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HEMACANDRA ON THE CĀRVĀKA : A STUDY RAMKRISHNA BHATTACHARYA

Hemacandra (1088-1172 CE) respectfully called kalikāla-sarvajña (the omniscient one of the Kali era) was not the first Jain author to write about the Cārvāka/Lokāyata. Long before him Haribhadra (eighth century CE) had dealt with this system of philosophy in his Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya (ṢDSam), Śāstravārtā-samuccaya and Lokatattvanirṇaya. So had Siddharṣi in his Upamiti-bhava-prapañca -kathā (CE 906). However, some passages in Hemacandra's works contain something of special interest in connection with the Cārvāka.

A passage in the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi (AC) runs as follows:

syādvādavādyā "rhataḥ syāt śūnyavādī tu saugataḥ /naiyāyikastvākṣapādo yaugaḥ sāṃkhyastu kāpilaḥ /vaiśeṣikaḥ syādaulūkyo bārhaspatyastu nāstikaḥ //cārvāko laukāyatikaścaite ṣaḍapi tārkikāḥ / '

Hemacandra mentions six systems of philosophy:

1.Syādvādavādin or Ārhata (i.e. the Jain), 2. Śūnyavādin or Saugata (i.e. the Buddhist), 3. Naiyāyika or Ākṣpāda or Yauga ,² 4. Sāṃkhya or Kāpila, 5. Vaiśeṣika or Aulūkya, and 6. Bārhaspatya or Nāstika or Cārvāka or Laukāyatika.³

Why Hemacandra excludes Mīmāmsā, Vedānta and Yoga is rather puzzling. Haribhadra in his \$DSam\$ begins with a short exposition of the Buddhist system and proceeds to deal with Nyāya, Sāmkhya, Jain, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāmsā and Cārvāka. He too excludes Vedānta. But his inclusion of the Cārvāka seems to have been an afterthought. Having concluded the section on the doctrine of Jaimini (i.e. Mīmāmsā), Haribhadra suddenly remembers that some scholars preferred to treat Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as a single system and, according to them, the number of the āstikavādin-s are five, not six (v. 78). So in order to maintain the magic number, six, he decided to fill in the gap with the Cārvāka (v. 79). Apparently, by the term, āstikavādin (affirmativist), Haribhadra means those systems of philosophy which believe in the existence of the other world (paraloka). 4 Hence he

includes the Buddhist and Jain systems in his list. Hemacandra seems to have followed Haribhadra in maintaining the number, six, and in excluding both Vedānta and Yoga. But his choice of six systems is markedly different. He speaks of six tarka-s (dialectical systems). The term is also found earlier in Jayantabhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjarī (ninth century CE) although they are not enumerated. ⁵ We are indebted to Rājaśekhara (fourteenth century CE) for the exposition of the six tarka-s. Rājaśekhara divides Ānvīkṣikī into two pakṣa-s (views, lit. sides). The pūrvapakṣa (exponent's view) comprises Arhat, Bhadanta (Buddhist) and Lokāyata; Sāṃkhya, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika constitute the uttarapakṣa (opponent's view). ⁶

Hemacandra takes Ānvīkṣikī and Tarkavidyā to be synonymous,⁷ but he does not mention Cārvāka along with the Jain and Buddhist systems as distinguished from the pro-Vedic ones (Nyāya, Sāmkhya and Vaiśeṣika). Traditionally 'the six systems' mean the six pro-Vedic (āstika) systems only, the Buddhist, Jain and Cārvāka systems are called nāstika (negativist) for they do not accept the inerrancy of the Vedas. But the two terms, āstika and nāstika, have been explained variously from different points of view. As F.W. Thomas notes in another context: "The negative term, nāstika sometimes denotes those who reject the Veda and its dharma, in which case it includes the Buddhists: more generally it is those who deny moral responsibility and a future life: which seems to be the sense here (sc. AYVD, v.20), as the Buddhists, and the Jains themselves, escape."

However, the omission of Mīmāṃsā, Yoga and Vedānta in AC is intriguing. Hemacandra in his AYVD refutes Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta (vv. 11-14) along with Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Buddhist and Lokāyata (vv. 4-9, 10, 15, 16-19 and 20 respectively). In his Yogaśāstra (YS) he condemns animal sacrifice and brands Jaimini as a monster (2.38). What induced Hemacandra to make a new list of six tarka-s, quite distinct from all other lists, seems inexplicable. As to Yoga, he perahaps did not consider it as a system distinct from Sāṃkhya, or he may not have accepted it as a philosophical system at all.

Hemacandra gives four synonyms for the materialist philosophy in AC. In his auto-commentary he explains Bārhaspatya as the śāstra made by Bṛhaspati. Such is the traditional view found in the Purāṇa-s. Nāstika, according to Hemacandra, is one who thinks that there is no virtue and vice, nāsti puṇyaṃ pāpam iti matirasya nāstikaḥ. The word, cārvāka, is derived from the root carva, "to chew". A Cārvāka

chews the self (carvatyātmānaṃ cārvākaḥ). He refers to his own grammar, Uṇādisūtra 37, which runs as follows: mavāka-śyāmāka-vārtāka- jyontāka-jyontāka-gūvāka-bhadrākādayaḥ. Each of these words ends with the āka suffix and is formed irregularly (ete ākapratyayāntā nipātyante). Although the word, cārvāka, does not occur in the sūtra itself, the auto-commentary mentions it along with some other words of which cārvāka is one (...svonāka-cārvāka-parākādayo bhavanti).

Hemacandra's derivation of $c\bar{a}rv\bar{a}ka$ has not been universally accepted. Other authorities speak of another irregular formation: $c\bar{a}ru + v\bar{a}c > c\bar{a}rv\bar{a}c$, $c\bar{a}rv\bar{a}ka$. In this case too it is not definitely known whether the word $c\bar{a}ru$ is to be taken as an adjective (meaning agreeable, pleasant, etc.) or as a noun (which is another name of Brhaspati). All the derivations proposed are plausible in so far as the formation of the word is admitted to be irregular. As to the $\bar{a}ka$ suffix, even though the word, $\dot{s}y\bar{a}m\bar{a}ka$ is cited by Rāyamukuṭa as an instance of $\bar{a}ka\dot{p}$ ending, he refers to another suffix, makan and mentions Halāyudha as his authority. Guṇaratna, another Jain writer, however, follows Hemacandra but instead of $carvay\bar{a}tm\bar{a}nam$ he opts for the following explanation: carvanti bhakṣayanti tattvato na manyante punyapapapadikam parokṣajatam iti $carvaka\dot{p}$, "The Carvaka-s chew up, eat up, i.e. do not consider as realities a host of entities such as virtue, vice, etc. which are imperceptible."

Hemacandra explains *lokāyata* as *lokeṣvāyatam lokayatam* bṛhaspatipraṇīta- śāstram, one who knows or studies such a śāstra (science) is a laukāyatika. The problem is that the meaning of āyatam is uncertain and Hemacandra does not throw any light on it.¹⁷

It is to be noted that the word, nāstika is used to mean exclusively the Cārvāka. The word, as we have noted above, has been interpreted in various ways. Hemacandra himself uses the word as a term of abuse. In the Yoga-śāstra (2.37) he condemns Manu and other brahminical law-givers who prescribe animal sacrifice. Hemacandra calls them nāstikebhyo 'pi nāstikaḥ, the worst of the nāstika-s.¹8 In AYVD, however, the word, nāstika, is reserved for the Cārvāka alone (v.20).

