



PĀRŚVANĀTHA, THE TWENTY-THIRD TĪRTH ŪKĀRĪ OF THE JAINA
 From a Palm-leaf MS of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of the Thirteenth Century

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JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA

800 B.C.—A.D. 526

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY THE

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TO
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PREFACE

MR C. J. SHAH is one of the pioneer students of the Indian Historical Research Institute, and his work will undoubtedly be of great credit to his *Alma Mater*. Being himself a Jaina, he took up the early history of Jainism as the subject of his research, and the result of his studies is embodied in the present book.

Jainism is the most overlooked among all the great religions of India. The present work will disclose whatever is historical and legendary in the early history of this religion, the doctrines of its founder, the divisions among his disciples, the spreading of the new faith and the continuous struggle with its sister-faith, Buddhism, which it has survived in the country that witnessed the birth of both of them.

Two limits will be found in this history of Jainism by Mr Shah—one geographical, the other chronological. Jainism was soon spread all over South India, and formed there a new community with different *Gurus*, different practices and even a different ritual. In short, the history of Jainism in South India is totally different from the history of Jainism in North India, and forms by itself a different historical unit. That is the reason why Mr Shah has limited his work geographically to *Āryāvarta*.

The other limit of Mr Shah's work is chronological. His history stops at A.D. 526, when the list of canonical works of Jainism was finally drawn up in the Vallabhī Council. This event was a landmark in the history of Jainism. Prior to it Jainism was in a state of primitive simplicity that was totally lost after the codification of its religious books. After this date Jainism appears crystallised, and loses its genuineness and sincerity. Mr Shah has selected for his work the early period, which is much more interesting and of much greater cultural value.

As regards the method followed in this work, nothing will, it is expected, be objected against it even by the most scrupulous historians. Certainly there is never a human work totally flawless. This, and the fact that it is the first work of Mr Shah, will sufficiently commend the following pages to the benevolence of readers and

PREFACE

critics. I ought however to mention that he has not been satisfied by seeing what other authors have said or propounded since that is not research but mere compilation. He has studied the sources themselves, has criticised opinions, has discussed controversial points, has compared sources with sources and has thus finally elucidated one of the most obscure periods in the history of India, with the criticism and impartiality proper to a historian.

The work of Mr Shukla is No. 6 in the series of "Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute." It is to be expected that its appearance will communicate new encouragement to his successors, the present research workers of the Institute. Many an obscure point still exists in India's past which demands the sincere work of rising historians of India for the benefit of posterity. The work of the historian is the investigation of truth. And truth will always reveal itself if we look for it with constancy, with sincerity and with an unprejudiced mind. Then truth itself will be the crown of our efforts.

H. HERAS, S.J.

Bombay,
15th January 1931

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A H R S	Andhra Historical Research Society
A R	Asiatic Researches
A S I	Archæological Survey of India. (Annual Reports)
A S R	Reports of the Archæological Survey of India (Cunningham)
A S W I	Archæological Survey of Western India
B D G P	Bengal District Gazetteers, Patna
B D G P	Bengal District Gazetteers, Puri
B O D G P	Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna
B O R I L	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Library
C H I	Cambridge History of India
C I I	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
E B	Encyclopædia Britannica
E C	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E I	Epigraphia Indica
E R E	Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics
H M I	History of Mediæval India
H O S	Harvard Oriental Series
I A	Indian Antiquary
I H Q	Indian Historical Quarterly
J A O S	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J B B R A S	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J B O R S	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J D L	Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta)
J G	Jaina Gazette
J P A S B	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J R A S	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
J S S	<i>Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka</i>
M A R	Mysore Archæological Report.
M E	Marathi Encyclopædia
Q J M S	Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society
S B B	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
S B E	Sacred Books of the East
S B J	Sacred Books of the Jains
Z D M G	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

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INTRODUCTION

I

OF all Indological studies Jainism¹ has been particularly unfortunate in that the little that is done for it stands in vivid contrast with the vast undone. Even Buddhism, a veritable sister of Jainism in point of contemporaneous glory as well as rivalry, has not, as is borne out by many an evidence, lacked its due from the scholar-world. This indifference towards Jainism becomes all the more unmerited when we look at the other side of the shield; for Buddhism has practically disappeared from India, whereas the Jaina community not merely exists but wields a considerable influence over the political and economical destinies of this vast country.² Although as Mrs Stevenson has observed: "It is no longer in any sense a court religion, nevertheless the influence that it wields in India to-day is enormous. Its great wealth and its position as the religion *par excellence* of moneylenders and bankers makes it, especially in native states, the power behind the throne; and if anyone doubts its influence, he need only count up the number of edicts prohibiting the slaying of animals on Jaina sacred days that have recently been issued by the rulers of the independent states"³ The Jainas "form, in fact, a very large and, from their wealth and influence, a most important division of the population of India."⁴

Hertel is certainly right when he says that "Amongst European scholars there are comparatively few persons who realize the full importance of Jainism, and the mighty influence which it was, and is, exercising on Indian civilization, especially on Indian religion

¹ The word Jainism is derived from जैन, the adjectival form from जिन, a way common to the names of many other religions as well as systems of philosophy—e.g. Mahommedanism from Mahommedan, Christianity from Christian, Zoroastrianism from Zoroastrian, and so forth (but not Buddhism, Manuism or Benthamism), or again, Dvaitism or Advaitism from द्वैत or अद्वैत, Fatalism from fatal, and so on

² Cf. Jains, *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 73

³ Stevenson (Mrs), *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 19

⁴ *Works of Wilson*, 1, p. 347.

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and morals, arts and sciences, literatures and languages”¹ Neither is there any particular enthusiasm forthcoming in this direction from Indian scholars except for a few eminent men like Jami, Jayaswal, Ghosal and others of their ilk. But the partiality of scholars towards Buddhism is not without sound reasons, for there is no denying that Buddhism had at one time been so extensive that it was not at all exaggerating to call it the religion of the Asiatic continent. But while it is true that Jainism was certainly restricted to a smaller area, there is evidence enough, as brought out by Mr N. C. Mehta, that Jaina paintings found a place even on the walls of the cave-temples of Chinese Turkestan.²

But this partiality towards Buddhism has unfortunately given rise to some fantastic and even untoward conclusions by, notably, some European scholars, who it must be conceded were at the time of their research virtually deprived of all benefit from any authentic comparative study of Jainism which is so imperative in view of the fact that the past history of these two sister-faiths runs well-nigh parallel. Fortunately for us many such fanciful conclusions have of recent years been corrected by scholars both in the East and the West. We shall notice below only a few of these fads “Buddhism in proper,” says W. S. Lilly, “survives in the land of its birth in the form of Jainism. What is certain is that Jainism came into notice when Buddhism had disappeared from India.”³ Says Mr Wilson: “From all credible testimony, therefore, it is impossible to avoid the inference that the Jainas are a sect of comparatively recent institution, who first came into power and patronage about the eighth and ninth century. they probably existed before that date as a division of the Bauddhas, and owed their elevation to the suppression of that form of faith to which they contributed.”⁴

Writers like Colebrooke have erred on the other extreme in believing Gautama Buddha to have been the pupil of Mahāvīra, on the ground that one of the latter’s pupils (Indrabhūti) bears the name of Gotamasvāmī or Gotama.⁵ Echoes Edward Thomas: “A schism took place after Mahāvīra. Indrabhūti was raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of Buddha

¹ Hertel, *On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, p. 1.

² Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p. 2. According to Hemacandra, and other Jaina traditions also, Jainism was not limited to India of to-day—Hemacandra, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (ed. Jacobi), pp. 69, 282. Cf. *M. E.*, xiv., p. 819.

³ Lilly, *India and its Problems*, p. 144.

⁴ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁵ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 1.

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(for Jina and Buddha bear the same meaning according to both Buddhists and Jainas)"¹ But the fact is that Jina means "the Conqueror" and Buddha "the Knower."

In his paper read at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Mr Colebrooke has said: "It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr Hamilton and Major Delamaine, that the Gautama of the Jamas and of the Buddhas is the same personage; and this leads to the further surmise that both these sects are branches of 'one stock. According to the Jainas, one of Mahāvīra's eleven disciples left spiritual successors; that is, the entire succession of Jaina priests is derived from one individual, Sudharma Svāmī. Two only out of eleven survived Mahāvīra—viz. Indrabhūti and Sudharma: the first, identified with Gautama Svāmī, has no spiritual successor in the Jaina sect. The proper inference seems to be that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of Jina, rather that there have been none. Gautama's followers constitute the sect of Buddha, with tenets in many respects analogous to those of the Jainas, or followers of Sudharma, but with a mythology or fabulous history of deified saints quite different."²

Such hurried conclusions and identifications on both sides on grounds of chance similarity of certain names or dogmas are not only not history but not logic either. In the words of Dr Jacobi such an identification "can only be maintained on the principles of Fluellen's logic: 'there is a river in Macedon: and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river. But 'tis all one: 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.'"³

Even a distinguished scholar like Dr Hopkins connected Mahāvīra exclusively with "idolatry, demonology and man-worship." "Of all the great religious sects of India," says the same scholar in connection with Jainism, "that of Nātaputta is perhaps the least interesting, and has apparently the least excuse for being."⁴ Neither are the final remarks of the learned Orientalist in any sense toned down. "A religion in which the chief points insisted upon are," he concludes, "that one should deny God, worship man and nourish vermin has indeed no right to exist, nor has it had as a system

¹ Thomas (E.), *Jainism or the Early Faith of Asoka*, p. 6.

² Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii, pp. 313, 316.

³ Jacobi, *J.A.*, ix, p. 162

⁴ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 296

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much influence on the history of thought.”¹ These conclusions of Hopkins are so much out of the way that we hope to get very near the truth by a merciless process of negating these ill-founded and ill-adduced findings of his. For yet, like other things that have according to him “no right to exist,” Jainism “has existed for over two millennia, and has produced excellent types of men—both monks and householders—and has offered real guidance and solace to many a seeking and believing votary.”²

And Dr Hopkins is not the only one of his kind, but he must be distinguished from the rest in that he was neither loth nor perverse in being corrected and purged of these ill-founded conclusions of his. For in the course of a letter to Śrī Vijaya Indra Sūri he remarks. “I found at once that the practical religion of the Jainas was one worthy of all commendation, and I have since regretted that I stigmatised the Jaina religion as insisting on denying God, worshipping man and nourishing vermin as its chief tenets without giving regard to the wonderful effect this religion has on the character and morality of the people. But as is often the case, a close acquaintance with a religion brings out its good side and creates a much more favourable impression of it as a whole than can be obtained by an objective literary acquaintance.”³

Small wonder, therefore, that, as a result of such immature studies, Jainism was for a long time looked upon as an offshoot of Buddhism, which fact naturally failed to rouse the curiosity of research students in this branch of Oriental study. It went on like this for some time, but thanks to scholars like Jacobi and Bühler it is no longer denied that Jainism had an independent genesis. As a matter of fact, Jainism has now recovered much of the ground lost, owing to the strenuous efforts of these two eminent scholars. The former's introduction to his edition of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of *Bhadrabāhu* and his learned article on *Mahāvīra and his Predecessors*,⁴ published in 1879 and in 1880 respectively, and the latter's essay, *Über die Indische Secte der Jainas* (*The Indian Sect of the Jainas*), read in 1877, were, in fact, the first rational, scientific and comprehensive accounts of the Jaina religion. The fame of these eminent scholars, and the great ability and philosophical acumen with which they treated the subject, attracted the attention

¹ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 297.

² Belvalkar, *Brahma-Sūtras*, pp. 120, 121.

³ Cf. Shah, *J G*, xxv, p. 105

⁴ *I.A.*, ix, pp. 158 ff

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of learned Europe to this great religion, and the inquiry which Jacobi and Buhler started has continued to the present day, and has been fruitful of great results. Happily there has been a positive change in the outlook towards Jainism, and it has been restored to its due place among the religions of the world, in view of the glorious part it played in the past and its contribution to the progress of world culture and civilization, which is not inferior to the contribution of any other religion on the globe.

In this very connection Smith has to say that "it may well be doubtful if Buddhism can be correctly described as having been the prevailing religion of India as a whole at any time." He therefore condemns the phrase "Buddhist period" used by many writers as "false and misleading"; for, he says, "neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina period ever existed," in the sense that "neither heresy ever superseded Brahmanical Hinduism."¹ Nevertheless there is no denying that both these faiths have left a permanent impress upon the pages of Indian history, and their contribution to Indian thought, life and culture has been inestimable. Our object, therefore, in the present thesis, is to chalk out the extent of Jainism in general—and not of a particular sect of it, such as Śvetāmbara, Digambara or Sthānakavāsī—in North India, and to trace the history of its vicissitudes as they obtained in that part of India.

II

We shall not attempt to relate here, neither shall we venture to sketch in outline, the mighty developments of the dogmas, the institutions and the destinies of this great religion. We shall hardly be able to thrash out the questions arising in connection with the sources of Jaina history, the immensely variegated traditions, the dual form in which Jaina sacred literature has been handed down in resonance either with the Śvetāmbara or Digambara convention. Ours will therefore be an attempt to follow the fortunes of a people, stout and sturdy, great and glorious, both in making a history for themselves and for their religion, and to estimate, in howsoever tentative and fragmentary a fashion, the intrinsic worth of their contribution, particularly to the rich and fruitful cultural stream of North India.

There are special reasons that bring out the long-felt need of

¹ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 53.

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a book of this nature, besides that the theme has met with scant attention from scholars, considering the literary output, during the last century and a quarter, in various other departments of Oriental studies. In the first place, the history of North India can never be complete unless it is as well written in the light of Jainism, in view of the immense changes in the larty as well as royalty wrought by this religion. Secondly, any survey of Indian philosophes cannot but be imperfect without comprising the Jaina philosophy; this applies all the more aptly to the region lying to the north of the Vindhya—the land where Jainism was born. Thirdly, if a well-connected and exact account of Indian rituals, customs, traditions, institutions, art and architecture is the theme of the researcher, then the chequered career of Jainism in the North—interspersed as it is by numerous foreign invasions when no institution however sacred, no religion however potent, was absolutely safe—must naturally secure a pre-eminent place in such a thesis. Says Johannes Hertel in this connection: “Characteristic of Indian narrative art are the narratives of the Jainas. They describe the life and manners of the Indian population in all its different classes, and in full accordance with reality. Hence Jaina narrative literature is, amongst the huge mass of Indian literature, the most precious source not only of folklore in the most comprehensive sense of the word, but also in the history of Indian civilization”¹. Finally, no study has so potent an influence in forming a nation’s mind and civilization as a critical and careful survey of its past history, and it is through such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration.

Regarding the literary contribution of the Jainas it would take a fairly big volume to give a history of all that the Jainas have contributed to the treasures of Indian literature. Jainas have contributed their full share to the religious, ethical, poetical and scientific literature of ancient India. Taking a comprehensive review of the contribution of the Jainas to Indian culture Mr Barth observes: “They have taken a much more active part in the literary and scientific life of India. Astronomy, grammar, and romantic literature owe a great deal to their zeal”².

In the realm of art, the elaborately carved friezes in the cave-temples and dwellings on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills, the

¹ Hertel, *op cit*, p 8

² Barth, *The Religions of India*, p 114

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richly decorated *Āyāgapatas* and *Toraṇas* of the Mathura find, the beautiful free-standing pillars on the mountain masses of Gīrnār and Śatruñjaya, the admirable architecture in the Jaina temples at Mount Abu, and elsewhere, are sufficient to evoke the interest of any student of Indian history. Likewise it is impossible, in the region of religion, to appreciate the real force that was behind the great Śaṅkarācārya or the great Dayānanda without following the reactions of centuries of Jaina and Buddhist influence.

These movements in literature, art and religion could not have succeeded but under the wings of royal patronage. Hence our study must necessarily start with tracing the fortunes of Jainism at royal courts, as in its course it "becomes the state religion of certain kingdoms, in the sense that it was adopted and encouraged by certain kings, who carried with them many of their subjects."¹

But the task is certainly a thorny one. There is no single work which is a complete survey of Jainism in North India; yet it is no mere blank, neither any medley of historical and legendary names, religious parables, and epic and *Āgamic* myths, heaped up pell-mell. For then in vain have the thousands of ancient Jaina *Sādhus* and scholars toiled to preserve those elaborate compositions handed down from generation to generation by a feat of memory which is considered a miracle in modern days; and in vain, too, most eminent Indian and foreign scholars and antiquarians have worked during the last hundred and fifty years, if it be still impossible to put together the results of their learned researches in the shape of a connected history such as is intelligible to the general reader and useful to the student.

Although many portions of Jaina history are still obscure, and although many questions of details are still a bone of contention, to construct a general history of the Jaina epochs is happily no longer a desperate undertaking. Desperate or not, we must frankly disclaim any pretensions to discoveries of our own, as well as to extend in any way the limits of Oriental scholarship and research.

In conclusion a word must be added with regard to the denotation of the term "North India." In a limited sense the expression "South India" is applied only to the districts lying south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers, the portion north of these rivers usually being called the Deccan. But South and North India, south and north respectively of the Narbada and the Mahanadī,

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

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form a unit by themselves, and it is in this sense that the term is here used "It is to the south of the Tapti river that the Deccan plateau proper begins. The Narbada river is the real parting of Hindustan from the Deccan (Peninsular India)." ¹ And it is in this territory that nearly half the Jainas, out of the total population of about twelve lacs, reside to-day. And these Jainas, six lacs or so in number, are historically and socially, and also religiously, a definite unit by themselves, even as they are by traditions, customs and habits distinctly northern. As among the Buddhists so among the Jainas, this division between North and South, though geographical in its origin, "has extended in the end to the doctrines taught, the question of the canon of scripture, and the entire body of the traditions and usages." ²

¹ Srinivasachari and Aiyangar, *History of India*, pt. 1., p. 3

² Barth, *op cit*, p. 145

CHAPTER I

Jainism before Mahāvīra

“THE history of ancient India,” says a modern historian, “is a history of thirty centuries of human culture and progress. It divides itself into several distinct periods, each of which, for a length of several centuries, will compare with the entire history of many a modern people.”¹ In these “thirty centuries of human culture and progress” the Jaina contribution is a solid synthesis of many-sided developments in art, architecture, religion, morals and sciences; but the most important achievement of the Jaina thought is its ideal of *Ahimsā*—non-violence—towards which, as the Jainas believe, the present world is slowly, though imperceptibly, moving. It was regarded as the goal of all the highest practical and theoretical activities, and it indicated the point of unity amidst all the diversities which the complex growth of culture inhabited by different peoples produced.

The name Jainism indicates the predominantly ethical character of the system. As the Buddhists are the followers of Buddha, the Enlightened, the Jainas are the followers of Jina, the Victor, a title applied to all the Tirthankaras of the Jainas²

The generic names of a *Jina* express the ideas entertained by his votaries about his achievement. He is *Jagataprabhu*, Lord of the world; *Sarvajña*, Omniscient; *Trikālavīt*, Knower of the three times (past, present and future); *Kṣhīnakarmā*, Destroyer of corporeal action; *Adhīśvara*, Supreme Lord; *Devādhideva*, God of gods, and similar epithets of obvious purport; whilst others are of a more specific character, as *Tīrthakara* or *Tīrthanāka*, *Kevalī*, *Arhat* and *Jina*. The first implies one who has crossed over (*Tīryate Anena*)—that is, the ocean; *Kevalī* is the possessor of *Kevala*, or spiritual nature, free from its investing sources of error;

¹ Dutt, *op cit*, p. 1.

² It is also applicable to all those men and women who have conquered their lower nature, and who have by means of a thorough victory over all attachments and antipathies realised the highest. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 1, p. 286.

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Arhat is one entitled to the homage of gods and men; and *Jina* is the victor of all human passions and infirmities¹

The religion propounded by such a *Jina* is called Jainism, and it is known by some such designations as *Jaina-darśana*, *Jaina-śāsana*, *Syādvāda-dṛṣṭi*, *Jaina-dharma*, etc. His followers are called Jains, generally known as Śrāvakas.²

It is really difficult, nay impossible, to fix a particular date for the origin of Jainism. Nevertheless, modern research has brought us at least to that stage wherein we can boldly proclaim all those worn-out theories about Jainism being a later offshoot of Buddhism or Brahmanism as gross ignorance or, to repeat, as erroneous misstatements. On the other hand we have progressed a step further, and it would be now considered an historical fallacy to say that Jainism originated with Mahāvīra without putting forth any new grounds for justifying this statement. This is because it is now a recognised fact that Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthankara of the Jains, is an historical person, and Mahāvīra, like any other *Jina*, enjoyed no better position than that of a reformer in the galaxy of the Tīrthankaras of the Jains.³

The question whether religion is as old as the human race, or whether it is the growth of a later stage, is as little open to solution by historical research as that of its origin and essence, it can be answered only by psychology and is a purely philosophical inquiry. No tribe or nation has yet been met with destitute of belief in some higher beings, which indication is most essential to what is known as religion in the abstract.

Coming to religion in concrete—that is, to a particular belief or faith—we find that there also arises the same question whether it is

¹ Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, chap. 1, vv. 24-25

² अस्य च जैनदर्शनस्य प्रकाशयिता यस्मात्मा रगद्वेषाद्यान्तरिपुजेतृत्वादन्वर्षकजिननामधेयः । निबन्धने साहाय्यी तर्पक इति चानुमोदम् । अत एव तत्प्रकाशितं दर्शनमपि जैनदर्शनमहैतवचनं जैनशास्त्रं स्याद्वाददृष्टिकेनान्वयः इत्यभिधानैर्षोपदिश्यते — Vijayadharmaśāstri, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 130

³ For a better understanding of the later part of the chapter we shall give below a list of the 24 Tīrthankaras of this age: 1 Rishabha, 2 Ajita, 3 Sambhava, 4 Abhinandanar, 5 Sumati, 6 Padmaprabha, 7 Supārśva, 8 Candraprabha, 9 Pushpadanta or Suvudhi, 10 Śitala, 11 Śreyāmsa, 12 Vāsudeva, 13 Vimala, 14 Ananta, 15 Dharma, 16 Śanti, 17 Kumāra, 18 Ara, 19 Malli, 20 Munisuvrata, 21 Nemi, 22 Nemi or Arish-tanemi, 23 Pārśva (Pārśvanātha), 24 Vardhamāna, also named Vira, Mahāvīra, etc. Every one of them has a discriminative symbol or *Lāṅghana* for himself, and this is always found on Jaina idols representing them—e.g. the symbol of Pārśva is a hooded snake, and that of Vardhamāna is a lion. Cf. एतस्यामवर्षिस्साम्भोजिनतसमवौ . . . etc —Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 20, 27, 28

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as old as the human race, or whether it is a growth of a later stage in human life. Here we are confronted with a more or less universal claim, which is put forth by every religion, and which, to put it frankly, shortly comes to this: ours is the eternal and universal religion and others are heretics. To strengthen and justify this claim of eternity we find almost everywhere a lot of legendary literature which indulges in religious parables and canonical myths. Whether this is human weakness, or whether there is one religion which can justify its claim to eternity and universality, is no business of ours to say. That is beyond the lines that we have marked out for our purpose here. We shall limit ourselves to what Jainism has to say on this crucial question.

To the Jains, Jainism has been revealed again and again in every one of these endless succeeding periods of the world by innumerable Tirthankaras.¹ Of the present age the first Tirthankara was Rshabha and the last two were Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The lives of these Tirthankaras are found fully worked out both in the Jaina canonical literature and in individual *Carītras* (life sketches) written by various Jaina *Gurus*.² Of these Rshabha is said to be 500 poles in stature, and he is believed to have lived for 8,400,000 *Pūrva* years, while both Pārśva and Mahāvīra lived for 100 and 72 years respectively.³ If we just compare the lives of these Tirthankaras we find that there is a distinct decrement from Rshabha. The one before Pārśva—namely, Nemi—attained the age of 1000 years.⁴ This return to reason in the stature and years of the last two Tirthankaras induced some scholars to draw a probable inference that the last two alone are to be considered as historical personages.⁵

Talking of Pārśva, Lassen says: "The opinion that this Jina was a real person is specially supported by the circumstance that

¹ Hemacandra has enumerated in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* the 24 Jinas who have appeared in the past *Utsarpanī* period and 24 others of the future age उत्तरपिण्डा, etc., and भविष्यो नु, etc.—rv. 50-56. He concludes. एवं सर्ववसपिण्डुत्सर्पिणीषु जिनोत्तमाः .—v. 56

² Among the *Sūtras* see Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpa-Sūtra*, or Sudharma's *Ācāryaśāla*, etc., to mention a few individual *Carītras* we have पार्श्वनाथचरित्रम् by Hemaviṇyayagani; ज्ञानिनाथमहाकाव्यम् by Śrī Munibhadrasūri, मल्लिनाथचरित्रम् by Vinayacandrasūri and also by Haribhadra, महावीरस्वामिचरित्रम् by Nemicaṇḍra, and so on

³ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūti 227, 168, 147. According to the Jains one *Pūrva* is equal to 70,560,000,000,000 years Cf *Samgrahaṇī-Sūtra*, v. 262

⁴ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūti 182

⁵ Stevenson (Rev.), *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., p. xii

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the duration of his life does not at all transgress the limits of probability as is the case with his predecessors." ¹

No doubt history cannot draw inferences on such grounds, but the period of Indian history with which we are concerned is greatly wanting in data on which we can base our authoritative conclusions "It is almost impossible," observes Dutt, "to fix any precise date in the history of India before Alexander the Great visited the land" ² It is really inexplicable why everything has been recorded since the advent of Lord Mahāvīra, the product of the great Indian synthesis, and also why authentic records are missing previous to this. With all this, it is not a hopeless task to fix an historical date for Pārśva, the twenty-third Tirthankara of the Jainas. The contemporary literature of the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha throws a great deal of light on this important question of Jaina history, and, as we shall see, the evidence put forward by the Jaina *Sūtras* is also not less worthy of note.

Taking Pārśva, the object of our search here, we find that there is no authoritative data in the form of an inscription or a monument which is directly connected with him, but there are inscriptions and monuments from which an indirect inference can safely be drawn.

Reviewing the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura we find that there is a reference to Rshabha in a dedication to him by lay votaries ³ Moreover, we find here that most of the inscriptions are dedicated to more than one Arhat ⁴ "All of them, whether bearing kings' names or not, clearly belong to the Indo-Scythic period, or—if the era of Kanishka and his successors is identified with *Saka-era*—to the first and second century A.D." ⁵ If Mahāvīra was the founder, it can with all impunity be said that there is certainly no great gulf of time that divides him from the people of whose dedication to Mahāvīra we have spoken above, since they come only some six centuries after him, which fact would place them at once in possession of much intimate knowledge as to the foundation of the religion. But, over and above this, the dedication is to more than one Arhat, and particularly to Rshabha, which fact

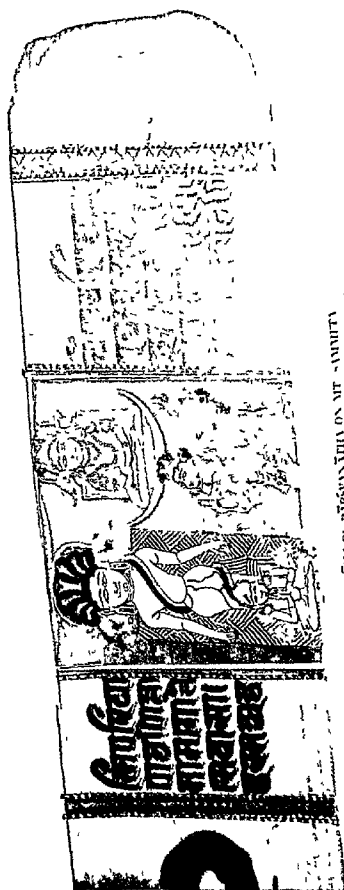
¹ Lassen, *I.A.*, II, p. 261

² Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 11

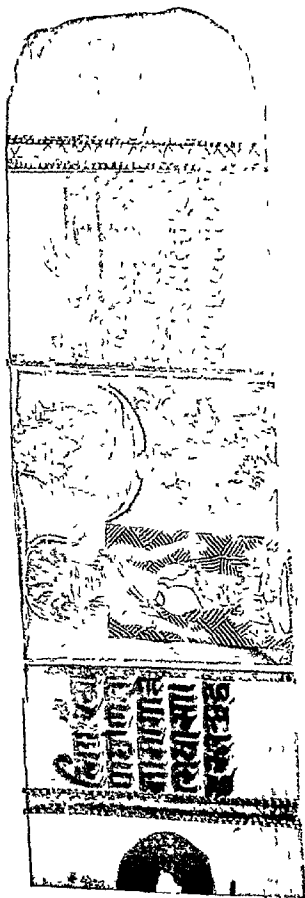
³ श्रीशतभ्यगजपुत्रोः (May the divine Rshabha be pleased) —*B.I.*, I, p. 386, Ins No VIII

⁴ नमो ऋषभराजं (Adoration to the Arhats) —*Ibid.*, p. 388, Ins No III

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 371



VIRI 3V1 OF PĀRŚVATĪTHA ON MT -AMRUTA
 From a Palm-leaf of Ms. of the Kalpa-Sūtra of the Thirteenth Century
 (phototype reprinted—Kishore Deva's Sanskrit)



NIRMALA OF PĀṆḌYA ANDĪTHA ON THE SIMPLITY
 From a Palm-leaf MS. of the Kalpa-Sūtra of the Thirteenth Century

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makes it clear as regards both the authenticity of a very ancient beginning of the religion, and the probable succession of numerous Tirthankaras in the meanwhile.

Furthermore, we have a monumental proof in one of the greatest *Tirthas* ¹ of the Jains, the hill of Samet-Sikhar ² in Bengal, which is known also as Pārasnāth Hill. It is situated in the Hazaribag district. Both in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, recorded and proved to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu, and hence which can be traced as far back as c. 300 B.C., ³ and also in other Jaina literature we find that on the eve of his *Nivāṇa* Pārśva came down to this hill and went to *Moksha* from here. ⁴

Coming to contemporary literature we find many reliable statements and coincidences that leave no doubt as to the historicity of Pārśva's life. For our purpose here we need not examine the veracity of all these references, but we shall merely enumerate just a few which are most striking and highly convincing.

According to the Jaina scriptures Jaina *Sādhus* and Nuns were known as *Niganṭhas* and *Niganṭhis*—Sanskrit *Nirgranthas*—etymologically meaning “without any ties.” ⁵ This is also apparently corroborated by the Buddhist canon ⁶; Varāhamihira ⁷ and Hemacandra ⁸ call them *Nirgranthas*, whilst other writers substitute synonyms, such as *Vivasana*, ⁹ *Muktāmbara*, etc. The name *Nirgrantha* for the Jaina religious men occurs also in the edicts of Aśoka under the form of *Niganṭha*. ¹⁰ The *Piṭakas* of the Buddhas often mention the *Niganṭhas* as opponents of Buddha

¹ *Tirtha*, according to Jaina terminology, means a place of pilgrimage.

² “Samet-Sichara, called in Major Rannel's map Pārsonaut, is situated among the hills between Bihar and Bengal; its holiness is great in the eyes of the Jains, and it is said to be visited by pilgrims from the remotest provinces of India”—Colebrooke, *op cit*, II, p. 218. There is a celebrated temple of Pārśva in that place.

³ Carpenter, *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, Int., pp. 13, 14.

⁴ See *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūt* 168, निर्वाणमासञ्चं संनेताद्वौ ययौ प्रभुः—Hemacandra, *Trishakti-Sūtrikā*, Parva IX, v. 816, p. 219.

⁵ See *Uttarādhyayana*, Lecture or *Adhyayana* XII, 16, XVI, 2; *Ācārāṅga*, pt II, *Adhyayana* III, 2, and *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūt*. 180, etc.

⁶ See *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 57; *Buddhism in Translations* (Har. Or. Series), III, pp. 224, 342-343, 469, 484, etc., *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta*, chap. V, 267, etc. Cf. Rhys Davids, *S.B.E.*, III, p. 166.

⁷ शाल्वोपाख्यायार्हेतुनिर्ग्रन्थनिमित्त . . . etc.—Varāhamihira, *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, *Adhyayana* LI, v. 21: “In Varāhamihira's (sixth century) *Bṛhat Samhitā*, lx. 19 (ed. Kern), *Nagna*, ‘Naked,’ is the official designation of a Jaina *Yati*”—Barth, *op cit*, p. 145.

⁸ निर्ग्रन्थो भिक्षुः . . . etc.—Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, v. 76.

⁹ निवसनसमय . . . etc.—Pansikar, *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, p. 252 (2nd ed.)

¹⁰ Bühler, *E.I.*, II, p. 272.

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and his followers. Wherever they are mentioned in the Buddhist canon it is mostly to refute their belief, and thus to assert the superiority of the faith of Lord Buddha.¹ These facts prove two things: that the Jain monks were called *Niganthas*, and that, as far as the Buddhist writings reach, the Jainas and Buddhists were great rivals.²

Coming to Mahāvira, we find that his father, Siddhārtha, was of *Kāśyapa Gotra*, belonging to the clan of the *Jñātri-Kshatriyas*.³ This is the reason why Mahāvira was known as *Jñātriputra* in his own days.⁴ Now, in Pāli, *Nāta* is equivalent of *Jñāti*, and hence *Jñātriputra* means *Nātaputta*, which more resembles *Nāyaputta*, "a *Brūda* of Mahāvira used in the *Kalpa-Sūtra* and the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*"⁵ Thus the titles *Niganthanātha*, *Nigantha-Nātaputta*, and also merely *Nātaputta* refer to none else but Mahāvira. "The discovery of the real name of the founder of the Jainas," says Dr Buhler, "belongs to Professor Jacobi and myself. The form *Jñātriputra* occurs in the Jain and northern Buddhist books; in Pāli it is *Nātaputta*, and in Jain Prākṛt *Nāyaputta*. *Jñāta* or *Jñātri* appears to have been the name of the Rajput clan from which the *Nirgrantha* was descended"⁶

Again coming back to the Buddhist canon, we find in an old book of the Singalese canon, the *Sāmagāma-Sutta*, a reference to *Nigantha-Nātaputta's* death in Pāvā.⁷ Furthermore, a reference to the doctrine of the *Niganthas*, as given in Buddhist canonical literature, confirms the identity of the *Niganthas* with the Jainas. "The *Nigantha-Nātaputta* knows and sees all things, claims perfect knowledge and faith, teaches annihilation by austerities of the old *Karmas* and prevention by activity of new *Karma*. When *Karma* ceases all ceases"⁸ There are indeed many such references to Mahāvira

¹ See *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, 74, *Mahāvagga*, vi, 31, etc.

² "Among the religious sects of non-Buddhist persuasion are the *Nirgranthas* or Jainas, the adversaries whom Ashvaghoṣa detests with greater virulence than Brahmins"—Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 199 (2nd ed.), see also Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal*, p. 11

³ नायकुलपदे, cf *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūti 110, see also *ibid*, sūti 20, etc., *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, pt. iii, *Adhyayana* XV, 4

⁴ *Ibid*, pt. i, VII, 12, and VIII, 9

⁵ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., p. 6

⁶ Buhler, *I.A.*, vii, p. 143, n. 5. See also "We owe to Professor Jacobi the suggestion, which is undoubtedly correct, that the teacher, who is thus styled in the sacred books of the Buddhists, is identical with Mahāvira," etc.—*C.H.J.*, i, p. 160

⁷ *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiv, p. 749. Cf Buhler, *The Ināran Sect of the Jainas*, p. 84.

⁸ *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii, 74. Cf *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. xv.

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and his theory in the old books of the Buddhas, but we shall limit ourselves to one which is very helpful in tracing this history as far back as Pārśvanātha.

There is a reference to *Nātaputta's* system in the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta*, which is as follows: *Cātuyāma Saṃvara Samvuto*, which has been interpreted by Jacobi as referring to the Jaina term *Cāturyāma*. "It is applied," says the learned scholar, "to the doctrine of Mahāvīra's predecessor, Pārśva, to distinguish it from the reformed creed of Mahāvīra, which is called *Pāñcyāma Dharma*."¹

To understand this interpretation of Dr Jacobi we must know beforehand that the original religion of Pārśva had laid down four great vows for the guidance of his followers, and they are as follows. *Ahiṃsā*, non-killing; *Sunṛta*, truthful speech; *Asteya*, not stealing; and *Aparigraha*, renouncing of all illusory objects. Mahāvīra being a reformer also saw that in the society in which he was moving *Brahmacarya*—chastity—must be made a separate vow, quite distinct from the *Aparigraha* vow of Pārśvanātha.²

Referring to this reformation in the Jaina church by Mahāvīra, Jacobi observes: "The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and this is possible only on the assumption of sufficient interval of time having elapsed between the last two Tirthaṅkaras, and this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahāvīra came 250 years after Pārśva."³

Thus from the *Buddhist-Granthas* themselves we get sound proofs which help us to ascertain the historical character of Pārśva's life. Besides this there is one thing which sounds very strange when we consider all these references about *Nātaputta* and his philosophy that are available in the Buddhist canon. With all these refutations and references about them in the canonical works of the rival faith the Jainas could ignore their adversaries. It follows from this that the *Nirgranthas* were considered by the Buddhas an important sect, while the *Nirgranthas* in their turn did not think it worth while to take any notice of the sister faith. These strange coincidences of both the Buddhist and the Jaina literature go a long way to prove the existence of Jainism much before the advent of Buddha and Mahāvīra.

¹ Jacobi, *I.A.*, ix, p. 160

² व्रतानि . पञ्चव्रतानि . etc —See *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhāḍa-Tīlā*, p. 3.

³ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv., pp. 122-123

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"The *Nirgranthas*," observes Dr Jacobi, "are frequently mentioned by the Buddhists, even in the oldest part of the *Pitakas*. But I have not yet met with a distinct mention of the Buddhas in any of the old Jaina *Sūtras*, though they contain lengthy legends about Jamālī, Gośāla and other heterodox teachers. As this is just the reverse position to that which both sects mutually occupy in all aftertimes, and as it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the *Nirgranthas* were not a newly founded sect of Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the *Pitakas* too; for we find no indication of the contrary in them."¹

So much about references in Buddhist canons now we shall see what the Hindu scriptures and legends have to say about Jainism. Though they seem to be somewhat later than Mahāvīra and his times, they go a step further than the Buddhist canon. And, strangely enough, they more or less support the belief of the Jainas that Rshabha was the first Jina of this age.

From *Vishnu-Purāna* we learn that the Brahmins too have a Rshabha whose life more or less coincides with that of the Jaina one.² In the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* also a detailed account of the life of one Rshabha is given, and from that it is evident that it is none other than the first Jaina Tīrthankara himself. A note on *Bhāgavata-Purāna* in Wilson's *Vishnu-Purāna* has it: "That work enters much more into detail on the subject of Rshabha's devotion, and particularises circumstances not found in any other *Purāna*. The most interesting of these are the scenes of Rshabha's wanderings, which are said to be Konka, Vankāta, Kutaka, and Southern Kārṇāṭaka, or the western part of the peninsula; and the adoption of the Jaina belief by the people of those countries."³

Of the remaining Tīrthankaras, Sumati, the fifth Tīrthankara, is evidently identical with Bharata's son Sumati, of whom it is said in the *Bhāgavata* that he "will be irreligiously worshipped by some infidels as a divinity."⁴ Besides this, "Arishtanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthankara, is connected with Kṛṣṇa's myth through

¹ Jacobi, *IA*, iv, p. 161

² Nibhi had by his queen Maru the magnanimous Rshabha, and he had a hundred sons, the eldest of whom was Bharata. Having ruled with equity and wisdom, and celebrated many sacrificial rites, he resigned the sovereignty of the earth to the heroic Bharata, etc. — Cf. Wilson's *Vishnu-Purāna*, p. 103

³ *Ibid.*, p. 164 n

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Rājimatī, daughter of Ugrasena.”¹ From all these references from the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* Jacobi concluded “. . . there may be something historical in the tradition which makes Rshabha the first Tirthaṅkara.”² However, it is not to be forgotten that according to some scholars these *Purāṇas* belong to a later date, and hence much weight cannot be put on their authority,³ in spite of scholars like Smith, who would not like to disparage the authority of the *Purāṇic* lists.⁴

Leaving the Tirthaṅkaras aside we find there is a reference to Jaina philosophy in one of the oldest *Sūtras* of the Hindus. In the *Brahma-Sūtras*, which are believed by Telang⁵ and others to be as old as the fourth century B.C., we find a refutation of Jaina *Syādvāda* and of the Jaina theory about the soul.⁶ There are also many more references about Jainism in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Sivasahasra*, the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, the *Yajurveda-Saṁhitā* and other Hindu scriptures, but we shall not deal with them here.⁷

Finally, we shall refer to what some of the most ancient and most sacred of the Jaina *Sūtras* and some of the most eminent scholars of our day have to say on the historicity of Pārśva and his predecessors. Before we directly refer to any part of Jaina literature we shall see what can be gathered about this particular point from the salient features of the period itself. “As a general account of the facts,” says Jarl Charpentier, “the statement that the main part of the canon originated with Mahāvīra and his immediate successors may probably be trusted.”⁸ But the Jains go a step further than this. According to them the *Pūroas* were the oldest sacred books, dating as far back as the first Tirthaṅkara, Rshabha. There is also another more reliable tradition upon which Professor Jacobi rightly lays stress as containing some truth, and it is this that the *Pūroas* were taught

¹ Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 163. See also “Neminātha, an uncle to Kṛṣṇa and the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara of the Jamas,” etc.—*Cf* Mazumdar, *op cit*, p. 551.

² Jacobi, *op cit* and *loc cit*.

³ *Cf* Wilson, *op cit*, I, pp. 328-329.

⁴ “Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the *Purāṇic* lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition”—*Cf* Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 12 (4th ed.)

⁵ *S.B.E.*, viii, p. 32. “*Nyāya-Darśana* and *Brahma-Sūtra* (*Vedānta*) were composed between A.D. 200 and 450”—Jacobi. *Cf* *J.A.O.S.*, xxxi, p. 29.

⁶ *Cf* Pansikar, *op cit*, p. 252.

⁷ Hiralal, H., *Ancient History of the Jaina Religion*, pt II, pp. 85-89.

⁸ Charpentier, *op cit*, p. 12.

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by Mahāvīra himself, and that the *Angas* were then composed by his *Ganadharas*.¹

From this it becomes clear that Mahāvīra and his *Ganadharas* who succeeded him were the authors of the *Jaina Āgamic literature*. When we say that Mahāvīra was the author we do not mean that he actually wrote them, but that whatever is recorded there was taught by him. "For authorship in India depended chiefly on the matter, the words being rather irrelevant, provided the sense be the same"² Furthermore, from certain peculiarities of the *Jaina literature* itself we can also mark that along with the religion it can be traced as far back as Vardhamāna and some time even before him. But we shall not touch any of these characteristic features here, since we are going to deal with them in our chapter on "*Jaina Literature*"

Now when in such canonical literature of the *Jainas* we find more or less unanimous and reliable reference to Pārśva there is no reason to doubt their authenticity. Take for instance the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of the days of Bhadrabāhu. It has referred to all the *Tirthankaras* of the *Jainas*. Its references to Pārśva and Mahāvīra-Dharma have, however, been dealt with. The most important passage is the one in the *Bhagavatī* wherein is described a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, and some disciple of Mahāvīra. It ends with the former's begging permission to stay with him "after having changed the law of the four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession."³ In *Silāṅka's* commentary on the *Ācārāṅga* the same distinction is made between the *Cāturyāma* of Pārśva's followers and the *Pāñcayāma* of Vardhamāna's *Tīrtha*.⁴

The same thing is repeated also in the *Uttarādhyayana*. To quote Dasgupta - "The story in the *Uttarādhyayana* that a disciple of Pārśva met a disciple of Mahāvīra and brought about the union of the old Jainism and that propounded by Mahāvīra seems to suggest that this Pārśva was probably an historical person"⁵

¹ Jacob, *S.B.E.*, vol. I, Int., p. 45

² Jacob, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 15

³ तद एव कालासवेसियपुत्रे शङ्कामारे चरे भगवतो वदन् समसङ् २ (स) एव वदसी—इच्छामि यं भवे ।
मुने —Cf *Bhagavati-Sūtra*, *Salaka I*, sūt 76 Cf also Weber, *Fragment der Bhagavatī*, p. 185

⁴ म एव चतुर्थमभेगचतुर्थी, etc —Cf *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, *Srutaskandha II*, vv 12-13, p. 320

⁵ Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 100 Cf also तसो केसिं पुवन्तु तु मीमन्ते इगन्तव्यी —*Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, *Adhyayana XXIII*, v. 25

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Coming to modern scholars we find that there is a general unanimity about the historical character of Pārśva's life. Just to mention a few among the older generation of Sanskrit scholars in the West, we find that Colebrooke,¹ Stevenson² and Edward Thomas³ strongly believed that Jainism was older than both *Nāṭaputta* and *Sākyaṇputta*. "I take Pārśvanātha," says Colebrooke, "to have been the founder of the sect of the Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahāvīra and his disciple Sudharma; by whom, and by his followers, both Mahāvīra and his predecessor, Pārśvanātha, have been venerated as deified saints (*Jinas*), and are so worshipped by the Jainas of this day."⁴

On the other side some German scholars, like Buhler⁵ and Jacobi,⁶ refuted the arguments put forward by H. H. Wilson,⁷ Lassen⁸ and others. "These particulars," says Jacobi, "about the religion of the Jainas previous to the reform of Mahāvīra are so matter-of-fact like, that it is impossible to deny that they may have been handed down by a trustworthy tradition. Hence we must infer that the *Nirgranthas* already existed previous to Mahāvīra—a result which we shall render more evident in the sequel by collateral proofs."⁹

Coming to our own day we have three of the greatest writers on Indian philosophy—Drs Belvalkar,¹⁰ Dasgupta¹¹ and Radhakrishnan¹²—and historians and scholars like Charpentier,¹³ Guérinot,¹⁴ Mazumdar,¹⁵ Frazer,¹⁶ Elliot,¹⁷ Poussin¹⁸ and others, who hold the same opinion. "Jainism has suffered," observes Belvalkar, "in estimation as an ethical and metaphysical system by being deemed as more or less contemporaneous in origin with the other more evolved philosophical systems like the *Sāṃkhya*, *Vedānta* and Buddhism. The fact is that Mahāvīra inherited the ontology of his system from a remoter ancestry, and he probably did little more than transmit it unchanged to succeeding generations."¹⁹

In his learned preface to the *Uttarādhyaṇa* Dr Charpentier observes: "We ought also to remember both that the Jaina

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⁴ Wilson, *op cit*, i, p 334.

⁵ Jacobi, *I.A.*, iv, p 160

⁶ Dasgupta *op cit*, p 173

⁷ Charpentier, *C.H.I.*, i, p 163

⁸ Mazumdar, *op cit*, pp 262 ff

⁹ Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, i, p 110

¹⁰ Belvalkar, *op cit*, p 107.

¹¹ Stevenson (Rev.), *op. and loc cit*

¹² Colebrooke, *op and loc cit*.

¹³ Jacobi, *S.B.L.*, xiv, p 25

¹⁴ Lassen, *I.A.*, ii, p 197.

¹⁵ Belvalkar, *The Brahma-Sūtras*, p 106.

¹⁶ Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, p 281

¹⁷ Guérinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Int., p xi.

¹⁸ Frazer, *Literary History of India*, p 128.

¹⁹ Poussin, *The Way to Nirāṇa*, p 67

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⁴ स एव चतुर्गामेदाचतुर्गाम, etc. —Cf. *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, *Śrutasādhaka* II, vv. 12-13, p. 220

⁵ Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 166 Cf. also तस्यो कोसि युवन्तं तु गोपनी इत्यमर्युषी —*Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, *Adhyayana* XXIII, v. 25

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¹³ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, XLV, p. XXXI.

¹⁴ Lassen, *I.A.*, II, p. 107

¹⁵ Belvalkar, *The Brahma-Sūtras*, p. 100

¹⁶ Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁷ Guérinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Int. p. VI

¹⁸ Frazer, *Literary History of India*, p. 128.

¹⁹ Poussin, *The Way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 67

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religion is certainly older than Mahāvīra, his reputed predecessor, Pārśva, having almost certainly existed as the real person, and that consequently the main point of the original doctrine may have been codified long before Mahāvīra"¹ Lastly, Dr Guérinot says: "There can no longer be any doubt that Pārśvanātha was an historical personage. According to the Jaina tradition he must have lived a hundred years, and died 250 years before Mahāvīra. His period of activity therefore corresponds to the 8th century B.C. The parents of Mahāvīra were followers of the religion of Pārśva"²

From all these overwhelming proofs about the existence of a Tirthankara or Tirthankaras before Mahāvīra we can, without any fear of historical fallacy, affirm that modern research goes rightly as far back as the days of Pārśvanātha. About the other Tirthankaras we shall not endorse the opinion of Mazumdar, who, even at the risk of entirely disregarding the Jaina tradition, lays down that Rshabha Deva, the first Tirthankara of the Jainas, "was a king of the Vairāja dynasty in Bithoor (29th century B.C.)."³ We shall merely conclude in the words of Dr Jacobi that "we must close our researches here content to have obtained a few glimpses into the prehistorical development of Jainism. The last point which we can perceive is Pārśva; beyond him all is lost in the mist of fable and fiction."⁴

¹ Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana*, Int., p. 21

² Guérinot, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

³ Mazumdar, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁴ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 163



PĀRŚVANĀTHA THE 2ND TĪRTHANKARA OF THE JAINAS (MATHURA)

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CHAPTER II

Mahāvira and his Times

I

WE have already dealt with Pārśva, the predecessor of Mahāvira, in the previous chapter. There is very little in connection with him that we can glean out from any other source but the Jaina *Sūtras*. From the Buddhist canonical literature we inferred that there was some such thing as the *Cāturyāma-Dharma* of Pārśva. All that we know about him is only through Jaina canonical literature, which has also been the basis for all those historians and scholars who have written about him.

We need not put down here all that the Jainas have to say about Pārśva, because it is impossible to deal with that part of Jaina history which forms the period between the last two Tīrthaṅkaras, mainly for two reasons—viz. that, in the first place, what we know about them is chiefly through mere tradition, and that, in the second place, there is so much that is contradictory even there. It would be enough to say that Pārśva was born of a king named Aśvasena, who was a ruling magnate at Benares, and that his mother's name was Vāmā.¹ Furthermore, according to the Jaina belief there were 16,000 monks, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 laymen and 327,000 laywomen who formed his whole following.² Pārśva is said to have lived for one hundred years, for seventy years of which he was engrossed in seeking *Nirvāṇa*.³

Coming to Mahāvira we find that, according to Jaina tradition, he came about two hundred and fifty years after his predecessor.⁴ The period of Indian history when Mahāvira lived is called the

¹ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū. 150; see also अश्वतराजमास्त्रान्मया उदरे etc.—Hemacandra, *Trishasti-Salākā*, Parva IX, v 23, p. 196; Charpentier, *CH I*, 1, p. 154

² *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū. 161-164

³ *Ibid*, sū. 108; see also समतिव्रतपालने । इत्यायुवैत्तराशं . . etc.—Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 318, p. 219, Mazumdar, *op cit*, p. 551

⁴ श्रीपाद्मेनिवीणात् पञ्चाशदधिकवर्षैश्चतुर्दशेन श्रीवीरनिर्वाणं — *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhāḍ-Ṭīkā*, p. 182. "As he is said to have died 250 years before the death of Mahāvira, he may probably have lived in the 8th century B C"—*CH I*, 1, p. 153

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rationalistic age Its duration differs with different authors, but generally the limit can be put as between 1000-200 B.C.¹ The age of epic India had passed away The Kurus, the Pāñcālas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas of the Gangetic Valley no more existed. It was in this period that the Āryans issued out of the Gangetic Valley and founded Hindu kingdoms even in the southernmost parts of India, suffusing their new settlements with their glorious civilisation.

And this is precisely a period which is marked by a great flourish of religion in India "Her ancient religion, which the Hindu Āryans had practised and proclaimed for fourteen centuries, had degenerated into forms"² India was now to witness the commencement of a great revolution Whether for the better or for the worse, she had to face a great upheaval in the Hindu fold "Religion in its true sense had been replaced by forms. Excellent social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste, by exclusive privileges for Brahmans and by cruel laws for *Sūdras* Such exclusive caste privileges did not help to improve the Brahmans themselves. As a community they became grasping and covetous, ignorant and pretentious, until *Brāhmaṇa-Sūtrakāras* themselves had to censure the abuse in the strongest terms."³

The institution of priesthood among the Hindus is certainly a later growth; for although the word Brahman is used in the *Rigveda*⁴ (which Veda goes back to the earliest times of Āryan culture in India), it only meant "singers of sacred songs"⁵ And it was now that they came to designate a class of religious functionaries As time went on the office seems to have become hereditary, and by and by the Brahmans came to be regarded with higher and higher honour.⁶ With it their pretensions also rose higher and higher, but they could not yet form an exclusive caste. This was the situation before the Āryans had advanced beyond the Seven Rivers, at the mouth of the Indus, where they had origin-

¹ Cf Dutt, *op cit* (Contents), Mazumdar, *op cit* (Contents)

² Dutt, *op cit*, p 340

³ *Ibid*, p 341, see also "(Brahmans) who neither study nor teach the *Veda* nor keep sacred fires become equal to *Sūdras*"—*Vāsishtha*, iii, 1 Cf Bühler, *SBE*, xiv, p 16

⁴ Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, ii, pp 96, 97, etc (2nd ed)

⁵ Cf Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p 115

⁶ "In course of time the priest's connection with the sovereign appears to have assumed permanency, and probably become hereditary"—Cf Law, N N, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p 44

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ally settled after their separation from the Iranians.¹ But with a diffusion of the *Hindu-Āryans* over the region south-east of the Seven Rivers, and their settlement on the Ganges and the Jumna, the Vedic religion gave birth to Brahmanism, or the hierarchy of Brahmins.²

With Brahmanism came the rigidity of caste system, which "was still a pliable institution in the Epic period, but the rules of caste were made more rigid and inflexible in the Rationalistic period, and it was impossible for the members of a lower caste to enter within the pale of priesthood."³ This state of things resulted in Brahmins being entirely relieved of manual labour, and being fed on the resources of the industrial classes without doing anything worth while to compensate the other classes.⁴ They had become idlers to such an extent that they were not prepared to acquire that learning which alone could justify their exemption from labour. Vasishtha felt the abuse and the injustice keenly, and protested against idlers being supported and fed, in terms which could be indited only when Hinduism was still the religion of a living nation.⁵

The abuses begotten of the privileges of the caste system combined with the circumstance that writing was unknown, or at any rate was not generally employed for literary purposes, contributed to give increasing influence to the Brahmins.⁶ Subject at first to the princes and nobles, and dependent on them, they began by insinuating themselves into their favour, and representing that the protection and liberty of Brahmins were part of the duties of the princes and nobles. Gradually they set themselves up as the exclusive guardians and interpreters of "revelation" (*Śruti*) and "tradition" (*Smṛti*), in virtue of their being masters of instruction.⁷ By far the greater number of works on religion

¹ "It is not so easy to trace the relations between *Brahmarshūdesa* and the earlier Āryan settlements in the land of the Seven Rivers"—*C.H.I.*, 1, p. 51.

² Cf. Tiele, *op cit*, pp. 112, 117. "The language of the *Rigveda*, the oldest form of Vedic Sanskrit, belongs to the country of the Seven Rivers. The language of the *Brahmanas* and of the later Vedic literature in the country of the Upper Jumna and Ganges (*Brahmarshūdesa*) is transitional"—*C.H.I.*, 1, p. 57.

³ Dutt, *op cit*, p. 264. Cf. Crooke, *E.R.E.*, 11, p. 493.

⁴ Cf. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 209.

⁵ "The King shall punish that village where Brahmins, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Vedas, subsist by begging, for it feeds robbers"—*Vāsishta*, 11, 4. Cf. Bühler, *S.B.E.*, 11, p. 17.

⁶ Cf. Tiele, *op cit*, p. 121.

⁷ "To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted and none but the Sophists is allowed to practise that art"—McCrindle, *op. and loc cit*.

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were composed with a view to the sacrificial service.¹ They constitute the four Vedas, each Veda having different *Brahmanas*. These *Brahmanas* are generally "marked by narrow formalism, childish mysticism and superstitious talks about all kinds of trifles, such as may be expected where a pedantic and powerful priesthood is invested with unlimited spiritual authority."²

The *Yajña* ceremony was so organised and arranged that by and by it became more and more elaborate and involved, and this required a constant increase in the number of ministrants, all of whom were of necessity Brahmins. Sometimes they went to such an extent that the reverence for the *Devas* (gods) also perceptibly diminished as they placed themselves on their level.³ Behind the doctrine of the sacrificial service the popular understanding was that "a suitable combination of rites, rituals and articles of sacrifice had the magical power of producing the desired effect—a shower of rain, the birth of a son, the routing of a huge army, etc. The sacrifices were enjoined generally not so much for any moral elevation as for the achievement of objects of practical welfare."⁴

Thus the social ideal of Brahmins was the unlimited power that hierarchy conferred and the strict separation of castes. Various useful callings were in this rigid society branded as sinful, and men were prevented from withdrawing even from shameful occupations to which birth condemned them. Highest claims were made by the Brahmins, and they were also the recipients of the most extravagant privileges. This went on to such an extent that even the unlimited authority of the king was considered to be at their service.⁵ The very religious bent of the ancient Indians was such that the royal priest⁶ was an important personage from the very earliest times of which we have any record. Woman was

¹ The sacrificial ceremonial at the consecration of a king (*Rājasūya*), the very common horse-sacrifice (*Aśvamedha*), the proper human-sacrifice (*Purushamedha*), and the general sacrifice (*Sarvamedha*) were the most important. At these four sacrifices human victims were really offered in ancient times, but as the manners grew more gentle this practice began to decline, though not with universal approval, finally it fell into disuse.

² Tiele, *op cit*, p. 128.

³ They held "the supreme place of divinity and honour"—Cf McCrindle, *op and loc cit*.

⁴ Dasgupta, *op cit*, 1, p. 208. Cf also Law, N N, *op cit*, p. 39.

⁵ "They were divinely appointed to be the guides of the nation and the councillors of the king, but they could not be kings themselves"—Law, N N, *op cit*, p. 45.

⁶ Also called *Purohit*, etymologically meaning "placed in front, appointed."

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considered a nonentity in the social organisation, and the *Sūdra* was despised out and out.¹

Naturally such a state of society was not destined to hold a long time. And it did end with the appearance of Mahāvīra on one side, and Buddha *Sākyaputta* on the other. "It is said of the French Revolution," says Dutt, "that it was mainly brought about by two causes: the oppression of the kings and the intellectual reaction set in by the philosophers of the 18th century. The Buddhist revolution in India is still more distinctly the result of similar causes. The oppression of Brahmanism made the people sigh for a revolution, and the work of the philosophers opened the path to such a revolution."²

Dr Hopkins goes a little further and lays stress on the psychology of the people with whom these developments first originated. "To a great extent," says the learned scholar, "both Jainism and Buddhism owed their success to the politics of the day. The kings of the East were impatient of the Western Church; they were pleased to throw it over. . . . The West was more conservative than the East. It was the home of the rites it favoured. The East was but a foster-father."³

But we are not out to invent any anti-Brahman prejudice for the explanation of this great Indian revolution. It was "an expression of the general ferment of thought which prevailed at the beginning of the epic period."⁴ We need not understand it as a mere "result of *Kshatriya* protest against the caste exclusiveness of Brahmins,"⁵ because "the ground had been well prepared for the growth of a new belief and new doctrines outside the orthodox bull-work of Brahmanism."⁶ Furthermore, the hypothesis of development from which the history of a religion sets out is based on the principle that all changes and transformations in religions, whether they appear from a subjective point of view to indicate decay or progress, are the results of natural growth, and find in it their best explanation.

Coming to our own period we find that this attitude is

¹ Cf. Tele, *op cit*, pp 129-180. Manu, in spite of his oft-quoted line - यत्र नारीस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः prohibited woman even the performance of sacramental rites - a prohibition which he places on woman and the *Sūdra* alike - Cf. chaps v, 155; iv, 18; and iv, 80

² Dutt, *op cit*, p 225.

⁴ Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, i, p 293

⁶ Frazer, *op cit*, p 117

³ Hopkins, *op cit*, p 282.

⁵ Srinivasachari and Iyengar, *op cit*, p 48

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corroborated by gradual changes in the history of Indian thought and Indian outlook on life. "Tendencies to question the authority of the Vedas," says Kunte, "were shown long before Buddha Gautama succeeded in organising opposition to the Vedic polity, social and religious"¹ The same is the opinion of other scholars also "Buddhism and Jainism," says Jacobi, "must be regarded as religious developments out of Brahmanism, not by sudden reformation, but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time"² There is nothing unreasonable if we say that the echo of what was to come on some future date was already audible in the *Upanishads*, which had anticipated the new system in all its directions. "The pioneers of this new system," says Dr Dasgupta, "probably drew their suggestions from the sacrificial creed and from the *Upanishads*, and built their systems independently by their own rational thinking."³ Mr Dutt traces this change in the mind of the people as far back as the eleventh century B.C.—that is, five centuries before the time of which we are now speaking. According to him, "earnest and thoughtful Hindus had ventured to go beyond the wearisome rituals of the *Brahmana* literature, and had inquired into the mysteries of the soul and its creator."⁴

This was the state of things in the Hindu fold, and hence, naturally, the Jaina fold also could not escape its evil effects.⁶ We have already seen that Mahāvīra had to make certain distinctions in the four great vows put forward by his predecessor, and this initiative on his part ultimately resulted in the five great vows propounded by him. The state of society was such that people would try to take advantage, if any loopholes were available, for a free and easy life, which brings into broad relief Mahāvīra's making clear in all its aspects the *Dharma* of Pārśva.⁶

II

It was amidst this changing flux of thought that Mahāvīra moved, and wove out for himself the solution of the riddle of the cosmos, which placed man's fate, for weal or woe, here and hereafter, in man's own hands, and taught him to look not beyond

¹ Kunte, *op cit*, pp 407, 408

² Dasgupta, *op cit*, I, p 210

³ "in the 230 years that elapsed between his death and the coming of Mahāvīra"

⁴ Dutt, *op cit*, p 340

⁵ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 40

⁶ See *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Subodhikā Tīkā*, p 3, Jacobi, *S B E*, vol. 122, 123

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himself for hope or aid. The nation was prepared when he began to preach, for his spiritualism was understood and appreciated, and gradually even the Brahmans recognised him as a great teacher.¹ "Intellectual Brahmans also joined the ranks of Jainas as of Buddhists from time to time owing to conviction as well as for honour, and contributed to the maintenance of the reputation of the Jainas for learning."²

Jainism spread slowly among the poor and the lowly, for it was then a strong protest against caste privileges. It was a religion of equality of man. Mahāvīra's righteous soul rebelled against the unrighteous distinction between man and man, and his benevolent heart hankered for a means to help the humble, the oppressed and the lowly. The beauty of a holy life, of a sinless, benevolent career, flashed before his mind's eye as the perfection of human destiny, as the heaven on earth; and, with the earnest conviction of a prophet and a reformer, he proclaimed this as the essence of religion. His world-embracing sympathy led him to proclaim this method of self-culture and holy living to suffering humanity, and he invited the poor and lowly to end their suffering by cultivating brotherly love and universal peace. The Brahman and the Śūdra, the high and the low, were the same in his eyes. All could equally effect their salvation by a holy life, and he invited all to embrace his catholic religion of love.³ It spread slowly—as Christianity spread in Europe in early days—until Śrenika, Kūṇika, Candragupta, Samprati, Khāravela and others embraced Jainism during the first few glorious centuries of Hindu rule in India.

Like Brahmanism, Jainism also is based on the so-called dogmas of the transmigration of the soul, and seeks for deliverance from the endless succession of rebirths.⁴ But it pronounces the Brahmanic penance and abstinences inadequate to accomplish this, and aims at attaining, not union with the universal spirit,⁵

¹ प्रभुः स्रपापापुषी जगाम, तत्र बहवो ब्राह्मणाः मिलिताः . . . चतुश्चत्वारिंशच्छतानि द्विजाः प्रवर्जिताः.—*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā*, pp 112, 118

² Vaidya (C V), *H.M I*, III, p 406

³ सर्वसत्त्वानं हितसुखायास्तु (May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures)—Buhler, *E I*, II, pp 208, 204, Ins. No XVIII

⁴ "He for whom there is no bondage whatever in this world . . . etc, has quitted the path of birth"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, XXXI, p 218.

⁵ "There were two principal world theories in ancient India. One, which was systematised as the Vedānta, teaches in its extreme form that the soul and the universal spirit are identical and the external world an illusion"—Elliot, *op cit*, I, p 106

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but *Nirvāṇa*—that is, absolute release from all bodily forms and activities.¹ Without denying the existence of the *Devas* (gods), at any rate at first, it places each Jina above them and recognises them as subordinate to a perfect saint.² It differed from Brahmanism, as primitive Christianity differed from the Jewish hierarchy, by rejecting outward works or theological knowledge as a mark of holiness,³ and seeking it in gentleness, in purity of heart and life, in mercy, and self-denying love for a neighbour. Above all, it is distinguished by its relation to castes. Mahāvira comes neither to oppose them nor to level everything. On the other hand, he adopts a doctrine that men are born in lower or higher castes, determined by their sins or good works in a former existence, but it teaches at the same time that by a life of purity and love, by becoming a spiritual man, everyone may attain at once the highest salvation. Caste makes no difference to him; he looks for the man even in the *Cāṇḍāla*⁴; the miseries of existence beset all alike, and his law is a law of grace for all. Therefore the most salutary change that Mahāvira brought about was his effort to show how circumstantial indeed caste system was, and how easy it was for a spiritual man to break the fetters of caste system.

This is Jainism in general. It is quite popular in its character, and its instrument is preaching rather than instruction. Coming to Mahāvira we find that he too, like Buddha, was born of a *Kshatriya* aristocratic family. In fact, all along, it has been the Jaina belief that a Jina must always come from a *Kshatriya* or some such noble family.⁵ Now it so happened that because of certain actions on his part in his former lives⁶ Mahāvira had first

¹ सार्वज्ञिको विमोक्षस्तु देशदेमोक्षं वच्यते.—Haribhadra, *Shaddārśana Samuccaya*, v 52

² देवाधिदेव सर्वत्र श्रीवीर प्रणिपद्यते —Hemacandra, *Parīkṣhaparvan*, Canto I.

v 2, निनेन्द्रो सुरासुरेन्द्रसंपन्नः —Haribhadra, *op cit*, vv 45, 46

³ "One does not become a Śramana by the tonsure, nor a Brahman by the sacred syllable 'OM,' nor a Muni by living in the woods, nor a Tāpasa by wearing (clothes) Kuśa-grass and bark"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, p 140

⁴ सोनागकुलमभूषो हरिस्रस्र पलो etc —*Uttarādhyayana*, Lecture XII, 1

⁵ "Harikṣa-Bala was born in a family of *Śvapāhas* (*Kāṇḍālas*), he became a monk and a sage," etc.—Jacobi, *op cit*, p 50

⁶ "It never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen, that Arhats, . . . be born of poor families, . . . beggars' families, or Brahmanical families. For indeed Arhats . . . are born in high families, . . . in families belonging to the race of *Ikṣvāku*, or in other such-like families of pure descent on both sides"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxxi, p 225

⁷ According to the Jaina belief whatever we are in our present life is a net result of all our Karmas committed during our previous births. All Karmas are generally





ORNAMENTAL SLAB REPRESENTING THE TRANSFER OF MĀHAVĪRA'S EMBRYO BY NAIGAMEṢA

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to take the form of an embryo in the womb of a Brahman lady named Devānandā, the wife of the Brahman Rshabhadatta,¹ and, as usual with the lives of all such big prophets, there is a popular legend about Mahāvīra also that when the god Śakra (Indra), "the chief of kings and gods,"² came to know about this, it was arranged by him to transfer the embryo from Devānandā's womb to that of *Kshatriyānī* Trisālā, the wife of the *Kshatriya* king Siddhārtha of the *Kāśyapa-Gotra*, belonging to the clan of the *Jñātri-Kshatriyas*.³ Although at the instance of a miracle, Mahāvīra ultimately belongs to *Kshatriya* origin.

Curiously enough this legend has been worked out in sculptures also. Some specimens of Jaina sculptures from Mathura bear testimony to it with an exactness which is really surprising, which fact shows that this legend can be traced historically to the very beginning of the Christian era, and therefore it can safely be said that it must have had some connection either with the life of Mahāvīra or that it must have been connected with one or the other social characteristics of those days.

We know from *Kalpa-Sūtra* that the god Indra had sent *Harinegamesī* to carry out this command of his.⁴ This *Harinegamesī* is generally interpreted as "*Negamesī of Hari*"—i.e. "*Negamesī*, the servant of Indra."⁵ Dr Buhler observes: "A Jaina sculpture representing *Naigamesa*, a small Tirthankara and a female with a small infant, can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part—viz. the exchange of the embryos of Devānandā and Trisālā."⁶

On the very face of it this legend of Mahāvīra seems strange enough, but it must be admitted that tales stranger and more

considered to be imperishable, indescribable, and undestroyable unless they take effect. Now Mahāvīra had committed the *Karman* relating to name and *Gotra* in one out of twenty-seven visible lives which he had to pass before he was destined to be born on this earth as the last Jaina prophet. It was because of this *Karman* that he had first to take his birth in the family of a Brahman तच्च नीचैर्गोत्रं भगवता स्थूलसप्तविंशतिभवापेक्षया तृतीय भवे चङ्ग.—*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā*, p. 26 Cf also Jacobi, *op cit*, pp 190, 191.

¹ ततश्च्युता तेन मरीचिभववद्देहेन नीचैर्गोत्रकर्मणा . क्षुपभद्रस्य ब्राह्मणस्य देवानन्दायाः ब्राह्मण्याः कुक्षौ उत्पन्नः.—*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā*, p. 29.

² Cf *S.B.E.*, xxv, p. 225

³ After eighty-two days the embryo was removed समये भगवं महावीरे . वासोऽ . . गन्धन्तारं सहस्रि . . —*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā*, pp. 35, 36

⁴ Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 223 ff.

⁵ Buhler, *op cit*, p. 316

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317. Cf also *Mathura Sculptures*, Plate II, *A.S.R.*, xx, Plate IV, 2-5.

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legendary in nature also have been told by other religions about their own prophets. What strikes us most is not the nature of the tradition, but the spirit behind it. Does it mean, from this attitude on the part of the Jainas, that their monastical order was originally intended only for the *Kshatriyas*? It seems not; because, tracing from the days of Mahāvīra down to our own times, we find that some of the greatest and most prominent figures of the Jaina fold were Brahmans as well. From Indrabhūti¹ down, right to the last *Gaṇadhara* of Mahāvīra, all were Brahmans. Then in later history we have prominent *Gurus* and scholars like Siddhasena and Haribhadra who also were originally Brahmans.²

It may be that just at the beginning of the rationalistic period, when Brahmans were more or less at the height of their glory, and when other castes were getting more and more conscious of their previous subordination to Brahmans, this belief on the part of the Jainas got a certain definite form. The Buddhists also seem to have entertained a similar feeling, emphasising the prominence of the *Kshatriya* touch in their church. In one of his sermons at Benares, Buddha speaks of his religion as that "for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state"³

With all this it must be borne in mind that the Jainas did not mind the Brahmans becoming Jaina *Gurus* and enjoying the highest posts in the Jaina church, but they made this distinction, that a born Brahman may become a *Kevali* and attain *Moksha*, but he cannot become a Tirthankara. This may be just to wipe off the common belief of the people of those days that Brahmans alone were entitled to be at the top in all spiritual matters. We know from authentic sources that during the early days there was nothing like the Brahmans enjoying monopoly about religious and other ceremonial affairs. "Numerous instances have also been cited to show that men of low birth actually entered the priestly caste by

¹ "There is a legend about Indrabhūti which shows how much he was attached to his teacher. At the time of Mahāvīra's death he was absent. On his return, hearing of his beloved teacher's sudden decease, he was overcome with grief. He became aware that the last remaining bond which tied him to the *Samsāra* was the feeling of love he still entertained for his teacher. Therefore he cut asunder that bond, and thus *Chinnapiyabandhane* he reached the stage of *Kevalin*. He died a month after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*."—Jacobi, *Kaipa-Sūtra*, Int., p. 1

² "Siddhasena Divākara, the son of a Brahman minister. Haribhadra was originally a learned Brahman."—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, pp. 70, 80

³ Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *S B E*, xii, p. 98

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their knowledge and virtues; that priestly caste did not acquire a monopoly of religious learning; that they often came as humble pupils to Kshatriya kings to acquire religious learning."¹ "They did not," observes Tiele, "yet form an exclusive caste, for kings and kings' sons are also designated as sacred singers, and perform priestly functions, though, like many of the nobles also, they generally had their house-priests (*Purohīts*)."²

Anyhow, as we have already remarked, in later history, by insinuations and pretensions, Brahmins came to be recognised as spiritual guardians and benefactors of society,³ though "at any rate the older hymns contained occasional references to a Brahman or a Brahman's son, in later hymns these are more numerous."⁴ This might surely have moved the *Kshatriyas* and other castes to pull down the Brahmins from the heights of their self-acquired superiority and to deprive them of some of their many privileges.

Dr Jacobi, in interpreting this particular incident of Mahāvīra's life, seems to have drawn some far-fetched conclusions. He begins with the hypothesis that Siddhārtha, the father of Mahāvīra, had two wives—one the *Kshatriyānī*, Trisālā, and the other the *Brāhmaṇī*, Devadattā. Furthermore, he believes that Mahāvīra was really born of Devadattā, but afterwards he was proclaimed to have been born of Trisālā just with a view to get him the importance and greatness accruing from the aristocratic connection on his mother's side, and to entitle him to the patronage of his relations.⁵ We see no use in drawing imaginary inferences from such incidents as these that are connected with a prophet's life, but we might get something from the atmosphere of the time in interpreting such a dogmatic assertion of the Jaina canonical books as that a Brahman can be everything but a Tirthankara.

Thus Mahāvīra is believed to have been born of Trisālā, near the town of Vaiśālī,⁶ nearly twenty-seven miles north of Patna. His father, Siddhārtha, seems to have been a chieftain of

¹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 264

² Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 116 "Previous to the origin of caste, and even in the period when the functions were not yet stereotyped, the king could sacrifice for himself and his subjects unaided"—Law, N. N., *op. cit.*, p. 41

³ "They had frequently, however, to encounter grave resistance from the princes; generally, however, they contrived, either by assumption and arrogance or by cunning, to attain their end"—Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 121

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115

⁵ Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, Int., p. xxxi

⁶ This Vaiśālī is identified with the modern Besarh in the Hajipur subdivision of Muzaffarpur.

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Kundagrāma village,¹ and his mother, Princess Trisālā, was the sister of the chieftain of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha, and was related also to Bimbisāra, king of Magadha.² In Nandivardhana and Sudarśanā he had his eldest brother and sister respectively. Mahāvira was married to one Yaśodā, who belonged to the Koundinya Gotra, and he had by her a daughter named Anojjā, also called Priyadarśanā.³ She was married to his nephew Rājaputra Jamālī, "a future disciple of his father-in-law and the propagator of the first schism in the Jaina church."⁴ Mahāvira lived a householder's life till he was thirty years old, but just after the decease of his parents he left his home with the permission of his elder brother and entered the spiritual career,⁵ "which in India, just as the Church in the Western country, seems to have offered a field for ambitious younger sons."⁶

According to the Jaina belief Mahāvira's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the *Sramanas*.⁷ "Mahāvira's doctrines are spoken of in the *Sūtras* not as his doctrines but *decreta*, or old-established truths—*Pannattas*. All this would be next to impossible if he had been like Buddha, the original founder of his religion; but it is just what one would expect to be the record of a reformer's life and preaching."⁸ He is said to have been praised and hymned by both gods and men in the following sweet words "Obtain the pre-eminent highest rank (*i.e.* final liberation) on that straight road which the Jinas have taught."⁹

¹ "Just outside Vaiśālī lay the suburb Kundagrāma—probably surviving in the modern village of Basukund—and here lived a wealthy nobleman, Siddhārtha, head of a certain warrior-clan called the Jāśtrikas"—*CH I*, 1, p. 157

² Cf. Frazer, *op cit*, pp. 128-131. According to the Jaina *Sūtras* Trisālā was called Videhadattā and Priyākārīnī, and that is why Mahāvira was called "Videhadatta's son" Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 193, 194, 256

³ राजा समरयोरेण्य यशोदा कन्यका निजाम् । प्रदातुं वधेमानाय . भर्तृयशोदायामजायत ।
दुहिता प्रियदर्शना ॥—Hemacandra, *Trishashṭi-Salākā, Parva X*, vv. 125, 154, p. 10

⁴ Charpentier, *CH I*, 1, p. 168. राजपुत्रो । जमालिः प्रियदर्शनाम् ॥—Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 165, p. 17

⁵ समणे भगव महावीरे तीर्षे वासाद् कट्टु . विदेहसि मुदे भविता, etc.—*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tilā*, pp. 80, 90

⁶ *Radhakrishnan, op cit*, p. 287

⁷ महावीरस्य सन्मापियरो पासावजिज्ञा etc.—*Ācārāṅga*, pt. II, sūl. 178, p. 422. Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 191. "His parents had, according to a tradition which seems trustworthy, been followers of Pārśva, the previous Tīrthankara; as has already been pointed out, the doctrine of Mahāvira was scarcely anything else than a modified or renovated form of Pārśva's creed"—Charpentier, *op cit*, p. 160

⁸ Jacobi, *I.A.*, v. 1, p. 161

⁹ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, vol. II, p. 258. "He had proclaimed the highest law of the Jinas"—*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 258

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Having left the house, Mahāvīra went through the usual career of an ascetic. He wandered for more than twelve years, resting only during the rainy-season.¹ For about the first thirteen months "the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra wore clothes."² After that time he walked about naked, casting aside every kind of garment. By uninterrupted meditation, unbroken chastity and the most scrupulous observation of the rules concerning eating and drinking he fully subdued his senses. He was out to neglect his body for twelve years, and with equanimity he was prepared to bear, undergo and suffer all calamities arising from any sources.³ Thus it is but natural that in a state of forgetfulness as this, Mahāvīra was not conscious whether or not he was dressed. There was nothing like any deliberate move on his part that he should go about naked. The robe that he was putting on during his wanderings was taken away from him in halves by some Brahman friend of his father named Soma⁴ What came in the prophet's life in a more or less unconscious state of his mind was not meant to be literally adopted by his followers. There is no such rigidity visible in the canonical literature of the Jainas. In the *Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra* the following words are put in the mouth of Sudharman: "'My clothes being torn, I shall (soon) go naked,' or 'I shall get a new surt'; such thoughts should not be entertained by a monk.

