beings. At any moment these souls are in bondage, with matter, and to regain their pristine purity, right religious endeavour is necessary. This is the sole object of Jaina metaphysics, or, in other words, their analysis of soul and matter is intended to restore liberation of the soul.

In modern terminology a developed personality like Mahavira desired to find a way out for himself, not as an escapist, but as an active performer from the artificialities and complexities of human life and to uphold the same for mankind. It is this that is *nirvāṇa* in Jaina terminology. Mahavira's exit from his father's palace is therefore symbolic; in doing so, he lost himself beyond himself, and by dint of severe spiritual exercises over 12 years, he became the heart and centre of his own transcendence, a virtual God-head.

Five Words

The ethics that Mahavira gave to purify human life is expressed in five words – non-violence, non-falsehood, non-sex, non-theft and non-accumulation. In rigorous form, they are a must for the monks but in a slightly less rigorous form, to make them consistent with worldly duties and responsibilities, they are must for lay followers too, implying thereby that a Jaina is one not because he is born in a Jaina family, but because by faith and practice, he fulfils the prescribed ethics. As an active performer himself, Mahavira prescribed a conscious effort on the part of the human soul to liberate itself from bondage. For this purpose a human being has the necessary equipment, consciousness, intellect, perception, etc. Besides, he has facilities, texts, discussions and discourses so that instead of remaining a tool in the hands of destiny, man may liberate himself totally from it. In other words, the Jainas firmly believe in the English maxim 'man is the architect of his own future'. This not only makes Jaina ethics an ethics of personal as well as social responsibility, but also provides a definite system to the religion.

In doing so, the Jainas have called *ashimsā* as *paramo dharmah*, or the highest religion. When the soul indulges in *himsā*, it deviates, from its right postures and trespasses into triviality. *Ahimsā* in the Jaina view is not compassion, pity or sympathy to one who is lower or inferior in status, position or capacity, but a right to live unmolested. *Ahimsā* thus becomes the great instrument of self-determination to be used and applied, as Gandhiji said, by one who has perfect control over self.¹

1. Reprinted from Jain Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 3. 1984.

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA

YOGENDRA MISHRA

The date of Mahavira, like that of the Buddha, occupies a very important place in ancient Indian chronology; but it has not attracted as much attention of scholars as the date of the Buddha. Indeed after Jarl Charpentier considered the problem in the *Indian Antiquity* of 1914 and the *Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, in 1922, H.C. Seth was the only scholar to take it up seriously in recent times and suggest a new date based on the Buddhist tradition. We intend to suggest here a new date for Mahavira, but it is not completely new in the sense that it is based on the Buddhist tradition. We shall put this date to suitable tests with a view to examining its correctness. These tests will also, however, be based mainly on the Buddhist tradition itself which has rightly come to be regarded as very reliable for ancient Indian history.

Generally speaking, two dates of Mahavira's death hold the field. They are :

(A) 527 B.C. (Hoernle¹, Guerinot²), and

(B) 467 B.C. (Jacobi³, Charpentier⁴).

(A) The date 527 B.C. is based on the tradition recorded by Merutunga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vira and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Buhler⁵ and after him discussed by Jacobi. The English translation of the verses, which is taken from Buhler, is as follows :

1. A.F.R. Hoernle, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, pp. 39ff.
2. Guerinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris 1906, p. VII.
3. H. Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, Leipzig, 1879; introductions to SBE, Vols. 22 (Oxford, 1884) and 45 (Oxford, 1895); 'On Mahavira and His Predecessors', *Indian Antiquity*, 9, 1880, pp. 156ff.
4. J. Charpentier, 'The Date of Mahavira', *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 118-123, 125-133, 167-178; Chapter 6 in *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I (Cambridge, 1922), esp. pp. 155-156.
5. 'Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra ?' in *Ind. Ant.*, 2, pp. 362-363.

“Palaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which *Arhat* and *Tirthankara* Mahavira entered *nirvāna*. (1)

“Sixty are (the years) of king Palaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pusamitta [Pusyamitra]. (2)

“Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhanumitra, forty Nabhovahana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Saka. (3)”

Thus there was a gap of $60 + 155 + 108 + 30 + 60 + 40 + 13 + 4 = 470$ years between the death of Mahavira and the end of Saka rule (i.e., victory of Vikrama).

This date (or 528 B.C. according to those authorities who regard 58 B.C. as the starting point of the Vikrama era) is wholly rejected by Charpentier on the following grounds⁶ :

1. “The Jainas themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahavira and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jaina church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahavira had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful.” (p. 155)
2. “The traditional date of Mahavira’s death on which the Jainas base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.C.; but
 - (a) the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other kingdoms; and
 - (b) some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented.” (p. 15)
3. “Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B.C. it would exclude every possibility of Mahavira having preached his doctrine at the same time as Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C.” (pp. 155-156)

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 155-156. [These points are found in a developed form in *Ind. Ant.* 1914.]

4. "Finally, both Mahavira and Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha whom the Jainas call Kunika, and the Buddhists Ajatasatru; and he began his reign only eight years before Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahavira died in 528 B.C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kunika." (p. 156)

H.C. Raychaudhuri⁷ furnishes some additional arguments for rejecting this date :

1. "In the first place, it is at variance with the testimony of Hemacandra, who places Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* only 155 years before Candragupta Maurya." (p. 85)
2. "Again some Jaina texts place the *nirvāṇa* 470 years before the *birth* of Vikrama and not his *accession*, and as this event, according to the Jainas, did not coincide with the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. attributed to Vikrama, the date 528 B.C. for Mahavira's death can hardly be accepted as representing a unanimous tradition." (p. 85)

If we study the details of the list of kings and dynasties provided by Merutunga, we find the following irregularities as well :

1. The reign-periods of certain dynasties and kings are completely unacceptable, e.g., a total of 155 years has never been allowed to the Nandas by any tradition. With a view to defending the Jaina tradition, it may be argued that possibly the list indicates the reign periods of kings and dynasties who ruled over Ujjain and not Magadha. But even in that case, such a long period for the Nandas cannot be defended.⁸
2. The Great Satrap Nahapana, who is usually identified with Nabhovahana of the tradition, flourished after Vikrama according to competent authorities. Inclusion of such a post-Vikrama figure in this Jaina tradition renders it all the more valueless.

7. Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1950), Part I, Chapter 6 by H.C. Raychaudhuri, esp. pp. 85-86.

8. "Not only is the number of years (155) allotted in the *gathas* to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Palaka, lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Magadha kings looks very suspicious." (Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, p. 8).

3. As is well-known, the story of Vikrama and the end of Saka rule is of much later growth. Kielhorn⁹ long ago proved that the connection of the era commencing 57 B.C. with a king Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of 'Vikrama Samvat' being made in an inscription at Dholpur of Samvat 898=A.D. 842. Hence any tradition which incorporates this story must be used with great caution.

(B) The second date of Mahavira's death, i.e., 467 B.C., is based on a tradition recorded by the great Jaina author Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1172), who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahavira Candragupta became king (*Sthavirāvalīcarita*, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 399). As pointed out by Charpentier¹⁰, who like Cunningham and Max Muller, believes that the Buddha's *nirvāna* took place in 477 B.C. (and not in 487 B.C. as we believe), this date has some good points in its favour :

1. The Buddha (d. 477 B.C.) and Mahavira (d. 467 B.C.) become contemporaries.
2. Ajatasatru becomes the contemporary of both the teachers.
3. This is in keeping with the Jaina tradition of Hemacandra that there was a gap of 155 years between the death of Mahavira and the accession of Candragupta Maurya.

[Be it noted that according to the Jaina tradition the accession of Candragupta Maurya took place in 312 B.C., a date not regarded as correct by scholars for the accession of Candragupta Maurya.]

4. According to the Jaina tradition, the Jaina pontiff Sambhutavijaya died exactly in the year after Candragupta's accession, or 156 after Vira, which may after all perhaps be the very same year as Hemacandra says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*). Bhadrabahu, the successor of Sambhutavijaya, died fifteen years later. All Jaina tradition from Hemacandra downwards gives 170 after Vira as the year of Bhadrabahu's death. This would be 297 B.C., if the date 467 B.C. is accepted for Mahavira's death; and all Jaina tradition also brings Bhadrabahu into the closest connection with Candragupta in whose reign the date 297 B.C. falls.

9. Examination of Questions connected with the Vikrama Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 19, pp. 20-40, 166-187, 354-374; Vol. 20, pp. 124-142, 397-414.

10. *Ind. Ant.* 1014.

5. The *Kalpa Sūtra* was finished 980 years after Mahavira, but in another recension the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old *Chūrni*, refer this date to four different events. One such event is the public recitation of the *Kalpa Sūtra* before king Dhruvasena of Anandapura whose reign lasted from A.D. 526 to A.D. 540. Thus we find a most remarkable coincidence, for $993-467=526$, or just the year King Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhi.
6. The Jaina creed is called in Buddhist literature *cāturāyama*, 'consisting in four restrictions'. But Mahavira enforced five great vows upon his followers. From this Charpentier concludes that Mahavira did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when the Buddha was already out of any connection with him.
7. Bimbisara¹¹ is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajatasatru does not appear so very much there. In the Jaina canon Kunika plays a far more important role in the life of Mahavira. This may point to a later period of Ajatasatru's reign.
8. Although the date 467 B.C. (suggested long ago by Jacobi and strongly supported by Charpentier) has good points in it, it presents two very serious difficulties :

1. Firstly, this "date does not accord with the explicit statement in some of the earliest Buddhist texts that Mahavira predeceased the Buddha." (H.C. Raychaudhuri). Charpentier also knows that this date is "contradicted by a passage in the Buddhist *Dīgha Nikāya*¹² which tells us that *Niganṭha* Nataputta—the name by which the Buddhists denote Mahavira—died before Buddha. This assertion is, however, in contradiction with other contemporaneous statements, and forms" for him "no real obstacle to the assumption of the date 468 B.C." (C.H.I., I, p. 156). He adds that he considers "this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pali canon." (I.A., 1914, p. 177).

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11. See *SBE*, Vol. 50 (Index), p. 99, for the references regarding the Buddha's frequent meetings with Bimbisara.
 12. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 117 sq., 209 sq. Also *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 273 sq. Cf. Chalmers, *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 665-666.

For several reasons it is very difficult to agree with Charpentier :

- (a) The Jaina tradition was collected and reduced to writing much later and hence it is not as reliable as the Buddhist tradition.
- (b) Even the Jaina tradition is not unanimous about the date of Mahavira's death. There are several traditions¹³ about this, which rather shake our belief in them.
- (c) The insertion of Vikrama and the Sakas in the Jaina tradition strengthens our suspicion.
- (d) The Buddhist tradition is more reliable as it was reduced to writing very early. Moreover due to its comparatively more reliability, it has been used in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Hence, there should be no valid objections to its use in determining the date of Mahavira.

2. Secondly, Charpentier's calculation is based on the assumption that the Buddha died in 477 B.C. This date has since been discarded and the date of the Buddha's death has been fixed at 487 B.C. as this is the date arrived at on the basis of the Cantonese tradition, the *Mahāvāṇśa* and the inscriptions of Asoka¹⁴. In order to discredit the tradition of the *Mahāvāṇśa* that Asoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of the Buddha, Charpentier had to take recourse to an utterly untenable argument saying that "the 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhiseka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kalinga or to the first conversion, or to both these events." (*I.A.*, 1914, p. 170).

There are some other theories as well about Mahavira's date which we may notice in passing.

(C) S.N. Pradhan¹⁵ holds the date 480 B.C. (=325+155) or 477 B.C. (=322+155) for the death of Mahavira, accepting Hemacandra who says that Candragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahavira.

(D) "Certain Jaina writers assume an interval of eighteen years between the birth of Vikrama and the foundation of the era attributed to him, and thereby seek to reconcile the Jaina tradition about the

13. Collected in Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 240-243.

14. This has been admirably pointed out by S.N. Pradhan (*ibid.*) and need not be repeated here.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

date of Mahavira's *nirvāṇa* (58+18+470=546 B.C.) with the Ceylonese date of the Great Decease of the Buddha (544 B.C.). But the suggestion can hardly be said to rest on any reliable tradition. Merutunga places the death of the last *Jina* or *Tīrthankara* 470 years before the end of Saka rule and the *victory* and not *birth* of the traditional Vikrama." (H.C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 86).

(E) "Certain Jaina *Sūtras* seem to suggest that Mahavira died about sixteen years after the accession of Ajatasatru and the commencement of his wars with his hostile neighbours. This would place the *nirvāṇa* of the Jaina teacher eight years after the Buddha's death, as, according to the Ceylonese chronicles, the Buddha died eight years after the enthronement of Ajatasatru. The *nirvāṇa* of the *Tīrthankara* would, according to this view, fall in 478 B.C., if we accept the Cantonese reckoning (486 B.C.) as our basis, and in 536 B.C., if we prefer the Ceylonese epoch.

"The date 478 B.C. would almost coincide with that to which the testimony of Hemacandra leads us, and place the accession of Candragupta Maurya in 323 B.C., which cannot be far from truth. But the result in respect of Mahavira himself is at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which make the Buddha survive his Jnatrka rival.

"The Jaina statement that their *Tīrthankara* died some sixteen years after the accession of Kunika (Asatasatru) can be reconciled with the Buddhist tradition about the death of the same teacher before the eighth year of Ajatasatru if we begin their reckoning from the accession on that prince to the viceregal throne of Campa, while the Buddhists make the accession of Ajatasatru to the royal throne of Rajagrha the basis of their calculation." (H.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 86).

(F) In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917, S.V. Venkateswara wrote an article entitled 'The Date of Vardhamana' (pages 122-130) in which he suggested "the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Annada Vikrama era" as the date of the *nirvāṇa* of Vardhamana, "the founder of modern Jainism". His view is based on the *Svapnavasavadattā* of Bhasa wherein the Sanskrit dramatist "introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darsaka's sister in marriage for his own son." (p. 129) The reign of Darsaka as accepted by Venkateswara is 437-413 B.C. Thus Canda Pradyota was alive at the beginning of the reign of Darsaka. Jaina tradition¹⁶ is to the effect that Vardhamana died on the same

16. The *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, ed., by Ramachandra Ghosh (Calcutta, 1880), p. 130.

day as Canda Pradyota of Avanti. Thus “the founder of the Jaina faith must have seen Darsaka’s reign (i.e., 437-413 B.C.), if it be true that both Vardhamana and Canda died about the same time.” (pp. 124-125)

This view can be easily refuted on the basis of what has already been said.

(G) H.C. Seth¹⁷ suggests 488 B.C. as the date of Mahavira’s death on the basis of the Buddhist tradition, assuming 487 B.C. as the date of the Buddha’s death. As he says,

“The great difficulty in accepting 468 B.C. as the date for Mahavira’s *nirvāṇa* will be that it will place Mahavira’s death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that *Nigaṇṭha* Nataputta i.e., Mahavira, died at Pava a little before Buddha.¹⁸ Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition.” (p. 820)

“The traditional chronology of the *Svetāmbara* Sect of the Jainas given in the *Tapagaccha Paṭṭāvalī* and Merutunga’s *Vicāraśreṇī*, which has been made familiar by European scholars like Buhler, Jacobi, and Charpentier, puts Mahavira *nirvāṇa* 470 years before the Vikrama era. (pp. 817-18)

“All the Jaina traditions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavana or Nahapana, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between Mahavira’s *nirvāṇa* and Vikrama+135 of Vikrama’s dynasty+40 of Nahavana) after Mahavira *nirvāṇa*.” (p. 834).

Now his main argument is as follows :

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17. ‘Mahavira *nirvana* and some other important dates in Ancient Indian History’ in *Bharata Kaumadī*, Part II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 817-838. H.C. Seth’s other articles on ancient Indian chronology include : ‘Buddha *nirvana* and other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology’, *Indian Culture*, Vol. 5 (1938-1939), pp. 305-317; ‘Beginning of Chandragupta Maurya’s Reign’, *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress* (1939), p. 371; also republished in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 19 (1940) pp. 17-21; ‘Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions’, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 17, Part III.
18. *Digha Nikaya*, III, pp. 117, 209; and *Majjhima Nikaya*, II, pp. 243ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Samagama, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pava, and that the *Nirgranthas*, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jain traditions also Mahavira died at Pava. (H.C. Seth).

“Nahavana is in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians. the same as Nahapana, the *Mahā-Kṣatrapa* of Ksaharata family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. ...The modern historical researches put Nahapana in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era.... If we take out 40 years of Nahavana from 470 years, the interval given in these traditions between Mahavira *nirvāṇa* and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430+58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahavira *nirvāṇa*. This will place Mahavira’s death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jaina traditions about these two great religious teachers.” (pp. 831-832)

We fully agree with him that whatsoever date we accept, the Buddha and Mahavira must be shown contemporaries; otherwise the date cannot be correct. But we suggest a modification in it :

The Christian year changes in our *Pauṣa*. This may be applicable to B.C. dates as well. If we say that Mahavira died in 488 B.C. and the Buddha died in 487 B.C., seemingly there is a difference of one year between these two events. But really speaking, there is a difference of 6½ months only, because Mahavira died in the month of *Kārtika* in 488 B.C., the year changed in *Pauṣa* and 487 B.C. began from that month and in *Vaiśākha* of the same year (487 B.C.) the Buddha died. From Buddhist literature we know that some time, evidently more than one or two years, passed between the deaths of the two teachers, because it is recorded that the Buddha passed his rainy season (evidently in 488 B.C., at Vaisali. So 488 B.C. as the date of Mahavira’s death will have to be given up and we should see if we can find out a date of Mahavira’s death somewhere near that, which is in keeping with other details.

After a comparison of the details of the lives of the Buddha and Mahavira, especially the places where they spent their rainy seasons, we have come to the conclusion that Mahavira died in 490 B.C. (November) and that he had been born in 561 B.C. (April). He was alive for 71 years and 6½ months. The Buddha was born in 567 B.C. (May) and he died in 487 B.C. (May). He was alive exactly for 80 years.

The point which induced us to try to find out the correct date of Mahavira is this :

In the Buddhist *Tripitāka* literature (*Maj. Nik. II. 3.7*) it is stated in

most unequivocal terms that one particular rainy season was spent at Rajagrha by the Buddha as well as Mahavira and five other heretical teachers. Scholars so far have not paid serious attention to it. Had they done it, they would have been able to find out the correct date of Mahavira. Charpentier also knew this passage and certain other passages of the same type. On page 126 (foot-note 29) of the *Indian Antiquity* for 1914, he says – “The *Majjhima Nikāya* II, p. 2. sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rajagrha at the same time as Buddha. Mahavira spent fourteen of his *varṣas* there according to *Kalpa Sūtra* §122.” But he, too, ignored it. This passage, as a matter of fact, provides us with another means from the Buddhist side (besides the one indicating that Mahavira predeceased the Buddha) to arrive at the correct date of Mahavira.

We proceeded to find out the date of that specific rainy season and consulted the lives of the Buddha and Mahavira, viz., *Buddhacaryā* (in Hindi) by Rahula Sankrityayana (2nd ed., Banaras, 1952) and *Sramaṇa Bhagawān Mahāvira* (in English) by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II (Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951) respectively. According to the former the date of the Buddha is 563 B.C. - 483 B.C. and according to the latter the date of Mahavira is 597 B.C. - 526 B.C. We have, however, followed only the years of the lives of these teachers with regard to particular events and not the dates of these events in terms of B.C. years offered by the two above mentioned writers. We were surprised to see that we could find out the particular rainy season in which both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Rajagrha. This was done in the following way :

In *Buddhacaryā*, which is a systematised collection of the Hindi translation of the selected passages from ancient Buddhist literature, especially *Tripitāka* literature, it is stated (p. 248) that Lord Buddha spent his 17th rainy season (after enlightenment) at Rajagrha; and then follows the Hindi translation of *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, II. 3.7) in which it is said (p. 249) that on that particular occasion both the Buddha and *Nirgrantha* Nataputta spent their rainy season at Rajagrha. Taking 567 B.C. as the date of the birth of the Buddha this comes to 516 B.C.

On the basis of the life of Mahavira written by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya who has closely followed the early traditional literature on the subject we prepared the list of places where Mahavira spent his rainy seasons after leaving his home (with dates). We took 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahavira and found that he spent his rainy season in 516 B.C. at Rajagrha. This was his sixteenth rainy season in his

ascetic life (i.e., after leaving his home which event took place in December of 532 B.C. according to our calculation). In the rainy season of 513 B.C. also both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Rajagrha. So the date 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahavira is able not only to show that the Buddha survived Mahavira but also to make both the teachers spend the same rainy season at Rajagrha. This is highly useful inasmuch as it also confirms the statement in the Buddhist literature and shows that Pali texts are not 'fancy and invention.'