In AYVD Hemacandra makes the Cārvāka appear as one who believes perception to be the sole instrument of knowledge:

vinānumāena parābhisandhimasamvidānasya tu nāstikasya / na sāmpratam vaktumapi kva ceṣṭā kva dṛṣṭamātram ca hahā JAIN JOURNAL: VOL-XXXVII, NO. 3 JAN 2003

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But of (for) the Nāstika, who without inference is not aware of the intent of others, it is not apposite even to speak: what of a movement, what of a mere look! Alas! error! 20

Mallişena (early thirteenth c.) in his commentary, *SMañ*, explains the Cārvāka view as follows:

That perception alone is Demonstrant is the view of the Cārvāka (pratyaksamevaikam pramānamiti manyate cārvākah). For that he girds himself: anu-, 'after', following upon, aprehension and memory of the mark and the connection; -miyate, 'is measured', 'is outlined', a thing remote in place, time and own-nature by this species cognition, accordingly anu-māna. From the context it is inference for self. That, inference, proof with a Middle Term; without lacking; intent of others, view of others; is not aware of, not correctly cognizing. The word but is for the purpose of pointing out the difference from the previous disputants; of those previous disputants, as they are affirmativist (āstika), he has made discussion on the points of disagreement. But of (for) the Negativist it is not even proper to speak; how is discussion with him possible? 21

We have shown that Hemacandra uses the term, $n\bar{a}stika$, either as a general term for abuse or to mean the Cārvāka. Mallişeņa offers further explanation:

Or else, his (sc. Cārvāka's) view being that there is no future world, merit and sin, (because of the exception noted in the grammatical rule [SHŚA, 6.4.66] concerning the formation of the three words "nāstika-āstika-daiṣṭika" he is called Nāstika), for that Negativist, the Laukāyatika, to speak even is not apposite, even to utter a word is not proper; hence only to remain silent is preferable for him; to say nothing of entering into a company of authorities on logic and debating on propounding a means of proof. ²²

It is rather strange that Hemacandra in his polemical zeal tends to misrepresent the Cārvāka position regarding inference as an instrument of knowledge. Purandara, a Cārvāka, stated quite clearly that "inference as is well known in the world is admitted by the

Cārvākās but that which is called inference [by some], transgressing the worldly way, is prohibited [by them]."²³ Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa also distinguishes between the probanses well-established in the world (lokaprasiddha) and those established in the Scriptures (tantrasiddha).²⁴ Similarly Jayantabhaṭṭa, referring obliquely to the Cārvāka, mentions two kinds of pratīti-s, "some in case of which inferential congnition can be acquired by oneself" (utpanna-pratīti) and "some in case of which inferential cognition is to be acquired (on somebody else's advice)" (utpādya-pratīti).²⁵ According to the Cārvāka-s only the former kind is valid, but the latter kind is not. By way of example Jayanta quotes two verse:

Indeed, who will deny the validity of inference when one infers fire from smoke, and so on; for even ordinary people ascertain the probandum by such inferences, though they may not be pestered by the logicians.

However, inferences that seek to prove a self, God, an omniscient being, the other world, and so on, are not considered valid by those who know the real nature of things.²⁶

Among the Jains, Ratnaprabhā and Guṇaratna, too, explain the Cārvāka view concerning inference in the same way, as does Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghvi in our own times.²⁷

That there was no love lost between Hemacandra and the Cārvāka is also illustrated by his use of the word, varāka, which means 'wretched, low miserable, pitiable'. However, he reserves his uttermost hatred for the Mīmāṃsaka. In the YS he writes:

vara- varākaścārvāko yo'sau prakaṭanāstikaḥ /
vedokti-tāpasacchadmacchannaṃ rakṣo na jaiminiḥ // ²⁹
Rather Cārvāka who is worthy of pity and an open
negativist than Jaimini, a demon, hidden under the
disguise of an ascetic, mouthing the words of
the Vedas.³⁰

Last but not least, in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* (Lives of Sixth-three Divine Personages), Hemacandra takes a fling at the materialists, presumably the Cārvāka-s.³¹ Following the traditional mode of narrative found in some Buddhist and Jain tales,³² he also introduces a king whom his ministers, belonging to different philosophical persuations, try to persuade according to their

philosophical inclinations. Sambhinnamati, a minister speaking in favour of materialism, accuses his fellow minister, Svayambuddha for upholding *dharma*, righteousness. Sambhinnamati's speech runs as follows:

"Well said! Svayambuddha. You desire the Master's welfare, for intention is inferred from speech like food from vomiting. Only hereditary ministers like you, no others, speak thus for the pleasure of the Master who is always sincere and gracious. What teacher, harsh by nature, taught you, that you spoke thus to the king, like an untimely stroke of lightning? The Master is served here by attendants seeking pleasure themselves. Why should they say, 'Do not enjoy pleasures'? Abandoning pleasures of this world and striving for them in the next world is like licking the elbow, leaving what is to be licked in the hand. Dharma is said to have its fruit in the next world. That is very improbable. There is no next world from the very fact of the nonexistence of people for the next world. Consciousness arises from earth, water, fire, and air, like the power of wine itself from sugar, flour, water, etc. Certainly there is no soul apart from the body which will go to another world after it has left the body. Therefore, pleasure of the senses is to be constantly enjoyed without fear. One's own soul must not be deceived. Destruction of one's desires is foolishness. Dharma and non-dharma, obstacles to pleasure are not to be feared; since they indeed do not exist at all, like donkey's horns. What merit has been acquired by one stone that it is worshipped by bathing, ointment, wreaths, clothes, and ornaments? What evil has been acquired by another stone that it is polluted? If people are born and die according to karma, as a result of what karma do bubbles appear and disappear? Therefore, so long as consciousness exists, it acts, as it desires. Of consciousness that has perished, there is no further birth. 'Whoever dies is born again,' that is mere talk with entirely inconclusive argument. Therefore, our Master should unhesitatingly enjoy himself with young women charming with beauty of form on a couch like śirīsa petals. He should eat at will nectar-like food and drink. He is an enemy who hinders. Day and night, remain anointed with camphor, aloe, musk, sandal, etc., as if made of fragrance alone. O king, constantly look at whatever abounds in gardens, vehicles, people, picture galleries, etc., for the pleasure of the eyes. Day and night, O Master, have nectar for your ears with sounds of songs echoing with flutes, lutes, and drums. So long as one lives, let him live happily with pleasures of the senses. He should not trouble himself by religious actions. Where is the fruit of dharma and non-dharma?'33

What is to be noted in this passage is the juxtaposition of crude hedonism and materialism. Some of the philosophical doctrines attributed to the Cārvāka-s are also encountered here, e.g.,

- 1. There is no next world.
- 2. Consciousness arises from four forms of matter.
- 3. There is no soul apart from the body.
- 4. There is no rebirth.
- 5. Religious duties are not to be performed.34

Opponents of the Cārvāka doctrine, whether a Vedāntin like Śaṅkarācārya (ninth century), Buddhists like Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla (eighth century), or a Jain like Prabhācandra (eleventh century), have controverted all this and quoted the relevant aphorisms from the now-lost Cārvākasūtra.³⁵ However, none of them has called the Cārvāka a hedonist or a eudaemonianist—not at least in the same vein as Hemacandra does.³⁶ In the brahminical tradition, writers like Kṛṣṇamiśra (eleventh century) and Śrīharṣa (twelfth century) have echoed Hemacandra.³⁷ Jayantabhaṭṭa in his allegorical play, Āgamaḍambara has tarred the Jain and Buddhist mendicants as well as a kāpālika with the same brush. The Cārvāka view represented by Bṛddhāmbhi, however, is not branded as hedonistic there.³⁸ The Cārvākas' opposition to all religious rites, it seems, has been misconstrued deliberately to suggest (as a reductio ad absurdum) that they preached a kind of 'eat drink and be merry' approach to life.

The same kind of baseless charge has been brought against Epicurus (341-270 BCE). ³⁹ He did preach that pleasure was the aim of life. But it was not sensual pleasure, it was intellectual pleasure that one derives from prudence. In a letter to Menoeceus, Epicurus wrote:

When we say, then pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sunsuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul. It is not an unbroken succession of drinking bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the enjoyments of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning,

searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul. 40

Simon Blackburn has rightly noted:

The aim of all philosophy is, however, to enable us to live well, which is not to live in the hedonistic trough the world Epicureanism now suggests, after centuries of propaganda against the system. Rather, practical wisdom, attained through philosophy, is needed to attain the pleasant life, which consists in a preponderence of *katastematic* pleasures, capable of indefinite prolongation, over merely *kinematic* or volatile sensory pleasures. ⁴¹

Hemacandra in his work was merely lanpooning the Cārvāka. Svayambuddha, in his turn, sets out to refute the Cārvāka system and speaks against sensual pleasures. His puritanism, however, is typical of the Jain attitude to life.

