

some aspects of
Jainism
in Eastern India



PRANABANANDA JASH

The present volume is a detailed study of the history of Some Aspects of the Jainas with an introductory note on the emergence of the Parivrājaka sect in general and the Jaina Parivrājaka in particular in the context of the profound turmoil that has taken place in Indian religious life and thought in the sixth-fifth centuries BC. It highlights the emergence of new trends of thought and belief represented by diverse sects and schools which clashed with the orthodox and conservative patterns of behaviour. Adequate attention has been given for obtaining an objective picture of contemporary religious schools and their respective views and tenets. It is a modest effort to identify the dimension of groups organised around religious ideas of both the theists and the atheists. Apart from introducing the *tīrthaṅkaras* with teachings and tenets: nature and characteristic features of the Jaina monastic order—manuals for the Jaina works—Jaina canonical texts and the distribution of this faith in different regions, in the light of historical perspective, the book has been further enriched by the incorporation of an Appendix on the Ājīvikas to show that inspite of their having ideological proximity with the Jainas, the general philosophy of the Ājīvikas, i.e., the doctrine of *niyati* (fate), has nothing to do with Jainism.

with 28 illustrations

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SOME ASPECTS OF JAINISM IN EASTERN INDIA

Some Aspects of Jainism in Eastern India

Pranabananda Jash



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In memory of
my sisters
Pratimā and Ābhā

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**Important Jaina centres mainly in Eastern India and other places
outside the pale of this region.** *facing p. 3*

Preface

THE present volume is an embodiment of the history of some aspects of the Jainas with an introductory note on the emergence of the Parivrājaka sect in general and the Jaina Parivrājaka in particular. While tracing the reason(s) about the origin of the Parivrājaka sect, it has been shown that the period was of great turmoil in Indian religious life and thought. With the revolutionary changes in the social and economic systems, new trends of thought and belief appeared and clashed with the orthodox and conservative patterns of behaviour. Naturally, a large number of sects and schools representing various attitudes and approaches to the problem of life cropped up in this atmosphere of fermentation of ideas. Adequate attention is being placed for obtaining a viable outline on the history of contemporary religious schools and their respective views and tenets. It is a modest effort to view the social dimensions of groups organised around religious ideas of both the theists and the atheists and supporting a religious identity.

Chapter 2 introduces the *tīrthāṅkaras* in the light of historical perspective. Teachings and tenets of the last two *tīrthāṅkaras*, viz., Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, appear to be the pivotal principle of Jainism. The study also includes an analytical outlook about the Jaina organisation and reason(s) behind the great schism in the monastic order. Apart from the contours of the schisms and differences, the present chapter includes a general survey of their respective canonical texts.

Chapter 3 deals primarily with the *Jaina Canonical Texts* bearing monastic rules and regulations. It makes an endeavour to sketch a comprehensive account relating to the disciplinary code of the Jaina monks to understand the real nature and the characteristic features of the Jaina monastic order. The sixfold monastic order, an index of different stages of spiritual upliftment, deals with proper clarity and analysis. The philosophical intricacies of the system deliberately

avoided, although the essence of the tenets and the diversities of belief and thought among the various Jaina groups have been taken into consideration.

Chapter 4 is a descriptive study on the prevalence of this faith in different regions of eastern India in ancient times. It is worth noting that at the time of Mahāvīra and after him, under his Gaṇadharas, Jainism encompassed a wide region outside the pale of eastern India and embraced a variety of peoples and communities with diverse trends and thoughts. The reflection of religion of the Jainas in this part of the country is abundantly projected both in the literature as well as in the archaeological objects like inscriptions, icons, etc.

A word is required to explain in this connection the geographical connotation of the term *Prācya-deśa* (eastern India) or *Prācī-diś* (eastern quarter). The denotation of the term varied concomitantly with the eastward expansion of an alien culture imparted by the Aryan speaking people. According to the Brāhmanical text the entire region lying to the east of Benares is designated as eastern country (cf. *Vārāṇasyāḥ parataḥ pūrvadeśaḥ* of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*). The region has its common bearings on certain aspects like a specific geographic character, common properties of soil, climate, vegetation, agriculture and technical exploitation. Moreover, as an integrated area of social life, it exhibits a balance of state of dynamic equilibrium between its various parts (*Odra-Māgadhi Pravṛtti* of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*). The prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities exhibit practically a uniform development with regard to technology and material culture. The transformation that followed the introduction of Brāhmanical culture enveloped the entire region within a short span of time. (For an elaborate discussion, see author's *History and Evolution of Vaiṣṇavism in Eastern India*, ch. 1, Calcutta, 1982.)

It may also be mentioned in this connection that while attempting to locate important and popular Jaina centres in eastern India, almost all the available evidences have been utilised. Still, in some cases the identification remains tentative since no corroborative evidence other than the similarity of names has come into light.

A number of Jina images found from various sites have been described in this chapter. To make the study more fruitful and purposeful some important and selective photographs have been displayed at the end. These representations show that the early

medieval period, especially the Pālasena period in eastern India roughly comprising Bengal, Bihar, Assam, northern part of Orissa and Bangladesh, was interesting, varied and complex from the icono-religious point of view.

The Ājīvikas who are usually considered as an offshoot of the Jainas is the subject matter of the appendix. In course of study on the Ājīvikas, an attempt has been made to throw light on the reasons behind the emergence and early historical development of the sect and its well perceptible growth in eastern India in the subsequent centuries. Occupying an optimum position in the field of asceticism they did not maintain their separate identity in the long run, probably due to their ideological proximity with the Jainas. Of course, the general philosophy of Ājīvikism, i.e., the doctrine of *Niyati* (fate), has, however, nothing to do with Jainism; but so far as the particulars are concerned, they have many points in common.

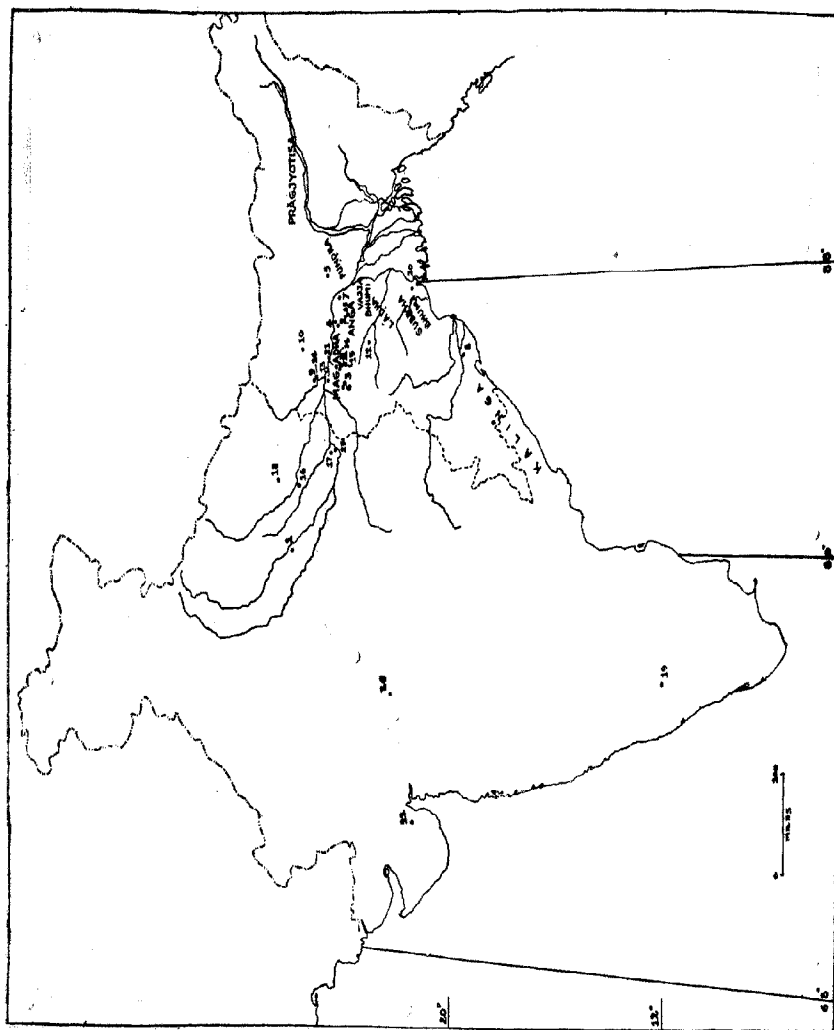
Readers desirous of knowing more about the history of Jainism or its philosophical understanding may find the bibliography useful which has been compiled as comprehensively as possible.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. G. Subbiah of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Viśva-Bhārati for his helpful comments and suggestions. I am also thankful to Professor Agehananda Bharati of the Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University, USA for going through the typed manuscript and other valuable suggestions in connection with the publication of the present volume. I am further indebted to my wife Smt. Sikha Jash for her help in connection with the preparation of the press copy of the manuscript.

Viśva-Bhārati
Śāntiniketan
January, 1989

Pranabananda Jash

Important Jaina centres mainly in Eastern India and other places outside the pale of this region.



1. Alavi
2. Bhaddiya
3. Barabar and Nāgārjuni Hills
4. Campā
5. Devikota/Koṭivarṣa
6. Gayā
7. Kaṅgala
8. Kumāri Parvata
9. Kuṇḍagrāma
10. Mithilā
11. Nālandā
12. Paresnath Hill (Sommeya)
13. Pātaliputra
14. Pava
15. Rājagṛha
16. Sāgeya (birth-place of
Rṣabhadeva)
17. Sārnāth
18. Sāvārthi
19. Śravaṇabelgoḷa
20. Tāmralipti
21. Uddandapura
22. Vallabhi
23. Varāṇasi
24. Vesali
25. Mandāra Hill
26. Ujjeni

CHAPTER ONE

The Parivrājakas

THE Jaina Parivrājakas rather the Parivrājaka sect in general is undoubtedly one of the most significant and fascinating subjects of research to the scholars of Indological studies. The term Parivrājaka (a wandering religious mendicant)¹ is found mention in the *Nirukta*² and is explained in the early Upaniṣads as one who takes *pravrajyā* (rejection of the household life) with the object of attaining *mokṣa* (Brāhmaṇical concept), *nirvāṇa/nibbāna* (Buddhist concept) or the Jaina *siddhatva* or the attainment of liberation. *Pravrajyā* is prescribed as an initiatory ritual though, of course, the details of the ritual differ in various systems of Indian religion and even in various texts of the particular religious school.

The Parivrājakas as a sect, or as an organised community of practice and doctrine, seems to have emerged not before the ascetic-intellectual movements of the sixth-fifth century BC. They, of course, not as a community, but as individuals are frequently mentioned in the pre-Buddhist Brāhmaṇical literatures under different names, such as, Saṃnyāsī, Yati, Tapas, Bhikṣu, Muni, Śramaṇa, Vātarasana, Jaṭila, Vaikhānasa, etc.³ The Parivrājaka sect is organised through the representations of the Brāhmaṇical Saṃnyāsī, the Buddhist Bhikṣus, the Jaina Yatis, the Ājīvika Maskarins, etc. Each system has its own history of growth and development, its schools, sects and sub-sects and their doctrines and tenets, its contribution to the cultural history of the country.

It is, however, to be noted that in the Upaniṣads the line of demarcation between a Parivrājaka and a Saṃnyāsī or a Yati is not well defined and they are almost identical. The Saṃnyāsīs like the Parivrājakas are said to have been in the habit of wandering about. Some scholars believed that “the term Saṃnyāsin became denominational in later usage. In the Buddhist and the Jaina legends it is

usually dropped and the wandering almsman is designated as a Bhikṣu or a Yati. Only the man who, with a Brāhmaṇical background, betakes himself to the wandering almsman's calling is called a Saṃnyāsin."⁴ The *pravrajyā* ceremony signifies the rejection of not only *Gṛhasthya*-life but also of the Vedic religious practices and symbols. He is called Saṃnyāsī (*Sam + ni + as*) because he 'casts off everything from himself'; Parivrājaka because he wanders about leaving home and Bhikṣu because without possessions he lives only as a beggar. But the ritual of *pravrajyā* which is found in the later Upaniṣads of the post-Buddhist period may be treated as a subtle attempt to retain within Brāhmaṇical fold who has cast off completely the Brāhmaṇical religious culture. It may be also due to the influence of the Buddhist practice which solemnises the new life from 'home into homelessness' (*agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati*).

Another point to be noted in this connection is that the Parivrājakas hailed from both the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical groups of people, but majority belonged to the non-Brāhmaṇical society. Parivrājakas were prevalent in the early and later Brāhmaṇical societies, there is no doubt about it, but the process was made popular in the Brāhmaṇical society by the great Advaitācārya Śaṅkarācārya by establishing four *maṭhas* in four different quarters of the Indian subcontinent—Badrī in the north (Jyotiḥ or Josi *maṭha*), Śrīṅgerī in the south (Śrīṅgerī *maṭha*), Dvārakā in the west (Śārādā *maṭha*) and Purī in the east (Govardhana *maṭha*).⁵

It needs to be clarified that the growth of wandering bodies of religious, the Parivrājakas, was the result of an intellectual movement before the rise of Buddhism. It was in a large measure a lay movement, not a priestly movement.⁶ An analytical study of the contemporary religious trends and the activities of different religious systems hardly substantiate the above conjecture. On the other hand, it may unhesitatingly be said that the movement originated neither in Brāhmaṇical reform, nor in Kṣatriya revolt, nor in middle class convenience. It was a world renouncing ascetic movement, classless and casteless. In its essential idea and spirit it has no special affinity with the attitude and interest of any particular class or caste. They were basically mendicants who had renounced the world and followed certain norms relating to a set of rites, ceremonies, rules of discipline and *tapas* or asceticism.⁷

Identical principles and practices are found available in both the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical categories of the Parivrājakas and again both of them had their differences too. The leading vows of the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical monks had a fundamental resemblance which was the result of a community of practical ideas. Regarding the moral life all the religious teachers bear the identical view on the cultivation of five principal rules, viz., *ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *satyam* (truthfulness), *asteyam* (non-stealing), *brahmacyam* (celibacy) and *aparigraha* (non-possession), known as *pañca-śīla*. Mahāvīra like Buddha insisted on the life of asceticism, though he differed from Buddha on the question of *Ātman* which he believed in. In fact, ascetics of both the categories, Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical, were reputed for their penances and austerities. As mentioned earlier that the Brāhmaṇical Saṃnyāsīs renounced all empirical attachment and attained 'Brahman', the monks and nuns of the heterodox societies like the Buddhist, Jaina and the Ājīvika, did the same to attain *nibbāna* or the blissful state of emancipation. The means or the ways of life might have been different but all laid emphasis on some common issues like the high moral life, meditation, Yoga and renunciation which proved helpful to purify the mind and bring about 'Release'.

The institution of the Rain retreat was also common to the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists and the Jinas. The Buddhists call it *Vassa*, the Jinas *Pajjusana*, and the Brāhmaṇical Saṃnyāsins are enjoined to be 'of fixed residence' (*Dhruvaśīla*) during the time. A wanderer of any sect must suspend wandering and remain in retreat during rainy season. Of course, in the beginning the Jaina and the Brāhmaṇical wanderers had no specific regulations prescribing 'living together' during rain-retreat. According to the Jaina canonical texts, 'specially made' lodgings (like the *āvāsas* of the Buddhists) are allowed and only the *ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and their group of pupils (*gaṇavacchedaka*) can reside together.⁸

Again, some sort of coherence relating to food and dress is also to be found among the Parivrājakas of different schools. Regarding food all of them welcomed simplicity and moderation in diet for obtaining purity (*viśuddhi*). In fact, the achievement of 'purity' appears to have been one of the most widespread ideas among the Parivrājakas.⁹ The idea that pure food leads to mental purity seems to have had a great fascination for the Indian mind irrespe-

ctive of any sect.

The outfit of the ascetics in general was of simplest and the lowest, but varied among the different sects.¹⁰ Of course, these were very slight and minor variances. The Brāhmaṇical monks usually used bark or ochre-coloured garments, though nudity was not unknown to the *Dharmaśāstra* and *Sūtra* writers. Originally Buddhist monks used to wear 'cast-off' robes, but subsequently they were allowed to accept robes offered by the laity under some restrictions. The Jainas followed the principles relating to food and garment very rigidly. The Digambaras were known for the nudity of monks, though they allowed nuns to use robes.

Another interesting semblance in practice of these monks belonging to various schools of thought is that the days of the full-moon and newmoon were used for the *Darśa-pūrṇamāsa* of the Brāhmaṇical society and for the *Pātimokkha* of the Buddhists and for *Poṣadha* or *posaha* (i.e. temporarily becoming a monk) ceremonies of the Jainas.¹¹

Without analysing minor details further in this respect it is rather prerequisite to make a brief review of the politico-socio-economic and religious conditions of the period just before the rise of the Parivrājaka sect in general and the Jaina Parivrājakas in particular.

Rhys Davids rightly observes that religious and philosophical beliefs were extremely diverse in the age of Buddha which appears to have been an age of thought ferment.¹² It cannot be denied that by the side of intellectual and spiritual advance there also occurred important and significant socio-economic and political changes in the sixth and the fifth centuries BC in eastern India. The rise of class society and imperial power in eastern India in the sixth century BC through despotic policy was the culmination of a historical process. The growth of towns and commerce and the organisation of trade and craft into guilds make the social landscape of this age entirely different from that of the preceding period. The emergence of money is noticeable and it must have involved critical changes in social life in its turn.¹³

The accumulation of immense economic surplus in the hands of a few merchants in this period as recorded in the Pāli *Jātakas* is to be noted in this connection. It was probably due to either by forcible exploitation of labour or by a revolutionary change in the mode of production. R.S. Sharma suggests that this change was

due to the introduction of iron implements in the field of production.¹⁴ When this change took place, it also transformed the existing social values and relations, giving rise to the formation of a non-productive privileged class. Thus we hear of a large number of fabulously rich merchants who patronised the new religious movements.

By that time the *Janapadas* were developing into *Mahājanapadas* leading to the rise of organised states. Out of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* as mentioned in the Buddhist *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and the Jaina *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*,¹⁵ four became distinguished as powerful states, and the forces behind the subsequent emergence of Magadhan imperialism could be seen. A trial of strength was taking place between the monarchies,¹⁶ between the monarchical and non-monarchical forms of government.¹⁷ With the growing success of Magadhan imperialism, the decline of the republican states was inevitable.¹⁸ It has been suggested that the political troubles of the age provided its more thoughtful and sensitive souls with incentive to withdraw from the world. Thus Toynbee places Buddha in the "Times of Troubles" of the Indic World.¹⁹ The Magadhan occupation to the supreme state power required annihilation of many tribal settlements and also caused the tremendous bloodshed and massacre, which have produced a sense of social distress and awakened the spirit of questioning. The Buddha, bewildered by the stupendous social transformation and immense bloodshed and large-scale massacre of the times causing human misery, said:

I behold the rich in the world, of the goods which they have acquired, in their folly they give nothing to others; they eagerly heap riches together and further they go in their pursuit of enjoyment. The king, although he may have conquered the kingdoms of the earth, although he may be ruler of all land this side the sea, up to the ocean's shore, would still insatiate, covet that which is beyond the sea. The princes, who rule kingdoms, rich in treasure and wealth, turn their greed against one another pondering insatiably to their desires. If these acts thus restlessly swimming in the stream of impermanence carried along by greed and carnal desire, who then can walk on earth in peace.²⁰

It may be said at the outset that the period marked a transi-

tional stage not only in the field of political and socio-economic life but also in the religious thinking and ideas of the people. Brāhmaṇism which prevailed in the society prior to the rise of the Buddha, had developed into an elaborate ritual, and only learned Brāhmaṇas were competent to perform sacrifices, and even in domestic worship their services became indispensable. The trend of opinion was now growing against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrifices. The intellectual ferment of the age was responsible for this change. The religion of the Vedas, which was primarily and basically a sacrificial one, had lost its appeal with the masses. Again, in the philosophy of the Upaniṣads we find the quest of true knowledge, and here the mind of the thoughtful people was directed to the attainment of peace and salvation, by the knowledge of *Ātman* and *Paramātman*. Yet the ideas of the Upaniṣads a highly scholastic metaphysical doctrine of the direct realisation of God, could not in any way appease the spiritual needs of the people. The high position which the Brāhmaṇa priests had so far occupied could no longer be maintained.

The Kṣatriyas had now gained predominance.²¹ Some of them were great philosophers. Even the learned Brāhmaṇas used to approach them for seeking higher learning. Mention may be made in this connection of the royal philosophers like Pravāhaṇa Jaibālī, Janaka and Ajātaśatru.²²

Moreover, it was not possible for the common folks to perform such a costly and complicated rituals and sacrifices of the Vedic-Upaniṣadic ages. Existing Brāhmaṇical religion, thus, gradually had lost all spontaneity, and it, as a rule, was considered the monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas and the affluent people in India at that time.

It is needless to point out that the Vedic rituals were not totally ignored in this age of reason and higher learning. The theology, as contained in the late Vedic literature was still current. Mystic significance was attached to the Vedic rituals and sacrifices. An elaborate description of the Vedic rituals can be found in the *Śrauta Sūtras* and the *Gṛhya Sūtras*. Contemporary rulers, viz., king Prasenjit of Kośala and Udayana of Kauśāmbī, were believers in the efficacy of Vedic rituals. The two tendencies apparent in most religions, those of philosophical speculation and ritualism, had assumed great complexity. Vedic ritual still persisted, though the outer forms had been adjusted to contemporary needs. The

sacrifice remained an important part of the ritual, though its practice was restricted to the twice-born castes, the priests and aristocrats and on occasion to the affluent members of the commercial class. The other tendency that of philosophical speculation, which had its roots, in the *Rgveda* itself, led gradually to the rise of a number of sects each seeking an explanation of the universe by a different method or a combination of different methods. The most important among these sects were the Buddhists, the Ājīvikas, and the Nirgranthas or the Jains.

The common folk used to worship trees in the form of *Vṛkṣa devatās*, the Nāgas (the serpent-worship), the Yakṣas and the Gandharvas. The ancient literature contains abundant references to their worship. The Nāgas were worshipped both in the form of serpents and human being. The first is called *Sarpavighraha*. Generally females desiring children used to worship such images in the form of cobras. The human form, known as *Mānavavighraha*, had usually the figure of a male or female having the serpent hoods on the back of the head.

From the Buddhist and Jaina literatures we learn that Yakṣa-cult had a wide popularity in northern India. We read about the names of such powerful Yakṣas as Umabaradatta, Surambara, Mañibhadra, Bhaṇḍira, Śūlapāṇi Supriya, Ghaṇṭika and Pūraṇabhadra. Similarly we come across such names of the Yakṣinis as Kuntī, Natā, Bhattā, Revatī, Tamasurī, Lokā, Mekhalā, Alikā, Bendā, Maghā, Timisikā, etc.²³ People were afraid of them and used to pay homage to these so called semi-divine figures. Barring these so-called semi-divine figures for the common people i.e. the villagers, the peasants, the craftsman and the tradesman, there was a great variety of popular magic to which they might have resorted for comfort, guidance, peace of mind, protection from evil, and so on.

Another interesting characteristic which was current in this part of India during the period under review was the prevalence of a number of superstitious beliefs. We read about the following kinds of animistic hocuspocus followed by the people of the region especially of Madhyadeśa. A list of these magical practices is given in one of the discourses of the Buddha.²⁴ They are described by the Buddha as 'low arts' and are of the kind practised by certain of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. They included such activities as "palmistry, divination of all sorts, auguries drawn

from the celestial phenomena, prognostications by interpretation of dreams, auguries drawn from marks on cloth gnawed by mice, sacrifices to Agni, it is characteristic to find these in such company—oblations of various sorts to gods, determining lucky sites, repeating charms, laying ghosts, snake charming, using similar arts on other beasts and birds, astrology, the power of prophecy, incantations, oracles, consulting gods through a girl possessed or by means of mirrors, worshipping the Great One invoking Siri (the goddess of luck), vowing vows to gods, muttering charms to cause virility or impotence, consecrating sites, and more of the same kind.”²⁵ Buddha vehemently opposed these practices. And that such practices are forbidden to members of his order is emphasized in a number of places. “You are not, O bhikkhus, to learn or to teach the low arts of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft and quackery, the Buddha is reputed to have charged the members of the Order”²⁶ In another place, while giving answer to the question of how a member of the Buddhist order is to achieve perfection and be entirely unattached to any worldly thing, the Buddha lists the many requirements; one of these is as follows—“Let him not use Atharva-Vedic spells, nor things foretell from dreams or signs or stars; let not my follower predict from cries, cure barrenness, nor practise quackery.”²⁷ To the Jaina followers these practices were unacceptable too.

Thus we find that people had faith in magic rituals and mystic utterances. The Vedic gods—Indra, Agni, etc. were still worshipped. But side by side the worship of *Vṛkṣa devatā* (tree deity), Yakṣas, Nāgas and Asuras was also fairly popular. At that time there was also widespread belief in numerous evil spirits, ogres, goblins and the like. These were thought of as acting capriciously and at random, and mostly in ways that were inimical to human welfare.

Thus from the religious perspective the entire social structure can be identified with the three major areas first, there was the sacrificial cult of the hereditary priestly class, the Brāhmaṇas; secondly, there was the vast range of popular cults and beliefs of the ordinary people, mostly villagers, who constituted the majority of the population; and thirdly, there was the variety of ideas and practices expounded by various eminent religious teachers, both Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical, who were known Śramaṇas, the forerunner of the organized Parivrājaka sects, propagating collectively differ-

ent faiths.

It is against this background that the history of the contemporary religious schools should be read. The experience of social change and sufferings is, as pointed out by Toynbee,²⁸ connected with the quest of new pathways in religion and philosophy. Among the contemporaries heretical teachers who were also influenced and inspired by the wave of dissatisfaction with the system of orthodox Brāhmaṇism as well as the ruthless political and unhealthy socio-economic conditions of the period, the following names mentioned in the Pāli canons are worth-noting.

(a) Pūrṇa Kassapa, a senior contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvira, known by the appellation of *ahetuvādin*,²⁹ is said to have claimed omniscience.³⁰ Buddhaghoṣa³¹ speaks of that Kassapa came to be known by his name from the fact that his birth completed (*pūrṇa*) one hundred slaves in a certain household. In the *Dīgha-nikāya*,³² the teacher while explaining his philosophy said that there is neither merit nor demerit in any kind of action. The doctrine is based on *Akiriya-vāda* or the theory of non-action in which the soul does not act and the body alone acts. B.M. Barua³³ considers it as *Adhiccasaṃuppannikavāda*, i.e., things happen fortuitously without any cause or condition; while Silaṅka, a Jaina commentator, speaks of its resemblance with that of the Sāṅkhya system.³⁴ But N. Dutta thinks otherwise: "It would be wide of the mark if we say Kassapa's teaching is the same as that of Sāṅkhya, though it holds that *Puruṣa* is only an onlooker, an inactive agent, the functioning factor being the *prakṛti*."³⁵ In fact, the doctrine of Kassapa is so peculiar that we cannot come across any similarity to the six systems of Indian philosophy.

(b) Makkhali Gośāla was at first a follower of Jainism of the Pārśvanātha tradition. As he was not appointed a *gaṇadhara* in Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's order, he left the Jaina *Samgha* and founded another sect called Ājīvika.³⁶ He was a naked ascetic. Pāṇini, the noted grammarian, describes him as *Maskarin* as he always carries a bamboo staff.³⁷ According to Buddhaghoṣa, Makkhali Gośāla was once employed as a servant. One day while carrying an oil pot along a muddy road, he slipped and fell through carelessness although warned thus by his master: *mā khali* (stumble not). Hence he is called Makkhali. He was designated Gośāla because he was born in a cow-shed.³⁸ This school is known by some as *ahetukaditthi* or *akiriya-ditthi*,³⁹ while the others designate it as

Ajñānavāda.⁴⁰ He was, however, a prophet of *Niyativāda* (fatalism), according to which—"There is neither cause nor basis for the sins of living beings; they become sinful without cause or basis. There is no deed performed either by oneself or by others (which can affect one's future births), no human action, no strength, no courage, no human endurance or human prowess (which can affect one's destiny in this life). All beings, all that have breath, all that are born, all that have life are without power, strength, or virtue, but are developed by destiny, chance and nature, and experience, joy and sorrow in the six classes of existence. Salvation, in his opinion, can be attained only by death and existence which are unalterably fixed (*niyati*). Suffering and happiness, therefore, do not depend on any cause or effect."⁴¹ An elaborate history of the activities and specific norms of the Ājīvika Parivrājaka will be dealt at the end in an appendix.

(c) Another popular heretical school that emerged in the eastern horizon of Indian subcontinent was propagated by Ajita Keśakambalin who, being a materialist, denied the existence of good and bad deeds. His philosophy can be compared with the philosophy of Cārvāka.

In the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* it is classified as *Ucchedavāda*, i.e., the doctrine of annihilation after death. The followers of this school believe '*Tam jīvan tam śarīram*', that is, the doctrine of identity of the soul and body. The Cārvākas also conceived similar views—"There is no after-life, and no reward of actions, as there is neither virtue nor vice. Life is only for enjoyment. So long as it lasts it is needless to think of anything else, as everything will end with death, for when at death the body is burnt to ashes there cannot be any rebirth."⁴²

As regards the meaning of the term—Keśakam'ali, it is stated that he wore a blanket of human hair, which is described as being the most miserable garment. It was cold in cold weather, and hot in the hot, foul smelling and uncouth.⁴³ The advocates of this school conceive—"There is no merit in almsgiving; sacrifice or offering; no result or ripening of good or evil deeds. There is no passing from this world to the next."⁴⁴ No benefit accrues from the service of father or mother. There is no after-life, and there are no ascetics or Brāhmaṇas who have reached perfection on the right path, and who, having known and experienced this world and the world beyond, publish (their knowledge). Man is formed of the four elements;

when he dies earth returns to the aggregate of earth, water to water, fire to fire, and air to air, while the senses vanish into space. Four men with the bier take up the corpse; they gossip (about the dead man) at the burning ground, (where) his bones turn the colour of a dove's wing, and his sacrifices end in ashes. They are fools who preach almsgiving, and those who maintain the existence (of immaterial categories) speak vain and lying nonsense. When the body dies both fool and wise alike are cut off and perish. They do not survive after death."⁴⁵ The argument adduced above is a clear expression of materialism, and its author (i.e. Ajita Keśakambalin) must have been considered as the forerunner of the later Cārvākas. It is also called *Lokāyatavāda*. *Tajjivatacchariravāda* held practically the same view with *Nāstikavāda* only with this difference that while latter denies altogether the existence of the soul the former admits it, but the logical end of both the views would be exactly the same.⁴⁶

(d) Pakudha Kaccāyana whose theory is classified as both *Akiriya-vāda* and *Sāssatavāda* in the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, was another Lokāyata teacher⁴⁷ advocating that good or bad deeds do not affect the elements which are eternal. Buddhaghosa states that Pakudha Kaccāyana did not use cold water, using always hot water. Even he did not wash, when hot water was not available. If he crossed a stream he would consider it as a sin, and would make expiation by constructing a mound of earth.⁴⁸ According to Pakudha Kaccāyana, the elementary categories, seven in number, are neither made nor ordered, neither caused nor constructed; they are barren, as firm as mountains, as stable as pillars. They neither move nor develop; they do not injure one another, and one has no effect on the joy, or on the sorrow, or on the joy and sorrow of another. "What are the seven? The bodies of earth, of water, of fire, and of air, and joy and sorrow, with life as the seventh."⁴⁹ No man slays or causes to slay, hears or causes to hear, knows or causes to know. Even if a man cleaves another's head with a sharp sword, he does not take life, for the sword-cut merely passes through the seven elements.⁵⁰

(e) Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta: The teaching ascribed to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is rather vague. On the basis of the Jaina canonical texts Jacobi⁵¹ has pointed out that while it is not an accurate description of the Jaina creed it contains nothing alien to it. We may accept the identification of Nigaṇṭha with Vardhamāna

Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *Tīrthaṅkara* of Jainism. A close scrutiny of the teachings and tenets propounded by Nigaṇṭha reveals considerable semblances with the doctrines and tenets of the Jainas. It is described in the text that a Nigaṇṭha is surrounded by the barrier of fourfold restraint. How is he surrounded? He practises restraint with regard to water, he avoids all sin, by avoiding sin, his sins are washed away and he is filled with the sense of all sins avoided. (*Sabba-vāri-yuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena yutto. Sabba-vāri-dhuto ti Sabbena. Pāpa-vāraṇena dhuto-pāpo. Sabba-vāri-phuṭṭho ti Sabbena. Pāpa-vāraṇena Phuṭṭho*).⁵² The text further goes on to state that "... So surrounded by the barrier of fourfold restraint his mind is perfected, controlled and firm (*Gata-tto ti Koṭippatta-citto*).⁵³

(f) Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta is regarded to be the preacher of *Ajñānavāda* or agnosticism. He is said to have the preceptor of the elders Sāriputta and Moggallāna before they were converted to Buddhism.⁵⁴ Sañjaya along with Moggallāna is also mentioned in the Jaina literature as Jaina-muni.⁵⁵ According to Buddhaghōṣa a certain wanderer named Supriya was a disciple of Sañjaya Parivṛājaka, i.e. Sañjaya the wanderer.⁵⁶ Regarding his doctrine, he says that if you asked me, "Is there another world? and if I believed that there was, I should tell you so. But that is not what I say. I do not say that is so; I do not say that it is otherwise; I do not say that it is not so; nor do I say that it is not so..."⁵⁷ A.L. Basham thinks that "the passage ascribed to Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta is probably satirical, a tilt at agnostic teachers who were unwilling to give a definite answer to any metaphysical question put to them."⁵⁸ B.M. Barua, on the other hand, believes that "the statement of Sañjaya represents a doctrine which was held in good faith by a school of Pyrrhonists."⁵⁹ It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Jaina theory of *Syādvāda* is to some extent influenced by the teaching of Sañjaya.

Each of these teachers has been described as the leader of an order (*gaṇino gaṇācariyo*), as being well-known (*ñāta*), famous (*yasassino*), the founder of a sect (*titthakāro*), respected as a saint by many people (*sāḍhusammato bahu janassa*), a homeless wanderer of long standing (*cirapabbājito*), and advanced in years (*vayonupatta*).⁶⁰ They may be considered as the philosophers or theologians in the modern sense.⁶¹ But the doctrines of these schools, as propounded by A.L. Basham, are "to be treated very cautiously; for

it is evident that the authors had but a limited knowledge of the teachings of the heretics, and what knowledge they had was warped by odium theologicum."⁶²

Barring these six heretical schools of thought, there were other 'heretic' or 'heterodox' philosophical schools outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism in that period. Besides, the Buddhist and Jaina sources, the Upaniṣads,⁶³ especially the later *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*,⁶⁴ the *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā*,⁶⁵ etc., also bear enough materials which refer to, besides the atheists, pseudo-ascetics, Kāpālikas and followers of Brhaspati, those doctrinaires who proclaim *Kālavāda* (time), *Svabhāvavāda* (nature), *Niyativāda* (fate), *Yadṛcchavāda* (chance), *Bhūtavāda* (elements) as also *Prāṇa* (life-force), *Guṇas* (qualities), *Dīśaḥ* (space), *Manas* (mind), *Buddhi* (intellect), and so forth as their first principles. The Buddhist texts refer to two main classes of intellectual movements—(i) those that speculate on the first beginnings of things (*Pubbanta-Kappika*) and (ii) those that speculate about the future goal of creation (*Aparānta-Kappika*). The former consisted of four kinds of *Sāssatavāda* (eternalists), four kinds of *Ekacca-Sāssatavāda* (partial eternalists), four kinds of *Antānantikā* (limitists and unlimitists), four kinds of *Amarāvikkhepikā* (evasive disputants) and two kinds of *Adhiccasamuppānikā* (fortuitous originists); while the latter one consisted of sixteen kinds of *Saññivāda* (upholders of conscious soul after death), eight kinds of *Asaññivāda* (upholders of unconscious soul after death), eight kinds of *Nevasaññināsaññivāda* (upholders of neither conscious nor unconscious soul after death), seven kinds of *Ucchedavāda* (annihilationists) and five kinds of *Dīṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda* (believers in the attainment of *Nibbāna* in this life).⁶⁶ All these doctrines have been described by the Buddhists as wrong and misleading (*micchādiṭṭhi*) and they are refuted by Buddha-ghoṣa,⁶⁷ and by Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti.⁶⁸

The Jaina texts, on the other hand, speak of 363 philosophical views which were current in that period which was an age of acute intellectual upheaval in the cultural history of India. These views were grouped into four main schools, viz., *Kriyāvāda*, *Akriyāvāda*, *Ajñānavāda* and *Vinayavāda*. The first two schools are again classified into 180 and 84 varieties, while the last two into 67 and 32 forms.⁶⁹ Most of the schools belonging to the Buddhist *Pubbānta* and *Aparānta Kappikas* correspond to the various groups of the *Akriyāvādins* mentioned in the Jaina texts.