Below we propose to show that if in Buddhist literature the Buddha and Mahavira¹⁹ have been shown as living at the same place at a particular time, we get confirmation from the life of Mahavira, too, about it pointing out that he was actually at the same particular place at that time. As Charpentier also collected, though for a different purpose, some examples of this situation when the Buddha and Mahavira were living at the same place or in the same locality, we shall begin this examination with the passages pointed out by Charpentier. (I.A. 1914, pp. 126-128)

1. "The well-known introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Digh. Nik. I, p. 47 sq.*) telling us how King Ajatasatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccayana, Sanjaya, Belathiputta and *Nigantha* Nataputta to hear their doctrines and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha, may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajatasatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night.²⁰ But the main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the Teachers, Gosala and Nataputta, by comparison with Jaina writings. Moreover, the Jaina writings, e.g., the *Aupapātika Sūtra* 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by King Kuniya or Koniya (Ajatasatru) to Mahavira, and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Digha Nikāya*, there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajatasatru paying visits to Mahavira was quite familiar with Jaina writers." (pp. 126-27)

19. Passages where Nat(h)aputta is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance *Cullavagga* V. 8, 1; *Digh. Nik.*, II p. 150; *Maj. Nik.* I. pp. 198, 250; II, pp. 2 ff; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit *Nirgrantha Jnatiputrah*, e.g., *Divyavadana*, p. 143; *Mahavastu*, I, pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383 (Charpentier, p. 126, f.n.)

20. The visit of Ajatasatru is said in *Digh. Nik.* to have taken place in the full-moon of *Kartika* (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season. (Charpentier)

This visit of Ajatasatru to the Buddha took place in 491 B.C. according to our calculation, because Rahula Sankrityayana put it at 487 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 426) taking 483 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The rainy season of 491 B.C. was passed by the Buddha at Sravasti. This was his 42nd rainy season after enlightenment. So this Buddhist reference means to say that sometime in the last month (i.e. *Kārtika*) of the *cāturmāsya* the Buddha came to Rajagrha. The example of the Buddha's leaving his *cāturmāsya* place on the *Aśvina Pūrṇimā* (the full-moon day of *Aśvina*, *Mahā-pravāraṇā* day) or later is furnished by Sankrityayana on page 82 of his book. [This was the Buddha's 7th rainy season (526 B.C.) which had been passed at *Trayastrimśa*.]

Thus Buddhist literature says that there was a meeting between the Buddha and Ajatasatru at Rajagrha in the full-moon night of *Kārtika*. But what about Mahavira ? Ajatasatru mentions before the Buddha (Sankrityayana, p. 430) that he had been to *Niganṭha* Nataputta as well and had held a discussion.

Coming to Mahavira, as is well-known, he passed his 42nd rainy season (which was his last rainy season) at Madhyama Pava where he died. This, according to our calculation, took place in 490 B.C. From the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, page 658) we know that “*Sramana Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara* during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life.” The date of this rainy season will be 491 B.C.

Thus it was possible for Ajatasatru to meet the Buddha at Rajagrha after having met Mahavira (at Rajagrha).

2. “In *Majjhima Nikāya*, p. 93 sq., Buddha tells his relative, the Sakya prince Mahanaman, of a conversation which he had once had with some *Nirgrantha* ascetics in the neighbourhood of Rajagrha. These disciples of Mahavira praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc.; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahavira as well as Gosala, Buddha as well as Devadatta.” (p. 127)

This story is given in detail by Sankrityayana under ‘*Cūla-dukkhakkhandha Sutta*’ on pages 212-216 and the reference by the Buddha to the *Nirgranthas* of Rajagrha is given on page 214. The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given by Sankrityayana as 514 B.C. which is equivalent to 518 B.C. if we regard 487 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The age of the Buddha is given as 49th year which is equivalent to 519 B.C. (May) to 518 B.C. (May). Thus this event might have happened sometime between May, 519 B.C. and May, 518 B.C.

Now from the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) we know that he passed his 13th rainy season after leaving home (or 1st rainy season after enlightenment) at Rajagrha. The date of this according to our calculation is 519 B.C. (July-October), taking 561 B.C. as the date of Mahavira's birth.

Thus we see that it was possible that sometime in 519 B.C. (either in May-June or July-October) the Buddha contacted at Rajagrha (at Kalasila near Rsigiri) some *Nirgranthas* who told him that *Nigantha* Nataputta was all-knowing. Very possibly, as we have seen above, *Nigantha* Nataputta (Mahavira) was himself residing there in the locality, although the text does not make it necessary.

3. "Moreover, there are other instances in the Pali Canon where Mahavira is praised in the same way by his followers; so

(a) in *Majjhima Nikāya* II, 31, where Sakuludayi in Rajagrha,

(b) *ibid.*, II, 214 sq., where some *Nirgrantha* monks, and

(c) in *Aṅguttara* I, 220, where the Licchavi prince Abhaya, in a conversation with Ananda in Vesali,

eulogize Nataputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nataputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between the Buddhists and the Jainas in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahavira." (p. 127)

Of the three passages above, we have already considered the first one. This is the occasion when both Buddha and Mahavira passed the rainy season at one and the same place i.e., Rajagrha. This event took place in 516 B.C. according to our calculation as shown above. The other two passages are not relevant for our purposes.

4. "The passage in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 1 sq. speaking of the meeting in Vesali²¹ of the General Siha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nataputta has been discussed by Professor Jacobi in *SBE* 45, p. xvi. sq....." (p. 127)

The passage is very important as in this it is expressly stated that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Vaisali at that time.

21. The passage is repeated in *Anguttara Nikaya* IV, p. 180 sq. (Charpentier)

The Hindi translation of the *Siha-Sutta* (*Aṅg. Nik.*, VIII, 1.2.2) has been given by Sankrityayana on pages 138-140. He gives the date of this event as 515 B.C. which is equivalent to 519 B.C. according to our calculation. The Buddha spent his 13th rainy season at Caliya Parvata (p. 137) and 14th rainy season at Sravasti (p. 158, f.n.) The date of the 14th rainy season is 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation.

But where was Mahavira in the year 519 B.C. ? He passed his 13th rainy season at Rajagrha (*Life*, Vol. II, pp. 141, 200) in 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation and 14th rainy season at Vaisali (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 231) in 518 B.C. (July-October). From the *Life* (page 200) again we know that "soon after the rainy season, *Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira left Rajagrha, and went in the direction of Videha." Then *Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya* mentions Brahmana Kundagrama (p. 201) and Kṣatriya Kundagrama (p. 206) as the places visited by Mahavira. All these places were suburbs of Vaisali. The only place outside the Vaisali area visited by Mahavira between his 13th and 14th rainy seasons was Campa. (page 227)

Thus combining both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions we can say that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Vaisali in November-December, 519 B.C. and that the conversion of Siha to Buddhism also took place at the same time. It may further be added that this was the first visit of Mahavira to Vaisali after his enlightenment (May 519 B.C.). That is why the Jaina tradition mentions the conversion of Rsabhadatta, Devananda, Jamali and Priyadarsana to Jainism on this occasion. But it is silent about the conversion of Siha, who was a *Nirgrantha*, to Buddhism.

5. "...and also the well-known *Upali Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. (I, p. 371 sq.). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upali, who was a lay follower of Nataputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers dwelt at Nalanda in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upali, and made him his disciple. So Upali went back to his house in Rajagrha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the *Nirgranthas*. When Mahavira afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upali declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogised Buddha, his new master." (p. 127)

The *Upāli Sutta* is also highly important, because the event took place at Nalanda when both the teachers were there.

Rajagrha and Nalanda are close to each other just like Vaisali and

Vanijyagrama or Campa and Prstha Campa. That is why in the §122 of the *Kalpa Sūtra* where totals of rainy seasons passed at different places are indicated, these are shown jointly and not separately. Thus it has been stated therein (quoted in *Life of Mahavira*, Vol. II, Part II, pages 690-691) that Mahavira passed 3 rainy seasons at Campa and Prstha Campa, 12 rainy seasons at Vaisali and Vanijyagrama and 14 rainy seasons at Rajagrha and Nalanda.²² This joint mention is significant.

Coming to the Buddhist tradition, Rahula Sankrityayana mentions in his *Buddhacaryā* that the Buddha spent his 42nd rainy season at Sravasti (page 413, f.n.). The date of this will be 491 B.C. according to our calculation. From the next page we find the Hindi translation of *Upāli Sutta* (pp. 414-423) with its scene at Nalanda. The date given is 487 B.C. which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The year given is 77th year of the Buddha's life. This will be May, 491 B.C. to May, 490 B.C. according to our calculation. Thus it appears that the event took place between November, 491 B.C. and May, 490 B.C. as shown above.

Turning to the Jaina tradition about the itinerary of Mahavira, we have to enquire as to where Mahavira was at this time : whether he was in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area or away from it.

From the *Life of Mahavira* (Vol. II, Part II, pages 650, 658) we know that Mahavira was at Rajagrha (or in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area, to be more exact and in keeping with the tone of the *Kalpa Sūtra* §122) from November, 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. This is evident from the following quotations :

“*Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Mithila *nagari* during the rainy season of the fortieth year of his ascetic life.” (page 649) [Date according to our calculation July-October, 492 B.C.]

“Soon after the close of the rainy season *Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira left Mithila and went in the direction of Magadha-*deśa*. Coming to Rajagrha *nagara*, the Worshipful Lord put up at Gunasila *Caitya* outside the town.” (page 650) [Date from November, 492 B.C. onwards.]

22. In the §122 of the *Kalpa Sutra* Mahavira is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rajagrha and the suburb (*bahirika*) of Nalanda. This was a famous place even with the Jainas, cf., e.g., *Sutrakritanga* II, 7 (SBE, XLV, 419 sq.) (Charpentier, p. 127, f.n.)

“*Sramaṇ Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara* during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life.” (page 658) [Date July-October, 491 B.C.]

“Even after the close of rainy season, *Sramaṇa Bhagawān* Mahavira lived at Rajagrha *nagara*, for a long time.” (page 568) [Date from November, 491 B.C. onwards for some months]

From Rajagrha he went to Apapa *nagari* or Pavapuri (pages 664, 682) where he breathed his last in November, 490 B.C. (according to our calculation).

Hence the event narrated in the *Upāli Sutta* is rendered more probable due to the presence of the two teachers in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area in the period from November, 491 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C.

6. “In the *Abhayakumāra Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, I, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rajagrha by *Nigaṇṭha* Nataputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him; for if he answered ‘no’ he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered ‘yes’, Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostasy.” (p. 128)

Charpentier adds that “too much weight should not be attached to this passage” but we are unable to agree with him.

The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given as 487 B.C. by Sanskritayana (p. 424) which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The scene of this *Sutta* is Rajagrha where both the Buddha and Mahavira are shown as present. We have already shown above that Mahavira was at Rajagrha from November, 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. He passed his rainy season of 491 B.C. also at Rajagrha. Thus there is nothing impossible in it.

7. “...*Samyutta Nikāya* IV, 322 sq. where we are told that the Buddha and Nataputta were staying in Nalanda at the same time during a severe famine; when the latter asked his lay-follower, the squire (*gāmāni*), Asibandhakaputta (cf. *ibid.*, p. 317 sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people.” (p. 128, f.n.)

The story of Asibandhakaputta has been narrated on pp. 103-105 by Sanskritayana. It indicates that both the Buddha and Mahavira were at Nalanda at the time when there was a famine there. The date

of the event is given as 518 B.C. which is equivalent to 522 B.C. according to our calculation. Just above the story is mentioned the fact that the 11th rainy season of the Buddha was passed in the *Brāhmaṇa* village of Nala or Nalada. (p. 103) The date of this rainy season according to our calculation is 522 B.C. Thus if Sankrityayana is strictly followed, the event took place sometime after the rainy season, i.e., in November-December, 522 B.C.

Coming to the Jaina tradition, we find that Mahavira passed his 10th rainy season at Sravasti (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, 472) in 522 B.C. (according to our calculation). After the rains he travelled to other places. “*Sramana Bhagawān* Mahavira then went to Rajagrha nagara. There Isanendra (Indra of *Īsāna Devaloka*) came, and worshipped the Lord. After making inquiries about *Bhagawān*'s health, he went away.” (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 491). Thus Mahavira is also at Rajagrha, i.e., in the Rajagrha-Nalanda area at the same time.

The seven passages analysed so far are pointed out in the article of Charpentier. While reading *Buddharcaryā* of Sankrityayana we have come across certain other passages as well in which the Buddha and Mahavira are shown at the same place at a particular time. One such is given below :

8. From the *Cūla Sakuludāyi Sutta* (*Maj. Nik.*, II. 3.9) we know (*Buddhacaryā*, pp. 262-267, esp. p. 263) that there was a conversation between Sakula-Udayi and the Buddha at Rajagrha in which a reference was made by Sakula-Udayi to Mahavira. The date of this event as given by Sankrityayana is 512 B.C. which is equivalent to 516 B.C. according to our calculation. We have already proved above that in 516 B.C. both the Buddha and Mahavira passed their rainy season at Rajagrha. [The text in the *Sutta*, however, does not make Mahavira's presence at Rajagrha necessary.]

Thus my conclusion is that in case the Buddha's date is regarded as 567-487 B.C., the date of Mahavira should be :

Birth : 561 B.C. (April)

Death : 490 B.C. (November)²³

Here we would like to point out a mistake usually committed by many. When the date of the death of Mahavira is indicated, people find out the date of his birth by adding 72. This is wrong. Mahavira was alive for 71 years 6 months and 17 days, i.e., approximately for

23. In case the Buddha's date is regarded as 566-486 B.C., the date of Mahavira in my opinion will be 560-489 B.C.

72 years. If we add 72 we actually give him a life of $72\frac{1}{2}$ years, i.e., one year more than the real length of his life. It happens in this way. Suppose the date of his death is 490 B.C. If we add $72\frac{1}{2}$ to this in the usual manner, the date of birth comes to 562 B.C. Now Mahavira was born in April and died in November. So from April, 562 B.C. to November, 490 B.C. will be 72 years and 7 months while the real length of his life was 71 years and about 7 months. Hence we should add only 71 in order to find out the date of his birth.²⁴

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THE UNIVERSAL MESSAGE OF JAINISM

KALIDAS NAG

[Dr. Kalidas Nag, an eminent Indologist and historian, died in Calcutta on November 8, 1966. A great admirer of Jainism and a profound scholar he contributed much for the better understanding of Jainism all over the world. As our homage to the departed soul, we reprint from one of his old writings on Jainism in which he had appealed for the formation of a 'World Federation of Ahimsa' as the noblest contribution of India to humanity. — *Editor*.]

Whatever may be the doctrinal differences between Jainism and other denominations of Hinduism, we are all grateful to the Jaina masters for their services to the cause of Indian culture and spirituality as well as towards the alleviation of human suffering through centuries. Dr. Winternitz has very justly observed in his *History of Indian Literature*, "The Jainas have extended their activities beyond the sphere of their religious literature to a far greater extent than the Buddhists have done, and they have memorable achievements in the secular sciences to their credit, in philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and even in the science of politics. In one way or other there is always some connection even of these 'profane' works with religion. In Southern India, the Jainas have also rendered services in developing the Dravidian languages, Tamil and Telugu, and especially the Kanarese literary language. They have, besides, written a considerable amount in Gujrati, Hindi and Marwari. Thus we see that they occupy no mean position in the history of Indian literature and Indian thought."

Unlike Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and such other religions committed to the task of proselytism, the Jaina religion preferred the less ostentatious path of realising Truth for the Individual and, through the individual, for Humanity.

Leaving aside the elaborate scholasticism, the dizzy height of *syādvāda* dialectics and the extraordinary cult of *ahimsā* (non-violence), the spirit of Jainism may modestly point out to a few principles of Life that it has discovered for mankind of all ages :

Not to takē life

Not to lie

Not to steal

Not to own propety

These were the four vows enjoined by Parsvanath, the great precursor of the 8th Century B.C. and his worthy successor Mahavira in the 6th Century B.C. added but the fifth vow of chastity, dividing the original vow of property into two parts, one relating to woman and another to wealth corresponding to the *Brāhmaṇical* vows about *kāminī* and *kāncana*. When missionaries of rival religions are crudely offering transcendental bribes (backed by temporal advantages, of course) like bliss in Heaven and extra-mundane Immortality, Jainism quietly affirms its lasting convictions through its daily prayer :

“The soul is the maker and non-maker and itself makes happiness and misery, is its own friend and its own foe decides its own condition good or evil.”

Such an affirmation is born of centuries of research in the realm of spiritual realities which do not care for sentimental compassion or supernatural miracles of salvation. Jainism in its essence is the religion of heroic souls who are *Jinas* or conquerors of their self, and rightly its pioneer was styled Mahavira, the Great Hero. When modern researches in science and history would tear the veil of illusion from the face of many sects and cults, Jainism would shine in the primordial grace of her body spiritual, scorning all cheap trinkets and false ornaments. In sublime loneliness, Jainism realised Truth in its bare majesty and it ever urged human beings to rely more on individual discipline than on spiritual intermediaries like *gurus* or sons of God. What the object of this strenuous quest, this hard discipline, was, need not be (and cannot be) defined. The heroic effort itself is the *raison d’etre* of the true Hero who seldom cares for incidental rewards on universal fame. Such a religion, no doubt, is not for the majority; but it may not be without appeal for a select few who are disillusioned of historic cults and are brought face to face with the eternal twins, Soul and Truth, the undeniable categories of human life and consciousness.

It is easy to wax eloquent, nay sentimental, over charity or compassion as the very *soul* of religions and yet to connive at the destruction of millions of human *bodies* in brutal, materialistic war. Against this chicanery of human conscience and degradation of our ethical code, Jainism shines today as the only religion with an uncompromising faith in peace and non-violence in thought and deed. This great lesson of Jainism, which Buddhism and Hinduism in general accepted, has not yet been made public with adequate reference to the Jaina canons and Jaina history. But we hope that, in this crisis of human culture when, in the name of nationalism and imperialism,

millions of human beings could be butchered, when internationalism is ridiculed and peace causes exploited by shrewd politicians, our Jaina friends of India would organise a 'World Federation of Ahimsa' as the noblest contribution of India to humanity. I appeal to my Jaina brethren to come forward to consecrate a 'World Peace Trust' to facilitate researches into Jaina and other Indian texts on Peace and to distribute the results to all parts of the world, with a view to developing a new system of education and a new philosophy of life towards which the League of Nations and allied organisations are groping. The Orient and the Occident may safely and fruitfully collaborate in such an universal cause of human welfare.¹

Written in 1936.

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JAINA STUDIES IN JAPAN

ATSUSHI UNO

The history of Jainism had remained for a long time in such a nebulous state before a critical study was commenced by western scholars, that some of the European scholars made bold to regard Jainism to be a branch of Buddhism. But by the continuous efforts of many scholars it has come to throw light upon the precious history and sublime philosophy and dynamic religion of Jainism, and it is a great pleasure for us, Jaina scholars, that enormous amount of substantial source of Jainism has come into our use and we can study many variant aspects of Jainism, independent of the traditional trend and prejudice.

Since Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the 6th century A.D. from China through Korea, it has contributed much to influence upon every aspect of Japanese spiritual culture. Since then upto the time when so-called critical study of Indology was introduced to the Japanese Academic field one century ago, our Indian studies could not but be dependent on the Chinese translation of Buddhist sources, and it is not too much to say that the survey of Indian problems had been done only through the Buddhist sources.

According to these sources, Jainism is introduced as 'naked heretics', or *nirgrantha* and counted as leading school of 'six heretical schools' (*ṣaṣṭāstrāḥ*) or of the 'sixtytwo heretics', which together with Buddhism, all represented the so-called free thinkers who were not restricted by Brahmanical thought in those days.

However, according to my opinion, it is not only in case of Jainism and Buddhism but also in any circumstances where the opponent's point of view is mentioned and criticized, that they are only used to play a supporting role for justifying the superiority of one's own theory.

In such methods as these the presentation of the opponents argument is not complete, developing inevitable contradictions, and making one's own arguments successful in comparison. This may be done both consciously and unconsciously.

Inspite of all these misunderstandings, these sources of Buddhism

should not be devalued as a whole because the scrutiny of these texts would supply us with sources for discovering hidden truth in unexpected and unintended places. This analysis also can be made in the case of original Jaina *Sūtras* which criticize Buddhism.

Under these circumstances, the features of Jainism being introduced to Japanese scholars so far only through Buddhist canons, the mutual contact between Jainism and Buddhism is naturally confined to that of ancient period. As all of you know, the Buddhist sources, whose Sanskrit originals being almost entirely extinct, are available to us now-a-days in the form of Chinese and Tibetan translations, and besides this fact, Buddhist sources can supply us much information about the contact and inter-relation with Jainism in ancient times as well as with other schools of Indian thought.

Thanks to the Japanese scholarship, some Japanese scholars have produced many brilliant and praise-worthy works in the field of Buddhist Studies, having been much stimulated by the rapid progress made by western scholars in the critical study of Indology since about one century. It is no exaggeration to say that since long the initiative has been taken in the field of Buddhology by Japanese scholars, and their works are highly estimated by some western scholars.

The critical study of Buddhism naturally gave rise to the study of other schools of Indian thought, with which Buddhist source materials have much to do in connection with supplying us much information regarding the priority of these schools especially of Jainism.

But they were confronted with the difficulties as a result of the adverse academic set-up of the country. However, such has been the tragic reality for Indological study in Japan, that those researches centred about Buddhism, mainly based on the methodology of western scholars and not with reference to the traditional lore in India. It was due to the hitherto existing peculiar and specific circumstances of our country that Buddhism has been for a long time predominant as a guiding principle of Japanese people, and yet its such status on the greater part should be ascribed to scholars themselves in Japan. Jainism was not an exception to such a stage.