Sambhinnamati's discourse ends with a rewritten version of a popular verse attributed to the Lokāyatikas:

yāvajjīvet sukha- jīvet tāvat vaiṣaikaiḥ sukhaiḥ /
na tāmyed dharma-kāryāya dharmādharmaphala- kva tat // 42
In its earliest known form the verse runs as follows:

yāvaj jīva- sukha- jīven nāsti mṛtyor agocaraḥ / bhasmībhūtasya śāntasya punarāgamana- kutaḥ // ⁴³ While life is yours, live joyously;

None can escape Death's searching eye:

When once this frame of ours they burn.

How shall it ever again return? 44

The verse evidently relates to the denial of the concept of rebirth. Some other writers, however, have made it appear as an encouragement to unrestrained hedonism. Hemacandra, too, shifts the emphasis from the issue of rebirth to that of dharma and non-dharma.

To sum up: Hemacandra's stray remarks and comments on the Cārvaka do not help us much in reconstructing the Cārvāka system of philosophy which is known to us only through a few fragments. Some of these fragments, however, appear to be spurious. What is transparent is Hemacandra's all-out antipathy to the materialist system.

Here, too, there is a paradox. In his polemics against the Mīmā-saka, Hemacandra cites an anonymous verse, which is generally attributed to the Cārvāka. The verse runs as follows:

mṛtānāmapi jantūnām yadi tṛptirbhavediha / nirvāṇasya pradīpasya snehaḥ sa-vardhayecchikām // 45

If (the śrāddha ceremony) satisfies the dead beings here, then oil might increase the flame of an extinguished lamp.

Malliṣeṇa also quotes this verse (with some variants) in his commentary on AYVD, v.11, which is devoted to controverting the Pūrva-Mīmā-sā doctrine enjoining hi-sā (ritual killing):

mṛtānāmapi jantūnām śrāddha- cet tṛptikāraṇam / tannirvāṇapradīpasya snehaḥ sa-vardhayecchikḥām // 46

If even to dead beings the $\dot{S}r\bar{a}ddha$ is the cause of satisfaction, Then oil might increase the flame of an extinguished lamp.⁴⁷

Thomas notes that the verse "is clearly in the style of Cārvāka comments; but in the Sarva-darśana-sa-graha, where the first line is given as such, the second line differs."⁴⁸ The variant is insignificant: nirvāṇasya pradīpasya for tannirvāṇapradīpasya. But what is more significant is that while the second hemistich of the first line as quoted in YS-vṛtti differs from SDS (śrāddha-cet tṛpti-kāraṇam), the second line, however, is identical with what is found in SDS.⁴⁹ But SDS is not the only source of this verse. It first occurs in Kṛṣṇamiśra's allegorical play, PC.⁵⁰ Sāyaṇa-Mādhava might have taken the verse from this source inasmuch as the readings in both PC and SDS are identical.

From whichever source Kṛṣṇamiśra, Hemacandra and Malliṣeṇa might have got the verse, only Kṛṣṇamiśra attributes it to the Cārvāka whereas the Jain writers simply utilize it is order to assail Jaimini. Given Hemacandra's antipathy to the Cārvāka-s it is difficult to believe that he did not know that the verse had been attributed to the Cārvāka-s.

Kṛṣṇamiśra's attribution of the verse to the Cārvāka-s in *PC* is then open to doubt. In fact, the verses at the end of *SDS*, Ch. I, might have been gathered from various sources, including the Buddhist and Jain ones, and then attributed to Bṛhaspati.⁵¹ But that is a different issue.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1. AC, 3.525-527.
- 2. The use of the word, *yauga* (one who studies or knows Yoga) in this sense (instead of referring to the Pātañjala system of philosophy) is not unknown or unprecedented. See Tarkavāgīśa, Part 1, pp. xvii, 278-80.
- 3. Not having access to Hemacandra's auto-commentary on AC, Colebrooke was mistaken in his interpretation of this passage.

He said: "HEMACHANDRA ... mentions and discriminates the various sects: viz. 1st, Árhatas, or Jainas, 2dly, Saugatas, or Bauddhas, and 3dly: six philosophical schools, viz. 1st. Naiyáyica; 2d. Yoga; 3d. CAPILAS [sic] Sánchya; 4th. Vaiseshica; 5th. Várhaspatya or Nástica; and 6th. Chárváca or Locáyata." (Colebrooke, Vol. II, p. 219. The article was first published in The Asiatic Researdches, Vol. IX, 1807).

Hemacandra, however, specifically explains that the schools, right from the Ārhata are called tārkika (ete ārhatādyaḥ, tarkaḥ prayojanameṣā-tārkirkāḥ). AC, p. 344. Colebrooke was presumably wrong in treating Yoga as a separate system and taking Bārhaspatya and Cārvāka as two distinct "sects". On this basis he concluded: "The two last (sc. his 5th and 6th) are reputed atheistical, as denying a future state and a providence. If those be omitted and the Mīmánśas (sic) inserted, we have the six schemes of philosophy familiar to the Indian circle of the sciences." (Ibid.,p. 219) Apparently he had only the āstika (affirmativist) systems in mind. Hemacandra, on the other hand, never mentions the Pātañjala Yoga, and although he mentions Mīmā-sā and Vedānta elsewhere (e.g., AYVD, vv. 11-14), he does not do so in AC.

- 4. For different meanings of *āstika* and *nāstika*, see, besides the standard dictionaries, Hopkins, pp. 86-87.
- 5. NM, Ch. 1, part I, p. 9: vaiśeṣikaḥ punarasmādanuyāyina evetyevamasyā- janatāsu prasiddhāyāmapi ṣaṭ tarkyāmidameva tarkanyāyavistaraśabdābhyā- śāstramuktam.

- 6. KM, Ch. 2, p. 191: dvidhā ānvīkṣikī pūrvottarapakṣābhyām, arhadbhadantadarśane lokāyata- ca pūrvapakṣah. sā-khya-nyāyavaiśeṣikau cottaraḥ. ta ime ṣaṭ tarkāḥ.
- 7. AC, 2.165 cd, p.107 : ānvīksikī tarkavidyā mīmā-sā tu vicāraņā.
- 8. Thomas, p. 124 n3 on AYVD, v.20.
- 9. Hemacandra in fact devotes two separate verses, one to Jaimini (v.ll) and the other to Kumārila (v.12).
- 10. See *P Pu*, Srstikhanda, Ch. 13. Cf. *Hariva-śa*, Hariva-śaparvan (vulgate edition), Ch. 28. The passage has been omitted in the critical edition (21.327, p.148).
- 11. SHVP, p. 740.
- 12. Hemacandra's auto-commentary (Bṛhadvṛtti) on SHŚA, ibid., 740.
- 13. Whitney, Rule 233a, p.80. Cf. Tarkavācaspati, sv. cārvāka.
- 14. See Monier-Williams, s.v. cāru.
- 15. Rāyamukuṭa, Vol.2, p.269 (on Vanauṣadhivargaḥ, 211) and n.
- 16. TRD, p. 300. I have quoted from the translation by Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyaya in C/L, p. 267.
- 17. See Bhattacharya (1998b) and (2000c).
- 18. In his auto-commentary Hemacandra writes: paramanāstika ityarthaḥ (on YS, 2.37, f. 96b).
- 19. AYVD, v. 20.
- 20. Trans. Thomas, p. 126.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ibid., pp. 126-27. As to the grammatical rule, cf. Pāṇini, Aṣṭ, 4.4.60. However, Manu. 2.11: nāstiko vedanindakaḥ. Hemacandra explains the words, nāstika, āstika and daiṣṭika as follows: ete tadasyetyarthe ikaṇantā nipātyante (Laghuvṛṭti on SHŚA, 6.4.66).
- 23. Quoted in TSP, p. 528 (on TS, Ch. 18, v. 1481).
- 24. Quoted in SVR, pp. 265-66.
- 25. NM, Ch.2, Part 1, p.184.
- 26. Ibid.
- 27. Ratnaprabhā on *PNTA*, p. 540; *TRD*, p.306 (on *ŞDSam*, v.83), *C/L*, p.273; Sanghvi, *ASILM*, p. 4.
- 28. See Monier-Williams, s.v. varāka.