In this connection we may note the account of the *Sandaka-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*⁷⁰ where the bhikkhu Ānanda describes to the wanderer Sandaka the four 'antitheses to the higher life' (*abrahmacariyavāsā*):

- (a) The materialist teacher who denies the existence of an after-life;
- (b) The antinomian—a repetition of Pūraṇa's doctrine;
- (c) The fatalist—repeating the teachings of Makkhali; and
- (d) The atomist—repeating the atomic theory of Pakudha.

Ānanda then describes the four 'comfortless vocations' (*anassāsikāni brahmacariyāni*):

- (a) The teacher claiming omniscience;
- (b) The traditionalist;
- (c) The rationalist; and
- (d) The sceptic.

All these doctrines were, directly or indirectly, concerned with death and annihilation, or with fear, frustration and helplessness. They believed that all human actions and endeavours were fruitless. They found no discrepancy between merit and demerit, between violence and non-violence. Ajita Keśakambalin could not distinguish between the fool and the wise, for both were doomed to death, and Saṅjaya kept himself mum since the deeply ingrained faiths behind the ideas were all uprooted; and Gośāla, being a fatalist, professed that human activity could do nothing to change the course of events. In fact, the entire philosophical or religious world in eastern India was in a state of anarchy. No systematic or methodical schools of philosophy and religion emerged due to precarious atmosphere which was not congenial to the creation of any religious school with an organised system of practice and doctrine. It was an age of intellectual restlessness and the consequent craving for a new method of attaining serenity was perceptible. And the mendicant bearing a staff, of whatever class or order wandering from place to place advocates: *Mākṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntirvaṇṇa śreyasītyāhāto Maskarī Parivrājakaḥ*.⁷¹

It shows that the wandering class roaming from place to place propounded for peace which was most essential need of the time

and the wandering ascetics filled the need. "In fact, India at the time of the emergence of the heterodox sects seems to have been in a state of theological anarchy, mitigated only by orthodox Brāhmaṇism which was by no means satisfying to the best minds of the times."⁷² Similar trend of anarchy and restlessness in the field of religious environment also prevailed in the Roman Empire, when many people had lost their implicit faith in traditional varieties, and were ready to support any new cult which offered a more plausible and attractive system of belief. In Rome the changing spiritual requirements were met in large measure by mystery cults imported from the East.⁷³

Finally, it should be noted that religious doctrines and philosophical beliefs were extremely diverse in the age of the c. sixth-fifth centuries BC which was undoubtedly an age of acute intellectual upheaval in the religious history of India. The history of the Parivrājaka sects, both the Brāhmaṇical and the non-Brāhmaṇical Parivrājakas, were taught within the same geographical orbit in its earlier stage during the same historical period, a mutual ideological influence was inevitable. The wandering of the Buddha, or of the Mahāvīra, etc. for years after years in search of enlightenment also would have brought them into contact with each others' dogmas. One's ideal and activities threw immense impact on others. Doctrinal parities and ritualistic semblances are not at all lacking among the different Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical Parivrājaka sects of the period under review.

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- ¹Sir Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 602.
- ²*Nirukta*, I.14; II.8.
- ³*RV*, X.109.4; 154.2; VI 5.4; *Br. Up.* IV, 4.22; *Chān. Up.*, II.23.1.
- ⁴S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, hereafter (*BMMI*), p. 42.
- ⁵G.S. Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus*, pp. 96ff.
- ⁶Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 159.
- ⁷P. Jash, 'Buddhist Parivrājaka: Genesis and Early History', *Proceedings of the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, 1981*, Benaras, pp. 535ff. R. Thapar (*Ancient Indian Social History*, pp. 63ff) has tried to show 'that the organized groups of renouncers of the post-Vedic period were neither negating the society to which they belonged nor trying to radically alter it: but rather that they were seeking to establish a parallel society.'
- ⁸S.B. Deo, *History of Jain Monachism*, pp. 159, 249.

⁹*Chan. Up.*, VII.26.2; N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, hereafter (EMB), I, pp. 17ff.

¹⁰The rules about the keeping of hair varied among the different sects. The Jaṭilas as the name signified kept matted hair; the Nigaṇṭhas had the hair plucked out, while as the term Muṇḍaka shows, the prevalent practice was to shave the head periodically (Vasīṣṭha, X-6).

This rule very likely applies to the Parivrājakas in general.

¹¹S. Dutt, *BMMI*, pp. 72-73.

¹²Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 159; N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 31.

¹³N.C. Bandopadhyaya, *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, pp. 254ff; 285; Romila Thapar, 'Ethics, Religion, and Social Protest', op. cit., pp. 43ff.

¹⁴R.S. Sharma, *Das Kapital Centenary Volume*, pp. 63ff.

¹⁵H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 85ff.

¹⁶Kośala had annexed Kāśī, and now Magadha swallowing Aṅga, captured Kośala, and ultimately hostilities arose between Magadha and Avanti in which Magadha became supreme.

¹⁷Vidūḍabha attacked the Śākya, and Ajātaśatru the Licchavis.

¹⁸It is suggested by some scholars that the reason for the decline of the *gaṇa-rājyas* was "The development of private as against tribal property, following conquest over aboriginal populations and the development of the tribal into an oligarchy". *JBBRAS*, 1951, p. 186.

¹⁹Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III, p. 270ff.

²⁰H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 64.

²¹Some of the Kṣatriya kings, instead of employing Brāhmaṇa teachers, were now themselves importing education their sons. In the *Gamaṇi Caṇḍa Jātaka* (II.257) we are informed about a king who taught his son the Vedas and the worldly knowledge, "*tayo vedo sabbam ca loke kattabham*".

²²*Br. Up.*, VI. 1.1; *Chān. Up.* V.3.1.

²³Moti Chandra, 'Some Aspects of the Yaksha Cult', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 43ff; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*.

²⁴*Brahmajāla Sūta*, 21; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. I, pp. 16ff.

²⁵Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 143-44.

²⁶*Vinaya-Piṭaka*, *SBE*, XX, p. 152.

²⁷*Sutta-nipāta*, 927.

²⁸Toynbee, *Civilisation on Trial*.

²⁹*SN*, III.60, V.126; *AN.*, III.383.

³⁰*AN*, IV.428.

³¹*SV*, I.142.

³²*DN*, I.52.

³³B.M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 279.

³⁴*Sū. Kr.*, I.1.12.15.V, p. 209.

³⁵N. Dutt. *EMB*, I, p. 35.

³⁶*Bhāva Saṃgraha*, 175-79.

³⁷Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, 5.1.154.

³⁸*SV*, I.166ff.

³⁹*MV*, I, 513; *Milindapañha*, 4-5.

⁴⁰*Sū. Kr.*, I.127, *Darśanasāra*, 176.

⁴¹*DN*, I, 53ff; A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas*, hereafter (*HDA*), pp. 13-14.

⁴²S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, hereafter (HIP), vol. I, pp. 78-80.

⁴³*Dīgha-nikāya Attakathā (Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī)*, I.144; *Majjhima nikāya Attakathā (Papañcasūdan)*, I.422-23.

⁴⁴SV, I.165.

⁴⁵DN, I.55; A.L. Basham, *HDA*, p. 15.

⁴⁶A.C. Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 23.

⁴⁷According to S.N. Dasgupta (HIP, vol. I, p. 78, fn. 2) "Lokāyata (literary, that which is found among the people in general) seems to have been the name by which all Cārvāka doctrines were generally known."

⁴⁸*Dīgha-nikāya-Attakathā (Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī)*, I.144; it is also stated elsewhere (I.168) of the same text that the Nigaṇṭhas do not use cold water as living beings exist therein.

⁴⁹*Katamo satta? Pathavi-kayo apo-kaya toja-kaye vayo-kayo sukho dukkho jīvo-sattaṃ o . . .*" DN, I, p. 56.

⁵⁰Ibid., I, p. 56. In the *Sū. Kr.*, II, 1.10, 280ff. (SBE, XLV, II, 1.20-4) a five-element theory is outlined in the similar terms. cf. A.L. Basham, *HDA*, p. 16.

⁵¹Jacobi, *Introduction to Jaina Sūtras*, pt. II, SBE, XLV, pp. xx-xxi.

⁵²Buddhaghōṣa's *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 168.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴*Vinaya-Piṭaka*, I, 42, 391.

⁵⁵*Amitagati Sravakacara*, 6.

⁵⁶SV, I, p. 35.

⁵⁷DN, X, p. 58.

⁵⁸A.L. Basham, *HDA*, p. 17.

⁵⁹B.M. Barua, op. cit., pp. 325ff.

⁶⁰*Dīgha-nikāya, Sāmāññaphala-sutta*, I, pp. 47ff.

⁶¹B.M. Barua, op. cit., pp. 275ff.

⁶²A.L. Basham, *HDA*, p. 10.

⁶³*Śvetāśvatara Up.*, I.2; VI.1ff; *Maitrāyaṇi Up.*, VI, pp. 14ff; VI.20; XV, pp. 8ff.

⁶⁴*Māṇḍukya-Kārikā*, I.7-9; X.30.28.

⁶⁵*Ahīrbudhnya-saṃhitā*, ed F.O. Schroder, Madras, 1916.

⁶⁶N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 37.

⁶⁷SV, I, p. 102.

⁶⁸*Mādhyamika-Vṛtti*; N. Dutt, *EMB*, pp. 37-38.

⁶⁹A.C. Sen, op. cit., pp. 29ff.

⁷⁰MN, I, pp. 513ff; A.L. Basham, *HDA*, pp. 18ff.

⁷¹Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*) on Pāṇini's *Sūtra* VI.1.154.

Similar type of concept is also reflected from the writings of Vāmana who has stated that "an ascetic, being habitually inactive, is called *maskarin*, from his denial of *Karma*. He says 'don't perform actions. . . . iti. Vāmana and Jayāditya, *Kāśikā*, ed. Bālaśāstri, 2nd edition, Beneras, 1898, p. 522.

⁷²A.L. Basham, *HDA*, p. 100.

⁷³Ibid., p. 96.

CHAPTER TWO

Twenty-Four Tīrthaṅkaras and Their Activities and Teachings

JAINISM is one of the few religious systems whose distinctive history can be traced in centuries before the Christian era. According to Jain belief, it is both eternal and universal. It is open to all beings. Traditionally twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*¹ who are credited with the formation of this faith appear in every *kalpa* (cycle).² Representing an institution of thought for attaining *summum bonum* as concomitant of the cessation of rebirth, the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* of the *Avasarpinī-kalpa*, i.e., the present era, made individual contributions in the field of philosophy and religion.

With the attainment of *kevala-jñāna* or absolute knowledge, the *tīrthaṅkaras* were also designated as *kevalins*. Heinrich Zimmer nicely explained the characteristic concept of *kevalin*:

“The noun *kevalin*, furthermore, is a term used specially to denote the Jain saint or *tīrthaṅkara*. Cleansed of *karmic* matter, and thereby detached from bondage, this perfect one ascends in complete isolation to the summit of the universe. Yet, though isolated, he is all pervading and endowed with omniscience; for since his essence has been relieved of qualifying individualizing features, it is absolutely unlimited. Referring to the *tīrthaṅkara* and his condition, the word *kevalin* thus expresses the two meanings of ‘isolated, exclusive, alone’, and ‘whole, entire, absolute’, both being ideas pertaining to the sphere of beatitude in perfection. This is strongly suggestive of the mystic teaching of Plotinus that the final stage in the mystic way is ‘the flight of the Alone to the Alone’.”³

It is an erroneous impression cherished by some scholars that Mahāvīra was the founder of Jainism. But this is far from truth, since, according to different Indian traditions recorded in the Jain, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical texts, there were twenty-three more

tirthankaras, before him, each appearing with a span of few centuries from his predecessors.

Some scholars doubt the historicity of these *tirthankaras*, except the last two, i.e. of Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Pārśva's predecessor Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha is said to have connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as his relative. He is said to have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*. Similarly, Pārśva, the son of the ruler of Kāśī, lived and preached his religion about 250 years before Mahāvīra, i.e. in the (c. eighth century BC) and his teachings were contiguous to the teachers about self-abjugation, known in Bihar during his time.⁴

In spite of its remote antiquity Jainism first flourished as an organised and methodical form of religious creed in eastern India in the sixth century BC. Mahāvīra, like Basava of the Vīra-Śaivas or the Liṅgāyats in Karnataka, gave the real shape of a religion. He claims no originality for his doctrine.⁵ He reformulated the system which already existed and there were other followers of Pārśva even before Mahāvīra became a 'Jina' and main spokesman for the Nirganthas as the Jainas were known by that term in the sixth century BC. Mahāvīra, however, more heavily emphasized the ascetic rules for the monks than had Pārśva. Mahāvīra may have noted the moral laxities found in contemporary monks whether Jaina, Buddhist or Ajivika. He set an unusually high standard of ascetic morality which has led to regard him as an originator of this system of philosophy and religion.

Again, if we think of them in the historical probability of a 'succession of teachers', we can come to the definite conclusions that outside the pale of Vedic culture and religion especially in eastern India the pre-Vedic and non-Vedic ideas had a long tradition of continuity. We have already pointed out that there were persons believing in different faiths and institutions fighting for the cause of their survival and development and that some of the pre-Vedic ideas and practices were revived by the Buddha, Mahāvīra and other in the reformistic movements, launched by them. Jacobi's observation in this connection is worth noting—"These particulars 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."⁶ These *tirthankaras* belonging to a community later on known as the Parivrājakas wandered from one place to other along with their

followers, and propounded their respective views on religion and philosophy.

To the Jains all the *tīrthaṅkaras* after attaining *nirvāṇa* are treated by them as gods. Jacobi thus points out that "All *tīrthaṅkaras* have reached *nirvāṇa* at their death. Though being released from the world, they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, they have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as the 'gods' (*deva*) by the Jains; temples are erected to them where their idols are worshipped. The favourite *tīrthaṅkaras* are the first and the three last ones, but temples of the remaining ones are also met with. The worship of the idols of the *tīrthaṅkaras* is already mentioned in some canonical books, but no rules for their worship are given; it was, however, already in full sway in the first century of our era, as evidenced by the *Paumacariya*, the oldest *Prākṛt-kāvya* of the Jains, and by the statues of *tīrthaṅkaras* found in ancient sites, e.g., in the Kaṅkāli mound at Mathura which belongs to this period."⁷

It may be recalled that twenty out of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* from Rṣabhanātha to Mahāvīra attained their *nirvāṇa* on the crest of the Sameta-śikhara (*Samādhi-śekhara*) in the Pareśa-nātha hill in the Hazaribagh district, Bihar.⁸ Eastern India, particularly Bihar and Bengal, was the cradle in which the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* staged the entire drama of their career. The boundary of their activities gradually expanded itself with the progress of time so as to include Orissa, Assam and some portions of upper Gangetic valley. The Jaina canonical texts like the *Kalpa-sūtra* and the *Samavāyāṅga* provide adequate information regarding the religious performance of some of these *tīrthaṅkaras*, viz., Rṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. For a proper understanding of the subsequent investigation, a list of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* of this age alongwith their parentage, birthplace, *lāñchana*, Gaṇadhara, Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī, etc., is given in a tabular form on pp. 22-25.

The tabulation shows that each and every one of the *tīrthaṅkaras* has a discriminative symbol or *lāñchana* for himself, and this is always found on Jaina icons representing them, i.e. the symbol of Pārśva is a hooded snake, and that of Mahāvīra a lion.⁹ The Jaina canonical texts are full of evidences about the name of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* in the order in which they appeared and about their life-span, sometimes their activities as well as teachings. Of course, there are certain accounts relating to the longevity of

the *tīrthaṅkaras* but these are in no way acceptable except the last two, as authentic. For example, Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthaṅkara* is believed to have lived for 8,400,000 years (one *pūrva* year is considered to be equivalent to 70,560,000,000 years); twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara*, Nemi, for 1000 years; the twenty-third, Pārśvanātha, for 100 years and the last one, Mahāvīra, for 72 years.¹⁰

An outline of the biographies of some of the *tīrthaṅkaras* would be presented with adequate consideration from the outlook of history.

ṚṢABHANĀTHA

Ṛṣabhanātha, also known as Ādinātha, is said to be the first *tīrthaṅkara* of the present era. In his previous birth he was a god in *Sarvārthasiddhi* (a celestial world), and was conceived by Meru-dēvi, the wife of Nābhi, the seventh *kulakara* (the patriarchs).¹¹ This epoch as well as his birth were celebrated by gods with eclat, and equally so were his marriage and coronation. He was married to Sumaṅgalā, his own twin sister and Sunandā whose brother (born as a twin) had died in childhood.¹² The Jaina text mentions his hundred sons including Bharata.¹³ It is believed that he renounced his kingdom in favour of his sons and embraced the life of an ascetic. He is credited to have taught seventy two arts (*bavattarim kalao*) to men and sixty-four to women. The beginnings of human civilisation are associated with him.¹⁴ The Vedas⁵ and the Purāṇas¹⁶ also speak of him. Ṛṣabha, king of Kośala, after deep and prolonged meditation received the highest knowledge called *kevala*.

He had an excellent community of 84,000 *śramaṇas*, 300,000 nuns and other lay votaries. It is recorded in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*¹⁷, a work written after the first century AD, that Ṛṣabha in course of his wanderings visited countries like Joṇaga and Suvāṇṇabhūmi. He like Mahāvīra had to suffer a lot in the hands of people,¹⁸ while he visited the places like Koṅka, Veṅka, Kuṭaka and south Kaṇṇāṭaka.¹⁹

A reference to a king of Ayodhya named Ṛṣabha is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁰ It is indeed tempting to identify this Ṛṣabha with the first Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* since both are connected with Ayodhya. But it will be hazardous to draw any conclusion in this regard depend-

THE JAINA TĪRTHĀṆKARAS

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Birthplace/ place of dikṣā</i>	<i>Comple- xion</i>	<i>Vimāna or Vāhana</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Rṣabhanātha/ Ādinātha	Nābhirāja by Merudevi	Vinittanagari in Kośala and Purimatāla	Golden	Sarvātha- siddha
2.	Ajitanātha	Jitaśatru by Vijayamātā	Ayodhyā	Golden	Vijaya- vimāna
3.	Sambhavanātha	Jitari by Senāmātā	Śrāvasti	Golden	Uvarīmagari veka
4.	Abhinandana	Sambararāja by Siddhārtha	Ayodhyā	Golden	Jayanta- vimāna
5.	Sumatinātha	Megharāja by Maṅgalā	Ayodhyā	Golden	Jayanta- vimāna
6.	Padmaprabhā	Śrīdhara by Susimā	Kauśāmbi	Red (rakta)	Uvarīma- graiveka
7.	Supārśvanātha	Pratiṣṭharāja by Prithvī	Vārāṇasī	Golden	Madhyama- graiveka
8.	Candraprabha	Mahāsenarāja by Lakṣmaṇā	Candrapura	White (śubhra/ dhavala)	Vijayanta
9.	Suvidhinātha/ Puṣpadanta	Sugrivarāja by Rāmārāṇī	Kānaṇḍina- gari	White (śubhra/ dhavala)	Ānanta- devaloka
10.	Śītanātha	Driḍharatha- rāja by Nandā	Bhadrapurā (Bhadila- pura)	Gold	Acyuta- devaloka
11.	Śreyāṁśanātha/ Śreyasa	Viṣṇurāja by Viṣṇā	Simhapura	Golden	Acyuta- devaloka
12.	Vāsupūjya	Vasupujya by Jayā	Campāpuri	Red (rakta)	Prāpata- devaloka

AT A GLANCE

<i>Lāūachana</i> (cognizance)	<i>Dīkṣā- Vṛkṣa</i>	<i>First Gaṇadhara</i>	<i>First Āryā</i>	<i>Attendant Spirits Yakṣa & Yakṣiṇī</i>
7	8	9	10	11
<i>Balada/Vṛṣa</i> (the bull)	Bodhi tree vaṭa (ban- yan tree)	Puṇḍarīka	Brāhmī	Gomukha, Cakreśvari
<i>Hasti/Gaja</i> (the elephant)	Śāla	Simhasena	Phālgu	Mahāyakṣa, Ajitabalā (Rohiṇī according to the Digambaras)
<i>Aśva/(the horse) Ghoḍā</i>	Prayāla	Cāru	Śyāmā	Trimukha, Duritāra (pra- ñjāpati, according to the Digambaras)
<i>Vānara (the ape) Kapi/ Plavaga</i>	Priyaṃgu	Vajranābha	Ajitā	Nāyaka, Kālikā (Yakṣe- śvara & Vajraśṛṅghalā according to the Digam- baras)
<i>Krauñca (the curlew) Brāhmaṇī (the red-goose, accor- ding to the Digam- baras)</i>	Śāla	Carama	Kāśyapī	Tuṃburu, Mahākālī (Puruṣadattā, according to the Digambaras)
<i>Padma/Abja Kamala (a lotus)</i>	Chatra	Pradyotana	Rati	Kuṣuma, Śyāmā (Mano- vegā or Manogupti according to the Digam- baras)
<i>Śvastika</i>	Śiriṣa	Vidirbha	Somā	Mātaraṅga, Śāntā (Vara- nandī, Kālī according to the Digambaras)
<i>Candra/Śaśī</i> (moon)	Nāga tree	Dinna	Sumanā	Vijaya, Bhṛkuṭī, (Śyāma, Jvālāmālīnī, according to the Digambaras)
<i>Makara</i>	Śāla	Varāhaka	Vāruṇī	Ajitā, Sutārakā (Mahā- kāli or Ajitā according to the Digambaras)
<i>Śrīvatsa figure Śrī Vṛkṣa, (accor- ding to the Digam- baras)</i>	Priyaṃgu	Nanda	Sujasā	Brahmā, Aśokā (Mānavī, according to the Digam- baras)
<i>Gaṇḍā (the rhino- ceros) Garuḍa ac- cording to the Digambaras)</i>	Taṇḍuka- tree	Kāśyapa	Dhāraṇī	Yakṣet, Mānavī, (Īśvara, Gaurī according to the Digambaras)
<i>Mahiṣī (female buffalo)</i>	Pātala (Bag- nonia Sua- veolens)	Subhuma	Dhāraṇī	Kumāra, Candā (Gan- dhari, according to the Digambaras)

1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Vimalanātha	Kṛtavarmarāja by Śyāmā	Kampilyapura	Golden	Mahāsāra- devaloka
14.	Anantajit Anantanātha	Simhasena by Suyaśa	Ayodhyā	Golden	Prāṇatha- devaloka
15.	Dharmanātha	Bhānurāja by Suvrita	Ratnapuri	Golden	Vijayavimāna
16.	Śāntinātha	Viśvasena by Acirā	Gajapura/ Hastināpuri	Golden	Sarvārtha- siddha
17.	Kunthunātha	Sūrarāja by Śrīrāpi	Gajapura	Golden	Sarvārtha- siddha
18.	Aranātha	Sudarśana by Devirāpi	Gajapura	Golden	Sarvārtha- siddh
19.	Mallinātha*	Kumbharāja by Prabhāvatī	Mathurā	Blue (nīla)	Jayanta- devaloka
20.	Munisuvrata/ Muni/Suvrata	Sumitrarāja by Padmāvatī	Rājagrha	Black (śyāma/ asita)	Aparājita- devaloka
21.	Naminātha/ Nimi/Nimeśvara	Vijayarāja by Viprārāpi	Mathurā	Yellow	Prāṇata- deva'oka
22.	Neminātha/ Ariṣṭanemi	Samudravijaya by Śivādevī	Sauripura & Ujjīna (Girnar)	Black	Aparājita- devaloka
23.	Pārśvanātha	Aśvasenarāja by Vāmādevī	Vārānaśī & Sameta- Śikhara	Blue (nīla)	Prāṇata- devaloka
24.	Mahāvira/ Vardhamāna	Siddhārtharāja/ Śreyāmsa Yaśasvin by Triśalā Videha- dīna/Priyakāriṇī	Kundagrāma & Rijupālaka	Yellow	Prāṇata- devaloka

*Malli according to Śvetāmbaras (*Nāyādhammakahāo*, chapter 8) was a woman to which the Digambaras do not agree.

7	8	9	10	11
Varāha/Śūkara (a bear)	Jambu (Eugenia Jambolana)	Mandara	Dharā	Ṣaṇmukha, Vīditā, (Vai- roti, according to the Digambaras)
Śyena (a falcon Bhallul (a bear according to the Digambaras)	Aśoka tree (Jonesia Aśoka)	Jasa	Padmā	Pātāla, Añkuṣa (Ananta- mati, according to the Digambaras)
Vajra (thunder- bolt)	Dadhiparṇa tree (Clitoria ternat?)	Ariṣṭa	Arthaśiva	Kinnara, Kandarṇā (Mānaśī, according to the Digambaras)
Mṛga (an antelope)	Nandī	Cakrāyu- dha	Sucī	Garuḍa, Nirvāṇī (Kiṁ- puruṣa, Mahāmānaśī according to the Digambaras)
Aja/Chāgala (a goat)	Bhilaka tree	Sāmba	Dāminī	Gandharva, Balā (Vijayā, according to Digambaras)
Nandāvarta dia- gram <i>mīna</i> —the Zodiacal pisces (according to the Digambaras)	Āmra (mango tree)	Kumbha	Rakṣita	Yakṣeṭa, Dhaṇā (Kendra & Ajitā, according to the Digambaras)
<i>Kumbham/Kalaśa/ Ghaṭa</i> (a jar)	Aśoka tree	Abhikṣaka	Bandhu- mati	Kubera, Dharanapriyā, Aparājitā (according to the Digambaras)
Kūrma (a tortoise)	Campaka (Michelia Champaka)	Malli	Puṣpavati	Varuṇa, Naradattā (Bahu- rūpiṇī, according to the Digambaras)
Nilotpala (blue water), Aśoka tree (according to the Digambaras)	Bakula (Mimusopse- lengi)	Śubha	Anilā	Bhṛkuṭi, Gandhārī or Cāmuṇḍā (according to the Digambaras)
Śaṅkha (conch)	Veṭaṣa	Varadatta	Yakṣa- dinnā	Gomedha, Ambikā, (Sar- vāhaṇa, Kuṣmāndinī, according to the Digambaras)
Sarpa (serpent)	Dhātakī (Grislea tomentosa)	Āryadinna	Puṣpa- cūḍā	Parśvayakṣa or Dhara- nendra and Padmāvati
Keśarī, Sīmha (lion)	Śāla	Indrabhūti	Candra- balā	Mātāṅga, Siddhāyikā

ing on such evidence alone. In fact the name R̥ṣabha is found in the *Mahābhārata* both as king,²¹ and as an ascetic.²² The great epic also refers to a *tīrtha* after the name of R̥ṣabha, which lay in the Ayodhya region, the birth-place of the first *tīrthaṅkara*.²³

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*²⁴ gives us a detailed information including the lineage of the first *tīrthaṅkara* of the Jainas, R̥ṣabhanātha. He led a married life for some time and one of his sons was the famous Bharata. A few years later he led an ascetic life having discarded the practice of wearing clothes. Elsewhere the same Purāṇa²⁵ describes that he was initiated into asceticism directly as an *Paramahansa*, the highest stage in asceticism. He is also described as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu.²⁶ It seems that the first Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* was accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu by the Hindus as early as the time of the composition of this Purāṇa,²⁷ if not earlier, probably at the time when the founder of Buddhism, Gautama Buddha, was accepted as an *avatāra* of the same deity.

It is also to be noted in this connection that the account of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* about R̥ṣabha's *Paramahansa* initiation shows the existence of the supreme order of asceticism from the time of inception of this religious order.

Even the antiquity of this *tīrthaṅkara*, as propounded by some scholars can be surmised from the archaeological evidences too. Thus the *kāyotsarga-yoga* pose of sitting and standing images engraved on the seals of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Lothal are identified as R̥ṣabha's images.²⁸ Again if we are to believe the reading of a seal inscription by Pran Nath,²⁹ the prevalence of Jainism at that time is confirmed. However, it is clear that nude images like those of the Digambara Jainas used to be made by the Indus people³⁰ and this goes to establish the greater antiquity of the religious ideas of nudity as held by the Digambara Jainas. Jainism is however, considered as the oldest of non-Aryan group. Zimmer thus opines—"There is truth in the Jaina idea, their religion goes back to the remote antiquity, the antiquity in question being that of the pre-Aryan, so-called Dravidian period, which has recently been dramatically disillusioned by the discovery of a series of great Late Stone Age cities in the Indus Valley dating from the third and even perhaps fourth millennium BC."³¹

Although Jacobi regarded Pārśvanātha as a historical figure and the founder of Jainism, his further remark relating to this matter is very significant. In his opinion "there is nothing to prove that

Pārśva was the founder of Jainism. Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthaṅkara* (its founder) . . . There may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first *tīrthaṅkara*.³²

As regards the religious activities and historical events in the lives of the *tīrthaṅkaras* right from second to twenty-first our sources of information are conspicuously silent. It is rather unwise to make any assessment on the basis of such meagre and controversial evidences. And so far these evidences are concerned there is, in fact, nothing of importance and significance in their lives, at least, from the historical perspective to be noted.

NEMINĀTHA

The twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara*, Nemi or Ariṣṭanemi, is regarded by some scholars as the historical personage, while others treated him as a mythical one. He is referred to in the Pāli literature. The *Dhammika-sutta* of the *Āṅguttaranikāya* speaks of Aranemi as one of the six *tīrthaṅkaras* (*sathare tīrthaṅkara*).³³ Nagendranath Vasu in his introduction to the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa* argued in favour of the historicity of Lord Nemi.³⁴ He is referred to as a cousin of Lord Kṛṣṇa.³⁵ Nemi, son of Samudravijaya by Śivā was born in Sauripura. Samudravijaya is described as the eldest brother of Vasudeva.³⁶ Neminātha was younger in age than Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, the son of Vasudeva.

The Jaina *Harivaṃśa* affords us an interesting episode relating to Nemi's strength, valour and prowess. It is stated that while Kṛṣṇa was sitting in the council chamber with his relatives and friends, Neminātha appeared there. Kṛṣṇa rising up from his seat, went forward to welcome him. Neminātha occupied the chair which Kṛṣṇa was occupying. Councillors began to discuss among themselves as to who was the strongest person in the world. They mentioned in this connection several names like Bhima, Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa, etc., but Baladeva uttered that none was so strong as Neminātha. Hearing this Kṛṣṇa requested the latter to have a trial of strength through a wrestling bout with him. Neminātha replied, 'Oh elder brother, if you want to test my strength you try to move my feet from this throne'. Kṛṣṇa failed to do so and from that occasion he showed greater regards for him.³⁷ Elsewhere Kṛṣṇa asked his

sixteen thousand wives to play with Neminātha in a bower in the forest of Girnar hills.³⁸

Neminātha was betrothed to Rājimatī, daughter of Ugrasena and sister of Kaiśa. It is stated that hearing the piteous cries of a large number of birds and beasts collected for the wedding feast, Nemi refused to marry. He shuddered at this very idea of Rājimatī's father and turned back.³⁹ He left the world to perform austerities.⁴⁰ At the end of a year he took *dīkṣā* and soon attained Omniscience. He founded a *tīrtha* as is expected of every *tīrthanāka*.

PĀRŚVANĀTHA

The twenty-third *tīrthanāka* of the Jains, Pārśvanātha, who flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra or Nigaṇṭha Naṭaputta at Benares, the most reputed cultural and religious centre of India from time immemorial, was born to Aśvasena, probably a tribal chief, and queen Vāmā. The *Pārśvanātha-carita* of Bhavadeva Suri (composed in vs 1412) furnishes an exhaustive and vivid description of the history of Pārśva.⁴¹ In fact, "the lives of these *tīrthanākas* are found fully worked out both in the Jaina canonical literature and in individual *caritras* (life sketches) written by various Jaina *Gurus*."⁴² He married Prabhāvatī⁴³ who was daughter of a king of Ayodhya. At the age of thirty he renounced the world, and within a short period he became omniscient and *tīrthanāka*. It is stated in the Jaina texts that "after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, he put on a divine robe and together with 300 men . . . entered the state of houselessness."⁴⁴ On the eighty-fourth day of his deep meditation Pārśva reached *kevala*. Subsequently he had "an excellent community of 16,000 *śramaṇas* with Āryadatta at their head." There were numerous others with separate heads, such as, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 lay-votaries, 327,000 female lay-votaries and a few thousands more belonging to the higher grade of religious qualification.⁴⁵ Keśi is reported to be the famous disciple of Pārśva.⁴⁶

It evidently shows the popularity of the Parivrājaka as well as the Parivrājikā of the Jaina community long before the time of Mahāvīra. He is said to have attained *nirvāṇa* (salvation) in 177 BC on the Sameta-śikhara which is called today the Pareśanātha (Pārśvanātha) hill which lies on the Bengal-Bihar border. His mother and

wife became his first disciples and gradually he received a large number of followers. He preached his doctrine for nearly seventy years. Some Nigaṇṭhas like Vappa (the Buddha's uncle),⁴⁷ Upali,⁴⁸ Abhaya,⁴⁹ Aggivessayana, Saccaka,⁵⁰ Digha Tapassi,⁵¹ Asibandhakaputta Gamini,⁵² Siha,⁵³ etc. are lay followers, while Sacca, Lola, Avavadika, Patacara, etc. are lay women followers of the Pārśvanātha tradition;⁵⁴ and later on they had become the followers of the Nigaṇṭha Naṭaputta.⁵⁵ Moreover, the discussion between the disciples of Pārśva and Mahāvīra confirms the historicity of Pārśva and it also demonstrates that the sect of Pārśva came to be amalgamated with the Nigranthas.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that at the place of Tuṅgiyā⁵⁷ five hundred pupils of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvratas*⁵⁸ of Mahāvīra, which was essentially the advanced form *Caturyamās* of Pārśvanātha. Two interesting points which emerge from their discussions may be mentioned in this connection: first, that Pārśva omitted the vow of celibacy because he included it in the vow of possessionlessness. The absence of its specific mention however led to corruption which was set right by Mahāvīra's inclusion of celibacy as a distinct vow. Secondly, Pārśva allowed an upper and an under garment to his disciples while Mahāvīra recommended complete nudity, the explanation being that there is really no conflict in this for Pārśva's direction was with the purpose of giving his disciples a characteristic mark to distinguish them from other, while Mahāvīra's nudity symbolised that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation and not outward marks.⁵⁹ He had propounded four *yāmas* instead of the five *Mahāvratas*. These vows differ only in number; otherwise, in their application and significance, they are equal.⁶⁰ The *Cātuyāma-saṃvara*, which is attributed to the Nigaṇṭha Naṭaputta in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, is in reality a teaching of Pārśvanātha.⁶¹

The dialogue between Keśi and Goyama⁶² distinctly proves that in spite of some minor differences, the doctrines of Mahāvīra were in close agreement with those of Pārśva. To understand this interpretation of Jacobi we have to 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), *Sumṛta* (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.⁶³

Referring to this reformation in the Jaina order 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.”⁶⁴

The *Kalpa-sūtra*⁶⁵ informs us that Pārśva had organised the Jaina order by bringing all his disciples under eight classes, each headed by a Gaṇadhara. The mention of nuns and lay women suggests that he did not neglect women. The *Nāyā-dhammakahāo*⁶⁶ speaks of a number of lay women who became followers of Pārśva’s religion. It also narrates the story of an old maiden called Kālī who joined the ascetic order of Pārśva.⁶⁷ Pupphacūlā, the chief lady disciple of Pārśva, converted one Bhūyā, the daughter of a merchant of Rājagrha called Sudarśana, to this religion.⁶⁸ All these evidences tend us to believe that Pārśva had no hesitation to allow women to embrace the ascetic life.

Pārśva’s four vows show that he based his order of monks on solid moral principles and his first vow of *ahiṃsā* suggests that he raised his voice of protest against the animal sacrifices of Vedic Brāhmaṇas. The concept of *ahiṃsā* is in a distinct manner analysed in an earlier part of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*. “Some slay (animals) for sacrificial purposes, some kill for the sake of their skin, some kill for the sake of their blood, thus for the sake of their heart, their teeth, their tusks, their sinews, their bones; with a purpose or without a purpose. Some kill animals because they have been wounded by them, or are wounded or will be wounded.

