# Jaina Literature [From Earliest Time to c. 10th A. D.]

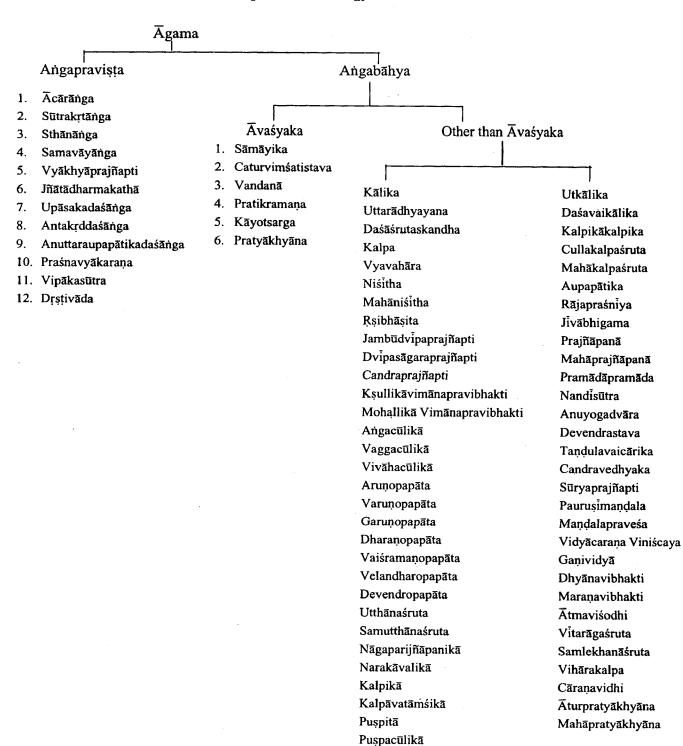
## Jaina Literature of Early Period

Ancient Indian Literature was composed mainly in three languages, i.e., Samskrta, Pāli and Prākrta. Out of these three Pāli is nothing but a shade of Prakrta language. As a literary language, Prakrta, being a group of various local dialects as Magadhi. Pāli, Paiśāci, Śauraseni, Mahārāstri, was never developed as a single language but as a group of languages. Various types of Apabhramsa were also developed from Prākrta. Its various shades developed according to their different places and time. If we consider these three main languages from religious point of view, all the Vedic religious literature is found in Samskrta while the Jaina canonical and Buddhist literature is in Prākṛta and Pāli, respectively. So far as the Jaina religious literature of early period is concerned, it was mainly written in Prākrta known as Prākrta canons. Jainas started writing from c. 3rd-4th A. D. in Samskrta but notably these Samskrta works are based on Prākrta works whether as an independent or in the form of commentaries.

So far as the Jaina literature (of early period) prior to c. 3rd A. D. is concerned, barring few of the early philosophical and literary treatises, it is mainly confined to the canonical literature only. Majority of

the canonical literature belongs to this period, though their final editing and writing on palm-leaves belong to c. 5th A. D. Among Śvetāmbara canons, except the Nandisūtra and the later edition of Praśnavyākaraņa, most works were composed before the c. 3rd A. D. No doubt, some interpolations and changes did take place therein at the time of Valabhi Council yet they are clearly traceable. It would be a great mistake if on account of these interpolations and changes the whole of the Agamas are regarded as posterior. Although most of the works of this period contain the religious preachings with some popular parables and stories as well as religious code of conduct, certain works deal with Jaina cosmology, metaphysics, Karma philosophy and theory of knowledge also. The list of canonical literature is, for the first time, found in Nandisūtra (c. 5th A. D.). If we accept Nandisūtra as a work of c. 5th A. D., all the works referred to in Nandisūtra belong to a date prior to it. But they all were not composed in a single spur of moment. All the canonical works, it seems are composed in during c. 5th B. C. to c. 4th-5th A. D., i.e., within one thousand years. The works mentioned in the Nandisūtra are the following:

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Unfortunately, all the above mentioned works are not available, today. Some of them are lost. Out of twelve Anga Agamas, the 7th chapter of Ācārānga (Mahāparijñā) and the major portion of Drstivāda are said to be extinct. So far as the subjectmatter of 7th chapter of Acaranga is concerned, in my opinion, it was mainly related to the Jinakalpa or strict code of conduct of naked monks. When the followers of this strict code of conduct disappeared gradually, no serious efforts were made to restore it and finally it got lost. Likewise, the twelfth Anga Drstivāda, said to be containing five parts (i) Parikarma, (ii) Sūtra, (iii) Pūrvagata, (iv) Anuyoga and (v) Cūlikā, seems to have dealt mainly with the philosophical doctrines of other schools of thought including the Pārśva tradition. Pūrvagata, the third part of Dṛṣṭivāda, exclusively, dealt with the doctrines of Pārśva tradition, later on accepted as the doctrines of Mahavira. All these works were preserved only through oral tradition, because, Jaina monks and nuns were strictly prohobited to write on palm-leaves, those days. That study and preservation of the Jaina literature, written on palm-leaves were prohibited due to the strict observance of non-violence. They were of the opinion that in the process of writing, studying and preserving the palm-leaf works, the injury to the Jīvas was inevitable. That is why, they made no efforts to restore them in written form. This was the reason behind the loss of Dṛṣṭivāda as well as some other agamas. In my opinion, Drstivada, in particular, became extinct, because of following factors firstly, its contents were not fully in accordance with Mahāvira's tradition and were mostly related with philosophical discussions of other traditions and schools, hence unable to arouse interest in Jaina monks. Secondly, the concepts, accepted by Mahāvīra's tradition, were included in other Āgamic texts also, hence Jaina monks did not make any effort to preserve the Purva literature. Thirdly, due to the oral tradition, other Anga agamas could not remain intact. We find that earlier subject-matter of Praśnavyākarana has been completely changed. Similarly, partial changes as well as some additions are also noted in the subject-matter of Jñātādharma-kathā, Antakṛddaśānga, Anuttraupapātika and Vipākasūtra. Among the secondary canons (Anga-bāhyaāgamas) following works, known as Kālika and Utkālika, respectively were also lost in due course of time. The details of such canons are as under:

# Kālikasūtra not available presently ---

- 1. Kşullikāvimānapravibhakti
- 2. Mahallikavimānapravibhakti
- 3. Angacülikā
- 4. Vaggacūlikā
- 5. Vivāhacūlikā
- 6. Aruņotapāda
- 7. Varuņotapāda
- 8. Garuņotapāda
- 9. Dharanotapāda
- 10. Vaiśramaņotapāda
- 11. Velandarotapāda
- 12. Devendrotapāda
- 13. Utthānaśruta
- 14. Samutthānaśruta
- 15. Nāgaprajñaptipanikā.

## Utkālikasūtra not available presently

- 1. Kalpikākalpikā
- 2. Cūlakalpikā
- 3. Mahāprajñāpanā
- 4. Pramādāpramāda
- 5. Paurusimaņdala
- 6. Maņdala Praveśa
- 7. Vidyācaraņa Viniścaya
- 8. Dhyānavibhakti
- 9. Vitarāga Śruta
- 10. Vihārakalpa
- 11. Cāraņavidhi.

About the subject-matter of these Kālika and Utkālikasūtras, not extant today, it is very difficult to

comment upon. Their subject-matter can be inferred on the basis of their titles only. One Angasūtra, i. e., Dṛṣṭivāda, 15 Kālikasūtra and 11 Utkālikasūtras, thus, the number of extinct or not available texts, comes to be 27, in total. Except these 27, all the 51 texts are available. At present six Āvaśyakas being counted as one, the number finally becomes 46. It is not possible here to deliberate on the corresponding authorship, date and subject-matter of each and every text of this list in this article, so I shall discuss, in short, only few important works in their chronological order.

# Primary Canons (Angas)

 $\overline{A}$  cārānga is considered as the oldest of all the works of the early period. According to the scholars, the first part of  $\overline{A}c\overline{a}r\overline{a}nga$  belongs to the c. 5th-4th B. C. This part contains the original preachings of Lord Mahāvira. It deals with the spiritual preachings alongwith the basic principles of non-violence and ethical code of conduct, prescribed for Jania monks and nuns. Its last chapter depicts a real picture of the ascetic life of Lord Mahāvira. The 7th chapter of the first part is supposed to be lost after the composition of its Niryukti, i. e., c. 2nd-3rd A. D. The second part of  $\overline{A}c\overline{a}r\overline{a}nga$  is known as  $\overline{A}y\overline{a}rac\overline{u}l\overline{a}$  — an appendix. It mainly deals with the detailed rules and regulations or the code of conduct of Jaina monks and nuns alongwith some of the events of the life of Mahavira. Modern scholars opine that the second part of Ācārānga was composed during the c. 2nd-1st B. C. Another improtant canonical work of this era is Sūtrakṛtānga dating c. 4th-3rd B. C. This work is also full of spiritual and moral preachings but its peculiarity lies in the presentaion of different philosophical views prevalent in that particular era. Like Ācārānga, it also comprises two parts (Śrutaskandhas). Scholars are of the opinion that the second part of Sūtrakṛtānga is some what posterior to the first.

The third important work in chronological

order of the Jaina canonical literature is Isibhāsiyāim (Rsibhāsitam). All the scholars of Prākrta and Jainology: Western and Indian, consider it of c. 4th-3rd B. C. It marks the catholicity of early Jaina thinkers. It contains the ethical preachings as well as philosophical views of forty-five thinkers. Out of these Narada, Asitadevala, Angirasa, Pārāśara, Ārunt, Nārāyana, Yājñavalkya, Uddālaka, Vidura etc. definitely belong to Upanișadic tradition. Similarly, Sāriputta, Vajjiputta, Mahākāśyapa etc. belong to Buddhist tradition while Pārśva and Vardhamāna belong to the Jaina tradition. A few others are of other independent Śramanic tradition, not extant today. This work shows that in the early period the Upanişadic and other Sramanic traditions were tolerant as well as respectful to each other.

Uttarādhyayana and Daśavaikālika are other important works of this early phase. Uttarādhyayana contains thirty-six chapters, mainly dealing with the religious preachings as well as some metaphysical doctrines of Jainism. Some chapters of this text are regarded as the later additions by the scholars but in no way they are later than the c. 2nd or 1st B. C. The next work Daśavaikālika, composed by Ārya Śayyambhava (c. 5th-4th B. C.) mainly deals with the ethical code of conduct of Jania monks and nuns alongwith the spiritual discourses and preachings. However, we can not deny the possibility of the interpolations to the some extent in its final editing.

The other works dealing with the ethical code of conduct are Niśītha, Daśāśrutaskandha (Āyāradaśā), Vyavahāra and Kalpa, all composed by Ārya Bhadrabāhu inc. 3rd B. C. These works, not only deal with the code of conduct but with transgressions and atonements also.

Against general belief, that all the Angas are composed by the Ganadharas, direct disciples of Lord Mahāvīra, some opine that except  $\overline{Acaranga}$  and  $S\overline{u}trakrtanga$ , all the Angas are composed later on. In

my opinion, it is very difficult to assign any particular date or authorship to these extant works because of containing different levels of the development of Jaina thought, occurred through different ages.