29. YS, 2. 38, f.96b. Cf.YS, 3.10:

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na jānāti para- sva- vā madyāccalitacetanaḥ /
svāmiyati varākaḥ sva- svāminā- kiṅkarīyati //
(f.257b)
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Jayantabhatta, too, employs the same derogatory adjective, *varākah* to the Cārvaka-s. See *NM*, Ch.3, Part 1, p. 299.

- 30. In his auto-commentary, Hemacandra explains $var\bar{a}ka$ as one who is to be pitied because of his lack of pride $(dambharahitatv\bar{a}danukampyah)$, f.97a. Elsewhere, too (e.g., on YS, 3.10), he says, a $var\bar{a}ka$ is one who is worthy of pity because of his lack of consciousness $(var\bar{a}kscaitanyah\bar{i}natv\bar{a}danukampaniyah, f.258a)$
- 31. TSPC, I. 325-45.
- 32. Cf. SaK, JM, UBhPK, YTC.
- 33. Trans. Helen M. Johnson, Vol. 1, pp. 37-38.
- 34. For the Cārvāka fragments, see Namai, pp. 39-44 and Ramkrishna Bhattacharya (2002d), pp. 1-44.
- 35. See *SBh* on *BS*, 1.1.1, 2.2.2, 3.3.53-54; *TS*, Ch. 22 and *TSP*; *PKM*, pp. 48-49, 110-21, 177-80; *NKC*, 3.7, pp. 341 ff.
- 36. As against the widely prevalent notion that the Cārvāka-s were gross hedonists, Richard Garbe (*ERE*, Vol.8, p. 138) and M. Hiriyanna (1932, p. 195) expressed their doubts, but writers of modern textbooks and handbooks of Indian philosopohy prefer to pepetuate the unsupported notion propagated by the opponents of the Cārvāka, mostly through poems and plays like *PC*, Act 2, *NC*, 17. 58-59, 69, 70.
- 37. See Ramkrishna Bhattacharya (1999b) and (2002a) for further details.
- 38. In $\bar{A}D$, Act 1, both a Buddhist and a Jain monk are portrayed as despicable sensualists, but \bar{C} arvāka is spared. In Act 3 he is represented as a sober philosopher with whom the \bar{a} stika-s are engaged in a prolonged debate.
- 39. Epicurus has been maligned as a gross sensualist as early as the first century BCE in a poem by Horace (*Epistles*, 1.4.14-16). Horace

invites Tibullus, his melancholic friend, to visit him at his farm: "As for me, when you want to laugh you will find me in fine fettle, fat and sliek, a hog from Epicurus' herd (epicuri de grege porcum)". (pp. 276-77). Cf. modern English words, 'epicure' and 'epicurean' used to suggest "person with refined taste in food and drink" and "person fond of pleasure and luxury" respectively (as glossed in the Little Oxford Dictionary).

- 40. In Diogenes Laertius, 10.131-32, Vol. 2, p. 657.
- 41. Blackburn, p.122.
- 42. TSPC, 1.245, p.12.
- 43. VDMP, I. 108, 18cd-19ab, f. 70a; TSP, p.17, NM, Ch.7, Part 2, p.257 and SDS, p.3.
- 44. Trans. E.B. Cowell. For a detailed discussion of the many variants of this verse, see Ramkrishna Bhattachrya (1996b).
- 45. YS, f. 98b (on 2.47).
- 46. SVM, p.69.
- 47. Trans. Thomas, p. 69.
- 48. Thomas, p. 69 n36.
- 49. SDS (BORI ed.), p.13, v.4. It is, however, possible that Thomas used the BI ed. or the Anandasrma ed. of SDS (or any of their verbatim reprints) in which the second line of the verse runs as follows:

gacchatāmiha jantūna- vyartha- pātheyakalpanam

In later editions (e.g., BORI ed.), this is the first line of another additional verse (v.5). (Joshi prints the text of SDS, Ch 1, from the BORI ed. but retains the trans. by Cowell who followed the BI ed. and so had no access to this verse). Hemacandra and Mallisena, however, seem to have

got the verse in question from two different sources.

50. PC, Act 2, v. 21, p. 40.

Acknowledgements: Rinku Chaudhuri, Pradyut Datta, Siddhartha Datta

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ĀD Jayantabhaṭṭa. Āgamaḍambara. Ed. V. Raghavan and Anantalal Thakur. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1954.

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JICPR Journal of Indian Council of Philosophical

Research, New Delhi.

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JJ Jain Journal, Kolkata.

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MLBD Motilal Banarsidass.

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PM Hemacandra. Pramāņa-mīmā-sā. Ed. Sukhlalji

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TRD Tarkarahasyadīpikā by Gunaratna. Ed. Luigi Suali.

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POSTSCRIPT

In certain editions of AC (e.g., Kālīvara Vedāntavāgiśa ed., Kalikata, 1284 BS and Nārāyāṇacandra Bhaṭṭacāryya ed., Kalikata, 1314 BS) there is an additional (seventh), Kāṇḍa named Śiloñcha (residue). A verse in this Kāṇḍa runs as follows:

vaiśeșike kaṇādo pi jaino naikāntavādyapi /
cārvāke (a)laukāyatikaḥ kṛṣiprasṛ tamityapi //

In all probability the whole seventh Kānda is a later addition. The verse quoted above, in any case, adds nothing new to what has been said in AC, 3. 525-27.

MAHĀMANDALEŚVARA BŪTUGĀ: A PROFILE PROF. HAMPA NAGARAJAIAH

"When the Rāṣṭrakuṭas became the overall suzerians of Karṇāṭadēśa, prominent princely family of the Gaṅgas, who were already ruling for over four hundred years, came under their sway. While examining the position of the Gaṅgas in the age of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, leaving aside their early and later history, it becomes clear that they were accorded far higher rank among all the vassals of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Inscriptions have extolled the cordial and cordial relationship that prevailed between the Gaṅgas and their overlords, demonstrated by other literary records". (Infra)

"Gangavādi-96,000 had included many minor sub-divisions like Gangasāsira, Punnādu-6000, Konganādu-8000, Male-1000, Mandali-1000, Kolāra-300, Edenādu-70, Aridālike 70, Beddoregere-70, Nirgunda-300, Sērenādu, Bayalnādu, etc. Geographical boundaries of Gangavādi (Ṣaṇṇavati Sahasra, Śrīrājya, Gangasāsira - are other variants): Marandale to the North, Tondainādu to the East, Cēranādu and the sea to the West, and Kongunādu to the South. Therefore, the modern Kolar, Mandya, Mysore, Bangalore, Cikkamagaļūr, and some parts of Shimoga formed Gangavādi-96,000. In addition to this, during the period of the last phase of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Būtuga and his son Marasimha-II, ruled Puligere-300, Belvola-300 Banavase-12,000, Kisukādu-70 and Bāgenādu-70" [Hampa Nagarajaiah: A History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhēd, and Jainism: 2000: 57-58].

The expansion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa influences to the peripheral regions of Tamilnāḍu, Āndhra Pradesh, Kerala and Mahārashṭra, were guided, among other considerations by the brave Jaina Dukes and Governors, who were highly loyal to their overlords, Emperor Kṛṣṇa's ambition and drive for fresh territories had made him indulge in sangunary wars, and met with success in his chase and power politics. Martial might of Būtuga and his son Mārasimha, laid a robust foundation that could sustain the monarchy. Kṛṣṇa-III, with the stout shoulders of Būtuga and Mārasimha successfully vaquished the rebellions and uncontrollably ambitius vassals. This paper is an earnest attempt to reconstruct the life and accomplishments of Būtuga based on inscriptional evidences. Though he is referred, with

other variants of Bhūtuga, Būtuya, Būtuga Permmāḍi and Būtugendra, he is more popularly known as Būtuga.

Būtuga (C.E. 936-61) sat on the lion-throne of the Gangavādi for nearly twenty-six years, and ably projected himself as the dominant figure of a vast province, its axis and pillar of its support. It was an uninhibited show of political maturity, ab initio to ad finem. He maintained the momentum throughout his rule, despite frequent setback which he shrewdly manoeuvred. Būtuga's spectacular achievements were not confined only to the battle ground. A number of epigraphs articulate the macroregion of distinctive and homogenous cultural quality of Būtuga's attainment.

