

Edited by
K.L. CHANCHREEK
DR. MAHESH K. JAIN

'Encyclopedia of Jain Religion' is a multi-volume elaborate study of this oldest religious sect. This Encyclopedia has been designed to cover a wide range of Jain religious thought in a systematic manner, theme wise and serves as an authentic reference tool. In the new millennium this is perhaps the first systematic study of Jain religion.

Volume one of this Encyclopedia deals with the antiquity and historicity of Jainism which attracted the attention of scholars to study and trace the long history and a large continuing presence of Arhat tradition which is pre-Aryan; Volume two is a prolegomenary description of Jaina scriptures, which developed through centuries and by stages and took a literary and philosophical form during ten centuries from Mahavira's salvation. Volume three traces the Jaina way of worship, observance of specific rituals and fasts besides celebration of fairs, festivals and festive occasions since ancient days. Jains worship only five worshipful once Arhats, Siddhas, Acharyas, the Upadhyayas and Sadhus besides some Godlings-Yakshas and Yakshis and attending guards. Volume four and five traces and analyses the Jaina concept of God and creation of the universe, doctrine of worship, theory of Soul, doctrine of Karma, Lesyas, Nine Padarthas (Fundamental Truths and Pudgala-Matter), moral themes and philosophical issues like doctrine of Anekantavada, Panch Mahavratas, Sramans culture, Yoga, Penance and Santhara and liberation. Volume six traces how people earned their livelihood through agriculture, farming and trade, according to Jaina texts. Jains were actively involved in the growth of agricultural activities, industry and trade channels. Undoubtedly the management

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JAIN RELIGION

Volume 7

Editors
K.L. Chanchreek
Dr. Mahesh K. Jain

© Publisher

Edition: 2005

Published by:

SHREE PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS

20, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110 002

ISBN: 81-88658-84-7 (11 Vols. Set)

Printed by:
Mehra Offset
Delhi-110 006

Contents

Volume-7

1.	Jainism and Royal Patronage	1–90
2.	Jaina Social Order	91-142
3.	Jaina Caste System	143-215
4.	Jaina Communities: Historical	
	Development	216–263
5.	Jainas Social Conduct	264–291
	Bibliography.	292-300



JAINISM AND ROYAL PATRONAGE

In his research based study C.J. Shah[§] has traced the rise and growth of Jainism and its relations with the Royal Families during 800-200 B.C. In other words it can be treated as an authentic account of Jainas of northern India and their relations with ruling chiefs and royal dynasties of that age. There is no doubt Jainism enjoyed patronage and socio-economic cover in the period of Parsva and Mahavira and even afterwards for centuries because both belonged to the ruling Kshatriya clan. There is enough source material in Jaina literature and social history on this subject. As Shah says:

"Parsva could be historically identified., and that Mahavira had blood relations with some royal families of his time are facts that count much when we are out to investigate the circumstances under which "Jainism became the state religion of certain kingdoms, in the sense that it was adopted and encouraged by certain kings, who carried with them many of their subjects."

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

Taking first the times of Parsva, we find that there is hardly any material available on which we can rely. Very "scanty is our knowledge of the life and teaching of Parsva, in spite of

^{§.} Shah, C.J., E.O.J., pp. 3512-3583.

^{1.} Smith, op. cit., p. 55.

the large body of literature which has clustered around his name."² As seen before, all that we know of any historical importance in connection with him is that he was born of king Asvasena of Benares, who belonged to the Ikshvaku race of the Ksatriyas or Kshatriyas,³ and that he reached his final liberation, *Nirvana*, on the top of Mount Sammeta in Bengal. In his martial relations he was connected with the royal family of king Prasenajit, whose father, Naravarman, who designated himself as the lord of the universe and who had in his lifetime become a Jaina *Sadhu*, was ruling at Kusasthala, and whose daughter Prabhavati was married to Parsya.⁴

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

^{2.} Charpentier Uttaradhyayana Sutra, p.154.

 ^{.....}अनुगंगं नगर्यस्ति वाराणस्यभिधानतः ।।
 तस्यामिक्ष्वाकुवंशोऽभूदश्वसेनो महीपतिः ।

⁻Hemacandra, Trishashti-Salaka, Parva IX, vv. 8, 14, p. 196.

^{4.} पुरं कुशस्थलं नाम ा। तत्रासीब्ररवर्मेति । पृथिवीपतिः।। जैनधर्मेरतो नित्यं । उपादत्त परिव्रज्यां सुसाधुगुरूसान्निधौः। राज्येऽभूव्ररवर्मणः। सूनुः प्रसेनजिन्नाम । कन्यका।। पार्श्वो । उदुवाह प्रभावतीम् ।— Hemacandra, Trishashti-Salaka, Parva IX, vv. 58, 59, 61, 62, 68, 69, 210, pp. 198, 203.

In the words of Dr. Jacobi, "The origin and development of the Jaina sect is a subject on which some scholars still think it safe to speak with a sceptical caution, though this seems little warranted by the present state of the whole question; for a large and ancient literature has been made accessible, and furnishes sample materials for the early history of the sect to all who are willing to collect them. Nor is the nature of these materials such as to make us distrust them. We know that the sacred books of the Jainas are old, avowedly older than the Sanskrit literature which we are accustomed to call classical. Regarding their antiquity, many of those books can vie with the oldest books of the northern Buddhists. As the latter books have successively been used as materials for the history of Buddha and Buddhism, we can find no reason why we should distrust the sacred books of Jainas as an authentic source of their history. If they were full of contradictory statements, or the dates contained in them would lead to contradictory conclusions, we should be justified in viewing all theories based on such materials with suspicion. But the character of the Jaina literature differs little in this respect also from the Buddhistic, at least from that of the northern Buddhists."5

Thus with the material that is at our disposal it is very difficult to historically identify the Asvasena of Benares or Kasi, ⁶ and the Prasenajit or his father Naravarman of Kusasthala,

^{5.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., Int., p. ix. "We must leave to future researchers to work out the details, but I hope to have removed the doubts, entertained by some scholar's about the independence of the Jaina religion and the value of its sacred books as trustworthy documents for the elucidation of its early history."—Ibid., Int., p. xlvii. Cf. Charpentier, Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, Int., p. 25.

^{6. &}quot;No such person as Asvasena is known from Brahman record to have existed; the only individual of that name mentioned in the epic literature was a king of the snakes (Naga), and he cannot in any way be connected with the father of the Jaina prophet."—Charpentier. C.H.I., i., p. 154. It may, by the way, be mentioned here that all his life Parsvanatha was connected with snakes, and to this day the saint's symbol is a hooded serpent's head. Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), op. pp. 48-49.

but there are other historical and geographical coincidences from which we can deduce certain inferences which may be said to have some historical significance behind them.

Now, on the authority of Hemacandra's "Hemakosa," Nundo Lal Dey has identified Kusasthala with Kanauj or Kanyakubja, and this is supported by other scholars also. Futhermore, Dr. RayChaudhuri tells us as to how the Pancalas were connected "with the foundation of the famous city of Kanyakubja or Kanauj." Again this fact of there existing side by side the kingdoms of Kasi and Pancala is further supported by both the Buddhist and the Jaina literary traditions. From the Buddhist Anguttara-Nikaya and the Jaina Bhagavatt-Sutra we know that during this period (i.e. during the eighth century B.C.) "there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the Solasa Mahajanapada." Of these Kasi, among others, is common to both, while Pancala is mentioned only by the former.

Taking the history of Pancala we find that it roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doab. "The *Mahabharata*, the *Jatakas* and the *Divyavadana* refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhagirathi (Ganges) formed the dividing line. According to the Great Epic, northern Pancala had its capital at Ahicchatra or Chatravati (the modern Ramanagar near Aonla in the Bareilly District), while southern Pancala had its capital at Kampilya and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal." 12

^{7.} Dey, pp. 88, 111.

^{8. &}quot;Kanyakubja was also called Gadhipura, Mahodaya and Kusasthala."—Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India (ed. Mazumdar), p. 707.

^{9.} RayChaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 86. "Kanauj...was primarily the capital of the kingdom of Pancala."—Smith, *Early History of India*, p.707.

^{10.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 59, 60. Cf. Rhys Davids, C.H.I., i., p. 172.

^{11.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 60.

^{12.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 85, Cf. also Smith, op. cit., pp. 391-392; Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 145.

Along with this background of the Pancala history we have direct references to it in the Jaina annals as well. The *Uttaradhyayana-Sutra* mentions a great Pancala king named Brahmadatta, who was born of Culani in Kampilya. ¹³ He meets Citta, his brother in a former birth, and who has become a Sramana in this birth. Brahmadatta is tyled a universal monarch, and he is so fond of worldly pleasure that he does not care for the advice of his brother Citta and finally goes to hell. ¹⁴

A further reference in this direction by the same *Sutra* is also to a king of Kampilya named Sanjaya, who "gave up his kingly power and adopted the faith of the Jinas in the presence of the venerable monk Gardabhali." ¹⁵

Thus it seems probable that Kasi and Pancala, the two of the "sixteen states of considerable extent and power," were joined together on matrimonial grounds, and the probability becomes more of a certainty when we know from the dynastic

^{13. &}quot;Little is known about the history of Kampilya, apparently the modern Kampil in the Farrukabad District."—Smith, op. cit., p.392.

^{14.} चुलणीए वस्भन्नो ा। कम्पिल्ले सम्भूओ चिन्नो । धम्म सोऊण पवइओ ।। पंचालराया वि य वस्भइन्नो तस्स वरण अकाउ। सो नरए पविद्वो ।।—Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, Lecture XIII, vv. 1, 2, 34, Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xlv., pp. 57-61. The stories about Kitra (Citta) and Sambhuta (Brahmadatta) and the fate they underwent in many births are common to Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. Cf. ibid., pp. 56, 57; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 86; Charpentier, Uttaradhyayana, pt. ii., pp. 328-331.

^{15.} कम्पिल्ले नयरे राया . . .। नामेणं संजये।। संजसो चइउं रज्जं निक्खन्तो जिणसासणे। ग्रह्मालिस्स भगवसो अणगारस्स अन्तिए।।

[—]Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, Lecture XVIII, vv. 1, 19, Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 30, 82; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

^{16. &}quot;The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kasi, and represent Asvasena, king of Benares, as the father of that Tirthankara Parsva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahavira—i.e. in 777 B.C."—Ibid., op. cit., p. 61. Taking 480-467 B.C. as the date of Mahavira's Nirvana we get 730-717 as the date of Parsva's Nirvana.

lists prepared by Pargiter that there was some Senajit who was one of the rulers of southern Pancala. ¹⁷ Doing away with some superficial variations in names, this Senajit can with no historical fallacy be identified with Prasenajit, with whom we are here concerned. ¹⁸

The most important and the only inference that we may draw from this is that Jainism in the days of Parsva enjoyed no less royal patronage than in the days of Mahavira. The extent of his influence was in no way less extensive than during the career of his successor. He was a member of the royal family of Kasi, son-in-law to that of Pancala, ¹⁹ and he died on the top of Mount Parsvanatha in Bengal. ²⁰ With this royal backing behind him it is natural that he must have had great influence on contemporary royalties and on his own subjects also. From *Sutrakrtanga* and other Jaina canonical books we know that even in the days of Mahavira there were followers of Parsva

^{17.} Cf. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 146; Pradhan, Chronology of Ancient India, p. 103.

^{18. &}quot;In other cases the first Component is omitted.....Bhargava calls Prasenajit of Ayodhya Senajit."—Pargiter, op. cit., p. 127.

^{19.} Mazumdar seems to be labouring under some confusion here. According to him Parsva was a son-in-law of king Prasenajit of Oudh, and thus he connects the two dynasties of Kosala of Kasi; but we think he has wrongly identified him with the Prasenajit of the days of Mahavira, who was the father-in-law of king Bimbisara, the great Saisunaga, and one of the greatest royal supporters of Jainism. Furthermore he commits the same blunder when he says that Parsva died at the age of seventy-two. We have already seen it was Mahavira who lived for seventy-two years, while Parsva lived for one hundred. Cf. Mazumdar, op. cit., pp. 495, 551, 552; Mrs. Stevenson also seems to be under the same misconception when she says, "Parsvanatha....married Prabhavati, daughter of Prasenajit, king of Ayodhya."—Sevenson (Mrs.), p. 48.

^{20. &}quot;...he reached deliverance at last on Mount Sammeta Sikhara in Bengal, which was thenceforth known as the mount Parsvanatha."—Ibid., p. 49.

round about Magadha.²¹ As seen before, the very family of Mahavira was attached to the religion of Parsva. In addition to this the reference made in the Jaina canonical books to the actual following of Parsva in his own days confirms the fact that the Jaina community had spread well even in those early days throughout a great portion of north India, though it is not possible to put down any geographical limits.²² As already mentioned, there were 16,000 monks, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 layvotaries, 327,000 female lay-votaries and a few thousands more belonging to the higher grade of religious qualification.²³

From Parsva to Mahavira there are no data of any historical worth. A period of two hundred and fifty years in Jaina history has to remain blank because of the absence of any historical records or monuments on which we can rely for purposes of history. Anyhow this much is certain, that though it is not possible at present historically to fill up the gap between the

^{21. &}quot;Outside of Rajgraha, in a north-eastern direction, there was the suburb Nalanda, ...and there is some house the venerable Gautama was staying. The venerable (man) was in the garden, and so was Udaka, the son of Pedhala, a Nirgrantha and follower of Parsva...."—Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 419-420; जिणं पासि ... तस्स. op. cit., केसीकुमारसमणे ... सावित्यं पुरमागए— Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, Lecture XXIII, vv. 1-3. Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

^{22.} One does not know on what grounds Mazumdar tries to define geographically the limits of Jainism in the days of Parsva. "His Jainism," observes the learned scholar, "prevailed from Bengal to Gujarat. The districts of Maldah and Bogra were great centres of his faith. His converts were mostly from the depressed classes of the Hindus and Non-Aryans....In Rajputana his adherents grew very powerful...."—Mazumdar, op. and loc.cit.

last two prophets of the Jainas, it may safely be said that throughout this period Jainism was a living religion. ²⁴ As already seen, all along the Jaina clergy of Parsva's school of thought were exerting their own influence, and Mahavira and some of his followers had regularly to face some representatives of that class just to win them over to the reformed church of the sixth century B.C.

Coming to the days of Mahavira one seems to feel as if a better situation has to be met with, but here also, barring the canonical literature of the Jainas and the Bauddhas and certain other traditions, there is hardly anything on which we can fall back upon.²⁵ Fortunately for us, the Jaina sacred books have preserved facts and comments which, though in bits and fragments, are yet sufficient to hold up before our eyes a living picture of this period of the Jaina history. Like Parsva, Mahavira also had his blood-relations with the ruling dynasties of his age. His father, Siddhartha, was a great nobleman himself, and he belonged to the clan of the Jnatri Kshatriyas. His headquarters were at Kundapura or Kundagama (Kundagrama),²⁶ and not required the way in which he is pictured in the Jaina sacred books it seems he was the head of the clan to which he belonged,

^{24.} Cf. Hoernle, Uvasaga-Dasao, ii., p. 6, n. 8.

^{25. &}quot;Early Indian history as yet-resembles those maps of our grandfathers in which Geographers for lack of towns

Drew elephants on pathless downs.

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

^{26. &}quot;It is another name for Vaisali (modern Besarh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact Kundagama (Kundagrama), now called Basakund, was a part of the ancient town of Vaisali, latter comprising three districts or quarters; Vaisali proper (Besarh), Kundapur (Basukund), and Vanigama (Bania)."—Dey, , p. 107.

and a ruler of some state, whether great or small.²⁷ As we shall see later on, it may be that he was one of the executive of the republic of which Kundapura was a leading division, but from the status that he enjoyed in society this much is certain, that Siddhartha spent his life more or less as an independent ruler than as a mere petty chieftain under a sovereign state.²⁸

Again referring to the sixteen Mahajanapadas we find that the state of Vajji is also common to both the Buddhist and the Jaina lists. "The Vajjis," observes Dr. RayChaudhuri, "according to Professor Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (Atthakula), of whom the Videhans, the Licchavis, the Jnatrikas and the Vajjis proper were the most important. The identity of the remaining clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted here that in a passage of the Sutrakrtanga the Ugras, Bhojas, Iikshavakas and Kaurvas are associated with the Jnatris and Licchavis as subjects of the same rulers and the members of the same assembly."²⁹

^{27. &}quot;In the Kalpa-Sutra the interperters of the dreams of Trisala, mother of Mahavira, are said to have come "to the front gate of Siddhartha's excellent palace, a jewel of its kind."—Jacobi, op. cit., p. 245. At another place in same Sutra Siddhartha is said to have celebrated the birthday of Mahavira by ordering his police authoriteis quickly to set free all prisoners in the town of Kundapura, to increase measures and weights, and so on. Cf. ibid., p. 252; Hemacandra, op. cit., Parva X, vv. 123, 132, p. 16.

^{28.} Barnett, the Antagada-Dasao and Anuttarovavaiya-Dasao, Int., p. vi. Dr. Jacobi, in trying to expose the fond belief of the Jains that "Kundagrama was a large town and Siddhartha a powerful monarch," seems to have gone to the other extreme when he observes: "From all this it appears that Siddhartha was no king, nor even the head of his clan, but in all probability only exercised the degree of authority which in the East usually falls to the share of landowners, especially of those belonging to the recognised aristocracy of the country."—Jacobi, op. cit., Int., p. xii.

^{29.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 73-74. "The Ugras and Bhojas were Kshatriyas. The former were, according to the Jainas, descendants of those whom Rshaba, the first Tirthankara, appointed to the office of Kotwals, or prefect's of towns, while the Bhojas were descendants of those whom Rshabha acknowledged as persons deserving honour."—Jacobi, S.B.E., xiv., p. 71, n. 2. Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., Appendix III., p. 58.

Jaina Social Life

On the other hand, on the authority of the Buddhist sources Dr. Pradhan adds one more member of this confederacy, and observes: "This confederacy consisted of nine clans, some of which were the Licchivis (or Licchavis), the Vrjis (or Vajjis), the Jnatrikas, and the Videhas. This confederacy of nine clans was known as the confederacy of the Vrjis or of the Licchivis, as the Vrjis and the Licchivis were the most important of the nine clans. These nine Licchivis clans again federated themselves with the nine Mallaki clans and the eighteen Ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala." This statement of the learned scholar is also supported by the Jaina annals. 31

"It is related," observes Dr. Jacobi, "the King Cetaka, whom Kunika, king of Campa, prepared to attack with a strong army, called together the eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the Licchavis and Mallakis, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kunika's demands or go to war with him. Again on the death of Mahavira the eighteen confederate kings, mentioned above, instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event." 32

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

Taking first the Videhans, we find that they "had their capital

10

^{30.} Pradhana, p. 215.

^{31.} नव मल्लइ नव लेच्छइ कासीकोसलगा अद्वारसिव गणरायाणो......—Bhagvati, sut. 300. p. 316. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., p. 165.

^{32.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., Int., p. xii, Cf. ibid., p. 266; Law (B.C.) Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 11; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 128; Bhagvati, sut. 300, p. 316; Hemacandra, op. and loc.cit.; Kalpa-Sutra, Subhodhika-Tika, sut. 128, p. 121; Pradhan, pp. 128-129; Hoernle, op. cit., ii., Appendix II., pp. 59-60.

at Mithila, which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur, just within the Nepal border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaisali. To this section probably belonged the princess Trisala, also called Videhadatta, mother of Mahavira."³³ As already mentioned, we find scattered here and there direct references to Mahavira's relations with the Videhans in the Jaina *Sutras*. Says the *Acaranga-Sutra*: "His (Mahavira's) mother had three names: Trisala, Videhadatta and Priyakarini."³⁴

In that period, in that age, the Venerable ascetic Mahavira, Jnatri Kshatriya, Jnatriputra, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha, lived thirty years under the name of 'Videha.'35

Coming next to the Kalpa-Sutra: "The Venerable ascetic Mahavira...; a Jnatri Kshatriya, the son of a Jnatri Kshatriya; the moon of the clan of Jnatris; a Videha, the son of Videhadatta, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha—had lived thirty years in Videha when his parents went to the gods (i.e. died)."36

Thus from the Jaina Sutras themselves the following points are confirmed: that a section of the Videhans had settled in Vaisali, "the capital of Videha", that princess Trisala belonged to this section of he Videhans, and that Mahavira was closely connected with them. With all this the first point still needs some more elucidation. As Mahavira was a Videhan, even so according to Jacobi he was also a Vaisalika—i.e. a native Vaisali. Thus Kundapura or Kundagrama of King Siddhartha cannot but

^{34.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 193.

^{35.} Ibid., p. 194.

^{36.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 256.

^{37.} Ibid., Int., p. xi.

be a prominent part of Vaisali, the capital of the reigning line of Videha.³⁸

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

नमी नमेइ अप्पणं सकखं सक्केण चोइओ। चइऊण गेहं च वेदोहि सामण्णे पञ्जुवहिस्रओ।

"Nami humbled himself; enjoined by Sakra in person, the King of Videha left the house, and took upon him Sramanahood." ³⁹

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

Coming next to the Licchavis we find that they were a great and powerful people in eastern India in the sixth century before Christ. There is no use denying the fact with the Jnatrikas

^{38. &}quot;Kundagrama, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaisali, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesalie—i.e. Vaisalika—given to Mahavira in the Sutrakrtanaga, 1, 3. the commentator explains the passages in question in two different ways, and at another place a third explanation is given....Vaisalika apparently means a native of Vaisali: and Mahavira could be rightly called that when Kundagrama was suburb of Vaisali, just as a native of Turnham Green may be called a Londoner."—Ibid.

^{39.} *Uttaradhyayana-Sutra*, Lecture IX, v. 61. *Cf. ibid.*, v. 62; Lecture XVIII, v. 45 (trans, Jacobi, *S.B.E.* xlv., pp. 41, 87). For a full description of the legendary tale of Nami see Meyer (J.J.), Hindu Tales, pp. 147-169.

they must have come directly under the influence of the teaching of Mahavira. His mother Trisala was sister to Cetaka, king of Vaisali, ⁴⁰ who belonged to the Licchavi sect of the Kshatriyas, while on his father's side Mahavira was a Jnatrika himself.

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

Thus there is nothing unnatural or out of the way if Trisala was called Videhadatta though she was a Licchavi princess. Now this Trisala was married to Siddhartha, who, according to the Jainas, was a follower of Parsva, the predecessor of Lord Mahavira. This naturally leads one to infer that either the royal family of the Licchavis was Jaina by faith or that it was socialy

^{40.} Jacobi, Kalpa-Sutra, p. 113.

^{41. &}quot;In the opinion of several scholars Cetaka was a Licchavi. But the secondary names of his sister (Videhadatta) and daughter (Vedehi) probably indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesali"—RayChaudhuri, op.ci., p. 78, n. 2.

^{42.} Ibid., p. 76.

^{43. &}quot;In the time of Buddha, and for many centuries afterwards, the people of Vaisali were called Licchavis; and in the *Trikandasesha* the names of Licchavi, Videhi, and Tirabhukti have given as synonymous."—Cunningham op. cit., p. 09.

so situated that it could take a member of the other Jaina royal family as a bridegroom for its princess. This incident alone warrants the conclusion that the Licchavis had a distinct sympathy and respect for the Jainas, but the literary and the historical traditions of the Jainas do not stop with this solitary incident alone. We further know that Cellana (also called Vedehi), the youngest of the seven daughters of King Cetaka, ⁴⁴was married to Bimbisara, the great Saisunga of Magadha, and that both Bimbisara and Cellana (Celana) were great Jainas themselves. ⁴⁵

Besides Cellana, Cetaka had six other daughters, out of whom one preferred to be a nun and the other five were married in one or the other royal family of eastern India. How far this fact can be taken as an historical truth we cannot say, but hardly with any exception almost all those ruling dynasties with whom the Licchavis were thus connected can be fully identified in the light of modern research. The names of these Licchavi princesses are Prabhavati, Padmavati, Mrgavati, Siva, Jyeshtha, Sujyeshtha and Cellana. 46

Of these, Prabhavati, the eldest, was married to King Udayana of Vitabhaya, which has been identified at various places in the Jaina literature with a town of Sindhu-Sauvira-

^{44.} वेसालिओ चेडओ सत्त थ्याओ.....—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 676.

^{45. &}quot;Bimbisara had a son known as Vedehi-Putto Ajatasatru in the canonical Pali texts, and as Kunika by the Jainas. The later Buddhist tradition makes him a son of the Kosala Devi; the Jaina tradition, confirmed by the standing epithet of Vedehi-Putto, son of the princess of Videha, in the older Buddhist books makes him a son of Cellana."

⁻⁻⁻Rhyas Davids, C.H.I., i., p. 183.

देव्या चेल्लणया सार्धमपराह्वऽन्यदा नृपः ।

वीरं समवसरणस्थितं वन्दितुमभ्यागात् ।।

वन्दित्वा श्रीमदर्हन्तं वलितौ तौ च दंपति ।

⁻Hemacandra, op. ci., vv. 11-12, p. 86.

^{46.} Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 676; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 187, [. 77.

Desa.⁴⁷ But to what part of country these literary evidences allude we cannot exactly say, because on the basis of various sources it has been identified with different places in the west and north-west of India. Cunningham identifies it with "the province of Badari or Eder, at the head of Gulf of Cambay." Dr. Rhys Davids more or less agrees with Cunningham, and places Sauvira in his map to the north of Kathiawar and along the Gulf of Cutch. Alberuni identifies it with Multan and Jahravar, and this is also accepted by Mr. Dey. 50

On the other hand the Jaina traditions are as follows:

Abhyadevasuri, in his commentary on the Bhagavati, puts his interpretaion in the following words: सिन्धुद्या आसवाः सावीरा-जनपदविशेषाः सिन्धुसौवीरास्तेषु ...विगता ईतयो भयानि च यतस्तद्वीतिभयं विदब्भेति केचित्। 51

The story of Udayana translated by Meyer from the *Uttara-dhyayana-Sutra* mentions Vitabhaya as follows: "There was in city in the countries of Sindhu and Sovira, called Viyabhaya, a king, Udayana by name. . . "52

"The Satrunjaya Mahatmaya places it in Sindu or Sind."53

From all these identifications it seems that the country roughly corresponds to a portion of Sind of the east of the River Indus and of Rajputana to the north-west of Malwa. This is

^{47.} सिधुसोवीरेसु वीतीभए नगरे . उदायणे नामं राया . तस्स . पभावती नामं देवी.—Bhagavati sut. 491, p. 618. Cf. also Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 676; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 190, p. 77; सिन्धुसौवीरदेशेऽस्ति पुरं वीतभयाक्टयम् ।—Ibid., v. 327, p. 147; Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 97.

^{48.} Cunningham, op. cit., p. 569.

^{49.} Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, map facing p. 320.

^{50.} Sachau, Alberuni's India i., p. 302. Cf. Dey p. 183.

^{51.} Bhagavati, sut, 492, pp. 320-321.

^{52.} Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 97. For the story in the Uttaradhyayana see Laxmi Vallabha's commentary (Dhanapatasimha's edition), pp. 552-561.

^{53.} Cf. Dey, p. 183.

also confirmed by the fact that Udayana went through the deserts of Marwar and Rajputana, where his army began to die of thirst during the war which he had declared against the king of Avanti.⁵⁴

Besides these identifications one thing we get about Sindhu-Sauvira-Desa from Varahamihira's division of Baratavarsha is this, that it formed one of the nine divisions into which the country was divided. The historical and geographical importance accruing from this justifies the Jaina sources to some extent when they say that, along with Vitabhaya, Udayana was the overlord of three hundred and sixty-three other towns. Furthermore, from the life of Kumarpala of the twelfth century A.D. we know that during his career he brought to Pattana 57

^{54.} उत्तरतां च महं स्कन्धावारस्तूषां मर्तृमारब्धः Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 299. Cf. Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 109. It may be mentioned here that, according to the Buddhist traditions, Roruka was the capital of Sauvira. Cf. C.H.I., I., P. '73; Dey, p. 170. According to Cunningham, Roruka was "probably Alor, the old city of Sind."—Cunningham, op. cit., p. 700.

^{55.} Varahamihira calls each of the Nava-Khandas a Varga. He says: "By them (the Vargas) Bharatavarsha—i.e., half of the world—is divided into nine parts: the central one, the eastern one, etc."—Sachau, op. cit., p. 6. "According to this arrangement. . . . Sindhu-Sauvira was the chief district of the west; but there is a discrepancy between this epitome of Varaha and his details, as Sindhu-Sauvira is there assigned to the south-west along with Anarta."—Ibid., p. 7.

^{56.} बीतभयादिनगरित्रशितिश्वातीप्रभु: —Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 328, p. 147. "This King Udayana lived exercising the sovereignty over sixteen countries, beginning with Sindhu-Sauvira, three hundred and sixty-three cities, beginning with Vitabhaya....."—Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 97.

^{57. &}quot;Anahila-Pattana, Virawal-Pattana or Pattana, called also Northern Baroda in Gujarat, founded in Samvat 802 or A.D. 776, after the destruction of Valabhi by Banaraja or Vamsaraja. The town was called Anahilapattana, after the name of cowherd who poined out the site... Hemacandra, The Jaina grammarian and lexicographer, flourished in the court of Kumarapala, the king of Anahilapattana (A.D. 1142-1173), and was his spiritual guide. He died at the age of eighty-four in A.D. 1172, in which year Kumarapala became a convert to Jainism... but according to other authorities, the conversion took place in A.D. 1159. After the overthrow of Vallabhi in the eighth century Anahilapattana became the chief city of Gujarat, or Western India, till the fifteenth century.... "—Dey, p. 6.

a Jaina idol⁵⁸ which, according to Hemacandra, had been lying underground at Vitabyhaya since the days of Udayana.⁵⁹

This much about Sindhu-Sauvira-Desa and its metropolis Vitabhaya. About its ruler, Udayana, there are not many data wherefrom to infer historically. In the words of Dr. RayChaudhuri "it is difficult to disentangle the kernel of historical truth from the husk of popular fables"60; but it must be admitted that there are a few facts about Udayana which can be gleaned from the Jaina annals and which deserve some notice, howsoever little, on the part of historians. According to these annals Udayana of Sauvira-Desa in an open fight defeated his dependent Canda Paradvota of Avanti, 61 who is a historical person, and about whom we shall see in detail in is relation as husband to Siva, the fourth daughter of Cetaka. Besides this we know that Udayana was succeeded by his nephew Kesi, in whose reign Vitabhaya went to wreck and ruin. 62 One cannot say if this is all a mere fiction or this is itself the reason why we have not traces of the history of this great part of the country, though we know

^{58.} Jayasimhasuri, Kumarapala-Bhupala-Caritra-Mahakavya, Sarga IX, vv. 261, 265, 266.

^{59.} उदायने शिवगते . . । तदेव प्रतिमा . . । भविष्यति . . भूगता ।। राजः कुमारपालस्य . . . पुण्येन . . । स्वन्यमानस्थले मंधु प्रतिमाविभविष्यति ।।—Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 20, 22, 83, pp. 158, 160.

^{60.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 123. This war between the two, according to the legend, had taken place becuase Pradyota had run away with a servant girl and an image of Jina which belonged to Udayana. "There upon he sent a messenger to Pajjoya 'I care nothing for the servant girl. Send me the image.' He did not give itUdayana hurriedly took the field together with the ten kings (his vassals).When Pajjoya descended he was bound (captured by Udayana)."—Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., pp. 109-110. Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 299.

^{62.} तए ण से केसीकुमारे राया जाए. —Bhagavati-Sutra, sut. 491, p. 619. "when he (Udayana) died, a deity let a shower of dust fall . . . Even to this day it lies buried."—Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., pp. 115-116.

on good authority that at one time it formed one of the "nine-Vargas" of Bharatrvarsha.

About Udayan's and his wife Prabhavati's attitude towards the religion of the Jinas we have ample proof, direct and otherwise, in the canonical literature of the Jainas, on which we can base our own inferences. At one place Prabhavati, the Licchavi princess, having performed the worship of a Jaina image, says: "The Arhat, who is free from love, hatred and delusion, who knows everything, who is endowed with the eight miraculous powers, who wears the form of the supreme god of gods, may he grant me a sight of himself." 63

This shows with what respect the queen of Sauvira looked at the Jaina faith.⁶⁴ Moreover, from the *Uttaradhyayana* and other canonical literature we know that the king too was no less a believer in the religion of the Jina,⁶⁵ though originally he was "devoted to Brahmanic ascetics."⁶⁶ He even went to the extent of renouncing the world,⁶⁷ and when the question of the succession of his son Abhii came before him he says to himself: "If I renounce the world after appointing Prince Abhii to royal power, then Abhii will become infatuated with royal power and royal dominion down to the country and with the enjoyment of human pleasures and will stray to and fro

^{63.} Ibid., p. 105.

^{64.} प्रभावत्या . . अन्तः पुरे चैत्यगृष्ठं कारितं, . . . भक्तप्रत्याख्यानेन मृता देवलोकं गता. — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 298. Cf. Meyer (J.J.), op. and loc. cit.,; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 404, p. 150.

^{65. &}quot;Udayana, the bull of kings of Sauvira, renounced the world and turned monk; he entered the order and reached perfection." —Jacobi, S.B.E. xlv., p. 87. In a note to this Jacobi writes: "He was contemporary with Mahavira."—Ibid.

^{66.} Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 103. स च तापसभक्तः — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 298; Hemacandra, op. cit., p. 149.

^{67.} तए णं से उदायणे राया . . . समणस्स भगवओ जाव पव्यहर . —Bhagvati, sut. 492, p. 620; Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., p. 114.

in the beginningless, endless tanglewood of the Samsara. Therefore it is evidently better that I renounce the world after appointing my sister's son, Prince Kesi, to royal power."68

Thus the entire change in the heart of Udayana is evident from this incident. This has made his renunciation proverbial with the Jainas. We find in the Antagada-Dasao as passage referring to Udayana—viz. "Then king Alakkhe... withdrew from the world in the same way as king Udayana, save that he appointed his eldest son to rule over his kingdom." It may be said here that in a note to this Dr. Barnett has wrongly taken this passage to refer to Udayana, "king of Kosambi and son of Sayanie (Satanika) by Migavai, daughter of Cedaga, king of Vaisali."

Furthermore, the treatment offered by Udayana to the Avanti Pradyota, whom he had taken as a captive during the war, is illustrative of the fact that he strictly adhered to the "precept that during the *Paryushanaparvan* even the most deadly enmity should be given up." It so happened that on the occasion of the *Paryushanaparvan*, although Udayana himself observed a fast he, notwithstanding, gave orders that Canda Pradyota be served with anything he liked. However the latter, from fear of being poisoned, did not wish to eat the food that was brought him, and said that he too had a fast to observe, being, as he was, of the same religion as Udayana. This was reported to the king, and as a real Jaina he replied: "I know that he is a

^{68.} Ibid., pp. 113-114. एवं खलु अभीयीकुमारे कामभोगेसु मुच्छिउ भाइणेज्जं किस कुमारं रज्जे ठावेत्ता. .—Bhagvati, sut. 491, p. 619.

^{69.} Barnett, p. 96.

^{70.} Ibid., p. 96, n. 2.

^{71.} Bhandarkar, Report for 1883-1884, p. 142; Pajjusana or Paryushana, the sacred festival at the close of the Jaina year. Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), p. 76; पज्जोसिवयाणं खिमयव्यं समाविषव्यं.....Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 59, pp. 191-192.

rogue, but while he is a captive my *Pajjusana* even does not become pure and auspicious."⁷²

Coming next to Padmavati we find that she was married to king Dadhivahana of Campa, ⁷³ once a great centre of Jainism. ⁷⁴ Haribhadra, in his commentary on the *Avasyaka-Sutra*, clearly states that both the king and queen were great adherents of the Jaina church. Considering the historical importance that Campa enjoys in the Jaina annals there is nothing strange if one assumes on the authority of the Jaina literature that the family of Dadhivahana had a living interest in the Jaina doctrines. ⁷⁵

"Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Candana or Candrabala was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahavira had attained the Kevaliship." Jaina narrative and other literature are full of references to this first female disciple of Mahavira. It was she who headed all the female lay and other worshippers of Vardhamana in his own days. The political significance

^{72.} Cf. Bhandarkar, op. and loc. cit.,; p. 110-111; Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 59, p. 192. सद्य पर्युषणा, राजोपोषित:, स भणति- अहमप्युपोषित:, नमापि मातापितरी संयतौ, etc.—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 300.

^{73.} दत्ता पद्मावती चम्पायां दिधवाहनाय *Ibid.*, pp. 676, 677. *Cf.* Meyer (J.J.), *op. cit.*, p. 122.

^{74.} Cf. Dey, p. 44; Dey, J.A.S.B. (New Series), x., 1914, p. 334.

^{75.} Haribhadra tells us that, leaving the kingdom to their son Karakandu, both the king and the queen joined the order; पद्मावती देवी वन्तपुरे आर्याणा मूले प्रव्रजितः करकराङ्मीहाशासनो जातः.....—Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 716, 717, 718. It is further said that Karakandu also, like his father, finally joined the order. Cf. ibid., p. 719. For further reference about Karakandu and his parents see Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., pp. 122-136 Santyacarya, Uttaradhyayana-Sishyahita, pp. 300-303; Laxmi-Vallabha, Uttaradhyayana-Dipika, pp. 254-259.

^{76.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 69. Cf. Dey, p. 321.

^{77.} समणस्स भगवओ महावीरस्स अज्जचंदणापामुक्खओ छत्तीसं अज्जियासाहस्सीओ हुत्था— Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 133, p. 123. Cf. Dey, op. and loc. cit.

connected with her life is that when "Satanika, king of Kausambi attacked Campa, the capital of Dadhivahana, Candana fell into the hands of a robber, but all along the she maintained the vows of the order." This statement of Dr. RayChaudhuri is based on the Jaina sources, and the whole story of Candana in short runs as follows: During the war between her father and King Satanika she was caught hold of by one of the enemy's army and was sold in Kausambi to a banker named Dhanavaha, who named her Candana inspite of her already bearing the name Vasumati as her family name. After a short time the banker's wife, Mula, felt jealous of her, and having cut her hair put her into custody. In this condition she once served a part of her food to Mahavira, and finally joined his ranks as a nun. 79

Before we pass on to Mrgavati, the third daughter of Cetaka, a few words about Campa in the light of Jaina history will not be out of place. The town of Campa seems to have been situated at a distance of a few miles in the neighbourhood of modern Bhagalpur, and is known to us under some such names as Campapuri, Campanagar, Malini and Campa-Malini. 80 Its importance in Jaina history is self-evident when we know that Mahavira spent three of his rainy-seasons in Campa, the capital of Anga, and its suburbs (Prstha Campa), and that it is known to us as the place of both the birth and death of Vasupujya, the twelfth Tirthankara. Again, as the headquarters of Candana

^{78.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 69. Cf. ibid., p. 84. 'Campa was occupied and destroyed by Satanika II., the king of Kausambi, a few years before Bimbisara's annexation."—Pradhan, p. 214.

^{79.} Cf. Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 188, pp. 106-107. Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 223-225; Hemacandra, op. cit., pp. 59-62. For further references about Candana see Barnett, pp. 98-100, 102, 106.

^{80.} Cf. Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval Indian, p. 44; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 546-547, 722-723. Now represented by the village of Campapur on the Ganges, near Bhagalpur; anciently it was the capital of the country of Anga, corresponding to the modern district of Bhagalpur.

and her father it is remembered by the Jainas as a great centre of their religion. There are signs of old and new Jaina temples of both the Digambara and Svetambara sects built for Vasupujya and other Tirthankara as the chief Jinas. The *Uvasaga-Dasao* and the *Antagada-Dasao* mention that the temple called Caitya Punnabhadda existed at Campa at the time of Sudharman, one of the eleven disciples of Mahavira who succeeded as the head of the Jaina sect on his death. The town was visited by Sudharman, the head of the Jaina hierarchy, at the time of Kunika or Ajatasatru, who came barefooted to see the Gandhara outside the city where he had taken up his abode. Sudharman's successor Jambu and Jambu's successor Prabhava also visited Campa, and Prabhava's successor, Sayambhava, lived at this city, where he composed *Dasavaikalika-Sutra*, containing in ten lectures all the essence of the sacred doctrines of Jainism." 83

"After the death of Bimbisara, Kunika or Ajatasatru made Campa his capital, put after his death his son Udayin (Udyan) transferred the seat of Government to Pataliputra. He from the Campaka-Sreshthi-Katha, a Jaina work, it appears that the town was in a very flourishing condition. In the opening lines the castes and the trades of the town are enumerated. There were perfumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy sellers, jewellers, leather-

^{81.} Dey, op. cit., pp. 44-45. "From the inscriptions on some Jaina images exhumed from the neighbourhood of an old Jaina temple at Ajmer it appears that these images, which were of Basupuja. Mallinatha, Parsvanatha and Vardhamana, were dedicated in the thirteenth century A.D.—i.e. ranging from Samvat 1239-1247."—Ibid., p. 45 Cf. J.A.S.B., vii., p. 52.

^{82.} Hoernle, op. cit., ii., p. 2, notes. "verily, Jambu, in those days. . . there was a city named Campa... . a sanctuary Punnabhadde. . . ."—Barnett, pp. 97-98, 100. Cf. Dey, op. and loc. cit.

^{83.} Dey, op. and loc. cit. अन्यदा श्रीगणधरः सुधर्मा . . . । जगाम चम्पां . . . ।। तदा कृणिकः . . . । तपक्त पादुको । सुधर्मस्वामिनं दृष्टा दूरादिप नमोऽकरोत् ।।—Hemacandra, Parisishtaparvan, Canto IV, vv. 1, 9, 33, 35.

^{84.} Ibid., Canto VI, vv. 21 ff.

tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, washermen," etc.⁸⁵

Coming to Mrgavati, the third daughter of Cetaka, we find that she was married to King Satanika⁸⁶ of Kausambi,⁸⁷ and was known also as the princess of Videha.⁸⁸ 'Vinayavijayaganin, in his Subodhika commentary to the Kalpa-Sutra, draws from old Jaina sources, and says that when Mahavira visited the town of Kausambi the king of that place was Satanika and the queen was Mrgavati."⁸⁹ That both the king and the queen were devotees of Mahavira can be well established from the Jaina literature itself. Looking to the family atmosphere in which she was brought up it is natural that Mrgavati could not be anything else than a Jaina.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the Jaina tradition tells us in particular that the king's Amatya (minister) and his wife also were Jainas by faith.⁹¹.

About Satanika's fight with Dadhivahana we have already referred. The other fact of historical importance that we can get from the Jaina literature is this, that "his son and successor

^{85.} Dey, op. and loc. cit.

^{86.} Satanika himself was styled also Parantapa. Cf. Rhys Davids, p. 3.

^{87. &}quot;Kausambi, Kausambi-nagar or Kosam, an old village on the left bank of the Jamuna, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad."—Dey. op. cit., p. 96.

^{88. &}quot;Satanika....married a princess of Videha, as his son is called Vaidehiputra."—RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 84. Cf. Law (B.C.), p. 106.

^{89.} Pradhan, op. cit., p. 257. 89. ततः क्रमेण कौशाम्ब्यां गनस्तत्र शतानीको राजा मृगावती देवी।—Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika Tika, sut. 118, p. 106.

^{91.} सुगुप्तोऽमात्यो, नन्दा तस्य भार्या, सा च श्रमणोपासिका, सा च श्राद्धीति मृगावत्या वयस्या, अमात्योऽपि सपन्तिक आगतः स्वापिनं वन्दते, —Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 222, 225, Cf. Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika Tika, sut. 118, p. 106.

was the famous Udayana, the contemporary of Bimbisara."⁹² "Again, the grand father of Udayana," observes Dr. Pradhan, "is named Saharsranika by Bhasa, and Vasudaman by the *Puranas*. Sahasranika was a contemporary of Bimbisara and received religious instructions from Mahavira. The Jainas call him Sasanika, which is evidently a softening of 'Sahasanika,' the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit from 'Sahasranika.' Sasanika was probably the same as the Puranic Vasudaman and had his son Satanika II. Udayan was the son of Satanika II."⁹³

In this the learned doctor is fully authorised by the *Bhagavati-Sutra*, the fifth *Anga* of the Jainas. ⁹⁴ We know further that Satanika's sister Jayanti was a staunch follower of Mahavira. ⁹⁵ About Udayana we shall speak at length a little later along with his father-in-law, Canda Pradyota, and his successors, but at present we need say this much only that by the Jainas he is claimed to have been a Jaina, and that "he was a great king who really made some conquests, and contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Anga and Magadha." ⁹⁶

Taking Siva, the fourth daughter of Cetaka, we find that she was married to Canda Pradyota of Ujjaini,⁹⁷ the capital of Avanti or ancient Malwa.⁹⁸ He is known to us as Canda

^{92.} RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit., cf. Barnett, p. 96, n. 2.