"At one time he will have no clothes, at another he will have some; knowing this to be a salutary rule, a wise (monk) should not complain about it."⁵ In short, it comes to this, that a monk should be indifferent to all such superficialities. With all this, the general rule adopted for the discipline of the whole class was that monks should try to get on with one cloth, and if essential they may keep two.⁶

¹ "When the rainy-season has come and it is raining, many living beings are originated and many seeds just spring up. Knowing this (state of things) one should not wander from village to village, but remain during the rainy-season in one place"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, p. 180

² समये भगवं महावीरे संवत्सरं साहस्यं मासं जीवरूपारी हुत्वा तेषां परं खचेल्लयं पाणिपट्टिगहिए.
—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, sūl 117, p. 98 Cf. *S.B.E.*, xxii, pp. 259, 260

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 200

⁴ ततः पिपुनित्रेण ब्राह्मणेन गृहीत.—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, p. 98 Cf. Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v 2, p. 19

⁵ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. 11

⁶ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, p. 187. "The Jaina rules about dress are not so simple, for they allow a Jaina monk to go naked or to wear one, two or three garments, but a young strong monk should as a rule wear but one robe. Mahāvīra went about naked, and so

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Twelve years thus spent in self-penance and meditation were not fruitless. "During the thirteenth year Mahāvīra . . . , not far from an old temple . . . , under a *Śāla-tree*, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called *Kevala*, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full."¹

During these twelve years of preparatory self-mortification Vardhamāna had gone through numerous places, most of which are very difficult to identify to-day. Roaming about in countries inhabited by savage tribes, rarely having a shelter in which to rest for a night, and visiting even wild tribes of the country called Lāḍha, he had to endure the most painful and dangerous treatment from the barbarous inhabitants.² Thereafter he was recognised as omniscient, as a *Kevalin* comprehending all subjects, and as an Arhat for whom there is no secret in this world to learn.³ By this time he was already forty-two, and the remaining thirty years of his life he passed in teaching his religious system, organising his order of ascetics, and wandering about preaching his doctrines and making converts. He apparently visited all the great towns of north and south Bihar, dwelling principally in the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga. Most of the rainy-seasons were spent round about his native town, Vaiśālī⁴; at Rājagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, at Campā,⁵ the capital of ancient Anga; at Mithilā, the kingdom of Videha, and at Śrāvastī.⁶

did the *Jinakalpikas*, or those who tried to imitate him as much as possible. But they, also were allowed to cover their nakedness"—*Ibid*, Int, p. xxvi

¹ *Ibid*, p. 263. Cf. *ibid*, p. 201

² Cf. Charpentier, *op cit.*, p. 158, Radhakrishnan, *op cit.*, p. 237. "Mahāvīra wandered for more than twelve years in Lāḍha, in Vajjabhūmi and Subhabhūmi, the Rāḍha of to-day in Bengal"—Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 108. According to Dr Bühler the Rāḍha of to-day in Bengal. Cf. Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jains*, p. 26.

³ "Under the name of Kunda-gāma the city of Vaiśālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tīrthankara, who was also called Vesali, or the man of Vaiśālī"—Dey, *op cit.*, p. 107.

⁴ Campā is a very sacred place to the Jains,asmuch as it was the resort of Mahāvīra for three rainy-seasons during his wanderings. It is known also as the birthplace and the place of death of Vāsudeva, the twelfth Tīrthankara of the Jains. Cf. *ibid*, p. 44.

⁵ "Śrāvastī, also called Sahet-Mahet, is the Candrapura or Candrikāpurī of the Jains. It is known as the birthplace of the third Tīrthankara Sambhavanātha and the eighth Tīrthankara Candraprabha of the Jains"—*Ibid*, p. 100. "In that period in that age the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra stayed the first rainy-season in Asthikagṛāma, three rainy-seasons in Campā and Prishiti-Campā, twice in Vaiśālī and Vanjagṛāma, fourteen in Rājagṛha and the suburb of Nālandā . . . , one in Śrāvastī, one in the town of Pāṭlipā in King Nāstipāla's office of the writers"—Jacobi, *op cit.*, p. 264.



DURING THE THIRTEENTH YEAR, UNDER A *SĀLA* TREE, *MAHĀVĪRA*
REACHED THE HIGHEST KNOWLEDGE AND INTUITION CALLED *KEVALA*
From a Palm-leaf MS of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of the Thirteenth Century

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MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS TIMES

"His wanderings seem to have covered a wide area, and on occasions he visited Rājagṛha, the capital of Magādhā, and other towns, where the utmost honour was shown to him."¹ Furthermore, looking to the schisms in the Jaina church in his own day, the number of Mahāvīra's followers, as believed by the Jainas, does in no way discredit him. He had an excellent community of 14,000 Śramaṇas, 36,000 nuns, 159,000 male lay-votaries, 318,000 female lay-votaries, and something like 5400 others who either knew the fourteen *Pūrvas* or were *Kevalins*, and so on.²

Thus having become a *Kevalin* at the age of forty-two at Jṛmbhikagrāma,³ situated on the River Rujupālīkā, near the Pārasnāth hills, and having wandered for about thirty years as a reformer in the Jaina church, Lord Mahāvīra died at the age of seventy-two⁴ in the house of King Hastipāla's scribe in Pāvāpurī,⁵ near Rājagṛha, a place still visited by thousands of Jaina pilgrims. According to the traditional Jaina chronology this event is believed to have taken place in the year 527 B.C., differing by sixteen years from the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha according to the chronology of Ceylon, or 543 B.C.⁶ This date of Mahāvīra is based on three verses repeated in many commentaries and chronological works.⁷ "These verses, which are quoted in a large number of commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vīra and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology."⁸ Merutunga's⁹

¹ Charpentier, *op* and *loc cit* "The extent of his sphere of influence almost corresponds with that of the kingdom of Śrāvastī or Kosala, Videha, Magadha, and Anga—the modern Oudh, and the provinces of Tirhut and Bihar in western Bengal"—Bühler, *op cit*, p. 27.

² Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 267-268.

³ Also called Jṛbhakagrāma or Jṛmbhīlā —Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 38

⁴ "Mahāvīra lived thirty years as a householder, more than twelve years in a state inferior to perfection, something less than thirty years as a *Kevalin*, forty-two years as a monk—seventy-two years on the whole"—Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 268.

⁵ Pāvā-Pāvāpurī, about seven miles to the south-east of Bihar (town) and two miles to the north of Gīriyēk According to Stevenson's *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Mahāvīra died here while he was spending the Paryushana (Pajusana) at the palace of Hastipāla, king of Pāvā There are four beautiful Jaina temples in an enclosure which marks the site of his death Annual (*Dīpāvalī*) Dīvalī was started to commemorate Mahāvīra's death Cf Dey, *op cit* p. 148

⁶ Cf Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., p. 8

⁷ "None of the sources in which these announcements appear is older than the twelfth century A.D. The latest is found in Hemacandra, who died in the year 1172 A.D." —Bühler, *op cit*, p. 28.

⁸ Bühler, *I A*, II, p. 363

⁹ "Merutunga, a famous Jaina author, composed in v.s. 1861=1804 A.D. his work the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and about two years later his *Vicāraśreṇi* . . ."—Charpentier, *I A*, xliii, p. 119

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Vicāraśreni is based on them, and they specify 470 years as the interval between Vikramāditya and the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra.

The translation of the three verses is as follows¹:

1 Pālaka, the Lord of Avantī, was anointed during that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankara Mahāvīra entered *Nāvāna*.

2 Sixty are (the years) of King Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pusamitra (Pushyamitra).

3 Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovāhana; thirteen years likewise lasted the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are the years of Śaka.²

Thus, according to Merutunga, 470 years elapsed between the *Nirvāna* and Vikramāditya's era, which corresponds to 527 B.C. of the Christian era.³ In coming to this period of 470 years according to Merutunga, we get 255 years as the interval between the beginning of the era of Vikrama and the reign of the Mauryas. This comes to 312 B.C. as the date of Candragupta's *Abhisheka*, according to the Jaina tradition.⁴ Now, subtracting 255 from 470 we get 215 years as the period between Candragupta and the *Nirvāna*. This period of 215 years is not subscribed to by all, for Hemacandra, in his *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, writes: "And thus 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra Candragupta became king."⁵ Adding 155 to 312 B.C. we get the *Nirvāna* of Mahāvīra in 467 B.C. Merutunga no doubt refers to this statement of Hemacandra, but about it he says nothing more than that it is in contradiction with other works.⁶

The date of Mahāvīra as worked out by Jacobi⁷ and Charpentier⁸ is based on the data supplied by these two Jaina *Gurus*. Both the

¹ "That they were not composed by Merutunga himself or any of his contemporaries is certain, because at that time the Jaina authors had long ago ceased to write in Prakṛt." —Charpentier, *op cit*, p 120

—*Vicāraśreni*, p 1 MS, B.O.R.I.L, No 378

* Fifty-seven years elapsed between the commencement of the *Samvat* and the Christian eras

* "The Jaina authorities give the year of his accession as 313 (312) B C, a date at which the canon of the Jaina scriptures was fixed"—Cf *CHI*, i, p. 698

* एव च श्रीमहावीर चद्रुभोजभवृषः.—Jacobi, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, Canto VIII, v 339

⁷ Jacoby, *Being Sāṃkhya*, p. 1.

⁷ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., pp. 6-10.

* Charpentier, *op cit*, pp 118-123, 125-138, 167-178

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learned scholars have worked out their conclusions with so much minuteness and historical accuracy that we need not repeat here the grounds put forward by them for justifying their opinions. They rightly agree in accepting the chronological fact put forward by Hemacandra, and come to the inevitable conclusion that the date of this epoch must be somewhere about 467 B.C.¹

"I have tried to show," says Charpentier, "that the chronological list on which the Jainas found this assumption of a period of 470 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the commencement of the Vikrama era is almost entirely valueless. The line of rulers composed in order to fill up the time is wholly unhistorical and can by no means be trusted. . . ." ² Leaving aside the wholly hypothetical basis of the Jaina tradition, the other grounds put forward by the eminent scholars are the contemporary existence of both Mahāvīra and Buddha, and the more trustworthy historical facts put forward by Hemacandra.

That the two prophets were different persons, contemporaries and founders of rival communities of monks, is now an established fact. "But, if we believed the Jaina tradition to be right, when it asserts the death of Mahāvīra to have taken place 470 years before Vikrama, or 527 B.C., we might doubt whether this is possible. For the death of Buddha, the date of which was first, and in my opinion rightly, fixed by General Cunningham and Professor Max Muller, occurred in 477 B.C.; and as all sources are unanimous in telling us that he was then 80 years old, he must have been born in 557 B.C. From this it is clear that if Mahāvīra died in 527 B.C, Buddha at that stage was only 30 years of age, and as he did not attain Buddhahood and gained no followers before his 36th year—*i.e.* about 521 B.C.—it is quite impossible that he should never have met Mahāvīra. Moreover, both are stated to have lived during the reign of Ajātaśatru, who became king eight years before the death of Buddha, and reigned

¹ No doubt there are other scholars who hold the contrary opinion, but their discussions having been rendered obsolete by Jacobi and Charpentier we shall not dwell upon them any further. Just to mention a few amongst them: Burgess, *I.A.*, II, p. 140, Rice (Lewis), *I.A.*, III, p. 157, Thomas (Edward), *I.A.*, VIII, p. 30, Pathak, *I.A.*, XII, p. 21, Hoernle, *I.A.*, XX, p. 360; Guerinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Int., p. VII, and so on.

² Charpentier, *op cit*, p. 125. "Not only is the number of years (185) allotted in the *Gāthās* to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Pālaka, Lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Magadha kings looks very suspicious"—Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 8

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32 years; this makes it even more impossible to believe in the dates mentioned above."¹

Coming to Hemacandra's statement in his *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, Dr Charpentier says. "We may assume with Jacobi that he (Hemacandra) took as correct the tradition of 255 years elapsing between the accession of Candragupta and the Vikrama era. This would then make the time between the death of Mahāvira and the accession of Vikrama till $255 + 155 = 410$ years, and involve the conclusion that Mahāvira died in 467 B.C., which in my opinion is the date best fitted for all circumstances connected with it, and may be deemed the right one."²

Over and above these there are also other considerations, which in one way or the other help us to come to this date of Mahāvira's death. We need no more discuss them here, but just to enumerate. the traditional date of Bhadrabāhu's death and his connection with Candragupta³; the date of the third schism in the Jain church and its relation with the Maurya king, Balabhadra⁴; the connection between the date put in the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu as finally settled by Devardhigani and the date of the great council held at Vallabhi in the year of Dhruvasena's succession,⁵ and finally the date of Suhastin, the disciple of Sthūlabhadra and his connection with Samprati,⁶ grandson and successor of Aśoka⁷.

With such historical data before us one thing is clear, that the conclusion which we have arrived at is quite in harmony with the

¹ Charpentier, *op cit*, pp 131-132. "To return to our discussions of the date of the *Nirāṇa*, it is obvious that the year 467 B.C., which we inferred from Hemacandra's record, cannot be far wrong, because it agrees so well with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirāṇa*, 477 B.C., a synchronism which by our previous research has been established as necessary."—Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 9

² Charpentier, *op cit*, p. 173

³ This date of Bhadrabāhu's death is 170 A.V., which is equal to 357 B.C. according to the traditional date, and 207 according to the date of Jacobi and Charpentier, and considering Bhadrabāhu's connection with Candragupta the year 357 B.C. is to be totally excluded.

⁴ This schism originated in 215 A.V., and according to Merutunga the Maurya rule dates from 215 A.V., and hence Hemacandra's calculations, according to which the Maurya dynasty begins 155 years after the *Nirāṇa*, seem more reasonable.

⁵ That date is either 880 or 893 A.V., which, taking 467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvira's *Nirāṇa* is equal to 526 A.D., which exactly corresponds to the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Vallabhi.

⁶ This date is 215 A.V. according to Merutunga, and this more or less agrees with the chronology of Hemacandra, according to which Candragupta began his rule in 155 A.V., because, as Aśoka died ninety-four years after Candragupta, the date of Samprati comes to 219 A.V.

⁷ Cf. Charpentier *op cit*, pp 173-176. Jacobi, *op cit*, pp 9-10

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various facts connected with and depending upon the date under consideration. Still, however, 467 B.C. cannot be taken as the real year of Mahāvīra's death, though it cannot be far wrong, because there is no ground to assume that Hemacandra took as correct the tradition that two hundred and fifty-five years elapsed between the accession of Candragupta and the Vikrama era, and thereby came to the conclusion that according to the Jaina tradition Candragupta began his dynasty in 312 B.C. No doubt a precise date for the accession of Candragupta seems, with our present evidence, impossible¹; but still, without dwelling further upon a matter of so much uncertainty, an earlier date seems more reasonable and more in keeping with the contemporary historical atmosphere and with certain events of Candragupta's own life. Scholars like Dr Thomas (F. W.),² Smith³ and others agree in putting Candragupta's succession from 325-321 B.C., or thereabout.⁴ Taking this as our basis, we get c. 480-467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, and this fits in with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, 477 B.C., "which has been proved correct within very narrow limits."⁵ This is because it is obvious that the *Nirvāṇa* of both these teachers can be separated by a few years only.⁶ Moreover, the acceptance of some such period for the *Nirvāṇa* of Vardhamāna in no way contradicts any of the considerations that we have already put forth.

However, before we pass on to the reformed Jaina church of Mahāvīra, we shall have to say a few words on the misunderstanding of the revolution that had been brought about in the chronology of this period by the so-called correct evidence as put forward by Mr Jayaswal, Mr Banerji and others.⁷ As we shall see in our chapter entitled "Jainism in Kalunga Deśa," until very recently it was believed, by these scholars, with Vincent Smith⁸ and others,

¹ "Our defective knowledge of the chronology is in striking contrast to the trustworthy information which we possess concerning the country and its administration"—Thomas (F. W.), *CHI*, I, p. 473

² *Ibid.*, pp. 471-472

³ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 206 (4th ed.)

⁴ "The date of Candragupta's accession has been fixed by Professor Kern between 321 and 322, accordingly the date of the *Nirvāṇa* is somewhere between 477 and 475 B.C., and this date is probably correct within a few years, as it nearly agrees with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* in 477 B.C."—Jacobi, *Parishīṣṭaparvan*, Int., p. 6.

⁵ Jacobi, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, I, p. 178.

⁷ Jayaswal, *J B O R S*, III, pp. 425-472, and IV, pp. 364 ff., Banerji (R. D.), *J B O R S*, III, pp. 486 ff.

⁸ Smith, *J R A S*, 1918, pp. 548-547

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that the inscription of Khāravela was dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era, *Rāja-Muriya Kāle*, equivalent to 170 B.C. The significance of the date of the record was emphasised by a reference in another passage to some Nandarāja having excavated a canal in Kalinga three hundred years earlier—that is to say, 470 B.C.¹ This Nandarāja being identified with Nandivardhana, the ninth Śaśunāga king, whose date was previously taken as about 418 B.C., Smith went to the extent of revolutionising the whole Śaśunāga chronology, and put c. 554 B.C. for the previous 491 B.C. of Ajātaśatru, and c. 582 B.C. for c. 519 B.C. of Bimbisāra.² From this change in the chronology of the contemporary dynasty of both Buddha and Mahāvira, and from a reference in the body of the inscription about an image of Jina being taken away by a Nanda king, both Smith³ and Jayaswal⁴ came to the conclusion that the Khāravela record supports the old traditional dates for the death of Mahāvira, 527 B.C., and the death of Buddha, 548 B.C.

As we shall see later on, all these inferences based on the Khāravela inscription are of no account considering the latest reading suggested by Mr Jayaswal. According to it there is nothing like any reference to the Maurya era; but this factor is of very little importance, because we come practically to the same date of the inscription, taking into consideration the reference made to the great Indo-Greek king, Demetrios. The most significant change that has been brought about is that the canal referred to was excavated in the year 103 of the Nanda era and not three hundred years earlier.⁵ Thus the sole basis on which Mr Smith hurriedly took the step of pushing back the whole Śaśunāga chronology by something like fifty years now falls to the ground. "I have been so impressed," said the great historian, "by the new

¹ Smith, *J R A S*, 1918, p. 546

² "In the third edition of my *Early History of India* (1914) I placed the accession of Nandivardhana doubtfully about 418 B.C. He must now go back to c. 470 B.C., or possibly to an earlier date. That finding involves putting back Ajātaśatru or Kunika (No. 5 Śaśunāga) to at least c. 554 B.C., and his father Bimbisāra or Srenika (No. 4) to at least c. 582 B.C."—Smith, *op cit*, pp. 546-547. In his first edition (1904) Smith has put 101 B.C. for Nandivardhana, p. 33, see *ibid*, p. 41, *ibid*, p. 51 (4th ed. 1924).

³ "According to Pāli tradition Mahāvira predeceased Buddha. But other reasons support the date 167 B.C., as advocated by Charpentier, and this fits in with the traditional date of Hirudrahīna, who was the contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. The year 527 (528-7) B.C., the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahāvira, is merely one of several dates, but it is supported by the Khāravela inscription."—*Ibid*, p. 40 (1st *ibid* p. 50).

⁴ Jayaswal, *J R O R S*, xiii, p. 246

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 221 ff

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evidence, that in my forthcoming book, *The Oxford History of India*, now being printed, I have inserted earlier periods for the Śaīsunāgas and Nandas,"¹ but now the very person (Jayaswal) who was rightly relied upon to this extent by Mr Smith, and who deserves greater credit for keeping up to his conviction, has more or less completely altered his first reading of the inscription after working at it for a pretty long time.

Coming to Jayaswal, he says: "It also proves that to have Jina images about or rather before 450 B.C. means that the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* must be what we get from the various Jaina chronological data read with the *Purāṇic* and Pāli material, which all harmonise in fixing it to be 545 B.C. . . ."² This sounds rather strange. There is no reason why this King Nanda referred to here should be identified particularly with Nandivardhana, the Śaīsunāga whose era has been identified by Jayaswal with the Nanda era referred to above on the basis of Alberuni and other historical grounds.³

This King Nanda, as we shall see in our next chapter, is, according to Dr Charpentier, better identified with one of the Nine Nandas, the first of whom "seems not to be very unfavourably judged by Hemacandra."⁴ If this identification is accepted, the historical period of having Jaina images would be somewhere in the very beginning of the fourth century B.C. Even granting that this King Nanda is to be identified with Nandivardhana, whose date, according to Jayaswal, comes to about 457 B.C., there is no historical fallacy committed or any Jaina tradition disregarded if we say that there must have been Jaina images about or rather before 450 B.C. There is no reason why, just because of this, the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra cannot be somewhere about 467 B.C., and should go so far back as 545 B.C., because, according to so many traditions, whether right or wrong, image-worship is no new development in the Jaina church.⁵

But the fixing of 545 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is nothing else but disregarding some of the real historical facts

¹ Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 547.

² Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 246. This date of Jayaswal is based also on the chronological facts that he has worked out after consulting the Pāli, Purāṇic and Burmese traditions Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1, p. 114.

³ Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, xii, pp. 240-241.

⁴ Charpentier, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172.

⁵ तद य सा दोष ई रायवरकृता . . . जेथेव निगधरे . . . निगधदिनां . . . पयाम करे . . . — *Jñānā, sūti* 119, p. 210

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and coincidences of the Jaina annals. It is true no doubt that this period of Indian history is chequered with numerous traditions, Jaina, Buddhist or Hindu, and sometimes because of some or the other interest or object in view they are so arranged by later writers that it has become an impossible task to find out the real truth behind the whole show. Now, according to the Jaina tradition, the whole interval between Ajātaśatru and Candragupta has been filled up by Udāyin and the Nine Nandas,¹ while writers like Merutunga tell us that the Nanda rule lasted for one hundred and fifty-five years. On the other hand Hemacandra has allotted only ninety-five years for the Nandas, by which he rightly means the Nine Nandas. However, the chronological period of 480-467 B.C. that we have put down for Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is—as is often inevitable in our efforts to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found—an attempt to do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance. For greater certainty we must be content to wait until the progress of archæological research has furnished us with more adequate materials.

III

Coming to the reformed Jaina church of Mahāvīra or Jainism as such we find that it is not possible to talk at length about that either. All that can be done within a limited scope like this is to mark its salient features and its beliefs about the ordinary problems, inquiries and difficulties of a man's spiritual life. Reflection is the moving spirit of philosophy. Early philosophical reflection engages itself with searching for the origin of the world, and it attempts to formulate the law of causation. In this respect Jainism is atheistic, if by atheism we understand the belief that there is no eternal supreme God, Creator and Lord of all things. "The atheism of the Jainas means denial of a divine creative spirit."² (The Jainas flatly deny such a supreme God, but they believe in the eternity of existence, universality of life, immutability of the Law of Karma, and supreme intelligence as the means to self-liberation.)

¹ Cf. Rapson, *CHI*, I, p. 813

² Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286. "Their only real gods are their chiefs or teachers, whose idols are worshipped in the temples"—*Ibid*

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To the Jainas there is no need to assume any first cause of the universe ¹ They deny the existence of an intelligent first cause ² and repudiate the theory of the creation of the world out of nothing or out of a series of accidents. To the Jaina thinker the systematic working of the law of nature cannot be a product of luck or accident. He cannot conceive how a non-creative God suddenly becomes creative. "If God created the universe," asks Ācārya Jinasena, "where was he before creating it? If he was not in space, where did he localise the universe? How could a formless or immaterial substance like God create the world of matter? If the material is to be taken as existing, why not take the world itself as unbegun? If the creator was uncreated, why not suppose the world to be itself self-existing?" Then he continues: "Is God self-sufficient? If he is, he need not have created the world. If he is not, like an ordinary potter, he would be incapable of the task, since, by hypothesis, only a perfect being could produce it. If God created the world as a mere play of his will, it would be making God childish. If God is benevolent and if he has created the world out of his grace, he would not have brought into existence misery as well as felicity." ³

If it is argued that everything that exists must have a maker, then that maker himself would stand in need of another maker, and we would be landed in a cycle, the way from which to escape is to assume the reality of a self-subsisting maker who is the author of everything else. Here again is raised the problem that if it is possible for one being to be self-subsistent and eternal, is it not possible for more things and beings to be uncreated and substantive? Then the Jaina mind puts forth the hypothesis of a number of substances, and the world is explained on the theory of the necessity of all substances to manifest themselves. "The whole universe of being, of mental and material factors has existed from all eternity, undergoing an infinite number of revolutions produced

¹ कर्तृस्ति कश्चिद् जगतः स चैकः

स सर्वेशः स स्ववशः स निम्नः ।

इमाः कुहेवाकविदम्बनाः स्यु -

स्तेषां न येषामनुशासकस्त्वम् ॥ ६ ॥

Hemacandra, *Syādvāda-mañjarī* (ed Motilal Ladhaj), v 6, p 24, see *ibid*, pp 14 ff

² Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, 1, p 289 Cf also Vijayadharmsūri, *Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume*, pp 150-151

³ Latthe, *Introduction to Jainism*, pp 85-87, Jinasena, *Ādi Purāṇa*, chap 11 Cf Bhandarkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS*, 1883-1884, p 118

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by the powers of nature without the intervention of any external deity. The diversities of the world are traced to the five co-operating conditions of time (*Kāla*), nature (*Svabhāva*), necessity (*Niyata*), activity (*Karma*), and desire to be and act (*Udyama*)."¹

With all this such a belief on the part of the Jainas did not make them materialistic in the sense of one of the inchoate philosophical systems called "materialism," or in the sense of Cārvāka, whose motto was to make merry while life lasted, since he thought that the body turned to ashes turns not to life again. In his manual on *Jainism* Mr Warren has nicely put the difference between the Jaina and these philosophical systems of thought. "An alternative to the doctrine of a kind of almighty creator governing the universe," says the learned scholar, "is the theory of soulless materialist atheism which affirms that life and consciousness are the outcome of the massing and activity of material atoms, to be dissipated at death; but for those who find neither of these theories satisfactory there is the theory roughly outlined in this book, a theory which neither denies the existence of the soul nor starts with the presumption of a creator, but makes each individual the master of his own destiny, holds out immortality for every living being, and insists upon the very highest rectitude of life, up to final perfection, as a necessary means to permanent happiness now and hereafter"²

Here arises the question, if there is no such being distinct from the world called God, what are the characteristics of the authority which is implicitly believed by the Jainas? Unless the characteristics are known it may come to believing the words of an arbitrary and tyrannical law-giver. Furthermore, however the authority may be true, teaching presupposes true knowledge. Going to the very root of religion we find that the definition of religion as the relation between man and superhuman powers in which he believes is by no means philosophical, nor does it in any sense apply to Jainism. On the other hand it leaves unanswered the question of the essence of religion "Man's desire for an explanation of the existence of misery, for its relief to extinction, and for a consequent increase of happiness, is the ground of religion."³ The powers mentioned above are designedly not described as super-

¹ Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, p 330

² Warren, *Jainism*, p 2 "Man! Thou art thine own friend, why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, vol. 1, p 33

³ Warren, *op cit*, p 1.



THE ELEVEN GANADHARAS OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA

From a Palm-leaf MS of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of the Thirteenth Century

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sensual, as visible deities would thus be excluded, and moreover they are superhuman, never in reality but in the estimation of the worshippers.¹ Nevertheless this is a weakness which is more or less universal, and hence, naturally, the Jainas are not expected to be free from it. Leaving this aside, we have already seen that Jainism is, as it were, a pure and perfect light thrown over the world by one who has subdued all his senses and passions, and who has thereby become free from all Karmas.²

The *Sāstras* that form the fundamental basis of Jainism are based on the teaching of such spiritual leaders as Pārśva and Mahāvīra, who once lived on earth in flesh and blood. Their teaching was first imparted to *Ganadharas*,³ who were the chief disciples of Jina, the omnipotent seer of the universal and infinite light, while they in their turn handed it over to a line of *Gurus* who come down to our own days.⁴ Thus it is with these Jinās that lies the source of all that we are going to say about Jainism in the following pages.

The sources for this are no doubt of a comparatively later date, and it is not difficult to distinguish between what was original and what was transformed. For, as Charpentier has rightly observed, "the inflexible conservatism of the small Jaina community in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrine" has been its strongest safeguard⁵; and it is this conservatism that, in spite of periods of severe afflictions, has enabled the Jainas to preserve their canons to a large extent untainted. There are indications in bas-reliefs of the first and the second century A.D. of their authenticity, going back to a much earlier period, and its oldest elements "may very well go back to the time of the first disciple of Mahāvīra, or at any rate to the council of Pāṭaliputra, which was held, according to tradition, under the Maurya king,

¹ Cf. Tele, *op cit*, p 2

² जिनेन्द्रो . . . रगद्वेषविर्जितः कृत्स्नकर्मेक्षयं कृत्वा संप्राप्तः परमं पदम् —Haribhadra, *Saddarśana Samuccaya*, vv 45, 46 "It is the opinion of Jainism that only that knowledge is true which is purged of the infatuating elements of anger, hatred, or other passions; that only he who is all-knowing is able to map out the path of rectitude which shall lead to final beatitude in life everlasting; and that omniscience is impossible in any in whom the infatuating elements are found to exist"—Warren, *op cit*, p 3

³ Beginning from Indrabhūti and ending with Prabhava, Mahāvīra had altogether eleven *Ganadharas*

⁴ प्रह्लादशस्त्रस्य श्रीरजिनवरेन्द्रापेक्षयाऽर्चतः आत्मागमत्व तच्छिष्यं तु पञ्चमगणधरं सुधर्मं तच्छिष्यं च जंबू परम्परागमतां प्रतिपिपादयिषुः सूत्रकारः आह . —*Jñānā, Tīkā*, p 1.

⁵ Charpentier, *C.H.I*, 1, p 169.

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Candragupta, at the end of the fourth century B.C.”¹ The transformations happened principally in matters of detail, and the unconscious modifications which all religions and institutions tend to undergo in matters of practice rather than in the principles underlying them.

Coming again to the definition of religion we find that the chief functions of religion are the work of relieving misery, explaining its existence, and of increasing the real happiness of life. We shall now briefly see what has been the working of the Jaina thought and how far it has succeeded in considering these difficulties and requirements of man's spiritual life. According to Jainism, then, everything that there is, was, or ever will be, has been classified as either animate (*Jīva*) or inanimate (*Ajīva*); and has been defined as that in which there is Origination, Destruction and Permanence. It is with this *Tripadī* that Mahāvīra welcomes his great converts from the Brahman fold and his *Gaṇadharas* when they joined the Jaina church, and, having received which, they composed the twelve *Angas*.²

This division of the universe, according to the Jaina metaphysics, into two everlasting, uncreated, coexisting but independent categories—the living (*Jīva*)—also used to connote life, vitality, soul or consciousness³—and the non-living (*Ajīva*)—is, according to the Jainas, a perfect division and as such unassailable. The *Ajīva* is further divided into *Dharma*, *Adharma*, *Ākāśa*, *Pudgala*,⁴ and to these some also add *Kāla*.⁵ The *Jīva*, or the soul, except in its final stage of liberation (*Nirvāṇa*), is always in combination with *Ajīva*, and thereby brings into existence a kind of energy which is known as *Karma*, and which cannot conduce to freedom, perfection or

¹ Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 71, Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, pp. xl-lxii, Ghosal, *Dravya-saṅgraha*, S B J, 1, pp. 3-4

² एकादशानां विषदीयदृश्यपूषैकं एकादशान् etc.—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, pp. 112-118 इन्द्रभूतिः विषदी माय द्वादशांगी रचितवान् . etc.—*Ibid*, p. 115 ज्ञते सपे चतुर्थेय

इन्द्रभूतिभूतानां विषदी आह्वन् प्रभुः—Hemacandra, *Triśaṣṭi-Sālāhā*, Parva X, v. 165, p. 70

³ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 94

⁴ Things enjoyable by the senses, the five senses themselves, the mind, the Karmas, and all other material objects are called *Pudgalas*, or matters. All material things are ultimately produced by the combination of atoms. The smallest individual particle of matter is called an atom (*Atu*). In their atomic theory “we place the Jainas first, because they seem to have worked out their system from the most primitive notions about matter.”—Jacobi, *E R E*, II, p. 199

⁵ भेदाश्च धर्माधर्माकाशपुच्छाः —Haribhadra, *op cit*, p. 50 Yogendrācārya in his *Paramātma Prakāśa* includes *Kāla*, v. 142

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peace. These Karmas, or deeds of the soul, in conjunction with matter (*Pudgala*) are either good or bad, and it is on account of them that the soul has to suffer all the experiences of this world process, including births and rebirths.¹ So here lies the source of all our miseries, and hence to explain these two forms—*Jīva* and *Ajīva*—and their mutual connections on a broad basis, Jaina *Sāstrakāras* have put forward nine categories (*Nava Tattvas*), which are as follows :

Jīva, Ajīva, Puṇya, Pāpa, Āsrava, Saṁvara, Bandha, Nirjarā and *Moksha*.² All these substances have been very minutely worked out by Jaina metaphysics, but we need not go into all these details.³

Those forms that have consciousness belong to the first category—viz. *Jīva*—and those that have not this quality are *Ajīvas*.⁴ As just remarked, in our worldly existence both *Jīva*, or the soul, and *Ajīva*, or the non-soul, go together, and thus the soul in combination with our body becomes the doer of all actions whether good or bad. The soul in its pure state is possessed of Infinite Perception or Faith (*Ananta-Darśana*), Infinite Knowledge (*Ananta-Jñāna*), Infinite Bliss (*Ananta-Sukha*), and Infinite Power (*Ananta-Vīrya*).⁵ It is all-perfect, enjoying as it does these four infinities, which the soul has a right to enjoy when it is in its true eternal character.⁶

Ordinarily however, with the exception of a few released souls (*Mukta-Jīvas*), all the other *Jīvas* (*Saṁsārins*) have their purity

¹ "Matter is without consciousness, soul is conscious. Matter has no choice but to be moulded by the soul. The connection of soul and matter is material, and it is affected by the soul's activity. The bondage is called Karma, since it is the Karma or deed of the soul. It is material, forming a subtle bond of extremely refined Kārmic matter which keeps the soul from flying up to its natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace."—Jaini, *op cit*, p. 26, कर्त्तव्य गुणगुणं कर्म भोक्ता कर्मफलस्य च . —Haribhadra, *op. cit*, v. 48

² जीवाजीवी तथा पुंस्त्वं पापमाश्रयसंवरौ ।

चन्द्रश्च निर्जीरामोक्षौ नव तत्त्वानि तन्मते ॥

—Haribhadra, *op cit*, v. 47 Cf also Kundakundācārya, *Pañcāstikāyāsāra*, v. 108

³ Cf. Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit*, pp 290-311.

⁴ चैतन्यलक्षणी जीवी, यथैतद्वैरोचयान् । अजीवः स . —Haribhadra, *op cit*, v. 49

⁵ "The Jains distinguish between *Darśana* and *Jñāna*. *Darśana* is the knowledge of things without their details—e.g. I see a cloth. *Jñāna* means the knowledge of details—e.g. I not only see the cloth but know to whom it belongs, of what quality it is, where it was prepared, etc. In all cognition we have first *Darśana* and then *Jñāna*. The pure souls possess infinite general perception of all things as well as infinite knowledge of all things in all their details"—Dasgupta, *op cit*, i, p. 129

⁶ Jaini, *op cit*, p. 1.

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and power covered with a thin veil of Karma matter which has been accumulating in them from beginningless time. The natural qualities of the soul are thus more or less obscured, and consequently various conditions of weal (*Punya*) and woe (*Pāpa*) are experienced. This is how we get the next two categories—viz. *Punya* and *Pāpa*.

In *Punya* we include those matters that are connected with the soul and are the result of good and virtuous actions. Those that are contradictory to these are called *Pāpas*.¹ *Punya* is the meritorious kind of Karma, while *Pāpa* is the sinful kind of it. When the soul is thus striving under such auspicious (*Subha*) and inauspicious (*Asubha*) Karmas it is helped by the activity of the mind, speech and body, which fact either helps the inflow of such Karmic matter and thereby the soul gets bound to them, or acts as a bar to it. It is here that we get *Āśrava*, *Samvara* and *Bandha*.

The activity of the mind, speech and body which makes the inflow of Karmic matter into the soul possible is technically called *Āśrava*, while the same sort of activity which acts as a bar to such an inflow is called *Samvara*. The actual investing of the soul by this matter is called *Bandha*.² Thus according to the *Jaina Mata* it is we who are responsible for our own condition. "In whatever degree we are ignorant, in pain, unhappy, unkind, cruel or weak, it is because, since birth and even previously in the infinite past, we are and have been acquiring and incorporating into ourselves (*Āśrava*, *Bandha*)—by the attraction and assimilation of subtle, unseen, though real physical matter (*Pudgala*)—energies (Karma) which clog the natural wisdom, knowledge, blissfulness, love, compassion and strength of the soul, and which excite us to unnatural action"³

¹ पुण्यं सत्कर्मपुद्गलाः ।—Haribhadra, *op cit*, v 49 पापं तद्विपरीतं तु . —*Ibid*, v 50

² निष्पन्नावाद्यास्तु हेतवः ।

यत्तैर्वन्मः स विज्ञेय आश्रयो जिनशासने ॥

संवरस्तत्रोपेतु धन्यो जीवस्य कर्मणः ।

अन्योन्यानुगमात्कर्मसम्बन्धो यो द्वयोरपि ॥—*Ibid*, vv 50-51

³ Warren, *op cit*, p 5 "The natural perfections of the pure soul are sullied by the different kinds of Karma matter. Those who obscure right knowledge of details (*Jñāna*) are called *Jñānāvaraniya*, those which obscure right perception (*Darśana*), as in sleep, are called *Darśanāvaraniya*, those which obscure the bliss-nature of the soul and thus produce pleasure and pain are *Vedanīya*, and those which obscure the right attitude of the soul towards faith and right conduct, *Mohanīya*"—Dasgupta, *op cit*, 1, pp 190-191. In addition to these four kinds of Karma there are other four kinds of Karma, which are called *Āyush-Karma*, *Nāma-Karma*, *Gotra Karma* and *Antarīya Karma*

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With all these handicaps in the form of Karmas none need be disappointed about his own spiritual growth. Though the Karmas of man are determining him in various ways, yet there is in him infinite capacity or power for right action (*Ananta-Vīrya*), so that Karma can never subdue this freedom and capacity though this may be suppressed from time to time by the influence of Karma. The Jaina *Sāstras* say that by means of a strict religious life and austerities all these Karmas can be destroyed, and the soul can ultimately achieve its natural state in *Moksha*. That is why Dr Buhler says: "The accusation that *Nātaputta* embraced fatalism must therefore be regarded as an invention and an outcome of sect hatred, as well as of the wish to throw discredit on their opponents."¹

Thus the purging of the Karmas, or rather their destruction, is called *Nirjarā*, and the utter annihilation of all Karmas or the complete freedom of the soul from Karmic matter is called *Moksha*.² Thus *Nirjarā* is possible by a change in the soul, or by reaping the effects of Karmas, or by penances before their time of fruition. When all the Karmas are destroyed *Moksha*, or liberation, is effected.³

From the above characteristics of these different categories one thing is clear—that they are in one way or the other connected with the soul until it obtains the final release from corporeal sufferance by deification through a perfect disengagement from both good and evil. It is due to this that *Jīva*, deluded by the Karmic forces, experiences ignorance, misery and wretchedness in this world. Such a revolving of *Jīva* in this phenomenal world is called *Samsāra*, and to get free from this *Samsāra*, which is the result of the delusion of the soul, is to achieve *Moksha*, or final emancipation. It is nothing extraneous to be obtained by *Jīva*, but it is merely its getting off from the clutches of Karmic fetters and achieving its own natural state.⁴

They determine respectively the duration of life, the character of our individuality, the family or the nationality, and the inborn energy which hinders or obstructs the progress or success of the soul

¹ Buhler, *op cit*, p. 32 Cf Jacobi, *I.A*, ix, pp 159-160

² बद्धस्य कर्मणः शादो यस्तु सा निर्जरा मता । आत्यन्तिको वियोगस्तु देहादेर्मोक्ष उच्यते ॥—Haribhadra, *op cit*, v. 52.

³ विपाकात्पक्षा वा कर्मपरिशादो कर्मात्मसंयोगध्वंसः निर्जरा ; कृत्स्नकर्मक्षयलक्षणः मोक्षः . — *Umāsvātivācaka, Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra* (ed Motilal Ladhaj), p 7, n.

⁴ आत्मनः स्वभावसमवस्थानम्.—*Ibid.* . . . स्वभावज्ञं सौख्यम् —Hemacandra, *Yoga-sāstra, Prakhāṣa* or chap xi, v. 61, p 1, MS, B.O.R.I.L, No 1315, of 1886-1892

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In short, *Moksha* is a state in which the soul is quite free from all Karmic forces. Karmās are like clouds to it, and when it gets absolved from them the perfectly pure spirit shines with all its lustre, like the open sun, and this is its *Moksha*. In this process there is nothing like any one thing taking the place of the other, but merely the obstructive agent is done away with. So when a bird gets free from its cage, what is meant is not putting anything else in the place of the cage, but only removing the cage, which acted as an obstruction to the freedom of the bird. Similarly when the soul achieves *Moksha* it merely experiences what potentially is its own craving and nothing new, by the utter destruction of all forces—all *Punya* and *Pāpa* Karmas. Thus when *Moksha* is achieved the pure and free *Ātmā* gets to its own natural state, liberated from the material body and its veils—that is to say, the absolved soul shines with all its refulgence, bliss, knowledge and power.

Having thus understood the source of all conditions of weal and woe the question that arises now is how to attain *Moksha*. Jainism seems to show a way out of the misery of life by proposing austerity, inward and outward, as the means. The way to *Nirvāṇa* is naturally revealed by Jina. It lies through the *Tri-Ratna*, or "the Three Jewels" of *Samyag-Darśana* (Right Belief), *Samyag-Jñāna* (Right Knowledge) and *Samyag-Cāritra* (Right Conduct).¹ Under a form at first sight perceptibly different we at once recognise here the *Tri-Ratna* of the Buddhists—viz. Buddha, the Law and the *Samgha*.²

The "Three Gems," which according to the Jainas result in the spirit's attainment of deliverance, form the fundamental basis of *Jaina Yoga*, which, says Hemacandra, is the cause of *Moksha* (Salvation).³ The first of these tells us that faith in Jina or in the *Tattvas* propounded by him is right belief.⁴ Its negative aspect is again scepticism of a kind which hampers all serious thought.

¹ सम्यग् दर्शनज्ञानचारित्र्ये मोक्षमार्गः.—Umāsvātīvacaka, *op cit*, chap 1, *sūti* 1. Cf. Haribhadra, *op cit*, v 58.

² Barth, *op cit*, p 147. "It is interesting to compare these Three Jewels with the Buddhist *Tri-Ratna*—Buddha, the Law and the Order, and with the Mohammedan *Triad*—Happiness (*Khera*), Mercy (*Mera*), Prayer (*Bandagi*), and again with the Pārsi *Triad*—Holy Mind, Holy Speech and Holy Deeds"—Stevenson (*airs*), *op cit*, p 247.

³ चतुर्वर्गे स्वयमीर्षो योगस्तस्य च कारयम् ॥ ज्ञानप्रज्ञानचारित्र्यरूपे रत्नत्रयं च स.—Hemacandra, *op cit*, chap 1, v 15, p 1.

⁴ तत्त्वार्थप्रज्ञानं सम्यग्दर्शनम्.—Umāsvātīvacaka, *op cit*, chap 1, *sūti* 2. The *Tattvas* referred to here are the *Nara-Tattvas* mentioned above. Haribhadra, *op cit*, p. 53.

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All that *Samyag-Darśana* wants to achieve is that "instead of being blighted by cold logic and cunning sophistry, or eaten away by the corrosion of scepticism, it may grow into the tree of knowledge and fructify into the world-blessing fruit of righteous conduct."¹ Thus the most important of the Three Jewels is *Samyag-Darśana*, because it saves us from the soul-emptying, puzzling void of scepticism. On the other hand, right knowledge enables us to examine in detail all that the mind has inculcated through convictions. In short it gives a right and clear insight into the same "*Tattvas*." Right knowledge is in fact knowledge of the Jaina creed or of the doctrines as laid down by Jina.² Briefly, the intellect helped by faith finally helps to lead to right conduct, which is the goal.

There may be right *Jñāna* and *Darśana*, but if they are not accompanied by *Cāritra* all is useless. Right conduct consists in the strict observance of all the precepts laid down by Jina, through which *Nirvāna* is attained. The goal being *Moksha*, naturally right conduct must be such as to keep the body down and lift the soul. Succinctly, it means giving up all sinful activities of the mind, speech and body.³

In practical life this practice of right conduct is divided into two broad divisions: *Sādhu-Cāritra*, or the conduct of a *Sādhu*, and *Grhastha-Cāritra*, or the conduct of a layman; but we shall not enter into all these details here. For our purpose, suffice it to say that naturally the rules for ascetics are stricter than those for laymen, and provide, as it were, a shorter, though harder, route to *Nirvāna*, which is the goal of the layman as well, but one which he reaches by a longer and slower process.

On the whole the rigour of Jaina discipline anticipates a great amount of strength of will and character before it can be easily taken up by anybody. Beginning with the five great vows of non-killing (*Ahimsā*), truth (*Satya*), non-stealing (*Asteya*), chastity

¹ Jami, *op cit*, p 54

² तत्त्वानां ।
अवबोधस्तमत्राहुः सम्प्रज्ञानं ॥

—Hemacandra, *op cit*, chap 1, v 16, p 1 The Jamas acknowledge five kinds of *Jñāna*, and mark with great precision the five degrees of knowledge that lead to Omniscience (1) *Matī-Jñāna* (sense-knowledge), (2) *Śruti-Jñāna* (testimony), (3) *Avadhī-Jñāna* (knowledge of the remote), (4) *Mana-Paryūya-Jñāna* (thought-reading), (5) *Kevala-Jñāna* (Omniscience)

³ सर्वसाधव्ययोगानां साग्यारिन्नमुच्यते —*Ibid*, chap 1, v. 18, p 2

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(*Brahmacarya*) and non-attachment (*Aparigraha*),¹ and the three-fold restraint of the mind, speech and body, Jaina discipline goes to the final stage of a man's spiritual career when he desires neither life nor death, and when he may take up the vow of *Anaśana*, which in a stricter sense means "fasting which precedes and ends with death."²

The whole Jaina discipline has been so minutely and exhaustively worked out that it would make a study by itself.³ We shall merely state here in brief all that we have already said about the Jaina view of life and salvation, and then pass on to some other salient features of Jainism. To sum up, in the words of Kundakundācārya :

"The soul which is the agent of its own Karma, and the enjoyer of the fruits thereof, as conditioned by its own Karma, gets blinded by the veil of ignorance and roams about in the world of *Samsāra*, which is limited for the faithful and unlimited for the unfaithful.

"Suppressing or annihilating the veil of ignorance which clouds the faculty of perception and will, well equipped with the Three Jewels, the undaunted pilgrim that has conquered the suffering and pain due to environment, beckoned by the ideal of self-knowledge wades through the paths and reaches the Divine city of Perfection."⁴

Thus when once the soul, overpowered with the four *Kasāyas* (passions)—anger, vanity, intrigue and greed—and the senses, and perforce kept away from its natural state by good and bad energies called *Karmas*, gets free from all such obstructive and foreign forces, it is said to enjoy all the attributes of God.⁵ "By the absence of Karma, Omniscient and embracing the whole world in its view, it attains undisturbable, supersensual and infinite bliss"⁶ Really speaking such a soul puts forward the ideal of God in the

¹ अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयब्रह्मचर्योपनिग्रहः । . विमुक्तये ॥—Hemacandra, *op cit*, chap 1, v. 19,

p 2

² मरणाकाले य क्षणसत्या—*Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, chap xxx, v 9

³ "The value of Jaina philosophy lies not only in the fact that it, unlike Hinduism, has co-related ethical teaching with its metaphysical system but also in the amazing knowledge of human nature which its ethics display"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 128

⁴ Kundakundācārya, *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, S.B.J, II, 75-76

⁵ "In a word, believers in the creation theory make God a man, bring him down to the level of need and imperfection, whereas Jainism raises man to Godhood and inspires him to reach as near Godhood as possible by steady faith, right perfection, right knowledge, and above all, a spotless life"—Jaini, *op cit*, p 5

⁶ Kundakundācārya, *op cit*, v 151 (trans Jaini, *op cit*, p 77)

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Jaina church.¹ and once it has reached these heights it has never to fall. Says Umāsvāti :

दग्धे बीजे यथाज्यनं प्रादुर्भवति नादुरः ।
कर्मबीजे तथा दग्धे न रोहति भवादुरः ॥

"Just as when a seed is totally burnt, no sprout comes forth, so also when the seed in the form of Karma is burnt, there is no more worldly existence."²

Thus, "though there is no such being distinct from the world called God, yet certain of the elements of the world when properly developed obtain deification. God is only the highest, noblest and fullest manifestation of the powers which lie latent in the soul of man."³

It may not be out of place to remark that among such omniscient souls some are called Tīrthankaras because of the presence of the Karma called *Nāma-Karma*,⁴ and whose one distinctive mark is their own natural awakening without anybody preaching to them, and who in their embodied condition preached and propounded the truth. The others are mere *Kevalins*, or *Sāmānya-Siddhas*, who are disembodied, steady and bliss-unending.⁵ The Tīrthankaras with their unique godliness propound divinity and with their extraordinary supernatural beauty, power, glory and lustre leave an everlasting impression over the world.

Really speaking Tīrthankara is a peculiar term of Jainism. It is very often used to denote one who forms the *Caturvidha-Saṅgha* (the fourfold order) of monks, nuns and male and female lay-followers, but, rightly speaking, a Tīrthankara is he who sheds spiritual rays which bathe the ocean of this phenomenal world in a pure light, and it is through this that one is enabled to reach the heights of spiritual well-being. These Tīrthankaras, by endowing fresh vigour, and giving new light and revival to *Dharma*, bless the world and leave it ahead of all previous ages.⁶ It is natural

¹ कर्मक्षयस्य करणेन भवतोऽप्यरो न पुनर्निवृत्तः कश्चिदेकः सनातन ईश्वरः ।—Vijayadharmaśūtri, *op cit*, p 150.

² Umāsvātivācaka, *op cit*, chap x, *sūti* 8, p 201. अकर्मकोभूतः परमात्मा न पुनः कर्मवानर्हेति भवितुम् मुक्तिं प्राप्य न पुनरप्युत्पत्तारः . . —Vijayadharmaśūtri, *op and loc cit*.

³ Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, 1, p 331

⁴ Just as the Karma called *Gotra-Karma* came in the way of Mahāvīra's being born to a *Kṣhatryājñi* so we get here *Nāma-Karma* तीर्थंकरनामसङ्गं न यस्य कर्मोस्ति — Hemacandra, *op cit*, chap xi, v 48, p 30.

⁵ Cf Jaini, *op cit*, p 2

⁶ "When a new Tīrthankara rises, the followers of the preceding ones follow him, as the followers of Pārśva followed Mahāvīra"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 241

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that none else than the one who has rightly subdued all the good or bad forces that surround the soul can attain heights, and as a mark of their great victory all Tirthankaras are called Jinās, or Victors. "The soul which has perfect perception, perfect knowledge, infinite bliss and infinite power," says Yogendrācārya, "is a perfect saint, and being self-manifested, is known as *Jina-Deva* (or the divine conqueror)." ¹ All these omniscient souls, after their span of life on this earth is over, reach final emancipation or *Moksha*.² Thus *Nirvāna* or the final liberation of the Jainas is a state of being, without qualities and relation, and remote from all chances of rebirth. Like the Buddhists, it is not an escape into *Nirvāna* or nothingness ³ It is an escape from the body though not from existence "It is not the fact of existence which is the evil in the eyes of the Jainas; it is life which is bad" ⁴ The body being separated from the soul, the animate being gains freedom from the trammels of the successive series of existences, and thus *Nirvāna* is not the annihilation of the soul but its entry into a state of blessedness which has no end. "(The liberated) is not long or small . . . ; not black nor blue . . . ; not bitter nor pungent . . . ; is without body, without resurrection, without contact (of matter), is not feminine nor masculine nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy (whereby to know the nature of the liberated soul); its essence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned." ⁵

Coming to some of the prominent features of Jainism, the first thing that would strike us most is the ideal of *Ahimsā* as propounded by it. Kundakundācārya states that "*Jīva* is conscious, formless, characterised by *Upayoga*, attached to Karma, the Lord, the agent, the enjoyer (of the fruits of Karma), the pervader of bodies (large or small); that which goes upward to the end of

¹ Cf. Jains, *op cit*, p. 78

² As a matter of detail we may observe that the Digambara sect of the Jainas agrees with the Buddhists in maintaining that no woman has the capacity of attaining *Nirvāna*. To the Digambaras, before she can ever reach *Moksha* she has to undergo rebirth as a man, while to the Śvētāmbaras the path of *Moksha* is open to all, whether man or woman. *सन्नि स्त्रीनिर्वाण पुनर्* (Like man there is *Nirvāna* for woman), says Śākatāyanīcārya in his "स्त्रीभुक्ति-कैवल्यभुक्तिप्रकरणसुम्भम्."—Cf. *J.S.S.*, II, Nos 3-4, Appendix 2, v. 2

³ "Buddhists . . . seem . . . to use their common word *Nirvāna* as connoting extinction not only of desire, with which the Jainas would agree, but also of the soul itself, which they would indignantly deny"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 172

⁴ Barth, *op cit*, p. 147

⁵ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, vol. I, p. 52

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Loka, being free from the impurity of Karma.”¹ Life to the Jainas is universally the same, and it is governed by the same immutable law of cause and effect. Not only is man endowed with *Jīva*, but also all creatures, including plants, animals, birds, insects; and even atomic and invisible beings, like the smallest particles of the elements of the earth, the fire, the water and the wind are endowed with the soul (*Jīva*). This hylozoistic theory, as Jacobi calls it, is an important characteristic of the Jainas, and “pervades their whole philosophic system and code of morals.”² It is quite different from the animistic belief in the existence of spirits in stones, trees and running brooks.³ The latter had to be propitiated with bloody sacrifices, destroying other forms of precious life, but according to the Jainas life in all its forms is sacred, and as it moves towards the same goal it is not to be disturbed or disintegrated by any kind of violence. This is the rationale or psychology underlying perhaps by far the most dominating characteristic of Jainism—viz the principle of *Ahimsā*.⁴

Ahimsā, as defined by Hemacandra, is as follows :

न यत्प्रमादयोगेन जीवितव्यपरोषणम् ।
व्रतानां स्यावराणां च तदहिंसाव्रतं मतम् ॥

“Not to destroy life, either five-, four-, three-, or two-sensed or immovable (i.e. one-sensed), even through carelessness is considered as keeping the vow of non-killing.”⁵

The implications of this doctrine are perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in a story contained in Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra*. It is related therein that in the days of King Śrenika there was a butcher named Kālasaukarika who was known for his cruelty. He had a son named Sulasa, who was a great devotee of Lord Mahāvīra, and hence on grounds of religion he was on good terms with Abhayakumāra, the son of the King Śrenika. This butcher's mentality was so wild and fierce that it had become more or less impossible to win him over to the *Ahimsā* of the Jainas. Śrenika being a staunch follower of Mahāvīra was very much worried at

¹ Kundakundīcārya, *S.B.J.*, III, 27; cf. *Dravyasamgraha*, *S.B.J.*, I, pp. 6-7.

² Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Int., p. XXXIII.

³ The animistic belief that nearly everything is possessed of a soul proves that Jainism is older than Mahāvīra and Buddha. This must have appeared at a very early time when higher forms of religious beliefs and cults had not yet, more generally, taken hold of the Indian mind. Cf. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, xlv, Int., p. XXXIII.

⁴ Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 53.

⁵ Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, chap. I, v. 20, p. 2 (For trans. see Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 234).

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this, and so being actuated with a high sense of duty he told the butcher :

शूनां विमुच्य यत् ।
दत्त्येहमर्थमर्थस्य लोभाद्वदति सौनिकः ॥

“ If you leave your profession, I shall bestow wealth on you, for it is through greed of wealth that you are a butcher.”

This request on the part of the king had no effect on Kāla-saukarika. With all high-mindedness he replied :

शूनायां ननु को दोषो मया जीयन्ति मानवा ।
तौ न जानुं स्वर्गमीति . ॥

“ What harm is there in butchery by which human beings subsist ? I am not going to leave it.”

Thus when the king saw that there was no way open to him he put him into a dark well, where he was left hanging the whole night; but even there the butcher's mentality led him to draw figures of animals on the wall of the well and destroy them then and there. After this he caught some dangerous disease and went to hell

Just after the death of his father Sulasa's relatives gathered around him and tried to persuade him to continue the family profession, but he told them {“ As life is dear to me so also is the case with other animals, and having seen such fruits who would be prepared to live by killing ? ” } > All this had little or no effect on Sulasa's relatives, and they even showed their readiness to share the fruits of his life. (Then Sulasa, pretending to kill a buffalo, gave a stroke with his father's axe on his leg and fell senseless on the ground. After a short time he regained consciousness and addressed his relatives .

... वन्द्यो यूय विभज्य मन वेदनाम् । “ . . . Relatives ! You (now) share my pain,” but they could do nothing more than merely console him. Then he again told them, as if reminding them of their original promise :

... अयमिदमतीवपि । न मे ग्रहीतुमीक्षिष्वे तत्कथं नरकचयात् ॥ “ If you cannot take this much misery how can you the miseries of hell ? ” Thus Sulasa won over his relatives to his way of thinking, and having taken the twelve vows of the Jainas went to heaven.¹

¹ Hemacandra, *Yogasāstra* (with his own commentary), chap II, v 30, pp 91-95 Very often heaven is taken to mean *Moksha*, but it is not so. To the Jainas *Moksha* is that stage from which the soul has never to return. According to Jainism there is a limit to life in heaven, but when the soul reaches *Moksha* it enjoys bliss for ever

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The moral of this story is obvious. It illustrates the extreme insistence of the Jainas on the principle of *Ahimsā*, no less than the theory of Karma. "Viler than unbelievers," says the *Yogaśāstra*, quoting the law of Manu to the effect that animals may be slain for sacrifice, "are those cruel ones who make the law that teaches killing."¹

In their practical life also the respect of the Jainas for everything that has life is surprising, looking to the hurry and worry of this workaday world of ours. Whatever criticism we desire to offer about Jainism as it is in practice, there is no denying the fact that the great ideal of *Ahimsā* of the Jainas was actuated by feelings of love and friendship towards all beings, and hence for our purpose suffice it to make a mere statement of facts, and a few remarks based on them. To a *Sādhu* the rule of wounding nothing means that he must carry three articles with him—a straining-cloth for his drinking-water, a broom, and a veil before his mouth lest he might unconsciously swallow or crush any invisible animalcule. "This duty also necessitates the ascetic to pluck in the most painful manner his hair, which, according to the original custom, he must do away with at his consecration—a peculiar custom of the Jainas, which is not found among the other penitents of India."²

Even so, for fear of outraging the vow of *Ahimsā*, a layman also observes so many precautions in daily life; but something which is rather striking is not to eat and, if possible, not to drink after sunset, that he might not swallow insects through mistake; and hence says Hemacandra: "Who would take food at night when human beings because of their eyesight being obstructed by deep darkness cannot see the insects falling in the eatables?"³ Looking to all these practices it is clear that "no Hindu sect has carried *Ahimsā* farther—i.e. respect for and abstinence from everything that has life."⁴

In spite of all this rigidity of practical details, there is nothing to warrant the conclusion that Jainism, literally obeyed, cannot hold the world together, but would lead nations to subjection, inaction and beggary. "It is only prejudice and garbled accounts of Jainism that have led to its being misunderstood. 'Do your duty. Do it as humanly as you can.' This, in brief, is the primary

¹ Cf Hopkins, *op cit*, p 288

² Buhler, *op cit*, p 15

³ Hemacandra, *op cit*, MS, chap III, v 49, p 8.

⁴ Barth, *op. cit*, p 145.

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precept of Jainism. Not-killing cannot interfere with one's duties" ¹ The *Jaina Ahimsā* is not the *Ahimsā* of a weakling but that of a brave soul which is or wants to be above all the evil forces of this world. Hemacandra rightly based it on the maxim: "Look upon other beings as you would look upon yourself." ² An instance from the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* amply illustrates the Jaina attitude towards the poorest, the lowliest and the lost.

Harikeśa was a *Śvapāka* or *Cāndāla*. He became a great sage, possessed of the highest virtues, with his senses wholly subdued. Once when on his begging tours he approached the enclosure of a Brahmanical sacrifice, and observed :

"O Brāhmanas, why do you tend the fire, and seek external purity by water? The clever ones say that external purity, which you seek for, is not the right thing.

"You (use) Kuśa-grass, sacrificial poles, straw and wood, you touch water in the evening and in the morning; thereby you injure living beings, and in your ignorance you commit sins again and again

"The law is my pond, celibacy my bathing-place, which is not turbid, and throughout clear for the soul; penance is my fireplace; right exertion is my sacrificial ladle; the body the dried cowdung; Karma is my fuel; self-control, right exertion and tranquillity are the oblations, praised by the sages, which I offer."

Small wonder then that the *Uttarādhyayana* proclaims "The value of penance has become visible, birth appears of no value! Look at the holy Harikeśa, the son of a *Śvapāka*, whose power is so great." ³

This illustration also serves to indicate some of the moral virtues sought to be inculcated by the early Janas. Really speaking, the characteristic feature of this religion is its claim to universality, and at its back is that great and glorious ideal of *Ahimsā*, which puts before its saviours not the ideal of a hermit striving to secure his own redemption, but the ideal of a monk, enrolled in a brotherhood, and striving to save others. "It . . . declares its object to be to lead all men to salvation and to open its arms—not only to the noble Āryan, but also to the low-

¹ Jains, *op cit*, p 72

² *आत्मनः सर्वभूतसु* —Hemacandra, *op cit*, chap 11, v. 20, p. 3

³ Jacobi, *S B L*, v. 1, pp 50-56

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born *Sūdra*, and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the *Mlecha*.”¹

Besides this cosmopolitan spirit of freely admitting any class of lay adherents into its fold, and thus to communion,² the feeling with which a Jaina is to look towards other faiths is itself creditable. It shows to what extent Jainism was careful not to injure the feelings of others. Even Mrs Stevenson has to say: “One of the unique glories of Jainism is that it, unlike most Indian-born religions, believes in the possibility of aliens reaching its goal.”³ This catholic attitude of respect for others is a characteristic of some of the brightest luminaries of the Jaina church. Haribhadra begins his section on the Jainas in the *Saddarsana Samuccaya* with the words :

(यक्षपातो न मे वीरे न द्वेषः कपिलादिषु ।
युक्तिमद्वचनं यस्य तस्य कार्यैः परिग्रहः ॥)

“Neither have I any partiality towards Vira, nor do I hate Kapila and others. Whose word is proper his conclusion should be accepted.”⁴

In addition to this greatly democratic constitution of the Jainas the ideal of *Ahimsā* has also nourished and given due prominence to the discipline of confession within the Jaina church. *Himsā* or injury to a certain extent is inevitable in human life, and hence a daily confession and a day-to-day consciousness of sins or wrongs committed during the course of the day is a necessity for the ultimate goal to be achieved. This may not be called the unique feature of Jainism, but in the Jaina church the prominence given to it is no doubt unique. *Sāmāyika* and *Pratikramana*, the two disciplines which have directly resulted from it, play a very

¹ Buhler, *op cit*, p 3 “The Jaina community is only divided into *Yats* and *Srāvakas*, and if in any part of India, the Jainas practically recognise the distinctions of caste, it is just the same with the Christians and Mahomedans of Southern India, and even with the Buddhists of Ceylon. This has nothing to do with the religion, it is only the adoption of social distinctions, which are rooted too deeply in the mind of the Indian nation to be abolished by the word of a religious reformer.”—Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int, p 4

² “Hsueh Tsiang’s notes on the appearance of Nigrantha or Digambara in Kapiśi (Beal, *Si-Yu-ki*, 1, p 55) point apparently to the fact that they had, in the North West at least, spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India.”—Buhler, *op cit*, p 4

³ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 248

⁴ Haribhadra, *op cit*, p 89, see also

भवयोजितुंजनना रागाद्याः क्षयमुपायता यस्य ।

व्रथा वा विद्युर्वा, हरो विनो वा नमस्तस्मै ॥

—Hemacandra, *Mahādevastotra*, v 44.

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important part in the lives of both the clergy and the laity. The *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* of Sudharma goes to the extent of saying: "That is real knowledge which begins with *Sāmāyika* and ends with *Bindusāra* (the fourteenth *Pūrva*) The result of this is Right Conduct and the result of *Cāritra* is *Nirvāna*."¹

The vow of *Sāmāyika*, by observing which one gets equanimity of the soul, lays it down that at least forty-eight minutes in a day must be given to meditation.² The most essential portion of which—*Kareṃ Bhante*, etc,—may be translated thus:

"O Lord! I do *Sāmāyika*. I renounce all sinful activities. Till I live, with mind, speech and body, neither will I do nor will I make others do them. For that (sin) O Lord! I revert from them; I condemn them in the presence of my spirit and preceptor, and I vow to keep my soul free from such actions."³

These were the very words uttered by Lord Mahāvīra just after he was consecrated as a *Sādhu*.⁴ One of the definitions offered of *Sāmāyika* in the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* commented upon by Haribhadra is roughly as follows:

"He has rightly undergone the vow of *Sāmāyika* who has attained the attitude of equality, which makes him look at all kinds of living beings as he looks towards himself.⁵ No kind of asceticism (*Tapas*) can be of any good so long as attachment and antipathy (*Rāga* and *Dvesha*) do not leave the soul. It is only when a man learns to look upon all living beings with equality (*Samatva*) that he can effect such a conquest over *Rāga* and *Dvesha*."⁶

Coming to *Padāḥkamanam*, or Sanskrit *Pratikramana*, we find herein a frank confession of sins and a sincere desire for their forgiveness. It is repentance for faults that already attach to the soul. "When engaging in *Pratikramana*—i.e. confession—Jains think of the sins that they may have committed against any being possessing any *Indriya* and ask forgiveness. At this time they also think of any germs which they may have created by sinning

¹ सामादयमाईय ।

निश्चय ॥—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, v 98, p 69

² Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 215

³ करेम भन्ते ! . योसिरामि—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 454

⁴ कृतपद्मनीष्टिकलोचो भगवान् . . . "करेम सामादयस् . ." उच्चरति.—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhah-Tīkā*, p 90 Cf *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 281

⁵ यः 'समः' सद्यस्सः, सात्मानमिव परं , 'सर्वभूतेषु' . . , तस्य सामायिकं भवति.
—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 329

⁶ Cf. Dasgupta, *op cit*, i, p 201

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against the laws of sanitation . . . etc.”¹ This is the natural outcome of a teaching that encourages civic and philanthropic virtues born out of the principle of *Ahiṃsā*, which in its active form means helping humanity in its struggle for emancipation. Moreover the social organisation of the Jains is so designed as to carry out in practice the ideals briefly indicated above.

We shall now pass on to a characteristic feature of Jaina philosophy which has been considered as the distinct contribution of the Jains to Indian logic. It is common with all religions to insist upon and provide for perfect knowledge. Every religion tries to teach man to go beyond the phenomenon. Jainism does the same, but with this difference, that it does not recognise the real from a restricted point of view.

For this attainment of perfect knowledge Jainism has a philosophy of its own, and this is known as the doctrine of *Syādvāda* or *Anekāntavāda* of the Jains. “The doctrine of *Nayas* or stand-points is a peculiar feature of the Jaina logic.”² We have already seen that the Jaina metaphysics starts with a dualistic division of the universe into *Jīva* and *Ajīva*, and that in them lies the *Tripadī*³ of *Utpāda*, *Vyaya* and *Dhruva*, respectively meaning Origination, Destruction and Permanence. Here Origination means no new creation, because to the Jaina mind the whole universe of being has existed from all eternity. This *Guna* of Origination (*Utpāda*) is just to show that in a permanent universe—permanent meaning having no origin—there is always origination of its modes of manifestations.⁴ Thus everything that is *Sat*, or the conception of being to the Jaina mind, is neither the absolutely unchangeable, nor the momentary changing qualities or existences, but involves them both. “Being then, as is testified by experience, is that which involves a permanent unit, which is incessantly every moment losing some qualities and gaining new ones.”⁵ This is, in short, the theory of Indefiniteness (*Anekāntavāda*),⁶ or “what we may

¹ Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 101.

² Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 298

³ वस्तुतत्त्वं चोत्पादव्ययमव्ययम् . . . —Hemacandra, *Syādvādamāñjarī*, p. 168. Cf. *ibid.*, vv. 21-22.

येनोत्पादव्ययमव्ययमुक्तं यत्तत्तदित्यते ।

अनन्तधर्मकं वस्तु तेनोक्तं मानगोचरः ॥

—Haribhadra, *op. cit.*, v. 57.

⁴ Cf. Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23

⁵ Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 175

⁶ तत्त्वं . . . जीवाजीविलक्षणम्, अनन्तधर्मकमेव . —Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

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call the relative pluralism of the Jainas as against the extreme absolutism of the *Upanishads* and pluralism of the Buddhists.”¹ It is on this that the *Syādvāda* dialectics of the Jainas are based. “On these premises it is obvious that concerning a given *Padārtha* we can make, from a divergent point of view, different, apparently contradictory, statements”²

The innumerable qualities of a thing cannot be predicated in one statement, but they are all implied by any statement which predicates one of the qualities of a thing. Everything has to be considered in four different aspects: the matter (*Dravya*), space (*Kshetra*), time (*Kāla*), and nature (*Bhāva*). This is why “the doctrine of *Syādvāda* holds that since the most contrary characteristics of infinite variety may be associated with a thing, affirmation, made from whatever standpoint (*Naya*), cannot be regarded as absolute.”³ Thus to observe a thing in its various aspects from different points of view is what is meant by *Syādvāda*. “It is the method of knowing or speaking of a thing synthetically.”⁴

Very often *Syādvāda* has been described as the doctrine of scepticism,⁵ but it is more correct to call it the science of “the assertion of alternative possibilities.”⁶ “The *Syādvāda* doctrine,” says A. B. Dhruva, “is not a doctrine of doubt. It enables a man to look at things with a wide and liberal view. It teaches us how and in what manner to look at things of this universe.”⁷ It neither affirms nor denies the existence of a thing,⁸ but only states that a thing is or is not, or is what is described to be from one out of several points of view with which reality might be comprehended. “The dynamic character of reality consists only with relative or conditional predication. It does not deny the possibility of predication

¹ Dasgupta, *op cit*, I, p 175, नैकानि मानानि . . अनेकमान इति.—*Vīśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣyam*, v. 2186, p 895

² Belvalkar, *op cit*, p 112

³ Dasgupta, *op. cit*, p 179

⁴ Warren, *op cit*, p 20

⁵ Cf Hultsch, *EI*, vii, p 118 “In contrast to the Nihilistic Buddhist, the Jaina assumes a doubtful attitude, so that he is termed the ‘may-be philosopher,’ *Syādvādin*, in opposition to the Buddhist, the philosopher of ‘the void’”—Hopkins, *op cit*, p 291

⁶ Cf Fleet, *JA*, vii, p 107. “The view is called *Syādvāda*, since it holds all knowledge to be only probable. Every position gives us only a perhaps, a maybe, or a *Syā*. We cannot confirm or deny anything absolutely of any object. There is nothing certain on account of the endless complexity of things”—Radhakrishnan, *op cit*, I, p 802

⁷ Kannoornal, *Saptabhaṅgi-Naya*, Int, p 8

⁸ उपाधिभेदोपहिते विरुद्ध

नायैकस्य सद्वाच्यते च ।

—Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 24, p. 194.

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Every proposition is true, but only under certain conditions—i.e. hypothetically. There is nothing certain on account of the endless complexity of things. It is the use in seven different ways of judgment which affirm and negate, severally and jointly, without self-contradiction, thus discriminating the several qualities.”¹ Answering the seven questions from the seven points of view is called *Saptabhāṅgi-Naya*, or Pluralistic arguments. This philosophical doctrine is very abstruse and recondite. It is highly technical, and we cannot do better than produce the following exposition of it :

“The great contention of the *Advaitins* was that there is only one really existing entity, the *Ātman*, the-One-only without-a-second (*Ekamevādvyūṭyam*), and that this is permanent (*Nitya*), all else being non-existent (*A-sat*), a mere illusion. Hence it was called the *Ātma-vāda*, *Eka-vāda* or *Nitya-vāda*. Their stock argument was that just as there are no such entities as cup, jar, etc.—these being only *clay* under various names and shapes—so all the phenomena of the universe are only various manifestations of the sole entity, *Ātman*. The Buddhists on the other hand said that man had no real knowledge of any such permanent entity; it was pure speculation, man’s knowledge being confined to changing phenomena—growth, decay and death. Their doctrine was therefore called *Anitya-vāda*. Clay as a substance may be permanent, but as a jar it is impermanent—may come into existence and perish. In other words, being is not simple, as *Advaitins* assert, but complex; and any statement about it is only part of the truth. The various possibilities were classed under seven heads (*Sapta-bhaṅgi*), each beginning with the word *Syāt*, which is combined with one or more of these terms: *Asti* (‘is’), *Nāsti* (‘is not’), and *Avaktavya* (‘cannot be expressed’). Thus you can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (*Syāt-asti*), deny it from another (*Syāt-nāsti*), and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (*Syāt-asti-nāsti*). If you should think of affirming both existence and non-existence at the same time from the same point of view, you must say that the thing cannot be spoken of (*Syāt-avaktavyah*). Similarly, under certain circumstances, the affirmation of existence is not possible (*Syāt-asti-avaktavyah*); and also both (*Syāt-asti-nāsti-avaktavyah*). What

¹ Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, 1., p. 302; स्यादादौ हि सापेक्षसचैकस्मिन् . सद्रस-
निरासितत्वाद्यनेकपक्षोपपत्तयः ॥—Vijayadharmaśūri, *op. cit.*, p. 151

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is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything. It may exist in one place and not in another, and at one time and not at another.”¹

“The solution of Jainism is thus a reconciliation of the two extremes of Vedāntism and Buddhism on grounds of common-sense experience.”² Both Jacobi and Belvalkar take it as in opposition to the agnosticism of Sañjaya Belāththiputta: “Whereas Sañjaya had said, ‘I cannot say if it is, and I cannot say if it is not,’ Mahāvīra declared, ‘I can say that the thing in a sense is, and I can say that the thing in a sense is not.’”³

In short, *Syādvāda* is a unique feature of the Jaina philosophy. No better example of the clarity, subtlety and profundity of the Jaina intellect could be given than this. Mahāvīra might be safely credited with the invention of this part of the Jaina dialectics.⁴ The earliest mention of this in the Jaina canonical literature according to Dasgupta “probably occurs in Bhadrabāhu’s (433-357 B C) commentary of *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-Niryukti*.”⁵ This statement on the part of the learned scholar is based on the authority of the late Dr Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana,⁶ who has used the following verse of the *Niryukti* as the basis of his inference :

असिक्तस्य किरियाण
अकिरियाण च होइ चुल्लोहोही ।
अन्नपिप सत्तुही
वेणुदयाणं च बहोसा ॥

“180 of the *Kriyāvāda*, 84 of the *Akriyāvāda*, 67 of the *Ajñānavāda* and 32 are of *Vaināyikavāda*.”⁷

It seems from this that the late doctor was under a wrong impression that the above verse of the *Niryukti* contained a reference to *Saptabhāṅgi-Naya*. As a matter of fact we get here an enumeration of the three hundred and sixty-three divisions of the four heretical creeds believed by the Jainas.⁸ Really speaking, in

¹ Cf. Bhandarkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS*, 1883-1884, pp 95-96, Rice (E F), *Kanarese Literature*, pp 23-24

² Dasgupta, *op cit*, 1, p 173.

³ Belvalkar, *op cit*, p 114 Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.L.*, xlv, p xcvi, Belvalkar and Ranade, *op cit*, pp 433 n, 454 ff

⁴ Cf. Belvalkar, *op cit*, p 114

⁵ Dasgupta, *op cit*, 1, p 181, n 1

⁶ Vidyabhushana, *History of the Medietal School of Indian Logic*, p 8, *History of Indian Logic*, p 167

⁷ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (Āgamodaya Samiti), v 119, p 200

⁸ Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xcvi; *ibid*, pp 315 ff

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our opinion the earliest mention of the *Seven-Nayas* and of the *Syādvāda* philosophy of the Jains lies in the *Sthānāṅga*, the *Bhagavati* and the other canonical books of the Jains.¹ Finally, to quote Lala Kannoomal. "The philosophers teaching this doctrine have written voluminous works to explain and expound its truth, to explain its subtleties. If this method of thinking is adopted in looking at the various religious tenets and philosophical creeds prevailing in India, which appear to be mutually conflicting, occasioning considerable differences of opinions, a perceptible change towards the reconciliation might occur."²

If *Ahimsā* may be generalised as the fundamental ethical virtue of Jainism,³ *Syādvāda* may be described as the central and unique feature of Jaina metaphysics, and the explicit denial of the possibility of a perfect being from all eternity with the message of "Man! thou art thine own friend," as the centre round which circles the Jaina ritual. All this combined with the ideal of *Ahimsā* teaches :

He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast,
He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small;

(COLERIDGE)

and that is why a Jaina always says :

खामेति सद्यश्चिचे, सद्ये ज्ञीवा खमंतु मे ।
मेत्ती मे सद्यभूयसु, चेरे मज्झं न केणइ ॥

"I forgive all souls ; let all souls forgive me. I am on friendly terms with all ; I have no enmity with anybody."⁴

Now to misunderstand or to misinterpret any of these features is to deliberately judge in a wrong way what is properly called Jainism. Let us be candid then, and concede that Mahāvīra's ideals were lofty and holy, and that his message of equality of mankind and of all living beings proclaimed to the caste-stricken and Yagna-ridden people of India was large-hearted and benevolent.

¹ *Sthānāṅga* (Āgamodaya Samiti), p 390, *sūl* 552; *Bhagavati* (Āgamodaya Samiti), *sūl*. 469, p 592. For further references see Sukhlal and Becherdas, *Sammattārka* of Siddhasena, iii., p 441, n 10

² Kannoomal, *op cit.*, Int, p 7.

³ Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p 200

⁴ *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p 768

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IV

With these few words about the reformed church of Mahāvīra we shall now very briefly deal with some of the most important schisms in the Jaina church. And we shall in conclusion place a few considerations before the reader as to how the Jaina community could manage to survive all these insurrections in the *Samgha* of Lord Mahāvīra.

As usual with the life of all prophets and reformers unfortunately the church of Mahāvīra had also to face in its own days and afterwards a group of heterodox teachers, including those that are known to the Jainas as the seven *Ninhagas*—Sanskrit *Ninhavas*¹—meaning those who propound something else than what the Jina has meant. The seven *Ninhavas* are Jamālī, Tisagutta, Āsāḍha, Aśvamitra, Ganga, Chalue, and Goshtāmāhla². Of these the most prominent and also the most dangerous rival of Mahāvīra was Gośāla Mankhaliputta—who is evidently identical with Mankhalī Gośālo mentioned in the Pāli *Sūtras* as one of the “six heretical teachers” and opponents of Lord Buddha³. Little is known about him and about the sect of the Ājīvika of which he was the founder. We are practically in the dark “regarding the doctrines and practices of that ascetic community, which would seem to have, at one time, rivalled in numbers and importance the two still existing great communities of the Buddhists and Jainas.”⁴ After Gośāla we may just mention Jamālī, the son-in-law of Mahāvīra, Tisagutta, a holy man in the community, and others⁵.

Gośāla first met Mahāvīra at Rājagṛha, and there he at once became his disciple. He was called Gośāla because he was born in a cowshed.⁶ His father was a mendicant friar, and all these

¹ चहुय . . . । सत्तेय णिण्हगा . . . चहुयणस — *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, v 778, p. 311, चप समनिहवसकणे . . . लिखते — *Merutunga, Vicāraśreṇi*, J S S, II, Nos 3-4, Appendix, pp 11-12

² *Bhagavati-Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti), II, pp 410-430

³ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., p 1.

⁴ Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-Dasā*, II, Int., p 11. Cf Buhler, *I.A.*, xx, p 362

⁵ “In the fourteenth year of Mahāvīra’s office as a prophet his nephew and son-in-law, Jamālī, headed an opposition against him, and similarly, two years afterwards, a holy man in the community, named Tisagutta, made an attack. Both these merely concerned trifles. Jamālī, however, persisted in his heretical opinions till his death.”—Charpentier, *CH I*, I, p. 163

⁶ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, p 102. “Gośāla, son of a professional mendicant, Mankhalī, and his wife Bhaddā. He saw the light of day in the cowshed of the wealthy Brahmana Gobhula at Sāvattthī.” *Sūtra* (Banerji), *J B O R S*, III, p 55

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circumstances combined to show the humble origin of the founder of the community of religious mendicants called the Ājīvikas.¹ "In the seventh *Āṅga* . . . a man, Saddala-putta, is said to have been received by Gośāla into the Ājīvika community, and the *Bhagavati-Sūtra*, the fifth *Āṅga*, gives us an account of the life of Gośāla as the acknowledged head of the community. Though the Buddhist scriptures . . . also frequently mention Gośāla Maṅkhali-putta as one of the leaders of the six religious mendicant communities whom Buddha singles out for special animadversion, they never explicitly connect him with the Ājīvikas, or state that he was their leader. But that on this point the Buddhist tradition did not really differ from the Jaina is shown by the fact that both attribute to him the holding of the religio-philosophical doctrine of the negation of the free-will and moral responsibility."²

We have already seen that the period under consideration—when the religious life of ancient India was undergoing such radical change—is the rationalistic age of our history. It is the formative period which produced great individual philosophers like Gośāla Maṅkhaliputta, Sañjaya Belāttaputta, and others. Really speaking, India was then passing through a period of such religious enthusiasm that ". . . we must emphasise the fact that philosophy in this period not only ceased to be a purely academic or ritualistic affair divorced from life and conduct; . . . it developed strong and eccentric personalities and introduced all manner of strange practices and penances. . . . It must be put to the credit of these 'heretic' free-thinkers that they brought philosophy into the open and compelled it to concern itself with the daily life and conduct of the people. Thus of the sect of the Ājīvikas to which Maṅkhali Gośāla belonged we read—'They discard all clothing; they dispense with all decent habits; they lick their food out of their hands. . . . They will not eat fish or flesh nor drink liquor or gruel. Some of them beg at one house and accept but one handful of food, others at two or seven. Some take food only once a day, others once in two days, others once in seven days, others once in every half-month.' And this was by no means an isolated or exceptional case. It would seem as if a sort of premium was set upon boldness and

¹ The name "Ājīvikas," it appears, was originally meant to stigmatise Gośāla and his followers as "professionals," though no doubt in later times, when it became the distinctive name of a mendicant order, it has no longer that offensive meaning—Hoernle, *E.R.E.*, i, p 259

² *Ibid.*

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originality of conception and independence and eccentricity of practice." ¹

Thus it is clear that in Gośāla Mahāvīra had one who was not only not an asset or a source of strength to his *Samgha*, but had one who acted as a great obstruction to the progress of the Jama church in the early days of its reformation, and this comparatively strengthened the position of the Buddhists, and gave a severe blow to the rising influence of Mahāvīra.² So the consequences of this meeting of Mahāvīra and Gośāla were certainly disastrous for both the teacher and the disciple. "The two men were so different in character and temper that after six years, owing to the insincerity and trickery of Gośāla, the companionship was dissolved" ³

Having separated from his master, Gośāla made his headquarters in the house of a potter-woman at Śrāvastī, and seems to have gained considerable influence there.⁴ Soon after his separation from Mahāvīra he proclaimed that he had attained to the highest stage of saintship, that of a Jina. "This claim was put forth two years before Mahāvīra himself had reached his perfect enlightenment."⁵ But according to the Jaina tradition it is only in the fourteenth year of his career as a prophet that Mahāvīra happened to visit Śrāvastī, and there for the first time he seems to have seen Gośāla in the last days of his life. It is also recorded that the dual and unsteady nature of Gośāla asserted itself, and later on he seems to have repented ⁶ his undesirable conduct against his master.⁷

¹ Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, ii, pp 460-461

² "The bone of contention was a theory of reanimation which Gośāla formulated from his observation of periodical reanimation of plant-life, and generalised it to such an extent as to apply it indiscriminately to all forms of life"—Barua, *J.D.L.*, ii, p 8 Cf. also Sastri (Banerji), *op cit*, p 56

³ Hoernle, *op cit*, p 258 "Gośāla, having learnt from him the possession of the *Tegadyā*, or power of ejecting flame, and having learnt from certain of the disciples of Pārśvanātha what is technically called the *Mahāmūṛti* of the eight *Āṅgas*, intending probably their scriptural doctrines, set up for himself as a Jina and quitted his master."—Wilson, *op cit*, i, pp 295-296

⁴ खामिनः पादौत्सुक्येन चावस्थानं तेनोत्सर्गमात्रापयति. . .—*Āvāśyaka-Sūtra*, p 214

⁵ Charpentier, *C.H.I.*, i, p 159

⁶ "Some Jains believe that, because he so sincerely repented before his death, he went not to hell, but to one of the *Devatalas*—i.e. heavens . . ."—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 60

⁷ Cf *ibid* "His last act was to acknowledge to his disciple the truth of Mahāvīra's statement respecting himself and to instruct them to bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly to proclaim his shame"—Hoernle, *op cit*, p 260.

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With all this there is one point which need not be overlooked. The relationship between Mahāvīra and Gośāla, or, in other words, the relative position of Mankhaliputta in the great wave of religious enthusiasm in India, needs some definite explanation. Dr Barua seems to be under some delusion when he says: "Suffice it to say, that the evidences from either the Jaina or the Buddhist sources of information, do not bear out the Jaina pious belief that Gośāla was one of the two false disciples of Mahāvīra, and tend rather to prove the contrary. I mean that if the historian be called upon to pronounce a definite opinion on this disputed question he cannot but say that indebtedness, if any, was more on the side of the teacher than on that one who is branded by the Jaina as a false disciple."¹

The delusion under which the learned scholar is labouring is that Mahāvīra first belonged to the religious order of Pārśvanātha, and that after one year, when he became undressed, he joined the Ājīvikas.² This is a hypothesis which not only disregards the authentic Jaina sources and traditions, but it shows an utter ignorance as to why the very followers of Gośāla were called Ājīvikas. As seen above, the distinction between the *Dharma* of Pārśva and the *Dharma* of Mahāvīra was a deliberate move on the part of the latter, and that the term Ājīvika was a term of contempt which was used by the Jainas and others to show the real nature of the Ājīvika sect.³ Thus it is impossible that Mahāvīra should have joined the order of the Ājīvikas; neither was there a sect like this existing before Gośāla openly revolted against his teacher, since Gośāla himself was the originator of it.

It is an open fact that what little we know about Gośāla and his followers is based on either the Buddhist or the Jaina annals. "Their statement must, of course, be accepted with some caution; but their general trustworthiness is guaranteed by their agreement in all essential facts. This agreement possesses all the more value as the statements come from two independent sources of information."⁴ A few isolated fragments which we can thus gather are, really speaking, not material which can entitle us to say that "indebtedness, if any, was more on the side of the teacher than

¹ Barua, *op cit*, pp 17-18

² Cf *ibid*.

³ "It is clear that in the mouth of the Buddhists, 'Ājīvika' was the term of reproach applicable to a *Masharin* or *Eka-dandin* of the baser sort"—Hoernle, *op cit*, p 260

⁴ *Ibid*, p 261

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on that one who is branded by the Jainas as a false-disciple." This becomes especially so when we know that the very traditions with the help of which we come to such a sweeping conclusion say something contrary to it.

The first point that the reputed doctor would like the critic to consider before judging one way or the other is "that the priority of Gośāla regarding *Jinahood* before Mahāvīra can be established beyond doubt by the history of Mankhaliputta in the *Bhagavatī*, confirmed in some important respects by the history of Mahāvīra in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*"¹

We wish this point had not been put for the consideration of the critic. It seems as if the writer wants to raise a deliberate misunderstanding about the whole episode. Nowhere in the *Sūtras*, nor anywhere else in the whole of Jain literature, is Gośāla said to have attained Jinahood. What is said, as just remarked, is that Gośāla became a self-styled Jina or Tīrthankara.² "Buddha charged him with incontinency."³ So also did Mahāvīra. He is equally emphatic about it. In a dialogue in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* between Ārdraka, a disciple of Mahāvīra, and Gośāla the latter is reported to have said "According to our law an ascetic . . . commits no sin . . . has intercourse with women."⁴ He charges his followers with being "the slaves of women," and says that "they do not lead a life of chastity."⁵ How could such a person who had become so notorious with his antinomian doctrines be expected and be said to have attained Jinahood? This sounds particularly strange when, furthermore, the fact of his becoming a Jina is based on the authority of the Jain canon itself.

At another place the writer refers to the six previous births of Gośāla, with their particular periods as laid down in the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*, and concludes. "The *Bhagavatī* account of the past reanimations of Gośāla, quaint and fanciful though it is, enables the historian to carry back the history of the Ājīvikas for 117 years counted backwards from Gośāla. . . ."⁶ It seems that the popular tradition of the twenty-seven previous births of Mahāvīra has

¹ Barua, *op cit*, p 18

² सनिके निरुपल्लारी सकेरली केरल्लियलारी . . . विहरद् — *Bhagavatī-Sūtra* (Āgama-dāya Samiti), x, p 639 Cf. *Āśvayaka-Sūtra*, p 211, Charpentier, *op cit*, p 159

³ Cf. Hocmle, *op cit*, p 261.

⁴ Jacobi, *S.B.P.*, xiv, p 111

⁵ *Ibid*, pp 215, 270 Vijnana Rājendra Sūri, *Abhidhānārājendra*, ii, p 103

⁶ Barua, *op cit*, p 7.

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been set aside here. One does not know what entitles the writer to come to something like "the pre-Makkhali history of the Ājīvikas."¹

In this fashion Dr Barua has put forward a few more points for the consideration of the critics, but everywhere, as he has himself said, his has been "a tremendous effort of imagination."² To go through, step by step, all the reasonings that he has put forward for maintaining his hypothesis based on his "intellectual sympathy"³ towards the Ājīvikas would practically mean writing a small thesis on Gośāla. We need only say this much, that the learned doctor has mostly tried to disprove the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions with their own help. Moreover these are the traditions "which," observes Dr Jacobi, "in the absence of documents deserve most careful attention."⁴

With all this it may be granted that "Gośāla's philosophy was not entirely a new growth in the country."⁵ It is certain that in the close environment of several conflicting theories and mutually contradictory dogmas what little Mahāvīra could achieve for the Jaina church was no doubt interconnected in the organic development of Indian thought.⁶ Moreover, as observed by Dr Jacobi, it can also be said within its own limitations that "the greatest influence on the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine must . . . be ascribed to Gośāla, the son of Mankhali."⁷ This is because both the theoretical and practical life of Gośāla probably had an abiding effect on the mind of Mahāvīra. To repeat: Gośāla was theoretically a fatalist. He believed that "there is no such thing as exertion or labour or power or vigour or manly strength, but all things are unalterably fixed."⁸ While in his practical life he was "living in incontinency" (*Abrahma-cary-vāsa*).⁹ Thus naturally "the sin and shame of his life emphasised the need for stringent rules for the order, and the doctrine of absolute fatalism was to result in non-moral conduct. Jainism avoids this

¹ Barua, *op cit*, p 7

² *Ibid*, p 22

³ *Ibid*

⁴ Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xxxiii

⁵ Barua, *op cit*, p 27.

⁶ "While Śaṅkya's dialectics was mainly negative, Gośāla, by his 'Terasiya,' or three-membered dialectics of 'it may be,' 'it may not be,' 'it may both be and not be,' had already paved the way for Mahāvīra's seven-membered *Syāddvāda*."—Belvalkar and Ranade, *op cit*, pp 456-457 Cf Hoernle, *op cit*, p 262

⁷ Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xxx

⁸ Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-Dasāo*, 1, pp 97, 115-116. Cf *ibid*, II, pp 109-110, 132

⁹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, 514 ff Cf. Hoernle, *E.R.E.*, I, p 261

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determinism . . . by teaching that, though Karma decides all, we ourselves can affect our past Karma by our present life" ¹

Thus if at all Gośāla had an influence on the formulation of the reformed Jaina doctrine, and on the career of Mahāvīra, it is only thus far and no further. In addition to this we may add once again that just because of these unhappy schisms in the Jaina church "Mahāvīra's chances of founding an all-India religious movement were seriously jeopardised." ²

This much about Gośāla himself. We have already seen that in the fourteenth year of Mahāvīra's life as a prophet Gośāla died. This event naturally coincides with the fact that he died 16 years prior to Mahāvīra, deducting 14 years from 30 of Mahāvīra as a prophet. Thus based on the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, which we have taken as approximately between 480-467 B.C., Gośāla's death must be placed somewhere between 496-483 B.C. As laid down in the *Bhagavati-Sūtra*, this date of Gośāla is supported also by the fact that his death was coincident with the great war between King Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) and King Cedaga of Vaiśālī for the possession of an extraordinary elephant ³. This elephant was given by Kūṇiya's father, King Bimbisāra, to his younger son Vehalla by his wife Cellanā, a daughter of King Cedaga. Having usurped the throne, Ajātaśatru tried to get the elephant from his younger brother, but the latter ran away with it to his grandfather in Vaiśālī. "Kūṇiya having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitive commenced war with Cedaga." ⁴ Thus the war, which must have taken place somewhere about the time when Kūṇiya took upon himself the regal power, can be placed c. 496 B.C. ⁵

¹ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 60 "It was probably owing to Gośāla's conduct that Mahāvīra added a vow of chastity to the four vows of Pārśvanātha's order."—*Ibid*, p 59 Cf also *ibid*, p 185, Hoernle, *op cit*, p 264

² Sastrī (Banerji), *op cit*, p 56 "From the 6th to the 3rd century B.C. Buddhism under a common leader spread all over India and beyond. Divided counsel crippled Jainism at the start. But the Jainas have the satisfaction of knowing that the once powerful Ajivikas survive only as a memory"—*Ibid*, p 58

³ Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-Desāo*, Appendix I, p 7. एगहन्निपयवि ष पभू कूरिए राया परानिजिह्वर. —*Bhagavati* (Āgamodaya Samiti), p 316, *sūtr* 300 Cf Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭi-Salākā*, Parva X, vv 205-206

⁴ Hoernle, *op and loc cit* Cf also Tawney, *Kathākośa*, pp 178-179 . . न दद्यात्तदा युद्धसज्जो भवेति —*Avasthaka-Sūtra*, p 684

⁵ Dr Hoernle, taking 484 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death, puts c. 500 B.C. as the date (approximate) of Gośāla and of the war between Ajātaśatru and his grandfather. Cf Hoernle, *E.R.E.*, 1, p 261

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Approaching the Ājīvika sect of the Jainas from an historical point of view we find that the sect did not die with its leader. Looking to the relation of the Ājīvikas with the Buddhists we see that the latter have "no cause for special resentment against either an Ājīvika or a Jaina. Buddhist rulers like Aśoka and Daśartha bestow cave-dwellings on the Ājīvikas at Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills in the same spirit as they build *Stūpas* for the Buddhists or order alms to the Brahmans, elsewhere. The later resentment of the Buddhists centred round not the Jaina or the Ājīvika but the Brahman."¹

The earliest mention of the Ājīvikas occurs in a brief record of the thirteenth year of Aśoka—that is to say, in 257 B.C.²—incised on the walls of two rock-hewn caves on Barābar Hill, near Gaya. It runs as follows: "King Piyadasi, in the 13th year of his reign, bestowed this cave on the Ājīvikas."³

The next mention occurs in the celebrated Pillar Edicts of Aśoka, where, referring to the functions of his censors of the Law of Piety, the emperor has included the Ājīvikas as one of those who will be looked after by them.⁴ "Again, in the twentieth 'regnal year,' 250 B.C., the sovereign presented a third costly rock-dwelling to the Ājīvikas."⁵ A further early mention occurs in a brief record, incised on the walls of three rock-hewn caves on Nāgārjunī Hill in the first year of the reign of Aśoka's successor Daśaratha—i.e. in c. 230 B.C. It runs as follows: "This cave was bestowed by His Majesty Daśaratha, immediately after his accession, on the venerable Ājīvikas, to be a dwelling-place for them, as long as sun and moon endure."⁶

¹ Sastri (Banerji), *op. cit.*, p. 55

² Taking Aśoka's coronation as about 270-269 B.C. Cf. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 73 (3rd ed.), Mookerji (Radhakumud), *Aśoka*, p. 37

³ Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 266 Cf. *I.A.*, xx, pp. 361 ff., Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 144 (1st ed.) Aśoka seems to have inherited his partiality towards the Ājīvikas from his parents, "if we may believe in the legends. The *Mahāvamsaśikā* (p. 126), as has been already noticed, refers to the family-preceptor of his mother, Queen Dharmā, being an Ājīvika of the name of Janasūna (*devyā kulūpago Janasūno nāma eko Ājīvika*), whom King Bindusūra summoned to interpret the meaning of the Queen's dream before the birth of Aśoka; while in the *Divyāvadāna* (chap. xxvi), Bindusūra himself summons the Ājīvika ascetic Pingalavatsa for the examination of all his sons to find out who was the best to be his successor on the throne"—Mookerji (Radhakumud), *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65 "The Ājīvika saint, Pingalavatsa, summoned by the King, judged Aśoka as the fittest of his sons for the throne"—*Ibid.*, p. 3

⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 155, *E.I.*, ii, pp. 270, 272, 274

⁵ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 54 (3rd ed.).

⁶ Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 266 Cf. *I.A.*, xx, pp. 361 ff.; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 145 (1st ed.).

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Thus "of the seven caves, two in the Barābar Hill and three in the Nāgārjunī Hill mention the grant of those caves to the 'Ājivikas' (*Ājivikehi*). In three cases the word *Ājivikehi* had been deliberately chiselled off, every other letter entirely untouched" ¹ It is really difficult to say who could have done this, but we know for certain that after King Daśaratha the Barābar Hills passed into the hands of the Jaina king, Khāravela. He was at Gorathagiri in the eighth year of his reign—i.e. just after the Aśoka-Daśaratha time. On epigraphic grounds also this can be ascertained by the remarkable façade of the Lomaśa Rsi Cave ² As a pious Jaina, Khāravela might have "attempted to wipe off old scores by obliterating the hated name of the impostor Gośāla's Ājivika followers." ³

Writing on this Jaina-Ājivika hostility in the domain of archaeology Mr Mookerji observes. "The last two Aśokan inscriptions in the Barābar caves, as shown here, and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha mention in common the grant of these caves to the Ājivikas, but in three of these inscriptions there is detected an attempt to chisel away the word '*Ājivikehi*,' as if the name of this sect was not tolerated by somebody who was at such pains to wipe it off. Now, who was this somebody? Hultzsch conjectures it might have been the Mankhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛṣṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī caves to Śiva and Pārvati, and whose orthodox Hindu leaning did not favour the Ājivikas. Dr Banerji Sastri puts forward a more convincing conjecture. He fastens the mischief on Khāravela, a Jaina, with the traditional hostility of his community to the Ājivikas, a mischief that was thus committed much earlier than the times of Mankhari, when the Aśokan *Brāhmī-Lipi* was well-nigh forgotten" ⁴

¹ Sastri (Banerji), *op cit*, p 59

² *Ibid*, p 60 Cf also "A comparison of the two sites leaves hardly a doubt that the Goradhagiri façade and inscription are intimately connected with the Udayagiri (Khāravela) inscriptions and façades, both done by a Jaina who signed his creed in the mutilation of the letters '*Ājivikehi*'"—*Ibid*, p 61

³ *Ibid*, p 60 "He (Khāravela) naturally turned out the Ājivikas, chiselled off their names and put in his Kalangan troops in the Barābar Caves. The unfinished Lomaśa Rsi he must have found quite handy. In any case Khāravela seems to have employed Post-Mauryan craftsmen to polish up the walls"—Sastri (Banerji), *J B O R S*, xii, p 310

⁴ Mookerji (Radhakumud), *op cit*, p 206 "Hultzsch's view is untenable (1) He assumes without assigning any reason that Anantavarman in the 6th-7th century A D was familiar with Aśoka-Brāhmī of the 3rd century B C"—Sastri (Banerji), *op cit*, p 57 The second reason put forward by the learned scholar is that Anantavarman, himself being



LOMAŚA RṢI CAVE, BARĀBAR HILL

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Thus as a sect the Ājīvikas practically disappeared from India by the end of the second century B.C.,¹ though we find some such reference to it in the literature of the later period, as in Varāhamihira, Silānka's commentary on *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, Halāyudha's *Abhidhāna-Ratnamālā*, and in the inscriptional record on the walls of the Perumal temple at Poygaie, near Virinchipuram.² All these references are not directly connected with the Ājīvikas, nor are they in any way pure Ājīvika references. In many a place the term Ājīvika is used for the Digambara sect of the Jainas.³

With these few words about the first important schism in the Jaina church we shall pass on to the second epoch-making division—namely, the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects of the Jainas. Really speaking it is very difficult to say as to where lies the first origin of this division in the Jainā community. What both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara traditions have to say on this and other points referring to each other is at times childish and very often quite unhistorical. Anyhow this much is certain, that this schism has done a lot of harm to the general progress and prosperity of the Jaina community. Both Jaina literature and Jaina history have suffered greatly from contradictory and retaliating traditions put forward by the two divisions. They look at each other as heretics, and sometimes worse than that.⁴ In their zeal to keep up the prestige of belonging to the original church of Lord Mahāvīra none of them talks about its own origin, but both make a few sarcastic and sometimes disgraceful remarks about the origin and certain other beliefs of the rival sect.

Taking the Digambara traditions we find that the Digambaras themselves do not agree in their exposition of this division in

a Hindu, had no special grievance against an Ājīvika, who was popularly regarded as a follower of Vishnu or Krishna—*Ibid.* This is based on the authority of Kern (*IA*, xx, pp. 361 ff), but there is nothing in Jaina canonical or other literature to support this. Anyhow it may safely be said that it can hardly be a Hindu or a Buddhist who could have done this. "The only alternative left is a Jaina." Historically also "the Jaina-Ājīvika enmity makes it almost a certainty"—Sastri (Banerji), *op cit*, p. 60. For Hultzsch's statement see *CII*, I, Int., p. xxxviii (new ed., 1925).

¹ Sastri (Banerji), *op. cit*, p. 53.

² Hoernle, *op cit*, pp. 266-267.

³ "There can be no doubt, therefore, that since the 6th century A.D. when Varāhamihira used the term, the name has signified the Digambara sect of the Jainas"—*Ibid*, p. 266.

⁴ इयं वृष्यज्ञी कहिया, सेउयाएँ च मगभदुएँ !, etc.—Devasenāsūri, *Bhāvasamgraha* (Soni's ed.), v. 160, p. 39. Cf. Prem, *Darśanasāra*, p. 57. मिच्छादसलमिउमो . . . etc.—*Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 324.

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the Jaina church. Ācārya Devasena says in his *Darśanasāra*: "The Svetāmbara *Samgha* had its beginning in Vallabhīpura in Sourāshtra 186 years after the death of Vikrama" ¹ This origin of the Svetāmbaras according to the learned Ācārya was due "to the wicked and loose-charactered Jinacandra, the disciple of Ācārya Śānti, who was (in turn) the disciple of the venerable Bhadrabāhu." ²

It is not clear which of the Bhadrabāhus is meant here. If this is the Bhadrabāhu of the days of Candragupta the period assigned to the schism would fall to the ground. But according to the Digambara tradition of the great famine in the days of Candragupta, the emigration of Bhadrabāhu and his votaries from the north, and the consequent separation of the Digambaras and the Svetāmbaras, no other Bhadrabāhu is meant here.

Devasenasūri has said the same thing in *Bhāvasaṃgraha*, but in addition to it he talks of the famine which has been connected with the life of Bhadrabāhu. Here also Jinacandra is painted in the same colours. He is said to have murdered his *Guru*, Ācārya Śānti, for rebuking him as being on the wrong path. ³ The curious thing is that he also puts the same date for the great schism ⁴

In both these Digambara traditions there is distinctly something wrong about the Bhadrabāhu mentioned here. There is something half said, or some other Bhadrabāhu is meant, or the traditions are put without any regard for the chronological facts of history. To whitewash these two statements Bhattāraka Ratnānandī introduced in his life of Bhadrabāhu the following facts: that in Bhadrabāhu's time the schism began under the name of *Ardhaphālaka* (half-clothed); that Sthūlabhadra, who tried to oppose the propounder of such a change, was murdered by them; and that the final separation came after a long time because of Candralekhā, the daughter of the king of Ujjayini and the wife of the king of Vallabhīpura ⁵

¹ In contradiction to this there is another tradition which says

¹ सन्तोसे वरिससह सोरट्टे उप्पणो सेवडो सधो । —Premi, *Darśanasāra*, v. 11, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, vv 12-15

³ सोसे सोसेण दोहद्वेण । चविरो पाएण मुज्जो etc —Devasenasūri, *op cit.*, v. 158, p. 38 Cf. Premi, *op cit.*, p. 56

⁴ सन्तोसे वरिससह . सोरट्टे उप्पणो सेवडोसधो etc —Devasenasūri, *op cit.*, v. 137, p. 35 Cf. Premi, *op cit.*, p. 55

⁵ Premi, *op cit.*, p. 60 According to the Digambaras, "under Bhadrabāhu, the eighth age after Mahāvira, the last Tīrthankara, there rose the sect of *Ardhaphālakas* with laxer principles, from which developed the present sect of Svetāmbaras (A D 80)" —Dasgupta, *op cit.*, 1, p. 170

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that Sthūlabhadra himself was opposed to the Digambara insistence on nakedness, and that after him his disciple Mahāgiri "revived 'the ideal practice of nakedness.' He was a real ascetic and recognised that under Sthūlabhadra's sway many abuses had crept into the order."¹ In this mission of his Mahāgiri was opposed by Suhastin, who was one of the leaders of the Jaina community under Mahāgiri.² According to the Svetāmbaras the origin of the great schism lies under the following circumstances: In the town of Rathavīra there lived a man named Śivabhūti or Sahasramalla. Once his mother got angry with him and hence he left his house and became a Jaina *Sādhu*. It so happened that after his consecration as a monk the ruling prince gave him a valuable blanket, and he felt enamoured of it. Seeing this his *Guru* drew his attention to it, and thenceforth he became all naked and started the Digambara sect of the Jains. His sister Uttarā also tried to follow in the footsteps of her brother, but Śivabhūti, thinking it to be unadvisable for women to remain naked, told her that a woman cannot get final liberation.³

The date put down by the Svetāmbaras for this schism is 609 years after Mahāvīra,⁴ and this comes to 139 years after the death of Vikrama, taking the traditional duration of 470 years as the period between Vikrama and the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. At least in their dates both the Digambara and the Svetāmbara traditions fully agree. The former puts 136 years and the later 139, after Vikrama, as the period for this great division in the Jaina church. In spite of this agreement about the date they do not agree as to the circumstances under which arose this great division. Both Jinacandra and Śivabhūti look more like fictitious than like true historical persons, because the annals of both the rival faiths disclaim the fact of any such person belonging to their division. This is why Nathuram Premi, the learned Digambara scholar, says:

¹ Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 73

² *Ibid.*, p. 74 "I think that the divisions became marked from the time of Ārya-Mahāgiri and Ārya-Suhastin."—Jhaveri, *Nirvāṇa-Kālidā*, Int., p. 7

³ This is given in the प्रवचनपरोक्षा of Upādhyāya Dharmasūgara Cf. Hiralal (H.), *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 15. बोडिसिद्धभूजवज्रराहि इमं । . . रहवीरपुरे समुपसृणु.—*Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 324.

⁴ छद्मासत्तायै ननुत्तराई तस्या सिद्धिं गयस्स वीरस्स ।

तो बोडियाण दिट्ठी रहवीरपुरे समुपसृणु ॥

—*Ibid.*, p. 323 "The origin of the Digambaras is attributed to Śivabhūti (A. n. 83), by the Svetāmbaras as due to a schism in the old Svetāmbara church . . ."—Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, i, p. 170

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"Can we not infer from this that nobody knew the origin of either of the two divisions? Something must be said, and so afterwards they have put down anything that came into their heads"¹ Though rather harsh, this remark is supported by the fact that both the sects agree in the line of *Gurus* put down from the time of Mahāvīra only as far as Jambūsvāmī, who, according to the traditional date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, died in 403 B.C.² After Jambū both the parties have a list of succession of their teachers which is quite different, but they agree in their account of Bhadrabāhu of the days of Candragupta.³ Really speaking, one cannot arrive at any definite conclusion from all these mutually conflicting traditions, and hence it is almost impossible to fix an exact date for this great schism in the Jaina community.

Along with these difficulties there are two things which should be particularly noticed. The first point is that the two divisions were based on the question whether the Jaina clergy should remain naked or should go about with some sort of garment to cover them. The second thing is the general unanimity about the period of the schism between the two divisions.

The very names of the two divisions connote what is meant by them. The Digambaras, or those who are clothed in air, maintained that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of saintship; the other division, or the Śvetāmbaras, those who are dressed in white, admit that Mahāvīra went about naked, but hold that the use of clothes does not impede the highest sanctity.⁴ If this is the criterion, well, both need not quarrel as to which belongs to the original Jaina church, because, as laid down by their own traditions, the original Jaina church has no beginning and no end. Taking it historically and literally, we can say that the Śvetāmbaras are more akin to Pārśvanātha than to Mahāvīra, and Digambaras are nearer the latter, because Mahāvīra passed many years of his life as a prophet in a naked stage, while both Pārśva and his followers preferred to remain dressed.⁵ Furthermore, if the authen-

¹ Prem, *op cit*, p 30

² Cf. Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 69

³ Cf. Prem, *op* and *loc cit*

⁴ "Nudity as a part of asceticism was practised by several sects in the time of Mahāvīra, but it was also reprobated by others (including all Buddhists) who felt it to be barbarous and unedifying"—Elliot, *op cit*, p 112

⁵ Cf. Jacobi, *SBE*, xlv, pp 119-120 "The probability is that there had always been two parties in the community the older and weaker section, who wore clothes and dated from Pārśvanātha's time, and who were called Śhāvira-Kalpa (the spiritual

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ticity of the Śvetāmbara canonical literature is granted, we can go a step further and say that though the Digambaras followed the extreme letter of the law as Mahāvīra had done, the Śvetāmbaras in no way disregarded the law. This is because, as we have already remarked, that what Mahāvīra experienced in his state of forgetfulness he did not expect his followers to practise literally irrespective of what spiritual height they had reached. :

With all this the point at issue is not as to which one of these two belonged to the original church, because it is difficult to define what really is or can be the original church of the Jaina community. This is not for a student of history to say. What he is concerned with is to mark out approximately the period whence this schism in the Jaina church had its distinct existence.

A detailed review of the facts before us is out of the question. What need be said is this, that the germ underlying this division had its origin in the days of Mahāvīra, when came Mankhaliputta, who made a cult out of it. After his death no doubt the Ājīvika force was greatly weakened, but there were some among the *Niganthas* themselves who sympathised with the Ājīvikas "on the points of nakedness, non-possession of a bowl, imperfect regard for life, distinctive mark of a staff and probably other matters."¹ This sympathy on their part might have manifested itself especially in the time of Bhadrabāhu, when, according to the Digambaras, the schism had its first beginning,² but there is no distinct separation as yet. We may now pass on to the Sthūlabhadra and Mahāgiri traditions, and then come down to the end of the first century A.D. when, according to both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara traditions, the actual separation takes place.³ Though the traditional legends put forward by the two divisions are in many respects highly coloured and extremely childish, one thing is clear, that at that particular period in Jaina history some conspicuous ancestors of the Śvetāmbara); and the Jina-Kalpa, or Puritans, who kept the extreme letter of the law as Mahāvīra had done, and who are the forerunners of the Digambara "

—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 79

¹ Hoernle, *op. cit*, pp. 267 ff.

² "It thus appears that the Jaina division into Digambara and Śvetāmbara may be traced back to the very beginning of Jainism, it being entirely due to the antagonism of the two associated leaders, Mahāvīra and Gosāla, who are the representatives of the two hostile sects"—Hoernle, *op cit*, p. 268

³ Mr Jhaveri, in his Introduction to his edition of *Nirvāṇa-Kaṇḍā*, writes: "From the colophon of the work it appears that even in the first century of Vikrama the divisions of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras were in existence. The colophon of the *Stūti* of Siddhasena Divākara confirms the existence of such division in ancient times"—*Int*, p. 7

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or unusual event or incident must have taken place which forms the basis of all these literary traditions. Nevertheless we cannot say that here lies the actual separation of the two divisions, because in the Mathura sculptures we have evidence that points out that the two divisions had till then many things in common which afterwards formulated some of the items on which the two parties could not agree.

{To make matters more clear we might say that the chief points on which the two parties particularly do not agree are the following: the insistence of the exchange of the embryo of Mahāvira, to which the Digambaras do not subscribe; the beliefs that woman is not entitled to *Moksha* and that *Kevalins* do not take food, which are not acceptable to the Svetāmbaras; and, finally, the Digambara belief in the complete disappearance of the ancient sacred literature of the Jainas.¹ Leaving aside some differences in rituals and other minor matters these are some of the prominent features on which the two divisions do not agree.

Now, taking the Mathura sculptures, we find that the particular sculpture referring to the exchange of embryo of Lord Mahāvira, which we have already mentioned, has represented in it *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvira* in a naked state. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription "divine . . .," is no doubt meant for Mahāvira, who is introduced by the artists with the attributes of a monk,² in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat.³ Thus this one specimen of Mathura sculpture has combined in itself the Digambara belief of nakedness and the Svetāmbara tradition of the exchange of embryos. This shows that so far back as the first century of the Christian era an actual separation between the parties had not yet taken place.

Nevertheless it must be reiterated that the Jaina iconography in its initial stage is greatly marked with the undressed state of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and this goes as far back as the second

¹ तेन कियं मयमेयं इत्यीयं अत्रिय तन्मये मोक्षो ।

केवलपाणीय पुणो अब्रह्मसाय तहा रोषो ॥

अथरसहिषो वि नई सिक्कइ कीरस गम्भारत्त ।

—Premi, *op cit*, vi, 13-14, p 8

² "At his (Nemesa's) left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic and with uplifted right hand"—Bühler, *E I*, ii, p 816

³ *Ibid*, p 817

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century B.C., if not further. Mon Mohan Chakravarti, talking of the Jaina monuments on the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri Hills, says: "Only the Tīrthankaras are represented nude, and even they are occasionally shown dressed, if the scene is intended to represent some scene of their human lives. Females, Kings, *Devas*, Arhats, *Gandharvas*, Attendants are generally represented dressed. In Mathura sculptures the dancing girls, the centaurs, and some of the ascetics (Digambaras) are shown naked. Sometimes the females look naked, but a closer examination shows traces of a very thin fine cloth through which are perceptible the curves of the body."¹ In later history we find that Varāhamihira, in his *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, describes the Jaina Tīrthankaras in the following words: "The God of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees . . ."²

Thus, though two distinct divisions had not come into existence till the beginning of the Christian era, it must be admitted that the traditions of Bhadrabāhu of the days of the great famine, and of Jinacandra and Sivabhūti of c. A.D. 80, are marked stages in the history of the great schism which, in our opinion, led to a final separation of the two parties by the time of the second great council at Vallabhi³ under Devardhigani, in the middle of the fifth century A.D. according to the traditional date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* in 527 B.C.⁴ It may be that the actual division took place a few days before this event, but the final fixing up and reduction into writing of the whole canonical literature of the Jainas at last brought about two distinct divisions before the Jaina community, with differences in matters of certain dogmas and beliefs, which may safely be termed the coincidences natural to a period when everything was to be put into black and white.

This period is confirmed also by James Bird for the great schism, who on the basis of his study of the caves of Western India comes to the following conclusion: "The reputed origin of the Digambara Jainas, about A.D. 486, harmonises with the date

¹ Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *Notes on the Remains on Dhauti and in the Caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, p. 2.

² *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, chap. lix, trans. by Kern in *J.R.A.S.* (New Series), vi, p. 328. Cf. Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Prem, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴ "It seems certain that in A.D. 454 the whole canon was reduced to writing, and that a large number of copies were made, so that no monastery of any consequence should be without one"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 15.

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assigned for these caves The *Satruñjaya Mahātmya*, or the legend of the Jaina temples of Pālitānā, in Kathiawar, fixes also this period of the origin of the Digambara Jamas."¹

In short, the history of this great schism may be summarised as follows in the words of Sir Charles Elliot: "It is therefore probable that both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras existed in the infancy of Jainism, and the latter may represent the older sect reformed or exaggerated by Mahāvīra. Thus we are told that 'the law taught by Vardhamāna forbids clothes but that of the great sage Pārśva allows an under and upper garment.' But it was not until considerably later that the schism was completed by the constitution of the two different canons."²

In spite of such a complicated history behind this division in the Jaina community it must be conceded that there is little of real difference between the two parties. In matters of certain traditional beliefs and dogmas there is no doubt a great distance between the two, but most of the controversial points are unnecessary and indirect. This was more or less the feeling of Raichandji, the most righteous and highly respected Jaina of our days.³ Intellectually too he was a great scholar, and his are the sentiments which are also shared by others

"The Digambaras," says Dr Dasgupta, "having separated in early times from the Śvetāmbaras developed peculiar religious ceremonies of their own, and have a different ecclesiastical and literary history, though there is practically no difference about the main creed"⁴ Thus the Jaina sub-sects did not differ much among themselves in philosophical speculation. Their differences were rather of a practical kind, and, as Wilson has rightly pointed out, their "mutual animosity is, as usual, of an intensity very disproportionate to the sources from whence it springs"⁵

Leaving aside the second great division in the Jaina community we come to the third and the last—viz. that of the non-idolatrous sect of the Śvetāmbara Jamas—very often known as the *Dhūṇḍhī* or *Sthānakavāsī* sect of the Jainas. This division came very late in the history of the Jaina church, and to some extent it can safely be said that it was greatly a direct result of Mohammedan influence on the religious mind of India. "If one

¹ Bird, *Historical Researches*, p. 72

² Elliot, *op cit*, p. 112

³ विषादसयन्पीति चतुर्नि स्वर्णानि तु अग्रयोजनायमानान्येन त्रयोः । — Raichandji, *Bhagavati-Sūtra* (Jināgama Prakāśasabhā), Int., p. 6

⁴ Dasgupta, *op cit*, i, p. 170

⁵ Wilson, *op cit*, i, p. 340

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effect," observes Mrs Stevenson, "of the Mohammedan conquest, however, was to drive many of the Jainas into closer union with their fellow idol-worshippers in the face of iconoclasts, another effect was to drive others away from idolatry altogether. No Oriental could hear a fellow Oriental's passionate outcry against idolatry without doubts as to the righteousness of the practice entering his mind.

"Naturally enough it is in Ahmedabad, the city of Gujarat that was most under Mohammedan influence, that we can first trace the stirring of these doubts. About A.D. 1452 the *Lonkā* sect, the first of the non-idolatrous Jaina sects, arose, and was followed by the *Dhūṇḍhī* or *Sthānakavāsi* about A.D. 1653, dates which coincide strikingly with the Lutheran and Puritan movements in Europe."¹

Little more need we say about this division in the Jaina community. Speaking further on the various other splits in the Jaina church, suffice it to say that the Digambaras are divided into four principal sects,² the Śvetāmbaras into no less than eighty-four, and "at least eleven sub-sects amongst the Sthānakavāsi Jainas."³ None of these is said to be dated earlier than the tenth century A.D., and, except the Sthānakavāsi Jainas, most of them have practically died out, though some of them really exist, but hardly with any open bitterness or class-hatred amongst themselves as it is between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects of the Jainas

It may be remarked here that a peculiarity of the Jaina church from the very days of Mahāvīra, and even earlier, is its mania for divisions. Whether it is also the case with the other religious communities in India or not we cannot say, but this much seems certain, that it is not to such an extent as it is with the Jainas. All the differences that have appeared in the life of the Jaina community during these more than two thousand years have generally originated from the following sources: there are some which have originated because of certain disagreement or misunderstanding about the very teachings of Mahāvīra; others because of certain peculiarities or characteristics (arising from the country or the class of people to which they originally belonged) of the people who were baptized to Jainism, and finally the remaining, who came

¹ Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² दिगम्बराः पुनर्नाग्यल्लिङ्गाः पाणिपादाश्च ।

ते चतुर्थी, काशसंघ-मूलसंघ-मापुरसंघ-गोपसंघभेदात् ।

³ Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op. cit.*, p. 13

—Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 44

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into existence because of the Jaina clergy as a result of the peculiar fancy or idiosyncrasy of the particular *Ācārya* or the head of a group of Jaina *Sādhus*.¹

With all these schisms and divisions in the Jaina church "it is remarkable that Jainism is still a living sect, whereas the Buddhists have disappeared from India"² This may sound strange at first sight, but to quote Mr Elliot, "Its strength and persistence are centred in its power of enlisting the interest of the laity and of forming them into a corporation."³ But among the Buddhists the members of the order came to be regarded more and more as the true church and the laity tended to become (what they actually have become in China and Japan) pious persons who revere that order as something extraneous to themselves and very often only as one among several religious organisations. Hence when in India monasteries decayed, or were destroyed, active Buddhism was very little left outside them. But the wandering ascetics of the Jainas never concentrated the strength of the religion in themselves to the same extent; the severity of their rule limited their numbers; the laity were wealthy and practically formed a caste; persecution acted as a tonic. As a result we have a sect analogous in some ways to the Jews, Parsis and Quakers, among all of whom we find the same features—namely, a wealthy laity, little or no sacerdotalism and endurance of persecution."⁴

¹ Just to illustrate all these we may take for the first the seven schisms and the Digambara-Svetāmbara division in the Jaina church to which we have already referred, for the second we may mention the *Oṣāl* and the *Śrīmālā* sects of the Jainas, of which the latter is called so "after the town of Śrīmālā or Bhīllamālā, the modern Bhūmāl in the extreme south of Marvāt" (*E I*, II, p. 41), and finally for the third we may refer to the 84 *Gacchas* or divisions of the Svetāmbara Jainas, of which *Tapa*, *Kharatara* and *Aścala* may be particularly mentioned here. Of these, *Kharatara Gaccha* is said to have originated under the following circumstances: "Jinadatta was a proud man, and even in his pert answers to others mentioned by Sumatigani pride can be clearly detached. He was therefore called Kharatara by the people, but he gloried in the new appellation and willingly accepted it"—Hiralal (H), *op cit*, pt II, pp. 19-20.

² Elliot, *op cit*, p. 122

³ "Dr Hoernle is no doubt right in maintaining that this good organisation of the Jaina lay community must have been a factor of the greatest importance to the church during the whole of its existence, and may have been one of the main reasons why the Jaina religion continued to keep its position in India, whilst its far more important rival, Buddhism, was entirely swept away by the Brahman reaction"—Charpentier, *CH I*, I, pp. 168-169

⁴ Elliot, *op cit*, p. 122. The Buddhists had a similar organisation of monks and laymen, but, as Smith has pointed out, they relied more on the *Samgha* of ordained friars than on the laity.—Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 52. Among the Jainas the relations between the two sections were more balanced, and hence their social equilibrium was stable. Cf. Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 67, Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 70

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The same feeling is entertained by other scholars also,¹ but besides this there are other reasons which cannot be overlooked when we are thinking of everything that contributed to the survival of Jainism to this day. If the fact of their having kept open the doors of the synod of their church to lay representatives contributed to the stability of Jainism, it may be said, side by side, that its adopting a less active missionary career than Buddhism, and preferring as its chief centres of worship more secluded sites, did more so.² This enabled the Jainas to resist more successfully the stress of the Brahmanical revival and Mohammedan persecution, under which Buddhism in India collapsed.³ "The toleration extended to them by the Brahmans, even though they were regarded as heretics, led large numbers of Buddhists to take refuge in their community in the days of the persecution"⁴ Thus they were able to hold on till the period of the Mohammedan domination, "which, while it evidently contributed to the religious, political and social dismemberment of the nation, everywhere showed itself conservative of minorities, small associations, and small churches."⁵

According to Drs Charpentier and Jacobi what most enabled Jainism to weather the storms that in India wrecked so many of the other faiths was their more or less rigid fidelity or their everyday anxiety to stick to the doctrines that had come down to them since the days of Mahāvīra. "The inflexible conservatism of the small Jaina community in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrine has probably been the chief cause of its survival

¹ "Dr Hoernle's discussion of this subject in his Presidential address of 1898 before the Asiatic Society of Bengal was singularly luminous, emphasising as it did the place accorded from the very first to the lay adherent as an integral part of the Jaina organisation. In the Buddhist order, on the other hand, the lay element received no formal recognition whatsoever. Lacking thus any 'bond with the broad strata of the secular life of the people,' Buddhism, under the fierce assault on its monastic settlements made by the Moslems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, proved incompetent to maintain itself and simply disappeared from the land"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, Int., p. vi. Cf. also Charpentier, *op. cit*, pp. 168-169; Hoernle, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, p. 53.

² "Jainism, less enterprising but more speculative than Buddhism, and lacking the active missionary spirit that in early times dominated the latter, has been content to spend a quiet life within comparatively narrow borders, and can show to-day in Western and Southern India not only prosperous monastic establishments but also lay communities, small perhaps, yet wealthy and influential"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, Int., p. vi. "Never rising to an overpowering height but at the same time never sharing the fate of its rival Buddhism, that of complete extinction in its native land"—Charpentier, *op cit*, pp. 169-170.

³ Cf. Crooke, *L.R.E.*, ii, p. 496.

⁴ Tiele, *op cit*, p. 141.

⁵ Barth, *op. cit*, p. 152.

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during periods of severe affliction; for, as Professor Jacobi has pointed out long ago, there can be little doubt that the most important doctrines of the Jaina religion have remained practically unaltered since the first great separation in the time of Bhadrabāhu, about 300 B.C. And although a number of less vital rules concerning the life and practices of the monks and laymen, which we find recorded in the holy scriptures, may have fallen into oblivion or disuse, there is no reason to doubt that the religious life of the Jaina community is now substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago. It must be confessed from this that an absolute refusal to admit changes has been the strongest safeguard of the Jainas."¹

It is doubtful if this conservative nature can any more help the Jaina community as it stands now. To a student of present-day contemporary religions it would seem otherwise. In conservatism he would see signs of intoleration, stagnation and religious hypocrisy. From dedicatory inscriptions and other records Sir Charles Elliot may conclude: "We learn from these records that the sect comprised a great number of schools and divisions. We need not suppose that the different teachers were necessarily hostile to one another, but their existence testifies to an activity and freedom of interpretation which have left traces in the multitude of modern sub-sects"² But one thing is certain, that these different teachers have, in trying to grind their own axes, disregarded the general good of the whole Jaina community.

Colonel Tod has rightly remarked: "Tapa-Gaccha and Kharatara-Gaccha did much more harm than the Islamites to destroy all records of the past"³ Well, the same thing may be said of the Digambara and the Svetāmbara divisions of the Jainas. Their attitude towards each other, both in the past and as it is now, does in no way do any justice to the followers of Lord Mahāvīra. One need not be misunderstood if one were to express one's fears that if this aggressive attitude and mutual distrust amongst the existing divisions in the Jaina community were to go on at this rate a time may come when the Jainas may have to share the same fate as that of their brothers, the Buddhists.

¹ Charpentier, *op cit*, p. 169 Cf. Jacobi, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxviii, pp. 17 ff

² Elliot, *op cit*, p. 113

³ Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 284

CHAPTER III

Jainism in Royal Families

800-200 B.C.

I

IN our previous chapters we saw all that could be said about the Jaina church. That Pārśva could be historically identified and that Mahāvīra had blood-relations with some royal families of his time are facts that count much when we are out to investigate the circumstances under which "Jainism became the state religion of certain kingdoms, in the sense that it was adopted and encouraged by certain kings, who carried with them many of their subjects."¹

This is nothing but ascribing the history of the Jainas of North India with all its legitimate historical background of that part of the country. In other words, the aim of this chapter is to draw, as far as possible, an exact picture of the Jainas of North India in their relations with the ruling dynasties of their times.

Taking first the times of Pārśva, we find that there is hardly any material available on which we can rely. Very "scanty is our knowledge of the life and teaching of Pārśva, in spite of the large body of literature which has clustered around his name."² As seen before, all that we know of any historical importance in connection with him is that he was born of King Āśvasena of Benares, who belonged to the Ikshvāku race of the Kshatriyas,³ and that he reached his final liberation, *Nirvāna*, on the top of Mount Summeta in Bengal. In his marital relations he was connected with the royal family of King Prasenajit, whose father, Naravarman, who designated himself as the lord of the universe

¹ Smith, *op cit*, p 55.

² Charpentier, *op cit*, p 154

³ . . . अतुगं नयवैलि वाराणस्यभिधानः ॥

तस्याभिष्टाकुर्वशोम्भूदश्चसेनो महोपतिः ।

—Hemacandra, *Trishashṭi-Salākā*, *Parva IX*, vv 8, 14, p 196

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and who had in his lifetime become a Jaina *Sādhu*, was ruling at Kuśasthala, and whose daughter Prabhāvatī was married to Pārśva.¹

It is difficult to say as to how far these facts can be taken as historically true. The trouble is, for all this, that we have got to wholly rely on whatever data the Jainas put before us, because there is no other historical monument or record which can be taken into consideration for the purposes of this history. But the same difficulty arises with the whole of Indian history of the days prior to Alexander the Great, and sometimes even later than that. Fortunately, as already remarked, looking to the great historical worth and the literary value attributed to the Jaina canonical and other literature of the centuries before the Christian era by some of the eminent scholars and historians of our day, it will not be too much to say that with the Buddhist and Hindu annals Jaina annals too have their place, and a due consideration should be extended to them also.

In the words of Dr Jacobi, "The origin and development of the Jaina sect is a subject on which some scholars still think it safe to speak with a sceptical caution, though this seems little warranted by the present state of the whole question; for a large and ancient literature has been made accessible, and furnishes ample materials for the early history of the sect to all who are willing to collect them. Nor is the nature of these materials such as to make us distrust them. We know that the sacred books of the Jainas are old, avowedly older than the Sanskrit literature which we are accustomed to call classical. Regarding their antiquity, many of those books can vie with the oldest books of the northern Buddhists. As the latter books have successively been used as materials for the history of Buddha and Buddhism, we can find no reason why we should distrust the sacred books of the Jainas as an authentic source of their history. If they were full of contradictory statements, or the dates contained in them would lead to contradictory conclusions, we should be justified in viewing all theories based on such materials with suspicion. But the character of the Jaina

¹ पुर कुशस्थलं नाम ॥ तत्रासीत्परमेश्वरः । पृथिवीपतिः ॥ जैनधर्मं रतो निरतः ।
 अपादत्र परितः सुसाधुगुरुसन्निधि ॥ राज्येभ्यश्चरन्महः । मृतुः प्रसेवजिज्ञास ॥ तस्य
 प्रभावती नाम । कन्यका ॥ पार्श्वो । उदुवाह प्रभावतीम् ॥—Hemacandra,
Trishashiti-Sāṅgīhā, Parva IX, vv 58, 59, 61, 62, 68, 69, 210, pp 198, 203
 80

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literature differs little in this respect also from the Buddhistical, at least from that of the northern Buddhists." ¹

Thus with the material that is at our disposal it is very difficult to historically identify the Aśvasena of Benares or Kāśī,² and the Prasenajit or his father Naravarman of Kuśasthala, but there are other historical and geographical coincidences from which we can deduce certain inferences which may be said to have some historical significance behind them.

Now, on the authority of Hemacandra's "*Hemakośa*," Nundo Lal Dey has identified Kuśasthala with Kanauj or Kanyākubja,³ and this is supported by other scholars also.⁴ Furthermore, Dr Raychaudhuri tells us as to how the Pañcālas were connected "with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyākubja or Kanauj."⁵ Again this fact of there existing side by side the kingdoms of Kāśī and Pañcāla is further supported by both the Buddhist and the Jaina literary traditions. From the Buddhist *Āṅguttara Nikāya* and the Jaina *Bhagavati-Sūtra* we know that during this period (*i.e.* during the eighth century B.C.) "there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the *Soḷasa Mahājanapada*."⁶ Of these Kāśī, among others, is common to both, while Pañcāla is mentioned only by the former.⁷

Taking the history of Pañcāla we find that it roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doāb. "The *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas* and the *Divyāvadāna* refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhāgrathī (Ganges) formed the dividing line. According to the Great Epic, Northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatra or Chatravatī (the modern

¹ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, Int, p. ix. "We must leave to future researchers to work out the details, but I hope to have removed the doubts, entertained by some scholars, about the independence of the Jaina religion and the value of its sacred books as trustworthy documents for the elucidation of its early history"—*Ibid*, Int, p. xlvii Cf Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, Int, p. 25

² "No such person as Aśvasena is known from Brahman record to have existed, the only individual of that name mentioned in the epic literature was a king of the snakes (*Nāga*), and he cannot in any way be connected with the father of the Jaina prophet"—Charpentier, *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 154 It may, by the way, be mentioned here that all his life Pārśvanātha was connected with snakes, and to this day the saint's symbol is a hooded serpent's head Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, pp. 48-49

³ Dey, *op cit*, pp. 88, 111

⁴ "Kanyākubja was also called Gādhapura, Mahodaya and Kuśasthala"—Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (ed Mazumdar), p. 707

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 86 "Kanauj was primarily the capital of the kingdom of Pañcāla"—Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 391

⁶ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp. 59, 60 Cf Rhys Davids, *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 172

⁷ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 60

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Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District), while Southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal”¹

Along with this background of the Pañcāla history we have direct references to it in the Jaina annals as well. The *Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra* mentions a great Pañcāla king named Brahmadatta, who was born of Culaṇi in Kāmpilya.² He meets Citta, his brother in a former birth, and who has become a Śramana in this. Brahmadatta is styled a universal monarch, and he is so fond of worldly pleasure that he does not care for the advice of his brother Citta and finally goes to hell.³

A further reference in this direction by the same *Sūtra* is also to a king of Kāmpilya named Sañjaya, who “gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas in the presence of the venerable monk Gardabhāh”⁴

Thus it seems probable that Kāśi and Pañcāla, the two of the “sixteen states of considerable extent and power,”⁵ were joined together on matrimonial grounds, and the probability becomes more of a certainty when we know from the dynastic lists prepared by Pargiter that there was some Senajit who was one of the rulers of Southern Pañcāla.⁶ Doing away with some superficial variations in names, this Senajit can with no historical

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 85. Cf. also Smith, *op cit*, pp. 391-392, Dey, *op cit*, p. 145.

² “Little is known about the history of Kāmpilya, apparently the modern Kampil in the Farrukabad District”—Smith, *op cit*, p. 392.

³ पुलणीय ब्रह्मदत्तो . . . कम्पिले समुत्तो जितो । धम्म सोकण पद्दत्तो ॥
पचालराया वि य ब्रह्मदत्तो ब्रह्म वयलं चक्राउं । सो नरए पविट्ठो ॥—*Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra*, Lecture XIII, vv. 1, 2, 34. Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, pp. 57-61. The stories about Kitta (Citta) and Sambluta (Brahmadatta) and the fate they underwent in many births are common to Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 56, 57, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit*, p. 80, Charpentier, *Uttarādhyaṇa*, pt. II, pp. 328-331.

⁴ कम्पिले नयरे राया . . . ।

नामेण संनये ॥

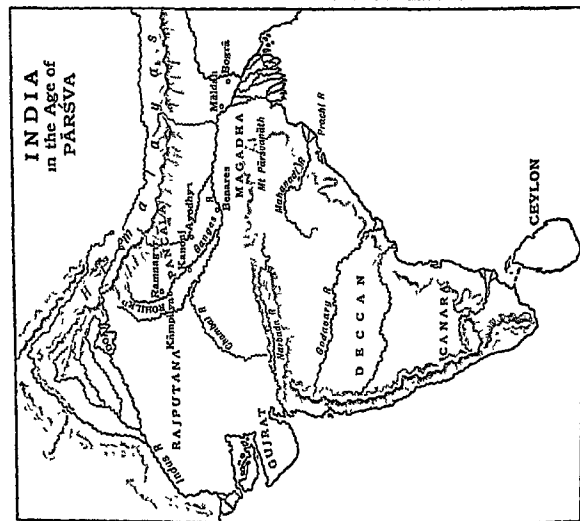
सज्जो पडुं रज्ज निमखनो जिणसासणे ।

गृह्णालिस्स भगवसो सखमारस्स जनिर ॥

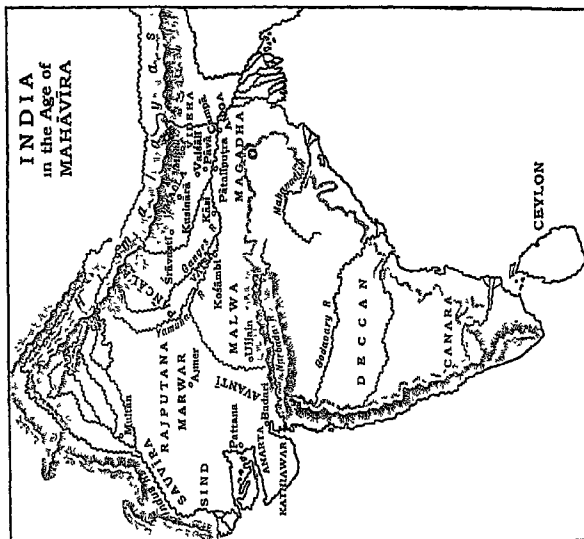
—*Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra*, Lecture XVIII, vv. 1, 19. Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 80, 82; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit* and *loc cit*.

⁵ “The Jains also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāśi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of that Tirthankara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvīra—i.e. in 777 B.C.”—*Ibid*, *op cit*, p. 61. Taking 480-467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa we get 730-717 as the date of Pārśva's Nirvāṇa.

⁶ Cf. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 146; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 107.



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fallacy be identified with Prasenajit, with whom we are here concerned.¹

The most important and the only inference that we may draw from this is that Jainism in the days of Pārśva enjoyed no less royal patronage than in the days of Mahāvīra. The extent of his influence was in no way less extensive than during the career of his successor. He was a member of the royal family of Kāśī, son-in-law to that of Pañcāla,² and he died on the top of Mount Pārśvanātha in Bengal.³ With this royal backing behind him it is natural that he must have had great influence on contemporary royalties and on his own subjects also. From *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and other Jaina canonical books we know that even in the days of Mahāvīra there were followers of Pārśva round about Magadha.⁴ As seen before, the very family of Mahāvīra was attached to the religion of Pārśva. In addition to this the reference made in the Jaina canonical books to the actual following of Pārśva in his own days confirms the fact that the Jaina community had spread well even in those early days throughout a great portion of North India, though it is not possible to put down any geographical limits.⁵ As already mentioned, there were 16,000 monks, 38,000 nuns, 164,000

¹ "In other cases the first component is omitted . . . Bhāgavata calls Prasenajit of Ayodhya Senajit"—Pargiter, *op cit*, p. 127.

² Mazumdar seems to be labouring under some confusion here. According to him Pārśva was a son-in-law of King Prasenajit of Uddh, and thus he connects the two dynasties of Kosala and Kāśī; but we think he has wrongly identified him with the Prasenajit of the days of Mahāvīra, who was the father-in-law of King Bumbisāra, the great Śaśunāga, and one of the greatest royal supporters of Jainism. Furthermore he commits the same blunder when he says that Pārśva died at the age of seventy-two. We have already seen it was Mahāvīra who lived for seventy-two years, while Pārśva lived for one hundred. Cf. Mazumdar, *op cit*, pp. 495, 551, 552. Mrs. Stevenson also seems to be under the same misconception when she says, "Pārśvanātha . . . married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Prasannajita, king of Ayodhya"—Stevenson (Mrs.), *op cit*, p. 48.

³ " . . . he reached deliverance at last on Mount Sameta Śikhara in Bengal, which was thenceforth known as the Mount Pārśvanātha"—*Ibid*, p. 49.

⁴ "Outside of Rājagṛha, in a north-eastern direction, there was the suburb Nālandā, . . . and there in some house the venerable Gautama was staying. The venerable (man) was in the garden, and so was Uḍaka, the son of Pethāla, a *Nivṛtṇtha* and follower of Pārśva . . ."—Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 419-420, जिणे पाति . . . तस्स जेसीकुमारसणे . . . सवत्थिं पुराणगए . . . —*Uttarādhyaṇa-Sūtra*, Lecture XXIII, vv. 1-3. Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 119-120.

⁵ One does not know on what grounds Mazumdar tries to define geographically the limits of Jainism in the days of Pārśva. "His Jainism," observes the learned scholar, "prevailed from Bengal to Gujarat. The districts of Māldah and Bogrā were great centres of his faith. His converts were mostly from the depressed classes of the Hindus and Non-Aryans. In Rajputana his adherents grew very powerful."—Mazumdar, *op and loc cit*.

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lay-votaries, 327,000 female lay-votaries and a few thousands more belonging to the higher grade of religious qualification.¹

From Pārśva to Mahāvira there are no data of any historical worth. A period of two hundred and fifty years in Jaina history has to remain blank because of the absence of any historical records or monuments on which we can rely for purposes of history. Anyhow this much is certain, that though it is not possible at present historically to fill up the gap between the last two prophets of the Jainas, it may safely be said that throughout this period Jainism was a living religion.² As already seen, all along the Jaina clergy of Pārśva's school of thought were exerting their own influence, and Mahāvira and some of his followers had regularly to face some representatives of that class just to win them over to the reformed church of the sixth century B C.

Coming to the days of Mahāvira one seems to feel as if a better situation has to be met with, but here also, barring the canonical literature of the Jainas and the Buddhas and certain other traditions, there is hardly anything on which we can fall back upon.³ Fortunately for us, the Jaina sacred books have preserved facts and comments which, though in bits and fragments, are yet sufficient to hold up before our eyes a living picture of this period of the Jaina history. Like Pārśva, Mahāvira also had his blood-relations with the ruling dynasties of his age. His father, Siddhārtha, was a great nobleman himself, and he belonged to the clan of the Jñātrī Kshatriyas. His headquarters were at Kundapura or Kundagāma (Kundagrāma),⁴ and from the way in which he is

¹ Cf Jacobi, *SBE*, xxii, p. 274

एवं विहरतो भट्टैः सहस्राः षोडशर्षयः ।

सष्टाविंशत्सहस्राणि साधनां तु महामनाम् ॥

आवकाशां लक्ष्मेर्न चतुःषष्टिसहस्रयुक् ॥

आविकाशां तु त्रिलक्षी सहस्राः समविंशतिः ।

—Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 812, 814, 815, p. 219 Cf *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, sūl 161-164, pp 180-181

² Cf Hoernle, *Udāsaga-Dasā*, ii, p. 6, n. 8

³ "Early Indian history as yet resembles those maps of our grandfathers in which Geographers for lack of towns Drew elephants on pathless downs

though the Jainas have kept historical records of their own, it is very difficult to correlate these records with known facts in the world's history"—Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 7

⁴ "It is another name for Vaiśālī (modern Besārh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Trihut), in fact Kundagāma (Kundagrāma), now called Basukund, was a part of the ancient town of Vaiśālī, the latter comprising three districts or quarters Vaiśālī proper (Besārh), Kundapur (Basukund), and Vāmagāma (Bana)"—Dey, *op. cit*, p. 107

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pictured in the Jaina sacred books it seems he was the head of the clan to which he belonged, and a ruler of some state, whether great or small.¹ As we shall see later on, it may be that he was one of the executive of the republic of which Kundapura was a leading division, but from the status that he enjoyed in society this much is certain, that Siddhārtha spent his life more or less as an independent ruler than as a mere petty chieftain under a sovereign state.²

Again referring to the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* we find that the state of Vajji is also common to both the Buddhist and the Jaina lists. "The Vajjis," observes Dr Raychaudhuri, "according to Professor Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (*Atthakula*), of whom the Videhans, the Licchavis, the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* the Ugras, Bhogas, Aikshavākas and Kauravas are associated with the Jñātrīs and Licchavis as subjects of the same rulers and the members of the same assembly."³

On the other hand, on the authority of the Buddhist sources Dr Pradhan adds one more member to this confederacy, and observes: "This confederacy consisted of nine clans, some of which were the Licchavis (or Licchavis), the Vrijis (or Vajjis), the Jñātrikas, and the Videhas. This confederacy of nine clans was known as the confederacy of the Vrijis or of the Licchavis, as the Vrijis and the Licchavis were the most important of the nine clans. These nine Licchivi clans again federated themselves with the nine

¹ In the *Kalpa-Sūtra* the interpreters of the dreams of Trisālā, mother of Mahāvīra, are said to have come "to the front gate of Siddhārtha's excellent palace, a jewel of its kind"—Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 245. At another place in the same *Sūtra* Siddhārtha is said to have celebrated the birthday of Mahāvīra by ordering his police authorities quickly to set free all prisoners in the town of Kundapura, to increase measures and weights, and so on. Cf. *ibid*, p. 252, Hemacandra, *op cit*, *Parva X*, vv 128, 132, p 16.

² Barnett, the *Antagada-Dasāo* and *Anuttaravavāya-Dasāo*, Int, p vi. Dr Jacobi, in trying to expose the fond belief of the Jains that "Kundagrāma was a large town and Siddhārtha a powerful monarch," seems to have gone to the other extreme when he observes: "From all this it appears that Siddhārtha was no king, nor even the head of his clan, but in all probability only exercised the degree of authority which in the East usually falls to the share of landowners, especially of those belonging to the recognised aristocracy of the country"—Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xii.

³ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 73-74. "The Ugras and Bhogas were Kshatriyas. The former were, according to the Jains, descendants of those whom Rshabha, the first Tirthankara, appointed to the office of Kotwals, or prefects of towns, while the Bhogas were descendants of those whom Rshabha acknowledged as persons deserving honour"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv., p 71, n 2. Cf Hoernle, *op cit*, Appendix III, p 58.

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Mallaki clans and the eighteen Ganarājās of Kāsī-Kosala.”¹ This statement of the learned scholar is also supported by the Jaina annals.²

“It is related,” observes Dr Jacobi, “that King Cetaka, whom Kūṃka, king of Campā, prepared to attack with a strong army, called together the eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala, the Licchavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūṃka’s demands or go to war with him. Again on the death of Mahāvīra the eighteen confederate kings, mentioned above, instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event.”³

From all this it seems highly probable that of all these confederate clans one common characteristic was that most of them had directly or indirectly come under the influence of Mahāvīra or his teaching. Whether all of them were Jainas by faith or not one cannot say, but this much is certain, that there was something more solid than mere lip-sympathy on their part.

Taking first the Videhans, we find that they “had their capital at Mithilā, which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur, just within the Nepal border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section probably belonged the princess Trisālā, also called Videhadattā, mother of Mahāvīra.”⁴ As already mentioned, we find scattered here and there direct references to Mahāvīra’s relations with the Videhans in the Jaina *Sūtras*. Says the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*: “His (Mahāvīra’s) mother had three names: Trisālā, Videhadattā and Priyakārm.”⁵

“In that period, in that age, the Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, a Jñātrī Kshatriya, Jñātriputra, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha, lived thirty years under the name of ‘Videha.’”⁶

Coming next to the *Kalpa-Sūtra*: “The Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra . . . ; a Jñātrī Kshatriya, the son of a Jñātrī Kshatriya; the moon of the clan of the Jñātris; a Videha, the son of Vide-

¹ Pradhan, *op cit*, p. 215

² नर मन्त्र नव लेख्य कारिकासुता षट्पञ्चविंशति गणरायाणो . — *Bhagavati, sūt* 300, p 316 Cf Hemacandra, *op cit*, p 165.

³ Jacobi, *SBE*, ११, Int., p ११ Cf *ibid*, p 206, Law (B C), *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p 11, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 128; *Bhagavati, sūt* 300, p 316. Hemacandra, *op and loc cit*, *Kalpa-Sūtra, Subhodhikā-Tīkā, sūt* 128, p 121, Pradhan, *op cit*, pp 128-129, Hoernle, *op cit*, II, Appendix II, pp 59-60

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 71, समस्त ए भगवतो महापुरुष माया . . त्रिसला इ या विदेहिना इ या पौदकारिणी इ या . — *Kalpa-Sūtra, Subhodhikā-Tīkā, sūt* 100, p 89

⁵ Jacobi, *op cit*, p 107

⁶ *ibid*, p 104

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hadattā, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha—had lived thirty years in Videha when his parents went to the gods (*i.e.* died).”¹

Thus from the *Jaina Sūtras* themselves the following points are confirmed: that a section of the Videhans had settled in Vaiśālī, “the capital of Videha”²; that Princess Trisālā belonged to this section of the Videhans, and that Mahāvira was closely connected with them. With all this the first point still needs some more elucidation. As Mahāvira was a Videhan, even so according to Jacobi he was also a Vaisāhka—*i.e.* a native of Vaiśālī. Thus Kundapura or Kundagrāma of King Siddhārtha cannot but be a prominent part of Vaiśālī, the capital of the reigning line of Videha.³

In addition to all these references confirming the close relationship that existed between Mahāvira and the Videhans there are certain other indications in the sacred books of the Jainas which go to assert that the Videhans had a living interest in the *Jaina* church. Talking about Namī, the royal seer, the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* says:

नमी नमोऽक्षय्याय सकलं सङ्ग्रेहो बोद्धव्यो ।
चङ्कय गेहं च वेदेहि सामर्थ्ये यच्चुवद्विषो ॥

“Namī humbled himself; enjoined by Sakra in person, the king of Videha left the house, and took upon him *Sramanahood*.”⁴

Besides this from the *Kalpa-Sūtra* we know that at Mithilā, the metropolis of Videha, Mahāvira spent six rainy-seasons. This shows how far Mahāvira was connected with the Videhans. In short, from what we have seen about them one thing is clear—that if not all, there was at least a section amongst the Videhans who were real Jainas.

Coming next to the Licchavis we find that they were a great and powerful people in Eastern India in the sixth century before Christ. There is no use denying the fact that with the Jñātrikas they must have come directly under the influence of the teaching

¹ Jacobi, *op cit*, p 256

² *Ibid*, Int, p xi

³ “Kundagrāma, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesali—*i.e.* Vaisāhika—given to Mahāvira in the *Sūtrakṛāṅga*, 1, 8. The commentator explains the passage in question in two different ways, and at another place a third explanation is given. . . . Vaisāhika apparently means a native of Vaiśālī: and Mahāvira could be rightly called that when Kundagrāma was a suburb of Vaiśālī, just as a native of Turnham Green may be called a Londoner.”—*Ibid*

⁴ *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, Lecture IX, v. 61. Cf. *ibid*, v. 62; Lecture XVIII, v. 45 (trans. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, pp 41, 87). For a full description of the legendary tale of Namī see Meyer (J. J.), *Hindu Tales*, pp 147-169

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of Mahāvīra His mother Trisālā was sister to Cetaka, king of Vaiśālī,¹ who belonged to the Licchavi sect of the Kshatriyas, while on his father's side Mahāvīra was a Jñātrika himself.

Here arises the difficulty that if Trisālā was the Licchavi princess there is no reason why she should be called Videhadattā² The possible explanation that can be given for this is that she was so called because she belonged to that part of the country which was originally known as Videha, and, as we have just remarked, Vaiśālī was the capital of Videha. Furthermore, in the words of Dr Raychaudhuri, "the Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece, where also the monarchies of the Heroic age were succeeded by aristocratic republics"³ Moreover, in confirmation with other traditions this leads to a further surmise—that after the fall of the Videhans a section of them might also have been called the Licchavis.⁴

Thus there is nothing unnatural or out of the way if Trisālā was called Videhadattā though she was a Licchavi princess Now this Trisālā was married to Siddhārtha, who, according to the Jainas, was a follower of Pārśva, the predecessor of Lord Mahāvīra. This naturally leads one to infer that either the royal family of the Licchavis was Jaina by faith or that it was socially so situated that it could take a member of the other Jaina royal family as a bridegroom for its princess. This incident alone warrants the conclusion that the Licchavis had a distinct sympathy and respect for the Jainas, but the literary and the historical traditions of the Jainas do not stop with this solitary incident alone We further know that Cellanā (also called Vedehi), the youngest of the seven daughters of King Cetaka,⁵ was married to Bimbisāra, the great Śaśunāga of Magadha, and that both Bimbisāra and Cellanā were great Jainas themselves⁶

¹ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 118

² "In the opinion of several scholars Cetaka was a Licchavi But the secondary names of his sister (Videhadattā) and daughter (Vedehi) probably indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesālī"—Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 78, n 2

³ *Ibid*, p 76

⁴ "In the time of Buddha, and for many centuries afterwards, the people of Vaiśālī were called Licchavis, and in the *Triśaṇḍaśeṣa* the names of Licchavi, Videhi, and Tribhukti have been given as synonymous"—Cunningham *op cit*, p 509

⁵ वेदालिचो वेदजो सप्त दूयाजो . —*Āvākyaka-Sūtra*, p 676

⁶ "Bimbisāra had a son known as Vedehi-Putta Ajātsattū in the canonical Pāli texts, and Kūṃka by the Jainas The later Buddhist tradition makes him a son of the

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Besides Cellanā, Ceṭaka had six other daughters, out of whom one preferred to be a nun and the other five were married in one or the other royal family of Eastern India. How far this fact can be taken as an historical truth we cannot say, but hardly with any exception almost all those ruling dynasties with whom the Licchavis were thus connected can be fully identified in the light of modern research. The names of these Licchavi princesses are Prabhāvati, Padmāvati, Mṛgāvati, Sīvā, Jyeshthā, Sujyeshthā and Cellanā¹

Of these, Prabhāvati, the eldest, was married to King Udāyana of Vitabhaya, which has been identified at various places in the Jaina literature with a town of *Sindhu-Sauvīra-Deśa*.² But to what part of the country these literary evidences allude we cannot exactly say, because on the basis of various sources it has been identified with different places in the west and north-west of India. Cunningham identifies it with "the province of Badari or Eder, at the head of the Gulf of Cambay."³ Dr Rhys Davids more or less agrees with Cunningham, and places Sauvīra in his map to the north of Kathiawar and along the Gulf of Cutch.⁴ Alberuni identifies it with Multan and Jāhrāvār, and this is also accepted by Mr Dey.⁵

On the other hand the Jaina traditions are as follows :

Abhayadevasūri, in his commentary on the *Bhagavati*, puts his interpretation in the following words : सिन्धुनद्या आसन्नाः सीवीरा-जनपदविशेषाः सिन्धुसीवीरास्तेषु . . विगता इत्यो भवानि च यत्सङ्घीतिभयं विदुर्भोति केचित्.⁶

The story of Udāyana translated by Meyer from the *Uttarā-dhyayana-Sūtra* mentions Vitabhaya as follows : "There was in

Kosala Devī; the Jaina tradition, confirmed by the standing epithet of Vedehi-Putto, son of the princess of Videha, in the older Buddhist books makes him a son of Cellanā"
—Rhys Davids, *C.H.I.*, i, p. 188.

देव्या चेहणया सार्धमपराह्णेन्यदा नृपः ।
वीरं समवसरणस्थितं वन्दितुमभ्यागात् ॥
वन्दित्वा श्रीमद्देवं वलितौ तौ च दंपती ।

—Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 11-12, p. 86

¹ *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 676; Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 187, p. 77.

² सिन्धुसीवीरेषु . . वीतीभर नगरे . उदायणे नाम राया . तस्स पभावती नाम देवो.
—*Bhagavati*, sūt. 491, p. 618. Cf also *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 676; Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 190, p. 77; सिन्धुसीवीरदेशेऽस्ति पुरं वीतीभयाह्वयम् ।—*Ibid.*, v. 327, p. 147; Meyer (J. J.), *op. cit.*, p. 97.

³ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 569

⁴ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, map facing p. 320

⁵ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, i, p. 302. Cf Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 183

⁶ *Bhagavati*, sūt. 492, pp. 320-321.

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a city in the countries of Sindhu and Sovira, called Viyabhaya, a king, Udāyana by name. . . ."¹

"The *Satruñjaya Māhātmya* places it in Sindhu or Smd."²

From all these identifications it seems that the country roughly corresponds to a portion of Sind on the east of the River Indus and of Rajputana to the north-west of Malwa. This is also confirmed by the fact that Udāyana went through the deserts of Marwar and Rajputana, where his army began to die of thirst during the war which he had declared against the king of Avantī.³

Besides these identifications one thing we get about *Sindhu-Sauvira-Deśa* from Varāhamihira's division of *Bhārata-varsha* is this, that it formed one of the nine divisions into which the country was divided.⁴ The historical and geographical importance accruing from this justifies the Jaina sources to some extent when they say that, along with Vitabhaya, Udāyana was the overlord of three hundred and sixty-three other towns.⁵ Furthermore, from the life of Kumārapāla of the twelfth century A.D. we know that during his career he brought to Pattana⁶ a Jaina idol⁷ which, according to

¹ Meyer (J J), *op cit*, p 97 For the story in the *Uttarādhyayana* see Laxmi-Vallabha's commentary (Dhanapatasamha's edition), pp 552-561.