Būtuga, the youngest of the three sons of Komaravedanga Ereganga (886-920) alias Ereyappa, is, may be, the cream de lara of the Ganga kings. Bīravedanga Narasimha (920-33), the eldest son of Ereganga and the eldest brother of Būtuga, succeeded, his father. He had defeated Anniga of Nolamba dynasty in the battle at Kottamangala. But he could not rule for a longer period. Obviously, Rācamalla-III (933-36), the second son of Ereganga and the elder brother of Būtuga, succeeded to the Ganga throne. The days were so bad to him that he had to encounter adversity. Since he was not favourable to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerinty, he had the wrath of his sovereign, on one side. On the other hand, he had to confront the Nolambas, his powerful foe. Rācamalla, literally sandwitched between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Nolambas, was in a dilemma.

Intreipid Būtuga ceased the opportunity to usurp the Ganga throne. Kṛṣṇa (939-67), his brother-in-law and emperor, extended military support to Būtuga. Clamoured for full political power and in the deadly feud, Būtuga did not hesitate to kill Rācamalla, his own brother. As the adage goes, all is fair in love and war! The incident brought the brothers-in-law nearer. The bondage between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gangas was further cemented. Dauntless Būtuga, inspired and more obliged than before, spontaneously extended full support and participated in many of the wars waged by Kṛṣṇa. When the latter was away on his northern conquest, king Lalleya, a feudatory, taking the advantage of the straits, revolted against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa was far away from the metropolis, fighting the foes elsewhere. Būtuga, not waiting for his overlord, jumped in the fray, as though eager to clear the obligation to his master. He crushed a heavy defeat on Lalleya by

extorting his white parasol, and saved the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy from humiliation.

The spree of war continued. The terrible war between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their arch enemy the Cōlas recurred. The mighty quadripartite army with the musk elephants with their flowing rutliquid, the shining weapons, the neighing horses and the swift chariot division of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas attacked impetuously on the four-membered Cōla army. The fierce and decisive battle at Takkolam in the year C.E.949, provided a rare opportunity for Būtuga to prove his prowess and dexterity. He fought ferociously, stabbed and killed Rājāditya, the Cōla prince. This he did on the howdah which itself became the battle field.

The brave Maṇalera of the Sagara family, sub-ordinate of Būtuga, exhibited another greater feat on the same battle field. He struck, like a lion, the forehead of the mighty elephant that was called "The fortress of the Cōla', that it burst open. As a reward for his heroism, Maṇalera got Kāḷi, the good hound known for its courage, from his overlord Kṛṣṇa. Besides, from Būtuga, his immediate master, Maṇalera got the possession of Ātakūr-12 and the village Kāḍiyūr situated in Belvola-300 province.

Kṛṣṇa, pleased with the valour of his Fidus Achates, placed Būtuga incharge of the Banavase-12,000, in addition to the Governorship of Puligere-300, Belvola-300 (together the Six-Hundred), Kisukāḍu-70 and Bāgenāḍu-70 principalities. On his way back from the victorious march against the Colas, Būtuga defeated the adversary fiefs and annexed their regions, which enhanced his status. The sweeping conquests of Būtuga extended and strengthened the boundaries of the kingdom.

Būtuga had bequeathed his skill in the war craft from his father Ereganga alias Ereyappa Nitimārga who had the gallantry and experience of many successive battles. He had slain the Nolamba king Mahendra and thus earned the cognomen of Mahendrāntaka. Ereyappa, husband of Jākāmbe, daughter of Nijagali, a scion of the Cālukyas, had superseded the forts of Sūrūru, Nādugāṇi, Midige, Sūliśailendra, Tippēru and Penjeru. Ereyappa had many other titles, such as, Ganga Cakrāyudhānka, Gangārjuna Talaprahāri, Sangarārjuna, Pratirūpa Sudraka, Śrirupa Kandarpa. These appellations establish that Ereyappa was a king, preeminently excellent. Poet Ādi-Guṇavarma his protege, had authored Śūdraka and Harivamśa' two epics of historical importance in Kannada.

The Kūḍalūru charter narrates at length that Būtuga acquired abundant opulence by the strength of his strong shoulders. After vanquishing Lalleya, Būtuga extorted elephants, horses, treasury and similar valuables which in turn made over to his over lord Kṛṣṇa.

Būtuga embarked on career of coquest, heralded lustrous epoch and retrived the lost glory of the Gangas. He spread carnage wherever he lead his army. He killed Kakkarāja, chief of Acalapura, and defeated Dantivarma of Banavāsi and Ajavarma of the Sāntaras. Continuing his triumphant march, he defeated Rājāditya and made Ēmagaṇḍuga to flee from his province. He burnt the Forts of Tanjāpuri and Nālkoṭe, and presented the excellent elephants, horses, and abundant riches to his emperor. He had also defeated the Pāṇḍyas, fought against the Nolambas and against Guṇaga Vijayāditya, king of the Vengi Cālukyas.

Details of the total territories held by Būtuga, mentioned earlier, require a further clarification. The Naregal epigraph states that Būtayya, as Governor, was holding charges of Gangavādi extending as far as Peldore, i.e., the river Tungabhadrā in this context (and not Kṛṣṇā). The area was further extended at the time of Ātakūr inscription, dated 949, which states that he was governing Gangavādi-96,000 and in addition to that the other provinces of Banavase-12,000, the Belvola-300, the Purigere-300, the Kisukādu-70 and the Bāgenādu-70. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa must have confirmed once again the above provinces, out of which only the Banavase-12,000 was added afresh. After the demise of Narasimha, the eldest of the three brothers, Rāc(j)amalla had inherited the office of the Governorship of Gangavādi, as an hereditary rank. Būtuga, not waiting for his turn to come, hurried the process and eliminated his elder brother to become the Governor of his ancestral Gangavādi. This he achieved in C.E. 939.

How Būtuga engrafted himself on the lion throne needs additional explanation. In the changed political scenario, Būtuga, having acquired his forefather's political wisdom, pondered that he deserved a chance to get himself enthroned. Projecting himself as the only virile heir to the coveted Ganga throne, he acted briskly. Historical documents indicating growing fissures between brothers are not lacking. Albeit, after matrimonial alliance with the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa house, his splendour and prosperity increased by leaps and bounds. Newly crowned as emperor, Kṛṣṇa was bent on elevating the status of Būtuga, his brother-in-law. Their cordiality reached its fame and Kṛṣṇa openly

publicized his leaning towards Būtuga. Krsna was brimming with vaulting ambition and Būtuga also had soaring ambition. Kings of great aspirations, having noticed a common cause, struck a deal that cleared the clouds dogging the political relations. Glued with connubial relationship, Būtuga had no regrets in extending unconditional support to perpetuate the Rāstrakūta suzerainty. The hegemony turned out to be a blessing to Būtuga. Krṣṇa has more intimacy with and affection for the Gangas. His attachment to the members of the family of Butuga, Paramajina, passionate Jaina votary, is recorded in many epigraphs. The extraordinary position that Būtuga enjoyed is mirrored in the biruda Jayaduttaranga, 'an arch of victory', Ganga Gangeya, 'Bhīşma among the Gangas', Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa among the Gangas'etc. He attained the highest position in the official hierarchy and became a full fledged Mahāmandaleśvara among the other coeval provincial Māndalikas and Sāmantas. He was entitled to the five drums. He was the first Duke to be allowed to sit by the side of the emperor, an unparalleled act of historical incident bequeathed on Būtuga.

An inscription from Hombuja [EC. VIII (BLR) Nagara. 35.C.E. 1077] furnishes a rare incident of historical importance: "Būtuga was extended paramount position and exalted honour which was equalled by a similar treatment meted out to another Jaina feudatory after a time gap of more than a century. Nanni-Sāntara, who had Govindara as his first name, Duke of Sāntaligenāḍu, gained greater distinction than even Būtuga. Vikrmāditya VI (1076-1125) came halfway to meet Nanni-Sāntara, and giving him half the seat on his metal throne, the Cālukya emperor placed the valiant vassal at his side" [Hampa Nagarajaiah: Sāntararu: Ondu Adhyayana: 1997: 65-66]. Fate had its own course. Who could prevent him when the kingship was writ large in his forehead!