Inspite of these unfavourable circumstances, i.e., the definite lack of source materials, long-standing peculiar traditional background, and the handicap of linguistic problem, it remains with us a matter of pride that few but important works have been produced. But these handicaps in the studies of Jainism have not yet been overcome. It is of this very reason that there have not been persistent efforts made so

far, and Japanese scholars, there are many, have not persued in their attempt to specialise in Jainology.

When we want to predict the future of Jaina studies in Japan, the sphere in which research is likely to be carried would be, roughly speaking, confined to the following aspects.

1. Historical contact and inter-relation between Jainism and Buddhism, and mutual influence and assimilation thereof, not excluding other schools of Indian thought based on canonical sources.
2. Modification and Development, if any in the teachings of Jainism studied from the polemics and apologetics of other schools of thought.
3. Study of Jaina literature in general.

Of course these studies can be persued and fulfilled to a certain extent only based on the nature of the available materials, and adequate knowledge of various aspects of Indology. Above all, the importance of the first and second topics mentioned above, is keenly felt among our scholars; and in these branches of Jainology, I am convined, much scope remains to be persued by Japanese scholars. I can acknowledge a growing tendency in this direction that some young scholars are trying to explore a new field in the Buddhist studies, bringing out the underlying currents of other schools in general; and Jainism and Buddhism in particular with special reference to history, metaphysics, logic and epistemology, etc. I am of definite opinion that these Japanese scholars are sure to produce a richer and profounder result than other foreign scholars, because of their greater command of the classical Chinese and Tibetan languages.

To mention here few scholars on Jainism in Japan, the first I have to mention, is Mr. J. Suzuki, perhaps the pioneer in this field, and student of Dr. J. Takakusu. He wrote his posthumous work entitled *Jaina Sacred Books* with ample knowledge of Pali, Sanskrit, Classical Chinese and Tibetan, which was published in 1920 as a part of 'Series of World's Sacred Books' and is regarded as the first attempt to give a critical introduction to Jainism ever done by a Japanese. He had contributed much to the study of Jainism, and Buddhism, and many scholars expected a brilliant future in him. But he passed away at the premature age of 30, and I have heard personally from one of colleagues how bitterly the loss of this genius pupil disheartened Dr. Takakusu; it was his genuine intention to send him to Germany to study under Dr. Hermann Jacobi. In a perusal of this work I cannot but be surprised to know how he could have, with all unfavourable conditions, such a

deep insight and critical interpretation of Jainism, full of astounding creative mind and speculative daring.

Later works which I can appreciate most among Jaina studies in our country are Dr. H. Ui and Dr. E Kanakura. Both of them have contributed much to introduce real aspects of Jainism to the Japanese Academy.

In the two treatises on Jainism, Dr. H. Ui makes the utmost critical use of Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali sources of Buddhist canons resorting to Jaina ancient texts too. According to his opinion expressed in these articles, the main current of Indian thought at the time of Mahavira and Buddha, can be broadly divided into two, the so-called Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical. The author, by setting up a presupposition of two categories, the so-called *Tapasism (Cugyo-shugi)* and *Yogism (Sujo-shugi)* tries to characterize each of these non-Brahmanical 'six heretical schools' with thorough-going refernces giving an exhaustive investigation into the topics of *ātman, kriyā, akriyā, karman, mokṣa*, and ethical and cosmological problems, etc. Another work by H. Ui treats the similar problem of 'sixtytwo heretical thought' the origin of which is found in Buddhist canons (just like the classification of 'three hundred and sixty-three schools' found in Japanese *agamas*) and tries to give a theoretical background of each of them.

Dr. E Kanakura, the Head of Indology Department, Tohoku University, studied under Dr. Takakusu and Dr. H. Ui and was once the pupil of Dr. H. Jacobi. He published two books for the study of Jainism. His scholastic attitude is extremely synthetic and steady, paying much attention to the works of European orientalist and Indian scholars.

Prof. S. Matsunami, Taisho University, has also specialised in Jainism and he has been continuing to make a critical study of the historical relations based on the internal and external evidences between Jainism and Buddhism. His chief source of studies in this respect is confined to Jaina and Buddhist canonical works.

Dr. H. Nakamura, Professor of Tokyo University, also published so far several treatises in some journals and referred to some points in his books.

I am afraid whether I could do justice to all Japanese scholars on Jainism, because I have based my opinion on the scanty material at my disposal.

Though I feel rather presumptuous to add some works of mine to the works of such eminent scholars, I have done so far Japanese translations of *Vitarāgastuti* of Hemacandra (together with some parts of *Syādvādamañjarī*), *Pravacanasāra*, *Pañcāstikāyasāra* and *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (Third Chapter) and three treatises on *Relation between Jīva and Ajīva*, *Karma Theory of Jainism* and *Ṇayavāda* (Jaina logic). Only the first translation and the latter treatises were published in the *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*. I am fully aware of my humble service to Jainology. I hope they will be welcomed by Jaina scholars.

I give a tentative list of works published so far by Japanese scholars, which will be helpful to Indian scholars.

1. *Jaina Sacred Books (Jainakyoseiten)* by J. Suzuki, 1920, pages 242, containing :
Japanese translation of *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* with explanatory notes;
Japanese translation of *Yoga Sāstra* with foot-notes;
Japanese translation of *Kalpa Sūtra* with foot-notes.
2. *Studies of Indian Philosophy, 1970.*
Vol. II contains 'On the six heretical schools' by Dr. H. Ui.
Vol. III contains 'On the sixtytwo heretical schools' by Dr. H. Ui.
3. *History of Spiritual Civilisation of Ancient India* by Dr. E. Kanakura, 1939.
Chapter X gives brief history and doctrine of Jainism along with concise introduction of the works done by European and Indian scholars in this field, especially based on *Aṅgas*.
4. *Study of Indian Spiritual Civilisation* (subtitled 'The Study of Jainism') by Dr. E. Kanakura, 1940. pages 560.
Chap I Present Condition of Jainism.
Chap II The Significance of Jaina Studies.
Chap III Jaina Teachings of Umasvati.
Chap IV History of Jainism.
Chap V On the Theory of Knowledge of Jainism.
Chap VI Some Aspects of Jaina Philosophy.
Chap VII Jaina Logic.
Chap VIII Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* and Jaina Teaching.

Chap IX **One example of Intricate Relation among Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism.**

Courtesy : The voice of Ahimsa.¹

Works of S. Matsunami may be added with the above list. These are as follows :

1. *A Study on Dhyana in Digambara Sect*, 1961.
2. *Buddhistic Variants of two portions of the Isibhasiyaim*, 1961.
3. *Ethics of Jainism and Buddhism*, 1963.
4. *Critical translation of Isibhasiyaim into Japanese*, 1966.
5. *Critical translation of Dasaveyaliya Sutra into Japanese*, 1968.

—Editor.

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THE FIRST CAUSE : SYNCRETIC VIEWS OF HARIBHADRA AND OTHERS

RAMKRISHNA BHATTACHARYA

The doctrines of Svabhāva (inherent nature), Kāla (time), Niyati (destiny), Yadṛcchā (accident), Bhūtāni (elements) and Puruṣa (God or ātman) belong to the 'prehistory' of Indian philosophy. The *locus classicus* is the following verse of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 1.2 :

*kālaḥ svabhāvo niyatiryadṛcchā
bhūtāni yonīḥ puruṣa iti cintyam/
saṃyoga eṣāṃ na tvātmabhāvād-
ātmā 'apyaniśaḥ sukhaduḥkhaheṭoḥ/*¹

Apart from a few verses of dubious authenticity, absolutely nothing is known about these doctrines, each of which is proposed as the first cause (*jagatkāraṇa*). With the rise of the orthodox philosophical systems such as the Sāṃkhya, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, etc. on the one hand, and the heterodox systems (the Jain, Buddhist and Cārvāka/Lokāyata) on the other, the earlier doctrines must have gradually receded into the background.

However, all of them did not die out. A number of works composed both before and after the Christian era refer to all or some of them in passing. Sometimes they are merely alluded to, sometimes also refuted.

Interestingly enough, while the advocates of each doctrine claimed monopoly for the particular school they adhered to, there were also others who believed that all (or at least more than one) of these doctrines were *collectively*, though not *severally*, to be admitted as the first cause. The author of the *Śvetāśvatara* apparently rejected both approaches.²

1. V.P. Limaye and R.D. Vadekar (ed.), *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, Vol. I, Poona : Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958, p. 283. For *cintyam*, there is a variant reading, *cintyā*. The editors point out that the word, *yadṛcchā* occurs here for the first time (cf. *Gītā*, 2.32, 4.22).
2. The author of the *Śvetāśvatara* first refers severally to Time, Inherent Nature and the rest, followed by an alternative approach : if the union (*saṃyoga*) of these may be thought to be the primal cause. He concludes with the remark that it cannot be so since the self is there and it cannot be the cause of joy and sorrow.

The second approach, however, resurfaces in later brahminical and Jain works. In what follows we shall first discuss how Haribhadrasūri upheld this view in his *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* (eighth century CE).

Haribhadra mentioned many a philosophical doctrine and system in his *Lokatattvanīṃaya*. His purpose was to prove them all wrong and ultimately establish the superiority of *syādvāda*, the Jain system of philosophy.³ This is quite understandable. Guṇaratna (fifteenth century CE) in the introductory section of his commentary on Haribhadra's *Śaddarśanasamuccaya*, too, dealt elaborately with the doctrines of Kāla, Īśvara, Ātman, Niyati, Svabhāva and Yadr̥cchā in considerable detail.⁴ The tradition of referring to and refuting other doctrines and systems can be traced back to the earliest Jain canonical works and subsequently to their commentaries.⁵

However, in his *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya*, Haribhadra offered a syncretic view regarding the first cause – something that he did not do in *Lokatattvanīṃaya*. After dealing with *bhūtavāda* (materialism), he proceeded to discuss four ancient doctrines, viz., Kāla-, Svabhāva-, Niyati-, and Karmavāda-s (but not Īśvaravāda which he associates with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika).⁶ His survey then included the Sāmkhya, three schools of the Buddhists (Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika, but not the Vaibhāṣika), the Advaita Vedānta, Mimāṃsā and several other Buddhist doctrines.⁷

Haribhadra did not accept either Svabhāva or Niyati or Kāla or Karman as the only first cause. Yet he admitted each of them as complementary to the other three. He concluded his discussion in the following way :

3. Haribhadra, *Lokatattvanīṃaya*, Amadabad (Ahmedabad) : Śrī Haṃsavijayaji Jain Free Library, Vikramasamvat 1978 (1922 CE).
Haribhadra writes :
*lokakriyātmattatve vivadante vādino vibhinnārthaṃ/
aviditapūrvaṃ yeṣāṃ syādvādaviniścitaṃ tattvam//* v. 41 (f. 13a)
4. Guṇaratna, *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*, ed. Luigi Suali, Calcutta : The Asiatic Society, 1905-14, pp. 10-16.
5. *Ācārāṅgasūtram* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtram* with the *Niryukti* of Ācārya Bhadravāhu Svāmī and the commentary of Śīlāṅkācārya, ed. Ācārya Sāgarānandaji Mahārāja, re-ed. with Appendix by Muni Jambuvijayaji, Delhi : MLBD Indological Trust, 1978, pp. 11-12, 15 (for *Ācāra.*), pp. 10-14, 139-40, 184-191 (for *Sūtra.*)
6. *The Śāstravārtāsamuccaya of Ācārya Haribhadrasūri*, ed. K.K. Dixit, Ahmedabad : Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bhāratiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, 1969, *stavaka*-s 1 and 2.
7. *Ibid.*, *stavaka*-s 3-10.

*ataḥ kālādayaḥ sarve samudāyena kāraṇam/
garbhādeḥ kāryajātasya vijñeyā nyāyavādibhiḥ// 2.191
na caikaikata eveha kvacit kiñcidapikṣyate/
tasmāt sarvasya kāryasya sāmāgrī janikā matā// 2.192*

Therefore, logicians should know that Time, etc. when combined become the cause of such effects as conception, etc.

Each taken by itself is nowhere seen to give rise to anything; so it is to be admitted that in their combination they are the cause of all effects.

Oddly enough, the last verse of this chapter refers to the views of others, not of Haribhadra's :

*svabhāvo niyatīścaiva karmaṇo'nye pracakṣate/
dharmāvanye tu sarvasya sāmānyenaiva vastunaḥ// 2.193*

Some say that Inherent Nature and Destiny are the properties of Karman; others say that the property of all objects is common.

Haribhadra, however, is not the only Jain philosopher to hold this view. Siddhasena Divākara, his contemporary also said that to consider either Time or Inherent Nature or Destiny or Karman or Puruṣakāra (human effort) as the first cause would be wrong; it would be right to consider them all together to be so.⁸ On the basis of all this V.M. Kulkarni suggested :

The Jainas, no doubt, criticize the doctrine of *Svabhāva* in their works of philosophical nature but this criticism applies to it only when *Svabhāva* is presented as the only cause of the variety of the world. The Jainas find a place for this doctrine under their wide umbrella of *Syādvāda* or *Anekānta*.⁹

Such a conclusion, however, appears to be unwarranted in view of the fact that both the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparvan, Mokṣadharmā section), and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (Śārīrasthāna, 1.11) uphold the syncretic view regarding the first cause. None of them could have possibly been influenced by the Jain approach advocating pluralism. Let us see how the two texts mentioned above deal with this issue.

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8. A Prakrit verse to this effect has been quoted by V.M. Kulkarni, 'Svabhāvavāda (Naturalism) : A Study' in : *Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Swarna Mahotsava Grantha*, ed. A.N. Upādhye et al., Bombay : Sri M. Jain Vidyalaya, 1968, p. 16 n22. Unfortunately the source of the extract is not given.
9. Ibid. p. 20.

First, the *Mahābhārata*. The relevant verses run as follows :

*kecit puruṣakāraṃ tu prāhuḥ karmavido janāḥ/
daivam ityapare viprāḥ svabhāvaṃ bhūtacintakāḥ//
pauṣaṃ karma daivaṃ ca phalavṛttisvabhāvataḥ/
traya ete'pṛthagbhūtā navivekaṃ tu kecana//¹⁰*

Some who know what activity is say that (everything is due to) human effort, other sages say it is destiny; these who investigate into the elements (speak of) inherent nature.

(Some say that) human effort and destiny become effective by following (the course of) inherent nature; some others (speak of) the combination of the three (as operative), none of these operates separately.¹¹

Nilakaṇṭha associates *karman/puruṣakāra* with the Mīmāṃsakas, destiny with the astrologers (*daivajñāḥ*), and *svabhāva* with the *svabhāvavādin*-s, without explaining what *svabhāva* means. As to the doctrine of the combination (*samuccaya*) of all he mentions the Jain's view (*ārhatamatam*). He then quotes a line from the *Śvetāsvatara* (1.2ab). However, while explaining the terms in that line he relates *svabhāva* with the evolutionist (*pariṇāmavādin*) Sāṃkhya, *niyati* with the ritualist (*karmavādin*) Mīmāṃsaka-s, *yadṛcchā* with the accidentalist (*aniyamavādin*) Ārḥata and *bhūtāni* with the Lokāyata!¹²

Nilakaṇṭha's glosses are not only inconsistent but utterly fanciful

10. The *Mahābhārata* (Critical edition), Śāntiparvan, ed. S.K. Belvalkar, Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1966, 224. 50-51; Vulgate edition, ed. Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta : Vaṅgavāsi, 1826 Śaka, 231. 51-52.

The same verses, with some variants, recur in Śānti. 230. 4-5 (Critical edition), 237. 4-5 (Vulgate edition). In the English translation of the *Mbh.* by Kishori Mohan Ganguli (Calcutta : Bharata Press, 1891), the verses are to be found in CCXXXII. 19-20 and CCXXXVIII. 4-5, pp. 240-41 and 267-68 respectively. See also the notes on p. 2182 in the Critical edition.

11. The passage is extremely difficult. All the Bengali, English and Hindi translations I have seen faithfully follow Nilakaṇṭha's glosses which, however, vary in the commentaries on chs. 231 and 237 (Vulgate ed.). I have tried to be as literal as possible in my rendering. (Nilakaṇṭha's commentary is printed along with the text in the Vulgate edition).
12. See the *Mbh.*, Vulgate edition, p. 1635 (*ad* 231. 51-52). His glosses on 237. 4-5 (p. 1644) are less exhaustive, perhaps because he had already explained all the terms. There are some discrepancy in his interpretation of *svabhāva*, which, interesting though it is, does not concern us here.

as well, presumably because he had no definite tradition to follow. Such names as Svabhāva and Yadṛcchā were known to all but nobody knew whether they were to be taken as one and the same or as representing two different ideas, diametrically opposed to each other.¹³

What, however, concerns us here is to note that instead of rejecting any one of the three some did speak of the combination of all and their views are not identified with those of the pluralist (*anekāntavādin*) Jain philosophers.

Our next instance is taken from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. It runs as follows

*vaidyake tu—
svabhāvaṃ īsvaraṃ kālaṃ yadṛcchā niyatiṃ tathā/
pariṇāmaṃ ca manyante prakṛtiṃ pṛthudarśinaḥ*/¹⁴

According to medical science, however, farsighted men consider Svabhāva, God, Time, Accident, Destiny and the evolution (of primeval matter) as the origin.

Instead of taking any one of them as the first cause, Ḍahlaṇa accepts all the six and quotes examples in support of each of them from different parts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* itself.¹⁵ He also cites the views of two earlier commentators, Jejjhaṭa and Gayī (Gayadāsa).¹⁶ According to the former, Svabhāva, Kāla, Yadṛcchā and Niyati are the evolution of Prakṛti. Although they are not different from Prakṛti in the truest (*pārāmārthika*) sense, they inhere in Prakṛti because of their special properties. However, he specifically leaves God out of his consideration. Gayī, on the other hand, explains the verse in another way. Physicians, he says, accept all the six in their combination (*samuccaya*) as the cause of the world. The evolution of Prakṛti is the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) and Svabhāva and the rest (five in all) are the efficient causes (*nimitta-kāraṇa*).¹⁷

13 Among the Jain philosophers, Jinabhadraṅgi and Maladhāri Hemaçandra identify *svabhāva* with *ahetu* while Śīlārīka, Abhayadeva and Guṇaratna mention *svabhāva* and *yadṛcchā* separately. See Kulkarni (n 8).

14. *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. Vaidya Jadavji Trikamji (Trivikramji) Āchārya, Varanasi : Chaukhamba Orientalia, (1980), Śārīrasthāna, 1.11, p. 340.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

17. Interestingly enough, no such syncretic view is proposed anywhere in the *Carakasamhitā* (see *Sūtrasthāna*, 25. 14-21), though such an approach is hinted at in a different context (*Sūtrasthāna*, 1.6.4-5).

There is nothing to show that the commentators of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* were influenced by *anekāntavāda*. Syncretism, we would suggest, is a matter of attitude. It can be found as much in the works of Jain philosophers as in those of non-Jain ones. While discussing the aims of life (*puruṣārtha*) both Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana proposed to accept all three, viz., religious duties (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*) and pleasure (*kāma*), instead of preferring one to the other.¹⁸

In his glosses on *Caraka*, Sūtra. 11.6, Cakrapāṇidatta identifies *svabhāvavāda* with the theory of no-soul and no-after-world (*nātra kaścid ātmā vidyate yasya paralokaḥ syād iti svabhāvavādino bhāvaḥ*). He explains *yadr̥cchā* as the theory of no-cause and no-regularity (*yadr̥cchākāraṇāpratiniyamenoṭpādaḥ, na kāraṇa pratīnyamena kāryoṭpādaḥ....*). The *Charakasamhitā* with *Āyurvedadīpikā*, ed. Jadavji Trikramji Āchārya, (1941). Varanasi : Chaukhambhā Sanskrit Samsthan, 1984. pp. 68-69.

18. See the *Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra*, 1.7. 3-5, ed. R.P. Kangle, Bombay : University of Bombay, Part 1, 1969, p.8: Vātsyāyana categorically states:

*trivargasādhakam yat syād dvayorekasya vā puṇaḥ/
kāryam tadapi kurvīta na tve kāryam dvivādhakam// 2.51*

Any action which conduces to the three objectives of life or of any two or even one of them should be performed; but an action which serves one of the objectives at the expense of the other two should not be practised.

Kāmasūtra, Varanasi : Chaukhambhā Saṃskṛta Series, n.d., p. 54. The translation is quoted from *Kāma-Sūtra of Vātsāyana* (sic), trans. and ed. Dr. Santosh Kumar Mukherji, Calcutta : Oriental Agency, 1945, p. 43.

Release (*mokṣa*) is not mentioned as the fourth *varga* in these two works. Apparently it was added to the list of the *puruṣārtha*-s at some later date.