² Cf. Dey, *op cit*, p 188

³ उच्चरन्तो च नरु स्तस्यावारस्तुया नृत्तमारमः *Avastya-Sūtra*, p 200 Cf Meyer (J. J.), *op cit*, p 108 It may be mentioned here that, according to the Buddhist traditions, Roruka was the capital of Sauvira Cf *CHJ*, 1, p 178, Dey, *op cit*, p 170 According to Cunningham, Roruka was "probably Alor, the old city of Sind"—Cunningham, *op cit*, p 700

⁴ Varāhamihira calls each of the *Nava-Khandas* a *Varga* He says "By them (the *Vargas*) *Bhārata-varsha*—i.e. half of the world—is divided into nine parts the central one, the eastern one, etc"—Sachau, *op cit*, p 297 Cf *ibid*, pp 298-302, Cunningham, *op cit*, p 6 "According to this arrangement . Sindhu-Sauvira was the chief district of the west , but there is a discrepancy between this epitome of Varāha and his details, as Sindhu-Sauvira is there assigned to the south-west along with Anarta"—*Ibid*, p 7

⁵ चोत्तमयादिनगरत्रिपट्टिचिन्तीप्रभुः—Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 328, p 147. "This King Udāyana lived exercising the sovereignty over sixteen countries, beginning with Sindhu-Sauvira, three hundred and sixty-three cities, beginning with Vitabhaya"—Meyer (J J), *op cit*, p 97.

⁶ "Anahila-Pattana, Virūval-Pattana or Pattana, called also Northern Baroda in Gujarat, founded in Samvat 802 or A.D. 746, after the destruction of Valabhi by Banarāja or Vamsarāja The town was called Anahilapattana, after the name of a cowherd who pointed out the site Hemacandra, the celebrated Jaina grammarian and lexicographer, flourished in the court of Kumārapāla, the king of Anahilapattana (A.D. 1114-1173), and was his spiritual guide He died at the age of eighty-four in A.D. 1172, which year Kumārapāla became a convert to Jainism but according to old authorities, the conversion took place in A.D. 1159 After the overthrow of Vallabhi the eighth century Anahilapattana became the chief city of Gujarat, or Western India, the fifteenth century"—Dey, *op cit*, p 6

⁷ Jayasimhasūri, *Kumārapāla-Bhūpāla-Caritra-Mahādhāvyā*, *Sarga IX*, vv 261, 26.



GURU ITMACANDRA AND HIS ROYAL DISCIPLE KUMĀRAPĀLA

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Hemacandra, had been lying underground at Vitabhaya since the days of Udāyana.¹

This much about *Sindhu-Sauvīra-Deśa* and its metropolis Vitabhaya. About its ruler, Udāyana, there are not many data wherefrom to infer historically. In the words of Dr Raychaudhuri "it is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables"²; but it must be admitted that there are a few facts about Udāyana which can be gleaned from the Jaina annals and which deserve some notice, howsoever little, on the part of historians. According to these annals Udāyana of *Sauvīra-Deśa* in an open fight defeated his dependent Canda Pradyota of Avantī,³ who is an historical person, and about whom we shall see in detail in his relation as husband to Śivā, the fourth daughter of Cēṭaka. Besides this we know that Udāyana was succeeded by his nephew Kesi, in whose reign Vitabhaya went to wreck and ruin.⁴ One cannot say if this is all a mere fiction or this is itself the reason why we have no traces of the history of this great part of the country, though we know on good authority that at one time it formed one of the "nine-Vargas" of *Bhāratavarsha*.

About Udāyana's and his wife Prabhāvatī's attitude towards the religion of the Jinas we have ample proof, direct and otherwise, in the canonical literature of the Jainas, on which we can base our own inferences. At one place Prabhāvatī, the Licchavi princess, having performed the worship of a Jaina image, says: "The Arhat, who is free from love, hatred and delusion, who knows everything, who is endowed with the eight miraculous powers, who wears the form of the supreme god of gods, may he grant me a sight of himself."⁵

This shows with what respect the queen of Sauvīra looked

¹ उदायने शिवगते . . । तदेव प्रतिमा . . । भविष्यति भूगता ॥ रात्रः कुमारपालस्य . . . पुष्येन . . । खन्यमानस्यले मङ्गु प्रतिमाविर्भविष्यति ॥—Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 20, 22, 83, pp 158, 160

² Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 123 This war between the two, according to the legend, had taken place because Pradyota had run away with a servant girl and an image of Jina which belonged to Udāyana. "Thereupon he sent a messenger to Pajjoja: 'I care nothing for the servant girl Send me the image' He did not give it . . Udāyana hurriedly took the field together with the ten kungs (his vassals) . . When Pajjoja descended he was bound (captured by Udāyana) '—Meyer (J. J.), *op cit*, pp 109-110 Cf *Atasyaka-Sūtra*, p 299

³ उदायनो राजा गत उज्जयिनी . . प्रद्योतो . . यद्धे—*Ibid*, pp 298-299 Cf Hemacandra, *op. cit*, v. 578, p 156

⁴ तए खं से केसीकुमारं राया जाए . . —*Bhagavati-Sūtra*, sūti 491, p 619 "When he (Udāyana) died, a deity let a shower of dust fall . . Even to this day it lies buried" —Meyer (J. J.), *op cit*, pp. 115-116 ⁵ *Ibid*, p 105

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at the Jaina faith¹ Moreover, from the *Uttarādhyayana* and other canonical literature we know that the king too was no less a believer in the religion of the Jina,² though originally he was "devoted to Brahmanic ascetics."³ He even went to the extent of renouncing the world,⁴ and when the question of the succession of his son Abhu came before him he says to himself. "If I renounce the world after appointing Prince Abhu to royal power, then Abhu will become infatuated with royal power and royal dominion *down to the country* and with the enjoyment of human pleasures and will stray to and fro in the beginningless, endless tanglewood of the *Samsāra*. Therefore it is evidently better that I renounce the world after appointing my sister's son, Prince Kesi, to royal power."⁵

Thus the entire change in the heart of Udāyana is evident from this incident. This has made his renunciation proverbial with the Jinas. We find in the *Antagada-Desāo* a passage referring to Udāyana—viz "Then King Alakkhe . . . withdrew from the world in the same way as King Udāyane, save that he anointed his eldest son *to rule over his kingdom*."⁶ It may be said here that in a note to this Dr Barnett has wrongly taken this passage to refer to Udāyana, "king of Kosambi and son of Sayānī (Sātānīka) by Migāvai, daughter of Cedaga, king of Vaiśālī"⁷

Furthermore, the treatment offered by Udāyana to the Avanti Pradyota, whom he had taken as a captive during the war, is illustrative of the fact that he strictly adhered to the "precept that during the *Paryushanāparvan* even the most deadly enmity should be given up"⁸ It so happened that on the occasion of the *Paryushanāparvan*, although Udāyana himself observed a fast he, notwithstanding, gave

¹ प्रभावत्वा सन्तःपुरे चैतगृहं कारितं, . भक्तप्रत्यास्थानेन मृता देवलोकां गता.—*Avastya-Sūtra*, p 298 Cf Meyer (J J), *op and loc cit.*, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 404, p 150

² "Udāyana, the bull of kings of Sauvira, renounced the world and turned monk, he entered the order and reached perfection"—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xiv, p 87 In a note to this Jacobi writes "He was contemporary with Mahāvīra"—*Ibid*

³ Meyer (J J), *op cit*, p 103 स च तापसभक्तः—*Avastya-Sūtra*, p 298, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 388, p 149

⁴ तत्र ग से उदायणे राया समशस्त भगवतो जाव पद्दइ.—*Bhagavati, sūl.* 492, p 620, Meyer (J J), *op cit*, p 114

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 113-114 एवं खलु सभोयीकुमारे कामभोगेसु मुच्छिह भइयेज्ज केसि कुमारं रज्जे ठावेत्ता —*Bhagavati, sūl* 491, p 619

⁶ Barnett, *op cit*, p 98

⁷ *Ibid*, p 98, n 2

⁸ Bhandarkar, *Report for 1883-1884*, p 142, *Paryusana* or *Paryushana*, the sacred festival at the close of the Jaina year Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 76, पञ्चोसवियाणं . खमियधं खमवियधं . . *Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhahā-Tīkā, sūl* 59, pp 191-192

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orders that Canda Pradyota be served with anything he liked. However the latter, from fear of being poisoned, did not wish to eat the food that was brought him, and said that he too had a fast to observe, being, as he was, of the same religion as Udāyana. This was reported to the king, and as a real Jaina he replied: "I know that he is a rogue, but while he is a captive my *Pajjusana* even does not become pure and auspicious."¹

Coming next to Padmāvati we find that she was married to King Dadhivāhana of Campā,² once a great centre of Jainism.³ Haribhadra, in his commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, clearly states that both the king and queen were great adherents of the Jaina church. Considering the historical importance that Campā enjoys in the Jaina annals there is nothing strange if one assumes on the authority of the Jaina literature that the family of Dadhivāhana had a living interest in the Jaina doctrines.⁴

"Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Candanā or Candrabālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the Kevaliship"⁵ Jaina narrative and other literature are full of references to this first female disciple of Mahāvīra. It was she who headed all the female lay and other worshippers of Vardhamāna in his own days.⁶ The political significance connected with her life is that when "Śatānīka, king of Kauśāmbi, attacked Campā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, Candanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order."⁷ This

¹ Cf Bhandarkar, *op* and *loc. cit* ; Meyer (J. J.), *op cit* , p 110-111 ; *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, *sūl.* 59, p. 192 अद्य पर्युषणा, राजोपोषितः, स भयति-अह्नयुपोषितः, ममापि मातापितरौ संयतौ, etc.—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 800.

² दत्ता पद्मावती चम्पाया दधिवाहनाय—*Ibid* , pp 676, 677 Cf. Meyer (J J.), *op cit* , p 122

³ Cf. Dey, *op cit* , p 44 ; Dey, *J.A.S.B* (New Series), x, 1914, p 334

⁴ Haribhadra tells us that, leaving the kingdom to their son Karakandū, both the king and the queen joined the order, पद्मावती देवी . दन्तपुरे आर्याणां मूले प्रव्रजिता, . द्वे अपि राज्ये दधिवाहनससौ दत्ता प्रव्रजितः, करकण्डूमहाराजसो जातः . . —*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp. 716, 717, 718 It is further said that Karakandū also, like his father, finally joined the order. Cf *ibid* , p 719 For further reference about Karakandū and his parents see Meyer (J J), *op. cit* , pp 122-136 Śāntyaśācārya, *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtrīyāhita*, pp 300-303 , Lavm-Vallabha, *Uttarādhyayana-Dīpikā*, pp 254-259

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *op cit* , p 69. Cf Dey, *op cit* , p 321.

⁶ समस्तसु भगवतो महावीरसु सज्जचक्षुषापाशुक्लासो जज्ञीस सज्जियासाहस्रीसो . इत्या—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, *sūl.* 138, p 123 Cf. Dey, *op* and *loc. cit*

⁷ Raychaudhuri, *op cit* , p 69 Cf *ibid* , p 84 "Campā was occupied and destroyed by Śatānīka II, the king of Kauśāmbi, a few years before Bimbisāra's annexation"—Pradhan, *op cit* , p 214.

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statement of Dr Raychaudhuri is based on the Jaina sources, and the whole story of Candanā in short runs as follows : During the war between her father and King Śatānīka she was caught hold of by one of the enemy's army and was sold in Kauśāmbī to a banker named Dhanāvaha, who named her Candanā in spite of her already bearing the name Vasumatī as her family name. After a short time the banker's wife, Mūlā, felt jealous of her, and having cut her hair put her into custody. In this condition she once served a part of her food to Mahāvīra, and finally joined his ranks as a nun.¹

Before we pass on to Mrgāvati, the third daughter of Cetaka, a few words about Campā in the light of Jaina history will not be out of place. The town of Campā seems to have been situated at a distance of a few miles in the neighbourhood of modern Bhagalpur, and is known to us under some such names as Campāpurī, Campānagar, Mālnī and Campā-Mālnī.² Its importance in Jaina history is self-evident when we know that Mahāvīra spent three of his rainy-seasons in Campā, the capital of Anga, and its suburbs (Prstha Campā), and that it is known to us as the place of both the birth and death of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthankara. Again, as the headquarters of Candanā and her father it is remembered by the Jainas as a great centre of their religion. There are signs of old and new Jaina temples of both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects built for Vāsupūjya and other Tīrthankaras as the chief Jinās.³ The *Uvāsaga-Dasāo* and the *Antagada-Dasāo* mention that the temple called Caitya Punnabhadda existed at Campā at the time of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Mahāvīra who succeeded as the head of the Jaina sect on his death.⁴ "The town was visited by Sudharman, the head of the Jaina hierarchy, at the time of Kūnika or Ajātaśatru, who came barefooted to

¹ Cf. *Kaipa-Sūtra*, *Subodhā-Tīkā*, sūt 118, pp 106-107. Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, pp 228-225, Hemacandra, *op cit*, pp 59-62. For further references about Candanā see Barnett, *op cit*, pp. 98-100, 102, 106.

² Cf. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p 44, Cunningham, *op cit*, pp 546-547, 722-723. Now represented by the village of Champāpur on the Ganges, near Bhagalpur, anciently it was the capital of the country of Anga, corresponding to the modern district of Bhagalpur.

³ Dey, *op cit*, pp. 44-45. "From the inscriptions on some Jaina images exhumed from the neighbourhood of an old Jaina temple at Ajmer it appears that these images, which were of Vāsupūjya, Mallinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna, were dedicated in the thirteenth century A.D.—i.e. ranging from Samvat 1239-1247"—*Ibid*, p 45. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, vii, p 52.

⁴ Hoernle, *op cit*, ii, p 2, notes "Verily, Jambū, in those days there was a city named Campā a sanctuary Punnabhadda"—Barnett, *op. cit*, pp 97-98, 100. Cf. Dey, *op and loc cit*.

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see the *Gaṇadhara* outside the city where he had taken up his abode. Sudharman's successor Jambū and Jambū's successor Prabhava also visited Campā, and Prabhava's successor, Sayambhava, lived at this city, where he composed the *Daśavaikālika-Sūtra*, containing in ten lectures all the essence of the sacred doctrines of Jainism."¹

"After the death of Bimbisāra, Kūnika or Ajātaśatru made Campā his capital, but after his death his son Udāyin transferred the seat of Government to Pātaliputra.² From the *Campaka-Sreshthi-Kathā*, a Jaina work, it appears that the town was in a very flourishing condition. In the opening lines the castes and the trades of the town are enumerated. There were perfumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy sellers, jewellers, leather-tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen," etc.³

Coming to Mrgāvati, the third daughter of Cetaka, we find that she was married to King Satānika⁴ of Kauśāmbi,⁵ and was known also as the princess of Videha.⁶ "Vinayaviṇyaganam, in his *Subodhikā* commentary to the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, draws from old Jaina sources, and says that when Mahāvīra visited the town of Kauśāmbi the king of that place was Satānika and the queen was Mrgāvati."⁷ That both the king and the queen were devotees of Mahāvīra can be well established from the Jaina literature itself. Looking to the family atmosphere in which she was brought up it is natural that Mrgāvati could not be anything else than a Jaina.⁸ Furthermore, the Jaina tradition tells us in particular that the king's *Amātya* (minister) and his wife also were Jainas by faith.⁹

¹ Dey, *op and loc cit* अम्यदा श्रीगणधरः सुधर्मो । जगाम चम्पा ॥ तदा
कूपिकः । तत्प्रापदुको । सुधर्मेस्वामिन दृष्ट्वा दूरादपि नमोऽकरोत् ॥—Hemacandra,
Parśvashtāparvan, Canto IV, vv 1, 9, 88, 85

² *Ibid*, Canto VI, vv 21 ff

³ Dey, *op and loc cit*.

⁴ Satānika himself was styled also Parantapa Cf Rhys Davids, *op cit*, p 3

⁵ "Kauśāmbi, Kauśāmbi-nagar or Kośam, an old village on the left bank of the Jamuna, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad"—Dey, *op cit*, p 96

⁶ "Satānika married a princess of Videha, as his son is called Videhīputra"—Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 84 Cf Law (B C), *op cit*, p 186

⁷ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 257 ततः क्रमेण कौशाभ्यां गतस्तत्र शतानीको राजा मृगावती देवी.
—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, sūt 118, p 106

⁸ Mahāvīra had been to Kauśāmbi during the years of his wanderings before he was endowed with *Kevala-Jñāna*. It so happened that during his stay there Lord Mahāvīra, owing to some vow that he had taken, did not accept any food for some days, and hence मृगावत्यपि महता दुःखेनाभिभूता . तेन (राज्ञा) आश्वासिता - तया करिष्यामि यथा कल्ये लभते

—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 228 Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 40.

⁹ सुगमोऽभ्यासो, नन्दा तस्य भाष्ये, सा च अमणोपासिका, सा च आर्द्धाति मृगावत्या वयस्या,
अमात्योऽपि सपत्नीक जागतः स्वामिनं वन्दते, . —*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp 222, 225 Cf *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tīkā*, sūt. 118, p 106

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About Satānika's fight with Dadhivāhana we have already referred. The other fact of historical importance that we can get from the Jaina literature is this, that "his son and successor was the famous Udāyana, the contemporary of Bimbisāra."¹ "Again, the grandfather of Udāyana," observes Dr Pradhan, "is named Sahasrānika by Bhāsa, and Vasudāman by the *Purānas*. Sahasrānika was a contemporary of Bimbisāra and received religious instructions from Mahāvira. The Jainas call him Sasānika, which is evidently a softening of 'Sahasrānika,' the Prākṛt equivalent of the Sanskrit from 'Sahasrānika' Sasānika was probably the same as the *Purānic* Vasudāman and had his son Satānika II. Udāyana was the son of Satānika II."²

In this the learned doctor is fully authorised by the *Bhagavati-Sūtra*, the fifth *Anga* of the Jainas.³ We know further that Satānika's sister Jayantī was a staunch follower of Mahāvira.⁴ About Udāyana we shall speak at length a little later along with his father-in-law, Canda Pradyota, and his successors, but at present we need say this much only that by the Jainas he is claimed to have been a Jaina, and that "he was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Anga and Magadha."⁵

Taking Śivā, the fourth daughter of Cetaka, we find that she was married to Canda Pradyota of Ujjain,⁶ the capital of Avanti or ancient Malwa.⁷ He is known to us as Canda Pradyota Mahāsena—fierce Pradyota, the possessor of a great army,⁸ and as the father-in-law of Udāyana of Kausāmbi, the capital of the country of Vamsa or Vatsa.⁹ "The king of Avanti in the Buddha's time,"

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit* Cf Barnett, *op cit*, p 96, n 2

² Pradhan, *op and loc cit* "The *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* says that Satānika's son Sahasrānika was the father of Udāyana. Thus the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* reverses the order certainly wrongly"—*Ibid* Cf Tawney (ed Penzer), *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, I, pp 95-96, Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit*

³ सहस्राणीयस् रत्नो पोत्रे सयाणीयस् रत्नो पुत्रे चेटगस् रत्नो ननुर् निगावतीर् देवीर् अक्षरं जयन्तीर् समणोवासिमां भस्त्रिज्ज ए उदायणे नाम राया होत्वा, etc.—*Bhagavati, sūl* 441, p 556

⁴ तत्र ग सा जयन्ती समणोवासिमा पद्म्या नाव सद्गुक्कस्यहीणा । —*Ibid*, *sūl* 443, p 558

⁵ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 123

⁶ Cf *Avashyaka-Sūtra*, p 677

⁷ Cf Dey, *op cit*, p 209

⁸ Cf Pradhan, *op cit*, p 230

⁹ Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 83 "Kosāmbi-Nagar or Kosām was the capital of Vamsadeśa or Vatsyadeśa, the kingdom of Udāyana"—Dey, *op cit*, p 96 Cf *ibid*, p 28

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observes Dr Rhys Davids, "was Pajjota the Fierce, who reigned at the capital Ujjeni. There is a legend about him which shows that he and his neighbour, King Udena of Kośāmbi, were believed to have been contemporary, connected by marriage, and engaged in war."¹ This "legend" is fully corroborated by Jaina sources. We know from these sources that the Vatsa king, Udāyana, was married to Vāsavadattā,² the daughter of the Pradyota of Avantī.³ Furthermore, to state in brief, Hemacandra tells us that Canda Pradyota had asked Queen Mrgāvati from Śatānīka, and on the refusal of the latter he had declared a war against him. It so happened that in the meantime Śatānīka died, and when Mahāvīra came down to Kauśāmbi Canda Pradyota was induced to give up his feeling of revenge and to allow Mrgāvati to become a nun, with a promise to make Udāyana the king of Kauśāmbi.⁴

This Udāyana, "the king of Vatsa, is the central figure in a large cycle of Sanskrit stories of love and adventure; and in these Pradyota, the king of Ujjain, the father of the peerless Vāsavadattā, plays no small part."⁵ As just remarked, he is said to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avantī, Aṅga and Magadha. From different sources, whether fully reliable or not, we know that Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avantī; Padmāvati, the sister of Darśaka, the king of Magadha, and the daughter of Drḍhavarman, the king of Aṅga, were his queens.⁶ Of these Vāsavadattā was the chief queen of Udāyana. Both Buddhist and Jaina literatures "give a long and romantic story of the way in which Vāsuladattā, the daughter of Pajjota of Avantī, became the wife, or rather one of the three wives, of King Udena of Kośāmbi."⁷ As to his attitude towards religion Udāyana had before him his mother, and also relatives like

¹ Rhys Davids, *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 185.

² Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 674, Hemacandra, *Trishashti-Śālikā*, Parva X, pp. 142-145.

³ "Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Mālwa, Nimār and the adjoining parts of the central provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that this *Janapada* was divided into two parts: the northern part had its capital at Ujjain, and the southern part, called Avantī Dakṣiṇāpatha, had its capital at Mahūssati or Mahūsmati, usually identified with the modern Māndhātā on the Narmada."—Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁴ Cf. Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 232, p. 107.

⁵ Rapson, *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 311. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 122, Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 285.

⁶ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*, Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 246. "Tradition has preserved a long story of adventures of Udena and his three wives"—Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁷ Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 4; *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 674, Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-145.

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Bimbisāra, Cellanā and others, who were more or less the leading figures of the Jaina community of those days, and this naturally created in him respect and sympathy for the Jaina church¹

About the Avanti-Pradyota and his Queen Sīvā's sentiments for the Jaina church Hemacandra tells us that he had his distinct sympathies for the Jaina faith, and that it was with his permission that his eight queens, Angāravatī and others, along with Mrgāvati of Kauśāmbī, joined the order² In his connection with Udāyana of Sauvira we have already seen that Pradyota himself had declared that he also was traditionally a Jaina himself. No doubt the fierce and unscrupulous character of the lord of Avanti is known both to the Bauddhas and the Jamas,³ but in this particular incident one cannot see for what earthly reason he should have falsely represented himself to be a Jaina. If he had his own suspicion he could as well have refused the food on some other ground than this. Whether a fact or a fiction, one thing is certain—that the moral of this particular incident is to show something else than the evil nature of this or that king. The leading idea is that though a great enemy of Pradyota as Udāyana was, he did not like to see a captive before him, whether a Jaina or not, during the days of his religious festival⁴

Thus out of the seven daughters of Cetaka, Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Mrgāvati, Sīvā and Cellanā were married respectively to the lords of Sauvira, Anga, Vatsa (Vaiṣa), Avanti and Magadha. Of these the last four are included both in the Buddhist and the Jaina lists of the Sixteen *Mahājanapadas*,⁵ while nothing more can be said about the Sauvira-Deśa. Of the remaining two daughters of Cetaka, Jyeshthā was married to Nandivardhana, brother of Lord Mahāvira and ruler of Kundagrāma,⁶ while Sujyeshthā joined

¹ समो समोमृते । तत्र यं मे उदायणे राया . . पञ्चरास्र । etc.—*Bhagavati, sūl* 442, p 556

² महापृष्ठन्मृगारता प्रव्रज्यां स्वामिसिषी ।

अष्टावगारपत्न्याः प्रद्योतनपुत्रेः प्रियाः ॥

—Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 233, p 107.

³ Cf Rlys Davids, *op and loc cit*, . . सो धुषो —*Ācārya's Sūtra*, p 300; Bhandarkar, *op and loc cit*; . . पुत्रसामन्तिक —*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhi ā-Tilā, sūl* 69, p 192

⁴ Cf *Ācārya's Sūtra*, p 300, Meyer (J J), *op cit*, pp 110 111, *Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhi ā-Tilā, sūl* 59, p 192

⁵ Cf Raychandhuri, *op cit*, pp 59 60

⁶ Cf *Ācārya's Sūtra* p 677, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 102, p 77

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the order of Mahāvīra's disciples.¹ All these facts combined go a long way to show how far Vardhamāna's influence reached through his mother Trisālā, the Licchavi princess. It is clear from this that at the time Mahāvīra lived and preached, the Licchavis were recognised as Kshatriyas, who held their heads very high on account of their high birth and with whom the highest born princes of Eastern India considered it an honour to enter into matrimonial alliance.

In short, it was through the Licchavis, and thereby through the ruling dynasty of Vaiśālī, that the reformed church of Mahāvīra got a solid support from all directions in its early days.² It was through them that the religion of Mahāvīra had spread over Sauvīra, Āṅga, Vatsa, Avanti, Videha and Magadha, all of which were the most powerful kingdoms of the time. This is why the Buddhist works do not mention Cetaka, the king of Vaiśālī, though they tell us about the constitutional government of Vesālī.³ To quote Dr Jacobi, "Buddhists took no notice of him, as his influence . . . was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent."⁴

In addition to these there are other stray references to the Licchavis in the Jain *Sūtras* which more or less confirm the fact that they were nothing short of Jainas themselves. Taking first the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* we find that they were highly respected by the Jainas. According to it, "A Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Licchavi, who enters the order eating alms given by others is not stuck up on account of his renowned *Gotra*."⁵

Citing next the *Kalpa-Sūtra* : "In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died, . . . freed from all pains, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, on the day of new moon, instituted an illumination⁶ on

¹ Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 685; Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 266, p. 80.

² Cf. Dey, *Notes on Ancient Āṅga*, p. 322; Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 27.

³ Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, Int., p. xii. See Turnour, *J.A.S.B.*, vii, p. 992.

⁴ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Int., p. xii.

⁵ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xiv, p. 321.

⁶ "The Jainas celebrate the *Nīrcāna* of Mahāvīra with an illumination on the night of new moon in the month Kārttika."—*Ibid.*, xxii, p. 266.

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the . . . fasting day; for they said 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter!'"¹

Besides these two quotations from the *Jaina Sūtras* there is something about a king, Jiyasattū, in the *Uvāsaga-Dasāo* which, if taken in the light of the interpretation of Dr Hoernle, is of the utmost importance when we are examining the relations that existed between Cetaka, the Licchavi king, and the Jainas. In the first of the ten lectures of this seventh *Anga* of the Jainas we find in the reply of Sudharma² to the question of Jambū what was the purport of it—viz

"Truly, Jambū, at that time and at that period, there was a city called Vāṇiyagāma . . . Outside of the city of Vāṇiyagāma, in a north-easterly direction, there was a *Cetiya* called Dūpalāsa. At that time Jiyasattū was king over the city of Vāṇiyagāma. . . There also lived then in Vāṇiyagāma a householder called Ananda,³ who was prosperous and without any equals.

"At that time and at that period, the *Samana*, the blessed Mahāvira arrived on a visit, and a company of people went out to hear him. Then King Jiyasattū also went out to hear him, just as King Kūniya had done on another occasion, and having done so . . . he stood waiting on him."⁴

The Jiyasattū mentioned here has rightly been identified by both Drs Hoernle and Barnett⁵ with Cetaka or Cedaga, the maternal uncle of Mahāvira, because Vāṇiyagāma, the city of Jiyasattū, was, as we shall see later on, either another name of Vaisālī or some portion of it which was so called. To quote Dr Hoernle: "In the *Sūryaprajñāpati* Jiyasattū is mentioned as ruling over Mithila, the capital of the Videha country. . . . Here he is mentioned as ruling over Vāṇiyagāma or Vesālī. On the other hand Cedaga, the maternal uncle of Mahāvira, is said to have been a king of Vesālī and Videha . . . It would seem that Jiyasattū and Cedaga were the same persons."⁶ Furthermore, the King

¹ Jacobi, *S B E*, xxii, p. 266

² " . . . one of the eleven disciples (*Ganadhara*) of Mahāvira, who succeeded him as head of the Jaina sect, being himself succeeded by Jambū, the last of the so-called Kevīlī " Hoernle, *op cit*, p. 2, n. 5

³ Ananda is known to the Jainas as a typical example of a faithful lay-adherent of Jainism Cf Hemacandra, *Yoga-Sāstra*, chap. iii, v. 151, Hoernle, *op cit*, pp. 7 ff

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 3-7, 9

⁵ Barnett, *op cit*, Int., p. vi. For further references to Jiyasattū in the eighth and the ninth *Angas* of the Jainas see *ibid*, pp. 62, 113

⁶ Hoernle, *op cit*, p. 6, n. 9.

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Kūniya, with whom Jiyasattū is compared here, is none else but Ajātaśatru, the son and successor of Bimbisāra of Magadha. The comparison is quite appropriate when we know that Kūniya, like his father, was a great Jaina. Whether or not this was the state of things throughout his career we shall examine later on, but this much is certain, that he had his distinct sympathies for the Jaina church¹ and must have more than once come into personal touch with Lord Mahāvira.

We have already seen that this Kūniya or Kūnika had an occasion for an open fight with his grandfather, Ceḍaga, for an elephant with which his younger brother had run away to Vaiśālī. It appears from this that by way of rivalry with Ajātasattū (Ajātaśatru) Ceḍaga was called also Jiyasattū. Once again, to cite Dr Hoernle, "the name of Jiyasattū (Skr. Jitaśatru) he may have received, as has been suggested, by way of rivalry with Ajātasattū (Skr. Ajātaśatru), king of Magadha, who at first was also a patron of Mahāvira, though afterwards he exchanged him for Buddha. To the Jains Ajātasattū is known under the name of Kūniya, and under that name he is compared with Jiyasattū here and elsewhere."²

From all these traditions connected with the Licchavis Kshatriyas it is highly probable that, like the Videhans, they were also Jainas themselves.³ If this is granted, the great and powerful dynasty of the Licchavis was really a valuable source of strength to the reformed church of Mahāvira. Their very capital formed the headquarters of the Jaina community during the days of Mahāvira. From the Jaina literature itself we know that Mahāvira was very closely connected with the metropolis of the Licchavis. Vaiśālī claims the last prophet of the Jainas as its own citizen. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* says about Mahāvira as follows. "Thus spoke the Arhat Jñātrūputra, the reverend, famous native of Vaiśālī, who possessed the highest knowledge and the highest faith, who possessed (simultaneously) the highest knowledge and faith."⁴ "This passage is also repeated in another Jaina work, the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, with a slight variation.⁵ Mahāvira is spoken of as Vesālie or

¹ तस्य खं से कूणिह राया . . समखं भगवं महावीरं . चेदति खमसति . —*Aupapātika-Sūtra* 32, p 75

² Hoernle, *op* and *loc cit*.

³ For further facts about the strength of Jainism in Vaiśālī see Law (B C), *op cit*, pp. 72-75. Jacobi, *op cit*, p 194.

⁴ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. 261.

⁵ Cf. *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, Lecture VI, v. 17, Jacobi, *op cit*, p 27.

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Vaisālika—i.e. a native of Vaiśālī. Moreover Abhayadeva, in his commentary on the *Bhagavatī*, 2, I. 12, 2, explains Vaisālika by Mahāvira, and speaks of Vaiśālī as *Mahāvīrajananī* or 'the mother of Mahāvira.'¹ In addition to this we know from the *Kalpa-Sūtra* that out of the forty-two rainy-seasons which he spent as a missionary during his later ascetic life Mahāvira did not neglect the city of his birth, but passed no less than twelve years at Vaiśālī.²

Furthermore, the importance of this close relation between the last Tirthankara of the Jainas and the Licchavis is greatly enhanced when we know from different sources that Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis, was under a powerful dynasty which wielded considerable influence in both the political and social circles of its time "Vaiśālī," observes Dr Law, "'the large city' *par excellence*, is renowned in Indian history as the capital of the Licchavi Rājās and the headquarters of the great and powerful Vajjian confederacy. This great city is intimately associated with the early history of both Jainism and Buddhism; it carries with itself the sacred memories of the founders of these two great faiths that evolved in north-eastern India five hundred years before the birth of Christ."³

One thing still remains to be considered, and that is about the relations that existed between Vaiśālī and Kundagāma.⁴ Considering the fact that Vaiśālī was the most flourishing town in India about five hundred years before the beginning of our era, one thing is certain—that Kundagāma, as has been already remarked, must have been a division of Vaiśālī. Taking both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions, scholars like Hoernle,⁵ Rockhill⁶ and others agree to the fact that Vaiśālī was divided into three districts—namely, those of "Vesālī proper, Kundapura, and Vāṇiyagāma—occupying respectively the south-eastern, north-eastern and western portions

¹ Law (B C), *op cit*, pp. 81-82

² Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxi, p. 264 Cf Law (B C), *op cit*, pp. 82-83

³ *Ibid*, p. 81 "This was the capital of the Licchavi clan, already closely related by marriage to the kings of Magadha. It was the headquarters of the powerful Vajjian confederacy. It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the sixth century B.C. It must have been a great flourishing place"—Rhys Davids, *op cit*, pp. 40-41, Carpenter, *C.H.I.*, i, p. 157

⁴ "Under the name of Kundagāma the city of Vaiśālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvira, the Jaina Tirthankara, who was also called Vesahe or the man of Vesālī. It is the Kotigāma of the Buddhists"—Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 107

⁵ Hoernle, *op cit*, pp. 3-7

⁶ Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 62-63.

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of the area of the total city.”¹ Moreover the fact that all three districts were closely connected with Vaiśālī is clear from the tradition that Mahāvīra was known as a native of Vaiśālī though he was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, and that the twelve rainy-seasons spent by Mahāvīra at Vaiśālī are put down in the *Kalpa-Sūtra* as follows. “Twelve in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma”² Both Hoernle and Nundo Lal Dey go a step farther than this and identify them at the outset with Vaiśālī, holding that the ancient town of Vaiśālī was known also as Kuṇḍapura or Vāṇijagrāma, but finally they nevertheless agree to the fact that both of them were separate divisions of Vaiśālī, the state of the Licchavis.³

Thus this much is certain, that Kuṇḍagrāma formed one of the three chief divisions of Vaiśālī, the government of which seems to have resembled that of a Greek state. The peculiar form of government, the free institutions, the manners and customs, and the religious views and practices of the time afford us glimpses of transitional India wherein the ancient Vedic culture was making a fresh development and undergoing a novel transformation under the influence of that speculative activity out of which emerged a new socio-religious order of things.

“It was,” says Dr Hoernle, “an oligarchic republic; its

¹ Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Cf. Law (B. C.), *op. cit.*, p. 38, Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 17. It may be mentioned here that in the *Uvāsaga-Dasāo* there is something in connection with Vāṇiyagāma to the following effect: वाणि्यगामे नयरे उच्चनीयमज्जिमाइ कुलाइ (“At the city of Vāṇiyagāma, to the upper, lower and middle classes”)—Hoernle, *op. cit.*, i, p. 36. Curiously enough this agrees with the description of Vaiśālī given in the *Dubva*—Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 62. “There were three districts in Vesālī. In the first district were 7000 houses with golden towers, and in the middle district were 14,000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district were 21,000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle, and the lower classes according to their positions.”—Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 6, n. 8. Dey has taken the three districts or quarters, “Vaiśālī proper (Besarh), Kundapura (Basukunda), and Vāṇagāmā (Baniā)” as “inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Baniā castes respectively.”—Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

² Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

³ “Vāṇiyagāmā, Skt. Vāṇijagrāma; another name of the well-known city of Vesālī (Skt. Vaiśālī), the capital of the Licchavi country. . . . In the *Kalpa-Sūtra* . . . it is mentioned separately, but in close connection with Vaiśālī. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesālī occupied a very extended area, which included within its circuit . . . besides Vesālī proper (now Besarh), several other places. Among the latter were Vāṇiyagāma and Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura. These still exist as villages under the names of Baniā and Basukunda . . . Hence the joint city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts.”—Hoernle, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 3-4. “Bāṇiyagāmā—Vaiśālī or (Besāḍ) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Bāṇiyagāmā was a portion of the ancient town of Vaiśālī . . . , Kuṇḍagāmā—it is another name for Vaiśālī (modern Besarh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Kuṇḍagāmā (Kuṇḍagrāma), now called Basukunda, was a part of the suburb of the ancient town of Vaiśālī.”—Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 107.

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government was vested in a senate composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, and presided over by an officer who had the title of king, and was assisted by a viceroy and a commander-in-chief."¹ "The most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaiśālī and the Mallas of Kusinārā (Kusinagara) and Pāvā. As in Rome, so in Videha the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vjjian confederacy"² Thus the monarchies of a former age were succeeded by aristocratic republics like that of Vaiśālī with the heads of the Kshatriya clans of Kundagāmā and at other places. Looking at the great power that the Śaśunāgas were wielding—in the political atmosphere of the country—such republic had doubtless a very short existence.

To quote Dr Law, "From the account of their political institutions that can be gleaned from the Pāli Buddhist canon we get an insight into the democratic ideas of statecraft and government that prevailed among the majority of the Āryan clans that peopled northern India before the imperialistic policy of the Mauryas grew and developed, as we have it on the authority of the great Brahman statesman whose policy and activity were responsible, in no little measure, for the foundation of the Maurya Empire."³ For our purpose suffice it to say that Siddhārtha, as the head of the Nāta or Nāya clan, must have obtained some eminence in senate and state, which is amply borne out eventually by his marriage with Trisālā, the sister of this republican king.⁴

Taking next the Jñātrikas⁵ we find that they formed the clan which gave India one of its greatest religious reformers. Their importance as a Kshatriya tribe is self-evident when we already know that they formed one of the most important clans of the "Confederacy of the Vṛjīs or of the Licchivīs." They "were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra the Jina. They had their seats at Kundapura or Kundagrāma and Kollāga,⁶ suburbs of

¹ Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 22, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 75-76

² *Ibid*, pp 52, 116 Cf. Thomas (F W.), *CHJ*, 1, p 491

³ Law (B C), *op cit*, pp 1-2

⁴ Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 22, Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p vii

⁵ The name of the clan is also given as the Nāya or Nātha clan Cf Law (B C), *op cit*, p 121; Hoernle, *op cit*, p 4, n

⁶ The *Uṇṣaga-Dasāo* says about Kollāga to the following effect "Outside of the city of Vāṇiyagāmī, in a north-easterly direction, there was a suburb called Kollāga, which was large, strong, palatial, etc"—Hoernle, *op cit*, p 8 Cf *ibid*, p 4, n "A suburb of Vaiśālī (Besar) in the district of Moṣāṣarpur (Tirhut) in which the Nāya-Kula Kshatriyas resided Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tirthankara, belonged to this class of Kshatriyas"—Dez, *op cit*, p 102

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Vesāli Nevertheless they were known as 'Vesahe'—*i.e.* inhabitants of Vesāli."¹

Mahāvīra, the son of Siddhārtha and Trisalā, is undoubtedly the most noble scion of the Jñātrika clan. A sidelight on the tremendous influence exercised by this remarkable man on his fellow-men is thrown by a passage occurring in the canonical literature of his bitter antagonists, the Buddhists. The passage may be translated thus: "He is the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well stricken in years."²

We have already seen that Mahāvīra and his parents were the followers of the tenets of Pārśva, and hence with them it is highly probable that the whole clan of the Nāya Kshatriyas were also the followers of the same tenets. The Nāya clan seems to have supported a body of monks who followed the predecessor of Mahāvīra, and lastly, when he appeared, the members of his clan became his devoted followers.³ The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* tells us that those who followed the law proclaimed by Mahāvīra were "virtuous and righteous" and that they "confirmed each other in the law."⁴

Thus the Jñātrikas, being of the clan of Mahāvīra, naturally were greatly affected by the doctrines of Nātaputta. The Jaina *Sūtras* give an idealised picture of the Jñātrikas, and tell us that they avoided what was sinful and were afraid of sin.⁵ For instance the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* observes:

"In compassion to all beings, the seers, the Jñātriputras, avoid what is sinful; afraid of it, they abstain from food especially prepared for them. They abstain from wicked deeds, afraid of injuring living beings, and do no harm to any creature; therefore they do not partake of such food. This is a maxim of the monks of our creed."⁶

From the *Uvāsaga-Dasāo* we come to know that the Jñātrikas possessed a Jaina temple outside their settlement at Kollāga, which bore the name of Dūpalāsa.⁷ The term *Ceṇya* used here has been

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 74. Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, Int., p. vi, Hoernle, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

² Law (B. C.), *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125

³ Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), *op. cit.*, p. 31, Law (B. C.), *op. cit.*, p. 123

⁴ Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. 256

⁵ Cf. Law (B. C.), *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 416. Dr. Jacobi makes a note here that the term Jñātriputras is used as the synonym for the Janas. Cf. *ibid.*

⁷ Cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, i, p. 2

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interpreted by Dr Hoernle to mean "properly the name of a Jaina temple or sacred shrine, but commonly applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden, grove or park (*Ujjaana*, *Vana-Saṇḍa* or *Vana-Khaṇḍa*), a shrine and attendants' houses" ¹ This interpretation of the term *Cetiya* is quite appropriate, since, of course, the Jñātrikas as the followers of the religion of Pārśva ought to keep up a religious establishment for the accommodation of Mahāvīra on his periodical visits, with his disciples, to Kunda-pura or Vesālī. This becomes more of a certainty when we are informed that after Mahāvīra's assuming the vocation of a monk he used this *Cetiya* for his accommodation whenever he visited the place of his birth ²

This much about the Jñātrikas and their attitude towards the religion propounded by one who was an ornament of their clan "We may, however, mention the fact," observes Dr Law, "that it was he who brought the Jñātrikas into intimate touch with the neighbouring communities of Eastern India and developed a religion which is still professed by millions of Indians. Another celebrity of the Jñātrika clan was Ānanda, a staunch follower of Mahāvīra. The Jaina work, *Uvāsaga-Dasāo*, mentions that he had with him a treasure of four *Kror* measures of gold deposited in a safe place. Again he is represented as a person whom many kings, princes and their dignitaries down to merchants found it necessary to consult on many matters requiring advice. He had a devoted wife, named Śivanandā." ³

Taking next the Vajjis we find it very difficult to differentiate between them and the Licchavis. They "are often associated with the city of Vesālī, which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy." ⁴ According to Dr Law "the Licchavis, or, to call them by their wider designation, the Vajjians, appear to have been imbued with a strong religious spirit and deep devotion. After Mahāvīra developed his doctrines and preached his faith of unbounded charity to all living beings in the Vajji land and in Magadha, the number of his followers among the Licchavis appears to have been large,

¹ Hoernle, *op cit*, II, p. 2, n. 4

² Cf. *ibid*, I, p. 6; II, p. 9. In the *Kalpa-Sūtra* we do not get the *Cetiya* named Nāgpalīra, but the park of the Sandavana of the Nāya clan—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhi ā-Tīkā*, sūl. 115, p. 95. Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, XXX, p. 257, Hoernle, *op cit*, pp. 4-5; Stevenson (Mrs.), *op cit*, p. 31

³ Law (B. C.), *op cit*, p. 125. Cf. Hoernle, *op cit*, pp. 7-9

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp. 74-75

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and some men of the highest position in Vesālī appear to have been among them, as is seen from the Buddhist books themselves.”¹

Thus we have seen to what extent the Videhans, the Licchavis, the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis were connected with the Jaina church. It seems that the Vajjian or the Licchavi confederacy as a whole was a great source of strength to the reformed church of Mahāvīra. Taking next the Mallakins we find that they too had imbibed a feeling in them of respect and sympathy for the great prophet and his doctrines.

The country of the Mallas is spoken of as one of the sixteen “great countries” (*Mahājanapadas*), and it is agreed to by both the Buddhists and the Jainas.² At the time of Mahāvīra they appear to have been divided into two confederacies—one with its capital at Pāvā, and the other at Kusinārā.³ Both the capitals are situated at a short distance from each other, and are known to the Jainas and Bauddhas as sacred places where their prophets reached their final liberation. We have already seen that Mahāvīra died here “while he was dwelling in the house of the scribe of King Hastipāla or, according to Stevenson’s *Kalpa-Sūtra*, while he was spending the *Paryushana* (*Pajjusana*) at the palace of Shastipāla, King of Pāpā. There are four beautiful Jaina temples in an enclosure which marks the site of his death.”⁴

The connections of the Jainas with the Mallas, though not as good as those with the Licchavis, seem to be good enough to get them their support for the progress of their church. According to Dr Law we get ample proof for this even from the Buddhist literature. “Jainism,” observes the learned scholar, “found many followers among the Mallas as among many other races of Eastern India. The accounts we get in the Buddhist literature of the schism that appeared in the Jaina church after the death of Mahāvīra amply

¹ Law (B C), *op cit*, pp 67, 73

² Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 59-60

³ Cf Law (B C), *op cit*, p 147, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 79, Rhys Davids, *CH I*, 1, p 175 “Pāpā is a corruption of Apāpāpurī. Pāpā or Pāvā has been wrongly identified by General Cunningham with Padroana, which is the modern name of ancient Pāvā, where Buddha ate food at the house of Cunda. Pāvāpurī is the modern name of the ancient Pāpā or Apāpāpurī, seven miles to the east of Bihar town, where Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tīrthankara, died”—Dey, *op cit*, pp 148, 155 Kusinārā or Kusinagara is the place where Buddha died in 477 B.C. It has been identified by Professor Wilson and others with the present village of Kasia, in the east of the Gorakhpur district, and it was also anciently known as Kusāvati. Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 79, Law (B C), *op cit*, pp 147-148; Dey, *op cit*, p 111

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 148 Cf Bühler, *op cit*, p 27, Stevenson (Rev), *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p 91.

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prove this At Pāvā the followers of *Nigantha Nātaputta* were divided after the death of their great Tīrthankara.¹ We find that there were both ascetics and lay-devotees among these Jainas, for we read that, on account of the disputations among the ascetics, 'even the lay-disciples of the white robe, who followed *Nātaputta*, showed themselves shocked, repelled and indignant at the *Niganthas*.' These lay-Jains appear from this passage to have been draped in white robes, just as the *Svetāmbaras* are at the present day. The Buddha as well as *Sāriputta*, one of the principal disciples, seems to have taken advantage of the schism that appears to have overtaken the Jaina church on the death of their founder for the propagation of the rival faith. In the *Pāsādika Suttānta* we find that it is Cunda, the novice of Pāvā, who brings the news of the death of the great Tīrthankara, Mahāvīra, to Ānanda at Sāmagāma in the Malla country, and the latter at once saw the importance of the event and said: 'Friend Cunda, this is a worthy subject to bring before the Exalted one. Let us go to him and tell him about it.' They hastened to the Buddha, who delivered a long discourse."²

Moreover, from the Jaina sources we know that the Malla people were devotedly attached to Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jainas. As already remarked, we are informed by the *Kalpa-Sūtra* that, to mark the passing away of the Great Jina along with the nine Licchavis, nine Mallakis or Malla chiefs also were among those who observed fast and instituted an illumination on the fifteenth day of the new month with the words "Since the light of the intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter."³ Besides this it may be mentioned here that in the *Antagada-Desāo*, the eighth *Āṅga* of the Jainas, we get a reference to the Mallakis, along with the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kshatriyas and the Licchavis, who went to receive Arutthanemi or Arishtanemi, the twenty-second prophet of the Jainas, when he went to the city of Bāravai.⁴

Taking next the eighteen Ganarājās of Kāśi-Kosala we find that they too, like the Mallakis and the Licchavis, were devoted to Mahāvīra. They also observed fast and instituted an illumination to mark the passing away of the Great Jina.⁵ Furthermore,

¹ Cf Bühler, *op cit* and *loc cit*

² Law (B C), *op cit*, pp 153-154 Cf *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt III, pp 203 ff., 208, 212

³ Jacobi, *op cit*, p 286

⁴ Barnett, *op cit*, p 36

⁵ Cf *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhā-Ṭīkā*, sūti 128, p 121

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as we have already seen, the Jaina sources tell us that along with the Mallakī chiefs these eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī-Kosala were also called by Cetaka when he came to know that Kūmka had declared war against him.

Considering the Kāśī-Kosala confederacy we know from different sources that the Kāśis—i.e. the people of Kāśī—were closely connected, both as foes and allies, with the people of Kosala and Videha.¹ “Of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* Kāśī was probably at first the most powerful,” and it is accepted as such by both the Jaina and the Buddhist lists.² Its importance in connection with the Jaina history of the days of Pārśva we have already referred to. During his wanderings as a monk Mahāvīra also visited this place³ It may be mentioned here that in the *Antagada-Ḍasāo* there is some reference to a king named Alakkhe of the city of Vārānaśi who joined the order.⁴

Finally, considering Kosala of the Kāśī-Kosala confederacy we find that, like Kāśī, this also was one of the sixteen states, of considerable extent and power, and it also is found in both the Buddhist and the Jaina literature.⁵ Geographically, Kosala roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh, and it seems to have contained three great cities—namely, Ayodhya, Śāketa and Śāvattthī, or Śrāvastī—the first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same.⁶ Of these Śrāvastī, “the capital of Kosala,”⁷ was more than once visited by Mahāvīra, and all along he was well received there.⁸ “Traditionally Śrāvastī, or, as it was called, Candrikāpurī or Candrapurī, was the birthplace of the third Tīrthankara Sambhavanātha and the eighth Tīrthankara Candraprabha of the Jamas. There is still a Jaina temple here dedicated to Śobhānāth, which is evidently a corruption of Sambhavanātha.”⁹

¹ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60

³ Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 221, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Ṭīkā*, p. 106

⁴ Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 96

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63

⁷ Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 214 “Śāvattthī is the great ruined city on the south bank of Rapti called Saheth-Maheth, which is situated on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.”—Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 63 Cf. Dey, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190

⁸ भगवत् सावत्थी . . लोमो . . वंदे ॥—*Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 221. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 204, 214, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Ṭīkā*, pp. 103, 105, 106, Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 98, Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 264

⁹ Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 190 “Śrāvastī is the Śāvattthī or Śāvattthīpura of the Buddhists and Candrapura or Candrikāpurī of the Jamas”—*Ibid.*, p. 189.

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We know from various sources that both the Kosalas and the Saisunāgas were also connected by matrimonial relations. Kosala-devī, the daughter of Mahākosala, had become one of the wives of Srenika with Cellanā, the foremost female disciple of Mahāvira.¹ Besides this, certain Buddhist traditions tell us that Migara or Mrgadhara, the first minister of Prasenajit of Sāvattthī, the son of Mahākosala, was a sceptic and an adherent of the naked *Tīrthakas* (i.e. *Nirgrantha* ascetics).²

II

Taking into consideration all the facts that are laid down above, one thing that becomes fully evident is that practically all the most important sixteen *Mahājanapadas* had, in one or the other capacity, come under the influence of the Jaina church.³ Of the sixteen Great Powers we have as yet said hardly anything about Magadha; this is not because Magadha could not be combined with the other Great Powers, but because this pre-Norman Wessex of ancient India is going to be our centre from whence all further discussions about Jaina history shall proceed.

"The flourishing period of any of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*," observes Dr Raychaudhuri, "ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire—namely, the empire of Magadha."⁴ We need not enter into any direct details as to how this "one empire" of ancient India came to play the part of Prussia in the history of modern Germany. All that need be said is to show how far the different dynasties ruling over this empire were connected with the Jaina church. Beginning with the Saisunāgas, the Nandas and the Mauryas we shall come down to the times of Khāravela, who,

¹ Cf. Pradhan, *op cit*, p. 213, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 99.

² Cf. Hoernle, *op cit*, Appendix III, pp. 56-57, Rockhill, *op cit*, pp. 70-71; Ralston, *Schjefner's Tibetan Tales*, No. VII, p. 110, Pradhan, *op cit*, p. 215.

³ The names of the sixteen Great Nations, according to the Buddhist traditions, are as follows: Kāśī, Kosala, Anga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Ceṭṭya (Cedi), Vamsa (Vatsa), Kuru, Pañcīla, Maccha (Matsya), Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kamboja. The Jaina list in the *Bhagvatī* runs to the following effect: Anga, Banga, Magadha (Magadha), Malava, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha (Vatsa), Koccha (Kāccha?), Pāṇḍya (Pāṇḍya), Lāṭha (Lāṭha), Brijji (Vajji), Mohi, Kāśī, Kosala, Avaha, Samblmittar (Sumhotara?). Dr Raychaudhuri has made the following note to these lists: "It will be seen that Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāśī and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the *Bhagvatī* is probably identical with Avanti of *Anguttara*. Mohi is probably a corruption of Malla."—Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp. 59-60.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 97-98. Cf. Law (B. C.), *op cit*, p. 161.

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as we shall see later on, like Aśoka, enjoys the unique honour of being responsible for a distinct landmark in the history of the Northern Jinas.

Before taking up the particular dynasties that had their sway over the Magadhan empire it will not be out of place to say something about the historical and geographical importance of Magadha proper, in the light of Jaina history. It roughly corresponds to the present Patna and Gaya, the districts of Bihar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja ("hill-surrounded") or old Rājagṛha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gaya.¹ The capital seems to have been an impregnable city, being protected by five hills. "It is bounded on the north by Baibhāra-giri and Bipula-giri (the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern side); on the east by Bipula-giri and Ratnagiri or Ratnakūta; on the west by a portion of the Baibhāra-giri called Cakra and Ratnācala; and on the south by Udaya-giri, Sona-giri and Girivraja-giri"² These hills, one and all, enjoy a very important place in Jaina history even to this day. There are Jaina temples of Mahāvīra, Pārśva and other Tīrthaṅkaras on the Baibhāra, Bipula, Udaya and Sona-giri hills.³

Besides this, Mahāvīra's personal connections with Magadha are self-evident when we know from the *Kalpa-Sūtra* that the greater part of his missionary life he spent in Rājagṛha and the suburb of Nālandā.⁴ No less than fourteen rainy-seasons he was there,⁵ and that too not only as an independent preacher but, as we shall see later on, as one who had the State behind him to directly patronise and sympathise with him in his great mission. Moreover, we know from the list of the *Sthaviras* that the eleven *Gaṇadhara*s of the Venerable ascetic Mahāvīra died in Rājagṛha after a long religious fast⁶

¹ It is known by some other names also. For instance, the *Life of Hsuen-Tsang* observes. "The old city of Rājagṛha is that which is called Kiu-she-kue-la-po-lo (Kuśāgarapura). This city is in the centre of Magadha, and in old times many rulers and kings lived in it"—Beal, *Life of Hsuen-Tsang*, p. 118. Cf. Cunningham, *op cit*, p. 529. Indian Buddhist writers gave still another name, Bimbisārapurī. Cf. Law (B. C.), *Buddhaghosha*, p. 87, n. 1; Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 70.

² Dey, *op cit*, p. 66. Cf. Cunningham, *op cit*, p. 530.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 530-532.

⁴ Nālandā is identified with Bargaon, which lies seven miles to the north-west of Rājgir in the district of Patna. Cf. Cunningham, *op cit*, p. 536. It contains a beautiful Jaina temple of Mahāvīra, who appears to have dwelt at Nālandā, perhaps on the site of the present temple, while Buddha resided in the Pāvaka mango-orchard—Dey, *op cit*, p. 137.

⁵ Cf. Jacobi, *op and loc cit*.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 287.

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Coming to the different dynasties that ruled over Magadha since the days of Mahāvīra we shall begin with the Śaśunāgas of the time of Bimbisāra, but before we do that we shall see if there is anything that can form a connecting link between Magadha and the Jaina church of the age previous to that of Vardhamāna "The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagrha named Samudravijaya and his son Jaya."¹ Of these Jaya, the eleventh *Caṅkavartin*, or universal monarch, according to the *Uttarādhyayana*, "together with thousands of kings, renouncing the world, practised self-restraint. He reached perfection which has been taught by the Jainas."²

Leaving aside such uncorroborated facts of Jaina annals we shall enter into the realm of known facts, historical and others, and shall see how far the Jaina traditions are connected with them. Taking first Bimbisāra, the Śaśunāga, we find that the Jaina annals are so overwhelming about this "lion of kings"³ that, so far as they are concerned, it is no use denying the fact that he was a sincere follower of Nātaputta and his doctrines. However, before trying to enumerate a few of these details it is desirable to know from various sources what was the strength of the Magadhan empire during the Śaśunāgas, because, after all, the progress of a church depends much on the strength of the people and the State whose patronage it enjoys.

For this we need not enter into a detailed description of the wars and the political feuds and intrigues that the Śaśunāgas had to encounter until finally they developed into "one empire—namely, the empire of Magadha." We shall merely mention a few of the *Mahājanapadas* that were openly defeated or that had indirectly accepted their sovereignty.

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India during the time of Bimbisāra. There were, as Dr Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics, four kingdoms of considerable extent and power"⁴. In addition to these there were a number of smaller

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 72. Cf. Jacobi, *SB E*, clv, p. 86.

² खत्रिजो रायसहस्रेहि सुपरिचार्इ दमं चरे ।

जयनामो जिगक्षाय पक्षो गइयुत्तर ॥

—*Uttarādhyayana*, *Adhyayana* XVIII, v. 43. Cf. Jacobi, *op cit.*, pp. 85-87, Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit*.

³ रायसीहो *Uttarādhyayana*, *Adhyayana* XX, v. 68.

⁴ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 1.

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kingdoms and some non-Āryan principalities. As we have already seen, the most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaiśālī, and the Mallas of Kusinārā (Kusinagara) and Pāvā. However the most important factors in the political history of the period were neither the republics nor the other principalities, but the four great kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha, respectively ruled over by Prasenajit, Udāyana, Pradyota and Bimbisāra.¹

Of these Bimbisāra or Śrenka, the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power, strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful of the neighbouring states, having taken one consort from the royal family of Kosala, together with a village in the district of Kāśī producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money,² and another from the influential Licchavi clan at Vaiśālī. We have referred to both these marriages before, and hence suffice it to say that they were of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for the expansion of Magadha both westwards and northwards. Thus disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisāra could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Anga, the capital of which—i.e. Campā—as we have seen, was occupied and destroyed by Śātānīka, the king of Kauśāmbī, a few years before Bimbisāra's annexation. The addition of Aṅga formed the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained later on.³ This is also confirmed by the Jaina sources, which tell us that Aṅga was governed as a separate province under Kūṇika, the Magadhan prince, with Campā as its capital.⁴

"Thus," observes Dr Raychaudhuri, "by war and policy Bimbisāra added Anga and a part of Kāśī to the Magadhan dominations, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. We learn from the *Mahāvagga* that Bimbisāra's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseers (*Gāmuks*) of which used to meet in a great assembly."⁵

¹ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 116, 120

² Cf. Pradhan, *op cit*, p 214, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 124

³ Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p 33

⁴ चम्पायां कूणिको राजा बभूव, —*Bhagavati, sūl* 300, p 316 Cf. Dey, *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p 322, Hemacandra, *Parīkṣitaparvan*, Canto IV, vv 1, 9, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 125, *Aupapāhka-Sūtra, sūl* 6

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit* Cf. Pradhan, *op cit*, pp 213-214

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With Ajātaśatru, also called Kūnika or Kunya, the successor of Sienika, Magadha reaches the high-water mark of the power of the Bimbisārian dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāśī, but, as the Jains tell us, also absorbed the state of Vaiśālī.¹ As a result of his war with the Kosalas, like his father, Ajātaśatru was also given in marriage Vajirā, the princess of Kosala and the daughter of Prasenajit, with a part of the district of Kāśī as her dowry, and in all probability he won for Magadha a decided preponderance over its neighbour, Kosala. It is certain that the latter kingdom is not again mentioned as an independent Power, and that later on it formed the integral part of the Magadhan empire.² However, Kūnika's victory over Vaiśālī and its Mallakī and other allies, including the rulers of Kāśī-Kosala, was more decisive and highly fruitful from the point of view of the expansion of the Magadhan Empire.³

"It may be presumed," observes Smith, "that the invader carried his victorious arms to their natural limits, the foot of the mountains, and that from this time the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalayas became subject, more or less, directly to the suzerainty of Magadha"⁴ He must have felt from the very beginning that the Licchavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion, and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be. I will destroy these Vajjians. I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."⁵ Thus the Kosalan and the Licchavi or the Vajjian wars were probably not isolated events,

¹ वज्जी विहेषुमे जदत्था, नयनवई नयलेच्छई कासीकोसलगा छट्टारसवि गणरापालो परानदत्था ॥
—*Bhagavati, sūt* 300, p. 315 Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 684, Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭhi Sūlāli*, Part X, v. 290, p. 168, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127

² Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 215

³ The *Bhagavati* tells us that, in the war with Vaiśālī, Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of *Mahāvīlākantaka* and *Rathamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached, and which, running about, effected a great execution of men. For a full description of these two wonderful engines of war see *Bhagavati*, *vil* 300, 301, pp. 316, 319 Cf. Hearnle, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, pp. 59-60, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 129, Towney, *Kathāva*, p. 179

⁴ Smith, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.* "Kūnika-Ajātaśatru made protracted war on the confederacy of the Licchavis, the Mallakās and the eighteen *Gaṇarājās* of Kāśī-Kosala for more than sixteen years, and at last was able to effect their ruin, which it was his firm resolve to do, although his cause was unrighteous"—Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 216 Cf. Hearnle, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, p. 7

⁵ *S. H. I.*, xi, pp. 1, 2 (cf. Law (B. C.), *Some Kāśīnrya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 111 For a detailed description about Magadha and Vaiśālī conflict see *ibid.*, pp. 111-116

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but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha.

The absorption of Vaiśālī, Videha, Kāśī and other territories as a result of these wars to a great extent brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avantī. We already know that the throne of Avantī was at this time occupied by Canda Pradyota Mahāsena. That he was a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the *Majjhima Nikāya* that Ajātasatru fortified Rājagṛha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.¹ This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that after the fall of Anga and Vaiśālī, and the discomfiture of Kosala, Avantī was the only important rival left for Magadha.

Thus by the end of Kūnika's reign Magadha had absorbed almost all the kingdoms and republics of Eastern India. During his son and successor Udāyin's period, as the Jaina traditions tell us, Magadha and Avantī were brought face to face with each other.² The *Sihavirāvalī Carita* and other Jaina sources inform us that Udāyin was a very powerful king, and defeated and killed the king of a certain country in battle, and the son of that king went to Ujjayīni and there related the story of his distress to him. The deposed prince got into the favour of the Avantī lord, and with his help, having disguised as a monk, finally murdered Udāyin while asleep. If nothing else, this particular legend gives an insight into the spirit of rivalry that existed between Avantī and Magadha, both of whom tried to acquire the paramount power in Northern India.³

Furthermore, from the equally aggressive policy of the Avantī ruler it seems clear that it was a contest between the two for the mastery of Northern India. *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* and other Jaina traditions tell us that the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was at this time annexed to the realm of Pālaka of Avantī,⁴ the son of Pradyota.⁵ Thus the Avantī-Magadha contest which, as we have seen, began in the régime of Ajātasatru seems to have continued during the reign of Udāyin. "The contest was finally decided in favour of

¹ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 216

² अमृतसहस्रो निलम्बनीशोऽम्बुदायिनः—Hemacandra, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, Canto VI, v. 191
Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 690 Cf. Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

³ Cf. Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 189-190, 208; *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 131

⁵ उज्जयिन्या प्रद्योतसुतौ द्वौ क्षात्रौ-पालको, etc.—*Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 699

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Magadha under the leadership of Śaṣunāga, who, according to the *Purāṇas*, destroyed the prestige and influence of the descendants of Pradyota,"¹ though the Jaina sources tell us that Avantī now and then suffered defeat at the hands of Udāyin.²

Here arises the difficulty as to who was the real successor of Udāyin. But we need not at all enter, for the present, into any discussions about these controversial and still unsettled facts of Indian history. For our purpose suffice it to reiterate the fact that the contest between Magadha and Avantī was finally decided in favour of the former under the leadership of some Śaṣunāga,³ who is known to us either as Śisunāga or Nandivardhana, or whose full name may be, as Dr Pradhan suggests, Nandivardhana-Śisunāga.⁴

Thus having seen the growth of the Magadhan Empire under the Śaṣunāgas we shall see in brief how far the Jaina church was connected with them. It may be stated here that whatever has been said up till now and whatever is going to be said from now about the different kings and dynasties that are claimed by the Jainas as their own or as those of their sympathisers has been claimed by the Buddhists also. There are reasons and reasons for this phenomenon of Indian history, but we need not enter at all into these details, because thereby it is not possible to fix a criterion in accordance with which we can say that such and such a king was a Buddhist or a Jaina by faith. Unless there are some inscriptional records or other sound historical documents it is not possible to put down anything as an historical fact. Nothing can be predicted as gospel truth where the source of information rests only with the canonical books and with some legendary and literary traditions of the people.

Taking first Bimbisāra or the Śrenika of the Jainas it must be said that, whatever may be the claims of the Buddhists about him, looking to the nature of the evidence put forward by the Jainas it is certain that he was a great devotee of Mahāvīra. So much has been written about him and his successors by the Jainas that it is not possible to do anything but enumerate a few of the facts connected with their careers with a view to illustrate their relations with the Jaina church. The *Uttarādhyayana* tells us that King

¹ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 217 Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 182

² उज्जयिनी राजा बहुशः बहुशः परिभूयते उदायिना — *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 680

³ Cf Pradhan, *op cit*, pp 217, 220 Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 188-184

⁴ Cf Pradhan, *op cit*, p 220, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 182-183

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Srenika once laid the following point before Mahāvīra : “ Though a young nobleman, you have entered the order ; in an age fit for pleasure you exert yourself as a *Śramaṇa*, O Ascetic ; I want to hear you explain this.”¹

Hearing this, *Nātaputta* gave a lengthy explanation, and so convinced the king that he could not help giving vent to his feelings, as follows : “ You have made the best use of human birth, you have made a true Jaina, O great sage, you are a protector (of mankind at large) and of your relations, for you have entered the path of the best Jinas. You are the protector of all unprotected beings, O Ascetic : I ask you to forgive me ; I desire you to put me right. That by asking you I have disturbed your meditation, and that I invited you to enjoy pleasures, all this you must forgive me.”²

Here the *Uttarādhyayana* rightly concludes : “ When the lion of kings had thus, with the greatest devotion, praised the lion of the houseless monks, he, together with his wives, servants and relations, became a staunch believer in law, with a pure mind.”³

We have already seen that this Bimbisāra was married to Cellanā, the daughter of Cetaka, the maternal uncle of Vardhamāna. With a few of her sisters as nuns and with her aunt Triśalā as mother of the prophet naturally Cellanā had come under the influence of Mahāvīra more than anybody else in the family of Bimbisāra.⁴ This attitude of hers is particularly to be noticed when we know that she, as the mother of Ajātaśatru, the successor of Bimbisāra, must have been the chief queen of the Magadha lord. That is why the *Divyāvadāna* speaks, in one place, of Ajātaśatru as Vaidehīputra, and in another states, “ At Rājagṛha reigns the King Bimbisāra. Vaidehī is his *Mahādevī* (or chief queen) and Ajātaśatru, his son and prince.”⁵

¹ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. 101

² *Ibid.*, p. 107

³ एवं पुणित्वा स रायसीहो

अगारसीहं परमां भनीह ।

—*Uttarādhyayana*, *Adhyayana XX*, v. 58. Cf. Jacobi, *op* and *loc cit.*

⁴ एकदा च प्रवृत्ते शिशिरर्तुर्भयंकरः । तदा ॥ देव्या चेह्णया सार्धम् नृपः । वीरं

वन्दितुमभ्यगात् ॥—Hemacandra, *Trishashṭi-Salākā*, *Parva X*, vv. 6, 10, 11, p. 86

“ Once upon a time, when a great stress of cold had fallen on the country, the king went with Queen Cellanā to worship Mahāvīra ”—Tawney, *op cit*, p. 175 For further references about this see *ibid.*, p. 239

⁵ *Rājagṛhe rājā Bimbisāro . . . tasya Vadehī mahādevī Ajātaśatruh putrah*, Cowell and Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 545 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55 ; Law (B. C.), *op cit*, p. 107.

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Moreover, Cellanā is usually called "Vaidehī in the Buddhist books, and from her, Ajātasātru is frequently designated as Vedehiputto or the son of the Videhā princess."¹ However "some of the commentaries—those for example on *Thusa* and *Tacchasūka Jātaka*s—state that Ajātasātru's mother was a sister of the king of Kosala. Here the commentators have evidently made a confusion between the two queens of Bimbisāra."² There is no reason to doubt the Jaina belief that Kūmka was one of the sons of Cellanā, and that, like Mahāvira, he too was rightly called Vedehiputto³

That, besides Cellanā and Kosaladevī, Bimbisāra had many other wives is borne out both by the Buddhist and the Jaina sources.⁴ Accordingly, besides Kūmka, Halla and Vehalla, the three sons of Cellanā,⁵ he had many sons, all of whose names, whether they agree or not, are recorded by both the annals.⁶ About these sons and wives of Śrenika the Jaina claim is that most of them joined the order of Lord Mahāvira and reached their salvation.⁷ This claim of the Jainas, barring a few exaggerations here and there, is not based on absolutely false grounds. There is nothing strange or unbelievable if some of Mahāvira's own kith and kin took a living interest in the great message that he put before suffering humanity. Leaving aside this question of close relationship between Mahāvira and his royal followers, the literary and legendary traditions of the Jainas about Śrenika are so varied and so well recorded that they are eloquent witnesses to the high respect

¹ Law (B C), *op. cit.*, p. 108. Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, pt. II, p. 268, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 124, Rhys Davids, *C.H.I.*, I, p. 188.

² Law (B C), *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.* Cf. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, III, p. 121, and IV, p. 342; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*, Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 188, Rhys Davids (Mrs.), *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, pt. I, p. 109, n. 1.

³ कौणिकः, . . . चेद्वशाया उदरे उत्पन्नः—*Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 678. . . . विदेहपुत्रे जन्मत्वा. —*Bhagavati*, sūt. 300, p. 815, विदेहपुत्रे 'ति कौणिकः, . . . —*Ibid.*, sūt. 301, p. 317. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 3, Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁴ Cf. *Bhagavati*, sūt. 6, p. 11; *Antagada-Dasāo*, sūt. 16, 17, p. 25, Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁵ Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 679, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 120. "Bimbisāra is said to have contracted marriage alliances with the kings of several states. These, we may be sure, were quite common in ancient India"—Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 163.

⁶ Cf. *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 679; *Anuttaravacārya-Dasāo*, sūt. 1, 2, pp. 1-2, Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*, Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁷ नैरिपयमन्त्राय निद्रा—*Antagada-Dasāo*, sūt. 16-26, pp. 25-32. Cf. Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-107, *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, p. 687, Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 406, p. 171. Of the sons of Śrenika, Halla, Vehalla, Abhaya, Nandisena, Meghākumāra and others are said to have joined the order of Mahāvira. Cf. *Anuttaravacārya-Dasāo*, sūt. 1, p. 1, *ibid.*, sūt. 2, p. 2; Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112, *Āśāyaka-Sūtra*, pp. 682, 685.

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with which the Jains held one of their greatest royal patrons,¹ whose historicity, fortunately, is past all doubts

Taking next the Kūnika of the Jamas we find that they are not so eloquent about him as about his father Śrenika, though a lot of literature can be had which throws light on almost all the incidents connected with his life.² However, leaving this fact aside, there is one thing about his career that clearly brings out the attitude of this great monarch towards both the Buddhists and the Jains.

This incident of Kūnika's life is connected with his succession to the throne of Magadha. The Buddhists definitely tell us that "Bimbisāra made over the charge of government to his son Ajātaśatru when the latter was about to stab him with a dagger, but was seized upon by the officers. Ajātaśatru however starved him to death, and afterwards expressed repentance to Buddha for his sin."³ The Jains, on the other hand, have got something else to offer about this very incident. According to them no doubt the parricide Ajātaśatru of the Buddhists imprisoned his father and greatly ill-treated him, but the death of Śrenika took place under circumstances which would draw our sympathy rather than our hatred for both the father and the son—for the former for his untimely death, and for the latter for his good motives being misunderstood by the victim of this incident.

The Jaina account of this tradition in brief runs as follows. Though Śrenika had made up his mind that he would make Kūnika his successor, the latter felt a bit impatient and suspicious, and on the advice of his brothers Kāla and others imprisoned his father.

¹ For Śrenika's attachment towards Mahāvīra see सेणिए राया, चेन्नया देवी ॥ . परिसा निगया, धम्मो कहिसो—*Bhagavati, sūt* 4, 6, pp 6, 10, मेहस्स कुमारस्स खम्मापियरो समण भगव महावीर . . वदंति नमसति एवं वदासो —अम्हे ख देवाणुप्पियाणं सिस्सभिकल दल्लामो—*Jñāta-Sūtra, sūt* 25, p 60 Cf *Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhā-Tīkā*, p. 20 (श्रेणिकः) राजा भगति—अह युष्मासु तापेषु कथ नरकं गमिष्यामि ?—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 681 In this way many more such references about Śrenika can be gathered from the Jaina canonical books, but for our purpose suffice it to say that the Jamas respect him as the first Tirthankara of the coming age श्रेणिकराज्ञीवः पद्मनाभो जिवेश्वरः—*Hemacandra, op cit*, v 189, p 179 Cf Tawney, *op cit*, p 178

² About the whole of *Aupapātika*, the first *Upāṅga* of the Jamas, deals with Ajātaśatru Besides this we get references about him in the *Bhagavati*, the *Uvāsaga-Dasāo*, the *Antagada-Dasāo*, and many other places Kūnika has been fully dealt with by the Jamas

³ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 214 Cf Rockhill, *op cit*, pp 95 ff, Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt 1, p 94, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 120-127, Rhys Davids (Mrs), *op cit*, pp 109-110

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During his imprisonment Bimbisāra was no doubt very badly treated by his son, but his comforts were very keenly looked after by his wife Cellanā, the mother of Kūnika. Once it so happened that while he was taking his food with his son Udaya in his lap, the child's urine fell into his dishes, but without taking any notice of this he went on taking his food. After a short while he asked his mother, who was sitting near him "Mother, did anybody ever love his son so much?" His mother replied: "You monstrous criminal, listen! When you were born I abandoned you in an enclosure of Aśoka-trees, saying that you were a villain. When your father came to know about this he himself went to the enclosure and brought you back; so you were named Aśokacandra. Then a cock tore your finger. It became a whitlow. So all gave you the name of Konika. When the swelling on your finger ripened you suffered a good deal of pain from it. Your father held that finger in his mouth, though streaming with matter, so you did not cry. To this extent did he love you." When Kūnika heard this he was full of remorse. He said: "A sorry return I have made to my father." So he immediately went off in person with an iron club to break the fetters of his father. In the meanwhile the guards said to Śrenika: "Konika is coming in a very impatient mood, with an iron club in his hand; it is not known what his object is." Hearing this, Śrenika felt that he would be put to death by some painful execution, so he took *Tālaputa* poison and died then and there, before Kūnika could come over to break his father's fetters. When Kūnika came to know about this sad coincidence he was very much afflicted at the loss of his father. Though admonished by his nobles he would not bathe or take food. Then, being unable to endure his sorrow for his father, he left Rājagṛha, and made Campā the seat of his rule¹.

This incident of Kūnika's life as laid down by the Janamas makes at least this much clear—that it was not he who murdered or starved Śrenika to death. This is because there is nothing in this account that is unnatural or cannot be believed. It further shows that the Janamas were in the good books of Kūnika, because if otherwise they would, like the Buddhists, have given a crude version of this unfortunate happening of his life².

¹ Cf. *Arasṅgala-Sūtra*, pp. 682-683; Hemacandra, *op cit*, pp. 161-164, Tawney, *op cit*, pp. 176-178.

² "It is probable, however, that the story is the product of odium theologicum, or sectarian rancour, which has done so much to falsify the history of ancient India."

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This surmise of ours is greatly strengthened when we read from the Buddhist sources themselves of Ajātaśatru being incited to get his father slain by Devadatta, "the quondam disciple and bitter foe of the Buddha," and hence "the Judas Iscariot of the Buddhist story."¹ Furthermore, commenting on the Buddhist tradition of Kūṇika's having repented before Buddha for his sin, Dr Rhys Davids observes: "At the close of the discourse the king is stated to have openly taken Buddha as his guide in future, and to have given expression to the remorse he felt at the murder of his father. But it is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment when his heart was touched, continued to follow the Buddha's teaching. He never, so far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha or upon any member of the order to discuss ethical matters, and we hear of no material support given by him to the order during the Buddha's lifetime."²

What Buddha and Ajātaśatru thought of each other is clear from the following two passages from the Buddhist literature: "Then Devadatta went to Prince Ajātaśatru and said: 'Give such order, O King, to our men that I may deprive the *samāna* Gotama of life'; and Ajātaśatru the prince gave orders to his men: 'Whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do!'"³

The above passage clearly shows the nature of Kūṇika's repentance before Lord Buddha. The following one, moreover, manifests the estimate in which the latter held the former: "Almsmen, the king of Magadha, Ajātaśatru, son of the accomplished princess, is a friend to, an intimate of, mixed with, whatever is evil."⁴

On the other hand the *Aupapātika* and other Jaina sources tell us that Kūṇika used to go with his queens, now and then,

Later when, in consequence of Aśoka's patronage, Buddhism became pre-eminent in Northern India, leanings towards Jainism became criminal in the eyes of ecclesiastical chroniclers, who were ready to blacken the memory of persons deemed heretical with unfounded accusations of the gravest character.—Smith, *op cit*, pp 38, 37.

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 13-14. Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *S.B.E.*, xx, pp 238-265. And Devadatta went to Ajātaśatru the prince and said to him: "In former days, Prince, people were long-lived, but now their term of life is short. It is quite possible, therefore, that you may complete your term while you are still a prince. So do you, Prince, kill your father and become the *Rājā*, and I will kill the blessed one and become Buddha"—*Ibid*, p 241.