^{93.} Pradhan, "The Katha-Sarit-Sagara says that Satanika's son Saharsranika was the father of Udayana. Thus the Katha-Sarit-Sagara reverses the order certainly wrongly."—Ibid., Cf. Tawney (ed. Penzer), Katha-Sarit-Sagara i., pp. 95-96; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

^{94.} सहस्साणीयस्स रब्रो पोत्ते सयाणियस्स रब्रो पुत्ते चेडगस्स रब्रो नत्तुए मिगावतीए देवीए अत्तए जयतीए समणोवासियाए भित्तज्जए उदायणे नामं राया होत्था, etc. —Bhagavati, sut. 441, p. 556.

^{95.} तए णं सा जयंती समणोवासिया . . . पव्चड्या जाव सव्यदुक्खप्पहीणा।. . . .—lbid. sut. 443, p. 558.

^{96.} Pradhan, op. cit., p. 123.

^{97.} Cf. Avasyaka Sutra, p. 677.

^{98.} Cf. Dey, op. cit., p. 209.

Pradyota Mahasena—fierce Pradyota, the processor of a great army,⁹⁹ and as the father-in-law of Udayana of Kausambi, the capital of the country of Vamsa or Vatsa. 100 "The king of Avanti in the Buddha's time," observes Dr. Rhys Davids, "was Pajjota the Fierce, who reigned at the capital Ujjeni. There is a legend about him which shows that he and his neighbour, King Udena (Udayana) of Kosambi, were believed to have been contemporary, connected by marriage, and engaged in war."101 This "legend" is fully corroborated by Jaina sources. We know from these sources that the Vatsa king, Udayana, was married to Vasavadatta, ¹⁰² the daughter of the Pradyota of Avanti. ¹⁰³ Furthermore, to state in brief, Hemacandra tells us that Canda Pradyota had asked Queen Mrgavati from Satanika, and on the refusal of the latter he had declared a war against him. It so happened that in the meantime Satanika died, and when Mahavira came down to Kausambi Canda Pradyota was induced to giveup his feeling of revenge and to allow Mrgavati to become a nun with a promise to make Udayana the king of Kausambi. 104

This Udyana "the king of Vatsa, is the central figure in a large cycle of Sanskrit stories of love and adventure; and in these Pradyota, the king of Ujjain, the father of the peerless

^{99.} Cf. Pradhan, op. cit., p. 230.

^{100.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 83. "Kausambi-Nagar or Kosam was the capital of Vamsadesa or Vatasyadesa, the kingdom of Udayana "—Dey, p. 96. Cf. ibid., p. 28.

^{101.} Rhys Davids, C.H.I., i., p. 185.

^{102.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 674; Hemacandra, Trishasti-Salaka, Parva X, pp. 142-145.

^{103. &}quot;Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the central provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that this Janapada was divided into two parts: the northern part had its capital at Ujjain, and the southern part, called Avanti Dakshinapatha, had its capital at Mahassati or Mahismati, usually identified with the modern Mandhatha on the Narrbada."—RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 92.

^{104.} Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 232, p. 107.

Vasavadatta, plays no small part." 105 As just remarked, he is said to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Avanti, Anga and Magadha. From different sources, whether fully reliable or not, we know that Vasuladatta or Casavadatta, the daughter of Pradyota, king of Avanti; Padmavati, the sister of Darsaka, the king of Magadha, and the daughter of Drdhavarman, the king of Anga, were his queens. 106 Of these Vasavadatta was the cheif queen of Udayana. Both Buddhist and Jaina literature "give a long and romantic story of the way in which Vasuladatta, the daughter of Pajiota of Avanti, became the wife, or rather one of the three wives, of king Udayana of Kosambi." 107 As to his attitude towards religion Udayana had before him his mother, and also relatives like Bimbisara, Cellana and other, who were more or less the leading figures of the Jaina community of those days, and this naturally created in him respect and symapthy for the Jaina church. 108

About the Avanti-Pradyota and his Queen Siva's sentiments for the Jaina church Hemacandra tells us that he had his distinct sympathies for Jaina faith, and that it was his permission that his eight queens, Angravati and others, along with Mrgavati of Kausambi, joined the order. ¹⁰⁹ In his connection with Udayana of Sauvira we have already seen that Pradyota himself had declared that he also was traditionally a Jaina himself. No doubt

^{105.} Rapson, C.H.I., p. 331. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 122; Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 285.

^{106.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.; Pradhan, p. 212, 246. "Tradition has preserved a long story of adventures of Udena and his three wives."—Rhys Davids, p. 187.

^{107.} Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 4; Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 674; Hemacandra, op. cit., p. 187.

^{108.} सामी समोसङ्के . . . । तए णं से उदायणे राया . . . पज्नुवासए।etc.—Bhagavati, sut. 442, p. 556.

^{109.} सहागृह्णमृगावत्या प्रव्रज्यां स्वामिसाविधौ ।
अष्टावंगारवत्थाद्याः प्रद्योतनृपते, प्रियाः ।।
—Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 233, p. 107.

the fierce and unscrpulous character of the lord of Avanti is known both to the Buddhists and the Jainas, 110 but in this particular incident one cannot see for what earthly reason he should have falsely represented himself to be a Jaina. If he had his own suspicion he could as well have refused the food on some other ground than this. Whether a fact or a fiction, one thing is certain—that the moral of this particular incident is to show something else than the evil nature of this or that king. The leading idea is that though a great enemy of Pradyota as Udayana was, he did not like to see a captive before him, whether a Jaina or not, during the days of his religious festival. 111

Thus out of the seven daughters of Cetaka, Prabhavati, Padmavati, Mrgavati, Siva and Cellana were married respectively to the lords of Saurvira, Anga, Vatsa (Vasmsa), Avanti and Magadha. Of these the last four are included both in the Buddhist and the Jaina lists of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas*, ¹¹² while nothing more can be said about the Sauvira-Desa. Of the remaining two daughters of Cetaka, Jyeshtha was married to Nandivardhana, brother of Lord Mahavira and ruler of Kundagrama, ¹¹³ while Sujyeshtha joined the order of Mahavira's disciples. ¹¹⁴ All these facts combined go a long way to show how far Vardhamana's influence reached through his mother Trisala, the Licchavi princess. It is clear from this that at time Mahavira lived and preached, the Licchavis where recognised as Kshatriyas, who held their heads very high on account of their high birth and with whom the highest born princes of eastern India considered

^{110.} Cf. Rhys Davids, op. and cit.; . . . सो धुत्तो — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 300; Bhandarkar, op. and loc. cit.; धूर्तसाधर्मिक — Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 59, p. 192.

^{111.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 300; Meyer (J.J.), op. cit., pp. 110-111; Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 59, p. 192.

^{112.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

^{113.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 677; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 192, p. 77.

^{114.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 685; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 266, p. 80.

it an honour to enter into matrimonial alliance.

In short, it was through the Licchavis, and thereby through the ruling dynasty of Vaisali, that the reformed church of Mahavira got a solid support from all directions in its early days. ¹¹⁵ It was through them that the religion of Mahavira had spread over Sauvira, Anga, Vatsa, Avanti, Videha and Magadha, all of which were the most powerful kingdoms of the time. This is why the Buddhist works do not mention Cetaka, the king of Vaisali, though they tell us about the constitutional government of Vaisali. ¹¹⁶ To quote Dr. Jacobi, "Buddhists took no notice of him, as his influence. . . was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact that Vaisali used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhist as a seminary of heresies and dissesnt." ¹¹⁷

In addition to these there are other stray references to the Licchavis in the Jaina Sutras which more or less confirm the fact that they were nothing short of Jainas themselves. Taking first the Sutrakrtanga we find that they were highly respected by the Jainas. According to it, "A Brahmana or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Licchavi, who enters the order eating alms given by others is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra." 118

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

^{115.} Cf. Dey, Notes on Ancient Anga, p. 322; Buhler, Indian Sect of the Jainas, p. 27.

^{116.} Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., Int., p. xii. See Turner, J.A.S.B., VII., P. 992.

^{117.} Jacobi, op. cit., Int., p. xiii.

^{118.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xlv., p. 321.

illumination¹¹⁹ on the. . . fasting day; for the said: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter!" ¹²⁰

Besides these two quotations from the Jaina Sutras there is something about a king, Jiyasattu, in the Uvasaga-Dasao which, if taken in the light of the interpretaion of Dr. Hoernle, is of the utmost importance when we are examining the relations that existed between Cetaka, the Licchavi king, and the Jainas. In the first of the ten lectures of this seventh Anga of the Jainas we find in the reply of Sudharma¹²¹ to the question of Jambu what was the support of it—viz.

"Truly, Jambu, at that time and at that period, there was a city called Vaniyagama. Outside of the city of Vaniyagama, in a north-easternly direction, there was a *Celya* called Duipalasa. At that time Jiyasattu was king over the city of Vaniyagama.

There also lived then in Vaniyagama a householder called Ananda, 122 who was prosperous and without any equals.

"At that time and at that period, the *Samana*, the blessed Mahavira arrived on a visit, and a company of people went out to hear him. Then King Jiyasattu also went out to hear him, just as King Kuniya had done on another occasion, and having done on so. . . .he stood waiting on him." ¹²³

The Jiyasattu mentioned here has rightly been identified

^{119. &}quot;The Jainas celebrate the *Nirvana* of Mahavira with an illumination on the night of new moon in the month Kartika."—*Ibid.*, xxii., p. 266.

^{120.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., p. 266.

^{121. &}quot;... one of the eleven disciples (Ganadhara) of Mahavira, who succeeded him as head of the Jaina sect, being himself succeeded by Jambu, the last of the so called Kevil ..." Hoernle, op. cit., p. 2, n. 5.

^{122.} Ananda is known to the Jainas as a typical example of faithful lay-adherent of Jainism. *Cf.* Hemacandra, *Yoga-Sastra*, chap. iii., v. 151; Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 7ff.

^{123.} Ibid., pp. 3-7, 9.

by both Hoernle and Barnett¹²⁴ with Cetaka or Cedaga, the maternal uncle of Mahavira, because Vaniyagama, the city of Jiyasattu, was, as we shall see later on, either another name of Vaisali or some portion of it which was so called. To quote Dr. Hoernle: "In the Suryaprajnapati Jyasattu is mentioned as ruling over Mithila, the capital of the Videha country. . .. Here he is mentioned as ruling over Vaniyagama or Vaisali. On the other hand Cedaga, the meternal uncle of Mahavira, is said to have been a king of Vaisali and Videha. . . It would seem that Jiyasattu and Cedaga were the same persons." 125 Furthermore, the king Kuniya, with whom Jiyasattu is compared here, is none else but Ajatasatru, the son and successor of Bimbisara of Magadha. The comparison is quite appropriate when we know that Kuniya, like his father, was a great Jaina. Whether or not this was the state of things throughout his career we shall examine later on, but this much is certain, that he had his distinct sympathies for the Jaina church¹²⁶ and must have more than once come into personal touch with Lord Mahavira.

We have already seen that this Kuniya or Kunika had an occasion for an open fight with his grandfather, Cedaga, for an elephant with which his younger brother had run away to Vaisali. It appears from this that by way of rivalry with Ajatasattu (Ajatasatru) Cedega was also called Jiyasattu. Once again, to cite Dr. Hoernle, "the name Jiyasattu (Skr. Jitasatru), he may have received, as has been suggested, by way of rivalry with Ajatasattu (Skr. Ajatasatru), king of Magadha, who at first was also a patron of Mahavira, though afterwards he exchanged him for Buddha. To the Jainas Ajatasattu is known under that name of Kuniya, and under that name he is compared with Jiyasattu here and elsewhere." 127

^{124.} Barnett, Int., p. vi. For further references to Jiyasattu in the eighth and the ninth Angas of the Jainas see *ibid.*, pp. 62, 113.

^{125.} Hoernle, op. cit., p. 6, n. 9.

^{127.} Hoernle, op. and loc. cit.

From all these traditions connected with the Licchavi Kshatriyas it is highly probable that, like the Videhans, they were also Jainas themselves. 128 If this is granted, the great and powerful dynasty of the Licchavis was really a valuable source of strength to the reformed church of Mahavira. Their very capital formed the headquarters of the Jaina community during the days of Mahavira. From the Jaina literature itself we know that Mahavira was closely connected with the metropolis of the Licchavis. Vaisali claims the last prophet of the Jainas as its own citizen. The Sutrakrtanga says about Mahavira as follows: "Thus spoke the Arhat Jnatiputra, the reverend, famous native of Vaisali, who possessed the highest knowledge and the highest faith, who possesed (simultaneously) the highest knowledge and faith."129 "This passage is also repeated in another Jaina work, the Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, with a slight variation. 130 Mahavira is spoken of as Vaisalie or Vaisalika—i.e. a native of Vaisali. Moreover Abhayadeva, in his commentary on the Bhagavait, 2, I. 12, 2, explains Vaisalika by Mahavira, and speaks of Vaisali as Mahavirajanani or "the mother of Mahavira." 131 In addition to this we know from the Kalpa-Sutra that out of the fortytwo rainy-seasons which he spent as a missionary during his later ascetic life mahavira did not neglect the city of his birth, but passed no less than twelve years at Vaisali. 132

Furthermore, the importance of this close relation betwen the last Tirthankara of the Jainas and the Licchavis is greatly enhanced when we know from different sources that Vaisali,

^{128.} For further facts about the strength of Jainism in Vaisali see Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 72-75. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 27.

^{129.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xiv., p. 261.

^{130.} Cf. Uttaradhyayana-Sutra, Lecture VI, v. 17; Jacobi, op. cit., p. 27.

^{131.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 81-82.

^{132.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xxi., p. 264. Cf. Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 32-33.

the capital of the Licchavis, was under a powerful dynasty which wielded considerable influence in both the political and social circles of its time. "Vaisali", observes Dr. Law, "the large city' par excellence, is renowned in Indian history as the capital of the Licchavi Rajas and the headquarters of the great and powerful Vajjian confederacy. This great city is intimately associated with the early history of both Jainism and Buddhism; it carries with itself the sacred memories of the founders of these two great faiths that evolved in north-eastern India five hundred years before the birth of Christ." 133

One thing still remains to be considered, and that is about the relations that existed between Vaisali and Kundagrama. ¹³⁴ Considering the fact that Vaisali was the most flourishing town in India about five hundred years before the beginning of our era, one thing is certain—that Kundagrama, as has been already remarked, must have been as division of Vaisali. Taking both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions, scholars like Hoernle, ¹³⁵ Rockhill ¹³⁶ and others agree to the fact that Vaisali was divided into three districts—namely, those of "Vaisali proper, Kundapura, and Vaniyagama—occupying respectively the south-eastern and

^{133.} *Ibid.*, p. 81. "This was the capital of the Licchavi clan, already closely related by marriage to the kings of Magadha. . .It was the headquarters of the powerful. Vajjian confederacy.....It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the sixth century B.C. It must have been a great flourishing place."—Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41; Charpentier. *C.H.I.*, i., p. 157.

^{134. &}quot;Under the name of Kundagrama the city of Vaisali is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahavira, the Jaina Tirthankara, who was also called Vesalie or the man of Vaisali. It is the Kotigama of the Buddhists."—Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 107.

^{135.} Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 8-7.

^{136.} Rockhill, The life of Buddha, pp. 62-63.

western portions of the area of the total city." Moreover the fact that all three districts were closely connected with Vaisali is clear from the tradition that Mahavira at Vaisali are put down in the Kalpa-sutra as follows: "Twelve in Vaisali and Vanijagrama." Both Hoernle and Nundo Lal Dey go a step farther than this and identify them at the outset with Vaisali, holding that the ancient town of Vaisali was known also as Kundapura or Vanijagrama, but finally they nevertheless agree to the fact that both of them were seperate divisions of Vaisali, the state of the Licchavis. 139

^{137.} Hoemle, op. cit., p. 4. Cf. Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 88; Dey, op. cit., p. 17. It may be mentioned here that in the Uvasaga-Dasao there is something in connection with Vaniyagama to the following effect: ("At the city of Vaniyagama, to the upper, lower and middle classes").— Hoernle, op. cit., i. p. 36. Curiously enough this agrees with description of Vaisali given in the Dulva.—Rockhill, op. cit., p. 62. "There were three districts in Vesalie. In the first district were 14,000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district there were 21,000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle, and the lower classes according to their position."—Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., ii., p. 6, n. 8. Dey has taken the three districts or quarters, "Vaisali proper (Besarh), Kundapura (Basukunda); and Vanigama (Bania)" as "inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Bania castes respectively."—Dey, op. cit., p. 107.

^{138.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 264.

^{139. &}quot;Vaniyagama, Skr. Vanijagrama; another name of the well-known city of Vesalie (Skr. Vaisali), the capital of the Licchavi country. . . In the Kalpa-Sutra. . . . it is mentioned seperately, but in close connection with Vaisali. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesalie occupied a very extended area, which included within its circuit. . . besides Vesalie proper (now Besarh), several other places. Among the later were Vaniyagam and Kundagama or Kundapura. These still exist as villages under the names of Baniya and Basukunda. . . Hence the joint city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts."—Hoernle, op. cit., ii., pp. 3-4. "Baniyagama—Vaisali or (Besad) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Baniyagama—Vesalu (modern Besarh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Kundagama (Kundagrama), now called Basukunda, was a part of the suburb of the ancient town of Vaisali."—Dey, op. cit., pp. 23, 107.

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

It was, says Dr. Hoernle, "an oligarchic republic; its government was vested in a senate composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, and presided over by an officer who had the title of king, and was assisted by a viceroy and a commander-in-chief." "The most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaisali and the Mallas of Kusinara (Kusinagara) and Pava. As in Rome, so in Videha the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian confederacy." Thus the monarchies of a former age were succeeded by aristocratic republics like that of Vaisali with the heads of the Kshatriya clans of Kundagama and at other places. Looking at the great power that the Saisunagas were wielding—in the political atmospere of the country—such republic had doubtless a very short existence.

To quote Dr. Law, "From the account of their political institutions that can be gleaned from the Pali Buddhist canon we get an insight into the demoratic ideas of statecraft and government that prevailed among the majortiy of the Aryan clans that peopled northern India before the imperialistic policy of the Mauryas grew and developed, as we have it on the authority of the great Brahman statesman whose policy and activity were responsible, in no little measure, for the foundation of Maurya

^{140.} Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), p. 22; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

^{141.} Ibid., pp. 52, 116. Cf. Thomas (F.W.), C.H.I., i., p. 491.

Empire."¹⁴² For our purpose suffice it to say that Siddhartha, as the head of the Nata or Naya clan, must have obtained some eminence in senate and state, which is amply born out eventually by his marriage with Trisala, the sister of this republican king. ¹⁴³

Taking next the Jnatrikas ¹⁴⁴ we find that they formed the clan which gave India one of its greatest religious reformers. Their importance as a Kshatriya tribe is self-evident when we already know that they formed one of the most important clans of the "Confederacy of the Vrjis or of the Licchivis." They were the clan of Siddhartha and his son Mahavira the Jina. They had their seats at Kundapura or Kundagrama and Kollaga, ¹⁴⁵ suburbs of Vaisali. Nevertheless they were known as "Vaisalie"—i.e. inhabitants of Vaisali. ¹⁴⁶

Mahavira, the son of Siddhartha and Trisala, is undoubtedly the most noble scion of the Jnatrika clan. A sidelight on the tremendous influence exercised by this remarkable man on his fellow-men is thrown by a passage occurring in the canonical literature of his bitter antagonists, the Buddhists. The passage may be translated thus: "He is the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well stricken in years." 147

^{142.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 1-2.

^{143.} Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), p. 22; Jacobi, op. cit., Int., p. xii.

^{144.} The name of the clan is also given as the Naya or Natha clan. Cf. Law (B.C.). op. cit., p. 121; Hoernle, op. cit., p. 4, n.

^{145.} The *Uvasaga-Dasao* says about Kalinga to the following effect: "Outside of the city of Vaniyagama, in a north-eastenry direction, there was a suburb called Kollaga, which was large, strong. . . palatial, etc.,"—Hoernle, *op. cit.*, 8. *Cf.* Law (B.C.). *op. cit.*, p. 121; Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p.4, n.

^{146.} RayChaudhuri, p. 74. Cf. Barnett, Int., p. vi; Hoernle, op. and loc. cit.

^{147.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 124-125.

We have already seen that Mahavira and his parents were the followers of the tenets of Parsva, and hence with them it is highly probable that whole clan of the Naya Kshatriyas were also the followers of the same tenets. The Naya clan seems to have supported a body of monks who followed the predecessor or Mahavira, and lastly, when he appeared, the members of his clan became his devoted followers. ¹⁴⁸ The *Sutrakrtanga* tells us that those who followed the law proclaimed by Mahavira were "virtuous and righteous" and that they "confirmed each other in the law." ¹⁴⁹

Thus the Jnatrikas, being of the clan of Mahavira, naturally were greatly affected by the doctrines of Nataputta. The Jaina Sutras give an idealised picture of the Jnatrikas, and tell us that they avoided what was sinful and were afraid of sin. For instance the Sutrakrtanga observes:

"In compassion to all beings, the seers, the Jnatriputras, avoid what is sinful; afraid of it, they abstain from food especially prepared for them. They abstain from wicked deeds, afraid of injuring living beings, and do no harm to any creature; therefore they do not partake of such food. This is a maxim of the monks of our creed." ¹⁵¹

From the *Uvasaga-Dasao* we come to know that the Jnatrikas possessed a Jaina temple outside their settlement at Kollaga, which bore the name of Duipalasa. The term *Ceiya* used here has been interpreted by Dr. Hoernle to mean "properly the name of a Jaina temple or sacred shrine, but commonly applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden grove

^{148.} Cf. Stevenson (Mrs.), p. 31; Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 123.

^{149.} Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xlv., p. 256.

^{150.} Cf. Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 122.

^{151.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 416. Dr. Jacobi makes a note here that the term Jnatriputras is used as the synonym for the Jainas. Cf. ibid.

^{152.} Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., i., p. 2.

or park (*Ujjana*, *Vana-Sanda* or *Vana-Khanda*), a shrine and attendant's houses." This interpretation of the term *Ceiya* is quite appropriate, since, of course, the Jnatrikas as the followers of religion of Parsva ought to keep up a religious establishment for the accomodation of Mahavira on his periodical visits, with his disciples, to Kundapura or Vaisali. This becomes more of a certainly when we are informed that after Mahavira's assuming the vocation of a monk he used this *Ceiya* for his accommodation whenever he visited the place of his birth. 154

This much about the Jnatrikas and their attitude towards the religion propounded by one who was an ornament of their clan. "We may however, mention the fact," observes Dr. Law, "that it was he who brought the Jnatrikas into intimate touch with the neighbouring communities of eastern India and developed a religion which is still professed by millions of Indians. Another celebrity of the Jnatrika clan was Ananda, a staunch follower of Mahavira. The Jaina work, *Uvasaga-Dasao*, mentions that he had with him a treasure of four *Kror* measures of gold deposited in a safe place. Again he is represented as person whom many kings, princes and their dignitaries down to merchants found it necessary to consult on many matters requiring advice. He had a devoted wife, named Sivananda." 155

Taking next the Vajjis we find it very difficult to differentiate between them and the Licchavis. They are often associated with the city of Vaisali, which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metroplis of the entire confederacy."156

^{153.} Hoernle, op. cit., ii., p. 2, n. 4.

^{154.} Cf. *ibid.*, i. p. 6; ii., p. 9. In the *Kalpa-Sutra* we do get the *Cetya* named Duipalasa, but the part of the Sandavana of the Naya clan.— *Kalpa-Sutra*, *Subodhika-Tika*, *sut.* 115, p. 95. Cf. Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii., p. 257; Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.; Stevenson (Mrs.), p. 31.

^{155.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 125. Cf. Hoernle, Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 7-9.

^{156.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

According to Dr. Law, "the Licchavis or, to call them by their wider designation, the Vajjians, appear to have been imbued with a strong religious spirit and deep devotion. After Mahavira developed his doctrines and preached his faith of unbounded charity to all living beings in the Vajji land and in Magadha, the number of his followers among the Licchavis, appears to have been large, and some men of the highest position in Vaisali appear to have been among them, as is seen from the Buddhist books themselves." ¹⁵⁷

Thus we have seen to what extent the Videhans, the Licchavi, the Jnatrikas and the Vajjis were connected with the Jaina church. It seems that the Vajjian or the Licchavi confederacy as a whole was a great source of strength to the reformed church of Mahavira. Taking next the Mallakins we find that they too had imbibed a feeling in them of respect and sympathy for the great prophet and his doctrines.

The country of the Mallas is spoken of as one of the sixteen "great countries" (*Mahajanapadas*), and it is agreed to by both the Buddhists and the Jainas. ¹⁵⁸ At the time of Mahavira they appear to have been divided into two confederacies—one with is capital at Pava, and the other at Kusinara. ¹⁵⁹ Both the capitals are situated at a short distance from each other, and are known

^{157.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 67, 73.

^{158.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

^{159.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 147; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 79; Rhys Davids, C.H.I., I., P. 175. "Papa is a corruption of Apapapuri. Papa or Pava has been wrongly identified by General Cunningham with Padroana, which, is the modern name of ancient Pava, where Buddha ate food at the house of Cunda. Pavapuri is the modern name of the ancient Papa or Adanapuri, seven miles to the east Bihar town, where Mahavira, the Jaina Tirthankara, died."—Dey, op. cit., pp. 148, 155. Kusinara or Kusinagara is the place where Buddha died in 477 B.C. It has been identified by Professor Wilson and others with the present village of Kasia, in the east of the Gorakhpur district, and it was also anciently known as Kusavati. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 79; Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 147-148; Dey, op. cit., p. 111.

to the Jainas and Bauddhas as sacred places where their prophets reached their final liberation. We have already seen that Mahavira died here "while he was dwelling in the house of the scribe of king Hastipala or, according to Stevenson's Kalpa-Sutra, while he was spending the Paryushana (Pajjusana) at the palace of Shastipala king of Papa. There are four beautiful Jaina temples in an enclosure which marks the site of his death." 160

The connections of the Jainas with the Mallas, though not as good as those with the Licchavis, seem to be good enough to get them their support for the progress of their church. According to Dr. Law we get ample proof for this even from the Buddhist literature. "Jainism," observes the learned scholar, "found many followers among the Mallas as among many other races of eastern India. The accounts we get in the Buddhist literature of the schism that appeared in the Jaina church after the death of Mahavira amply prove this. At Pava the followers of Nigantha Nataputta were divided after the death of their great Tirthankara. 161 We find that there were both ascetics and laydevotees among these Jainas, for we read that, on account of the disputations among the ascetics, even the lay-disciples of the white robe, who followed Nataputta, showed themselves shocked, repelled and indignant at the Niganthas.' These lay-Jains appear from this passage to have been draped in white robes, just as the Svetambaras are at the present day. The Buddha as well as Sariputta, one of the principal disciples, seems to have taken advantage of the schism that appears to have overtaken the Jaina church on the death of their founder for the propagation of the rival faith. In the Pasadika Suttants we find that it is Cunda, the novice of Pava, who brings the news of the death of the great Tirthankara, Mahavira, to Ananda at Samagama in the Malla country, and the latter at once saw the importance of the event and said: 'Friend Cunda, this is a worthly subject

^{160.} *Ibid.*, p. 148. *Cf.* Buhler, p. 27; Stevenson (Rev.), *Kalpa-Sutra*, p. 91. 161. *Cf.* Buhler, *loc. cit.*

Jaina Social Life

to bring before the Exalted one. Let us go to him and tell him about it.' They hastened to the Buddha, who delivered a long discourse." ¹⁶²

Moreover, from the Jaina sources we know that the Malla people were devotedly attached to Mahavira, the last prophet of the Jainas. As already remarked, we are informed by the Kalpa-Sutra that, to mark the passing away of the Great Jina along with the nine Licchavis, nine Mallakis or Mall chiefs also were among those who observed fast and instituted an illumination on the fifteenth day of the new month with the words "since the light of the intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material mattter." Besides this it may be mentioned here that in the Antagada-Dasao, the eighth Anga of the Jainas, we get a reference to the Mallakis, along with the Ugras, the Bhojas, the Kshatriyas and the Licchavis, who went to receive Aritthanemi or Arishtanemi, the twenty-second prophet of the Jainas, when he went to the city of Baravai. 164

Taking next the eighteen Ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala we find that they too, like the Mallakis and the Licchavis, were devoted to Mahavira. They also observed fast and instituted an illumination to mark the passing away of the Great Jina. Furthermore, as we have already seen, the Jaina sources tell us that along with the Mallaki chiefs these eighteen confederate kings of Kasi-Kosala were also called by Cetaka when he came to know that Kunika had declared war against him.

Considering the Kasi-Kosala confederacy we know from different sources that the Kasis—i.e. the people of Kasi—were closely connected, both as foes and allies, with He people of

^{162.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., pp. 153 + 154. Cf. Dialogues of Buddha, pt. iii., pp. 203 ff., 203, 212.

^{163.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 266.

^{164.} Barrnet, p. 36.

^{165.} Cf. Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 128, p. 121.

Kosala and Videha. ¹⁶⁶ Of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* Kasi was probably at first the most powerful," and it is accepted as such by both the Jaina and the Buddhist lists. ¹⁶⁷ Its importance in connection with the Jaina history of the days of Parsva we have already referred to. During his wanderings as a monk Mahavira also visited this place. ¹⁶⁸ It may be mentioned here that in the *Antagada-Dasao* there is some reference to a king named Alakkhe of the city of Varanasi who joined the order. ¹⁶⁹

Finally, considering Kosala of the Kasi-Kosala confederacy we find that, like Kasi, this also was one of the sixteen states, of considerable extent and power, and it also is found in both the Buddhist and the Jaina literature. Geographically, Kosala roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh, and it seems to have contained three great cities—namely, Ayodhya, Saketa and Savatthi, or Sravasti the first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same. The first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same. The first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same. The first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same. The first two of which are often supposed to be one and the same. The capital of Kosala, The was more than once visited by Mahavira, and all along he was well received there. The first transitionally Sravasti, or, as it was called, Candrikapuri or Candrapuri, was the birth place of the third Tirthankara Sambhavanatha and the eighth Tirthankara Candraprabha of the Jainas. There is still a Jaina

^{166.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 44.

^{167.} Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

^{168.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 221; Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. p. 106.

^{169.} Barnett, p. 96.

^{170.} RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

^{171.} Ibid., pp. 62-63.

^{172.} Pradhan, p. 214. "Savatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of Rapti called Saheth-Maheth, which is situated on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces."—RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 63. Cf. Dey, op. cit., pp. 189-190.

^{173.} भगवं . . . सावर्त्थी . . . लोगो . . . वदे ।।—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 221. Cf. Ibid., pp. 204, 214; Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, pp. 103, 105, 106; Barnett, op. cit., p. 93; Jacobi, op. cit., p. 264.

temple here dedicated to Sobhanatha, which is evidently a corruption of Sambhavanatha." ¹⁷⁴

We know from various sources that both the Kosalas and the Saisunagas were also connected by matrimonial relations. Kosaladevi, the daughter of Mahakosala, had become one of the wives of Srenika with Cellana, the foremost female disciple of Mahavira. Besides this, certain Buddhist traditions tell us that Migara or Mrgadhara, the first minister of Prasenajit of Savatthi, the son of Mahakosala, was a sceptic and an adherent of the naked *Tirthakas* (i.e. Nirgrantha ascetics). 176

Taking into consideration all the facts that are laid down above, one thing that becomes fully evident is that practically all the most important sixteen *Mahajanapadas* had, in one or the oher capacity, come under the influence of the Jaina church. ¹⁷⁷ Of the sixteen Great Powers we have as yet said hardly anything about Magadha; this is not because Magadha could not be combined with the other Great Powers, but because this pre-

^{174.} Dey, op. cit., p. 190. "Sravasti is the Savatthi or Savatthipura of the Buddhists and Candrapura or Candrikapuri of the Jainas."—Ibid., p, 189.

^{175.} Cf. Pradhan, p. 213; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 99.

^{176.} Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., Appendix III pp. 56-57; Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 70-71; Rapson, Schiefner's Tibetan Tales, No. VII, p. 110; Pradhan, p. 215.

^{177.} The names of the sixteen Great Nations, according to the Buddhist traditions, are as follows: Kasi, Kosala, Anga, Magadha; Vajji, Malla, Ceitya (Cedi), Vamsa (Vatsa), Kuru, Pancala, Maccha (Matsya), Surasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhara, Kamboja. The Jaina list in the Bhagavati runs to the following effect: Anga, Banga, Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Malava, Accha, Vaccha (Vatsa), Koccha (Kacccha?), Padha (Pandya), Ladha (Radha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli, Kasi, Kosala, Avaha, Sambhuttar (Sumhotara?). Dr. RayChaudhuri has made the following note to these lists: "It will be seen that Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kasi and Kosala are common to both the lists. Malava of the Bhagavati is probably identical with Avanti of Anguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla."—RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

Norman Wessex of ancient India is going to be our centre from whence all further discussions about Jainas history shall proceed.

"The flourishing period of any of the sixteen Mahajanapadas," observes Dr. RayChaudhuri, 'ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire—namely, the empire of Magadha." We need not enter into any direct details as to how this "one empire" of ancient India came to play the part of Prussia in the history of modern Germany. All that need be said is to show how far the different dynasties ruling over this empire were connected with the Jaina church. Beginning with the Saisunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas we shall come down to the times of Kharvela, who, as we shall see later on, like Asoka, enjoys the unique honour of being responsible for a distinct landmark in the history of Northern Jainas.

Before taking up the particular dynasties that had their sway over the Magahdan empire it will not be out of place to say something about the historical geographical importance of Magadha proper, in the light of Jaina history. It roughly corresponds, to the present Patna and Gaya, the districts of Bihar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja ("hill-surrounded") or old Rajagrha, near Rajgir among the hills Gaya. The capital seems to have been an impregnable city, being protected by five near hills. "It is bounded on the north by Baibhara-giri and Bipula-giri (the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern side); on the east by Bipula-giri and Ratnagiri

^{178.} Ibid., pp. 97-98. Cf. Law (B.C.)., op. cit., p. 161.

^{179.} It is known by some other names also. For instance, the Life of Hiuen-Tsang observes: "The old city of Rajagrha is that which is called Kiushe-kie-la-po-lo (Kusagarapura). This city is in the centre of Magadha, and in old times many rulers and kings lived in it."—Beal, Life of Hiuen-Tsang, p. 113. Cf. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 529. Indian Buddhist writers gave still another name, Bimibisarapuri. Cf. Law (B.C.), Buddhaghosha, p. 87, n. 1; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 70.

or Ratnakuta, on the west by a portion of the Baibhara-giri called Cakra and Ratnacala; and on the south by Udaya-giri, Sonagiri and Girivrajagiri. These hills, one and all, enjoy a very important place in Jaina history even to this day. There are Jaina temples of Mahavira, Parsva and other Tirthankaras on the Baibhara, Bipula, Udaya and Sonagiri hills. 181

Besides this, Mahavira's personal connections with Magadha are self-evident when we know from the *Kalpa-Sutra* that the greater part of his missionary life he spent in Rajagrha and the suburb of Nalanda. No less than fourteen rainy-seasons he was there, 183 and that too not only as an independent preacher but, as we shall see later on, as one who had the State behind him to directly patronise and sympathise with him in his great mission. Moreover, we know from the list of the *Sthaviras* that the eleven Ganadharas of the Venerable Ascetic Mahavira died in Rajagrha after a long religious fast. 184

Coming to different dynasties that ruled over Magadha since the days of Mahavira we shall begin with the Saisunagas of the time of Bimbisara, but before we do that we shall see if there is anything that can form a connecting link between Magadha and the Jaina church of the age previous to that of Vardhamana. "The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rajagrha named Samudravijaya and his son Jaya." Of these

^{180.} Dey, op. cit., p. 66. Cf. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 530.

^{181.} Ibid., pp. 530-532.

^{182.} Nalanda is identified with Bargaon, which lies seven miles to the northwest of Rajgir in the district of Patna. Cf. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 536. It contains a beautiful Jaina temple of Mahavira, who appears to have dwelt at Nalanda, perhaps on the site of the present temple, while Buddha resided in the Pavarika mango-orchard.—Dey, op. cit., p. 137.

^{183.} Cf. Jacobi, op. and loc. cit.

^{184.} Ibid., p. 287.

^{185.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 72. Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xiv., p. 86.

Jaya, the eleventh *Chakravartin*, or universal monarch, according to the *Uttaradhyayana*, "together with thousands of kings, renouncing the world practised self-restraint. He reached perfection which has been taught by the Jainas." ¹⁸⁶

Leaving aside such uncorroborated facts of Jaina annals we shall enter into the realm of known facts, historical and others, and shall see how far the Jaina traditions are connected with them. Taking first Bimbisara, the Saisunaga, we find that the Jaina annals are so overwhelming about this 'lion of kings' 187 that, so far as they are concerned, it is no use denying the fact that he was a sincere follower of *Nataputta* and his doctrines. However, before trying to enumerate a few of these details it is desirable to know from various sources what was the strength of the Magadhan empire during the Saisunagas, because, after all, the progress of a church depends much on the strength of the people and state whose patronage it enjoys.

For this we need not enter into a detailed description of the wars and the political feuds and intrigues that the Saisunagas had to encounter until finally they developed into "one empire—namely, the empire of Magadha." We shall merely mention a few of the *Mahajanapadas* that were openly defeated or that had indirectly accepted their sovereignty.

The early Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the political condition of India during the time of Bimbisara. There were, as Dr. Rhys Davids observes, "besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics, four kingdoms of considerable extent and power." In addition to these there

^{186.} अव्रिओ रायसहस्सेहिं सुपरिच्चाई दमं चरे।

जयनामो जिणक्खायं पत्तो गइमणुत्तरं ।।

[—]Uttaradhyayana, Adhyayana XVIII, v. 43. Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 85-87; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

^{188.} Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 1.

were a number of smaller kingdoms and some non-Aryan principalities. As we have already seen, the most important amongst the republics were the Vajjians of Vaisali, and the Mallas of Kusinara (Kusinagara) and Pava. However the most important factors in the political history of the period were neither the republics nor the other principalities, but the four great kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha, respectively ruled over by Prasenajit, Udayana, Pradyota and Bimbisara. 189

Of these Bimbisara or Srenika, the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power, strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful of the neighbouring states, having taken one consort from the royal family of Kosala, together with a village in the district of Kasi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money, 190 and another from the influential Licchavi clan at Vaisali. We have referred to both these marriages before and hence suffice it to say that they were of great importance for the history of Magadha. They paved the way for expansion of Magadha both west wards and north wards. Thus disarming the hostility of his powerful western and northern neighbours by his shrewd policy, Bimbisara could devote his undivided attention to the struggle with Anga, the capital of which -i.e. Campa—as we have seen, was occupied and destroyed by Satanika, the king of Kausambi, a few years before Bimbisara's annexation. The addition of Anga formed the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance of greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained later on. 191 This is also confirmed by the Jaina sources, which tell us that Anga was governed as a separate province under

^{189.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 116-120.

^{190.} Cf. Pradhan, op. cit., p. 214; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 124.

^{191.} Cf. Smith, Early History of India; p. 33.

Kunika, the Magadhan prince, with Campa as its capital. 192

Thus observes Dr. RayChaudhuri, by war and policy Bimbisara added Anga and a part of Kasi to the Magadhan dominations, and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Asoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kalinga. We learn from the *Mahavangga* that Bimbisara's dominions embraced 80,000 townships, the overseas (*Gamikas*) of which used to meet in a great assembly." ¹⁹³

With Ajatasatru, also called Kunika or Kuniya, the successor's of Srenika, Magadha reaches the high-water mark of the power of Bimbisarian dynasty. He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kasi, but, as the Jainas tell us, also absorbed the state of Vaisali. 194 As a result of his war with the Kosalas, like his father, Ajatasatru was also given in marriage Vajira, the princess of Kosala and the daughter of Pransenajit, with a part of the district of Kasi as her dowry, and in all probability he won for Magadha a decided preponderance over its neighbour, Kosala. It is certain that the latter kingdom is not again mentioned as an independent power, and that later on it formed the integral part of the Magadhan empire. 195 However, Kunika's victory over Vaisali and its Mallaki and other allies, including the rulers of Kasi-Kosala, was more decisive and highly fruitful from the point of view of the

^{192.} चम्पायां कृणिको राजा बभूव, —Bhagavati, sut. 300, p. 316. Cf. Dey, J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 322; Hemacandra, Parisistaparvan, Canto IV, vv. 1, 9; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 125; Aupapatika-Sutra, sut. 6.

^{193.} RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit. Pradhan, pp. 218-214.

^{194.} वज्जी विदेहपुत्ते जइत्था, नवमल्लई कासीकोसलगा अङ्कारसिव गणरायाणो पराजइत्था। —Bhagavati, sut. 300, p. 315. Cf. Avasyaka-sutra, p. 684; Hemacandra, Trishashti Salaka, Parva X, v. 290, p. 168; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

Cf. Smith., op. cit., p. 37; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 67; Pradhan, p. 215.

expansion of the Magadhan Empire. 196

"It may be presumed," observes Smith, "that he invader carried his victorious arms to their natural limits, the foot of the mountains, and that from this time the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalayas became subject, more or less, directly to the suzeranity of Magadha." He must have felt from the very beginning that the Licchavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion, and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be. I will destroy these Vajjians. I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin." Thus the Kosalan and the Licchavi or the Vajjian wars were probably not isolated events, but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha.

The absorption of Vaisali, Videha, Kasi and other territories as a result of these wars to a great extent brought the aspiring ruler of Magadha face to face with the equally ambitious sovereign of Avanti. We already know that the throne of Avanti was at this time occupied by Canda Pradyota Mahasena. That he was

^{196.} The *Bhagavati* tells us that, in the war with Vaisali, Ajatasatru is said to have made use of *Mahasilakantaka* and *Rathamusala*. The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a chariot to which, a mace was attached, and which, running about, effected a great execution of men. For a full description of these two wonderful engines of war see *Bhagavati*, sut 300, 301, pp. 316, 319. Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., Appendix II, pp. 59-60; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 129; Tawney, Kathakosha, p. 179.

^{197.} Smith, op. and loc. cit. "Kunika-Ajatasatru made protected war on the confederacy of the Licchavis, the Mallakis and the eighteen Ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala for more than sixteen years, and at last was about to effect their ruin, which it was his first resolve to do, although his cause was unrighteous."—Pradhan, pp. 215, 216. Cf. Hoernle, op. cit. Appendix I, p. 7.

^{198.} S.B.E., xi., pp. 1, 2. Cf. Law (B.C.), Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 111. For a detailed description about Magadha and Vaisali conflict see Ibid., pp. 111-116.

a king feared by his neighbours is apparent from a statement of the *Majjhima Nikaya* that Ajatasatru fortified Rajagrha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota. ¹⁹⁹ This does not seem to be improbable in view of the fact that after the fall of Anga and Vaisali, and the discomfiture of Kosala, Avanti was the only important rival left for Magadha.

Thus by the end of Kunika's reign Magadha had absorbed almost all the kingdoms and republics of eastern India. During his son and successor Udayana's period, as the Jaina traditions tell us, Magadha and Avanti were brought face to face with each other. ²⁰⁰ The *Sthaviravali Carita* and other Jaina sources inform us that Udayana was very powerful king, and defeated and killed the king of a certain country in battle, and the son of that king went to Ujjayini and there related the story of his distress to him. The deposed prince got into the favour of the Avanti lord, and with his help, having disguised as a monk, finally murdered Udayana while asleep. If nothing else, this particular legend gives an insight into the spirit of rivalry that existed between Avanti and Magadha, both of whom tried to acquire the paramount power in northern India. ²⁰¹

Furthermore, from the equally aggressive policy of the Avanti ruler it seems clear that it was a contest between the two for the mastery of northern India. *Katha-Sarit-Sagara* and other Jaina traditions tell us that the kingdom of Kausambi was at this time annexed to the realm of Palaka of Avanti, ²⁰² the son of Pradyota. ²⁰³ Thus the Avanti-Magadha contest which, as we have seen, began in the regime of Ajatasatru seems of

^{199.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 123; Pradhan, p. 216.