After Acārānga and Sūtrakṛtānga, next two Angas in successive order are Sthānānga and Samavāyānga. They may be considered as encyclopaedia of early Jaina thoughts and beliefs, mainly based on the numbers more or less similar to Anguttaranikāya of Buddhist tradition. Both these works provide more information about the Jaina order and development of Jaina thoughts of the later period, i.e., c. 3rd-4th A.D. The next in the list is Bhagavati (Vyākhyāprajñapti) mainly dealing with different aspects of Jaina philosophy. According to a group of scholars, this voluminous work, was composed at different phases and not at one time. Evidently, it has references to the later works like Prajñāpanā, Anuyogadvāra, etc. belonging to c. 1st-4th A. D. and side by side, depicts various earlier original concepts, witnessing change in the process of development of Jaina thoughts. The next work of early period is Jñātādharmakathā. Second part of this work is considerably later than the first. The first contains mainly stories preached by Lord Mahāvira to his disciples. Its 19 chapters, referred to in Avaśyaka-sūtra, are undoubtedly, composed in the early period. The next among Anga canons is Upāsakadaśānga, considered as the first work related to the code of conduct of lay devotees (Śrāvakas). It comprises life-sketches of ten prominent lay followers of Lord Mahāvira. Not having any trace of any later work, it belongs to the early period. Antakṛddaśāṅga deals with the life-stories and ascetic life of the persons, attaining their salvation in the last span of their life. According to Sthānānga, it has only ten chapters dealing with life-stories of 10 persons. But present volume contains life-stories of 93 persons. It clearly shows that not at the time of Valabhi Vācanā alone but even after that some additional matters

were incorporated in Sthānānga. Same is the case with Anuttaropapātikadaśānga. Its early edition contained life-stories of only ten persons who attained Sarvārthasiddhi Vimāna and were supposed to attain liberation in their next births. Of Jaina canon Praśnavyākaraṇadaśā, unfortunately, the earlier contents are totally extinct. It seems that the present subject-matter of this work was incorporated in aroundc. 7th A.D. Its extant edition deals with five āsravas, viz., violence, untruthfulness, theft, unchastity and possessiveness alongwith five saṃvaras, viz., truthfulness, nonstealing, chastity and non-possession. Last available work of Anga canon is Vipākadaśā, dealing with fruits of merit and demerits.

# Secondary Canons (Upānga)

The first work of the secondary canons is Aupapātika, dealing with the episode of Sūryābhadeva. It also depicts a beautiful picture of ancient art and architecture. On the basis of this depiction, scholars date this work not earlier than c. 1st-2nd A.D. The next work of this category is *Rājapraśniya* which. so far its subject-matter is concerned, is more similar to the Buddhist Pali canon - Paseniyasutta. The third and the fourth, Jīvābhigama and Prajñāpanā, respectively, deal with the Jaina metaphysics in general and the concepts of jiva and ajiva in particular. The authorship of Prajñāpanā is attributed to Ārya Śyāma (c. 1st A.D.). Out of these twelve secondary canonical works only Prajñāpanā's authorship is known. About the authorship of other works, we are still in dark. The fifth one is Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, mainly dealing with Jaina Geography in addition to the lifehistory of Rsabhadeva. The subject-matter of next two works, Sūryaprajñapti and Candraprajñapti are related with Jaina cosmology in general and Jaina astronomy in particular. Scholars date these c. 2nd-1st B.C. Other five works of this bunch are very short and rather of less important.

Besides Anga & Upānga canonical literature,

Candrakavedhyaka, Taṇḍulavaicārika, Āturpratyā-khyāna, Mahāpratyākhyāna, Maraṇavibhakti, mainly concerned with the Jaina Sādhanā, are known as Prakirṇakas, in general and Samādhimaraṇa in particular. All these works are, undoubtedly earlier to the c. 4th-5th A.D.

Among the non-canonical works of this period, very few in number are extant, namely Tattvārtha-sūtra and its auto-commentary (c. 3rd-4th A. D.), Paumacariya of Vimalasūri (c. 2nd-5th A. D. ) and Digambar works composed in Sauraseni Prākrta like Kasāyapāhuda of Gunadhara (c. 4th A. D.) and Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta Bhūtabali ( about c. 5th A. D. ). Apart from these, the works of and Siddhasena Samantabhadra Kundakunda, Divākara may also be considered as the works of early period. Scholars differ on the exact date of composition of these works, except that of Tattvārthasūtra. They date these in between c. 2nd-5th A. D.

Among non-canonical literature, the first Niryuktis, ten in number, are of great importance. These (Niryuktis) mainly explain the meaning of Jaina technical terms from the various stand-points alongwith the brief account of the subject matter of that particular Agama. Scholars widely differ about the time and authorship of Niryuktis except that of Govindaniryukti. Some are of the opinion that these Niryuktis are composed by Bhadrabāhu-I (c. 3rd B. C.) while others consider these to be composed by Bhadrabāhu-II, the brother of Varāhamihira (c. 6th A. D.). But in my humble opinion, as external and internal evidences show it was neither of Bhadrabāhu-I or of Bhadrabāhu-II. But, Āryabhadra of c. 2nd-3rd A. D., in all probability, was the author of these Niryuktis. I have given various reasons in support of this view in my independent article published in Sāgara Jaina Vidyābhāratī (Pārśvanātha Vidyāpitha, Varanasi, 1994). Presently, we have only the following Niryuktis:

- 1. Āvaśyakaniryukti,
- 2. Daśavaikālikaniryukti,
- 3. Uttarādhyayananiryukti,
- 4. Ācārānganiryukti,
- 5. Sūtrakṛtāṅganiryukti,
- 6. Daśāśrutaskandhaniryukti,
- 7. Kalpaniryukti and
- 8. Vyavahāraniryukti.

Apart from these, two more Niryuktis — Ogha and Piṇḍa are also available, but considered to be the part of Āvaśyakaniryukti and Daśavaikālikaniryukti, respectively, hence, not independent works. We also have a mention of two more Niryuktis on Sūryaprajñapti and Rsibhāsita, but they are extinct now.

To conclude, we can say that more than hundred works could be considered to belong to this early period but about thirty of them are now extinct.