² Rhys Davids, *op cit*, p. 15

³ Vinaya Texts, pt iii, p 243

⁴ Rhys Davids (Mrs), *op cit*, p 109

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accompanied with a great retinue, to pay his respects to *Nātaputta*. In connection with the *Vaiśālī* king, *Cetaka*, and *Campā*, the capital of *Dadhivāhana*, we have seen that more than once he had come in touch with *Mahāvīra*, and that he looked with great respect and honour towards all those who were connected with the *Jaina* church.¹ His love for *Mahāvīra* and his faith in the doctrines propounded by the *Jina* are clear when he openly confessed before *Vardhamāna* and his followers to the following effect: "O Lord! you have said the right thing. The path of true religion has been made clear to us by your honour. Yours is a unique message of renunciation, peace," etc.²

Coming to *Udaya* or *Udāyin*, the successor of *Kūnika*, we find that both the *Buddhists* and the *Jainas* hold him as such in the teeth of various other traditions. Referring to this *Dr Raychaudhuri* observes: "Ajātaśatru was succeeded according to the *Purāṇas* by *Darśaka*.³ Professor *Geiger* considers the insertion of *Darśaka* after *Ajātaśatru* to be an error, because the *Pālī* canon indubitably asserts that *Udāyibhadda* was the son of *Ajātaśatru*, and probably also his successor.⁴ Though the reality of the existence of *Darśaka*, as king of *Magadha*, is established by the discovery of *Bhāsa's Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, yet in the face of the *Buddhist* and *Jaina* evidence it cannot be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of *Ajātaśatru*."⁵

The *Jaina* evidence of which the learned scholar speaks about is based mostly on the *Āvaśyaka* commentary of *Haribhadra*,⁶ the *Trishashti-Salākā* and the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* of *Hemacandra*⁷ and the *Kathākośa* of *Tawney*.⁸ Further than this the traditions recorded in these books do not seem to agree with those in the *Pālī* canon. To quote *Dr Pradhan*: "Ajātaśatru was, according

¹ Cf. *Aupapātika*, sūti 12, 27, 30, pp 24, 25, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, *Stevenson (Mrs), op cit*, p 40, *Hemacandra, Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, Canto IV, vv 1, 9, 88, 85, *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp 684, 687, *Hoernle, op cit*, II, p 9.

² तस्य कृण्वन् राया महानोर वदन्ति एव वयासी-सुखमहाए ते भन्ते । etc.—*Aupapātika*, sūti 38, p 63.

³ Cf. *Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, pp 21, 69, *Pradhan, op cit*, p 217.

⁴ Cf. *Geiger, Mahāvamsa, Parīchedo IV*, vv 1-2.

⁵ *Raychaudhuri, op cit*, p 130. "The order of succession in the *Vishnu* which inserts *Darśaka* between *Ajātaśatru* and *Udāyaśva* must be rejected."—*Pradhan, op and loc cit*. *Darśaka* may be one of *Bimbisāra's* many sons who managed the State affairs during the lifetime of his father. Cf. *ibid*, p 212.

⁶ कोषिकः मुनः तदा राजान उदायिन स्थापयन्ति, —*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 687.

⁷ *Hemacandra, op cit*, v 22. Cf. *Trishashti-Salākā, Parva X*, v 426, p 172.

⁸ Cf. *Tawney, op cit*, p 177.

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to the *Mahāvamsa*, murdered by his son Udāyibhadra,¹ but the *Śthavirāvali-Carita* informs us that Udāyin was overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father Ajātaśatru, and transferred his capital from Campā to Pāṭaliputra."²

This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, according to which Udāyi built the city of Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra³) in the fourth year of his reign,⁴ and hence it seems almost certain that Udāyin was in no way connected with the death of his father. It is not possible to say why the Buddhists have pictured him, like his father, as a man whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life. If the Buddhist tradition of the *Mahāvamsa* had any ground at its back the Jaina writers would have at least taken a note of it, as they have done in the case of Kūṇika.

The Jainas, on the other hand, tell us that he was a devout Jaina. By his order a fine Jaina temple was built in the centre of his new capital, Pāṭaliputra.⁵ That the Jaina monks had free access to him is clear from the fact, as related before, that he was murdered by some prince, whose father had been dethroned by him, in the disguise of a monk. Furthermore, from this very incident we can infer that, like an orthodox Jaina, he was regularly observing the monthly religious festivals, because it was on a *Paushadhaday* that the *Sūri*, accompanied by the novice who carried a concealed weapon about him, went to the palace and preached to the king.⁶

This is, in short, what the Jainas have to say about the Saisunāgas, under whom the Magadhan Empire took a definite form.

¹ Cf Geiger, *op. cit.*, v. 1

² Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 216 Cf *ibid.*, p. 219 "The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru were parricides."—Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Hemacandra, *Parīkṣitaparvan*, Canto VI, vv 32-180 Cf *Āśvaghosha-Sūtra*, pp 687, 689

³ "The choice of Pāṭaliputra was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm, which now included North Bihar. Moreover, its situation at the confluence of two large rivers (the Ganges and the Son) was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that Kautilya recommends a site at the confluence of rivers for the capital of a kingdom"—Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴ Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁵ नगरनाम्नी चोदायिना चैत्यगृहं कारितं, . . —*Āśvaghosha-Sūtra*, p. 689. Cf Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 181.

⁶ स राजाऽस्मिन् चतुर्दशयोः पौषं करोति —*Āśvaghosha-Sūtra*, p. 690 Cf. Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 186, *ibid.*, vv. 186-230, Charpentier, *C.H.I.*, i, p. 164

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Let it be clear that we have not entered into any details while dealing with them in their relations with the Jaina church, and that we do not mean doing so in the case of other dynasties that are mentioned in this chapter. It need not, however, be understood that all these details are superfluous, but that it is neither possible nor desirable to enter into them while taking a general historical review of the northern Jainas.

Coming to the successors of Udāyin we find that, according to the Buddhist traditions, he was succeeded by Anuruddha, Munda and Nāga-Dāsaka. The traditions tell us further that all these were paricides, and that "the people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *Amātya* named Śusu-Nāga (Śisunāga) to the throne"¹ However, the Jaina and *Purāṇic* traditions omit or forget the weaklings Anuruddha and others, and put down some Nanda or Nandivardhana as the successor of the Udāyibhadda of the Buddhists²

The Jainas say that on the death of Udāyin, who left no heirs, the five royal insignia—viz the State elephant, the horse, the parasol, the pitcher and the chowries—were anointed by the ministers and led through the streets, and this procession met the marriage procession of a man named Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber, and the five royal insignias themselves pointed out Nanda as the king of Magadha. He was accordingly proclaimed king, and ascended the throne sixty years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra.³

In connection with the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* we have seen that the Mauryas came to the imperial throne of Magadha one hundred and fifty-five years after the death of Vardhamāna, and thus the Jainas allot ninety-six years to Nanda and his descendants. "This," observes Dr Pradhan, "agrees fairly well with the *Purāṇic* tradition that the Nandas ruled for about a hundred years. The *Purāṇas* probably borrowed the information from the ancient Jaina sources."⁴

He says further: "Hemacandra who has, on account of the similarity of names, not only confounded Nandi-(a)-Vardhana with

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 133 Cf Geiger, *op cit*, vv. 2-6; Pradhan, *op cit*, pp 218-219, Smith, *op cit*, p 86; Rapson, *C.H.I.*, 1, pp 312-313

² Cf *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp 690 ff, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 242; Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 22, 69

³ नानिदत्त राजा जातः—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 690 Cf. Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 231-243

⁴ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 218 Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 26, 69

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Nanda (=Mahāpadma), but has practically supported the wrong tradition that Nanda (=Mahāpadma) ruled for about a hundred years (95 years according to the *Sihavirāvalīcarita*).”¹

But there is no such confounding of names on the part of Hemacandra at all. Both Haribhadra and Hemacandra have taken into consideration Nine Nandas, the first of whom really was of base origin.² It is not correct to say that “Hemacandra has confounded Nandi-(a)-Vardhana with Nanda (=Mahāpadma),” because if at all the identity of Nandivardhana or Nandavardhana is to be accepted he must go along with the Śaisunāga dynasty as one of those who succeeded Udāyin. This is clear from all sources—both ancient and modern. “The *Purānas* and the Ceylonese authorities,” observes Dr Raychaudhuri, “know of the existence of only one Nanda line. Those works represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Śaisunāga line, a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas.”³

Thus it is clear that there is no confusion in what has been laid down by the Jains when they definitely say that Udāyin had no successor, and that the Magadhan empire went into the hands of the Nandas. We are not concerned with the circumstances under which the Śaisunāgas were supplanted by the Nandas. It may be, as we have seen, that Udāyin was succeeded by some weaklings, and that Mahanandin, the last of the dynasty, as Smith observes, “had by a *Sūdra*, or low caste, woman a son named Mahāpadma Nanda, who usurped the throne, and so established the Nanda family or dynasty.”⁴

This observation of the learned historian essentially agrees with the Jain tradition that Nanda was born of a courtesan by a barber. This is also corroborated by the *Purānas* and the Greek accounts of the father of Alexander’s Magadhan contemporary. The *Purānas* describe him as *Sūdra-garbhā-udbhava*—i.e. born of a *Sūdra* mother.⁵ The Jain tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts, though according to them the Nandas retained possession of the throne for only two generations, and their duration

¹ Pradhan, *op cit*, p 220 Cf *ibid*, p 225

² नन्दे नन्दे —*Āvākyaka-Sūtra*, p 698 Cf Hemacandra, *op cit*, Canto VII, v 8

³ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 138 Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 23, 24, 69, Smith, *op cit*, p 51

⁴ *Ibid*, p 41

⁵ Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 25, 69, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 140, Pradhan, *op cit*, p 226, Smith, *op cit*, p 48, Rapson, *op cit*, p 313

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was for only fifty-five years.¹ Curtius says: "His father (*i.e.* Agrammes' or Xandrammes' father—*i.e.* the first Nanda—*i.e.* Mahāpadma Nanda) was, in fact, a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was, by her influence, advanced too nearer a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as the guardian to the royal children, usurped the royal authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king, who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne"²

Besides this agreement between the Jaina and other sources about the non-Kshatriya origin of the Nandas we see that chronologically also Jainas are right if, according to Smith, "this event may be dated in or about 413 B.C."³ This is because, as we have seen, the suzerainty of Magadha passed from the hands of the Śaśunāgas to those of the Nandas sixty years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, which we have put down between 480-467 B.C. It may be repeated here that the duration of the Nandas as put down by the Jainas is ninety-five years, and this agrees with the *Purāṇic* traditions. Taking into consideration the tradition based on Merutunga and others, Vincent Smith remarks that "the Jainas, doing still greater violence to reason, extend the duration of the dynasty to 155 years."⁴ According to the chronology relied upon by us the period of one hundred and fifty-five years thus alluded to by the great historian does not obtain to the dynasty of the Nandas, but, as already remarked, it is the duration between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Candragupta. As it is, our period seems to be acceptable to him, seeing that a period of ninety-one years has been assumed by him as "fitting into a definite chronological scheme"⁵

Thus about the base origin, the date of the succession, and the duration of the Nandas the Jaina traditions are confirmed by other sources also. Before we enter into the details as to where the Jainas

¹ Cf. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 409

² *Ibid.*, p. 222 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 282, Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*, Pradhan, *op. cit.*, Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, Jayaswal, *J B O R S.*, 1, p. 88

³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44

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stood in their relations with the ruling dynasty it may be seen whether Magadha remained the premier state of India during the period of the Nandas. What we can glean from various sources is that it not only remained an empire, but its boundaries were spread far and wide, so that it remained for Candragupta to extend the imperial dominion by the annexation of the north-western region—which for a few years had owned the sway of Alexander the Great and his Satraps—and for Aśoka to re-establish his authority over Kalinga.

The *Purāṇas* call Mahāpadma, or Nanda I, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas—like a second Paraśurāma—and sole monarch of the earth, which was under his undisputed sway.¹ This *Purāṇic* account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers, who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the seas in the time of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital of Palibhōtra (Pataliputra). Curtius tells us that Agrammes, king of Ganjaridae and Prassi, "kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants, which he said ran up to the number of 8000."² Besides this, the inclusion of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara* which refers to the camp of the King Nanda in Ayodhya.³ More important is the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which, as we have seen, mentions Nandarāja in connection with an aqueduct of Kalinga, and this naturally seems to imply that Nandarāja held sway in Kalinga.⁴ To quote Dr Raychaudhuri: "In view of Nanda's possession of Kalinga, the conquest of regions lying farther south does not seem to be altogether impossible. The existence on the Godavari of a city called 'Nau Nand Dehra' (Nander)⁵ also suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan."⁶

Besides this, as we shall see in the following chapter, the second

¹ Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 25, 69

² McCrindle, *op cit*, pp 221-222 Cf *ibid*, pp 281-282, Smith, *op cit*, p 42; Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 141

³ Cf Tawney (ed Penzer), *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara*, I, p 37, Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit*

⁴ Cf Rapson, *op cit*, p 315

⁵ Cf Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, v, p 236

⁶ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 142

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passage in the inscription seems to state that Nanda carried away as trophies the image of the Jina of Kalinga as well as other treasures of the Kalinga kings to Magadha. This statement of the Khāravēla inscription finally brings us to the discussion of the relations of the Nandas with the Jaina church. The difficulty that arises in connection with this and the other passage referring to Nandarāja is about the identification of this Nandarāja. While considering the *Nirvāna* date of Mahāvīra we have seen that there is no reason why this Nandarāja should be identified with Nandivardhana, as Jayaswal, Banerji, Smith and others have done. Besides the authority of Charpentier, to which reference has been already made, as Professor Chanda points out, "there is nothing in the *Purāṇas*, our only source of information for Nandivardhana, to show that he ever had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary we are distinctly told in the *Purāṇas* that when the kings of the Śaśunāga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha, thirty-two Kalingas—that is to say, thirty-two kings—reigned in Kalinga in succession synchronously¹. It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and 'uprooted all Kshatriyas,' or the old reigning families. So we should identify Nandarāja of the Hāthugumphā inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons"².

In short, the Nandarāja of the Khāravēla inscription is none else but Nanda I of the Jamas or Mahāpadma Nanda of the *Purāṇas*, because of the later Nandas both the Jaina and the *Purāṇic* traditions have nothing to say which can claim for any one of them the triumphant career of the first Nanda. It may be remarked here that though the *Purāṇic* and the Jama traditions confirm each other to a great extent, the Khāravēla inscription rightly supports the latter by calling this Nanda king simply Nandarāja, and not Mahāpadma Nanda, as the *Purāṇas* have done.

As to the relations of the Jainas and the Nandas, the above reference to the Hāthugumphā inscription tells us that some Jama image was taken away by King Nanda as a trophy, and thus, according to Jayaswal, as we shall see in the next chapter, proves that Nanda was a Jama, and that Jainism was introduced in Orissa

¹ Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 24, 62

² Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No I, pp 11-12 Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 138

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very early.¹ This is because, according to him, "carrying away idols of worship as a mark of trophy and also showing respect to the particular idol is known in later history."² This is also confirmed by scholars like Smith and Charpentier.³ To quote the former, "The Nanda dynasty exercised dominion over Kalinga for a long time. The Jaina religion, if not predominant, as it may have been, certainly occupied a position of high honour both in the days of the Nandas and in those of Khāravela. I may mention that I had come independently to the opinion that the Nandas were Jainas"⁴

Looking to the anti-Brahmanical origin of the Nandas it is not strange to find that they were Jainas.⁵ Besides their origin the Jainas have nothing to say against the Nandas, as is the case with the Buddhists. According to Dr Charpentier "this fact seems to suggest that the Nanda kings were not unfavourably inclined towards the Jaina religion."⁶ This is further supported by the Jaina tradition that the Nanda dynasty as such had a line of Jaina ministers beginning with Kalpaka,⁷ who was perforce made to accept the ministership.⁸ It was with the help of this minister that King Nanda uprooted all the reigning Kshatriya dynasties,⁹ and, as the Jainas tell us, all the ministers of the Nandas were his descendants.¹⁰ The minister of the ninth Nanda was Śakatāla, who had two sons. The elder was Sthūlabhadra and the younger son was called Sriyaka. After the death of Śakatāla, Nanda offered the ministership to his elder son Sthūlabhadra, but the latter refused and, perceiving the vanity of the world, took *Dikshā*, or joined the order under Sambhūtavijaya,¹¹ the sixth pontiff of the

¹ "Kalinga culture was a complex compound of animism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Curiously enough none of them was completely superseded at any time."—Subrahmanian, *A.H.R.S.*, 1, p. 50.

² Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, xii, p. 245.

³ Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴ Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 546.

⁵ "Some would make us understand that Kalinga was Jaina, as it was long under the anti-Brahmanical Nandas, whose Jaina remains probably are found now in Nandapur in Jeypore."—Subrahmanian, *op. and loc. cit.*

⁶ Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁷ *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 692; Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 73-74, 80.

⁸ Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp. 691-692, Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 1-74.

⁹ दर्शितः सन् कस्यक इति ते (राजानः) भीताः नृपाः—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 693, Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, vv. 84, 105-137. Cf. Pradhān, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁰ कस्यकस्य वंशे नन्दवशेन सममनुवर्तते, . —*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 693, Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, Canto VIII, v. 2.

¹¹ शकटालमन्त्रिपुत्रः श्रीस्थूलभद्रो . . पितरि मृते नन्दराजनाकार्ये मन्त्रिमुद्रादानायभ्यर्षितः सन् पितृमृत्युं स्वचित्ते विचिन्त्य दीक्षामादत्त—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subodhikā-Tikā*, p. 162. Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*,

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Jaina church.¹ The ministership was finally given to his brother Srijaka, who was already in the king's office.²

This is how the relationship between the Nandas and the Jainas stands. That the Jainas were powerful in the days of the Nandas is also clear from the Sanskrit play *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, which dramatises the story of Candragupta's accession, and tells us that "Jainas held a prominent position at the time," and that Cānakya, "who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jaina as one of his chief emissaries"³

Unlike the Saisunāgas the Jaina records do not throw any particular light upon the political power of the Nandas. They inform us only in a very vague manner that, with the help of the Jaina minister Kalpaka, King Nanda subdued many kings, and that, as we shall see later on, the last Nanda had to throw himself at the mercy of Cānakya, who, being insulted at his court, had taken a vow to dethrone him and to destroy his power. However it must be remembered that this is not the case with the Jaina annals alone. As Dr Charpentier remarks, "The reign of the Nandas is one of the darkest even of the many hopelessly dark epochs in the history of ancient India."⁴

The Nandas are followed by the Mauryas. Why and wherefore the Nandas were supplanted by the Mauryas is not yet clearly known, but this much is certain, that it is in connection with this landmark in Indian history that we get Cānakya, "the first economist of India, if not of the world"⁵. It is strange that no detailed account of the dynastic revolution has survived. However from the classical accounts we have seen that the last Nanda "was detested and held cheap by his subjects". Furthermore, the vast standing army of the Nandas which has been mentioned by

pp 485-486, 693-695, Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 3-82. Smith has wrongly put him down as "Minister of the ninth Nanda"—Smith, *Early History of India*, p 49, n 2.

¹ "Sudharman, the first pontiff, had died twenty years after his master, leaving the mace to Jambū, who held his high office for forty-four years, dying at a time nearly coincident with the accession of the Nandas. After him passed three generations of pontiffs, and in the time of the last Nanda the Jaina church was governed by two high priests, Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadrabāhu."—Charpentier, *op cit*, p 164, Jacobi, *S B E*, xcii, p 287.

² श्रीयकः स्थापितः, —*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 486, Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 10, 88, 84.

³ Cf Narasimhaachar, *E C*, ii, Int, p 41, Rice (Lewis), *Mysore and Coorg*, p 8, Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p 76.

⁴ Charpentier, *op and loc cit*.

⁵ Sammadar, *The Glories of Magadha*, p 2.

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these accounts and the traditional facts of the vast treasures of the Nandas naturally imply a good deal of financial extortion¹ Nevertheless the Jainas have no such complaint to make against any of the Nandas.

The Jama tradition in brief runs as follows -

Cānakya, who was born of Caneśvari, the wife of the Brahman Capin, a devout Jaina, hearing that Nanda was accustomed to liberally reward renowned Brahmans, went to Pātaliputra to make money. There at the king's court he felt he was insulted, and since then became the enemy of the last Nanda. He then went to Himavatkūta and entered into an alliance with Parvataka,² the king of that place, promising him half of Nanda's country if he would aid him to subdue Nanda. They opened the campaign by reducing the outlying provinces, and finally, having devastated the country, the allies laid siege to Pātaliputra, and at last forced the enemy to capitulate. Nanda, throwing himself on the mercy of Cānakya, was permitted to leave his kingdom, carrying with him all that he could place on one car. Accordingly he put his two wives and a daughter on his carriage, and loading it with treasures he drove off. Meeting Candragupta on the road, the princess instantly fell in love with him, and on her father's advice selected him for her husband by the rite of *Svayamvara*. She got down at once and began to climb into Candragupta's carriage, in doing which, however, nine spokes of the wheel broke. Candragupta would have turned her out, but Cānakya prevented him, saying that the new dynasty would flourish during nine generations.³

This is what the Jainas say about the fall of the Nandas and the rise of the Mauryas. About the ally Parvata of Himavatkūta it so happened that by some unhappy coincidence he died, and thus Candragupta got possession of Nanda's and Parvata's kingdom⁴

¹ "The *Mahāvamsa*, when it dubs the last Nanda by the name of Dhana, or 'riches,' seems to hint at an imputation of avariciousness against the first Nanda, and the Chinese pilgrim Huen-Tsang also refers to the Nanda Rāja as the reputed possessor of great wealth"—Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 48. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 148

² गतो हिमवतकूटं, पार्वतिको राजा, तेन सम मेघो जातः—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 434, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 298. Jacobi makes a note of this in his edition of the *Parīkṣitaparvan*, as follows: In the list of the kings of Nepal, according to the Bauddha Pārvaṭīya Vamsāvalī, the eleventh king of the third dynasty, that of the Kīrātas, is Parba—apparently our Parvata, for in the reign of the seventh king, Jitedāsti, is placed Buddha's visit to Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth, Sthunka, Asoka visited the country.—Jacobi, *Parīkṣitaparvan*, p. 58. Cf. Bhagawanlal Indraji, *I.A.*, xii, p. 412

³ Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp. 433, 434, 435; Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 55-59

⁴ द्वे ऋषि राज्ये तस्य जातः—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p. 435. Cf. Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 338.

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This, as seen before, happened one hundred and fifty years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira.

Here arise two difficulties. that if, as the Jaina and other sources inform us,¹ it was Cānakya alone who was at the back of the fall of the Nandas, what was the ancestry of Candragupta? and again, how is it that Canakya did not proclaim himself the Emperor of Magadha? Of the two the problem of the ancestry of Candragupta is insoluble. The Jaina tradition represents him as the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of the feeders of the king's peacocks (*Mayūra-poshaka*).² According to Smith the dynasty founded by Candragupta is said to be a derivative from Murā, his mother's or grandmother's name.³ The Hindus connect the Mauryas with the Nandas. *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* refers to Candragupta as a son of the Nandas.⁴ The *Mahāvamsa* calls him a scion of the Moriya clan.⁵ In the *Divyāvadāna* Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta, claims to be a *Kshatriya Mūrdhabhishikta*. In the same work Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, calls himself a *Kshatriya*.⁶ In the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pippalivana, and as belonging to the *Kshatriya* caste.⁷

Taking into consideration all these facts, Dr Raychaudhuri observes: "It is, therefore, practically certain that Candragupta belonged to a *Kshatriya* community—viz the Moriya (Maurya) clan. In the sixth century B.C. the Moriyas were the ruling clan of the little republic of Pippalivana. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan Empire along with the other states of Eastern India. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of Candragupta. With the help of Kautilya, also called Cānakya or Vishnugupta, son of a Brahmana of Taxilā,⁸ he overthrew the infamous Nanda."⁹

¹ "We learn from the Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Kāmandaka's *Nitisāra*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Mudrārāshasa* that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Kautilya, the famous minister of Candragupta Maurya"—Raychaudhuri, *op cit* and *loc cit* "A Brahman Kautilya will uproot them all, and after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas"—Pargiter, *op cit*, p. 69

² Cf. *Avastya-Sūtra*, pp. 433-434, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v. 240

³ Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 123

⁴ Cf. Tawney (ed. Penzer), *op cit*, i, p. 57

⁵ "*Moriyānam Khatiyānam vamsa* etc"—Geiger, *op cit*, p. 80

⁶ "*Aham rāja Kshatriyo mūrdhabhishikta*"—Cowell and Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 370

⁷ Rhys Davids, *S.B.E.*, xi, pp. 184-185

⁸ According to the Jamas Cānakya was a native of Canaka, a village of the Golla district Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 55, *Avastya-Sūtra*, p. 433

⁹ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp. 105-166

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This much about the ancestry of Candragupta. The question as to why Cānakya did not usurp the Magadhan Empire for himself is more or less made clear in the above statement of Dr Raychaudhuri. It seems highly probable that Candragupta himself was, as the Greeks tell us, "prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny."¹ Like the other sources of Jaina history the Greek annals also throw comparatively little light on real history. They tell us about Candragupta's having escaped from the death sentence passed upon him by the Nanda king, about a lion having licked the sweat oozing from his body while he was sleeping, about his being inspired from this prodigy with the hope of winning the throne, and about a wild elephant having submissively knelt before him.² When such annals, which rank as contemporary witnesses reported at second-hand, throw such light on the period of Candragupta, it is no wonder that the Jaina interpretation, in short, runs as follows: Cānakya had all his teeth complete on being born.³ The monks being informed of this marvellous circumstance foretold that the boy would become a king, but the father being of a religious turn of mind desired to spare his son a lot which he considered dangerous to the well-being of the inner man. Accordingly to remove the omen he broke out the boy's teeth. Upon which the monks foretold that Cānakya would govern by proxy. Further on, after the defeat of the Nanda king, we are told that his treasures were divided by Candragupta and Parvata between themselves.⁴

Leaving aside these uncorroborated facts of Indian history we shall see in brief what was the strength of the Magadhan Empire during the Mauryas. It may safely be said that the high-water mark of its power and extension was reached during the days of Aśoka. The real conquests and annexations were begun and accomplished during the days of Candragupta and not in the days of Aśoka. Politically the latter was a Quaker, and was better fitted to fill the chair of an abbot than of an emperor. What he did was to reconquer or re-establish the authority of the Magadhan

¹ McCrindle, *op cit*, p 327

² *Ibid*, pp 327-328 Cf Smith, *op cit*, p 128, n 1.

³ About this incident of Cānakya's life Jacobi makes a note as follows. "The same circumstance is told of Richard III.

"Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born
To signify thou comest to bite the world."

—Jacobi, *op and loc cit*

⁴ Cf *Āśāṅga-Sūtra*, p 435, Hemacandra, *op cit*, v 327

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over the Kalingas. To quote Rev. Heras: "The greatest monarch of Hindustan during the Hindu period was Candragupta. His grandson Aśoka's glory is based upon intellectual grounds. He was a philosopher rather than a sovereign; he was a teacher of morals rather than an administrator."¹

Nevertheless the limits of the enormous Mauryan Empire in Magadha were extensive. Nearly the whole of Northern India, except the Punjab, Sind and Northern Rajputana, had passed under the Nandas. To this vast empire were undoubtedly added the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and presumably, as we have seen in a note to the Parvata of Himavat-kūta, Nepal and Kashmir during the days of Candragupta.² Events in the north itself were so crowded that there was no possibility of his having diverted his attention to the south. As Smith observes: "It is difficult to believe that he could have found time to do more than climb from obscurity to power, expel the Macedonian garrisons, repel the attack of Seleukos, effect a revolution and establish a dynasty at Pāṭaliputra, annex a large part of Ariāna, and extend his dominion from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea."³

The conquest of the south can be affirmed from various sources to have been effected by Bindusāra, the son and successor of Candragupta. He was guided also by his father's minister Cānakya.⁴ The Deccan, or Peninsular India, down to approximately the latitude of Nellore, must therefore, apparently, have been subjugated by Bindusāra, because it was inherited from the latter by Aśoka, whose only recorded war was the conquest of Kalinga.⁵ As to the later Mauryas, their contribution to the growth of the Mauryan Empire is next to nothing. Really speaking, with the close of Aśoka's reign began the decline of the Maurya rule, and ended with Brhadratha, who, as we shall see in our next chapter, was murdered by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, who established a new dynasty, known as that of the Sungas.⁶

Having thus seen in a connected form the growth of the Magadhan Empire during the Mauryas we shall now examine them in their relations with the Jaina church. Jaina tradition avers that

¹ Heras, *QJMS*, xvi, p. 276 Cf. Jayaswal, *JBORs*, ii, p. 83

² Cf. *ibid*, p. 81

³ Smith, *op cit*, p. 156 Cf. Jayaswal, *op and loc cit*

⁴ *Arakṣya-n-Sūtra*, *op cit*, p. 184

⁵ Cf. Jayaswal, *op cit*, pp. 82-83, Smith, *op cit*, p. 157, Schiefner, *op cit*, p. 89.

⁶ Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 204

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Candragupta, the founder of the dynasty, the conqueror of the Greeks and the first known Emperor of India, was a Jaina. To state briefly the tradition, it is as follows :

When King Candragupta was ruling over North India (either from Ujjain or from Pāṭaliputra) a great twelve years' famine was foretold by the *Śrutakevalin* Bhadrabāhu, who, as we have seen, was one of the high priests during this period. As a result of this prophecy a large body of Jainas (numbering about 12,000) came to the south, where several of them (including Bhadrabāhu ?) died by the holy vow of *Sallekhana*, or the total rejection of food unto death. This event took place at Śravaṇa Belgola, in Mysore. Candragupta, who followed the *Samgha*, renouncing everything, remained (?) for twelve years at Belgola, worshipping the footprints of his departed preceptor Bhadrabāhu, and finally himself died by the same rite.

The parentheses and interrogations in the above summary indicate the different versions of a single legend, agreeing in its fundamentals and differing only in details of lesser importance. We have seen that this tradition also forms one of the links connected with the great Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism in the Jaina church, and that it is not acceptable to the Śvetāmbaras, who agree only with the fact of the great famine which lasted for twelve years, and tell us that *Ācārya* Sūstīta, who lived in Candragupta's capital, was forced to send his *Gana* to some other country.¹ Our interest in this tradition lies only so far as it shows that Candragupta was a Jaina. A detailed examination of it must be left to a student of Jainism in South India. However, it may be mentioned here that it has been dealt with at some length by scholars like Narasimhachar of Mysore, Fleet and others.²

The earliest literary form of the tradition is found in the *Brhat-Kathā-Kośa* by Harisena, dating from about A.D. 931.³ An inscription at Śravaṇa Belgola, which has been roughly assigned to c. A.D. 600, is supposed to be the basis of this entire account.⁴

¹ Cf. Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv 377-378. In the list of the *Sthaviras* Sūstīta comes after Śhīlābhadrā, who is the eighth pontiff of the Jaina church. Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, pp 287-288.

² Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, pp 36-42, Fleet, *J.A.*, xxi, pp 156-160.

³ "the *Brhat-Kathā-Kośa*, a Sanskrit work written by Harisena in 931, says that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *Śrutakevalins*, had the King Candragupta as his disciple" —Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, p 37. Cf. Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, p 4.

⁴ Cf. Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, p 39, *ibid*, Translation, pp 1-2, Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, pp 3-4.

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Some of the modern scholars of great repute and authority have come to the conclusion that Candragupta can safely be called a Jaina on the authority of this tradition. "The Jaina books (fifth century A.C.) and later Jaina inscriptions," observes Jayaswal, "claim Candragupta as a Jaina imperial ascetic. My studies have compelled me to respect the historical data of the Jaina writings, and I see no reason why we should not accept the Jaina claim that Candragupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated, and died as a Jaina ascetic."¹

To quote Smith, who has ultimately leaned towards it: "The only direct evidence throwing light on the manner in which the eventful reign of Candragupta Maurya came to an end is that of Jaina tradition. The Jainas always treat the great Emperor as having been a Jaina like Bimbisāra, and no adequate reason seems to exist for discrediting their belief. The Jaina religion undoubtedly was extremely influential in Magadha during the time of the later Saisunāgas, the Nandas and the Mauryas. The fact that Candragupta won the throne by the contrivance of a learned Brahman is not inconsistent with the supposition that Jainism was the royal faith. Jainas habitually employ Brahmans for their domestic ceremonies, and in the drama cited above (*Mudrā-Rākshasa*) a Jaina ascetic is mentioned as being a special friend of the minister *Rākshasa*, who served first the Nanda and then the new sovereign.

"Once the fact that Candragupta was or became a Jaina is admitted, the traditions that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jaina manner become readily credible. It being certain that Candragupta was quite young and inexperienced when he ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C., he must have been under fifty when his reign terminated twenty-four years later. His abdication is an adequate explanation of his disappearance at such an early age. Similar renunciations of royal dignity are on record, and the twelve years' famine is not incredible. In short, the Jaina tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists."²

Besides these two eminent scholars there are others also who are of the same opinion. Both Rice and Narasimhachar, who have

¹ Jayaswal, *J B O R S*, III, p. 452

² Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 75-76. "I am disposed to believe that Candragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic"—Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 154. Hemacandra informs us that Candragupta समाधिमुख्यं प्राप्य दिव्यं ययौ —Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, v. 444

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studied the Jaina inscriptions of Śravana Belgola thoroughly, give a verdict in favour of it.¹ Of the older scholars we have Edward Thomas, who has taken into consideration the Greek accounts and comes to the same opinion.² Besides this, as Dr Jacobi tells us, "the date of Bhadrabāhu's death is placed identically by all Jaina authors—from Hemacandra down to the most modern scholast—in the year 170 A.V."³ And this, according to our calculation, falls in about 297 B.C. This date of the great pontiff's *Nirvāṇa* exactly coincides with that of Candragupta, who reigned from 321-297 B.C.⁴

Besides this tradition there are also other references in the Jaina literature which go to show that Candragupta was or had become a Jaina,⁵ but we need not now enter more into all these literary sources. However, before we pass on to the successors of Candragupta, a few words regarding the importance of the Jaina migration to the south and about the religion followed by Cānakya will not be out of place. As to the first, it gives us a definite starting-point in the history of Jainism in South India. Besides, its value in general to South Indian history is not less; for we know of no other earlier event of equal moment in the annals of South India. The age of Candragupta which Smith, rightly or wrongly, considers to lead the historian "from darkness to light" in North India⁶ is thus seen to open a new era in South Indian history as well. It is of not less interest to note that the religion which was to give South India her earliest, if not her best, literature also gave her her first reliable historical tradition.

Coming next to the faith of Cānakya we find that the Jainas believe that he was also a Jaina, favoured Jaina teachers, and in his

¹ Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, pp 3-9 "We are therefore not without warrant for assuming that Candragupta was a Jaina by creed"—*Ibid*, p 8 "A dispassionate consideration of the above-mentioned facts leads one to the conclusion that the Jaina tradition has some basis to stand upon"—Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, p 42

² "That Candragupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration. . . The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Candragupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Śarmāṇas, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmins"—Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, pp 23-24 For references to Jainism in the Greek annals see Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, p 8

³ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int, p xiii. According to the Digambaras he died in 162 A.V. Cf. Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, p 40

⁴ Cf. Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, p 7; Smith, *op cit*, p 206, Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int, p 41.

⁵ Cf. Jacobi, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, pp. 61-62

⁶ Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p 72

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old age tried to starve himself to death like a true Jaina saint¹ Tradition represents the "wicked minister" as having repented and retired to "*Shookul Tīrtha*," on the banks of the Narbada, where he died, and Candragupta is also supposed to have accompanied him.² "*Shookul Tīrtha*" is the exact equivalent of "Belgola," which in Kanaiese means "white pond." In the inscriptions it is also called *शुक्ल सरस्*, which means "white lake"³ This coincidence, even if it were merely accidental, is certainly significant. Apart from minor details, this coincides with the opinion of Rhys Davids that "the linguistic and epigraphical evidence so far available confirms in many respects the general reliability of traditions current amongst the Jainas" He has also remarked: "It is certain that in the extant priestly literature Candragupta is completely ignored for about ten centuries"⁴ It seems not a little likely that this silence of Brahmanical writers was due in no small measure to the Mauryan Emperor's acceptance of the Jaina religion towards the end of his earthly career.

Finally, taking the successors of Candragupta, we have before us Bindusāra, Aśoka, Kunāla and Samprati, according to the Jaina tradition. As with the Saisunāgas and the Nandas so also in the case of the Mauryas there are differences and discrepancies in the lists put forth by various traditions. However, as far as Aśoka is concerned there is no trouble. It is agreed to by all that Candragupta left behind him his son and successor, Bindusāra, who was in turn followed by his son Aśoka As to the relations of these two Mauryas with the Jainas thus much is certain, that their literary traditions are not so eloquent about them as is the case with their predecessor Candragupta and their successor Samprati. Nevertheless there are grounds before us to infer that both of them must have been favourably inclined towards the Jaina church. About Bindusāra, the predecessor of Aśoka, we know practically little beyond the fact that he sent an embassy to Antiochos Soter

¹ Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 62, Jolly, *Arihaṣṭra of Kautilya*, Int., pp. 10-11 For the mutual relations between the *Arihaṣṭra* and Jaina literature see *ibid*, p. 10 We have seen that the Jaina tradition puts Cānakya's father as supposed to have been both a Brahman and a devout Jaina This looks like the Brahman-Christians of our days This means that Cānakya's family was of Brahman origin by birth or heritage, and Jaina by faith To quote Edward Thomas "But though our king-maker was a Brahman, he was not necessarily, in the modern acceptation of the term, 'Brahmanist'".—Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, pp. 25-26

² Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 75, n. 1.

³ Cf. Narasimhachar, *op cit*, Int., p. 1

⁴ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 164, 270

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requesting him to send him a Greek philosopher; and also the inference, from the known extent of his conquests and his father's empire, that he must have extended his dominions so as to cover at least some portions of Mysore.¹ Both these facts are not without their significance to us, inasmuch as the first explains to some extent the philosophic eclecticism of Bindusāra, and the second the distribution of Aśoka's edicts in South India. It may not be unlikely that, in addition to the Kshatriya ambitions of mere conquest, Bindusāra might have been actuated by filial motive in acquiring Mysore, a place rendered sacred by the last days of his father Candragupta.

The Ceylonese traditions, however, assert that Bindusāra was Brahmanical. About the father of Aśoka the *Mahāvamsa* informs us that he being of the Brahmanical faith maintained sixty thousand Brahmins²; but, as Edward Thomas observes, "their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is, moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brahmanism itself, and whether the use of the word 'Brahman' does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own. We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Bindusāra followed the faith of his father, and that, in the same belief—whatever it may prove to have been—his childhood's lessons were first learnt by Aśoka."³

Besides this it is not possible to say anything more about the shadowy figure of Bindusāra. That, like his father, he also was under the influence of Cānakya we have already remarked. The Jaina tradition tells us that during his period the Brahman minister incurred the king's displeasure and was supplanted by some Subandhu.⁴ Coming to Aśoka, his son and successor, it need not be said that his is not the shadowy figure of his father. There is ample material to show how far he kept his relations with the *Niggantha* church, though there is a great difference of opinion with regard to the one faith which Aśoka might have followed throughout his career. What we are most immediately concerned with is Aśoka's attitude towards Jainism, which, apart from his hereditary affinities towards eclecticism, we venture to think must

¹ Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 155-156.

² *Paṭi sattihasassāni brāhmaṇe brahmapakṣiṇi ke bhogesi* — Geiger, *op cit*, *Paricchedo V*, v. 34.

³ Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, p. 29.

⁴ For the circumstances under which Cānakya lost the good will of his master see Hemacandra, *op cit*, vv. 436-450.

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have been influenced to no small extent by its having been the faith of his grandfather Candragupta, though the *Mahāimsa* tells us that, like his father, Aśoka also bestowed alms on the Brahmans for three years¹ His edicts are very broad based, and indicate equal tolerance of all sects. Yet the genesis of this psychology might have been as suggested.

The fact of Aśoka's having been influenced in his early years by the faith of his grandfather Candragupta gathers strength on the testimony of Edward Thomas that in his *Āin-i-Akbarī* Abu-l-Fazl, the accomplished minister of Akbar, has retained in his notice of the kingdom of Kashmir three very important entries, of which the first establishes "that Aśoka himself first introduced 'Jainism,' *co nomine*, into the kingdom of Kashmir."² Emphasising the same point the learned scholar further observes that "the leading fact of Aśoka's introduction or recognition of the Jaina creed in Kashmir does not, however, rest upon the sole testimony of the Muhammadan author, but is freely acknowledged in the Brahmanical pages of the *Rāja Taranginī*—a work which, though finally compiled and put together only in 1148 A.D., relies, in this section of its history, upon the more archaic writings of Padma Mihira and Śrī Chavillākāra."³

With all this the learned scholar is conscious that Aśoka was not a Jaina throughout his career, otherwise, as he observes, he would have reasonably been claimed by the Jainas as a potent upholder of their faith.⁴ According to Edward Thomas by and by he became a pervert and ultimately leaned towards Buddhism.⁵ However, this idea of Aśoka's actual perversion to the Buddhist faith is not easily acceptable. What we venture to suggest is this, that as years went on Aśoka came more and more under the influence of the teaching of Buddha, became less and less of a sectarian, and tried to inculcate in his subjects the *Dharma* which embraced the moral precepts and dogmatic tenets common to other religions, though, as Rev. Heras rightly observes, he was "especially influenced by the Jaina doctrines as regards sacredness and inviolability of life."⁶

¹ . . . *so pi te yeca śīnī vassāmi bhogayā* —Geiger, *op* and *loc cit*

² Cf Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, pp 30-31 "When the succession devolved on Aśoka, the son of Janaka's paternal uncle, he abolished the Brahmanical religion and established the Jaina faith"—Jarrett, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, p 382; Wilson, *A R*, xv, p 10

³ Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, p 32 Cf Walford, *A R*, ix, pp 96-97

⁴ Thomas (Edward), *op cit*, p 24

⁵ Cf *ibid*

⁶ Heras, *op cit*, p 272 Cf Rock Edicts (I, B), (III, D), (IV, C), (XI, C), etc., Hultzsch, *C I I*, I, pp 2, 5, 8, 19, etc (new ed)

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The statement that Aśoka's *Dharma* was not Buddhistic is not a new one. Wilson,¹ Macphail,² Fleet,³ Monahan⁴ and Rev. Heras⁵ have affirmed this prior to us. Even Dr Kern says that "his inscriptions, with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhistic."⁶ Senart, after having said that in the *Dharma* "there is nothing exclusively Buddhist," makes the following statement. "In my opinion our monuments (Aśoka's inscriptions) are witnesses of a stage of Buddhism, sensibly different from that which is developed in later times."⁷ This is a guess without any foundation. The same contradiction is also made by Hultzsch. He says that all his moral proclamations "do not characterise him as a Buddhist reformer"; but he adds, "If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*—i.e. 'words of morality.'"⁸ The statements of both Senart and Hultzsch seem to have been elicited in compliance with the statements of those who style Aśoka the great Buddhist missionary.⁹

Having thus seen, mainly on the authority of various scholars, that the Pillar Edicts and inscriptions of Aśoka do not *ipso facto* mean that he was or had become a Buddhist, we shall now examine his own writings as to how far he was under the influence of *Nirgrantha* doctrines. "There is no country," says Aśoka, "where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brahmanas and *Śramanas*, do not exist, except among the *Yonas*."¹⁰ But who were these "*Śramanas*"?

¹ "In the first place, then, with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscriptions, proselytism to the Buddhist religion, it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and whether they have connection with Buddhism at all"—Wilson, *J.R.A.S.*, xii, p. 236. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 250.

² Cf. Macphail, *Aśoka*, p. 48. "*Dharma*, the colloquial for *Dharma*, is the word used in the edicts it does not stand for Buddhism, but for the simple piety which Aśoka wished all his subjects of whatever faith to practise"—*Ibid.*

³ Cf. Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 401-402. "The distinct object of both the Rock and the Pillar Edicts was not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Aśoka to govern the realm righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings, and with considerations for all forms of religious belief" etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁴ "The doctrines of Aśoka's major Rock and Pillar Edicts cannot be called distinctly Buddhist," etc.—Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, p. 214.

⁵ "Buddhist chronicles of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have deceived many scholars. . . There is not the least mention of any Buddhist deep principle"—Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 271.

⁶ Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 112.

⁷ Senart, *I.A.*, xx, pp. 260, 264-265.

⁸ Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁹ Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, Int., p. xlix.

¹⁰ Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 47 (J).

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Hultzsch takes them to mean "Buddhist monks,"¹ though there is no special reason why such a restriction should be made

"*Śramana*" simply denotes an ascetic or monk, and the Jainas used the term even before the Buddhists appropriated it. It has been used so in the Greek annals, and this has been, as seen before, confirmed by other scholars also.² Thus an ancient vow of the Jaina runs: "I take the twelfth vow, the *Atithi samvibhāga vrata*, by which I promise to give *Śramaṇa* or *Nirgrantha* any of the fourteen things which they can accept without blame," etc.³ Likewise the *Kalpa-Sūtra* speaks of "the *Nirgrantha Śramanas* of the present time."⁴ Kundakundācārya as well, the earliest Digambara writer of the south, uses the term to signify the monks of his own sect.⁵ But over and above all the Buddhists themselves applied the term "*Śramana*" to the *Nirgranthas*. For the *Anguttara Nikāya* says "O Viśākha, there is a class of *Śramanas* who are called *Nirgranthas*."⁶ That the Jainas used the term prior to the Buddhists is also conclusively proved by the fact that the latter styled themselves "*Sākyaputtiya Samanas*" as distinguished from the already existing "*Niggantha Samanas*."⁷

On the other hand, however, when Aśoka wanted to speak of Buddhists alone, he has always used the word *Samgha*. For instance, in Pillar Edict VII, he says "Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the *Samgha*; likewise others were ordered to busy themselves with the Brahmanas (and) *Ājīvikas*; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Nirgranthas*; others . . . with various (other) sects."⁸

The independent mention of Brahmanas, *Ājīvikas* and *Nirgranthas* shows that these were distinct entities altogether different from the *Samgha*. In all other places the *Śramanas* are invariably mentioned together with the Brahmanas.⁹ The omission of "*Śramanas*" in this passage can be explained only by the

¹ Hultzsch, *op cit*, Int, p 1

² Cf Rice (Lewis), *op cit*, p 8

³ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 218

⁴ Jacobi, *SBE*, xii, p 297

⁵ Cf Bhandarkar, *op cit*, pp 97-100

⁶ Cf Jacobi, *SBE*, xiv, Int, p xvii. Read also Kamta Prasad Jain's interesting article on "The Jaina References in the Buddhist Literature," *IHQ*, 11, pp 698-709

⁷ Cf Rhys Davids, *op cit*, p 143

⁸ Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VII, cf Hultzsch, *op cit*, p 180 (Z)

⁹ See Rook Edicts (III, D), (IV, C), (IX, G), (XI, C), (XIII, G), and Pillar Edict VII (H H), cf Hultzsch, *op cit*, Int, p 1

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substitution of *Ājīvikas* and *Nirgranthas*, both of whom, as already seen, can be distinguished from the *Samgha*

As to the attitude of Aśoka towards Jainism, or in fact towards any such other faith, it is indicated in the following words: "All men are my children. As on my behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men."¹ Likewise, more specifically, he states: "In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds."²

Aśoka had his *Dharma-Mahāmātra* in the north as well as in the south "to supervise Buddhists, Brahmanas and *Ājīvikas*, *Nirgrantha* and other sects."³ His non-sectarian policy is perhaps nowhere better in evidence than in the following:

"Whosoever," says the Emperor, "praises his own sect or blames other sects—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely."⁴

Speaking of the Barābar cave inscriptions Smith writes: "These records are chiefly of interest as a decisive proof that Aśoka was sincere in his solemn declaration that he honoured all sects."⁵ This is no less true of Aśoka's other inscriptions, and although we have no direct evidence as to the state of Jainism in North India under his benevolent rule, the above observations at least serve to reveal the attitude of Candragupta's greatest successor towards the religion he himself had adopted—at least in the evening of his glorious career, if not earlier.

Our hypothesis of the hereditary influence of this tradition is also supported by the conversion of Aśoka's grandson, Samprati, by Suhasin to the Jain faith.⁶ Before entering into any further discussion about Samprati's enthusiasm for Jainism it may be seen who were the successors of Aśoka. Unfortunately, to quote Dr Raychaudhuri, "No Kautilya or Megasthenes has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Aśoka's successor from the scanty data furnished

¹ Separate Rock Edicts Jaugada, I (FG), II (EF), cf Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp 114-117

² Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VI (DE), cf Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p 129, Int, p xlviii.

³ *Ibid.*, Int, p xi

⁴ Girnar Rock Edict XII (H), cf Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p 21

⁵ Smith, *op. cit.*, p 177 Cf Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, Int, p xlviii

⁶ Cf Jacobi, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, p 60, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p 135

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by one or two inscriptions and a few Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist works.”¹

The *Purāṇas* themselves do not agree as to who was the successor of Aśoka. It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of different authorities. However, the reality of Kunāla the son of Aśoka is established by the combined testimony of all,² but as to his succession the tradition is not unanimous. Hemacandra tells us under what unhappy circumstances he became blind, and was rendered “unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, the Jaina Aśoka, who is described by the Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka”³

The only difficulty that lies in our way in accepting Samprati as the successor of Aśoka is the reality of Daśaratha, whom we have already seen in connection with the Nāgārjunī Hills bestowed by him upon the *Ājīvikas*. The only possible explanation of the difficulty seems to be this, that as the grandsons of Aśoka either both of them ruled at the same time with Samprati as the successor of Aśoka or that Daśaratha has been omitted by both the Buddhist and the Jaina annals. Of the two the first presumption seems to be more correct, considering the unanimous inclusion of Samprati in the Magadhan list.⁴

Thus there is no doubt about the fact that Samprati was one of the Maurya emperors who was great enough to be mentioned by all. As to his enthusiasm for the Jaina church, it can safely be opined that he is one of the leading stars of the Jaina history in the north. In the matter of propagation of the Jaina faith Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as the Buddhist records do of Aśoka. Smith observes: “He (Samprati) is reputed to have been as zealous in promoting the cause of Jainism as Aśoka had been in propagating the religion of Gautama”⁵

¹ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 220

² Cf Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 28, 70, Cowell and Neil, *op cit*, p 430, *Kalpa Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā, sūl* 163, Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 221

³ Cf Jacobi, *op cit*, pp 68-64; Cowell and Neil, *op cit*, p 433, Raychaudhuri, *op and loc cit*, Bhandarkar, *op and loc cit*

⁴ Both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions about Samprati have been referred to by us in the previous note. For the *Purāṇic* see Pargiter, *op cit*, pp 28, 70. Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 220. “Perhaps the empire was divided between his grand sons, Daśaratha . . . and Samprati.”—Smith, *op cit*, 203

⁵ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p 117, and n 1. Cf Bhandarkar, *op. and loc. cit*, *सम्प्रति*. पितृव्यहृदयराज्यो रथयात्राप्रवृत्तश्चोऽपिमुहुरिमांसाज्ञातनातिस्मृतिः त्रिनान्य सपादकोटि सकरोत्. —*Kalpa-Sūtra, Subodhikā-Tīkā, sūl* 6, p 163 “Almost all ancient

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About Samprati's zeal for the Jaina church Hemacandra briefly observes as follows: "He showed his zeal by causing Jaina temples to be erected over the whole of *Jambūdvīpa*. During Suhastin's stay at Ujjaini, and under his guidance, splendid religious festivals and processions in honour of the *Arhat* were celebrated, and great was the devotion manifested by the king and his subjects on this occasion. The example and advice of Samprati induced his vassals to embrace and patronise his creed, so that not only in his kingdom but also in adjacent countries the monks could practise their religion" ¹

What is more important for us to know in connection with Samprati is this—that he sent Jaina missionaries to South India, and that these were of the *Svetāmbara* persuasion.² To quote Hemacandra: "In order to extend the sphere of their (Jaina monks) activities to uncivilised countries, Samprati sent there messengers disguised as Jaina monks. They described to the people the kind of food and other requisites which monks may accept as alms, enjoining them to give such things instead of the usual tax to the revenue collector who would visit them from time to time. Of course these revenue collectors were to be Jaina monks. Having thus prepared the way for them, he induced the superior to send monks to those countries, for they would find it in no way impossible to live there. Accordingly missionaries were sent to the *Āndhras* and *Dramilas*, who found everything as the king had told. Thus the uncivilised nations were brought under the influence of Jainism."³

The importance of the Jaina missionaries sent by Samprati to uncivilised countries, as Hemacandra tells us, lies in this—that it is the earliest reference, so far as we know, to contact of the *Svetāmbaras* with the south. Hence it is as important as the great migration dealt with in this and the preceding chapter. We particularly call it the *Svetāmbara* contact because, as seen before, the *Svetāmbara-Digambara* schism in the Jaina church is connected with both the migration and the Suhastin-Mahāgiri tradition. That

Jaina temples or monuments of unknown origin are ascribed by the popular voice to Samprati, who is in fact regarded as a Jaina Aśoka"—Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 202

¹ Jacobi, *op cit*, p. 69.

² Cf. Bhandarkar, *op* and *loc cit* About this the *Pāṭalīputraśāla* of Juna-prabhasūri observes "In Pāṭalīputra flourished the great King Samprati, son of Kunala, lord of Bharata with its three continents, the great Arhanta who established *Vihāras* for *Sramanas* even in non-Āryan countries"—Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 222.

³ Cf. Jacobi, *op* and *loc cit*

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Suhastin was a Svetāmbara is also evident from the fact that the Digambara *Pattāvalies*, or genealogies of teachers, do not mention him.¹ We are further informed that when Āryamahāgiri saw that Samprati was converted by Suhastin, he withdrew himself to Daśārnabhadra, seeing that "all his hopes of winning the monks to lives of sterner asceticism" were at an end.² Thus the Svetāmbara rule triumphed at the court of Samprati.

Here ends the importance of Magadha as seen in the light of Jaina history. With the end of the Mauryas and the consequent beginning of the Sungas Kalinga becomes the centre of our history. With the fall of the sovereign power in Magadha Kalinga more or less succeeds in taking its place. Magadha learned to her cost what the powerful Kalinga meant in the time of Khāravēla. Fortunately enough, though for a very short time, it also plays an equally important part in the history of the Jaina church. That after Samprati the Mauryas did not survive long is certain, and whatever survival they must have had seems to be highly shadowy and positively degrading—that the last of them, as seen before and as we shall see in the next chapter, was grievously murdered by his own commander-in-chief.

However at present we need not enter into the why and wherefore of the fall of the powerful Mauryas. Suffice it to say that the reconquest of Kalinga by the Maurya Aśoka was a great landmark in the history of Magadha and of India. It completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha. It marked the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Anga. It opened a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency, during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha had died out for want of exercise. The era of *Digvijaya* was over, the era of *Dharmavijaya* had begun, and this finally resulted in the disappearance of the Maurya sovereignty over the Magadhan Empire.

¹ Cf Hoernle, *I.A.*, xxi, pp 57-58, and Klatt, *ibid.*, xi, p 251

² Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit.*, p 74 Cf Baroda, *History and Literature of Jainism*, p 55

CHAPTER IV

Jainism in Kalinga-deśa

THE expression "Jainism in Kalinga-deśa," in the main, embraces the history of the religion during the times of Khāravela. This does not mean that Jainism in Kalinga cannot be traced farther than Khāravela. On the other hand that would be denying what can be clearly deduced from such historical data as the Hāthigumphā inscription, the architectural and sculptural similarity of the monuments standing there to those of the fourth and fifth century B.C., and the most sacred of the Jaina canonical works. With all this it must be admitted that but for the inscription of Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā and of his wife in the Swargapuri cave there is no other decisive ground on which we can base our inferences¹

As already seen, after Mahāvīra we have kings of the Śaśunāga, Nanda, Maurya and other dynasties, most of whom were, according to Jaina traditions and history, the followers or supporters of Jaina religion during their régime. No doubt these traditions and history are confirmed by many Jaina and non-Jaina writers, but from the standpoint of a purely historical proof none of these, excepting perhaps Candragupta, can be compared with that great Cedi² king, Khāravela, who was, as stated in one of his own inscriptions, a Jaina.

The chief historical proof as to when and how far and how long the Emperor Khāravela ruled, and as to whether he was a Jaina or not, lies in the Hāthigumphā inscription of his time. That he was a great Kalinga king is a fact which cannot be denied, but it is not possible to fix accurately the limits of Kalinga country.

¹ Let it be clear from the very beginning that it is really not desirable and practically impossible to trace out chronologically the progress of Jainism in Kalinga. All that is required is to lay our hands on whatever historical monuments, small or great, ancient or modern, that are available at present, and draw our inferences from them, keeping in view as far as possible the contemporary historical atmosphere of the time.

² We know the Cedis as the well-known Vedic and classical ruling family which seems to have migrated into Orissa from Mahākosala, where they are also found in later history. "It is certain that one of the seats of the Cedis was near about Orissa in very ancient times"—J B O R S, xii, p. 223

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It was under him that on the downfall of the Mauryan Empire Kalinga revolted and became an independent kingdom. The boundaries of Kalinga, the territory under the Eastern Ghāts lying along the coast of the Bay of Bengal on the north of Telingāna, seem to have been uncertain¹ The strip of land that fringes the Bay of Bengal, extending from the Godavary towards the north, was anciently known as Kalinga. Roughly speaking, it may be taken as comprising the part of the country which we now call Orissa and Ganjam

Khāravela's inscription "is one of the most celebrated and also one of the most perplexing of all the historical monuments in India"² Among the followers of Lord Mahāvīra, Khāravela's is the most ancient name of a ruling potentate that can be found in an inscription Considering the chronology of post-Mauryan times and the ancient glory of Jainism his is the most important, and the only inscription yet discovered in the country. No doubt it is unparalleled from the viewpoint of Jain history, but unquestionable is its importance from even the standpoint of the political history of India.

In the words of Sir Ashutosh Mookerji: "In the region of epigraphy, that branch of historical research which has removed (the impression of) the seals written in forgotten and mysterious letters and unlocked the gates of the past, our attention is arrested by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela. The inscription, which was recorded in the second century before the Christian era, embodies a biography of the king of Orissa from his infancy to the thirteenth year of his reign and the thirty-seventh year of his life. The inscription is chiselled on the face of a rock, which has been known and studied for a century since its first discovery by Sterling in 1825; and the numerous historical data furnished thereby have been recognised as of first-rate importance, as they include references to the contemporary king of Magadha, the Greek king of Mathura, the fortresses of Gorathagiri (Barabar Hills) and Rājagṛha, the Gangetic places at Pātaliputra and King Sātakarni of the Deccan Numerous and fruitful have been the consequential studies based on this reinvestigation of what, in the long array of Brāhmī inscriptions, can be placed, next to the edicts of Aśoka, in the same category only with the fourth-century inscription of Samudragupta."³

¹ *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 601

² *Ibid.*, p. 584

³ *J.B.O.R.S.*, x, pp. 9-10



PORTION OF A FRIEZE IN THE UPPER VERANDAH OF THE RĀṆGUMPHĀ, UDAYAGIRI

from Mitra *The Antiquities of Orissa*

See page 155



JAINA GUMPHĀ KHINDAGIRI

from Mitra *The Antiquities of Orissa*

See page 171

JAINISM IN KALINGA-DESA

In India. Benares and Puri are the two most important places of pilgrimage, famous alike from sanctity and historic associations treasured up in the nation's undying remembrance. It is here that the whole nation's fervent devotion has manifested itself in many a form; it is here that the heart and intellect of the nation have proceeded on parallel lines.

We have reason to believe that Orissa, now "the garden of Hinduism, with Jagannath its Jerusalem,"¹ was an important seat of Buddhist and Jaina influence from the third century B.C. to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Buddhism began to exercise its influence at the conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka, the great Maurya king in 262 B.C.²; but with his death the Mauryan Empire rapidly declined, and Pushyamitra, the royal chaplain (*purohit*) to the Mauryas and the mighty champion of the Brahmanical reaction which set in after the triumph of Buddhism during Aśoka's rule, usurped the royal throne and gave a severe blow to the Buddhist faith in India.³ With all this he could not enjoy his dominions unchallenged. Side by side with the great Āndhra dynasty in the south another great power that arose in the wake of the Mauryan Empire was the illustrious Cedi dynasty under *Mahāmeghavāhana* Khāravela, with its home in the lowlands of the eastern coast. This dynasty proved a good set-back to the Brahmanical reaction of the north.⁴

Thus in the second century B.C. all the three religions—Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism—were represented by Kalinga, while the middle one enjoyed the privilege of being the State religion. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited Kalinga some time between A.D. 629 and 645, testifies to the numerical strength of Jainism, and describes the territory as a stronghold of the Jaina faith. He tells us that there were "very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the *Nirgranthas* (Ni-kin followers)."⁵

This is a clear advance of the Jaina faith from Magadha, the land of its birth, into south-eastern India as far as Kalinga. This progress of the Jainas can be traced out, and can be proved as a matter of fact, from two documents at Khandagiri in Orissa of the great King Khāravela and his wife. He governed the east coast

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, xxxviii, Nos I to V (1859), p. 186

² Ganguly, *Orissa and her Remains—Ancient and Mediaeval*, p. 17

³ Mazumdar, *Hindu History*, p. 636 (2nd ed.)

⁴ *C.H.I.*, i, pp. 518, 534

⁵ Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, ii, p. 208

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of India from c. 183 B.C. to c. 152 B.C.—that is, in the first half of the second century B.C.¹ This is also confirmed by certain other caves and ruins of temples lying on either Udayagiri or Khandagiri Hills. Both these hills are situated at a distance of about five miles to the north-west of Bhuvanēsvara, and are separated by a ravine forming a continuous line with the road from Bhuvanēsvara. Furthermore the hill tribes, who now occupy a degraded position among the servile castes, are mentioned in several places in the *Āṅgas* and the *Upāṅgas*, the oldest sacred literature of the Jains, where their language is referred to as one of the tongues of the barbarians (*Mleccha*).²

Of the documents just mentioned the first and the largest is the inscription of Khāravela, which opens with the usual benedictory formula of the Jamas. It proves that Jainism entered Orissa and probably became the State religion within one hundred years from its last prophet, Mahāvīra. The second and the smaller one in the Swargapuri cave asserts that Khāravela's chief queen caused a temple and a cave to be prepared for the *Sramanas* of Kalinga.

Before we take up a detailed review of the Hāthīgumphā inscription we shall first see what little can be had from the neighbouring ruins. According to the *District Gazetteer* it seems certain that during the rule of the Emperor Aśoka a number of Jains settled in the district, for the sandstone hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are covered with their hermitage caves, some of which bear inscriptions in the Brāhmī character of the Maurya age. They all appear to have been made for the religious use of the Jains, and to have been used by Jaina monks for many a century.³

It may be noticed here that both the Buddhist and the Jaina period of architectural growth in Orissa is characterised by cave temples.⁴ We say both the Buddhist and the Jaina influence because some of the Khandagiri caves, like the Rānigumphā and the Anantagumphā, are conspicuous for Buddhist symbols like the Bo-tree, a Buddha *Trisūla*, a votive *Stūpa*, the characteristic *Swastika* mark, and so on.⁵

¹ J B O R S, xiii, p 244

² They have been identified with Suari of Pliny and Sabara of Ptolemy. For the reference of the Jaina literature see Weber, I A, xix, pp 65, 69, xx, pp 25, 366, 374

³ B D G P, p 24

⁴ Ganguly, op cit, p 31

⁵ Ibid, pp 40, 57

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This influence is noticeable from the fifth century B.C. down to the fifth or sixth century A.D. This is well corroborated by the fact that both the Khandagiri and Udayagiri Hills, otherwise called Khandagiri, are honeycombed with caves or cells, of which forty-four are in Udayagiri, nineteen in Khandagiri and three in Nilgiri.¹ Their number, age and carvings make these caves the most interesting in Eastern India. They were inhabited in ancient times by the Bauddha and Jaina hermits, or *Śramaṇas*, and many of them appear, from palæographic grounds, to have been excavated in the second or third century B.C. As Mr Ganguly says: "We think we shall not be far from the truth in dating some of the caves even in the 4th or 5th century B.C.—that is, before the period of the Hāthigumphā inscription—for the locality where the caves were excavated must have had some sort of previous sanctity preserved in the eyes of the co-religionists."²

It is almost a hopeless task to fix with certainty any dates for the caves, and intermingling of Buddhist and Jaina influences has rendered it more so. On the walls of the cells are usually carved the figures of Buddhist legends and of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras in *basso-relievo*. Elaborate pillars are noticed in the Jaina *Gumphā* on Khandagiri Hill. The peculiarity of almost all these caves is that a bench runs round the three sides of the front verandah, the height varying from 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches. The two walls of the verandah are so hollowed out on the top as to look like cupboards. These were meant to hold the scanty necessaries of life of the Buddhist or Jaina monks. Further details on the architectural side of the caves we shall note in the chapter entitled "Jaina Art in the North." For the present we shall stop with a remark of Mr Ganguly that "the caves present a very simple, though massive face, consistent with the lives of their past inmates"³

Among the Khandagiri caves the Satghara or Satbakhra, Navamuni and Ananta are the most important. The first two bear evident traces of Jaina influences,⁴ and the last of Bauddha, because of the *Swastikas* and pointed *Trisūlas* carved on its back wall. Anyhow, below the first *Swastika* there is a small standing image, now much worn out, which, according to the *District Gazetteer*,

¹ *B.D.G.P.*, p. 251.

² Ganguly, *op cit.*, p. 32

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34

⁴ Cf. Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *Notes on the Remains in Dhauti and in the Caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, p. 8

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probably represents Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthankara of the Jainas.¹ Moreover, the courtyard of the cave is formed by levelling the northern portion of the higher ledge, which contains images of Jaina saints and deities, and the mass of carvings has every arch enfolded within two big serpent-hoods, the symbols of Pārśva. The space between the arches and the side walls is filled with *Vidyādharas* flying with offerings in their hands.

The Satghara cave is noted for the figures of Jaina Tīrthankaras with their characteristic symbols, or *Lāñchanas*, sculptured on the antechamber walls of the southern portion,² while the Navamuni, or the cave of the nine saints, is an ordinary cave, consisting of two rooms with a common verandah. It contains images in moderate relief of ten Tīrthankaras about a foot high, with their *Sāsana-devīs*, or consorts, below them. Pārśvanātha, who is easily recognised by his serpent-hoods, is the most honoured, for he is carved twice.³

Furthermore, this cave is noted for two inscriptions, one of them being of "the year 18 of the increasing and victorious reign of the illustrious Uddyotakeśarīdeva,"⁴ and both referring to the Jaina *Sramāṇa* Subhacandra, "the disciple of the lord of the illustrious Kulacandra, the *Ācārya* of the *Deśigana* derived from *Graha Kula*, belonging to the illustrious *Ārya Saṃgha*."⁵ Both the inscriptions seem to belong to the same date—about the tenth century A.D.⁶

Beyond this cave lies the Bārabhuji, or the twelve-handed cave, so called because of the figure of a female with twelve hands carved on the left wall of the verandah. Like the Navamuni cave, here also are carved in moderate relief seated Tīrthankaras or Jaina saints with their *Sāsana-devīs*, and on the back wall is a standing Pārśvanātha, canopied by a seven-hooded serpent and without any *Devīs*. The saints and their wives are shown with their different symbols, and are nearly of equal size—8 to 9½ inches each—but the figure of Pārśva is 2 feet 7½ inches high, from which he would appear to have had special honour.⁷

Adjoining this on the south is the Trisūla cave, so called from

¹ B D G P, p. 263

² The sculptures are the Jaina Tīrthankaras with all their *Sāsana-devīs*, and do not resemble Baudhha symbols as believed by the editor of *The Archaeological Survey Report*, III, p. 81.

³ E I, III, p. 166

⁴ Ganguly, *op cit*, p. 60

⁵ B D G P, p. 262

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ B D G P, *op cit* and *loc. cit*

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a rude carving on the verandah wall, which is unique in having the inside benched. Above the benches is carved a series of twenty-four Tīrthankaras, including Pārśva, under the seven hoods of a snake, and ending with Mahāvīra. In this group too, Pārśva, instead of being placed before Mahāvīra as the twenty-third saint, is given a position of honour in the centre of the back wall. The base of the fifteenth saint is hidden by a masonry structure rising from the floor, on which are placed three well-carved steatite images of Adinātha. The general execution of the images in this group is finer than in the adjoining cave.¹

Of the same date as the Navamuni cave we have an inscription of Uddyotakesari in Lalatendu-keśari's cave or lion gate. According to the *District Gazetteer* it is a two-storeyed cave called after King Lalatendu Keśari, and the rooms on the first floor contain some carvings of Jain saints, of whom Pārśvanātha is the most important.² It is incised on the back wall of the cave, at a height of about 30 or 40 feet from the floor of the cave, above a group of images of the Digambari sect.³

The inscription does not seem to be well preserved, and hence a few words are missing in the last line. As it is, it tells us that "in the year five of the victorious reign of the illustrious Uddyotakesari, on the illustrious Kumāra mountain,⁴ decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine, (and) at that place the images of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras were set up. At the time of the dedication . . . Jasmundi . . . in the place (temple?) of the illustrious Pārśvanātha (Pārśvanātha)."⁵

It becomes apparent from what is laid down in the inscription that Uddyotakesari was either a Jaina by religion or at least a great protector of the Jaina faith. We have no certain grounds to identify this Uddyotakesari of the inscription with any historical personage. It may safely be said that the history of Orissa is wrapped in darkness,

¹ *B.D.G. P., op. and loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.* Cf. Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ It may be that at the time of Khāravela the great schism, which was followed by the division of the Jaina community into the Digambaris and Śvetāmbaris, had not fully manifested itself, but, as we have seen before, in later history the former were predominant in the south. This is clear from the Jaina caves at Ellora, Badami and such other places.

⁴ We learn from line two of the inscription that the ancient name of Khandagiri is Kumāraparvata. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela mentions Kumāraparvata as the ancient name of Udayagiri. The twin hills seem to have been known as the Kumāra-Kumārī parvata up to the tenth or eleventh century. A.D.

⁵ *E.I., xiii, p. 167.*

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more or less, from A.D. 200—i.e. the time of the Āndhras to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

However, according to the *Mādalā Pāñji*, or palm-leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannatha, Orissa was under the Keśari or Lion dynasty from the seventh to the twelfth century A.D.¹; but it would be going beyond our period to trace in detail the Keśari dynasty. Nevertheless the number and magnificence of the remains at Bhubanesvara and elsewhere are evidence of a wealthy and highly civilised kingdom. These stately temples show the hold which Hinduism had obtained in Orissa by this time, and no further trace is found of Buddhism, which according to tradition was introduced a few centuries earlier. At the same time Jainism appears to have continued to retain its hold on the affections of the people or to have had a rival, for in the cave at Khandagiri and Udayagiri we find inscriptions and rock-cut images of Jaina saints or deities dating back to the same period.

Coming to the caves in the Udayagiri Hills we find that they are the most important caves in Orissa from the point of view of architecture and sculpture, and of them the Rānigumphā or the Rāni Nur is the best known. It is the most important of all, and in it elaborately carved friezes represent various scenes of human activities. The three friezes and the carvings on the lower-storey rooms naturally attract special attention. According to the *District Gazetteer*, "the scenes, though mostly mutilated, clearly indicate the procession of a saint through a town during some religious festival, when persons would be looking out from their houses for a glimpse of him, when horses would be led, elephants be ridden and guards be in attendance, while the people, both male and female, would follow the saint with folded hands, and women standing or kneeling would present him with fruits or cakes on plates and ask his blessing"²

The frieze on the upper main wing, which is nearly 60 feet long, is the most interesting. In fact no frieze in Indian caves has excited more discussion among archæologists. Various explanations have been given of these scenes, which are also briefly repeated in the Ganeśa cave. The editor of the *District Gazetteer* believes that in this Pārśvanātha appears to be the most honoured of the Tīrthankaras.³ Taking just a brief survey of the life of Pārśva

¹ Cf. B D G P, p. 25

² *Ibid.*, p. 254

³ *Ibid.* Cf. Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

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from such sources¹ as the *Pārśvanātha-Carita* of Bhāvadeva Sūri, the *Kalpa-Sūtra* and the list of the *Sihaviras*, the editor concludes that the mediæval Jaina legends connect Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthankara, with Eastern India (including Kalinga)²; and it is not unreasonable therefore to suggest that the elephant scene introduces Pārśva's future wife Prabhāvatī, with her relatives and attendants, that in the next scene she is abducted by the Kalinga king, that in the fourth scene she is rescued by Pārśva in a forest while hunting, that the following scene depicts the wedding feast, the seventh scene the consummation of marriage, and the eighth scene in the lower wing may represent Pārśvanātha as a Tīrthankara, his wanderings and the honour shown to him³. It may therefore be conjectured that the scenes are somehow connected with Pārśva or some revered disciple of his, though it seems too far-fetched to the learned author of *The Remains of Orissa, Ancient and Mediæval*,⁴ from its being an eminently Buddhist cave because of certain considerations which have been already marked.

The same confusion also arises in the case of the Ganeśagumphā. Because of the occurrence of kilted soldiers in the frieze sculpture of this cave like the Rānī Nur the editor of the *District Gazetteer* comes to the conclusion that this scene refers to a mediæval legend of the abduction of Prabhāvatī by the *Yavan* king of Kalinga,⁵ and her subsequent rescue by Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthankara of the Jainas.⁶ This conclusion is specially strengthened when we see that the kilted soldiers probably look like foreigners, and thus to some extent corroborate the mediæval legend that Pārśva rescued a princess from some *Yavan* king. However, Mr Ganguly differs from the editor, in taking the cave for a Buddhist one. According to him the sculpture unmistakably indicates a Buddhist origin.⁷ With all this it is quite natural that the Jaina monks may have carved in their cells episodes of the life of their venerable saint.

Next in order of importance, from the architectural point of view, come the Jayaviṣaya, the Swargapuri, the Tiger and the

¹ See also Hemacandra, *Triśaṣṭi-Śāḍhā*, Parva IX, pp 197-201

² त्वासासीत् कलिङ्गदिदेशानामेकनायकः । —*Ibid*, v 95, p 199

³ *B.D.G.P.*, p 256

⁴ Ganguly, *op cit*, p 89

⁵ यवनो नाम दुर्दानः—Hemacandra, *op and loc cit*

⁶ *B.D.G.P.*, *op and loc cit* "This scenic frieze appears to be the early story of that developed in the upper storey in the Rānī Gumphā"—Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op cit*, p 16

⁷ Ganguly, *op cit*, p 48

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Serpent caves. Except the Swargapuri cave none of these is of any great historical importance but for the fact that the Tiger cave has a Buddhist inscription, and that, according to Drs Fergusson and Burgess, both the Tiger and the Serpent caves are "the oldest of the sculptured caves in these hills"¹ By the by, it may be mentioned that the Sarpagumphā or the Serpent cave, which is to the west of the Hāthīgumphā, has its verandah so carved as to resemble the head of a serpent with three hoods, the symbol of Pārśva.²

In the Swargapuri cave there are three inscriptions, one of which, the first one, speaks of the chief queen of the illustrious Khāravela, the overlord of Kalinga. It seems from this that in the noble task of serving the Jaina church he always associated himself with his chief queen. The memory of this noble and pious lady, who was the daughter of Lālāka, is associated, as we shall see later on, with a cave which bears a short inscription mentioning a Jaina temple and a cave built by her

According to Mr Banerji in the plan printed with the Puri volume of the *Bengal District Gazetteer* this is called the Mañcapuri cave, and some time ago it was known as Swargapura.³ It was called Vaikunthagumphā by Prinsep,⁴ Vaikunthapura by Mitra.⁵ Speaking on this variety of names Mr Banerji says: "I have found that the local names of these caves vary with each generation. As one name is forgotten a new one is immediately invented. This cave is in reality the upper storey of a cave with two storeys and a side wing, but the local people very often give different names to different parts."⁶

The first inscription is incised on the raised space between the second and the third doorways in front. It consists of three lines, and tells us that "a temple of Arhats and a cave for the *Sramanas* of Kalinga had been made by the chief queen of Khāravela, who was the daughter of King Lālāka, the grandson of Hastisāha (or Hastisāha)"⁷

The second and the third record merely mention two caves,

¹ Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 68

² *B.D.G.P.*, p. 260

³ *E.I.*, xiii, p. 159

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, vi, p. 1074

⁵ Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, ii, pp. 14-15

⁶ *E.I.*, xiii, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁷ सरहत्पसादाय कालिङ्गानं समनानं लेख . तिरि-सारवेलेस खगमहिमिना कारितम् —*Ibid*



SWARGAPURI CAVES, UDAYAGIRI
from Matrn, *The Antiquities of Orissa*

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one of them being in the name of Kūḍepsirī, "the king, master of Kalinga,"¹ and the other in the name of the Prince Vaḍukha.² The first is incised on the front wall, while the other is on the side wall of the lower storey. According to Mr Banerji the characters of all the three inscriptions "are slightly later than those of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela."³

These fragmentary evidences tend to prove the existence of an influential Jaina dynasty which ruled over Kalinga. It is not known how long this dynasty lasted or by what other dynasty it was succeeded, but according to the *District Gazetteer* "it is possible that in the 2nd century A.D. Kalinga, including Orissa, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Āndhras, to whose active influence the introduction of Buddhism may perhaps be ascribed. The Tibetan chronicles have preserved a tradition that the king of Oṭiṣa was converted to Buddhism, with 1000 of his subjects, by Nāgārjuna, who is believed to have flourished about A.D. 200 at the court of the Āndhras. The conversion of the people must naturally have been facilitated by this royal example."⁴

With these historical monuments at our disposal it will not be too much to say that the family of the great queen on her father's side also must have been under the Jaina church. As we shall see later on, the party with whom Khāravela, the mighty emperor, joined hands on matrimonial grounds must have been one belonging to the family of a great ruler of those days.

From all that we have seen up till now one thing is very characteristic of these hills, and this must be duly emphasised. In the words of the *District Gazetteer*, "several caves in Khandagiri contain images of Tīrthankaras which, even if of a later date than the caves, are interesting as examples of mediæval Jaina hagiology, while if contemporaneous, they are the oldest existing specimens of Jaina Tīrthankaras and their consorts. The prominence given to Pārśva, whether among the images or by the use of his symbol, the serpent-hood, is curious, for in other existing remains Mahāvīra is the greatest of all the saints. The preference for Pārśva may point to the early age of the remains, and if so, they are unique specimens of Jaina iconography. So little is known about this great preacher who lived, according to Jaina chronicles, 200 years earlier than Mahāvīra, or about 750 B.C., and whose law recognised but four

¹ *E I*, xiii, p. 160

² *Ibid*, p. 159

³ *Ibid*, p. 161.