^{200.} अभूदसहनो नित्यमवन्तीशोऽप्युदायिन:—Hemacandra, Parisishtaparvan, Canto VI, v. 191. Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 690. Pradhan, p. 217.

^{201.} Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 189-190, 208; Avasyaka-Sutra, op. and loc. cit.

^{202.} Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 131.

^{203.} उज्जियन्यां प्रद्योतसुतौ द्वौ भातरौ-पालको, etc. —Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 699.

have continued during the reign of Udayana. "The contest was finally decided in favour of Magadha under the leadership of Saisunaga, who, according to the *Puranas*, destroyed the prestige and influence of the descendants of Pradyota," though the Jaina sources tell us that Avanti now and then suffered defeat at the hands of Udayin. ²⁰⁵

Here arises the difficulty as to who was the real successor of Udayana. But we need not at all enter, for the present, into any discussions about these controversial and still unsettled facts of Indian history. For our purpose suffice is to reiterate the fact that the contest between Magadha and Avanti was finally decided in favour of the former under the leadership of some Saisunaga, ²⁰⁶ who is known to us either as Sisunaga or Nandivardhana, or whose full name may be, as Dr. Pradhan suggests, Nandivardhana-Sisunaga. ²⁰⁷

Thus having seen growth of the Magadhan Empire under the Saisunagas we shall see in brief how far the Jaina church was connected with them. It may be stated here that whatever has been said up till now and whatever is going to be said from now about the different kings and dynasties that are claimed by the Jainas as their own or as those of their sympathisers has been claimed by the Buddhists also. There are reasons and reasons for this phenomenon of Indian history, but we need not enter at all into these details, because thereby it is not possible to fix a criterion in accordance with which we can say that such and such a king was a Buddhist or a Jaina by faith. Unless there are some inscriptional records or other sound

^{204.} Pradhan, op. cit., p. 217. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 132.

^{205.} उज्जियिनी . . . राजा . . . बहुशः बहुशः परिभूयते उदायिना—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 690.

^{206.} Cf. Pradhan, op. cit., pp. 217-220; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

^{207.} Cf. Pradhan, pp. 220; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

historical documents it is not possible to put down anything as an historical fact. Nothing can be predicted as gospel truth where the source of information rests only with the canonical books and with some legendary and literary traditions of the people.

Taking first Bimbisara or the Srenika of the Jainas it must be said that, whatever may be the claims of the Buddhists about him, looking to the nature of the evidence put forward by the Jainas it is certain that he was a great devotee of Mahavira. So much has been written about him and his successors by the Jainas that it is not possible to do anything but enumerate a few of the facts connected with their careers with a view to illustrate their relations with the Jaina church. The *Uttaradhyayana* tells us that King Srenika once laid the following point before Mahavira: "Though a young nobleman, you have entered the order; in an age fit for pleasure you exert yourself as a *Sramana*, O ascetic; I want to hear you explain this." 208

Hearing this, *Nataputta* gave a lengthy explanation, and so convinced the king that he could not help giving vent to his feelings, as follows: "You have made the best use of human birth, you have made a true Jaina, O great sage, you are a protector (of manking at large) and of your relations, for you have entered the path of the best Jinas. You are the protector of all unprotected beings, O ascetic: I ask you to forgive me; I desire you to put me right. That by asking you I have disturbed your meditation, and that I invited you to enjoy pleasures, all this you must forgive me."²⁰⁹

Here the *Uttaradhayana* rightly concludes: "When the lion of kings had thus, with the greatest devotion, praised the lion of the houseless monks, he, together with his wives.

^{208.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xlv., p. 101.

^{209.} Ibid., p. 107.

and relations, became a staunch believer in law, with a pure mind."210

We have already seen that this Bimbisara was married to Cellana, the daughter of Cetaka, the maternal uncle of Vardhamana. With a few of her sisters as nuns and with her aunt Trisala as mother of the prophet naturally Cellana had come under the influence of Mahavira more than any body else in the family of Bimbisara. This attitude of hers is particularly to be noticed when we know that she, as the mother of Ajatasatru, the successor of Bimbisara, must have been the chief queen of the Magadha lord. That is why the *Divyavadana* speaks, in one place, of Ajatasatru as Vaidehiputra, and in another states, "At Rajagrha reigns the King Bimbisara. Vaidehi is his *Mahadevi* (or chief queen) and Ajatasatru, his son and prince." 212

Moreover, Cellana is usually called "Vaidehi in the Buddhist books, and from her, Ajatasatru is frequently designated as Vedehiputto or the son of the Videha princess." However "some of the commentaries—those for example on *Thusa and Tacchasukara Jataksa*—state that Ajatasatru's mother was a sister of the king of Kosala. Here the commentators have evidently

^{210.} एवं थुणित्ताण स रायसीहो अणगारसीहं परमाइ भत्तीए ।

⁻Uttaradhyayana, Adhyayana XX, v. 58. Cf. Jacobi, op. and loc. cit.

^{211.} एकदा च प्रववृते शिशिरर्तुर्भयकरः। तदा ।। देव्या चेल्लणया सार्धम् ... नृपः। वीरं विन्तितुमभ्यगात ।।—Hemacandra, Trishasti-Salaka, Parva X, vv. 6, 11, p. 86. "Once upon a time, when a great stress of cold had fallen on the country, the king went with queen Cellana to worship Mahavira."—Tawney, op. cit., p. 175. For further references about this see ibid., p. 239.

^{212.} Rajagrhe raja Bimbisara. . . . tasya Vaidehi mahadevi Ajatasatruh putrah, Cowell and Neil, Divyavadana, p. 545. Cf. ibid., p. 55; Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 107.

^{213.} Law (B.C.), op. cit., p. 106. Cf. Samyutta Nikaya, pt. ii., p. 268; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 124; Rhys Davids, C.H.I., i., p. 183.

made confusion betweeen the two queens of Bimbisara."²¹⁴ There is no reason to doubt the Jaina belief that Kunika was one of the sons of Cellana and that, like Mahavira, he too was rightly called Vedehiputto.²¹⁵

That, besides Cellana and Kosaladevi, Bimbisara had many other wives is born out both by the Buddhist and the Jaina sources. Accordingly, besides Kunika, Halla and Vehalla, the three sons of Cellana, he had many sons, all of whose names, whether they agree or not, are recorded by both the annals. About these sons and wives of Srenika the Jaina claim is that most of them joined the order of Lord Mahavira and reached their salvation. This claim of the Jainas, barring a few exaggerations here and there, is not based on absolutely false grounds. There is nothing strange or unbelievable if some of Mahavira' own kith and kin took a living interest in the great

^{214.} Law (B.C.), op. and loc. cit. Cf. Fausboll, Jataka, iii., p. 121, and iv., p. 342; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit., p. 183; Rhys Davids (Mrs.), The Book of Kindred Sayings, pt. i., p. 109, n. 1.

^{215.} कोणिक:, चेल्लणाया उदरे उत्पन्न:—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 678. . . विदेहपुत्ते जतत्था. —Bhagavati, sut. 800, p. 815; . . . विदेहपुत्तेति कोणिक:, . . . —Ibid., sut. 301, p. 317. Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 3; Pradhan, p. 212.

^{216.} Cf. Bhagavati, sut. 6, p. 11; Antagada-Dasao, sut. 16, 17, p. 25; Barnett, op. cit., p. 97.

^{217.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 679; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 126. "Bimbisara is said to have contracted marriage alliances with the kings of several states. These, we may be sure, were quite common in ancient India."—Beni Prasad, The State in Ancient India, p. 163.

^{218.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 279; Anuttarovavaiya-Dasao, sut. 1, 2, pp. 1-2; Barnett op. cit., pp. 110-112; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit., Pradhan, p. 213.

^{219.} सोणियभज्जाण . सिंहा — Antagada-Dasao, sut. 16-26 pp. 25-32. Cf. Barnett op. cit., pp. 97-107; Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 279; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 406, p. 171. Of the sons of Srenika, Halla, Vehalla, Abhaya, Nandisena, Meghakumara, and others are said to have joined the order of Mahavira. Cf. Anuttaravavaiya-Dasao, sut. 1, p. 1; ibid., sut. 2, p. 2; Barnett, op. cit., pp. 110-112; Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 682-685.

message that he put before suffering humanity. Leaving aside this question of close relationship between Mahavira and his royal followers, the literary and legendary traditions of the Jainas about Srenika are so varied and so well recorded that they are eloquent witnesses to the high respect with which the Jainas held one of their greatest royal patrons, whose historicity, fortunately, is past all doubts.

Taking next the Kunika of the Jainas we find that they are not so eloquent about him as about his father Srenika, though a lot of literature can be had which throws light on almost all the incidents connected with his life.²²¹ However, leaving this fact aside, there is one thing about his career that clearly brings out the attitude of this great monarch towards both the Buddhists and the Jainas.

This incident of Kunika's life is connected with his succession to the throne of Magadha. The Buddhists definitely tell us that "Bimbisara made over the charge of government to his son Ajatasatru when the later was about to stab him with a dagger, but was seized upon by the officers. Ajatasatru however starved him to death, and afterwards expressed repentance to

^{220.} For Srenika's attachment towards Mahavira see सेणिए राया, चेल्लणा देवी ।। . . परिसा निगया, धम्मो किहसो — Bhagavati, sut. 4, 6, pp. 6, 10; मेहस्स कुमारस्स अम्मापियरो . . समणं भगवं महावीरं . . वंदित नमंसित एवं वदासी . . . अम्हे णं देवाणुप्पियाणं सिस्सिभिम्खं दयलामों — Jnata-Sutra, sut. 25, p. 60. Cf. Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, p. 20. (श्रेणिकः) सा भणित - अहंयुष्मासु नाथेषु कथं नरकं गमिष्यामि ?—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 681. In this way many more such references about Srenika can be gathered from the Jaina canonical books, but for our purpose suffice it to say that the Jainas respect him as the first Tirthankara of the coming age. श्रेणिकराइजीवः पद्मनाभे जिनेश्वरः — Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 189, p. 179. Cf. Tawney, op. cit., p. 178.

^{221.} About the whole of Aupapatika, the first Upanga of the Jainas, deals with Ajatasatru. Besides this we get references about him in the Bhagavati, the Uvasaga-Dasao, the Antagada-Dasao, and many other places. Kunika has been fully dealt with by the Jainas.

Buddha for his sin."²²² The Jainas, on the other hand, have got something else to offer about this very incident. According to them no doubt the patricide Ajatasatru of the Buddhists imprisoned his father and greatly ill-treated him, but the death of Srenika took place under circumstances which would draw our symapthy rather than our hatred for both the father and the son—for the former for his untimely death, and for the latter for his good motives being misunderstood by the victim of this incident.

The Jaina account of this tradition in brief runs as follows. Though Srenika had made up his mind that he would make Kunika his successor, the later felt a bit impatient and suspicious, and on the advice of his brothers Kala and others imprisoned his father. During his imprisonment Bimbisara was no doubt very badly treated by his son, but his comforts were very keenly looked after by his wife Cellana, the mother of Kunika. Once it so happened that while he was taking his food with his son Udayana in his lap, the child's urine fell into his dishes, but without taking any notice of this he went on taking his food. After a short while he asked his mother, who was sitting near him: "Mother, did anybody ever love his son so much?" His mother replied: "You monstrous criminal, listen! When you were born I abandoned you in an enclosure of Asoka-trees, saying that you were a villain. When your father came to know about this he himself went to the enclosure and brought you back; so you were named Asokacandra. Then a cock tore your finger. It became a whitlow. So all gave you the name of Kunika. When the swelling on your finger ripened you suffered a good deal of pain from it. Your father held that finger in his mouth, though streaming with matter, so you did not cry. To this extent did he love you." When Kunika heard this he was full of remorse.

^{222.} Pradhan, p. 214. Cf. Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 95 ff.; Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. i., p. 94; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 126-127; Rhys Davids (MRs.), op. cit., pp. 109-110.

He said: "A sorry return I have made to my father." So he immediately went off in person with an iron club to break the fetters of his father. In the meanwhile the guards said to Srenika: "Kunika is coming in a very impatient mood, with an iron club in his hand; it is not known what his object is." Hearing this, Srenika felt that he would be put to death by some painful execution, so he took Talaputa poison and died then and there, before Kunika could come over to break his father's fetters. When Kunika came to know about this sad coincidence he was very much afflicted at the loss of his father. Though admonished by his nobles he would not bathe or take food. Then, being unable to endure his sorrow for his faith, he felt Rajgrha, and made Campa the seat of his rule. 223

This incident of Kunika's life as laid down by the Jainas makes at least this much clear—that it was not he who murdered or starved Srenika to death. This is because there is nothing in this account that is unnatural or cannot be believed. It further shows that the Jainas were in the good books of Kunika, because if otherwise they would, like the Buddhists, have given a crude version of this unfortunate happening of his life.²²⁴

This surmise of ours is greatly strengthened when we read from the Buddhist sources themselves of Ajatasatru being incited to get his father slain by Devadatta, "the quondam disciple and bitter foe of the Buddha," and hence "the Judas Iscariot of the

^{223.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 682-683; Hemacandra, op. cit., pp. 161-164; Tawney, op. cit., pp. 176-178.

^{224. &}quot;It is probable, however, that the story is the product of odium theologicum, or sectarian rancour, which has done so much to falsify the history of ancient India. . . . Later when, in consequence of Asoka's patronage, Buddhism became pre-eminent in Northern India, leanings towards Jainism became criminal in the eyes of ecclesiastical chronicles, who were ready to blacken the memory of persons deemed heretical with unfounded accusations of the gravest character."—Smith, op. cit., pp. 33, 37.

Buddhist story."²²⁵ Furthermore, commenting on the Buddhist tradition of Kunika's having repented before Buddha for his sin, Dr. Rhys Davids observes: "At the close of the discourse the king is stated to have openly taken Buddha as his guide in future, and to have given expression to the remorse he felt at the murder of his father. But it is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment when his hear was touched, continued to follow the Buddha's teaching. He never, so far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha or upon any member of the order to discuss ethical matters, and we hear of no material support given by him to the order during the Buddha's lifetime."²²⁶

What Buddha and Ajatasatru thought of each other is clear from the following two passages from the Buddhist literature: "Give such order, O king, to our men that I may deprive the samana Gotama of life'; and Ajatasatru the prince gave orders to his men: 'Whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do!"²²⁷

The above passage clearly shows the nature of Kunika's repentance before Lord Buddha. The following one, moreover, manifests the estimate in which the latter held the former: "Alsmen, the king of Magadha, Ajatasatru, son of the accomplished princess, is a friend to, an intimate of, mixed with, whatever is evil." 228

^{225.} Rhys Davids, Buddhist India. pp. 13-14. Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S.B.E., xx., pp. 238-265. And Devadatta went to Ajatasatru, the prince and said to him: "In former days, Prince, people were long-lived, but now their term of life is short. It is quite possible, therefore, that you may complete your time while you will kill the blessed one and become Buddha."—Ibid., p. 241.

^{226.} Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 15.

^{227.} Vinaya Texts, pt. iii., p. 243.

^{228.} Rhys Davids, (Mrs.), op. cit., p. 109.

On the other hand the Aupapatika and other Jaina sources tell us that Kunika used to go with his queens, now and then, accompanied with a great retinue, to pay his respect to Nataputta. In connection with the Vaisali king, Cetaka, and Campa, the capital of Dadhivahana, we have seen that more than once he had come in touch with Mahavira, and that he looked with great respect and honour towards all those who were connected with the Jaina church. His love for Mahavira and his faith in the doctrines propounded by the Jina are clear when he openly confessed before Vardhamana and his followers to the following effect: "O Lord! you have said the right thing. The path of true religion has been made clear to us by your honour. Yours is a unique message of renuciation, peace," etc. 230

Coming to Udaya or Udayana, the successor of Kunika, we find that both the Buddhists and the Jainas hold him as such in the teeth of various other traditions. Referring to this Dr. RayChaudhuri observes: "Ajatasatru was succeeded according to the *Puranas* by Darsaka.²³¹ Professor Geiger considers the insertion of Darsaka after Ajatasatru to be an error, because the Pali canon indubitably asserts that Udayibhadda was the son of Ajatasatru, and probably also his successor.²³² Though the reality of the existence of Darsaka, as king of Magadha, is established by the discovery of Bhasa's *Svapna-Vasavadatta*, yet in the face of the Buddhist and Jaina evidence it cannot

^{229.} Cf. Aupapatika, sut. 12, 27, 30, pp. 24, 25, 58, 59, 63, 64; Stevenson (Mrs.), op. cit., p. 40; Hemacandra, Parisishtaparvan, Canto IV, vv. 1, 9, 33, 35; Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 684, 687; Hoernle, op. cit., ii., p. 9.

^{230.} तए णं कूणिए राया . . . महावीरं . . . वर्दति . . एवं वयासी-मुसक्खाए ऐ भते! etc. — Aupapatika, sut. 36, p. 83.

^{231.} Cf. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 21, 69; Pradhan, p. 217.

^{232.} Cf. Geiger, Mahavamsa, Paricchedo IV, vv. 1-2.

be confidently asserted that he was the immediate successor of Ajatasatru."233

The Jaina evidence of which the learned scholar speaks about is based mostly on the *Avasyaka* commentary of Haribhadra, ²³⁴ the *Trishasti-Salaka* and the *Parisishtaparvan* of Hemacandra ²³⁵ and the *Kathakosa* of Tawney. ²³⁶ Furher than this the traditions recorded in these books do not seem to agree with those in the Pali canon. To quote Dr. Pradhan:—"Ajatasatru was, according to the *Mahavamsa*, murdered by his son Udayibhadra, ²³⁷ but the *Sthaviravali-Carita* informs us that Udayana was overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father Ajatasatru, and transferred his capital from Campa to Pataliputra."²³⁸

This part of the Jaina tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the *Vayu Purana* according to which Udayi built the city of Kusumapura (Pataliputra²³⁹) in the fourth year of his reign, ²⁴⁰

^{233.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., 180. "The order of succession in the Vishnu which inserts Darsaka between Ajatasatru and Udayasva must be rejected...."—Pradhan, Darsaka may be one of Bimbisara's many sons who managed the State affairs during the lifetime of his father. Cf. ibid., p. 212.

^{234.} कोणिकः . . मृतः तदा राजान उदायिनं स्थापयन्ति,... . — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 687.

^{235.} Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 22. Cf. Trisishti-Salaka, Parva X, v. 426, p. 172.

^{236.} Cf. Tawney, op. cit., p. 177.

^{237.} Cf. Geiger, op. cit., p. 1.

^{238.} Pradhan, p. 216. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 219. "The Ceylonese chronicles state that all the kings from Ajatasatru were patricides."—RayChaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Hemacandra, *Parisishtaparvan*, Canto VI, vv. 32-180. Cf. *Avasyaka-Sutra*, pp. 687, 689.

^{239. &}quot;The choice of Pataliputra was probably due to its position in the centre of the realm, which now included North Bihar. Moreover, its situation at the confluence of two large rivers (the Ganges and the Son) was important from the commercial as well as the strategic point of view. In this connection it is interesting to note that Kautilya recommends a site at the confluence of rivers from the capital of a kingdom."—RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 131.

^{240.} Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 69; Pradhan, op. cit., p. 216; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

and hence it seems almost certain that Udayin was in no way connected with the death of his father. It is not possible to say why the Buddhists have pictured him, like his father, as a man whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life. If the Buddhists tradition of the *Mahavamsa* had any ground at its back the Jaina writers would have at least taken a note of it, as they have done in the case of Kunika.

The Jainas, on the other hand, tell us that he was a devout Jaina. By his order a fine Jaina temple was built in the centre of his new capital, Pataliputra.²⁴¹ That the Jaina monks had free access to him is clear from the fact, as related before, that he was murdered by some prince, whose father had been dethroned by him, in the disguise of a monk. Furthermore, from this very incident we can infer that, like an orthodox Jaina, he was regularly observing the monthly religious festivals, because it was on a *Paushadhaday* that the *Suri*, accompanied by the novice who carried a concealed weapon about him, went to the palace and preached to the king.²⁴²

This is, in short, what the Jainas have to say about the Saisunagas, under whom the Magadha Empire took a definite form. Let it be clear that we have not entered into any details while dealing with them in their relations with the Jaina church, and that we do not mean doing so in the case of other dynasties that are mentioned in this chapter. It need not, however, be understood that all these details are superfluous, but that it is neither possible nor desirable to enter into them while taking a general historical review of the northern Jainas.

Coming to the successors of Udayin we find that, according to the Buddhist traditions, he was succeeded by Aniruddha,

^{241.} नगरनाभौ चोदायिना चैत्गृहं कारितं, Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 680. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 181.

^{242.} स राजाऽष्ट्रनीचतुर्दश्योः पौषधं करोति. — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 690. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 186; ibid., vv. 186-230; Charpentier, C.H.I., i., p. 164.

Munda and Naga-Dasaka. The traditions tell us further that all these were patricides, and that "the people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an *Amatya* named Susu-Naga (Sisunaga) to the throne." However, the Jaina and *Puranic* traditions omit or forget the weaklings Aniruddha and others, and put down some Nanda or Nandivardhana as the successor of the Udayibhadda of the Buddhists. 244

The Jainas say that on the death of Udayin, who left no heirs, the five royal insignia—viz. the state elephant, the horse, the parasol, the pitcher and the chowries—were anointed by the ministers and led through the streets, and this procession met the marriage procession of a man named Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber, and five royal in signias themselves pointed out Nanda as the king of Magadha. He was accordingly proclaimed king, and ascended the throne sixty years after the Nirvana of Mahavira. 245

In connection with the date of Mahavira's *Nirvana* we have seen that the Mauryas came to the imperial throne of Magadha one hundred and fifty-five years after the death of Vardhamana, and thus the Jainas allot ninety-six years to Nanda and his descendants. This, observes Dr. Pradhan, "agrees fairly well with the *Puranic* tradition that the Nandas ruled for about a hundred years. The *Puranas* probably borrowed the information from the ancient Jaina sources."²⁴⁶

He says further: "Hemacandra who has, on account of the similarity of names, not only confounded Nandi-(a)-Vardhana with Nanda (Mahapadma), but has practically supported the

^{243.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 133. Cf. Geiger, op. cit., vv. 2-6; Pradhan, pp. 218-219; Smith op. cit., p. 36; Rapson, C.H.I., i., pp. 312-313.

^{244.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 690 ff.; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 242; Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 22. 69.

^{245.} नापितवास . . . राजा जात:—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 690. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 231-243.

^{246.} Pradhan, p. 218. Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 26, 69.

wrong tradition that Nanda (Mahapadma) ruled for about a hundred years (95 years according to the Staviravalicarita)."247

But there is no such confounding of names on the part of Hemacandra at all. Both Haribhadra and Hemacandra have taken into consideration nine Nandas, the first of whom really was of base origin. He is not correct to say that "Hemacandra, has confounded Nandi-(a)-Vardhana with Nanda (Mahapadma)," because if at all the identity of Nandivardhana or Nandavardhana is to be accepted he must go along with the Saisunaga dynasty as one of those who succeeded Udayin. This is clear from all sources—both ancient and modern. "The *Puranas* and the Ceylonese authorities," observed Dr. RayChaudhuri, "know of the existence of only one Nanda line. Those works represent Nandivardhana as a king of the Saisunaga line, a dynasty which is sharply distinguished from the Nandas." 249

Thus it is clear that there is no confusion in what has been laid down by the Jainas when they definitely say that Udayin had no successor, and that the Magadhan empire went into the hands of the Nandas. We are not concerned with the circumstances under which the Saisunagas were supplant by the Nandas. It may be, as we have seen, that Udayin was succeeded by some weaklings, and that Mahanandin, the last of the dynasty, as smith observes, "had by a *Sudra*, or low caste, woman a son named Mahapadma Nanda, who usurped the throne, and so established the Nanda family or dynasty."²⁵⁰

This observation of the learned historian essentially agrees with the Jaina tradition that Nanda was born of a courtesan by a barber. This is also corroborated by the Puranas and the

^{247.} Pradhan, p. 220, Cf. ibid., p. 225.

^{248. . .} नवमे नन्दे . . — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 693. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., Canto VII, v. 3.

^{249.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 138. Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 23, 24, 69; Smith, op. cit., p. 43; Rapson, op. cit., p. 313.

^{250.} Ibid., p. 41.

Greek accounts of the father of Alexander's Magadhan contemporary. The Puranas describe him as Sudra-garbhaudbhava—i.e. born of a Sudra mother. 251 The Jaina tradition is strikingly confirmed by the classical accounts, though according to them the Nandas retained possession of the throne for only two generations, and their duration was for only fifty-five years.²⁵² Curtius says: "His father (i.e. Agrammes' or Xandramme's father—i.e. Mahapadma Nanda) was, in fact, a barber, scarcely starving off hunger by his daily earnings but who from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was, by her influence, advanced too nearer a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered her sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as the guardian to the royal children, usurped the royal authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king, who was deteste and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."253

Besides this agreement between the Jaina and other sources about the non-Kshatriya origin of the Nandas we see that chronologically also Jainas are right if, according to Smith, "this event may be dated in or about 413 B.C." This is because, as we have seen, the suzerainty of Magadha passed from the hands of the Saisunagas to those of the Nandas sixty years after the *Nirvana* of Mahavira, which we have put down between 480-467 B.C. It may be repeated here that the duration of the Nandas as put down by the Jainas is ninety-five years, and this agrees with the *Puranic* traditions. Taking into

^{251.} Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 25, 69; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 140; Pradhan, p. 226; Smith, op. cit., p. 43; Rapson, op. cit., p. 313.

^{252.} Cf. McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 409.

^{253.} Ibid., p. 222. Cf. ibid., p. 283; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.; Smith, op. cit., pp. 42-43; Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., i., p. 88.

^{254.} Smith, op. cit., p. 43.

consideration the tradition based on Merutunga and others, Vincent Smith remarks that "the Jainas, doing still greater violence to reason, extent the duration of the dynasty to 155 years." According to the chronology relied upon by us the period of one hundred and fifty-five years thus alluded to by the great historian does not obtain to the dynasty of the Nandas, but, as already remarked, it is the duration between the death of Mahavira and the accession of Candragupta. As it is, our period seems to be acceptable to him, seeing that a period of ninety-one years has been assumed by him as "fitting into a definite chronological scheme." 256

Thus about the base origin, the date of the succession, and the duration of the Nandas the Jaina traditions are confirmed by other sources also. Before we enter into the details as to where the Jainas stood in relations with the ruling dynasty it may be seen whether Magadha remained the premier state of India during the period of the Nandas. What we can glean from various sources is that it not only remained an empire, but its boundaries were spread for and wide, so that it remained for Candragupta to extend the imperial dominion by the annexation of the north-western region—which for a few years had owned the sway of Alexander the Great and his Satraps—and for Asoka to re-establish his authority over Kalinga.

The *Puranas* call Mahapadma, or Nanda I, the destroyer of all the Kshariyas—like a second Parasurama—and sole monarch of the earth, which was under his undisputed sway.²⁵⁷ This *Puranic* account of the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre is corroborated by the classical writers, who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the seas in the time of Alexander as being under one

^{255.} Ibid., p. 42.

^{256.} Ibid., p. 44.

^{257.} Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 25-69.

sovereign who had his capital of Palibhotra (Pataliputra). Curtius tells us that Agrammes, king of Ganjaridae and Prassi, "kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2000 four-horsed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants, which he said ran up to the number of 3000."258 Besides this, the inclusion of Kosala within Nanda's dominions seems to be implied by a passage of the Katha-Sarit-Sagara which refers to the camp of the King Nanda in Ayodhya.²⁵⁹ More important is the evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharvela, which, as we have seen, mentions Nandaraja in connection with an aqueduct of Kalinga, and this naturally seems to imply that Nandiraja held sway in Kalinga.²⁶⁰ To quote Dr. RayChaudhuri: "In view of Nanda's possession of Kalinga, the conquest of regions lying farther south does not seem to be altogether impossible. The existence on the Godaveri of a city called 'Nau Nand dehra' (Nander)261 also suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan."262

Besides this, the second passage in the inscription seems to state that Nanda carried away as trophies the image of the Jina of Kalinga as well as other treasures of the Kalinga kings to Magadha. This statement of the Kharvela inscription finally brings us to the discussion of the relations of the Nandas with the Jaina church. The difficulty that arises in connection with this and the other passage referring to Nandaraja is about the identification of this Nandaraja. While considering the *Nirvana*

^{258.} McCrindle, op. cit., p. 221-222. Cf. ibid., pp. 281-282; Smith, op. cit., p. 42; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 141.

^{259.} Cf. Tawney (ed. Penzer), Katha-Sarit-Sagara, i., p. 37; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.

^{260.} Cf. Rapson, op. cit., p. 315.

^{261.} Cf. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, v., p. 236.

^{262.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 142.

date of Mahavira we have seen that there is no reason why this Nandaraja should be identified with Nandivardhana, as Jayaswal, Banerji, Smith and others have done. Besides the authority of Charpentier, to which reference has been already made, as Professor Chanda points out, "there is nothing in the Puranas, our only source of information for Nandivardhana, to show that he ever had anything to do with Kalinga. On the contrary we are distinctly told in the Puranas that when the kings of the Saisunaga dynasty and their predecessors were reigning in Magadha, thirty-two kings-reigned in Kalinga in succession synchronously.²⁶³ It is not Nandivardhana but Mahapadma Nanda who is said to have brought 'all under his sole sway' and uprooted all Kshatriyas,' or the old reigning families. So we should identify Nandaraja of the Hathigumpha inscription who held possession of Kalinga either with the allconquering Mahapadma Nanda or one of his sons."264

In short, the Nandaraja of the Kharvela inscription is none else but Nanda I of the Jainas or Mahapadma Nanda of the *Puranas*, because of the later Nandas both the Jaina and the *Puranic* traditions have nothing to say which can claim for any one of them the triumphant career of the first Nanda. It may be remarked here that though the Puranic and the Jaina traditions confirm each other to a great extent, the Kharvela inscription rightly supports the latter by calling this Nanda king simply Nandaraja, and not Mahapadma Nanda, as the *Puranas* have done.

As to the relations of the Jainas and the Nandas, the above reference to the Hathigumpha inscription tells us that some Jaina image was taken away by King Nanda as a trophy and this proves that Nanda was a Jaina, and that Jainism was introduced

^{263.} Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 24, 62.

^{264.} Chanda, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. I, pp. 11-12. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 138.

in Orissa very early.²⁶⁵ This is because, according to him, "carrying away idols of worship as a mark of trophy and also showing respect to the particular idol is known in later history."²⁶⁶ This is also confirmed by scholars like Smith and Charpentier.²⁶⁷ To quote the former, "The Nanda dynasty exercised dominion over Kalinga for a long time. The Jaina religion, if not predominant, as it may have been, certainly occupied a position of high honour both in the days of the Nandas and in those of Kharavela. I may mention that I had come independently to the opinion that the Nandas were Jainas."²⁶⁸

Looking to the anti-Brahmanical origin of the Nandas it is not strange to find that they were Jainas. Besides their origin the Jainas have nothing to say against the Nandas, as is the case with the Buddhists. According to Dr. Charpentier "this fact seems to suggest that the Nanda kings were not unfavourably inclined towards the Jaina religion." This is further supported by the Jaina minister beginning with Kalpaka, who was perforce made to accept the ministership. The was with the help of this minister that king Nanda uprooted all the reigning Kshatriya dynasties, and, as the Jainas tell

^{265. &}quot;Kalinga culture was a complex compound of Animism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Curiously enough none of them was superseded at any time."—Subrahmanian, A.H.R.S., I., P. 50.

^{266.} Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., xiii., p. 245.

^{267.} Charpentier, op. cit., p. 164.

^{268.} Smith J.A.R.S., 1918, P. 546.

^{269. &}quot;Some would make us understand that Kalinga was Jaina, as it was long under the anti-Brahmanical Nandas, whose Jaina remains probably are found now in Nandapur in Jeypore. . . . "—Subrahmanian, op. and loc. cit.

^{270.} Charpentier, op. cit., p. 174.

^{271.} Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 692; Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 73-74, 80.

^{272.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 691-692; Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 1-74.

^{273.} दर्शितः सन् कल्पक इति ते (राजानः) भीताः . . . नष्टाः —Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 693; Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 84, 105-137. Cf. Pradhan, p. 226.

us, all the ministers of the Nandas were his descendants.²⁷⁴ The minister of the ninth Nanda was Sakatala, who had two sons. The elder was Sthulabhadra and the younger son was called Sriyaka. After the death of Sakala, Nanda offered the ministership to his elder son Sthulabhadra, but the later refused and, perceiving the vanity of the world, took *Diksha*, or joined the order under Sambhutavijaya,²⁷⁵ the sixth pontiff of the Jaina church.²⁷⁶ The ministership was finally given to his brother Sriyaka, who was already in the king's office.²⁷⁷

This is how the relationship between the Nandas and the Jainas stands. That the Jainas were powerful in the days of the Nandas is also clear from the Sanskrit play *Mudra-Rakshasa*, which dramatises the story of Candragupta's accession, and tell us that "Jainas held a prominent position at the time," and that Canakya, "who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jaina as one of his chief emissaries." ²⁷⁸

Unlike the Saisunagas the Jaina records do not throw any particular light upon the political power of the Nandas. They

^{274.} कल्पकम्य वंशो नन्दवंशेन मममनुवर्तते,....— Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 693; Hemacandra, op. cit., Canto VIII, v. 2.

^{276. &}quot;Sudharman, the first pontiff, had died twenty years after his master, leaving the mitre to Jambu, who held his high office for forty-four years, dying at a time nearly coincident with the accession of the Nandas. After him passed three generations of pontiffs; and in the time of the last Nanda the Jaina church was governed by two high priests, Sambhutavijaya and Bhadrabahu. . . . "—Charpentier, op. cit., p. 164; Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., p. 287.

^{277.} श्रीयक: स्थापित:, — Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 436; Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 10, 83, 84.

^{278.} Cf. Narasimhachar, E.C. ii., Int., p. 41; Rice (Lewis), Mysore and Coorg, p. 8; Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 75.

inform us only in a very vague manner that, with the help of the Jaina minister Kalpaka, king Nanda subdued many kings, and that, as we shall see later on, the last Nanda had to throw himself at the mercy of Canakya, who, being insulted at his court, had taken a vow to dethrone him and to destroy his power. However, it must be remembered that this is not the case with the Jaina annals alone. As Dr. Charpentier remarks, "the reign of the Nandas is one of the darkest event of the many hopelessly dark epochs in the history of ancient India."²⁷⁹

The Nandas are followed by the Mauryas. Why and wherefrom the Nandas were supplanted by the Mauryas is not yet clearly known, but this much is certain, that it is in connection with this landmark in Indian history that we get Canakya, "the first economist of India, if not of the world." It is strange that no detailed account of the dynastic revolution has survived. However from the classical accounts we have seen that the last Nanda "was detested and held cheap by his subjects." Furthermore, the vast standing army of the Nandas which has been mentioned by these accounts and the traditional facts of the vast treasures of the Nandas naturally imply a good deal of financial extortion. Nevertheless the Jainas have no such complaint to make against any of the Nandas.

The Jaina tradition in brief runs as follows:

Canakya, who was born of Canesvari, the wife of the Brahman Canin, a devout, Jaina, hearing that Nanda was accustomed to liberally reward renowned Brahmanas, went to Pataliputra to make money. There at the king's court he felt

^{279.} Charpentier, op. and loc. cit.

^{280.} Sammadar, The Glories of Magadha, p. 2.

^{281. &}quot;The Mahavamsa, when it dubs the last Nanda by the name of Dhana, or 'riches,' seems to hint an imputation of avariciousness against the first Nanda; and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang also refers to the Nanda Raja as the reputed possessor of great wealth."—Smith, Early History of India, p. 43. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 143.

he was insulted, and since then became the enemy of the last Nanda. He then went to Himavatkuta and entered into an alliance with Parvataka,²⁸² the king of that place, promising him half of Nanda's country if he would aid him to subdue Nanda. They opened the campaign by reducing the outlaying provinces, and finally, having devastated the country, the allies laid siege to Pataliputra, and at last forced the enemy to capitulate. Nanda, throwing himself on the mercy of Canakya, was permitted to leave his kingdom, carrying with him all that he could place on one car. Accordingly he put his two wives and a daughter on his carriage, and loading it with treasures he drove off. Meeting Candragupta on the road, the princess instantly fell in love with him, and on her father's advice selected him for her husband by the rite of Svayamvara. She got down at once and began to climb into Candragupta's carriage, in doing which, however, nine spokes of the wheel broke. Candragupta prevented him, saying that the new dynasty would flourish during nine generations.²⁸³

This is what the Jainas say about the fall of the Nandas and the rise of the Mauryas. About the ally Parvata of Himavatkuta it so happened that by some unhappy coincidence he died, and thus Candragupta got possession of Nanda's and Parvata's Kingdom. ²⁸⁴ This, as seen before, happened one hundred and fifty years after the *Nirvana* of Mahavira.

^{282.} गतो हिमवत्कूट, पार्वितिको राजा, तेन सम मैत्री जाता —Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 434; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 298. Jacobi makes a note of this in his edition of the Parisisthtaparvan, as follows: In the list of the kings of Nepal, according to the Bauddha Parvatiya Vamsavali, the eleventh king of the third dynasty, that of Kiratas, is Parba—apparently our Parvata; for in the reign of the seventh king, Jitedasti, is placed Buddha's visit to Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth, Sthunka, Asoka visited the country.—Parisishtaparvan, p. 58. Cf. Bhagawanlal Indraji, I.A., xiii., p. 412.

^{283.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 433, 434, 435; Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 55-59.

^{284.} हे अपि राज्ये तस्य जाते .—Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 435. Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 338.

Here arises two difficulties: that if, as the Jaina and other sources inform us, 285 it was Canakya alone who was at the back of the fall of the Nandas, what was ancestry of Candragupta? and again how is it that Canakya did not proclaim himself the Emperor of Magadha? Of the two the problem of the ancestry of Candragupta is insoluble. The Jaina tradition represents him as the son of a daughter of the chief of the village of the feeders of the king's peacocks (Mauryas-poshaka). 286 According to Smith the dynasty founded by Candragupta is said to be a derivative from Mura, his mother's or grandmother's name.²⁸⁷ The Hindus connect the Mauryas with the Nandas. Katha-Sarit-Sagara refers to Candragupta as a son of the Nandas. 288 In the Divyavadana Bindusara, the son of Candragupta, claims to be a Kshatriya Murdhabhishikta. In the same work Asoka, the son of Bindusara, calls himself a Kshatriya.²⁹⁰ In the Mahaparinibbana Sutta the Moriyas are represented as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, and as belonging to the Kshatriya caste 291

Taking into consideration all these facts, Dr. RayChaudhuri observes: "It is, therefore, practically certain that Candragupta belonged to a Kshatriya community—viz. the Moriya (Maurya) clan. In the sixth century B.C. the Moriyas were the ruling clan

^{285. &}quot;We learn from the Kautilya's Arthasastra, Kamandaka's Nitisara, the Puranas, the Mahavamsa and the Mudrarakshasa that the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Kautilya, the famous minister of Candragupta Maurya."—RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit. "A Brahman Kautilya will uproot them all; and after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas." Pargiter, op. cit., p. 69.

^{286.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, pp. 433-434; Hemacandra, op. cit., p. 240.

^{287.} Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 123.

^{288.} Cf. Tawney (ed. Penzer), op. cit., p. 57.)

^{289. &}quot;Moriyanam Khattiyayanam vamse. . . etc."—Geiger, op. cit., p. 30.

^{290. &}quot;Aham raja kshatriya murdhabhishiktah...."—Cowell and Neil, Divyavadhana, p. 370.

^{291.} Rhys Davids, S.B.E., xi., pp. 134-135.

of the little republic of Pipphalivana. They must have been absorbed into the Magadhan Empire along with the other states of Eastern India. During the inglorious reign of Agrammes, when there was general disaffection amongst his subjects, the Moriyas evidently came into prominence, probably under the leadership of Candragupta. With the help of Kautilya, also called Canakya or Vishnugupta, son of a Brahamana of Taxila, ²⁹² he overthrew the infamous Nanda. ²⁹³

This much about the ancestry of Candragupta. The question as to why Canakya did not usurp the Magadhan Empire for himself is more or less made clear in the above statement of Dr. RayChaudhuri. It seems highly probable that Candragupta himself was, as the Greeks tell us, "prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny."294 Like the other sources of Jaina history the Greek annals also throw comparatively little light on real history. They tell us about Candragupta's having escaped from the death sentence passed upon him by the Nanda king, about a lion having licked the sweat oozing from his body while he was sleeping, about his being inspired from this prodigy with the hope of winning the throne, and about a wild elephant submissively knelt before him.²⁹⁵ When such annals, which rank as contemporary witnesses reported at second-hard, throw such light on the period of Candragupta. it is no wonder that the Jaina interpretataon, in short, runs as follows: Canakya had all his teeth complete on being born.²⁹⁶

^{292.} According to the Jainas Chakya was a native of Canaka, a village of the Golla district. Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 55; Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 433.

^{293.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

^{294.} McCrindle, op. cit., p. 327.

^{295.} Ibid., pp. 327-328. Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 123, n. 1.

^{296.} About this incident of Canakya's life Jacobi makes a note as follows: "The same circumstances is told of Richard III:

[&]quot;Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born

[&]quot;To signify thou comest to bite the world."

⁻Jacobi, op. and loc. cit.

The monks being informed of this marvellous circumstances foretold that the boy would become a king, but the father being of a religious turn of mind desired to spare his son a lot which he considered dangerous to the well-being of the inner man. Accordingly to remove the omen he broke out the boy's teeth. Upon which the monks foretold that Canakya would govern by proxy. Further on, after the defeat of the Nanda king, we are told that his treasures were divided by Candragupta and Parvata between themselves. 297

Leaving aside these uncorroborated facts of Indian history we shall see in brief what was the strength of the Magadhan Empire during the Mauryas. It may safely be said that the highwater mark of its power and extension was reached during the days of Asoka. The real conquests and annexations were of Candragupta and not in the days of Asoka. Politically the latter was a Quaker, and was better fitted to fill the chair of an abbot than of an emperor. What he did was to reconquer or re-establish the authority of the Magadhan over the Kalingas. To quote Rev. Heras: "The greatest monarch of Hindustan during the Hindu period was Candragupta. His grandson Asoka's glory is based upon intellectual grounds. He was a philosopher rather than a sovereign; he was a teacher of morals rather than an administrator." 298

Nevertheless the limits of the enormous Mauryan Empire in Magadha were extensive. Nearly the whole of northern India, except the Punjab, Sind and northern Rajputana, had passed under the Nandas. To this vast empire were undoubtedly added the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afganistan and presumably, as we have seen in a note to the Parvata of Himavatkuta, Nepal and Kashmir during the days of Candragupta. 299 Events in the

^{297.} Cf. Avasyaka-Sutra, p. 435; Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 327.

^{298.} Heras, Q.J.M.S., xvii., p. 276. Cf. Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., II., P. 83.

^{299.} Cf. ibid., p. 81.

north itself were so crowded that there was no possibility of his having diverted his attention to the south. As Smith observes: "It is difficult to believe that he could have found time to do more than climb from obscurity to power, expel the Macedonian garrisons, repel the attack of Seleukos, effect a revolution and establish a dynasty at Pataliputra, annex a large part of Ariana, and extend his dominion from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea." 300

The conquest of the south can be affirmed from various sources to have been affected by Bindusara, the son and successor of Candragupta. He was guided also by his father's minister Canakya. The Deccan, or Peninsular India, down to approximately the latitude of Nellore, must therefore, apparently, have been subjugated by Bindusara, because it was inherited from the latter by Asoka, whose only recorded war was the conquest of Kalinga. As to the later Mauryas, their contribution to the growth of Mauryan Empire is next to nothing. Really speaking, with the close of Asoka's reign began the decline of the Mauryan rule, and ended with Brihadratha, who was murdered by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, who established a new dynasty, known as that of the Sungas. 303

Having thus seen in a connected form the growth of the Magadhan Empire during the Mauryas we shall now examine them in their relations with the Jaina church. Jaina tradition avers that Candragupta, the founder of the dynasty, the conqueror of the Greeks and the first known Emperor of India, was a Jaina. To state briefly the tradition, it is as follows:

When king Candragupta was ruling over North India (either from Ujjain or from Pataliputra) a great twelve years' famine

^{300.} Smith, op. cit., p. 156. Cf. Jayaswal, op. and loc. cit.