RṢABHADEVA

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

Ādinātha or Rṣabhadeva occupies a unique position in the annals of Jaina Hagiology. He was the first Tirthaṅkara and possessed perfect knowledge (*kevala-jñāna*). According to the tradition there were no less than 84,000 Prakīrṇakas of each one of the pupils of Rṣabha. The name Rṣabha is found in the R̥gveda (III. 13, 14, IX. 71). There it is said that Rṣabha is the son of Viśvāmitra (*Rṣabha Vaiśvāmitra-Viśvāmitraputraḥ Rṣabhaḥ r̥sīḥ*). In another context of the R̥gveda (X. 166) he is called Vairāja or Śākvara (*Rṣabha vairājo vā Rṣabhaḥ Śākvaraḥ*). We do not know anything more than this about Vedic Rṣabha. Sāyaṇa in the 14th cent. A.D. could not supply us any more information about Rṣabha. However, at a later time in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (Ch. X), the name Rṣabha is mentioned along with Vyāsa, Kaṇāda, Kapila and others.

Rṣabhadeva¹ or Rṣabhanātha, also called Ādinātha, was the son of king Nabhi and Queen Marudevī of the Ikṣāku race. He is variously called as Vṛṣabhanātha, Ādiśvara, Yugadijina, Yugadisā, Nabhaya and Kausalika. He is also called Marudeva as the son of Marudevī. As he is the first in Jaina Hagiology, he is probably called Ādinātha or Ādiśvara; as he has the bull (*vṛṣabha*) as his *cīṇha* or cognizance, he is called Vṛṣabha. Rṣabhanātha is a variant of Rṣabhadeva. Other names are mostly honorific. He is mostly adorned by the names of Ādinātha and Rṣabhadeva in later literature and Jain temples. He is represented as of golden or yellow complexion and the bull for his cognizance. In Somadeva's Yaśastilaka (10th cent. A.D.) "there are representations of most of the dreams of Rṣabha Jina's mother, e.g., the Airāvata elephant, a bull, a lion, the goddess Lakṣmī, the sun and the moon, a lotus pool, the ocean, flames, a heap of jewels, and an aerial car" (*saṃnihitairāvata.... āsina-saurabheyā.... nilinopakaṇṭha-kaṇṭhīravā... ramopa-śobhitā.. etc.*)². According to the commentator of *Kalpa-sūtra*, he was born at Vinitā (i.e. Ayodhyā) in the country of Kosala towards the end of the *dvāpara* age. Some say he was born in Kashmir.³

1. James Burgess, *The Temples of Satruñjaya*, Jain Bhawan, Calcutta, 1977, p. 5.
2. K.K. Handique, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholhapur, 1949, p. 121.
3. Burgess, *ibid.*, p.5

“He was the first king (*prathama rājā*), first anchorite (*prathama bhikṣākara*) and first saint (*prathama jina*) and *prathama tīrthaṅkara*. His stature was 500 poles (*dhanus*).⁴”

He was married to Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā. He had turns by each of his wives. Sunandā gave birth to a son Bāhubali (some say Gommala is another name of Bāhubali) and a daughter Sundarī, and Sumaṅgalā gave birth to a son Bharata and a daughter Brāhmī. From the descendants of Bharata and Bāhubali the Surya and the Candra dynasties originated respectively, and the name of the country became Bhārata. Both Bharata and Bāhubali, though sons of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, were engaged in war⁵ for some years, and the incident is described in Vajrasena's *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-ghora* (1170 A.D.) and Śālibhadra's *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-rāsa* (1185 A.D.).⁶

Tradition says that Ṛṣabha became a king at the very young age (*pūrva varṣa*). He reigned for many years, then resigned for his sons. Having spent many years, he attained nirvāṇa on a mountain named Aṣṭapada which, Hemacandra says, is the same as Kailāśa. Tradition further says that he was the first who laid the foundation of Jaina religion.

Vācaspati⁷ says in his *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyā-ṭikā* that Buddha and Ṛṣabha are the authors of the Buddhist and Jaina Āgama texts respectively. Hemacandra⁸ in his *Laghvartha-nīti* says that Ṛṣabha is the creator of *rājanīti*.

According to the Jaina tradition (also corroborated by the non-Jain sources, such as, *Bhāgavata-skanda V*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*), it is mentioned that the doctrine of Ahimsā was first preached by Ṛṣabha. According to them, Ṛṣabha's period represents a complete change of world conditions. Prior to this, the country was called Bhoga-bhūmi ('land of enjoyment') where people were satisfied of all their wants by the mere wish through the help of the traditional *kalpaṛkṣa*. During the time of Ṛṣabha these happy conditions completely disappeared and the people were in perplexity as to the way of life which they were expected to carry on with. Then they all went to Ṛṣabha praying for help. He is said to have consoled them by showing the way of life. And through his people, he established a sort of social

4. Burges, *ibid.*, p. 5.

5. Winternitz, *ibid.*, p. 585.

6. Majumdar, *The Struggle for Empire*, Vol. V, Bombay, 1957 p. 393f.

7. Burgess, *ibid.*, p. 5.

8. K.K. Handique, *ibid.*, p. 227.

organisation by dividing his society into agriculturists, traders and soldiers. After ruling over his kingdom for several years, he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Bharata and went into the forest to perform penance. After the practice of penance for several years he attained *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience). Then he went about from place to place preaching his *ahiṃsā* religion to the people of the land, so that they might have also spiritual relief. The idea of *Ahiṃsā* might not have developed fully at that time, as it was at the time of Mahāvīra, or that idea of *ahiṃsā* was perhaps on a par with the Vedic idea of *ahiṃsā*, but the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, as it is today among the Jains, owes its origin to as far back as that.

Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhadeva is highly adorned by the Jains throughout the ages. The life of Ṛṣabha or Ādinātha has also been written by many Jain writers. In Vimala Sūri's *Paūmacariyam*, composed during 530 years after the demise of Mahāvīra (C XVIII. 103), the history of Ṛṣabha is given (III. 18).¹⁰ In Ravisena's *Padma-purāṇa* written in Sanskrit in 678 A.D. the glorification of the first Tīrthaṅkara is given. In Haribhadra's commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, the story of Ṛṣabha is fully narrated. Dhanapāla, Sobhana's brother, composed *Ṛṣabha-pañcāśikā* in 50 stanzas. This poem is divided into two sections: section one containing the first 20 verses gives allusions to events in the life of Ṛṣabha, while the second section is exclusively devoted to the praise of Ṛṣabha. In the *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena (9th-10th cent. A.D.) the story of Ṛṣabha is told. In the *Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya* of Dhaneśvara (end of 11th cent. or 1100 A.D.), the story of the first Jina Ṛṣabha is given. In the first parvan of Hemacandra's (1088-1172 A.D.) *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*, the previous existence of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabhadeva, is narrated. Abhayacandra (11th cent. A.D.) at the request of the minister Padma wrote the *Padmanātha-Mahākāvya* where the author intended to give the lives of all 23 Jinas. But he actually describes only the life of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, in 19 cantos. Vardhamāna wrote his *Ādinātha-carita* in 1103 A.D. to describe the life of Ṛṣabha. It has 11000 gāthās. Merutuṅga (1306 A.D.) in his *Mahāpuruṣa-carita* has also given the life story of Ṛṣabha. At a festival in a temple of Ṛṣabha (which was erected by two contemporaries of the Cāhamāna prince Samarasimha in about 1185 A.D.), the drama *Prabuddha-Rauhīṇya* by Rāmabhadra Muni (prob 12th cent. A.D.) was performed. It is generally seen that the life-story of Ṛṣabha is told in the introductory section of the Rāma Epics.

Ṛṣabhadeva has also been worshipped through the ages. A temple

9. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 270.

10. See Winternitz, *ibid.*, p. 490, 494, 481, 498, 553f. 503, 506, 517, 548.

of R̥ṣabhanātha was erected at Anahilavāḍa by a merchant prince Ninnaya by name sometime in the 8th-9th centuries A.D. In the tenth century A.D. there were many Jaina temples at Khajuraho. In Cunningham's list at No. 26, there is an ancient temple called Setnāth which is most probably from the original name of Ādinātha, 14 feet in height, at No. 27 in his list. There is yet another small ancient Jaina temple now dedicated to Ādinātha. Sometime in the 11th cent. A.D. the Jaina Vimala Sāha was appointed Governor of Ābu under Bhima I of Gujarat. In 1031 A.D. Vimala Sāha built a marble temple of Ādinātha at Delwara on Mount Abu. At the village of Sandhārā, near Bhanpurā, two Jain temples were dedicated to Ādinātha and belonged to the Digambara Community. Regular worship is carried on in these two temples.¹¹

Some pieces of information on Ādinātha temple pertaining to Bengal are mentioned below :

Temples / mandirs

1. Deuli-Ādinātha temple, almost dilapidated.
2. Arsha (Boran Police St.) in Purulia-R̥ṣabha.

Status

3. Jhalda (10th cent. A.D.) with inscription. The term Śrāvaka is used.
4. *Purulia Dt.*
 - i) Sufaran
 - ii) Suisā
 - iii) Haraktore
 - iv) Pakbirla (R̥ṣabha)
 - v) Telkupi in Cheliāmā
 - vi) Lālgarḥ near Cheliāmā
5. *Bankura*
 - i) Deul Bhiḷā (Indpur = ĩdpur)
 - ii) Dharapāt
 - iii) Gobindanagar, P.S. Jaypur.
6. *Malda Dist.*
 - i) Ādinātha Statue near Pandua (9th-10th cent. A.D.) with inscription pub. by Asoke Bhattacharya in the Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. No. 52/53.
7. *West Dinajpur*
 - i) Surāhār-Ādinātha temple.
8. *Sundarban area* R̥ṣabhanātha statue.

11. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 535f.

THE NOTION OF DHARMA IN JAINISM : A COMPARATIVE VIEW

V.P. JAIN

Dharma occupies the most central and key position in the Indian tradition as a whole since ancient times and belongs to that class of word like : “The Absolute”, the “truth” and *Brahman* etc., which defy any attempt at definition and about which the Vedic seer in a state of spiritual bewilderment exclaimed *neti neti*¹ no ! no ! the *Brahman* is neither this, nor that. He is beyond words, description and definition. The notion of *dharma* seems nearer to Vyāsa’s pronouncement in the *Gītā* that :

kiṁ karma kiṁ akarmeti kavayo 'pyatra mohitā (4.16)
what is *Ḳarma* i.e. *dharma* and what is not *Karma*, even the wise are perplexed and ignorant about this

Ṛṣi Vyāsa reconfirms his bewilderment in the following verse :

*śrutayo vibhinnā smṛtayo vibhinnā naiko muniḥ yasya vaco
pramāṇam; dharmasya tattvaṁ nihitaṁ guhāyāṁ, mahājano
yena gataḥ sa panthaḥ; Mahābhā. Vanapa. 313.117*

The Vedas and smṛties speak in different voices. There is not one Muni whose words may be treated as an authority. The truth of *dharma* is hidden deep in the cave; hence the path (of *dharma*) is that was trodden upon by the great.

In the Jaina and Buddhist traditions also *dharma* occupies the top position. It is the nucleus around which everything else revolves and the foundation upon which the whole edifice of the three ancient Indian religions : Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism stands.

In the Hindu religious texts the word ‘*dharma*’ has first of all been used in the Ṛg-Veda as follows :

*trīṇi padā vicakṛme Viṣṇurgopā adābhyah ato dharmāṇi
dhāryan. Ṛg-Veda 1.22.18*

Lord Viṣṇu created the three worlds in the limited space of three steps and has been holding the dharmas within them.

In the above quotation *dharma* may be equated to the word “law”

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1. *Ya evaṁ vedāthāta ādeso neti neti na hyetasmāditi netyanyat-paramastyatha : Bṛhadāraṇyaka. 2.3.6.*

and *dharmas* to cosmic-laws. In the Ṛg-veda the word *Ṛta* stands for true, right, religious law, sacred custom, divine law, divine truth, truth in general and right, religious or moral order of the universe. All these connotations are synonymous with *dharma* as well.

Dharma is formed from the root **dhṛ*+ *man*, which means “to hold”, “to sustain”. It holds the worlds; or it is held by the virtuous people; and life and people are sustained by it.²

Dharma is the name of all the myriad forms of activity of the world.³

Dharma is the intrinsic and integral nature of all things : living and non-living, without which things will cease to exist.⁴

Dharma according to Jaiminī is that which inspires man for action.⁵

Dharma is that which leads man to prosperity and happiness here in this life (*abhyudaya*) and hereafter (*nīḥśreyasa*)⁶.

Kumārila has defined *śreyah* as human happiness⁷, while *Manusmṛti* characterises *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* as *śreyas* and also informs us about different ancient theories on *Śreyas*.⁸

According to *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* two types of duties or *Karmas* as prescribed by the Veda, (i) the wish fulfilling duties (*Kāmyakarmas*), and (ii) the daily and occasional duties (*Nityanaimittika Karman*) are known as *dharma*: and those which have been prohibited (*niṣiddha karma*) are known as *adharmas*.⁹ Among all the prescribed *Karmas*, Vedic sacrifices (*Yajña*) are stated to be absolutely necessary. Only one who performs *yajña*, is in fact known as a religious man.¹⁰

2. *dhṛyate loko 'nena, dharati vā lokam. dharati lokān, dhṛyate puṇyātmabhīriti vā. dhāraṇād-dharma ityāhur dharmeṇa vidhṛtāḥ prajāḥ: Mahābhā Śāntipā. 112.11.*
3. Hindu *Viśva Kośa*.
4. Hindu *Dharma Kośa*.
5. *Codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah: Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Ch. 1.2.*
6. *Yato' bhyudayanīḥśreyasasiddhi sa dharmah: Vaiśeṣikasū 1.1.2.*
7. *Śreyohipurūṣaprītiḥ: Śloka-Vārtika : Codanā Sū 191.*
8. *Dharmārthāvucyate śreyah, kāmārthau dharmas eva ca; arthas eveha vā śreyas, trivarga iti tu sthitiḥ.*
9. *Vihitakriyāsādhyah dharmah puṇso guṇo mataḥ pratiṣiddhakriyāsādyah sa guṇo' dharmas ucyate: Mīmāṃsā-darśana Sūtra Bhāṣya.*
10. *Yo hi yāgamanutiṣṭhati tam dhārmikam iti samācakṣate na kevalam loke vede' pi-'yajñena yajñamayajanta devāḥ tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan' iti. Pūrvamī: Śabarabhā. 1.1.2.*

The uppermost concern of the Vedic seer was to understand *Ṛta* or the cosmic order and to know the truth through *dharma* in the form of Vedic *yajña* and penance (*tapah*)¹¹ etc. *Ṛta*, *satya* and *dharma* all the three are thus synonymous terms.¹²

The above given¹³ definition is born as a fruit of *dharma*. The general definition given by Manu, runs as follows :

Study of the Veda and Smṛti, righteous conduct and satisfaction of the self, these are the four tests of true religion.¹⁴

These are some of the definitions of *dharma* in the Hindu tradition alone. This is sufficient to prove that the notion of *dharma* in the Indian tradition as a whole cannot be fitted into any frame of definitions; and the ritualistic aspect of *dharma* often accepted as synonymous of *religion* is in fact quite far from it. Hence we will prefer the word *dharma*, in place of religion.

The characteristics of *dharma* and its practical forms have been discussed at inexhaustible lengths in the sacred books of the Hindus, including the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. At this juncture it would be pertinent to note that the *dharma* of the *Upaniṣads* is *Ātmadharma* i.e. the search for truth and realization of the *Parabrahma-Paramātmān*, which is the *Ātman* itself. The *dharma* of the *Gītā* is spirituality and *Loka-dharma* (*dharma* of the common people) superimposed by spirituality. The *Mahābhārata* emphasizes more on the practical aspects of life, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* preaches the highest ideals of it. The characters of the *Mahābhārata* strike us as human beings, whereas those in the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been idealised.

It is now a widely known and accepted fact that popular Hinduism has, through its long sojourn of the millenia upto and many centuries after Christ, amalgamated and synthesized in its body-frame all important elements of the ancient Vedico-Brahmanic sacred literature, as well as popular themes, doctrines and moral principles of Jainism and Buddhism.

This may be noted that Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism are not being referred here in their chronological order. Of this we will talk later.

11. *Ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca abhiddhāt tapaso adhyajāyata Ṛgveda* 10.190.

12. Vide above page 2.

13. *ibid.*, fn. 5.

14. *Vedaḥ smṛti sadācārah svasya ca priyamātmānaḥ; etaccaturvidha-prāhuḥ sāksād-dharmasya lakṣaṇam. Manusmṛti* 2, 12.

The spiritual, educational and social form of the ancient Vedic *dharma* is best learned from portions of the *R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, collected at one place in the *R̥gvedādibhāṣya Bhūnukā* of Maharṣi Dayānanda Sarasvatī, under the title *Vedokta dharma viṣayah*.¹⁵

The general characteristics like truth and non-violence etc., are common to all *dharmas* and need no discussion.¹⁶

The norms of mundane behaviour or *Loka-Dharma* have been classified and subdivided into those of the soul, mind, body and speech, castes (*varṇas*) and stages (*āśramas*), professions (*vyavasāyas*) and status e.g. kings and his subjects, husband-wife, teacher-taught, employer-employee and so on; and also according to different situations of time; place, country and community etc.¹⁷ What needs special mention is that during the *Upaniṣadic*, post-*Upaniṣadic* and Post-Christ centuries, the *dharma* of Vedic *yajñas* with animal sacrifices and the rituals slowly but undeniably kept loosing ground and virtues like faith, devotion, knowledge of scriptures, truth, non-violence, compassion, friendship, charity, non-greediness, non-attachment, purity of the soul, mind, speech and body etc. etc., gained complete precedence similar to Jainism and Buddhism.¹⁸ Caste, which had acquired supremacy, especially during the growth of sacrificial rituals, was again subordinated to virtuous conduct, rather than accounted on the basis of birth.¹⁹

Now let us take a look on Buddhism. The notion of *dharma* (Pāli : *dhamma*) in Buddhism is indeed inconceivable and beyond definition. Here *dhamma* finds common usage in the widest sense. Practically nothing seems to have been left out of the gamut of *dhamma* in the infinite scope of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. The task becomes all the more difficult, since we are not able to find a definition as such

15. Also see *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* : *Bhṛguvalli* 7, 10.

16. Vide : *Mahābhā. Anuśā. Pa.*, *Aśvamedha Pa.*, *Vaiṣṇava-dharma Pa.*, *Sānti-parva* and *Mokṣa-dharma-Pa.* *Hindutva* p. 8; *Mārkaṇḍeya pu.* 24-26.

17. *Encyclopaedia Indica*.

18. Vide : *Mahābhā. Anuśā. Pa.* 113, 115.1, 116.12, 141.25, 142.27, 162.23; *Aśvamedha Pa.* 91., 20, 91, 13-16, 1/2, 32-37 and *Śānti-Pa.*

19. *Gaṇikāgarbhasambhūto Vasiṣthaśca mahāmuniḥ; tapasā brāhmaṇo jātaḥ samskāras-tatra kāraṇam. Jātau Vyāsastu kaivartyāḥ śvapākyāstu Parāśaraḥ, bahavo 'nyepi vipratvam prāptā ye pūrvamadvijāḥ.* (Vasiṣtha was born of a prostitute, Vyāsa of a fisher-woman, Parāśara of a Cāṇḍāla girl. Conduct counts and not birth. Many others also became Brahmins, who were not born as Brahmins): *Hindu View of Life* p. 86.

in the *Pāli Tipiṭaka*. The great commentator *Buddhaghosa* has defined *dhamma* in the traditional way from the root **dhṛ*. In the original Pāli-canonical Texts right from the delivery of the *dhamma-cakka-pavattana sutta* at Sarnatha, all teachings of the Buddha have been designated as *saddhamma*.²⁰ The whole bulk of the Pāli Canon, has been individually and collectively designated as *dhamma : dhammaṃ ca vinayaṃ ca saṅgāyyeyāma*. The *Sutta (=Dhamma)-Piṭaka*, the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, and a number of other texts and *suttas* like the *Dhammasaṅgīṇī*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Dhammacariyā* and the *Brāhmaṇadhammika sutta* (in the *suttanipāta*) have *dhamma* as their title or part of it.