“He who injures these (animals) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards animals, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to animals, is called a reward-knowing sage.”⁶⁹

In fact, the Jaina community had spread well even in those early days throughout a large part of northern India. “His Jainism prevailed from Bengal to Gujarat. The districts Maldah and Bogra were great centres of his faith.”⁷⁰

MAHĀVĪRA

Mahāvīra, the last *tīrthaṅkara* of the Jains, appeared in the field of religion in the eastern horizon of India when a few hundred religious teachers professed their respective views. We have already given a cursory account of the contemporary religious teachers with their respective philosophical affiliation in the introductory portion of our study. It is to be noted that different heretical groups that existed contemporaneously gradually came into closer and at the end merged either with the Jains, or with the Bauddhas, or with the Brāhmaṇical schools of thoughts. In fact, these different Lokāyata, or heretical groups have contributed many basic ideals to both Jainism and Buddhism, which in all essentials had grown on the soil of the ancient intellectual stratum. Mahāvīra⁷¹ also styled as Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta,⁷² stands the last *tīrthaṅkara* whose preachings fully breathe the spirit of the 'Eastern stream of thought in India'. Nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar) was a prosperous capital, a suburb of it was called Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma⁷³ or Kṣatriyakuṇḍa; and here in the palace of king Siddhārtha (Siddhattha) of his Kṣtriyaṇī queen Triśalā⁷⁴ (also known by Priyakārinī and Videhadattā), Mahāvīra was born. According to Jaina legends, while she was pregnant Triśalā had fourteen dreams⁷⁵ from which it was understood that the child would be either a Universal monarch (*cakravartī*) or a *tīrthaṅkara*. But there is also another tradition which gave great importance to Mahāvīra's Kṣatriya and not Brāhmaṇa descent. It is stated that Mahāvīra was originally conceived into the womb of Brāhmaṇa woman, Devanandā, who was the wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, but the god Indra, thinking that the would-be *tīrthaṅkara* should belong to a noble family, got his embryo transferred from the womb of Devanandā to that of Triśalā through his agent Hariṇegamesi (Naigameśa).⁷⁶

He was also known by Śreyāṃśa (Sijjamaśa) and Yaśasvin (*Jasamsi*), Vaddhamana (Vardhamāna) 'the promoter' or 'the prospering one', Vaiśaliya, Vadehadinna, Jñātriputra, Sanmati, etc. The form 'Jñātriputra' occurs in Jaina and north Indian Buddhist texts; in Pali, it is Nāṭaputta and in Jain Prākṛt Nayaputta.⁷⁷ It shows that Mahāvīra was born in the *Jñātri* clan of the Vajjis who were undoubtedly powerful rulers at that time at Vaiśālī and was

well connected from his parents' side. According to Rhys Davids and Cunningham, the Vajjis to whom the *Jñātris* belonged were a large confederacy which had within its fold at least eight clans (*attha kulas*), of which the Videhans, the Licchavis, the *Jñātris* and the Vajjis proper were the foremost.

The traditional date of Mahāvīra's birth is 599 BC, but scholars generally prefer to fix his date in 539 BC.

Tradition is not unanimous about his marriage; according to the Digambara tradition, he was a celibate throughout; while the Śvetāmbara tradition maintained that he married Yaśodā belonging to the Kaunḍinya *gotra* and had a daughter called Priyadarśanā *alias* Anujā or Anodyā.⁷⁸ As a prince, having excellent connections with ruling dynasties of his times, it was expected of him to rule with authority and enjoy the pleasures of prosperous career after his father. But that was not to be. When he was twenty-eight years old his parents died. He then wanted to renounce the world; but, owing to the pressure of his elder brother Nandivardhana⁷⁹ he waited for a couple of years and then started to lead the life of an ideal ascetic. At the age of thirty after taking permission from elder brother, he left for the park of *Nāyasaṃda*⁸⁰ which was situated near his home town. There under an *Aśoka* tree⁸¹ he gave up all his ornaments and finery and then plucked out his hair in five handfuls.⁸² According to the *Kalpa-sūtra*⁸³ Mahāvīra retained his cloth for thirteen months and then wandered about naked. During this period Gośāla, 'an early antinomian', became his disciple; but after six years he separated himself from Mahāvīra. After twelve years of severe penance Mahāvīra attained omniscience (*kevala*), corresponding to the Bodhi of the Buddhists, under a Śāla tree on the bank of the river Rjupālikā near a village called Jṃbhikagrāma and became a *tīrthaṅkara*. The place of Mahāvīra's *kevala-darśan* is, according to some, at the feet of some Śāla trees on the bank of a river, Rjupālikā at the foot of Pareśanātha hill,⁸⁴ while others think that it was situated in the eastern part of U.P.

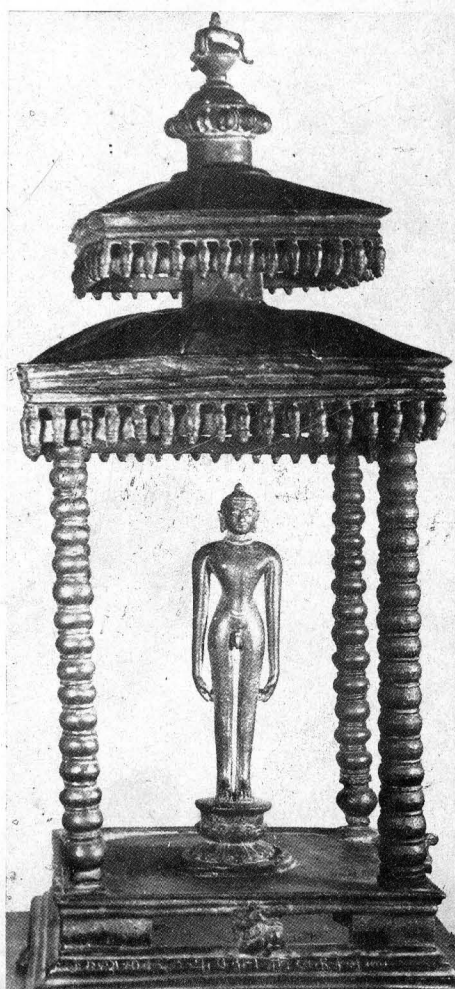
Having attained salvation, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra first preached sermons to his disciples (*gaṇadhara*s), viz., Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti, Vāyubhūti, Āryavyūka, Ārya Sudharman, Maṇḍiputra, Mauryaputra, Akampita, Acalabhrātṛ, Metarya and Prabhāsa.⁸⁵

The Jaina legends mention names of different rulers Mahāvīra visited and tell how Ceṭaka, the president of the great tribal



1. Bronze Jain image from Chausa, Bihar, c. early 4th cent. AD Patna Museum, Patna.

2. Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Palma, Bihar, c. 12th cent. AD, Patna Museum, Patna.





3. Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Palma, Bihar, c. 12th cent. AD, Patna Museum, Patna.

4. Bronze image of Pārśvanātha from Chausa, Bihar, c. early 4th cent. AD, Patna Museum, Patna.

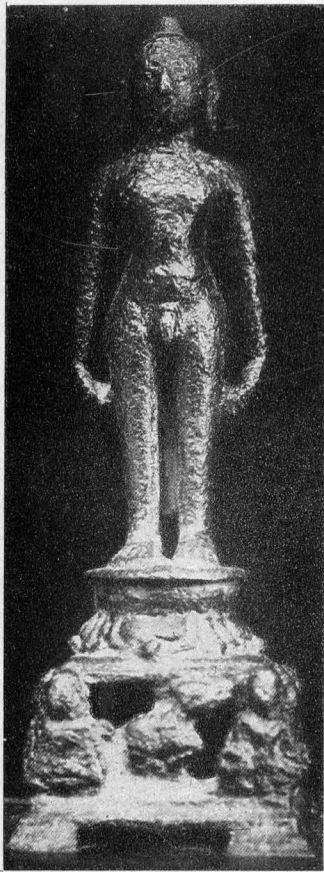




5. Bronze image of Pārśvanātha with the representation of *navagrahas*, Palma, Bihar, c. 12th cent. AD, Patna Museum, Patna.

6. Stone image of Pārśvanātha, Bengal, c. 10th-11th cent. AD, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.





7. Bronze image of
Kunthanātha,
Palma, Bihar, c.
12th cent. AD, Patna
Museum,
Patna.



9. Stone image of Śāntinātha,
Charampa, Bhadraka (Orissa), c.
9th cent. AD.

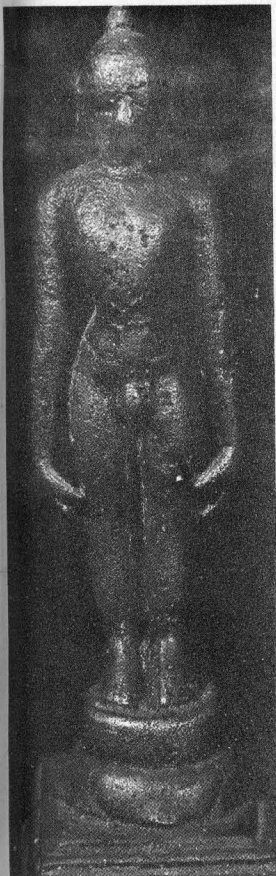
Jain Education International



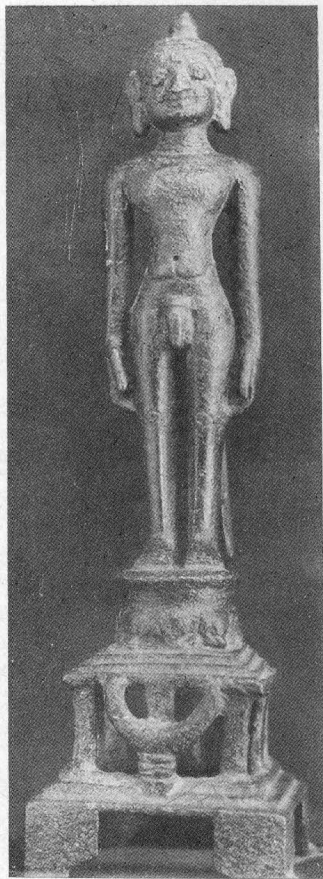
8. Image of
Candraprabha,
Caumūkha Jaina
shrine, Purulia,
Bengal, c. 11th cent.
AD, Asutosh
Museum, Calcutta.

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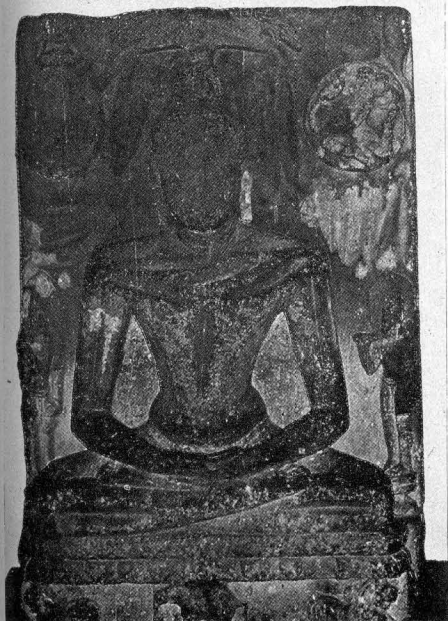
www.jainelibrary.org



10. Bronze image of Candraprabha, Kakatpur, Orissa, c. 11th AD, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.



11. Bronze image of Candraprabha, Palma, Bihar, c. 12th cent. AD, Patna Museum, Patna.



12. Stone image of Ajitanatha, Charampa, Bhadraka (Orissa), c. 9th-10th cent. AD.



13. Image of Padmaprabha,
Vaisālī, Bihar, c. 10th cent. AD.

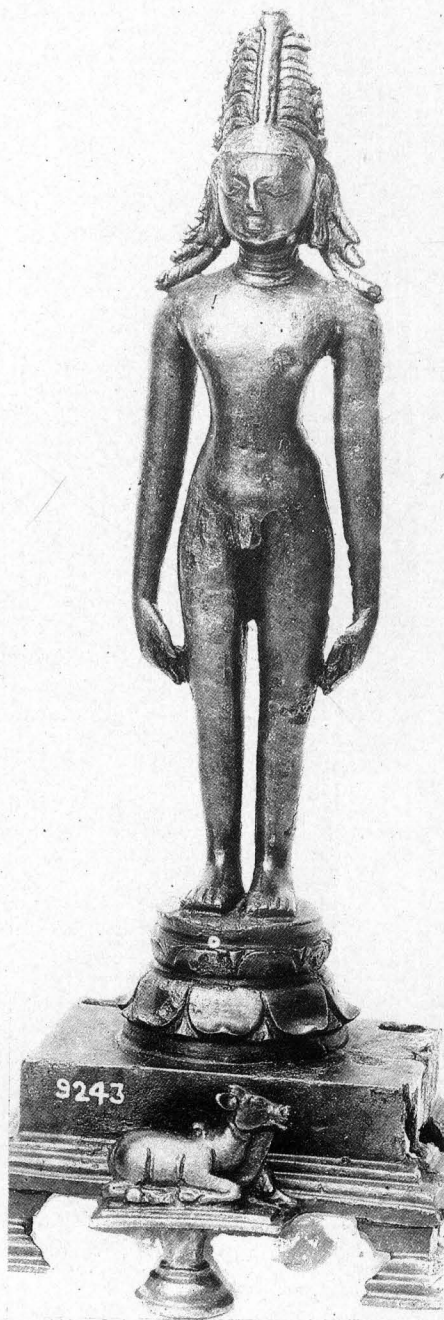


14. Bronze image of Rṣabhadeva,
Chausa, Bihar, c. early 4th cent. AD,
Patna Museum, Patna.



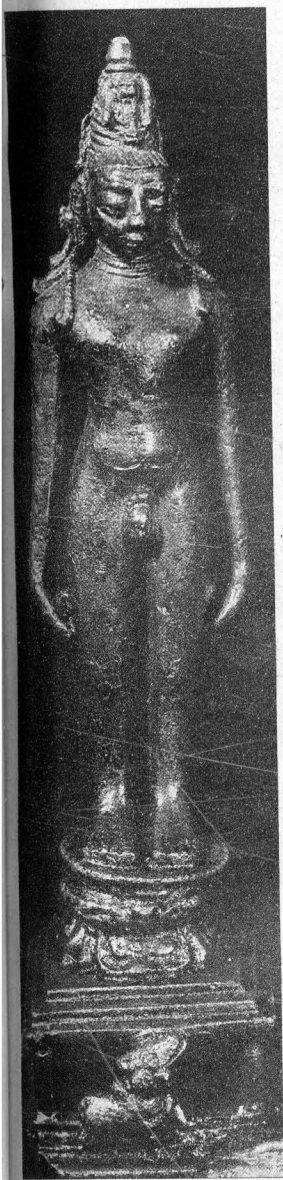
15. Bronze image of R̥ṣabhanātha,
Palma, Bihar, c. 12th cent. AD, Patna
Museum, Patna.

16. Bronze image of R̥ṣabhanātha, from
Orissa, c. 11th cent. AD, Indian
Museum, Calcutta.

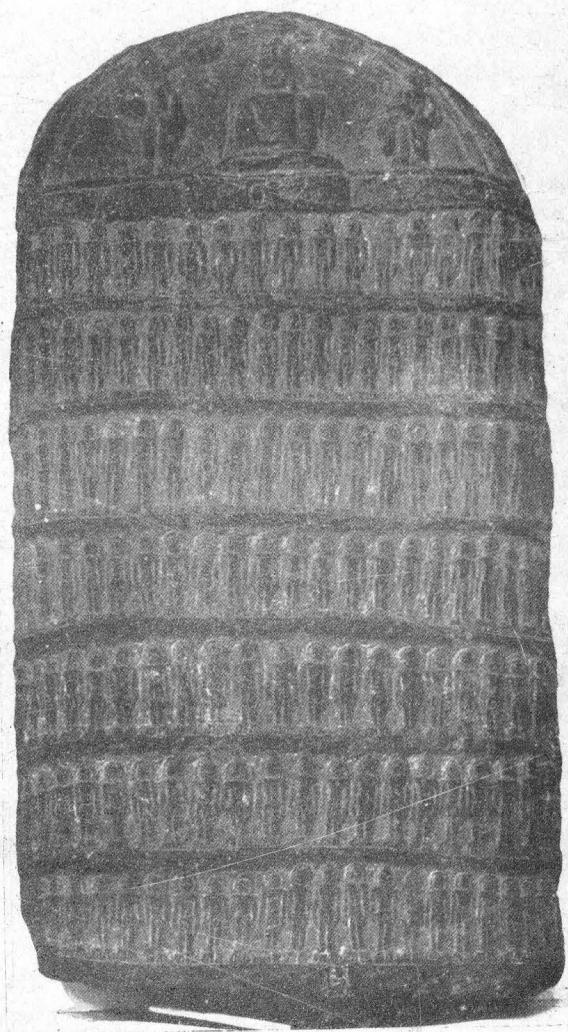




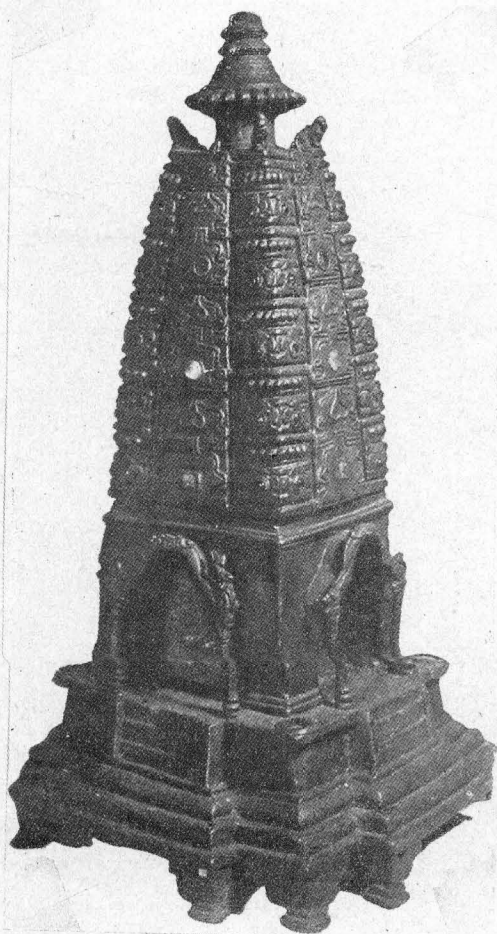
17. Stone image of Rṣabhanātha, from Purulia, Bengal,
c. 11th cent. AD, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.



18. Bronze image of
Rṣabhanātha, from
Manbhum, Bihar, c. 12th
cent. AD, Asutosh Museum,
Calcutta.

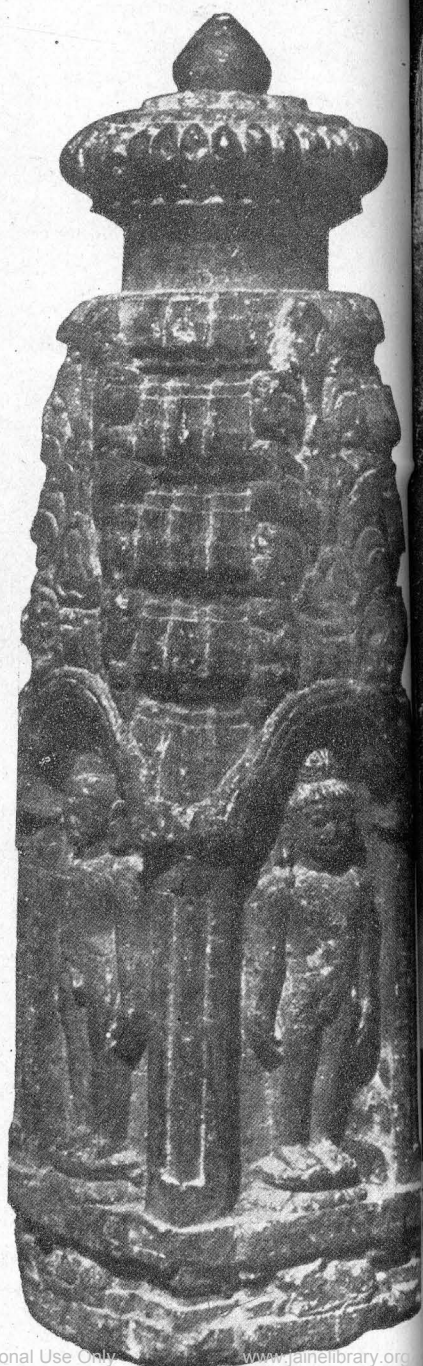


19. Stele of black basalt carved with seated Rṣabhadeva and
tīrthaṅkaras standing in Kāyotsarga mudrā. Sat Deyulia,
Burdwan district, Bengal, c. 10th-11th cent. AD, State
Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.



*
20. Miniature Jaina *Caumukha* Shrine
from Orissa, c. 11th-12th cent. AD.

21. Miniature Jaina shrine with the representations of four *tirthankaras* in *Kāyotsarga mudrā* on the four sides, Badkola, Bankura district, c. 11th cent. AD.

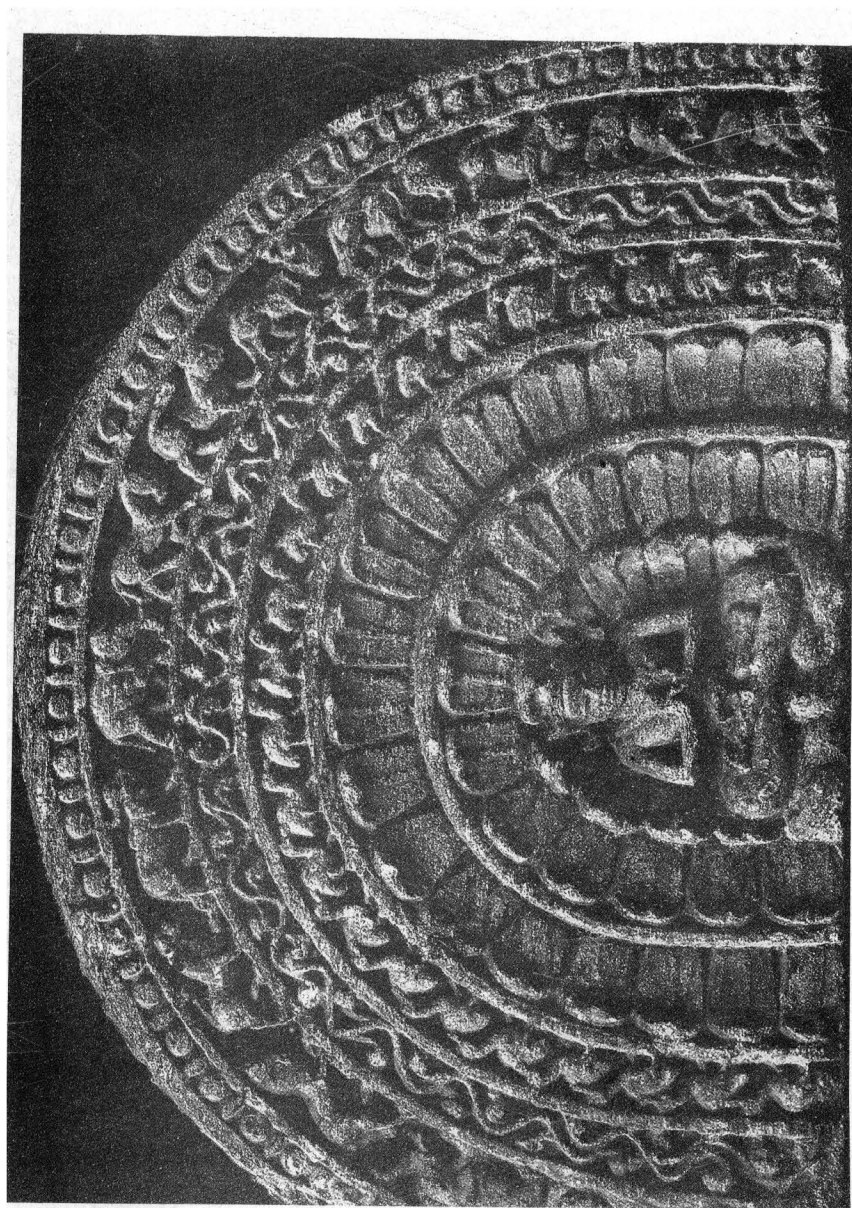




Rsabhanātha, c. 11th-12th
cent. AD, Asutosh Museum,
Calcutta.



23. Jaina miniature shrine from Purulia,
Bengal, representing a *tirthankara*
image on one of the four sides, c. 10th
cent. AD, State Archaeological Gallery,
West Bengal.



24. Semi-circular, Jaina image in centre, Pārśvanātha, Bhuvaneswar, Orissa,

confederacy of the east, became a patron of his order, and Kuṇika king of Magadha, also a staunch follower of him. He used to wander for eight months of the year and spend four months of the rainy seasons in Campā and Pṛṣṭicampā, twelve rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and its suburb Vāṇijyagrāma, fourteen at Rājagṛha, six in Mithilā, two in Bhadrīkā and the remaining four of the 42 years of his itinerary respectively, at Ālabhikā, Puṇitabhūmi, Śrāvastī and Pāvāpurī.⁸⁶ It is stated in the Jaina text that “at first he wandered single, but now he had surrounded himself with many monks and teaches everyone of them the law at length.”⁸⁷ He had an excellent community of 14,000 *śramaṇas* with Indrabhūti at their head and 36,000 nuns with Candanā at their head and of innumerable lay votaries and hundreds of sages to preach his tenets.⁸⁸ At the age of seventy-two, Mahāvīra passed away in perfect health while delivering his last sermon,⁸⁹ at Pāvā which, it is widely believed, is to be near Nālandā in Bihar.⁹⁰ The *Kalpa-sūtra* states that “The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra lived thirty years as a householder, and then twelve years and six months and a full half month more a sage only in outward guise (*Chadmastha*, that is, an ascetic, not yet possessed of perfect knowledge); thirty years less six a holy month in the exercise of perfect wisdom, altogether having lived seventy-two years.”⁹¹

After the demise of Mahāvīra, the leadership of all the four orders of Jaina community, viz., monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, fell on his disciple Indrabhūti who was the head of the Jaina organisation for a period of twelve years.⁹² He was succeeded by Sudharman, the fifth of the eleven *gaṇadharas* who also held that post for another twelve years. The *Kalpa-sūtra* gives a list of these *gaṇadharas* starting with Sudharman and ends with the thirty-third patriarch Śāṇḍilya or Skandila. In most of the cases their names and *gotras* are given, but there is also an elaborate list from the sixth, Bhadravāhu, to the fourteenth, Vajrasena, which adds more details, i.e., the disciples of each patriarch and of the sects and branches (*gaṇa*, *kula* and *sākhā*) originating with them.⁹³ In this connection it may be mentioned that we have also later lists of teachers (*Gurvāvali*, *Paṭṭāvali*) of different sects (*Gacchas*, etc.) which give a summary account from Mahāvīra down to the founder of the sect in question, and then a more detailed one of the line of descent from the latter downward, and with particulars of subsequent heads of the sect called Śrīpūjya. So

far as the later and regional history of Jainism is concerned these lists are of immense value.⁹⁴ Sudharman was succeeded by Jambusvāmī who led community for twenty-four years. Subsequent leaders were Prabhāva, Sayambhava, Yaśobhadra, Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadravāhu.

The *Uvāsagadasāo*⁹⁵ speaks of the following ten devotees of Mahāvīra who led the life of householders: (1) Ānanda and his wife, (2) Kāmadeva, (3) Culañipiya, (4) Suradeva, (5) Cullasayaga, (6) Kuṇḍakoliya (who met Gośāla but remained unshaken in the faith of Mahāvīra), (7) Saddālaputta, (8) Mahāsayaga (who came out of temptations to sensual enjoyments of the hands of Revai), (9) Nandiñipāyā, and (10) Silihipiya (who led spiritual lives very peacefully).

We have already mentioned that Jainism is not the creation of Mahāvīra, on the other hand, tradition also avers its origin from a hoary antiquity through twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*. Before him, Pārśva has preached his own faith and organised the Jaina community. While comparing between the two, Pārśva preached four vows, while Mahāvīra five instead, as already referred to. The fifth vow of celibacy, instead of by Mahāvīra was implied in the fourth vow (*a-parigraha*) of Pārśva. It shows that Mahāvīra did nothing but mention explicitly what Pārśva implied.

Besides celibacy, nudity was also stressed upon by Mahāvīra who said—"I have laid down the duty of nudity",⁹⁶ while Pārśva allowed the use of two garments to his disciples. The duty of '*Pratikramaṇa*' is also ascribed to Mahāvīra who imposed it as an obligatory rule on all his disciples to confess and condemn all transgressions.⁹⁷ According to Jacobi, Mahāvīra might have borrowed these rigid rules from the *Acelakas* or the followers of Gośāla.⁹⁸

An historical analysis will reveal Mahāvīra's contribution for the development and reorganisation of the Jaina faith and its institution. Royal patronage, needless to point out, stimulated the circulation of the faith and its consolidation among the general masses. Under him Jainism became one of the principal religious schools in eastern India. He traversed many places of this region during his missionary tour and converted a large number of followers to his faith. These were all possible due to his winning personality and a wonderful power of organisation, which resulted possibly in the strength of his *Samgha* with the help of not only

kings and aristocrats but also of ordinary people. His chief disciples, *gaṇadhara*s were all Brāhmaṇas and this suggests that like the Upaniṣads which were products of a section of Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas who were spiritually awakened to rise against ritualism. Jainism was also supported by a section of the intellectual heads of the society, though it was open to all, irrespective of caste or status. The fact that Mahāvīra did not give up ascetic practices like Buddha, deserves notice. His penances proved helpful to the acquisition of the highest knowledge. He had started preaching Jainism with an excellent staff of eleven *gaṇadhara*s, each of whom had again many assistants. During the life span of Mahāvīra, the faith with its well organised *Samgha* gained adequate momentum in eastern India, but it gradually ceased to continue as one single unit. In spite of all his endeavour to the cause of unity and consolidation of the organisation Mahāvīra failed to achieve that position. According to the Jaina texts⁹⁹ Mahāvīra had to face at least two schisms during his life-time and the other schisms took place after his demise.

These differences ultimately led to the great schism¹⁰⁰ in the Jaina community in about AD 79 or 82—the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras were the two principal subsects in Jainism in the early centuries of the Christian era; but later on various *Samghas* emerged from these two main sub-sects. The reason or reasons behind the schism (*nihnava*) that have occurred in the Jaina organisation cannot be determined definitely at the present state of our knowledge. The Digambaras speak of a legend about the origin of division, which differs from the legend prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras.¹⁰¹ Again, the Śvetāmbara canonical works, such as, *Thāna* and the *Nijjutti*, *Bhāsa*, and *Mūlabhāsa* on *Āvassaya* and *Visesa vassayabhāsa* are noted seven schisms, whereas in Hemacandra Suri's commentary on *Visesa* are noted eight schisms, of which the first was organised by Mahāvīra's son-in-law, Jamālī; and eighth gave rise to the Digambara sect.

The names of *dharmācāryas* associated with the seven schisms, the views they dogmatically asserted and the places where they were first declared, are given below in a tabular form.¹⁰²

To these seven schisms may be added the eighth known as *Botikadrṣṭi*. The founder of this *drṣṭi* was Śivabhūti alias Sahasramall.¹⁰³ He insisted upon practising *jina-kalpa* (the other way of

<i>Dharmācārya</i>	<i>View</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>
a. Jamāli (Mahāvīra's Bahuraya son-in-law)	(Bahurata)	Savatthi (Śrāvasti)	543 BC
b. Tissagutta (Tiṣyagupta)	Jivapaesiya (Jivapradesaka)	Uṣabhapura or Rayagaha	541 BC
c. Āśāḍha	Avvattaga (Avyaktaka)	Syetavi (Svetambi)	313 BC
d. Assamitta (Aśvamitra)	Samuccheiya (Samucchedika)	Mithilā	307 BC
e. Gaṅga	Dokiāriya (Dvaikriya)	Ullakatira	299 BC
f. Saduluya,	Rohagutta, Terasiya (Rohagupta)(Trirasika)	Antaranji	AD 17
g. Gotthamahilla (Goṣṭamahilla)	Abaddhiya (Abaddhiku)	Daśapura	AD 57

life to be led by the Jaina monks is *sthāvira-kalpa*), though he was dissuaded by Ācārya Āryakṛṣṇa from doing so. He began to go about stark naked. His sister Uttarā once came to him, and she, too, undressed herself. A *ganika* on seeing her naked, covered her body with a piece of cloth, though Uttarā did not like it. Thereupon Uttarā informed Śivabhūti about this. He persuaded her not to give up the cloth; for, he said that *firstly* it was given by a deity and *secondly* a naked woman presented a very ugly and indecent sight. In course of time Śivabhūti gave *dīkṣā* to Koḍiṇṇa (Sk. Kaundīnya) and Koṭṭavīra and this resulted in the establishment of a sect known as Digambara. But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms. According to them under Bhadravāhu, an inhabitant of northern Bengal, rose the sect of *Ardhophalakas*,¹⁰⁴ which in AD 80 developed into the Śvetāmbara sect.¹⁰⁵ Jacobi thinks that the separation of the sections of the Jaina organisation took place gradually, an individual development going on in both groups living at a great distance from one another, and that they became aware of their mutual difference about the end of the first century AD. But the difference is small in articles of faith.¹⁰⁶ But there are some scholars who advocate that even during the life-time of Mahāvīra, the Jaina community was divided into two groups, one propounding and imitating the rigid life led by Mahāvīra who remained completely

unclad and the other leaning towards the line chalked out by Pārśvanātha. This difference in the outlook was probably the chief reason for the culmination in the organisation. On the other hand, there is another tradition according to which Bhadravāhu, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya, during the time of his leadership a famine took place in Magadha, and for that reason a part of the community, numbering twelve thousand, went with him to south India. The remaining twelve thousand lived in Magadha under the leadership of Sthulabhadra,¹⁰⁷ who convened a Council at Pāṭaliputra for preserving the canonical literature. The Pāṭaliputra Council collected the *Aṅga* texts, eleven in number. The twelfth *Aṅga*, containing fourteen *pūrva* texts, was found missing, but Sthulabhadra was not able to reconstruct it from memory. The famine over, Bhadravāhu returned with his fellow brethren, but he refused to accept the proceedings of the Pāṭaliputra Council as valid. Moreover, their brother-monks at Pāṭaliputra were not as rigid as themselves in the observance of vows, etc.; and thus schism was inevitable among themselves.

Rapson believes that it was about 300 BC "the great schism originated which has ever since divided the community into two great sects—the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras."¹⁰⁸ But "the final separation between the two communities is, no doubt, reported not to have taken place before AD 79 or 82; but the list of teachers and schools in the *Kalpa-sūtra* and the numerous inscriptions from Mathura, which date mostly from the time of the later Kuṣāṇa kings, i.e., after AD 78, afford sufficient proof that the Śvetāmbara community was not only established but had become sub-divided into smaller sects at an earlier period. This is especially clear from the frequent mention of nuns in the Mathura inscriptions; for it is only the Śvetāmbaras who give women admission into the order."¹⁰⁹ It is thus clear that the split between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras was of gradual evolution, spread over a long period and culminating in the post-Kuṣāṇa or the Gupta period.

However, both the sub-sects of the Jainas have almost all the philosophical doctrines in common, but they differ in subtle matters of doctrine and cult practices and each of these two sub-sects claims precedence over the other. According to the Digambaras, the omniscient do not take food; monks cannot have any garment,¹¹⁰ women cannot attain salvation in that very existence because of their sex; there can be no place for nuns in the Jaina monastic

order.

Canonical norms and ritualistic procedures prescribed for the Jaina Parivrājakas are also different. Before attempting to that point in the next chapter we should mention the names of different Jaina canonical texts, viz., the *Āṅgas*, the *Mūlasūtras*, the *Cheya-suttas* which throw a considerable light on the earliest stage of Jaina asceticism and the life of the Parivrājakas. There are twelve *Āṅgas*, namely, *Āyārāṅga*, *Sūyagaḍāṅga*, *Thānāṅga*, *Samayāyāṅga*, *Vivihapanatti* or *Bhagavati-sūtra*, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, *Antagaḍasāo*, *Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo*, *Paṇhāvāgaranāim*, *Vivāgasūya* and *Diṭṭhivāya*. Of these twelve *Āṅgas*, the first two—*Ācārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* afford us simply the rules of monastic discipline and reveal rarely the rules of expiation and of *Samgha* hierarchy.

The *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga* also contains an exposition of the tenets and dogmas of other faith. The *Jñātydharmakathā* gives hints regarding religious preaching as well as stories and anecdotes calculated to carry moral conviction. The *Upāsakādhyayana*, also called *Upāsaka-daśāka*, primarily deals with the religious code for householders. The *Antakṛddāśaka* contains accounts of the ten saints who attained salvation after immense suffering, while the *Anuttarauppātika* records the name of ten saints who had gone to the highest heaven after enduring intense persecution. The *Praśna-vyākaraṇa* makes several accounts and episodes for the refutation of opposite views, establishment of one's own faith, promotion of holy deeds, and prevention of evil. The *Vipāka-sūtra* explains how virtue was

period than the *Aṅgas*. According to Winternitz¹¹² *Dasaveyāliya* was written by Sejjambhava, the fourth head of the Jaina *Samgha* after Mahāvīra, but he believes the first one to be of much antiquity and as 'the oldest nucleus', referring 'to the ascetic poetry of ancient India'.¹¹³ Jacobi also places it later than the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.¹¹⁴ The rest of the *Sūtras* seem to be of later phase of Jaina asceticism.

Of the six *Cheyasuttas* (*Chedagrantha*) viz., *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kappa* or *Bṛhat-kalpa*, *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra-sūtra*), *Nisiha* (*Niśītha*), *Mahanisiha* (*Mahāniśītha*) and *Pañcakappa*, the authorship of the first three goes to Bhadravāhu who is said to have born of a Brāhmaṇa family at Kotikopra in Puṇḍravardhana.¹¹⁵ Winternitz¹¹⁶ takes at least the part of *Samācāri*, dealing with rules of rain-retreat to be the work of Bhadravāhu and thinks of the rest to be later additions. He observes many similarities between *Nisiha* and *Ācārāṅga*. The other works are placed in the later period.