^{301.} Avasyaka-Sutra, op. cit., p. 184.

^{302.} Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 82-83; Smith, op. cit., p. 157; Schiefner, op. cit., p. 89.

^{303.} Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 204.

was foretold by the *Srutakevalin* Bhadrabahu, who, as we have seen, was one of the high priests during this period. As a result of this prophecy a large body of Jainas (numbering about 12,000) came to the south, where several of them (including Bhadrabahu?) died by the holy vow of Sallekhana, or the total rejection of food unto death. This even took place at Sravana Belgola, in Mysore. Candragupta, who followed the *Samgha*, renouncing everything, remained (?) for twelve years at Belagola, worshipping the foot prints of his departed preceptor Bhadrabahu, and finally himself died by the same rite.

The parentheses and interrogations in the above summary indicate the different versions of a single legend, agreeing in its fundamentals and differing only in details of lesser importance. We have seen that this tradition also forms one of the links connected with the great Digambara-Svetambara schism in the Jaina church, and that it is not acceptable to the Svetambaras, who agree only with the fact of the great famine which lasted for twelve years, and tell us that *Acarya* Susthita, who lived in Candragupta's capital, was forced to send his *Gana* to some other country. Our interest in this tradition lies only so far as it shows that Candragupta was a Jaina. A detailed examination of it must be left to a student of Jainims in South India. However, it may be mentioned here that it has been dealt with at some length by scholars like Narasimhachar of Mysore, Fleet and others. 305

The earliest literary form of the tradition is found in the *Brihat-Katha-Kosa* by Harisena, dating from about A.D. 931.³⁰⁶

^{304.} Cf. Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 377-378. In the list of the Sthaviras Susthita comes after Sthulabhadra, who is the eighth pontiff of the Jaina church. Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., pp. 287-288.

^{305.} Narasimhachar, op. cit., Int., pp. 36-42; Fleet, I.A., xxi., pp. 156-160.

^{306. &}quot;. . . the *Brihat-Katha-Kosa*, a Sanskrit work written by Harisena in 931, says that Bhadrabahu, the last of the *Srutakevalins*, had the king Candragupta as his disciple."—Narasimhachar, op. cit., int., p. 37. Cf. Rice (Lewis), op. cit., p. 4.

An inscription at Sravana Belagola, which has been roughly assigned to c. A.D. 600, is supposed to be the basis of this entire account.³⁰⁷

Some of the modern scholars of great repute and authority have come to the conclusion that Candragupta can safely be called a Jaina on the authority of this tradition. "The Jaina books (fifth century A.D.) and later Jaina inscriptions," observes Jayaswal, "claim Candragupta as a Jaina imperial ascetic. My studies have compelled me to respect the historical data of the Jaina writings, and I see no reason why we should not accept the Jaina claim that Candragupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated, and died as a Jaina ascetic." 308

To quote Smith, who has ultimately leaned towards it: "The only direct evidence throwing light on the manner in which the eventful reign of Candragupta Maurya came to an end is that of Jaina tradition. The Jainas always treat the great Emperor as having been a Jaina like Bimbisara, and no adequate reason seems to exist for discrediting their belief. The Jaina religion undoubtedly was extremely influential in Magadha during the time of the later Saisunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas. The fact that Candragupta won the throne by the contrivance of a learned Brahman is not inconsistent with the supposition that Jainism was the royal faith. Jainas habitually employ Brahmans for their domestic ceremonies, and in the drama cited above (Mudra-Rakshasa) a Jaina ascetic is mentioned as being a special friend of the minister Rakshasa, who served first the Nanda and then the new sovereign.

"Once the fact that Candragupta was or became a Jaina is admitted, the tradition that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jaina manner become readily credible. It being certain that Candragupta was quite young and

^{307.} Cf. Narsimhachar, op. cit., Int., p. 39; ibid., Translation, pp. 1-2; Rice (Lewis), op. cit., pp. 3--4.

^{308.} Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., iii., p. 452.

inexperienced when he ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C., he must have been under fifty when his reign terminated twenty-four years later. His abdication is an adequate explanation of his disappearance at such an early age. Similar renunciation of royal dignity are on record, and the twelve years' famine is not incredible. In short, the Jaina tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists." 309

Besides these two eminent scholars there are others also who are of the same opinon. Both Rice and Nrasimhachar, who have studied the Jaina inscriptions of Sravana Belagola thoroughly, give a verdict in favour of it. 310 Of the older scholars we have Edward Thomas, who has taken into consideration the Greek accounts and comes to the same opinion. 311 Besides this, as Dr. Jacobi tells us, "the date of Bhadrabahu's death is placed identically by all Jaina authors—from Hemacandra down to the most modern scholiast—in the year 170 A.V." And this, acording to our calculation, falls in about 297 B.C. This date

^{309.} Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 75-76. "I am disposed to believe that . . . Candragupta really abdicated and became a Jaina ascetic."—Smith, Early History of India, p. 154. Hemacandra informs us that Candragupta —Hemacandra, op. cit., v. 444.

^{310.} Rice (Lewis), op. cit., pp. 3-9. "We are therefore without warrant for assuming that Candragupta was a Jaina by creed."—*lbid.*, p. 8. "A dispassionate consideration of the above-mentioned facts leads one to the conclusion that the Jaina tradition has some basis to stand upon."—Narasimhachar, op. cit., Int., p. 42.

^{311. &}quot;That Candragupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration.... The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Candragupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Sermanes, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahamans." —Thomas (Edward), op. cit., pp. 23-24. For references to Jainism in the Greek annals see Rice (Lewis), op. cit., p. 8.

^{312.} Jacobi, Kalpa-Sutra, Int., p. xiii. According to the Digambaras he died in 162 A.V. Cf. Narasimhachar, op. cit., Int., p. 40.

of the great pontiff's *Nirvana* exactly coincides with that of Candragupta, who reigned from 321-297 B.C.³¹³

Besides this tradition there are also other references in the Jaina literature which go to show that Candragupta was or had become a Jaina, 314 but we need not now enter more into all these literary sources. However, before we pass on to the successors of Candragupta, a few words regarding the importance of the Jaina migration to the south and about the religion followed by Canakya will not be out of place. As to the first, it gives us a definite starting-point in the history of Jainism in South India. Besides, its value in general to South Indian history is not less; for we know of no other earlier event of equal moment in the annals of South India. The age of Candragupta which Smith, rightly or wrongly, considers to lead the historian "from darkness to light" in north India³¹⁵ is thus seen to open a new era in south Indian history as well. It is of not less interest to note that the religion which was to give South India her earliest, if not her best, literature also gave her her first reliable historical tradition.

Coming next to the faith of Canakya we find that the Jainas believe that he was also a Jaina, favoured Jaina teachers, and in his old age tried to starve himself to death like a true Jaina saint.³¹⁶ Tradition represents the "wicked minister" as having

^{313.} Cf. Rice (Lewis), op. cit., p. 7; Smith, op. cit., p. 206; Narasimhachar, op. cit., Int., p. 41.

^{314.} Cf. Jacobi, Parisishtaparvan, pp. 61-62.

^{315.} Cf. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 72.

^{316.} Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 62; Jolly, Arthasastra of Kautilya, Int., 10-11. For the mutual relations between the Arthasastra and Jaina literature see ibid., p. 10. We have seen that the Jaina tradition puts Canakya's father as supposed to have been both a Brahman and a devout Jaina. This looks like the Brahman origin by birth or heritage, and Jaina by faith. To quote Edward Thomas: "But though our king-maker was a Brahman, he was not necessarily, in the modern acceptation of the term, 'Brahmanist."—Thomas (Edward), op. cit., p. 25-26.

repented and retired to "Shookul Tirtha," on the banks of the Narbada, where he died, and Candragupta is also supposed to have accompanied him. 317 "Shookul Tirtha" is the exact equivalent of "Belagola," which in Kanarese means "white pond." In the inscription it is also called धवल सरस्, which means "white lake."318 This coincidence, even if it were merely accidental, is certainly significant. Apart from minor details, this coincides with the opinion of Rhys Davids that "the linguistic and epigraphical evidence so far available confirms in may respects the general reliability of traditions current amongst the Jainas." He has also remarked: "It is certain that in the extant priestly literature Candragupta is completely ignored for about ten centuries."319 It seems not a little likely that this silence of Brahmanical writers was due in no small measure to the Mauryan Emperor's acceptance of the Jaina religion towards the end of his earthly career.

Finally, taking the successors of Candragupta, we have before us Bindusara, Asoka, Kunala and Samprati, according to the Jaina tradition. As with the Saisunagas and the Nandas so also in the case of the Mauryas there are differences and discrepancies in the lists put forth by various traditions. However, as far as Asoka is concerned there is no trouble. It is agreed to by all that Candragupta left behind him his son and successor, Bindusara, who was in turn followed by his son Asoka. As to the relations of these two Mauryas with the Jainas this much is certain, that their literary traditions are not so eloquent about them as is the case with their predecessor Candragupta and their successor Samprati. Nevertheless there are grounds before us to infer that both of them must have been favourably inclined towards the Jaina church. About Bindusara, the predecessor of Asoka, we know practically little beyond the fact that he seen

^{317.} Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 75, n. 1.

^{318.} Cf. Narasimhachar, op. cit., Int., p. 1.

^{319.} Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 164, 270.

an embassy to Antiochos Soter requesting him to send him a Greek philosopher; and also the inference, from the known extent of his conquests and his father's empire, that he must have extended his dominions so as to cover at least some portions of Mysore. Both these facts are not without their significance to us, in as much as the first explains to some extent the philosophic eclecticism of Bindusara, and the second the distribution of Asoka's edicts in south India. It may not be unlikely that, in addition to the Kshatriya ambitions of mere conquest, Bindusara might have been actuated by filial motive in acquiring Mysore, a place rendered sacred by the last days of his father Candragupta.

The Ceylonese traditions, however, assert that Bindusara was Brahmanical. About the father of Asoka the *Mahavamsa* informs us that he being of the Brahmanical faith maintained sixty thousand Brahmans³²¹; but, as Edward Thomas observes, "their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brahmanism itself, and whether the use of the word 'Brahman' does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own. We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Bindusara followed the faith of his father, and that, in the same belief—whatever it may prove to have been—his childhood's lessons were first learn by Asoka."³²²

Besides this it is not possible to say anything more about the shadowy figure of Bindusara. That, like his father, he also was under the influence of Canakya we have already remarked. The Jaina tradition tells us that during his period the Brahman minister incurred the king's displeasure and was supplanted by

^{320.} Cf. Smith, Early History of India, pp. 155-156.

^{321.} Pita satthisahassani brahmane brahmapakkhike bhojesi.—Geiger, op cit., p. Paricchedo V, v. 34.

^{322.} Thomas (Edward), op. cit., p. 29.

some Subandhu.³²³ Coming to Asoka, his son and successor, it need not be said that he is not the shadowy figure of his father. There is ample material to show how far he kept his relations with the *Niggantha* church, though there is a great difference of opinion with regard to the one faith which Asoka might have followed throughout his career. What we are most immediately concerned with is Asoka's attitude towards Jainism, which, apart from his hereditary affinities towards eclecticism, we venture to think must have been influenced to no small extent by its having been the faith of his grandfather Candragupta, though the *Mahavamsa* tells us that, like his father, Asoka also bestowed alms on the Brahmans for three years.³²⁴ His edicts are very broad based, and indicate equal tolerance of all sects. Yet the genesis of this psychology might have been as suggested.

The fact of Asoka's having been influenced in his early years by the faith of his grandfather Candragupta gathers strength on the testimony of Edward Thomas that in his Ain-i-Akbari Abu-I-Fazl, the accomplished minister of Akbar, has retained in his notice of the Kingdom of Kashmir three very important entries, of which establishes "that Asoka himself first introduced 'Jainism,' eo nomine, into the kingdom of Kashmir." Emphasising the same point the learned scholar further observes that "the leading fact of Asoka's introduction or recognition of the Jaina creed in Kashmir does not, however, rest upon the sole testimony of the Muhammadan author, but is freely acknowledged in the Brahmanical pages of the Raja Tarangini—a work which, though finally compiled and put together only in 1148 A.D., relies, in this section of its history, upon the more

^{323.} For the circumstances under which Canakya lost the goodwill of his master see Hemacandra, op. cit., vv. 436-459.

^{324.} so pi te yeva tini vassani bohjayi.—Geiger, op. and loc. cit.

^{325.} Cf. Thomas (Edward), op. cit., pp. 30-31. "When the succession developed on Asoka, the son of Janaka's paternal uncle, he abolished the Brahmanical religion and established the Jaina faith." —Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, ii., p. 382; Wilson, A.R., xv., p. 10.

archaic writings of Padma Mihira and Sri Chavillakara. 326

With all this the learned scholar is conscious that Asoka was not a Jaina throughout his career, otherwise, as he observes, he would have reasonably been claimed by the Jainas as a potent upholder of their faith. According to Edward Thomas by and by he became a pervert and ultimately leaned towards Buddhism. However, this idea of Asoka's actual perversion to the Buddhist faith is not easily acceptable. What we venture to suggest is this, that as years went on Asoka came more and more under the influence of the teaching of Buddha, became less and less of a sectarian, and tried to inculcate in his subjects the *Dharma* which embraced the moral precepts and dogmatic tenets common to other religions, though, as Rev. Heras rightly observes, he was "especially influenced by the Jaina doctrines as regards sacredness and inviolability of life." 329

The statement that Asoka's *Dharma* was not Buddhistic is not a new one. Wilson, 330 Macphail, 331 Fleet 332

^{326.} Thomas (Edward), op. cit., p. 32. Cf. Wilford, A.R., ix., pp. 96-97.

^{327.} Thomas (Edward), op. cit., p. 24.

^{328.} Heras, op. cit., p. 272. Cf. Rock Edicts (I,B), (III, D), (IV, C), (XI,C), etc.; Hultzsch, C.H.I., i., pp. 2, 5, 8, 19, etc. (new ed.).

^{329.} In the first place, then, with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscriptions, proselytism to the Buddhist religion, it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and weather they have connection with Buddhism at all."—Wilson, J.R.A.S., xii., p. 236. Cf. ibid., p. 250.

^{330.} Cf. Macphail, Asoka, p. 48. "Dharma, the collquial for Dharma, is the word used. In the Edicts it does not stand for Buddhism, but for the simple piety which Asoka wished all his subjects of what ever faith to practise."—lbid.

^{331.} Cf. Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 491-492. ".... The distinct object of both the Rock and the Pillar Edicts was not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Asoka to govern the realm righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings, and with considerations for all forms of religious belief. .. " etc. — Ibid., p. 492.

^{332. &}quot;The doctrines of Asoka's major Rock and Pillar Edicts cannot be called distinctively Buddhist," etc.—Monahan, Early History of Bengal, p. 214.

Monahan³³³ and Rev. Heras³³⁴ have affirmed this prior to us. Even Dr. Kern says that "his inscriptions, with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhistic."335 Senart, after having said that in the *Dharma* "there is nothing exclusively Buddhist," makes the following statement: "In my opinion our monuments (Asoka's inscriptions) are witnesses of a stage of Buddhism, sensibly different from that which is developed in later times."336 This is a guess without any foundation. The same contractiction is also made by Hultzsch. He says that all his moral proclamations "do no characterise him as a Buddhist reformer"; but he adds, "If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled Dhammapada i.e. 'words of morality." The statements of both Senart and Hultzsch seem to have been elicited in compliance with the statements of those who style Asoka the great Buddhist missionary.338

Having thus seen, mainly on the authority of various scholars, that the Pillar Edicts and inscriptions of Asoka do not *ipso facto* mean that he was or had become a Buddhist, we shall now examine his own writings as to how far he was under the influence of *Nirgrantha* doctrines. "There is no country," says Asoka, "where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brahmanas and *Sramanas*, do not exist, except among the *Yonas*." But

^{333. &}quot;Buddhist chronicles of fourth, fifth and sixth centuries have decieved many scholars.... There is not the least mention of any Buddhist deep principle."—Heras, op. cit., pp. 225, 271.

^{334.} Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 112.

^{335.} Senart, I.A., xx., pp. 260, 264, 265.

^{336.} Hultzsch, op. cit., Int., p. xlix.

^{337.} Cf. Heras, op. cit., p. 271.

^{338.} Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 47 (J).

^{339.} Hultzsch, op. cit., Int., p. I.

who were these "Sramanas"? Hultzsch takes them to mean "Buddhist Monks,"³⁴⁰ though there is no special reason why such a restriction should be made.

"Sramana" simply denotes an ascetic or monk, and the Jainas used the term even before the Buddhist appropriated it. It has been used so in the Greek annals, and this has been, as seen before, confirmed by other scholars also.341 Thus an ancient vow of the Jaina runs: "I take the twelfth vow, the Atithi Samvibhaga vrata, by which I promise to give Sramana or Nirgrantha any of the fourteen things which they can accept without blame," etc. 342 Likewise the Kalpa-Sutra speaks of "the Nirgrantha Sramanas of the present time. 343 Kundakundacarya as well, the earliest Digambara writer of the south, uses the term to signify the monks of his own sect.344 But over and above all the Buddhists themselves applied the term "Sramana" to the Nirgranthas. For the Anguttara Nikaya says: "O Visakha, there is class of Sramanas who are called Nirgranthas."345 That the Jainas used the term prior to the Buddhists is also conclusively proved by the fact that the latter styled themselves "Sakyaputttiya Samanas" as distinguished from the already existing "Niggantha Samanas" 346

On the other hand, however, when Asoka wanted to speak of Buddhists alone, he has always used the word *Samgha*. For instance, in Pillar Edict VII, he says: "Some (*Mahamatras*) were odered by me to busy themselves with the affairs of the *Samgha*;

^{340.} Cf. Rice (Lewis), op. cit., p. 8.

^{341.} Stevenson (Mrs), op. cit., p. 218.

^{342.} Jacobi, S.B.E., xxii., p. 297.

^{343.} Cf. Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 97-100.

^{344.} Cf. Jacobi, S.B.E., xlv., Int., p. xvii. Read also Kanta Prasad Jain's interesting article on "The Jaina References in the Buddhist Literature," I.H.Q., ii., pp. 698-709.

^{345.} Cf. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 143.

^{346.} Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VII; cf. Hultzch, op. cit., p. 136 (Z).

likewise others were ordered to busy themselves with the Brahmans (and) *Ajivikas*; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with *Nirgranthas*; others with various (other) sects."³⁴⁷

The independent mention of Brahmans, Ajivikas and Nirgranthas shows that these were distinct entities altogether different from the Samgha. In all other places the Sramanas are invariably mentioned together with the Brahmans.³⁴⁸ The omission of "Sramanas" in this passage can be explained only by the substituion of Ajivikas and Nirgranthas, both of whom, as already seen, can be distinguised from the Samgha.

As to the attitude of Asoka towards Jainism, or in fact towards any such other faith, it is indicated in the following words: "All men are my children. As on my behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men." Likewise, more specifically, he states: "In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds." 350

Asoka had his *Dharma-Mahamatra* in the north as well as in the south "to supervise Buddhist, Brahmanas and *Ajivikas*, *Nirgrnatha* and other sects." His non-sectarian policy is perhaps nowhere better in evidence than in the following:

"Whosover," says the Emperor, "praises his own sect or

^{347.} See Rock Edicts (III, D), (IV, C), (IX, G), (XI, C) (XIII, G), and Pillar Edict VII (HH); cf. Hultzch, op. cit., Int., p. 1.

^{348.} Separate Rock Edict: Jaugada, I (F.G.). II (E.F.); cf. Hultzch, op. cit., pp. 114-117.

^{349.} Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VI (D.E.); cf. Hultzch, op. cit., p. 129; Int., p. xlviii.

^{350.} Ibid., INt., p. xl.

^{351.} Girnar Rock Edict XII (H): cf. Hultzch, p. 21.

blames other sects—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely."³⁵²

Speaking of the Barabar cave inscriptions Smith writes: "These records are chiefly of interest as a decisive proof that Asoka was sincere in his solemn declaration that he honoured all sects." This is no less true of Asoka's other inscriptions, and although we have no direct evidence as to the state of Jainism in north India under his benevolent rule, the above observations at least serve to reveal the attitude of Candragupta's greatest successor towards the religion he himself had adopted—at least in the evening of his glorious career, if not earlier.

Our hypothesis of the hereditary influence of this tradition is also supported by the conversion of Asoka's grandson, Samprati, by Suhastin to the Jaina faith. Before entering into any further discussion about Samprati's enthusiasm for Jainism it may by seen who were the successors of Asoka. Unfortunately, to quote Dr. RayChaudhuri, "No Kautilya or Megasthenes has left any account of the later Mauryas. It is impossible to reconstruct a detailed history of Asoka's successor from the scanty data furnished by one or two inscriptions and a few Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist works." 355

The *Puranas* themselves do not agree as to who was the successor of Asoka. It is not an easy task to reconcile the divergent versions of different authorities. However, the reality of Kunala the son of Asoka is established by the combined testimony of all, 356 but as to his succession the tradition is not

^{352.} Smith, op. cit., p. 177. Cf. Hultzch, op. cit., Int., p. xlviii.

^{353.} Cf. Jacobi, Parisishtaparvan, p. 69; Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 135.

^{354.} RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 220.

^{355.} Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 28, 70; Cowell and Neil, op. cit., p. 430; Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut. 163; RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 221.

^{356.} Cf. Jacobi, op. cit., pp. 63-64; Cowell and Neil, op. cit., p. 433; RayChaudhuri, op. and loc. cit.; Bhandarkar, op. and loc. cit.

unanimous. Hemacandra tells us under what unhappy circumstances he became blind, and was rendered "unfit to carry on the work of government which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, the Jaina Asoka, who is described by the Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Asoka." 357

The only difficulty that lies on our way in accepting Samprati as the successor of Asoka is the reality of Dasaratha, whom, we have already seen in connection with the Nagarjuni Hills bestowed by him upon the *Ajivikas*. The only possible explanation of the difficulty seems to be this, that as the grandson of Asoka or either both of them ruled at the same time with Samprati as the successor of Asoka or that Dasaratha has been omitted by both the Buddhist and the Jaina annals. Of the two the first presumption seems to be more correct, considering the unanimous inclusion of Samprati in the Magadhan list. 358

Thus there is no doubt about the fact that Samprati was one of the Maurya emperors wo was great enough to be mentioned by all. As to his enthusiasm for the Jaina church, it can safely be opined that he is one of the leading stars of the Jaina history in the north. In the matter of propogation of the Jaina faith Jaina records speak as highly of Samprati as the Buddhist records do of Asoka. Smith observes: "He (Samprati) is reputed to have been as zealous in promoting the cause of Jainism as Asoka had been in propagating the religion of Gautama." 359

^{357.} Both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions about Samprati have been referred to by us in the previous note. For the *Puranic* see *Pargiter*, op. cit., pp. 28, 70. Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 220. "Perhaps the empire was divided between his grandsons. Dasaratha... and Samprati. "—Smith, op. cit., p. 203.

^{358.} Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 117, and n. 1. Cf. Bhandarkar, op. and loc. cit.;—Kalpa-Sutra, Subodhika-Tika, sut, 6 p. 163. "Almost all ancient Jaina temples or monuments of unknown origin are ascribed by the popular voice to Samprati, who is in fact regarded as a Jaina Asoka.—Smith, Early History of India, p. 202.

^{359.} Jacobi, op. cit., p. 69.

About Samprati's zeal for the Jaina church Hemacandra briefly observed as follows: "He showed his zeal by causing Jaina temples to be erected over the whole of *Jambudvipa*. During Suhastin's stay at Ujjaini, and under his guidance, splendid religious festivals and processions in honour of the *Arhat* were celebrated, and great was the devotion manifested by the king and his subjects on this occasion. The example and advice of Samprati induced his vassals to embrace and patronise his creed, so that not only in his kingdom but also in adjacent countries the monks could practise their religion." ³⁶⁰

What is more important for us to know in connection with Samprati is this—that he sent Jaina missionaries to south India, and that these were of the Svetambara persuasion.³⁶¹ To quote Hemacandra: "In order to extend the sphere of their (Jaina monks) activities to uncivilised countries, Samprati sent there messengers disguised as Jaina monks. They described to the people the kind of food and other requisites which monks may accept as alms, enjoining them to give such things instead of the usual tax to the revenue collectors who would visit them from time to time of course there revenue collectors were to be Jaina monks. Having thus prepared the way for them, he induced the superior to send monks to those countries, for they would find it in no way impossible to live there. Accordingly missionaries were sent to the Andhras and Dramilas, who found everything as the king had told. Thus the uncivilised nations were brought under the influence of Jainism."362

The importance of the Jaina missionaries sent by Samprati

^{360.} Cf. Bhandarkar, op. and loc. cit. About this the Pataliputrakalpa of Jinaprabhasuri observes: "In Pataliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunala, lord of Bharata with its three continents, the great Arhanta who established Viharas for Sramanas even in non-Aryan countries." —Cf. RayChaudhuri, op. cit., p. 222.

^{361.} Cf. Jacobi, op. and loc. cit.

^{362.} Cf. Hoernle, I.A., xxi., pp. 57-58, and Klatt, ibid., xi., p. 251.

to uncivilised countries, as Hemacandra tells us, lies in this—that it is the earliest reference, as far as we know, to contact of the Svetambaras with the south. Hence it is as important as the great migration dealt with in this chapter. We particularly call it the Svetambara contact because, as seen before, the Svetambara-Digambara schism in the Jaina church is connected with both the migration and the Suhastin-Mahagiri tradition. That Suhastin was a Svetambara is also evident from the fact that the Digambara *Pattavalies*, or genealogies of teachers, do not mention him. ³⁶³ We are further informed that when Aryamahagiri saw that Samprati was converted by Suhastin, he withdrew himself to Dasarnabhadra, seeing that "all his hopes of winning the monks to lives of sterner asceticism" were at an end. ³⁶⁴ Thus the Svetambara rule triumphed at the court of Samprati.

Here ends the importance of Magadha as seen in the light of Jaina history. With the end of the Mauryas and the consequent beginning of the Sungas, Kalinga becomes the centre of our history. With the fall of the sovereign power in Magadha Kalinga more or less succeeds in taking its place. Magadha learned to her cost what the powerful Kalinga meant in the time of Kharavela. Fortunately enough, though for a very short time, it also plays an equally important part in the history of the Jaina church. That after Samprati the Mauryas did not survive long is certain, and whatever survived they must have had seems to be highly shadowy and positively degrading—that the last of them, as seen before was grievously murdered by his own commander-in-chief.

However at present we need not enter into the why and wherefore of the fall of the powerful Mauryas. Suffice it to say that the conquest of Kalinga by the Maurya Asoka was

^{363.} Stevenson (Mrs), p. 74. Cf. Barodia, *History and Literature of Jainism*, p. 55.

a great landmark in the history of Magadha and of India. It completed the unification of non-Tamil India under the hegemony of Magadha. It marked the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisara's annexation of Anga. It opened a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and, perhaps, of military inefficiency, during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha had died out for want for exercise. The era of *Digvijaya* was over, the era of *Dharmavijaya* had begun, and this finally resulted in the disappearance of the Maurya sovereignty over the Magadhan Empire.

JAINA SOCIAL ORDER

An exact picture of Jaina social life has been reflected in the scriptures, which clearly indicate that Jains followed the teachings of the Tirthankaras who believed in social equality, social justice, non-violence, social harmony and peace. As a religious community they pursued religious and spiritual life with an objective of public welfare.

In his research based study, V. Mudholkar \S has tried to study the Jaina social order :

"The most distinguishing feature of Jainism is that it has maintained its universal catholicity in matters of religion and social order. It has never distinguished between man and man. The last of the 24 Tirthankaras, Mahavira Vardhaman preached the doctrines of salvation, emancipation from worldly bondage and proclaimed it as the birth right of each and every soul, irrespective of distinctions of caste, creed or sex. Mahavira addressed his sermons to both the Aryans and the non-Aryans. Jainism opened its folds even to the despised Mlechchas, admitted them in the Sangha and ordained them as Sramanas. All that Jainism prescribed to its followers was the strict adherence to the ideal of liberation. Beyond this, it condoned all sorts of customs and social usuages.

^{§.} Mudholkar, V.: Social Order— Jain View, EOJ, pp. 5593-5617.

^{1.} The Jain Antiquary, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1947, p. 9. "dansana mulo dhammo uvaittho jinavarehim sisssanam pavai tihuvanam saram bohi jinasasano jivo"—Kundakundacarya. Also "Manovakkaya dharmaya matah sarvepi jantavah".—Sri Somadeva Surih.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 9, Samvayanga Sutra, Article by Sjt. K.P. Jain.

^{3.} Ibid. p. 9, Sarva eva hi jainanam pramanam Vidhih, yatra samyaktva hanima yatra no vrdusanam."—Somadeva Surih.

Jainism never attached any importance to the prevailing caste system. Of cource, Jain philosophers have used the term 'Jati', but the term has been used in an altogether different context. The word 'Jati' has been used to describe the mundane conditions of a jiva (soul)⁴, enumerating the various species under which jiva (soul) falls as among one-sensed, two-sensed beings and so on. Man belongs to the category of five sensed soul and so makes a separate 'Jati'. This human jati is further divided into fourteen lakh crores 'Kulas' (clans)⁵. According to Jainism, men of all these Kulas (clans) are competent to attain salvation.⁶ This goes to show the universal catholic appeal of the Jain religion.

In fact, Jainism never accepted birth as the basis of a caste, rather it declared that actions of a man are the main determinants of his social status in life. Man can be called high or low on the basis of his actions alone. Even a man of upper class family becomes low on the basis of his actions alone. Even a man of upper class family becomes low in no time if his actions are low and degenerating, while the lowliest can be regenerated into a 'kulina' by acting to the teachings of ahimsa. Hence for a follower of Jina, caste is a trivial consideration, it is at best a resting place for passers-by for the period of his sojourn in that life. Whatever his socio-economic position or status in

^{4.} Cf. Jain Antiquary, Vol. XIII, 1948, p. 10. (Jain Gem. Dictionary, p. 51 and Tattvartha Sutram, ch. VIII, p. 173).

^{5.} Ibid., p. 10. Thana-Ka-Yantra: Charcha-Samadhana, pp. 153-154.

^{6.} *Ibid.* p. 10. 'manusyajatirekaiva jatikarmodayadbhava. Vrtti bhedahi tadbhedacacaturvidhyami hasnute." 45. *Adipurana-Parva-38*.

^{7.} Ibid., p. 10, "Kammuna Bambhano hoi Khattiyo, Vaiso Kammuna hoi Kammuna hoi, Suddo havai Kammuna."

⁻Uttaradhyayan Sutra ch. 25.

^{8.} *Ibid.*, p. 11 "nico vi hoi ucco, ucco nicattanam puna uccei. jivanam, khu kutaim, paviyassa va vassamantanm"

⁻Bhagavati Aradhana Sara, 3

life, once a man embraced Jainism, he was admitted to the great brotherhood, samgha, and was then allowed to dine and intermarry among the Jainas. This is also confirmed from a directive from Asadhara, so late as in the 12th century A.D. enjoining members of the Jain Samgha to inter-marry among themselves. 10

The fact that the Jainas utterly disregarded the caste in practical life is amply illustrated by the narrative stories in the canonical books concerning the previous lives of the Tirthankaras and other great personages. The last Tirthankara has been depicted in his previous life as a Bhila (Mlechcha), addicted to flesh and wine, who was reclaimed by a Jainacharya by making him accept the vow of Ahimsa, thus changing his very life. 11

Mahavira proclaimed that even a Chandala should be respected and counted as Devata if he is endowed with the Right Belief.¹² The example of Harikesa who from a Svapacha (Chandala) rose to be a great sage by adopting and observing the vows of a Jain Sramana, fully illustrated the point that the protest and the lowliest could be uplifted by resorting to Jain faith.¹³

The orthodox Vedic Brahmanas were so upset at this catholicity of the Jainas that they treated even the Aryans of the eastern regions of the country where Jainism held away,

^{9.} Mahapurana, Ch. 39. St. 61-71—Jinesvaracarya.

^{10.} Cf. The Jain Antiquary, Vol. XIII, p. 11. (Sagara-Dharmamrata, ch. II. 51, 57).

^{11.} Ibid., p. 11 (Gunabhadracarya, Uttarapurana, ch. 74).

^{12.} Ratna Karanda Sravakacarya Samyaga darsanansampannamapi matangadehajam, deva devam vidadarbhasmagudha garantaraujasam : 28

Also—Aradhanakosa "Candalapi Vratopetahpujitah devatadibhih, tasmadanyairna vrpradyai jitigarvo vidhiyate : 30

^{13.} Sakkham khudisai taboviseso, na disai jaivisesa koi, sovagaputtam hariesasahu jasserisa iddhi mahanubhaga."

⁻Uttaradhyayana Sutra, ch. 12.

as 'Bhrasta' (defiled). Hindu Puranas have attacked Jainism for attaching no value to caste and for proclaiming that whosoever, whether a Chandala or a Sudra, observes the vow of Ahimsa, becomes a Brahman.

Epigraphical evidences also support the prevalence of catholicity in the Jain Samgha upto the 13th century A. D. Though divided into many groups, the Jainas yet mentioned this catholic role. They were free to follow any pursuit, provided it may not cause them to swerve from Ahimsa.

Caste, in some form or the other, existed even among them. It was started by their first Tirthankar, Risabha, who while a ruler, laid the foundation of civic life according to Jain view. In order to impart to the people the knowledge of various occupations as crafts and also to teach them the art of cooperation and interdependence, he divided society into Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaisyas (Financiers) and Sudras (labours) according to their respective occupations, purely as an administrative measure. Later on, his son Bharata introduced the fourth varna of Brahmanas. Yet, inspite of this classification, all persons enjoyed equal civic, life and were free to follow whatever occupation they liked.

There are instances of Varna-parivartana (change of class) so late as in the 12th century A.D. The Elkote Jinalaya Inscription (No. 130 Hassan 1147 A.D.) reveals the change of the progeny of a princely family to that of a Sresthin (merchant). ¹⁴ The Betur inscription (No. 86, 1177 A.D.) narrates the instance of a bangle seller appointed a great chief by the Hoysala king Vira Ballal.

In the old Jain Samgha, all the Jainas, whether, Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra, freely contracted marriges among themselves.¹⁵ There were no communal restrictions in Jainism of yore. This is proved by the Jain antiquities of Kankali-tila,

^{14.} The Jain Antiquary, Vol. XIII, p. 14.

^{15.} Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 146-152.

Jaina Social Order 95

Mathura and Girinagara. They show however that courtesans and dancing girls were ordained to the Jaina fold and who become devout Sravikas and built Ayagapatas and temples of Jina.

There are epigraphical evidences to show that foreigners like Parthians, ¹⁶ Saka Ksatrapas ¹⁷ and Hunas ¹⁸ were also admitted in the Jain Samgha. The inscriptions at Sravana-Belagola and other places in south India also testify to the catholic spirit of Jainism which show that goldsmiths, gardeners, cooks and oilmen were devout Jains. ¹⁹ Thus, it is obvious that Jainism opened its folds for all, irrespective of their caste, creed or sex.

Jainism in its early stages was highly critical of the institutions of caste and the superiority of the Brahamana-varna. In Jain texts the Brahamanas are held in contempt and are represented as the opponents of the Jain religion. This class is often referred to as a dhijjati²⁰ or condemned caste. We find Jain writers hurling their shafts on certain Brahmanical institutions like 'Purtadharma' and 'tirthayatra'. In the Upamitibhavprapancakatha for instance, we are told that a deluded man would often think that a Jain Svetambar Sramana wanted to rob him like a Saivaachrya.²¹ The references to the Purtadharmins as an important sect in the Kuvalayamala Katha²² shows the popularity of this sect during the period. The Jainas too could not remain unaffeced by this Purtadharma but they said in their defence that "Bhagavana (Jina) though, wholly devoted to the good of

^{16.} Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 281-289.

^{17.} Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 283-294.

^{18.} Jainism in North India-Shah-pp. 210-211.

^{19.} Jain Antique, Vol. XIII, p. 15 (Inscription of Sravanabelagola)
—Jain Shilaekha Samgraha, Manikchand Granthmala.

^{20.} Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons, p. 140.

^{21.} Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, p. 60.

^{22.} Kuvalayamala, p. 65.

the people did no ask them to build step wells, wells and reservoirs etc.²³ Another institution of the Hindus of the period believed that a visit to sacred sites inspired one with noble thoughts, loosened the bond of karma, and produced merit enough to carry one to svarga.

Like most Jain writers Udyotan Suri has tried to poke fun at the sanctity of the Hindu tithas.²⁴ In this connection the 'Dhurtakhyana' of Hribhadra Suri too is noteworthy where the author through imaginary tales, had ridiculed the legends of Brahmanic mythology.²⁵

Brahmanas

The supremacy of the Brahmans among the four varnas has been established since the Vedic age. The status of the Brahmanas was traditionally regarded as the highest among the four varnas in the Hindu ideology. 26 Although the Jain Puranas and the Charitra literature differ in their conception of the origin of the Brahmana Varna, yet a majoriy of texts are unanimous in the opinion that the first Chakravarti king Bharat was the originator of this Varna. On the other hand, the origin of Brahmanas had been attributed to Prajapati in the Nishitha Chumi. In Jain literature the word Mahan has been liberally used for the Brahmanas. The use of this word also gives a clear idea regarding the origin of the Brahmanas as reflected in the minds of the Jains. Vimal Suri, the author of the 'Paum Charia' writes that once the first Chakravarti king Bharat, enraged with the sravakas, ordered their execution. At this, Rishabhadeva, the first Tirthankara, saved them from death. Since Rishabhadeva disuaded Bharat from killing these sravakas by uttering the word

^{23.} Kathakosaprakarana-77, 17 and also 801.

^{24.} Rajasthan Through the Ages-p.404.

^{25.} Prakrit Jain Narrraive Liteatture, pp. 27-28.

^{26. &}quot;Pravarataro lokesmin Brahmanajva sarvavarnanam Kalavilasa, p. 79.

'Mahan, they were later called by this name of 'Mahan'.²⁷ Much before the writing of this, a similar story regarding the origin of the word 'Mahan' is to be found in the 'Acharang Churni,' which says that during the rule of Bharat, whenever the non-violent sharavkas saw anybody being executed they would cry out the word 'Mahan' (do not kill).²⁸

Hemacandra, the author of Trishasti Shalaka Purusha Charit is of the opinion that these 'Mahanas', in course of time came to be called 'Brahmanas'.²⁹

In Jain texts, the word 'Sutrakantha' has also been used for Brahmanas. In the Harivamsha Purana writen by Jinasen, they have been addressed as 'Vratins' or the practitioners of religious rituals. It is stated in the Harivamsha Purana that Bharat, gifting valuable presents to the Brahmanas adorned them with three jewelled sacred thread marked by Kakini (special jewel). Thus, those practising religious austerities and rituals came to be known as (Sutrakanthas or) Brahmanas.³⁰ It is stated in the Adipurana written by Jinasen that Rishabhdeva had founded three varnas—Kshatirya, Vaisya and Sudra. On the basis of this work, some thinkers have formed the opinion that Bharat later on founded the fourth varna—Brahmana, out of the three existing varnas—Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, on the basis of 'vrittibhed' to propogate the religion as preached by his father Rishabhdeva and adorned them with Brahmasutra.³¹ On account of wearing

^{27.} Mahanastu putta ee jam usabhajivena vario Bharho tena ime sayalcciya vuccanti ya mahana loe." Paum Caria of Vimala Suri—4.84.

^{28.} Life in Ancient India as depicted in *Jain Canons*, p. 140 (Acaranga Churni, pp. 5.213. ff.).

^{29.} Cf. Aspects of Brahmanical Influence on the Jaina Mythology—p. 205, Jha, Shaktidhar.

⁽Karamena mahanaste tu Brahmana iti visruta -ISPC, 11, 107a.

^{30. &}quot;Tataste Bramanah prokta vraino Bharaadrita"—Jain Harivamsapurana, 11.107a

^{31.} Quoted by the Samaraiccakaha—Ek Samskriik Adhyayana, p. 93.

the sacred thread, a few Jaina texts have also ridiculed them by calling them Sutrakantha and Pashandin.³²

The basic reason for opposition between Brahmanism and Jainism lay in the fact that the Jain and Buddhist reformatory movements were primarily held as a protest against the existing caste system. The founders of these movements have the preponderance of vocation over birth. They hold that no man is high or low on the basis of birth. On the other hand, he becomes high or low on the basis of his work, actions, conduct, character and vocation. The caste system has been bitterly criticised in the Uttaradhyayana Sutra. Ridiculing the institution of caste system it states that a sovaga named Harisesa went to the sacrificial enclosure (Jannavada) of a Brahmana priest and taught him the real way of performing Yajnas.³³

It is clear from a study of the early medieval literature that the caste system had begun to deviate from its past ideals. The social organization had begun to dwindle and the society was heading towards a choatic degeneration. The reason for it was not merely the complexity of the caste system, but the radical socio-economic changes that took place in this period.

The decadence of the soical-order was partly the outcome of the natural tendency of dissatisfaction with the existing set up. An 8th century Gurjar-Pratihar Inscription, referred to the Varnasrama Dharma as 'Vyavasthonmulita' under the influence of Kaliage. This confusion in the institution of the caste system continued upto the 12th century. It is apparent from some stories of the Kuvlayamala Katha of the 8th century that during those days people were not necessarily following those vocations which had been prescribed under the existing caste system. For example, a Brahmana named Yagyasoma, being poor, was earning his

^{32.} Vimal Suris PC.—4.65 aand 4.79, Ravisenas PC—4.116.

^{33.} Uttaradhyayana Sutra, Chap. 12.44 F.

^{34.} E.I., Vol. 23, 1935. p. 150.

livelihood by washing utensils of cooking.³⁵ On the other hand, one Dhandeva, inspite of being a Sudra, was a successful businessman.³⁶ The connected story is an important one which brings us to the conclusion that people generally, were not following the vocations which were prescribed for their castes by the smritis.

It appears from the Brihatkathakosa (10th century) that the Brahmanas not only carried out trades but also joined the army.³⁷ According to Manusmriti, the Brahmanas were given the right to agriculture only in times of distress.³⁸ But in course of time, this began to be counted as among their regular duties.

In the 11th century, Dhanapala has referred to the 'Varnacar Viplva' (Revolution in the caste behaviour) of the age.³⁹

Thus, a detailed study of the early Medieval literature makes it clear that the image of the institution of the caste system was undergoing a rapid change. The Brahmanas were devoting themselves to the vocations of the lower order, while people of the lower castes were busy with higher persuits enjoined for the Brahmanical class.

Yet, inspite of all this the Brahmanas occupied the most exalted position in the society. The Brahmanas enjoyed various soico-economic privileges since the Puranic days. 40 Prominent among these were their immunity from taxes and capital

^{35.} Kuvalayamalakaha, p. 118.3. "Sohei vacca-garae Ujjihi uccittha-mallayanihae. Loena uvahasijjai kir eso Bambhanoasi"—p. 118.3.

^{36.} Kuv. Mala. 65.2.—"tammigame sudda-jaio Dhanadevo nama satthavahautto."

^{37.} BKK. p. 30, v. 2, p. 4.5.

^{38.} Manusmrtti, p. 123 ff.

^{39.} T.M., pp. 348-49.

^{40.} Kane, H.D., Vol. II, Second Edition, Chapter III—Brahmanasyadhikah pravacana yajan pratigrahah purvesu niyamastu", p. 105.

punishment. They were also appointed on higher government posts. If a Brahmana happened to discover a treasure trove, he would receive the whole of it from the king. On the other hand, under similar situation, a man of any other caste would not get anything of the same.

It was also within the privileges of the Brahmanas to receive certain classified gifts. Ever since the Vedic period, only the Brahmanas were entitled to receive gifts, alms and charities. The gift of land was supposed to be the most important among all types of gifts and charities. Some Post medieval Puranas have detailed things which could be given in charity, such as a village, a city, weapons, horses, elephants, servants, maid-servants, slaves and attendants. Among these gifting weapons was supposed to be prohibited in the old age, but during the early medieval days, this too came to be acccepted as a kind of charity. The Puranas has gone to the extent of testifying that on a bounty of a village, state of royal insignia, a king could be born a king again in the next rebirth.