All things (*dhammas*) are devoid of soul,²¹ all activities (*dhammas*) of the mind, body and speech, arise from the mind²².....all mental states, activities²³ and things that arise from causes and the way they come to cease,²⁴ the ideal of *dhamma*,²⁵ the code of good conduct (*vinaya*) for all faithful followers of the Buddha: the householders as well the houseless monks is Dharma. *Dhamma* is the only island of rescue and place of shelter,²⁶ the *dhammas* of meditation, wisdom and emancipation²⁷ and so on are all *dhammas*. The list is inexhaustible and includes the four noble truths, the five aggregates, the eightfold noble path, the four sublime states of mind : friendship (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), benevolent attitude or sympathy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*), the twelve fold doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), states and objects, means and organs of meditation and its forms upto the state of final emancipation, which is the cessation of all suffering and its causes and the end of the vicious circle of dependent origination. There remains indeed no entity

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20. *Saddhammo'ti bhagavatā svākkhāto dhammo : Abhidha. San. 1.1.; Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso: Mahāvagga dhammacakka-Pavattana-Suta; Assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti; bhavissanti dhammassa nātāro : Mahāvagga, Brahmaṃyācana kathā; Odahatha bhikkhve sotaṃ amataṃ, adihigataṃ, ahaṃ anusāsāmi, ahaṃ dhammaṃ desimi; Mahāvagga, Pāsārāsī Su.*
21. *Sabbe dhammā anattā; Majjhima-Nikāya, Hatthi Padopama Su.*
22. *Mano-pubbaṅgamā dhammā: Dhammapada V.1.1.*
23. *Citta-cetasikā dhammā: Abhidhammattha Sangaha, ch. VI.*
24. *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesāṃ hetu Tathāgato āha, tesāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃ vādi mahāsamaṇo: Mahāvagga Sāripu-Pabba.*
25. *Dhammādāso : Mahāparinī. Su. 239.*
26. *Dhammadipā dhammasaraṇā: ibid. 2.58.*
27. *Sīla samādhi pañña ca vimutti ca anuttarā, anubuddhā iṃe dhammā; ibid. 4.95.*

visible or invisible, psychical or physical, of the past, present or future, or entity beyond all the three tenses and all of space, which does not fall under the scope of the word *dhamma*. The general principles of moral behaviour *dhamma-caraṇa* or *vinaya*, both for the householders (*gihidhamma*) and houseless monk (*amaḡāra-dhamma*) are almost the same as those enjoined for righteous Hindu householders and monks, which differ in detail, not in essence.

Both, Buddha and Mahavira alike, were deadly opposed to *Vedic yajñas* involving animal sacrifices and division of the society into castes by virtue of birth.

One does not become an outcaste or low, nor a *Brāhmaṇa*, because of birth. One becomes an outcaste or *Brāhmaṇa* by one's acts. Sopāka, born of a Cāṇḡāla, became a famous revered person as Mātaṅga.²⁸

Number of *suttas* are found in the *Suttanipāta* and *Dhammapada*, wherein the characteristics of true *dharma* and true *Brāhmaṇa* have been narrated over and over again, confirming above mentioned views of the Buddha.²⁹ The Buddha has himself laid down in so few words the ideal and acid test for the *dhamma* preached by him.

I preach the *dhamma*, by following which sons of noble families become houseless monks, and having known that transcendental *dharma* i.e. the state of emancipation, themselves realize and attain that state i.e. *Nibbāna*, here and in this very life.³⁰

It must be noted in the context of the "Buddhist notion of *dharma*" that the Buddha has almost completely done away with any kind of ritual as an unavoidable constituent of *dharma*.

Above, an attempt has thus been made to *express the notion of dharma* in Hinduism and Buddhism, in very brief, because both are widely known, studied and followed all over the world, while Jainism

28. *na jaccā vasalo hoi na jaccā hoi Brāhmaṇo; kammaṇā vasalo hoi kammaṇā hoi Brāhmaṇo. Cāṇḡalaputto sopāko Mātaṅgo iti vissuto: Sutta Ni. Vasala Su. 21.22.*

29. Vide : *Suttanipāta*, *Sutta Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 44, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54*; and *Dhammapada : Vagga nos. 18, 19, 25, 26.*

30. *ahaṃ dhammaṃ desemi yathānusitthaṃ paṭipajjamānā na cirasveva yassathāya kula-puttā sammadeva aḡārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti tadanuttaraṃ Brahmācariyaṃ dittheva dhamme sayāṃ abhiññāya sacchikatvā upasampajja vihaṇissatha; Majjhima Nikāya Pāsārāsī Su.*

is less known and lesser understood. Hence it seems necessary before we proceed to discuss the notion of *dhamma* in Jainism, to say something in short about the history of the origin and growth of Jainism in India.

For a long period in the 19th and early 20th century, in the history of Indological Studies by Western and later many Indian scholars as well, the general opinion about Jainism was; that first Buddhism originated as a revolt against or reform movement out of the Vedic sacrificial cult, and later Jainism grew as an offshoot of Buddhism. This opinion no more holds ground. Over the years, a huge mass of literary, historical and archaeological evidence has come to light which proves that the *śramanic* tradition which got bifurcated into two broad religious communities i.e. Jainism and Buddhism, during the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, in fact, long predated the *Vedico-Aryan* religion³¹; and later both religious traditions coexisted for centuries without any conflict. It was at some later date during precedence of the animal sacrificial cult, that some clashes came up which were duly pacified with the passage of time.³² The above fact, along with other relevant topics: like the division of the *aryans* into *Kṣatriyas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, the origin and growth of the philosophy of soul, acceptance of the fourth stage of monkhood (*Sanyāsa*), liberation (*Mokṣa*) as the supreme goal of human life and condemnation of the *Vedic* sacrificial rituals in the *Upaniṣads* etc., historic antiquity of the first (Rṣabhdeva) 21st (Nami), 22nd (Nemi), and 23rd (Pārśva) founders of the *Jaina dharma* (*Tīrthaṅkaras*), the age and contemporaneity of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, on the basis of historical, archaeological and literary evidences and the works of renowned scholars of Indology have been thoroughly discussed by Pt. Kailasha Chandra Shastri in his book *Jaina Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa : Pūrva Piṭhikā*, Varanasi.³³ In this context Prof. Dhammānanda Kosambi's emphatic statement in his treatise *Pārśvanātha kā Cāturyāma Dharma*, that the Buddha had been a disciple and ordained monk in the order of *Pārśvanātha*, in the initial stages of his career as a monk, assumes special importance.³⁴

31. See *Hindutva*, page 581; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, 1 p. 400, 414.
32. Vide *Bhāratīya Saṃskṛiti meṅ Jaina Dharma kā yogadāna* p. 18 H.L. Jain.
33. H.L. Jain, *Age of the First Tīrthaṅkara*; J.P. Jain, *Bhāratīya Itihāsa eka Drṣṭi*; S.C. Diwakar, *The Antiquity of Jainism*; B.M. Barua, *Jainism, the Oldest Living Religion*; Kosambi Dhammānanda, *Pārśvanātha kā Cāturyāma Dharma*; N.C. Shastri, *Tīrthaṅkara Mahavira aur Unakī Ācārya Paramparā*, I; S.L. Sanghavi, *Bhāratīya Tattvavidyā*, pp. 14-15; *ibid.*, *Jainadharma kā Prāṇa*, pp. 25-52.
34. Vide also R. Davids, *Gautama; the Man*, 22-5; S.C. Rampuriya, *Uttarādhyayana eka Samikṣātmaka Adhyānana*, p. 31.

The purpose of quoting the above references is to emphasize the fact that Jainism and Buddhism did not originate and grow as a revolt or reform movement against the Vedic sacrifices and rituals. The revolt to the sacrificial cult and rituals, grew from amongst the Vedic thinkers themselves, profuse evidences of which are available from within the orthodox literature itself, on which *śramanic* thought and culture also made a deep impact and left an indelible imprint. There is also another very strong possibility that in the earlier stages the Vedic *yajñas* were performed without animal sacrifice. Maharṣi Dayānanda Sarasvatī (1825-1857 A.D.), the founder of the *Ārya-Samāja* in India, has tried to establish this fact through his works and commentaries of the *Vedas*, on the basis of internal evidence and etymologies of the Vedic words. His opinion is supported by numerous verses and episodes of the *Mahābhārata*, wherein it has been stated that in the olden days *yajñas* were performed with 3 year old grains and not by killing *hapless* animals³⁵; and that nonviolence is the greatest Dharma (*Ahiṃsā paramo dharmah*). The *Mahābhārata* has strongly condemned the killing of animals, meat and fish eating and drinking of wines and asserts that this was not conceived in the *Vedas* and that all this has been introduced by cheats and rogues.³⁶

Dharma as propounded by Mahāvīra was no doubt a reform, but within the *śramanic* tradition of the *Cāturyāma Dharma* of *Pārśvanātha* which consisted of four vows, in which women were given up as part of possessions in the 4th vow. Mahāvīra added the 5th vow of celibacy to the *Cāturyāma*. Evidence of this reform is available in the oldest portions of the Jain canonical texts.³⁷ Hence both Jainism and Buddhism have to be studied in their own comparative merits in the historical perspective and socio-geographical situations in which they grew; lending to and borrowing from each other freely according to the demands of the times and society as well as for their own existence and propagation.

Another very important and epoch making fact, worth attention in the history of Religions of India and the development of Indian

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35. Vide *Rgvedādi Bhāṣya Bhūmikā* and other works of Maharṣi Dayānanda Sarasvatī; *Mahābhā. Anuśā Pa* Chs. 113, 115, 116, 141, 142, 144, 145, 162; *Aśvamedha Pa*. Ch. 91. (Indra is requested not to perform *yajña* by animal sacrifice and he is admonished for his ignorance); *Sānti Pa*. Chs. 6, 36, 124, 158, 189, 191, 259, 265, 272; *The Cultural Heritage of India* I p. 414; Śāstri P.M. Bareili, *Vaidika Yajñoṅ meṅ Paśu Himsā kī Bhrānti*
36. *Mahābhā. Śānti Pa*. ch. 265.9.
37. *Uttarādhyayana*. Ch. 22: *Kesī-goyamijjaṅ*.

languages and literature of the past three thousand years, is the use of colloquial dialects of the people throughout the length and breadth of the northern country both by Mahāvira and the Buddha known as *Ardha-Māgadhi* and *Māgadhi*, or *Prākṛita* and *Pāli* respectively. The Brahmin priests had at the same time forbidden the use of any other medium of expression except Vedic and Sanskrit for whom the honorific title of *Devavāṇi* was devised. But for the availability of the huge mass of *Prākṛita* and *Pāli* literature through the centuries, scholars of Comparative Philology and Linguistics would not have been able to construct the history of the development of Indian languages.

Now let us turn to the main theme, i.e. the notion of *dharma* in Jainism. *Dharma* in Jainism has though wide, but specific connotations. We will make an attempt to bring the meanings into the limited fold of definitions.

In the first place *Dharma* according to Jainism is said to be one of the six substances which constitute the whole universe. These are living beings (*jīvas*), non living matter (*ajīva*), space (*akāśa*), time (*kāla*), substratum of rest (*adharma*) and substratum of motion (*dharma*).³⁸ Etymologically *dharma* is said to have come from the root **dhṛ* by the *Jainācāryas* : **dhṛ*; *dharane* : that which holds or sustains things in their own nature. It is indeed the nature of things.³⁹ It holds living beings in happiness and lifts them up from worldly misery.⁴⁰

Dharma is the threefold path of right faith, knowledge and conduct; the tenfold mental states of forgiveness and straight forwardness etc., and protection (nonviolence) of all living beings.⁴¹

Since *dharma* is the nature of all things including the soul, the pure nature of the soul that is infinite and transcendental perception, knowledge (omniscience), energy and happiness, is also *dharma*. It protects the souls from falling into the miseries of human, animal, hellish and heavenly births.⁴² The true and pure self is realized by

38. *Ajivakāyā-dharmādharma-kāśa-pudgalāḥ Dravyāṇi. Jivāśca, Kālaśca: Tattvārthasūtra* 4.1, 2, 3, 39; *Vatthu sahāvo dhammo.*

39. *Iṣṭasthāne dhatte iti dharmāḥ: Sarvārthasiddhīḥ* 9.2, 409.11.

40. *Samṣāradiḥkhataḥ sattvān yo dharatyuttame sukhe: Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvaka-cāra* V.2.

41. *Sad-dṛṣṭi-jñāna vṛttāni dharmam. Ibid.* V.3; *Dhammo vatthu sahāvo. Khamādibhāvo ya dasaviho dhammo; rayarattayam ca dhammo jivāṇaṇi rakkharaṇaṇi dhammo: Bārasāṇu-vekkhā* V. 476.

42. *Bhāu visuddhau appaṇau dhammu bhāveviṇu lehu; caugai dukkḥahaṇi jo dharai jiu paḍaṇtau ehu: Paramātmaprakāśa* 2.68.

following the path of right conduct endowed with equanimity within the self obtained by freedom from all passion, attachment and hatred. Therefore right conduct pre-eminently characterized by right faith and knowledge is also *dharma*.⁴³ Souls purified by following the path of *dharma* finally achieve emancipation (*mokṣa*) along with all the pleasures and prosperity of the king of men and gods.⁴⁴

Dharma, which is solely characterized by non-violence and self-restraint is possessed and presided over by truth; is rooted in righteous discipline; is strengthened by forgiveness; is protected by the life of celibacy; is headed by quietude; and supported by possessionlessness and non-attachment.⁴⁵

From the few references quoted above,⁴⁶ the virtues of forgiveness, truth, soft-heartedness and straightforwardness etc., are found to constitute the general characteristics of *dharma*. The real basis, the root, the starting point, the all pervasive and the all exclusive single and unfailing test of *dharma* is *samyaktva*⁴⁷, which means right faith, right attitude, and right perspective or right view in life. To understand *samyaktva* will mean understanding of the Jaina notion of *dharma*. Without having understood *samyaktva*, all attempts to comprehend Jaina *dharma* are doomed to fail. *Samyaktva* is the supreme of all the principles of *dharma*; of all the knowledge of scriptures and of all conduct, said to be *dharma*. Literally *samyaktva* is synonymous with *samyagdarśana* or Right faith, the first limb of the threefold path of salvation (*Mokṣa*). The scriptures define *samyagdarśana* as true faith in the seven metaphysical elements (*tattvārthas*).⁴⁸ These are : living beings (*jīvas*), non living matter (*ajīva*), the influx of subtle karmic matter into the soul (*āsrava*), bondage of karmic matter with the soul (*bandha*), stoppage of influx of the karmic matter (*saṃvara*), dissociation of karmic matter from the soul (*nirjarā*) and final emancipation (*Mokṣa*)⁴⁹: as explained by the *Tīrthaṅkaras* to their chief disciples (*gaṇadhara*s) and then handed down to the generations through the

43. *Cārīttam khalu dhammo; dhammo jo so samotti ṇiddiṭṭho: mohakkhoha vihiṇo pariṇāmo appaṇo hu samo: Pravacana sāra* 1.7.

44. *Sampajjadi nivvāṇaṃ devāsuraṇaṇuyarāyavivavehiṃ; jīvassa carittādo daṃsaṇa-ṇāṇappahāṇādo: ibid.* 1.6.

45. *Dharmo ahiṃsalakṣaṇaḥ, satyādhiṣṭhito, vinayamūlaḥ kṣmābalo brahmacaryagupthaḥ, upāsama pradhāno, niyatilakṣaṇo; niṣpari grahatāvalambanaḥ: Sarvārthsiddhiḥ* 9.7. 419.2.

46. *Dhammaṃ sammattapuvvayaṃ bhāṇiyaṃ: Bārasāṇuvekkhā*, V. 68.

47. Vide above; fn. 41 and 45.

48. *Tattvārthasraddhānaṃ samygdarśanaṃ: Tattvārthasūtra* 1.2.

49. *Jivājīvāsra-va-bandha-saṃvara-nirjarā mokṣāstattvam: Ibid.* 1.4.

scriptures composed by them. Knowledge of the scriptures is called right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*) and conduct laid down therein, is called right conduct (*samyak-cāritra*).

Apparently this looks like a straight and closed jacket system; in which there is no scope for freedom of thought and action and the faithful followers should become narrow minded sectarian bigots; while the case is indeed diametrically opposite of it.

Jaina thinkers have been absolutely clear and emphatic on this point. It has been repeatedly mentioned that :

each living and non living molecule or atom, and the infinite number of living beings is a cluster of infinite qualities and their modifications. So even if all of these i.e. the whole truth were comprehended by the Omniscients, it was impossible to be expressed in words. And hence the whole truth has to be seen at, and stated in infinite ways of expression.

Let us therefore,

look at this ocean of non-absolutism (the doctrine of *Anekānta* i.e. the principle of innumerable points of view) with peace and solemnity and have respect of others' points of view, since they also hold and express partial truths.⁵⁰

We have absolutely no right to reject or discard or declare others' points of view about religious, or philosophical or matters of day-to-day concern, as entirely false; since they may be true from some angle or aspect, or situation, or time and space or substance and state of being. It has been said :

All absolutist (*ekāntika*) attitudes (*nayas*) are false; and therefore their collection is also false. Non absolutist (*Anekāntika*) attitudes are correct attitudes. Therefore all of them being meaningful (in the expression and representation of some aspect of truth); their collection is not false.⁵¹

This should be borne in mind that the doctrine of *Anekānta* does neither belong to the category of uncertainties nor of doubts. Briefly stated this would mean what I say is correct from so and so point of view or aspect of truth; what you or the others say, may also be true in relation to some other aspect of it. We therefore must have an attitude

50. Pt. Mahendra Kumara Nyayacarya, *Jainadarśana*, p. 4, 5, 36-42.

51. *Mithyā samūho mithyā cenna mithyaikāntatāsthitaḥ; nirapekṣa nayā mithyā sāpekṣā vastu te'rthakṛt: Āptanīmānsā* V. 108.

of respect of others' views and not of stoic indifference in any case.⁵² A couple of quotes are being produced here to convey the spirit of Anekānta and the impact it has had on the Jaina tradition in actual practice.

(i) While one lives by the path of non-duality (*advaita*), another by that of duality (*dvaita*): We live and enjoy within the pure-self 'devoid of both duality and non-duality: We bow down to our own-self free from both duality and non-duality.

(ii) Many are the varieties of living beings, and many are the types of deeds performed. Living beings are possessed of many and different types of capabilities and potentialities. Therefore, removal of the textual differences or disputes, or those arising out of speech between our *faith* or *dharma* and those of others' is the most desirable thing.⁵³

Thus it will be seen that Right faith in, or Right attitude towards the seven metaphysical elements, is not blind faith on how these have been described in the scriptures; but faith based on valid reason and experience.⁵⁴

(iii) The object of this science (of scriptural records of the Jainas) is that no thought or way of thought, which aims at truth, should be despised or ignored, and therefore the science has gradually developed along with the growth of new lines of thought.

(iv) The field of activity of the attitude of non-absolutism is so vast and extensive that all the empirical and transcendental sciences that are conducive to the well-being of human life find their proper place in it. It is for this reason that, in addition to the transcendental sciences, the empirical sciences have also found place in the Jaina scriptures.

(v) In the science of logic and epistemology also the non-absolutist attitude has been so comprehensively applied that no sincere thought of any philosopher has been despised or ignored. But on the contrary, all available thoughts regarding

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52. Satkari Mukherji, *The Philosophy of Non-Absolutism*: Tatia Nathmal, *Studies in Jain Philosophy*, p. 17-30 and ch. III: Pt. Mahendra Kumara Nyayacarya, *Jaina-Darśana*; Pt. Sukhalala Sanghavi, *Darśana aurā cintana*, Part II, p. 147-173.
53. *Niyamasāra*, V. 126 Sanskrit commentary and v. 156 (*Nāṇā Jivā nānākammaṃ nānāvihamaṃ have laddhi; tamhā vayaṇavivādaṃ sagaparasamaheṣṭiṃ vajjiṃ*).
54. *The Cultural Heritage of India I; Some fundamental Principles of Jainism*, p. 434-441, at page 441.

knowledge and its instruments have been properly blended into a harmonious system.

Similar non-absolutist attitude about religio-philosophical matters has been expressed repeatedly and emphatically by the Buddha as well in the *Sutta Nipāta* and other texts.⁵⁵

Śabara, also speaks in non-absolutist terms when he says that

The seers also cannot approach the end of the knowledge of substances individually. The wise decide about principles on the basis of characteristics.⁵⁶

Similar thoughts have been expressed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Precious are the echoes of God's voice in the souls of men of long ago. Our regard for them must be tempered by the recognition of the truth that God has never finished the revelation of his wisdom and love. Besides our interpretation of religion must be in conformity with the findings of science. The Hindu thinker readily admits other' points of view than his own and considers them to be just as worthy of attention. When the Hindu found that different people aimed at and achieved God realization in different ways, he generously recognised them all and justified their place in the course of history.⁵⁷

Right attitude according to *Jaina-dharma* in other words means faith (*āstikya*) in the eternity of the soul; in the transitory nature of this body of ours which becomes a temporary abode of the soul in the cycle of lives and deaths: in the principle of transmigration; in the unavailability of the fruits of one's deeds; and belief in the inherent capacity of all living beings: in any form subtle or gross; developed or undeveloped; human or other than human : of spiritual progress up to the stage of final emancipation; each by oneself and by its own efforts, without having to wait for Grace or look for help from any quarter—whatsoever by observing the path of *dharma* in all walks, professions, stages and situations in life. This attitude is expressed in compassion (*anukampā*) towards all living beings; in the inner urge of

55. Vide Ācārya Narendra Deva, *Bauddha Dharma-Darśana*, p. 291; *Sutta Nipāta: Paramaṭṭhaka Su. V. 1-8; Pasūra Su. V. 1-11 and Mahāvīyūha Su. V. 1-3, 9-20; Anekānta and Madhyama Pratipada*: Vaishali Research Institute, Res. bulletin No. 1 p. 256-257.