#### Jaina Literature of this Period

The evolution and changes occurred in Jaina thought and practice during c. 3rd-10th A. D. is traceable through its literature. For literature is the mirror of the cultural development of any society. The prime period of the composition of literary works of Jainism corresponds to c. 3rd-10th A. D. Almost all the important works of Jainism were finally composed and edited in this period. The literature, which emerged in this period, may be divided into five categories:

- 1. Agamas and their commentaries.
- 2. Philosophical works.
- 3. Works related to the Jaina religious practices.
  - 4. Jaina epics and other narrative literature.
  - 5. Secular Literature of Jainas.

# 1. Agamas and their Commentaries

As I have already mentioned that except Nandisūtra and present edition of Praśnavyākaraṇa, most of the Āgamas were composed before c. 3rd A. D. but their final editing had been done only in the

c. 5th A. D. At the time of this final editing, interpolation of many later developed philosophical concepts and informations regarding the Jaina order creaped into these. The Nandisūtra, the āgamic work composed during this period, deals with the Jaina theory of five-fold knowledge as well as contains its later developments which took place in c. 4th-5th A. D. Similarly, the drastic changes in the original subjectmatter of Praśnavyākaraņa and partial changes in Antakṛddaśā and Anuttaraupapātikadaśā also occurred during this period. Almost all the Prakrta and some of the early Samskrta commentaries on the Jaina Agamas were written in this period, in form of Niryuktis (c. 3rd-4th A. D.), Bhāṣyas (c. 6th A. D.) and Cūrnis (c. 7th A. D.). This period is of great literary importance because majority of the Agamic works were finally edited and some of them were even composed also in this period.

Besides these Niryuktis, Oghaniryukti and Piṇḍaniryukti are also available but Oghaniryukti is considered as the part of Āvaśyakaniryukti and Piṇḍaniryukti as the part of Daśavaikālikaniryukti, hence they are not independent works. Though, Niryuktis on Sūryaprajñapti and Ŗṣibhāṣita are referred to in Āvaśyakaniryukti (Verse 85) but at present these two are not available. The Niśithaniryukti, considered to be the part of Ācārāṇganiryukti is mixed with its Bhāṣya. All these Niryuktis are written in Prākṛta verses and deal very precisely with the contents of the respective Āgamas.

After Niryukti, Bhāṣyas onāgamic texts were composed in c. 5th-6th A. D. The Bhāṣyas are more exhaustive and elaborate than those of Niryuktis. They were also composed in Prākṛta verses. Bhāṣyas are quite prolific in their contents referring to various concepts of Jaina philosophy and the code of the conduct for monks and nuns with their exceptions and punishments.

Among Bhāṣya, Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāsya is the most important. It is the first work of Svetambara tradition, dealing with the problems of Jaina philosophy with minute details. The concept of five-fold knowledge has been discussed elaborately with a critical approach herein. Among various proofs given for the existence of soul, one bears similarity to that of Rene Descartes (c. 16th A. D.), a Western philosopher, proving the existence of soul through doubt itself. In Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya, various contrary views of Jaina acaryas are mentioned and reviewed alongwith the views of some rebellious Jaina thinkers, i.e., Nihnavas. It also deals with the differences of Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions regarding the successiveness and simultaneity of Kevalajñāna and Kevaladarśana as well as the problem of nacked-ness of the monk with full details. Other Bhāṣyas mainly deal with the ethical code of conduct of ascetics with their exceptions and the conditions in which these exceptions could be followed alongwith their atonements. The Bhāṣyas, dealing with the code of conduct of monks are -Daśavaikālikabhāsya, Uttarādhyayanabhāsya, Brhatkalpabhāsya, Vyavahārabhāsya, Niśithabhāṣya and Jītakalpabhāṣya. Some of the Bhāsyas also contain some informations of historical importance. As the authors of the Bhāṣya, we have only two names : Jinabhadragaņi and Sanghadāsagaņi. Jinabhadragani is the author of Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya while Sanghadasagani is the author of Bṛhatkalpa, Vyavahāra and Niśithabhāsyā. Of these two Sanghadasagani is supposed to be senior to Jinabhadra, because Jinabhadra, in his work Viśesanavati has referred the Vasudevahindi, a work authored by Sanghadasagani. The period of Jinabhadra, is undoubtedly, the latter half of the c. 6th A. D. As Sanghadasagani was senior to Jinabhadragani, it leaves no room for doubt that he must have flourished in second half of the c. 6th A.D. All these bhāsyas are of considerable length; composed in Prakrta verses and deal with

their subjects exhaustively. We find a rich cultural data and some informations about the cultural history of India in the *Bhāṣyas*.

Next, the Cūrņis, unlike the Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas are written in prose. Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas are written in Prākṛta only, while the Cūrṇis in Prākṛta mixed with Samskṛta. Among Cūrṇis — Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika, Uttarādhyayana, Sūtra-kṛtānga, Anuyogadvāra, Nandī and Niśitha, are the most important.

All these Cūrnis were written by Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara. In Nandicūrni it is clearly mentioned that this work was completed in Śaka Samvat 598 corresponding to 676 A. D. It is, therefore, concluded that most of the important Cūrnis were written in c. 7th A. D. Some Cūrnis viz., Daśavaikālika of Agastyasimha and Cūrnisūtras on Kasāyapāhuḍasutta are the earlier among the Cūrni literature.

Among whole of the commentary literature  $C\overline{u}rnis$  hold an important place because first, they deal with the various subjects and are directly concerned with social and cultural heritage of Jainism. Secondly, they supply so many informations about the Jaina History pertaining c. 1st-6th A. D.