It was not only the kings that were entitled to acts of charity, but there are accounts of the Brahmanas having received charities from the samanatas, amatyas (ministers) and prosperous traders. It has been said in the Kuvalayamala that granting bounties of cows, land, grains, hala-spade to Brahmanas were regarded a religious act. ⁴⁴ In the Brihat Katha Kosa, there is an account of charities being offered to the Brahmanas and

^{41.} Vaman Purana 78-78 (Critical Edition-52.79).

^{42.} Vasistha, quoted in G.K., p. 247.

^{43.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 27 (Visnudarmottar Purana, 3.305, 23, 24.3, 310.22).

^{44.} Kuv. Mala- p. 205-35, "go-bhumi dhanna- danam halappayanam ca Bambhana janassa jamkirai so dhammonaravara maha vallahohiyae."

mendicants by a minister. In the same references, there is a mention of ten types of charity—gold, horse, Atila, elephant, maid servant, land, house, maidan and the Kapila cow.⁴⁵

During the performance of sacrifices, the kings used to distribute charities lavishly to the Brahamanas. In the Vedic period, the Brahaman alone could receive all the residual material used in a sacrifice. Hence it was called `Adayee, which is a symbol of his special privilege. 47

It is evident from the Dharmasastra, the Arthasastra and even early medieval literature that the Brahmanas were a tax free community and state taxes were not charged from them. But it is to be noted that only the 'Shrotriya' Brahmanas were given the privilege of immunity from taxes. It is written in the Arthasastra that some special classes among the Brahmanas known as the Ritvikas, Acharyas, Purohits and Shrotriya did not pay taxes. ⁴⁸ The early medieval authors also hint at the immunity of the Brahmanas from the taxes. According to Alberuni, only the Brahmanas were exempted from all types of taxes. ⁴⁹ Lakshmidhara ⁵⁰ and Someshwara ⁵¹ have also held that only the Shrotriya Brahmanas were exempted from taxes, as is clearly

^{45.} Brirhatkathakosa-p-150.

[&]quot;mithyadrtisiramato hidhandhanyadi samyutah, dadati sutrakanthebhyo bho janacchadanadikama 5 Vedavedaanga yaktanamagniotra vidhanatah datta, yaepsitam danam Brahamanam mayabhrsam. 7

kanakasvatila nago rao dasimahi grha, kanya ca kapila dhenurdasa dananisantivai.22

^{46.} BKK. p. 151. "kriyamane makhe Viprai Bramanebhyo muhurmuhuh, adimadhyavasaaneu dadati kanakam nripah"32

^{47.} Aai. Brahmana-7.29.2, Sata. Brah., 23.1.39.

^{48.} Arthasastra—2.1 "Ritvigacacarya purohitasrotriyebhyo brahmadeyanyadana karanja bhirupadayakanih."

^{49.} Sachau, II, p. 149.

^{50.} Krtyakalaparu, Rajadharmakanada, pp. 91-92.

^{51.} Manasollasa-1, 166.

indicated in the Arthasastra.⁵² Altekar⁵³ and Ghoshal⁵⁴ also have held that only the Shrotriya Brahmanas did not pay taxes, while all other varieties of Brahmans had to pay them. The village donated to the Brahamans in charity were known as 'Brahmdeya', ⁵⁵ and Brahamana Agrahar. Villages gifted by the king in charity and where the Brahmanas resided were also known as Brahmadeya and Agrahar.

Gifts were also given to the Brahmanas by individuals. We learn from the Kuvalayanmala Katha that people used to gift their entire property to the Brahmanas before proceeding on a religious pilgrimage. It appears from the 'Kuvalayamala' and the 'samraiccakaha' that feeding the Brahmanas was an art of religious faith, leading to the assimilation of Punya. Similarly, the Brahmanas were fed for the peace of the departed souls. ⁵⁶

Immunity from capital punishment was another special prerogative of the Brahmanas. They were not given capital punishment even for the highest offences. This exclusive privilege of the Brahmanas continued till the early medieval era. Killing the Brahmana was considered as highly reprehensible. Alberuni has also written that a Brahmana convicted for killing another man, could be let off on a punishment involving fasting, prayers and alms-giving. ⁵⁷ In the past, branding the convicted Brahmanas with hot iron and exiling them from the country was considered the highest punishment from them. ⁵⁸ However, in the

^{52.} Arthasastra—2.1.

^{53.} Altekar, A.S. State and Government in Ancient India., p. 195. Also, 'History of the Rastrakutas, p. 328.

^{54.} Ghoshal, U.N., 'Hindu Revenue System', p. 13.

^{55.} Arthasastra—2.1.

^{56.} Kuv. Mala. p. 187.5. "ee videnti ganunaassa punnchim bamhana-kulanam." Saamaraiccakaha—9, pp. 945, 951, "kira assa hoeyam eso, loyassa caumattho."

^{57.} Sachau, Vol. II, p. 162 (SCNI, p. 26).

^{58.} Kane, P.V., History of Dharmasastras' Vol. II. Chapt, III, p. 141.

Rajtarangini, there are cases of the Brahmanas given capital punishment.⁵⁹

Vijnaneshwara⁶⁰ and Devannahbhatt⁶¹ have supported the execution of the Brahmana of a vicious character. Documentary evidences go to show that the practice of granting gifts of land and villages to Brahmanas went on increasing in course of time. They were also presented Royal insignia and authority along with. As a result of this, some people of this Brahman class came within the category of the 'Samantas'. It is related to one of this Brahmana in charity along with the royal in signia, a canopy and an elephant. He was consequently appointed on the post of the royal domestic chaplain. He had a right to all the revenues of these gifted villages. Subsequently, he became equivalent in status to any samant of the kingdom. 62 It was testifed from many other similar examples that the Brahmanas, whose main vocation had been learning and teaching, by the advent of the early medieval period, began to be adorned with rank of the Samantas, on the basis of their mastery over the lands and villages received from the king. The Gaharwal,⁶³ Chandel⁶⁴ and Chedi⁶⁵ (Rajput Records) show that certain titles such as Thakur and Raut have been found appended against the names of the Brahman donees. The titles were used, primarily by the Ksatriya samantas.

Even in the early Medieval era, a new sub-caste was born

^{59.} Rajatarangini, VII 1229; VIII, 1013, 2060.

^{60.} Vijnaneshwara-Yaj. 2.21.

^{61.} Devannahbhatta, Smriti Candrika, 1.30, Smriti Candrika III, Vyavaharakanda, Part I, Printed at the Govt. Branch Press, 1914.

^{62.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 27. (KSS. tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 59).

^{63.} *Ibid.*, p. 28 (E.I., Vol. IV; p. 131, Vol. VII, p. 100; Vol, XIII, p. 219; Vol, XIX, p. 294).

^{64.} E.I., Vol. IV, p. 155.

^{65.} E.I., Vol. XXI; p. 95; I.A., Vol. XVII,, p. 226.

among the Brahmanas, which is known as the 'Brahmksatra'. It appears that the word 'Brahmksatra' or 'Brahmksatriya' applied to those persons who were originally Brahmanas, but who later on, in course of time, were born as a result of the fusion of the two castes—Brahman and Ksatriya⁶⁶. This also shows that the Brahmanas and the Ksatriya caste had come very close together.

Whereas, on the other hand, the supremacy of the Brahmanas always kept to be recognized in the society, there was at the same time a consistent opposition to their authority from Buddhists, the Jains and the Tantrik sects. Its chief reason lay in the fact that the Brahmanas had started misusing their authority. The famous Jain books like 'Katha Kosh Prakarana' and the 'Prameya Kamal Martanda' have bitterly criticised the Brahmanas. The Shakta-tantrik sects have also protested against the privileges of the Brahmanas. The Buddhist authors too have not accepted the social importance of the Brahmanical class.

During the early-medieval period, these heterodox religious systems opposed the Brahmanical privileges such as exemption from taxes, exemption from capital punishment, right to receive gifts etc., in the strongest possible terms. ⁶⁹ Meanwhile the ritual of 'Sauchachar' had been increasingly preponderant during the 11th and 12th centuries. Brahmanas who followed this practice, did not touch anybody. Jain writers have ridiculed such Brahmanas.

Ksatriya

In the four-caste institution, the Ksatriya have occupied the next place in importance after the Brahmanas. Their main

^{66.} Sircar, D.C. Visweswaranand Indological Journal, 1963, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 88.

^{67.} Kathakosaprakarana, p. 120.

^{68.} Jain Antiquary, Vol. XIII, 1947 No. I, Jain, K.P.

^{69.} Mahapurana of Jinasena, 42. 187-192.

duties were administration and organization of social securities. In the Rigveda, the Ksatrivas have been adressed as 'Ksatra',70 and Rajan.⁷¹ The word Ksatra means bravery or valour, while the word Rajan stands for a king. This shows that during the Vedic period, the Ksatriyas were the ruling clan in the country.⁷² During the Epic period too, the main responsibility of the Ksatriyas was to protect the four castes. 73 At this time, the Ksatriyas were not entitled to perform sacrifices.⁷⁴ According to the 'Gautam Dharm Sutra' the main duties of the Ksatriyas were protecion of the people and the giving of proper punishment to the guilty persons.⁷⁵ According to Kautilya the main duties of the Ksatriyas are study of the religious scriptures, performance of sacrifices, arming themselves with weapons of war and protecting the people. 76 Manu too has prescribed almost similar duties for the Ksatriyas. According to him, ensuring security to the subjects, offering alms performance of sacrifices. Study of literature, keeping detached from wordly attractions etc., were the duties ordained for the Ksatriyas.⁷⁷

Regarding the origin of the Ksatriyas it has been said in the Jain texts that Risabhadeva, the first Tirthankara entrusted the powerful people with the responsibility of the defence of the common people. These powerful people came to be known

^{70.} Rigveda—8.35, 16-18, 1.57.2.

^{71.} Rigveda—10142/10; 10/97/6.

^{72.} History of the Dharmasastras, Vol. I, p. 113.

^{73.} Cf. Pracina Bharat Ka Samajik Itihas, Mishra, J.S., pp. 92-93. (Ramayana, 2.106; 18-21).

^{74.} Mahabharata, 5.40.26, 12.60 13-20.

^{75.} Cf. Samaraiccakaha—Ek Samskritik Adhyayana, p. 96 (Gau. Dh. Sutra—2/1/7-8).

^{76.} Arthasastra—3.6.

^{77.} Manusmriti—1.89.

as Ksatriyas.⁷⁸ The principles of the origin of the Varnas as given in the Purush-Sukta has been presented with a few alterations in the Jain literature. According to the Mahapurana, the Lord (Risabha) wielding weapon (in hand) created the Ksatriyas from his arms.⁷⁹ We come across an interesting reference in Sheelankas' Chaupanna Mahapurusacharit'⁸⁰ about the origin of the Ksatriyas. It says the Lord Risabhadeva divided the entire human race into two classes. Those who were located round about the Lord came to be known as 'Ksatriya (Khattiya) and 'Rajan, while the rest were given the name of 'Prakritloka' (Payatilu).⁸¹

One of the most outstanding social phenomenon of the early medieval period was the rise of the 'Rajputras' or Rajputs with highly exalted notion of Ksatriyahood and chivalry.⁸² Evidently, the word 'Rajaputras' means the son of the king, but in the early medieval period, the word 'Rajaputra' came to be applied to those Ksatriyas also who occupied petty government posts with jurisdiction over villages.⁸³

Regarding the Ksatriya caste, we get the information from the Kuvalaya Mala Kaha that the Ksatriyas born in he royal family were also known as 'Thakur'. It says that an aged Thakur (Junn-thakkuro) named Ksetrabhat, who was born in the royal

^{78.} Paum-Caria of Vimala Suri. 3.115.

[&]quot;Rakkhana Karna niutta, je ena naramahanta drdhasatt. Te khatia pasiddhim gaya ya puhaimmi Vikkaya."

^{79.} *Mahapurana*–16.245a— "Sva dorbhyam dharayana sastram ksatriyan srgadavibhuh."

^{80.} Cf. Aspects of Brahmanical Influence on the Jain Mythology, p. 213 (CMC- "ega manussajaiduha vihattabhagavaya," p. 39).

^{81.} Ibid., p. 32.

^{82.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 32.

^{83.} Ibid., p. 32.

family, was given a village called Kupavandra, as a reward in recognition of his services to the state.⁸⁴

By the advent of the seventh or the eighth centuries, the Rajput clan could not retain its pure Indian Ksatriya character. Various foreign communities too got mixed with it. Foreign invaders like the Saka, Huna, Kusana, Pahlava etc., who had settled down in India completely assimilated themselves with the Indian culture. They entered into matrimonial alliances with the people of the Ksatriya caste. In course of time, they too were incorporated with the 'Ksatriyas. In this way, in the eighth century, the term 'Ksatriya' could not be applied exclusively to those alone who were born in the Ikswaku dynasty. It has been said in the Trisasti-Shalakapurusa-Charita of Hemachandra, that Risabhadeva had divided the Ksatriyas into four families which were Ugra, Bhoja, Rajanya and Ksatra. 85 The Ugras were those officers who were entitled to punish the offenders.86 According to Hemacandra the Ksatriyas belonging to the 'Ksatra' class were not given any special administration privileges.

By the advent of the 10th century, the Ksatriyas also got divided into two classes—high class Ksatriyas (Sat-Ksatriyas) and ordinary Ksatriyas. In this way, one caste was divided into two sub-castes. Those on exalted government posts regarded themselves superior to ordinary Ksatriyas. Ibn Khurdabha, an author of the 10th century has described two categories of the contemporary Ksatriyas – Sabkufriya and Ksatriya. According to Altekar, the Sanskrit version of these two is 'Satksatriya' and 'Ksatriya'. As is clear from the terminology, those with pure Ksatriya blood were called Sat Ksatriya, while those with mixed blood came to be called merely Ksatriyas.

^{84.} Kuvalayamalakaha—50.26.

^{85.} TSPC, 1.2. 974-979.

^{86.} Ibid., 1.2. 974 "Araksa purusa ugra ugradandadhikarinah."

^{87.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 35 (E.D. Vol. 1., pp. 16-17).

^{88.} Altekar, A.S. 'Rastrakutas and Their Times.' pp. 318-19.

The Vaisyas

The Vaisyas occupied the third place in the Indian social hierarchy. Their main duty was to preserve the social structure by means of agriculture and commerce. Their chief means of livelihood according to the Dharmashastras⁸⁹, Arthasastra⁹⁰ and Manusmriti⁹¹ were study of the religious literature, performance of sacrifices, granting charities, agriculture, animal husbandary, charging interest on loans and other commercial persuits. The Manusmriti has placed the duties of the Vaisyas under the term 'Varta' (Vratya), which means agriculture, cattle-keeping and commerce.

Although these remained the chief vocations of the Vaisyas even in the early medievel period, yet due to some socio-economic and religious reasons, there could not be much of a difference between the Vaisyas and the Sudras in those days. The early medieval writer, Alberuni (11th century A.D.) also has ranked Vaisyas and the Sudras. According to him, both the Vaisyas and the Sudras were subjected to the same punishment if they studied Vedas. Also they lived together in the same village or town. Sometimes they were seen sharing the same house. In this way during these times, the social status of the Vaisyas degenerated as equivalent to that of the Sudras. The Sudras also, on the other hand, began to follow the vocations of he Vaisyas. The 'Parashar Smriti' has given the injunction that the could follow the vocations of agriculture, trade and crafts. From

^{89.} Gau. Dh. Sutra. 10.1-3.

^{90.} Arthasastra—3.7 "Vaisyasyadhyayanam yajanam danam krsi pasupalyevanijya ca."

^{91.} Manusmriti. 1-90.

^{92.} Gyarahavin Sadi Ka Bharat, p. 117.

^{93.} Sachau-1, p. 101.

^{94.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 11 "Vaisyah — Sudrastatha kuryat krisi vanijya shilpakm", Parasar, Acarkanda—2.13.

certain passages in the Grihasthakhanda⁹⁵ and Mitakshara⁹⁶ as quoted from the Devala, it appears that the Vaisyas and the Sudras were enjoined to follow almost the same vocations, which means, professionally, they were the same community. One of the reasons for the subsequent abandonment of the vocation of agriculture could be attributed to religion. The majority of the Vaisyas were the followers of Jainism. Since the tilling of the earth invloves mass killing of living creatures subsisting in the sub-soil, Jainism has prohibited agriculture for its followers. In the Jain texts, the Vaisyas have been depicted mostly as traders and money-lenders only. Narrations of the Vaisyas going to distant places in pursuit of trade and commerce are found in almost all the narrative texts.⁹⁷

It appears from the accounts given by I-Tsing that agriculture had mostly passed into the hands of the Sudras during the Post-Gupta period. The chief reason was that a majority among the Vaisyas being the followers of Jainism would not like to practise violence through agriculture. 98

According to Hiuen-Tsang too, the main vocation of the Vaisyas during the seventh century was national and international trade.⁹⁹ The same is evident from the Samaraiccakaha and the

^{95.} Devala quoted in G.K., p. 225 "Vaisyadharmodhyayan yajanpradanaih dharmanusthanam — ksatriyasusrusa, papavarjnam, kalaram —posanam karsanam, pasupalanam bharodvahan panyavyavahar nartan gayan talavatarana — rangopajivanam ceti."

^{96.} Devala quoted by Vijnanesvara on Yaj. I, 120. "Sudradharmodvijatisusurusa kalatradiposnam karsanapasupalan—pasuplan bharodvahan panyava yavahara-Citrakarma brtyagita-Venu Vina mrdanga vadanadini."

^{97.} *Kuv. Mala.* pp. 65-66. Also UBPK, pp. 554-56 And Bhavisayattakaha-3.22.

^{98.} Om Prakash, 'Pracina Bharat Ka Samajika Itihasa, p. 58. (Takakusu-I-tsing, p. 180).

^{99.} Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 246. (Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World. I, 64). Prohibit trades (RTA. p. 493).

Kuvalayamala Kaha that the Vaisyas devoted themselves to trade and commerce only during the 7th and 8th centuries. A number of trades were prohibited by the Jainas. They did not like to trade in certain articles such as salt, wine, curds, milk lac, poison, arms and idols. The other prohibited trades were Angarakarma (preparing Charcoal) and Vanakarma (buying forest to sell their wood). However, a few literary evidences have testified that in due course of time, trade and commerce too slipped away from the hands of the Vaisyas and they began to be seen practising the vocations of the Sudras. It has generally been assumed that by the 10th century A.D. they had been levelled down to the position of Sudras.

The Skanda Purana, which mirrors the ancient Indian culture from the 8th to the 13th century, has described the Vaisyas as 'Tailkarah (oil-men) and 'Tandulkarinah' (rice-huskers) in place of 'Vanijah'. 100 Ibn Khurdabha (9th century A. D.) and Al-Idrisi (11th century A.D.), have given an account of seven Indian castes, one of which is Baisura or Basya. According to Ibn Khurdabha, the people of the Baisura caste worked as artificers and domestics, 101 while according to Al-Idrisi, the people belonging to the Basya caste worked as artisans and mechanics. C.V. Vaidya holds that Vaisyas have been called Baisura or Basya. 102

One thing is evident from this change of vocations that during the post-Gupta period or the first phase of the early medieval period, trade and commerce had begun to decline. Some social and political factors too contributed to this decline. The prevalent feudal system influenced the current economic condition, which in its turn naturally had its bad effect on the

^{100.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 12. (Skand Purana, V. Edn. 3.2.39.291 F.).

^{101.} Ibid., p. 12.

^{102.} History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 178, Vaidya, C.V.

socio-economic position of the Vaisyas. The decline of trade and towns diverted both Sudra artisans and Vaisya merchants to cultivation. In this manner the Vaisyas and Sudras approximated to each other. ¹⁰³ It appears from the Skandpurana that the Vaisyas were dependent of the princes (Rajputrasritah). ¹⁰⁴ During these times, also on account of foreign invasions, some sort of complexity was introduced in the contemporary socio-economic structure of the society.

It is generally believed by the eminent historians like Dr. L. Gopal¹⁰⁵ and Dr. B.N.S. Yaday ¹⁰⁶ that the insecurity of the roads and highways, paved the way for the decline of trade in the 9th-10th centuries. On the other hand some historians 107 say that the highways were as insecure in earlier times. They further say that the Jatakas (III. 200, 403) and Mahavastu (II. 167), Acaranga Sutra, and Vasudevahindi and other Jain texts do mention of robbers infesting the highways. It appears from the contemporary Jain narrative texts that inspite of occasional robbery, volume of internal trade in industrial product increased in the 9th-10th centuries. However, it is true that trade and commerce flourished and progressed more in the 11th-12th centuries. The Vaisyas again started taking part in the State administration. The prosperous traders came to be called 'Nagar-Sresthi and 'Maha Sresthi'. They used to work as the middlemen between the king and the business community. In this way, they became state dignitories who ordinarily held the posts on the

^{103.} Sharma, R.S., "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History", p. 6. I.H.R., 1974, Vol. I, No. 1.

^{104.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 12 (Skand Purana, V. Edn. 3.2.39.291 F.).

^{105.} Economic Life of Northern India, pp. 101-102, Gopal, L.

^{106.} SCNI, p. 272.

^{107.} Cf. the paper "Industries and Industrial Trade in Early Medieval N. India" B.P. Majumdar, presented in the 'Socio-Economic Formations in Early Medieval Period'.

hereditory basis. There are instances of Vaisyas who were appointed as ministers in a number of states in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Vastupala was a Vaisya and so were Yasovira, the chief counsellor of Udaya Simha of Jalor and the Baladhipa Yasodeva who served Katukadeva of Nadol. The more prosperous among the Vaisyas too underwent a transformation along with the progress and development of trade and commerce. They came to be recognised as important members of the society. Now their main vocation was exclusively business and they were adressed as 'Vanijah' only. 109

Jain Katha literature reflects the general prosperity of the Vaisya community of Gujarat and Rajasthan. In royal courts they had influence to prevent the Brahmanas from tyrannising over their gurus. 110

The Vaisyas were divided into a number of sub-castes. These sub-divisions were based on their particular regions or particular trades. The Agrawals, the Mahesvaris, the Khandelwals and the Oswals are the main divisions of the Vaisyas in Rajasthan.

The Sudras

In the Indian social hierarchy, the Sudras occupied the fourth place. Tracing their origin from the feet of the Virata Purusa, as revealed in the Rigveda, their lowest position in the social order had thus been sanctimoniously declared. From the earliest times, the main duty of the Sudras had been shown as rendering menial service to the three higher classes. It is known from a study of the Smrities that the Sudras had been deprived of many social and religious rights. According to many, the Sudras, whether bought or unbought, had to be kept as

^{108.} Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 246.

^{109.} Adipurana, 16, 184. 16, 244.

^{110.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 438 (The Story of Dhannadeva in Jinesvara's KKP, pp. 117-125.

slaves, because God had created them for the service of the Brahmanas. Manu further held that even if a Sudra was relieved of his slavery by his master, he could not get rid of the shackles of slavery, because slavery was his innate characteristic. The Sudras did not enjoy even the right of listening to the Vedas. All their religious rituals could be performed without Vedic mantras. If by chance, one happened to eat the remaining particles of food already eaten by a Sudra, one had to drink barely water for seven days as an act of expiation. 114

The above accounts go to show that the Sudras were the most despised part of the society. However, after some time, there was a little change in the social status of the Sudras. They were given the right to follow the vocations of woodcraft, metalcraft, utensil-ware, painting etc., along with their traditional duty of service to the high castes. By the advent of the early medieval period, there was a significant change in the social status of the Sudras. Their economic condition too was considerably improved, because by this time, they had acquired most of the vocations of the Vaisyas such as agriculture, cattle-breeding and various handicrafts. They had, in a way, got equivalent to the Vaisyas. It is also gathered that some of the Sudras occupied imperial positions. According to Dr. Dashratha Sharma "In other ways, however, the position of the

^{111.} Manu. VIII, 413.

^{112.} Manu. VIII, 414 "Na Svamina nisntopi sudro dasyada vimucyate, nisargajam hi tatvasya kastasmattradayoati."

^{113.} Ibid., 10 127

^{114.} Ibid., XI. 153.

^{115.} Ghurye, 'Caste, Class and Occupation', p. 80.

^{116.} Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 247. Hieun-Tsang mentions Sudra rulers in North India.

Sudras of the period 700-1200 A.D. had improved a good deal."117

Reviewing the condition of the Sudras of the 8th century, it can be said that the Sudra caste included the farmers, craftsmen, artisans and all those, above the rank of the Antyaja, Mlecchas, who for some reason or the other could not be included among the high born three upper castes.

In the Kuvalayamala Kaha there is the description of a Sarthvahputra named Dhandeva, who was born in the Sudra caste. 118 The example shows that the Sudras had started practising bussiness in the 8th century. Consequently, on account of economic prosperity, they began to be treated with respect from religious and political points of view too. Medhatithi (9th century A.D.) went so far as to declare that the Sudras were free not to render service to the other three castes and that they had full right over their private property. 119 They could also be teachers of subjects like grammer etc. 120 Sometimes, well to do Sudras shared in the management and maintenance of temples and were members of the watch and ward committees of villages and towns. 121 Occasionally, Sudras were appointed to high government posts. For example, king Kumarpala Chalukya of Guiarata had appointed a potter named Sajjana to the exalted post of the governor of Chittor. 122

Although there was an adequate change in the socioeconomic status of the Sudras in the early medieval period, even

^{117.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, pp. 435-36.

^{118.} Kuvalayamalakaha-65.2 "Tammigame suddajaio Danadevonam satthavahautto."

^{119.} Society and Culture in Northern India, p. 43. (Medhatithi on Manu, ed. G.N. Jha, p. 231).

^{120.} Ibid., p. 43 (Medhatithi on Manu. III. 156).

^{121.} Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 247.

^{122.} Ibid., p. 248.

then we come across some such evidences, which go to prove that Sudras as a class were looked down upon with contempt even in that period. The Sudras have been described as slaves of the other three castes in the Jain text, Adipurana¹²³ of the 9th century A.D. In the Samaraiccakaha¹²⁴ they have been assigned the inferior fourth position among the Aryan castes. The next describes many sub-divisions among the Sudras such as Chandal, Domblik, Rajak, Charmakara, Sakunik and fisherman.¹²⁵

The Sudras had been cataloughed in various ways. On the basis of their occupations such as Sat-Sudras and Asat-Sudras, bhojyanna and abhojyanna, nirvasit Sudras and ursrita and anasrita Sudras. The term 'abhojyanna' refers to that category of Sudras, where the food cooked by them could not be accepted by a Brahmana. The Brahmanas did not dine with such Sudras, however friendly they might be with each other otherwise.

In this way, even in this transitional period, the Sudras suffered from a number of religious and social handicaps. One of the stories of the Brihat-Katha-Kosa¹²⁶ (10th century A.D.) throws light on a similar situation. The story tells that a distiller named Purnabhadra, after feeding the Chandals in the marriage of his daughter, insistently requested his Brahman friend Sivabhuti to accept dinner at his residence. There upon Shivbhuti told him that if he took meals with him, the act would be in violation of the Bramanas; for the Smritis had declared the partaking of Sudras meals, joining Sudras service, attending on a Sudra and accepting salary from a Sudra were enough to send one to hell. ¹²⁷ The Smritis had gone so far as to declare that the Sudra should not be given any advice; he should not be given the

^{123.} Adipurana—16 184-86.

^{124.} Samaraiccakaha-4, p. 348.

^{125.} Sam, Kaha-4, p. 348.

^{126.} BKK., p. 51.

^{127.} Manusmriti IV, 80.

spare material of 'Yajna' nor should he be given any religious instruction or obtained to any fast.

Although those rigid instructions are to be found in the age old Smritis, yet it appears that even after a lapse of hundreds of years, the Brahmanas of the early medieval period looked down upon the Sudras with contempt on the basis of these rules. According to Alberuni (11th century) also, the social position of the Sudras was not good and that they could not study the Vedas. 128

Some Puranas and books of law have prescribed agriculture to the Sudras. Apparently it looks that a majority of Sudras followed agriculture as a vocation. The account of YuanChwang also shows that the Sudras were largely engaged in the labour of ploughing and tillage. 129 According to Ibn Khurdabha, 130 the famous Arabic writer of the 10th century, too, the main occupation of the Sudras was agriculture.

The Antyajas

In addition to the above four castes, there were some low caste professional classes in the society, which were looked down upon with contempt and were virtually not reckoned among the castes. Panini has called this class as 'Anirvasit', which was regarded inferior in status to even the Sudras.

The Depressed Classes of society were called 'Antyajas'. In the Jain Katha literature one comes across references to such classes here and there such as Chandal, ¹³¹ Domb, ¹³² Shaukanik, Vokkas, Pana, ¹³³ Pakkana and Matanaga. ¹³⁴

^{128.} Sachau. 1. p. 125.

^{129.} Society and Culture in Northern India, p. 41. (Watters, Vol. I, p. 168).

^{130.} Ibid., p. 41.

^{131.} Kuv. Mala 81.10, 140.2.40.29 Also UBPK, p. 98, p. 230.

^{132.} Kuv. Mala. 38.24.

^{133.} BKK. p. 44, Story No. 27; P. 180, Story No. 74.

^{134.} *UBPK*—p. 36, 592.

Udyotan Suri (8th century A.D.) has classified these castes as 'Anarya' and as bereft of dharma, artha and kama. It appears from the literary sources ranging from 8th to 11th centuries that a majority of these castes was placed under the 'Antyajas. Alberuni has described twelve categories of the Antyajas. He has described the professions in detail, which are as under: 135

- 1. Juggler (the nata of the smritis).
- 2. Basket and shield maker (Buruda).
- 3. Sailor (Kaivarta).
- 4. Fisherman (Jalopivi).
- 5. The hunter of wild birds and animals (Vyadha).
- 6. Weaver (Tantuvaya).
- 7. Fuller (Rajjaka).
- 8. Shoe maker (Charmakara).
- 9. Hadi.
- 10. Doma (Domba).
- 11. Chandala, and
- 12. Badhatau.

These twelve Antyajas too were divided in three groups on the basis of their professions and social status. Out of these the last four *i.e.*, hadi, doma, chandala and badhatau were considered lowest in society. They have been called 'antyavasayin' in the Smritis. They were not placed under any caste or guild and even the other depressed castes did not have any relationship with them. 136

The first five divisions among the 'Antyajas' were regarded inferior to the next three classes after them, *i.e.*, the weaver, the fuller and the shoemaker. People of the first five castes had matrimonial relationships among themselves but did not have

^{135.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 251. (Alberuni India-Vol. I, p. 101 FF.).

^{136.} Manusmriti, X. 39. And the Mitaksara on the Yajnavalkya Smriti.

such relationships with the three classes mentioned above.

The Dharmasastras¹³⁷ have classified the antyajas under seven heads. These are Rajaka (washerman), Charmakara (worker in hides), Nata (dancer), Buruda (worker in bamboo), Kaivarta (fisherman), Meda and Bhilla. In the early medieval period Vijnanesvara segregated these antyajas from the antyavasayin class as described in the Smritis. According to him the following seven came under the category of the antyavasayin class—Chandla, Svapaca (eater of dog's flesh) Ksatri, Suta, Vaidehik, Magadha and Ayogava. ¹³⁸ People of these classes were regarded as of lower status than the antyajas.

The literary texts are not of one opinion on the question of various professional groups. The Samaraiccakaha has grouped Chandla, Rajaka, Napit, Charmakara, Dombalik, Shakunika and Matsyabandha (fisherman) under one category of the Sudra, 139 whearas they have been called antyajas in the Kuvalayamalakaha and Upamitibhavprapanchakatha. In the Narmada Sundari Katha, 140 only Dhivaras, Chandalas, and Lubdhakas (hunters) have been described as lowest castes.

Some stories of the Upamitibhavaprapancha-katha throw adequate light on the status of the antyajas. It has been written in the text, "It was a sin to drink water touched by the antyajas. ¹⁴¹ Even while bathing in a jungle tank, the antyaja would think, "Here is touchable' (sprsyapurusa). He would take me to task for bathing here. So let me hide somewhere. ¹⁴² It is clear from the above example, that the condition of the antyajas was most pitiable in society. They were regarded untouchables and described from society.

^{137.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 46. (Atri, 199; Yama, 33).

^{138.} Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya, III, 260.

^{139.} Samaraiccakaha: Ek Samskritik Adhyayan, pp. 101, 102, 103, 104.

^{140.} Rajasthan Through the Ages- Vol. I, p. 430.

^{141.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 250 (UBPK, p. 764).

^{142.} UBPK, p. 212.

Of these, the most degraded people were the Chandalas. From earliest times, various socio-economic prohibitions had been imposed on them. In the Dharmasutras, 143 a Chandala has been described as one born of a Sudra father and a Brahmana mother. According to Manu, the Chandalas were prohibited from all religious ceremonies. 144 Their habitations were out of the villages. 145 Their main duty was scavanging the villages and hanging the convicts and their chief wealth was their dogs and asses. 146 It is apparent from the comparative study of the early medieval texts that there was no change in the social status of the Chandala even in the 7th century. They were considered even then as depressed class people in the society. Accounts of Fahien also confirm that they were considered untouchables during the Gupta period. He writes that the Chandalas, while entering a city or a market, stroke a piece of wood, so that the people could beware and be saved from touching them. 147 I-tsing 148 has also corroborated this fact. Banabhatta, too, has testified to their inferior status in his work Kadambari. He has described the Chandalas and Matangas as untouchables. During those days, also, the Chandalas used to strike the earth with wood, so that other could avoid their touch. A Chandala girl is described to have acted similarly before entering the audience hall of king Sudraka. 149

In the Kuvalayamalakaha, the Pakkana family has been described as belonging to the Depressed or the Chandala family. Udyotansuri has equated the Chandalas with Mlecchas and of

^{143.} Gautamdharma Sutra. 4.15-16.

^{144.} Manu. 3.239; Yajnavalkya— 1.93 "Candalosarvadarma bahiskritah."

^{145.} Manu. X. 51-6.

^{146.} Manu. IV, 79; X. 39.

^{147.} Legge- 'Travels of Fahien', p. 43.

^{148.} Takakusu, p. 139.

^{149.} Kadambari, p. 29 (Kadambari, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1960).

having been deprived of all amenities and reasonable sustenance. 150 We know from the Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha 151 that the houses of the Matangas were dirty and unhygienic. The highest place in society went to the king (Maharaja) and the lowest to the Chandala. 152 Referring to the economic condition of the Chandalas, the text says that the doms were so poor that the people used to say, "these two can never co-exist—the Doma and an adhaka of gingili seeds. 153 Even the most exalted individual of the kingdom was not free to hold any relationship with a Matanga. If anyboody dared to do it, the people used to oppose him. There is a relevant incident in the Upamitibhavaprapanckahatha, where it had been told that on account of sex relationship between a king named Adharmraja and a Matanga woman, his subjects began to hate him, so much so, that all combined and expelled him from the kingdom. 154

Parasara has placed Svapaca, Domb and Chandala in the category which today is known as the Doma caste. The Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha says that the Matangas and Dombs were 'miserable sinners who followed callings entailing cruelty. 156

The most inferior people among the low classes were the Dombs, Hadis, Panas, and Badhataus. They have been called the lowest of the lowlies (adhamadhamas). Panas were also known as Matangas. According to Vasudevahindi¹⁵⁷ the

^{150.} Kuv. Mala-40.29.

^{151.} UBPK, p. 36.

^{152.} UBPK, p. 98, P. 230.

^{153.} *Ibid.*, p. 211. (It is known from the Yogachtintamani, that an adhaka was equivalent to eight prasthas or 64 palas, which in turn meant 4096 masakas).

^{154.} UBPK, p. 592.

^{155.} History of Dharmasastras, Vol. I.

^{156.} UBPK, P. 588.

^{157.} VH. 311.

Matangas belonged to a Vidyadhar clan which indicates their skill in magic lores. It is learnt from the Brihat-Katha-Kosa¹⁵⁸ that a certain king was able to acquire magical lore from two dombas or matangas only after showing due reverence to them. The Dadis have been identified with Dhadis who actually worked as Dombs. In one place in the Kuvalayamalakaha¹⁵⁹ the dombs have been described as players of 'pataha' and the children of the Dombs have been shown as never afraid of the horrid sound of this instrument. Ksiravami has identified dombs with Svapaca. 160 In the Samaraiccakaha, there is a description of the 'dombalika' community. In the Brihat-Katha-Kosa, the Dombs have been called 'Panas'. 161 Generally scavanging, cleaning hides, 162 snake-charming, 163 killing the convicts and receiving the property of the dead as remuneration in lieu of this are the main duties which have been attributed to them in this text. 164 The Badhatau may be identified with Badhiks, who were the depressed class people living in the South-East Puniab and U.P. 165

Jinesvara Suri in the Kathakosa Prakarana¹⁶⁶ (11th century A.D.) has divided the Depressed Classes into two groups on the basis of their vocations. According to him, the first group called 'adhama' included makers of mats, goldsmith, potters, blacksmiths, washermen, actors and other artisans and craftsmen while only Saukarikas and Chandalas were grouped under the second head called the 'adhamadhama'. In the Upamitibhav-

^{158.} BKK, 19. 64-69.

^{159.} Kuv-Mala-38.28 "kim koi domba dimbho-ppadahaya-sadassa uttasai."

^{160.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 432.

^{161.} BKK-17.29.

^{162.} Ibid., 19.17.

^{163.} Ibid., 27.17.

^{164.} Ibid., 74321-22.

^{165.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 252.

^{166.} Kathakosa Prakarana, p. 115 (Cf. RTA, p. 430).

prapancha-katha, ¹⁶⁷ which dates earlier to it in the chronological order, the sailusas and actors have been put on higher place. Jinesvara Suri has used the word 'Srenigatah', ¹⁶⁸ for the antyajas which means they were members of guilds and the fact has been corroborated by Alberuni, ¹⁶⁹ (11th century A.D.) in his accounts. Both these sources go to prove that in the 11th century, the condition of these low-classes had begun to improve from the socio-economic point of view. On account of being members of the guilds, their economic position had become better than what it was before.

Besides the antyajas there were some aboriginal tribes and foreigners who also stood outside the caste system and were equally despised. These people were called mlechechas or Mlechchas or Mlechca-jatis. Kuvalayamala and Samaraiccakaha give long lists of Mlechchas. The Mlechchas can be classified into two groups—the foreigners or foreign immigrants like the Sakas, Yavanas, Romakas, Parasas, Murundas, Barbaras, Cinas, Simhalas and Hunas and the indigenous tribes or Advasins, like the Sabaras, Bhillas, Kiratas, Pulindas, Andhra, Kayas, Khasas, Baharuppya, Udras, Godras, Lakusa etc. These people were called Mlechcha, because they were considered as outside the pale of traditional Aryan culture. They resided in dense forests infested with wild animals or on the outskirts of hills and mountains. The term Mlechcha itself means impure. Udyotan Suri describes their characeristics. Thus, "They are sinful, extremely ferocious, cruel and merciless. Even in their dreams they would not spell out the word dharma."170 In the Samaraiccakaha we get references to Shabaras in detail. They used to live in the dense forests in groups and their leader was

^{167.} UBPK, p. 591.

^{168.} KKP., p. 115.

^{169.} Alberuni's India, I, p. 101.

^{170.} Kuv. Mala, p. 40.27.

called Pallipati.¹⁷¹ Travelling was very risky in those days due to these barbarous people. They used to plunder and loot the whole caravan of the traders.¹⁷² They killed men and cows mercilessly and captured people and freed them in exchange for high prices.¹⁷³ The settlements of the Mlechchas were called 'Mlechapalli'. Palli means the settlemen of the tribes. They generally lived on the Vindhya hills and forests and also the Aravalis. We find references to human sacrifices by Shabaras in order to please their goddess Chandika or Durga.

By the 12th century A.D., the social status of the indigenous as well as foreign people had become sligtly higher. Some of them were also appointed on important posts. A section of the Hunas was counted among the 36 pure clans of the Ksatriyas. 174 Majority of the indigenous people was given the status of Shudra and Antyajas. According to the Dharmasastras, 175 the Medas, Bhillas and the Minas are counted among the Antyajas. These were the chief indigenous tribes in Rajasthan. The Bhillas lived in the regions of the Aravali hills. They often attacked the caravans passing through forests. 176 The Minas lived in the parts of south-east Rajasthan. Some early Medieval inscriptions also refer to the Mlechchas. The Dholpur inscription 177 of Chandamahasena (842 A.D.) states that the lords of the Mlechchas, settled on both sides of the river Chambal, paid him homage. The Mlechchas mentioned in the above inscription can be identified with the Bhils, who are included by

^{171.} Samaraiccakaha—6, p. 504, 7. p. 666-67, 669.

^{172.} Sam. Kaha—2. p. 120; 6. p. 511; 7. p. 656-57, 661-62; 8. p. 798. Also Kuv. Mala, p. 40..24; 116.5. UBPK, p. 863.

^{173.} Kuv. Mala, p. 112. Also Sam. Kaha, pp. 655-679, Cf. RTA, p. 428.

^{174.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 37.

^{175.} History of Dharmasastras, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 70 (Atri, 199; Yama, 33).

^{176.} Kuv. Mala, 62, f FF; 135, 27-31. (BKK-P—The retreats of the Bhillas were known as 'bhillapalli').

^{177.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 429.

Hemachandra among the Mlechcha tribes of India. ¹⁷⁸ In the Kuvalayamalakatha, the Pulindas, have been mentioned along with Kapalikas, Matangas, Rakshasas and Vanaras, who in order to accomplish magic spells, were tribal dresses. ¹⁷⁹ In the same text a Pulinda prince has been mentioned. ¹⁸⁰ Tankanas or Tanganas were other tribal people who inhabited on hill tops and were formidable. ¹⁸¹ They dwelt in Uttarapatha and travelled to Daksinapatha for trade, carrying gold, ivory and other commodities with them for sale. Since they were unable to understand the language of the merchants from southern region, the transaction was made by indication of hands. ¹⁸²

Besides the Antyajas, the aboriginal tribes and the foreigners, there are some other professional classes, which cannot be assigned to any caste. The Kayasthas were the same type of class whose exact position in caste system is not quite clear.

The earliest reference to the Kayasthas is found in the Yajnavalkyasmriti¹⁸³ (c. 100-300 A.D.). The work refers to them as accountants or scribes. Visnu Dharma Sutra (c. 300 A.D.) mentions that the rulers appointed Kayasthas for writing public documents in the court or in the office. Since the duties of these officers were to keep accounts and write down royal charters, they were known as Lekhakas. The post of the Lekhaka existed even during the Mauryan period. Kautilaya 185

^{178.} Cf. Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 18. (Mall-bhilla-kiratasca sarvepi mlecchajatayah)—Quotation in the Sabdartha Cintamani, III, p. 44).

^{179.} Kuv. Mala —1-3.

^{180.} Kuv. Mala — 50, 32.

^{181.} Vh., 148, 25-29.

^{182.} VH., 148, 25-29.

^{183.} Yajnavalkya Smriti— 1.322.

^{184.} Visnu Dharmasutra, VII, 3.

^{185.} Arthasastra—V. 3. "Samkhyayak lekhakadivarg." Cf. J. U.P.H.S. XIX, 1946. p.

refers to the accountants and clerks, as receiving an annual salary of 500 Karshapanas. The importance of the Lekhaka increased during the Gupta period. In the Gupta administrative terminology they were known as Kayastha. A number of inscriptions ¹⁸⁶ of the Gupta age, discovered in Bengal refer to the 'Prathama-Kayastha' (chief scribe), who along with other persons helped the higher officers in the works of administration. The Faridpur copper plate inscription refers to the term 'Jyestha Kayastha', which is equivalent of prathama kayastha. ¹⁸⁷

The earliest references to the 'Kayastha' in the Jain Katha literature is found in the Vasudevahindi (5th-6th century A.D.). ¹⁸⁸ Vasudevahindi ¹⁸⁹ describes a scribe (Kayastha—Lekhaka) wearing a trailing robe and carrying an inkpot, with a pen ornamentally stuck behind his elongated ears. A second scribe was carrying two registers in his hands. This shows that the scribe did some sort of clerical job. It appears from the inscriptions of the 7th century A.D. that upto this time also the Kayasthas were a professional class. They were mentioned in the royal charters, which shows that they were close to the king. ¹⁹⁰ The literary and epigraphic evidences reveal that upto the 8th century the Kayastha were only a professional class, now turned into a caste. The reason behind it was that the profession of the Kayasthas was hereditory and in due course of time, it assumed the character of a caste.