Būtuga was chief of the Six-Hundred, plus Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu from C.E. 938, which had come to him as matrimonial gift. Now by taking possession of the Gaṅgavaḍi territory, virtually he had earned his patrimonial status. Later in 949, as a reward for his bravery, he was awarded the stewardship of Banavase-12,000. This apart, Būtuga was also chief of the Māsavāḍi-140 Kukkanūr-30 and Kelavāḍi-300 kampaṇas for a brief period between 940 and 942. More often, Belvola-300 and Puligeṛe-300 are coupled together in the phrase - 'the two (provinces together forming) Six-Hundred'. Thus, Būtuga had in his control the government of a very vast area, almost covering the southern Karnataka, from river Tungabhadrā to river Kāveri.

While appreciating the peerless position of Būtuga in the officialdom of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, it would be all the more apt to understand the choice, scope and relationship of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, and his overlord. The emperor / king used to ponder over the appointment of his subordinates the Dukes and Governors, the ministers and army chiefs. Lots of calculation and political wheeling-dealing would work to find out the faithful followers. The Māṇḍalikas, Sāmantas, ministers and generals, and even the Royalmerchants (Rāja-śreṣṭhins) were expected to be not merely loyal and capable, but to be an avuncular and majestic figure befitting their status. Traditionally the legal heir/successor of the concerned family, like the son and grandson would enjoy the position of his elders. But, exceptions were not lacking.

Being the executive, he should be able to zealously guard the interest of the State. It is very difficult to determine the extent of freedom that the provincial Governors were allowed to exercise. They were usually cut and pruned by their overlords. Generally they had no independent power except to act on the advice of the king. Yet to be either hyperactive or mere a cipher mostly depended on their might and cordial relationship. To look beyond the political arena, it was a must that the subordinates holding the high office should not covet the post for mere power and pelf. Looking beyond the political spectrum does not mean that he be an apolitical. It only suggests that he should envisage the cultural needs of the time. He must be a dynamic visionary, a person of sterling character and integrity, a self-made person and active in public life too. The monarch has the right to be informed on all matters, and the incharge officials were required to be watchful on the region they were placed in-charge.

Contemplating on these aspects, if we look at the accomplishments of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Būtuga, the role he played in the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is astounding.

The perks of being the Māṇḍalika are not less. He has to attend to the needs of his subjects, sometimes even risking his time and money. Viceroys like Tailapa and Bijjaṇa, motivated by politically malafide intentions, lead the army against their own monarchs and usurped the kingdoms. Therefore, the imperial presence, supported by a strong army was required to bring such a recalcitrant viceroy to his senses. In fact Būtuga was deputed to bring to book such viceroys.

Contemporary epigraphs establish that Būtuga had five consorts. He had married Rēvaka, the daughter of Baddega (deva) alias

Amoghavarșa - III, king of Dāhala province, at a place called Tripuri, in C. E. 938. After the death of Baddega, Būtuga conquered Dāhala from Lalleya, on behalf of his liegelord, Krsna. Revaka (Revakka) the Rāstrakūta princess, and elder sister of Krsna, is frequently mentioned as Revakanimmadi, named after her great grandmother. She also had the title of Cāgavedangi, 'excellent in giving gifts'. Divalāmbā was Būtuga's eldest consort, whom he had married before C.E. 938, and an inscription refers to her as 'svakiyapriya Divalāmbā' (I.A. Vol. III. p. 184, C. E. 938). She had constructed a Basadi at Sūdi and Būtuga donated land in C. E. 938. His two other spouses are Kallabbā and Padmabbarasi who had Padmāvati as her first name. Padmabbe of Konguladesa commissioned one of the largest Jaina fanes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa con at Naregal [Hampa Nagarajaiah : 2000:222] in C. E. 950. Her daughter, Bijjāmbādevi had married Hariga. Revakanimmadi, Padmabbarasi and Bijjāmbā alias Bijjabbarasi, desciple of Śridharadeva, died at Koppala. Kallabbā, another wife of Būtuga, was daughter of Simhavarma, scion of Cālukyas. Her son Marāsimha endowed Kādalūr in Kongalnad to the Jaina shrine founded by his mother, in 962. Elācārya of Sūrsthagaņa was the donee. This sanctuary was adorned with mural painting, Paramabbe, fifth wife of Būtuga, was ruling the subdivision of Kūrugallu, now in Periyapatna Taluk of Mysore Dt. Pāmbabbe, elder sister of Būtuga, and senior consort of Padiyara Dorapayya, took the veil. Her mother superior was Nāṇabbekanti who was herself a pupil of Arhanandi Panditadeva. A very austere Jaina nun Pāmbabbe performed penance for thirty years and expired in 971 at Kadūr.

Koppaļa, also known as Ādi-Mahātirtha, an ancient Jaina seat of pilgrimage, only next to Shravaṇabelagola, turned out to be the choice place for the members of Būtuga's family. According to the Iṭagi (Raichur Dt, Yelburga Tk) inscription, Būtuga worshipped the holy place of Kopaṇa-tirtha on 25-02-940. As stated before, two of his queen consorts, Padmabbarasi and Revakanimmaḍi reached Kopaṇa-tirtha, accepted the vow of sallekhanā of voluntarily inviting death. Padmabbarasi died on 03-12-973, and her preceptor Maladhārideva administered the rite of sallekhanā. Two daughters of Būtuga, Kundaṇarasi and Bijjabbarasi, also courted death with equanimity by abstinence from all kinds of food, at the holy centre of Koppaļa.

. The Gangas are known to be great patrons of art, architecture and literature. Būtuga, and his sons and daughters, commissioned several temples of all faiths, including shrines of their own faith. To commemorate his victory in the Takkola battle, Permmāḍi Basadi was

built at Puligere, modern Lakṣmeśvara in 950. This house of worship was renovated in 1065 by Bhuvanaikamalla, and was once again richly endowed with additional donations by Jayakesi of the Maṇalera family, in 1074, Jayaduttaranga Permmāḍi Būtuga caused to be made a Jinendra Mandira in 961 at Aṇṇigere. Later this place of worship received further grants by the Cālukyas in 1071-72.

The eldest son of Būtuga, prince Marul a who had the epithet of Puṇiseya Gaṅga, had married Bijjabbe, daughter of Kṛṣṇa-III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. Marul adeva alias Arumolideva had a number of titles: Gaṅga Mārtaṇḍa, Gaṅga Cakrāyudha, Kāmada (which his grand father Ereyappa had also possessed), Kaliyuga Bhīma and Kīrtimanobhava. As a special and extraordinary marriage gift, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and his father-in-law had honoured with Marul a Madanāvatāra, a unique parasol. As Yuvarāja, heir apparent, Marul a succeeded to the Gan ga throne in 961, but soon died a premature death in 963.

The valiant Mārasimha (963-73) succeeded Maruļadeva. Kṛṣṇa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bādshah, attended the coronation and crowned Mārasimha as the Duke of Gaṅgavāḍi. Mārasimha reciprocated his allegiance to his overlord and immediately swung into action by waging very successful battles in the North, to conquer Aśvapati of Gūrjararājya. Mārasimha was befittingly rewarded with the biruda Gurjararāja. The word Gurjar, the original home of the Pratihāras, had Bhillmāl and Jālore as its centre. Gurjara implies geographical territory and not any caste or clan. Gurjaradeśa had included parts of both Gujarat and Rājasthan. First it came under the sway of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and later the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It was during the expedition under the leadership of Mārasimha that the Zura inscription was installed. The death of Mārasimha created a vacuum in the royal house of the Gaṅgas. The later Gaṅgas had only the nostalgic memories of the good old days of pomp and splendour, of the reign of Būtuga and Mārasimha.

Būtuga, like his father Ereyappa, was 'a bee at the pair of the lotus feet of the adorable Arhat'. He was himself a cognoscente of Jaina canonical literature. Inscriptions bear ample testimony to the continued prominence and popularity of Jaina Order in this epoch. He heralded a significant contribution to the socio-cultural and literary heritage by producing a vast body of learned works on varied subjects in the language of the people. The art and architecture patronised by Būtuga,

his consorts, sons and daughters, and created for the sustenance of the Jaina Sangha, reached its culmination. Butuga and his pedigree exemplify that wealth and power must be used for public good.