Cūrņis were succeeded by Saṃskṛta commentaries, written on different Āgamic texts, known as Vṛttis or Vivaraṇas. Among Saṃskṛta commentators Haribhadrasūri is the earliest, flourished in the middle of the c. 8th A. D. He wrote commentaries on Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika, Jīvābhigama, Prajñāpanā, Nandī, Anuyogadvāra and Piṇḍaniryukti. Śilāṅkācārya, flourished in the c. 9th A. D. believed to have written several commentaries on Āgamas but unfortunately at present only two commentaries on Ācārāṅga and Sūtrakṛtāṅga, are available. After Śilāṅka, Abhayadevasūri and Śāntisūri are the prominent names among commentators. Abhayadevasūri has commented on nine of eleven Angas except Ācārāṅga and Sūtrakṛtāṅga, hence called Navāṅgi-

vṛttikāra. Śāntisūri has written a commentary on Uttarādhyayanasūtra. Both of these later Samskṛta commentators flourished, during c. 10th-11th A. D. This trend of commentary-writing is still current in Śvetāmbara tradition.

In Digambara tradition, Kasāyapāhudasutta and Ṣatkhaṇḍāgama are considered as equivalent to āgamas. These works are written in c. 4th-5th A. D. On Kaṣāyapāhuḍasutta first commentary was written by Yativṛṣabha in the form of Cūrṇi-sūtras in c. 6th A. D. After that in c. 9th A. D. Virasena wrote two commentaries Jayadhavalā and Dhavalā on Kaṣāya-pāhuḍa and Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, respectively. Mahā-dhavalā is a commentary on the one part of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, written by his disciple Jinasena. These commentaries mainly deal with Jaina philosophy in general and Karma theory in particular.

## 2. Important Philosophical Works of this Period

Among the Jaina philosophical works composed between c. 3rd-10th A.D., the Tattvārthasūtra, with its auto-commentary by Umāsvāti, is the pioneer one and may be considered as the first systematic work on Jaina philosophy. Composed in c. 3rd A. D., it also has the credit of being the first Samskrta work of Jaina literature, written in the style of other Sūtragranthas of Indian philosophy. The especiality of this work is that it is equally respected as well as accepted by both the sects of Jainism — Svetāmbara and Digambara. It encompasses ten chapters dealing with Jaina metaphysics, epistemology and ethics. Its first chapter deals mainly with Jaina theory of knowledge, Naya and Niksepa, second with Jiva (living substance), third and fourth with hells and heavens, fifth with Jaina metaphysics, sixth to ninth chapters with Jaina doctrine of Karma and Jaina sādhanā or ethical code of conduct of house-holders and monks, respectively. Finally, the tenth one deals with the concept of liberation (mokṣa). Notably, the concept of Guṇasthāna and Saptabhanginaya (Seven-fold judgement) are totally absent in it. This shows that these concepts came into existence later during c. 5th-6th A.D.

After Tattvārthasūtra, Ācārya Siddhasena Divākara's Sanmatitarka is the next critical and important work, composed in c. 4th A. D. in Prākrta verses. It explains critically the concept of dravya ( substance ), guna ( properties ), paryāya ( modes ) and their mutual relationship on the basis of the Jaina theory of Naya, Nikșepa and Anekāntavāda (nonabsolutism ). It is the first work in which one-sided views of other philosophers are critically examined to establish Jaina theory of Anekāntavāda. Some of the Dvātrimsaka-dvātrimsikās, of the same author, also, critically examine the philosophical views of other Indian schools under the pretext of praising the Jina. Even if the refutation of the philosophical views of other schools of Indian philosophy is found in the canonical works also, they are neither critical nor systematic in their approach. Siddhasena for the first time, critically examined the views of other Indian philosophies, showing their logical inconsistencies. So far as the works on Jaina epistemology are concerned, Nyāyāvatāra of Siddhasena may be considered the first work on Jaina logic. This work provides the base to understand the later gradual developments in Jaina logic, particularly the contribution of Akalanka and Vidyanandi in this regard.

Among the writers of the Digambara sect, who wrote independent philosophical treatises, Samantabhadra (c. 5th A. D.) occupies an important place. His Āptamīmāmsā is a noted scholarly presentation. It immitates Sanmatitarka of Siddhasena, in style but differs in language. Sanmatitarka is in Prākrta verses, while Āptamīmāmsā is in Samskrta verses. It also critically evaluates the one-sided views of other philosophies. These two works namely, Sanmatitarka and Āptamīmāmsā, may be considered as the prime works for the exposition of Jaina theory of

Anekāntavāda. Āptamīmārinsā is an important work which establishes the concepts of Jainism after a critical evaluation of those of the other schools of Indian philosophy.

Another important work of this age is Dvādašāranayacakra, authored by Mallavādi in c. 5th A. D., aiming to establish Jaina theory of Anekāntavāda by pointing out inconsistencies in the thoughts of other schools of Indian philosophy. The style of this work is somewhat different from that of Sanmatitarka and Aptamimāmsā, as these two later works are composed in verses and deal with their subject-matter in a precise manner. Navacakra is composed in prose and deals with its subject-matter exhaustively. The distinguishing feature of Dvadaśaranayacakra is that it critically examines the views of one philosophical school through the arguments of its opponent. In this way it makes a circle (cakra) in which the last school of thought is refuted or critically examined by the first one. On the basis of these three important works, this age is known as "The Age of Critical Presentation of Anekāntavāda". Besides 'Anekāntajayapatākā' and 'Anekāntavādapraveśa' of Haribhadra (c. 8th A. D.) also deal with the same subject-matter, but in a different manner. Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāsya, of Jinabhadragani Kṣamāśramana, is one of the important work of this age. In Śvetāmbara tradition it is the first work which deals with various problems of Jaina philosophy in detail and with minute observation. In Digambara Tradition also the Tattvārthasūtra is considered as the first systematic work on Jaina philosophy. The oldest available commentary on Tattvārthasūtra in Digambara tradi-Deva-nandi's Sarvārtha-Pūjyapāda tion siddhi which is next to Svopajña-bhāṣya ( autocommentary of Umasvati ). It is composed in the first half of c. 6th A. D.