Apart from these, there are twelve *Upāṅgas*, namely, *Uvavāi* (*Aupapātika*), *Rāyapaseṇī* (*Rājāpraśnīya*), *Jīvābhigama*, *Pannavaṇā* (*Prajñāpanā*), *Jambu-dīvapannati* (*Jambūdvīpa-prajñāpti*), *Surapan-nati* (*Sūrya-prajñāpti*), *Canda-pannati* (*Candra-prajñāpti*), *Nirayāvali*, *Kalpāvataṁśikā*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā* and *Vṛṣṇidaśā*. These works are generally placed in the third-fourth centuries AD on the basis of astronomical ground.

The ten *Prakīrṇakas* scattered pieces, namely, *Catuḥ-śaraṇa*, *Ātura-pratyākhyāna*, *Bhakta-parijñā*, *Śmṣtāraka*, *Taṇḍula-vaitālika*, *Caṁdāvījjhaya*, *Devendra-stava*, *Gaṇavidyā*, *Mahāpratyākhyāna*, and *Vīra-stava*, dealing with the duties of monk are also equally placed in the later period like the *Upāṅgas*. Besides these, a pair of texts, called *Nandī-sūtra* and *Aṇuyogadvāra* and the works of commentaries called *Nijjuti* are believed to have been written in a much later period, probably after sixth century AD. It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Nandī-sūtra* and *Aṇuyogadvāra* are considered, according to the *Sthānakavāsī* canon, among the four *Mūla-granthas*.¹¹⁷

Thus, it is interesting to note that with its spread and a shift in its centre of gravity, there also occurred distinct changes in the organisation of its order, and its religious texts. The division of the community into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras had become finally settled, and it effected a separation not only among the monks but also in the ranks of the laity. With the lapse of time

this gap became wider and it makes its reflection even in the literatures. In fact, no attempt had been made for bridging the gap of differences between these two major divisions. On the other hand, these major sects themselves were further subdivided into several smaller groups like the *Samghas* and the *Gaṇas* in south, and into *Kulas*, *Sākhās* and, later on, into *Gacchas* in the north.

REFERENCES

¹*Tirthaṅkara* means a prophet. According to the *Bṛhatsvayambhūṣṭotra*, 9 of Samantabhadra—"A *tīrthaṅkara* is he by whom was shown the broad fording—place of virtue, the best of all reaching which men overcome sorrow". *Tīrtha* also means *dharma* or religious system, one who expounds *dharma* (*Tīrtha dharma karoti prakāṣayati iti tīrthakaraḥ*, *Svatīrthānāmādikartāraḥ tīrthakaraḥ*, B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, (p. 11). Another version runs thus: *Tiryate anenai*, cf. *Tarantiyena saṁsārasāgaramiti tīrtha pravacaṇam tadavyatirekādeva saṁghastīrtha tatkarāṇaśīlatvātīrthakaraḥ* (*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 1.1.30. B.C. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 11). So *Tīrtham* or *dharma* by which this ocean of *Saṁsāra* or transmigration can be crossed. According to Śvetāmbara view, *Tīrtham* means a *Samghā* or an institution and a *tīrthaṅkara* is the founder of such institution or community which is of four in number—such as, *Sādhu* (monk), *Sādhvi* (nun), *Śrāvaka* (lay-follower), and *Śrāvakā* (lay-women follower).

According to Bühler (*Indian Sects of the Jains*, p. 8) the Brāhmanical ideas (like the successive appearance of fourteen Manus, etc.) may possibly have given rise to the doctrines of the twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four *Jinas*, which are later additions in both systems. *Jina* or conqueror is the other name of the *tīrthaṅkara* from which the religion has been named as *Jaina*. The term *Jina* means one who conquers the enemies, such as, lust, anger, etc. (*Jayati nirākaroti rāga dveṣādirūpānarātīniti Jinah*—B.C. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 12).

²There are two great *kalpas* (cycles)—*utsarpiṇī* (evolution) and *Avasarpinī* (involution). Each of these is divided into six periods:

- (a) *Sukhama sukhama* or the period of great happiness;
- (b) *Sukhama* or the period of happiness;
- (c) *Sukhama duḥkhama* or the age of happiness and some misery;
- (d) *Duḥkhama sukhama* or the age of misery and some happiness;
- (e) *Duḥkhama* or the age of misery. The present era is the fifth one which is to last twenty-one thousand years. About two thousand and five hundred years have already elapsed by this time.

- (f) *Duḥkhama duḥkhama* or the age of extreme misery.

—Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 272-76; H.R. Kapadia, *The Jaina Religion and Literature*, vol. I, pp. 17-20.

³Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. J. Campbell, pp. 305ff.

⁴*Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 125.

⁵Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 111.

⁶IA, IX, p. 160.

⁷H. Jacobi, *Studies in Jainism*, part I, pp. 8-9.

⁸It is the Mount Maleus of the Greeks (McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 63, 139); B.C. Law, *HGA I*, p. 226.

⁹Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, ch. I, VV. 26-28.

¹⁰*Kalpa-sūtra*, 147, 168, 182 & 227.

¹¹The seven *Kulakāras* are—Vimalavāhana, Cakṣuṣmat, Yaśasvin, Abhicandra Prasenajit, Marudeva, Nābhi—H.R. Kapadia, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

¹²*Ibid.*, fns. 3-4.

¹³*Āvaśyakaniryukti*, 191, 383, 398.

¹⁴*Kalpa-sūtra*, *SBE*, XXII, pp. 281-85.

¹⁵*Rgveda*, X.102.6—The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (13.5.4.15) and the *Sāmkhya Śrauta sūtra* (16.9.8.20) speak of a king named Ṛṣabha who is said to have performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. Another name of Ṛṣabha being the son of Viśvāmitra occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 7.17.

¹⁶*Viṣṇu*, 2.1, p. 163 (ed. Wilson); *Kūrma*, ch. 41; *Agni*, ch. 10; *Mārkaṇdeya*, ch. 50; *Bhāgavata*, V.3.6.

¹⁷*Āvaśyakaniryukti*, 336-37.

¹⁸*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V.5.30.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, V.6.7.

²⁰*Rāmāyaṇa*, VII.III.10.

²¹*Mbh.*, VI.9.7.

²²*Ibid.*, chs. 125ff; also XII-128-24.

²³*Ibid.*, III.85.10-11.

²⁴*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V. 3-6.

²⁵*Ibid.*, II.7.10.

²⁶R.G. Bhandarkar, *VSMS*, p. 42; P. Jash, *History and Evolution of Vaiṣṇavism in Eastern India*, p. 98.

²⁷*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, V.3.18-20; P. Jash, op. cit., pp. 57ff.

²⁸K.P. Jain, *Jaina Antiquary*, I, no. 2, 1935, p. 19.

²⁹*IHQ*, VIII, Supplement, pp. 18-32.

³⁰Chanda, *Modern Review*, 1932 (August), pp. 158-60.

³¹Zimmer, op. cit., p. 60. It may be noted further that Mrs. N.R. Guseva (*Jainism*, Bombay, 1917, pp. 38ff) thinks that the great antiquity of this sect is also known by studying from the anthropological perspective. "An ethnic group called *Thakur* lives in western Nepal, whose sect is called *Pen-po*. Members of this sect believe in God, whom they call 'leading to the heaven' (towards the heaven), compare the designation; *Tirthaṅkara*—leading or carrying the being across the ocean or the 'joined conqueror' (compare *jena* the conqueror). They portray this god fully naked, as the Jains their *tirthaṅkaras*".

³²*IA*, IX, p. 163.

³³*AN*, III.373; we may note in this connection that the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*Isigilisutta*) refers to Ariththa as one of the twenty-four *Pratyekabuddhas* who inhabited on the Sigiri mountain. Again, in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. 60) we find the name of *Drdhanemi* as a *Cakkavatti*. Elsewhere the same *Nikāya* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. 291) speaks of the king Ariththanemi who is called a Yakkha.

³⁴N.N. Vasu, *Introduction to Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa*, p. 6.

³⁵Samudravijaya, the father of Nemi and Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, were sons of Andhrakā-vṛṣṇi, who had eight more sons. Each of these ten persons is known as *Dasarha*.

³⁶*Jaina Harivaṃśa*, 18.12, Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Kashi, 1962.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 55.1-14.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 55-46.

³⁹We learn from the Jaina cononical texts that Rājamatī, the wife of Nemi, who had also renounced the world, was appointed the head of nuns. Rathenemi, brother of Nemi, also attained salvation — *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jinas*, p. 151.

⁴⁰*Jaina Harivaṃśa*, 55.86-108.

⁴¹M. Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha*, 1919.

⁴²To mention a few individual *caritras* we have *Pārśvanātha-caritam* by Hemavijayagaṇi; *Śāntinātha-mahākāvya* by Śrī Munibhadrasūri; *Mallinātha-caritram* by Vinayacandrasūri and also by Haribhadra; *Mahāvīrasvāmī-caritram* by Nemīcandra, and so on.

⁴³*Kalpasūtra-vṛtti* by Samayasundra, pp. 164-65.

⁴⁴*SBE*, XXII, p. 273.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁴⁶*Uttara. Sūt.*, XXIII.2.

⁴⁷*AN*, II, pp. 196ff.

⁴⁸*MN*, I, pp. 371ff.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 392ff.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 237ff.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 371ff.

⁵²*Samyutta-nikāya*, IV.312ff.

⁵³*Ibid.*, I, 65ff.

⁵⁴*Jātaka*, III.1; The *Bhagavati-sūtra* (5.2) mentions the following four monks, viz., Kaliyaputta, Mehila, Kāsava and Ānandarakkhiya, belonging to Pārśva's school.

Bhagavati-sūtra, I.9.76.

... miles from Bihar Sariff. *Prācīna Tīrthamālā*, part I,

Bhagavati-sūtra, pp. 136ff.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 5.2.

⁵⁶*Uttara-sūtra*, 23-33.

⁵⁷Pāsa's postulation was: not to damage anything living, not to commit anything untrue, and neither to take what has not been given nor to give away. . . . Pāsa's fourth commandment would correspond with Mahāvīra's both fourth and fifth (sexual abstention and non-possession). Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jinas*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁸*IA*, IX, p. 160.

⁵⁹Schubring, op. cit., XXIII; *SBE*, vol. 45, pp. 420ff.

⁶⁰C J Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 7.

⁶¹*SBE*, vol. 45, pp. 122-23.

⁶²*Nāyādhammakahāo*, part II, ch. 10.

⁶³*Ibid.*, para. 148.II.1.

⁶⁶*Nirayavalikā*, an *upāṅga*; for translation of Jacobi, *SBE*, 45, pp. 420ff.

⁶⁷*SBE*, XXII, pp. 12-13. We have discussed in details later on, see *infra*.

⁶⁸C J. Shah, op. cit., p. 83, fn. 5.

⁶⁹Notes on Mahāvīra's life are to be found especially in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (*SBE*, XXII, 84-87, 189-202); *Kalpa-sūtra* (*SBE*, XXII 217-70). The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* affords us an elaborate information regarding Mahāvīra's life upto his forty-two years, that is, the date of his enlightenment; it does not contain any information about the activities of the last thirty years.

⁷⁰The teaching ascribed to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is obscure. It may be said that though it is not an alien to it. And hence we are sharing the view of Jacobi about the identification of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta with Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. *Jaina-sūtra*, part II.

⁷¹This place is still called Vasukunḍa. *Proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, p. 40.

⁷²She belongs to the Licchavis. She was the sister of Ceṭaka who was the head of a tribal confederacy.

⁷³According to the *Kalpa-sūtra* (*SBE*, XII) Devanandā saw the following fourteen objects in her dream—an elephant, a bull, a lion, an anointment, a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame.

⁷⁴*SBE*, XXII, XXXI.

⁷⁵*JA*, VII, p. 143.

⁷⁶*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 193; *Kalpa-sūtra*; W. Schubring, *The Doctrines of the Jinas*, pp. 32-33.

⁷⁷*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 193.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 199; *Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 259.

⁷⁹*Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 259.

⁸⁰*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 199; *Kālpā-sūtra*, p. 259.

⁸¹*Kalpa-sūtra*, pp. 259-60.

⁸²Mrs. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 38-39. Dr. Panchanan Mondal in the *Proc. of the 10th Jain World Conference*, Villupuram University, 1972, has tried to

... differ as to

... *Digdarśana*, p. 44, fn.

... Kapura village twelve miles away

... on the little Gandak river to the east of the

... Law, *HGAI*, p. 251.

... London, 1848.

... according to some authorities Gautama Indrabhūti never held office,

having become a *Kevali*. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 68.

⁹²SBE, XXII, pp. 286-95.

⁹³H. Jacobi, *History of Jainism*, pp. 43ff.

⁹⁴*Uvāsagadasāo*, ed. N.A. Gore, Poona.

⁹⁵*Mae acelate dhamme pannatte*.—*Thānāṅga* (comm. Abhayadeva), p. 460b.

⁹⁶*Cāujjanao pañcamahavaiyam*.—*Bhagavati sūtra* (commn. Abhayadeva, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1921), pp. 99aff.

⁹⁷*Sapaḍḍikkanaṃ dhammaṃ paḍivijjai*.—SBE, XLV, p. xxxii.

⁹⁸*Āvaśyaka-Mūla* by Bhadravāhu, verses 125ff.

⁹⁹*Uvāsagadasāo* (ed. Hoernle), p. ix. It is to be noted in this connection that tradition ascribes the compilation of Jaina canon also to a council at Mathura under Ārya Skandila in the ninth century after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira, i.e., c. fourth century AD (Weber, *JA*, XVII, p. 282). But the final reaction of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon was made in the second council of Valabhi early in the fifth or sixth century AD under Devardhigaṇin, probably during the reign of Dhruvasena (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 434-35).

¹⁰¹Glaserapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 347ff.

¹⁰²E. Leuman, *Ind. Studen.*, XVII, 1885, pp. 91ff.

¹⁰³*Āvaśyaka Mūlabhāṣya*, VV. 145ff.

¹⁰⁴Those who advocated *ardhaphālakas* became gradually known as the orthodox group of Śvetāmbaras (*JA*, VII, pp. 37-38). Tradition avers that Bhadravāhu predicted a terrible famine of twelve years in Magadha. So a group of Jaina monks headed by Bhadravāhu left for South India, while others resided in Magadha. After sometimes, however, the leading monks of this community met together at Ujjain where famine still persisted and so they allowed monks to use *ardhaphālaka*, i.e., cloth to hide shame, while on tour for begging.

¹⁰⁵Jacobi, *Studies in Jainism*, part I, pp. 45-46; *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 1884, pp. 1ff.

¹⁰⁶ERE, VII, on *Digambara*.

¹⁰⁷*Sthavirāvai-carita*, cant. IX, 55, 59.

¹⁰⁸Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 147.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹¹⁰These two views are challenged and criticised by Guṇaratna Sūri in his *Tarkarahasya-dīpikā*, a commentary on *Saddarśana-Samuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri (pp. 53b-54b and 79b-81a) respectively. The same commentary further states that the Digambaras are divided into four *Samighas*, namely, *Kaṣṭha*, *Mūla*, *Mathura* and *Gopya* or *Yapaniya* (*Tarkarahasya-dīpikā*, p. 45a).

¹¹¹*JA*, XVII, p. 286.

¹¹²Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 433.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, p. 466.

¹¹⁴SBE, IV, Introduction, p. xxxix.

¹¹⁵*Rājavalikathā*, *JA*, XXI, p. 157.

¹¹⁶Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-64.

¹¹⁷Mrs. Stevenson. *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 14.

CHAPTER THREE

Jaina Canonical Texts

AN outline of the disciplinary code of the Jaina monk which he has to practise for the perfection of his very *mahāvratas* will also be helpful to understand the real nature and the characteristic features of the Parivrājakas belonging to the Jaina order. Except a few unfit persons enlisted in the Jaina texts,¹ every individual irrespective of caste, colour and creed are entitled to be a member of this heretical order by pursuing and following those five celebrated vows² which Mahāvīra himself laid down as the only entrance through which man can pass to the ascetic state.

Jainism considers that the true road to deliverance lies in right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*), right faith (*samyag-darśana*) and right conduct (*samyag-caritra*), i.e., the famous *tri-ratna*, 'the three jewels' of Jainism. It also stress much emphasis on renunciation.³ It maintains that renunciation is not physical merely, but is primarily mental. Hence the preparation to lead an ultimately spiritual life beings early in life. This is responsible for the two fold classification of duties—the *Śrāvaka-dharma* (the householder's duties) and the *Muni-dharma* (the duties of the ascetic). Thus the pragmatism of Jainism consists in prescribing separate rules of conduct for a layman and an ascetic.

Our purpose is to indicate that the stage of *Muni* is considered to be more advanced than that of the *Śrāvaka*. It is to be noted that concession is allowed to the *Śrāvaka* in the matter of observing the various virtues. In the case of the *Muni*, the five virtues of *satya*, *ahiṃsā*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya* and *aparigraha* are insisted to be followed very strictly. No laxity is permitted in the case of the *Muni* who played a vital role for the development of the faith in and outside the Jaina organisation.

After completing the practice of five *aṇuvratas*, three *guṇa-*

vratas, four *śikṣāvratas* and eleven *pratimās*, a house-holder seeks permission from his relatives to renounce completely mundane affairs and became a Jaina monk. Then after worshipping the *pañca parameṣṭhins*, viz., *arhanta*, *siddha*, *ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*,⁴ he requests the *Gaṇin* to admit him into his order. Being accepted by the *Gaṇin*, he pulls out his hair and becomes a naked ascetic, according to the Digambara traditions. An illuminating definition of Jaina *śramaṇa* is to be found in the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda and the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera which may be regarded as the practical manual for a novice Digambara-Jaina willing to embrace asceticism. The statement of the *Pravacanasāra* runs thus—“He is a *śramaṇa* who has no desires in this world and no attachment for the next: whose diet and tourings are proper and who is free from passions. He advises that an ideal *śramaṇa*, if he desires for release from misery, should always live with an ascetic of meritis or possessing more merits.”⁵

What apparently distinguishes a Jaina monk from a laity is his itinerant living with no abode as his own and his having no possessions or paraphernalia beyond those required for his religious observances. In their outward form and equipment we find different schools among the Jaina monks. The Digambara monk, who goes about naked, has a *Kamaṇḍalu* (a gourd pot) and a bunch of peacock feathers. But if he belongs to the lower stage, he has minimum clothing to cover his shame. A Śvetāmbara monk is clad in white robes; and he is equipped with a staff, a bunch of wool and wooden pots. They differ here and there in the rules of outward behaviour which affect their mode of begging, clothing, touring, eating, residence etc. which we discuss in the subsequent pages. But the inner religious life, however, is fundamentally the same. Even in some cases they agree on the qualifications, essential for monkhood, and other essential requisites. Their means differ from one another, but their ultimate realisation is identical, i.e., to achieve liberation.

While qualifying ‘a true sage’, the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*⁶ mentions that ‘He who in the world, comprehends and renounces the causes of sin, relating to earth, water, fire, plants, animals and wind is a true sage.’ He who sincerely performs all duties by these methods, attains purity and gets of all miseries. The exertion in righteousness consists in seventy-three processes, as preached by Mahāvira, each helping the succeeding one, beginning with *saṁvega* (desire

for liberation), and ending in *akarmatā* (freedom from *karman*). It is stated in the *Bhagavati-sūtra*⁷ that desire for liberation (*saṃvega*), disregard for worldly objects (*nirvega*), self-analysis and confession of faults done, observance of vows such as renunciation of anger, etc., vows of renunciation of harmful and violent activities, complete control of mind, speech and body, and attainment of knowledge, intuition and of conduct lead ultimately to perfection.

As an ardent follower of Jaina ascetic order, his one aim is to stop the influx of fresh *karman* and to destroy all that has already bound him. The flow of *karmas* into the *ātman* (soul) is caused by the activities of body, speech and mind; so it is necessary for him to keep these channels under strict control (*gupti*). It is just possible that even in performing the duties of a monk the vows might be transgressed due to negligence. As a precautionary measure, the monk must be contains in walking, begging, speaking, etc. and in voiding the body (*saṃiti*). A monk thus should know the five *saṃitis*⁸ and three *guptis*⁹ which are helpful for the practice of religious life and for the avoidance of all sins. In fact, the idea behind the prescription of the *saṃitis* is that unless bodily control is gained, mental control cannot even be thought of. It is mainly due to passions that the soul assimilates *karman*; so anger, pride, deception and greed must be counteracted by cultivating *daśadharma* or ten virtues, such as: *Kṣamā* (forgiveness), *Mārdava* (humility), *Ārjava* (straight-forwardness), *Nirlobhatā* (free from greed or contemplation), *Satya* (truthfulness), *Saṃyama* (restraint), *Tapa* (austerities), *Tyāga* (renunciation) or *Śauca* (purity and cleanliness, according to some sects), *Akiñcinatā* (absolute want of greed) and *Brahmacarya* (celibacy and chastity).

To cultivate the necessary religious attitude he should constantly reflect on some twelve religious topics (*Bhāvanā* or *Anuprekṣā*), namely,

- (i) everything is transitory (*Anitya bhāvanā*),
- (ii) men are helpless against disease, old age, death, etc. (*Aśaraṇa bhāvanā*),
- (iii) the circuit of existence is full of misery (*Saṃsāra bhāvanā*),
- (iv) the soul has to struggle all alone (*Ekatva bhāvanā*),
- (v) the relatives and others are quite separate (*Anyatva bhāvanā*),

- (vi) the body is impure (*Aśauca bhāvanā*),
- (vii) the *karman* is constantly inflowing (*Āśrava bhāvanā*),
- (viii) the *karman* should be stopped by cultivating necessary virtues (*Saṁvara bhāvanā*),
- (ix) the *karman* should be annihilated by penances (*Nirjarā bhāvanā*),
- (x) the nature of the universe (*Loka bhāvanā*),
- (xi) the rarity of religious knowledge (*Bodhibīja* or *Bodhidurlabha bhāvanā*), and
- (xii) the true nature of religion (*Dharma bhāvanā*).

The Jaina ascetic must be always awaking and unmindful of heat and cold and must liberate himself from all miseries. To keep himself steady on the path of liberation and to destroy the *karman*, a monk has to bear all sorts of troubles (*parīṣaha*) that might cause him distraction or pain. There are twenty-two troubles which a wandering mendicant is expected to face unflinchingly at the time of tour. These are—hunger (*kṣudhā*), thirsty (*tṛṣṇā*), cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣṇa*), illness (*roga*), unpleasant feelings (*naiṣidhikī*), trying circumstances arising out of string (*daṁṣana*), cloth (*vastra*), lodging (*arati*), women (*strī*) etc.¹⁰

The inflow of *karman* is also arrested by observing the five rules of conduct or *caritra*.¹¹ Monks and nuns should observe this five-fold spiritual discipline or conduct whose pitch ranges from equanimity to ideal and passionless conduct. The *karman* must be annihilated through practising penances or austerities (*tapas*). The monk should not be tempted and ceased in the middle by miraculous powers, etc.; his ultimate goal is to attain *Nirvāṇa* or *Mokṣa*. Penance is of twofold—the external penance and the internal penance. Of these two groups, the external consists of¹² (i) *Anaśana* (fasting), (ii) *Avamodarikā* (abstinence), (iii) *Bhikṣācaryā* (collecting alms), (iv) *Rasatyāga* (abstention from six kinds of dainty food, such as, ghee, milk, curds, sugar, salt and oil), (v) *Kāyākleśa* (mortification), and (vi) *Pratisamīnatā* (restraint of senses, passions, activities and enjoyment of bed and seats). These external penances demonstrate what a rigorous life of self-denial the Jaina monk leads. He just sustains the body with minimum feeding and takes maximum work from it in the attainment of his spiritual ideal. Jainism has evolved an elaborate technique of fasting, and the Jaina monk trains himself all along his career so efficiently that when the hour of

death comes, he accepts voluntary fasting and gives up easily as one would throw off the old garment.

Internal penance is of six kinds: (i) *Prāyaścitta* (expiation of sins), (ii) *Vinaya* (modest behaviour), (iii) *Vaiyāvṛtya* (serving the Guru), (iv) *Svādhyāya* (study of scriptures), (v) *Dhyāna* (meditation), and (vi) *Utsarga* (giving up all attachment for the body).¹³ Expiation of sin is meant for purifying one who has committed sins so that he may attain mental peace and spiritual upliftment. These are of ten classes—(a) *Ālocanā* (discussion and confession of one's fault), (b) *Pratikramaṇa* (repentance and retracing from sins), (c) *Viveka* (abandoning impure food), (d) *Tapas* (austerity), (e) *Vyut-sarga* (detachment from the body), (f) *Cheda* (reduction of monastic seniority), (g) *Mūla* (complete re-initiation), (h) *Anavasthāpya* (a hard expiation for a serious crime which acts as a bar to re-initiation), (i) *Pāraṇika* (suspension of monkhood).

Like other system of Indian philosophy, the Jaina ascetic gives adequate emphasis on *dhyāna* or meditation. It is an important spiritual exercise for the monks. Through meditation or contemplation the soul progresses on to higher *guṇasthānas* and destroys all the *karmas*. Attachment for beneficial and aversion from harmful objects have to be given up to attain concentration of mind, which is the pre-requisite of successful meditation. "The Jaina *dhyāna* consists in concentrating the mind on the syllables of the Jaina prayer phrases. The *dhyāna* however is only practised as an aid to making the mind steady and perfectly equal and undisturbed towards all things. Emancipation comes only as the result of the final extinction of the *Karma* materials."¹⁴ It is of four types:

- (i) *Ārtadhyāna* (concentration of mind on account of anguish)
- (ii) *Raudradhyāna* (concentration consequent upon anger and wrath)
- (iii) *Dharmadhyāna* (meditation on religious thought)
- (iv) *Śukladhyāna* (pure meditation)

However, it is *Śukladhyāna* or pure meditation which ultimately leads the soul to liberation; there is a complete cessation of physical, verbal and mental activities and the *ātman* or the self is absorbed in himself. With the entire stock of *karmans* exhausted the soul shoots up to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever.

A monk should observe the following sixfold¹⁵ essential duties as his daily routine: (i) *Sāmāyika* (moral and intellectual purity of the soul), (ii) *Catur-vimśatistava* (adoration of twenty-four *Jinas*), (iii) *Vandanā* (obeisance to *Guru*), (iv) *Pratikramaṇa* (expiation of sins), (v) *Kāyotsarga* (a particular pose of the body), (vi) *Pratyā-khyāna* (self-denial). The standard of moral discipline and self control was set by Mahāvīra who preached five 'great vows' (*mahāvratas*) to regulate the lives of the ascetics, both monks and nuns. We have already discussed about these five great vows of Mahāvīra, viz., *ahiṃsā* (non-violence), *sunṛta* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-stealing), *brahmacarya* (celibacy), and *aparigraha* (non-possession).

Of these five great vows *ahiṃsā* or non-violence occupies an important position in the Jaina philosophy, and it thus deserves some explanations. S.N. Dasgupta thus observes, "Great stress is laid upon the virtues of *ahiṃsā*, *sunṛta*, *asteya* and *brahmacarya*, but the root of all these is *ahiṃsā*. The virtues of *sunṛta*, *asteya* and *brahmacarya* are made to follow directly as secondary correlaries of *ahiṃsā*. *Ahiṃsā* may thus be generalised as the fundamental ethical virtue of Jainism; judgement on all actions may be passed in accordance with the standard of *ahiṃsā*."¹⁶ In fact, *ahiṃsā* is not something negative but another aspect of *dayā* (compassion), a counterpart of Buddhist *karuṇā*. In Hemacandra's words, *ahiṃsā* or *dayā* is beneficent mother of all beings, the elixir for them who wander in suffering through the ocean of incarnation. The positive *ahiṃsā* is exhibited through the form of *karuṇā-dāna* or *abhaya-dāna*, the giving protection to all living creatures.¹⁷

The Jaina Parivrājaka must not commit any wrong to any living being showing that non-violence is the most essential weapon of the saints' knowledge. Moreover, recognition of the equality of all living beings is the main feature of a Jaina ascetic.¹⁸ There is no denying the fact that it is Jainism that has been foremost in upholding the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. Of course, Buddhism has also been taken it, but it is, in fact, Jainism that has struck to its ideology more than Buddhism.¹⁹ Jaina Parivrājakas have led an exemplary life, and as living embodiments of kindness to living beings they have wandered all over the country professing the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. It is stated in the Jaina texts that the monk should not hurt the feelings of others by his speech or behaviour.²⁰

The *śramaṇa* knows fully well that nobody likes sufferings and so he takes to non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) to all beings. He treats his relatives and enemies alike²¹ To avoid injury to living beings, however small they be, he regulates even his walking; and movement at night is also prohibited.²²

An analytical study on *ahiṃsā* as reflected in the Jaina texts represents the total involvement and intensive care taken by the Jaina Parivrājakas for the performance of this act both physically and mentally. *Ahiṃsā* is generally associated with 'acts' of killing, injuring, violence, etc.; so the act itself has to be avoided but at the same time, the intention must be pure. In other words, coordination between the mind and body is considered necessary for the practice of non-violence. This should be accompanied also by speech emanating from the heart which knows nothing but love. The result is that there is absolutely no thought of injury and no speech of it either, indicating that there is no instigation of somebody else to commit violence.

The Jaina teacher made *hiṃsā* (violence) into two distinct categories, as mentioned earlier—*bhāva-hiṃsā* (violence in thought) and *dravya-hiṃsā* (violence by physical action). The former has predominated in the discussion of *ahiṃsā* (non-violence) by the Jaina thinkers. It is to be noted that even before the definition of *ahiṃsā* given by Umāsvati or who in his *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* developed Jainism into an influential epistemological and metaphysical system, Ācārya Kundakunda (Umāsvati's teacher) who flourished probably 'at the beginning of the Christian era,'²³ had ordained that whether was killed or not, a negligent person certainly committed violence. A vigilant person, on the other hand, who acted with care, did not suffer bondage by mere material injury.²⁴ In fact, the Jaina philosophers think over this matter so deeply and intensively that they classify *hiṃsā* or violence into 108 varieties so that the aspirant can detect even the minutest form of violence. According to them violence (*hiṃsā*) may broadly be divided into three categories—*kṛta* (to act), *kārita* (caused to be done) and *anum dīta* (applauding). This threefold violence becomes ninefold as it can be committed either by the instrumentality of mind, speech and body. The ninefold violence again becomes twenty-sevenfold for it can have three stages—*sārambha* (thinking of violent action), *samārambha* (making preparation for violence) and *ārambha* (actual committance). The twenty-sevenfold violence becomes

one hundred and eightfold as it could be inspired by either of the four *kāśāyas* (passions), viz., *krodha* (anger), *māna* (huff), *māyā* (deceit) and *lobha* (greed). The classification thus provides a comprehensive glimpses of non-violence as reflected in the writings of the Jaina *ācāryas*.²⁵

The principle of *ahiṃsā*, as shown earlier, implies purity of thought, word and deed and is an outcome of universal love and sympathy towards all living beings, however tiny and minor they may be in the scale of evolution. Eliot nicely expresses the Jaina view of non-violence in the following:

"The beautiful precept of *ahiṃsā* or not injuring living things is not, as Europeans imagine, founded, on the fear of eating one's grandparents but rather on the humane and enlightened feeling that all life is one and that men who devour beasts are not much above the level of the beasts who devour one another."²⁶

Another point that needs some clarifications is that the practice of *ahiṃsā* has often misunderstood and misinterpreted. The doctrine of it was meant not only for the wandering mendicants or ascetics, but to the laymen it is prescribed according to his position and stage of religious progress. This has allowed Jaina kings and laity to fight on the battlefield for their empire and for their safety as well as honour. It may be remembered in this connection that the practical application of the principle by Mahātmā Gandhi is only an extension of the traditional value of *ahiṃsā*. Gandhi himself has stated that he derived much benefit from the Jaina religious works as from the scriptures of other great faiths of the world.²⁷ To follow the path of *ahiṃsā* is a very tough and rigorous job. Unless one believes it heart and soul; it will not possible to realise its subtle nature of diverse dimensions. As mentioned earlier "*ahiṃsā* according to a householder, according to *aṇuvrata*, would require abstinence from killing any animals but according to *mahāvratā* it would entail all the rigour and carefulness to prevent oneself from being the cause of any kind of injury to any living being in any way."²⁸

Without entering further micro studies on the concept and application of *ahiṃsā* to the lives of the Parivrājakas it is an imperative task before us immediately to know the ordains of the Jaina *ācāryas* relating to other essential duties of the Jaina monks, like touring, habitation, food, lodging, etc.

Touring

One of the most important characteristics of the Parivrājakas is to wander from place to place. They wandered alone, or banded themselves into communities under a spiritual leader—Satthā, Gaṇācariyo, etc.²⁹ A monk can stay for a night in a village and five nights in a town;³⁰ but in the later period the monks were allowed to spend a month in summer and winter in a village or a town.³¹ While walking the monk should follow some principles:

- (i) He must have the permission of his *guru* before undertaking any tour.
- (ii) He should keep silent except during the period of preaching.
- (iii) He should walk with all requisites as permissible by the rules.
- (iv) He must not allow any heretic or householder to follow him.
- (v) He must avoid the places, unfriendly or full of anarchy, and the ways, full of living beings, seeds, grass, water or mud.
- (vi) He should try to avoid the road through a forest, not crossable even in five days.
- (vii) He should look forward for four cubits and seeing animals, should move by walking on his toes or heels or the sides of his feet.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that the monks were also asked to confine to the geographical limitations mentioned in the texts. The *Bṛhat-kalpa*³² warns that monks and nuns should not wander beyond Aṅga-Magadha (Bihar) in the east, Kauśāmbī (U.P.) in the south, Sthūṇā district in the west and Kuṇāla in the north. Another interesting account is that the five rivers, namely, the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarayū, Irāvati and Māhī, should not be crossed twice or thrice in a month by a monk, except under special circumstances, like any trouble from the king or famine, inundation or other dangerous situation.³³ The Jaina monks or Parivrājakas, were wandering in these regions centring round Bihar, portions of U.P., parts of Punjab and Haryana states. Even a *Muni* is not permitted, after wandering about four or five leagues, to stay at the place at which he has arrived, but

must return before night. If unable to do so he must return a certain part of the way and lodge there.³⁴

According to Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, "The object of this custom may have been to avoid levying too great a tax on the hospitality of the people, and also to prevent the ascetic forming close or undesirable friendships which might tempt him to break either his vow of non-possession of goods or of chastity. The rule was, however, relaxed during the rainy season, when Mahāvīra, like his subsequent followers, made a practice of remaining for four months at the same place."³⁵

Regarding touring, habitation, begging, etc., the *Kalpa-sūtra* contains a chapter on the 'Rules for Yatis': "This Institution was ordained by the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra at Rājagṛha, in the sacred garden (*Cheitya*) of Guṇaśīla, while surrounded by multitudes of male and female ascetics and lay disciples, as well as gods and goddesses."³⁶

Habitation

The Jaina Parivrājakas appear to have been predominantly eremitical. They have to follow certain norms regarding habitation and other day to day activities. A mendicant is expected not to stay in halting places, garden houses, family houses and monasteries where many fellow-ascetics are frequently arriving.³⁷ The *Ācāraṅga sūtra* mentions that "A mendicant may exert himself or stand or sit or lie in a burying place, or in an empty house or in a mountain cave or in a potter's workshop."³⁸ All these places are congenial for performing meditation. Mahāvīra also prescribed that the monks should reside in a sylvan and solitary place. He "having given up the town and country of Mithila, his army, . . . retired from the world and resorted to a lonely place."³⁹ A true monk, according to the *Uttarājjhāyana Sutta*,⁴⁰ should live in company with other monks, upright and free from desire; he should abandon his former connections and not longing for pleasures; he should wander about as an unknown beggar. The monk should not use a lodging place where house-holder is living or a place containing the eggs of living beings. Even the monks are asked to avoid the places visited by women, beasts and eunuchs. They should not live in a place which is already be set with "many Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, guests, paupers and beggars." The Parivrājakas or the monks, on the other hand, were always advised

to live with distinguished and learned (*gītārtha*) elders instead of remaining alone.⁴¹ Thus, in the Jaina texts of the later period emphasis laid on the life of monks in monasteries (*upāśraya*) in which they must not allow any outsider (*Uvāsaga*) to spend even for a night. Monks have to undergo severe punishment, if they spent three nights outside *vihāra* without proper permission.⁴²

Vassāvāsa or Rain-retreat

An exhaustive account regarding the *Vassāvāsa* of Mahāvīra is found in the *Kalpa-sūtra*. The text also mentions the places where the great teacher spent the rainy seasons since he had renounced the life of a house-holder.

Eremitical tendencies in course of time gave way to the coenobitic among the Jainas. The institution of the *Vassāvāsa* appears to have been a contributory factor in this development. To the Jaina Parivrājakas, like that of the Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical, rain-retreat is compulsory, for it helps the ascetics to abstain from injury to living beings, even to vegetation lives which grow luxuriantly in this season. "When the rainy season has come and it is raining, many living beings are originated and many seeds just spring up, the roads contain many living beings, seeds etc. . . and should not wander from village to village but remain during the rainy season in one place."⁴³ The *Mūlācāra*⁴⁴ also mentions that a monk should stop touring in the rainy season and abstain from causing injury to vegetable beings which grow profusely during this time. It was so popular and common among the Jainas that the people criticised the Buddhist monks who did not adhere to it at the beginning: "How can these recluses, Śākyaputtiya, walk on tour during the cold weather or hot weather and rain trampling down the crops and grasses, injuring life that is one-facultied and bringing many small creatures to destruction? Shall it be that these members of other's sects, whose rules are badly kept, cling to and prepare a rains-residence, shall it be that birds having made their nests in the tree-tops, cling to a proper rains-residence, which these recluses trample on walking."⁴⁵ Of course, Buddha later on prescribed the rules pertaining to the observance of indoor residence in the rainy season.