The two early medieval Smritis-Usanas and Vedavyas

^{186.} Select Inscriptions-Sircar, D.C., pp. 283 ff., 324 ff, 555, 357.

^{187.} Ibid., p. 355.

^{188.} V.H. 102.

^{189.} V.H. 102, 1-8, 9-14. [The scribe (lahaehim) had been entrusted by the king with the task of preparing a list of all those who were sophisticated (cetasya) and those who were not].

^{190.} J.U.P.H.S. XIX, 1946, p. 82. (Nirmand Copper Plate Inscription of the Mahamant Maharaja Samudrasena (7th century A.D.). In the record a 'lekhaka' is mentioned: Fleet, p. 289).

refer to the Kayasthas as a caste. The Smritis mention them as Sudras. ¹⁹¹ From the inscriptions (belonging to the 9th century onwards) we come to known about a number of early Kayastha families—Gauda Naigama, Kataria, Mathur, Vastavya or Srivastavya (Srivastava) etc. ¹⁹² When these families became compact groups, they themselves began to be known as jatis and assumed the character of caste groups, ¹⁹³ with many subdivisions. Soddhala (11th century) the authors of the Udaya Sundari Katha refers to the Kayasthas as Ksatriya by caste.

Though from the 9th century, the professional class of the Kayastha was hardened into a caste, but even upto the 10th century the term Kayastha appears to have partly kept up its order connotation. For instance in the Brihat-Katha-Kosa (10th century A.D.) Harisena used the words Lekhaka and Kayastha which according to him are synonymous. ¹⁹⁴ The work depicts the Lekhaka or writer as a very responsible officer. He held the full and absolute respobsibility of reading and interpreting the king's written orders to the other officers. If the Lekhaka made some mistake in reading the royal orders, he was punished. One such lekhaka is called a 'Kutalekahaka' or a deceitful lekhak. Some of the stories of Brihat-Katha-Kosa shows how the carelessness of a Lekhaka could harm the state which again proves that he was a very responsible officer of the administrative machinery.

The inscription of Sivagana of Kanaswa is the earliest Rajasthani inscription (738-739 A.D.), which refers to the word

^{191.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 248 — Usanas and Vedvyas — 35-1, 10-11, respectively.

^{192.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 248. (El XIX, p. 45; El XI, pp. 39 ff.) (Prachina Jain Lekha Samgraha, Il, No. 402).

^{193.} Society and Culture in Northern India, p. 51.

^{194.} *BKK*, St. No. 33, 16-17, St. No. 25-15. Cf. J.U.P.H.S. XIX, 1964, pp. 81.82.

^{195.} BKK. St. No. 25.

'Kayastha'. ¹⁹⁶ The writer of the inscriptions of Vigraharaja IV, styles himself as "Kayastha Thakkura", belonging to the Naigam family. ¹⁹⁷ The tittle Thakkura shows that they held a very high position.

Women

It appears from various evidences that starting from the early period to the end of early medieval period, there were continuous changes in the position of women. Whereas, sometime, they were considered very respectable, at other times, they were considered so low as to be deprived of all social and political rights. Upto the Upanisadic age, women enjoyed full honour and reverence in the house as well as in the outside world. In intellectual and spiritual life, they occupied the same position as men. They participated in all the major religious ceremonies. They also had their rights to property and inheritance, which indicates the high regard in which they were held in society. The patriarch was the head and the master of the family, but on the plane of sentiment, the mother was given a place higher than the father.

The status of women in ancient India shows a steady deterioration through the ages. Women in the Smriti age could not inherit property and their earnings belonged either to their husband or to the father. She was never thought fit for independence. Both the Upanayan and Vedic studies were denied to them. Their marriagable age was considerably lowered. Echoing the thoughts of Manu, ¹⁹⁸ the Jain texts ¹⁹⁹ state that a woman when a child must be kept under the control of her

^{196.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 448.

^{197.} Ibid., p. 448. Also ECD, p. 180 — 'naigamanvayakayastha — thakur.'

^{198.} Manu. IX. 3.

^{199.} Life in Ancient India as Developed in the Jain Canons, p. 152. (Vyavahar Bhasya, 3.233).

father, when married under her husband, and when widow under her son, thus a woman is never allowed to live independently. A similar view is maintained also by Vasistha²⁰⁰ and Baudhayana²⁰¹.

We come across numerous women, mentioned in ancient Jain canons, who by observing strict rules discipline, achieved the highest goal of life. Such women are glorified by Jain writers. It is to be noted that inspite of this glorification, the attitude towards women does not find favour with Jains. We read the condemnation of women by a Jain monk while narrating the story of Samadatta.²⁰² A welcome light is thrown by the contemporary Jain narrative literature on the position of women in the early medieval period. Just as in the early period the birth of a girl was thought as a source of a misery in the same way, during this period the birth of son was generally preferred, on religious as well as economic grounds. If a son was born, the father was considered lucky. 203 Similar ideas are found in the Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha. Siddharsi Suri says, "The birth of a daughter causes grief. She increases anxiety, and reduces dharma. In poverty she causes the greatest distress. It is only when she is given to a bridegroom with a good character and riches and also suitable in other ways that one feels satisfied.²⁰⁴ Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha is full of many clynical remarks against women.²⁰⁵

But such have been the view of monks every where in

^{200.} Vasistha — "Pita raksati kaumare barta raksati yayvane, puttrasea sthavire bhave na stri svatantryamrhati." (V. 3).

^{201.} Baudhayana—II. 3.44 "na stri svatantryamvindate."

^{202.} VH., 49, 20-52, 15; The Vasudeva, 613-18.

^{203.} Jananapanchamikatha; 2.107. Cf. R.T.A. — p. 450.

^{204.} UBPK, p. 698.

^{205.} UBPK, pp. 622-3 "Chala Chittah prakrityaiva kulaia apiyositah, kulin api bho naryah sarvamaya karn dikah."

the world. And it is to be remembered that the sole aim behind this unbalanced criticism of women is to divert man's mind from all worldly attachments. So we can dismiss the idea that the Indians in general thought ill of women.

However, in the early medieval texts, women have been shown as venerable and they have been duly praised.²⁰⁶ The Yasastilka²⁰⁷ has gone to the extent of proclaiming that all worldly affairs were meaningless without women and that the womanless house was like a jungle and that the very existence of man was useless. It is apparent from the Samaraicckaha that a father had tenderest feelings of affection for his daughter. The same source confirms that parents used to provide full education, arts and science to their daughters. 208 It is gathered from the Adipurana²⁰⁹ also, that there was no distinction between a son and a daughter and that it was considered obligatory to educate duaghters as well. The Kavya Mimamsa²¹⁰ (7th century) testifies that princesses, daughters of Chief Ministers, courtesans and actresses could acquire higher education. Some of them were not only proficient in poetics but were also reputed poetesses. Rajshekhar has described a galaxy of such talented women as Rudrani, Kalavai, Avanisundari, Shilabatarika, Prabhudevi and Subhadra.

In the Dhurtakhyan, a female character named Khandapana is mentioned as a very learned lady. She outwitted all her male competitors who had to confess that women are by birth wiser

^{206.} Baudhyana Dharma Sutra—2/2/63-64. Manu. 3/55-62. Yajnavalkya. 1/71, 74, 75.

^{207.} Yasastilak—P. 129. "Yamanarena jagotoh iphalah prayash, yamanarena byhavanami, vanopamani, yamanterena hata sangativitam Ca."

^{208.} Sam. Kaha — 8. p. 759 — "aho me – dhuyaye chittayamm a Chaurattanam."

^{209.} Adipurana- 16/98.

^{210.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 255.

than men.²¹¹ Siddharsi Suri writes that Gunasadhvi who wrote the first copy of his treatise Upmitibhavaprapanchakatha was the goddess of learning.²¹²

Marriage marked the second stage in a woman's life. Among the Hindu samskaras marriage occupied a prominent place. Marriage has been considered an imperative obligation for a married life in the Vedas, Brahmanas and Smritis. As P.V. Kane points out the purpose of marriage according to Regveda was to enable a man by becoming a householder to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons.²¹³

It is revealed in the Kuvalayamala-Katha and Jnanpanchami Katha that after the marriage the husband became not only the master of his wife but also assumed the role of a diety for her. ²¹⁴ The same feeling is in the Upamitibhavaprapancha-Katha. ²¹⁵

The traditional eight types of marriage, mentioned in the ancient Hindu texts, were (1) brahma (Yatra vastralam krita kanya pradiyeta), (2) prajapatya, (tvam bhavasya mahabhagasya dharmacanniti viniyogenakanya danaa prajapatya), (3) daiva (Sadaivo vivaho yatra kanyapradanenam deksinah), (4) arsa (gomithunpurahsaram kanyapradanaah), (5) asura (pana bandhena kanya pradanadasurah), (6) gandharva (parasparanug ragena mithas sama samavayadagandharvah), (7) raksasa (prasahyakanyadanad raksasah), and (8) paisaca (supttamatta-kanyadanat paisacah).

The Dharmasastras have classified the above eight forms of marriage into two groups. The first four out of the above

^{211.} Dhurtakhyana- pp. 24 & 31. Ed. A.N. Upadhye SIGM. Vol. XV, Bombay.

^{212.} Sharma, B.N., Social Life in N. India, p. 31.

^{213.} History of Dharmasastras, II, p. 428.

^{214.} Kuvalayamalakatha — pp. 54, 181, 265, Jnanpanchami Katha — 8.79. 10.47.

^{215.} UBPK — p. 129 — "bhartr devata nari."

i.e., brahma, daiva, arsa and prajapatya have been described as prasasta (dharmya) or religious. 216 The remaining four types of marriage i.e., asura, gandharva, raksasa and paisacha have been termed as aprasasta or irreligious, because they were meant for low castes only. According to Manu, asura and paisacha types of marriage were prohibited for all castes. 217 Asur marriage is a marriage by purchase because the bridegroom, under the sytsem, had to pay the prescribed fee to the bride. According to Baudhyana Dharmasutra, ²¹⁸ the asur type of marriage was meant only for the Vaisyas and the Sudras. But Lakshmidhara regarded it as fit for the Ksatriyas.²¹⁹ The marriage type where the bridegrrom did not wait for the consent of the guardian and kidnapped the girl is called the raksasa form of marriage. Such method is still prevalent among some of the proto-austroloid tribes of India. The raksasa marriage was a ramnant of the tribal age. Among the Ho and Bhuiyan tribals of Bihar and Orissa respectively, the system of marriage by kidnapping was prevalent till recently.²²⁰ However, for the Brahmanas, only the brahma and daiva type of marriages were prescribed. These parasasta marriages were supposed to be the most suitable for the Brahmans and the Ksatriyas because on them alone developed the responsibility of maintaining social order.

Besides this, certain compelling economic reasons also lay behind this rule. Buadhayan has rightly pointed out that the wives of the Vaisyas and the Sudras were generally engaged

^{216.} Sharma, R.S., Purvamadhyakalin Samaj Aur Arthavyasatha Parprakasha, p. 33.

^{217.} Manu, cited in G.K., p. 72.

^{218.} Baudhyana Dharma Sutra — "pancamastamau Vaisya suranam" (Hultsch, Edition. I. 20-13.).

^{219.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 66.

^{220.} Purvamadhyakalin Samaj Aur Artavyavastha Par prakasha, p. 34.

in agriculture and other inferior services and hence it was difficult to keep them under proper control.²²¹ It follows from this statement that women of lower castes were engaged in manual work, so that they were not economically dependent on their husbands. On the other hand, men of the higher castes had nothing to do with manual labour and their wives too did not to do any work. Hence they had to depend on their husbands for economic sustenance.²²² The statement of Baudhyayan that there was no hard and fast rule of marriage in case of the Vaisyas and the Sudras shows that Vaisyas and the Sudras were gradually merging with each other and further their standard of moral life was not very high.

According to the Dharmasastras, ²²³ it was necessary for a prasasata (valid) marriage that the bride and the groom should be of the same caste. However, the anuloma types of inter-caste marriage were also sanctioned. ²²⁴ The rules regarding intercaste marriage were not very rigid in earlier medieval period, we find certain amount of rigidity coming in. Now greater emphasis was being laid on 'Sajatiya Vivaha' or marriage in the same caste. Marriage of the dvijatis or twice-born people in castes other than their own was considered as 'Kalivarjya' or an act to be avoided in the Kali age. ²²⁵ The view was emphasized that for the discharge of debt to ancestors, equal marriage was necessary. We learn from Samaraiccakaha²²⁶ as well that during this period, for marriage purposes, the bride and the groom had to belong to the same religion. In the Brihat-

^{221.} Baudahyana Dharma Sutra—I.20, 14-15. "ayantrita kalatrai vaisya sudra bhavanti, karsana susrusadhikrtatvata."

^{222.} Purvamadhya kalina Samaja aur arthavyavastha par prakasa, p. 34.

^{223.} Manu. III. 12, quoted in G.K., p. 38.

^{224.} Society and Culture in Northern India, p. 66.

^{225.} Ibid., p. 67.

^{226.} Samaraiccakaha-4. p. 235.

katha Kosa,²²⁷ as also in the Nammaya Sundari Kaha we find a marriage proposal rejected by the girl's father on the ground that the boy's father was a Mahesvara while he himself was a Jain. The Adipurana²²⁸ also supports this view. The smritis have made common caste as basis for marriage in place of common religion. Even then anuloma marriages were not completely unknown in the early medieval period. There have been many historical examples of marriages between Brahmanas and Ksatriya, but in such marriages, there has always been a difference of opinion regarding the caste of the progeny. According to Manu, the father's caste would be the caste of the offspring. On the other hand, Vijnanesvara (Early Medieval period) holds that the child's caste was determined by that of his mother.²²⁹ This leads us to conclude that in the early medieval period, a new opinion gained currency regarding the caste of the progeny, which was quite at variance with the views of the earlier period. According to Kane, anuloma marriages persisted till the 9th and 10th centuries. But in due course of time, the system got more and more unpopular and subsequently became extinct. The same is confirmed from the narrations of Alberuni (11th century). According to him, "Formerly, a Hindu could marry a woman of his caste or lower caste but in our times a Brahmana never marries a woman except one from his own caste."230

Pratiloma marriages had fallen into disfavour in this period, although such marriages could be occasionally discovered here

^{227.} Brihatkathakosa, p. 76., Nammaya Sundari kaha, p. 38.

^{228.} Adipurana. 15/69 and 134.

^{229.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 454. "Yet-tu Brahmanen ksatriyam utpaditahkastriyah eva bhavati ksatriyen vaisyayam utpadito vaisya eva bhavati, Vaisyuena sudrayam utpaditah sudra eva bhavatitti Sankhasmaranam" (Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya Smriti, Acharadhyaya, 91).

^{230.} Sachau, Vol. II, p. 156.

and there. However they were few and far between. From the Jnanapanchami Katha, one gets an impression of disapproval of such marriage with the royal princess, remarks that the marriage relation between a Raja and a Vanika could be an object of ridicule.²³¹

'Sagotra' and 'Sapinda' marriages too were not allowed in the Hindu society. The most important rule governing an Indian marriage is that she would be wife should not be a Sapinda of the groom, ²³² not descended from a family having a common Arsa and Gotra and should be fifth and seventh removed from the mother and the father respectively.²³³ This rule forbade marriages between brothers and sisters having one patrimonial or matrimonial relationships (Matul and Matrsvasa). Writers of the early medieval period were divided into two groups on the above subject. Laksmidhara²³⁴ was against Sapinda unions and condemned the cross-cousin marriages, while the commentators of the south like Devannabhatta.²³⁵ Parasara and Madhav have supported such unions, because Sapinda marriages had been in vogue in the south from a very early period and examples of such marriages abound even today in that part of the country. Such matrimonial unions were practised in Rajasthan and in some parts of north India also. 236 Many such examples have been found in the Katha texts, 231 written in Rajasthan and Gujarata, where a boy marries the daughter of his matriarchal

^{231.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 454.

^{232.} Yajnavalkya Smriti —I, 52 "ananya purvikamasapindam yaviyasim)"

^{233.} *Ibid.*, I. 53 "Asamanarsa gotrajam panchamai saptamadurdhva-mmatrtah pitrtastatha."

^{234.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 66.

^{235.} Ibid., p. 66.

^{236.} R.T.A., p. 454.

^{237.} Samaraiccakaha, pp. 79 & 894. BKK, p. 327, 76, VV. —9-12, p. 23. V. 18, p. 218. V. 2, 8., 38-39-40. Also UBPK, pp. 253, 481, 568.

uncle. A complete and detailed description of the ritual of marriage can be found in all Katha texts specially in the Samaraccakaha. Many of the rites and customs describes in it are still prevalent in Rajasthan. Regarding the marriage age, the early medieval evidences prove that by the 10th and 11th centuries early marriages had become common. In the 'Yasastilak' Somadeva has described a girl of twelve years and a boy of sixteen years as fit for marriage. Haribhadra²³⁹ has written in the 'Dharmabindu' that the right age of marriage for the girls is twelve and for the boys is sixteen. Alberuni²⁴⁰ has also written that the Hindu did not think it proper to marry with a girl above the age of twelve. There were certain socioeconomic reasons too behind the early marriage system.

In the Vedic age, the bride used to choose the groom herself, but in later years, this system became extinct, largely because of the prevalence of the early marriage system. The society in general began to recognise the father's right in this field. That the marriage of a girl or a boy was the parent's concern is apparent from the literature of the early medieval period. Alberuni²⁴¹ writes that the parents arranged the marriage of their sons. It is testified by the fact that even in romances like Tilak Manjari and Kuvalayamala, the couples, though crazily in love with each other, awaited the parents' sanction before marrying. The Upamitibhavaprapanca-Katha has also many instances of love marriages, recognised by the girl's parents.

That the Svayamavaras, had by the 10th century A.D., become a thing of the past is illustrated through a story from

^{238.} Yasastilak, p. 317.

^{239.} RTA, p. 452.

^{240.} Sachau. II. p. 131.

^{241.} Sachau, II. p. 155.

^{242.} Kuv. Mala, p. 168. 32-3.

the Kathakosaprakarana.²⁴³ When the minister Chandra advised his daughter, the other ministers raised their voice against his system. Thus it seems that the Svayamavaras were much less common in this period, than they once had been. Usually, it was the boy's father to whom a proposal for marriage was made, but very often the proposal; was made by boy's people known as varakas. And also boy's father used to pay certain amount of money to the girl's father.²⁴⁴

While monogamy was common among with masses, polygamy was the general rule with the richer influenial section of society. The kings normally maintained large harems. Jain narratives refer very often to many wives of Jain merchants and officers. Polygamy was ever a source of conflict and heart burning. 246

The condition of the widow has always been pitiable in the Hindu society from the very early period. The smritis testify to the discarded and agonising state of Hindu widows. The widow was considered inauspicious and she could not take part in any celebration. The barbarous custom of Sati or widow-burning also began to gain ground from the 7th century onwards. This is proved by archaeological evidences also. Sati-Satta plaques ranging from c. 850 to 1100 A.D. have been discovered in the excavation at Ahicchatra. The Sati system was more prevalent in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Though the Jains

^{243.} Kathakosaprakara... p. 97, line-25.

^{244.} BKK. p. 50. VV 9-10 — "nisamya Dhandottoktam Purnabgadro jagavamum, kutikamdehime sighram grahanatvam dhanambahu! Tato davta daiva dahanam tasmaii parintamunasaka Dhaneva kalasvana dhanadeviva rupini."

^{245.} BKK., p. Also KKP (Story of Salibhadra, a rich merchant).

^{246.} UBPK, p. 540.

^{247.} HD. —Vol. II. Pt. I, p. 627. (Manu Smriti — 5.157-160).

^{248.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 72.

were against this cruel system, even then the Jain texts have very often referred to it.²⁴⁹

Udyotan Suri puts it in the mouth of a Vidyadhar, "It is the dharma of a woman that she also must die on the death of her husband." It can be said on the basis of the Samaraccakaha²⁵¹ narrations that the widows of those days preferred to become Satis by burning themselves on the pyre rather than live a condemned and despised life. The literary and epigraphic evidences reveal that the staff system became widely prevalent during the early medieval period and it was included in the 'Samanya dharma' by Vijnanesvara in the 12th century. The custom of buring oneself after husband's death was regarded as the Samanayadharma for all widows. Upto the 8th century A.D., Sati was rather confined to the royal families. ²⁵³

Widow marriage was not prevalent among the higher classes. But among the Sudras it was quite common.²⁵⁴ To some extent it was prevalent among the Vaisyas also. Child-widows were permitted to remarry by some law-givers such as Vasistha and Baudhayana, but later this too was prohibited. From the mention of the words like 'balarandas' and 'balavidhavas' in the literature of the 10th century A.D., it is almost certain that even a child-widow kept the vow of celibacy for the rest of her long life.²⁵⁵ During the early medieval period, the women were entitled to

^{249.} Samaraiccakaha, pp. 305-+6, Kuv. mala. p. 240, KNP, p. 174, UBPK, pp. 735.

^{250.} Kuv. Mala. p. 240, line 10-11.

^{251.} Sam. Katha-6, p. 505, 7, p. 662, 8, p. 805.

^{252.} Mittakasara on Yajnavalkya. I.86.

^{253.} Social Life in N. India, p. 27.

^{254.} Rajasthan Through the Ages, p. 462. (Dhanya Sudri janair-manya patilaksepya nindita) — Commentary on Haribhadra's Dharmabindu, p. 185.)

^{255.} UBPK, p. 896, Also Karpura Manjari. III, p. 75.

their separate property called Stridhan, as in the earlier times. It appears from the Jaina texs of this period that like Brahmanas women were exempt from capital punishment.²⁵⁶

Altekar and others remark that the Purda system came into prominence after the advent of Muslims. Contemporary literary sources prove the non-existence of this system in the then society. Abu Zaid²⁵⁷ (early 10th century) remarks, "Most of princes in India allow their women to be seen when they hold their court. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors." From the Katha Sarit Sagar, 258 it appears that women were quite adventurous. They also took part in business. In one of the stories of the above mentioned text, a woman is menioned as participating in mercantile business. Even the Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha, a fairly voluminous work of this period, does not refer to the purda system as prevalent among people. Dr. Dashrata Sharma has aptly remarked about this custom that "like the state system, the purda was also probably confined to the Rajput clans and that too not universally." 259

Courtesans have formed a recognised section of Indian society from very early times. They were found in the Vedic period. Secular prostitution in India is a very old institution and dates back from the time of Rigveda where the term 'nrtu' (nartaki) occurs denoting a female dancer. We learn from the contemporary literature the prostitution was in vogue in the early medieval society. In Samaraiccakaha, there are references to the courtesans at a number of places. Samaraiccakaha referes

^{256.} Sam. Kaha, pp. 62, 561.

C.f. Social and Cultural History in Northern India, p. 70. (Elliot. I. p. 1).

^{258.} KSS, III, p. 286.

^{259.} Early Chauhan Dynasties- p. 259. (UBPK, p. 687).

^{260.} H.D. II, Part. I. p. 637.

^{261.} Vedic Index. I. p. 457.

to one another term 'Varangana' for the courtesans, who used to entertain people on such festive occasions like marriage ceremony and Madanotsava etc. Kuttanimatam of Damodar Gupta deals, exclusively with the various ways and means adopted by the ganikas to extract money from kings, nobles and other wealthy people. Vijnanesvara remarked that the courtesans constituted a caste that sprang from the heavenly nymphs called Pancacudas. Thus they were regarded as a 'fifth caste' which was a professional class. Kathakosaprakarana (11th century) points out that they generally hailed from the lower strata of the society, such as washermen, dyers and dombas. Nammaya Sundari Kaha refers to the 'head courtesan.'

The practice of temple dancers was more prevalent in the early medieval period than in the ancient times. Such women were employed in temples. The kings themselve encouraged this practice, because it was a source of income to the state. Reformers like Haribhadra Suri, Jinesvar Suri and Jaina Vallaba Suri raised their voice against the employment of courtesans in temples but the practice was so firmly established in the society that nobody could eradicate it. Among these courtesans who were highly accomplished or in other words who were versed in the sixty four arts were called 'ganikas'. The Harsanatha inscription of Vigraharaja II. 264 shows that the feudatories tried to please their overlords by presenting beautiful ganikas to them.

It seems that a ganika was a member of gana or corporation whose charms were the common property of the whole body of men associated together by a common bond, economic or political. ²⁶⁵ In the 'Vinayavastu' of the Mulasarvastivada Amrapali is mentioned as a common property of the corporation

^{262.} Society and Culture in N. India, p. 331. (Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya II, 290).

^{263.} KKP, p. 116, "dhobiya rayagaiyao, dobiniova", NSK, 660-61.

^{264.} ECD. p. 261.

^{265.} Studies in Vatisyayana Kamasutra, p. 199F.

of Vaisali (Ganabhogya).²⁶⁶

Occasional references to male and female slaves are to be found in the Jain Katha literature. The institution of slavery can be traced back to the Rigveda. ²⁶⁷ The aboriginals who were conquered by the Aryans must have often been reduced to slavery and hence the new application of the word 'dasa' in the sense of a slave. ²⁶⁸

Regarding the female slaves, Macdonell²⁶⁹ remarks, "aboriginal women no doubt were the usual slaves, for on their husband's being slain in battle they could naturally have been taken as servants."

The Jain texts also refer to both male and female slaves (dasa and dasis). There were domestic servants, who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household works.²⁷⁰ Dasa and dasi are also included among the ten kinds of external possessions.²⁷¹ Manu²⁷² enumerates seven kinds of slaves. Vijnanesvara²⁷³ refers to fifteen kinds of slaves—

- 1. Grha-jata (one born in the house of a female slave).
- 2. Krita (brought).
- 3. Labdha (acquired through gift etc.).
- 4. Dayadupagata (inherited).
- 5. Ahita (one who has been kept by giving money).
- 6. Anakalabhrta (one saved in famine).

^{266.} Life in Ancient India, as depicted in the Jain canons. p. 164.

^{267.} H.D. Vol. II, Part I, p. 183.

^{268.} Bose, A.N., Social and Rural Economy of N. India, p. 184. (Rigveda-VIII; 56.3; VII. 87.7; X. 62.10, A.V.V. V.22.6; XII.3. 13).

^{269.} Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 357.

^{270.} Life in Ancient India, as depicted in the Jain canons. p. 106.

^{271.} Ibid., p. 107. (Brth. Bha. 1. 825).

^{272.} Manu. VIII, 415.

^{273.} Society and Culture in Northern India, p. 73.

- 7. Rna-dasa (One who has been become slave by way of paying of some debt).
- 8. Yuddha-prapta (one who has been won in war).
- 9. Pane-jita (won in gambling).
- 10. Upagupta (one who has been slave willingly).
- 11. Pravrajya-vasita (a degraded ascetic who has offered to serve as slave).
- 12. Krta (one who as become slave for some-time).
- 13. Bhakta-dasa (one who has become slave out of devotion for the master).
- 14. Badavahrta (one who has accepted slavery by the atraction of a female slave).
- 15. Atma-Vikreta (one who has sold himself off).

The female slaves did all sorts of household works and also outside works. The main cause of girls turning into slaves was economic. When, on account of natural calamities like famines etc., or due to foreign invasions, the economic condition of the people got upset, the low class people were left with no other alternative than to adopt the profession of slavery. Under such circumstances girls too had sometimes no option but to become slaves.

The Jain texts point out towards a number of female slaves who were brought from foreign countries. They belonged to the Babbara, Bausa, Joniya, Palhava, Isinaya, Dhorukina, Lasiya, Labusika, Dravida, Simhala, Araba, Pullinda, Pakkana, Murunda, Sabara, and of Persian race (Parasa). Female nurses were engaged in bringing up children. In the Jain Katha texts five nurses have been mentioned: the wet-nurse, the bath-nurse, the toilet nurse, the play-nurse, and the lap-nurse. The Jain Katha texts also refer to such tradition female slaves who were honoured in the rich families and who received precious gift on such auspicious occasions like marriage ceremoney any birth of a son.

The condition of the slaves was very pitiable. Sometimes they were very much tortured by the masters. Their proprietary rights were also negligible. The system of purchasing women slaves brought from foreign countries is a very old one. It has been mentioned in the "Periplus of the Erythreansea (1st cent. A.D.), that out of the precious things embarking in Bharoch, which were meant for the use of the king, were valuable silver utensils, boy-singers and beautiful female slaves for the harem.

A very important epigraphic evidence regarding the condition of female slaves of the 11th-10th century A.D. is the Raud Bel Inscription found near Malwa and deciphered by S.C. Bhawani. It is written in seven languages and is in the form of verses. The inscription refers to a slave-market, where the girls of different regions were brought and sold. The spokesmen have been shown as describing in particular verses the beauty, accomplishments, dress and decorations of the girls brought by them."

JAINA CASTE SYSTEM

1. INTRODUCTION

Just as there is an unusally large number of divisions in the religious sphere of a small Jaina community, we witness the same phenomenon, possibly in an aggravated form, in the social sphere of that community. We have seen that these religious divisions have created rival sections and sub-sections in the community to such an extent that sectarian feelings get an upper hand and make their adherents to forget the important fact that the Jaina Church was one and undivided up to the time of Lord Mahavira. Further we have noticed that various sub-sects arose very late in the history of the Jaina church and that in many cases their rise was ineviatble in the sense that they were created with a view to meet the demands of the changing conditions in different parts of the country and to correct the laxity in the religious practices of several religious heads and pontiffs. Moreover, the influence of teachings of other important religions on the religious practices and behaviour of the Jainas was but natural and cannot be over-looked; and in this connection we find that the Islamic doctrines were more or less responsible for creating the non-idolatrous sub-sections in the two main sects of the Jaina Church. It is proposed in this chapter to show the manner in which the Jaina community got itself divided and sub-divided in the social field, writes V. Sangave§ while discussing Jaina Social life.

[§] Sangave, Dr. Vilas Adinath : Jain Declaration an Nature.

2 Jaina Conception of Varnas or Classes

"During the Vedic period (200 B.C. to 300 B.C.), Parsvanatha was the first person to launch a successful attack against the religious beliefs and practice of Brahmanism and the same policy was vigorously followed by Mahavira. The latter succeeded in getting a large number of followers whom he organised into a compact social order quite distinct from that of the Brahmanic social order of the Vedic period.

The Vedic society was composed of four classes, viz., Brahmana, Rajanya, Vaisya and Sudra. They are said to have come from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the creator. The particular limbs ascribed as the origins of these divisions and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in the society of the time. The fact that the four classes are described as the divine origin could be taken as a sufficient indication that they are of long duration and very well defined. Not only the four classes were distinct and separate, but they were also affected by the spirit of rivalry among themselves. Even in early Rigvedic times the Brahmanical profession had begun to set up claims of superiority or sacredness for itself and accordingly we find that different rules were prescribed for different classes. Thus the Satapatha Brahmana lays down different modes of address for the four castes, differing in degrees of politeness, as ehi, agachcha, adrava and adhava. The Taittiriva Brahmana recommends the spring season to the Brahmins for the performance of sacrifices, the summer to the Kshatriyas, and the autumn to the Vaisyas. The Atharaveda proclaims in the strongest language sin, peril and ruinous consequences of insulting Brahmins and robbing them of their property.² This inordinate extension of the pretensions and perogatives of the sacerdotal class naturally created cleavages

^{1.} Ghurye, G.S., : Caste and Race in India, p. 40-41.

^{2.} Dutt, N.K.: Origin and Growth of Caste in India, pp. 80-87.

in the society. The Kshatriyas were assigned a position next to Brahmins, and Vaisyas and Sudras were comparatively neglected.

The Rigvedic people, including the Brahmins, were fond of meat-eating and practically all the important ceremonies and sacrificing were attended with the slaughter of animals. The principle of 'Ahimsa' or non-injury to animals was then unknown to the Rishis or ascetics. Offereings of flesh were frequently made to the gods, and the worshippers, including the priests, ate the offerings. The meat of cows and bulls does not seem to have been excluded. It was a custom to entertain a distinguished guest with the meat of a bull or a barren cow. At the wedding ceremonies oxen were slain, evidently for the feeding of the invited guests. From the Brahmanas we learn that the sage Agastya slaughtered one hundred bulls at a sacrifice. In fact the sacrifice of cows and bulls was not only optional as in the case of the arrival of a guest, the Astaka offered to the Fathers, and marriage, but compulsory on certain occasions and ceremonies. At Sraddhas, or periodical oblations to the manes, the sacrifice of cows is recommended, as substances like rice, barely, sesamum, fruits, etc., keep the manes satisfied for a month, the flesh of goats for six months, while beef satisfied them for a year.³ Meat was almost compulsory at the Annaprasana (or first feeding with solid food) ceremony of a child and from then till death and cremation, sacrificing of animals was necessary on most of the ceremonial occasions of life.

In the later part of the Vedic period women had practically been reduced to the status of Sudras. Like the latter, they were debarred from the right of initiation and investment with the sacred thread. They were considered to have no business with sacred texts. In many passages we find that woman and Sudra were bracketed together. The sight of women was considered

^{3.} Ibid., pp. 64-65 and 191-194.

as in-auspicious and people were asked to avoid seeing women, Sudras, dead bodies, etc.⁴ From this it appears that woman had practically no place in the religious life of the society and as such she was neglected and degraded by the people.

Thus, the Vedic Society was class-ridden in the sense that unusual importance was given to the Brahmin class to the detriment of other classes and nobody was allowed to change his class. People widely indulged in meat-eating and the sacrificial rites were the main religious field. Against these glaring drawbacks of the Vedic society, so far as the historical period is concerned, Parsvanatha and Mahavira had to fight. They recognised the division of society into four classes but based them on activities and not on birth. They gave full freedom to one and all, including women and Sudras, to observe religious practices and admitted them into their religious order.⁵ They launched an attack against meat-eating and the performance of sacrificial rites. In this connection Dr. N. K. Dutt observes: "Animal sacrifice had been of so long standing among the Aryans and such was the respect for the authority of Vedas which made it obligatory to sacrifice with flesh offerings, that the abolition of sacrifices, even of cows, became a very slow process, affecting only a very small minority, the intellectual section of the people, and might not have succeeded at all if Jainism and Buddhism had not over-whelmed the country and the mass of the people with the teachings of Ahimsa and inefficacy of sacrificial rites."6 The doors of Jainism were thrown open to all and equal opportunity was given to everybody to practice religion according to his capacity. Those who followed religon as house-holders were known as Sravakas and Sravikas and those who observed it fully by leaving their houses were called as Sadhus and Sadhvis.

^{4.} Ibid., pp. 233-34.

^{5.} Bool Chand: Lord Mahavira, p. 4-5.

^{6.} Dutt, N.K.: Origin and Growth of Caste in India, p. 204.

After Parsvanatha and Mahavira, various Jaina Acharyas made no distinction whatsoever among people in the matter of following religion and conceived that the Varna system, that is, the division of society into four Varnas or classes, is based upon differences in professions. In their view birth played no part in determining in the class or Varna of a particular person. As regards the division of the society into four Varnas Jinasena Acharya.⁷ states in the following manner.

मनुष्यजातिरेकैव जातिनामोदयोद्भवा । वृत्तिभेदा हि तद्भेदात् चातुर्विध्यमिहाश्रुते ।। ब्राह्मणा व्रतसंस्कारात् क्षत्रियाः शस्त्रधारणात् । विणजोऽर्थार्जनान्न्यायात् शूदा न्यग्वृत्तिसंश्रयात् ।।

The whole mankind came into existence due to the rise of Jatis Nama-Karma; and the mankind was divided into four categories of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra according to the differences in the vocations they followed for their livelihood. Those who observed 'Vratas' (i.e. religious injunctions to a greater degree) were known as Brahmanas, those who carried weapons as Kshatriyas, those who aquired wealth by just means as Vaisyas and those who maintained by resorting to low professions as Sudras.

In the same way Acharya Ravishen.⁸ asserts that it is not birth but activities that determine one's class in the society.

ऋषिशृंगादिकानां च मानवानां प्रकीर्त्यते । ब्राह्मण्यं गुणयोगेन न तु तद्योनिसंभवात् ।। न जातिर्गर्हिता काचिद् गुणाः कल्याणकारणम् । व्रतस्थमि चाण्डालं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ।। चातुर्वण्यं यथान्यच्च चाण्डालादिविशेषणम् ।

^{7.} Adi Purana, Parva 38, 45-46.

^{8.} Padma Purana, Parva XI, 200, 203 and 205.

The Bramanahood of best ascetics as well as of ordinary people is considered on their actions and not their birth in the Brahmana class. No class has been despised. The actions alone lead to good prosperity. Gods regard a Chandala, *i.e.*, an outcast, as a Brahmana if he follows religious mode of life. The epithets of classes and Chandala which are applied to mankind are famous in this world due to the differences in their ways of life.

Acharya Amitagati also attaches no importance to birth and considers one's mode of life as the determinant of one's class.9 x x x x x

The idea of differentiation of classes comes in only because of differences in the ways of life. No single class has been settled as that of the true or real Brahmin class. Really there is only one class of four divisions, *viz.*, Brahamanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, and that is the class of human beings. They have been divided because of differences in the ways of life. People of good conduct had attained heaven even though they were born in low families and on the contrary men devoid of good conduct and restraint had gone to hell in spite of the fact that they had taken birth in high families. A class is formed by following a particular mode of life and it perishes when that mode is left and that is why wise people should respect ways of life only. The good people should not have pride in any class as it leads to degradation but they should observe good conduct which might give them high position. ¹⁰

It is clear that the Jaina religion as such is not concerned in dividing the society into classes. The division was effected by the people with a view to facilitate their living. The classes were not hereditary but they were based on the ways of life. It naturally follows that as a class is composed of persons

^{9.} Dharma-Pariksha; Parichcheda XVII; 24-25, 31-33.

^{10.} For a similar denouncement of the division of society into four classes based on birth and for the necessity of considering all people on the same level see Varamgacharita, XXV, 2-11.

observing a particular mode of life, if that mode is changed a person has automatically to change his class. There was no restriction to change the class. ¹¹ On the contrary it was for each person to perform fifty-three rites (*i.e.* Kriyas) in his life and among those the 18th rite is that of Varna-labha, *i.e.*, getting into a class. After completing his education and marriage ceremony, a person should approach some leading members of the class and request them to admit him into their class. The leaders also reciprocate his wishes and allow him to get into their class. Thus admitted he attains the same status as that of the others. ¹² This is what is known as Varna-labha-kriya.

From the above discussion it will be seen that the society as envisaged by Parsvanatha, Mahavira and other Acharyas was a society wherein classes were not watertight compartments and complete freedom was granted to the people to change to the class of their own aptitude. The society was not divided into distinct separate sections and no differentiation was made in the status of the classes. All were considered as different ways of life and utmost importance was attached to individual character and mode of behaviour. There was no room for anybody to feel that he was neglected or degraded as he was free enough to follow any profession he liked and he could observe all religious rites and practices along with others. It is important to note that Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra were the main divisions and nowhere in ancient literature even a mention has been made of the castes existing as at present in the Jaina community. The caste system is a comparatively later development in the Jaina community and it appears that the castes might have arisen from the former four classes.¹³ It is stated that the persistent Brahmanical tendency to give a

^{11.} Adi Purana, Parva 38, Stanzas 55-62 and Parva 39, Stanzas 61-71.

^{12.} Adi Purana, Parva 38, Stanzas 71.

^{13.} Jaini, J.L.: Jaina Law, p. 9.

hereditary character to occupational distinctions by birth-right led to the formation of castes and castes within castes. Even though the early records of the Jainas, along with those of the Buddhists, reveal a powerful movement of thought counteracting this rapidly increasing tendency. 14 still it is fact that later on the Jainas formed in their community a large number of castes and sub-castes.

We now turn to discussion of Castes in the Jaina community.

3. SOME IMPORTANT THINGS ABOUT JAINA CASTES

At the outset we should remember some important things about castes in the Jaina community. In the first place, the exact number of Jaina castes is not available. Proverbially it is said that there are eighty-four castes in the Jaina community. As regards the number 84 it is believed that once a rich Jaina of Padmavati town invited at his place members of the Jaina community from all places to consider the possibility of establishing one Vaisya-Mahasabha (i.e. Central Association of traders) and in response to this invitation Jaina representatives from 84 places participated in the function. From that time representativs of different places were considered as belonging to different castes and as the representatives came from 84 places there became 84 castes in the Jaina community. The names of these castes and the places from which they originated are given in Appendix I.15 There is another list of 84 original castes in the Jaina community and they are entered in Appendix II.16 If we compare the names of castes included in the two

^{14.} Law, B.C.: India as Depicted in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 143.

^{15.} Vide (i) Yati Sripalchandraji : Jaina Sampradaya Siksha, pp. 686-87 and (ii) Ramalalji : Mahajana Vamsa-muktavali, pp. 164-164.

^{16.} Jain, P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 35.

appendices, it will be found that the first 26 castes names are common to both and the remaining names of castes in the one are not found in the other. This means that number 84 cannot be relied upon. Moreover these two lists are not exhaustive. There is a prayer in the name of 84 castes known as 'Chavaryamsi-Jnati-Jayamala' and many of the caste names mentioned in this prayer are not found in the lists given either in Appendix I or Appendix II, for example, Kumbada, Rohinivala, Vayada, Bhatera, Ayavala, Mahalavala, Saharu, etc. Again a list of names of 84 Jaina castes is given by Prof. H. H. Wilson (Appendix III) 18 and it will be noticed that many of the castes from this list are not found in the original 84 castes in the Jaina community as a whole, other groups of Jainas were admitted as separate castes according to circumstances in different provinces, and in this way some provinces came to have their own 84 Jaina castes. The Appendix IV and Appendix V give the names 19 of Jaina castes from Gujarata and Deccan respectively. Similarly a long list of Jaina castes in Gujarata and Marwar is given by Lt. Col. William Miles.²⁰ All this shows that several castes arose in the Jaina community in various parts of the country.

Secondly, apart from exclusive Jaina castes (i.e., castes in which all members are Jainas) we find that there are Jaina sections or divisions in several Hindu castes. There are mainly occupational castes some members of which happen to follow the Jaina groups or sub-castes in those castes. It cannot be definitely said whether these small sections were converted to Jainism or they continued to follow the Jaina religion while the rest of the caste members changed their religion. In any

^{17.} From Dharmasarasamgraha or Dasalakahandipuja.

^{18.} Wilson: Works by Wilson, Vol. I, p. 345.

^{19.} Vide Yati Sripalachamdraji : Jaina Sampradayasiksha, p. 617.

Vide "On the Jains of Gujarata and Marwar," Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. III, 1835, pp. 335-371.

case it appears that these sections are of sufficiently long standing and they have a fixed mode of behaviour with other sections of the same caste. Among the Devamgas, also known as Hatakaras, Koshtis or Salis, there are 33 endogamous divisions of which the 10th is a Jaina division.²¹ Jaina Guravas, an endogamous division of Guravas, resemble local Brahmins in matters of religion and custom. They abstain from flesh and liquor and do not take food and water from any Hindu caste, even from Brahmins. They are mainly servants in village temples which, though dedicated to Brahmanic gods, have still by their sides broken remains of Jaina images. This, and the fact that most of the temple land grants date from a time when Jainism was the probably Jaina temple servants who have come under the influence partly of Lingayata religion and partly of Brahmanism. They are found mainly in Malvan Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. 22 In the north Gujarata a few Malis are Jainas and form a separate division of Jaina Malis.²³ In the United Provinces there are Jaina sections among Raiputs and Unai and Unaya caste.²⁴ According to the 1911 census there are more than 125 Hindu and other castes among whom there Jaina followers.²⁵ Thus we find Agravalas among Jainas, Hindus, Sikh, and Buddhists. Moreover some Jaina castes completely merge into Hindus and consider themselves as Hindus. There was a sub-caste of Jaina Kalaras in the Central Provinces, but they are said to have gone to Hinduism.²⁶

Thirdly, as a small Jaina community is divided into more than 100 castes, we find that each caste forms a very small

^{21.} Enthoven, R.E., : T.C.B., Vol. I, p. 303.

^{22.} Enthoven, R.E., : T.C.B., Vol. II, pp. 22 and 33-34.

^{23.} Enthoven, R.E., : T.C.B., Vol. II, p. 426.

^{24.} W. Crooke: T.C.N.W.P., Vol. IV, pp. 221-223 and 428.