⁴ *B D G.P.*, p. 25.

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vows and allowed an under and upper garment, that the sculptured record contained in these caves, scanty as it is, cannot but be welcome to the antiquarians."¹

This is what we can glean from the sacred remains of the country which has been spoken of as the land of the "blessed adorned with all the virtues,"² and as "the bestower of heaven and salvation."³ It was here that, long before the Christian era, Jainism and Buddhism gained ascendancy, and exercised a great influence on Hinduism or, properly called, Brahmanism. It is this very land of the *Rshis* which experienced alternate cycles of the-Jaina or the Buddhist predominance, and hence it seems difficult and sometimes impossible to lay down with absolute certainty that such and such cave is of Jaina or Bauddha origin on the flimsy grounds of certain symbols or some characteristic architectural designs. This becomes specially so when, in those days, both the faiths had many-a similar symbol—namely, "a *Swastika*," "a tree," and so on. After all, whatever may be the nature of such historical data, it is certain that the union of Brahmanism with Buddhism and Jainism is marked by a great upheaval in every department of thought and art, and architecture, with sculpture, could not escape its influence.

With these preliminary remarks we shall pass on to the Hāthigumphā inscription, but before we do that a passing reference to the Jaina temple built on the summit of the Khandagiri Hill by the *Mahrattas* will not be out of place. The temple is about a century old and was built towards the close of the eighteenth century.⁴ As usual with other Jaina temples, it occupies a grand site and commands a beautiful view. Referring to this small temple the learned author of *The Antiquities of Orissa* says: "The sanctuary contains a standing figure of Mahāvīrā in black stone, placed on a wooden chair. The temple was built by Manju Chaudhuri and his nephew, Bhavānī Dādu of Cuttack, a Jaina merchant of the Digambara sect."⁵ Within the sanctuary there is also a masonry platform, with a small raised wall behind, in which are embedded five images of Jaina saints. Behind the temple at a slightly lower level there is another terrace, on which he scattered scores of votive *Stūpas*, indicating the existence of an older temple.⁶

Finally coming to the Hāthigumphā we find that it is a natural

¹ *B D G P*, p. 266

² *Vana Parca* sec 114, vv. 4-5

³ *Ibid*

² *Brahma Purāna*, 26th chapter

⁴ Mitra, *op cit*, p. 35

⁶ *B D G P*, p. 264



JAINA TEMPLE AT KHANDAGIRI
from Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*

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cavern, very little improved or enlarged by art. It is on the southern face of the Udayagiri Hills, which is the northern part of that low range of hills called Khandagiri, situated at a distance of about three miles from Bhubanesvara, in the Puri district of Orissa. Though not important from an artistic and architectural point of view, it is the most important of all the caves in the locality by reason of its containing a long inscription recording the autobiography of a king of Kalinga "on the overhanging brow of the cavern."¹

The record is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the cave. It throws considerable light on the history of India in the second century B.C., "when the empire of Candragupta and Aśoka had crumbled into decay, when the usurper Pushyamitra was ruling over the fragments of the Mauryan empire, and the Āndhras of Southern India, having acquired power, had advanced northwards and had perhaps conquered Malva."²

The inscription begins with an invocation to the *Arhats* and the *Siddhas* in the Jain style.³ As believed by Fleet,⁴ it is not a version of the acts done by Khāravela for the promotion of the Jain faith, but it is, after all, a secular record, and records all performances of King Khāravela, who belonged to the Jain faith up to the thirteenth year of his reign or thirty-seventh year of his life.

Following the inscription as it is, we find that its language may be described as *Apabhramśa Prākṛt*, with traces of *Ardha Māgadhī* and Jain *Prākṛtisms*, and that it was incised in the thirteenth year of Khāravela's reign. This thirteenth year of his reign coincides with the thirty-seventh year of his life, because, after completing his fifteenth year, Khāravela became a *Yuvarāja* and performed the Vedic coronation called the *Mahārājya-abhisheka* as soon as he completed his twenty-fourth year. The *Abhisheka* of Khāravela shows that Jainism did not interfere with the national constitutional rites of the orthodox type.⁵

Over and above the exact information that this inscription gives us about Khāravela, and about some of the principal events of his political career, it gives us a clue to more or less accurately fix the date of this great emperor. But for this inscription there

¹ Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 47

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, p. 488

³ नमो अराहंज्ञान नमो सबसिधान . etc — *Ibid.*, IV, p. 397, and XIII, p. 222.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 825

⁵ *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, pp. 431, 438

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is nothing of any historical or even non-historical value that can so well enlighten us on this chronological point of Indian history.

As laid down in the footnote,¹ until recently it was believed by certain scholars, as against Fleet and others, that in line sixteen of the inscription there was a reference to a date of the Maurya era, and that it formed the sole basis for fixing this important period

¹ This note gives, more or less in a chronological order, the names of different scholars who touched this inscription from one or other point of view. Mr A. Sterling first discovered it, and with the help of Colonel Mackenzie took a facsimile of this interesting document in 1820 and published it, without translation or transcript, in 1825 with his most valuable article on *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical, of Orissa proper or Cuttack* (*AR*, xv, pp. 313 ff, and plate), then James Prinsep published it for the first time in 1837 on the basis of the correct facsimile of Lieutenant Kitchie, and according to him the date of the inscription could not be earlier than 200 B.C. (*JASB*, vi, pp. 1075 ff, and Plate LVIII).

A further lithograph of the inscription we find by Cunningham in *C.I.I.*, i, (1877), pp. 27 ff, 98-101, 132 ff, and Plate XVII, but it appears that Prinsep's interpretation drew the attention of Oriental scholars to its importance and historic worth. Rajendralal Mitra copied his transcripts and translations, and published it in a revised form, in his great work on *The Antiquities of Orissa*, in 1880, pp. 16 ff, with a facsimile, and the date of the inscription, according to him, ought to be between 416-316 B.C. A few years after Dr Mitra, the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, published for the first time a workable version of this important inscription, in the *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Leyden in 1885*, and according to him the date of the inscription is 165 Maurya era or 157 B.C. (*Actes Six Congr. Or. a Leide*, pt. iii, sec. ii, pp. 152-177, and plate). This was followed by Bühler in 1895 and 1898 in *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 18, and in *On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet*, pp. 18 ff, respectively, but he merely proposed certain corrections. This fixing of the date by the late Pandit, on the basis of a reference to some Mauryan date in line sixteen of the inscription, had been accepted up till now by most of the modern school of antiquarians, headed by Vincent Smith, K. P. Jayaswal, R. D. Banerji and others, but it was Fleet and a few others after him that protested against such a reading of the said line, though he accepted that not a single voice had been raised against the interpretation of Pandit Indrajī (see Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 44, n. 2 (4th ed.), and also in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 544 ff.; Jayaswal, *J.BORS*, i, p. 80, n. 55, iii, pp. 425-485, iv, pp. 364 ff.; Banerji (R. D.), *J.BORS*, iii, pp. 486 ff.; Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 12; Jmavijaya, *Prācin Jaina Lekha Samgraha*, i, which wholly deals with Khāravela and agrees with the school of Jayaswal, and Konow, *ASI*, 1905-1906, p. 166. According to him the inscription contained a date in the Maurya era). Reviewing this volume in his first note in the *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 242 ff., Dr Fleet says: "In the course of his remarks Dr Konow has mentioned the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, and has observed, as an *obiter dictum*, that 'It is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era.' We may take the opportunity of saying that it is a mistake, and has no basis except in Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī's treatment of a passage in line 16th of the record."

Now we shall refer to Fleet and others of his class. In 1910 Professor H. Lüders published in *EI*, x, Lüders' list, No. 1345, p. 160, a summary of the inscription, and stated that there was no date in the record. This was followed by two short notes from the late Dr J. F. Fleet in *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 242 ff. and 324 ff. As we saw above, Dr Fleet had his own doubts about the existence of a date in the Maurya era in this record. He tried to prove that the passage in the sixteenth line of the Hāthigumphā inscription does not contain any such date, but on the other hand that it refers to a certain canonical text of the Jains which went out of use during the reign of the Mauryas. See also Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar (*IA*, xlvii, 1918, pp. 223 ff. and xlvii, 1919, pp. 187 ff.) According to him line sixteen is far from being clear and positive, and he contested many

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of Kalinga history. Mr Jayaswal, once the foremost advocate of this theory in the light of fresh researches then made by him, has, with all the broadmindedness worthy of a real scholar, to a great extent allowed himself to agree with Mr Fleet and others that there is no such reference in the line referred to, or even anywhere else in the body of the inscription.¹

No doubt in the sixth line of the inscription there is a reference to the era of Nanda, but this reference hardly helps us in fixing the date of Khāravela.² For fixing the date of the inscription and of the great Cedi king recourse to certain other facts laid down by the inscription is necessary. These facts are to be interpreted and understood in the light of whatever contemporary historical gleanings are at our disposal to fix as accurately as possible the date of the inscription.

According to the new reading and interpretation of Mr Jayaswal a certain portion of the eighth line of the inscription, which speaks of the eighth year of Khāravela's reign, reads as follows :

पातापयिता राजाहं उपपीडापयति एतिना च कम्पापदानं संनादेन सवज्ञ-सेन-वाहनो विपमुचिनु मधुरा
अपपातो यरन-राज-हिमिद यच्छति-वि-पल्लव,³

and which means, "on account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i.e. the capture of Gorathagiri fortress and the siege of Rājagṛha, with which we shall deal later on) the Greek king Demet(rios), drawing in his army and transport, or covering himself with his army and vehicles, retreated to abandon Mathura."⁴ This is according to the latest researches made by Mr Jayaswal,

of the conclusions of Messrs Jayaswal and Banerji (Ramaprasad Chanda) (*J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp 395 ff.). He agreed with Fleet and Lüders in denying the existence of any date in the Hāthigumphā inscription. However now to our satisfaction we find that Mr Jayaswal and others of his school more or less agree with those of the opposite school about this crucial point, and hence the reading of line sixteen of the record, which is the keystone of the whole structure, is now to a great extent fully agreed to by all (see Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, xii, pp 221 ff, and xiv, pp 127-128 and 150-151).

Over and above these researches we have references to scholars like Ganguly, Fergusson and Burgess, and Professor K. H. Dhruv. Mr Mano Mohan Ganguly places the inscription on principles based on architectural and sculptural considerations towards the close of the third century B.C.—that is, before Aśoka came to the throne of Magadha (see Ganguly, *op cit*, pp 48-50). According to Drs Fergusson and Burgess "300 B.C. or thereabouts is the most probable date for this inscription." They add that "with his (of Aśoka) reign the fashion of chiselling cells out of the living rock commenced, and was continued with continually increasing magnificence and elaboration for nearly 1000 years after his time" (Fergusson and Burgess, *op cit*, pp 67-68). Professor Dhruv talks of Khāravela and the antiquity of Jainism in connection with Pushyamitra Sunga and other ruling dynasties of the time in the preface of his Gujarati drama, *Sāchumsavapna*—the Gujarati rendering of the Sanskrit drama, *Swapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa.

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, xii, p 236

² नंदराज-नि-वस-सत-सोपादिन . . . etc.—*Ibid*, iv, p 399.

³ *Ibid*, and xii, p 227

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 229

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the identification being accepted by Mr Banerji and Dr Konow.¹ This is what the most modern methods in estampage and historical research can give us, and hence, taking it as the sole clue to Khāravēla's period, we evidently find that the Greek king had captured Mathura, and had advanced eastwards, probably as far as Sāketa. This is corroborated by the information given by the *Gārgī Samhitā* that the *Yavanas*, after taking Sāketa, Pañcāla and Mathura, were marching towards Kusumadhvaja (Pātaliputra) at the close of the Maurya period.²

Emphasising the same point Mr Jayaswal states. "When Patañjali was writing his commentary on Sanskrit Grammar the king of Magadha (Pushyamitra) had undertaken a long sacrifice not yet finished. Two *Āśvamedhas* were performed by that Magadha king, according to the new Ayodhya inscription. Evidently while an *Āśvamedha* was in progress Patañjali records that a *Yavana* king besieged Sāketa and Madhymikā. Kālidāsa mentions an imperial victory on a river which is near the Madhymikā territory during an *Āśvamedha* by Pushyamitra. We thus have definite evidence that in the reign of Pushyamitra there was an unsuccessful Greek invasion. Now we have in Khāravēla's inscription a contemporary Greek invader who had to retreat and give up Mathura. This occurred in the reign of Brhaspati-Mitra, who was a predecessor of Agni-Mitra, on the evidence of coins. The conclusion is irresistible that the invasion is identical with one mentioned by the *Gārgī-Samhitā* and Patañjali."³

For all this there arises another difficulty—whether this Greek king is Demetrios or Menander. Now, according to Gardner, Menander's time is about the beginning of the second century B.C.,⁴ and according to Vincent Smith about 155 B.C.⁵ Furthermore, Menander is not said to have crossed the Isamos (Yamunā ?), while he is said to have gone beyond the Hypanis (Biās),⁶ and the classical

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XII, p. 228.

² In the *Yuga Purāna*, one of the chapters of the *Gārgī Samhitā*, there is described that "the viciously valiant Greeks" after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañcāla country (in the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges) and Mathura (Mutttra), reached Pushpapura (Pātaliputra), but that they did not remain in the midland country because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country (Kern, *Brhat Samhitā*, p. 37)—an evident allusion to the internecine struggle between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides.

³ J.B.O.R.S., XIII, pp. 241, 242.

⁴ Cf. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Greek and Sythac*, Int., pp. XXXII, XXXIII.

⁵ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 239.

⁶ Gardner, *op. cit.*, Int., p. XXXVII.

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passage which refers to both Demetrios and Menander has been interpreted by the best authorities to apply to Demetrios in respect of the extensive conquests¹ Above all, the retreat of Demetrios from India to oppose his rival Eucratides in Bactria is a fact that largely helps the identification, because, according to our inscription, the Greek king, without any action on the part of Khāravēla against him, retreated and left Mathura. Thus it seems to be certain that Khāravēla's time is between Demetrios and Menander.

Coming to the Greek history we find that the very success of Demetrios appears to have caused his downfall. As a direct consequence of his victories the centre of his dominions was shifted beyond the borders of Bactria proper. The homeland, however, was not content to degenerate into a mere dependency. A revolt ended in the establishment of a separate kingdom under Eucratides, a leader of great vigour and ability, about whom written history has hardly anything to say.² His recognition as king took place with the accession of Mithradates I to the throne of Parthia. As Mithradates succeeded his brother Phraates I about 171 B.C. we may accept Von Gutschmid's date of 175 B.C. as approximately correct for Eucratides.³ The beginning of his reign was stormy. Demetrios, who was now king of India—*i. e.* of the country round about the Indus—not of Bactria, and who was therefore one of his most natural foes, had to retreat from India on account of the troubles raised in Bactria by the rival Eucratides. This retreat of Demetrios is placed by the historians of Bactria about 175 B.C.,⁴ and this, with the siege of Gorathagiri and Rājagṛha, coincides with the eighth year of Khāravēla—*c.* 175 B.C. The first year of Khāravēla would thus be *c.* 183 B.C., and the date of the inscription about 170 B.C.

Leaving aside this reference to the Greek king, Demetrios, there is another ground on which we can approximately fix the date of Khāravēla. An Āndhra king, Śātakarṇi, the Lord of the West, is actually mentioned in the inscription as Khāravēla's rival,⁵ and he can safely be identified with the Śātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, because on epigraphical grounds both the Nānāghāt inscription of

¹ See Meyer (Eduard), *E B*, vii, p. 982 (11th ed.), and Rawlinson, *Parthia* (The Story of the Nations), p. 65.

² *C.H.I.*, i, p. 446.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ Meyer (Eduard), *op cit*, ix, p. 880.

⁵ Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, iv, p. 398, and xiii, p. 226.

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Nāganikā, the queen of Sātakarni, and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela belong to the same period as the Nasik inscription of Kṛṣṇa.¹ Now the Nānāghāt inscriptions of the early Sāta-vāhanas are "a little, not much, later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts," and on epigraphical grounds "they are of the time of the last Mauryas or the earliest Sungas—that is, the beginning of the second century B.C."² Even therefore if it must be admitted that the Hāthigumphā inscription is undated, there is still reason to believe that the date of Khāravela would fit in with the dates of Demetrios and Sātakarni in the first half of the second century B.C. Moreover, as the rise of both the Āndhra and Kalinga dynasties must no doubt date from the same period, when the Maurya power began to decline, the probability that these two kings were contemporary is great indeed.

Having thus approximately fixed the date of the inscription we shall now examine its contents and see what information we can gather about this great patron of Jainism, and the extent of his political career, which makes him one of the most important figures of Indian history.

The first line of this inscription as laid down above begins with an invocation of the *Arhats* and the *Siddhas* in the Jain style, which corresponds to the beginning of the fivefold form of homage still used among the Jainas.³ It is here that we came to know that Khāravela belonged to the Cedi dynasty, and that the term *Aira* formed one of the titles of the kings of this family.⁴ According to Mr Jayaswal this is to be taken as a term denoting the descent of the Cedi kings—*Aira*, a descendant of *Irā* or *Ilā*—and he proposes "to identify it with the *Purānic Ailā*,⁵ one of the main dynastic divisions to which the Cedis belong according to the *Purānas*."⁶

The second line says that for fifteen years Khāravela enjoyed his princely life, and during that period, having accomplished various *Vidyās* (arts), he, "who was having conquests as large as those of King Vena," ruled as *Yuvarāja* for many years.⁷

¹ See Buhler, *AS IV I*, v, p 71, and *Indische Paleographie*, p 30

² Buhler, *AS IV I*, v, pp 71 ff

³ शमो षरिहंताय शमो सिद्धाय शमो ज्ञापयिष्यं शमो उवक्तायाय शमो लोए सद्गसाहूय,

सतो षंषणमुक्तारो, . —*Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūl 1

⁴ Cf *J B O R S*, iv, p 897, and xiii, p 222

⁵ Fargiter, *J R A S*, 1910, pp 11, 26

⁶ *J B O R S*, xiii, p 228

⁷ Cf *ibid*, iv, p 897, and xiii, p 224

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This King Vena is a Vedic personality,¹ and according to Manu² King Vena had the whole earth (country) under his rule. Speaking about him Mr Jayaswal says : " It is noteworthy that the *Padma Purāna* also says that Vena began his rule well, but subsequently he became a Jaina. From the Hāthigumphā inscription we get an indirect confirmation of the *Padma Purāna*, in so much that Vena, who has not got throughout a good reputation in the Brahmanical tradition, had a good reputation amongst the Jainas as an ideal king. If amongst the Jainas at the period when the inscription was written Vena had been regarded as a bad king towards the end of his career, the comparison would not have been adopted in praise of Khāravēla. It is significant that the only defect in Vena, the Brahmins found, was of Jaina characteristics—that is, he did not recognise caste. Presumably the tradition disparaging Vena is later and post-Jainism."³

Coming to the third line we find, as already stated, that after the twenty-fourth year was complete Khāravēla obtained "*Māhārājābhiseccanam*" in the third generation of the Kalinga dynasty, and with many other repairs got an embankment made to the lake of Khibīra Rshi in the capital of Kalinga.⁴

With the fourth line of the inscription begins the political life of Khāravēla. In the beginning of the line it is said that Khāravēla tried to please his teeming population of three and a half millions.⁵ There is nothing particular to wonder at this figure. We know from Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII that against Aśoka's forces Kalinga lost 150,000 soldiers as captives of war, 100,000 were slain and "many times as many died."⁶ This comes to about two and a half lacs as the total number of casualties. Now according to Scharnhorst's estimate every fifteenth soul of the population could take up arms against a foreign invasion, and hence the population of Aśoka's time comes to about thirty-eight lacs.⁷ A century after this, in the time of Khāravēla, it is quite likely that it was three and a half millions after the loss occasioned by the Maurya conquest and rule. Accepting the same figure Mr Vincent Smith says : "Knowing as we do that the Mauryas and their predecessors

¹ *Rigveda*, v, 123

² Manu, chap ix, 66-67.

³ *J B O R S*, xii, pp 224, 225

⁴ Cf *ibid*, iv, pp 397-398, and xii, p 225

⁵ Cf *ibid*, iv, p 398, and xii, p 226

⁶ Bühler, *E.I.*, ii, p 471.

⁷ Cf *J B O R S*, iii, p 440

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maintained a permanent census, there is no reason to distrust the figures" ¹

Before we go any further a peep into the history of the times will not be out of place here. In the words of Dr Barnett. "After the death of Aśoka the Maurya empire rapidly decayed, and the neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge in their ambition and enlarge their boundaries. Among these was a certain Simuka, who in the last quarter of the third century B.C. established the powerful Sātavāhana or Sātakarni dynasty, which ruled the Telugu country for nearly five centuries. In his reign or in the reign of his immediate successor, his younger brother Krishna (vernacularly Kanha), the Āndhra empire spread westward to at least 74' longitude, and possibly even to the Arabian Sea ² Under these early Sātavāhana kings the boundaries of the Āndhra dominions were enlarged so as to include a great part, if not the whole, of Vidarbha (Berar), the central provinces and Hyderabad." ³

"But the Sungas and the Āndhras were not the only powers which at this period were contending for mastery in the region now known as Central India. The Hāthigumphā inscription shows that c. 180 B.C. Khāravela, king of Kalinga, appeared in the field as a new combatant." ⁴

Khāravela's ambition to secure his country a dictating voice in the political affairs of his times brought him into conflict with his neighbours, who were a paramount power in the Deccan. In his second year he sent a large army to the west in defiance of Sātakarni, the Āndhra monarch ⁵ This monarch was a king of the dynasty called the Sātavāhanas according to the inscriptional records of the family themselves, and the Āndhras (Āndhrabhrtyas) according to the *Purānas*. ⁶ These were the unsubdued peoples on the southern borders of the Mauryan dominions, and their home was on the coastal region of the Madras Presidency, between the rivers Godavary and Krishna

¹ Smith, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 545

² This is indicated by the inscriptions at Nasik (No. 1144) and at Nānūghāt, fifty miles north-west of Poona (No. 1114)

³ *C.H.I.*, i, pp. 599, 600

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 600

⁵ The Āndhra king alluded to can only be Śrī-Sātakarni, No. 3 of the *Purāṇic* list, who is commemorated by a defaced but happily inscribed relief image at Nānūghāt, a pass leading from the Konkan to the ancient town of Junar in the Poona district, Bombay.

—Bühler, *ASW I*, v, p. 59

⁶ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30 ff

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Talking about the original home and the caste of the Sātavāhana princes Mr Bakhle says: "In the inscription of Khāravela the Sātavāhanas are said to be in the west of Kalinga; in the Jaina legends Paithān, in the Naizam's dominions, is called their capital; in the version of the origin of the dynasty given in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* the founder of the dynasty is said to have been born at Paithān. . . . Majority of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas are to be found at Nasik; their earliest inscription is at Nānāghāt, in Western India; their earliest coins are also found in Western India. . . . It will thus appear that all the circumstances point to Western India as the original home of the Sātavāhanas. . . . The evidence of the Jaina legends about the caste of the Sātavāhana princes is conflicting and of very little credence. One traditional account says that the Sātavāhana was born from a virgin aged four years; another traces his descent to a Yaksha. The epigraphic evidence, however, points definitely to the Sātavāhana as Brahman."¹

The result of Khāravela's expedition to the west was that Sātakarni was not defeated, and that he had to be content with the Mūshika capital, which was taken by him to help the Kāśyapa Kshatriyas.² The Mūshukas were very probably the subordinate ally of Sātakarni, and it appears that the Mūshika country must have been between Paithān and Gondwānā. As Kosal came next to Orissa (north-west), the Mūshika land must have been contiguous to the west.

Nothing particular has the fifth line to tell us but the fact that in the third year Khāravela was well versed in the science of music, with shows of dancing, singing, and so on.³

Line six is rather important. It is here that we get some reference to the Nanda era. It first tells us that after the march against Sātakarni and Mūshukas the next campaign of Khāravela was carried into Western India. In the fourth year of his reign he humbled the Rāstrikas of the Maratha country and Bhojakas of Berar, both feudatories of the Āndhras.⁴

Thus on two occasions, according to the inscriptional record, did Khāravela invade the Āndhra dominions in the Deccan. In his second year he sent a large army of horses, elephants, foot-

¹ *J B B R A S* (New Series), III, pp 49-52

² *J B O R S*, IV, p 398, and XIII, p 226

³ Cf *ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*, IV, p 399

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soldiers and chariots to the west in defiance of Śātakarni; and in his fourth year he humbled the Rāshtrakas of the Maratha country and Bhojakas of Berar, both under the domination of the Āndhra king of Pratiśthāna.¹ Such expeditions were undoubtedly in the nature of a challenge to the predominant power of the Deccan, but they appear not to have been pursued beyond the limit of safety. In the words of Professor Rapson: "We may suppose that the armies of Khāravela passed the valley of Mahanadi, and over the watershed into the valleys of Godavari and its great tributaries, the Wainganga and the Wardha. They could thus invade territory which the Āndhra monarch regarded as lying within the realm, but it is not stated, and there are no grounds for surmising, that the forces of the Kalingas and the Āndhras came into actual conflict on either of these occasions, or that any important political results followed."²

This is not to minimise the greatness of the extent of Khāravela's conquests. No doubt as a military leader he played a great part in the political affairs of his time, but nothing more. He could very well stand by the side of the great Pushyamitra or the great Śālvāhana, but if, as the expeditions of his second and fourth years seem to indicate, his ambition led him to entertain the project of wresting the suzerainty from the Āndhra king of Pratiśthāna, the attempt must be held to have failed. That was not possible for him, and that is not what is meant by the inscription.

In his fifth year Khāravela caused a canal that was excavated in the year 108 of King Nanda, and the roads of Tanasulhya or Tosali,³ to enter the city of Kalinga.⁴ This and many other accurate statements and year figures in the body of the inscription made scholars like Fleet, Smith and others infer that a careful chronicle was kept at Orissa, and that all these long periods could not be reckoned without an era.⁵ That the era taken into consideration here is the Nanda era is clear from the text of the line itself. It is

¹ The modern Parthān, on the north bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad district of Hyderabad, is famous in literature as the capital of King Śātakarni (Śātavāhana or Śālvāhana) and his son Śakti-kumāra.

² Rapson, *CHI*, i, p. 586.

³ We would be justified in accepting that the capital of Khāravela was Tosali, in whose neighbourhood the Hāthigumphā cave and River Prāchi are to be found. According to Mr Haraprasad Sastri, Tosali is etymologically identical with Dhauli, the name of the place where a set of the Kalinga edicts exists.—Smith, *op cit*, p. 546.

⁴ Cf. *J B O R S*, iv, p. 309.

⁵ See Fleet, *J R A S*, 1910, p. 828, Smith, *op cit*, p. 545.

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so natural that nobody would care to recollect such long intervals since the reign of a particular king unless an era founded by him were in continuous use. This king, in the opinion of Jayaswal, cannot be any other than King Nanda Vardhana, whose date, according to his calculations, comes to about 457 B.C.¹ As seen before, there is no historical basis or any other clue in the body of the inscription on which we can rest such an identification. Jayaswal believes that his era exactly corresponds to the information received by Alberuni about the era of Śrī Harsha, and hence whatever Alberuni has put down in the form of local traditions about Śrī Harsha² has been wrongly identified by the former with that of Nandi Vardhana.³ To us there seems no reason for such a far-fetched identification. There is nothing unnatural if the era began with Nanda I of the Jainas or Mahāpadma Nanda of the *Purāṇas*. After all that we have seen from the *Purāṇic* and the classical accounts about Nanda it is certain that he was great enough for commencing an era in his name. We can thus safely identify it with one started by him. Thus the date of the canal referred to in the sixth line would roughly correspond to 320-307 B.C., taking the *Nirvāṇa* date of Mahāvīra to be 480-467 B.C.

From what is said in the seventh line we get that Khāravela's wife was of the Vajra family,⁴ and Jayaswal says: "The name of the queen is either not given or is 'Ghusita (ā)'"⁵ This was the seventh year of his reign, and it seems he had a prince by this time.⁶

The eighth year of his regnal period opens with an invasion on Magadha. He stormed the Gorathagiri fortress of great enclosure by a great army.⁷

Line eight is that important one about which we have already talked at length, and which because of a reference to the great Indo-Greek king Demetrios greatly solves the most difficult and at the same time the most important problem of Kalinga chronology—

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, xiii, p. 240

² Cf. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, ii, p. 5

³ Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, xiii, p. 240

⁴ वज्रि-घर-वंशि बुधितवरिनि —*Ibid.*, p. 227. This Vajra family has been identified by Dr K. Aiyangar with an ancient dynasty of considerable importance and holding the important territory of Bengal on this side of the Ganges —*Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 39.

⁵ *J.B.O.R.S.*, xiii, p. 227

⁶ कुमार . . . etc —*Ibid.*

⁷ महता सेना महत्त-भिन्नि-गोरथगिरिं घातापयिता, etc —*Ibid.*, iv, p. 399, and xiii, p. 227.

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namely, the date of Khāravela. A literal translation of the line, with a portion of the previous line, made in the light of the latest readings of Jayaswal, which we have adopted for our purpose here, is as follows: "In the eighth year he (Khāravela) having got stormed the Gorathagiri (fortress) of great enclosure (*lit.* 'wall,' 'barrier') by a great army causes pressure around Rājagrha (lays siege to Rājagrha). On account of this report (uproar), occasioned by the acts of valour (that is, the capture of Gorathagiri fortress and the siege of Rājagrha), the great King Demet(rios) drawing in army and transport or covering himself with his army and vehicles retreated to abandon Mathura."¹

Thus we see that in the eighth year of his reign Khāravela invaded Magadha. This shows that he had not only become independent but also aggressive. He reaches as far as the Barābar Hills (Gorathagiri), on the old route from Gaya to Pataliputra. Hearing of this advance on the part of Khāravela, Demetrios, the king of Indians, beat a retreat, in the result giving up Mathura, and whose invasion in the interior and retreat from India are mentioned by historians of the Bactrian history.²

Most probably Pushyamitra was on the throne at that time. According to the *Purāṇas*, Pushyamitra reigned for thirty-six years,³ and according to Mr Vincent Smith, Pushyamitra dethroned Brhadratha, the last Maurya king, in 185 B.C.⁴ According to Mr Jayaswal this event took place in 188 B.C.,⁵ and hence Pushyamitra must have ruled from 185 to 149 B.C. or 188 to 152 B.C.

There is hardly anything of importance in line nine of the inscription. It talks of some gifts of land to Brahmans, and thereby supports the system of collective grant of land to Brahmans prevalent during the Hindu rule.⁶ As we have already remarked about the Vedic coronation of Khāravela, here also the mere fact that he was a Jaina in no way interfered with the national constitutional rites of the orthodox type. Another inference that we might draw from this is that the original organisation of the Āryans had some of its permanent effects on the social life of the people irrespective of the religion to which they belonged. Jainism and Buddhism of

¹ J.B.O.R.S., iv, pp. 378, 379, and viii, pp. 228, 229

² Meyer (Eduard), *op. cit.*, ix, p. 880

³ Cf. Fargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 70

⁴ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 204

⁵ J.B.O.R.S., viii, p. 243

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, iv, p. 400, and viii, p. 229

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Mahāvīra's time might have been direct revolutions against the prevalent form of Brahmanism, but that real or superstitious respect for Brahmans and their social claims over other castes hardly suffered in any way from these revolutions.

No doubt in such a case as this much depended upon the broad-minded outlook of the person concerned, and that, like Aśoka, Khāravela was also the emperor who was always above any kind of blind religious fervour about his own or about any particular faith, and, like his predecessor's edicts, he has this inscription to prove his aloofness from any sort of petty-minded bigotry. Tolerance was his chief characteristic, and he seems to have been a magnificent ruler, of liberal tendencies, and styles himself "a worshipper of men of all sects."¹

Coming to the tenth line we find that Khāravela got built the royal residence *Mahāvijaya* (the palace of victory), at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand coins.² After this he, "with the policy of war, peace and conciliation," causes departure for Northern India (*Bhārata-varsha*) for further conquests, and obtains the precious things of those who have been invaded upon.³ It should be noted here that the third division of Hindu foreign policy—namely, "*Bheda*"—that is, "dissension"—is omitted here, probably as considered too low and not honourable for the policy of Khāravela.⁴

The next line is also not very important for our purpose here. It talks of some *Maṇḍa* (throne) being ploughed down by Khāravela with a plough drawn by big asses.⁵ The throne, it is said, was erected by some bad (perverse) king—bad because the king's religious heresy must be connected with Jainism. The throne referred to here must be a decorated stand or a covered throne. For the identification of the "bad king" there is nothing in the inscription to help us. Furthermore, Khāravela breaks the lead-bodied figure (or figures) or the assemblage of leaden bodies made a century and thirteen years ago, or in the year 113.⁶ With the reading 113 years before the eleventh year of Khāravela the date of these "lead figures" would be 285 B.C., but if we take the other reading the year would be in the Nanda era, as in line six, and would be equal to 345 B.C.

¹ सव-पासंड-पूजको . — *J B O.R.S.*, iv, p. 403

² Cf *ibid.*, iv, p. 400.

³ Cf *ibid.*, and xiii, p. 230

⁴ Cf *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 232

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The first incident is about the *Apa-Rāja* ("bad king"), and there seems some form of aggression on the part of the said king, but the latter incident is inexplicable. That the images were not other than Jaina images seems certain, because there is no such reference as that, and because that would contradict the generous policy of Khāravela. As we shall see in line seventeen, Khāravela was a respecter of all religions,¹ and therefore it seems possible that these must be images representing ugly caricatures of some Jaina Tirthankaras.

Over and above these two incidents the line tells us that Khāravela causes consternation amongst the kings of Uttarāpatha (northern Punjab and the frontier countries).

Again, the twelfth line is also very important for our purpose. It is important not only from the standpoint of this chapter on Khāravela, but it is also a great support to some such problems as "the Nandas and their faith," "Jainism and the Nanda dynasty," "the Antiquity of Jainism," "the Image worship among the Jainas," and so on. To some of these problems we have already referred in our previous chapters. The remaining ones will be dealt with during the course of this and other chapters that are to follow, and hence to refrain from undue repetition we need not take up any discussions here. For the present we shall be satisfied with a literal translation of the line, with a portion of the previous line, which goes as follows -

"In the twelfth year (he) causes consternation amongst the kings of Uttarāpatha and causing great panic amongst the peoples of Magadha (he) makes his elephants enter the *Su-gāṅgeya*, and he makes the king of Magadha, Bahasati-mitra, bow at his feet. (He) brings home the image known as the Jina of Kalinga which had been carried away by King Nanda (and) the home *Ratnas* as recaptures as the riches of Anga and Magadha."²

Thus the countries of the north-western frontiers are subdued and the king of Magadha is made to pay homage at his feet. Furthermore it seems from this that King Nanda of Magadha had taken away some Jaina image to Pāṭaliputra which Khāravela had brought back to Orissa along with other trophies from Anga and Magadha after the defeat of Bahasati-mitra. At first sight it seems strange why this image is called "the Jina of Kalinga." It does not refer

¹ सव-देवायतन-संस्कारकारको. —J B O R S, iv, p. 403

² सेहिं वितासयतो उत्तरापथराजानो मगधानं च विपुलं भयं जनतो खगमराप-यसु च नेपाणि
—Ibid., iv, p. 401, and xiii, p. 232

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to any Tīrthankara whose life-history was connected with Kalinga, but it seems, according to the interpretation of Muni Jinaviṇḍya, that it is a practice still prevalent to designate the image of a particular Tīrthankara after the name of the locality of the establishment.¹ The first Tīrthankara (Rshabhadeva) at Śatruṇḍīya for instance is called Śatruṇḍīya Jina. Similarly the image at Abu is called "the Arbuda Jina," and the one at Dhulew (Mewar) is called "the Dhulew Jina."² Thus it is not necessary that the image must be of a Jina associated with Kalinga in his life-history. The expression "the Jina of Kalinga" merely means that the Jaina image was worshipped at Kalinga or at the Kalingan capital.

Before we pass on to the next line we shall deal firstly with the questions as to who this Bahasati-mitra was, and with whom he can be identified, and secondly, the antiquity of Jainism in Kalinga.

Looking to the contemporary history of the time it is certain that this Bahasati-mitra was the great Śuṅga king Pushyamitra. He, a Brahman like the Śātavāhanas of the west, having brought about the orthodox revolution which pulled the Mauryas from the throne, founded his dynasty. What we mean by orthodox revolution is that Pushyamitra was the outcome of the revival of the old Brahmanism, in the beginning of the second century B.C. The evidence of Tāranātha (A.D. 1608, resting on old works), as correctly translated by Schiefner, agrees with that of the *Divyāvadāna*³ in stating that Pushyamitra was the ally of unbelievers, and himself burned monasteries and slew monks.

"There took place a war of the Brahman king Pushyamitra with the rest of the *Tīrthyas*. He burnt a number of monasteries from Madhyadeśa up to Jalandar"⁴

Again, coming to the orthodox revolution, the fact is that there may be some strong political reasons at its back, but nevertheless it must be said that Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor, little thought how his lack of political instinct, his religious policy, his theocracy, and his partition undermined the strength of the empire. Otherwise it is not possible that the military despotism so well established could disappear only forty or fifty years after the death of the greatest Indian monarch, whose memory is cherished with affection all over the Buddhist world, and who is regarded as a great and

¹ Cf. *J BORS*, iv, p. 886

² *Ibid*

³ Cf. Cowell and Neil, *op cit*, p. 434

⁴ Schiefner, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism*, p. 81

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good ruler all over the world. His death was welcome news to the Brahmins of North India, to the powerful Andhras of the south, and to the enemies of India outside. The Mauryan control up to the Hindukush became weak soon after Aśoka's death. The north-western frontiers, ever exposed to foreign attacks, now became a tempting field to the Greek provinces of Bactria, Parthia and the warlike races of the borders.

Notwithstanding his toleration the Brahmins, who feared that their religion was in danger, were embittered against Aśoka. Besides this they should also have lost many of their former privileges. This led to a great reaction against Mauryan ascendancy, which was promoted for some time in secret by the Brahmins and culminated in open revolution in the time of the later Mauryas. The descendants of Aśoka retained only Magadha and the neighbouring home provinces. Brhadratha, the last king of the imperial Mauryan line, was finally treacherously murdered by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra—"the Indian Macbeth."¹ Now, considering this from the chronological point of view, we find that the whole duration of the Maurya dynasty, according to *Purāṇic* authority, was one hundred and thirty-seven years; and if this period be accepted, and reckoned from the accession of Candragupta in 322 B.C., the dynasty must have come to an end about 185 B.C.² This date, as we have seen before, is certainly approximately correct. Thus the Brahman dynasty which uprooted the Buddhist Mauryas succeeded to the throne of India about 185 B.C.

Thus at the instigation of the Brahmins Puspa or Pushyamitra faithlessly slew his master, imprisoned the ministers, usurped the throne, proclaimed himself king, founded the Sunga or Mitra dynasty, which lasted for about a decade and a century, and brought about an orthodox revolution in literature and Hindu society.³ Bāna-bhatta, in his life of Harshavardhana (seventh century A.D.), alludes thus to this military *coup d'état*. "And reviewing the whole army, under the pretext of showing him his forces, the base-born general, Pushyamitra, crushed his master Vrhadratha, the Maurya, who was weak in keeping his coronation oath."⁴

Writing on this very point the learned author of *The Hindu*

¹ Mazumdar, *op cit*, p. 626

² See Pargiter, *op cit*, p. 27

³ *J.B.O.R.S.*, x, p. 202

⁴ The rendering combines the versions of Cowell and Thomas (*Harsacarita*, p. 199), of Bühler (*I.A.*, ii, p. 368) and of Jayaswal. Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 268, n. 1

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History opines that "Pushyamitra, when old, claimed the honour of lord paramount of North India. An imperial sacrifice and a horse sacrifice were magnificently performed by Pushyamitra under the guidance and presidentship of his *Guru* Patañjali, the noted commentator of Pāṇini's Grammar. Pushyamitra tried his best to revive the Brahmanic faith. His sacrifice was rather a Brahmanic victory over the Buddhists. Buddhist writers have branded Pushyamitra as a persecutor. It is alleged that he burned monasteries and slew monks from Magadha to Jalandhar in the Punjab. There may be some truth in it. The motive of Pushyamitra was that there was widespread Buddhist and Jain conspiracy against him."¹

Taking into consideration all these points one thing is clear—that the reaction of the inquisitorial tyranny of Aśoka's system gave a death-blow first to the Buddhist faith, and secondly, for other political reasons, to the Mauryan predominance in North India. The extreme favour which Aśoka showed to the Buddhists, and to some extent also to the Jainas, resulted in a serious fall in the privileged position of the Brahmins. They were also dissatisfied by the prohibition of bloody sacrifices and the irritating proceedings of the censors. Thus the moment the strong hand of the old emperor dropped the sceptre Brahman influence reasserted itself and produced a revolt which, as we have seen, resulted in the foundation of the new dynasty known as that of the Sungas.² Coming to the territorial extent of the Sungas we find that Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna, the ancient Pālihotra and then the capital of North India, continued to be the capital of the Sungas, who perhaps owned authority over all the central or home provinces. The kingdom extended south of Narmada. Besides it embraced Behar, Tirhoot, and the modern united provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Punjab, it seems, was probably long lost to the later Mauryas and the Sungas.

Again, this identification of Brhaspati with Pushyamitra on the basis of temporary history is further supported by the connection between Brhaspati and Pushya asterisms. Writing on this Mr Smith says. "Bahapati is identical with Bahasati Mitra of certain coins and short inscriptions, both names being Prakṛt variations of the Sanskrit Brahhaspati, who was believed to be the regent of the zodiacal asterism (*Nakshatra*) named Pushya or

¹ Mazumdar, *op cit*, p 686

² Cf *J P A.S.B.*, 1910, pp 259-262.

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Tishya which forms part of the constellation Cancer or the Crab Bahapati certainly is an alternative name for Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king according to the list in the *Purāṇas*.¹

Emphasising the similar standpoint Mr Haraprasad Sastri says to the following effect :

“Aśoka was, to all intents and purposes, a Buddhist monarch, and a bigoted one too. . . He put a stop to all animal sacrifices throughout his vast empire. . . This is an order which was certainly directed against the Brahmins, a privileged class wherever they settled. . . This was followed by another edict in which Aśoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him in a short time into false gods. If it means anything it means that the Brahmanas, who were regarded as *Bhūdevas* or gods on earth, had been shown up by him. . . The appointments created by Aśoka of *Dharma Mahāmātas*—that is, of superintendents of morals—was a direct invasion of the right and privileges of the Brahmanas. They were not the persons to brook the injury done to them quietly. And to crown all, Aśoka, in one of his edicts, insisted upon all his officers strictly observing the principle of *Danda-samatā* and *Vyavahāra-samatā*—that is, the equality of punishment and the equality in lawsuits, irrespective of caste, colour and creed. . . Under such circumstances the prospects of being huddled together in prison with the unspeakable non-Āryans, whipped, impaled alive and hanged, were very offensive to the highly educated, respectable and privileged community. They tolerated these indignities heaped on them as long as the strong hand of Aśoka was guiding the empire. . . They began to cast their eyes for a military man to fight for them, and they found such a man in Pushya-mitra, the commander-in-chief of the Maurya Empire. . . He was a Brahmanist to the core and hated the Buddhists.”²

In short, there is no difficulty about the identification of Bahapatimitra with Pushyamitra Sunga, and moreover no historical fallacy is committed by such an identification.³ Everything fully agrees with the contemporary historical personages and well suits the events of the time.

¹ *J R A S*, 1918, p. 545

² Sastri (Haraprasad), *J P A S B*, 1910, pp. 259-260

³ It may be noted here that such alternative names are common in Indian history—*c* Bumbisāra—Śrenika, Ajātasatru—Kūmya, Aśoka—Piyadasi, Candragupta—Narendra, Bahamitra—Agnimitra, Bhānumitra—Vasumitra, etc.

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That Pushyamitra was a Brahman and Khāravela a Jaina is a point which adds to the importance of the latter's reign from the viewpoint of Jaina history. If Khāravela had not been there to safeguard the Jaina faith against the Brahmanical crusades of Pushyamitra the revolution of Mahāvira would have suffered the same fate as that of Buddha at the hands of one who was known to fame as the "annihilator of Buddha's doctrines"¹

According to what we have said before, Khāravela attacked Magadha twice during his rule. In his first attack he advanced within a few miles of Pataliputra. Pushyamitra made a strategic withdrawal to Mathura, and Khāravela apparently considered it wise at the moment not to proceed farther than the Barābar Hill (Gorathagiri).

In his second attack Khāravela was more successful. Entering Northern India and marching at the foot of the Himalayas he suddenly appeared before the capital of Magadha, on the north side of the Ganges, which he crossed with the help of the famous elephants of Kalinga.² Pushyamitra was forced to submit, and the treasures of his capital were seized by the victor. Among them was an image of the Jina of Kalinga which at one time had been carried away by King Nanda of Magadha. His temporary success affected only the eastern frontier of the Sunga kingdom. He may have conquered Bengal and Eastern Behar, where numerous instances of Jaina influence still survive.³

Mr Jayaswal, in connection with this victory of Khāravela, says: "Pushyamitra seems to have avoided staking his throne on the issue of a battle by returning those objects which epitomised the Magadha-Kalinga history of the past three centuries. Most likely it was the power of the Magadha sovereign which rendered the object of the campaign little more than a diplomatic victory, for otherwise it was too tempting for any human being to let go the imperial throne of India without ascending it."⁴

That Khāravela could not actually usurp the throne of Pushyamitra is clear from the text of the inscription. It is no use stretching the imagination so far as that. What really took place is that, as with Satakarni, here also Khāravela seems to have been forced to remain satisfied with what little moral supremacy he could establish over his neighbours, because after the murder of Bhadratha,

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, pp 433-434

² Mazumdar, *op cit* p 633

³ Smith, *op cit*, p 209.

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, p 447.

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the last Maurya, the political atmosphere of the time was surging with conflicts between Powers eager to share in the spoils of the Mauryan Empire. It was a struggle for supremacy among those Powers which arose on the ruins of the great empire. In this struggle for supremacy it may safely be said that Khāravela played a prominent part and fully acquitted himself wherever he laid his hands.

Coming to the second point, about the antiquity of Jainism in Kalinga, we find that the only clue we get from this inscription is about the image of the Jina of Kalinga. As we have said before, it is clear from the phraseology used here that this must be an image worshipped at Kalinga, or at the Kalingan capital. Now, as the inscription tells us, this image was carried away by King Nanda, which might have been from Kalinga to Magadha. We have seen that this King Nanda is Nanda I of the Jamas and not Nandivardhana, as Smith has taken it, in accordance with Jayaswal and others.¹ If all these factors are taken as historically sound, there is no exaggeration in stating that, long before Buddhism managed to secure a foothold in Kalinga, Jainism had its sway, and was popular with the people of the place.

In short, at the time of the conquest of Kalinga by Nanda I Jainism appears to have been the prevailing religion. Substantiating this statement Mr Jayaswal says: "Jainism had already entered Orissa as early as the time of King Nanda, who, as I have shown, was Nanda Vardhana of the Saisunāga dynasty. . . . Before the time of Khāravela there were temples of the Arhats on the Udayagiri Hills, as they are mentioned in the inscription as institutions which had been in existence before Khāravela's time. It seems that Jainism had been the national religion of Orissa for some centuries."²

This is also corroborated by a Jaina tradition which regards Orissa as a Kshatriya centre as early as the sixth century B.C. It tells us that in Orissa a Kshatriya friend of the father of Mahāvira was ruling and that Mahāvira went there.³

¹ "The Nanda Rāja referred to appears to be Nandivardham, the ninth Śaśunāga king of the *Purāṇas*. It seems to be necessary to treat him and his successor, Mahānandin, No. 10, as Nandas, distinct from the nine Nandas who come between No. 10 and Candragupta. In the third edition of my *Early History of India* (1914) I placed the accession of Nandivardhana about 418 B.C. He must now go back to c. 470 B.C. or possibly to an earlier date."—Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, p. 547

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, p. 448

³ ततो भगवः मोक्षं गच्छी, तत्र सुनागो नाम रक्षोः पिपित्तो भगवत्तो सो मोक्षः, ततो सानो मोक्षं गच्छी —*Āvāṅkya-Sūtra*, pp. 219-220

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The learned author of *Orissa and her Remains* says about it that "Jainism was so deeply rooted in that we find traces of it as late as the 16th century A.D. Pratāp Rudra Deva,¹ the king of Orissa of the *Sūrya Vamśa* dynasty, had a great leaning towards Jainism."²

Before we pass on to the next line we may merely note that there are good grounds to infer from the inscription that image-worship was prevalent among the Jainas so early as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The question of image-worship we shall deal with in detail in the latter part of this thesis.

In taking note of this incident in the inscription Mr Jayaswal makes three important inferences, which are as follows:—(1) that Nanda was a Jaina, and (2) that Jainism was introduced in Orissa very early, probably just after Mahāvīra or in his time (the Jaina tradition mentions his visit to Orissa and line 14th of the inscription implies that Kumāri Hill (Udayagiri) was the place where religion had been preached and promulgated). It also proves (3) that to have Jaina images about or rather before 450 B.C. means that the date of Mahāvīra-Nirvāna must be what we get from the various Jaina chronological data read with the *Purāṇic* and Pāli materials which all harmonise in fixing it to be 545 B.C. (*J.B.O.R.S.*, i, 99-105).³ All the three inferences have been mostly dealt with by us.

We now take the following line. This has also a political event to note—namely, the year of his great victory was marked with the pouring in of riches from the extreme south. In the beginning it tells us that Khāravela built excellent towers with carved interiors, and that "he the capable one" caused to be brought into Kalinga wonderful and marvellous elephant-ships⁴ with choice horses, rubies and numerous jewel pearls from the king of the Pāṇḍya country (in the extreme south opposite Ceylon).⁵

There is no mention here of an invasion over the Pāṇḍya country by the Kalinga Emperor. Perhaps looking to the greatness

¹ "Pratāp Rudra Deva, one of the Gajapati kings who ruled from A.D. 1503, renounced the Jaina doctrines"—Long, *J.A.S.B.*, xxviii, Nos. I to IV and V, 1850, p. 189

² Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ *J.B.O.R.S.*, xiii, pp. 245, 246

⁴ The Ceylonese constructed ships expressly for the export of their elephants. It seems these were of the class of the "elephant-ship" of the inscription.

⁵ तु नदर-लिखिल-वरानि सिद्धिनि नोदयति . . . पैडराजा चेदानीं खनेकानि मुत्तमखिरत्नानि —*J.B.O.R.S.*, iv, p. 401, and xiii, p. 233

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of Khāravela and his supremacy over the Āndhras and the Sungas all these trophies may be in the form of a tribute from the Pāndyas. As we shall see just now, besides this account of Khāravela's military prowess the inscription records the pious deeds of the king. It affords good grounds for the belief that the king and his family had a leaning towards Jainism, and his successors also were apparently adherents of that religion.¹

From line fourteen to the end of the inscription we find that King Khāravela was not a Jaina only in name, but one who had given it a proper place in the daily routine of his life. It is apparent from what is mentioned there that during the thirteenth year of his reign, having satisfied himself with the extension of his empire, he devotes his energies to religious acts. He spends large sums of money on the pious sites of the Kumāri Hill,² and incises the inscription full of glory. The State maintenances to be given on completion of the vow were ordered by him to be given to the Yāpa professors who had ended their course of births³ by austerities at the depository of the remains of the body on the sacred Kumāri Hill, where "the wheel of the Conqueror"⁴ was fully established. It says further that Khāravela having finished the layman's vows realised or experienced the beauty of (*i.e.* the distinction between) "soul" (*Jīva*) and "matter" (*Deha*).⁵

What better proof than this is required of Khāravela's firm and rigid devotion to his faith? His gifts to Yāpa professors and others who observed certain vows, and his love for the study of the technical importance of *Jīva* and *Deha* in the Jaina philosophy, show very clearly that he was not a blind Jaina. He first tried to understand in detail the chief characteristics of his faith, and thus having realised the greatness of the religion of his birth he was always ready to help and encourage those who had become *Sādhus*, or who were out to live or die for the divine message of Lord Mahāvīra.

There are some references in the line which throw great light on certain practices of the Jainas of bygone days, and

¹ B D G P, p. 24

² It was sacred as the place where Jainism was preached (line 14)

³ The perfect ideal Jaina ascetics, who are believed to have freed themselves by means of austerities. This is much idealised in Jaina philosophy

⁴ This suggests that amongst the Jainas also *Cakra* symbolised the spread of conquest of religion. This is confirmed by the representation of the wheel found at the Jain *Stūpa* of Mathura

⁵ तेरस्मे च वसे सुपवत-विनय-चक कुमारीपयते अरहिते यय-रवोग-संनितेति काय . नीर-देह-सिरिका परिविता—J.B.O.R.S., v, pp. 401, 402, and viii, p. 233

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about a class which no more exists. The class of the *Yāpa* professors mentioned seems to be one of the Jaina priesthood of those days. As laid down by Indrabhūti in his *Nītisāra* it formed one of those heterodox *Samghas* into which the Digambaras of the south were divided :

गोपुच्छकः श्वेतवासा द्वाविडो यापनीयकः ।

निःषिद्धकश्चेति पञ्चैते जैनाभासाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ¹

It is strange to find the *Yāpanīyas* included in this list, because in the inscription of the Calukya king, Ammarāja II, they are described as part of the "pure and worthy *Nanda-gaccha*," and their *Samgha* is addressed as "the holy *Yāpanīya-samgha*."² Furthermore, according to one of the inscriptions at Śravana Belgola this *Nandī-samgha* was considered as orthodox by Arhadbali. In his opinion it was an "eye to the world."³ He did not mind any difference being made "in the case of all heterodox *Samghas* such as the *Sitāmbara* and others, which are of a form contrary to rule"; but anyone who thought such a thing "in the case of the *Sena*, *Nandī*, *Deva* and *Simha Samghas*" was branded by him as "a heretic."⁴

Speaking on this Mr Jayaswal states. "The *Bhadrabāhu-carita* in giving the history of Jainism immediately after the teacher Bhadrabāhu, a contemporary of Candragupta, says that amongst the disciples of Bhadrabāhu who worshipped the bones of their master a school called *Yāpana-samgha* arose, and that they finally decided to remain without clothes. The *Yāpana-samgha* flourished in the south, as they prominently appear in Carnatic inscriptions. They are extinct now. Muni Jinavijaya is of opinion that some tenets of theirs bore affinity to the Digambara school and some to the *Svetāmbara*. In view of this opinion the *Yāpana* school marked the stage before the great schism. Our inscription shows that *Yāpa*, which gave the name to the school, consisted of certain pious practices. If we take it in the sense in which it is used in *Canaka*—'mitigating pain'—or as in the *Mahābhārata*—'supporting life'—the *Yāpa* teachers emphasised the duty of alleviating the physical misery of others."⁵

Moreover, the inscription tells us that these *Yāpa* professors

¹ Premā, *Vīḍvadratanamālā*, 1, p. 132

² Hultzsch, *E I*, 18, p. 55, v. 18, L. 50

³ *EC*, 11, *S.B.*, 254

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ *J.B.O.R.S.*, iv, p. 389.

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were at the *Kāyya Nishīdi* or the Kumārī Hill. That this *Nishīdi* was a *Nishīdi* of the *Arhat* is proved by the next line. *Nishīdi* or *Nishidhi* seems to have been employed in Jaina literature as figuratively denoting ornamental tombs of their saints, but meaning thereby resting-places.¹

Writing on this Dr Fleet says: "As regards the word *Nishidhi*—which also occurs as *Nisidhi*, *Nishidhi* and *Nishidige*—Mr K. B Pathak tells me that it is still used by the older members of the Jaina community, and that it means 'a tomb erected over the remains of a Jaina ascetic.' And he has given me the following passage from the *Upasargakevaligala Kathe* in which it occurs

"*Rshi—Samudāyam=ellam dakshināpathadim bāndu bhattārara nishidiyan=eydid—āgal*, etc. :

"The whole assemblage of the saints having come by the region of the south, and having arrived at the *Nishidhi* of the venerable one, etc." ²

The *Nishidhi* at the Kumārī Hill, where the inscription is engraved, seems to be not an ornamental tomb but a real *Stūpa*, for it is qualified by *Kāyya*, "corporeal" (*i.e.* "having remains of the body"). Taking the inscription into consideration Mr Jayaswal observes. "Thus it seems that the Jainas called their *Stūpas* or *Cartyas*, *Nishidis*. The Jaina *Stūpa* discovered at Mathura and the datum of *Bhadrabāhu-carita* saying that the disciples of Bhadrabāhu worshipped the bones of their master establish the fact that the Jainas (at any rate the Digambaras) observed the practices of erecting monuments on the remains of their teachers."³ By the by, it may be mentioned here that this was a custom confined not only to the Jainas or the Bauddhas, but to erect monuments—*Cartyas*—in memory of teachers had been a national custom.

As laid down before, line fifteen also places before us Khāravēla in the robes of a devout Jaina. It talks of some act being done by Khāravēla for ascetics and recluse philosophers, but as some words are missing in the beginning of the line it is not possible to know actually what that act must have been. Anyhow it is clearly put down that the act was meant for "accomplished *Sramanas*, for those of good deeds, for the wise ones from a hundred directions, and for the leaders of *Samghas*."⁴

¹ *EJ*, II, p 274

² *IA*, XII, p. 99

³ *J.B.O.E.S.*, IV, p 389

⁴ सुकृति सम्य-सुविहितान् च सत-दिसान्

नपसि—*Ibid*, IV, p 402, and XII, p 284

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It further tells us that near the Depository of the Relics of the Arhat, on the slope of the mountain, King Khāravēla establishes the "*sim-hapura* (= *prastha*)"¹ palace for his Queen Sindhudā, with stones from excellent mines brought over from many miles, and with pillars with bells attached, like the beautiful mediæval pillars of this description standing in Nepal, and inlaid with beryls at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand *Paṇas* (the then rupees).²

Mr Jayaswal identified this place with the grand rock-cut buildings known as the "*Rāni-Naur*" or "queen's palace."³ It is close to the Hāṭhūgūphā, on the slope of the hill, and it may be noted that it has got "*Lions*" (*Simha*) in the round, prominently placed. Thus the reliquary—monument—the *Arhat's Nishīda*—must have been, according to the inscription, near the queen's shelters.

As seen before, the latter part of the sixteenth line is the most important portion of the inscription from the point of view of the controversy that has been going on for the last few decades. From the point of information about Khāravēla and his relation with the Jaina history it has hardly anything particular to say. With the previous line it fully confirms the fact that Khāravēla was a great Jaina. It clearly states the profound interest he had in Jaina scriptures and their well-being, for we find in the line that :

"The fourfold *Anga-Saptika* of 64 sections, lost in the time of the Maurya king, he restores."⁴

As we have seen before, the interpretation of Dr Fleet is now more or less the same, and it is as follows : "The whole passage does not present any date, but tells us that Khāravēla restored some text and the 64th chapter or other division of the collection of the seven *Angas* which had been neglected since (?) the time of the Maurya kings or king."⁵

Here we are reminded of the great famine in Magadha, which lasted for twelve years, and which has been referred to in the previous chapter. As we have seen, this resulted in the abduction and flight of Candragupta with his *Guru* Bhadrabāhu and other emigrants to the south, and finally was followed by the council of Pāṭaliputra⁶ under the great pontiff Śtūlābhadrā, who was one

¹ Cf. Ariyaratne (K.), *op cit*, pp 75, 76

² Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, iv, p 402, and xiii, pp 284, 235.

³ *Ibid*, xiii, p 235.

⁴ *Ibid*, p 236

⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp 826-827

⁶ The modern Patna, a place historic in the annals of their order, and at that time the capital of the Mauryan Empire

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of those who had preferred to cling at any risk to the hallowed scenes at home. Our text thus serves as a good confirmation of the tradition about the controversy or the loss of certain Jaina texts in the time of Candragupta; and Kalinga, being more or less under the influence of Bhadrabāhu and his colleagues in the south, evidently did not accept the restoration of the council which met in Magadha.¹

The last line of the inscription—namely, the seventeenth—is also to be read with a portion of the previous line, and it characterises in short the chief attributes of Khāravela, and puts down in a few words the extent of his power. There may be certain exaggerations, especially in this part of the inscription, and it is natural, but since there is nothing else before us to make a comparative study of Khāravela we shall remain satisfied with a literal translation of the line, which runs as follows.

“He is the King of Prosperity (*Kshema*), the King of Extension (of the Empire) (or, a ‘King to the old people’), a King to the *Bhikshus* (or, though king yet a *Bhikshu*), the King of *Dharma* who has been seeing to, listening to and experiencing welfare (*Kalyānas*). . . .

“King Khāravela-Sri, the great conqueror, descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, one whose empire has been extended, with an empire which is kept protected by the leader of the empire (or army), one whose chariots and army have not been obstructed, one who is the restorer of every temple, one who respects every sect, one who is an expert by virtue of special qualities . . .”²

Here ends the autobiography of *Bhikshurāja* Khāravela, the great Emperor of Kalinga and one of the greatest royal patrons of the Jaina faith. The invocation of the *Arhats* and *Siddhas* in the first line, the building of temples and caves for the Jaina *Sramanas*, the gifts of lands and other accessories to the *Yāpa* professors, and last but not least the restoration of the image of the Jina of Kalinga carried away by King Nanda prove beyond doubt that Khāravela was a Jaina. He came to the throne about 183 B.C., at the age of twenty-four. At the time of his first invasion of Magadha he was only thirty-two, and at the time of the second he was

¹ This council fixed the canon of the Jaina sacred literature, consisting of eleven *Angas* and fourteen *Pīrvas*

² खेमराजा स वदराजा क्षत्रभवंतो कलाम्यानि सव-पासद-पूतको . सारवेलेसिदि.
—J B O R S, II, p. 403, and XIII, p. 236

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thirty-six. According to Mr Jayaswal he was probably dead before 152 B.C.¹

He is that imperial king about whose dynasty we know hardly anything, and about whose career there is absolutely no historical source but this long inscription, which also, as usual, could not escape the ravages of time. With all this it may be justly stated that it will not be surprising if on some happy day a scholar were to come across a better and more comprehensive document about this *Dharmarāja*, "the illustrious descendant of the dynasty of royal sages." It is really strange, nay unbelievable, that the Jains have got nothing to say about one whose contribution to Jaina history is second to none.

About the extent of Khāravēla's rule and of the fresh conquests then made by him after his succession we have not a single contemporary record, historical or otherwise, on which we can lay our hands. It is just like a voice from the other world telling us that in days gone by there was some great Kalinga Emperor Khāravēla, and that you must take him as such and place him as one of the contemporary historical luminaries on the sole basis of these seventeen lines commemorating his memory on the Hāthigumphā inscription.

The inscription tells us that our hero subdued the great Suṅga king, Pushyamitra, in the north; that the great Indo-Greek king, Demetrios, retreated and left Mathura just on hearing of his victories against the Suṅgas; that he subdued the great Śātakarni and his feudatories in the south, and that with all these military triumphs his fame spread so far that even the Pāṇḍya king in the remote south sent him complimentary gifts.

With no other document at our disposal the questions as to how much to believe and with what limitations to interpret the facts laid down by the inscription present a great difficulty. This becomes extremely intricate when such military expeditions, as is abundantly proved by inscriptions, form part of the ordinary routine in a state of society in which war had become a profession and the soldier was an hereditary member of a professional caste, and in which desire to extend one's rule was, according to the law books, one of the chief qualifications of kingship.² This characteristic feature of the life of ancient and mediæval India is well marked

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, xiii, p. 243

² *Mānu*, ix, 251, x, 119, etc

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in the eulogies of kings, which fill so large a proportion of the inscriptions that have come down to our time, and with whatsoever broadmindedness we may look at them we have to confess that these works are only the output of grateful beneficiaries or court poets, whose object was rather to glorify their royal patron than to hand down to posterity an accurate account of his reign. It is clear that successes are evidently exaggerated, while reverses are passed over in complete silence. The statements of the inscriptions are very frequently those of prejudiced witnesses, and they must be weighed as such if we are to estimate rightly the value of these few scattered fragments of historical evidence which time has preserved. The achievements of Khāravela loom large in the Hāthigumphā inscription, and in the words of Sir Ashutosh Mookerji "Stone has again yielded a complete record, full of faithful details, of the Emperor Khāravela of Orissa, whose name had disappeared from the annals of our country and passed into complete oblivion, though there was hardly a great town in India in the 2nd century before the Christian era which did not tremble at the sight, if not at the very name, of his mighty legions."¹

Anyhow there is no doubt that Khāravela was a prominent figure in his day, and that morally he had reached a height where he was secure, and where he was standing on no slippery ground. In short, he was a great man in his time, who gave ample proofs of his greatness when he was called upon by Providence to guide the destinies of a great people at a critical and unsettled period in Indian history.

¹ *J.B.O.R.S.*, v, p 8

CHAPTER V

Mathura Inscriptions

THE Jaina inscriptions in Mathura form the beginning of the next landmark in the history of Jainism in North India, the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela terminating the former period. The recorded period between the two—*i.e.* c. 150 B.C. to c. 16 B.C.—need not be taken as blank, because after the great Jaina king of Kalinga we have Vikramāditya of Ujjain, a greater ruler perhaps than the *Kalingādhipati*, who is claimed by the Jainas as a royal patron of their own church. We shall, after a brief survey of the epigraphic evidence found there, see that, simultaneously with Kalinga and Malwa, Mathura had become the home of the Jaina community in the north.

We have referred to this Vikrama and his era—which begins in or about 57 or 56 B.C.—in connection with the *Nirvāṇa* date of Mahāvīra. The Jainistic recension of the *Vikramacarita* tells us that “Vikrama in his pious exaltation, after listening to the instruction of the Jaina teacher Siddhasena Divākara, freed the whole earth from debt, and (in so doing) effected a change (literally, a turning-point) in the era of Vardhamāna.”¹ It is he who handed down to later India its first persistent era, which is still the common era of North India. To quote Edgerton: “Such has been the belief of the Hindus, not only Jainas but others, for many centuries”² This great Avanti lord, whose glorious days and superhuman virtues are so extensively praised in both Jainistic and Brahmanistic literature, used to call himself Vikramāditya, etymologically meaning “like the sun in his prowess.” This title seems to have appealed powerfully to the fancy of many a king who succeeded, since many indeed are the kings who have assumed it of their own accord, with no connection of lineage whatever. This shows that the first Vikramāditya must have been a very great king, because otherwise the title would not have been so very enviable.

It is this Vikramāditya who is considered to be a Jaina by the

¹ Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, pt 1, Int, p lvi. Cf. Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp 11 ff., *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, Sarga XIV, v 103, p 808

² Edgerton, *op cit*, Int, p lx

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traditional literature of the Jainas Referring to his predecessor, Gardabhilla, they tell us that their great Jama saint, Kāḥkacārya, being insulted by him by the abduction of his sister, who had joined the order with him, approached one of the Scythian kings and with his help successfully wreaked his vengeance.¹ To quote Dr Charpentier. "This legend is perhaps not totally devoid of all historical interest. For it records how the Jama Kālaka, having been insulted by King Gardabhilla of Ujjain, who, according to various traditions, was the father of the famous Vikramāditya, went in his desire for revenge to the land of the Śakas, whose king was styled 'King of Kings' (*Sāhānusāha*).² This title, in its Greek and Indian forms, was certainly borne by the Saka kings of the Punjab, Maues and his successors, who belong to this period; and as it actually appears in the form *Shaonano Shao* on the coins of their successors, the Kushāna monarchs, we are perhaps justified in concluding that the legend is to some extent historical in character. However this may be, the story goes on to tell us that Kālaka persuaded a number of Saka Satraps to invade Ujjain and overthrow the dynasty of Gardabhilla; but that some years afterwards his son, the glorious Vikramāditya, repelled the invaders and re-established the throne of his ancestors.³ What the historical foundation of this legend may be is wholly uncertain; perhaps it contains faint recollections of the Scythian dominion in Western India during the first century B.C. In any case, it seems undoubtedly to give further proof of the connection of the Jainas with Ujjain—a fact indicated also by their use of the Vikrama era, which was established in the country of Mālwa, of which Ujjain was the capital."⁴

In connection with Saint Kālaka of the Jainas it may be mentioned here that he went to King Sātayāna of Pratiśthānapura in the Deccan. During the *Paryushana*—the sacred festival at the close of the Jama year—the king, being engaged in the observance

¹ *Kāḥkacārya-kathā*, vv 9-40, pp 1-4 Cf Konow, *EI*, xiv, p 293 "Kālakaśin, the uprooter of Gardabhilla, lived 453 v"—Klatt, *IA*, xi, p 251 Cf *ibid*, p 217; Charpentier, *C.H.I.*, i, p 168, Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 75, *M.A.B.*, 1923, p 11.

² पशुक्रुतः सूरिवरैः स साहिः—*Kāḥkacārya-kathā*, v 26, p 2, साहानसाहिः सच भद्रसेनस्य—*ibid*, v 27, p 3 Cf "the Jama work, *Kāḥkacārya-kathāna*, states that their kings were called *Sāha*"—Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 274, Jacobi, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiiv, p 262 Cf Konow, *op cit*, p 293

³ "He (Vikramāditya) saved the nation and Hinduism by signally defeating the Scythians, whose political importance and outlandish manners had appalled the Indians"—Mazumdar, *op cit*, p 63 Cf *ibid*, p 638 "Vikramāditya ousted the Śakas and became king, whereafter he established his own era"—Konow, *op* and *loc cit*

⁴ Charpentier, *op* and *loc cit*

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of the festival of Indra, found it difficult to come on the fifth of *Bhādrapada*, and accordingly the great *Guru* is said to have changed his appointment to a day earlier—viz. the fourth of *Bhādrapada*. Since then the whole Jaina community have begun the fast on the fourth, though very late in history with the rise of certain *Gacchas* the fourth was replaced by the fifth of the same month.¹ This event, if it is true, is significant from two points of view—the first, that it refers to the Śvetāmbara contact with the south, and secondly, because it alludes to a Jaina prince in the Deccan who was important enough to be so much respected by a great saint like Kālakācārya, and who had a share in fixing the date of an important festival of the Jainas like *Pajjusana*.²

Coming to Vikramāditya, the successor of Gardabhulla, Jaina sources tell us that Siddhasena Divākara, one of the most prominent stars of the history of Jaina literature, lived about this time at the king's court, and they also credit him with the conversion of the great Vikrama,³ and according to Mrs Stevenson of Devapāla, "king of Kumārapura" as well.⁴ Two other events are likewise supposed to have happened about this time—the defeat of the Buddhists in a great argument by a famous Jaina controversialist, an ascetic called Ārya Khaputa, who lived in Broach⁵; and the foundation of Pālitānā, where Śatruñjaya, the holiest of the Jaina *Tīrthas*, is situated.⁶

The *Kharataragaccha Pattāvah* tells us that Vajrasvāmī, (496-584 v.), the sixteenth on the list, extended the Jaina religion southward in the kingdom of the Bauddhas.⁷ The second event,

¹ तद्विषयं क्रियतां नृपेण, विज्ञप्तमेवं गुरुणा नुमेने—*Kālakācārya-kathā*, v 54, p 5 Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 76. Thus, as Klatt tells us, is supported by the *Pattāvah* of the *Tapagaccha* (*I.A.*, xi, p 251), on the other hand, the *Kharataragaccha Pattāvah* informs us that the Kālaka, who transferred the *Paryushanāparvan*, lived in 998 v., and that there were two more of the same name prior to him, one of whom lived in 458 v. and was connected with Gardabhulla—*I.A.*, xi, p 247.

² That the King Sātavāna was a devout Jaina is clear from the *Kālakācārya-kathā* (vv 50-54, pp 4-5), but it is not known who he was. Pratihānapura is known to us as the western capital of the Sātavāhanas. Jaina tradition claims Hala of this dynasty as belonging to its own religion. Cf Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p 53, Jhaveri, *Nirodha-Kalka*, Int, p xi.

³ "He (Siddhasena Divākara) converted Vikramāditya 470 years after Mahāvīra's Nirodha"—Klatt, *op cit*, p 247. Cf *ibid*, p 251, Edgerton, *op cit*, pp 251 ff, Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 77; Tawney, *op. cit*, pp 116 ff, *M.A.R.*, 1923, p 10.

⁴ Cf Stevenson (Mrs), *op and loc cit*.

⁵ विद्यासिद्धाचार्यस्य पुत्रा आचार्योः, भृगुकच्छे बुद्धो निर्गतः, पादयोः पतितः—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, pp 411-412. Cf Jhaveri, *op and loc cit*.

⁶ Cf *ibid*, Int, p xix, Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, pp 77-78.

⁷ Cf Klatt, *op cit*, p 247, Hemacandra, *Parīśiṣṭapariyan*, Canto XII, vv. 311, 388, *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 295.

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about the founding of Pālitānā, seems to refer to Pādālīptācārya, who is reported to have been a contemporary of the great Vikrama.¹ According to the Jainas he was gifted with a power of flying through the air.² In a note to this Mrs Stevenson observes: "Śatruñjaya, the Jainas say, was built by a monk who had the power of rising through the air, and by a disciple of his who had the power of creating gold. This fortunate conjunction of talents has resulted in one of the loveliest temple cities in the world."³ In connection with this Tīrtha the *Kharatara Pattāvali* tells us that it was demolished in 570 v, and restored by Jāvada, whose father, Bhāvada, was a contemporary of Vikrama.⁴ According to the Jaina tradition both the king and Jāvada are said to have gone on pilgrimage to Pālitānā, and both of them spent a lot for the upkeep of the Tīrtha during their stay there.⁵

In connection with Pādālīpta also it may be mentioned here that he too, like Kālaka, is connected with the Svetāmbara contact with the south. It appears from the *Samyaktva-Saptati* of Haribhadrāsūri that the great Ācārya went to Mānyakheta,⁶ and that in all these places there existed Jaina Samghas "noted for their good qualities."⁷ Thus from the traditions connected with Kālaka and Pādālīpta it seems certain that about the first century B.C. Svetāmbara Jainas must have predominated in the Deccan. King Śālivāhana of Pratiśthānapura, in the *Samyaktva-Saptati*, describes Pādālīpta as having put an end "to all bad religious systems." From this it becomes clear that Śālivāhana too must have been of the same religion as Pādālīpta—i.e. Svetāmbara.⁸

¹ Klatt, *op cit.*, pp 247, 251 "Pālitā-Sūri (Pādālīpta) is definitely connected with the foundation of the Pālitānā City"—Jhaveri, *op. and loc cit*

² "Pādālīpta had acquired the flying-lore by applying medical ingredients to feet, and daily performed pilgrimage of the five sacred places including Śatruñjaya (Pālitānā) and Gīrnār or Revantagrī"—*Ibid*, Int, p xi Cf. Tawney, *op cit*, p 195

³ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 78, n 1 "Nāgārjuna . . the pupil of Pādālīptasūri . . was trying to acquire 'Suvarṇa Siddhi' (power to make gold) . ." etc.—Jhaveri, *op cit*, Int, p xii

⁴ "Jāvada, a merchant of Saurāshtra (Kathawar), sent a fleet to China and the Eastern Archipelago, which returned after twelve years with a burthen of gold. The father of Jāvada lived in the time of Vikrama . ."—Mazumdar, *op cit*, p 65 Cf. Śatruñjaya Māhātmya, *Sarga XIV*, vv 104, 192 ff, pp 808, 816 ff, Jhaveri, *op cit*, Int, p xix

⁵ Cf. Śatruñjaya Māhātmya, *Sarga XIV*, v 280, p 824

⁶ Mānyakheta or Mānyakhsetra is to be identified with Malkhed, in the Nizam's territory—Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p 126 Thus Malkhed or Mānyakheta, which Pādālīpta visited, became famous in the succeeding centuries as the capital of the Rāshtrakūtas, who counted among them not a few patrons and followers of the Jaina religion

⁷ *Samyaktva-Saptati*, vv 96, 97 See *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp 10-11 "For the greater part of his life Pādālīpta resided at Manakhetapura"—Jhaveri, *op cit* Int, p x

⁸ *Samyaktva-Saptati*, v 158 Cf. *M.A.R.*, 1923, p 11, Jhaveri, *op cit*, Int, p xi

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Taking stock of all these facts connected with Vikrama and his period it must be said that they are based mostly on the long list of teachers, "often more or less apocryphal, which have been preserved by the modern subdivisions of the Jaina community,"¹ and on the literature of the period in no way connected with the one under our consideration. What is to be discovered is whether these circumstances can warrant the conclusion that Jaina traditions are without any foundation, and that Vikrama, the most noted of the quasi-historical heroes of mediæval India, is a purely legendary monarch.

A thorough examination, as far as possible, of the various theories propounded in regard to this by different scholars has been made by Edgerton in his Introduction to his *Vikrama's Adventures*.² Without repeating the arguments put forth by the learned scholar in their refutations suffice it to say that, leaving aside Vikramāditya, nothing can be stated with absolute certainty about many other personages in ancient India whose historicity is unquestioned either on epigraphic or numismatic evidence. There is no reason why the reality of this "Hindu King Arthur"—a model for real kings to follow—should be doubted when it is based on "both Jainistic and Brahmanistic literature." To quote Edgerton: "It seems that the *Pattāvahs*, or lists of Jaina pontiffs, have the look of being in the main as reliable, certainly, as any other native literary source of Indian history (which, to be sure, may not be saying very much). . . . I am not aware that there is any definite and positive reason for rejecting the Jainistic chronicles completely, and for saying categorically that there was no such king as Vikrama living in 57 B.C. Do we know enough about the history of that century to be able to deny that a local king of Malava, bearing one of the names by which Vikrama goes, may have won for himself a somewhat extensive dominion in Central India (for we do not of course need to swallow whole the characteristic Hindu exaggerations which could make him a universal Emperor)?"³

Besides Edgerton there are other scholars, like Buhler and Tawney, who also defend the historicity of the Jainistic chronicles. "In particular," observes Dr. Buhler, "must it be admitted that the persons introduced in the older, as well in the more recent narratives are really historical characters. Although it is frequently

¹ Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

² Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Int., pp. lvi ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. lvi.