56. *Ṛṣayo'pi padārthānāṃ nāntaṃ yāntiprthakkaśaḥ; lakṣaṇena tu siddhāntānāmantaṃ yānti vipāścitaḥ..: Pūrvamimāṃsā 2.1.32.*

57. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 16. Refer also to the famous Upaniṣadic quote: *Ekam sat viprah bahudhā vadanti*; also see above p. 1.

spiritual awakening (*saṃvega*); in the spirit of non-attachment to all worldly pleasures and possessions (*nirveda*) and realization of spiritual equanimity (*praśama*). The above five virtues of faith and compassion etc. are the natural and necessary characteristics of Right attitude, which in turn must necessarily generate the spirit of nonviolence in thoughts, words and deeds, i.e. not to harm or hurt any living being in any way. And hence in Jainism the entire emphasis has been laid on nonviolence, for which different norms have been prescribed for the householders and houseless monks according to their way of life and situations.

This attitude of Jainism is more due to its rational consciousness, than emotional compassion. It is not based on superficial or imposed social fellow feeling, but on individual responsibility. Jainism presumes, as stated above, infinite capacity for spiritual progress in every soul. What is needed is complete non-interference from outside. Given the freedom of development, everyone is bound to progress. Interference means spiritual dragging. Truth is not to be forced, it is only to be preached. Individual freedom, mutual love, sympathy, trust and help are much more helpful than external social pressures. Spiritualism gives more importance to individual perfection than the so-called social development and progress. Human life is not meant just for enjoyments of all the worldly pleasures and possessions, but as an opportunity for spiritual progress i.e., realization of the perfect divinity within each individual. Freedom from worldly sufferings and attainment of heaven or heavenly pleasures is also not the end. The Jaina attitude towards life is not in the least pessimistic. It is realistic and optimistic. Suffering is as much an evil as worldly pleasures. But voluntary self-abnegation and self-sacrifice for the sake of spiritual transformation of oneself and good of others are decidedly preferable to one's own individual pleasures. Faith in spiritual progress and freedom inspires from within through self-imposed suffering, self-control and restraint.

This is the background of Right attitude (*samyaktva*), whereupon the superstructure of Jaina-*dharma*, and Jaina-Philosophy has been built.⁵⁸

Among the three Rś. i.e., Right attitude, knowledge and conduct (*Ratnatraya* or the three gems of *dharma*) Right attitude is like the eye of *dharma*, without which one remains blind, and cannot be supposed to be possessed of right knowledge about spiritual and transcendental matters even though one may be possessing the knowledge of all the

58. Vide : *Studies in Jaina Philosophy: the Jaina-attitude*, p. 17-26.

religious scriptures of the world. Right knowledge charged with Right attitude, can then be compared to a guide on the path of *dharmā*; and Right conduct aided with Right attitude and knowledge to the strong and unwavering feet of one trotting on the path of *dharmā* till the goal is reached.

Hence it has been said that :

Charity, worship, celibacy, fasting, observance of vows and austerities, even becoming an unclad monk, all this when endowed with right attitude leads to emancipation. Without right attitude it all engulfs one in the long cycle of births and deaths.⁵⁹

and that

The value of peace, scriptural knowledge, religious conduct and austerities, devoid of right attitude, is just like dead - heavy - weight. When endowed with right attitude, these same virtues become valuable like a priceless gem.⁶⁰

Dharma devoid of true faith culminating in right attitude, and purity of conduct and character, becomes sheer hypocrisy resulting in hell like sufferings for one who pretends to follow such *dharmā*. In this context the *Mahābhārata* emphatically asserts that :

Vedic *yajña*, study of the scriptures, charities and austerities; truth, fortitude, forgiveness and greedlessness, this is the eightfold path of *dharmā*. Out of those the first four are followed for religious hypocrisy as well; while the last four can be found and stay within the noble souls alone.⁶¹

As indicated above, non-violence is the supreme and all pervasive principle of the *dharmā* of right attitude. It is the very foundation, the basis, the mainstay and prop of *dharmā* in practical life. For *Jaina dharmā* protection and non-injury even to the smallest and invisible microscopic forms of life, including those of the earth-water-fire-air and vegetable bodied beings, in as much as one can, is the most sacrosanct. The *Ācārāṅga* (Āyāro), is the first, the oldest, the most important and authentic sacred text of the *Jainas*; which mainly concerns itself with the life and conduct of the *Jaina* monks. The full

59. *Dānaṃ pūjā silaṃ upavāsaṃ bahuvīhaṃ pi khivaṇaṃ pi: sammajudaṃ mokkhasuhaṃ samnaviṇā dihasaṃsāraṃ: Rayasāsāra, V. 10.*

60. *Sama-bodha-ṛtta-tapasāṃ pāsāṇasyeva gauravaṃ puṅsaḥ; pūjyaṃ mahāmaṇeriva tadeva samyaktavasamyuktaḥ: Ātmānūsāsana, V. 15.*

61. *Ijyādhyayanadānāni tapaḥ satyaṃ dhṛtīḥ kṣhamā, alobha iti mārgoyaṃ dharmasyaṣṭavidhaḥ smṛtaḥ. Tatra pūrvō caturvargaḥ dambhārthamapi sevayate, uttarastu caturvargaḥ mahātmanyeva tiṣṭhati: Mahābhā. Anuśā. Pa.*

text from the beginning till the end is mostly devoted to the treatment of how-not and why-not to commit violence in any way, of any living being. It pronounces that violence of any living being is theft as well because of stealing away a life one has not been permitted to; and that one should neither deny the existence of other beings; or of oneself. One who denies the existence of other beings, denies his own existence and viceversa.⁶² According to the Āyāro

all beings love to live; love happiness; detest unhappiness; hate to be killed; love life; have desire to live and are happy to live. Hence do not commit violence against any living being.⁶³

You are the one whom you deem fit for killing; for obeying your command; for inflicting torture; or being seized by force; or fit for snatching away life. The noble one spends life with such self discretion. He neither kills, nor injures any living being. One who commits violence, has to himself suffer the bitter fruits later on. Hence no one ever think of committing violence against anyone.⁶⁴

For the Jain notion of *dharma*, non-violence is synonymous with *dharma*. The two are inseparable. In situations like a doctor on the operation table, a soldier on the war-front, a judge on the bench, a researcher in the laboratory busy experimenting for saving lives in the future, when death or killing happens or is resorted to, it is the nobility and purity of intentions that counts and not actual death or killing. Taking away life because of sheer careless action, or infatuation, or hate or anger, or ill-will, or revenge, or greed, or deceit.... and the like, is indeed called violence.⁶⁵ The rest of the commonly recognised virtues of *dharma* like not telling lie, not stealing, not committing rape or adultery, not amassing wealth and property beyond one's own voluntarily set limits, and distribution of part of the righteously and honestly earned money for charitable purposes; non-evasion of taxes, non-violation of state laws and rules, non-adoption of any business, profession, or industry which involves or encourages violence in any

62. S.C. Rampuriya, *Ācārāṅga ke Sūkta*, pp. 66, 74, 78, 90, 92, 98, 136, 144, 154, 168, 182, 184, 186, 202, 240, 242, 256, 258, 264, and 306.

63. *Sabbe pāṇā piyāuyā, suhasāyā dukkhapaḍikūlā, appiyavahā piyajivino, jīviukāmā, savvesiṃ jīviyaṃ piyaṃ Nāivaijja kañcaṇaṃ. Ibid.*, p. 98.

64. *Tumamsināma saccevaṃ jaṃ haṃtavvaṃ ti mannasi; evaṃ jaṃ ajjāveyyavvaṃ ti mannasi, pariyāveyyavvaṃ ti mannasi, parighittavvaṃ ti mannasi, uddaveyyavvaṃ ti mannasi. aṃjūceyya paḍibuddhajivī, tamhā na hantā na vi ghāyae; Anūsaṃveyyaṇa-mappāṇeṇaṃ jaṃ hantavvaṃ nābhipatthae, Ibid.*, pp. 240-242.

65. *Pramatta-yogāt-prāṇavyaparopaṇaṃ hiṃsā: Tattvārtha Su. 7.13.*

way; not committing cruelty to one's dependants, servants, or animals, not drinking wine and eat meat; and so on, are all adjuncts and corollaries of the vow of non-violence in some form or the other.

The doctrine of non-absolutism, i.e. not to hurt or despise or disregard others' faith, sentiments and emotions about their *dharma* or views or way of life and have as much regard as possible, is indeed an inseparable limb of the fundamental principle of non-violence.

The vow of possessing limited wealth, in cash or kind (*aparigraha*) in order to meet the minimum necessities of food, medical care, education, protection against oppression, injustice or violence in the life of the have nots, is the third limb.

The notion of *dharma* in Jainism is thus based on two fundamental principles : (i) Right attitude and (ii) non-violence supported by the doctrine of non-absolutism and practice of the spirit of non-possession.

All said and done : finally one's own perception, realization and rejoicing in the pure and divine nature of the self or divinity-within-the-self, is true *dharma* according to Jainism. The poet *Joindu* expressed the idea in the following words :

Neither reading (the scriptures) nor having religious books (for study) or possessing the dust remover made of peacock feathers for protecting the life of microscopic insects, neither staying in lonely hermitages or maṭhas, nor splitting the hair of the head and beard, none of these rituals (of the non-clad Digambara muni) lend any help in the harvest of *dharma*. Staying within the pure-self alone, having done away with everything else, has been called *dharma* by the omniscient lord. That is the *dharma* which carries the soul to the state of final emancipation.⁶⁶

It is truly in the same spirit that Yājñavalkya enjoins upon his wife Maitreyī :

O Maitreyī ! the self within is worth being seen, being heard, being thought of and being meditated upon. O Maitreyī ! awareness of hearing and thinking about; and by knowing this self within, everything without becomes known.⁶⁷

66. *Dhammu na paḍhiyaiṅ hoi, dhammu na potthāpicchiyaiṅ; dhammu na maḍhiya paesi, dhammu na matthā luṅciyaiṅ. Rāya-rosa be pariḥarivi, jo appāṇi vasei; so dhammu vi Jiṅa uttiyai, jo paṅcama-gai ṅei: Yogasāra. V. 47-48.*

67. *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ, śrotavyo, mantavyo, nididhyāsitavyo, Maitreyi ! Ātmano vā are darśanena, śravaṇena, matyā vijñānenedaṃ sarvaṃ viditam: Bṛhadāraṇyaka. 2.4.5.*

CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAIN LITERATURE

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

In the following pages an attempt has been made to put all the main literary records and big events which have taken place in the history of Jainism into a simple chronological order. In order to show the events of Jainism in the context of world culture, I have started the chronology for the period from 4000 B.C. to A.D. 2000. It is my intention to show that from this series of charts, one can very quickly see when any particular work was written or what other events took place at the same time in the same period. This chart will help the scholars, I believe, to look at the events at a glance.

The six thousand years (from 4000 B.C. to 2000 A.D.) have been broken up into several historical periods of India. These periods have been calculated in accordance with the historical periods of India. These historical periods of India are taken from the *History and Culture of the Indian People* by R.C. Majumdar and published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay, in several volumes, from 1950 onwards. Most of the historical dates used in this dissertation are taken from the above book. Apart from this book, the *History of India Literature*, Vol-II, by Maurice Wintenz, Calcutta University, 1933, has also been consulted for the dates of Jain works and authors. The dates of Jain authors and works are also taken from the said book. Besides these, the three books of H.R. Kapadia, namely, *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains* (Bombay, 1941), *Jain Religion and Literature*, Vol-I, part 1 (Lahore, 1944), and *Jinaratnaḷoṣa*, Vol-I, (Poona, 1944) have also been consulted for the history of Jain authors and works. In addition to these, Albrecht Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains* (published by Jain Bhawan, Calcutta, 1999) has also been taken into consideration. Moreover, the introductions to the different editions of the works of H. Glasenapp, W. Schubring, A.N. Upadhye, Hiralal Jain and many others have also been consulted.

It should be noted that in the earlier parts the dates of Jain authors and works are in the doldrums; no definite periods can be assigned to them. But as I will have to start from somewhere, I have accepted the dates, traditional or otherwise, of the works. For example, the dates of

Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmī, Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakara, Kārttikeyasvāmī, Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra and the like are in a floating stage and they vary from the first century A.D. to the 7th century A.D. The dates of all these authors need not be taken for granted. All the dates are liable to be changed in accordance with researches in subsequent years.

It goes without saying that these charts can be useful only if they are used in the right way. The main purpose of this chronology is to get an idea of which works of authors are to be put in which century. It is a century-wise development of Jain works and authors.

The aim of this article is simple. It gives only the factual information, such as, the dates of an important author or work as the case may be or the time of a religious or philosophical movement. The main purpose of this chart is to put the events or the names of authors or works into a chronological order, so that one can see which works belong to which century. I believe that it will help scholars to write the history of Jainism in a chronological order.

There is no need to say that this chronological chart is not complete in any way. One can utilise this chart only to write the history of Jainism. The history of Jainism is rather complicated and not systematic. It develops in India in a different way. This chart might help scholars to write the history of Jainism in a proper way.

The main chart has several sub-sections. The authors and works not mentioned in the main chart may be found in sub-sections. All these charts are complementary and supplementary to each other. I believe that there may be many authors and works whose names may not be found in any of the list, but that will not deter the main purpose of this chart. The readers are only requested to fill in the omitted authors and works within the purview of this chart. This is a sort of working model upon which the literary history of Jainism can be built up. It should be remembered that the entire mass of Jain literary sources cannot be encompassed into the limited space and time. The works which are not published are not included here, except in a few cases which have a history in Jainism. The Jain works in Prakrit (including Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Apabhraṃśa) and Sanskrit are only included.

Prehistoric Age : 4000 B.C. to 1500 B.C.

Chronology by centuries	Main Events
4000 B.C.	Mesopotamia : Sumerian settlements of Sumer and Akkadia in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley.
	Egyptians settled in the Nile Valley
	Development of Agriculture in Egypt.
	First written records (<i>Cunneiform writing</i>) in Mesopotamia
3500 B.C.	First Assyrian settlements in Mesopotamia. Invention of Hieroglyphics in Egypt.
3102 B.C.	Epoch of the Kali Yuga and of the Bhārata War according to one school of astronomers.
3000 B.C.	Pyramid texts (completed)
3000-2500 B.C.	Chinese settlement in the Yellow River Valley.
	Migration of Indo-Hittite People.
	Agricultural Communities in Baluchistan. Growth of cities in Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley (3000-2500 B.C.)
2800 B.C.	Semitic Documents in Akkadia
2700 B.C.	Period of Indus Valley seals found in Kish. Some Jina Images of Mohenjodaro and Harappa.
2500-2000 B.C.	Migration of the Indo-European People.
2449 B.C.	Date of heroes of the Bhārata War according to a second group of astronomers and chronologists.
2000-1750 B.C.	Indo-Iranian settlement.
1750-1500 B.C.	MOVEMENT of one group of the Indo-Iranian People towards India (Proto-Iranian and Proto-Indo-Aryan stages of Indo-Iranian languages).
1500 B.C.	Settlement of the Indo-Aryan People.
1435 B.C.	Aryan kings in Western Asia.
1414 B.C.	Date of the Bhārata War according to certain Purāṇas.
1375 B.C.	Worship of Aryan deities in the land of Mitanni.

Historic Age : The Vedic Period : 1500 B.C. to 7th/6th centuries B.C.

Chronology by centuries	Main Events
1500-1250 B.C.	Early Vedic Stage : The composition of the R̥gveda.
1250-1000 B.C.	Middle Vedic Stage : The composition of the first, eighth to the tenth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda; and Sāmaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda.
1000-800 B.C.	Late Vedic Stage : Brāhmanas (Altareya, Śatapatha, Taittirīya and others). Ariṣṭanemi (1000 B.C.)
900 B.C.	The Mahābhārata War.
817 B.C.	The traditional date of the birth of Pārśvanātha.
800-700 B.C.	Āraṇyakas
700-600 B.C.	The period of Upanisads : The beginning of <i>ātmavidyā</i> .
600-500 B.C.	The birth of Lord Vardhamāna Mahāvira (599 B.C.) and Nirvāṇa (527 B.C.) The Ājivikas, Gosāla Maṅkhaliputra.
563-483 B.C.	Gautama Buddha
542-480 B.C.	Bimbisāra, King of Magadha.
490-458 B.C.	Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha.
465 B.C.	Gautama, Sudharmā and Jambūsvāmī were the propagators and they all attained Nirvāṇa.
365 B.C.-357 B.C.	There were five <i>śruta-kevalins</i> : Viṣṇunandī, Nandimitra, Aparājita, Govardhana and Bhadrabāhu, Bhadrabāhu-Kalpasūtra, Nirukti.
327-324 B.C.	Invasion of India by Alexander
324-298 B.C.	Rise of the Maurya Dynasty : The Period of the Maurya Chandragupta (322-298 B.C.)
318-17 B.C.	Thera Bhadrabāhu was the head of the community. During the famine, Thera Bhadrabāhu went to the south and Sthūlabhadra remained in Magadha. Origin of two sects.
313 B.C.	Jaina date of the year of Chandragupta's accession, probably as a ruler of Āvanti.
298-273 B.C.	Bindusāra.
273-232 B.C.	The Reign of Aśoka. Aśokan edicts. The literature of Aśokan Prakrits.
187-147 B.C.	Rise of the Dynasty of Puṣyamitrā Suṅga

The Age of Imperial Unity : 7th cent B.C. to 320 A.D.

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
1st cent. A.D.	Kushāna invaded North-western India 78-101 Śaka The reign of Kaṇiṣka	Traditional dates of Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmi, Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Kārttikeya Svāmi, Vimāla Sūri	The beginning of Paṭṭāvalis, Therāvalis, Genealogical lists of Jain teachers.
	79 A.D.	The Digambara Āgamas were written	
2nd cent. A.D.		By the first and second centuries A.D. the Jains were split into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.	
		Puṣpadanta and Bhūtavali	Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama
		Guṇadharācarya	Kasāya-pāhuḍa
		Bhūtavali	Mahābanda
		Śivārya	Bhagavati-Ārādharā
		Hāla	Gathāsaptaśatī
		Kundakunda	Pañcāstikāya, Pravacanasāra, Samayasāra Niyamasāra, Ṣaṭ-prābhṛta etc.
		Vaṭṭakera Kārttikeya Svāmi	Mūlācāra (Ācāravṛtti a commentary on Mūlācāra) Trivarnācāra. Kaṭṭhigeyāṇupekkhā
3rd cent. A.D.		Mānatarūga	Bhaktāmara-śotra, Bhayahara-śotra (a hymn to Pārśva).
		Vimāla Sūri (3rd/4th cent A.D.)	Paūmacariyaṃ
		Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmi	Tattvārthādhigama sūtra, Praśamarati-prakarāṇa
		Nātyasāstra	Dhruvāgāna

The classical Age : 320-740 A.D.

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
4th cent. A.D.			
5th cent. A.D.		Pādaliptācārya (before 5th cent. A.D.)	Taraṅgavati (lost)
		Devanandin (or Puḷyapāda Jinendra buddhi)	?
		Bhadrabāhu	Uvasaggahara-stotra
	454 A.D.	Final redaction of Ardhamāgadhī texts in the second council at Valabhi in Guḷarāt under Devardhī Gaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa	
6th cent. A.D.		Maṇikyanandi (528 A.D.)	Paṛikṣāmukha-sūtra
		Yogendradeva (=Joindudeva)	Paramātma-prakāśa, Yogasāra, Śrāvaka-cāra- dohaka, Dohāpāhuḍa
		Saṅghadāsagaṇī	Vasudevahiṇḍī
		Samantabhadrā (600 A.D.)	Bṛhat-svayambhū-stotra (Caturviṃśati-jina-stotra)
6th cent. A.D.		Siddhasena Divākara	Nyāyāvātāra, Kalyāṇa- mandira-stotra, (Vardha- māna)-Dvātriṃśikā, Sammati-tarka-sūtra.
		Pravarasena (5th or 6th cent. A.D.)	Setuḷbandha (or Rāvaṇa- vaho)
7th cent. A.D.	Harsa-Vardhana of Kanyakubja (606-647 A.D.)	Raviṣeṇa (650 or 678 A.D.) Puḷyapāda	Padma-purāṇa (Skt.) (ch. x Tirthaṅkara) Iṣṭopadeśa, Samādhi- śataka.
		Jinendrabuddhi (=Puḷyapāda 700 A.D.)	
		Yatīvr̥ṣabhācārya	Triloka-prajñapti

The Age of Imperial Kanauj : 740-1000 A.D.