During c. 8th A. D. two more commentaries were produced namely Akalanka's Tattvārthavārttika

and Vidyānandi's Ślokavārttika which are of great importance. Both of these works not only propound the Jaina philosophy but also critically evaluate and estimate the other philosophical systems. Like other works, these commentaries also discuss the points of dispute between Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects, such as the concept of women's liberation (strimukti), the taking of food by omniscients (kevalibhukti) etc. At the same time in Śvetāmbara tradition too, two commentaries on Tattvārthasūtra, namely Tattvārthādhigamasūtra and Tattvārthasūtravārttika by Siddhasenagaṇi (c. 7th) and Haribhadra (c. 8th) respectively, were brought out.

The composition of independent works on Jaina doctrine of Karma starts with c. 4th A. D. In Digambara tradition the independent works on Jaina doctrine of Karma composed during c. 4th-10th A. D. are Mahākarma-prakṛti-prābhṛta (Ṣaṭakhaṇḍaśāstra) by Puspadanta Bhūtabali (c. 4th A. D.), Kaṣāyaprābhṛta by Guṇadhara (c. 4th A. D.), Kaṣāyaprābhṛta Cūrni by Yativṛṣabha (c. 6th A. D.), Dhavalā Ţikā and Jayadhavalā Tikā by Virasena (c. 9th A. D.) and Gommatasāra by Nemicandra Siddhāntacakravarti (c. 10th A. D.). Similarly, in Svetāmbara tradition Karmaprakṛti by Śivaśarmasūri ( c. 5th A. D. ), Prācina-Satkarmagrantha, Śataka and Saptatikā by Śivaśarmasūri and Pañcasangraha are the noted treatises composed during this age. All these works present detailed description of Jaina Philosophy in general and Jaina doctrine of Karma in particular.

Haribhadrasūri composed more than eighty works on different aspects of Jaina philosophy and religion. He developed a Jaina system of Yoga on the basis of Patañjali's Yoga and established some new concepts of Jaina Yoga. Haribhadra was a prolific writer who has written on every aspect of Jaina philosophy and religion. His Saddarśanasamuccaya and Śāstravārtāsamuccaya are two important works which describe comparatively the thoughts of other

systems of Indian philosophy. In Śāstravārtā-samuccaya, he has paid more respect and veneration to the other schools of thought. It was Haribhadra who for the first time started the cult of commentary writing in Samskṛta which was developed by Śīlānka (c. 9th A. D.) and Abhayadevasūri (latter part of c. 11th A. D.). These commentaries not only explain the facts about the different āgamic topics but also critically examine the philosophical concepts.

During this period a number of spiritualistic treatises appeared. Kundakunda added distinct idea to Jaina spirituality through his voluminous literature. According to Digambaras, his period is supposed to be c. 1st A. D., mainly based on the evidence of Markara Abhilekha which has already been proved as fake inscription. According to new researches his period has been established as c. 6th A. D. (See — Aspects of Jainology, Vol. III, ed. by Prof. M. A. Dhaky & Prof. S. M. Jain, P. V., 1991, p. 8). He has contributed a lot to the field of Jaina philosophy, by writing his distinguished works as Samayasāra, Pravacanasāra, Niyamasāra etc.

#### 3. Works on Religious Practices and Ethics

The literature related to Jaina religious practices may be divided into following five categories:

- (i) Hymns composed in the praise of Tirthankaras.
- ( ii ) Works related to the modes of worship, rituals and religious ceremonies.
- ( iii ) Works concerned with religious preachings.
- ( iv ) Works composed on Jaina  $S\bar{a}dhan\bar{a}$  and Yoga.
- ( v ) Works related to the Code of Conduct of Monks and Nuns as well as house-holders.

Under the first category *Dvātrimśikās* of Siddhasena Divākara (c. 4th A. D.) hold an important place. He has written 32 *Dvātrimśikās* out of which seven — first five, 11th and 21st are composed in the

praise of different Tirthankaras. Many of these Dvātrimśikās, apart from praising the Tirthankaras, critically examine the theories of other philosophical systems. The next important work of this eulogical literature is Samantabhadra's Svayambhūstotra. It consists of 143 ślokas written in praise of twenty-four Tirthankaras. Kundukunda's Daśabhakti is also an important work dealing with ten-fold lakṣaṇas of dharma. Another most popular and well-received work, respected equally by both the sects—Śvetāmbara and Digambara, is Mānatunga's Bhaktāmarastotra (c. 6th A.D.) composed in the praise of first Tirthankara Rṣabhadeva.

The second category encompasses the work related to Jaina modes of worship and rituals. The first work of this category was  $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}prakaraṇa$  by Umāsvāti but unfortunately it is not available. Similarly, in Digambara tradition some more treatises related to this theme viz. Arhatpratisṭhā and Jinābhiṣeka, both authored by  $P\bar{u}jyapāda$  Devanandī (c. 6th A. D.), are also not available today. A few works on Jaina modes of worship were also composed but presently except some of Pañcāśakas and other works by Haribhadra, none of these are available. Among ninteen Pañcāśakas only following are related to this theme:

- (i) Diksāvidhi
- (ii) Caityavandanavidhi
- ( iii ) Pūjāvidhi
- ( iv ) Jinabhavana-nirmāṇa-vidhi
- ( v ) Pratisthā-vidhi and
- ( vi ) Jinayātrā-vidhi.

Haribhadra has discussed the subjects in his Soḍaśakas also. Some Ṣoḍaśakas such as Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi, Pūjāphala and Dikṣādhikāra may be regarded as related to this theme. Pañcāśakas are composed in Prākṛta, while Ṣoḍaśakas in Saṁskṛta. Haribhadra's Caityavandana alongwith its auto-commentary Caityavandana-bhāsya and Pratiṣṭhākalpa are the noted

works of this category.