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the case that an individual is introduced at a period earlier or later than that to which he really belonged or that the most absurd stories are told with regard to him, yet there is no case forthcoming in which we could affirm with certainty that a man named by these chroniclers is a pure figment of the imagination. On the contrary, every freshly discovered inscription, every collection of old manuscripts, and every really historic work that is brought to light, furnishes confirmation of the actual existence of one or other of the characters described by them. In the same way all exact dates given by them deserve the most careful attention. When they are found to agree in two works of this class that are independent of one another they may, without hesitation, be accepted as historically correct"¹

Dr Sten Konow goes a little further, and clearly indicates that scholars are becoming less disdainful of the Indian traditions about Vikrama. He rightly welcomes the story of the great saint *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*, and how he was insulted and so on. To quote the eminent scholar "I know that most European scholars, though many of them speak with respect about Indian tradition, do not usually take any notice of it, but I am unable to see why. And with regard to the narrative *Kālakācārya-kathānaka* I see no reason whatever why we should disbelieve it. I have shown elsewhere that there are good reasons for assuming the existence of the Malava King Vikramāditya at an early date," etc.²

Thus on the authority of scholars like Charpentier, Edgerton, Buhler, Tawney and Sten Konow we come to this conclusion—that the traditional literature of the Jains can rightly claim to be considered historical, and that the reality of Vikrama and his era need not be denied. Such seems to have been the latest opinion of Vincent Smith also, for he observes. "It is possible that such a *Rājā* may have existed."³ Moreover, as seen before, the kingdom of Avantī or Malava was a centre of Jainism even in the days of Mahāvira. During the times of the Mauryas it came more and more to the forefront, and finally at the end of their rule the Jains, gradually losing their position in the kingdom of Magadha, had begun their migration towards the western part of India, where they settled, and where they have retained their settlement even

¹ Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, p. 6 Cf. Tawney, *op. cit.*, Int., pp. vi-vii, *ibid.*, pp. vi ff

² Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 294

³ Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 131

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to the present day¹ No doubt Kalinga has its own contribution to make to the history of North Indian Jainism, but the general tendency was towards the west. Another locality in which the Jainas appear to have been firmly established, from the middle of the second century B.C. onwards, was Mathura. Since the days of Candragupta, and after him Samprati and Khāravela, the Jaina spread seems to have been uncommonly vigorous. Leaving aside the sentiments and the religious outlook of these great kings, an uncommonly vigorous spread of the Jainas is evident from the great number of *Kulas* and *Sākhās* which we find in the Jaina *Samgha* from the Mathura inscriptions dating more or less from the second century B.C.

The Mathura inscriptions bring us to the Indo-Scythian rule in Northern India. We have seen that Candragupta placed himself at the head of the Indians, who chafed under the Macedonian yoke, and after Alexander's departure defeated his generals and "shook the yoke of servitude from the neck" of India. What happened in India immediately after the departure of Alexander is not clear. "The mists of obscurity cling heavily round the course that events took in India during the years that immediately followed the death of Alexander the Great"² However, this much is certain, that for about a century after his death the strong arms of the Mauryan emperors held India for the Indians against all comers, and treated their Hellenistic neighbours on equal terms.³

After the Mauryas we have seen how the Magadhan monarchy under the Brahmanical Sungas and the Greek power in the north-west were falling before the onslaughts of the Cedis under Khāravela. We have already referred to the feuds of Demetrios and Eucratides, which greatly weakened the power of the Greeks. As regards other Indian enemies of the Bactrian Greeks and onslaughts of the Satavāhanas on the Sungas we do not propose to say anything. For the purposes of a connected history we need say only this much: "that in the second and first centuries B.C. Greek rule in parts of Kafiristan and Gandhāra was supplanted by that of the Sakas."⁴ To quote Rapson: "The political isolation of India was completed by the Scythian conquest of Bactria c. 135 B.C.; and

¹ Cf. Charpentier, *op* and *loc cit*.

² Macdonald, *C.H.I.*, 1, p. 427.

³ Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 233

⁴ Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p. 273

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by the long struggle between Rome and Parthia which began in 53 B.C.”¹ It was also with one of these Saka rulers, known to us by the name Muranda, that the great Pādālipta was closely connected. Muranda is known to us from the traditional literature of the Jainas as the ruler of Pātāliputra, and Pādālipta seems to have gained complete influence at his court.² The great Ācārya is said to have cured the king of the terrible headache he was suffering from. This incident is related by the *Prabhāvaka-Carita* in the following words.

“So quickly as Pādālipta turns his first finger round the knee-joint does the headache of King Muranda come to an end.”³

However the Scythian (Saka) invaders of Bactria were succeeded by the Yuch-chi; and when, in the first century A.D., the predominant tribe of the Yuch-chi, the Kushānas, extended their dominion in Turkestan and Bactria to North-West India, the Kushāna Empire formed a connecting link between China and India, and provided the means of an intercourse which was fruitful in results. As the explorations of recent years have shown, an Indian culture, Indian languages and the Indian alphabets were established in Chinese Turkestan. Particularly, to repeat it once more, according to Mr N. C. Mehta even Jaina subjects came to be painted in the cave-temples of Chinese Turkestan.

With this shadowy background of Indian history in general we shall now refer to the Mathura inscriptions, and examine their importance in connection with the Jaina church. The historical importance of these inscriptions cannot be better summed up than in the following words of Cunningham: “The information derived from these inscriptions is of the greatest value for the ancient history of India. The general purport of all of them is the same—to record the gifts of certain individuals, for the honour of their religion, and for the benefit of themselves and their parents. When the inscriptions are confined to this simple announcement they are of little importance, but as the donors in most of these Mathura records have added the name of the reigning kings, and the *Samvat* date at the time of the gift, they form in fact so many skeleton

¹ Rapson, *CHI*, 1, p. 60

² पादलोपरे राजासि मुखो नाम स हृत्तान्तः करणो नृपः सुरैर्बालस्य पादानां प्रणामेनू रवेरेव
—*Prabhāvaka-Carita*, *Pādālipta-Prabandha*, vv. 44, 61 Cf. *Samyaktva-Saptati*, v. 48, *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 11, Jhaveri, *op cit*, Int., p. x

³ *Prabhāvaka-Carita*, v. 59 Cf. *Samyaktva-Saptati*, v. 62; *M.A.R.*, 1928, *op cit* and *loc cit*

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pages of the lost history.¹ The direct amount of information which they give belongs to an early and very interesting period—just before and after the Christian era—when, as we learn from the Chinese authorities, the Indo-Scythians had conquered the whole of Northern India, although the actual extent of their conquest was quite unknown. Hence the great value of the present inscriptions, from which we learn that the permanent occupation of Mathura had been effected some time before the *Samvat* year 9, when the Indo-Scythian prince Kanishka filled the throne of North-West India and the Punjab.”²

Most of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura are from the mound known as Kankālī Tīla, about half-a-mile due south from the Katrā, which is situated just one mile to the westward of the old fort of Mathura. The Kankālī mound seems to have been a very extensive one; the number of statues of all sizes, from the colossal downwards, which it has yielded has scarcely been surpassed by the prolific returns of Buddhist sculpture from the Jail mound.³ There seems to have been two magnificent temples where the mound rises at present. Most of the inscriptions are incised on pedestals or bases of naked Jinās either seated or standing, and some of which form a quadruple or a four-faced image called *Caturmukha*. Chronologically the earliest inscription, according to Dr Bühler, is the following one :

समनस माहस्वित्तस सन्निवासिस वक्षीपुत्रस सावकास (सावकास) उत्तरदासक[?]स पासादोत्तोरनं ॥

“An ornamental arch for the temple (the gift) of the lay-hearer Utaradāsaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of the Vachī (Vātsī mother and) disciple of the ascetic Māharkhita (Māgharakshita).”⁴

Because of exceedingly archaic characters and other linguistic peculiarities the learned scholar feels that it may be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C.⁵ Next in age come the two inscriptions that are connected with the Satraps of Mathura. Of

¹ The Buddhistical inscriptions at Mathura also are similar to the Jaina inscriptions in their style and contents Cf Dawson, *J.R.A.S.* (New Series), v, p 182

² Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, iii, pp 38-39

³ Cf *ibid.*, p 46 “The Kankālī Tīla has been . . . prolific . . . both in sculptures and inscriptions, all of which . . . are pure Jaina monuments On the upper level stands a large Jaina temple dedicated to Jambhī Svāmī . . . an annual fair is held at this place . . .”—*Ibid.*, p 19 This temple is near the Chaurāsī mounds, which is the seat of another Jaina establishment Cf *ibid.*, xvii, p 112

⁴ Bühler, *E.J.*, ii, Ins No I, pp 198-199

⁵ *Ibid.*, p 195.

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these the first one is complete, while the other merely mentions some *Kshatrapa Mahārāja* whose name begins with "Ma"¹ The former is dated in the year 42 of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Sōdāsa, in the second month of winter, and refers to a votive tablet that was set up by some female Āmohinī.² It is not clear what era is made use of in this inscription.

However, the existence of this Mahākshatrapa Sōdāsa was first made known by Cunningham, who found another inscription in that king's name in the Kankālī Tila.³ On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, the learned archaeologist placed Sōdāsa about 80-57 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rājubula or Rañjubula, another Satrap of Mathura.⁴ This conjecture is also confirmed by the Mathura Lion capital, which mentions Sōdāsa as a Chatrava (Satrap) and as the son of Mahāchatrava Rājūla (Rañjubula).⁵ To quote Professor Rapson: "The Great Satrap Rājūla, whose name appears as Rājuvula in other inscriptions, is unquestionably the Rañjubula who, both as Satrap and as great Satrap, struck coins in imitation of those of Strato I and Strato II, the last of the Yavana kings to reign in the E. Punjab . . ; and he was the father of Sōdāsa, in whose reign as Satrap the monument was erected. Subsequently Sōdāsa himself appears as great Satrap in the Āmohinī votive tablet at Mathura, which is dated in the second month of winter of the year 42"⁶

As to the era of the inscription, opinion is divided⁷, but, looking to the way in which the date is recorded, it seems highly probable that an Indian era must have been used.⁸ If this is granted, as seems likely, it is the era of Vikrama (57 B.C.), and the inscription is dated in 16-15 B.C. Dr Konow also adduces good grounds for believing that Sōdāsa dated his inscription in the Vikrama era.⁹ "So far as I can see," observes the learned scholar,

¹ Cf Buhler, *E I*, II, Ins No. III, p 199

² Cf *ibid*, Ins II, p 199

³ Cf Cunningham, *op cit*, p 30, Ins No I

⁴ Cf *ibid*, pp 40-41 "Rañjubula, Rājuvula or Rājūla is known from inscriptions as well as coins. An inscription of Brāhmī characters at Mora near Mathura calls him Mahākshatrapa. But the Greek legend on some of his coins describes him as 'King of Kings, the Saviour,' showing that he probably declared his independence."—Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 283

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ Rapson, *CHI*, I, p 575

⁷ Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp 283 ff, Smith, *op cit*, p 241, n 1

⁸ Cf Rapson, *op cit*, pp 575-576

⁹ Cf Konow, *E I*, xiv, pp 139-141

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"we have a distinct indication that the dating according to three seasons, each comprising four months, was later on considered as a characteristic feature of the Vikrama era. It is well known that in the oldest inscriptions which give name to this era it is designated as a Malava reckoning. In two of the most ancient instances of its use—in the Mandasor inscription of the time of Naravarman and in the Mandasor inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—the season is expressly mentioned. I think we are forced to the conclusion that Sōdāsa dated his inscription in the Vikrama era, and that the method of dating used in that reckoning was adopted by Kanishka and his successors in such records as were destined for India proper, because it was the national North-Indian way of dating."¹

After these two Satrapa inscriptions follow a few more which have been grouped under the name "Archaic," and which in the opinion of Bühler belong to the period before Kanishka.² Of these the following one needs particular mention.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (of) the Kauśika (family), (wife) of Gotiputra (Guptiputra), a black serpent for the Pothayas and Śakas."³

According to Dr Bühler both Gotiputra and Kośika Śivamitrā were of noble or royal descent, and the expression "Gotiputra, a black serpent for the Pothayas and Śakas," points also to his belonging to the warrior tribe. "The wars to which it alludes," observes the learned scholar, "may have occurred either before the Scythians conquered Mathura—i.e. before the time of Kanishka—or when their domination had passed away. The letters of the inscriptions, which are particularly old-fashioned and may belong to the first century B.C., speak in favour of the first alternative. If the inscription was incised before the Scythian conquest, it also furnishes valuable testimony for the antiquity of the Jaina temple in which it was found."⁴

The next in age to these follows a group consisting of dated inscriptions which explicitly mention Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. There are other dated ones that are taken to belong to their period, although they do not name any of these Kushāna monarchs. "The next group, Nos XI-XXIV," observes Dr Bühler,

¹ Cf. Konow, *E I*, xiv, pp. 139, 141

² Bühler, *E I*, ii, Ins Nos IV-X, p. 196

³ *Ibid.*, Ins No XXIII, p. 396

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 394

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"consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion."¹

These dated Kushāna inscriptions range within the well-known limits from *Samvat* 4 to *Samvat* 98.² It is not possible to exactly lay down whether the mode of reckoning made use of in these inscriptions is the *Samvat* era of the Great Vikrama or some other era. "The chronology of this period has been one of the most perplexing problems in the whole of Indian history; and the problem can scarcely be said to be solved positively even now—that is to say, it has not yet been placed beyond all possibility of doubt."³ There is a lot of difference of opinion about the crucial point of the Kushāna chronology.⁴ All the same, along with several scholars of eminence and repute, we feel that the era made use of in these inscriptions is the one known as the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78.⁵

One of the inscriptions on a Jaina pedestal at Kankālī mound runs as follows :

"*Siddham Mahārājasya Kanishkasya Samvatsara navame . . . Māse prath . . . Dwase 5,*" etc.⁶

No doubt as in the Soḍāsa and other Kushāna inscriptions, and "as characteristic of the old Vikrama-Malava era,"⁷ we find here also the ancient Indian way of dating, with mention of the season, the number of the month within the season, and the day of the month; but this does not mean that the mode of reckoning adopted by the Kushānas under no circumstances can be connected with the Śaka era. On the other hand there is nothing impossible if what is characteristic of the old Vikrama-Malava era were adopted

¹ Bühler, *E I*, II, p. 100

² Cf. *ibid*, Cunningham, *op cit*, p. 14

³ Rapson, *op cit*, p. 583

⁴ For the various theories of Kanishka's date see Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, pp. 295 ff.

⁵ "According to Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson, and many other scholars, Kanishka was the founder of the reckoning commencing A.D. 78, which came to be known as the Śaka era"—*ibid*, p. 297. Cf. Hoernle, *Uāsaga-Dastā*, Int., p. xi. There is great difference of opinion as to who was the real founder of the Śaka era, though this much is certain—that it must have been some foreign ruler who founded it. As Pandit Ojha remarks, it is not possible to lay down anything for certain regarding the person behind this era. Cf. Ojha, *Paleography of India*, pp. 172-173 (2nd ed.)

⁶ Cunningham, *op cit*, Ins. No. IV, Plate XIII, p. 31.

⁷ Konow, *op cit*, p. 111

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by Kanishka and his successors in their *Brāhmī* records, and this conjecture gains ground when we know that one of the Kushānas is named Vāsudeva, which is a purely Indian name.¹

Moreover, the adoption of the Vikrama era in connection with the Kushānas also makes it difficult to adjust their position as the successors of the Mathura Satraps. This becomes more so when we know that under Kanishka's dynasty Mathura formed part of one and the same empire.² Finally, "the evidence obtained by Sir John Marshall from his excavations of the ancient sites of Takshāśilā proves conclusively that the period of Kanishka's reign must have been somewhere about the end of the first century A.D.; and a comparison of this evidence with the statements of Chinese historians and with the dates supplied by inscriptions makes it seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D."³ Thus the period concerning the Kushāna inscriptions, which range within the limit from *Samvat* 4 to *Samvat* 98, may be approximately laid down as A.D. 82-176.

Of the Kushāna inscriptions two are to be particularly noticed, and of the two the following one is of great importance with respect to the history of the Jaina sect.

"The year 79, the fourth (month of the) rainy-season, the twentieth day—on that (date, specified as) above,—the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (Dattā), wife of . . ., was set up at the *Vodva Stūpa*, built by the Gods"⁴

From this inscription we learn that an ancient Jaina *Stūpa* existed in Mathura which, as Buhler rightly remarks, in A.D. 157 (Saka 79) was considered to have been built by the gods—i.e. was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten.⁵ The importance of the other lies inasmuch as the history of the Kushāna kings is concerned. It gives us the name of the "Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha (Hushka or Huvishka),"⁶ whence we have the "certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājataranginī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar—Hushkapura—was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka."⁷

¹ Cf Cunningham, *op cit*, p 41

² Cf Raychaudhuri, *op cit*, p 284

³ Rapson, *op cit*, p 583

⁴ Buhler, *op cit*, Ins No. XX, p 204

⁵ *Ibid*, p 198 Cf Charpentier, *op cit*, p 167

⁶ Buhler, *op cit*, Ins No XXVI, p 206

⁷ *Ibid*, p 198

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Next in age to the Kushāṇa inscriptions come some three others which, in the opinion of Dr Bühler, belong to the Gupta period,¹ and another inscription which clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D.² Mathura would thus seem to have been popularly frequented as a religious site for a period extending continuously over more than a thousand years.³ Opinions about the Gupta inscriptions we reserve meanwhile till the next chapter. For the present, having dwelt mainly on the political bearing of all these Jaina inscriptions, we shall see if they are equally great for the history of the Jaina church. Their importance in this respect lies in two ways. first, from the standpoint of particular aspects of Jainism or the history of the Jaina church, and secondly, from their general importance in connection with the history of the northern Jains.

Taking the first we find that some such points as the dedication of certain inscriptions to Tirthaṅkaras other than the last one and the reference to more than one Arhat in the body of the inscriptions, have been already referred to by us in connection with the problem of the historicity of Pārśva and his predecessors. Furthermore, as seen before, some of the records end as follows: "May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures," and we have referred to this while considering the Jaina ideal of Ahimsā or non-violence. Besides these few points that are already dealt with by us as a point of very great importance in connection with the Mathura inscriptions is their mentioning several female ascetics, and their showing that these persons developed a very considerable activity.⁴ There can be no doubt that Aryya-Saṅgamikā and Aryya-Vasulā in the following inscription are nuns: . . . अय्यसङ्गमिकये शिष्यानिन अय्यवसुलये निवेन . . . , etc. ("At the request of the venerable Vasulā, the female pupil of the venerable Sangamikā . . ."), etc.⁵ This follows from their title *Aryya* ("The venerable"), their being called *Sisīni* or *Sisīni* ("female disciples"), and from the statement that the gifts were made at, or by, their *Nirvartana*, their request or advice. With so much certainty gained, it is not difficult to recognise that the Mathura documents point to the existence of female ascetics among the Jains of Mathura. Thus the *Śvetāmbara Caturvidha*

¹ Bühler, *op cit*, Ins Nos XXXVIII-XL, p 198

² *Ibid*, Ins No XLI, p 198

³ Cf. Growse, *I.A.*, vi, p 219

⁴ Cf. Bühler, *E I*, i, Ins Nos II, V, VII, XII, XIV, etc, pp 382, 384-386, 388-389

⁵ *Ibid*, Ins No II, p 382

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Samgha, the community consisting of monks, nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters, can be traced as far back as the beginning of the Christian era,¹ and this is further confirmed by a Jaina inscription found by Cunningham on a broken slab at Mathura which reads *Caturvarna Samgha*.²

In connection with this fact of the existence of nuns it is worthy of note that only in one case we find a nun who appears as adviser of a layman. Here the venerable Kumāramitrā induces Kumārabhātī, her son during her worldly life, to dedicate an image of Vardhamāna.³ In all the other inscriptions we find that the nuns exhorted female lay-members of the *Samgha* to make their donations. Whether Kumāramitrā joined the order after the death of her husband or along with him we cannot positively say, because both the alternatives are equally possible. It may even be this—that she might have done so alone with the consent of her husband during his lifetime.⁴ Buhler takes her to be a widow, and remarks: “It agrees with this that in modern times, too, the order of Jaina nuns mostly consists of widows, . . . who, according to the custom of most castes, cannot be married, and are got rid of in a convenient manner by being made to take the tonsure.”⁵

As to the number of *Kulas* and *Sākhās* appearing in the Mathura inscriptions, suffice it to say that they furnish some well-preserved names which can be rightly identified with those appearing in the traditional literature of the Jainas.⁶ Of these divisions of the Jaina community it seems that the adherents of the *Kottiya-Kotika Gana* must have been more numerous in Mathura than those of the other school. In the words of Dr Buhler “It deserves to be noted that it is the only *Gana* whose name survived in the fourteenth century A.D. Its great age, as well as the great age

¹ It is a characteristic Jaina doctrine that the *Śrāvakas* and *Śrāvikās* form part of the *Samgha*. On this point the Jainas differ very markedly from the Buddhists.

² Our transliteration of the said inscription is as follows नमो शरद्दत्तान नमो सिद्धान सं ६२ गृह दि ५ शिष्या चतुर्वर्णस्य सप्तस्य . वापिकाये देहि The inscription is not clear. Some vowel-marks and letters cannot be accurately deciphered. However the date portion and the portion referring to the donation are more or less legible. It is dated in the year 62, and seems to talk of a well, possibly for the चतुर्वर्ण congregation. The donor looks like some female pupil (शिष्या). For the inscription see Cunningham, *A.S.I.*, xx, Ins No VI, Plate XIII. Cf Buhler, *op cit*, p 380.

³ Cf *ibid*, Ins No VII, pp 385-386, *ibid*, p 380.

⁴ Cf Burgess, *I.A.*, viii, p 278.

⁵ Buhler, *op cit*, p 380.

⁶ Cf *ibid*, pp 378-379.

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of its ramifications, the *Brahmadāsika* family, the *Uccenāgarī*¹ branch and the *Srighra* district community, is attested by our No. IV. The latest possible date of this inscription is *Samvat* 59, or A.D. 128-129. The preacher then living, the venerable *Siha*, enumerates four spiritual ancestors, the first among whom must have flourished about the beginning of our era. The *Gana* was, as we learn, much divided at that early period, and this fact speaks in favour of the statement of the tradition which places its origin about the year 250 B.C.”²

The language of the inscriptions is a mixed dialect, consisting partly of *Prākṛt* and partly of *Sanskṛt* words and forms. However, some of the inscriptions are said to be recorded in pure *Prākṛt* of the *Pālī* type. As seen before, they show exceedingly archaic characters, and merely on this ground they are taken to be as old as the second and first century B.C. Certain inscriptions of Sir A. Cunningham's collection show the *Jaina Prākṛt* and *Mahārāṣṭrī* forms *Pūrvvāye* or *Pūrvvaye*³. It is not possible to say for certain what influenced the language of these documents unless we know exactly the character of the vernacular of Central India used in the first and second centuries A.D. However it seems, as Dr Bühler observes, “to have been in some points more similar to the *Jaina Prākṛt* and the *Mahārāṣṭrī* than to the *Pālī* and to the language of *Asoka's* edicts and of the older *Āndhra* inscriptions.”⁴

As regards the origin of this mixed dialect, with Dr Bhandarkar⁵ and others the learned scholar remarks that “it is the result of half-educated people trying to express themselves in *Sanskṛt*, of which they possessed an insufficient knowledge and which they were not in the habit of using largely. All the *Jaina* inscriptions from *Mathura* were no doubt composed by the monks, who acted as the spiritual directors of the laymen, or by their pupils. Though no inscription has been found in which the author is named, the above inference is warranted by the fact that numerous later documents of the same character contain the names of *Yatis* who are said to have

¹ This geographical name seems to be identical with the fort of *Unchanagara*, which belongs to the modern town of *Bulandshahr*, in the north-western provinces Cf Cunningham, *A S I*, xiv, p. 147

² Bühler, *op cit*, pp 379-380 Cf Ktatt, *op cit*, I, A, xi, p. 246 The schools connected with the *Kottiya Gana* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* Cf Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p. 82

³ Cunningham, *A S I*, iii, Ins Nos II, III, VII and XI, pp 30-33

⁴ Bühler, *op cit*, p. 376

⁵ Cf Bhandarkar, *I A*, xv, p. 141

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composed them or to have written them. The *Yatis* in the first and second centuries no doubt, just as now, for their sermons and the exposition of their scriptures, used the vernacular of the day, and their scriptures were certainly written in *Prākṛt*. It was a matter of course that their attempts to write in Sanskrit were not very successful. This theory receives the strongest support from the fact that the character and the number of the corruptions vary almost in every document, and from various single sentences, such as *vācakasya aryya—Baladnasya śiṣhyo aryya—Mātridvnaḥ tasya narvarttanā*, which latter reads like a piece from a stupid school-boy's exercise."¹

As to the general importance of the Mathura inscriptions in connection with the history of Jainism in North India there can be no denying the fact that they afford most unequivocal evidence of the flourishing state of the Jaina religion during the period of Indo-Scythian rule, both before and after the Christian era. They tell us about a widespread and firmly established Jaina community, strongly supported by pious lay-devotees, and very zealous in the consecration and worship of images and shrines dedicated to Mahāvīra and his predecessors. After the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela the Kankālī mound at Mathura has now given us the most complete and satisfactory testimony that the Jaina religion, even before the beginning of the Christian era, must have been in a condition almost as rich and flourishing as that of Buddha.

¹ Buhler, *op cit*, p. 377

CHAPTER VI

State of Jannism during the Gupta Period

THE Mathura inscriptions bring us more or less to the end of the Kushānas Tradition, monuments and inscriptions of this time prove that their sway extended all over North-Western India, probably as far south as the Vindhya, as well as all over the remote regions beyond the Pāmīr passes. There are grounds also for the belief that from the time of Kanishka to the reign of Vāsudeva the Kushāna rule extended over Bihar.¹ This paramount power in North India seems to have come to an end after the death of Vāsudeva, the last Kushāna king who continued to hold extensive territories in India.

"It is evident," observes Smith, "that the Kushān power must have been decadent during the latter part of the long reign of Vāsudeva, and apparently before its close, or immediately after that event, the vast empire of Kanishka obeyed the usual law governing Oriental monarchies and broke up into fragments, having enjoyed a brief period of splendid unity. Probably numerous *Rājas* asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states; but historical material for the third century is so completely lacking that it is impossible to say what or how many those states were."²

Nothing definite is recorded concerning the dynasties of Northern India, excluding the Punjab, during the third century and the early part of the fourth. The period between the extinction of the Kushānas and the rise of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole of Indian history.³ However, with the rise of the Guptas the veil of oblivion is lifted and the history of India regains unity and interest

With the advent of the Guptas Magadha again came to the

¹ Cf Smith, *op cit*, pp 274, 276, Jayaswal, *J B O R S*, vi, p 22

² Smith, *op cit*, pp 288, 290

³ "The period evidently was one of extreme confusion, associated with foreign invasions from the north-west, which is reflected in the muddled statements of the *Purāṇas* concerning the Ābhīras, Gardābbīlas, Śakas, Yavanas, Bāhūkas and other outstanding dynasties named as the successors of the Andhras"—*Ibid*, p 280

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forefront. "Twice in history did it establish a great empire—the Maurya Empire in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D." ¹ The extent of the Gupta Empire was by far the greatest that had been seen in India since the days of Asoka, six centuries before. It comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of North India. It extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jamuna and Chambal on the west; and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Beyond these wide limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa, were attached to the empire by bond of subordinate alliance; whilst almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might. ²

As to the state of religion during the Gupta period this much is certain, that officially the kings of this dynasty were Brahmanical Hindus, with special devotion to Vishnu, but followed the usual practice of ancient India in looking with a favourable eye on all varieties of Indian religion. Buddhism and Jainism, though by no means favoured religions, were allowed to continue. The inference seems to be one of non-interference, a universal toleration, with special preference for Vaishnavism. ³ For instance Candragupta Vikramāditya or Candragupta II, the fifth in the Gupta list, "although tolerant of Buddhism and Jainism, was himself an orthodox Hindu, specially devoted to the cult of Vishnu." ⁴

Besides this eclectic spirit of the Guptas, as seen before, we have from the Mathura inscriptions the epigraphic evidence of their sympathy towards the Jainas. Of these Jaina records three in the opinion of Dr Bühler belong to the Gupta period. ⁵ This is of course indisputable with the following one, which is incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, and which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta:

"Success! In the year 118, in the victorious reign of the

¹ Rapson, *op cit*, p 310.

² Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p 303

³ "The *Mānasāra* seems, therefore, to point to the Gupta period; the existence of an empire comprising the whole of India; . . . the popularity of the Brahmanical religion with predilection for the Vishnu cult and non-interference and toleration of Buddhism and Jainism. . ."—Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra Śilaprasāstra*, p 194

⁴ Smith, *op cit*, p 309

⁵ Cf Bühler, *E.I.*, n, Ins Nos XXXVIII-XL, p 198

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supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day (of the winter-month Kārttika) —on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Sāmādhya (Śyāmādhya), daughter of Bhattabhaṇa (and) housewife of the ferry-man (?) Grahamittapālita, who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilācāyya (Dattilācārya) out of the Kottiya Gana (and) the Vidyādhari-Sākha.”¹

With regard to the other two inscriptions, one of them is not in good condition, and so no continuous translation is possible. It apparently records the building or restoration of a temple.² The other one, however, on palæographical grounds has been considered by Buhler to belong to the Gupta period. The said inscription, which is incised on the base of a small statue, runs as follows :

“In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on the (date specified) as above . . .”³

To quote the learned scholar : “The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short—i.e. by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left—makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. XXXVIII to an earlier period.”⁴

As to the exact period of the above two inscriptions, dated in the years 113 and 57 of the Gupta period, we shall have to refer to the era founded by the Guptas. From the words “*Guptakāla*,” “*Guptavarsha*,” etc., which were found in the Gupta epigraphical and other records, it appears that this era must have been started by some king of the Gupta dynasty. No recorded evidence has been available up till now for this, but from Samudragupta’s inscription at Allahabad we find that Candragupta I, who was his predecessor, is the first Gupta king who calls himself “*Mahārājādhirāja*” His predecessors, both Gupta and Ghatotkaca, are entitled simply as “*Mahārāja*”⁵ This, combined with the inscriptional records of the period of Candragupta II, the successor of Samudragupta, of

¹ Buhler, *E I*, II, Ins No XXXIX, pp. 210-211

² *Ibid*, Ins No XL, p. 211

³ *Ibid*, Ins No XXXVIII, p. 210

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 198 This is Mr. Growse’s No V (*IA*, VI, p. 219) Speaking about it the learned scholar observes “If the date is really the year 57 of the same era as that employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka, it is the earliest unmistakably Jaina figure yet found in this neighbourhood I cannot, however, believe but that it is comparatively modern” —Growse, *op cit*, p. 218

⁵ “Who (Samudragupta) was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observance of mankind, (but was otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth—who was son of the son’s”

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the Gupta era 82 to 93,¹ made it possible for the scholar-world to put down the starting-point of the Gupta era from Candragupta I

"His political importance," observes Smith, "was sufficient to warrant him in establishing, after the Oriental manner, a new era dating from his formal consecration or coronation, when he was proclaimed as heir to the Imperial power associated by venerable tradition with the possession of Pātaliputra. The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Candragupta I"²

This year, A.D. 319-320, as the date of the beginning of the Gupta period has been based on Alberuni's statement that the Gupta era was posterior to the Śaka era by 241 years, or, in other words, the Gupta era begins with A.D. 319-320³ This statement of the Arabic traveller has been found correct,⁴ and, according to Fleet, the Mandasor inscription confirms this conclusion⁵

Thus, taking A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era, we find that the two Mathura inscriptions of the year 57 and 113 of the Gupta period will fall in A.D. 386 and 432 respectively. According to the accepted chronology of the Gupta dynasty the first would fall in the reign of Candragupta II, and the other, in confirmation of what is laid down in the inscription itself, in the reign of Kumāragupta I.⁶ As seen before, the earliest inscriptional

son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Gupta, who was the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Ghatotkaca, who was the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Candragupta I," etc.—Fleet, *CII*, II, Ins No I, pp 15-16 Cf Oyha, *op. cit.*, p 174.

¹ Cf Smith, *I.A.*, xxxi, p 265, Oyha, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

² Smith, *Early History of India*, p 296 Cf Oyha, *op. cit.*, p 175, Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p 46

³ "As regards the *Guptakāla*, people say that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the *Śakakāla*"—Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p 7

⁴ "I have shown, so far, that the early Gupta dates and, with them, any others that can be proved to the same uniform series, are to be preferred to the epoch of A.D. 319-320, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Alberuni and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Vallabhi-samvat 945"—Fleet, *op. cit.*, Int, p 69 Cf Dutt, *Ancient India*, p 50; Bhandarkar, *A Peep into the Early History of India*, p 48 For a detailed discussion about the Gupta era see Fleet, *op. cit.*, Int, pp 16 ff

⁵ Cf *ibid.*, Int, p 28

⁶ Cf Smith, *I.A.*, xxxi, pp 265-266 Candragupta's rule extended from c. A.D. 380 to c. A.D. 412, and that of Kumāragupta from c. A.D. 413 to c. A.D. 455 Cf *ibid.*, Smith, *Early History of India*, pp 345-346, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp 48-49, Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp 47-48.

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records of the Guptas begin from the year 82; and hence Dr Buhler has rightly remarked, about the one which we have put down in the reign of Candragupta II, that if his conjecture about it were accepted, "its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found."¹

Besides these two Mathura inscriptions there are two more Jaina records connected with the Guptas. The first in chronological order is the Udayagiri cave inscription, which refers to the period of the early Gupta kings, and not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shows that it also belongs to the time of Kumāragupta I. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-426), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kartika.² That it is a Jaina inscription is clear from the following translation of a part of the inscription "He (*i.e.* Śamkara, whose name occurs in the 6th line) who has conquered the enemies (of religion), (and) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused (and set up) in the mouth of (this) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (the embellishments of) the expanded hoods of a snake and an attendant female divinity, (and) having the name of Pārśva, the best of Jinas. He is, indeed, the disciple of the Saint, the *Ācārya* Gośarman . . ." etc.³

Thus the object of the Udayagiri cave inscription is to record the installation of an image of the Tīrthankara Pārśva or Pārśva-nātha at the mouth of the cave. The other inscription, mentioned above, is the Kahāum⁴ Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta I, the successor of Kumāragupta I.⁵ The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands at a short distance to the north of Kahāum village. The inscription itself refers to the reign of the early Gupta king, Skandagupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-461), and in the month of *Jyeshtha*.⁶ The object of the inscription is clear from the following passage of the record itself:

¹ Buhler, *op cit* and *loc cit*

² Cf. Fleet, *op cit*, Ins No LXI, p. 258

³ *Ibid*, p. 259 Cf. Hultzsch, *I.A.*, xi, p. 310

⁴ "Kahāum or Kahāwam, the ancient Kakubha or Kakubhagrāma of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhau, the chief town of the Salampur Mahauli Parganā in Deoria or Dewariyā Tahsil or subdivision of the Gorakhpur district in the north-west provinces"—Fleet, *op cit*, p. 66 Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *I.A.*, x, p. 125

⁵ Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 346 He is said to have succeeded Kumāragupta I in c. A.D. 455 Cf. *ibid*, Barnett, *op cit*, p. 48

⁶ Cf. Fleet, *op cit*, Ins No XV, p. 66, Bhagwanlal Indraji, *op cit* and *loc cit*

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"He (*i.e.* Madra, whose name occurs in the 8th line of the inscription), being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (to be ever) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit (and by him),—having set up for the sake of final beatitude (and) for the welfare of (all) existing beings, five excellent (images¹), made of stone, (of) those who led the way in the path of the Arhats who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (and) which confers fame (upon him)."²

Thus the Kahāum inscription records that a certain Madra set up five stone images of *Ādikartris* or Tirthankaras, and this is testified by the sculptures of the column itself. Of these the most important are the five naked standing figures, which, according to Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji, represent the five favourite Tirthankaras of the Jains—Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminnātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra.³

Besides these epigraphical evidences of the relations between the Guptas and the Jains, thanks are due to Muni Jinavijaya⁴ that his learned exposition of the *Kuvalayamālā*⁵ throws a lot of light on the history of the Jains during the Gupta period. Udyotanasūri, the learned author of this piece of the *Kathā Sāhitya* of the Jains, introduces himself in the body of the book in a manner which is really characteristic of the times in which the great *Sūri* lived and had his being. We are told that this interesting Prakṛt *Kathā* was finished in the year 700 of the Śaka era—*i.e.* in A.D. 779.⁶ This is the age in which we find innumerable immortal works, where very often

¹ Fleet, *op cit*, p 68, Bhagwanlal Indraji, *op cit*, p 126

² The exact wording of this part of the inscription is as follows नियमयतामहेतामदिकर्तृन् एवेन्द्रास्याययित्वा . . . etc Dr Indraji has translated it as follows "Having established . . . five chief *Ādikartris* (Tirthankaras) in the path of the ascetic Arhats"—*J A*, x, p 126 To this the learned scholar makes a note as follows. "*Ādikartri*—'Originators,' the first who lead in the path, but usually applied to the Tirthankaras See *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Śakrasūtra* नमोद्युज समणस भगवत्तो महावीरस चरमतीर्णकराय Sanskrit trans. नमोस्तु यमजाय भगवते महावीरायादिकर्त्रे चरमतीर्णकराय"—*Ibid*, p 126, n 16

³ *Ibid*, p 126 Cf Fleet, *op cit*, p 68

⁴ Jinavijaya, *J S S*, iii, pp 169 ff

⁵ This is a piece of the narrative literature of the Jains of the eighth century A D It was completed in Jābālipura, situated at present in Marwar, though at one time it was considered to be a part of Gujarat

⁶ सगकाले बोलीये बरिसाख सखहि सखहि गएहि ।

एगदियेपूणेहि रइया सवरसहवेलेह ॥

—*Ibid*, v. 26, p 180

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the writers have not even cared to give their names. However, the *Kuvalayamālā*, with the historical sense rightly ingrained in it, gives us more or less an exact picture of the period and the surroundings in which this work was composed, and the lineage of the great *Sūri* who brought it into existence. The following are the first few of the important introductory verses that have come down to us¹.

- (१) क्षत्त्रियं पुहईपसिद्धा दोषिण पहा दोषिण भेय देस त्ति ।
तत्पत्ति पहा गामेण वज्जरावहं बुद्धजयाइणं ॥
- (२) सुइदिशचारुसोहा विषसिचकनलाणणा विमलदेहा ।
तत्पत्ति नलहिदइसा सरिसा सह चंदभाय त्ति ॥
- (३) तीरमि तीय पयडा पयइया गाम रयणसोहिजा ।
तत्पत्ति तिण भुत्ता पुहई सिरितोरराण ॥
- (४) तस्स गुरु हरिवत्तो आयरिओ सासि गुहवसाओ ।
तीय खयरीय दिणो नेण थिवेसो तहिं काले ॥
- (५) तस्स वि सिस्सो पयडो महाकई देववज्जणामो त्ति ।²

The substance of these verses is as follows "In the world there are two paths and only two countries (*Dakshināpatha* and *Uttarāpatha*), which are widely known. Of these *Uttarāpatha* is considered to be a country full of scholars. In that country flows the River Candrabhāgā, appearing as if she were the sweetheart of the ocean. On the bank of that river is situated the well-known prosperous town of Pavvayā. It is when he was here that Śrītorarāya enjoyed his authority over the earth. Ācārya Harigupta, who was born of the Gupta dynasty, was the *Guru* of this king, and at that time he was practically residing there. Devagupta, who was a great poet, became the pupil of this Ācārya."

These introductory verses of Udyotanasūri are of equal im-

¹ Jinavijaya informs us that only two manuscript copies of *Kuvalayamālā* are available at present—one in the Government collection at Poona and the other in the *Jama Bhandāra* at Jesalmer. Both copies differ from each other in minor points as well as in points of great historical importance. The learned scholar ascribes these differences to the author himself, and believes that in both the texts they come down from the original sources themselves. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 175.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177. In the Poona manuscript the first two verses are not to be found, it begins with the third verse, and the opening portion completely differs from that of the Jesalmer manuscript, it is as follows क्षत्त्रियं पयडा पुरीण । For तीररायेण in the Poona manuscript we find तीरमायेण. For the first half of the fifth verse we find the following whole verse in the Poona copy

[तस्स] बहुकलानुसलो सिद्धान्तवियान्णो कई दससो ।
आयरिय देवगुप्तो न[स्स]ज्जवि विज्जरय किन्तो ॥

—*Ibid*

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portance both from the standpoint of the Jaina community in the north and of Indian history in general. The King Toramāna, or Torarāya, referred to in the third strophe, is none else but the powerful leader of the Hūnas,¹ who is known to have led the Hūna hordes which had burst through the north-western passes and spread in a destructive flood all over Northern India. There is no historical fallacy committed in taking this Torarāya for the Hūna chieftain Toramāna, because there is only one *पुष्यभोज* Toramāna—i.e. Toramāna enjoying the sovereignty of this earth—in all Indian history. He seems to be one of the very important figures of his time, because, as just remarked, it was he who was at the back of the Hūna invasion and the consequent break-up of the Gupta Empire. Leaving Central Asia he and his followers poured into India, and having conquered the Punjab and Delhi came down as far inland as the country of Malwa in Central India. To quote Vincent Smith: "The leader in this invasion of India, which, no doubt, continued for years, was a chieftain named Toramāna, who is known to have been established as ruler of Mālwa in Central India prior to A.D. 500. He assumed the style and titles of an Indian 'sovereign of *Māhārājas*'; and Bhānugupta, as well as the king of Vallabhī and many other local princes, must have been his tributaries."²

Naturally this *Hūnādhyapakṣa*, the leader of the Āryans of Central Asia, must have brought about a great revolution in the political, religious and social conditions of India. No doubt the period of his domination was rather short, but when he died—in the first decade of the sixth century A.D.—the Indian kingdom which he had acquired was consolidated sufficiently to pass to his son and successor, Mahāvīra Mihirakula.³ Anyhow it is not yet known for certain to antiquarians what was his capital. From various sources we know this much—that Sākala, the modern Sialkot in the Punjab, was the metropolis of his successor, Mihirakula.⁴ However, according to the *Kuvalayamālā* tradition, Toramāna's headquarters was

¹ The Hūnas were a tribe of Āryans in Central Asia. They shattered the Gupta Empire, and dominated a large part of it for a short period. The dominion of the Hūnas did not long survive the defeat and death of Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāna, and this can be put down approximately in the middle of the sixth century A.D. For further information about the Hūnas see Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, 1, pp. 53 ff., 126 ff.

² Smith, *op cit*, p. 335. Cf. Barnett, *op cit*, p. 49.

³ Cf. Smith, *op cit* and *loc cit*; Ojha, *op cit*, p. 128.

⁴ Cf. Smith, *op cit* and *loc cit*; Ojha, *op cit*, p. 129; Barnett, *op cit*, p. 50.

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Pavvaiyā, situated on the bank of the River Candrabhāgā, now known to us as the Chenab

It is really difficult to identify this Pavvaiyā—having in Sanskrit some such form as Pārvatikā or Pārvatī—with any definite place in the map of Northern India. Nevertheless, from *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* we get to know that from Mou-lo-San-pu-lu—i.e. Multan—the pilgrim went north-east about 700 li to Po-fa-to country.¹ “The Po-fa-to of this passage,” observes Watters, “is supposed to be for Po-la-fa-to—that is, Parvata.”² Can we infer from this that Parvata of the Chinese traveller may be Pavvaiyā, the capital of Toramāna? However, there is no one opinion about this in the scholar-world.³ Suffice it to say for our purpose that, according to the Jainas, the capital of Toramāna was Pavvaiyā, and that it remains to be seen as to where exactly this place can be located in the map of Northern India.

What we are chiefly concerned with is the fact of some *Ācārya* Harigupta being the *Guru* of the great Toramāna. The significance of this note of the *Kuvalayamālā* is really great. Up till now, barring a few inscriptions, to which we have already referred above, there is practically nothing which could enlighten us about the state of the Jainas during the Gupta period. A foreign and triumphant ruler like Toramāna having a Jaina *Ācārya* as his *Guru* is a matter of no little importance for Jaina history. Howsoever insignificant it may seem, it is the basis on which we can infer that, as with the Śaishunāga, Nanda and the Maurya periods, so also in the golden age of Indian history Jaina *Sādhus* enjoyed the privilege of becoming *Rājagurus*.

Coming next to Harigupta, the great *Ācārya*, it seems he must have been a man of great importance in his time. He is introduced to us as one belonging to the Gupta dynasty. It is very difficult to say whether he belonged to the royal dynasty of the Guptas or to any other ordinary dynasty of that name. There is hardly any evidence before us on which we can make such an

¹ Cf Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 255, Beal, Si-Yu-Ki, II, p. 275

² Watters, *op* and *loc cit* Cf Beal, *op* and *loc cit*

³ According to Vincent Smith Po-fa-to (Parvata) indicates the reign of Jamū (Jammoo), in the south of Kashmir state as at present constituted Cf Watters, *op cit*, p. 342 Cunningham identifies Po-la-fa-to with Shorkot, though he believes that the position directed by the traveller agrees with the site of Jhang, on the Chenab Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 233-234 In the opinion of Dr Fleet, Po-fa-to cannot be anything else but the ancient place of Harppā—Fleet, *J R A S*, 1907, p. 650



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COIN OF "ŚRĪ MAHARĀYA HARIGUPTA"

Enlarged four diameters

By kind permission of the Department of Coins and Medals British Museum

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assertion. However, according to Jinaviṇaya,¹ it is a common convention with the Jaina clergy that when a member of some particularly good family or dynasty joins the order, a note is carefully made to that effect for the glory of their religion. Generally the Jaina *Sādhus* during their preachings before the laymen of the *Samgha* mention such facts of their ecclesiastical history, and thus try to impress upon the mind of the audience the greatness of the religion and the following of Lord Mahāvīra. Thus if we were to infer from this that the *Vamsa* of Harigupta, particularly noted by Udyotanasūri, who came about three centuries after the great Toramāna and his Jaina *Guru*, must be some respectable and highly esteemed dynasty, such inference need not be considered as far-fetched or unworthy of historical notice. On the other hand the very fact that Harigupta was so closely connected with the Hūṇa *Samrāt* greatly confirms the above hypothesis. No doubt the tradition of a member of the royal dynasty of the Guptas becoming a Jaina *Sādhu* may seem a little strange and unbelievable, but there is no reason for any such attitude. Furthermore, the same introductory verses of Udyotanasūri tell us that Harigupta had a pupil named Devagupta, who was a great poet. This Devagupta is addressed later on in his preface by the *Sūri* as *Rājarshi* (Royal Saint) of the Gupta dynasty.² It is clear from this that Devagupta must be somebody from the royal family of the Guptas. No doubt, before all these facts can be taken as historical truths, we stand in need of some more definite contemporary evidence which can lead us to this conclusion. However, there can be no denying the usefulness of these facts as the basis for any historical structure such as this

With all this, when we have come so far we shall go a step further, and see if it is possible to identify either Harigupta or Devagupta with any member of the royal dynasty of the Guptas. Whatever historical records of the Guptas have been collected as yet, we nowhere find the name of Harigupta. However, in 1894, Cunningham found a copper coin in Ahicchatra on one side of which there is a flower vase (*Kalāṣa*) on a pedestal, and on the other side are the following words: "*Śrī Mahārāja Harigupta*."³

¹ Jinaviṇaya, *op. cit.*, p. 163

² सो जयद् देवगुप्तो बसे गुह्याय रामरिसो—Chaturaviṇaya, *Kuṇḍalaya-mālā-Kathā* (Jaina *Ātmānanda Sabhā*), Int., p. 6

³ Cf. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, p. 152 and Plate XXIV, 16; Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 19, Plate II, 6. It may be mentioned here that, as Jinaviṇaya has rightly remarked, *Kalāṣa* is one of the popular symbols of the Jamas. Cf. Jinaviṇaya, *op. cit.*, p. 184

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From the form and shape of the letters, and from the comparison of the name given on it, it is believed by those interested in numismatics that the coin must have been struck by some king of the Gupta dynasty.¹ However, it is not possible to trace the relations of this Harigupta with any of the Gupta kings. On epigraphic grounds it seems that he must have existed in the middle of the sixth century of the Vikrama era.² Thus from the standpoints of the date and the place where it was found the description of the coin meets with that of the Jaina Harigupta. The latter comes from the district of Punjab, and being the contemporary of Toramāna he also belongs to the middle of the sixth century of the Vikrama era. Thus, considering the similarity of the date, the place-name and the dynasty, there is nothing wrong if the Harigupta of the coin and that of the Jaina tradition are one and the same person.

Coming to Devagupta we are faced with a similar difficulty. Nevertheless from Bāna's *Harshacarita*, which is considered to be "a very early attempt at an historical romance,"³ we know that on the throne of Malwa sat a king, a contemporary of the great king of Kanauj and Thāneśar, who was defeated by Harshavardhana's elder brother, Rājyavardhana, because the Malwa king was declared the enemy of Grahavarman, the king of Kanyakubja, who was married to the sister of Harshavardhana.⁴ This king of Malwa has been identified by Dr Buhler with the Devagupta of the Madhuban inscription.⁵ Here arises the question whether it is possible to identify Devagupta of the Jaina tradition with the king of Malwa spoken of in the *Harshacarita*. The difficulty that comes

¹ Cf Cunningham, *op cit*, pp 18-19 "The form of the letter 'H' is peculiar to the Guptas"—*Ibid*, p 19

² "Coin of Harigupta seems to belong to the fifth century, from its epigraphy"—Allan, *op cit*, p cv

³ Cowell and Thomas, *Harshacarita*, Int, p viii

⁴ Cf *Ibid*, Int, pp xi-xii "the illustrious Rājyavardhana, by whom, playing his whip in the battle, the Kings Devagupta and others—who resembled wicked horses—were all subdued with averted faces"—Buhler, *E I*, i, p 74 Cf Barnett, *op cit*, p 52, Mookerji (Radhakumud), *Harsha*, pp 16-19, 53

⁵ "Assuming the correctness of Bāna's account it may be suggested that Devagupta was the name of the Mālava king. The latter certainly was the chief foe, and the conquest of his kingdom is attested by the further statement of Bāna that Bhandu, who had accompanied Rājyavardhana, brought the booty from Mālava to Harsha when the latter had reached the territory of Kumāra-Bhaskaravarman on his expedition of revenge against the King Gauda. I may add that the word Mālava need not refer here or in the other passages of the *Śrīharshacarita* to the Mālava in Central India. There was another Mālava in the Punjab, much nearer to Thāneśar, which may be meant"—Buhler, *op cit*, p 70 Cf Mookerji (Radhakumud), *op cit*, pp 25, 50 ff

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in the way of such an identification is that of the chronological adjustment of both the Devaguptas

Among the various dates of Toramāna the latest possible is that of about A.D. 516. Even if this is accepted there remains a difference of more than seventy-five years, which can be adjusted only on the following suppositions: that Toramāna may have died a few years later than c. A.D. 516; that Harigupta may have lived a long time after the death of his royal patron, and that Devagupta may have joined the order in the last days of his *Guru*. Whatever it may be, we need not stress this point any further, because that would be going beyond the period which we have marked out for our examination, and moreover, about the tradition left to us by Udyotanasūri there is no choice for us but to await the further revelations of archæology for a final answer. Thus the fact that also in the Gupta period Jainism was a living religion is evident from all that we have seen up till now. This is clear from "a multitude of inscriptions, which are almost all either Buddhist or Jaina," and from the Gupta princes being "perfectly tolerant of both Buddhism and Jainism."¹

One thing still remains to be seen, and that is the rise of the dynasty of Vallabhī towards the close of the fifth century A.D. This rise of the Vallabhīs more or less coincides with the end of the golden age of the Guptas, which at the most comprised a period of a century and a half. The death of Kumāragupta I, which can be definitely fixed as having occurred early in 455, marks the beginning of the decline and fall of the empire, while in the reign of Kumāragupta II began the actual break-up of the Gupta Empire.²

This new dynasty, which lasted until about A.D. 770, was established at Vallabhī in the east of the peninsula of Saurāshtra (Kathiawar), by a chief named Bhatārka, "who belonged to a clan called Maitraka, probably of foreign rule."³ This Bhatārka of the Vallabhī dynasty had four sons, all of whom are included by Captain Wilberforce-Bell and others in their list of Vallabhī kings. Of

¹ Smith, *op cit*, pp 318, 320.

² *Ibid*, p 346 "the power of the Guptas continued to wane, and deprived of possessions and powers, at the end of the sixth century A.D., they died out"—Wilberforce-Bell *The History of Kathiawar*, p 37.

³ Smith, *op cit*, p 332 "Meanwhile, about the year A.D. 470, the history of Saurāshtra again underwent a change. In this year Shanda Gupta died, and the bards relate that at the time, one Bhattārka, of the Maitraka clan, was Commander-in-Chief of the army. This man came to Saurāshtra and, having declared his independence, established a dynasty which lasted for nearly 300 years.—Wilberforce-Bell, *op and loc cit Cf Barnett, op cit*, p 49

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these Dhruvasena I, the fourth in the list, was naturally the third son of the founder of this dynasty.¹ We particularly refer to him because, along with Devardhigani, the high-priest of the Jama church of his time, he marks the end of the unrecorded period of Jainism in North India. Beyond this we are assured by Smith that "the earlier kings of Vallabhi do not appear to have been independent, and were doubtless obliged to pay tribute to the Huns."² Thus Dhruvasena must also be a dependent potentate under the Hūnas, because the period of his rule has been put down by Charpentier and others as terminating about A.D. 526.³ This date becomes more of a certainty on the authority of Smith and Wilberforce-Bell that Bhatārka founded the dynasty in c. 490 A.D.⁴ The two brothers that intervened between Bhatārka and Dhruvasena might have ruled for a short time, and thus Dhruvasena I might have succeeded to the throne in about A.D. 526. This is further strengthened when we know that Dharasena II, the seventh in the Vallabhi list, rules from A.D. 569.⁵

Of the great Jama council under the protection of the *Vallabhipati* Dhruvasena we shall speak in the next chapter. What need be said at present is that the canonical and other literature of the Jainas was put down in writing during this period, and thus the unrecorded period of Jaina history was brought to an end. It is significant to note that this important event of Jaina history is connected also with the Gupta period. That by this time the Jainas had more or less spread all over India is a fact which cannot be denied. The inscriptions referring to the Jaina communities become very numerous from the sixth century A.D. onwards.

¹ Cf. Wilberforce-Bell, *op cit*, pp. 38-39, Barnett, *op cit*, pp. 49-50.

² Smith, *op* and *loc cit* "This dynasty was at first subordinate to the Guptas and then to the Hūnas, and later became independent"—Barnett, *op cit*, p. 49.

³ Dhruvasena I, Mastraka, king of Vallabhi, was reigning A.D. 526-540—Barnett, *op cit*, p. 50. "Now, as King Dhruvasena I of Vallabhi is supposed to have succeeded to the throne in A.D. 526"—Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, Int., p. 16. This date of the learned scholar is based on the date of Mahāvira's *Nirodha* in 467 B.C., and on 993 A.V., as the date of the redaction of the Jama canon. The other date for the redaction of the canon is A.D. 980, and, counting upon this, the date of the council comes to c. A.D. 514. Cf. Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., p. 15, Farquhar, *Religious Literature of India*, p. 163. The difference between these two dates is based on this ground, that in 980 A.V. the Jama canon was put in a definite form and in 993 A.V. *Kalpa-Sūtra* was read before the *Samgha*, under the patronage of Dhruvasena I in Anandapura. नवशताब्दीनितमवर्षे कस्यस्य पुस्तके लिखितं, नवशतत्रिनवतिनितमवर्षे च कस्यस्य पपेद्वचनेति—*Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subōdhanā-Tīkā*, sūt. 148, p. 126. For the two dates of 980 A.V. and 993 A.V. see also Jacobi, *SBE*, xxii, p. 270.

⁴ Cf. Smith, *op* and *loc cit*, Wilberforce-Bell, *op cit*, p. 38.

⁵ Cf. *ibid*, p. 38. "Dharasena II . . . was reigning 571-589"—Barnett, *op cit*, p. 51.

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Huen-Tsiang, who travelled through India after the Gupta Empire had come to an end, found them spread through the whole of India, and even beyond its boundaries.¹ It would be very interesting indeed to follow this scattered information about Jainism, yet such lucubrations would be beyond our purpose. The documents quoted suffice, however, to confirm the assertion that during the first five centuries after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* both the statements of Buddhist tradition and real historical sources give evidence to the existence of the Jainas as an important religious community independent of Buddhism, and that there are among the historical sources some which entirely clear away the suspicion that the tradition of the Jainas themselves is in any way falsified

¹ "Huen-Tsiang's note on the appearance of the Nirgrantha or Digambar in Kapiśu . . . points to the fact that they had, in the north-west at least, spread their missionary activity beyond the borders of India"—Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp 3-4, n 4; Beal, *op. cit.*, 1, p 55

CHAPTER VII

Jaina Literature of the North

THE Jainas have developed at all times a rich literary activity. "This literature is extremely extensive and full of interest Indian and even European libraries contain a huge mass of Jaina manuscripts, which hitherto have not yet been utilised."¹ The Jaina authors belong mostly to the priest-class. They are monks who make use of the four months of the rainy-season, during which time they are forbidden to wander about, for literary purposes. To the prevalence of this clerical element among the writers there corresponds the one in the substance and contents of the Jaina literature. It has in the main points a religious character, in which it meets also with the Brahmanical and Buddhistical literatures. Theological and philosophical treatises, legends of saints, religious tracts, and songs of praise in honour of the Tirthankaras are the principal items in it. The religious atmosphere also predominates in the works of profane contents, as in scientific books, in poems and in works of the narrative literature, in dramas and in inscriptions.

The period of Jaina history under our consideration is solely concerned with the unrecorded state of its literature. Devardhigani stands like a lighthouse and marks the end of this period, in which the canonical literature of the Jainas known as the *Siddhānta* mostly predominates. However, by way of a few preliminary remarks regarding the whole literature of the Jainas, it may be mentioned here that the subjects treated of in this huge literature are very multifarious. "First of all, there is the *Siddhānta*, accompanied by a very extensive literature of commentaries. Moreover, there is a very rich scientific literature. The Jainas have created special systems of dogmatics, of logics, and of philosophy; on the other hand, they very successfully cultivated all the Brahmanical sciences. They composed grammars and dictionaries of Sanskrit as well as of Prākṛt. There are even some grammars and vocabularies of the Gujarati, and a vocabulary of the Persian

¹ Hertel, *On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat*, p. 1

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language. Numerous are the Jaina treatises on poetics, on metrics, and on *Nīti* in its two branches—the *Rājānīti* or statecraft, and the *Sāmānyanīti*, which contains rules for the clever conduct of life. For the education of princes, Jaina authors wrote treatises on the sciences of elephants, of horses, of war-carriages and of bows, and on erotics; and for the use of the rest of the population they composed works on magic and on astrology, on *omina* and *portenta*, and on *oneirocritics*, which has played so important a rôle in Indian life. They even composed manuals of architecture and of music, and treatises on gold and on jewels. . . . They are the creators of a very extensive popular literature.”¹

With these introductory remarks we come to the *Siddhānta*, or the Holy Scriptures of the Jainas, which according to them come within the period under our consideration. As seen before, and as we shall see during the course of this chapter, we cannot disbelieve the traditions of the Jainas about their literary heritage. However for the present we give below the list of the scriptures of the Jaina canon which has been more or less accepted by scholars like Weber,² Winternitz,³ Charpentier⁴ and others:

I. Fourteen *Puṇvas* or *Pūrvas* (not extant) ·

1. *Uppāya* (*Utpāda*)
2. *Aggenīya* or *Aggānīya* (? *Agrāyanīya*).⁵
3. *Vīryappavāya* (*Vīryappravāda*).
4. *Atthinatthippavāya* (*Astināstippravāda*).
5. *Nāṇappavāya* (*Jñānapravāda*)
6. *Saccappavāya* (*Satyappravāda*)
7. *Āyappavāya* (*Ātmapravāda*).
8. *Kammappavāya* (*Karmappravāda*).
9. *Paccakkhānappavāya* (*Pratyākhyānapravāda*).
10. *Vijjānuppavāya* (*Vidyānuppravāda*).
11. *Avamṣha* (*Avandhya*).
12. *Pāṇāum* (*Prāṇāyuh*).
13. *Kiriyāvisāla* (*Kriyāvisāla*)
14. *Logavindusāra* (*Lokavindusāra*).

¹ Hertel, *op cit*, pp 5-6

² Cf. Weber, *J.A.*, xvii, pp 270 ff, 339 ff, xiii, pp 181 ff, 369 ff.; xix, pp. 62 ff, xx, pp. 18 ff, 170 ff, 365 ff., and xxi, pp 14 ff, 106 ff, 177 ff, 210 ff, 293 ff, 327 ff, 369 ff

³ Cf Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, ii, pp. 291 ff

⁴ Cf Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 9 ff., Belvalkar, *Brahma-Sūtras of Bādarāyana*, pp. 107 ff

⁵ Cf. Charpentier, *op. cit*, Int, p 12

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II. Twelve *Angas* :

1. *Āyāra* (*Ācāra*).
2. *Sūyagada* (*Sūtrakṛta*).
3. *Thāṇa* (*Sthāna*).
4. *Samavāya*.
5. *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* (*Vyākhyāprajñapati*), mostly called *Bhagavati*.
6. *Nāyādhammakahāo* (*Jñātādharmakathāh*).
7. *Uvāsagadasāo* (*Upāsakadaśāh*).
8. *Antagadadasāo* (*Antakṛddasāh*).
9. *Anuttarovavāiyadasāo* (*Anuttaravapātikadasāh*).
10. *Panhāvāgaranāṇi* (*Praśnavyākaraṇāṇi*).
11. *Vivāgasuyam* (*Vipākaśrutam*).
12. *Ditthwāya* (*Drṣṭivāda*), no longer extant.

III. Twelve *Upāngas* (corresponding to the twelve *Angas*) :

1. *Ovavāiya* (*Avapātika*).
2. *Rāyapasenaṇṇa* (*Rājaprasāṇya*).
3. *Jivābhigama*.
4. *Pannavaṇṇā* (*Prajñāpanā*).
5. *Sūriyapannatti* (*Sūryaprajñapti*).
6. *Jambuddhivapannatti* (*Jambudvīpaprajñapti*).
7. *Candapannatti* (*Candraprajñapti*).
8. *Niryāvālī*.
9. *Kappāvadamsiāo* (*Kalpāvatamsikāh*).
10. *Pupphāiāo* (*Pushpikāh*).
11. *Pupphacūliāo* (*Pushpacūlikāh*).
12. *Vanhidasāo* (*Vṛśnidasāh*).

IV Ten *Painnas* or *Prakīrṇāni* :

1. *Causarana* (*Catuḥśarana*).
2. *Āurapaccakkhāna* (*Āturapratyākhyāna*).
3. *Bhattaparinnā* (*Bhaktaparyṇā*).
4. *Samthāra* (*Samstāra*).
5. *Tandulaveyyāḥya* (? *Taṇḍulavaitāḥika*).
6. *Candāvijjhaya* (*Candravedhyaka*).
7. *Devindattihava* (*Devendrastava*).
8. *Gaṇvījā* (*Gaṇitavidyā*).
9. *Mahāpaccakkhāna* (*Mahapratyākhyāna*).
10. *Vīratthava* (*Vīrastava*).

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V. Six *Chedasūtras* .

1. *Nisīha* (*Nisītha*).
2. *Mahānsīha* (*Mahānisītha*).
3. *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra*).
4. *Āyāradasāo* (*Ācāradasāh*), or *Desāsuyaskhandha* (*Dasāsrutaskhandha*).
5. *Bṛhatkalpa*.
6. *Pañcakalpa*.

VI. Four *Mūlasūtras* .

1. *Uttarajjayana* (*Uttarādhyayana*).
2. *Āvassaya* (*Āvaśyaka*).
3. *Dasaveyāliya* (*Daśavaikālika*).
4. *Pinḍaniṣṭuti* (*Pinḍanuyukti*).

VII. Two Solitary Texts :

1. *Nandīsutta* (*Nandīsūtra*).
2. *Aṇyogadāśasutta* (*Anuyogadvārasūtra*).

All these scriptures form the canon of the Śvetāmbaras alone, because they are disowned by the Digambaras. This tradition of the latter is connected with the great famine which broke out in Magadha during the glorious days of Hindu rule under Candragupta Maurya. After the emigration of Bhadrabāhu and his followers to the south it so happened that the holy texts of the Jainas were threatened with the danger of falling into oblivion, and a council was called by Sthūlabhadra and his followers, who had preferred to remain at home, early in the third century B.C., at Pāṭaliputra, a place historic in the annals of their order and at the same time the capital of the Mauryan Empire. This council of the Jainas, as Dr Charpentier tells us, "may have discharged pretty much the same functions as are recorded of the first Buddhist council."¹ A canon was fixed by the council including both the *Angas* and the *Pūrvas*, and thus is undoubtedly the first origin of the *Siddhānta*.² Now the monks who had returned home from the south were by no means satisfied with these arrangements. They

¹ Charpentier, *op cit*, Int., p. 14

² "Thus, according to Sthūlabhadra's tradition, a canon was established including the ten first *Pūrvas* and *Angas*, as well as other scriptures which are recorded to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu—e.g. the *Kalpa-Sūtra*."—*Ibid* "Therefore a council was called at Pāṭaliputra in which the 11 *Angas* were put together and the rest of the 14 *Pūrvas* were incorporated into the 12th *Anga*, the *Dīghavāya*."—Winternitz, *op cit*, p. 293 Cf. Farquhar, *Religious Literature of India*, p. 75, Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, Int., pp. 11, 15 For Hemacandra's version about the synod at Pāṭaliputra see *Parīkṣitaparīyan*, Canto IX, vv. 55-76, 101-108

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refused to acknowledge the canon, and declared that the *Pūroas* and the *Angas* were lost to them¹ Thus here lies the basis of the belief of the Digambaras—that what exists as the *Siddhānta* of the Jainas is not in its original form. We shall once again see presently that this tradition on their part carries very little weight considering the grounds in favour of the Svetāmbara belief.

However, before we come to this we shall refer to the next Jaina council, that met at Vallabhi in Gujarat under Devardhiganin, the Buddhaghosha of Jaina literary history, in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. What happened after the first great council in Magadha is that in course of time the canon of the Svetāmbaras fell into disorder, and was even in danger of being lost. Therefore, as seen before, in the year 980 or 993, after the death of Mahāvīra, “a famous teacher, Devardhiganin, called the Ksamāśramaṇa, who saw that the sacred lore was in danger of becoming obsolete—no doubt because of the scarcity of manuscripts—convoked a second great council at Vallabhi.”² The twelfth *Āṅga*, which contained the *Pūroas*, was already lost by that time, and whatever could be available was put down in a definite written form. Thus Devardhiganin’s activity must have consisted only in bringing about a canon of holy scriptures partly with the help of old manuscripts and partly on the ground of oral tradition³ As most of the modern scholars believe, we need no more doubt that the whole of the external form of the *Siddhānta* dates from the days of Dhruvasena, under whose patronage the great council was called.

Now, coming to the Digambara tradition of the Jaina *Siddhānta* being completely lost or forgotten immediately after the great famine in Magadha, we find that there is no evidence available on which we can make such a sweeping statement. Before we proceed any further one thing must be noted down—that even the Digambaras agree to the fact that the first disciples of Mahāvīra knew the

¹ For the famine in Magadha, etc., see Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 13-15, Winternitz, *op and loc cit*

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 15 Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, pp 293-294, Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, Int, pp xxxvii-xxxviii According to another tradition the *Siddhānta* was issued “at the hands of a council in Mathura under Śrī Skandilācārya”—Weber, *I.A.*, xvii, p 282

³ “*Pūram sarvasiddhāntānām pāthanam ca mukhapāthenai 'cā 'sit'*”—Jacobi *Kaipa-Sūtra*, p 117 Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, p 294 For the work done and the exact method adopted by the redactors of this council see Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 16 ff “To provide every teacher, or at least *Upāśraya*, with copies of the sacred books, Devardhiganin must have issued a large edition of the *Siddhānta*”—Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, Int, p xxxviii

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Pūras and the *Āṅgas*. "They hold the twelve *Āṅgas*—the *Dvādaśāṅgi*—in as high esteem as the *Svetāmbaras*."¹ Now what remains to be confirmed is that the original *Siddhānta* was not lost for ever. The epigraphic evidence that we can produce for this is that of the Mathura inscriptions. As we have seen, the number of *Kulas* and *Sākhās* appearing in these records can very well be identified with those appearing in the writings which are "proclaimed by the *Digambaras* to be late and worthless works, although they seem to make use of them to a certain extent."² Furthermore, the Mahāvīra legend is also reproduced in the Mathura sculptures as it appears in our texts, and the Jaina monks are mentioned with the title *Vācaka*³—i.e. lecturer or preacher. This latter fact, according to Dr Winternitz, gives epigraphical evidence to the fact that there must have existed the holy scriptures of the Jainas even in the beginning of the Christian era.⁴ Moreover, as seen before, the fact that as an alternative the Jaina monks could go about naked is also found in the *Svetāmbara* texts. This shows they did not dare to make arbitrary changes in the text, but handed them down as true as possible. Finally, it is a great proof for the authenticity of the Jaina tradition that in many remarkable details it exactly corresponds with the Buddhist tradition.

The total absence in the most important parts of the canon of any ideas belonging to Greek astronomy, according to some scholars supplies a decisive proof of the suggestion that the texts must have remained almost unaltered at least since the very first century of our era.⁵ "Moreover, the metrical parts of the Jaina canon suggested to such an acute observer and such an expert on Hindu metrics as Jacobi a *terminus a quo*; for as a general rule all the metres used by the Jainas in their canonical scriptures, whether Vastāliya, Tristubh or Āryā, show types that are clearly more

¹ Cf Böhler, *LA*, vii, p 29 "However, we are told by the *Svetāmbaras* as well as the *Digambaras*, that besides the *Āṅgas* there existed other and probably older works, called *Pūras*, of which there were originally fourteen"—Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xlv

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 11 Cf Böhler, *op and loc cit*

³ वाचकस्य चर्यावलदिनस्य . —Böhler, *E I*, i, Ins No III, p. 382 Cf. *ibid*, Ins Nos. IV, VII, etc, pp 383-386

⁴ Cf Winternitz, *op and loc cit*

⁵ Cf Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 25 "But an argument of more weight is the fact that in the *Siddhānta* we find no traces of Greek astronomy" In fact the Jaina astronomy is a system of incredible absurdity, which would have been impossible if its author had had the least knowledge of the Greek science As the latter appears to have been introduced in India about the third or the fourth century A D, it follows that the sacred books of the Jainas were composed before that time"—Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xl

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developed than those of the Pāli canon, and at the same time distinctly older than those of the *Lalitā Vistāra* and other northern Buddhist texts. Supported by this very powerful evidence, Jacobi concluded that the most important and oldest portions of the *Siddhānta* must have been fixed during a period lying between the *Tripitaka* and the first centuries of our era, say, roughly, between 300 B.C. and A.D. 200; and I, for my part, consider this conclusion quite justified.¹

Besides all this there are certainly many other passages scattered through the whole of the canon which might lead us to draw further conclusions about the period of the *Siddhānta* of the Jainas. An enumeration of all such passages is out of the question, but we shall mention one instance that has a certain interest for the question of the date. To put it in the words of Dr Charpentier: "In the second *Upāṅga*, the *Rāyapasenaijja*, the interesting relations of which to the *Pāyāsisutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* were detected and dealt with by Professor Leumann, it is stated in a certain passage that any Brahmans who have committed certain crimes should be stigmatised—i.e. the image of a dog (*Sunakha*) or a *Kuṇḍiṇi* should be branded upon their foreheads. This comedes with Kāuṭilya, p. 220, who prescribes that four marks should be used: for theft a dog (*Svan*), for incest (*Gurutaḥpa*) a pudendum muliebre (*Bhaga*), for manslaughter a headless trunk (*Kabandha*), and for consuming intoxicating liquor a *Madyadhvaṇa*. But this rule does not occur in Manu and the later law books, where corporal punishments on Brahmans are not permissible. This usage had consequently become obsolete after the times of Kāuṭilya, and the conclusion is that the Jaina text where it occurs must be nearer to the time of Kāuṭilya than to that of the later *Dharmaśāstras*."²

Thus from all that has been seen one thing is certain—that the present *Siddhānta* of the Svetāmbaras is no creation of later times, and that with all the additions and subtractions at various places it is based on the original texts. The question as to how far these texts can be chronologically traced is rather dubious, though of great interest. However there would be nothing wrong if in their definite forms they are traced back to the council of Pāṭaliputra, and in certain individual cases to a still earlier date.³ We shall

¹ Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 25-26, Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, pp 11 ff

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p. 31.

³ " . . . I do not consider that the principal sacred scriptures represent even in their present shape the actual canon fixed at the council of Pāṭaliputra "—*Ibid* Cf Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, pp 11, 111

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now consider in brief the separate works of the canon and, though rather superficially, shall mark their contents side by side with some points of importance individually attached to them.

First in order comes the group of the fourteen *Pūrvas*. They form the oldest portion of the canon, and even the *Śvetāmbaras* themselves tell us that they have been irrevocably lost along with *Drstivāda*, the twelfth *Āṅga*, in which these oldest works were incorporated at the time when they ceased to exist independently of the *Āṅga* literature. As seen before, the *Pūrvas* were suggested by Mahāvīra himself, while his disciples, the *Ganadhara*s or apostles, composed the *Āṅgas*. "This tradition," observes Dr Charpentier, "rejects the authorship of the mythic saint Rsabha, and is certainly right in ascribing the original tenets of the canon to Mahāvīra himself. As a general account of the facts, the statement that the main part of the canon originated with Mahāvīra and his immediate successors may probably be trusted."¹

After the *Pūrvas* come the *Āṅgas*, the single members of which are marked by certain formal peculiarities, which prove a connection closer in the case of some than in that of others. Taking the first of the twelve *Āṅgas*—namely, the *Āyārāṅga* or the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*—we find that it is the oldest extant canon² in prose and in verse, and treats of the mode of life (*Ācāra*) of the Jaina clergy. It contains two books, or *Śrutaskandhas*, very different from each other in style and in the manner in which the subject is treated. It is the first of these two *Śrutaskandhas* that gives the impression of its being one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of the existing scriptures. Like the *Sūtrakīrtiṅga* and a few other texts of the *Siddhānta*, in *Ācārāṅga* also we find that the larger divisions close with the words *ti bemi (iti bravīmi)* ("Thus I say"); and according to the *scholia*, Sudharman, Mahāvīra's pupil, is regarded as the one who gives utterance to this formula. The prose portions begin with the formula: *suyam me āusam' tenam bhagavayā evam akkhāyam* ("I have heard, O Long-lived one! Thus has that saint spoken."³) In this fashion, which characterises the contents as the oral translation of the utterances of Mahāvīra, Jambū, a scholar of Sudharma, is addressed.

¹ Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 11-12

² Cf Winternitz, *op cit*, p 296, Belvalkar, *op cit*, p 108, Weber, *op cit*, p 342
"I am of opinion that the first book of the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* and *Sūtrakīrtiṅga-Sūtra* may be reckoned among the most ancient parts of the *Siddhānta*."—Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p xli

³ Cf Weber, *op cit*, p 340, Jacobi, *op. cit*, pp 1, 3, Vaidya (P. L.), *Suyagadam*, pp 65, 80

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As seen before, the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* treats mainly of one of the four heads, or *Anuyogas*, into which the sacred lore is divided—namely, *Dharmakathā*, *Gaṇita* (*Kāla*), *Dravya* and *Caranakarana*.¹ The sermons therein combine the voice of an indifferent and impartial adviser and the solemn warning of a *Guru*, spiritual or otherwise. To quote a part of the *Sūtra* itself.

“The Arhats and Bhagavatas of the past, present, and future, all say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus; all breathing, existing, living, sentient creatures should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away.

“This is the pure, unchallengeable, eternal law, which the clever ones, who understand the world, have declared. Having adopted (the law), one should not hide it, nor forsake it. Correctly understanding the law, one should arrive at indifference, for the impressions of the senses, and ‘not act on the motives of the world. . .’ Those who acquiesce and indulge (in worldly pleasures), are born again and again. ‘Day and night exerting thyself, steadfast’ always having ready wisdom, perceive that the careless (stand) outside (of salvation); if careful, thou wilt always conquer. Thus I say.”²

The second *Anga*—the *Suyagadāṅga* or the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*—comprises poetic exhortations and philosophic disquisitions, followed by a polemic against *Kṛyāvāda*, *Akṛyāvāda*, *Varnāyika* and *Ajñānavāda*.³ The object of this *Sūtra* is to protect young monks from heretic doctrines, to warn them of the perils and temptations involved in them, to confirm them in their creed and to lead them to the highest destination. Like the first *Anga* this is divided into two books, and according to Jacobi and others it is the first that may be reckoned among the most ancient parts of the *Siddhānta*.⁴ As in the Buddhist literature, we meet here again a mixture of prose and verse, with some interesting parables scattered here and there. For instance we read: “As (birds of prey)—e.g. Dhankas—carry off a fluttering bird whose wings are not yet grown, . . . so many unprincipled men will seduce a novice who has not yet mastered the Law.”⁵

¹ अनुयोगः चत्वारि द्वारणि—चरखधर्मकालद्रव्याख्यानि रक्षितव्यमिति । नृगमानन्त्र रिभ्रं
अनुयोगो नो कश्चि पञ्चह—*Ācārya-Sūtra*, p. 200.

² Jacobi, *op cit*, pp. 36-37.

³ Cf. Vaidya (P. L.), *op cit*, pp. 3-11.

⁴ Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, Int., p. xli; Winternutz, *op. cit*, p. 297.

⁵ Cf. Jacobi, *S B E*, xlv, p. 324.