The *Vassāvāsa* in Jainism,⁴⁶ like Buddhism,⁴⁷ commences on the full moonday of *Āṣāḍha* and ends on the full moonday of *Kārttika*. The monks are, of course, permitted to go to another place in

the rainy season under certain circumstances.⁴⁸

- (i) to know a religious text, known only to an *ācārya* who is on fasting to death (*ñāṇā-aṭṭayāe*),
- (ii) to spread the faith (*daṁ saṇaṭṭhayaē*),
- (iii) to save one from going astray to a bad place (*carittaṭṭhayaē*),
- (iv) to attend the *ācārya* or the *upādhyāya* who remains in a dry-place (*āyariya-Uvajjhāyāṇa vā bahitā veāvaccam Karaṇe-tāte*); and
- (v) if the *ācārya* or *upādhyāya* is dead (*āyariya-Uvajjhāyā vā se Visumbhejjā*).

The institution of rain-retreat (*Vassāvāsa*) seems to have originated in physical necessity, but, later on, it appears to have come to acquire ceremonial significance in the Jaina, Buddha as well as in the Brāhmaṇical societies.

As regards food, the Jaina *Parivrājakas* always gave emphasis on the non-injury to life. The monk was to avoid "living beings, mildew, seeds, sprouts, flowers, eggs, layers, and moisture."⁴⁹ Similarly, he was not to accept as alms "flattened grains, grains containing much chaff, or half-roasted spikes of wheat etc., or flour of wheat etc., or rice or flour of rice 'recognised as only once worked.'"⁵⁰ The Jaina texts, judging from the stand point of asceticism, refer to two kinds of food—*nirdoṣa* (pure) and *sadoṣa* (impure). Impurity stands because of the following cause:⁵¹

- (a) *Udgama* (preparation of food)
- (b) *Uppādana* (how food is secured)
- (c) *Eṣaṇā* (how it is accepted)
- (d) *Paribhoga* (how it is enjoyed)

A Jaina monk is supposed to fill half of his belly with food, one-fourth with water, and one-fourth with wind. The maximum quantity of food to be taken ordinarily is thirty-two morsels (*kavala*).⁵² The terms *ekālpiko*, *dvālopiko*, *sattālopiko* used in connection with the consumption of food by the monks distinctly demonstrate the restrictions on the quantity of food taken by the monks. The *Cheda-sūtras*⁵³ mention the rules about the quantity of food and the mode of eating. A long list of circumstances under

which food could not be taken is given in the *Mūlācāra*. If a crow touches the food or if some one vomits or if the monk happens to see blood or flesh or somebody crying or if living beings like flies fall into his food, no food should be received under such circumstances. Again, monks should not take food before sunrise and after sun-set.⁵⁴ Food must be procured in broad daylight and never in twilight or night.⁵⁵ It must not be preserved even for the next half of the day and stale food was forbidden for the use of the monks.⁵⁶ Food from donor of loose morals was also rejected.⁵⁷ There is, however, reason to suppose that even meat eating was not categorically forbidden. As a matter of fact, the monks could accept meat in alms under certain circumstances.⁵⁸ But this fact goes against the spirit of Jainism which practises *ahiṃsā*; hence the terms, like '*māṃsena*', '*poggalam*', '*animisaṃ*' etc. mentioned in the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, have been taken by some commentators in the sense of vegetarian diets.

What is received from the alms is to be distributed among the fellow monks with proper permission from the teachers. It is thus stated that "A single mendicant, having collected alms for many, might, without consulting his fellow ascetics, give them to those whom he list; as this would be sinful, he should not do so. Taking the food, he should go there (where his teacher etc. are) and speak thus: 'O long lived *śramaṇa*! there are near or remote (spiritual) relations of mine: a teacher, a sub-teacher, a religious guide, a *sthāvira*, a head of a *gaṇa*, a *gaṇadhara*, a founder of a *gaṇa*; forsooth, I shall give it them'. The other may answer him: "Well now, indeed, O long lived one; give such a portion.' As much as the other commands thus much he should give; if the other commands the whole, he should give the whole."⁵⁹ It shows that fellow feeling or feeling for the community as a whole was widely prevalent among the monks of the Jaina order. Everything was managed democratically by the monks and there was no such thing as individual property within the order.

Another interesting point that should be mentioned in this connection is that the Jaina institution regulated the life of the monks and nuns not only within its order alone but their relations with the public as well as with the king also. The Jaina teachers were very careful about the political influences over this Jaina order. Monks and nuns, therefore, should avoid all political controversies; even they were not allowed to make friendship with the

kings or persons in authority.⁶⁰ They should not make any intimacy with any householder, although they had to depend on society for maintaining livelihood.

The question of clothes was a controversial one amongst the Jainas. The Digambaras believe that Mahāvīra abandoned clothes at the time of his initiation, while the Śvetāmbaras hold that he abandoned them after thirteen months. Anyway, Mahāvīra was in favour of nakedness. He felt that an ascetic must have completely conquered all his emotions, shame amongst others. A true monk would not feel either heat or cold, and so would not need the protection from the weather offered by cloths, and he would be so indifferent to mere appearances as to be unconscious as to whether he wore raiment or not. In this connection we may mention the following observation: 'Jaina monks are naked because Jainism says that as long as one entertains the same idea of nakedness as we do, he cannot obtain salvation. One cannot, according to Jain principles, obtain *mokṣa*, as long as he remembers that he is naked. He can only cross over the ocean of the world after he has forgotten that he is naked. . . . As long as a man thinks and knows that he is naked, that there is something like good and evil, he cannot obtain *mokṣa*. He must forget it to obtain *nirvāṇa*.'⁶¹

Regarding clothes and other essential requirements of the Parivrajakas of the Jaina order, we have Jaina manuals mentioning rules and regulations in this context. We learn from the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*⁶² that Mahāvīra used his robe 'for a year and a month' and then he became 'a naked, world-relinquishing and houseless sage'. Though Mahāvīra himself followed the more rigorous practice of going completely naked, yet he permitted the Nigaṇṭhas to put on a single robe which justifies the reference to them as "*Ekasāṭak*" by Gośāla.⁶³ But they were also described as '*a-chela*', i.e., complete nakedness.⁶⁴ The explanation of this discrepancy must be an actual discrepancy of practice in connection with clothing among the early Nigaṇṭhas. The more ardent followers of Mahāvīra, the *Jinakalpikas* and those *Ājivikas* who continued to remain within the Nirgrantha fold⁶⁵ seem to have probably followed the principle of entirely nakedness, while the other probably adhered to the less rigid but older practice. C.J. Shah observes, "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 pro-

phet in a naked stage, while both Pārśva and his followers preferred to remain dressed.”⁶⁶ Eliot also holds the same view. But it is not convincing and justified to connect the Śvetāmbaras with Pārśva and the Digambaras with Mahāvīra only on the basis of nudity alone, “since it is proved independently that everyone of the *tirthaṅkaras*, lived as a naked *śramaṇa*.”⁶⁷

The Jaina texts provide us with enough evidence of the Jaina monks used little clothing. “To a mendicant who is little clothed and firm in control, it will not occur: My clothes are torn, I shall beg for new clothes.” Elsewhere we have “a mendicant . . . should wear the clothes in the same state in which they are given him After winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up (garment of the three), being clad with an upper and under garment . . . or with no clothes, aspiring for freedom from bonds.”⁶⁸ It evidently shows that the rules about dress varied among the Jaina monks according to season. The *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, thus, allows a monk to have in winter from one to three robes, which, however, must be worn unchanged, unwashed etc. With the advent of summer new robes may be begged, but less may be put on, so that even nakedness is permissible.⁶⁹ A nun is, however, allowed to use four raiments.⁷⁰ As to the kinds of cloth, permissible are “cloth made of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton or *Arkātūla* or such like clothes.”⁷¹ But they “should not accept clothes which the layman for the mendicant’s sake has bought, washed, dyed, brushed, rubbed, cleaned as perfumed” and also “very expensive clothes.”⁷² Monks received clothes from their elders according to their status (*ahārāṇīyāe*) and this system of distribution of clothes reminds us of the same practice prevailing in the Buddhist *Vihāra*.⁷³ Another point which comes out from the above observation is that nudity was not rigidly practised in the early Jains institution. All that was emphasised on was non-attachment to any worldly objects, like clothing and other things, which was believed to be the fundamental factor leading to liberation from bonds.

It will not be out of place to mention here that both the schools—the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara, did not encourage nudity for nuns. We have earlier referred to that Śivabhūti, the founder of a sub-sect called Boḍiya at Rathavīrapura, started nudity among themselves but he did not allow his sister Uttarā to accept it.

According to the *Pravacanasāra*, a Digambara Jaina text by

Kundakunda, "Women are forbidden from accepting severe types of asceticism, such as, nakedness because they are constitutionally unfit: there is a growth of subtle living beings in their organ of generation, between their breasts, in their navel and armpits, their mind is fickle and devoid of purity, they have monthly courses and they cannot concentrate undisturbed."⁷⁴ The Jaina teacher of this sub-sect, thus, prescribes for nuns some ascetic emblems which were more moderate and less rigorous than that prescribed for monks.⁷⁵ Women were allowed to be a member of the order but they could not get liberation in that birth.⁷⁶

The begging bowl was another article about which ascetic practice varied; even in case of the Jaina monks we meet several types of bowls for different monks and nuns. Bowls of bottle-gourd, or wood, or clay were permitted.⁷⁷ A young, strong and healthy monk might take only one bowl. According to the commentary this rule applied to the *Jinakalpikas* etc. while ordinary monks could have a drinking vessel besides the alms bowl.⁷⁸ The Jaina texts⁷⁹ mention the following fourteen requisites, essential and occasional, the number of which was determined by the rank of the monks. In other words, the first twelve are meant for the *Jinakalpikas* while the entire requisites are allotted to the *Sthāvirakalpikas*: (1) *Paṭṭa* (bowl), (2) *Pattābandha* (thread), (3) *Pāyaṭṭhavaṇa* (base), (4) *Pāya-kesariyā* (dust-cleaner), (5) *Paḍalāim* (Pat-covers), (6) *Ravattāṇam* (dust wiper), (7) *Guccḥāo* (dust-brush), (8) *Paccāgā* (three cloths), (9) *Rayaharaṇam* (broom), (10) *Muḥapatti* (mouthpiece), (11) *Mattaga* (earthen pot), and (12) *Colapaṭṭa* (the loin-cloth). The Jaina manual prescribes "clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, brooms, property meaning *avagraha* property, e.g., the ground which the house-holder allows the mendicant who stays in his house and straw-mats⁸⁰ as the necessities of a monk.

The Sixfold Monastic Orders

In terms of spiritual evolution, the Jaina ascetics attained different stages before they finally attain *mokṣa*. These are the stages of the *ācārya*, *upādhyāya*, *sādhu*, *tīrthaṅkara* or *arhanta* and the *siddha*. These five grades together with the primary stage of the *Muni*, are known as the sixfold monastic order of Jainism. The Jaina scriptures viz., the *Thāṇāṅga*, the *Vyavahāra*, *Āvaśyakaniryukti* etc., afford us valuable information about the nature and activities of the Jaina hierarchy. An attempt has been

made in the following to explain the five stages that 'more developed' than the stage of the *Muni* who is deemed to be an ordinary ascetic, of course, more advanced than that of the *Śrāvaka* (householder).

Ācārya

The *ācārya* is the teacher (*guru*) in the spiritual sense of the term. He is described as the head of a *Gaṇa*, vastly learned, well-disciplined and master of fivefold *ācāra*, *jñāna*, *darśana*, *caritra*, *tapa* and *vīrya*. Hence he is respected by all.⁸¹ He enjoys the privilege of initiating pupil known as *seha*, *antevāsī*, *sāmaṇera* into the spiritual path. We are told that there were four classes of *ācārya*: One initiating a pupil; one confirming him; one doing neither of these two; and another doing both of them.⁸² It is to be noted here that Jainism accepts the Brāhmaṇical view that an *ācārya* is essential for initiation. The *Vyavahāra* refers to four more *ācārya* who were responsible to guide monks and nuns in daily duties.⁸³ The duty of the *ācārya*, accordingly is to guide moral and spiritual conduct of his pupils. The *ācāryas* are also expected to possess a thorough knowledge of the Jaina scriptures as also a knowledge of the various other religions. It is also stated that they should have at least eight years experience of monkhood.⁸⁴

Upādhyāya

He is empowered to delivering lectures to a group of monks⁸⁵ on various spiritual matters. Naturally he is expected to have a sound knowledge of the various scriptures on which he discourses. He is expected to have at least three years' experience as a monk and with good knowledge of the rules of the monastic conduct.⁸⁶ He was so-called because he was approached by the monks for instruction in sacred texts.⁸⁷ The *Āvaśyaka-nirukti*⁸⁸ further explains the *upādhyāya* (*ujjha*) as one who took to meditation with full consciousness and the term *Uvājjhāya* as one who destroyed *karman* by conscious meditation. "All teaching and studying is a kind of austerity; if a man studies intentionally to gain merit, he will get merit (*puṇya*); if, however, he studies and teaches to gain and impart knowledge with no thought of acquiring merit, he will destroy certain *karma* (*nirjarā*)."⁸⁹

Sādhu

According to Mrs. Stevenson, "he is just an ordinary ascetic or *sādhu*; if he be a Digambara, he will wear no clothes and live in the forest, lost to the world and immersed in meditation, eating only once a day and tearing out his hair as it grows . . . If he be a Śvetāmbara or a Sthānakavāsī, he will move from Apasaro to Apasaro clad in white clothes."⁹⁰ He is an ascetic who observes scrupulously the various codes of conduct prescribed for attaining spirituality in life. He will have to practise the various virtues, mentioned in the Jaina canons, in his own individual life showing that before he becomes eligible to deal with spiritual matters, he should himself have undergone the prescribed course of ethical life which offers a real insight into the nature of spiritual life.

Tirthaṅkara or Arhanta

This is undoubtedly an advance stage of spiritual life. In this stage traces of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, hatred and ignorance are not perceivable in the monk. "The Being" as observes Mrs. Stevenson, "has attained perfection of knowledge, perfection of speech, perfection of worship, and absolute security, for no danger or disease can ever come where he is."⁹¹ The mere sight of an *arhanta* is considered to have the potentiality to convert hundreds of people to the path of spirituality and to destroy sceptical and perverse attitude towards life. The presence of the *arhanta*, thus, is always enlightening.

Of the seven categories of *arhats*, viz., the *Pañcakalyāṇadhārī*, *Tinakalyāṇadhārī*, *Dokalyāṇadhārī*, *Śāmānyakevalī*, *Sātiśayakevalī*, *Upasargakevalī* and *Aniṣṭakevalī*, the first three are the *tirthaṅkara* type, while the remaining, the non-*tirthaṅkara* type. In regard to the spiritual experience, there is no difference at all. The distinction lies on the fact that the former is capable of preaching and professing religious doctrines in order to guide the mundane souls immersed in the life of illusion, (his sermons are properly worded by the *gaṇadhara*s) while the latter is not permitted to preach religious faith or principles, but enjoys the sublimity of mystical experience.⁹²

"A meaning often given to the word *tirthaṅkara* is that of one who finds a ford (*tīrtha*) through this world (*Samsāra*) to *mokṣa*, or one who attains a landing on the other side. But many Jains say it denotes one who forms four communities (*tīrtha*) of monks

and nuns, and male and female lay-followers. When a new *tīrthaṅkara* arises, the followers of the preceding one follow him, as the followers of Pārśvanātha followed Mahāvīra.”⁹³ We have earlier mentioned that the number of *tīrthaṅkaras* for every age is believed to be only twenty-four. It is to be noted that a spiritual aspirant of the non-*tīrthaṅkara* group can attain the next higher stage of the *siddha* by dint of his spiritual attainments which can be had only through pure meditation or contemplation.⁹⁴ He is an ideal saint, a *paramātmān* or god whom the Jains assign an enormous list of attributes.⁹⁵

Siddha

This is the last stage or the final goal of a Jaina ascetic. In this stage the ascetic is free from *karman* altogether, he is completely independent of all external objects. “The *siddha* has the following characteristics: absolute knowledge, faith, insight, righteousness, and prowess. He also has the power of becoming minute and gigantic at will, and of moving anywhere unhindered; he is unaffected by anything, so that neither death, disease, rebirth, nor sorrow can any longer touch him. He is also without a body; and this is the reason why Jaina feel they can never pray to a *siddha*.” He is described as not being the product of anything nor producing anything.⁹⁶ “Neither *arhat* nor *siddha* has on him the responsibility of creating, supporting or destroying the world. The aspirant receives no boons, no favours and no curses from him by way of gifts from the divinity. The aspiring souls pray to him, worship him and meditate on him as an example, as a model, as an ideal that they too might reach the same condition.”⁹⁷

The acquisition of Siddhahood is synonymous with attaining *Nirvāṇa*⁹⁸ where there is no question of his experiencing either pleasure or pain, or any types of *karman*. His is a state of infinite, pure and boundless bliss.⁹⁹ It is nicely described in the Jaina text—“All sounds recoil thence where speculation has no room, nor does the mind penetrate there. The liberated is without body, without resurrection, without contact of matter; he is not feminine, nor masculine, nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy; its essence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned”¹⁰⁰

Thus, the description of the sixfold monastic order of the Jaina ascetic demonstrates the different stages of perfection of the

ascetic.

A word may not be irrelevant in this connection about the position of Jainism in the evolution of Indian religio-philosophical thought. The fundamental tenets of Jainism can well be epitomised in two distinct nomenclatures, viz., *ahiṃsā* and *anekāntavāda*, the two important principles, philosophically and socially, through which the followers of the faith express their respect for life (*ahiṃsā*) and the doctrine of open-mindedness (*anekānta*).

An exhaustive study has been made earlier, hence a brief note on *anekānta* is required. In fact, *anekāntavāda* or *syādvāda*—the non-absolutism, is an original contribution of the Jainas to the realm of Indian religion and philosophy. It means that no object is absolutely identical; similarly, the differences are not absolutely scattered. According to the Jaina thinkers the identity or permanence exists in the midst of all the varying modes or differences. According to them reality is a synthesis of opposites—identity and difference, permanence and transformation. The philosophy of *anekānta*, needless to say, represents a scientific and sensible approach of things in a systematised form. The description of a thing is apparently contradictory, but perfectly true and complete knowledge. Its humility is seen reflected in its analysis and in the logic of the seven modes, the *sapta-bhaṅgi-naya* as it is known to the Jaina philosophers: *syādsti* (it is), *syānnāsti* (it is not), *syādsti-nāsti* (it is and is not), *syādavaktavyam* (it is indescribable), *syādsti ca avaktavyam ca* (it is and is indescribable) *syānnāsti ca avaktavyam ca* (it is not and is indescribable), *syādsti nāsti ca avaktavyam ca* (it is, is not, and is indescribable).

Thus, in the logic of *sapta-bhaṅgi-naya*, certain common points have been discovered between Jainism, Sāṃkhya, Vedānta and Buddhism. Similarly, common differences are also to be found with the Vedic religion. Thus *syādsti* has a reference to the *satkāryavāda* of the Sāṃkhya, while *syāt-nāsti* has a reference to the *śūnyavāda* of the Buddhas. Similarly, *syāt-asti ca nāsti ca* has a reference to the Vaiśeṣikas and *syāt-avaktavyaḥ* has a reference to the Vedānta view. Anyway, if the Jaina philosophy has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical systems, it has its own peculiarities as well. M. Hiriyana thus observes—“Though independent of Buddhism, Jainism resembles it in several respects, e.g. in its repudiation of the authority of the Veda, its pessimistic outlook on life and its refusal to believe in a supreme

God. But the differences it exhibits are equally noticeable, such as its recognition of permanent entities like the self and matter. In these it resembles Brahmanism, justifying the description that it is a theological mean between Brahmanism and Buddhism.”¹⁰¹

Jainism, as mentioned earlier, accepts certain principles in common with Brāhmaṇical religion, but this does not make any constraint for its independent origination and free development of the philosophy. In view of some of the peculiar tenets of Jainism the postulate has been advanced¹⁰² of a “great Magadhan religion, indigenous in its essential traits, that must have flourished on the banks of the Ganges in Eastern India long before the advent of the Aryans into Central India.” The influence of pre-Aryan religious beliefs and practices on later Vedic thought and on subsequent religious and artistic developments is generally admitted. But it is difficult to make any specific criteria for differentiating Aryan and pre-Aryan elements at this advanced and developed stage. Of course minute analysis will reveal the predominance of the pre-Aryan thinking in Jainism. So far as Jaina thought is concerned, the suggestion of Charpentier still seems to be worth-noting: “It represents, probably, in its fundamental tenets one of the oldest modes of thought known to us, the idea that all nature, even that which seems to be most inanimate, possesses life and the capability of reanimation; and this doctrine the Jainas have, with inflexible conservation, kept until modern times.”¹⁰³

REFERENCES

¹According to the *Thānāṅga-sūtra* (p. 164b), the following persons are stated to be unfit for the Jaina order: *Bāla* (a child below eight years), *vuḍḍha* (an aged), *paṇḍa* (an eunuch), *vāhiā* (a sick man), *juṅgiā* (a person devoid of limbs), *kīva* (a timid person), *jaḍḍa* (dull-headed), *teṇa* (a thief), *rāyavagārī* (an enemy of the king), *Unmatta* (a mad man), *adaṃsaṇe* (a blind), *dāsa* (a slave), *duṭṭha* (a wicked), *mūḍha* (a stupid), *aṇatta* (one who is in debt), *obaddha* (an attendant), *bhayai* (a servant), *sehaṇippheḍiya* (a kidnapped person), *guvviṇī* (a pregnant), *bālavacchā* (a minor girl or a woman having a small child). The list shows that persons having unsound health and crippled structures are not able to follow the rigid rules of the Jaina order; and, they are, thus, exempted for ethical consideration.

²Ib d., p. 10.

³The Jaina texts are full of records relating to the causes for renunciation. The *Thānāṅga* (p. 473b) states the following reasons:

- (i) *chandā* (out of free will);
- (ii) *rosā* (out of anger);

- (iii) *pariṇṇā* (out of poverty);
- (iv) *suvinā* (by dream);
- (v) *paḍissutā* (for a vow);
- (vi) *sāraṇitā* (due to sudden reminiscence of previous birth);
- (vii) *roḡiṇitā* (for illness);
- (viii) *aṇāḍhitā* (due to humiliation by somebody);
- (ix) *devasānnattī* (due to enlightenment by the god); and
- (x) *vacchāṇubandhitā* (renunciation due to affection for one's son who had become monk).

There are, of course, other reasons for renunciation. In fact, the same *sūtra* (pp. 128b and 276ab) enumerates that one (*tuyāvaittā*) became monk to avoid troubles, and the other by conversion (*puyāvaittā*), some by mutual agreement (*saṅgārapavvajjā*) or by instruction (*akkhātāpavvajjā*). It is interesting as well as significant to note that some became monks to maintain themselves (*ihaloga*), or to get good food, or to get rid of debts (*moyāvaittā*), etc. Similarly, the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* (XVI) states that people renounced the world whenever they became tired of this worldly life (*Samsāra-bhayodvignā*). Sometimes the wife and parent followed the husband and son respectively.

The *Bhagavatī-sūtra* (25, 7, 803) speaks of two kinds *vyutsarga* (renunciation): (1) *dravyavyut-sarga*, i.e., renunciation of physical objects and (ii) *bhāva-vyut-sarga*, i.e. renunciation of mental states. The first one is again sub-divided into four—viz., renunciation of *gaṇa* (society), of body, of articles and of food and drink. The second category is of three kinds—viz., renunciation of four passions, of four forms of life and of eight *karma-prakṛtis*.

⁴*Pravacanasāra*, pp. 44ff.

⁵*Ibid.*, III, 26, 70.

⁶*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I 1.

⁷*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 17, 3, 601.

⁸The five *saṃtīs* are—(a) *īryā* (going by paths trodden earlier so as not to cause the death of any living beings); (b) *bhāṣā* (gentle, sweet and righteous speech); (c) *eṣaṇā* (receiving alms in a manner to avoid forty-two faults); (d) *ādāna* (receiving and keeping of things necessary for religious exercises); (e) *ukkāra* (performing the operations of nature, in an unfrequented place).

⁹The *Gupṭis*, are as follows:

- (i) *Mano-gupṭi* i.e., preventing the mind from wandering in the forest of sensual pleasures by employing it in contemplation, study, etc.;
- (ii) *Vāg-gupṭi*, i.e., preventing the tongue from saying to ugly things by a vow of silence;
- (iii) *Kāya-gupṭi*, i.e., putting the body in an immovable posture as in the case of *Kāyotsarga*.

¹⁰Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 154-56.

¹¹*Sāmāyika carita*, *Chedopasthāpanīya-carita*, *Parihara-viśuddhacarita*, *Sūkṣma-saṃparāya-carita*, and *Yathākhyāta carita*.

¹²*Uttara-sūtra*, XXX; *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, 9.19.

¹³*Uttara-sūtra*, XXX, 6.

¹⁴S.N. Dasgupta, *HIP*, vol. I, p. 203.

¹⁵*Uttara-sūtra*, XXIX, 8.13.

¹⁶S.N. Dasgupta, *HIP*, vol. I, p. 200.

¹⁷Hemacandra and other Jaina writers define *ahimsā* in the following verse:

Save jīvā vi icchanti jīvium na marijjum |
tamhā pāṇivaham ghoram nigganṭhā vajjāyanti mam ||

—*Daśavaikālika-sūtra*, verse 219

cf. also R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, p. 71.

¹⁸*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I.3.3.

¹⁹In Buddhism we find that the very intention (will) of committing an evil action is an act itself. The *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (III, p. 415) thus states—*Cetana aham, bhikkhave, kamman vedāmi; cetāyitvā kammam karoti, kāyena, vācāya, mansā*.

cf. also 'Will in Buddhism is the Chief Element of Causation of Karma'—S.Z. Aung and Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 235.

²⁰*Daśavaikālika*, ch. VII.

²¹*Ogha-niryukti*, 325.

²²*Bṛhat-kalpa*, I.47.

²³A.N. Upadhe, Introduction to Kundakundācārya's *Pravacanasāra*, p. xxii.

²⁴*Pravacanasāra*, 3.17; cf. also Dayanand Bhargava's *Jaina Ethics*, p. 106.

²⁵R. Williams (*Jaina Yoga*, pp. 69ff) makes an exhaustive study on more complex calculations and divisions of ways in which *ahimsā* is committed.

²⁶Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. lvi. For the opinion of D.D. Kosambi, see, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, pp. 157-58.

²⁷*Modern Review*, 1916, October, *The Letter from Gandhiji*.

²⁸S.N. Dasgupta, *HIP*, vol. I, p. 200.

²⁹*Thāṇāṅga*, 439.

³⁰*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 137. "The monks are, however, permitted to prolong their stay for five or ten days of the winter after the end of the rainy season, if they find the road containing still mud and many living beings."

³¹*Bṛhat-kalpa*, I, 6-7.

³²*Ibid.*, I.51.

³³*Thāṇāṅga*, p. 308b.

³⁴*Kalpa-sūtra and Nava-tattva*, p. 114, J. Stevenson, London, 1848.

³⁵Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

³⁶*Kalpa-sūtra and Nava-tattva*, p. 114.

³⁷*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, II, 2, 2, 6, p. 126.

³⁸*Ibid.*, I, 7; 2, 1, p. 64.

³⁹*Uttara-sūtra*, IX, 4, p. 36.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, XV.1.

⁴¹*Nisiha*, com., (edited by Schubring, Leipzig, 1918), 16.29.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 10.13.

⁴³*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 136.

⁴⁴*Mūlācāra*, 3, 35-36.

⁴⁵*Vinaya-piṭaka*, I.137ff; B.C. Jain, *Jainism in Buddhist Literature*, p. 113.

⁴⁶*Mūlācāra*, 10.18.

⁴⁷*Vinaya-piṭaka*, I.138.

⁴⁸*Thāṇāṅga*, p. 308b.

⁴⁹*Jaina-sūtras*, I, p. 304.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵¹*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Bk. II, Lecture I, pp. 88ff; *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 7.1, pp. 268-69;

Daśavelaya-sūtra commentary by Abhayadeva, 5.1, 28.

⁵² *Mūlācāra*, 6.72.

⁵³ *Vyavahāra*, ed. Schubring, Leipzig, 1918, 8, 16.

⁵⁴ *Bhagavati-sūtra*, 7.1, pp. 208-69.

⁵⁵ *Brhat-kalpa*, 1.43.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, 11; 5, 10.

⁵⁷ *Nisīha*, 15, 79-98.

⁵⁸ *Jaina-sūtras*, I, pp. 114-15.

⁵⁹ *SBE*, XXII, p. 113.

⁶⁰ *Nisīha*, 16, 16-24.

⁶¹ Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 35.

⁶² *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 79; Elsewhere (p. 56) it states—"Those are called naked, who in this world, never returning (to a worldly state) follow my religion according to the commandment."

⁶³ *ERE*, I, p. 265.

⁶⁴ *Uttara-sūtra*, II, p. 9; Elsewhere (*Uttar.*, II.12-13) it is stated that "My clothes being torn, 'I shall (soon) go naked', or 'I shall get a new suit' 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."

⁶⁵ *SBE*, XXII, p. xxvi.

⁶⁶ C.J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 70.

⁶⁷ P.V. Kane Volume, *Studies in Indology*, pp. 228-37.

⁶⁸ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, 1.7, 4.1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷¹ *Jaina-sūtras*, I, p. 157.

⁷² *Brhat-kalpa*, 3, 19-20.

⁷³ *Mahāvagga*, VIII.99.

⁷⁴ *Pravacanasāra* (ed. A.N. Upadhe, Bombay, 1935), Introduction, p. xxx.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, III.25, com., 6-14, pp. 302-5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III.24, com., 7, p. 302.

⁷⁷ *Jaina-sūtras*, I, p. 168.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fn. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ogha-niryuktis*, vv. 667-69.

⁸⁰ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p. 23.

⁸¹ *Ācārāṅga*, com., pp. 4-5; *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, v. 998.

⁸² *Thāṇāṅga*, pp. 239b, 240a.

⁸³ *Vyavahāra*, 10, 11-12.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, 7.

⁸⁵ *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, pp. 113, 146.

⁸⁶ *Vyavahāra*, 3, 3-4.

⁸⁷ *Thāṇāṅga*, com., p. 140a; *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, v. 1001.

⁸⁸ *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, vv. 1002-3.

⁸⁹ Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 240. In Pāli, the term *nirjara* or *nirjarā* is found mentioned primarily to mean—"causing to cease", 'to cause to decay', 'to bring to naught' etc. The *Nirjara-sutta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* enumerates ten things (*dasā vitthūni*) which are brought to naught by the cultivation of their

opposites (AN, vol. V, p. 215, PTS. ed.). cf. *Sammā-ditṭhikassa micchā-ditṭhi nijjinṇā; sammā-saṅkappassa micchā-saṅkappo nijjinṇo*; etc., i.e., 'the false vision' is nullified by the 'right vision' and the 'improper intention' by the 'proper intention'.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 239.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 241.

⁹²K.C. Sogani, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, p. 199.

⁹³Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 241; see also, *supra*, fn. 1.

⁹⁴K.C. Sogani, op. cit., p. 203.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 242.

⁹⁶*Pañcāstikāya*, 36.

⁹⁷Ibid.; cited in K.C. Sogani, op. cit., p. 199. Umāsvati or Umāsvāmi, a disciple of the great Ācārya Kundakunda of the first century AD in his *Tattvārthadhigama-sūtra*, 'The fountain-head of Jaina Philosophy' (J.N. Farquhar, *ORLI*, p. 136) expounded Jaina religious and philosophical thought of the contemporary age. According to his *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, 29, *kevala-jñāna* is the full perfect knowledge which is the soul's characteristic in its pure and undefiled condition. It characterises the soul when entirely liberated from the bondage of matter. On its upward path, the liberated soul is said to rise upward and upward like a balloon (H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. J. Campbell, p. 258). It rises and rises and ever rises. The psychic point or the life monad, called the soul, continuously expands in ever widening circles until it reaches infinite knowledge, power and bliss.

⁹⁸*Niyamasāra*, 183.

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 178-81.

¹⁰⁰*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I, 5-6, 3-4.

¹⁰¹M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, ch. VI, p. 155; Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 283.

¹⁰²A.N. Upadhe, 'Introduction of Kundakundācārya', *Pravacanasāra*, p. xiv.

¹⁰³*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 161; *A Comprehensive History of India*, ed. K.A.N. Sastri, pp. 412-13; D.A. Pai (*Religious Sects in Ancient India*, pp. 23-24) observes, "However, it must be said to the credit of Jainism and its followers that the organisation of the community, the inflexible conservatism in holding fast to the original institutions and doctrines, the firm support which the Jain church continued to receive from its followers, the absolute refusal to admit change have contributed immensely to its keeping its own place in the religious systems of India till the present day."

CHAPTER FOUR

Jainism in Eastern India

Bihar

THE flourishing condition of Jainism in the Vaiśālī-Rajgir regions since the time of its inception is an established fact. We have seen earlier that Bihar was the birth-place of the three *tīrthāṅkaras*; Śīṭalanātha was born on the Kuluha hill in the Chatra sub-division of Hazaribagh district, where a large number of Jaina antiquities can be found. According to Stein, "Inside (the grotto) is a well-preserved image of the *Jina* Pārśvanātha, seated and surmounted by the usual snakehood. Close to the west of this is another small grotto containing a seated *Jina* in the conventional posture. As the *ciñha* engraved on the pedestals is effaced, the *Jina* intended cannot be ascertained."¹ The twentieth *tīrthāṅkara*, Munisuvrata born in Rājagṛha, modern Rajgir in Bihar, where three great Jaina *Munis*, viz., Gautama Svāmī, Sudharma Svāmī and Jambu Svāmī, were born and had obtained their *nirvāṇa*. The twenty-first *tīrthāṅkara*, Neminātha was born in Mithilā which is identified with the modern Janakapura, a small town on Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet. Moreover, twenty-two *tīrthāṅkaras* had attained their *nirvāṇa* in different places centering round Aṅga-Magadha regions.²

Rulers of these regions since the days of its organisation rendered patronage to the Jaina community, which possibly testifies to the long acquaintance of its population with Jainism. B.C. Law makes the following observation on the prevalence of Jainism in Bihar—"Aṅga-Magadha, the territories of the Vṛjī-Licchavis, and Mallas and the kingdom of Kāśī Kośala are mentioned as the places which became the scene of wanderings of Mahāvīra and activities of his Nirgrantha followers in the Buddha's life-time. The Buddhist texts specifically mention Rājagṛha, Nālandā, Vesali

(Vaiśālī), Pāvā, and Savatthi (Śrāvastī) as places where the activities of Mahāvīra and his immediate followers were concentrated. These texts clearly mention Vesālī as the place where the religion of Mahāvīra found its staunch supporters among the Licchavis.³ The *Āṅguttara-nikāya* speaks of the Licchavi prince Abhaya worshipping Mahāvīra.⁴ Representatives of the dynasty of Śaiśunāga-Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, were, as we noted earlier, related to Mahāvīra and professed Jainism. The *Jaina-sūtra*⁵ records how Bimbisāra had a debate with a Jaina monk as a result of which “the lion of kings . . . together with his wives, servants and relations became staunch believer in the Law.” The *Aupapātika*⁶ narrates Ajātaśatru’s visit to the place of Mahāvīra in order to listen sermon from the latter. The next king of this dynasty, Udayi, is also said to have built a Jaina monastery at Pāṭaliputra.⁷ Jainism during this time may have spread rapidly in other places. Jaina monks had easy access in his palace, and it was a disguised Jaina monk who assassinated this king.⁸ Again, the Nandas who had a considerable command throughout eastern India were Jainas. Candragupta Maurya, founder of the Maurya dynasty, was a staunch follower of Jainism,⁹ particularly in his later days when he lived as an ascetic for twelve years and died in Śravaṇa Belgola in Mysore.

Aśoka, according to some scholars, professed Jainism in his early days and introduced this religion in Kashmir.¹⁰ Even if we do not agree with this account, we have to believe that Aśoka interested himself not only in Buddhism which he professed in his later period, but he took care of all other religious sects in his dominions. In the fourteenth year of his reign, he appointed some officials (*Dhamma mahāmātas*) whose duty was to look after the life of the various communities, to settle their quarrels, to control the distribution of their legacies and pious gifts. In the twenty-ninth year of his reign Aśoka thus issuing the following orders: “I have also employed the High state-officers called *Dhamma-mahāmātas* on many objects of favour or kindness, which may affect both ascetics and householders and they are also employed among all sects (or denominations). With regard to the interest of the congregation I have so ordered that they shall remain engaged (in their good). I have done this with regard to the Brāhmaṇas and the Ājivikas also, so that they should remain employed (for their good). So also have I done this with regard to the Nirgranthas

(Jainas), so that they should remain employed (for their good). With regard to various (miscellaneous) sects too I have done this that they should remain employed (for their good)....”¹¹ This shows that the Jainas as an influential sect enjoyed special favour of Aśoka. Had they been without influence and of small numbers Aśoka would hardly have known of them, or at least would not have singled them out from the other sects. The successors of Aśoka also greatly contributed to the spread of Jainism.