The third category of religious literature includes the works such as Kundakunda's Aṣṭa-pāhuḍa, Pūjyapāda Devanandī's Iṣṭopadeśa and Dharmadāsagaṇi's Upadeśamālā composed in Prākṛta, Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta, respectively. However, the authorship of Upadeśamālā is a matter of dispute. Above mentioned both the works lucidly record the preachings of religious doctrines. Haribhadra has also contributed some works such as Upadeśapada, Dharmabinduprakaraṇa, Upadeśaprakaraṇa and Sambodhaprakaraṇa to this theme.

The fourth category related to Jaina sādhanā and Yoga, abounds in its literature. Praśamaratiprakaraṇa by Umāsvāti (c. 3rd-4th A. D.) may be regarded as the first work of this category. Pūjyapāda Devanandi's Samādhitantra (c. 6th A. D.) also belongs to the same category. On Jaina Yoga Haribhadra contributed a lot by writing several books on Jaina yoga. Yogavimśikā, Yogaśataka, Yogabindu, Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya and Dhyānaśataka are some of his important works on Jaina yoga.

The fifth category comprises the works composed on Jaina ethics and code of conduct for Jaina monks and nuns. It is the category to which several works have been contributed by the Ācāryas of both the sects — Śvetāmbara and Digambara. In Śvetāmbara tradition, apart from commentaries (Bhāṣyas and Cūrnis) written on Jaina Āgamas on this very theme, some independent works were also composed, particularly dealing with the ethical code of conduct of Jaina ascetics and lay-followers. Among these works, Umāsvāti's 'Śrāvakaprajñapti' may be regarded as the first, but unfortunately it is also not available. In Digambara tradition, Mūlācāra and Bhagavatī-Ārādhanā, are the important works elaborately dealing with the code of conduct of Jaina monks and nuns.

In my opinion,  $M\bar{u}l\bar{a}c\bar{a}ra$  and  $Bhagavat\bar{i}$ - $\bar{A}r\bar{a}dhan\bar{a}$  basically belong to Yāpaniya tradition and

not to Digambara. I have proved this on the basis of multiple internal as well as external evidences in my book Jaina Dharma kā Yāpaniya Sampradāya. In Digambara tradition Ratnakarandaśrāvakācāra of Samantabhadra (c. 6th A. D.) is regarded as the first work composed on the ethical code of conduct for Jaina house-holders, however, its authorship is also a matter of dispute. In Svetambara tradition after 'Uvasagadasāo', the seventh anga of Jaina canons, 'Sāvayapannatti' by Haribhadra is the first available work, dealing with the code of conduct for Jaina laydevotees. Some independent works dealing with the atonement (Prāyaścitta) were also written in this period among which Jinabhadra's 'Jitakalpa' stands as the most important work. Later on, on the basis of Jitakalpa, Indranandi's Chedapindaśāstra and Chedaśāstra by unknown writer were composed in Yāpaniya tradition. Especiality of these two works lies in the fact that they not only prescribe the laws of the atonement for Jaina monks and nuns but for the male and female lay-devotees also.

#### 4. Jaina Narrative Literature

Jaina narrative literature of this period is generally divided into five categories, viz. (i) biographies of the 63 illustrious personalities (Śalākāpuruṣas) described together in one book, (ii) life-stories of these religious great personalities described independently in a work, (iii) religious tales in romantic form, (iv) semi-historical prabandhas and (v) compilation of stories in the form of kathākoṣas.

However, main objective of the narratives was religious exhortation meant for the masses. It may be noted that most of the literature of this form, excluding canonical texts belong to this period, i.e., c. 3rd-10th A. D. Though some prominent works of the narrative literature such as Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa of Hemacandra, semi-historical prabandhas—Prabhāvakacarita, Prabandha-cintāmani, Ākhyānakamanikośa, Prabandhakośa, etc., have been composed

between c. 12th-14th A. D.

In the first category Caupannamahāpuruṣacariam of Śilānkācārya (c. 9th A. D.) depicts the life of 54 out of 63 Śalākāpurusas, leaving out 9 Prativasudevas, in Prākṛta. Containing 10,800 verses, it deals with 19 characters out of 54, exhaustively, while the remaining characters have been described only in few pages. It belongs to Svetambara tradition. In Digambara tradition, Jinasena and his pupil Gunabhadra (c. 9th A. D.) also composed Mahāpurāṇa or Trisasticaritra in Samskrta. It is divided in two parts -Adipurāņa and Uttarapurāņa, describing the life of 63 great personalities of Jainism. On the same theme Puspadanta also composed one of the greatest work of Apabhramsa language, namely Trişaştimahāpuruşagunālankāru (later c. 10th A.D.). Puspadanta carries to perfection the possibility of Apabhramsa as a vehicle of poetry.

Second type includes many Kathās, Ākhyānas and Caritas in Samskrta, Prākrta and Apabhramsa. It deals mainly with the biographies of individual Tirthankaras and other celebrated personalities of their times. The first and foremost work of the corresponding period is certainly Paumacariya, of Vimalasūri (c. 2nd-5th A.D.) of Nāila or Nāgila Kula, which deals with the life-stories of Laksmana and Rāvana. It is a pioneer work of Jainas on Rāmakathā. It has considerable impact on one work of Ravisena's Padmacarita (c. 7th A. D.) in Samskrta and Svayambhū's Paumacariu ( c. 8th A. D.) in Apabhramsa. There is also another version of Jaina Rāmakathā represented by Gunabhadra (898 A. D.) in Uttarapurāņa and followed by some other Digambara writers of (c. 10th A. D.). Some other works of this category are Pārśvābhyudaya by Jinasena (c. 9th A. D.), Harivamśapurāna by other Jinasena (c. 9th A. D.). Vardhamānacarita by Asaga, Neminirvāņamahākāvya by Vāgbhaṭṭa, Candraprabhacarita by Virasena and some Kannada works such as  $\overline{A}$ dipurāṇa by Pumpa and Śāntipurāṇa by Ponna (c. 10th A. D.) may also be included in this category. It is also to be noted that stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are well recognised in Jaina tradition and Jaina writers composed so many independent works on the life of these two great personalities, accordingly.