The edicts of Būtuga are invaluable and provide rare information of socio-historical importance. They facilitate the reconstruction of the political, cultural and religious history of the Gangas and Karnataka. He was a great warrior of many successful battles, but at the same time Būtuga was religious, more oriented towards Jainism.

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THE JAINA CONCEPT OF OMNISCIENCE (KEVALAJÑĀNA)

DR. GOUR HAZRA

The present paper deals with the Jaina conception of kevalajñāna. It is a critical and comparative study of the Jaina concept of omniscience. Here, I am not going to prove the possibility of omniscience. We all know that the Mīmāmsakas have raised so many objections and the Jainas have tried to give answer to them, regarding the possibility of omniscience. A large part of the logical literature of the Jainas is full of the arguments for the possibility of omniscience. But I am not going to that side.

The first part of my study is mainly concerned with the nature and definition of omniscience of the Jainas and in the second part, an attempt has been made here to compare it with some other parallel Indian views, specially, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Advaita Vedāntins. Although some other systems like Sām khya, Yoga, Buddha etc. also believe in the possibility of omniscience, I have restricted my study within the systems of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Advaita Vadāntins and the Jainas.

I

Literally 'Omniscience' means 'all knowledge' or 'Knowledge of all'. The Latin word 'omnis' is rendered by the Sanskrit word 'sarva'. So, there is a striking parallel between the word 'omniscience' and 'sarvajñatā'. Etymologically, the term 'sarvajñatā (omniscience) derived from the root 'jñā' (jānāti) to know and sarvajñatā is formed by adding the abstruct affix 'tā' to 'sarvajñatā Therefore the etymological meaning of the term 'sarvajña' or omniscient will be one who knows everything.

However, the Jainas defined omniscience (kevalajñāna) as perfect (paripūrņa), complete (samagra), unique (asādhāraṇa), absolute (nirapekṣa), pure (viśuddha), all-comrehensive (sarvabhāva-jñāpaka), that which has for its object both the world and the non-world (lokāloka viṣaya) and infinite (anantaparyāyā).

^{1.} Tattvārthadutra, 1.30 & bhāsya

To the Jainas, it is a perfect and infinite knowledge. In this knowledge one apprehends simultaneously all substances and all their qualities directly, without the help of the sense orgain and mind. Nothing remains to be known and nothing is unknown.² This knowledge is much higher than our ordinary sensuous knowledge, because, there is no limitation of time and space in this knowledge. Obviously it is a non-sensuous knowledge.

The Jaina theory of knowledge is based on their conception of self. Self is basically omniscient since knowledge is the essential quality of the self.³ The pure self possesses infinite knowledge but due to the veil of *karmic* matter, it is obscured, it cannot realise its true nature. When obstruction of the *karmas* are destroyed or removed, knowledge arises in the self. Self gains omniscience. This obstruction can be removed totally by the practice of mental discipline and meditation.

Corresponding to their five type of knowledge (matisruta etc.), there are five types of avarana also. When all these avaranas are destryoyed, self attains its true nature i.e. infinite knowledge. We may call it omniscience or kavalajñāna. Now the question may be raised here whether the four other types of knowledge are present or not in this very state. As an answer to this question some hold that in the state of omniscience, other four types of knowledge exist, but they are overpowered by the kevalajñāna, just as in the day time the light of the stars is overpowered by the light of the sun. Some other hold that this view is not true. According to them, in the state of omniscience, other four imperfect knowledge does not exist. Umāsvāti is the upholder of this view. He says that kevala arises due to the total destruction of all karmic matters, while other four types of knowledge arise by the destruction and subsidence of their own inanavarana. When there is total destruction of karmic matters, the other four types of knowledge could not arise. Modern Jaina logician Yaśovijaya also upholds this view. He replies that though the different types of knowledge are manifested by the destruction of their own jnanavarana, the avarna of perfect knowledge is also at the same time the cause of the manifestation

^{2.} Ibid 1.30.

^{3.} N. Tatia, Studies in Jaina Philosophy - P. 27

of four imperfect knowledge.⁴ In other words, the obstruction of perfect knowledge is the cause of the manifestation of imperfect knowledge. Thus, according to Yośovijaya, for an omniscient person, partial knowledge is not possible, for the cause of partial knowledge i.e. *kevalajñāṇa* has been destroyed.⁵

The Jaina logician Kundakunda explains the nature of omniscience or kevalajñāna in a very novel way. He says that though a kevalī or omniscient perceives all objects of all time and of all place, it is so, only from the vyavahāra dṛṣṭi. He explains the nature of Kevalajñāna with the help of niścaya-dṛṣṭi and vyavahāra dṛṣṭi. These two are the two different points of view, from which the nature of a thing may be explained. Sometimes niścaya dṛṣṭi is called paramārthadṛṣṭi and the vyavahāradṛṣṭi is called samvṛṭu dṛṣṭi. With the help of the first, one knows the essential nature of a thing and with the help of the second, one knows the secondary properties or bāhvasvarūpa of a thing.

According to niścya dṛṣṭi, omniscience is self-revealing, a kevali is indifferent to the world, so he knows only his pure self. Although he perceives all things his mind is not attracted to them and he may be said not to know them. His self becomes pure, so he possesses the intuitional experience of the self itself, therefore, he is called abandhaka. But, according to vyavahāra dṛṣṭi, he knows also the objects of all time and place. Thues kevalajñāna is self-revealing and also object-revealing from two different points of view. But the essential nature of kevalajñāna is to be self-revealing, there is the intuitive experience of the pure self, since knowledge is the essential quality of the self.

I think the explanation given by Kundakunda about the nature of kevalajñāna or omniscience knowledge is remarkable and true. Infact, when a self becomes pure, it becomes indifferent to all worldly objects and shines in its own light i.e. knowledge. In this stage there is no difference between knowledge and self. This is the stage of ātmapratti or self realisation; stage of pure consciousness. This stage is much resemble to the Advaitins concept of Brahmajñāna.

- 4. Yaśovijaya, Jñāna-bindu-prakarana 4
- 5. lbid 3

Hence, from the above discussion, it is very clear that, kevalajñāna of the Jainas is evidently a kind of non-sensuous knowledge or atīndrīyajñāna. It is an intuitive experience of his own pure self as well as the objects of the world with all their qualities of all time and place, from two different points of view.

This concept of non-sensuous knowledge is found in most of the systems of Indian philosophy. It is called atīndrīyajñāna. It is a type of intuitive experience; it arises in the self. Such knowledge is not caused in the ordinary way. The sense-organs do not play a role in its production. There is no limitation of space, time and place for it. One, who possesses this experience can know the objects of the past, present and future. He is called an omniscient being.

II

In this part, an attempt is being made here to compare the Jaina concept of omniscience with the Nyāya-Vaiśeşika and Advaitins concept of omniscience. In Indian thought the concept of omniscience has generally been associated with Yogic attainments or salvation. Through yoga one can attain omniscience. This idea of omniscience has been accepted in some form or other, by almost all the Indian system of philosophy except the Cārvākas.7 The Nyāya-Vaiśeşika recognise alaukika pratyakṣa, of which the yogaja (yogic intuition) is one of the three varieties. The latter may produce omniscience, though every yogi does not possess the power of omniscience but only those, who acquire it through special yogic efforts. But this yogic omniscience is not permanent, for in the state of release there would be no knowledge. Knowledge according to them is the accidental quality of the self or in other words, knowledge is an attribute, which inheres in the self substance which however is separable from it. In the state of release the self exists as pure substance, free from all connection with the body neither suffering pain nor enjoying pleasure nor having cognition or consciousness even. That is why, we can say that there is no knowledge of the pure consciousness (Self). To them only Gods' omniscience is

^{6.} Niyamasāra - 171

^{7.} Kumārila, śloka-vārtika II, 110-11

eternal, but omniscience acquired by the power of Yoga cannot be eternal. Yogic omniscience thus differs from divine omniscience, in that it is produced, while the latter is eternal.⁸

But in the case of kevalajñāna or omniscience of the Jainas the question of acquirement does not arise. Here knowledge is not something, which is to be acquired, Self itself is knowledge. Knowledge is self or self is knowledge. To the Jainas, every self is omniscient, but due to the obstruction of the karmic matters this omniscience is not manitested. But the practice of mental and bodily discipline, he can destroy the āvarana of the karmas and can manifest the latent omniscience. Since knowledge is the essential quality of the self, self and knowledge are identical or inseparable, the manifest omniscience would be permanent, even in the stage of release.