According to the tradition preserved in Hemacandra’s *Parīṣiṣṭa-parvan*¹² Aśoka’s grandson, Samprati, who resided at Ujjayini, dedicated himself to the cause of Jainism and sent missionaries to the Andhra and Dramila countries in south India. He is said to have been converted by Suhastin, the celebrated pupil of Sthulabhadra. He is also credited to have established numerous Jaina temples in different places,¹³ but no remains are extant today.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Kalpa-sūtra* mentions the following places where Mahāvīra spent the rainy seasons since he had renounced the life of a house-holder.

- (i) Asthigrāma—first rainy season
- (ii) Campā and Prṣṭhacampā—next three rainy seasons
- (iii) Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrāma—next twelve rainy seasons
- (iv) Rājagṛha and Nālandā—next fourteen rainy seasons
- (v) Mithilā—next six rainy seasons
- (vi) Bhadrīka—next two rainy seasons
- (vii) Alabhika—next rainy season
- (viii) Panitabhūmi—next rainy season
- (ix) Śrāvastī—next rainy season
- (x) Pāpā—last rainy season

An identification of these places will show that Mahāvīra spent almost all the forty-two rainy seasons in several places of Bihar. Needless to point out that the identification of some places are not certain. Asthigrāma, according to some scholars, was the same place as Hathigama (Hastigrāma) which lay on the highroad from Vaiśālī to Pāvā. But in the commentary on the *Kalpa-sūtra* Asthigrāma was formerly called Vardhamāna. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Asthigrāma was the earlier name of Vardhamāna (modern Burdwan, West Bengal).¹⁴

Campā was the capital of Aṅga and was formerly known as

Mālinī. Aṅga was conquered in Mahāvīra's time by Śreṇika Bimbisāra and permanently annexed to Magadha. Pargiter pointed out that the ancient Aṅgadeśa where lived the people of the non-Aryan community that came over sea to eastern India¹⁵ comprised the territory corresponding to the district of Bhāgalpur and probably including Monghyr.¹⁶ Kuṇika, son of king Śreṇika Bimbisāra, left Rājagṛha on the death of his father and made Campā his capital,¹⁷ whose location is marked by two villages of Campānagara and Campāpur near Bhāgalpur.¹⁸ Padmāvatī, the second daughter of Ceṭaka (Mahāvīra's uncle of the Licchavi dynasty) was married with Dadhivāhana, king of Campā and their daughter Candanā¹⁹ headed the big community of thirty-six thousand nuns under Mahāvīra. Campā turned to a great centre of Jainism. In fact "the family of Dadhivāhana had a living interest in the Jaina doctrines."²⁰ The *Uvāsogadasāo*²¹ mentions that a temple called *Caitya Puṇṇabhadra* existed at Campā at the time of Suddharman, a disciple of Mahāvīra. The Jaina *Aupapātika-sūtra* refers to this pompous and well decorated city which was a veritable paradise on earth full of wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness.

The association of the Mandāra hill in the Bhagalpur district and Karnagarh hill near Bhagalpur where several Jaina relics of much antiquity have been found discloses the existence and popularity of this faith in this part. In this connection it may be remembered that Vasu Pūjyanātha, the twelfth *tīrthaṅkara*, attained *nirvāṇa* atop the Mandāra hill which is an object of veneration for the Jaina community.²² Again the Brahmagiri hill to the south of Gaya town has a small figure with a horse on the pedestal which Cunningham believed to be a statue of Sambhavanātha, the third *tīrthaṅkara*.²³ Yuan Chwang calls this place Chanp'o mentions that there were *Sanḡhārāmas* mostly in ruins showing that Jainism lost its hold in these city. Prṣṭha Campā must have been a place not far from Campā.

Vaiśālī was the principal seat of government of the Vṛji-Licchavis who were a great and powerful people in eastern India in the sixth century BC. It has been identified by Cunningham with the present village of Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district, in Tirhut, as marking the spot where stood Vaiśālī in ancient days.²⁴ This place was intimately associated with the early history of Jainism, as we have seen earlier, was known by the designation Vesali or Vaiśālīka, i.e., an inhabitant of Vaiśālī.²⁵ Vāṇijyagrāma, as name implies,

was a centre of trade in the suburb of Vaiśālī.

Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir) was the ancient capital of Magadha. As it was surrounded by five hills called Isigili, Vebhara, Pandava, Vepulla and Gijjhakuta (according to the *Mahābhārata*, the name of these hills are—Vipula, Vaibhāra, Varāha, Vṛṣabha and Ṛṣi), it was also known by the name of Girivraja. According to Jainas, these five hills are—Vipulacala, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Svarnagiri and Vaibhāragiri.²⁶ Archaeological excavations have revealed a large number of Jaina antiquities of different periods. The Śonbhāṇḍāra cave at Rajgir containing an inscription of two lines in characters of the early centuries of the Christian era at the right side of the door leading into the cave refers to one *Muni Vairadeva*, who died in the 584th year Mahāvīra's demise, as Jewel among the teachers who caused the excavation of two caves for the Jaina ascetics with images of *Jinas* installed therein. The inscription reads as follows:²⁷

Line 1 *Nirvāṇa-lābhāya tapasvi-yogye, Śubheguhe=rahat-pra (ti) mā-pratiṣṭhe*

Line 2 *Ācāryya-ratnam muni-Vairadevaḥ, Vimuktaye=kārayad=dīrgha (?) -tejā(h).*

In this cave we also find a standing figure of Sambhavanātha, which of course belongs to a later period. The Vaibhāra hill temple also contains a seated figure of Neminātha, head much mutilated, with a fragmentary inscription in Gupta characters and with two small *Jinas* seated below in *Padmāsana* on the two sides of a standing figure.²⁸ Even the lower half of a small naked male figure, doubtless an image of one of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, still can be seen cut out of the rock, close to the inscription.²⁹ Moniyār maṭha is also deemed to be a sacred place to the Jainas for the shrine on the top of an artificial brick mound. In 1851-62 General Cunningham, without destroying the maṭha at the top, went down to the depth of 21½ feet in the well and recovered three small figures. One of the figures was a naked standing figure with seven-headed serpent hood which looks like of Pārśvanātha.

Nālandā which is described in the *Kalpa-sūtra* as a suburb (*bāhrikā*) of Rājagṛha was situated on the highroad from Rājagṛha of Vaiśālī, at a distance of one *yojana*,³⁰ or half of a *yojana*.³¹ It is the present Bargaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in

the district of Patna.³² A few sculptural specimens of the ninth century AD have been unearthed from this place. A four-armed goddess (c. nine-tenth century AD) probably represents the Jaina Yakṣī, Padmāvati, a unique iconographic specimen from north India.³³

Bhadrika or Bhaddiyanagara, famous city in Mahāvira's time, lay in the kingdom of Aṅga. Panitabhūmi, Paniyabhūmi in Ardhamāgadhī, was a place in Vajrabhūmi,³⁴ a division of the pathless country of Rāḍha.

Alabhika (Pāli, Alavi) is identified by Cunningham and Hoernle with Newal or Nawal in the Unao district in U.P. and Nandalal Dey with Airviwa, 27 miles north-east of Etawah.³⁵ Śrāvastī or Sāvattī or Sāheth-Māheth lies on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Oudh in the U.P. The city of Śrāvastī situated on the bank of the river Acīrāvati (Rāptī) was the flourishing capital of the kingdom of Kośala in Mahāvira's time. It was known to the Jainas as Candrapurī or Candrakāpurī. It was the birth-place of Sambhavanātha and Candraprabhānātha.³⁶

Pāpā or Pāpāpurī where Mahāvira spent his last rainy season is also known Apāpapurī. It was the place where the great teacher left his mortal existence. Unfortunately, the place has been located in different places. According to some scholars it is the same as Kāsiā situated on the little Gandak river to the east of the district of Gorakhpur, U.P.,³⁷ while others believe it to be Pāvāpurī of the present day, near Rajgir in Bihar.³⁸

Besides these places of *Vassāvāsa* of the great teacher, there were several other important sites in Bihar where Jainism flourished to a considerable extent. Pāṭaliputra (Patna in Bihar), originally a Magadhan village known as Pāṭaligrāma, lay opposite to Koṭigrāma on the other side of the Ganges. It figures prominently in the Jaina literature; and during the time of Mahāvira it was the centre of Jaina religion because Pāṭaligrāma was one of the halting stations on the high road extending from Rājagṛha (where Mahāvira spent fourteen rainy seasons) to Vaiśālī (the birth-place of Mahāvira) and other places. It was also the scene of activities of great Jaina monks like Bhadravāhu and Sthulabhadra at the later period. The latter monk summoned here a council nearly two hundred years after the demise of Mahāvira to collect the Jaina canonical texts.³⁹ The temple of Sthulabhadra and other Jaina temples have been discovered by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India on the site of Pāṭaliputra. A few Jaina

bronzes from Chausa near Buxar in Bihar seem to belong to the first-second centuries of the Christian era. They are characterised by crude workmanship but valuable for showing the continuity and extent of influence of the Mathura school.⁴⁰ The earliest specimen of Jaina art is supposed to be a highly polished torso of a *Jina* image from Lohanipur near Patna belonging to the Maurya period.⁴¹ Another unpublished later torso of a *Jina* in the *kayotsarga* pose has also been found from this place. Evidently these torsos represented some *tīrthaṅkaras*.⁴² A mutilated head of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* discovered by A. Banerji-Sastri from the same site is generally placed during the time of the Mauryas.⁴³

A large number of Jaina antiquities have been discovered from different villages of the Manbhum and Singhbhum districts in the Chotanagpur division, Bihar. Mahāvīra is said to have visited Safa in the Manbhum district when he was on tour for the spread of his faith. It is said that the aboriginal inhabitants of this place were not very keen to listen to or follow Mahāvīra and that he was even molested by them.⁴⁴ But Mahāvīra with his resolute and firmness succeeded to establish his faith and ultimately his sense of sobriety and saintliness touched the heart of the tribal people and many were converted to Jainism.

The Jainas also known by the name of *Śrāvakī* were once very influential in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. The Saraks or *Śrāvakas* of today are nothing but an extension of the Jaina followers of ancient times. In this connection O'Malley observes: "The name Sarawak, Serak or Sarak is clearly a corruption of *Śrāvaka*, the Sanskrit word for a hearer, which used by the Jainas for the lay brethren, i.e., Jainas engaged in secular pursuit, as distinguished from Yati, i.e., priests or ascetics. It appears probably that the latter remained in Manbhum where several Jaina temples have been found while the *Śrāvakas* or lay Jainas penetrated the jungles, where they were regarded with the discovery of copper, upon the working of which they must have spent all their time and energy."⁴⁵

Hunter has given an account of the prevalence of this faith in a village named Palma which is situated on the bank of the river Kasai and is, according to Bloch, close to milestone 10 on the Purulia-Manbazar road. Hunter "refers to a large mound of a Jaina temple, covered with stone and brick and with numerous images of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* scattered about. One of the images was larger than life-size and was broken into two parts.

At the feet of each idol are smaller figures with chowris in their hands and looking up at the principal figure. Round about these ruins were other mounds covered with cut-stone and bricks. It is obvious there were here quite a number of Jain Temples indicating the existence of some settlement of that community nearby. In 1902 Bloch could see only a heap of *debris* with some stone pillars and two colossal statues of *tīrthaṅkaras* lying at the site.”⁴⁶ In his report Beglar has also recorded the findings of several images of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, viz., Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and others in the village called Pakbira (Manbhum). The most interesting and noteworthy of them was a colossal naked figure about seven and half feet high, representing a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*, Śreyāmsanātha, with the lotus symbol on its pedestal.⁴⁷ Stone images of the Jaina deities have also been found in the districts of Hazaribagh, Dhalbhum, etc., and still there are several old remains ‘which probably mark a former settlement of the *Śrāvaka* or lay Jinas.’⁴⁸

Bengal

The distribution of the Jaina icons and monasteries and the availability of the Jaina inscriptions *in situ* will reveal a great deal of the spread and influence of this faith in different places of eastern India. Earlier we have mentioned that Mahāvīra as a wandering mendicant destined to be the *Kevala*, experienced great hardship in Bengal. According to the Jaina canonical texts the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon (like the *vassā* of the Buddhist monks), when they stayed in one place. Mahāvīra in his wandering resided one day in a village and five days in a town. But with the introduction of convents (*Upāśraya*),⁴⁹ corresponding to the *vihāras* of the Buddhists, he extended his staying as long as a week in a village, in a town as long as a month. The *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* while giving a graphic description of Mahāvīra’s hardships in Bengal, refers to various topographical names whose identification is a subject of keen controversy. However, during his twelve years rigorous penances he visited different parts of eastern India including the pathless tracts of the Lāḍhas (Rāḍhas in West Bengal), through Vajjabhūmi and Subbabbhūmi. An analytical study of these Jaina canonical texts discloses the fact that the sojourn of Mahāvīra in Bengal was mainly confined to lonely highlands far away from cities and from lands rich with corn.

In fact, the Jaina religion was firmly established in the lower Gangetic region in the Maurya period. A tradition recorded in the *Brhat Kathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, composed in AD 931, says that the Jaina preceptor and saint, Bhadravāhu, the reputed spiritual guide of Candragupta Maurya, was born at Devikoṭa, synonymous with Koṭivarṣa, i.e., modern Bangarh in West Dinajpur district.⁵⁰ After Bhadravāhu his disciple, Godāsa established an order known as Godāsagaṇa. He is said in the *Kalpa-sūtra* to have classified the Jains of eastern India into various branches, four of which were known as Koṭivarṣīya, Puṇḍravardhaniya, Tāmraliptīya and Karvāṭīya after different place-names of ancient Bengal.⁵¹ While Tāmraliptika refers to the ancient city-port, Tāmralipta, which comprised modern Tamluk on the Rūpnārāyaṇa in the Midnapur district, the other two, viz., Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhaniya, undoubtedly belonged to North Bengal covering the ancient Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana.

Though the identification of Karvāṭīya has not yet definitely been determined, it may doubtless be placed somewhere in Bengal.⁵² Scholars are not consensus with the exact location of this place, but it may be identified with the village Dāsikharboṭa in the Midnapur district. It is stated in the Great Epic⁵³ that Bhīma while undertakes a hurricane campaign in this land, he reduced to subjection the lords of Tāmralipta or Tamluk and Karvaṭa apparently a neighbouring place. It is thus probable that this Karvaṭa or Dāsikharboṭa in the Midnapur district, like Tāmralipta, Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana, was also a famous centre of Jainism where a new branch of this faith had emerged.

It evidently shows that these places of ancient Bengal had already gained fame as noted centres of Jainism, so as to lend their names to important branches of the followers of this faith. Bhandarkar observes that “while Bihar and Kośala were taken by Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytizing activities.”⁵⁴ Needless to point out that the geographical limitation of Bengal undoubtedly included portions of Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The activities of Mahāvīra as a wandering mendicant, Bhadravāhu and Godāsa’s establishment of different sub-sects of this faith, distinctly demonstrate that Bengal had come to be influenced by Jainism since its inception. The imperial Maurya king Aśoka was well aware of the popularity of the religion of the Nirgranthas. The *Divyāvadāna*⁵⁵

refers to the Nirgranthas of Puṇḍravardhana during the life-time of Aśoka. The recent discovery of a terracotta votive plaque from Farakka in the Murshidabad district showing the sacred Wheel and the *tri-ratna* flanked by what appears to be a goose reminds us the symbolic motifs of the Jaina *Āyagapaṭṭas*. On stylistic ground the object is assigned to the Maurya-Śuṅga period. Such was the state of Jainism in Bengal in the pre-Christian era.

As regards the prevalence of the Nirgranthas in Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era mention may be made of an inscription from Mathura which in all probability refers to a Jaina monk who was an inhabitant of Rāḍha in Bengal.⁵⁶ There are enough evidences to show that Jainism established its stronghold in Bengal during the time of the Guptas. The Paharpur (Rajshahi, Bangladesh) inscription dated in the Gupta era 159 (AD 478-79) records a gift of land by a Brāhmaṇa couple for a Jaina *vihāra*⁵⁷ of Vaṭa-gohālī 'which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nirgrantha-nāthacārya Guhanandin belonging to the *pañca-stūpa* section of Benaras.'⁵⁸ Vaṭagohālī is identified with the present village Goalbhita where the ruins of a big temple have been unearthed. From the record of this inscription we may unhesitatingly conclude that the Jaina *vihāra* was founded long before AD 478-79, as there is a reference to three generations of preceptors (*cāryas*). And these preceptors were affiliated to a Jaina school of Benaras which was undoubtedly a great centre of Jainism at that period. It is also interesting to note further that being a Brāhmaṇa couple the endowment has been made in favour of a Jaina *vihāra*. It shows the catholicity and broadmindedness of the people of the land.

The flourishing condition of this faith in Bengal is attested to by the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang who visited this country in the first half of the seventh century AD. According to this Buddhist scholar of China, the Nirgranthas⁵⁹ firmly established their position in the northern, southern and eastern parts of the country. His narrative also affords us a comparative estimate of the contemporary religious sects in Bengal. While assessing the religious condition of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) and Samatata (East Bengal), he observed:

"There were twenty Buddhist Monasteries and above 3000 Brethren by whom the 'Great and Little Vehicles' were followed: the *Deva* Temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the

various sects lived pell-mell, the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous.”⁶⁰

“It had more than 30 Buddhist Monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all adherents of the Sthavira School. There were 100 Deva Temples, the various sects live pell-mell and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous.”⁶¹

It is significant to note in this connection that the above excerpt from the narrative of Hiuen-Tsang shows the preponderance of the Digambara Nirgranthas in Bengal during his time. While the Śvetāmbara-Jainas were popular in Mathura region, the Digambara sub-sect flourished in Bengal. It is probably due to the merger of the Ājivikas with the Jainas as suggested by P.C. Bagchi.⁶²

In the well known perspective of the spread of Jainism in Bengal close to the epicentre of its early development it is obvious that the discovery of relevant iconic representations and relics from different places of this part of the country throws adequate light on the ideals and traditions of the *tirthaṅkaras*. It also helps to understand the historical process through which Jainism manifested itself from its inception in eastern India and ultimately acquired a universal character. In fact, if explorations are continued amidst the wooded highlands of West Bengal and also within the terrains of Chotanagpur and its neighbouring regions in eastern India the scope of interest in studying their religious significance would be revealed properly.

In Bengal, a large number of Jaina *tirthaṅkara* images of the Pāla-Sena period have been discovered from different districts. They represent icons of Ādinātha/Rṣabhadeva, Neminātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The *tirthaṅkara* images found in different parts of Bengal and its adjoining regions are not much perplexing from the icono-religious point of view. The Jaina iconographical texts distinctly ordain that a *tirthaṅkara* should have long arms hanging upto the knee, the *śrī-vatsa* symbol and nude body flanked on two sides by a Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī, the presence of a particular tree (*Kevalavṛkṣa*) under which he attained the supreme knowledge and one of the *aṣṭa-pratiharya* consisting of heavenly tree, throne, umbrella, nimbus, drum, showering blossoms, chowris and musical instrument. He should sit in *padmāsana* or *paryāṅkāsana* or stand in *kayotsarga* posture. The *tirthaṅkaras* and their attendant deities should also have their respective *lāñchana*

(cognizance) usually placed below the image.

One of the earliest Jaina figures hailing from Surohar in the district of Dinajpur, now preserved in the Varendra Research Society Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, represents R̥ṣabhanātha,⁶³ the first of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* of the Jainas. Seated cross-legged at the centre of the stela on a *siṃhāsana* with hands resting on the soles of the feet, he is characterised by his *lāñchana*, the bull, placed at the lower compartment of the pedestal. Completely nude, he wears the *urnā*, *uṣṇīṣa*, and the wheel marks, which are the well known *Mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas*, on his palm and soles of the feet. He is flanked by two male figures with fly-whisks on either side and *gandharva* pairs on either side of the round *prabhāmaṇḍala* which rests under the canopy of a *chatra*. The importance of this image is enhanced by the fact that it represents the figures of twenty-three other *tīrthaṅkaras*, seated in *dhyāna* pose within niches of miniature temples arranged in relief on the two sides and top of the main figure. Each *tīrthaṅkara* is marked by his distinctive *lāñchana* shown on the pedestals.⁶⁴ Another R̥ṣabhanātha image is found from Barabhum in the Midnapur district, and is now preserved in the Indian Museum. In this sculpture the miniature figures of the twenty-four *Jinas* are arranged in four rows of three each on either side of the main image, all standing in *kāyotsarga* pose.⁶⁵

A similar type of mutilated Jaina image which may be assigned to a date not later than the eleventh century AD has been found in a ruined sand stone temple standing at present for the worship of Śiva. The *liṅga* within the temple is of new installation. Originally it was a Jaina temple, dedicated to R̥ṣabhanātha, whose image (ht. 3'2"; br. 1'6") now lies by the side of the *liṅga*. Debala Mitra describes it as such:

"The central figure, remarkable for its beautiful facial expression and *jaṭā mukuta*, stands against a throne in the usual *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus, below which is his characteristic *lāñchana*, bull, between two devotees. On either side of his legs is a standing attendant, wearing ornaments and loin-cloth. Over his head is a canopy of succession of gradually diminishing *chatras*, flanked by a flying couple holding garlands. Over the *chatra* are two pairs of hands playing on musical instruments. The back-slab is relieved with miniature figures of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, arranged in twelve rows of two each. Like the main

image, they also stand in *kāyotsarga* pose, with their respective cognizances carved below each."⁶⁶ A few more mutilated Jaina images are also found in this village showing that the village was once a thriving Jaina centre.⁶⁷

A headless image of Ṛṣabhanātha in *kāyotsarga* pose hails from Mondoil, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh and is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The *Jina* image stands on a lotus placed upon a *pañcaratha* pedestal, on which is shown the bull, his *lāñchana* and a number of devotees. There are two fly-whisks bearing figures on two sides of the main figure and the nine *grahas* with Gaṇeśa are shown in low relief on either side of the stela. Behind the lost head is the decorated *prabhā-maṇḍala* upon which is a *chatra* and on both sides of these there are flying *gandharvas* and celestial hands carrying garlands and other offerings. The extreme elegance of the figure of the *Jina* and the sensitivity of its fingers cannot escape admiration.⁶⁸

A standing *Jina* image of Śāntinātha in usual pose between two *caurī*-bearing attendants is discovered from Ujānī in the Burdwan district and is now under the possession of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta.⁶⁹ On the back-slab are carved the nine *grahas*, five on one side and four on the other, and the *lāñchana* (an antelope) is shown on the pedestal. This sculpture can be roughly assigned to the twelfth century AD. Another image of Śāntinātha (ht. 1'11") in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus with an attendant on either side of his legs is now lying over the scanty remains of the village Chitgiri in the Bankura district.⁷⁰ The back-slab is relieved with four more *tīrthaṅkaras*, in the same pose, and two flying figures at top corners. The cognizance below the pedestal seems to be a deer; and the image may, therefore, be of the sixteenth *tīrthaṅkara*, Śāntinātha. Situated in an interior village of Jhargram sub-division of Midnapur district at Rajpura two Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* were noticed which were being worshipped as the 'Buddha' and 'Ananta'. The representation of the *tīrthaṅkara* Śāntinātha with his usual *lāñchana*, an antelope, and flanked by the *caurī*-bearers and *aṣṭa-graha-devatās* reveals a specimen which can be attributed to c. tenth century AD on stylistic ground. It is now preserved in the State Archaeological Gallery, Calcutta, West Bengal. Another image of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha standing in *kāyotsarga* pose having a canopy of a seven-hooded serpent over his head, is still lying at the site.⁷¹

The village Paresnath on the north bank of the river Kumārī in the district of Bankura, West Bengal, is named after the shrine of the twenty-third *tīrthaṅkara*, Pārśvanātha. "The temple made of red sand stone, is now reduced to a mere plinth. On the plinth lies the image of Pārśvanātha, now in three fragments. The image (ht. 6'8½") stands in *kāyotsarga* pose on a *viśva-padma* under a seven-hooded canopy of a serpent, the latter's coil carved on the back-slab. On other side of his legs is an attendant standing on a lotus with a kneeling devotee in front. On the back-slab are miniature figures, two in each row, of twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, also standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on lotuses placed on pedestals and relieved with their respective cognizances. On the two bottom corner-facets are a *nāga* and *nāgī* by the side of a lion. Over the serpent-hood is his *kevala* tree with a flying figure holding a garland at the corners."⁷² Another image of Pārśvanātha, standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on a lotus, has been found from the village of Kenduā, on the bank of the river Kāmsāvati, in the district of Bankura. "The upper portion of the image, along with the head, is missing. On each side of the feet is a three hooded *nāgī*, the left one holding a *ghoṭa*; beyond them is a standing attendant holding a *caurī*. On either side of the stela are depicted *tīrthaṅkaras*, three in each row."⁷³ That the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha was greatly venerated by the followers of Jainism specially of this district is corroborated from the prevalence of stone images of this deity enshrined in the temples at Bahulara and Dharapat situated near Viṣṇupur, and which are being worshipped in the name of Manasā, the snake goddess. The seven-hooded serpent canopy manifesting over the head of the *tīrthaṅkara* has been wrongly taken by the local inhabitants as that of the *nāgachatra* of Manasā.⁷⁴

A large number of Jaina images and Jaina shrines have been found in the district of Purulia bordering on the state of Bihar. The village Chatra was a centre of religious activities for the Jains and is well attested from the numerous findings of Jaina sculptures and architectural pieces including a *Caumukhas*. It is to be noted in this connection that the worship of *Caumukhas* or *Caturmukhas* are prevalent and popular among the Jains of this part of India. It seems probable that the representation of four different *Jinas* on the four sides is an advancement or development of the original and earlier conception of the Jaina tradition of *Samavasaraṇa*, square or circular assemblies erected by gods for the

sermon of the *Jina*, wherein, on a raised platform in the centre, sits the *Jina* on one side with the images of the same *Jina* installed on the three remaining sides to make him visible to the entire audience. The figures of the four *tīrthaṅkaras* are usually represented as the first one, i.e., Ṛṣabhadeva, the sixteenth—Śāntinātha, the twenty-third—Pārśvanātha and the twenty-fourth—Mahāvīra, in four directions. A miniature Jaina shrine (c. eleventh century AD) with the representations of four *tīrthaṅkaras* in *kāyotsarga* pose on the four sides still lies at the site at Badkola in the Bankura district. Another miniature Jaina shrine carved in sand stone is also on view in the Chatra village of Purulia district, West Bengal. The date of the shrine is tentatively assigned to the eleventh century AD. The four sides representing the images of four *tīrthaṅkaras* are not as usual, but six at a time in *kāyotsarga* pose along with their respective cognizances (*lāñchanas*). Similar such shrines have been discovered from other places also. The State Archaeological Gallery of West Bengal possesses several other examples of *Caumukha* images and shrines.

In fact, the sculptural representations scattered all over the district of Purulia tend us to believe its strong association with Jainism. According to Bose Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Telkupi, Boram, Chatra, Lauhara, Punca and other villages of this district. But among all these remains pertaining to the Jaina religion, as noticed in the Purulia district, the ruins and relics still lying at Pakbira (Punca, P.S.), deserve attention on account of its beautiful sculptural materials.⁷⁵ Besides the Jaina temples (now standing in a very dilapidated condition), the colossal figure of a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* (ht. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ') carved in round on chlorite locally being worshipped as Bhiram, draws the attention of the scholars. The sixth Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Padmaprabha has been represented in this sculpture. He is standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on a low pedestal on which a lotus symbol (*lāñchana*) is carved and is flanked by *caurī*-bearers on his two sides. The towering figure standing straight by dedicating himself for the cause of humanity and keeping its head high above the surrounding ruins symbolizes the spirit of spiritual exaltation amidst trials and tribulations in worldly life. Among the other sculptural representations of this site and its adjoining villages, some mutilated but beautiful images are lying. Of them an icon representing Pārśvanātha recognised by his *lāñchana* snake, flanked by two beautiful *caurī*-bearers emerg-

ing from the mouth of snake is worth-noting.⁷⁶ K.D. Dutta in the Varendra Research Society Monographs mentions different Jain images found in the Sundarban area of 24 Parganas. The discovery of numerous Jain stone and bronze images from the dense jungles of Sundarban (Khari and Chatrabag regions), from Nalgora and Kantabenia, conclusively prove that Jainism confined to be a potent force in the once flourishing *Janapadas* of the Sundarbans, now wild and forlorn. Of these images, the Pārśvanātha image found in Raidighi is worthy of mention. Standing in *kāyotsarga* pose, this image, which is in a nice state of preservation, has got twenty-three other *tīrthaṅkaras* shown on the stela seated in *dhyāna* pose.

Two more images of Pārśvanātha, one hailing from Deulbhira Bankura, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the other from Kantabenia in the 24 Parganas district are also worth-mentioning in this connection. In the first one "the deity is shown seated in the usual yoga posture, with the seven hoods of a snake spread over his head, and his characteristic *lāñchana* beneath the lotus seat; the *caurī*-bearing figures on either side are present, but no other *Jinas* are represented by his side."⁷⁷ The latter one, dated eleventh century AD, is standing in the *kāyotsarga* pose with his usual *lāñchana* and attendants. The miniature figures of twenty-three other *Jinas* are also represented in rows of two each, eleven on its right and twelve on its left.⁷⁸

A colossal Jain image is to be found in the village Babladihi or Sankarpur under Mangalkot police station of Burdwan district. Though this image is called by the local people as Nyānteśvara Śiva-ṭhākura, it was originally an image of the Jain *tīrthaṅkara*, probably of Mahāvīra.

The existence of some sculptural representations of the Jain *tīrthaṅkaras* within the enclosure of the brick-temple of Satdeulia in the district of Burdwan almost contemporary with Bahulara in Bankura leads to the inescapable conclusion that it was Jain too. A small stone tablet found in the Raina village of the same district represents images of two *tīrthaṅkaras* side by side. One of the images represents Candraprabhā as would be evident from the crescent moon upon his pedestal. The other one is in much mutilated form, and thus it can not be identified definitely. Similar stone tablet representing the images of Rṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra is to be found in the British Museum.⁷⁹ Rare metal and stone images of

the ninth and tenth centuries from Katwa, Ujānī, Maṅgalkoṭa, etc. preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, and Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Museum point to wide prevalence of Jainism in the Burdwan district.

Orissa

In Orissa, Jainism was known as far back as the eighth century bc.⁸⁰ Tradition avers that the eighteenth *tīrthankara* Aranātha is said to have received his first alms in Rayapura which is in all probability the same as Rājapura described in the *Mahābhārata*⁸¹ as the capital of Kalinga.⁸² The association of Pārśvanātha with Kalinga is alluded to in the Jaina texts, such as, the *Kṣetrasamāsa*, *Kumbhakara Jātaka*, *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*, the *Pārśvanātha-carita* of Bhavadeva Suri, etc. It is stated in the *Kṣetrasamāsa* that Pārśvanātha in course of his wandering visited Tāmralipta (Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal) and Kopakataka (Kopari in the Balasore district of Orissa). The *Pārśvanātha-carita* narrates the story of the marriage of Pārśvanātha with Prabhāvatī after her rescue from the clutches of Kalinga Yavana. An abduction scene in the Rānī-gumphā is taken to have represented this episode of marriage.⁸³

The Jaina *Karakandu-carita* mentions the miraculous enthronement of Karakandu in Kalinga, while the *Kumbhakara Jātaka* and the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* describe him as ruling over Kalinga contemporaneously with Naggati (Nagnajita) of Ganadhāra, Durmukha (Divimukha) of Pāñcāla and Nami of Videha.⁸⁴ The *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*⁸⁵ significantly records that “these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas, after having placed their sons on the throne, they exerted themselves as *Śromaṇas*.” It thus shows that Pārśvanātha wandered over this region and initiated many people to his faith.

According to the legendary account Mahāvīra came to this state as a Parivrājaka and propagated his religion to the people. The Jaina *Haribhadriya-vṛtti* informs us that the ruler of Kalinga was a friend of Mahāvīra’s father; and he invited Mahāvīra to preach his faith.⁸⁶ K.P. Jayaswal⁸⁷ believes that Mahāvīra personally propounded his religion in the Kumārī hill of Kalinga. The representations of lion in the sculptures of various caves and on the several column further strengthens his view that the two hills were sacred to the memory of Mahāvīra.

Kaliṅga was undoubtedly a part of the Nanda kings of Magadha as is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription.⁸⁸ The record twice mentions a Nandarāja, but his name is not referred to. The identification of this Nanda king is a matter of controversy among the scholars.⁸⁹ He was possibly the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kṣatriya (*Sarva kṣatrāntaka*), Mahāpadma Nanda who is credited by the Purāṇas with the conquest of Kaliṅga.⁹⁰ In the Hathigumpha record it is stated that after defeating Kaliṅga king, the Nanda king took away the image of *Kaliṅga-Jina* as a trophy of his victory (*Nanda-rājanītam, Kaliṅga-Jina saṁniveśam*).⁹¹

Opinion differs regarding the identification of the *Kaliṅga-Jina*. While K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji⁹² identify him with Śitala-nātha and A.C. Mittal with Mahāvīra, N.K. Sahu takes him as Rṣabhanātha who had great hold in the religions and in the Jaina art tradition of Orissa.⁹³ We may also assume from this record that the Nandas were the followers of this faith and they, naturally did not destroy the image of *Kaliṅga-Jina* as it was preserved till the time of Khāravela (c. second half of the first century BC). The prevalence of the Jainas in Orissa during the time of Aśoka is known from his Rock Edict XIII where he specifically mentioned that Kaliṅga was inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and it was for their miseries that Aśoka expressed his profound sorrow and deep repentance.

Under the patronage of the illustrious king Khāravela of the Mahāmeghavāhana Cedi dynasty, Jainism enjoyed its hey day in Orissa. The Hathigumpha record of this king opens with an appeal to the *arhat* and *siddha*, corresponding to the beginning of the five-fold form of homage⁹⁴ still used among the Jainas, and mentions the building of temples in honour of the *arhat* as well as an image of *Jina*, which was taken away by the hostile Nanda king. The record tells us that Khāravela invaded Magadha and brought back the image of the *Kaliṅga-Jina* and that he provided shelters for Jaina monks on the Kumārī (Udaygiri, Orissa) hill, erected many pillars and repaired old temples. Another inscription of the same place also asserts that Khāravela's wife caused a cave to be prepared for the ascetics of Kaliṅga who believed on the *arhats*. It evidently shows that royal patronage of the Cedi dynasty helped the Jaina *Munis* to spread out their faiths among the common man of the region.

It is interesting to note in this connection a panel of sculpture

still existing on the Mañchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill. T.N. Ramachandran describes the panel in the following words:

“The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave (the Mañchapuri cave) is the central scene on the facade of the verandah. Though unfortunately mutilated, what remains shows a throne with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women. The first man near the throne is badly mutilated. He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne. Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sarnath. Let us call him the prince. Behind the prince stand two women of equal status. The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the princess. Above the king and the prince are two *gandharvas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole. . . . Above the women adjoining the *gandharvas* there is a representation of a full-blown lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Sūrya. While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharvas* over the party bring out their importance. Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), the prince (perhaps Kuṇḍasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kalinga-Jina which Khāravela recovered from Magadh and restored to his people?”⁹⁵

If the identification suggested by T.N. Ramachandran is taken for consideration, it would then mean that the royal patronage was extended not only by way of financial assistance, or of excavating caves for the Jaina *Munis* alone, but the involvement of the royal personnel actively accelerated and helped the faith to secure a prime and predominate position in the religious history of Orissa just before the closing of the pre-Christian era. The excavation of several rock-cut caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa in honour of the Jaina *Muni* also exhibit adequate reflection of the flourishing condition of this faith.

Fabri's observations on the Jaina caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are worth quoting —“The first patently obvious fact that emerges is simply this that the sixty odd caves in these two hills must have taken several hundred years to excavate; they show such a development of styles and even if the occupation was not as long as at Ajanta, where we find a thousand years of artistic activity, Khandagiri and Udayagiri must have taken some 350

years to create. There is evidence of Jaina occupation from the 2nd century BC into the 11th century AD, perhaps with a gap of a few hundred years between the 2nd century AD and the 8th.⁹⁶ In fact, there had been no significant development of Jainism in Orissa after second century AD till the time of the eighth-ninth centuries AD. There are several reasons behind the decline of this religion during this period. Two principal causes—viz., (i) revival of neo-Brāhmanical religion and (ii) the collapse of commercial activities of the trading communities who were its chief patrons on the eastern coast, may be considered for a sharp decline of Jainism all along the eastern coast soon after third century AD.