8th cent. A.D.		Haribhadra Sūri (705-775 A.D.)	Samarāicca-kahā (Pkt.) Lokatattvanirṇaya, Nyāya-praveśa (a comm. on Dinnāga), Yogadr̥ṣṭi- samuccaya, Dharma-
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Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
8th cent A.D.			bindu, Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya, Yogabindu, Dhūrtākhyāna, Aṣṭakāni, Upadeśapada (Pkt.) Śrāvaka prajñapti (Pkt.)
		Akalaṅkadeva (720-780 A.D.)	Tattvārtharājavārtika (a comm. on Tattvārthasūtra), Pramāṇa-saṅgraha, Aṣṭaśati (a comm. on Āptamīmāṃsā), Nyāya-viniścaya, Laghīyastraya, Svarūpa-śambodhana, Prāyaścitta-granthas
		Bappabhaṭṭi (bet. 743-833 A.D.)	Sarasvatī-stotra, Caturvīṃśati-jina-stuti.
		Samantabhadra (1st half of the 8th cent. A.D.)	Devāgama-stotra (or Āptamīmāṃsā), Yuktyanuśāsana, Ratnakāraṇḍa-śrāvakācāra, Bṛhat-svayambhu-stotra (or Caturvīṃśati-Jinastavana)
		Uddyotana sūri (779 A.D.)	Kuvalayamālakahā
		Jinasena (705 śaka -783 A.D.)	Harivaṃśa purāṇa
		Vākpatriāja (750 A.D.)	Gauḍavaho.
		Dharmadāsa (before 9th cent. A.D.)	Uvaesṃāla (Pkt.)
		Vidyānanda (Pātrakeśarin)	Patrakeśarī-stotra Aṣṭasaharī (a comm. on Aṣṭaśati), Tattvārthasloka-vartika, Āptaparīkṣā, Patraparīkṣā, Pramāṇa-nirmaya, Pramāṇa-parīkṣā
		Nandisena (earlier than 9th cent. A.D.)	Ajiya-santi-thaya (Pkt.)
		Subhacandra, (8th-9th cent. A.D.) Svayambhū	Jñānārṇava (or Yoga-pradīpa-pādhikarā) Paūmacariu Svayambhūcchandaḥ
		Koṭhala (800 A.D.)	Lilāvaikahā

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
9th cent. A.D.		Jinasena (770-850 A.D.)	Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-Mahāpurāṇa, Parsvābhyudaya (Skt.), Ādipurāṇa, Harivaṃśa-purāṇa
		Guṇabhadra (a pupil of Jinasena) (879 A.D.)	Uttarapurāṇa (completed in 879 A.D.), Ātmānuśāsana
		Śilācārya (868 A.D.) or Śilāṅka (862 or 872 A.D.)	Mahāpuruṣa-carita (completed in 868), wrote two commentaries on the first two Āgamas.
		Pujyapāda Devanandi	Sarvārthasiddhi, Jainendra-vyākaraṇa,
		Śākatāyana	Śākatāyana-vyākaraṇa
		Vimala (candra)	Praśnottara-ratnamālā
		Devasena (894 A.D.)	Darśanasāra
10th cent. A.D.		Amṛtacandra (904 A.D.)	Purusārthasiddhyupāya (or Jina-pravacana-rahasya-kośa) (Skt.) Tattvārthasāra, Tattvadīpikā
		Siddharṣi (906 A.D.)	Upamiti-bhava-pra-pancakathā.
		Vijayasimhasūri (918 A.D.)	Bhuvanasundarikahā
		Hariṣeṇa (931/32 A.D.)	Bṛhat-kathā-kośa.
		Somadevasūri (950 A.D.)	Yaśastilaka-campū, (completed in 959 A.D.) Nītivākyāmrta
		Dhanapāla (a Śvetāmbara)	Tilakamañjarī 970 A.D. or 1018-1055 A.D.) Pālalacchināmamālā (completed in 972 A.D.) Rṣabha-pancāsikā (completed in 972 A.D.)
		Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (bet. 974-984 A.D.)	Erected the statu of Gommaṭa in Sravaṇa

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
10th cent. A.D.			Belagola in about 980 A.D. Cāmuṇḍa-rāya-purāṇa (in Kanarese in 978 A.D.) Cāritrasāra
		Devasena (894-933 A.D.)	Darśanasāra (933 A.D.) (Pkt.), Śrāvākācāra (933 A.D.) (Pkt.) Ārādhnāsāra (Pkt.) Tattvasāra (Pkt.) Alāpa-paddhati
		Śobhana (2nd half of the 10th cent. A.D.)	Śobhana-stuti
		Śricandra Amitagati (10th + 11th cent. A.D.)	Kathākośa (Apa) Subhāṣitaratna-samdoha, (994 A.D.), Vardhamānaniti (1011 A.D.) Dharmapañkṣā (1014 A.D.) Yogasāra, Dvātrīṃśikā
		Puṣpadanta	Nāyakumāra-carīu (Apa) Jasaḥaracariu (Apa) Tisaṭṭhimahāpurasa-Guṇālaṅkāra
		Vādirāja Sūri	Jośodhara-carita
		Dhanapāla (a Digambara)	Bhavissaatta-kahā
		Rājaśekhara (10th cent. A.D.)	Karpūramañjarī
		Virahāṅka (10th cent. A.D.)	Vṛtta-jāti-samuccaya
		Nemicaṇḍra Siddhānta Cakravartī (10th-11th cent. A.D.)	Davvasaṅgaha (Pkt.) Gommaṭasāra (or Pañcasamgraha) (Pkt.), Labdhisāra, Trilokasāra, Kṣapaṇāsāra (or Pratiṣṭhānapaṭa)
		Vardhamāna Sūri	Ācāradīnakara
		Dhavalakavi (10th-11th cent. A.D.)	Harivaṃśapurāṇa
		? (10th cent. A.D.)	Samkhitta-taraṅgavai-kahā

The Struggle for Empire : 1000-1390 A.D.

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
11th cent. A.D.		Jinacandra Gaṇi (also Devagupta) (1015 A.D.)	Navapaya (Pkt.) (1015 A.D.)
		Vādirāja Sūri (1025 A.D.)	Pārśvanātha-carita.
		Durgadeva (1089 vs - 1032 A.D.)	Riṣṭasamuccaya, Arghakāṇḍa
		Sānti Sūri (died in 1040 A.D.)	Jīvaviyāra (Pkt.)
		Nayanandi (1044 A.D.)	Sudarśanacarita (Apa)
		Abhayadeva (1060/1070 A.D.)	Jaya-tihuyāṇa-stotra Commentaries of the Āgama texts.
		Kanakāmara Muni (1065 A.D.)	Karakaṇḍa-cariu (Apa)
		Sādhāraṇa (1123 vs - 1066 A.D.)	Vilāsavaikahā
		Śricandra (1072 A.D.)	Sanatkumāracarita (Pkt.)
		Devendra Gaṇi (1073 A.D.)	Sukhabodhā, commentary on the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra
		Guṇacandra Gaṇi (1082 A.D.)	Mahāvīracariyam (written in 1082 A.D.)
		Nemicandra (or Devendra Gaṇi) (1085 A.D.)	Mahāvīra cariyan (Pkt.) (written in 1085 A.D.)
		Jīnadatta Sūri (1075-1154 A.D.)	Upadeśa-rasāyana-rāsa Kālasvarūpa-kulakam (Apa), Caccari (Apa)
		Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.)	See 12th cent entry.
	Jineśvara (1092 A.D.)	Kathānaka-kośa	
	Surācārya (11th cent. A.D.)	Nemināthacarita (Skt.)	

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
11th cent. A.D.		Oḍeyadeva Vāḍibha-siṃha (beginning of 11th cent. A.D.)	Kṣatracūdāmaṇi Gadyacūdāmaṇi
		Haricandra (a Digambara)	Jivandharacampū
		Dhaneśvara (1100 A.D.)	Surasundaricariyam (Pkt.) Śatruñjaya-Māhātmya
		Vāgbhaṭa	Neminirvāṇa (in 15 Cantos)
		Vikrama	Nemidūta
		Dhāhila	Paūma-siri-cariu (Apa)
		Nanditādhyā	Gāthālakṣaṇa
12th cent. A.D.		Vardhamāna (1103 A.D.)	Ādināthacarita
		Devacandra (1103 A.D.)	Śāntinātha-carita (Pkt.)
	The period of two Chālukya kings :	Santi Sūri (1104 A.D.) Devabhadrā (1108 A.D.)	Ṙthvicandracarita (Pkt.) Pārsvanātha-carita (Pkt.)
	Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A.D.)	Jinavallabha (died in 1110 A.D.) Maladhāri Hemacandra (1107, 1113 A.D.) Municandra Sūri (died in 1122 A.D.)	Ullāsikkama-thaya (Pkt.) Jivasamāsa (1107 A.D.) Bhavabhāvanā (Pkt.) (composed in 1113 A.D.) Nemināthacarita Gāthākośa (Pkt.)
		Yaśaścandra (1124 A.D.)	Mudrita-kumuda-candra-prakaraṇa
		Śricandra (1137 A.D.)	Munisuvrata-svāmi-carita (Pkt.)
		Lakṣaṇagaṇi (1143 A.D.)	Supāsanāhacariyam (Pkt.)
		Malayagiri (bet. 1150-1160 A.D.)	Commentators.
		Haribhadra (1159 A.D.)	Nemināha-cariu (Apa), Mallināha-carita, Sanat-kumāra-carita (Apa) Candraprabha-carita

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
12th cent. A.D.		Somaprabhācārya (second half of the 12th cent. A.D.)	Sumatinātha-carita (Pkt.), Sūktimukhāvalī, Śatārtha-kāvya, Kumārapāla-pratibodha (1184 A.D.)
	Hemacandra initiated Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A.D.) into Jainism	Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.)	Haima-śabdānuśāsana (or Siddhahemacandra) Dhātupāṭha : Dhātu-pārāyaṇa, Dhatumālā, Uṇādisūtra-vṛtti, Liṅgānuśāsana, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Nāmamālā, Nāma-mālāśeṣa, Anekartha-saṃgraha, Anekartha-śeṣa, Nighaṇṭu-śeṣa, Śeṣa-saṃgraha, Śeṣa-saṃgraha-sāroddhāra, Deśināmamālā (or Deśi-śabda-saṃgraha), Ekākṣara-nāmamālā, Chandonuśāsana, Kāvyaṇuśāsana with Alaṅkāracuḍāmaṇi, Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, Bālābala-sūtra-bṛhad-vṛtti, Yoga-śāstra, Kumārapāla-carita (or Dvyāśraya-kāvya); Triṣaṣṭi-salākā-puruṣa-carita, Vibhramasūtra, Vitarāga-stotra (or Mahāvira-stotra), Dvātriṃśikā, Ayogavyavacchedā, Anyayoga-vyavacchedā etc.
		Ramabhadra Muni (1185 A.D.)	Prabuddha-rauhineya (in six acts).
		Devāsuri (vs. 1254-1197 A.D.)	Siri-paūma-ppaha-sāmitariyam
		Dharmavardhana (1200 A.D.)	Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-nirmita-pārśva-jina-stavana
		Maladhārī Devaprabha Sūri (1200 A.D.)	Pāṇḍava-carita
		Kṛṣṇadāsa (?)	Vimala-purāṇa
		Haricandra	Dharma-sarmābhyaudaya Jivandhara-campū

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
12th cent. A.D.		Vardhamāna Sūri	Vāsupujya-caritra Manoramā-kahā
		Yaśaḥpāla	Moharāja-parājaya
		Bālacandra	Karuṇa-vajrāyudha
		Meghaprabhācārya	Dharmābhyudaya
		Viragaṇin	Ajīya-santi-thaya (Pkt.)
		Jayaśekhara	Ajīta-santi-stava (Skt.)
		Bhāvaprabha Sūri	Nemibhaktāmara
		Suprabhācārya	Vairāgyasāra (Apa)
13th cent A.D.		Pārsvadeva (1210 A.D.)	Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra, Saṅgīta-ratnākara
		Māṇikyacandra (1217 A.D.)	Pārsvanātha-carita, Śāntinātha-carita,
		Amarakīrti (1218 A.D.) Āśādhara (1st half of the 13 cent A.D.) Jayasiṃha Sūri (bet. 1219-1299 A.D.)	Chakkammuvaeso (=Ṣaṭ-karmopadeśa), Dharmāmṛta (wrote a comm. on 1243 A.D.) Hammira-mada-mardana (1229 A.D.)
		Devendra Sūri (bet. 1241-1251 A.D.)	Vandāru-vṛtti (a comm. on Śraddha-pratikramaṇa-sūtra), Suddha-pañcāśikā (an extract from Dīṭhivāya in 50 stanzas), Upamiti-bhava-prapañca-kathā-sāroddhāra, Karmagrantha.
		Prabhacandra and Pradyummasūri (1250-1277A.D.)	Prabhāvākacārita (written in 1250 by Prabhā, and revised by Pradyumna. in 1277 A.D.)
		Prabhācandra	Comm. on Tattvārthādhigama, Comm. on Samayasāra, Comm. on Puṅgavāda's Samādhi-śataka, Comm. on Samantabhadra's Ratnakāraṇḍa-svayambhūstotra.

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
13th cent A.D.		Bhāvadeva Sūri (1255 A.D.)	Pārsvanātha-carita
		Dharmaghoṣa (died 1270 A.D.)	Yamaka-stuti Caturviṃśati-jina-stuti
		Dharmakumāra (1277 A.D.)	Śālibhadra-carita (revised by Pradyumna Sūri)
		Deva Sūri (1284 A.D.)	Śāntinātha-carita
		Hastimalla (1290 A.D.)	Vikrānta-kaurava (six acts)
		Malliṣeṇa (1292 A.D.) (with Jinaprabha Sūri)	Syādvāda-mañjarī (written in 1292 A.D.) (a comm. on the 32 verses of Hema's Anya-yoga-vyava-cchedikā).
		Maladhāri Devaprabha (13th cent.)	Mṛgāvati-caritra
		Ajitaprabha (?) Asaga (?)	Śāntinātha-caritra Śānti-purāṇa
		Dharmasāgara Gaṇin	Gurvāvali-sūtra (a list of the teachers of Tapāgaccha)
		Dharmakumāra	Śālibhadracaritra
		Rāmacandra Vijayapāla	Nirbhaya-bhīma-vyayoga Draupali-svayaṃvara
		Udayaprabha Sūri	Maithilī-kalyāṇa (in five acts), Sukṛta-kīrti kallolinī.
		Dharmaghoṣa (13/14 cent A.D.)	Iṣimaṇḍala (Pkt.)
		Ratnākara (?)	Vitarāgastotra (or Ratnākara-pañca- viṃśatikā).
	Devanandin	Siddhipriya-stotra Mahāvīra-stava (Pkt.) Nemi-jina-stava	
	Jayatilaka Sūri	Catur-hārāvalī-citra- stava, Malaya-sundarī-caritra.	

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
13th cent A.D.		Candramahattara	Pañca-saṃgraha
		Śiva śarmā Sūri Abul Rahmān	Karmaprakṛti (in 475 gāthās) Sandeśa-rāsaka
		Ācārya Nemicandra Sūri	Siri-Ananta-nātha-jina-carīu.
14th cent. A.D.		Merutuṅga (1305/1306 A.D.)	Mahāpuruṣa-caritra (Rṣabha, Nemi, Śānti, Pārśva and Mahāvira). Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (compled in 1306 A.D.)
		?	Kavidarpaṇa (1308 A.D.)
		Maheśara Sūri (earlier than 1309 A.D.)	Therāvali Saṃyama-maṇjari (Apa) in 35 dohās.
		Jinapadma (1325-1344 A.D.)	Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-vibhūṣita-śāntinātha-stavana
		Jinaprabha Sūri (bet. 1326 and 1337 A.D.)	Caturviṃśati-jina-stuti Tīrthakalpa (kalpapradīpa vividha)
		Jayakīrti (by 1337 A.D.)	Silvoaesamālā (in 116 Pkt. stanzas) (a commentary by Somatilaka was written in 1337 A.D.)
		Jayavallabha (1336 ?)	Vajjālagga (written before 1336 A.D.)
		Rājaśekhara (1348 A.D.)	Prabandhakośa (written in 1348 A.D.) Anta-kathā-saṃgraha
		Munibhadra (1359 A.D.)	Śāntināthacaritra
		Nayacandra (1365-1478 A.D.)	Rambhāmaṇjari
		Ratnaśekhara (1371 A.D.)	Śrīpālacaritam, Guṇasthānakramāroha, (vs. 1449) Chandaḥkośa
		Muni Sundara Sūri (died in 1379 A.D.)	Jina-stotra-ratna-kośa

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
14th cent. A.D.		Dharmacakra (14th cent. A.D.)	Malaya-sundarī-kathoddhāra
		Piṅgalācārya	Prākṛtapīṅgala.
15th cent. A.D.		Caritrasundara (1420 A.D.)	Mahīpālacaritra Kālakācāryakathānaka Śīladūta
		Jinamaṇḍana Upādhyāya (1435/36 A.D.) Simhasena (or Raidhu) (1439 A.D.)	Kumārapālacarita Mehesara-cariu (Apa)
		Jinahaṃśa (1440 or 1445 A.D.)	Rayaṇa-sehara-ṇaravai-kahā
		Somacandra (1448 A.D.)	Kathāmahodadhi
		Udayadarma (1450 A.D.) Śubhaśīla gaṇi (1452 A.D.)	Dharma-kalpa-druma Bharadādi-kathā (1452 A.D.) Pañca-śati-prabodha-sambandha.
		Jñānasāgara Sūri (mid or second half of the 15th cent. A.D.)	Ratnacūḍakathā
		Sakalakīrti (died in 1464 A.D.)	Pārśvanāthacarita, Śāntinātha-carita, Harivaṃśa (in 39 sargas)
		Śrutasāgara (1495 A.D.) Māṇikyasundara	Jainendra-yajña-vidhi, Tattvartha-dīpikā, Ṣaṭ-prābhṛta Mahābala-Malaya-sundarī-katha
		Bhāvadeva Sūri Jinakīrti (15th cent. A.D.)	Kālakācārya-kathānaka Campaka-śreṣṭhī-kathānaka, Pālagopāla-kathānaka.
		? ?	Dāna-kalpa-druma Ambaḍa-caritra
16th cent. A.D.		Nemidatta (1530 A.D.) Subhacandra (1551 A.D.)	Ārādhnākathākośa Pāṇḍava-purāṇa (or Jaina Mahābhārata written in 1551 A.D.)
	Akbar the great 1556-1605	Padmasundara (1565 A.D.) Dharmasāgara (1573 A.D.) Devavijaya Gaṇin (1596 A.D.)	Pārśvanātha-carita Kupakṣa-kauśika-sahasra-kiraṇa (Pkt.) written in 1573 A.D. Rāmācaritra (completed in 1596 A.D.)

Chronology by centuries	Historical events	Authors	Works
16th cent. A.D.		Udayavīra Gaṇin (1597 A.D.) Śānticandra gaṇin (16th cent. A.D.)	Pārśvanātha-carita Rsabha-stava Ajita-śānti-stava
		Siddhicandra Upādhyāya (honoured by Akbar)	Bhānucandracarita
		Hemavijaya (1600 A.D.)	Kathāratnākara.
17th cent. A.D.		Devavijaya Gaṇin (1603 A.D.)	Pāṇḍavacaritra (Prose) (in 1603 A.D.)
		Yaśovijaya (1624-1688 A.D.)	Adhyātma-parīkṣā (Pkt.), Jñāna-bindu-prakarāṇa, Jñānasāra (or Aṣṭaka-prakarāṇa).
		Samayasundara (1630 A.D.) ? Vinayavijaya (1649 A.D.)	Gāthā-sahasrī Taraṅgalolā (in 1643 A.D.) Lokaprakāśa (an encyclopaedic work).
		Rudradāsa (1660 A.D.)	Candralekhāsaṭṭakam
		Mānavijaya (1681 A.D.)	Dharma-saṃgraha
		Mārkaṇḍeya (17th cent. A.D.)	Valāsavati
		?	Bhavavairāgya-śatakam
		Vijaya Dharmasūri Muni Nyāyavijaya	Pramāna-paribhāṣā, Jaina-tattva-jñāna, Adhyātma-tattvāloka, Nyāya-kusumāñjali
18th cent. A.D.		Ganaśyama (1700-1750 A.D.)	Ānandasundarī
		Rāmapāṇivāda	Usāṇiruddho (Pkt.) Kaṃsavaho (Pkt.)
		Viśveśvara (18th cent. A.D.)	Śṛṅgaramañjarī
19th cent. A.D.	Sepoy Mutiny 1857-1862 A.D.	Yaśovijaya (=Ātmārāmji) 1837-1897 A.D.) Vijaya Dharma Sūri (1868-1922 A.D.)	Yaśovijaya-jaina-granthamālā, Aitihāsika-Rāsa-saṃgraha, Jaina-tattva-jñāna (published in 1917).