^{25.} Census of India, 1911, Vol. II.

^{26.} Russel, R.V.: T.C.C.P., Vol. I, p. 226.

group. Excepting a few castes like Osavala, Srimala, Agravala, Khandelavala, Saitavala, Paravara, Chaturtha, and Panchama, the rest claim a meagre strength. Since all these small castes are endogamous, many have necessarily to remian unmarried and as such their population is fastly declining. There are nearly sixty castes whose population is less than one hundred. There are seventeen castes which are on the way of being wiped out. The population of 'Disavala' caste according to 1901 census was 971, it fell to 355 in 1911 and by this time it might have possibly ceased to exist. There was' Kukekari' caste in Berar but now there is not even a single person belonging to that caste. The same is the story of 'Banjara' caste.²⁷ It seems that this is the reason why many castes mentioned in the lists are not found at present. There are, no doubt, new castes which are not found in the list mentioned above and their rise in recent times is explained by the fact that as the practice of re-admitting excommunicated members into the main caste after some sort of fine or penance has fallen into disuse, such out-cast persons, finding no other way, join together and form into a separeate group. 28 Ladava or Pancha Srimlis, Chau Sake, Paravaras are instances in point.

Fourthly, alongwith the decline of populaion of Jaina castes we find the assimilation of one caste into another. Various causes can be attributed to the assimilation of one caste into another but the main reason seems to be to save the persons of declining castes from joining another religion. The present Athasake Paravara caste might be a combination of two castes, viz., Ashta-Sakha and Paravara. The Astha-Sakha caste is not existing at present but there are historical evidences which go to show the prior existence of that caste. It is likely that for some reason both the castes might have mixed together and

^{27.} Jain, P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 49.

^{28.} J.H., Vol, IX, p. 415.

formed a new caste of 'Ashta-Sakha Parvara'.29 In the year 1906 of Vikrama Era the Simhapura caste was incorporated into the Narasimhapura caste.³⁰ Seeing the declining population of "Bijavargi" caste, the Khandelavalas incorporated them into their own caste. At times even non-Jainas were converted to Jainism and assimilated into another caste. When members of 'Padmayati Poravala' caste found that Vaishnava Brahmins were not ready to perform their marriage rites, they converted Guada Brahmins to Jainism and maintained close relationships with them, by resorting to inter-dining and inter-marrying with them. Recently there was a proposal of incorporating 'Budhela' caste into 'Padmavati Poravala' caste. Some scholars think that in the social history of the Jaina community there might have been many instances of such assimilation.31 But at present the assimilation is not resorted to. On the contrary any such proposal is resented. The move of assimilating Panchabisas into Golalares was turned down 32

Fifthly, Jaina religion as such does not recognise the castes in the Jaina community. They were not found in the Jaina community from the very beginning. They are comparatively of a recent growth. If they are existing, they would have been mentioned by the Jaina Acharyas in their biographical or other works. But it is a fact that no mention is made of them by the Jaina Acharyas. The Jaina books do not give more importance to them than to consider them as a social practice. The castes are therefore not ancient at all; and it is most likely that they might have been formed during the last one thousand years.³³

^{29.} Jain K.P.: 'Ashta-sakha upajati,' Jain Antiquary, March 1938, p. 246.

^{30.} Jain. P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 37.

^{31.} J.H., Vol. IX, pp. 415-417; 549-550.

^{32.} J.H., Vol. IX, p. 419.

^{33. (}i) J.H., Vol. IX, p. 413 and Vol. XI, p. 627.

⁽ii) Jain. P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 40.

⁽iii) Jain Hiralal: Jain Itihasa- ki Purva Pithika aura Hamara Abhyutthana, Part, II, p. 42.

This is the view of Digambara Jainas. In response to a question whether the castes following the Jaina religion are according to the Jaina sacred books or not, when they were formed, Svami Atmananda, a Svetambara Jaina ascetic, declared that the Jaina castes were organised by the Jaina Acharyas of their own accord and that they were not found formerly at all.³⁴ The Sthanakavasi Jaina ascetics also made it clear that the caste-system was not sanctioned by the Jaina religion.³⁵

Sixthly, it is interesting to note that only a few castes like Osavala, Poravada, Humbada, Narasimgapura and Nema are common to both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras. There are as many as 87 castes and sub-castes recorded among the Digambaras³⁶ and 38 among the Svetambaras.³⁷ When a small community is divided into several sections, naturally the latter are composed of a very few members. According to the Digambara Jaina Directory, out of 87 castes there are 41 whose population is between 500 and 1000, 20 whose population is between 1000 and 5000 and there are only 15 castes whose population is more than 5000. There are some castes whose population is merely 2, 3, 4, 8, 16, 20, etc. The same is the case with the Svetambaras. Excepting the castes of Srimala, Osvala, Poravada, Nima, Bhavasara and Bhojaka, all the remaining castes have a population less than 500 in Gujaratha, where the Svetambaras are mainly concentrated, and there are several castes whose population is merely 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 21, etc. The names of castes and sub-castes with their population figures as given by the Digambaras and Svetambaras are entered in Appendices VI and VII respectively. As many castes in the Jaina community are engaged in commercial

^{34.} J.H., Vol. IX, pp. 353-84.

^{35.} Jaina Jagat, Vol. VIII, No. 11, p. 1.

^{36.} Vide Digambara Jaina Directory.

^{37.} Vide Svetambara Jaina Directory.

activities, they are spread over a wide area, espcially in big commercial towns and ports. In cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur, etc., nearly fifty Jaina castes can be easily found. As regards the names of different castes found in each Province, Appendix VIII gives the names of the Digambara Jaina castes with their population according to Provinces. Even though castes have spread over a wide area, yet there are different places where different castes have been concentrated. Thus Srimalis will be found mainly in Gujarata and Kathiawar, Oavalas in Gujarata and Marwar, Khandelavalas in Marwar and Malava, Agravalas in U.P. and Delhi, Paravaras in Bundelakhanda, Saitavalas in the C.P. and Berar, Chaturthas and Panchamas in Karnataka and Deccan States. This is the reason how they could keep up their identity up till now.

4. JAINA CASTE SYSTEM

We have seen that the caste-system among the Jainas is a social, and not religious institution. Jainism does not recognise caste as such and at the same time the Jaina books do not specifically obstruct the observance of caste rules by the members of the Jaina comunity. The attitude of Jainism towards caste is that it is one of the social practices, unconnected with religion, observed by people; and it was none of its business to regulate the working of the caste system. Naturally the Jainas evolved a caste system of their own which is more or less similar to the caste system found in the Hindu society. This was bound to occur sooner or later because the Jainas were surrounded on all sides by the Hindus, and at times they were recruited from the Hindus, and as such they could not escape from copying the most important characteristic of the Hindu society, viz., its caste system. Practically all noteworthy features of the castesystem among the Hindus found a place, to more or less extent,

^{38.} Such figures for Svetambaras are not available.

in the caste system among the Jainas. It is therefore necessary to see what are the prominent features of the Hindu caste system and to what extent they are discernible in the Jaina system.

Uptil now many efforts have been made by various scholars to give a workable definition of caste with a view to present its all remarkable aspects. But the system is such a peculiar and complex thing that no satisfactory definition, it seems, is possible and no unanimity on the subject could be expected. Senart states that a caste is a close corporation, exclusive, and in theory, at any rate, rigorously hereditary. It is equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council; meeting on occasions in assemblies endowed with more or less full authority. Often united in the celebration of certain festivals, it is further bound together by a common occupation and by the practice of common customs which relate more particularly to marriage, food and questions of ceremonial pollution. Finally, it rules its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which is fairly wide and which by the sanction of certain penalties, especially of exclusion, either absolute or revocable, from the group, succeeds in enforcing the authority of the community.³⁹ According to Sir. H. Risley, a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestory, human or divine; and regarded by those who are competent to give opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. The name generally denotes or is associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous. 40 Sir E.A. Gait observes

^{39.} Senart, E.: Caste in India, p. 20.

^{40.} Risley, H.H.: People of India, p. 68.

that the main characteristics of a caste are the belief in a common origin held by all the members and the possession of the traditional occupation. It may be defined as endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name, having the same traditional occupation, claiming descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community. 41 Dr. S.V. Ketkar considers caste as a social group having two characteristics:—(i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group. Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these large groups are but sub-divisions of groups still larger which have independent names.⁴² Without attempting to make a comprehensive definition Dr. N. K. Dutt states that the most apparent features of the present day caste system are that the members of the different castes cannot have matrimonial connections with any but persons of their own caste; that there are restrictions, though not so rigid as in the matter of marriage, about a member of one caste eating and drinking with that of a different caste; that in many cases there are fixed occupations for different castes; that there is some hierarchical gradation among the castes, the most recognised position being that of the Brahmanas at the top; that birth alone decides a man's connection with his caste for life, unless expelled for violation of his caste rules, and that transition from one caste to another, high or low, is not possible. The prestige of the Brahmana class is the corner-stone of the whole organisation.⁴³ Taking into account the views expressed by various scholars, the outstanding features of the Hindu society when it was ruled by the social

^{41.} Gait, E.A.: Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 3, p. 234.

^{42.} Ketkar, S.V.: History of Caste in India, p. 15.

^{43.} Dutt, N.K. Origin and Growth of Caste in India, p. 3.

philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties, are discerned by Dr. G. S. Ghurye to be six, viz., (i) Segmental division of society; (ii) Hierarchy; (iii) Restrictions on feeding and social inter-course; (iv) Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections; (v) Lack of choice of occupation; and (vi) Restrictions on marriage.⁴⁴

By segmental division of society it is meant that a society is divided into a number of social groups known as castes. Unlike other social associations, membership of a caste depends not on social position or calling or wealth or aptitude for a particular art etc., but on birth alone. A person automatically becomes a member of a caste when he is born in it. These castes have regular standing councils known as Panchayatas for dealing with range of subjects like behaving against the established religious practices, violating marriage rules, refusing to act up to caste-customs, non-payments of debt, etc. Punishment is meted out to defaulters and it generally consists of ex-communication, temporary or permanent, or fine or both. As far as these matters are concerned members of a caste cease to be members of the community of which they form a part. Thus in this caste-bound society, community-feeling is restricted as the members owe moral allegiance first to the caste and then to the community. It is natural that due to diversities in laws administered by different castes, different moral standards 'are set up in various castes, and distinct segments are formed in a community. We find the same process in the Jaina community. The community is divided into a large number of castes, each having its own Panchayata and practices. 45 There is a vast difference in the moral standards adopted by various castes. Generally speaking while the Jaina castes in the North did not allow widow remarriage, some of those in the Deccan allowed and practised it. There are particularly different rules and regulations for each

^{44.} Ghurye, G.S.: Caste and Race in India, p. 2.

^{45.} Glasenappa, H.V.: Jainism, pp. 326-327.

caste regarding birth, marriage, death and other ceremonies. Whether it is a question of marriage or of disposal of dead, the help of caste fellows alone is sought. In this way what is known as a cultural gulf is formed between the castes. Srimalis, Agravalas, Paravaras, Saitavalas and others differ very widely in their caste customs. Thus the Jaina castes have created segmental divisions in the Jaina community.

One of the principal characteristics of caste society among the Hindus is the hierarchy of the groups. The Hindu castes can be arranged in a more or less definite order of social precedence with Brahmins as the head of the hierarchy. The highest position given to the Brahmin caste is considered as the corner stone of the caste organisation in the Hindu society. It was against this supremacy of Brahmins, Jainism, as we have seen, rose in revolt and therefore in the Jaina community we find that even though there are numerous castes, no prominent position is assigned to any caste, not even to the Jaina Brahmanas. As the highest rung of the ladder is not fixed, naturally the question of arranging castes in an order of social precedence does not arise. All castes are treated on a footing of equality by the community and no differentiation is accepted between castes as regards social prestige. But among some Jaina castes we find a feeling of superiority over other castes or particular divisions of a caste due to differences in moral standards, social practices, customs and manners. Thus the castes which do not allow widow marriage consider themselves as superior to those which allow and practise widow marriage. In some castes like Srimalis, Poravadas, Humbalas and others there are sub-divisions like Visa, Dasa, Pancha and Adhicha; and these are treated in a descending order of social respectability. Among the six castes of Terapanthis, the Charanagare caste is considered respectable as many religious and learned men happened to from this caste. 46 Similarly in the former Nizams Dominions Sravagis

^{46.} J.H., Vol. VIII, p. 290.

are regarded as superior in rank to the Poravadas because of the great regard the former entertain for animal life. ⁴⁷ In a small Lamcchu caste there are two divisions, *viz*. Uncha and Nicha which suggest that a sense of high and low is present in them. ⁴⁸ There are three divisions of the Jainas in the North Kanara District, *viz*., the Chaturthas, the Tagara-Bogaras, and the Priests. But the Chaturthas and Panchamas hold along from the Tagara-Bogaras, whom they look upon as inferiors though they do not differ from them in religion. ⁴⁹ It should be remembered that all these are trivial and individual differences mainly found within a caste or between a few castes and there is nothing like even a faint plea of arrangement of castes as a whole according to social precedence in the Jaina community.

Among the Hindu castes there are minute rules as to what sort of food or drink can be accepted by a person and from what castes. For this purpose all food is divided into two classes, 'Kachcha' and 'Pakka', the former being any food in the cooking of which water has been used, and the latter all food cooked in clarified butter without the addition of water. In general a man of higher caste cannot accept Kachcha food from one of the lower, though the latter may regale himself with similar food offered by a member of one of the castes accepted to be higher than his own. 50 These restrictions, strictly speaking, have no place in the Jaina community for the simple reason that in it there is no hierarchial organisation of castes and as such there is no ban on dining with any other member of the Jaina community irrespective of his caste. Recently Svami Atmananda declared that as Jainism considers all its followers as equals there should be no objection in taking food from any Jaina and in fact this

^{47.} Hassan: T.C.N.D., Vol. I, p. 260.

^{48.} J.H., Vol. IX, p. 483.

^{49.} B.G., Vol. 25, Part I, pp. 229-30.

^{50.} Ghurye, G.S. : Caste and Race in India, p. 7.

was practised in the past.⁵¹ From the inscription at Sravana-Belagola in Mysore it appears that even though there were several castes, only a slight difference existed in reality between them in the 14th century of our era.⁵² But later on, the Jainas, possibly due to the influence of the Hindus with whom they were closely in touch, introduced restrictions on feeding as a result of which inter-dining is prohibited in many castes.⁵³ Even now when caste feasts are given members from other castes are generally not invited.

Along with the restrictions on feeding there are also restrictions on social inter-course based on the plea of transmission of impurity by even the touch of a low caste person. Believing in this idea certain inhibitions were put by Hindus on Sudras and other low caste people. Theoretically, the touch of a member of any caste lower than one's own defiles a person of the higher caste. This belief was not occupied by Jainas from Hindus and in the Jaina community there are no restrictions whatsoever as ragards social inter-course between members of several castes. This might possibly be due to the fact that majority of the Jainas consider themselves as Vaisyas and there are practically no Sudras among Jainas.

When once the castes were graded according to degrees of respectability, certain restrictions, social as well as religious, were put on, and certain privileges were granted to different castes in the society. Amongst Hindus we find that some low castes are segregated and made to stay outside the villages. At times castes have been allotted distinct quarters of the village

^{51.} J.H., Vol. XI, p. 290.

^{52.} Maj. Delamaine: 'On the Shravacs or Jains': Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, 1827, p. 413.

^{53. (}i) Jain, P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 35.

⁽ii) Dr. B. Hamilton: 'On the Shravacs or Jains.' Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, 1827, p. 531.

and called by the name of the caste, for example, Brahma-ali, Sonara-ali, etc. This tendency is not marked among Jainas. When Jainas were populous in the past it is not known whether they reserved some localities for particular castes among them. Most probably they must not have done this because castes are comparatively of a recent growth among them; and they do not accept the hierarchial order. However from the ancient Jaina literature it appears that some groups of people were despised and isolated from the civilised castes of the people. Amongst them are mentioned the peacock-tamers, acrobates, hunters, poledancers, fishermen, cobblers, etc. ⁵⁴ These names suggest that the despised people were mainly flesh-eaters and as such they might have been isolated from the rest.

The religious disabilities among Hindus centred round in denying some religious rites to certain castes. The vedic ritual was meant for high castes and the Puranic for low castes. The Sudras were not allowed to study the most sacred literature. The innermost recesses of temples were reserved only for the Brahmins and no caste could employ any other priests than the Brahmins. In spite of the fact that Jainism allows any person to follow the Jaina religion and to observe its, religious practices, in reality we find that many persons have been debarred from practising certain religious rites. In some castes which have been divided into Visas and Dasas, at certain places the latter are not allowed even at present to perform worship in the temples. The ascetics decline to take food at the hands of people who practise widow remarriage. According to the Digambara sect the Sudras cannot give food to the Jaina ascetics, they are not entitled to Moksha (i.e., liberation'. they cannot become ascetics of high order and they are possibly not allowed to worship.⁵⁵

Considering the importance attached to the Brahmins and

^{54.} Jain J.C.: Life in Ancient India, p. 145.

^{55.} J.H., Vol. XII, p. 453.

the prominent position they occupied in the Hindu society, many privileges were granted to them. They were made to be respected by others, exempted from capital punishment and paying taxes, allowed to use some services free of charge, could get their lands assessed at disticutly lower rates and could avail themselves of lenient treatment when imprisoned. Even though the superiority of the Brahmins over other people is not recognised by the Jainas and generally the primary position is supposed to be assigned to the Kshatriyas instead of the Brahmins, the latter were still held in respect and esteem by the people. King Bharata is said to have fed them daily and distinguished them from others by putting the mark of Kaikini-jewel on their person. They were receiving gifts from the kings. Other people also gave away charity to them. Besides, the Brahmins enjoyed certain other privileges, such as immunity from paying taxes and capital punishment. 56

Along with civil and religious restrictions there were restrictions on the choice of occupations. Members of a particular caste were not allowed to follow any calling they liked. Occupations were considered as hereditary and it was not proper for a person to abandon his occupation in favour of another, even though the latter may be more profitable. Like castes occupations were also graded as high and low and naturally members of high castes were barred from following low occupations for fear of degradation of the whole caste. It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's occupation, but also the restrictions put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings. The have seen that the Jaina castes were named mainly after the places of their origin. Srimalis were so called because they came from Srimala; Osavalas from

^{56.} Jain, J.C.: Life in Ancient India, pp. 141-142.

^{57.} Ghurye, G.S.: Caste and Race in India, p. 16.

Osia, Agravalas from Agroha, Khadelavalas from Khandela, etc. In the circumstances no particular occupation can be assigned to these castes as hreditary occupation. The Jaina castes were not occupational in character. Members of a caste were allowed complete freedom to follow any occupation they liked. Later on when some members of a caste followed a particular occupation, divisions or sub-caste named after that occupation were formed in that caste. Among Dasa Srimalis there is a division by name 'Chanapahua'⁵⁸ which suggests that its members were selling grains and parched rice. Moreover, there are a few castes among the Svetambaras which are known after their occupations, viz., Kandvi (sweet-meat sellers), Sutara (carpenter), Darji (tailor), Modha-ghanchi (oil-crusher), Kacchia (vegetable dealer), etc.

One of the important restrictions observed by members of a caste is regarding the extent to which the members are allowed to contract their matrimonial alliances. For this purpose generally a caste is divided into smaller groups known as subcastes and members were enjoined to choose their partners from their own sub-castes. That is what is known as the rule of endogamy and if this rule is violated explusion from the membership of the group is generally the penalty which the offending parties have to suffer. Thus the Brahmins and as a rule a Desastha person cannot marry a Konkanastha lady and so on. Among the Jainas the castes are endogamous where there are no subdivisions in the caste. Saitavalas, Chaturthas, Panchamas, Khandelavals, etc. marry among themselves. In other castes there are sub-divisions which are treated as endogamous groups. Practically every important Jaina caste in Gujaratha is divided into Visa and Dasa and some are even further subdivided. Thus the Srimalis are divided into Visa-Srimalis. Dasa Srimalis and Ladava Srimlais. Among the Visa Srimalis there

^{58.} B.G., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 97-98.

are seven minor divisions and among the Dasa Srimalis there are three. The three main divisions with their sub-divisions do not inter-marry.⁵⁹ Further, among Visa and Dasa Srimalis territorial limits have been put for contracting matrimonial alliances. To illustrate, in the constitution of the Visa Srimali sub-caste from Saurashtra (*i.e.*, mainly from Junagadha, Dhoraji, Vanathali, and Jetapura Talukas) it is laid down that their members should keep matrimonial relations with the Visa Srimalis living up to Bhavanagar, Veraval, Porbunder, Jamanagar and Mangrol and not beyond this limit even though the other party may be a Visa-Srimali. Moreover a bride-groom from Bhavanagar and other places must be below 25 years, a condition which is not applicable to the bridegrooms from proper Saurashtra.⁶⁰

From the above discussion it will be noticed that excepting a few features of the Hindu caste system all other features were more or less present in the Jaina caste-system. Among the Jainas the castes were not arranged in a hierarchical order of respectability, no restrictions were put on social inter-course between different caste members and there was no lack of choice of occupation. In all other respects we can perceive and guage the influence of the Hindus on the Jaina caste system. The caste system is deeply rooted in the social organisation of the Jainas and in consequence a small Jaina community spread throughout the length and breadth of India is divided and sub-divided into water-tight compartments. So long as the rule of endogamy are going to be observed by the Jainas, these segmental divisions will perpetuate, a cultural gulf will be created between them and caste and sub-caste feeling instead of community feeling will be prominent. All the drawbacks of caste-system are present among the Jainas. Social effects of this caste system are described later on. 61 It will suffice for the present to state that caste system

^{59.} Enthoven, R.E.: T.C.B., Vol. III, p. 438.

^{60.} Sri Saurashtra Visa Srimali Jnatino Dharo,' p. 39.

^{61.} See Chapter VII, Section 5 (c).

exists in the Jaina community in a more or less old form and all its important features are discernible even now.

The number of castes in the Jaina community is so large that their investigation in detail will form a separate subject matter for research. Therefore the general information about some important Jaina castes in all parts of India is given below.

5. JAINA CASTES IN THE NORTH (i) AGRAVALA OR AGRAWAL

The Agaravala is one of the most important castes of Digambara Jainas. The Agravalas are found mainly in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana and Malwa. There are Agravalas among Hindus also and are mostly Vaishnavas. As the Vaishnavas are vegetarians and in custom and manners agree with Jaina Agravals, inter-marriage between two sections of Agaravalas, is allowed and the wife adopts the religion of her husband. In this connection Mr. Risley observes that "Owing perhaps, to this uniformity of practice in matters of diet, these differences of religious belief do not operate as a bar to intermarriage, and when a marriage takes place between persons of different religions, the standard Hindu ritual is observed. When husband and wife belong to different sects, the wife is formally admitted into her husband's sect and must in future have her own food cooked separately when staying in her mother's house. 63

There are various explanations regarding the origin of Agravalas and they do not agree on all points.⁶⁴ Generally it

^{62.} Jain, J.L.: Jaina Law, p. 17.

^{63.} Risley, H.H.: Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 7.

^{64. (}i) Ramalalji : Mahajana-vamsa-muktavali, pp. 132-136.

⁽ii) Jain, P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, p. 35.

⁽iii) Jain, K.P.: Sankshipta Jaina Itihasa, Vol. II, Part II, p. 82.

⁽iv) Crooke, W: T.C.N.W.P., Vol. I, pp. 14-16.

⁽v) Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 127-128.

is believed that Agravalas are the descendants of king Agrasena of Champavati in North India. He had 18 sons who were married to 18 daughters of a Naga (i.e., Scythian) king. When Agrasena died his 18 sons established a town Agroha in the Punjab and they were called Agravalas from that time after their father. After the names of 18 sons, 18 Gotras or exogamous sections were formed. For some reason the last gotra is considered as a half gotra and thus there are 17½ gotras among Agravalas. There are considerable differences in the enumeration of these gotras. Messrs Crooke⁶⁵, Risley,⁶⁶ Sherring,⁶⁷ P.D. Jain⁶⁸ and Ramalalji⁶⁹ give different lists. As the names given by Mr. Risley and Mr. Bharatendu Harischandra, the author of the History of Agravalas, correspond to each other, they are given below and the rest will be found in Appendix IX: (1) Garga, (2) Goila, (3) Gavala, (4) Batsila, (5) Kasila, (6) Simghala, (7) Mamgla, (8) Bhaddala, (9) Tinala, (10) Airana, (11) Tairana, (12) Thingla, (13) Tittala, (14) Mittaa, (15) Tundala, (16) Tayala, (17) Gobhila, (171/2) Goina.

Agravalas again have the divisions of Dasa and Visa, the 'tens' and the 'twenties' like other Baniya castes. One account of their origin is that when the daughters of Naga king married the sons of king Agra Sena, they each brought a hand maid with them and their descendants are the Dasas. ⁷⁰ A third division has now come into existence in the Central Provinces, known as the 'Pancha' or 'Fives'; these are apparently of still more doubtful origin than the Dasas. ⁷¹ All these sections do not inter-

^{65.} Crooke, W: T.C.N.W.P., Vol. I, pp. 14-26.

^{66.} Risley, H.: Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 5.

^{67.} Sherring, M.A.: Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, pp. 286-287.

^{68.} Jain P.D.: Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa, pp. 22-25.

^{69.} Ramalalji : Mahajana-vamsa-muktavali, p. 137.

^{70.} Crooke, W: T.C.N.W.P., Vol. I, pp. 14-26.

^{71.} Russel. R.V.: T.C.C.P., Vol. II, pp. 136-39.

dine or inter-marry. But if a man of the Visa and Dasa cannot obtain a wife from his own group he will sometimes marry in a lower group.

Agravals are considered to be converted to Jainis by Sri lohacharyaji between 27 and 77 years of Vikram Era. They were originally Kshatriyas but after taking to commercial activities they are regarded as Vaisyas. They are one of the most respectable and regarded as Vaisyas. They are one of the most respectable and enterprising of mercantile tribes. They are bankers, moneylenders and land-holders. The greatness of Agroha, their original settlement, is commemorated in the legend told by Dr. Buchanan that when any firm failed in the city, each of the others contributed a brick and five rupees which formed a stock sufficient for the merchant to recommence trade with advantage. Two of Akbar's famous ministers are said to have been Agravalas, viz., Todara Malla, who first introduced an assessment of land revenue based on the measurement and survey of land, and Madhusaha, who introduced 'Madhusahi' pice. To

(ii) Osavala:

Osavala is one of the well-known castes of Jainas. Osavalas are concentrated in Rajputana States, Malwa, Gujaratha and Kutch. Being adventurous they will be found in every important city of India. There are Osvalas, among the Hindus also, but Osvalas are mostly Jainas and that too Svetambara Jainas. Even though marriages between the Jaina and Hindu Osvalas are allowed by custom, they are not popular, and marriages are generally contracted among Jaina Osavalas only.

The name Osavala is derived from the town of Osiya or

^{72. (}i) Crooke, W: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. I, p. 26.

⁽ii) Jain, B.L.: Agravala Itihasa, p. 21.

^{73.} Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara: Vol. I, p. 128.

Osiyanagara in Marwar. According to one traditional legend⁷⁴ of their origin the Raja of Osiyanagara had no son and obtained one through the promise of a Jaina ascetic. The people then drove the ascetic from the town, feeling that the Raja would become a Jaina; but Osadevi, the guardian goddess of the place, told the ascetic, Sri Ratnaprabha Suri, to convert the Raja by a miracle. So she took a small hand (puni) of cotton and passed it along the back of the saint, when it immediately became a snake and bit Jayachanda, the son of the Raja, in the toe, while he was asleep beside his wife. Every means was tried to save his life, but he died. As his corpse was about to be burnt, the ascetic sent one of his disciples and stopped the cremation. Then the Raja came with the body of his son and stood with hand clasped before the saint. He ordered that it was to be taken back to the place where the prince had been bitten, and that the princess was to lie down besides it as before. At night the snake returned and licked the bite, when the prince was restored to life. Then the Raja, with all his court and people, adopted the Jaina religion and those who were thus converted were known as Osavalas. Another version of the story⁷⁵ of 'Osavalas' origin is that the Srimala King Desala allowed none but millionaires to live inside his city walls. One of the lucky citizens, a Srimali Baniya named Ruada, had a brother named Saada, whose fortune did not come upto the Chief's standard of wealth. Saada asked his brother to help him to make up the required million; but as he met with no encouragement he and Jayachanda, a discontented son of the king of Srimala, and many Srimalis, Rajputs and others left Srimala and setting in the town of Mandovada, called it Osa or the frontier. Among the settlers

^{74. (}i) Jnanasundaraji: Jaina Jati Mahodaya, Chapter IV., Appx. I.

⁽ii) Crooke, W: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. IV, pp. 97-98.

⁽iii) Sripalachandraji : Jaina Sampradaya Siksha, pp. 607-620.

^{75.} B.G, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 97.

were Srimali Baniyas, Bhatti, Chohana, Ghehlota, Goda, Gohila, Paramara, Rathoda and Thara Rajputs, all devout worshippers of Siva. Ratna Suri, a Jaina ascetic, by working miracles, converted Jayachanda, their king, and all the settlers and calling them Osavalas, formed them into one caste. The first story is believed to have happened in the 400th year before Vikrama Era and the second in 222 of Vikrama Era. But recent researches in the origin of Osavalas do not accept these dates and now it is stated and generally accepted that the Osavala caste was formed probably between 500 to 1000 years of Vikrama Era.⁷⁶

According to Col. James Tod Osavalas are all of pure Rajput descent, of no single tribe, but chiefly Panvaras, Solankis and Bhatas.⁷⁷ From the legends mentioned above and the fact that their head-quarters are in Rajaputana, it may safely be asserted that the Osavals are of Rajput origin. 78 When these Rajputs were conveted they were divided into 18 gotras or exogamous sections, viz. 1. Tatahada, 2. Bafana, 3. Karanata, 4. Balahara, 5. Moraksha, 6. Kulahata, 7. Birahta, 8. Srisrimala, 9. Sreshthi, 10. Suchinti, 11. Aichananga (or Adityanama), 12. Bhuri (or Bhatevara), 13. Bhadra, 14. Chichata, 15. Kumbhata, 16. Dindu, 17. Kanoja, 18. Laghu-Sresthi. Later on due to further additions made to Osavalas by conversion, the original 18 gotras were split up into 498 sub-gotras and afterwards the number was still more expanded. It is believed that there are 1444 gotras or sub-gotras among Osavalas. From the lists of available gotra names we can find certain principles on which they were formed. Some gotras were named after birds and animlas (viz. Siyala, Kaga, Garuda, Hirana, Bakara, etc.), some after places of residence (viz. Ramapuriya, Chitauda, Bhopala, Patani, etc), some after professions (viz. Bhandari, Kothari, Khajanchi,

^{76.} History of Osavalas: pp. 18-10.

^{77.} Tod. Col. J.: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 210.

^{78.} Russel, R.V.: T. C. N. W. P. Vol. IV, p. 99.

Kanung, Daftari, etc.) and some after occupations (viz. Ghiya, Teliya, Kesariya, Gandhi, Sarafa, etc.).⁷⁹ It seems that some gotras are prevalent in certain localities and some in other localities. The names of 84 gotras found among Osavalas of the U.P. are given by William Crooke.⁸⁰

Like other Baniya castes Osavalas are divided into Visa and Dasa. The common story⁸¹ of the origin of the division is that an Osavala widow, contrary to the rule against widow marriages, lived with a Jaina priest and had two sons by him. The sons grew rich and hit upon the following plan for forcing their caste-fellows to over look their illegitimate descent. At the town of Raya, they made grand preparations for a dinner and asked the Osavalas, who, not knowing that the hosts were of illegitimate birth, attended the party in large numbers. A widow told her son the history of the men who were giving the feast. And he went before the assembled Osavalas and begged of them to allow his mother to remarry. They asked why he had come there to make his request and he told them the story of the birth of the two brothers who had invited them to dinner. On hearing that their hosts were outcaste there was a sudden confusion among the guests. Those who had touched the food became the followers of the two brothers and came to be called Dasas, while those who had not touched the food and remained pure were called Visas. The use of Visa and Dasa as names of caste sub-divisions is common. The terms seem to mean Visa

^{79. (}i) Jnanasundaraji : Jaina Jati Mahodaye, Chapter IV. Appendix I, pp, 35, 54-60.

⁽ii) Ramalalji : Mahajana-vamsa-muktavali, pp. 140-146.

⁽iii) Sripalachandraji : Jaina Sampradaya Siksha, pp. 620 and 656-661.

⁽iv) History of Osavalas, p. 24.

^{80.} Crooke, W: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. IV, p. 99.

^{81.} B.G.G., Vol. 16, p. 45.

or twenty in the score, i.e., pure blood, and Dasa, or ten in the score, i.e., half-caste.

Along with Visa and Dasa there are other divisions like Pancha, Adhaiya, etc. according to it appear the purity of their lineage and there are different restrictions in different places regarding inter-marriage and inter-dining between these divisions. Generally speaking these are hypergamous divisions. The Pancha sub-caste permits remarriage of widows and those degraded from Pancha are taken into Adhaiya. Moreover difference of religion or sect is no bar to marriage among Osavalas, as, for example, a Digambari Osavala can marry a Svetambari girl, or a Jaina Osavala boy can marry a Vaishnava Osavala girl or vice versa. Further Osavalas can marry with other good Baniya sub-castes so long as both the parties are Jainas. Thus in Bombay, Dasa Osavalas inter-marry with the Dasa groups of Srimali and Poravada Baniyas.⁸²

Osavala is the most prominent trading caste in Rajputana. As they are derived from the Rajput stock, there were several generals of repute among Osavalas up to the advent of the British in India. They have also frequently held high offices, such as Divan or Minister and Pay-master in Rajputana states. In Jodhpur, which is their strong-hold there were nearly 100 ministers in the last 450 years. By their statesmanship and valour they helped various kingdoms loyally and faithfully in the days of prosperity as well as in the time of decline. The history of Jodhpur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Indore, Kishengarh states, among others, stands as testimony for their unswerving devotion to public duty. The following discription of an Osavala Jaina

^{83.} Jain, K.P.: Sankshipta Jaina Itihasa, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 84.

^{84.} Bhattacharya, J.N.: Hindu Castes and Sects, p. 207.

^{85. (}i) History of Osvalas, Appendix, p. 2 and pp. 39-129 for the part played by Osvalas in the Political and Military field.

⁽ii) For a short description of the splendid role played by the Jainas-especially Osvalas-in the History of the Rajputana vide Tank, U.S.: Jaina Historical Studies.

by Col. Tod deserves reproduction. "Ram Singh Mehta (an Osavala Jaina Mahajana) was a fine specimen of non-militant class of these countries, and although he had seldom passed the boundaries of Mevar, no country could produce a better specimen of a courteous gentleman; his figure tall, deportment easy, feature sregular and handsome, complexion fair with a fine slightly curbed beard and mustachios jet back. He is of the Jaina faith and of the tribe of Osi, which now reckons 1,00,000 families all of Rajput Origin, and descended from the Agnikula stock."86

(iii) Srimali

Srimali is a well-known caste of Jaina Baniyas. Srimalis are concentrated in Gujaratha, Kathiavar and Rajputana. They are found among Hindus also but they are mostly Jains and especially Svetambara Jains. According to the Svetambara Jaina Directory Srimalis claim the largest number of members among the castes following the Svetambara sect.

The name Srimali is derived from Srimala (modern Bhinmala) a place situated in Rajputana on the border line of Marwar. Two accounts are told about the origin of this caste. According to one, about 400 years before Vikrama Era Acharyas Svayamprabha Suri converted a large number of the Hindu families to Jainism at Srimala. Other Acharyas thereafter converted more families and grouped them with the former converts. This process went on for a considerable time and the person so converted were formed into the Srimala caste. Raccording to another mythical account, at Srimala Lord Vishnu created, to please Lakshmi, 90,000 Baniyas to maintain 45,000 Brahmins. The Baniyas were created out of her garland, according to one account, and out of his thigh according to another.

^{86.} Col. Tod, J. op. cit., Vol. II, p. 765.

^{87.} Jnanasundaraji : Jaina Jati Mahodaya, Chapter IV. Appendix II, pp. 92-100.

^{88.} Doshi, C.M.: Dasa Shrimai Jaina Baniyas of Kathiavar, pp. 41-42.

Of the two stories the first seems to be more plausible. Later on 135 gotras or exogamous sections were formed, the names of which are given in Appendix IX.⁸⁹

The Srimalis are divided into Vias, Dasas and Ladavas, About the origin of the Visas and Dasas three stories are told. According to one, those Srimalis who had first settled after wandering through four quarters (Vidisa) were called Visa and those who settled after wandering the four directions (Disa) were called Dasa. 90 According to another story, those Srimalis who sprang from the right side of Mahalakshmi's garland were called Vias and those from the left Dasas. According to a third, the Visas or twenties came to be so called because they are twice as high as Dasas or tens. The Ladva Srimalis were so called because they lived in the old Lata Desa and South Gujaratha. Visa Srimalis are mainly Jainas and Dasa Srimalis Vaishnavas. Among the Visa Srimalis there are seven minor divisons, viz., (i) Ahamadabadis, (ii) Kathariyas, (iii) Palhanapuriyas, (iv) Patanis, (v) Sorathiyas, (vi) Talabadas and (vii) Tharadiyas; and among the Dasa Srimalis there are three, viz., (i) Horasatha, (ii) Chanapahua and (iii) Idadiya. The Ladava Srimalis have no minor divisions. The three main divisions with their sub-divisions eat together but do not inter-marry. In some parts Dasa Srimali Jainas marry with Dasa Srimali Vaishnvas or with Dasa Osavala and Dasa Poravada Jainas.91

Because of their great number among Svetambaras, Srimalis occupy a prominent position. They are great merchants, princes and take a keen interest in social activities.

(iv) Poravada

Poravada is one of the important castes of Baniya Jainas.

^{89.} Ramalalji : Mahajana-vamsa-muktavali, pp. 109-110.

^{90.} Doshi, C.M.: Dasa Srimali Jaina Baniyas of Kathiavar, p. 54.

^{91.} B.G., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 97-98.

Poravadas are found mainly in Marvar, Gujaratha, Kathiawar and Cutch. There are Poravadas among the Hindus and the relations between the Hindu Poravadas (known as Mesri Poravadas) and the Jaina Poravada (known as Sravaka Poravadas) are cordial. Among the Jainas they are found in both the sects, viz., Digambaras and Svetambaras but they are mostly Svetambaras.

As regards their origin it is stated⁹² that they were formerly people of Gujiara tribe who came into India along with king Kanishka and settled in Eastern Rajputana. Under the orders of king Kanishka they migrated in large numbers for the protection of Srimala town in Marwar and stayed in the eastern part of Srimala town. As they were living on the eastern side of the town they were named as Pragvata⁹³ or Poravada. Sometimes they are wrongly called as Poravala like Osavala, Agravala, Khandelavala, etc. It is also contended that the word Poravada is derived from 'Pragvatapura' a place on the banks of the Ganges⁹⁴ or from Pareva (Padmavati Nagara) town. The Poravadas⁹⁵ are divided into 24 gotras or exogamous sections, viz., 1. Chaudhari, 2. Kala, 3. Dhanaghada, 4. Ratanavata, 5. Dhanyautya, 6. Majavarya, 7. Davakara, 8. Bhadalya, 9. Sethya, 10. Kamalaya, 11. Udhiya, 12. Bankhanda, 13. Bhuta, 14. Pharakya, 15. Labheparya, 16. Mandavarya, 17. Muniyan, 18. Ghantya, 19. Galiya, 20. Bhesauta, 21. Naveparya, 22. Danagadh, 23. Mahata, 24. Kharadya.⁹⁶

In the beginning there were three sections among Poravadas, viz., (i) Pure Poravadas, (ii) Sorathiya Poravadas and (iii) Kapola

^{92.} Dalal, C. M.: Poravada Vanikone Itihasa, pp. 7-11.

^{93.} It appears that the word Pragvata was commonly used to denote the caste from 13th to 15th century of Vikrama Era, Vide Jinavijaya Muni : Jaina-Pustaka-Prasati-Sangraha, pp. 24, 43, 44, 46, 47, 70.

^{94.} Jnanasundaraji : op. cit., Chapt. IV, Appendix II.

^{95.} Ramalalji : op. cit., p. 111.

^{96.} Sripalachachandraji: op. cit., p. 668.

Poravadas.⁹⁷ Later on the Poravadas were divided into Visa, Dasa and Pancha Poravadas according to the degree of respectability. The Visa and Dasa divisions were constituted from the days of Vastupala and Tejapala in the 13th century A.D. and the same story like that of division of Osvalas is told. Vastupala and Tejapala were sons of a Poravada father who had married a young Srimali widow. Those who dined with Vastupala and Tejapala were known as Dasa and those who refused to dine with them as Visa. 98 Visa Poravadas are mainly Jainas and Vaishnava Poravadas has of late fallen into disuse. 99 Along with religious awakening this might possibly be due to the fact that while Vaishnava Poravadas live mainly in Gujaratha, Jaina Poravadas are in Cutch, Kathiawar, Marwar and Gujaratha. Further, the Poravadas are sub-divided according to their places of residence, e.g., in Gujaratha they are known as Surati, Ahamadabadi, Bharuchi, Kapadavanji, etc., and in Kathiawar as Bhavanagari, Jamangari, Mangroli, Porabandari, etc., and there are hardly any relations between them. Practically all these divisions are found in Bombay city but there also they live as separate groups. Widow remarriage is not practised at present but it seems that it was allowed in the past, for Asaraja married Kumaradevi, a young widow, from he had two sons, viz., Vastupala and Tejapala. Poravada claim to have produced very capable persons most prominent among them are Vimala Saha and Vastupala, and Tejapala, the well-known ministers of king Vira Dhavala in the 13th century A.D.

(v) Khandelavala

Khandelavala is another important caste of the Jainas. Khandelavalas are found among the Hindus also but they are mostly Jainas. They are all Digambara Jainas and it is peculiar

^{97.} Jnanasundaraji : op. cit., Chapt. IV, Appendix II.

^{98.} Ramlalaji : op. cit., p. 164.

^{99.} B.G., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 96-97.

that practically there are no Svetambaras among Khandelavalas. They are spread in Rajputana, Malwa, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Bihar but more than three-fourth are concentrated in Rajputana and Malwa.

Khandelavalas take their name from Khandela, a capital town in Jaipur territory, ruled by king Khandelagira of Chavhana dynasty. There were 84 towns under the sovereignty of Khandela and they were governed by Rajputs of various dynasties like Survavamsa, Somavamsa, Hemavamsa, etc. In the year 1 of Vikrama Era cholera broke out in a virulent form and with a view to subside it the king, under the influence of Brahmins, performed human sacrifice in which a Jaina ascetic was sacrificed. The epidemic, instead of lessening, grew in intensity. At that time a Jaina ascetic by name Jinasena Acharya was on his tour in that province and the king enquired from him the reason of epidemic. The ascetic replied that it was due to sacrificing a Jaina ascetic and advised him to accept Jainism. Accordingly the king and the inhabitants of all 84 places embraced Jainism. Jinasena Acharya formed a caste of them, named it as Khandelavala after the capital town Khandela and created 84 gotras out of 84 towns. A list of these gotras towns, dynasties and their family deities will be found in Appendix XI. 100 According to another account there were four brothers who were soldiers. One day they went out hunting and killed a favourite deer belonging to a hermit. He was about to destroy them by curse, when they promised to abandon soldiering and hunting. From them the present Khandelavalas are descended. 101

From the above account it appears that Khandelavalas were originally Kshatriyas but later on became Vaisyas by taking

^{100. (}i) Sripalachandraji : Op. cit., pp. 675-680.

⁽ii) Ramalalji : op. cit., pp. 118-121.

⁽iii) Jain, P.D.: op. cit., p. 12-17.

^{101.} Crooke, W.: op. cit., Vol. III, p. 225.

to commercial activities. They form an important section of Digambara Jainas. It is interesting to note that like other Baniya castes they are not divided into Visa and Disa sections. They are big bankers, commercial magnates and land-holders.

(vi) Paravara

Paravara is one of the well-known castes among the Jainas. Paravaras are found among the Hindus also but they are mostly Jainas. They are mainly Digambara Jainas and practically there are no Svetambara Paravaras. They are spread over a wide area, viz., the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Rajputana, Malwa, Bihar and Bombay but they are concentrated in the Central Provinces where more than half of their populaion resides. Even in the Central Provinces Paravaras are found almost entirely in Saugar, Damoha and Jubbalapore District.