Occasional references to the existence of Jainism in Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era are not wanting, but these are too scanty to come to any definite conclusion. The discovery of a gold coin of Mahārāja-rājādhirāja Dharmadāmadharasya from the Śiśupālagarh excavation leads A.S. Altekar⁹⁷ to believe that he was probably a Jaina king of the Muruṇḍa family who dominated this region in the post-Khāravēla period. According to Altekar the Muruṇḍa king Dharmadāma flourished in the third century AD and ruled over a part of Bihar and Orissa with his capital at Pāṭaliputra. Even a king of Kaliṅga, as mentioned in the *Dadhāvaṃśa*, was converted to Buddhism from Jainism and all the Nirgranthas being driven out from Kaliṅga took shelter in the court of king Pāṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra. The introduction of Buddhism in Orissa temporarily checked the growth of Jainism, but the faith was not totally rejected by the people as the narrative of Hiuen-Tsang speaks of the Jainas in Kaliṅga—"Among the unbelievers the most numerous are the Nirgranthas".⁹⁸ The Banpur plate of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja (c. sixth-seventh century AD) states that his queen Kalyāṇa Devī granted a gift of land to a Jaina *Muni* named Prabuddhacandra for religious purposes. He was a disciple of *Arhatācārya* Nāsicaṇḍra.⁹⁹ However, the donation from a royal family not only shows the religious toleration of the Śailodbhavas but also demonstrates that the Jaina *ācāryas* were respected in the then society. Another Jaina inscription¹⁰⁰ consisting of four lines in east Indian characters of the seventh century AD found from Ratnagiri hills in the Cuttack district. It refers to the installation of Jaina images and points to the existence of an early Jaina establishment on these hills. A large number of bronze images of different sects, viz., Buddhist, Jainas and Brāhmanical

has been unearthed from Achutranjpur close to the Banpur Police station in the Purī district.¹⁰¹ The representation of at least eight Jaina figures dating tenth-eleventh centuries AD indicates that Jainism continued to be a living faith in this region to an appreciable extent.

A systematic exploration report of the Prachi valley (on the eastern bank of the river Prachi, 37 kilometres from Bhuvaneshwar, Cuttack district) reveals that Jainism along with other religious creeds also flourished here. A number of Jaina images are lying scattered in various parts of the valley; even images are kept inside the Śiva temples. Two images of Ṛṣabhadeva of the c. sixth-seventh century AD have been kept inside the ruined temples of Svapaneśvara and Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Adaspur.¹⁰² Several other images of the *tīrthaṅkaras* are also found from various places of the Prachi valley. The *Archaeological Survey Report* states that:

“A miniature image of Ṛṣabhanātha was noticed in the Viśvāmitra Āśrama near Kakatpur and a similar type of small mutilated image was lying near the Bharadwaja Āśrama (both the Āśramas situated in a horizontal line of the Prachi valley). It creates an impression that Jainism of this area was not in the state of decay when Shaktism predominated the place during the 9th century AD and the goddess Mangala (the temple of Mangala near to the site) was worshipped as the *Piṣṭha Devī* of the valley from that time.

“A very beautiful image of Pārśvanātha is to be found inside the temple of Grāmeśvara of the Prachi valley, five kilometres from Nayāhat. This image has been disfigured and locally called as the Kāmadeva. Pairs of Yakṣa-Yakṣiṇī images pertaining to Jainism is to be found in several sites of the Prachi valley. An image of Yakṣa associated with Neminātha, one of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, is to be found in the Antaravedi *maṭha* (at the place where the Prachi, Saraswati and Maṇikarnika meet) near Banamalipur of the Prachi valley.”¹⁰³

The continuity of this faith among the people and the royal families of this region is shown by the discovery of a large number of epigraphical and iconographical representations from the early medieval period onwards. Mention may be made in this connection two Digambara Jaina inscriptions from Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves in Orissa. These two records were issued during the fifth and eighteenth regnal years of Udyota Keśari (c. AD 1040-65) of the Keśari dynasty of Orissa. The first inscription of Udyota

Keśarī in the Lalitendu Keśarī cave records that “in the year five of the victorious reign of the illustrious Udyota Keśarī, on the illustrious Kumāra mountain,¹⁰⁴ decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine, (and) at that place the images of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* were set up. At the time of the dedication . . . Jasanandi . . . in the place (temple?) of the illustrious Pāraśyanātha (Pārśvanātha).”¹⁰⁵ The second inscription is found in the Navamuni cave refers of Udyota Keśarī issuing in his eighteenth year of reign refers to Khalla Subhacandra as “the disciple of the lord of the illustrious, the *ācārya* of the Deśigaṇa derived from Graha-kula, Kulacandra, belonging to the illustrious Ārya Saṁgha.”¹⁰⁶ The bearing of the inscriptions is very significant showing that Khaṇḍagiri again became the centre of the Jaina activities in the eleventh century AD at the time of the Śaiva king Udyota Keśarī.

The discovery of a large number of Jaina icons primarily representing the *tīrthaṅkaras* in the eighth to eleventh centuries AD testifies the revival of Jainism in Orissa. Images of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* are found in Jajpur, Nandanpur, and in Bhairava-Sinhapura of Koraput district. In the Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Purī districts we have the icons of Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Of these an image of Ambikā and that of Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra in one stela are preserved in the British Museum, while another, a standing bronze of Ādinātha in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹⁰⁷ In the Orissa State Museum there are four beautiful images of the *tīrthaṅkaras* from the village Charampa in the Balasore district and some of them have a number of double concave marks on their bodies. The Jaina temple at Cuttack has many rare specimens of *tīrthaṅkaras* of mediaeval period as objects of devotion. Among them the representation of Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra on a single slab and a wonderful slab containing Ṛṣabhanātha in *padmāsana* pose being attended by Bharata and Bahuvalī along with more than a hundred miniature standing figures, are of great iconographic interest.¹⁰⁸

It is, however, to be noted that inspite of the rise of the Śaivas, the Jainas continued to have survived without any fear of persecution from the Brāhmanical religious system. K.C. Pāṇigrahi observes that the Śaivas do not seem to have developed an antagonism towards Jainism as is evident from the fact that they have sometimes allowed the Jaina images to be carved on their temples. The Śaiva temple of Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara has thus a number

of miniature Jaina icons on the outer face of its octagonal compound wall.¹⁰⁹

The two miniature *Caityas* containing *tīrthankaras* in their sides resemble the *Caitya* described by N.N. Vasu from Boḍasāhi in Mayurbhanja district. Jaina images are to be found in the Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple and inside the Mātṛkā group of temples in Jajpur in the Cuttack district. Pārśvanātha is being worshipped as Ananta Vāsudeva in a temple at Nārāyaṇa Chowk of the town. The image of Śāntinātha ($32'' \times 16\frac{1}{2}''$) of the Mātṛkā temple with trilinear umbrella overhead is in the *kāyotsarga*-pose. The image is flanked by twenty-four miniature *tīrthankaras* on its side and two *caurī*-bearers, while at the top we find the usual *lāñchana*, two *kalasas* on one side and another *kalasa* and a devotee on the other side. Another image of Śāntinātha ($45'' \times 22\frac{1}{2}''$) inside the compound of the Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple is equally interesting to note. The standing image is surrounded by eight planets carved four each on the two sides, the ninth planet Ketu being absent. The image is attended upon by two *caurī*-bearers and overhead there are two flying Vidyādhara.

But Jainism did not last long and the subsequent decline of Jainism in Orissa is most probably due to the increasing hold of Vaiṣṇavism in general and of Jagannātha worship in particular. According to some scholars the Jaina influence was so deep rooted in the religious life of this region that even in the composition of the Jagannātha cult its influence is clearly visible. The worship of the trident as a sacred symbol and the 'all pervading conception of three into one', according to scholars, essentially and originally belonged to Jainism. The epithet "Nātha" of Jagannātha is a characteristic title of Jainism and the figure of Jagannātha is only a synthesis of the Jaina *Baddhamāṅgala* and *Nandipada*. The *Jñāna-siddhi* of Indrabhūti mentions Lord Jagannātha as being worshipped by all the Jains. In fact, the absorption of Jainism into the Hindu religious fold is one of the reasons that paved the way for its decay. "This Jagannātha cult, . . . is in reality an amalgam of different cults and religions, and even of the practices and faiths followed by the primitive tribes. There was therefore a grand experiment in the field of religion in this eastern coast of India to reduce heterogeneity to a sort of homogeneity. The religious system, thus evolved, still prevails in Orissa without much change."¹¹⁰

Like the Buddhists the Jainas too had their *stūpas* with the usual architectural decorations; but these architectural specimens are very few in eastern India. The worship of the foot-prints of *tīrthaṅkaras* and preceptors is quite in vogue with the Jainas; their places of pilgrimage like Paresnath Hill in Bihar are all marked with them. The worship of idols is a part and parcel of Jainism, almost from the beginning. The Jaina temples contain statues of *tīrthaṅkaras*, etc., at times more than one. Digambaras worship nude images; the question of nudity does not arise if the statues are in a seated posture, the idols as such have no dress and decorations, shown in carving; however, the Śvetāmbaras, now-a-days, decorate them. Both the sects worshipped the *tīrthaṅkaras* and many other gods and goddesses. The Jaina sculptures belonging to the period from AD 600 to 1000 mostly contain the figures of the *tīrthaṅkaras* with the attendants, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, and the Dikpālas. The introduction of the twenty-four Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs as attendant of the *tīrthaṅkaras* was a new development to Jaina iconography in the eighth-ninth century AD.

Later on, the nine planets on two sides of a *tīrthaṅkara* came to be figured. The latter practice was first developed in the eastern school of medieval art.¹¹¹

We have also the figures of the mothers of the twenty-four *Jinas* each with a child on her lap. All these sculptures are mostly in bronze or stone. On the basis of a study of these Jaina icons U.P. Shah tries to find out the geographical distribution of both the sects:

“In the period, the Jainas, especially the Digambaras, had strongholds in the whole of Central India, while in the west the Śvetāmbaras were growing stronger. South of Bhr̥gukaccha (Broach), the Digambaras had an establishment at Navasari while in the Khandesh, M.P., and the Deccan, the Śvetāmbaras were gradually diminishing in number. In the east, in Bihar and Orissa, Digambara Jainism was still popular whereas in Bengal it was already on the decline.”¹¹²

Lack of royal patronage in the later part of our period may also be considered as one of the reasons for the decline of Jainism in this part of India. Of course, the discovery of a large number of archaeological remnants of the Jainas in eastern India in the eighth-ninth centuries onwards demonstrates the revival of the faith for the time being but it did not last long. It may not be

unlikely to assume that this was to a great extent conducted with the influence of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were staunch followers and great patrons of Jainism. From the Sanjan Copperplate of Amoghavarṣa¹¹³ we come to know that Govinda III conquered the kingdoms of Kośala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Ḍahala and Oḍṛaka. He extended his empire upto the Himalayas. The Nilgund stone inscription of the same king records that Amoghavarṣa was worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha.¹¹⁴ The Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony continued in this part till the time of Kṛṣṇa III. In the Deoli Grant of Kṛṣṇa-III, Kṛṣṇa-II is said to have been worshipped by the Aṅgas, Magadhas and others.¹¹⁵ On the basis of a copperplate grant at a much later date (AD 1076) it is proved that there was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa principality in Orissa. About the plate D.C. Sircar observes: "The Rāṣṭrakūṭa copperplate inscription in question was found from a village near Bāṅgarh in the Sambalpur district. It was issued in the year 56 from Vāgharākotṭa by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of feudatory rank named Parāchakraśālyā who was the son of Dha (Dhva)ṁsaka and the grandson of Rāṇaka Chāmaravigraha."¹¹⁶ It is probable that after their invasion the Rāṣṭrakūṭas left some of the adventurers in their army to carve out small principalities in Orissa.¹¹⁷ They followed Jainism as their religion and revived its existence for sometimes.

While mentioning various other reasons for the decline of Jainism in India in general it may be noted that in Jainism, we have also a number of deities assimilated in the pantheon which bear a close similarity with some of the divinities in Brāhmaṇical faith. These deities are no doubt later absorptions in the sect from orthodox Hinduism with modified attributes and iconography. But they have an important place in the hierarchy of gods in Jainism with definite and important functions assigned to them. Hindu gods are usually portrayed in the Jaina temples in the form of small figures before the portrayals of *tīrthaṅkaras* and *siddhas*. Thus, while in Jainism the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, from the highest object of worship with the *Śāsana-devatās*, showing important and interesting iconography for each one of them with a religious legend mostly forming the background, there are others who partaking of the character of Yakṣas and divinities have been accepted as popular deities in Jainism.¹¹⁸ Earlier we have mentioned that every *tīrthaṅkaras* has his own goddess-messenger, connecting him with the world of the mortals. Goddess Padmāvatī is thus associat-

ed with Pārśva, Ambikā with Neminātha, etc. These deities are referred to in a number of Jaina texts, but their functions are described elaborately in the texts of the Digambaras, who have secret texts devoted to these deities, wherein their forms, names, symbols, weapons, etc., are described.¹¹⁹ Even the Jainas agree with the Brāhmaṇas alone in ascetic self-torture, which Buddhism vehemently opposes. Not only to these, the Jainas even observed, of course, in the later period, festivals and fasts which are distinctly Hindu festivals, viz., Gaṇeśa-caturthī, Ananta-caturdaśī, Dīvālī, Rakṣābandhana, etc.¹²⁰ With the fusion of some of these Brāhmaṇical traditions into it, Jainism gradually lost its followers and it became ultimately a religion of few mercantile families of western and southern India. In other states their number is negligible in comparison to other major sects.

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¹*Jaina Journal*, April, 1969, pp. 148ff.

²*Supra*, the table of the *tīrthaṅkaras*, pp. 22-25.

³B C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*.

⁴*AN*, 3.74.

⁵*Uttarādhya-sutta*, ch. XX.

⁶*Aupapātika-sūtra*, 30.

⁷*Parīṣiṣṭa-parvan*, VI, 34.

⁸*Ibid.*, V, 208.

⁹V.A. Smith, *EHI*, p. 154.

¹⁰V.A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p. 379.

¹¹R.G. Basak, *Aśokan Inscriptions*, Pillar Edict VII, pp. 111-12.

¹²*Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, XI, pp. 89ff.

¹³*Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya*, III, *gāthās*, 3285-89ff, 917-21.

¹⁴*All India Oriental Conference*, XXVI, 1972.

¹⁵*JRAS*, 1908, p. 852.

¹⁶The Ānava kingdom, the nucleus of which was Āṅga, became divided into five kingdoms, said to have been named after five sons of king Bali. Pargiter opines that the Ānavas held all East Bihar, Bengal proper and Orissa comprising the kingdoms of Āṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kalinga (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 293). All these people were belonged to the same community. Ethnographically they were connected with the Kalingas and other peoples of the plains of Bengal (*Cambridge History of India*, p. 534).

¹⁷B C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 176.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, *HGAI*, pp. 205, 214ff.

¹⁹*Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 135.

²⁰C.J. Shah, op. cit., p. 93.

²¹*Uvāsagadasāo* (ed., Hoernle), p. 2 fn.

²²Beglar, *ASI*, vol. III; Qureshi, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, see Bhagalpur section.

²³*ASI, AR*, 1905-6, pp. 25-26.

²⁴*ASI*, I, pp. 55-56; XVI, p. 6; B.C. Law, *HAGI*, p. 265.

²⁵*Jaina-sūtras*, part I, Introduction, XI.

²⁶B. C. Law, *Rajagrha in Ancient Literature*, *MA SI*, no. 58.

²⁷*ASI, AR*, I 05-6, p. 98.

²⁸*ASI, AR*, 1925-26, pp. 125ff.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1905-6, p. 98, fn. 1; 1925-26, pp. 125ff.

³⁰*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I.35.

³¹*Mahāvastu*, III.56.

³²Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 537.

³³U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 17-18.

³⁴In the Buddhist Tantric terminology the word *Vajra* signifies 'holy'; so *Vajrabhūmi* means holyland. Sarat Chandra Das in his *Autobiography* writes: "I learnt the meaning of the following names: Darjeeling (a purely Tibetan name formed of two words, *Dorje*, meaning thunder or *Vajra*; and *ling*, land or *Bhūmi*) signifying 'the thunder-land' or *Vajra-Bhūmi*." *Indian Studies: Past and Present*, IX, 1967-68, p. 259, fn. 4.

³⁵N.L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*.

³⁶*Jaina Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, p. 717; C.J. Shah, op. cit., p. 26.

³⁷*ASI*, p. 74; XVI, p. 118; B.C. Law, *HGAI*, p. 116.

³⁸P.C. Nahar, *Tīrthapāvāpurī* (1925); *ASI, Reports*, vols. VIII & XI; B.C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 210.

³⁹Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 72.

⁴⁰U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 13.

⁴¹*JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 130-32, Pls. I-IV. Stylistically this image is analogous to the mutilated red stone statues from Harappa (J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, Pl. X, a-d). The Harappan style is also found on a bronze statue of Pārśvanātha belonging to the first century BC which is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The provenance of this statue is unknown. U.P. Shah, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

⁴²N. Kumar, *Images of Patna*, 1971, pp. 18-19.

⁴³*JBORS*, XXV.2, pp. 120ff.

⁴⁴*JJ*, 1969, April, pp. 132ff. Similar treatment had been made by the people of Rāḍha in North Bengal.

⁴⁵O' Malley, *District Gazetteer of Singhbhum*, 1906.

⁴⁶D.R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, p. 356.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 347-49.

⁴⁸*Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer*, 1917, p. 201; *ASI Report*, 1920-21, p. 35; D.R. Patil (*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, p. 659) gives a list of places for the Jaina temples.

⁴⁹The *Upāśrayas* 'are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks and nuns. An *upāśraya* is a large bare hall without bathrooms and cooking places furnished only with wooden beds'. Stevenson, *Modern Jainism*, p. 38.

⁵⁰According to *Bh. dravāhu-carita* by Ratnanandī, *Bṛhat-Kathākośa* by Hariṣeṇa and *Rājavalī* by Devacandra. Bhadravāhu, the author of the *Kalpa-sūtra*, was a man of Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal; and Jambusvāmī who assisted the

reading of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, the first authentic scripture of the rituals, lived the closing days of his life at Devikoṭa in Puṇḍravardhana. K.M. Sen, *Cinmaya-Vaṅga*, pp. 17-32; P.C. Banerjee, *Bāṅgālāra-Purāṇṛta*, pp. 129-30.

⁵¹Jacobi, *Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 79.

⁵²Hunter, III, 49, 51; D.R. Bhandarkar, *ABORI*, XII, 104ff.

⁵³*Mbh.*, II, 30; *HB* (Dacca), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴*JASB (NS)*, XXVIII, p. 125.

⁵⁵*Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), XXVIII, *Vitūśakāvadāna*, p. 427.

⁵⁶R.D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 72.

⁵⁷On the site of this Jaina *vihāra* was later on constructed a Buddhist monument of outstanding plan and design which has been laid bare by excavation at Paharpur (K.N. Dikshit, *Paharpur*, p. 7). According to Dikshit, the great temple with its terraces and the paved platform in the centre was inspired by the symbolic construction of a Jaina shrine conforming to the architectonic type of a *Caumukha*. "In this connection" as pointed out by S.K. Saraswati, "we should also take into account a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma, which may be described as an adaptation of *Caumukha* shrines of the Jainas". *HB* (Dacca), p. 507.

⁵⁸*EI*, XX, pp. 59ff. The earliest available Jaina image in Bengal possibly hails from the ruins of Candraketugarh. It is a standing headless naked image of the Gupta period.—N.R. Ray, *Baṅgalir Itihāsa*, p. 966, fig. 31.

⁵⁹From the description of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (St. Julien, p. 224), who calls them *Li-hi*, it appears that they were still faithful to their principles in the beginning of seventh century AD. The *Li-hi* (Nirgranthas) distinguishes themselves by leaving their bodies naked and pulling out their hair. Their skin is all cracked, their feet are hard and chapped like rotting trees that one sees near rivers'. Bühler, *Indian Sects of the Jainas*, p. 2, fn. 2.

⁶⁰Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 184.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶²*HB* (Dacca), p. 411, fn. 3.

⁶³*VRS Report*, 1932-34, pp. 17-19, pl. III.

⁶⁴It is to be noted that these *Lāñchanas* do not tally exactly with the list given by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* in cases of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha and Anantanātha (S.K. Saraswati, *JASB (NS)*, XXVIII, p. 193). The *lāñchanas* as given by Hemachandra are *Krauñca* (heron), *Svastika*, and falcon instead of the animal, lotus and boar as shown in the sculpture.

⁶⁵*ASI*, 1929-30, p. 195.

⁶⁶*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no. 2, 1958, p. 132.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

⁶⁸Several other Rṣabhanātha images have been noted from other parts of Bengal of which one was described by K.D. Dutta in the *VRS Monographs*, no. 3, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹*VSP Cat.*, 47-48, pl. X; *HB* (Dacca), p. 465, pl. XIX, 48.

⁷⁰*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no. 2, 1958, p. 132, pl. III-B.

⁷¹*JJ*, April, 1969, p. 162.

⁷²*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no. 2, 1958, pp. 133-34.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 134, pl. X.

⁷⁴ASI Report, 1972-73, vol. VIII; JJ, April, 1969, pp. 163-64.

⁷⁵Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Prayāsi*, 1340, Bhādra, *Bāṅkurāra Mandira*, pp. 68ff.

⁷⁶JJ, April, 1969, pp. 164-65.

⁷⁷HB (Dacca), p. 465.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 465, pl. XIX, 49.

⁷⁹This was probably collected from Bengal, JJ, April, 1969, p. 165.

⁸⁰V.A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p. 380.

⁸¹Mbh., XII.4 3.

⁸²H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 79.

⁸³C.J. Shah, op. cit., pp. 154-55.

⁸⁴H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 78.

⁸⁵SBE, XLV.

⁸⁶R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, I, pp. 61.

It may be noted that a somewhat late text (*Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, V, 55, 501f) mentions that Mahāvira had visited Tosali (in Orissa) more than once and the king of that place had tied Mahāvira with chords seven times.

⁸⁷JBORS, III, pp. 425ff.

⁸⁸SI, pp. 206ff.

⁸⁹H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 206ff; S. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, pp. 35ff, 56ff.

⁹⁰H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 206.

⁹¹K.P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, pp. 425ff; K.P. Jayaswal & R.D. Banerjee, *EI*, XX, pp. 72ff; B.M. Barua (*IHQ*, XIV, 1938, pp. 259ff) reads it as such—*Nanda-rāja-jitam ka Kaliṅga-jana-sanniveśam*.

⁹²EI, XX, pp. 72ff.

⁹³N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*.

⁹⁴The venerable *Pañca-parameṣṭhin* of Jainism are: *Arhat* or *Tirthaṅkara*, *Siddha*, *Ācārya*, *Upādhyāya* and *Sādhu*.

⁹⁵*IHQ*, XXVII, 1951, pp. 103-4.

⁹⁶Charles Louis Fabri, *History of the Art of Orissa*, p. 18.

⁹⁷*Ancient India*, no. 5, p. 97.

A close scrutiny of some of the epigraphic records (*Lüder's List*, nos. 1348-53) discloses the existence of various Jaina devotees. Inscription no. 1348 speaks of a prince called Vadhuka who was a Jaina votary. Besides, the people of different categories, a servant (*pādamūlika*) called Kusuma is also said to have made donation (no. 1344) for the betterment of the faith.

⁹⁸Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, p. 208.

⁹⁹EI, XXIX, pp. 38ff.

¹⁰⁰*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1954-55, p. 29.

¹⁰¹D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 225.

¹⁰²*Prācīvalley Arch. Sur. Report*, Orissa State Arch., Bhuvaneshwar, 1975, p. 53.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰⁴Kumārāparvata is mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription as Kumāri-parvata. This mountain was known to Hariṣeṇa (AD 931) as Kumaragiri of Odraviṣaya.—*Bṛhat-Kathakośa*, 61.67.

¹⁰⁵EI, XIII, p. 167.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰⁷U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁸*JJ*, April, 1969, p. 173.

¹⁰⁹K.C. Pāṇigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneśvara*, p. 93, fig. 60.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 262.

¹¹¹The planets were generally carved on the pedestal of a *tīrthaṅkara* image in the western school.

¹¹²U.P. Shah, op.cit., pp. 17ff.

¹¹³*EI*, XVIII, p. 253.

¹¹⁴*EI*, VI, p. 103.

¹¹⁵*EI*, V, p. 193.

¹¹⁶K.C. Pāṇigrahi, op. cit., p. 248, fn. 1.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 248.

¹¹⁸*IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 332ff.

¹¹⁹*Prācī-Jyoti*, December, 1963, p. 35.

¹²⁰V A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p. 100; Mention may be made in this connection that in north and west India, merging of Hindu and Jaina communities was especially active. Here in the edifice of many Jaina castes, there are groups, professing Viṣṇuism, and in the edifice of many Hindu castes, there are components which are registered as Jainas.

APPENDIX

On the Ājīvikas

THE role played by the Ājīvikas in the history of the heterodox religious systems, in general, and Jainism, in particular, is unique as well as significant in many respect. It has already been brought into light¹ that all the *avaidika* teachers belonged to the same age and the same region and they responded and reacted in their respective ways which were more or less similar to the same stimuli due to stupendous socio-political and religious transformation. It is, thus, no wonder that the entire development of religion and philosophy in this period in the Gangetic Valley region, from Upaniṣadic gnosis to complete materialism, was but a reflection of the non-Aryan reaction to the Aryan sacrificial system and to the rigid Aryan social order of the four *varṇas*.² In course of time these two distinct dominant traditions gave rise to innumerable cross-currents, sometimes completely losing their separate identity, and at other times merging in a confluence, only to re-emerge again in a new form and dimension, and flow in opposite directions. The religious history of India is, in fact, the history of the mutual influence of these two great traditions that resulted in the transformation of the Vedic religion of the Indo-Aryans into modern Hinduism.

While writing on the relationship between the Ājīvikas and the Jains, Jacobi points out that “the greatest influence on the development of Mahāvira’s doctrines, I believe, must be ascribed to Gośāla, the son of Makkhali.”³ To have a proper understanding of the faith a brief survey on the origin and early history of the school and its organisation has been taken into consideration in the following.

The word Ājīvika seems to have derived from *Ājīviya* which means one who follows some rules with regard to one’s liveli-

hood.⁴ The Buddhist texts speak of *Samyagājīva* as one of the eight paths to be followed by monks. It leads scholars to presume that a class of mendicants who lived initially by a profession as a means of livelihood was gradually known as Ājīviya.

B.M. Barua suggests a broad connotation of the term. It “is used in Indian Literature—

- (i) in its widest sense to denote the *Parivrājakas* or Wanderers as distinguished from the *Tāpasas* or hermits;
- (ii) in its narrower sense to denote the religious orders represented by the five *tīrthaṅkaras*, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gośāla and the rest, considered heretics by the Buddhists; and
- (iii) in its narrowest sense to denote the disciples and followers of Makkhali or Maṅkhaliputta Gośāla.”⁵

According to Hoernle the word Ājīvika or Ājīvaka is derived from the term *Ājīva* which means “the mode of life, or profession, of any particular class of people, whether they live as householders . . . or as religious mendicants.”⁶

The history of the Ājīvikas is very much entangled with the contribution and doctrines of Gośāla who is designated by the term Maṅkhaliputra, i.e., son of Maṅkhali. His name is spelt variously—Makkhali Gośāla in Pāli, Maskarin in Sanskrit, Maṅkhaliputta Gośāla in Ardha-Magadhī, and Maṅkali in Tamil.

The term ‘Maṅkhalivta’, as applied to Gośāla means the profession of exhibiting pictures for collecting alms.⁷ Hoernle placed much emphasis on the term ‘Makkhali’ in connection with the origin of the Ājīvikas. “It describes Gośāla as having originally belonged to the Maṅkhali or Maskarin class of religious mendicants . . . The Maskarin, as a rule, led a solitary life and the adoption of this manner of life was open to very grave abuses. Hence some men of commanding personality conceived the task of regulating the tendency (to abuses) . . . by organizing the mendicants into communities governed by strict rule of conduct.”⁸

Pāṇini refers to Maskarin as a *Parivrājaka*.⁹ The word, as we have already pointed out, means a mendicant bearing a staff, of whatever class or order. This historical significance of the word is well explained in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali while explains the

term remarks that “this kind of wandering mendicant (Parivrājaka) was called Maskarin not so much because he carried a staff as because he professed to have renounced all activities.”¹⁰ The *Arthaśāstra*¹¹ speaks of the sect along with other heretical sects, like the Śākyas (the Buddhists); but no mention is made of the Nirgranthas or Jainas showing that the Ājīvikas were more influential and powerful or worthy of support than those of the Jainas, at least, during the time of the Mauryas.

It is not easy to trace the entire course of history and its transformation since the inception of this school of thought with any great certainty. But it is possible to observe the moments of mutual impacts and consequent adjustments among the different heretical schools as reflected in the contemporary literatures, both heretical and Brāhmaṇical, as well as archaeological objects like epigraphy, icons, etc.

The Ājīvikas emerged as an independent heretical sect in eastern India as early as the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. The first Ājīvika whom Buddha met and conversed was Upaka.¹² It is stated that Buddha in course of his journey towards Sāranātha (near Benaras, U.P.) for expressing his experience of ‘Release’ *vis-a-vis* preaching his *Dharma* to the *Pañcavagīya* ascetic had come into contact with the noted Ājīvika ascetic apparently near Gaya. Upaka is said to have encountered with the Buddha in connection with latter’s enlightenment as well as Buddha’s claim of *Jina-hood*.¹³ “If the legend of Upaka be accepted” as agreed by A.L. Basham, “it must be taken to imply that Ājīvika mendicants roamed the roads of Magadha at least a generation before the commencement of Gośāla’s ministry.”¹⁴

In fact, all these are in a conjectural stage. The history of the beginning of the Ājīvikas like that of the Jainas is shrouded in many confusions and complications. Of course, a viable chronology of the history and development of the sect with considerable amount of certainty can be worked out after Gośāla; but the Pāli texts never depict Gośāla as the founder of the sect.¹⁵ Several teachers like Nanda Vaccha,¹⁶ Kisa Sankicca¹⁷ and Paṇḍuputta¹⁸ are mentioned in the Pāli canon and it appears that at least the first two were represented as important personalities in the field of contemporary religion and philosophy.¹⁹ Pūraṇa Kassapa, as mentioned earlier,²⁰ had a great difference for these two teachers and also Gośāla,²¹ as he includes them in the sixth or the purest type

(*paramasukhā-bhijātas*) of men. Elsewhere Buddha²² declares that although the Ājīvikas had existed for a long time, they had only three reputed teachers, viz., Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca and Makkhali Gośāla. It evidently shows that Ājīvikism was an established and well organised school of philosophy at the time of Buddha, and Gośāla was only one of the distinguished teacher of the school. His contribution towards the development of this religious sect and its organisation made him reputed apparently to the extent of its founder.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Ājīvikas, like the *tīrthāṅkara* conception of the Jainas, believes in a succession of ascetic teachers of the same order of Gośāla who is the eighth Ājīvika teacher. The *Bhagavatī-sūtra*²³ speaks of the following seven “Ājīvika teachers whose spiritual mantle had fallen upon his (Gośāla’s) shoulders.”²⁴

- (1) Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya
- (2) Eṇejjaga (Skt. Ṛṇaṇjaya)
- (3) Mallarāma
- (4) Maṇḍiya
- (5) Roha
- (6) Bhāraddāi (Skt. Bharadvāja)
- (7) Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta

Due to paucity of any positive evidences it is rather hazardous to ascertain the historicity of the entire list of successive teachers of the Ājīvika order prior to Gośāla. A.L. Basham argues that “the immediate predecessor of Gośāla, Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta, is distinguished by a *gotra* name or patronymic, as Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇa, in whose body the migrant soul was originally born; but the other five names are given without patronymics.”²⁵ This leads Basham to conclude that the first and the seventh were ‘real’, while the others seem to have been ‘shadowy figures’.²⁶ It is difficult to share the logic followed by Basham. On the other hand, it may be argued that since the list has been prepared by the staunch enemies of the Ājīvikas, there is, no doubt, about its genuineness. Secondly, it is not expected from the Jaina writer who composed *Bhagavatī-sūtra* to have an exhaustive record of the *vitae* of the personnel of their hostile camp. Thirdly, the account further shows that “in this . . . enumeration . . . there is preserved a

genealogical succession of seven Ājīvika leaders, together with a list of . . . successive geographical centres of their activities,"²⁷ including the period of their missionary life. According to the list, Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya, the first of the line, was associated with Rājagrha and had preached for twenty-two years. This leads the claim of Udāi as the founder of Ājīvika school in the celebrated Rājagrha in Bihar. The geographical location surrounded by the natural bulworks was congenial for the naked ascetics to practise their religion undisturbed.

After Udāi, Eṇējaga who was associated with the town Uddanḍapura (possibly somewhere in eastern India) had preached for twenty-one years. The third teachers, Mallarāma who spent his missionary life at Campā and taught the principles of the Ājīvika religion for twenty years. Maṇḍiya the fourth teacher was connected with Vārāṇasī covering a total period of nineteen years in missionary life. Roha selected the town Ālabhiyā (Āḷovī of the Pāli texts), near Śrāvastī, for preaching his religion for eighteen years. The last two were Bharadvāja and his successor Ajjuṇa Goyamaputta covering seventeen and sixteen years respectively possibly in the region of Śrāvastī.

In fact, there are several other *Jātaka* legends showing evidently the antiquity and prevalence of the Ājīvikas before Gośāla.²⁸ Pāṇini speaks of the Ājīvikas. Of course, the system was not in an organised form in this period. Gośāla moulded it into an organised and metaphysical form and made it popular in the realm of contemporary religious field. And by the time of the Mauryas as we shall see later on it included in the catalogue of the well organised and matured religious systems in India.²⁹

Gośāla is said to have born near Śrāvastī, and left home for some unknown reason and became a homeless wanderer. It appears from the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* that Gośāla in his early career accepted the professional life of his father and, at the same time, he developed some sort of repugnance against worldly life. In his first meeting with Mahāvīra in a weaver's workshop (*tantuvāyaśālā*) at Nālandā, he already attained the third year of asceticism.³⁰ Gośāla was impressed with the power of asceticism of Mahāvīra and requested to allow him to be his pupil; but Mahāvīra did not at first oblige by initiating Gośāla as his disciple. In his second thought Mahāvīra accepted Gośāla's request at a place called Kollaga near Nālandā.³¹

Gośāla's career as a wanderer covers about twenty-four years, of which the first six he spent at Paṇiyabhūmi together with Mahāvira. He parted company with the latter on account of doctrinal differences, and went to Śrāvastī, where he attained *Jina-hood* and became the leader of the Ājīvika sect.³² The reason behind the separation of these two religious personalities represents two schools of ideas, although originally they belonged to the same group. Subsequently a bitter hostility developed between these two schools; but in some cases of their doctrines and tenets they have many points in common. And there is no denying the fact that Jainism owed in many respect to the doctrines propounded by the Ājīvika leader. Gośāla.³³

The Ājīvikas, like the Buddhists and the Jainas, formed an organised sect of religious body, a *Samgha*, with a corporated and social life. The communal life of the Ājīvikas is known from the Ājīviya *Sabhā* at the town of Polāsapura. The *Uvāsaga Dasāo*³⁴ states that Gośāla went to this *Sabhā*, attended by the Ājīviya *Samgha* and surrendered his begging bowl (*bhaṇḍaganikkhevam kareī*). Again, the term *Ājīvika-seyyā* indicates the settlement of the Ājīvikas in a monastery or *vihāra*.³⁵ Due to the absence of any literature meant for the Ājīvikas exclusively it is not possible to sketch any rules and regulations stipulated to the Ājīvika monks during their stay in the *vihāra*. Still some ideas may be gathered from the scattered references to them in the Jaina and Buddhist texts. Regarding the induction into the Ājīvika order an indication of the processes of initiation is stated in the *Tittira Jātaka*.³⁶ It speaks of an unfortunate false ascetic who was prosecuted in the lion's court by a tiger and who was described as one having "burnt his hand by grasping a lump."³⁷ It is explained in the commentary: "At the time of his going forth as an Ājīvika his hands were burnt by grasping a heated lump" (*Ājīvika-pabbajjam-pabbajjita-kāla uṇha-piṇḍa-paṭiggahayena hatti'āpikir'assa dadḍhā*).³⁸ An ascetic Guṇa is described in the *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*³⁹ as "an ignorant, naked, wretched and blindly foolish Ājīvika" (*Ajānantam nagga-bhoggam nissīṭkam andha-bālam Ājīvikam*). The term '*nagga-bhoggam*' is interpreted as 'one whose goods are nakedness' in the Pāli-English Dictionary, but the word, as aptly suggested by A.L. Basham, would be taken to mean 'one naked and crippled.'⁴⁰ The Ājīvikas at the stage of initiation seem to have made themselves eligible to bear out these painful ordeals. One has to bear up all

these intolerable and difficult practices before going to be accommodated in the organisation.