Omniscience of the Jainas is a kind of non-sensuous knowledge (atindriya jñāna), but yogaja pratyakṣa of the Naiyāyikas is not exactly a kind of non-sensuous perception, rather it is a kind of super normal perception (alaukika pratyakṣa), because though sense organs are not directly involved but indirectly playing a role in its production. The objects are not actually present to the senses, but are experienced through an extra ordinary medium. Like the Jainas it is also the knowledge of objects of the world with all their qualities at all places and time. But unlike the Jainas, it is not the knowledge of pure consciousness.

Now the Jaina concept of omniscience may be compared with the Brahma jñāna of the Advaita Vedāntins. In fact, the interpretation of kevala jñāna given by Kundakunda inspired me to do this work. Kundakunda explains the nature of kevalajñāna from the two different points of view, which we have mentioned earlier. According to him, from the transcendental (niścaya dṛṣṭi) point of view, the omniscient only knows his self. Of course, this does not mean that, there is nothing outside his own self i.e. other worldly beings and objects are not there. He perceives all those things from vyavahāra dṛṣṭi. Actually what he wants to say is that, he becomes indifferent to the worldly beings and objects in this very stage. Although he perceives all things, his self is

^{8.} Praśastapãda-bhaṣya, p. 187

not attracted to them. He may be said not to know them. Since knowledge is the essential quality of the self, there is no difference between self and knowledge, the knower and the known, subject and object. This is the stage of pure-consciousness infinite knowledge. I think, this very stage (niscaya dṛṣṭi) of kevala jñāna may be compared with the Advaitins concept of Brahma jñāna. There is a striking similarity between these two concepts.

According to the Advaita Vedāntins, Brahman is of pure consciousness, infinite knowledge and real. (The description of Brahman even as infinite, consciousness and real, though more accurate than accidental descriptions, cannot directly convey the idea of Brahman. It only serves to direct the mind towards Brahman by denying of its finiteness, unreality and unconsciousness). And Branmajñāna means knowledge of real, pure consciousness and infinite. In this stage there is also no difference between subjet and object, the knower and the known, experience and experiences, like the Jainas. So from this particular point of view there is close resembalance between these two concepts. But one thing, we should have remembered that, though there is no difference between subject and object, the knower and the known, in Jainism, the Kevalī (omniscient being) is not loosing his identity as an experiencer at the time of experience.

But in the case of $Brahmaj\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ there is no experiencer. When someone attains this state or he realizes the truth in the form 'I am Brahman' from that very moment, everything in this world, including self and God ($Brahman\ conditioned\ by\ M\bar{a}ya$) are the illusory creation of $M\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, to him. Brahman is the only reality, $\bar{A}tman$ and Brahman are the two aspects of the same reality. When Atman becomes united with $Brahman\ Atman$ looses his identity as an experiencer. Only Brahman is there, nothing outside Him. So the question of omniscience does not arise in that case.

However, in my opinion, the *jivan mukti* of the Advaita Vedāntins may be called omniscience being. If we observe very carefully the Advaitins concept of *jivan mukti*, we will see that there is a striking similarity between the Advaitins concept of *jivan mukti* and the Jaina concept of omniscience. To the Vedāntins, on the attainment of *mukti* the body may continue, because it is the product of karmas, which had

already born their effect (prārabdha-karma). But he never again identify itself with the body. The external world still appears before him but he is not deceived by it. He does not feel any desire for the worldly objects. He is totally free from all sorts or attachments. He is in this world and yet out of it. This is the Advaitins concept of jivan mukti. It is a stage of perfection. Like the Jainas and some other Indian thinkers, Śankara believes that perfection can be reached even here in this life. This is the stage were the illusory distinction between the self and Brahman disappears and he realizes the truth in the from 'I am Brahman' and at the same time he realizes that 'All this is Brahman' (sarvam khalvidam brahma). This is the highest stage of perfection, like the Kevala jñāna of the Jainas. This jivan muktas may be called omniscience being. The notion of liberated being implies the idea of perfection and since omniscience is perfection of knowledge it has been associated with him.

Though, there is some similarity between Brahmajñāna and kevala jñāna, there may be truely some differences between the experience of the self in the two systems. According to Advaita Vedāntins, there is only one self i.e. Brahman. So in Brahmajñāna, the individual self possesses the experience of identity with Brahman (I am Brahman). There is no difference between Brahman and Ātman. Ātman is Brakman. The anubhava of Ātman or the integral experience is a type of intuitional consciousness, which may be called the knowledge of Brahman, in which the individual self feels the identity of Brahman. On the other hand, the Jainas believe in the existence of many selves. So, in their kevalajñāna different selves have the pure feeling of their own existence, for all selves are different. Not only that, there is also some other differences between Brahmajñana and kevalajñāna. Since the Jainas believe in the reality of the external world, therefore, in their kevalajñāna (from vyavahāra drsti) there is direct apprehension of external objects of all times and of all places. But in Brahmajñāna, there is no knowledge of the objects of the part future and distance, because to the Advaitins the world is not real but only appears as real due to ignorance. There is only one reality i.e.

^{9.} Śańkara's Bhāşya, Sū 1 1. 4

Brahman, so the question of direct apprehension of all objects of all times and all palces does not arise in case of Brahma $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$.

However, for the Upaniṣads the real is the $\bar{A}tman$ or Brahman, the two words are used very often synonymously. It follows, therefore, that 'By knowing the Atman one knows everything' or $\bar{A}tman$ being known everything is known'. In short, the Upanisadic thinkers want to bring home the truth that, one who knows the cosmic spirit, either as Brahman or $\bar{A}tman$, knows everything. Thus omniscience means the knowledge of the self ($\bar{a}tmajn\bar{a}na$), knowledge of Brahman (Brahma).

The Jaina logician Kundakunda, Yogindu, and some others sometimes seem to advocate this inword approach to knowledge. "From the transcendental point of view, the omniscient perceives his self only¹² says Kundakunda and declares that the practical point of view is unreal. If we acknowledge this truth, then *jivan mukta* of the Advaita vedantina must be regarded as an omniscient being, since it is a state of realisation of pure consciousness, infinite knowledge, which is the real nature of self.

Thus, from all these observations, we arrive at the conclusion that the nature of omniscience of the Jainas are *unique* and this uniquencess rests on the iterpretation of Kundakunda. The explanation of *kevalajñāna* or omniscience given by him, has its own important place in Jaina philosophy. I think, on this interpretation the conception of omniscience gains a spiritual significance. Some systems of Indian Philosophy (*Naiyāyika*, *Sāmkhya*, *Buddha* etc.) believe in the possibility of omniscience, yet the Jaina concept of omniscience is much more comprehensive than all other systems.

^{10.} Chāndogyopanisad VI 2. 1 Is a 6.7. Bṛhad III. 7.1

^{11.} Brhad IV 5.6

Kundakunda-Niyamasara ed. by A. Chakraborty, Kashi Bhartiay
 Jnanapitha 1950 Gatha - 11.

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

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scholar Professor Dr Satya Ranjan Banerjee of Calcutta University. The Jain Journal and Śramaṇa for over thirty seven and thirty years respectively have proved byond doubt that these Journals are in great demand for its quality and contents. The Jain Journal is highly acclaimed by foreign scholars. The same can be said about the Hindi journal Titthayara which is edited by Mrs Lata Bothra. In April this year it entered its 25th year of publication. Needless to say that these journals have played a key-role in propagating Jain literature and philosophy. Progressive in nature, these have crossed many milestones and are poised to cross many more.

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Friends, you are now aware of the functions of this prestigious institution and its noble intentions. We, therefore, request you to encourage us heartily in our creative and scholastic endeavours. We do hope that you will continue to lend us your generous support as you have been doing for a long time.

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