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The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* starts refuting the doctrines of Buddha and of other heretical teachers who are confronted with the main doctrines of Mahāvīra. With all this, as Winternitz has remarked, what we get from this *Sūtra* about Karman and *Samsāra* does not differ much from that of "heretic" doctrines. Philosophical ideals such as the following can be found also in the Buddhist text :

"It is not myself alone who suffers, all creatures in the world suffer ; this a wise man should consider, and he should patiently bear (such calamities) as befall him, without giving way to his passions " ¹

The difficulties and temptations that lie in the way of a monk are very minutely considered, and everywhere the young monk is advised to meet them all heroically. He is specially urged to beware of the temptations of women. Very often we find that such warnings are accompanied by a touch of genuine humour which makes the whole atmosphere more homely and realistic. For instance we read : "When they (women) have captured him, they send him on all sorts of errands : Look (for the bodkin to) carve the bottle-gourd, fetch some nice fruit. Bring wood to cook the vegetables . . . ; paint my feet, come and meanwhile rub my back . . . ! Give me the collyrium-box, my ornaments, the lute, . . . Fetch me the pincers, the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair ; reach me the looking-glass, put the tooth-brush near me ! " ²

The next two *Āṅgas*—namely, the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga*—we shall take together. Like the Buddhist *Anguttara-nikāya*, both these texts of the *Āgamika* literature of the Jains treat of several topics of religious importance in a numerical order, rising in the *Thānāṅga* from 1 to 10 and in the *Samavāya* from 1 to 100, and even up to 1,000,000. ³ As to the contents of the two, the former provides us with a Table of Contents of the lost *Dutthivāya*, the twelfth *Āṅga* of the Jains, and with an enumeration of the names of the seven schisms, together with those of their founders and of their localities. ⁴ The latter, or the *Samavāya*, contains some exact statements about the contents of all the twelve *Āṅgas*, and also consists of many statements and references about the doctrines, and the legendary hagiology and history of the Jains ⁵ Thus both

¹ Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xlv., p. 251

² *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 277.

³ Winternitz, *op cit.*, p. 300, Belvalkar, *op and loc cit*

⁴ Cf. Winternitz, *op and loc cit*, Weber, *I.A.*, xviii, p. 370

⁵ Cf. Winternitz, *op and loc cit*, Weber, *op cit.*, p. 377. "To the detailed consideration of the 12 *Āṅgas* there is appended here, as in the *Nandī*, a passage on the entire

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the *Angas* combined together constitute a perfect treasure-house for the correct understanding of innumerable groups of conceptions and of the *Siddhānta*.

Coming to the *Bhagavatī*, the fifth *Āṅga* of the Jainas, we find that it is one of the most important and most sacred texts of the *Jaina Siddhānta*. Its importance, from the standpoint of *Jaina* history, is second to none. In our previous chapters about the period of Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and about their contemporaries, we have referred to it more than once. Besides this the work contains a circumstantial and complicated exposition of the *Jaina* dogma, partly in the form of catechism and partly in the form of legendary dialogues (*vikāśasamvāda*). Of the legends, especially important are those which treat of the predecessors and contemporaries of Mahāvīra, of the disciples of Pārśva, and of the founders of sects—Jamālī and Gośālā Makkhaliputta—to whom is dedicated the fifteenth book of the *Bhagavatī*.¹ "All these legends," observes Weber, "give us the impression of containing traditions which have been handed down in good faith. They offer, therefore, in all probability (especially as they frequently agree with the Buddhist legends) most important evidence for the period of the life of Mahāvīra himself."²

The *Nāyādharmakahāṇa*, or the sixth *Āṅga* of the *Siddhānta*, brings us to the narrative literature of the Jainas. It is a collection of tales or parables designed to serve as moral examples, and, as with almost all the narrative literature of India, the *Kathā* literature of the Jainas also serves didactic purposes. At the beginning of his homily a *Jaina* preacher usually gives, in a few prose words or verses, the topic of his sermon (*Dharmadeśanā*), and then goes on to tell an interesting tale of considerable extent, as the most effective means of spreading the doctrines of Mahāvīra among his followers.

According to Hertel the literary form of these *Jaina* sermons not only resembles that of the Buddhist *Jātaka*, but is also highly

Dvādasāṅgaṃ Gaṇapīṭhaṃ This deals partly with the attacks which it was subjected to in the past, which it now experiences in the present and will experience in the future, partly with the devoted acquiescence which is its lot to meet with in these three periods, and concludes with the declaration of its certain existence for ever. *na kalyāṇaṃ na dāṣṭyaṃ na kalyāṇaṃ na dāṣṭyaṃ*—*Ibid.* To this Weber makes the following note "According to Abhayadevasūri attacks at the hands of Jamālī, Gośālā, etc.—the representatives of the seven schisms"—*Ibid.*, n. 65

¹ Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 800-801 "Of the legends which are adduced here, those claim a special interest which deal with predecessors or contemporaries of Mahāvīra, with the opinion of his heterodox opponents and with their conversion"—Weber, *I.A.*, xix, p. 64 ² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

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superior to it.¹ "Characteristic of Indian art," observes the great Orientalist, "are the narratives of the Jains. The Jains' way of telling their tales differs from that of the Bauddhas in some very essential points. Their main story is not that of the past but that of the present; they do not teach their doctrines directly, but indirectly; and there is no future Jina to be provided with a rôle in their stories."²

Most of these narratives of the Jainas are in the form of parables. Generally more stress is put on the parables than on the narration itself. In the first book of the *Anga* under our discussion there is one of this kind, which runs as follows. A merchant has four daughters-in-law. To test them he gives each one five grains of rice, with the instruction that they should keep them carefully until he would ask them back. In the meantime it so happens that one throws the grains away, thinking: "In the godown there are plenty of grains; I shall give him some others." The second one thinks the same and eats them up. The third one keeps them carefully in her jewel-box; but the fourth one sows them, and reaps a harvest again and again, until she has a great stock of rice after five years. When the merchant inquires for the five grains of rice he condemns the first two daughters-in-law by entrusting them to do only the lowest kind of work in the house, while the third is asked to look after the whole property, and the fourth one is made the head mistress of the house. Based on this simple story the moral to be taught is that with these four women may be compared monks, of whom some are not at all anxious to keep the five great vows; a few others who neglect them; the better ones, who keep the vows scrupulously; and the best ones, who are not only content to keep them, but also look for followers.³

Mostly of narrative contents are also the seventh, eighth and ninth *Angas*. Of these the first—namely, the *Uvāsaga-Ḍasāo*—contains legends about ten pious *Srāvakas*, many of whom are rich merchants, and who, by means of asceticism, in the end come so far that even as lay-followers they are rewarded with miraculous powers. Finally they die as real Jaina saints, by starving themselves voluntarily to death, and are then reborn as gods in the heaven of the pious.⁴ The most interesting is the story of the rich potter, Saddalaputta, "the servant of the Ājivīya," who was finally

¹ Hertel, *op cit* p 7

² *Ibid* p 8

³ Cf. *Jñāta sūtra* 63, pp 115-120

⁴ Cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsaga-Ḍasāo*, 1, pp 1-41, etc.

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convinced by Mahāvira of the truth of his doctrine.¹ Likewise the eighth and ninth *Angas* deal with legends concerning the pious, who, having put an end to their worldly life, attained the *Moksha* and the highest heavenly world respectively.²

Taking the last two of the extant *Angas*, known as the *Prasṇavyākarnāni* and the *Vipākāśrutam*, we find that the first is more of a dogmatic than of a legendary nature, while the other is the reverse of it. It treats of the ten moral duties—commandments and prohibitions—viz. first of the five *Adharmas*, which must be avoided—injury to life, lying, robbery, unchastity, (love of) possession—and then of the five *Dharmas*, the opposites of each of the above sins.³ The *Vipāka-Sūtra*, on the other hand, contains legends on the reward of good and evil deeds, which are rightly, in the opinion of Dr Winternitz, similar to the Buddhistic Karman stories in the *Avadānasataka* and the *Karmasataka*.⁴

As to the twelfth *Anga* of the Jainas, it is no longer extant. It is irrevocably lost, along with the fourteen *Pūrvas*—the oldest portion of the canon—which were incorporated in it when they ceased to exist independently of the *Anga* literature.⁵ However there is one question of capital interest connected with the loss of the *Drshṭvāda*. Eminent Jain scholars in Europe feel that the Jainas themselves give no convincing reason for the loss of what may be regarded as the oldest and the most venerable part of their sacred lore, and hence various explanations of what according to them seems to have been a startling fact have been attempted by them. To mention a few of these scholars. Weber thinks that the *Drshṭvāda*, not being in complete agreement with the tenets of the orthodox doctrine, was wilfully rejected by the Jainas themselves.⁶ According to Jacobi, *Drshṭvāda* became obsolete because it consisted merely of discussions (*Pravāda*) between Mahāvira and his opponents, and that these would have gradually lost their interest and at last become wholly unintelligible to the Jainas themselves.⁷ Last on the list, Dr Leumann propounds a totally different view as regards the loss of the *Drshṭvāda*. According to him this *Anga*

¹ Cf Hoernle, *Uṇāsaga-Desāo*, 1, pp 105-140

² Cf Barnett, *The Aṅgagā-Desāo and Anuttaravajāyā-Desāo*, pp 15-16, 110, etc.

³ Cf Weber, *I.A.*, x, p 23

⁴ Cf Winternitz, *op cit*, p 306

⁵ The fourteen *Pūrvas* were included as the third great subdivision of the twelfth *Anga*
Cf Weber, *op cit*, p 174

⁶ Cf Weber, *I.A.*, xii, p. 286

⁷ Cf Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xvi, Int., pp xlv ff

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of the Jainas must have contained a great number of texts concerning tantric rites, sorcery, astrology, etc., and this would be the real reason for its becoming obsolete.¹

All these explanations for the loss of the twelfth *Āṅga* of the Jainas seem to have one drawback in common—viz. that of suggesting that the *Drśtīvāda* ("or the *Pūrvas*, which is much the same thing" ²) was simply abandoned by the Jainas. This sounds rather strange, and especially so in the face of the traditions of the Jainas themselves; for they clearly tell us that the *Pūrvas* became obsolete only gradually, so that the loss was not complete until a thousand years after the death of Mahāvīra—i.e. just at the time of the final redaction of the canon. With whatsoever limitations we may take into consideration this tradition of the Jainas, along with Dr Charpentier, in our opinion also "the statement as a whole ought not to be totally disregarded."³

Coming to the second part of the *Siddhānta*, corresponding to the number of the *Āngas*, we get the twelve *Upāṅgas*. According to Weber and others "there are no instances of real inner connection between the *Āngas* and *Upāṅgas* having the same position in the series."⁴ Taking *Aupapātika*, the first *Upāṅga*, as mentioned before, its historical importance rests in connection with the detailed treatment of the appearance and sermon of Mahāvīra in Campā under King Kūnya or Ajātaśatru, and of the pilgrimage of the king to Mahāvīra.

As to the second *Upāṅga*, the *Rājaprasāniya*, the largest portion of the text deals with the pilgrimage of the god Suriabha, with a numerous retinue, to Amalakappa, the city of King Śveta, in order to offer his reverence to Mahāvīra, especially by means of music, singing and dancing.⁵ However, the quintessence of the work is in the inserted dialogue between King Paesi and the monk Kesi, which starts with the question in reference to the relation of the *Jīva* (soul) to the *Deha* (body), and which ends with the conversion of the open-minded king.⁶

¹ "des Dittivāya eine ganz analoge tantra-artige Textpartie gestanden hat, sondern lässt damit zugleich auch errathen, warum der Dittivāya verloren gegangen ist" —Leumann, "Beziehungen der Jaina-Literatur zu Andern Literaturkreisen Indiens," *Actes du Congrès à Leide*, 1888, p. 559

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp. 22-23 "Tradition indeed appears to regard the *Pūrvas* as identical with the *Dittivāya*" —Weber, *I A*, xx, p. 170

³ Cf. Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p. 23

⁴ Weber, *op cit*, p. 306 Cf. Winternitz, *op and loc cit*

⁵ Cf. *Rājaprasāniya-Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti), *sūt* 1 ff

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, *sūt* 65-79

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Of the remaining *Upāṅgas* the third and fourth may be taken together, being more or less similar in contents and form. The first of these treats in a dialogue form of the different forms and groups of animated nature, while the second treats of the different forms, conditions of life, etc., of the *Jīva*.¹ However, *Prajñāpanā*, the fourth *Upāṅga*, differs from nearly all the other canonical texts in this, that it is attributed to an author called Ayya Sāma (Ārya Śyāma, also Śyāmārya), who is placed by both the *Kharatarā* and *Tapa Gaccha Pattāvalis* in the fourth century after Vira.²

The next group combines in it the fifth, sixth and seventh *Upāṅgas* of the Jainas. The *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Jambudvīp-prajñapti* and the *Candraprajñapti* are the scientific works of the Jainas, and they treat of astronomy, legendary geography of *Bhāratavarsha*, and of cosmography of the heavens and system of time-reckoning, respectively. Of these, *Sūryaprajñapti*, the fifth *Upāṅga*, needs special mention on our part. "In it," observes Dr Weber, "we find the most remarkable statements concerning the astronomy of the Jainas arranged in a systematic form of presentation. It is an open question whether Greek influence made itself felt in this rectification; at any rate we have to deal here with an indigenous style of Indian astronomy antecedent to the authoritative and prepondering influence of the Hellenes."³ This fact of the *Sūryaprajñapti* being a unique specimen of "an indigenous style of Indian astronomy," even prior to the days of Greek influence in the East, is believed in by other scholars also,⁴ and its importance in the light of Jaina history is self-evident.

With regard to the last five *Upāṅgas* they are also compiled as five sections of a single text, entitled the *Niryāvalisuttam*. According to Weber, "their enumeration as five separate texts was caused by the desire to have the number of *Upāṅgas* correspond to that of the *Angas*."⁵ The historical importance of the eighth *Upāṅga* lies in this, that it treats of how the ten half-brothers of

¹ Cf Weber, *op cit*, pp 371, 373.

² Cf Klatt, *I A*, xi, pp 247, 251. According to Dr Charpentier, "*Upāṅga* 4 is expressly stated to be the work of Ārya Śyāma, a patriarch who is certainly identical with that Kālakācārya whom the tradition places in the time of Gardabhila, the father of Vikramāditya"—Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 27. Cf Jacobi, *Z D M G*, cxlii, pp 251 ff.

³ Weber, *I A*, xxi, pp 14-15.

⁴ Cf Jacobi, *S B E*, cxii, Int, p xi, Leumann, *op cit*, pp 552-553. Thibaut, *J A S B*, xlv, 1880, p 108. For some facts of especial interest in connection with the *Sūryaprajñapti* see *ibid*, pp 107-121, 181-205.

⁵ Weber, *op cit*, p 23.

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Kūnika were killed in the campaign against Cedaga, the great Licchavi king, and how as a result they were reborn in different hells.¹

This much about the *Upāṅgas* which form the second group of the *Siddhānta*. With regard to the third group of the texts of the *Siddhānta* it is formed by ten *Painnas* or *Prakāśas*. These texts, "in the pregnant sense of the word, bear a name which, denoting 'scattered,' 'hastily sketched' pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *Parīṣhitas*. Like the *Parīṣhitas* they are, with a few exceptions, composed in metre; and in fact in *Āryā*, the metre which is usual in the *Kārikā* insertions in the *Angas*," etc.² These *Painnas* treat of manifold subjects. Among them may be mentioned the prayers by means of which one is put under the fourfold protection of the Arhats, Siddhas, Sādhus and the Religion; the genuine euthanasia; the life in embryo; the qualities of teachers and pupils; the enumeration of gods, etc.³

Next we shall take the *Chedasūtras*, the fourth part of the *Siddhānta*. They discuss in general what constitutes prohibited conduct for monks and nuns, prescribing punishments or expiations for the same, though there is a large admixture of subsidiary matter of a legendary character. They correspond, consequently, to the *Vinaya* of the Buddhists, with which, despite all differences, they are closely connected in contents and in style of treatment.⁴ As to the antiquity of the existing *Chedasūtras*, in the opinion of both Winternitz and Weber a large portion of them is of considerable antiquity. This is because the quintessence of this group, the *Chedasūtras* 3-5, belong to the oldest part of the canon.⁵

These three texts—namely, the third, fourth and fifth *Chedasūtras*—come under one group, known as *Dasa-Kappa-Vavahāra*.⁶ Of these the composition of the two texts, the *Kalpa* and the *Vyavahāra*, is frequently referred back to Bhadrabāhu, who is said to have extracted them out of the ninth *Pūṛva*.⁷ The authorship of Bhadrabāhu is also asserted by tradition of the third member of this group of

¹ Cf. *Niryācalika-Sūtra*, pp. 3-10

² Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 308

³ Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-112, Winternitz, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 179, Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 309

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 308, Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180

⁶ Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 309, Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 210

⁷ दसकप्पववहारो, निष्कूटो जेण नवनपुत्राणो । वंदामि भववाहुं, .—*Rishmandalastotra*, v. 166

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texts, the *Āyāradasāo*. The eighth section of this last-mentioned text is long known as the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. It is formed of the entire work called *Kalpa-Sūtra*—i.e. of the entire work of this name in its three parts; however Jacobi and others rightly hold that in reality only the last (the third) section, which is called "*Sāmācārī*"—i.e. rules for *Yatis*—"Comprised by the name *Paryushanā Kalpa*," belongs to this place, and that it alone could claim, together with the remaining *Āyāradasāo*, to be ascribed to Bhadrabāhu.¹

As to the contents of the *Kalpa-Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu we need not enter into any more details here. We have referred to it more than once in connection with the life-history of Mahāvīra, with that of his twenty-three predecessors, with the successors of Mahāvīra, the pontiffs of the Jaina church, and in connection with the rules and prescriptions to be observed by *Yatis*. With these few remarks about the *Chedasūtras* we shall next deal briefly with the *Mūlasūtras* and the two solitary texts which form the last two groups of the Jaina canon.

Taking first the *Mūlasūtras*, we find that the significance of this title of a group of the Jaina canon is rather doubtful. In ordinary parlance, however, it would mean original text, but it is likely, according to Dr Charpentier, that, like the Buddhists, the Jainas also may have used *Mūla* in the sense of "original text," and that too merely to denote the actual words of Mahāvīra himself.² As to the contents of these *Sūtras* the first three also, from a literary standpoint, are of great importance. Of these the *Uttarādhyayana*, the first in the list, with its specimens of old ascetic poetry, belongs to the most precious part of the canon. It consists of direct ordinances in reference to a correct course of life, especially of the clergy, and of recitals and parables illustrating this life. According to the opinion of the old authorities summarised by Jacobi the aim of the text is "to instruct a young monk in his principal duties, to commend an ascetic life by precepts and examples, to warn him against the dangers in his spiritual career, and to give some theoretical information."³

Much of the contents, according to modern authorities on Jaina literature, makes upon us the impression of great antiquity,

¹ Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, pp 22-23, Winternitz, *op* and *loc cit*, Weber, *op cit*, p 211.

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 32.

³ Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xiv, Int, p 111.

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and recalls similar Buddhistic texts, and especially *Āṅga* 2—that is to say, the very oldest parts of the canon.¹ As just remarked, it resembles the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* with regard to its object and parts of the subjects treated; however in the *Uttarādhyaṇa* “the heretical doctrines are only occasionally alluded to, not fully discussed. Apparently the dangers expected from that quarter grew less in the same measure as time advanced and the institutions of the sect were more firmly established. Of more interest to a young monk seems to have been an accurate knowledge of animate and inanimate things, as a rather long treatise on this subject has been added at the end of the book.”²

As to the contents of the second *Mūlasūtra*, the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, it deals with all the six *Āvaśyakas*, or observances which are obligatory upon the Jaina, be he a layman or one of the clergy.³ With these observances are connected narrations of historical or quasi-historical importance which are handed down to us in the commentaries. To quote Professor Weber: “It treats not merely of the doctrine of Mahāvīra on this point, but also of the history of the doctrine itself—i.e. of the predecessors of Mahāvīra, of himself, of his eleven *Gaṇadharas* and of his opponents: the different schisms (*ninhagas*, *ninhavas*) which gradually gained a foothold in his teachings. The latter are chronologically fixed. Haribhadra quotes very detailed legends (*Kathānakas*) in Prākṛt prose (sometimes in metre) in this connection, and also in connection with *Ditṭhamāta* and *Udāharana*, which are frequently mentioned in the text.”⁴

Taking next the last two *Mūlasūtras* we find that the contents of the first one—namely, the *Dasaveyāliya*—refer to the *Vinaya*, or rules of conduct of the Jaina clergy, and this according to Dr Winternutz reminds us of the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists.⁵ The authorship of this complete conspectus of the leading Jaina tenets is ascribed to Sayyambhava or Sajjambhava, the fourth patriarch

¹ Cf Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 34; Winternutz, *op cit*, p 312, Weber, *op. cit*, p. 310

² Jacobi, *op and loc cit*

³ सनत्केषु सावयेषु यः श्रवस्तत्कायद्वयं हवद् जन्हा। श्रुतोऽसहोक्तिस्तस्य यः तन्हा सावस्तयं नाम—*Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, p 58, the six *Āvaśyakas* in order are as follows—The *Sāmānam*, or avoidance of evil deeds, the *Caurasattha*, or praise of twenty-four Jinas, the *Vaṇḍanayam*, or veneration of the teachers, the *Paṭikamanam*, or confession, the *Kāusagga*, or atonement of sins committed by penance and meditation, and the *Paccakkhānam*, or abstention from food, etc Cf *ibid*

⁴ Weber, *op cit*, p 330.

⁵ Cf. Winternutz, *op cit*, p. 315

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after Mahāvīra Mrs Stevenson looks upon this *Sūtra* "as a monument of a father's love persisting even in the ascetic life,"¹ because it was composed by the author for the benefit of his son named Manaka.² As to the last *Mūlasūtra*, it is a mere supplement to the previous one

Finally, what remains to be seen of the *Siddhānta* of the Jainas are the two solitary texts known as *Nandīsūtra* and the *Anuyogadvārsūtha*. Both of them are somewhat related in contents, but they differ in style. They are more or less encyclopædic, but systematic, reviews of everything that appeared necessary as a means of information with reference to the sources and forms of a correct knowledge and understanding of the sacred texts.³ In this way, according to Weber, their author could present his readers with a hermeneutical introduction. To quote the learned scholar, "these two works are admirably adapted to the use of one who, having completed a collection or redaction of them, then seeks for knowledge concerning the nature of sacred knowledge itself."⁴ Though according to the literary traditions of the Jainas Devardhigani seems to be the author of these two solitary texts, to both Weber and Charpentier there seems, however, no external support for this conclusion, which is not borne out by any information to be derived from the contents.⁵ "After all," observes the latter, "I think that the authorship of Devarddhi is not very strongly established, and we may regard him as a redactor rather than the author of the canonical works."⁶

This much about the canonical literature of the Svetāmbara Jainas.⁷ As to the language of the canon, from the unsettled state of the Jaina literature down to Devardhigani's times it may be concluded that the language also in which it was handed down underwent a gradual alteration. However this much seems highly probable, that the religious reformers of the sixth century before Christ, who taught in opposition to the priestly wisdom of the Brahman scholars a way to salvation accessible to the bulk of the

¹ Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p 70

² Cf Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p 118, Klatt, *op cit*, pp 246, 251 For the tradition about the composition of the *Daśarvāṇīya* see Hemacandra, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, Canto V.

³ Cf Weber, *op cit*, pp 203-204, Winternutz, *op and loc cit*

⁴ Weber, *op cit*, p 204

⁵ Cf *ibid*, Charpentier, *op cit*, Int., p 18

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ About the *Siddhānta* of the Digambaras see Winternutz, *op cit*, p. 316; Jacobi, *op cit*, Int., p 30

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people, used for their sermons the language of the ordinary people and not the learned language of Sanskrit. This language of the people seems to have been the vernacular dialect of Magadha, the home of Mahāvīra. With all this the Māgadhi used by the Jainas "has very little of affinity with the Māgadhi either of Aśoka's inscriptions or of the Prākṛt grammarians."¹ This is why the actual language used by the Jainas is known as Ardha-Māgadhi, a mixed language, "which consists to a great extent of Māgadhi, but took up also elements of foreign dialects; Mahāvīra is said to have spoken this mixed language to be understood by all with whom he came in touch, therefore also by the people living on the boundaries of his mother-country."²

According to the tradition of the Jainas "the old *Sūtra* was exclusively composed in the language called Ardha-Māgadhi,"³ but the Jaina Prākṛt of "the old *Sūtra*" differs considerably from the language of the commentaries and poets. The Jainas call it *Ārsham*, the language of the *Rshis*, while the dialect in which the canon is written is nearer to Māhārāshtrī, and is known as the Jaina Māhārāshtrī. We shall not enter into any further details about the peculiarities of the language used and developed by the Jainas before the final rearrangement of the Jaina books. Suffice it to say that "the Jaina Māhārāshtrī, being once fixed as a sacred language, continued to be the literary language of the Jainas until it was replaced by Sanskrit."⁴

Of the non-canonical literature of the Jainas we have, on the one hand, any amount of commentatorial works represented by the class of scriptures called the *Nijjuttis* or *Niryuktis*, and on the other, independent works consisting partly of learned works about dogmatics, ethics, and monks' discipline, and partly poetical products, of which some are hymns to glorify the Jainas while the rest belong to the highly increased narrative literature of the Jainas. It seems certain that long before the final compilation of the canon under Devardhi the Jaina monks must have begun composing explanations to the holy texts, for the oldest commentaries, the *Nijjuttis* or *Niryuktis*, are in some cases very closely connected with the *Sūtras*, or have even displaced them. *Pinda* and *Oghanijjutti* appear in

¹ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Int., p. 17.

² Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 84

³ पोरणबद्धनागहभारानियय हवद् सुत्तं—Hemacandra, *Prākṛt Grammar*, iv. 287

⁴ Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Int., p. 20 For further details about the language of the sacred writings of the Jainas see *ibid.* pp. 17 ff. Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

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the canon itself, and *Oghanijjuttī* is said to have been taken from some of the *Pūrvas*.¹

According to Dr Charpentier, old as the *Niryuktis* are they certainly do not represent the very first set of Jaina commentatorial literature. They are not the oldest but the oldest existing set of commentaries on the canonical scriptures of the Jainas. This is because "the *Niryukti* is in its main parts only a sort of index, a collection of versus memoriales meant to give an abbreviation of an extensive commentary, where all these tales and legends were really told at length."² The oldest commentator seems to be Bhadrabāhu, who, as seen before, died one hundred and seventy years after the *Nirvāna* of Vardhamāna. He is said to have composed ten *Niryuktis* on different works belonging to the canon—viz. the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Sūtrakāṅga*, the *Sūryaprajñāpati*, the *Daśaśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*, the *Āvaśyaka*, the *Daśavaikālika*, the *Uttarādhyayana* and the *Rshabhāshita*.³ According to Banarsi Das Jam, Bhadrabāhu's *Niryukti* on the *Āvaśyaka* is the earliest authority on the *Pūrvabhavas*—i.e. former births of Rshabha. This is because "the *Angas* do not make any special mention of the *Pūrvabhavas* of the Tirthankaras, though they contain numerous references to the past and future lives of several of Mahāvīra's contemporaries."⁴

What makes all these commentaries so precious is the circumstance that they have preserved for us, on the one hand, very many old historic or quasi-historic traditions, and on the other, a vast amount of material for popular narrations. Like the Buddhist monks the Jaina monks also have at all times preferred to animate their sermons by narrating stories and legends of saints with a view to gaining and preserving as many followers as possible, by taking advantage of the Indian lust of hearing religious stories. Thus "there gradually accumulated a considerable stock of legends and tales, partly borrowed from collections among the people since time immemorial, partly belonging to the 'legend aurea' of the Jainas themselves, and partly perhaps invented quite recently, which then formed a sort of permanent commentary on the holy texts."⁵

To this famous Bhadrabāhu is also attributed the *Samhitā*

¹ Cf Winternitz, *op cit*, p 317

² Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, pp 50-51

³ Cf *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*, vv 84-86, p 61, Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p 12

⁴ Jam, *Jaina Jātakas*, Int, p iii

⁵ Charpentier, *op cit*, Int, p 51

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known as the *Bhādrabāhavi-Samhitā*—an astronomical work—and the *Uvasaggaharastotra*, an ode to Pārśva. However it is doubtful whether the Bhadrabāhu of the *Samhitā* and of the *Niryuktis* mentioned above are one and the same person. Besides its being of the same character as the other *Samhitās*, this *Bhādrabāhavi-Samhitā* is not cited by Varāhamihira, who names amongst his numerous authorities another Jaina astronomer, Siddhasena,¹ and consequently it is more modern than Varāhamihira. To quote Jacobi, "At any rate, its author cannot be the same Bhadrabāhu who composed the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, because its last redaction, the date of which (980 A.V. = A.D. 454 or A.D. 514) is mentioned in it, was already earlier than, at least contemporaneous with, Varāhamihira—not to speak of its composition"²

As for the *Uvasaggaharastotra*, the tradition about its composition by Bhadrabāhu is based on the following verse :

उवसगगहर् पुत्रं काक्यं जेण संयकल्लणं ।
कल्लणपरेण विहिंसं स भद्रबाहू गुरु जयउ ॥³

"Victory to Guru Bhadrabāhu, who by composing the *Uvasaggaharastotra* bestowed, out of pity, happiness on the *Samgha*."

With regard to the contents of the *Stotra* it is a hymn in veneration of Lord Pārśva. This is clear from the last verse of the *Stotra*, which runs as follows : "Thus praised Glorious one ! with a heart full of mighty devotion, Pārśva ! mayest thou, O God ! therefore, give perfect wisdom in every birth, Moon of the Jinas."⁴ As to its composition by Bhadrabāhu, Jacobi believes that if that is granted, it is the oldest specimen of the now extensive literature of Jaina hymns.⁵

Besides Bhadrabāhu's there are many other independent works, but we shall limit ourselves to a few of the most important of them. Of these the first to draw our attention is the *Upadesamālā* of Dharmadāsaganī, who is claimed by the Jinas to be a contemporary of Mahāvira.⁶ The text contains moral instructions for laymen as well as for monks, and its popularity is witnessed by

¹ Kern, *Bṛhat Samhitā*, Pre, p. 29.

² Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p. 14. For the tradition of the Digambaras about Bhadrabāhu II and the legendary story of the Śvetāmbaras about Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira see *ibid*, pp. 18, 30. Vidyabhusana, *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 5-6.

³ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Subōdhikā-Tīkā*, p. 162.

⁴ Cf. Jacobi, *op cit*, Int, p. 13.

⁵ Cf. *ibid*, p. 12.

⁶ Cf. Dharmadāsaganī, *Upadesamālā* (Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā), p. 2.

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many commentaries, two of which go as far back as the ninth century A.D.¹ After Dharmadāsa we may mention Umāsvāti, who is claimed by both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. According to Winternitz, because he represents views which do not correspond with those of the Digambaras, they are scarcely entitled to claim him as one of them. With what limitations this fact about Umāsvāti can be or should be understood we cannot say. However, the learned scholar is right in inferring, with others of his opinion, that probably the great Ācārya belongs to an earlier period, when both the sects were not so sharply divided.² This is further supported by the *Tapagaccha Pattāvali* of the Janas, according to which Śyāmārya, of the fourth century after Vira and, as mentioned before, the author of the *Prayñāpanā*, was the pupil of Umāsvāti.³ Nevertheless, according to Hirālāl, "the solution may, however, lie in the fact that Umāsvāti does not touch the principles under controversy between the two sections."⁴

This Umāsvāti is better known as Vācaka-Śramana. According to the Śvetāmbara recension of his *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra* it seems he was known also as Nagaravācaka. We are told by him that he was born in Nyagrodhika, but he resided in Kusumapura or Pātaliputra.⁵ The Hindu philosopher, Madhavācārya, calls him Umāsvātvācākācārya.⁶ As to the writings of this great Ācārya, we find that no less than five hundred works are said to have been composed by him, of which, however, only five have survived. The colophon to all of these—viz (i) *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra*; (ii) *Bhashya* on the above; (iii) *Pūgāprakaraṇa*; (iv) *Jambūdvīpa-samāsa*; and (v) *Prasamarti*, as published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal—reads: "कृतिः सिताम्बरार्चयेत्य महाकवेरुमास्वतिवाचकस्य इति ।"⁷

¹ Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, p. 343; Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 74, Stevenson (Mrs), *op cit*, p. 82.

² Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, p. 351, Hirālāl (Rai Bahadur), *Catalogue of MSS in C P and Berar*, Int., pp. vii-v, Vidyabhusana, *op cit*, p. 9.

³ Cf. Kirtt, *op cit*, p. 251. This account of the Śvetāmbara *Pattāvali* assigns him to centuries before Christ. Ārya Mahāgiri, the tenth pontiff after Mahāvīra, dies two hundred and forty-nine years after the latter. He had two pupils, Bahula and Balissaha. The pupil of the latter was Umāsvāti. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 240, 251. In the Digambara account Umāsvāti is mentioned as the sixth in succession from Bhadrabāhu, and as succeeding Kunda-kundācārya. His date of death is given as 142 or A.D. 85. Cf. Hoernle, *I A*, xx, p. 341. For further information about Umāsvāti see Hirālāl (Rai Bahadur), *op cit*, Int., pp. vii-v. Peterson, *Report on Sans MSS*, iv, Int., p. xvi, Jam, *S B J*, ii, Int., pp. vii-v.

⁴ Hirālāl (Rai Bahadur), *op cit*, Int., p. ix.

⁵ *Tattvārthadhigama-Sūtra* (ed. Motilal Ladhari), *Adhyāyana X*, p. 203.

⁶ Cf. Cowell and Gough, *Sarva-Darsana-Samgraha*, p. 55.

⁷ Hirālāl, *op cit*, Int., p. viii.

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Among the works mentioned above, *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* is the one on which mostly rests his fame. Of the few priceless jewels that have been rescued from loss and oblivion this is about the most valuable. Umāsvāta is the first to put in the popular style of the philosophical Sanskrit *Sūtras* all the Jainistic principles that constitute the backbone of the *Āgamic* literature of the Jainas. This is why it is virtually known as the *Jaina Bible* and is revered by all sections of the *Jaina* community. How great and authoritative it is recognised to be will be further evident from the fact that it has perhaps received the greatest attention from most *Jaina* commentators. No less than thirty-one commentaries are known to be extant now. There is no *Jaina* doctrine or dogma which is not expressed or implied in these aphorisms. Verily *Tattvārthasūtra* is a sacred epitome of *Jainism*.¹

With these few introductory notes on the great Umāsvāti-vācaka we shall pass on to the period of Vikramāditya, with Siddhasena Divākara and Pādaliptācārya as the outstanding luminaries of the *Jaina* literary history.² With regard to the authenticity of the ancient and persistent *Jaina* tradition about the period of Siddhasena and his conversion of Vikrama we have already dealt, and hence we need not here enter into any further details about this moot question of the period of Divākara. However two facts may be adduced here in favour of this traditional date of Siddhasena. In the first place, like Vācaka-Śramana, he also is claimed by both the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, and secondly, references to him in the literature of both the sects are ancient.³

As to the literature left to us by the great Siddhasena, he is said to have written thirty-two independent works dealing with *Jaina* logic and philosophy. Leaving aside the minor question of the number of works composed by him he is precisely the first Śvetāmbara author of *Prakaranas* in the technical meaning of the word. "A *Prakaranā* is a systematic treatise in which the subject is exposed in a scientific form, unlike the unsystematic, either diffuse or episodical, treatment of subjects in canonical books; it may be in Prākṛt, but as a rule it is in Sanskrit."⁴ Such endeavours on the part of great teachers like Siddhasena and others

¹ Jaini, *op cit*, Int., p viii

² Rice (E P), *Kanarese Literature*, p 41

³ Hiralal (Rai Bahadur), *op cit*, Int., p xiii

⁴ Jacobi, *Samarāṅga Kāśī*, Int., p xii

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during the first few centuries before and after the Christian era to raise the Śvetāmbaras to the high level of Indian mental culture were brought to their conclusion by Hemacandra, who provided them with admirable text-books of the principal Indian sciences, besides such standard works as more directly concerned their own creed

Siddhasena is known to us particularly as the famous author of *Nyāyāvātāra* and *Sammatitarka*. The first is a metrical work on logic, giving an exposition of the doctrine of *Pramāṇa* (sources of valid knowledge) and *Naya* (the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints), while the second is the only work in Prakṛt on general philosophy containing an elaborate discussion on the principles of logic. Before the inauguration of these two learned works it seems there had not perhaps existed any distinct treatise on Jaina logic, its principles having been included in the works on metaphysics and religion. To quote Dr Vidyabhusana ; "Logic was mixed up with metaphysics and religion in the ancient writing of the Jainas as in those of other sects in India. The first Jaina writer on pure logic appears to have been Siddhasena Divākara. It was he who, for the first time among the Jainas, distinguished logic from the cognate branches of learning by composing a metrical work called *Nyāyāvātāra* on Logic in thirty-two stanzas."¹

As with Bhadrabāhu so also with Divākara is connected one of the hymns of the Jainas which is also an ode to Pārśva. This is the *Kalyāṇamandīrastotra*, the tradition about whose composition runs as follows :

"Once he (Siddhasena) presumptuously declared in the presence of his *Guru* that he would turn the whole sacred lore from Prakṛt into Sanskrit. For the expiation of the sin committed by this sacrilegious utterance he was administered by his *Guru* the *Pārāṇhika Prāyaścitta*, which required him to remain dumb for twelve years and visit sacred places. In the observance of this vow he once went to Ujjain and lodged in the temple of Mahākāla. Here he incurred the displeasure of the priests for not making obeisance to the god Śiva. They called the King Vikramāditya, who compelled Siddhasena to bow before the god. Siddhasena did this, reciting the *Kalyāṇamandira* ode, which had the effect of splitting the image of Śiva in twain and manifesting out of it an image of

¹ Vidyabhusana, *Nyāyāvātāra*, Int., p. 1

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a Jaina Tirthankara Being impressed with his power King Vikramāditya and many others became converted to Jainism.”¹

With regard to Pādahṛta we have already referred to him as one who had converted his majesty King Marunda, “the emperor of the thirty-six hundred thousand people of Kanyākubja.”² He is known to us as the author of the *Taraṅgavatī*, the most ancient and famous of Jaina romances. The original text has been lost, but a later recasting of it, *Taraṅgalolā*, has been preserved. Nemicaṇḍra, the author of the summary, abridged *Taraṅgavatī* by the omission of complex verses and “*Lokapadas*” (popular sayings). The reason given by Nemicaṇḍra for abridging the original is that it was very extensive, complex, and full of pairs, sixes, and *Kulakas* (collections) of verses, and that consequently it had become a work only for the learned, the ordinary people having lost interest in it.³

However, in spite of its being an abridged edition of *Taraṅgavatī*, *Taraṅgalolā* is also of great literary interest as a specimen, and reflex, as it were, of the more popular literature of fiction current in those days, which must have been a very extensive one, both in Sanskrit and Prākṛt, though very few works belonging to it have come down to us. As usual with other specimens of such literature, in our romance also the picture of the heroine ends in her renouncement of the world and entering the order. Karma remembrance of a previous birth, and its consequences, etc., serve to motivate the story, and the narrative is interspersed with a great deal of religious instruction, which, however, rarely degenerates into sermons.

Besides *Taraṅgavatī*, among other works of Pādahṛta we mention the *Prashna-Prakāsha*, a work on astrology, and the *Nirvāṇa-Kalkā*, the oldest extant work dealing with ceremonials relating to the “Installation of Idols,” and is known also as the “*Pratishthā-Paddhati*”—i.e. “Treatise on Installation.”⁴ The last-mentioned work is of great interest to the antiquarian, as it supplies “a link between the period of the composition of the Jaina holy scriptures and the date when they were systematically committed to writing. The work is written in Sanskrit, in departure from the usual practice to write in the Ardha-Māgadhī language of Jaina religious works

¹ Hiralal (Rai Bahadur), *op cit*, Int, p. xiii Cf. this story with the one given in the Jamnestic recension of *Vikramacarita*—Edgerton, *op cit*, p. 253

² *Ibid*, p. 251

³ Cf. Jhaṇeri, *Nirvāṇa-Kalkā*, Int, pp. 12-13

⁴ *Ibid*, Int, p. 1

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of the time The pomp attached to Ācāryship is great. Royal insignias, such as elephant, horse, palanquin, chowries, umbrella, as well as *Yogapattaka* (diagram for worship) and *Khaṭika* (pen), books, Crystal-bead-rosary, and sandals are presented to Acarya on conferment of the dignity. . . . The reference in the *Nitya-Karma-Vidhi* to *Ashta Mūrti* (eightfold form, Śiva) is important, and shows that Jaina worship was influenced by *Tāntrika Āgamas*, where the chief deity is Śiva.”¹

Thus from all that we have seen above this much is certain—that even the unrecorded period of Jaina history can safely claim to have had a copious and in part ancient literature. Though ours is in no sense an exhaustive survey of the traditional literature of the Jainas belonging to this period, there would be no exaggeration if we conclude that the Jaina literature of the period under discussion does not yield to any other Indian literature either in quality or in variety. All the species are represented in it, not only those which have an immediate bearing on the canonical writings—that is to say, the dogmatic, the moral, the polemic and the apologetic—but also history and legend, epic and romance, and lastly the sciences, such as astronomy and, above all, sciences like astrology and divination.

¹ Jhaveri, *op. cit.*, Int., p. 5.

CHAPTER VIII

Jaina Art in the North

WE propose to deal in this chapter with the sculptural, architectural and pictorial contributions of the Jainas to the history of North Indian art in general. In the words of Dr Guérinot, "the Hindu art owes to them a great number of its most remarkable monuments. In the domain of architecture in particular they have reached a degree of perfection which leaves them almost without a rival."¹ It is doubtless true that Jainism finds its best expression in architecture. It is consequent on the Jaina belief, which is greater than that of the other Indian sects, in the efficacy of temple-building as a means of salvation that their architectural performances bear so much larger a proportion to their members than is the case with other sects.

In the first place they possess picturesqueness in a great degree. They love to construct their sanctuaries on the slopes of woody or naked hills, in wild places with boundless scope for decoration. The mountain masses of Gīrnār and Śatruñjaya, which rise abruptly to a height of three or four thousand feet above the plains, have veritable cities of temples on their tops. The grouping together of their temples into what may be called "cities of temples" is a peculiarity which the Jainas have practised to a greater extent than the followers of any other religion in India.² "Specially on the summit of Śatruñjaya on every side sculptured chapels gorgeous in gold and colour stand silent and open; within are saints sitting grave and passionless behind the lights that burn on their altars. The multitude of calm stone faces, the strange silence and emptiness, unaccompanied by any sign of neglect or decay, the bewildering repetition of shrines and deities in this aerial castle, suggest nothing built with human purpose but some petrified spirit world."³

¹ Guérinot, *La Religion Djaina*, p. 279.

² Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 24. Cf. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 11.

³ Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 121.

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In spite of this variety of form and structure both the Śatruñjaya and the Gṛnār groups, barring a few Jaina caves beside the modern monastery or *Math* known as Bāwā Pyārā's Math in the east of Junāgadh,¹ do not possess any historical record or monument which can be traced back with any success. Even if there had been any such record left, "Full four centuries of Muslim rule have obliterated most of the traces of antiquity."²

As single edifices illustrating the beauty of the Jaina art both in grace of design and patient elaboration of workmanship may be mentioned the towers of Fame and Victory at Chitor, and the temples of Mount Abu. The latter *Tīrtha*, or sacred place of rendezvous, for minute delicacy of carving and beauty of detail stands almost unrivalled even in this land of patient and lavish labour. Likewise we may mention the *Tīrtha* of Samet Sīkhar or Pārasnāth in Bengal, of Rānpur, near Sādari, in Rajputana, of Pāvāpurī, with its holy temples of Jalmandar and Thalmandar in Patna,³ and so on; but most of these architectural remains of the Jainas, showing the love of the picturesque on their part, "belong either to the first or great age of Jaina architecture, which extended down to about the year 1300, or perhaps a little after that,"⁴ or "to the middle style of Jaina architecture"⁵ revived in the fifteenth century, especially under the reign of Kumbha, one of the most powerful of the kings of the Mewar dynasty, whose favourite capital was Chitor. But enlightening as it would be to follow the architectural, antiquarian and mythological interest attached to all these magnificent monuments of the Jainas, it would be departing from our purpose.

Just as with most of the architectural so also with the pictorial remains of the Jainas there is hardly anything which can be included in our survey here. No doubt specimens of Indian art, which have evolved under the austere influence of Jainism, are found in the shape of illustrated manuscripts, in works of Jaina theology or legends, and also in the shape of old "letters of apology" or *Kṣhamāpanā* or *Vyñapti-patra*, which the Jaina laity and clergy prepared with so much care and embellishment for sending them to

¹ Cf Burgess, *A S W I*, 1874-1875, pp 140-141, Plate XIX, etc. "There is no trace of distinctively Buddhist symbolism here, and, like the others, they were probably of Jaina origin"—Fergusson, *op cit*, p 81

² *Ibid*

³ "Thalmandar, according to priests, is built on the spot where Mahāvīra died, the Jalmandar being the place of his cremation"—*E O D G P*, p 224 Cf. *ibid*, p. 72

⁴ Fergusson, *op cit*, p 59

⁵ *Ibid*, p 60



JAINA CAVES AT JUNAGADH, GUJARAT, INDIA

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their ecclesiastical head of the neighbouring place on *Samvatsarika*—the last and the holiest of their eight-day festival of fasts; but all these distinctive traditions of Jaina æsthetics belong to the period of Jaina or Mediæval Gujarat painting which begins from the twelfth century A.D.¹

Coming to the architectural and sculptural remains of the Jainas belonging to our period we find that our main sources lie in the Jaina caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills in Orissa, on Mount Girnār in Junāgadh, and in the sculptural remains at the Kankālī-Tilā and other mounds in Mathura. However, before we proceed any further we shall make a few preliminary remarks bearing on certain characteristics of Indian art in general.

The first thing that should be borne in mind is that a sectarian classification of Indian art in general, as Fergusson has assumed, is rather defective. Really speaking, there are no Buddhist, Jaina or Brahmanical styles of architecture or sculpture, but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical remains in the Indian style of their period.² It is the provincial variations in its formal development, existing side by side with the secular variations in pure style, that tempt us to a sectarian classification of Indian art, but it is not correct.³ No doubt, as we shall see later on, the varying practical requirements of the cult of each religion, of course, have an effect on the nature of the structure required for particular purposes, but otherwise “works of art, including architecture, should be classified with regard to their age and geographical position, not according to the creed for the service of which they were designed.”⁴

Thus there is no such thing, for example, as a Jaina style of architecture or sculpture. This becomes quite evident from the fact that the principal sculptures of both the Bauddhas and the Jainas are so nearly identical that it is not always easy for the

¹ Cf. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, pp. 1-2, Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, pp. 38, 51.

² “Bühler has emphasised the lesson taught by the Mathura discoveries that Indian art was not sectarian. All religions—Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical—used the art of their age and country, and all alike drew on a common storehouse of symbolic and conventional devices. *Stūpas*, sacred trees, railings, wheels and so forth were available equally to the Jaina, Buddhist, or orthodox Hindu as religious or decorative elements”—Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Int., p. 6. Cf. Bühler, *E.I.*, II, p. 322.

³ Cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 106. “But, although nearly all Indian art is religious, it is a mistake to suppose that style was dependent on creed. Fergusson’s classical *History of Indian Architecture* is grievously marred by the erroneous assumption that distinct Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu styles existed”—Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid*

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casual observer to distinguish what belongs to the one and what to the other, and it requires some experience to do this readily.¹

The other point of importance for a student of Indian art is that although almost all Hindu art is religious,² to the Hindus religious, æsthetic and scientific standpoints are not necessarily conflicting, and in all their finest work, whether musical, literary or plastic, these points of view, nowadays so sharply distinguished, are inseparably united. No doubt it remains to be seen whether this limitation or discipline serves as a source of power or makes it the slave of a didactic purpose, but nevertheless, though religious story, symbolism or history may serve to move the artist to action, they cannot alone suffice to guide his hand. The moment he has commenced to work art will step in and take the reins of genius from all three. This is why the "fiery religious zeal of Renaissance Italy with all her pictorial symbols does not seem to have deterred her artists from becoming better painters than preachers, true to their kind as decorators rather than as missionaries; so that Signorelli could not help himself from utilising his sacred themes as vehicles chiefly for his discoveries in the art of drawing from the life, and the admirers of Fra Bartolommeo sadly removed from the church wall his masterly but too alluring St Sebastian!"³

With these few introductory remarks about Indian art in general we now come to the particular remains of the Jainas. Of these the first to strike our notice are the caves of Orissa, which are amongst the most interesting, though at the same time the most anomalous, of the caves in India. That most of them are Jaina caves goes without saying. In our chapter entitled "Jainism in Kahnga Deśa" we have referred to the images of Tirthankaras found in these caves and to the prominence given to Pārśva, whether among these images or by the use of his symbol, the serpent-hood. On examining the caves, however, no remains are found which could be clearly attributable to Buddhism: no *dāgoba*, no Buddha or

¹ "The *Stūpas* of the Jainas were indistinguishable in form from those of the Buddhists, and a Jaina curvilinear steeple is identical in outline with that of a Brahmanical temple"—*Ibid* "even highly educated people are not able to distinguish the one class of images from the other"—Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1, pt 1, p 220

² Cf Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p 16 " (an image made) according to rule (*Sāstra*) is beautiful, no other forsooth is beautiful; some (deem) that beautiful which follows after (their own) fancy, but that not according to rule (appears) unlovely to the discerning"—*Ibid* "The Hindus always present an æsthetic principle in the guise of a religious precept"—Smith, *op cit*, p 8

³ Solomon, *The Charm of Indian Art*, pp 86-87

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Bodhisattva, no scene distinctly traceable to Buddhist legends. *Trisūlas* open or pointed, *Stūpas*, *Swastikas*, barred railings, railed trees, wheels, the goddess *Śrī* are found, but they are as common to Jainism as to other religions¹ Furthermore this is a fact generally accepted by competent scholars, antiquarians and archæologists like O'Malley,² Mon Mohan Chakravarti,³ Bloch,⁴ Fergusson,⁵ Smith,⁶ Coomaraswamy⁷ and others.

Thus the oldest extant Jaina sculptures show that, like the other sects, Jains also excavated cave-dwellings or *Bhikshugrhas* for their recluses, but the practical requirements of their cult had an effect on the nature of the structure adopted by them. As a general convention Jaina monks did not live in large communities, and this combined with the nature of their religion did not necessitate them to have large assembly halls like the *Catyas* of the Buddhists. As seen before, the oldest and the most numerous of these earliest caves of the Jaina sects are in the hill on the east called Udayagiri; the modern in the western portion designated Khandagiri. "The picturesqueness of their forms, the character of their sculptures and architectural details, combined with their great antiquity, render them one of the most deserving of a careful survey."⁸

If not from the architectural at least from the archæological point of view the first to arrest our notice among the Udayagiri caves is the Hāthigumphā cave, a great natural cavern, the brow of which must have been smoothed to admit of the inscription. As to the inscription, it has been already dealt with at length by us. Though as it stands now there is very little of architectural importance left in it, this much is certain—that in spite of its being a natural cavern, looking to the importance of the record the Hāthigumphā must have been an excavation of no mean consideration. This is because the predilection for cutting temples or caves in the rock is

¹ Cf. Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op cit*, p. 5, Fergusson, *op cit*, p. 11

² O'Malley, *B.D.G.P.*, p. 266

³ "After having examined the caves carefully during my visits I have come to the conclusion that all the caves, so far as the present data are available, should be ascribed to the Jains and not to the Buddhists"—Chakravarti (Mon Mohan), *op and loc cit*

⁴ "That the caves contain nothing Buddhistic, but apparently all belong to the Jains, is a fact which is now, I think, generally . . . accepted by all competent scholars"—Cf. *ibid*, p. 20

⁵ "Till comparatively recently, however, they were mistaken for Buddhist, but this they clearly never were"—Fergusson, *op cit*, i, p. 177

⁶ Cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 84

⁷ Cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 37.

⁸ Fergusson, *op cit*, ii, p. 9.

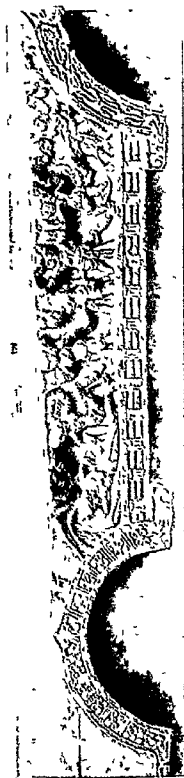
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to be found in the great desire for lasting merit, which the solid rock offers over a structural edifice; the merit gained by the work would last as long as the work. Moreover, the fact that the Hāthigumphā cave was enlarged and improved by art gains further strength from the fact that as a general rule cave-cutters selected cliffs where the rock was solid and free from cracks and fissures, and not natural caverns, to facilitate their work. This is because a natural cavern means rotten rock, where fragments may drop at any time, and so make living within them dangerous.

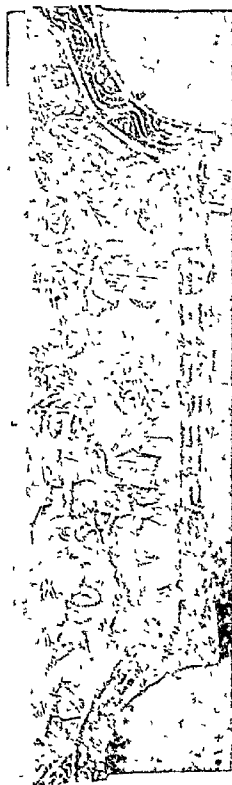
As mentioned before, from the artistic point of view the greatest interest lies in the Rām and the Ganeśa caves on the Udayaguri Hill. Both of them are two-storeyed caves with friezes, interrupted by the cell doorways, in both the upper and lower galleries. Of the two the Rām is the largest and best decorated of all the caves,¹ and in it elaborately carved friezes represent various scenes of human activities. As to the scenes portrayed in these sculptures and those, more or less, repeated in the Ganeśa cave, the *District Gazetteer* and reputed scholars like Chakravarti and others are of opinion that they relate to various incidents, legendary or otherwise, of Pārśva's life. We have referred to this fact before, and have also touched a little in detail upon the subject-matter of these friezes.

As to the sculpture of these early Jaina remains we find that, like the Mathura specimens which are to follow, there is here also a strange mixture of Greek and Indian elements in the dress of male and female figures, as well as in the draperies. This becomes confirmed in itself since the *Yavanas* were very much advanced during the centuries before the Christian era, and that Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription had his share in forcing the great Indo-Greek king, Demetrios, to retreat from India. Moreover the figures in these scenes are cut in bold relief, as at Mathura, and the women here too wear very thick ring anklets. This characteristic of the Orissa and other Jaina remains rightly emphasises the truth of the statement that "the interchange of ornamental motifs between the peoples of the earth must have been in progress since man first consciously produced decorative forms, and it is a psychological truth that such borrowed motifs invariably became modified in the process of application by the borrower. The extension of such borrowing and modification is endless, and motifs frequently return

¹ Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op cit*, p. 33



PART OF A TRIU FROM THE GANI SAGUNPHĀ UDAYAGIRI
from Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*



PORTION OF A TRIU IN THE UPPER VILANDAI OF THE RĀNIGUNPHĀ, UDAYAGIRI
from Mitra, *The Antiquities of Orissa*

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to their earlier traces extraordinarily transformed — sometimes almost beyond recognition.”¹

Besides this fact of the introduction of foreign elements in the realm of Jaina or Indian art of the pre-Gandhāra period we are of opinion that in this early Jaina sculpture there is a singular charm. Over and above its wealth of ornaments and skill in technique it is instinct with a remarkable freshness of feeling and wholesome joy of life, which ultimately breaks out into scenes of broad humour. These bas-reliefs, among other scenes of human activities, represent those of hunting, fighting, dancing, drinking and love-making, and, according to Fergusson, “anything, in fact, but religion or praying in any shape or form.”² This warmth of healthy humanity is characteristic of all the best Buddhist and Jaina art, and was only partly repressed by the classic reserve of the Gandhāra school, which next appears on the scene.

Space forbids any further discussion about the Jaina remains at Orissa. However two particular aspects of the Jaina contribution to art may be mentioned here before we pass on to the Mathura remains. The first is the institution of relic worship in the form of *Stūpas*, and the second that of idolatry among the Jainas. As mentioned before, from the fourteenth line of the Hāthigumphā inscription we learn that even prior to the age of the Mathura sculptures—as with the Buddhists so also with the Jainas—was prevalent the practice of erecting monuments or *Stūpas* on the remains of their teachers. “Doubtless the oldest *Stūpas* were not symbols of a religious cult, but memorials of the dead associated with the practice of burial instead of cremation.”³ It may be that this line of worship was not so common with the Jainas as with the Buddhas, and it is certain that it was out of date after a short span of its popularity; but from the *Vodva Stūpa* from Mathura, which, as seen before, was built by the gods, we can affirm this much—that *Stūpa*-worship with the Jainas also had reached a definite stage.

The chief ground for such an assertion is that “*Stūpas* were, originally, great mounds of earth raised over the ashes of a chief or religious leader, and surrounded by wooden rails to protect them. Later they were built in brick or stone with an earthen core, a stone railing taking the place of a wooden one.”⁴ That the *Vodva* and

¹ Andrews, *Influences of Indian Art*, Int., p. 11

² Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 46.

⁴ Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, p. 8

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other *Stūpas* at Mathura do not resemble *Stūpa* architecture in its primitive form is clear on the very face of it. We find in them a stone railing taking the place of a wooden one, and besides this a lavish decoration applied to the exterior.

The second point that we are to consider now is the iconography of the Jainas. From the Hāthigumphā inscription we have seen that the Jainas used to have images of their Jinas as far back as the days of the Nandas. This is partially confirmed by the Mathura remains that the Jainas of the Indo-Scythic period used for their sculptures materials from an old temple. In accordance with Smith this state of facts shows indeed at least this much, that there was a Jaina temple in Mathura before 150 B.C.¹ Moreover from the traditional literature of the Jainas we have seen that, even in the days of Mahāvīra, Pārśva was the Tīrthankara worshipped by his father and the Jaina *Samgha* of those days. However, we need not concern ourselves with the question as to when exactly idol-worship was taken up by the Jainas, though this much seems certain, that in one form or the other it has been prevalent from the days of Mahāvīra.

What we are immediately concerned with is the iconography of the Jainas. The proper objects of worship are the twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthankaras, but, like the Mahāyana Buddhists, they also allow the existence of Hindu gods, and have admitted into their sculptures at least such of them as are connected with the tales of their saints—among which are Indra or Śakra, Garuḍa, Sarasvatī, Lakshmī, Gandharvas, Apsaras, etc., forming a pantheon of their own, divided into four classes—*Bhavanādhīpatīs*, *Vyāntaras*, *Jyotiṣhkas* and *Vaimānikas*.² The Tīrthankaras, as already mentioned, are recognisable by a cognizance, or *Cincha*, usually placed below the image. We have seen that more than one cave in Orissa is noted for the figures of Jaina Tīrthanīkaras, with their characteristic symbols or *Lānchanas*, and for those of seated Jinas carved in moderate relief. Similar statues of the Jaina Tīrthankaras are found among the Mathura remains also, and as a class they represent the Digambara mode of representation of the Jaina Tīrthanīkaras.³ Thus even historically the series of twenty-four pontiffs (Tīrthanīkaras), each with his distinctive emblem, was evidently

¹ Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Int., p. 3

² Cf. Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp. 66 ff.

³ Cf. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 41. For further details about the Tīrthanīkari images at Mathura Museum see *ibid.*, pp. 41-43, 66-82



ANCIENT JAINA BRICK STOPE INCAYATED, MATHURA

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firmly believed in at the beginning of the Christian era, and even earlier.

The Tīrthaṅkaras are generally represented seated in the same cross-legged attitude as Buddha, with the same stolid, contemplative expression of countenance. If the dancing figures in both the Orissa and Mathura sculptures stand for evolution, the everlasting becoming, the *Yogī* type of seated Jīna is an equally dramatic image of withdrawal, of complete independence of evolution. It is well to remember that this does not represent any sort of mortification of the flesh; it is simply the position which has been adopted by Indian thinkers from time immemorial as most convenient for meditation. It need not also be considered as expressionless because it does not reflect the individual peculiarities which make up expression as we commonly conceive it. On the other hand, in the opinion of Rothenstein the plastic interpretation of *Samādhi*, or religious absorption, forms one of the supreme conceptions in the history of art which the world owes to the genius of India. "This concrete crystallisation of a spiritual mood," observes the learned scholar, "was developed into a form so perfect and inevitable that it remains, after more than 2000 years, one of the most inspiring and satisfying symbols created by man."¹

Coming to the Jaina remains in Mathura, a city of immemorial antiquity, it may be said that they were excavated from or near the Kankālī or Jamī mound (Tilā), about half-a-mile south of the Katrā. The importance of this school in the history of Indian art lies as a link between old Indian and mediæval sculpture and its close affinity with the Gandhāra school, so called because its centre was in the region of Gandhāra, the north-western frontier, and most of its finest creations have been found there. "Geographically," observes Smith, "Mathura occupies a central position intermediate between Gandhāra to the north-west, Amravati to the south-east, and Sārnāth to the east. It is therefore not surprising that the local school of art should display intermediate characters, linking it on the one hand with the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, and on the other with the purely Indian schools of the interior. This Gandhāra-Mathura school seems to have sprung up in the first century B.C. and flourished in full maturity between A.D. 50

¹ Rothenstein, *Elements of Indian Art*, p. 158, note, p. 159.

² Smith, *History of Indian Art*, p. 167, note 1, p. 168, note 1.

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and 200.¹ It arose from the adoption of the Hellenistic models to the older art of India, which gradually assimilated to its own spirit.

"The phrase 'Gandhāra school,'" observes Dr Barnett, "is a collective term denoting the labours of many artists working in various materials through several generations with a considerable variety of technique. Sometimes they blindly copied Hellenistic models, with the dubious success due to clever imitation. Usually, however, they did more: together with the figures, draperies, and motives which they borrowed from Hellenism they imported a spirit of Greek refinement and dignity, of beauty and harmony, which raised the forms of the older art to a nobler level, without weakening its sincerity and humanity."²

This introduction of foreign elements into the art of India and the extension of Indian taste abroad are a natural outcome of the political and commercial intercourse which India had with the world outside. This is why the geographical India of to-day includes the homes of numerous races whose ideals of art, as of religion, are far from being identical, and who, being in many cases immigrant even down to late historical times, have introduced foreign elements of decorative art, which, like the immigrants themselves, have become naturalised and have also acquired a local patina. However, according to Andrews, on climatic and other grounds hardly any interesting facts concerning art matters can be gleaned from the lands most affected by contact with India, and hence "most of our knowledge of the Arts has to be compiled from the internal evidence of such objects as have survived the destructive forces of climate and fanaticism."³

With these few preliminary remarks about the Mathura school in general we shall now study some specimens of Jaina sculpture found at the Kankālī mound, and shall see how far Jaina artists were governed by the immutable law of the undisputed obedience which Art exacts from her votaries, and how far they succeeded in bringing about a healthy assimilation of Hellenistic elements.

Of the few specimens of Mathura sculptures which we are to describe here we shall take first the very interesting and beautiful works technically known as *Āyāgapatas*. "An *Āyāgapata*," observes Dr Bühler, "is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation

¹ "This culmination of the art of the school may be dated from about A.D. 50 to A.D. 150 or 200"—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

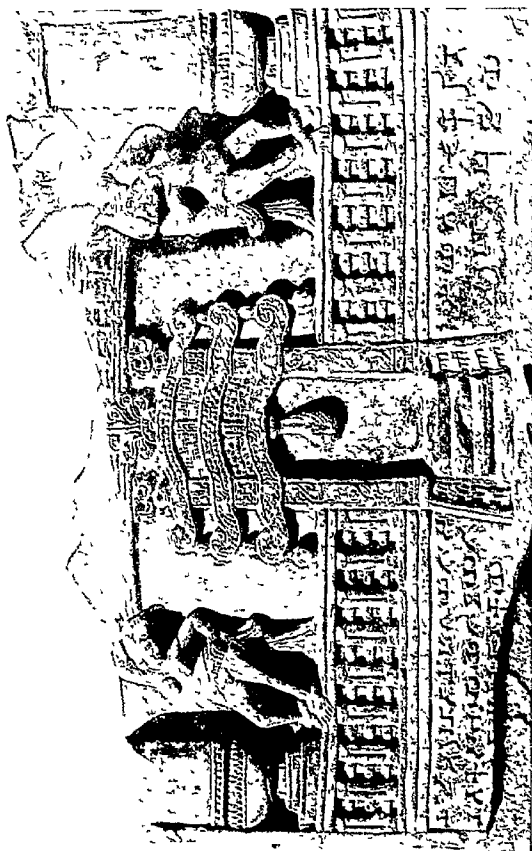
² Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 253.

³ Andrews, *op. cit.*, Int., p. 12.



AYAGAPATA, OR "TABLET OF HOMAGE," MATHURA

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TABLET OF HOMAGE SET UP BY ŚIVAYAŚĀ

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AYAGAPATA WITH JINA, MATHURA, 1st CENTURY A.D.

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of a Jina or some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by 'tablet of homage or of worship,' since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, 'for the worship of the Arhats.' . . . Among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to be dated" ¹

The *Āyāgapatas* seem to be not the exclusive but a prominent feature of the ancient Jaina art. As usual, the aim that the Jaina sculpture had in view in these highly decorated tablets "was not the independent creation of beauty. Their art was the dependent art of the decorator of architectural monuments." ² Nevertheless there is nothing strange if the central disc of the *Yogī* type of seated Jina, the highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, accompanied by a great variety of sacred symbols, the exquisite curvilinear ornaments, and the massive pillars in the Persian Achæmenian style were to prejudice the art-loving visitor so as not to easily believe that symbolism was a prime motive of Mathura's sculptures in their handling of their chisels upon these "tablets of worship." On the other hand, at least with regard to these *Āyāgapatas*, one may go even a step further and assert that they showed their supremacy in the vitality and independence of their creations, and thus being enthusiastic artists themselves they must have often utilised religious themes as an excuse for rather than as the end and aim of their productions.

Of these, two *Āyāgapatas* may be mentioned here—the one set up by Śivayaśā, the wife of the dancer Phaguyaśā, ³ and the other by Āmohinī, as mentioned before, of the year 42 of the Lord, the Mahākshatrpa Sōdāsa. The first composition, in the words of Smith, "gives an interesting view of a Jaina *Stūpa*, which was surrounded by a perambulation path guarded by a railing. The path is approached through a highly decorated *Toraṇa* gateway, to which four steps ascend. A heavy wreath hangs from the lowest beam of the gateway. A dancing girl completely nude except for a sash of the usual jewellery round the hips stands in an immodest attitude on the railing on each side of the gate. Two massive pillars with peculiar bases are shown, and a small portion of the railing surrounding an upper perambulation path is visible" ⁴

¹ Bühler, *EJ*, II, p. 814

² Chanda, *A S.I.*, 1922-1923, p. 166

³ Cf. Bühler, *op cit*, No. V, p. 200.

⁴ Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 19, Plate XII

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On this beautifully carved *Torana* there is a brief dedication, and according to Smith the characters of this inscription are "little more archaic than those of Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the gateway of the Bharhut *Stūpa*, dated in the reign of the Sungas, or about 150 B.C."¹ Dr Bühler also has grouped it under the name of "archaic," but he limits himself to the remark that it belongs to the period before Kanishka.² As to the artistic merits of this *Āyāgapata* one need not be guided by mere sentiment. There are tests more universal than those of particular canons or personal likes and dislikes. To Vincent Smith the attitude of the two female figures represented here seems immodest. Likewise the female statues appearing on some railings elsewhere are also considered by him indecently naked.³ It seems, in cases such as these, it is the immediate or apparent subject-matter—the representative element—which gives vent to personal likes and dislikes, and the meaning of art no more remains for us far deeper than that of its immediate subject.

As it is, the female figures both in the *Āyāgapata* of Śivayaśa and on some railing pillars, either standing or crouching grotesque dwarfs or in some other pose, are not to incite good or bad actions, since nearly all art which has any conscious purpose is sentimental. The true ethical value of art appears in its quality of detachment and vision. The light in which the ancient Indian artists envisaged woman was serene, frank and generous. The thick ring anklets, the light wisp of drapery, the heavy ear ornaments, armlets, necklace and girdle enrich but do not conceal the all-conquering and triumphant nudity. There exists not a trace either of immodesty or the diffidence of false shame in this arboreal beauty. Within no mean or narrow compass but in the palace of their souls did the artists at Mathura, as at Sanchi and elsewhere, enshrine woman, and so they enskied her image—the immortal symbol of all beauty—stamped, as was fitting, in everlasting stone, and outlined against the blue-black ground of heaven.

Coming to the tablet of homage set up by Āmohinī, Smith observes: "This fine votive tablet, which is essentially an *Āyāgapata*,

¹ Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Int., p. 3

² Bühler, *op cit*, p. 106

³ According to Coomaraswamy these female figures are not dancing girls, as Smith has observed. In his opinion "they are *Yakṣīs*, *Devatās* or *Vṛkṣakās*, nymphs and dryads, and to be regarded as auspicious emblems of vegetative fertility, derived from popular beliefs"—Coomaraswamy, *op cit*, p. 64. Cf. Vogel, *AS I*, 1909-1910, p. 77.



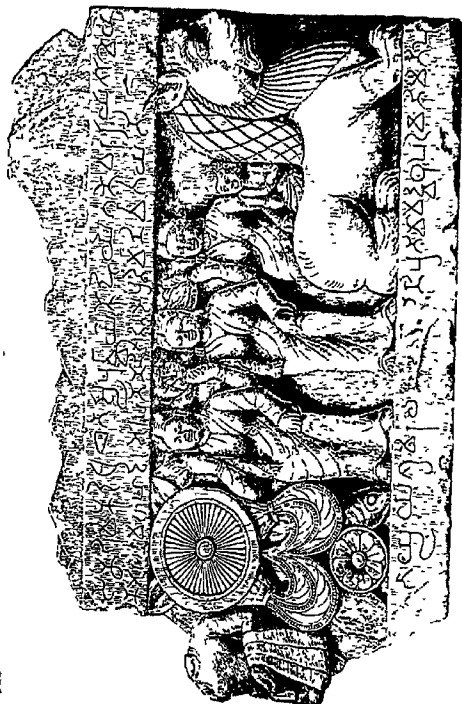
VOTIVE TABLET SET UP BY VINOHINI

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RAILING PILLARS WITH HUMAN FIGURES (MATHURA)

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SCULPTURE CONNECTED WITH THE YODVA SŪPA, "BUILT BY THE GODS"

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though not so called, represents a royal lady attended by three women and a child. The attendant women, in accordance with the ancient Hindu fashion, which survived to modern times in Southern India, are naked to the waist. One holds an umbrella over her mistress, whom another fans. The third holds a wreath (*hār*) ready for presentation. The execution is bold, and not altogether wanting in artistic merit”¹

Next to these *Āyogapatas* we may mention the sculpture connected with the *Vodva Stūpa* built by the gods. The sacred symbol in the centre of the composition consists of a *Dharmacakra* supported by a *Trisūla*, which itself rests on a lotus. The *Dharmacakra*, or the Wheel of the Law, as the emblem of their respective creeds, is common to all three sects—the Jainas, the Brahmans and the Bauddhas². The particular *Cakra* that appears here “differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Sanikhhas*, which lean against the basis.”³ The group of worshippers on the right of the picture is formed of four female figures holding garlands in their hands, wherewith they evidently intend to worship the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. Each of the first three figures holds up in her right hand a long-stalked lotus flower, while the fourth one, which looks smaller and apparently much younger, clasps her hands in an attitude of adoration, and is partly hidden behind the stiff Assyrian-looking lion which crouches at the end of the slab. According to Dr Buhler the faces of these females look like portraits,⁴ and their dress, which is a bit peculiar, consists of a single long robe covering the whole body to the feet and confined at the waist.

There is some difficulty about the mutilated portion of the slab. The male figure on the right of the *Dharmacakra* is considered by Dr Buhler to be that of a “naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription.”⁵ It is difficult to say if this is a

¹ Smith, *op cit*, p. 21, Plate XIV.

² “... it would be surprising if the worship of *Stūpas*, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representations in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heritages handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India”—Bühler, *op cit*, p. 323

³ *Ibid*, p. 321. For a specimen of Buddhist sculpture see Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate XXIX, Fig. 2.

⁴ Bühler, *op cit* and *loc. cit*

⁵ *Ibid*.

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naked figure of an ascetic. According to Smith it is one of the four male worshippers who have formed the other side of the slab.¹ In our opinion, too, Smith's view seems to be more acceptable, because then the whole sculpture would be representing a group of male and female lay-worshippers preparing for the homage of the Arhat mentioned in the record.

The importance of this specimen of Mathura sculpture lies in this, that it is connected with the *Vodva Stūpa* built by the gods. We have already referred to the significance of the words "built by the gods." It must have been built several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, for the name of its builder would assuredly have been known if it had been erected during the period when the Jainas of Mathura carefully kept record of their donations. The Jaina tradition about it, as reproduced by Smith, runs as follows: "The *Stūpa* was originally of gold, adorned with precious stones, and was erected in honour of the seventh Jina, *Supārśvanātha*, by the goddess *Kuberā*, at the desire of two ascetics named *Dharmaruci* and *Dharmaghosha*. In the time of the twenty-third Jina, *Pārśvanātha*, the golden *Stūpa* was encased in bricks, and a stone temple was built outside."²

Besides these few specimens of Mathura sculpture we may mention the *Torana*, showing the veneration of holy objects and places by human and mythological beings. The artist in these *Toranas* does not want to illustrate any particular text or legend, but merely wishes to show how eager gods and men are to pay homage to the Tirthankaras, to their *Stūpas* and temples. This is why the scenes refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions of pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose.

Amongst these sculptures is one which apparently possesses very considerable archæological interest. It is a *Torana* bearing a relief which represents the worship of a *Stūpa* by two *Suparnas*—half birds and half men—and by five centaurs or *Kinnaras*. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear. "A somewhat similar scene," observes Buhler, "where *Suparnas* worship a *Stūpa* occurs on a *relievo* at Sānchi."³ But it must be noted that the Sānchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done

¹ Smith, *op cit*, p 12

² *Ibid*, p 15

³ Cf Fergusson, *op cit*, Plate XXVII, Fig 1



FIGURE 1 AND 2. RELIEFS FROM THE TEMPLE OF EDFU, SHOWING THE GODS AND MEN PAYING HOMAGE TO HIRHANKARAN.

(After the original, from the collection of the British Museum.)



OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF A TORANA MATHURA

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ORNAMENTAL SLAB REPRESENTING TITAI DANCERS AND MUSICIANS, REJOICING AT NTAISA'S FTAI

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in a more conventional manner, like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations those of *Garuda*, the king of *Suparnas*, on the Gupta seals¹ are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gaya and elsewhere, and in all probability they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse². As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues versed in classical archaeology there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular."³

As to the figures on its reverse, the *Torana* beam retains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. The cart closely resembles a modern *Shighrām*, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sānchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots⁴ drawn by horses appear instead.⁵

Taking last the ornamental slab, the obverse of which represents Nemesa's feat of transferring the embryo of Mahāvīra, and the reverse showing female dancers and musicians rejoicing at the great feat, once again we realise that the religious stories and moral lessons which the Indian artist was employed to advertise did not interfere with his freedom to perfection. The Mathura carver seems to have succeeded in creating the most satisfying æsthetic forms precisely at the periods when their services were in the greatest request for purposes of propaganda among the priestly and royal patrons. Especially when he was employed to illustrate some well-known story or legend he could, to an unusual degree, use traditional canons of proportion and gesture, and reconcile these with a dæmonic energy.

Besides this slab representing the popular tradition of the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo there are four mutilated statues lithographed by Cunningham. Two of these figures represent seated females. Each of them has a small child lying in a dish

¹ Cf. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, Plate XXXVII, Smith, *J.A.S.B.*, lvm, pp. 85 ff., Plate VI.

² "No other example is known of a leaf being used to mask the junction between the human and equine bodies in the centaurs"—Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 82.

³ Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁴ Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXIII, *ibid.*, Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1.

⁵ Bühler, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

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on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked. The other two figures are those of Naigamesha, and rightly are they "goat-headed," according to Dr Buhler, as also the figure in the other sculpture. Comparing this slab¹ with that of the four figures of Cunningham² the eminent Orientalist observes. "The very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both cases"³

In fact the cave temples and dwellings excavated in Orissa and at Junāgadh or Gīrnār in Gujarat, with their elaborately carved friezes and finished to the minutest detail and ornament, and the richly decorated *Āyāgapatas* and *Toranas* of the Mathura find, stand before us not as remains but as living oracles of art. They combine in them the Triune Entity of Indian art—a sublime union of the purely Decorative, the Realistic and the purely Spiritual. This is felt rather than seen; for the differences between the one and the other are to be found, not in the fields of artistic knowledge, however wide, but in the *terra incognita* of Taste.

¹ Buhler, *op cit*, Plate II, a

² Cunningham, *A S I*, xx, Plate IV.

³ Buhler, *op cit*, p 318



FOUR MUTILATED STATUES REPRESENTING THE TRANSFER OF MAHĀVĪRA'S EMBRIO

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CONCLUSION

IF nothing succeeds like success, the great triumph of Jainism in holding its own against its numerous rivals in the north discredits the view that Jainism, like Buddhism, did not strike deep roots in North India, and that there was nothing like a Jaina period in the history of India.¹ With all deference to the scholars who maintain such views, we venture to believe that the study of Jainism in North India attempted in the foregoing pages, inadequate as it is in many ways, is sufficient evidence to the contrary. Whatever may be the antiquity of Jainism in North India, no one can deny that there is enough conclusive evidence to the effect that, at least from the days of Pārśva or from 800 B.C. down to the conversion of the great Vikrama by Siddhasena Divākara in the beginning of the Christian era, and to some extent even throughout the Kushāna and the Gupta periods, Jainism was the most powerful religion in the north. During this glorious period of more than a thousand years there was not a single dynasty in the north, whether great or small, that did not come under its influence at one time or another.

Leaving aside a few points of historical importance here and there, almost every chapter in the present work deals with matters about which long researches have been made, and various opinions have been recorded. Thus, more or less, ours has been a humble attempt to string together, in methodical order, the results of the labours of able scholars, in order to produce a readable work on the unrecorded period of Jaina history—and not to compose an elaborate work of discussions on Jaina antiquities. In fulfilment of this any betrayal into conjectures and suppositions should be accepted as such, and not as historical discoveries. As far as possible details have been suppressed; nevertheless repetition has not been avoided where such repetition seemed necessary to bring out cardinal facts and salient features of this period of North Indian Jainism, which happily coincides with the hey-day of its powers.

However, until the numerous Jaina inscriptions and manuscripts which exist everywhere in the north are collected and

¹ Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 55

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translated, and until plans are made of the architectural remains and statistics gathered, it is idle to speculate either about the extent and strength of Jainism in the north or about its vicissitudes during its existence there. It is a task worthy of being attempted, for, if successfully carried out, it would add to our scanty stores of knowledge one of the most interesting chapters still available for the religious and artistic history of the people of India.

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