Chronological Development of Jaina Logic

(based on S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *A History of Indian Logic* including his dates)
compiled by Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Dates by Centuries	Ancient Indian Logic	Jain Logic	Buddhist Logic
B.C.			
1500-900 B.C.	Origin of Indian logic in Vedic literature : knowledge, action and worship.		
900-600 B.C.	Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad. Origin of <i>ātma vidyā</i> , 'self-realisation' and its development	Mahāvira Svāmi (599-527 B.C. or 659-587 B.C.). The birth of Jaina logic as can be gleaned from Jain Canons.	Gautama Buddha (570-490 B.C.)
600-100 B.C.	Origin of <i>Ānviṣṭikī Vidyā</i> (650 B.C.) Birth of Indian logic : Cārvāka (650 B.C.), Kapila (650-575 B.C.), Dattātreya (650 B.C.) Punarvasu Ātreya (550 B.C.) Sulabhā (550-500 B.C.), Aṣṭāvakra (550-500 B.C.), Medhātithi Gautama (550 B.C.)	Indrabhūti Gautama (607-515 B.C.) Bhadrabāhu I (433-357 B.C.) Bhadrabāhu II (1st cent. B.C.)	Origin of the Buddhist logic (490-76 B.C.) Pali Tripiṭaka. Origin of different <i>saṃghas</i> . <i>Suttanipāta</i> , <i>Vinayapiṭaka</i>
A.D.			
1st cent.	<i>Nyāyaśāstra</i>	Division of Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects	Origin of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna (78).
2nd cent.	Akṣapāda Gautama's <i>Nyāyasūtra</i> (150)		Milinda Paṇha (100)
3rd cent.		Umāsvāti/Umāsvāmi (or 5th cent. A.D.)	Nāgārjuna (250-320)

4th cent.			Āryadeva (320-520)
5th cent.	Vātsyāyana's <i>Nyāyabhāṣya</i> (500)	[Bhadrabāhu II (450-520)] <i>Siddhasena Divākara</i> (480-550), Jinabhadra Gaṇi (484-588)	Maitreya (400), Ārya Asaṅga (405-470) <i>Vasubandhu</i> (410-490), <i>Dinnāga</i> (450-520)
6th cent.		Siddhasena Gaṇi (600), Samanta- bhadra (600)	Paramārtha (498-569), Śaṅkara Svāmi (500)
7th cent.	Uddyotakara's <i>Nyāya-vārttika</i> (600 or 635)		Dharmapāla (600-635), Ācārya Śīlabhadra (695), Dharmakīrti (635-650), Devendra Bodhi (650), Śākyabodhi (675)
8th cent.		Akalaṅkadeva (750) Vidyānanda (800) Māṅikyanandi (800)	Vinītadeva (700), Ravigupta (725), Jinendrabodhi (725), Śāntarakṣita (749), Kamalaśīla (750)
9th cent.	Vācaspati Miśra's <i>Nyāya-vārttika- tātparyaṭīkā</i> (841)	Prabhācandra (825) Mallavādin (827) Rabhasanandi (850)	Kalyāṇa Raksita (829), Dharmottarācārya (857) Muktākumbha (900) Arcata (900), Aśoka (900)
10th cent.	Udayanācārya's <i>Nyāya-vārttika- tātparyaṭīkā- Pariśuddhi</i> , <i>Kusu- māñjali</i> , <i>Ātmatattva- viveka</i> (984), Jayan- tabhaṭṭa's <i>Nyāya- mañjarī</i> (10th cent.)	Amṛtacandra-sūri (905), Devasena Bhaṭṭāraka (899-950), Pradyumna Śūri (980), Abhayadeva Śūri (1000), Laghu-Śam- antabhadra (1000), Kalyāṇacandra (1000).	Candraśomin (925) Prabhākara Gupta (940), Ācārya Jetāri (940-980), Jina (940), Ratnakūṭi (940-1000), Ratna Vajra (979-1040)
11th cent.		Ananta Vīrya (1039), Deva Sūri (1086-1169)	Jina Mitra (1025) Dānaśīla (1025) Jñāna-śrī Mitra (1040), Ratnākara Śānti (1040) Jñāna Śrī Bhadra (1050), Yāmari (1050), Śaṅkarānanda (1050), Śubhākara Gupta (1080) Mokṣākara Gupta (1100).

12th cent.	Śaśadhara (1125), Varadarāja (1150), Ballabhācārya (1200) Gaṇeśa's <i>Nyāyalilāvati</i> (1200), Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya's <i>Tattvacintāmaṇi</i> (1200)	Hemacandra (1088- 1172), Candraprabha Sūri (1102), Nemi candra (1150), Ānanda Sūri and Amara- candra Sūri(1093- 1135), Haribhadra Sūri (1120), Pārśva- deva Gaṇi (1133), Śrī Candra (1137- 1165), Devabhadra (1150), Candrasena Sūri (1150), Ratna- prabha Sūri (1181), Tilakācārya (1180- 1240).	
13th cent.	Vardhamāna Upādhyāya (1250), Keśava Mīśra (1275), Tarkabhāṣā Pakṣa- dhara Mīśra (1275), Vāsudeva Mīśra (1275), Rucidatta Mīśra (1275).	Malliṣeṇa Sūri (1292)	
14th cent.	Bhagīratha (1400) Maheśa Thākura (1400)	Rājasekhara Sūri (1348), Jñānacandra (1350)	
15th cent.	Śrī Kaṇṭha (1409), Abhaya Tilakopā- dhyāya (1409) Śaṅkara Mīśra (1450) Vācaspati Mīśra (1450), Misaru Mīśra (1475), Vāsu- deva Sārvabhauma (1450-1525), Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (1477- 1547), Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkara Bhaṭṭācārya (1480- 1540)	Guṇaratna (1409), Śrutasāgara Gaṇi (1493).	
16th cent.	Durgādatta (1550) Jānakīnātha Śarmā (1550)		

	<p>Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa (1560), Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya (1560), Devanātha Thākura (1562), Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa (1570) Guṇānanda Vidyāvāgīśa (1570), Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārva-bhauma (1575) Madhusūdana Thākura (1575)</p>	Dharmabhūsaṇa (1600)	
17th cent.	<p>Annambhaṭṭa (1623) Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra (1625), Bhavānanda (1625), Harirāma (1625), Rājacūḍāmaṇi (1630), Viśvanātha Nyāya-pañcānana (1634), Govinda (1650), Gopinātha Mauni (1650), Raghunātha (1650), Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (1650), ŚrīKṛṣṇa Nyāya-laṅkāra (1650), Rāmabhadra (1660) Nrsimha (1675), Rāmadeva Cirañjīva (1700), Rāmarudra Tarkavāgīśa (1700), Jayarāma Tarkā-laṅkāra (1700)</p>	Yaśovijaya Gaṇi (1608-1688), Vinaya-vijaya (1613-1681)	
18th cent.	<p>Gaurīkānta Sārva-bhauma (1725), Rudrarāma (1750), 'Buno' Rāmanātha (1780), Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgīśa (1780) Mahādeva Puntam-kara (1790).</p>		
19th cent.	<p>Raghunātha Śāstri (Parvata) (1815)</p>		

Chronological Development of the Śrāvaka Literature

(mainly based on Robert Williams' *Jaina Yoga*)

compiled by Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Chronology by centuries	Śvetāmbara	Digambara	Works
1st cent. A.D.		Vaṭṭakera	Mūlācāra
2nd cent. A.D.		Kundakunda	Cāritra-prābhṛta (Pkt)
3rd cent.	Umāsvāti (or 5th cent. A.D.)	Umāsvāmī (or 5th cent. A.D.)	Śrāvaka-prajñapti Tattvārtha-sūtra
4th cent.		Kārttikeya	Dvādaśānuprekṣā
5th cent.		Samantabhadra (450 A.D.)	Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra
6th cent.	Haribhadra Virahāṅka (529 A.D.)		Pañcāśaka
		Pūjyapāda	Sarvārthasiddhi,
7th cent.			
8th cent.		?	Ratnasāra
	Haribhadrasūri (yākini-putra) (705-775 A.D.)		Dharmabindu, Lalitavīstarā, Āvaśyaka-bhāṣya
9th cent.	Siddhasena Gaṇi	Jinasena (late 9th cent A.D.)	Tattvārthasūtraṭīkā Ādipurāṇa
10th cent.		Devasena (early 10th cent. A.D.)	Bhāva-saṃgraha
		Somadeva (959 A.D.)	Yaśas-tilaka
	Dhanapāla (970 A.D.)		Śrāvaka-vidhi
		Amitagati (993 A.D.) Cāmuṇḍarāja (1000 A.D.)	Subhāṣitaratna-sandoha- Śrāvakācāra Cāritrasāra.
11th cent.		Amṛtacandra	Puruṣārtha-siddhy-pāya
		?	Śrāvaka-dharma-dohaka
	Devagupta (1016 A.D.)		Navapada-prakaraṇa (with commentary)
	Śāntīsūri (1040 A.D.)		Dharma-ratna-prakaraṇa
	Abhayadeva (bet. 1061 and 1068)		Upāsakadaśā-ṭīkā (1061 A.D.) Pañcāśakaṭīkā (1068 A.D.)

	Nemicandra (late 11th cent.)		Pravacana-sāroddhāra
12th cent.	Yaśodeva (1116 A.D.) Municandra (1122 A.D.) Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) Siddhasena Sūri (1185 A.D.)	Vasunandi (1100 A.D.) Padmanandin	Śrāvakācāra Pañcāsaka-tīkā Dharmabindu-tīkā Yogaśāstra Pravacanasāroddhāra- tīkā Dharma-rasāyana
13th cent.		Āśādhara (1240 A.D.)	Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta
		Māghanandin (1260 A.D.)	Śrāvakācāra
	Devendra (1270 A.D.)		Śrāddha-dīna-kṛtya, Vandāru-vṛtti-tīkā, Bhāṣya-traya
	Dharmaghoṣa (1270 A.D.)		Śrāddha-jīta-kalpa, Saṅghācāra.
	Jinadatta Sūri (1300 A.D.)	Guṇabhūṣaṇa (1300 A.D.)	Śrāvakācāra Caitya-vandana- kulaka.
14th cent.	Jinadatta		Viveka-vilāsa
	?	?	Pūjā-prakaraṇa
15th cent.	Vardhamāna (1411 A.D.) Cāritrasundara (1430 A.D.) Jinamaṇḍana (1441 A.D.) Ratnaśekhara (1450 A.D.)	Padmanandin Vāmadeva Śakalakīrti	Śrāvakācāra Bhāva-saṃgraha Prašnottara-śrāvakā cāra Ācāra-dīnakara Ācāropadeśa Śrāddhagūṇa-śreṇī- saṃgraha. Śrāddha-vidhi
		Medhāvin (1504 A.D.)	Dharma-saṃgraha- śrāvakācāra.
16th cent.		Brahmanemidatta (1530 A.D.)	Dharma-pīyūṣa- śrāvakācāra
		Rājamalla (1584 A.D.)	Lāṭi-saṃhitā
		Śivakoṭi Somasena (1610 A.D.)	Ratnamālā Traivarnīkācāra Dharmasaṃgraha- tīkā
17th cent.	Yaśovijaya (1624-1688 A.D.)		

Chronological Development of the Kathānaka Literature
compiled by Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Chronology by centuries	Author	Works	Contents and comments
1st cent. A.D. (?)	?	Kālakācārya-kathānaka (Pkt.)	It is the story of Kāla-ka who transferred the date of <i>pariyuṣaṇa</i> festival from the fifth to the fourth of the first half of the month of Bhādra. It is recited by the monks at the end of the Kalpasūtra
10th cent.	Hariṣeṇācārya	Brhatkathākoṣa (composition 931-32 A.D.) (Skt.)	None than 157 tales
	Śricandra (941-996 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa (Ap)	53 tales
	Bhadreśvara (1064-94 A.D.) Dhanapāla, a Śvetāmbara Jain	Kathāvalī (Pkt) Tilaka-mañjarī (wrote in 970 A.D.)	It narrates the accounts of 63 Śalākāpuruṣa. It was composed in about 970 A.D. under Muñja Vākpatirāja of Dhārā.
11th cent.	Devendragaṇi (1073 A.D.)	Kathāmaṇikoṣa (Pkt.) (or Akhyāna-maṇikoṣa)	41 Chapters
	? Jineśvara Sūri (1092 A.D.) Soḍḍhala	Kathākoṣa (last quarter of the 11th cent.) Kathākoṣa (Pkt.) Udayasundarikathā (composed bet. 1026-1050 A.D.)	27 Stories 239 gāthās
12th cent.	Devabhadrā (1101 A.D.)	Kathākoṣa/or Kathāratnakōṣa (Pkt.+ Skt.)	Stories in Prakrit and Sanskrit.
	Vinayacandra (1109 A.D.)	Kathānakakoṣa (Pkt.)	140 gāthās

13th cent.	Bhāvadevasūri (1255 A.D.) Dharmaghoṣa	Kālakācārya- kathānaka (Pkt.) Kathārṇava (Pkt.)	102 gāthās 208/218 gāthās
14th cent.	Maladhārī Rājaśekhara (1348 A.D.) Rājaśekhara Sūri (1348 A.D.) Merutuṅga	Antarakathā- saṃgraha/or Kathāsaṃgraha (Skt.) Prabandhakoṣa (Skt.) Prabandha- cintāmaṇi (com- pleted in 1306 A.D.)	100 stories 24 stories (<i>prabandhas</i>) Divided into five prakāśas
15th cent.	Jinasāgara (1435 A.D.) Somacandra (1448 A.D.) Udayadharma (1450 A.D.) Śubhaśīla (1452 A.D.) Sarvasundara (1453 A.D.) Naracandra Sūri (1463 A.D.) ? Jinakīrti (mid 15th cent.) Padmanandin (1496 A.D.)	Karpūraprakara- ṭīkā (Skt. + Pkt.) Kathāmahodadhi (Pkt. + Skt.) Dharmakalpadruma (Skt.) Kathākoṣa/or Bharatādi-kathā (Pkt.) Kathāsaṃgraha Kathāratna-sāgara Pañcaśatī Prabandha- sambandha (1464 A.D.) Campaka-śreṣṭhī- kathānaka (Skt.) Pālagopāla-kathā- naka (Skt.) Kathārṇava	150 stories 157 stories It contains many stories and its <i>ṽṛtti</i> is written in Sanskrit. 15 taraṅgas 600 stories. These stories are of the nature of fantastic fairy-tales.
16th cent.	Nemidatta (1530 A.D.) Śrutasāgara (mid 16th cent.)	Ārādhanākoṣa Kathākoṣa (Skt.)	
17th cent.	Hemavijayaḡaṇi (1600 A.D.)	Kathāratnākara (Skt., Pkt. Apa. Guj+ Old Hindi)	258 stories in 10 taraṅgas; mostly of fools, rogues and artful women.

17th cent.	?	Kathākoṣa (Skt +Pkt.)	collection of popular tales
	?	Uttamakumāra-carita-kathā (Skt.)	Stories are allegorical and didactic.
	?	Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-kathānaka (Skt.)	Allegorical and didactic stories
	?	Samyaktva-kaumudī (Skt. with Pkt. gāthas)	27 stories
		Kathākoṣa	Ref. found in Jaina Sāhitya Itihāsa p. 168
	?	Kathākoṣa	(trs. by C.H. Tawney, London, 1895).
		Kathāmahodadhī (Skt.)	179 verses. Its commentary contains 150 tales.
	Uttamarṣi	Kathāratnākara (Skt.)	
	Jinabhadra	Upadeśamālā	
	Sarvanandī	Kathāsamāsa	
Ānandasundara	Kathāsamgraha		
Somasundara	Kathākoṣa		
Gaṇi			
?	Aghaṭakumāra kathā		

NEWS ON JAINISM AROUND THE WORLD

Tribal attack on Jain temples puts Gehlot Govt. in a spot

The 21st century is just four months away but this predominantly tribal district is still in the “stone age.” In a shocking incident on Saturday afternoon thousands of tribals armed with bows, arrows and axes attacked Jain temples, shops and houses. The reason. They were made to believe that Jain monks in the area had arrested the clouds and “stopped rain” (baarish baandh) in the drought hit region.

The incident led to destruction of two Jain temples and a number of shops and houses owned by the community in the town. The police had to open fire and 12 tribals received bullet injuries. There is palpable tension in the region with tempers running high.

This outburst of tribal anger against the Jain community has sent shockwaves throughout the State and the influential Jain community is up in arms. The incident, coming just before the Lok Sabha elections for the Jalore seat in the region scheduled for September 5, has triggered political convulsions.

The former Union Minister and senior Congress(I) leader, Mr. Buta Singh, and the BJP vice-president, Mr. Bangaru Laxman, are locked in a direct fight from the Jalore seat.

The former won the seat in the last election as an independent by over 1.60 lakh votes.

The ruling Congress(I) Government in the State headed by the Chief Minister, Mr. Ashoke Gehlot, is in a serious dilemma. On one side are the tribals who have traditionally supporting the party and on the other is the influential Jain Samaj. The Congress(I) is fully aware of the consequences and did not lose any time in rushing additional police reinforcements and CRPF personnel to the area. The State Home Minister condemned the incident and promised strict action against the culprits.

Yet the Jain community is not mollified. This was evident from the angry outbursts of the leaders of Jain organisations throughout the State during the day. These leaders have served a virtual ultimatum

on the Gehlot Government to either nab the real culprits or be prepared to face their 'wrath'. In the poll times the meaning of such a warning is clear.

So it is a no-win situation for the State Government. Any action against the tribal leaders could trigger a chain reaction against the Congress(I) at least in parts where the tribals form a major chunk of the electorate. Inaction would invite scorn of the Jain community. The BJP is obviously waiting in the wings to exploit the situation. Political observers in this district view the developments as a motivated conspiracy by "vested interests" among the upper castes to fish in troubled waters and reap political harvest. They believe tribals are being instigated by these interests for partisan gains. The vested interests are attempting to cash in on the blind belief of a section of the tribals that drought in the region has been caused by the Jain monks.

Jains concede the attacks against them are part of a conspiracy by vested interests who are jealous of their prosperity and wealth. They see a pattern in the attacks and want the Government to demonstrate political will by nabbing the culprits and ending the social tension between Jains and tribals.

'Anoop Mandal' is widely believed to be the organisation behind the latest attack. This is an organisation which has been engaged for decades in spreading hatred against Jains in the region. In the 70's the State Government had declared it an unlawful organisation but for some reasons withdrew the ban later.

Several questions are being raised as to how the administration failed to read the writing on the wall. It is strange that the administration did not have a clue when 3,000 tribals gathered with armour and raised slogans.

The Hindu 30.8.1999

Jain temple ruining due to 'towering' neglect of ASI

The tower of the ancient Jain temple at Chitharal in Kanyakumari district is in ruins not only because of the vagaries of nature but also owing to the lack of interest of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in maintaining it.

According to inscriptions, Chitharal, once known as Thirucharanathumalai, is situated on a hillock about 3 kms from Arumanai in Vellancodu panchayat.

A Jain monastery was built beneath a hanging rock amidst sylvan surroundings here and adjacent to it a Jain temple with three rooms and a Bhagawan Mahavir statue in the *Padmāsana* posture.

A statue of Parsavanathar in the nirvana posture is seen beneath the idol of a dancing snake, besides the images of two lions carved at the pedestal of the Mahavira statue. To the right of the Mahavir statue, there is the image of Goddess Padmavathy.

Historical researcher Dr S Padmanabhan while speaking to The New Indian Express said the monastery once served as a palli (educational centre), where the tenets of Jainism were imparted to students. The temple has the images of the 24 Thirthankarars and, according to the inscriptions, King Vikramaditya Varagunan had visited the monastery in the ninth century.

During the World Heritage Day functions organised at Chithral in November by ASI and the Kanyakumari Historical and Cultural Research Centre, the temple was spruced up but to the chagrin of the visitors, the tower was left in a dilapidated condition.

Vellancodu panchayat president C S Raj said several representations had been sent to the ASI in Trissur for maintaining the temple but to no avail. The relic has neither approach roads nor lights worth the name, he added.

Will the ASI wake up before it is too late ?

The New Indian Express 14.3.2000

ASI digs out Akbar's summer palace

An air-conditioned palace for Emperor Akbar to spend the summer months. That's what a team from the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) found below the fort at Fatehpur Sikri while exploring its pre-Mughal heritage.

ASI's superintending archaeologist Dharamvir Sharma, who's heading the excavation team, said : "I started exploring in August '98 after I realised that structures within and outside the fort have not been identified properly. And this is what we came upon."

The ASI team has dug up the steps leading down to a water tank set in the middle of the main palace complex. The structure above this water tank called 'Anup Talao' – familiar to all of us as the purported

seat of Tansen – has also been partially dug up in the process to reveal the exact nature of the underground chambers.

It is under the small quadrangle in sandstone, set in the middle of a water tank and connected on all four sides by narrow corridors, that the subterranean chambers have been found.

“It’s an effort that forms part of a larger endeavour to unearth older, pre-Mughal inhabitations at Fatehpur Sikri for which we found other material evidence,” Sharma said.

While on the job, the eager archaeologist’s eyes fell on two things – pieces of a massive stone jar, which has been described alternately as a sundial and a perfume jar, and the structure under ‘Anup Talao’. On both counts, Sharma’s explorations have yielded evidence of immense importance.

Asked what had set him on this path, Sharma claims he “came across Jain, Shakta, Vaisnavite and Shaivaite scriptures in the vicinity, which set me wondering.” He found corroboration for his deductions in *Ain-i-Akbari*, the travelogue of Abul Fazl, the Persian who visited Akbar’s court.

In fact, Fazl mentions a unique cool palace which was constructed for Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. It is also mentioned in Spanish travel writer Peter Munde’s accounts.

Besides the underground chambers, a huge stone vessel was also unearthed. Built in three-four pieces and plastered with white cement, it is said to have been used by Akbar for storing Ganga water for drinking. Says Sharma, “Peter Munde tells how Akbar used to get Ganga water in sealed copper and brass containers from Saron in Etah on camels and horses.”

However, this venture has its critics. A section of the archaeologists feel that the excavations under the ‘Anup Talao’ were originally carried out with the intention of finding evidence of a Jain temple, said to have been demolished to build the fort.

Says M C Joshi, who was ASI’s DG in the ’80s : “It is not that we did not know about the underground pavilion. But there is something called ethics which forbids us to dig around established antiquity in the name of exploration.”

Indian Express 14.3.2000

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