Children were not debarred to get entry into the order provided they showed their forbearance in accepting various kinds and/or degrees of penances. A vivid description of an Ājīvika, named Jambuka while still a child, is to be found in the *Dhammapada* commentary.⁴¹ It is stated that the boy Jambuka was handed by his parents to a group of Ājīvika ascetics and requested them for his initiation into their order. The boy was placed in a pit on which planks were set and the Ājīvikas, seated on the plants, pulled out his hair with a piece of the rib of a palm-leaf (*gala-ppamāṇe avāṭe thapetvā, dvinnam jattūnam upari padarāṇi datvā, tesam upari nisīditvā, ta'atthi-khaṇḍena kesa luṁcīṃsu*).⁴² The custom of practising severe penances, and pulling the hairs from their heads was prevalent among the early Ājīvikas is attested by a famous Tamil Śaivite text of the thirteenth century AD, *Civaññāṇa-citt'yār* written by Aruṇandi Śivācārya.⁴³

The Ājīvikas were known as the followers of severe penance to the people of the Far East. In the Chinese and Japanese Buddhist literatures the *Ashibikas* (i.e. Ājīvikas)⁴⁴ are placed together with the *Nikendabtras* or Nirgranthas. "They both hold that the penalty for a sinful life must sooner or later be paid and since it is impossible to escape from it, it is better that it be paid as soon as possible so that the life to come may be free for enjoyment. Thus their practices were ascetic-fasting silence immovability and the burying of themselves upto the neck were their expressions of penance."⁴⁵ Of course, there are several other evidences depicting the Ājīvikas with a pile of matted locks.⁴⁶ Even Gośāla is said to have torn out his beard in his last delirium. Upaka and two other Ājīvikas are depicted at Borobudur with carefully set hair.⁴⁷ In fact, the identification cannot be taken as final and conclusive. What is important to note is that "the Ājīvikas were not always tonsured or clean-shaven. The extraction of the hair by the roots, like the grasping of the heated lump, was probably an ordeal intended to render the novice oblivious to physical pain, and to test his resolution, and, as with the Jainas,⁴⁸ was not usually repeated after initiation, or was only repeated at distant intervals."⁴⁹

The inclusion of the female within the organisation of the Ājīvikas was permissible. This can easily be deduced from the fact that the Ājīvikas while describing the six-fold classification of

humanity, according to their psychic colour, ordains the permission of women with equal status to enter into the Ājīvika order.⁵⁰ How far constructive and positive role they played for the organisation cannot be estimated due to lack of evidences.

The order, like Jainism and Buddhism, was also open to members of all classes of the society, irrespective of any caste, colour and status. The *Mahāvamśa* commentary⁵¹ refers to one Janāsana, a Kulūpaga Ājīvika in the court of Bindusāra who is said to have been of Brāhmaṇa family. Pāṇḍuputta, an well respected member of the order, was the son of a wagon-maker,⁵² an occupation of the lower graded people.⁵³ The *Vinaya-piṭaka*⁵⁴ speaks of one unnamed Mahamātta who was a follower of the Ājīvikas. Another rich and earnest disciple from Śrāvastī was Ayampula who visited Gośāla during his last delirium.⁵⁵ Trading and mercantile communities seem to have joined to this faith profusely. Halāhalā the great mentor of Gośāla belonged to the potter community. Similarly, Saddālaputta an affluent member of the potter community at Polāsapura supported for the organisation of the Ājīvika sect.

The *Bhagavatī-sūtra*⁵⁶ depicts twelve Ājīvika laymen who maintained themselves on the principle of non-violence.⁵⁷ They regarded Gośāla as god, attended their parents and abstained from taking five fruits, viz., *udumbara*, *vaṭa* (banyan), *vora* (jujube), *satara* (añjira) and *pilaṅkhu* and also from onion, garlic and bulbous roots. “The Ājīvikas” as suggested by A.L. Basham, “like the Buddhists and the Jainas, were believers in *ahimsā*, and usually vegetarians.”⁵⁸

The Ājīvikas performed several extremist type of austerities which sometimes lead to put an end of the life. The description of some of the horrible penances would not be irrelevant in this connection. Rigid penances like raising his hands high in the sunshine, rejection of six consecutive meals, living on mere beans or rice-gruel (*kulmāṣa*) and on one sip of water in the beginning of asceticism, were performed by Gośāla for acquiring the power of fiery energy at the end of six months.⁵⁹ The severity of asceticism of the Ājīvika monks is also exhibited in the process and practices of the following types of penances:⁶⁰

- (i) *Ukkuṭikappadhāna*—exerting themselves in a squatting posture;
- (ii) *Vagguli-vata*—the bat-penance, i.e. swinging in the air like

bats;

- (iii) *Kaṇṭaka-ppasaya*—lying on a bed of thorns; and
- (iv) *Pañca-tapana*—the penance of five fires.

The continuity of these acts of self-mortification even today is to be found among the ascetics of other religious systems. These are still in practice in the remote villages of eastern India in connection with the annual worship of *Dharma* or the worship of Śiva in the forms of Caraka, Gājana, Gambhīra, etc. These horrible and piercing kinds of penances are basically the customs of the indigenous non-Aryan people having magico-religious attributes.⁶¹

The Ājivika mendicants may, according to their mode of begging and/or performance of penance, be grouped in the following categories:⁶²

- (i) *Gharasamudāṇiyā*—those who begged food at every house;
- (ii) *Dugharantariyā*—those who begged food at every third house;
- (iii) *Tigharantariyā*—those who begged at every fourth house;
- (iv) *Sattaḡharantariyā*—those who begged at every eighth house;
- (v) *Uppala-beṇṭiyā*—who, according to Abhayadeva's commentary, under a special vow employed lotus stalks in begging (*utpala-vṛṇṭāṇi niyama-viśeṣād grāhyatayā bhaikṣatvena yeṣāṃ santite utpalavṛṇṭikāḥ*);⁶³
- (vi) *Vijja-antariyā*—those who do not accept alms if there is a flash of lightning;
- (vii) *Uṭṭiyā-samaṇā*—those ascetics who entered large earthen vessels for performing the highest penance (*Uṣṭrikā mahā-mṛṇmayo bhājana-viśeṣas. Tatra praviṣṭā ye śrāmyanti tapasyant'īti uṣṭrikāśramaṇāḥ*).⁶⁴

It is, in fact, no exaggeration to presume the influence and spread of the Ājivika ascetic in Indian religion in general and monasticism in particular. Their organisational infrastructure was sound and solid. The mention of different categories of ascetics makes it clear the existence of a well knit organisation of the system. Another interesting point emanating from the prevalence of various kinds of ascetics is the gradation of the ascetics. The

ascetics of the last category undoubtedly held an important and prime position, especially for their adherence to a severe form of penance when they entered large earthen vessels. Evidences are not lacking relating to the variation of different types and gradations of austerities performed, possibly by different ascetics according to their requirements in various stages.

There is no denying the fact that the Ājīvikas stressed much emphasis on the performance of severe austerities and moral discipline. The *Sthānāṅga-sūtra* mentions that the Ājīvikas practise four kinds of austerities, viz. severe austerities, fierce austerities, austerities due to abstention from *ghee* and other delicacies, and indifference to pleasant and unpleasant food.⁶⁵ They are also said to perform the following four-fold *brahmacarya*:

- (i) *Tapassitā*, i.e. asceticism;
- (ii) *Lūkhacariyā*, i.e. austerity;
- (iii) *Jeguccitā*, i.e. comfort-loathing; and
- (iv) *Pavivittatā*, i.e. solitude.

Anyway, these are some of the stray references scattered all over the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures showing different forms and stages of austerities performed by the Ājīvika mendicants. Even stipulations were also made in connection with the acceptance of the four drinks (*pāṇagāim*) and the four substitutes for drink (*apā-ṇagāim*).⁶⁶ The followings are the four 'kinds of liquid suitable to an ascetic':

- (i) *Gopuṭṭhae*, i.e. cow's urine;
- (ii) *Haṭṭha-maddiyae*, i.e. water soiled by hand;
- (iii) *Āyavatattae*, i.e. drink heated by the sunshine; and
- (iv) *Silāpabbhaṭṭhae*, i.e. water dripping from a rock.

Provisions for the substitutes for drink are also found mention in the texts:

- (i) *Thālapāṇae* (*Sthālapāṇaka*), i.e. water kept in earthen jars, etc.
- (ii) *Tayā-pāṇae*, i.e. holding an unripe mango or other fruit in the mouth without drinking the juice;
- (iii) *Simbali-pāṇae*, i.e. putting unripe *simbali*-beans or some

other raw pulses in the mouth without drinking the juice;
and

(iv) *Suddha-pāṇae*, i.e. the penance of the 'pure drink'.⁶⁷

In fact, the Ājīvikas in course of their ascetic careers very strictly followed austerities in every sphere. These are in sum total the process by which they lead to the ultimate goal. But the most interesting point as known from the *Tittira-jātaka*,⁶⁸ is the introduction of secret magical rites of a repulsive tantric type. A vivid description of the practice of mysterious secret rites of the Ājīvikas is to be found in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.⁶⁹

"Roads, rivers, fords, caitya, trees, highways—*piśācas* (goblins) have entered all these places. Those unrighteous people the Ājīvas, as ordained by the gods, are the confusers of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, a people of workmen and craftsmen. Goblins are the divinities in their sacrifices, which they perform with wealth (stolen) from beings who resemble the immortals (i.e., Brāhmaṇas) and (gained by acting as) police spies, and with much other ill-gotten wealth, and with honey, meat, broth, *ghee*, sesamum, powder, wine, spirits, incense, greens, *kṛśāra* (boiled sesamum and rice), oil, fragrant grass (? *bhadra*), treacle, and porridge. The Lord Brahmā likewise appointed black garments, incense, and flowers to be the oblations of the goblins at the quarters of the moon."

It may not be unlikely to presume that the Ājīvas, i.e. the Ājīvikas of the *Vāyupurāṇa* belongs to a later stage, and, of course, not of the Buddhist or the Jaina references. This may have been the plight picture of the Ājīvika community in north India during the Gupta period when 'the sect itself continued to decline'.⁷⁰

Before entering into the doctrinal intricacies of the system we may have a pause just to make a brief survey about the influence and spread of the Ājīvikas in eastern India. Its origin on the upper Gangetic valley region centering round Śrāvastī is an established fact. Similarly, its later development and extension towards more easternly regions including the boundaries of lower Gangetic region is also an accepted view. By the time of Gośāla the Ājīvikas occupied a unique position in the Gangetic valley regions. Its history thus begins with the early part of the sixth century BC, although B.M. Barua takes it back to the eighth or seventh century BC.⁷¹ The sect seems to have received royal patronage from the time of the Nandas whose power and splendour are attested by

various sources⁷² and who were possibly the followers of the Ājīvika sect. Mahāpadma Nanda was a patron of Ājīvikism and “the Ājīvika community certainly existed in some strength in Magadha at the time, and received some patronage from the Mauryas, who were the successors of the Nandas The reference in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* suggests that he may have given his special support to the Ājīvika *Samgha*.”⁷³

The continuity of its spread outside the regions of its origin in the subsequent period is known from different sources.⁷⁴ The *Divyāvadāna*⁷⁵ and the *Mahāvamśa* commentary⁷⁶ speak to an Ājīvika mendicant (a Parivrājaka) attached to the Maurya king Bindusāra. His learning towards the religious system is strikingly attested by a classical reference too.⁷⁷ It is thus a fact to note that the Ājīvikas were patronized by the court of Magadha even before the introduction of Aśoka’s policy of toleration.

The influence of the Ājīvikas on the contemporary religious history is also recorded in the inscriptions of the great Maurya king, Aśoka. The Seventh Pillar Edict⁷⁸ which was issued in the twenty-seventh year of Aśoka’s consecration, i.e. 237 BC describes the duties of the *Dharma-mahāmātra*. These officers of public morals “were ordered . . . to busy themselves with the affairs of the *Samgha*; likewise others were ordered . . . to busy themselves also with the Brāhmanas (and) Ājīvikas; others were ordered . . . to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; others were ordered . . . to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).”⁷⁹ Various scholars like Bühler,⁸⁰ Hoernle,⁸¹ D.R. Bhandarkar⁸² have interpreted ‘*bābhanesu ā(j)ivikesu*’ differently. Whatever might have been the interpretations of the term, one thing is very clear from the above mentioned Pillar Edict as pointed out by A.L. Basham—“The Seventh Pillar Edict also gives some indication of the influence of the Ājīvikas at the time. The Ājīvika *Samgha* appears as a fully developed religious community, on an equal footing with the two other non-Brāhmanic systems, and is not relegated to the last category of the ‘various heretics’. It may be suggested that, since Aśoka mentions the Ājīvikas before the Nirgranthas, or Jainas, the former sect seemed to the king to be either more influential or more worthy of support than the latter.”⁸³

In fact, the heyday of the Ājīvikas during the time of pre-Maurya and the Maurya periods in Magadha and its neighbouring

regions is known from the testimony of Aśokan inscriptions as well as his successor Daśaratha in the Barabar⁸⁴ and Nagarjuni caves inscriptions.⁸⁵ In the Barabar Hill complex there are in all four caves, viz. Karṇa Chopār cave, Sudāmā cave, Viśvāmitra cave and Lomas Ṛṣi cave, of which three contain Aśokan inscriptions; while the nearby Nagarjuni Hill contains three similar caves, viz. Vahiyakā cave, Gopikā cave and Vadhikā cave, for providing shelters to the Ājīvika ascetics during the rainy season.⁸⁶

The prevalence of the sect in eastern India in the Christian era has hardly substantiated by any archaeological remains. It is rather difficult to speculate about the exact time and reasons for the total extinction of this faith from this part of the country. Occasional references to them are not wanting in Sanskrit literature of the later period, but these are hardly any positive bearings on the history and philosophy of the sect.

It is really curious to note that a sect, a leading representative of the heretical orders, that emerged with equal stronghold and wide influence like those of the Buddhists and the Jainas, did not survive or continue as an independent sect for long in the region of its origin. It is, however, not an easy task to ascertain the reason/reasons behind its oblivion from the stage of Indian religion. But it is certain that by the time of the *Vāyupurāṇa* the sect seemed to have 'struggling for survival as a sort of secret society'; and during the time of Varāhamihira⁸⁷ the Ājīvikas survived only as one of the seven classes of religious mendicants. According to P.C. Bagchi, "the Ājīvika sect had, by the time of Hiuen-Tsang, merged into the community of the Nirgranthas who were then numerous in Bengal. In any case, there is no evidence to prove the separate existence of the Ājīvikas in Bengal."⁸⁸ The conjecture put forward by P.C. Bagchi seems to be possible as the emergence of the mystic saints and their religious communities like the Avadhūtas, etc. in the mediaeval period bear ample resemblance in respect of activities and ritualistic performances with the naked Nirgrantha and the Ājīvika ascetics.

Denying the authority of the Vedas, the Ājīvikas were also indoctrined as the propounder of heretical philosophy. The Buddhists and the Jainas considered the Ājīvikas as amoralists and proceeded to condemn them as immoral in practice. Buddha is said to have branded the system of Gośāla among those four groups of ascetics whom he condemned as 'living in incontinency' *abrahmacarya*-

vāsa).⁸⁹ He vehemently criticised Gośāla on ethical grounds for holding and practising immoral principles and Gośāla even is “stigmatised bad man” (*mogha-puruṣa*).⁹⁰ It is not much difficult to understand why Buddha was much antagonist against the Ājīvikas⁹¹ who were discarded all his ideas and ideals. In spite of repeated scandal mongering against the teaching and doctrine of Gośāla a large number of followers from all sections of the society during Buddha’s own time accepted this religion in preference to the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra.⁹² Infact, occasional lapses in the individual level of this community are not unnoticed, but, at the same time, their rigidity in performing severe types of penances and restrictions of accepting food comparing to other religious systems cannot be minimised. A strong foundation of sincere austerities and of moral discipline undoubtedly facilitated the sect to survive its independent existence for at least a few centuries in the pre and the post Christian era.

It is, however, surprising that the Ājīvikas who could lead such an austere life should hold fatalistic views regarding life and nature. Their teachings as reflected in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* deny action (*Kiriya*), endeavour (*Viriya*) and result of action (*Kamma*). The essence of the Ājīvika philosophy, i.e., the theory of *Niyati* (Fate), teaches that destiny controlled even the most insignificant action of each human being and nothing could change this.⁹³

It is to be noted in this connection that the concept of the fatalist teaching of which the doctrine of *Niyati* emerged and developed, was not unknown before Makkali Gośāla. “A belief in fate, the inevitability of important events, or events with dire consequences, seems to arise at an early stage of religious development in many cultures. Parallel with it arises the belief in the efficiency of magic, spells, sacrifice, and prayer, to circumvent the effects of fate.”⁹⁴ But it was Gośāla who moulded it into a methodical and systematic doctrinal shape. His views provide a striking illustration of the trammels of *saṃsāra* and the rejection of individual initiative in the process of liberation from them.⁹⁵ Denying the action of *karma* Gośāla believes in an immutable principle which is the determining factor in the universe. To his philosophy *karma* is unaffected by good conduct, by vows, by penances or by chastity. He practises a rigid path of transmigration when he says that each and every soul must run the same course through a period of 84,00,000 great *kalpas* before reaching salvation.

“The are 84,00,000 periods during which both fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain. Though the wise should hope ‘by this virtue or this performance of duty, or this penance or this righteousness, will I make the *karma* (I have inherited) that is not yet mature’, and though the fool should hope, by some means, to get gradually rid of *karma* that has matured—neither of them can do it. Pleasure and pain cannot be altered in the course of transmigration, there can be neither increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency. Just as when a ball of string is cast forth, it will spread out just as far as and no farther than, it can unwind, just so, both the fools and the wise, transmigrating exactly for the allotted term, shall then, and only then, make an end of pain.”⁹⁶

According to the doctrine propounded by the Ājīvikas all beings are developed by Destiny (*Niyati*), chance (*saṃgati*) and nature (*bhāva*)⁹⁷ as Buddhaghosa would have it for the term *pariṇatā* means ‘differentiated’.⁹⁸ The term *bhāva* implies *svabhāva*, i.e. nature which has been exalted to the rank of *Niyati*. Jñānavimāla thus says—‘some believe that the universe was produced by *svabhāva*, and that everything comes about by *svabhāva* only.’⁹⁹ Hoernle takes *saṃgati* to mean ‘environment’¹⁰⁰; but the appropriate translation of the term should be ‘lot’ or ‘chance’.¹⁰¹ It is stated in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* that pleasure or pain is but the work chance. “it is the lot assigned to them by destiny”.¹⁰² G.C. Pande nicely represents it in the following—“the process of *saṃsāra* is like the unalterable working out of a coiled up necessity. Inasmuch as the process of *saṃsāra* is moving towards *viśuddhi* or the end of misery, it may be considered an evolutionary process. As to the nature of the forces behind it we have the statement ‘*sabbe . . . niyatisaṃgati-bhāva-pariṇatā . . . sukha-duḥkham paṭisaṃ vedenti*’. According to Buddhaghosa’s explanation we have here three co-ordinate determinants of experience, the first being destiny. His own explanation, however, of the second suggests that it should be considered subordinate to the first. The third was, in all probability, regarded as at least the cause of the differential manifestation of *Niyati*. But if it was not the sole determinant of *Niyati*, it is clear that part of the *Niyati*—as operative must proceed from a source outside *bhāva* or the nature of things. Thus partly at least the governing necessary a *saṃsāra* appears to have a transcendental spring-board. The vehement denial of the freedom of will and the non-mention of

any divine agency suggest that *Niyati* itself was considered an ultimate principle. The denial of any reason or cause behind the *saṃkileśa* or *viśuddhi* of men shows that destiny was considered 'blind', i.e. as equivalent to a causeless necessity."¹⁰³

To the Ājīvikas, as noted earlier, *Niyati* is the ultimate cause of this universe and the other two *saṃgati* and *bhāva* are but illusory modifications of the *Niyati*.¹⁰⁴ Hence the theory of Ājīvika salvation has been called sometimes in the Jātaka as—*saṃsāraśuddhi*,¹⁰⁵ i.e. salvation by transmigration because all being in the process of transmigration get purified. Here is the saying, "There is no short cut (lit. door) to bliss, Bijaka. Wait on Destiny. Whether (a man has) joy or sorrow, it is obtained through Destiny. All beings are purified through transmigration (so) do not be eager for that which is to come."¹⁰⁶

In connection with the dealing of the philosophy of this system, it may be noted that the logic and epistemology of this school had much in consonance with that of the *Trairāśikas*¹⁰⁷ of the Jainas. The distinctive characteristic of the system was the division of propositions into three categories, in contrast with the orthodox Jaina system, which allowed seven (*saptabhaṅgī*). The "Jainas" observes Jacobi "borrowed the idea (Jaina doctrine of the six *leśyās*) from the Ājīvikas and altered it so as to bring it into harmony with the rest of their doctrines."¹⁰⁸

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¹*Supra*, ch. I

²*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 144. As regards the background to the conflict, it is stated—

- the unquestioned authority of the Vedas;
- the belief in a world-creator;
- the quest for purification through ritual bathings;
- the arrogant division into castes;
- the practice of mortification to atone for sin.

These five are the marks of the crass stupidity of the witless men. *Pramāṇa-vārtika-svavṛtti-ṭīkā*, ed. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, pp. 617-18.

³*SBE*, XLV, Introduction, xxix-xxx.

⁴Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 133.

⁵*ABORI*, VIII, p. 183

⁶*ERE*, I, p. 259 On the derivation of the term Ājīvika, Burnouf (*Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, II p. 777) believes that it had no derogatory significance, but meant 'one who lives on the charity of others', deriving it from *a-jīva*, 'the

absence of livelihood, with the addition of the suffix *ka*. Similarly, Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*, II, p. 107, fn. 2) also made the etymological explanation that the word meant an ascetic who ate no living or animal food. Another explanation of the term is known from the *Dīgha-nikāya* (III, p. 9) where it is stated that the Buddha met at Vesali an ascetic named Kandara-masuka, who maintained seven life-long vows, viz. (1) As long as I live (*āvajjivam*) I will be naked, and will not put on a garment, (2) perpetual chastity, (3) to beg spirits and meat, and the last four are vows of a Jain type. Kern (*Der Buddhismus und Seine Geschichte in Indien*, II, p. 7, fn. 2) suggests that the word Ājīvika may be derived from such phrase as *ājīvat*, 'as long as life'.

⁷*Bhagavati-sūtra*, 15.1, 540-41: "*Citta-phalagahatthagae mañkhattanenam appāṇam . . . gāmānugāmcin . . .*" The term 'Mañkhi' is also used in the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva, 176, V 5ff) to denote Gośāla. In the Chinese tradition, the name Maskari Gośāliputra is recorded and it is explained that Maskari is his *gotra* name and Gośāli is his mother's name, so he was Gośāliputra, son of Gośāli (*Chinese Encyclopaedia*, VI, pp. 820-21). On the other hand, Charpentier thinks that Gośāla's father Mañkhali was a mendicant bearing a picture board displaying a representation of Siva (*JRAS*, 1913, pp. 671-72). Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (Ucchāsa 5, p. 153) mentions a reference to *Yamapattika*, i.e. one who lives by showing a piece of cloth on which Yama and others are exhibited.

Another legend tells us that Gośāla was born in a cow-shed (*go-śālā*) of an affluent Brāhmaṇa called Gobahula in the village named Saravana (Buddhaghōṣa, *SV*, I, pp. 143ff; B M. Barua, *Ājīvikas*, pp. 9ff). Buddhaghōṣa while explaining the term *makkhali* says—*Tāta, mā khalih* (My dear man, take care lest you stumble), assumes that he was a servant of a wealthy person who warns him thus.

⁸*ERE*, I, p. 260.

⁹*Pāṇini*, IV.1.154.

¹⁰*Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn), III.96. cf. also *supra*, ch. I. It is to be noted in this connection that there were two grades of the Maskarins who were also known as the *Eka-daṇḍin* in the later period. In the initial stage the ascetic carried an actual staff, in addition to a begging bowl and a strip of loin-cloth (*kaṭi-bandhana*), while in the higher grade, like that of *Paramahansa*, the ascetic abandoned even these three possessions, claiming absolute renunciation as his only staff of reliance. For the significance of the terms—*Daṇḍin*, *Eka-daṇḍin* and *Tri-daṇḍin*, see author's writing in *The Mother*, vol. XII, no. 4, December, 1969.

¹¹*Arthaśāstra*, III.20.16, R.P. Kangle's edn., pt II, p. 252.

¹²Malalasekara, *DPPN*, I, pp. 179-80, 385ff; *MN*, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, vol. I, pp. 160-75.

¹³*Jātaka*, I.81; *Mahāvagga*, trans. I.B. Horner, p. 11.

¹⁴*HDA*, p. 95.

¹⁵In fact, we have no exclusive textual evidence meant for this sect. Buddhist references to Gośāla's doctrine are sometimes confused, e.g., in *AN*, III, 383 his classifications are attributed to Pūraṇa and in *MN*, I, 513, part of his doctrines is combined with those of the Pakudha. As we see later on that Pūraṇa and Pakudha as well as Gośāla had an important part in forming Ājīvika doctrine. B.M. Barua (*JDL*, II, pp. 1-30) provides an exhaustive list of these sources.

and also makes a comparison to these Buddhist references with those found in the Jaina texts in order to form an idea of the fundamentals of Gośālian dogmatics.

¹⁶Malalasekara, *op. cit.*, II, p. 14.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, I, p. 609.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, II, p. 123.

¹⁹For details, *HDA*, ch. III, pp. 27ff.

²⁰*Supra*, ch. I.

²¹*AN*, III, trans., p. 273.

²²*MN*, *Sandaka-sutta*, no. 76; Malalasekara, *DPPN*, II, p. 14

²³*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, XV, *su.* 550, fol. 674.

²⁴*HDA*, p. 31.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁷*JDL*, vol. II, p. 5.

²⁸Hoernle on the basis of the *Tittira Jātaka*'s account tries to show that a mendicant (Ājivika) carried a bamboo staff (*vetacāra*). The Ājivika Upaka is also described bearing a staff (*Latthi-hattho*).—*Therigāthā*, 291.

²⁹*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV.1.154.

³⁰*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, XV, *su.* 541, fol. 660-63.

³¹This event possibly took place in the second year of Mahāvīra's wanderings.

³²*Ibid.*, *su.* 542, fol. 664. An exhaustive description of their wanderings has been recorded by Jinadāsa Mahattara (*Āvaśyaka-cūṛṇī*, I, pp. 271, 282-84, 287-99) who flourished in the seventh century AD.

³³According to Jacobi (*SBE*, XLV, Introduction, pp. xxix-xxx) the Jainas borrowed the idea of *leśyā* from the Ājivika conception of *abhijāti*, or six classes of mankind, and 'altered it so as to bring it into harmony with the rest of their own doctrines.' The concept of *abhijāti* (*AN*, III, p. 383; *SV*, p. 162) preached by the Ājivikas has evidently noticeable bearing on the Jaina classification of beings and the Jaina conception of *leśyā*. The grouping is made on the basis of colours to different classes of beings. The highest or *parama-sukha* (supremely white) group contains three names only, viz., Gośāla and his two predecessors, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Sankicca. Below this is the category of white (*sukka*) includes Ājivika ascetics of both the sexes. The next one is green (*halidda*) which contains the *acelakas*. Below this is red (*lohita*) to which belong the Nigaṇṭhas who wear a single garment. Blue (*nīla*) comes as the next category representing *bhikkhus* who live as thieves and also believers in the efficiency of works (*karma*). The lowest category is black (*kaṇha*) consisting of thieves, fisher-men, fowlers and others. For a comparative study of these two systems, viz. *abhijāti* and *leśyā*, and also for the relationship between Jainism and Ājivikism, see, *HDA*, pp. 240ff.

³⁴*Uvāsaga-dasāo*, ed. Hoernle, I, pp. 105ff.

³⁵*Vinaya*, IV, p. 223.

³⁶*Jātaka*, III, pp. 536-43.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 541; *Haṭṭhā daḍḍhā piṇḍapatigga-haṇeṇa*.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 542.

³⁹*Jātaka*, VI, pp. 215ff.

⁴⁰*HDA*, pp. 104-5.

⁴¹*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, p. 52.

⁴²*Ibid.*; it is to be noted in this connection that Jambuka for his severe asceticism obtains a great reputation for sanctity as a 'wind-eater' (*vāta bhakkho*), until he is ultimately converted by the Buddha.

⁴³V. Nallaswami Pillai, *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār*, pp. xlv-xlvi; M.A. Mudaliyar ed., *Civaññāna-cittiyār parapakṣam*, Madras, 1911: It is in two parts—*parapakṣam* and *supakṣam*. The first half mainly deals with the principal opposing systems of the time including Materialism, Buddhism, Jainism, and the orthodox sects, each of which is refuted; while the latter one is an exposition of Śaivite doctrine and philosophy of the far south. The Ājivikas are described in the *parapakṣam* immediately after the naked Jaina ascetic (Digambara) evidently showing the distinction between the Ājivikas and the Digambara Jains even at this late date of thirteenth century AD.

⁴⁴ERE, I, p. 269.

⁴⁵Sugiura, *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, p. 16, quoting *Hyakuron So*, I, 22; *HDA*, p. 112.

⁴⁶*Jānakī-haraṇa*, X, 76:

Dambh'-ājivikam uttuga-jaṭā-maṇḍita-mastakam |
Kañcin maskariṇam Sītā dadarś'āśramam-āgatam ||

⁴⁷Krom, *The Life of the Buddha*, pl. 110; also *Barabaḥur*, vol. I, pp. 220-21 pl. II.

⁴⁸Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 159.

⁴⁹*HDA*, p. 106.

⁵⁰*Supra*, fn. 33.

⁵¹*Vaṃsattha-ppakāsini*, I, p. 190.

⁵²*MN*, I, p. 31.

⁵³*CHI*, I, p. 207.

⁵⁴*Vinaya*, II, p. 165.

⁵⁵*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, XV, su. 554, fols. 680-81.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, VIII, su. 329, fol. 369.

⁵⁷Of course, contradictory evidences alleging the Ājivikas for eating of animal food are not unknown. Thus it is mentioned that "all beings whose enjoyment is unimpaired obtain their food by killing, cutting, cleaving, lopping, amputating, and attacking."—*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*HDA*, p. 123.

⁵⁹*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 15.1.543; In the *Lomahansa Jātaka* (I, p. 390) the Ājivika asceticism is depicted by way of the description of the practice of severe penances by Bodhisattva born as an Ājivika.

⁶⁰*Naṅguṭṭha Jātaka*, I, p. 493.

⁶¹Asutosh Bhattacharya, *Dharma Worship in West Bengal* (in Census 1951, 'The Tribes and Castes of West Bengal'), p. 359.

⁶²*Aupapātika-sūtra*, su. 41, fol. 196. In this connection a comparison may be noted with a passage of the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* of the *MN*, (I, p. 238) containing a catalogue of the habits of the Ājivika mendicants (B.M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 167-8; also *JDL*, II, p. 48). According to Barua "An Ājivika never incurred the guilt of obeying another's command. He refused to accept food which had been specially prepared for him. He did not accept food

from people when they were eating, lest they should go short or be disturbed. He did not accept food collected in time of drought . . . He did not accept food where a dog was standing by or flies were swarming round lest they lose a meal. He did not eat fish or meat, nor use intoxicants." But A.L. Basham finds it difficult to accept it as the habits of the 'members of the organized Ājivika community' (*HDA*, pp. 118ff). It seems to be the general feature of the art of begging practised by all ascetics irrespective of any particular religious community, and not by the Ājivika alone.

⁶³Abhayadeva's commentary on *Aupapātika*.

⁶⁴*Ibid.* The continuation of this kind of penance was in practice among the ascetics of the Tamil region in the fourteenth century AD. K.R. Srinivasan on the basis of a fourteenth century work (*Naccinarkkiniyar's* commentary on the early Tamil grammar, *Tolkeppiyam*) mentions the existence of such category of ascetics who perform penance in *tāfi*, or funerary urns. *Ancient India* II, p. 9; *HDA*, pp. 111-12.

⁶⁵*Sthānānga-sūtra*, IV.309; A.C. Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 11.

⁶⁶*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, XV, su. 554, fol. 680; also Abhayadeva's commentary.

⁶⁷While commenting on this item it is stated that for six months the ascetic eats only pure food (*śuddha-khānam*); for two months he lies on the ground, for two on wood, and for two on *darbha* grass (i.e., *kuśa* grass). And on the last night of these six months' penance, two powerful gods, Punṇabhadda (Pūrṇabhaddra) and Maṇibhadda (Maṇibhaddra) will appear and with their icy-arms will soothe his fevered body. But if the dying ascetic rises above the caresses of these gods, he is saved and this is known as the pure drink.

⁶⁸*Tittira Jātaka*, III, pp. 541-42.

⁶⁹*Vāyu-purāṇa*, 69, 284-88.

⁷⁰*HDA*, pp. 162-63.

⁷¹B.M. Barua, *Ājivikas*; G. Bühler is also of the opinion that the founder of the sect may be placed about 750 BC.

⁷²H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHIA*, pp. 187ff.

⁷³*HDA*, p. 145.

⁷⁴The *Mahāvamsa*, X, records that king Paṇḍukābhaya of Ceylon, the grandfather of Aśoka's contemporary Devānaṃpiya Tissa, built 'a house of Ājivikas' (*Ājivikanam geham*) at Anurādhapura. Similarly, the prevalence of the Ājivikas in Suratttha (Surat in Gujarat) two hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* is known from a passage in the *Peṭavatthu* (IV 3, p. 57).

⁷⁵*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 370ff.

⁷⁶*Vaṃsattha-ppakāśini*, I, p. 190.

⁷⁷*CII*, I, p. XXXV.

⁷⁸*CII*, I, p. 131ff.

⁷⁹*CII*, I, p. 136; II, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁰*EI*, II, p. 272.

⁸¹*ERE*, I, p. 267.

⁸²*IA*, XLI, pp. 286-90.

⁸³*HDA*, pp. 149-50.

⁸⁴*CHI*, I, pp. 181ff.

⁸⁵*IA*, XX, pp. 361ff.

⁸⁶G. Bühler, *IA*, XX, 1891, pp. 361-65; *HDA*, pp. 150-60.

⁸⁷*Bṛhajjātaka*, XV.1.

⁸⁸*HB*, Dacca University, p. 411, fn. 3.

⁸⁹*MN*, I, pp. 541ff.

⁹⁰*ERE*, I, p. 261.

⁹¹Buddha declared—"like a fish-trap set at river-mouth, Makkhali was born into the world to be a man-trap for the distress and destruction of men." *AN*, Nalanda edn., p. 267.

⁹²*Supra*, ch. I.

⁹³It may be remembered in this connection the well known experiment that was made by Gośāla together with Mahāvīra taking as specimen a large sesamum plant (*tila thambha*) which being uprooted and destroyed, reappeared in due time. On the basis of that observation Gośāla came to conclusion that all living beings are subject to reanimation (*Paṭṭa Parihāram Parihanti*)—B.M. Barua *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 301, fn. 1; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 250-51.

⁹⁴*HDA*, p. 6; *ERE*, p. 772, 'Fate'.

⁹⁵G.C. Pandey, *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, p. 342.

⁹⁶N. Aiyaswami Sastri, 'Śramaṇa or Non-Brahmanical Sects', *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, p. 396.

⁹⁷*Niyati-Saṃgati-bhāva-Pariṇatā*, *DN*, p. 53.

⁹⁸*Nāna ppakarataṃ Pattā*, *SV*, I, p. 160.

⁹⁹*Kecit Svabhāva bhāvitamy jagad manyante, svabhāven'aiva sarvaṃ sampadyate Praśna-Vyākaraṇa*, 7, fol. 29. Guṇaratna (*Tarka-rahasyadīpikā* to *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya*, p. 13) also speaks of the Svabhāva-vādins who agreed with the *Niyati-vādins* on the futility of human efforts.

¹⁰⁰*ERE*, I, p. 261.

¹⁰¹*HDA*, p. 226.

¹⁰²*Su. Kr.*, I, 1, 2; 2, 3, fol. 30.

¹⁰³G.C. Pandey, op. cit., pp. 343-44.

¹⁰⁴It may be noted that the Ājivikas was called sometimes a believer in the doctrine of causelessness, i.e., *ahetukavādin* (*Jātaka*, V, p. 228). Since all human activities were ineffectual he was also an *akriyāvādin*, a disbeliever in the efficiency of works.

¹⁰⁵*N'atthi dvāram sugatiyā. Niyatim, Kaṃkha, Bijaka.*

Sukham vā yadi vā duhkham, Niyatiyā kira labhati

Samsāra-śuddhi Sōbbesam, mā turītho anāgati.

—*Jātaka*, VI, p. 229; cf. *Ime Sattā samsāra-śuddhikā-Jātaka*, V, p. 228; cf. also, *Uvāsagadasāo*, ed. P.L. Vaidya p. 201, *Samsāra-Viśuddhim vyākāsi*.

¹⁰⁶*HDA*, p. 228

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 274-75. The commentaries to the *Nandisūtra* (fol. 113) and to the *Samavāyāṅga* (fol. 129) also explain the system, more or less, in the same manner:

"The Ājivika heretics founded by Gośāla are likewise called *Trairāśikas*, since they declare everything to be of triple character, viz., living, not living, and both living and not living; world, not world, and both world and not world; real, unreal, and both real and unreal. In considering standpoints (*naya*) (they postulate that an entity may be) of the nature of substance, of mode, or of both. Thus, since they maintain three heaps (*rāśi*), they are called *Trairāśikas*." Quoted, *HDA*, p. 274.

¹⁰⁸*SBE*, XLV, Introduction, xxix-xxx.

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