The third typs marks an interesting phase in Indian literature, in which religious tales are presented in a romantic form. The Tarangalola of Pādaliptasūri in Prākṛta is lost but its epitome in Samskrta Tarangāvatī indicates that it might have possessed engrossing literary qualities. Then there is the Vasudevahindi of Sanghadāsagani (c. 6th A. D.). Vasudevahindi is probably the Mahārāstri version of Gunādhya's famous Brhatkathā, written in Sātavāhana period. Vasudeva, the father of the Kṛṣṇa, the romantic hero of this novel, evidently remind us of Naravāhanadatta, the Hero of Gunādhya. Next there is Samarāiccakahā of Haribhadra in Prākrta described by author as religious story, i. e., Dharmakathā. The fortune of the hero Samaraditya is traced through his 9 previous births. The underlying principle of these narratives is the doctrine of Karma. Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna in Prākṛta is also one of the important works of Jaina literature. It shows through this imaginary tale how skilfully the incredible legends of Hindu Mythology could be ridiculed. Next, Kuvalayamālā (Mahārāṣtri Prākṛta) by Śvetāmbara ācārya Udyotanasūri, composed in 799 A. D. shows author's thorough acquaintance with works of previous writers by referring to them. He has beautifully described the corrupt city life. Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā is composed in Samskrta in 906 A. D. by Siddharși. The work of Siddharși is an elaborate and extensive allegory. It is a narrative consisting of series of birth stories, i. e., the hero of all the stories is the same person in different births. Acarya proposes to explain the mundane carrier of the soul (Jiva ) under the name of samsārī jīva from the lowest stage of existence to the final liberation. The conversion of the cruel king Marudatta to Jainism is the theme of this work. No literature representing the fourth type, i. e., semi-historical *prabandhas* has been written in corresponding period. All these *prabandhas* are written after c. 12th A. D.

The last type is represented by the compilation of stories or *Kathākoṣas*. The stories contained in these works have got a definite moral purpose to be propogated and as such teachers and preachers could use them independently without any specific context, throughout there discourses. Many of the *Kathākoṣas* are of anonymous composition.

The well known work of this type is Dharmopadeśamālā of Jaisimhasūri (867 A. D.) composed in Prākṛta. The work has auto-commentary and has 156 stories. Bṛhatkathākośa, composed in 931 A. D. by Hariṣeṇa, is also one of the important works of Yāpaniya tradition of Jainism. It is very informative Jaina text of early medieval period.

#### 5. The Secular Literature of Jainas

As defined, being a realistic system with a high spiritualistic bias, the basic texts of Jainism deal with the phenomena of the spiritual kingdom as well as physical universe. Jaina Ācāryas introduced various learnings aiming at the development of personalities and character, preservation of its cultural heritage, shoulder the responsibilities of the ascetic and house-holders in society and performance of religious duties. These aims are achieved by learning such subjects as could strike the balance between the spiritual as well as worldly life.

The earlier Jaina canons mention different subjects dealing with worldly phenomena. Sūtra-kṛtāṅga, Bhagavatī, Samavāyāṅga, Nandīsūtra, Prajñāpanā, Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, Candra and Sūrya-prajñapti describe various aspects of biology, grammar, chanda, nirukta, jyotiṣa, geography, astronomy

etc., but in  $\overline{A}gamas$  these different subjects are intermingled. Realising necessities of some independent works regarding worldly phenomena, Jaina  $\overline{a}c\overline{a}ryas$  composed some secular literature dealing with the physical phenomena.

As the result, by the beginning of c. 3rd A. D. several independent works were composed on various subjects such as — Astronomy, Astrology, Geography, Mathematics, Biology, Arts and Architecture, Linguistic and Medicinal discipline, i. e., Ayurveda, etc. It would be in the fitness of the things to record some of the details about such works, viz. Lokavibhāga of Sarvānandi (c. 6th A. D.) and Tiloyapaṇṇatti of Yati-vṛṣabha composed in Prākṛta, are two important works on Astronomy and Geography. Some more works like Umāsvāti's Jambūdvīpasamāsa and Kṣetravicāra (c. 3rd A. D.) and Bṛhatkṣetrasamāsa of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (c. 7th A. D.) also dealt with Geography and some aspects of Jaina cosmology. Among these works,

Kṣetravicāra is not available today. Jīvasamāsa and Jīvavicāra as well as Taṇḍulavaicārika are the works dealing with Jaina Biology. Pujyapāda Devanandī (c. 6th A. D.) had composed a treatise named Vaidyaka-śāstra dealing with Āyurvedic medicines, but this work is also not available. Jyotiṣakaraṇḍaka is a Prakīrṇaka which deals with Jaina Astrology. In the field of grammar, Jainendra Vyākaraṇa or Endravyā-karaṇa of Indranandi (c. 6th A. D.), Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa alongwith its auto-commentary, Amogha-vṛtti of Pālyakīrti Śākaṭāyana (c. 9th A. D.) and Śvayambhū Vyākaraṇa of Tribhuvana Svayambhū (c. 8th A. D.) are regarded as important works of this category.

The literary evolution of Jainas, particularly in  $Pr\bar{a}kr$ ta, which took place during c. 5th B.C.-10th A. D. shows that the Jaina  $\bar{a}c\bar{a}r$ yas were versatile genius. They composed various treatises on different subjects but mainly on philosophical and religious topics.