The origin of the Paravaras and of their name is not known but there is some reason to suppose that they are from Rajputana. It seems likely that the Paravaras may be identical with Poravadas in which case they belong to Rajputana. 102

Among the Paravaras Charanagare or Samaiya form a separate sectarian Jaina group. The Charanagares reside principally in the Damoh and Chhindawara districts of the Central Provinces. Charanagare is one of the six castes following Taranapantha or Samaiya-pantha, a sub-sect of Digambaras. Charanagares were formerly giving their daughters in marriage to Paravaras but this practice is said to have stopped. Like other Baniya sub-castes Charangares are divided into Visa and Dasa. Inter marriage between the two sections occasionally occurs and the Dasa will take food from the Visa section, but the latter will not reciprocate except at caste feasts. 103

The Paravaras themselves are divided into two endogamous

^{102.} Russel, R.V.: op. cit, Vol. II, p. 157.

^{103.} Russel, R.V.: op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 142-43.

sections, viz., Atha Sake Paravaras and Chau Sake Paravaras. The former will not permit the marriage of persons related more nearly than eight degrees, while the latter permit it after four degrees. The Atha Sake have the higher position and if one of them marries a Chau Sake he is degraded to that group. Besides this the Paravaras have an inferior division called Binaikiya, which consists of the off spring of irregular unions and of widows who have remarried. Persons who have committed a caste-offence and cannot pay the fine imposed on them for it also are relegated to this sub-caste of Paravaras. There is a village by name Binaika in the Saugor District but it is not known whether Binaikiyas are called after that place. What stigma is attached to Dasas in other castes, the same is implied by the name Binaikiya. To use an honourable word this subcaste is also known as Laharisena or Laghusreni. The Binaikiyas themselves are distributed into four groups of varying degrees of respectability of which two are well-known, viz., Purane Binaikiyas and Naye Binaikiyas. There are nearly 250 families in Purane Binaikiyas and it cannot be said when they were degraded from Paravaras and had to form this sub-caste. Unlike Purane Binaikiyas, the Naye Binaikiyas have more than 2000 families and every year its number increases by absorbing degraded people not only from Chau Sake Paravaras and Purane Binaikiyas but also from castes like Sunavara, Golapuraba, etc. In this way Naye Binaikiyas are rapidly increasing in strength and along with it are gaining social estimation. Now they are not specifically looked down upon. Formerly they were not allowed to enter the temples but of late they have constructed their own temples. If this process continues, it can be hoped that Binaikiyas will be assimilated with Paravaras in not too distant a future. On the contrary, Paravaras will have to request the Binaikiyas to enter in their fold because in view of their increasing strength and absence of former social stigma the Binaikiyas are recently asserting that they keep with the Paravaras relations only of *Pakki* and not of *Kacchi*. 104

(vii) Humbada or Hummada

Humbadas are found both in the Jainas and the Hindus but they are mostly Jainas. There are Digambara as well as Svetambara Jaina Hummadas but they are principally Digambaras. They are spread only in Rajputana, Malwa, Gujaratha and some districts of the Deccan.

As regards their origin it is stated that when the incessent quarrels between Bhupatisimha and Bhavanisimha, the two princes of Patna, were set at right by a famous Jaina ascetic Manatunga Acharya, Bhupatisimha was pleased with Acharya and waiving his claim over the throne became his devotee. He once said to his guru "Hun Bada Hun" (हूँ बड़ हूँ) and from that time his 'guru' named his caste as Humbada. Humbadas are divided into the following 18 exogamous gotras:—1. Kheraja, 2. Kamalesvara, 3. Kakadesvara, 4. Utresvara, 5. Matresvara, 6. Bhimesvara, 7. Bhadresvara, 8. Visvesvara, 9. Sankhesvara, 10. Gangesvara, 11. Ambesvara, 12. Mamanesvara, 13. Somesvara, 14. Rajiyana, 15. Lalitesvara, 16. Rangesvara, 17. Kasyapesvara, 18. Budhesvara. 105 According to another account they are said to take their name from Humada, the guru or spiritual head who established the caste. They are also called Vagadiya, from the Vagada or wild country including Dungarpur, Partapgarh and Sagvad in Rajaputana where considerable members are still settled 106

The Humbadas, like other Baniya castes, are divided into Visa and Dasa. The sub-caste Dasa Hummada was formed, like that of Binaikiyas, by people who were degraded or outcasted

^{104.} J.H., Vol. VII. pp. 26-28.

^{105.} Ramalalji: op. cit., pp. 112-114.

^{106.} Enthoven, R.E.: T. C. B., Vol. III, p. 442.

from the Hummada caste. But steadily the strength of Dasa Hummadas increased and now they are ten times more than Visa Hummadas. The Dasas amassed wealth, built temples, rose in social estimation; and now in consequence there is very little difference between the Visa and Dasa Hummadas. Inter-dining is allowed and recently instances of inter-marriage between the two sections have occured. This is a fine example of how a degraded section regains its social position.

6. JAINA CASTES IN DECCAN

The important Jaina castes described above are mainly found in the Northern India, including Gujaratha, Kathiawar and upper district of the Central Porvinces. These castes nowadyas are found in the Deccan and South India, but they have migrated there from the North for commercial purposes. The Jaina castes in the Deccan differ in many respects from those in the North. In the first place, there are only four main castes in the Deccan, viz., Saitavala, Chaturtha, Panchama and Bogara, and three small castes viz., Upadhyaya, 107 Kambhoja 108 and Harada. 109 In the North we find a large number of big and small castes. The major castes have been already described and among the small castes a mention may be made of Golapuraba, 110 Golalare, 111 Asathi, 112 Ajudhyabasi, 113 Nema, 114 Narasipura, 115 Jaisavala, 116

^{107.} B.G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

^{108.} Hassan: T. C. N. D., Vol. I, pp. 265-267.

^{109.} Hassan: T. C. N. D., Vol. I, pp. 259-263.

^{110.} Russell, R.V.: T. C. C. P., Vol. II, pp. 147-148.

^{111.} Crooke, W.: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. II, p. 422.

^{112.} Russell, R.V.: T. C. C. P., Vol. II, pp. 142.

^{113.} Russell, R.V.: T. C. C. P., Vol. II, pp. 140-141.

⁽i) Russell, R.V.: T. C. C. P., Vol. II, pp. 154-155.

⁽ii) Enthoven, R.E.: T. C. B., Vol. III, p. 420.

^{115.} B.G., Vol. IX, Part I, p. 73.

^{116.} Crooke, W.: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. III, pp. 12-13.

Lohiya, ¹¹⁷ Pallivala, ¹¹⁸ etc. Secondly, many castes in the North have their counterparts in other communities. Thus Agaravalas. Osavalas, Srimalis etc., are found among the Hindus also. But in the Deccan the naes of the Jaina castes are found in other communities. There are no Saitavalas, Chatruthas or Panchamas among the Hindus. Thirdly, while in the North in some Jaina castes Digambara and Svetambara divisions are found, in the Deccan there are no such divisions as the members of the Jaina castes in the Deccan belong to the Digambara sect only. We find that Osavalas, Srimalis, Poravadas, etc., are in Digambaras as well as in Svetambaras but there are no Saitavals, Chaturthas, or Panchamas in Svetambaras. Fourthly, we have seen that a large number of Northern castes have been divided into Visas and Dasas and sometimes further into Panchas and Adhaiyas, but it will be noticed that in the Deccan castes there are no such divisions. It will be remembered that the Visa and Dasa divisions arose mainly on the point of widow remarriage; and those who practised widow remarriage were relegated to the Dasa section. No necessity of dividing the castes on the basis of allowing or not of widow re-marriage was felt in the Deccan. 119 This is the main point of difference between Northern and Deccan Jaina castes.

Fifthly, it can be mentioned that while Jainas in the North are rich and follow commercial activities on a big scale, those in the Deccan are comparatively poor and are mostly agriculturists and petty traders. Sixthly, Jaina castes in the Deccan have their own Jaina priests, and they do not employ the Hindu Brahmins for ceremonial purposes as is done by many Jaina castes in the North. 120 Seventhly, each of the four castes in the Deccan

^{117.} Crooke, W.: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. III, p. 386.

^{118.} Crooke, W.: T. C. N. W. P., Vol. IV, pp. 109-110.

^{119.} See (i) Pragati ani Jinavijaya, dated the 14-12-1931.

⁽ii) Jain Jagat, Vol. VIII, No. 5, p. 27.

^{120.} B.G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

has its own Bhattaraka or religious head or Svami who has final power to fine or excommunicate any caste-member. 121 The general information about the important Jaina castes in the Deccan is given below.

(i) Setavala or Saitavala

Setavala are spread over a wide area, viz., Southern Districts of the Central Provinces, Berar, Hyderabad State and Bombay Presidency. As they speak Marathi, they are concentrated in the Marathi speaking Districts of the above Provinces.

Another name for Setavala is Svahitavala or Sahitavala.¹²² It is said that the Svahitavalas are divided into two sub-castes, *viz.*, (i) Svahitavala and (ii) Setavala, based on the difference of occupation. The later weave bodice cloth, and are cloth merchants, shop-keepers and money-lenders. The former are tailors.¹²³ These distinctions are not observed now and all are termed as Setavalas.

As regards their origin many accounts are told. According to one account the Setavalas are considered as the descendants of the Kshatriyas who came to the Deccan for the protection of the Jaina sages and places of pilgrimage from fiercer sort of people, whose leaders were called Bhairavas. The places where the sages resided and where religion and religious places came to be called Kshetrapalas or protectors of holy places. The Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Kshetrapala is Chhettavala from which the Marathi word Setavala is derived. 124 From this it appears that the Setavalas came from the North and settled

^{121. (}i) B.G., Vol. XXI, p. 103.

⁽ii) B.G., Vol. XXIV, p. 146.

^{122.} Manuscript No. 1149 at Balatkurangana Temple at Karanja (Berar).

^{123.} Hassan: T.C.N.D., Vol. I, p. 261.

^{124.} L. A. Phaltone: 'A Light on Ancient Jaina History.' J.G., Vol. 28, p. 189.

in the Deccan. Mr. Russel also mentions that Saitavala is one of the castes which came into the Central Provinces from Rajputana. 125 As regards Setavals in the Bombay Province it is stated that they seem to have come from Marwar in search of work, though when they came is not known. They have many rustic customs and ways, but signs remain which support their claim to have a strain of Kshatriya blood. 126 According to another account, the Setavalas appear to have been originally a body of hundred families excommunicated for some unknown reason; and now forming a caste by themselves. They were formerly known as Satavalas or the hundred families. 127 This seems to be wrong for obvious reasons. According to the third, the word Setavala is derived from a Marathi word 'Seta' i.e., a farm, and Setavalas are those who subsist on farming.

There are supposed to be many gotras among Setavalas but the names of 44 gotras only are available, viz., Bahu; Abhayakumara; Sahasrabahu; Maghava; Vjayamitra; Mahabahu; Bhuvallabha; Hariketu; Vijaya; Dhanapati, Simharatha; Vidyasakti; Supratishtha; Meghavahana; Prithvipala; Vajradanta; Ratnayudha; Anantavijaya; Dharma; Prajnapala; Yugandhara; Lokapala; Harischandra; Suryaputra; Yasapala; Minaketu; Surendra-datta; Pundarika; Dhanaratha; Dhatrivahana; Sushena; Subhachandra; Purvabahu; Manimala; Jitasatru; Vajrayudha; Satyasruti; Jayandhara; Narmada; Vimlavahana; Surakirti; Vimalakirti; Srishena and Chakrayudha. But these gotras are not taken into account for purposes of marriage. Setavalas regulate their marriages by family surnames and inter-marriages within the same section are avoided. 129 Widows are allowed to marry

^{125.} Russell, R.V.: T. C. C. P., Vol. II, p. 119.

^{126.} B.G., Vol. XVII, p. 99.

^{127.} B.G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

^{128.} Phaltone, L. A.: Setvala Jaina Lekanchi Mahiti, pp. 24.

^{129.} B.G., Vol. XVII, p. 99.

and divorce is recognised. Both widows and divorced wives marry by inferior rites, in which the garments of the bridal couple are knotted together and a feast is furnished to the relatives. 130 Setavalas have their own Bhattaraka or religious head by name Visalakirti at Latur, a place in the Osmanabad District. Minor caste disputes are generally settled by caste Panchayatas but graver ones are referred to the Bhattaraka in which case his decision is final. Formerly some members of this caste were excommunicated and were known as Vadodakara Setavalas, but they have been recently admitted into the main caste. As compared with other Jaina castes, Setavalas are financially very poor and as such do not get respect from other castes.

(ii) Chaturtha

According to the All India Digambara Jaina Directory, the Chaturtha caste is the first among the Digambara Jaina caste in respect of its numerical strength. There are nearly 70,000 Chaturthas and unlike other castes, Chaturthas are not spread over a wide area but they are mainly concentrated in the Bombay and Karnataka.

It is not known how the word Chaturtha is derived. Many conjectures have been put forward. According to one story, in the Jainas there were formerly four divisions, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The Jaina Kshatriyas have disappeared but the Jaina Brahmins, Vaisyas and Sudras remain. Jaina Sudras are also called Jaina Chaturthas, that is, the fourth estate. 131 According to another, Chaturthas are originally 'Charodas' of the Goanese Native Christian who have three caste divisions. 132 Thirdly, it is stated that Chaturthas are the

^{130.} Hassan: T. C. N. D., Vol. I, p. 263.

^{131.} B.G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

^{132.} Enthoven, R. E.: T.C.B., Vol. II, p. 83.

same as Setavalas on the ground that the same Prakrit word Chhettavala becomes Setavala in Marathi and Chhattaru or Chattaru, *i.e.*, Chaturtha in the Kannada language. ¹³³ Fourthly, it is considered that Chaturtha denotes Kshatriyas as the Sanskrit word Kshatriyas or Kshatra or Kshatra takes the form of Kshatraru or Chattaru, *i.e.*, Chaturtha, in Kannada. ¹³⁴

The Chaturtha are mostly agriculturists and therefore live in villages. This is the only caste among the Jainas which follows agriculture as the main occupation. Except some of the larger land-holders, who keep farm servants, the others, with the help of their women, do all sorts of field work with their own hands. They are the hardest working husbandmen, making use of every advantage of soil and situation. Strict Jainas object to tillage because of the loss of life which it cannot help causing. Yet they do not carry their objection to the length of refusing to have social relations with the Jaina Husbandmen. Widow remarriage is allowed and practised among the proper families. Marriage is regulated by family surnames. The religious teacher or Bhattaraka by name Jinasena of Chaturthas has his headquarters at Nandani near Kolhapur. 136

(iii) Panchama

The Panchama is one of the important castes in the Deccan. In population it stands next to the Chaturtha caste in the Deccan. Panchamas are spread over the Kannada speaking Districts of Bombay, Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad Dominion but about 3/4th of them are concentrated in the Bombay-Karnataka.

^{133.} Phaltone, L. A.: 'Jaina Dharmachi Prachina Avastha.' Pragati ani Jinavijaya, Vol. 46, No. 3.

^{134.} Kudale B.D.: 'Dakshinetila Chara Potajati'; Pragati ani Jinavijaya', Vol. 45, No. 24.

^{135.} B.G., Vol. XXIV, p. 135.

^{136.} B.G., Vol. XXI, p. 103, mentions the name of place as Kurundavad which is not correct.

Many interpretations are given for the meaning of word Panchama and the origin of Panchama caste. It is asserted that the word Panchama was used by the Vedic Brahmins during the 9th and 15th centuries A.D. to denote the Digambara Jainas in the Deccan as outside the place of Chaturvarna, i.e., four Varnas. Jainas also accepted this appellation and called themselves as Panchama. During this time there were no distinctions of castes among Jainas. Later on during the 16th century castes like Chaturtha, Setavala and Bogara arose from the Panchamas, and they were mainly created by the then Bhattarakas with a view to have continuous following for them. And for this purpose restrictions on inter-dining and intermarriage among the four castes were put on by the Bhattarakas. 137 According to another account Panchamas are the fifth or the lowest class of Jainas whom all who marry widows have to join. 138 It is maintained that with a view to avoid this degrading position Panchama Jainas joined Virasavism and formed a group of Panchamasali Lingayatas, who have a higher position among Lingayatas. Lingayatas belong to two main divisions, laymen and clergy. The clergy who are gnerally called Jangamas, are divided into two classes, the Viraktas, who are unmarried and the Gurusthalas who are married. The 31 divisions of lay Lingayatas may be arranged under three groups (i) 4 classes of True or Pure Lingayatas, (ii) 16 classes of Affiliated Lingayatas and (iii) 11 classes of Half Lingayatas. The four classes of Pure or Original Lingayatas are Dhulapavadas, Silavantas, Banajigas and Panchamasalis. Thus we find that Panchamasalis were assigned a place among True Lingayatas. Moreover, in this connection it is stated that the resemblance between the Jaina and the Lingayata rules about eating and drinking, about tenderness for life, and about the non-return of the spirits of

^{137.} Kudale, B.D.: 'Dakshinetila Chara Potajati', 'Pragati and Jinavijaya' Vol. 45, Nos. 23 and 24.

^{138.} B.G., Vol. XXII, p. 117.

the dead suggest that many Lingayatas represent converts from Jainism. This view finds support in the fact that the strength of the Lingayatas is in Banajiga class who were formerly chiefly Jainas, and that the Panchamas or Panchamasalis, another leading branch of the Lingayatas, appear to take their name from and to represent the fifth or lowest class of Jainas, a despised community to which all widow-marrying Jainas are degraded. It was natural that Panchamas should take to a religion that did not hold widow-marriage an offence. 139

The economic condition of Panchamas is bit better than that of either Setavalas or Chaturthas. Some Panchamas are agriculturists no doubt, but many are petty merchants and traders dealing chiefly in jewellery, cotton, cloth and grain. Compared with other Hindu castes in the Deccan, Setavalas, Chaturthas and Panchamas lag behind in education, economic position and social uplift in general, and that is why they have been included in the intermediate castes by the Bombay Government. As a class they are orderly and law-abiding and seldom appear in criminal courts. For more than a thousand years Jainism was either a State religion or enjoyed a pre-eminent position in the state. During these years Jainas proved their merit in every walk of life. 140 Even now inspite of political changes many are hereditary village and district officers. 141 The Teacher or Guru of Panchamas is Lakshmisena Svami and he lives in Kolhapur. 142 There are no sub-divisions among Panchamas and marriages are regulated by family surnames.

(iv) Bogara

In Kannada language Bogara means one who deals in

^{139.} B.G., Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-103 and 107.

^{140.} For achievements of Jainas in the South, vide Chapter VII.

^{141.} B.G., Vol. XXIV, p. 135.

^{142.} B.G., Vol. XXI, p. 103.

brass or copper vessels. In Marathi language the same meaning is conveyed by the word Kasera. Thus Bogaras are known as Kasaras (Kaseras) in Maharashtra. The Kasaras are found among Hindus also and they are known as Hindu or Tvashta Kasaras in contrast to Jaina Kasaras. Bogaras are spread over Kannada speaking districts of Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad State.

Bogaras claim to have originally been Kshatriyas, but were doomed by their patron goddess Kalika to the low occupation of a Kasara. Marriages are governed by exogamous sections of family names which are mostly of the territorial and titular type. A man is prohibited from marrying outside the sub-caste, or inside the exogamous section, to which he belongs. He may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt or elder sister. He may also marry two sisters. In some cases widows are allowed to marry again, and divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's unchastity, barrenness or ill-temper. Divorced wives remarry by the same rites as widows. 143

It is an enterprising caste and mostly controls the trade of bangles and brass and copper vessels in the Karnataka. Their Teacher or Guru lives at Malakheda in the Nizam's Dominions. 144 From the 'Kalika-purana' written by Devendra Kirti, the Bogara Guru of Malakheda, it appears that this caste was not found before the 17th century A.D. 145 There seems to be a section of Bogaras known as Tagara-Bogaras in the North Kanara District. 146

(v) Upadhyaya

The Upadhyaya is a caste of Jaina priests. Such a caste

^{143.} Hassan: T. C. N. D., Vol. I, p. 263-264.

^{144.} B.G., Vol. XXI, p. 103.

^{145.} Kudale, B.D.: 'Dakshinetila Chara Potajati', 'Pragati and Jinavijaya' Vol. 45, No. 24.

^{146.} B.G., Vol. XXV, pp. 229-230.

is not found in the North as the Northern Jainas themselves perform religious ceremonies or employ Brahmins for that purpose. The Upadhyaya caste is therefore found only in the Deccan and Southern India.

To every Jaina temple one or more priests or Upadhyayas are attached. The priests constitute an hereditary religious class who are expected to know the various religious ceremonies, to serve the temples and to conduct marriages of Jainas according to Jaina ritual. Priests are supported by the Jaina community by allowing them to take the rice and other offerings, cloth and mony presents which are made to the gods and goddesses. Priests are usually choosen from among the learned Panchamas or Chaturthas subject to the recognition of their principal Svamis or head priests called 'Pattacharya Svamis'. A layman by learning the profession can become a priest; and a priest can, if he so desires, give up his profession and become a layman. But marriages between priests and laymen cannot take place.¹⁴⁷ There is no objection for a Jaina priest to eat food from any of the other Jaina caste fellows. But he cannot have inter-marriage to no one but priests and do not accept girls from any other caste. When the other Jaina castes in the Deccan allow and practice widow-marriage, it is neither allowed nor practised by Upadhyayas. 148

Besides the temple priests every village which has a considerable number of Jainas has an hereditary village priest called 'Gramopadhyaya' who conducts their ceremonies and is

^{147.} Some priests are Chaturtha and majority Panchama in Karnataka and round about. The Chaturtha priests, at present, can have marriages with other non-priestly Chaturthas.

^{148.} Bombay Gazetteers, Vol. XXII, p. 117.

Bombay Gazetteers, Vol. XXIII, p. 281.

Bombay Gazetteers, Vol. XXIV, pp. 135 and 144.

Bombay Gazetteers, Vol. XXV, pp. 229-231.

paid either in cash or in grain. These village priests, who are married and in whose families the office of priest is hereditary, are under a high priest called 'Dharmadhikari', *i.e.*, religious head, or ascetic by whom they are appointed and who has power to turn out any priest keeps a register of all marriages and thread-girdings in the village and the high priest whose head-quarters are at Nandini about 18 miles east of Kolhapur and whose authority extends over all Kolhapur Jainas, makes a yearly circuit for gathering contributions, or sends an agent to collect subscriptions from the persons named in the village priests' lists. The office of high priest is selective. The high priest chooses his successor from among his favourite disciples. 149

It should be remembered that like priestly caste among Hindus no high position is assigned to the Jaina Upadhyayas, and the latter mix freely with other caste-fellows even taking food at their hands. It has not been enjoined upon laymen to give presents to Upadhyayas.

7. Jaina Castes in the South

When we go to South India we find that there are no indigenous Svetambaras. The Svetambaras living in South have come from the North and generally Northern Jainas, whether Digambara or Svetambara, do not keep intimate social relations with indigenous Jaina members of the South. The indigenous Jainas of South are all Digambara Jainas. We will now turn to the social divisions existing among Digambara Jains of Mysore and of Madras.

The social divisions among Jainas of Mysore are practically the same as those of Deccan and Karnataka with the only exception of Setavala caste. But the remaining four castes, viz., Chaturtha, Panchama, Bogara and Upadhyaya are arranged in

^{149.} Bombay Gazetteers, Vol. XXIV, p. 136.

the manner of Hindu Varna system. The four divisions of Jainas are stated as follows:—

- (i) Indras or priests, who are Brahmanas (Karnataka, Dravida or Kaula),
- (ii) Bogaras, who are Kshatiyas and who engage themselves as traders in vessels,
- (iii) Panchamas, who are Vaisyas and are of good conduct, observing the moral tenets, and
- (iv) Chaturthas, who are styled Sat-sudras (good Sudras) and are mostly cultivators.

These four castes are said to correspond to the four main castes of the Hindus. The members of first caste call themselves Jaina Brahmanas, study the Jaina scriptures and become 'Archakas', or priests. They are styled Indras. The priesthood is hereditary and co-exists with family life, that is, Grihasthasrama. The priests live on the offerings made to temple gods and goddesses and income from their teaching. They preside over all auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies. There are astronomers and astrologers among them. They form an intermediate class between the Yatis or ascetics and the Sravakas or laymen. Though they may eat with laymen, they do not inter-marry with them. The priests find it difficult to get suitable brides for their sons and they therefore pay a bride-price. 150 There is another important difference between priests and laymen. The former practise the 'makkalsantana', i.e., the inheritance through the sons and the latter 'aliya santana', i.e., the inheritance through the nephews. 151

To the south of Madras the Jainas have four subdivisions, ¹⁵² viz., the ordinary laymen and the three priestly classes. Of the latter, the most numerous are the Archakas. They

^{150.} Iyer, L.K.A.: M.T.C., Vol. III, pp. 402-403.

^{151.} Thurston, E.: T. C. S. I., Vol. II, p. 426.

^{152.} Thurston, E.: T. C. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 428-434.

do worship in the temples. An ordinary layman cannot become an Archaka; it is a class apart. An Archaka can, however, rise to the next higher stage of the priestly classes, and become what is called an Annama or Anuvrati, who is allowed to marry but has to live according to certain special rules of conduct. These Annamas can again rise to the highest of the three classes, and become Munis or monks who lead a celibate life apart from the world. There is also a sisterhood of nuns, called 'Aryanganais' who are sometimes maidens, and sometimes women who have left their husbands (with their permission) but must in either case take a vow of chastity. The monks and nuns are maintained at the cost of the rest of the community.

The laymen among the Jainas will not inter-marry, though they will dine, with the Archakas and the latter consequently have the greatest trouble in producing brides for their sons. Otherwise there are no marriage sub-divisions among the community, all Jainas, South of Madras freely inter-marry. Widows are not allowed to remarry.

There is a high priest at Sittamur in the South Arcot District. This high priest, who is called 'Mathadhipati', is elected by representatives from the chief Jaina villages. The high priest has supreme authority over all Jainas, South of Madras, but not over those of Mysore or South Kanara with whom the former have no relations. He travels round in a palanquin with a suite of followers to the chief centres.—his expenses being paid by the communities he visists—settles caste disputes and fines and excommunicates the erring. His control over his people is very real.

As regards the three classes of priests it should be remembered that the last two classes, viz., Anuvratis and Munis, are open to all Digambara Jainas according to their scriptures irrespective of the fact whether they stay in the North or in the South. When we exclude these two classes, here remain only two divisions, viz., those of priest and laymen, among the

Jains south of Madras. It is worthy to note that there are no sub-divisions among the laymen like those in the Mysore, Deccan or North. In this respect and the fact that they do not allow widow-marriage they differ from the Jains of the Deccan.

Appendix-I

Names of 84 Castes in the Jaina Community
with Places of their Origin

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Place of Origin
1.	Srimala	Bhinamala
2.	Srisrimala	Hastinapura
3.	Agaravala (Agrawala)	Agaroha
4.	Osavala	Osiya
5.	Katanera	Katanera
6.	Kapula	Nagrakota
7.	Khadayata	Khandava
8.	Khandelavala	Khandela
9.	Chaturtha	Charanapura
10.	Chitauda	Chitaudagadha
11.	Jayalavala	Javala
12.	Jaisavala	Jaisalaghada
13.	Dhunsara	Dhakalapura
14.	Dasaura	Dasaura
15.	Nagara	Nagarachala
16.	Narasinghapura	Narasinghapura
17.	Pallivala	Pali
18.	Paravara	Para-nagara
19.	Panchama	Panchama-nagara
20.	Bagheravala	Baghera
21.	Badanaura	Badanaura
22.	Medatavala	Medata
23.	Lavechu	lava-nagara
24.	Lada	lanvagadha
25.	Harasaura	Harasaura
26.	Humada	Sadavada
27.	Srikhanda	Srinagara
28.	Sriguru	Abhuna Daulai
29.	Srigauda	Siddhapura
30.	Ajamera	Ajmera

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Place of Origin
31.	Ajaudhiya	Ayodhya
32.	Adaliya	Adanapura
33.	Avakathavala	Ambera Abhanagara
34.	Kathada	Khatu
35.	Kakasthana	Valakunda
36.	Kankariya	Karauli
37.	Kharava	Kherava
38.	Khemavala	Khema-nagara
39.	Gangarada	Gangarada
40.	Gahilavala	Gauhilagadha
41.	Gaulavala	Gaulagadha
42.	Godavara	Goga
43.	Gindodiya	Gindoda Devagadha
44.	Chakauda	Ranathambhachakava
	Gada Malhari	
4 5.	Choradiya	Chavandiya
4 6.	Jalora	Sauvanagadha Jalaura
4 7.	Jambusara	Jambu-nagara
48.	Tintauda	Tintauda
49.	Tantauriya	Tantera-nagara
50.	Dhavalakaushti	Dhaulapura
51.	Dhakada	Dhakaadha
52.	Naranagaresa	Naranapura
53.	Nema	Harischandra Puri
54.	Navanbhara	Navasarapura
55.	Nagindra	Nagindra-nagara
56.	Nathachalla	Sirohi
57.	Nachhela	Nadolai
58.	Nautiya	Nausalagadha
59.	Paukara	Pokaraji
60.	Pauravara	Pareva
61.	Pausara	Pausara-nagara
62.	Baramaka	Brahmapura
63.	Vidiyada	Vidiyada
64.	Baugara	Vilasapuri
65.	Bhavanage	Bhavanagara
66.	Bhungadavara	Bhurapura
67.	Mahesvari	Didavane
68.	Mathuriya	Mathura

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Place of Origin
69.	Mauda	Siddhapura Patana
70.	Mandaliya	Madalagadha
71.	Rajapura	Rajapura
72.	Rajiya	Rajagadha
73.	Halada	Halada-nagara
74.	Hakariya	Hakagadha Nalavara
75.	Sambhara	Sambhara
76.	Sadauiya	Hingaladagadha
77.	Saredavala	Sadadi
78.	Saurathavala	Girahra
79.	Setavala	Sitapura
80.	Sauhitavala	Sauhita
81.	Surandra	Surandrapura Avanti
82.	Saunaiya	Saunagadha
83.	Saurandiya	Sivagirana

Appendix-II

Names of 84 Castes in the Jaina Community
Given By Mr. Jain, P.D.

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
1.	Srimala	2.	Srisrimala
3.	Agaravala	4.	Osavala
5.	Kathanera	6.	Kapola
7.	Khadayata	8.	Khandelavala
9.	Chaturtha	10.	Chitora
11.	Jayalavala	12.	Jaisavala
13.	Dusare	14.	Dasora
15.	Nagariya	16.	Narasimhapura
17.	Pallivala	18.	Paravara
19.	Panchama	20.	Bagheravala
21.	Badanera	22.	Medhatavala
23.	Lamechu	24.	Lada
25.	Harasora	26.	Humada
27.	Dhudatavala	28.	Pukaravala
29.	Magalavala	30.	Dosavala
31.	Karavala	32.	Rayakavala
33.	Achitavla	34.	Srimali
35.	Nanavala	36.	Karalala
37.	Guruvala	38.	Asthasamaya Paravara
39.	Murivara.	40.	Padmavati-puravala

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
41.	Sarathia Poravara	42.	Dasara Poravara
43.	Mali Poravara	44.	Jangara Poravala
45.	Anadora	46.	Haradora
47.	Sohora	48.	Natera
49.	Sandora	50 . ,	Jalahara
51.	Lambusara	5 2 .	Majhavara
53.	Sachora	54.	Golapuraba
55.	Golalare	56 .	Golasinghare
57.	Baraiya	58.	Serahiya
59.	Karahiya	60.	Karanasiya
61.	Gahapataya	62.	Khadabada
63.	Narayana	64.	Dedhu
65.	Basakamakomati	66.	Akana
67.	Yavapada	68.	Jeharana
69.	Madahada	70.	Ghanora
71.	Kanthada	72.	Gangarani
73.	Bajava	74.	Ghadi
75.	Niva	76.	Dharaka
7 7.	Sahelaval	78.	Bhatanagara
79.	Godha	80.	Srigodha
81.	Kajapuri	82.	Nagadaha
83.	Ayodhyaparva	84.	Dedhagraha
	An	nendiv_III	Ī

Appendix-III

Names of 84 Castes in the Jaina Community Given By Prof. H.H. Wilson

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
1.	Khandelavala	2.	Poravala
3.	Agaravala	4.	Jaisavala
5.	Barihiya	6.	Golala
7.	Gajapurvi	8.	. Srimala
9.	Vansavala, or Osava	ıla 10.	Poravara
11.	Pallivala	12.	Danderavala
13.	Himmaragujarati	14.	Baramora
15.	Kharava	16.	Labechu
17.	Khandoya	18.	Kathanora
19.	Kabaliya	20.	Kapola
21.	Nadila	22.	Natila
23.	Mothiya	24.	Tattora
25.	Bageravala	26.	Harasola

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
27.	Sriguru	28.	Jolura
29.	Ghahkanduja	30.	Choradiya
31.	Bhungerivala	32.	Brahamata
33.	Beduja	34.	Bahariya
35.	Goguvala	36.	Andaluja
37.	Gogayya	38.	Mandakya
39.	Panchama	40.	Somavamsibogara
41.	Chaturtha	42.	Haradara
43.	Dhaktha	44.	Vaisya
45.	Nagadhara	46.	Pora
47.	Surendra	48.	Kadaya
49.	Kahari	50.	Soniya
51.	Sorathiya	52.	Rajiva
53.	Maya	54.	Kammeha
55.	Bhangela	56.	Gangarda
57.	Marakeya	58.	Motavala
59.	Svetavala	60.	Chakkichapa
61.	Khandarya	62.	Narischaya
63 .	Bimongai	64.	Vikriya
65.	Vidyavya	66.	Berasari
67.	Ashtaki	68.	Ashtadhara
69.	Pavarabhi	70.	Dhakkachala
71.	Bogosri	72.	Naraya
73.	Koraghariya	74.	Bamariya
75.	Sekasantanya	76.	Anandi
77.	Nagora	78.	Tattora
79.	Pakhasya	80.	Sachore
81.	Jannora	82.	Nemilara
83.	Gundoriya	84.	Dhavalijoti
	An	nandiv_IX	7

Appendix-IV

Names of 84 Castes in the Jaina Community from Gujarata

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
1.	Srimali	2.	Srisrimala
3.	Agaravala	4.	Aneravala
5.	Adhavaraji	6.	Architavala
7.	Anuravala	8.	Ausavala
9.	Andaura	10.	Katheravala
11.	Kapola	12.	Karavera

13.	Kakaliya	14.	Kajautivala
15.	Kauratavala	16.	Kamvauvala
17.	Khadayata	18.	Khataravala
19.	Khichi	20.	Khandelavala
21.	Gasaura	22.	Gujaravala
23.	Gauyalavala	24.	Naphaka
25.	Narasinghapura	26.	Nagara
27.	Nagendra	28.	Nagahaura
29.	Chitauda	30.	Chitravala
31.	Jaraula	32 .	Jiranavala
33.	Jelavala	34.	Jema
35.	Jambu	36.	Jhaliyara
37.	Thakaravala	38.	Didu
39.	Dindoriya	40.	Disanvala
41.	Terauda	42.	Tipaura
43.	Dasara	44.	Doilavala
45.	Padmaura	46.	Palevala
47.	Pushkaravala	48.	Panchamavala
49.	Bativara	50.	Baruri
51.	Baisa	52.	Vagriva
53.	Vavaravala	54.	Vamanavala
55.	Valamivala	56.	Vahaura
57.	Vedanaura	58.	Bhageravala
59.	Bharija	60.	Bhungaravala
61.	Bhungada	62.	Manatavala
63.	Medatavala	64.	Mada
65.	Mehavada	66.	Mihiriya
67.	Managaura	68.	Mandahula
69.	Mautha	70.	Mandaliya
71.	Medaura	72.	Lada
73.	Ladisak a	74.	Lingayata
75.	Vachada	76.	Stavi
<i>7</i> 7.	Suraravala	78.	Sirakera
79.	Sauni	80.	Soujatavla
81.	Saraviya	82.	Souharavala
83.	Sachaura	84.	Harasaura

Appendix-V
Names of Castes in the Jaina Community
from the Deccan.

	11 011	the Decemin	
Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
1.	Humada	2.	Khandelavala
3.	Pauravala	4.	Agravala
5.	Oesavala	6.	Paravala
7.	Vagheravla	8.	Bavariya
9.	Gailavada	10.	Gaulapura
11.	Srimala	12.	Osavala
13.	Medatavala	14.	Pallivala
15.	Gangeravala	16.	Khadayate
17.	Lavechu	18.	Vaisa
19.	Nathachalla	20.	Kharava
21.	Sadauiya	22.	Katanera
23.	Kakariya	24.	Kapaula
25.	' Harasaura	26.	Dasaura
27.	Nachhela	28.	Tantare
29.	Harada	30.	Jalaura
31.	Sriguru	32.	Nautiya
33.	Chauradiya	34.	Bhungadavala
35.	Dhakada	36.	Vaugara
37.	Gaugavara	38.	Lada
39.	Avakathavala	40.	Vidiyadi
41.	Brahmaka	42.	Saredavala
43.	Mandaliya	44.	Adaliya
45.	Svarindra	46.	Maya
47.	Ashtavara	48.	Chaturtha
49.	Panchama	50.	Vapuchhavara
51.	Hakariya	52.	Kandoiya
53.	Saunaiya	54.	Rajiya
55.	Vadela	56.	Matiya
57.	Setavara	58.	Chakkachapa
59.	Khandavarata	60.	Narasiya
61.	Bhavanageha	62.	Karavastana
63.	Anande	64.	Nagauri
65.	Takachala	66.	Saradiya
67.	Kamaiya	68.	Pausara
69.	Bhakariya	70.	Vadvaiya
71.	Nema	72.	Astaki

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Serial No.	Name of Caste
73.	Karegaraya	74.	Naraya
75.	Maudamandaliya	76.	Janaura
77.	Pahasaya	78.	Chakauda
79.	Vahada	80.	Dhanvala
81.	Pavarachhiya	82.	Bagaraura
83.	Tarauda	84.	Gindaudiya
85.	Pitadi	86.	Singara
87.	Budhela	88.	Katanera
89.	Singara	90.	Narasinghapura
91.	Mahata		

Appendix-VI

Names of Castes with their population figures
as given by All India Digambara Jaina Directory, 1914.

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population
1.	Khandelavala	64,726
2.	Agravala	67,121
3.	Jaisavala ·	11,089
4.	Paravara	41,996
5.	Padmavati Paravara	11,591
6.	Paravara Dasa	9
7.	Paravara Chosake	1,277
8.	Palliyala	4,272
9.	Golalare	5,582
10.	Binaikya	3,685
11.	Nutana Jaina	3
12.	Osavala	702
13.	Osavala-Bisa	45
14.	Gangeravala	772
15.	Badele	16
16.	Baraiyya	1,584
17.	Phatehapuriya	135
18.	Digambara Jaina	1,167
19.	Poravala	115
20.	Budhele	566
21.	Lohiya	602
22.	Golasinghare	629
23.	Khairoba	1,750
24.	Lamechu	1,977
25.	Golapurva	10,640

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population	
26.	Golapurva (Panchavise)	194	
27.	Charanagare	1,987	
28.	Dhakada	1,272	
29.	Katanera	699	
30.	Poravada	285	
31.	Poravada (Jangada)	1,756	
32	Poravada Jangada Visa.	540	
33.	Dhavala Jaina	33	
34.	Kasara	9,987	
35.	Bagheravala	4,324	
36.	Ayodhyavasi (Taranapanthi)	299	
37.	Ayodhyavasi	293	
38.	Lada Jaina	385	
-39.	Krishnapakshi	62	
40.	Kambhoja	705	
41.	Samaiya	1,107	
42.	Asati	467	
43.	Dasa Humada	18,079	
44.	Bisa Humada	2,555	
45.	Panchama	32,556	
46.	Chaturtha	69,285	
47.	Badanere	501	
48.	Papadivala	8	
49.	Bhavasagara	80	
50.	Nema	263	
51.	Narasimhapura Bisa	4,472	
52.	Narasimhapura Dasa	2,593	
53.	Gurjara	15	
54.	Saitavala	20,889	
55 .	Mevada	2,158	
56.	Mevada Dasa	2	
57.	Nagada Bisa	2,654	
58.	Nagada Dasa	897	
59.	Chitoda Dasa	306	
60.	Chitoda Bisa	551	
61.	Srimala	738	
62.	Srimala Dasa	42	
63.	Selavara	433	
64.	Sravaka	8,467	
65.	Sadara Jaina	11,241	

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population
66.	Bogara	2,431
67.	Vaisya Jaina	242
68.	Indra Jaina	11
69.	Purohita	15
70.	Kshatriya Jaina	87
71.	Jaina Digambara	9,772
72.	Tagara	8
73.	Chaughale	160
74.	Misra Jaina	25
75.	Samkavala	40
76.	Khurasale	240
77.	Haradara	236
78.	Upadhyaya	1,216
79.	Thagara-bogara	53
80.	Brahmana Jaina	704
81.	Gandhi	20
82.	Nai Jaina	4
83.	Badhai Jaina	3
84.	Pokara Jaina	2
85.	Sukara Jaina	. 8
86.	Mahesri	16
87.	Anyadharmi	70
	Appendi	x-VII

Names of Castes and sub-castes in Gujarata with their population figures as given by All India Svetambara Jaina Directory, 1909.

Serial No.	Name of Caste .	Population
1.	Srimala Visa	44,509
2.	Srimala Dasa	22,751
3.	Srimali Ladava	1,302
4.	Shrimali Maravadi	, 1
5.	Poravada Visa	19,010
6.	Poravada Dasa	6,281
7.	Osavala Visa	11,931
8.	Osavala Dasa	2,764
9.	Nima Visa	1,092
10.	Nima Dasa	10
11.	Hummada Visa	112
12.	Hummada Dasa	12

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population
13.	Disavala Dasa	72
14.	Vagadiya Visa	11
15.,	Narasingapura Dasa	4
16.	Modha Mandliya Dasa	4
17.	Bhavasara	1,060
18	Bhojaka	789
19.	Kanabi Patidara	452
20.	Salavi	326
21.	Sandesara	159
22.	Pande	46
23.	Rajaputa	44
24.	Mahatma	35
25.	Pancha	21
26.	Sutara	16
27.	Maru	15
28.	Daraji	11
29.	Luvana	10
30.	Kacchiya	9
31.	Brahmana	7
32.	Modha Ghanchi	4
33.	Ravala	3
34.	Bhrambhata	3
35.	Kandoi	2
36.	Khatri	2
37.	Luvara	1
38.	Koli	1 .

Appendix-VIII

Names of Digambara Jaina Castes and Sub-Castes with their population according to Province (1914).

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population	
	UNITED PR	OVINCES	
1.	Khandelavala	3,562	
2.	Agaravala	22,751	
3.	Jaisavala	3,300	
4.	Pallivala	3,752	
5.	Osavala	18	
6.	Gangeravala	136	
7.	Poravala	115	

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population	
8.	Paravara	9,545	
9.	Padmavati Paravara	8,744	
10.	Lamechu	1,622	
11.	Golapurva	718	
12.	Golalare	2,095	
13.	Baraiya	59	
14.	Badele	16	
15.	Budhele	558	
16.	Lohiya	550	
17.	Golasinghare	329	
18.	Kharauva	980	
19.	Binaikiya	6	
20.	Phatahapuriya	135	
21.	Brahmana Jaina	15	
22.	Nutana Jaina	3	
23.	Digambara Jaina	28	
	Total	63,966	
Bengal-Bil			
1.	Khandelavala	1,308	
2.	Agaravala	1,731	
3.	Paravara	134	
4.	Padmavati Paravara	30	
. 5.	Pallivala	11	
6.	Jaisavala	321	
7.	Mevada Visa	3	
8.	Hummada Dasa	3	
9.	Golasingare	18	
10.	Golalare	20	
11.	Lamechu	29	
12.	Baraiya	13	
13.	Kharauva	50	
	Total	3,673	
Rajputana		52.122	
1.	Khandelavala	53,132	
2.	Agaravala	13,503	
3.	Jaisavala	5,912	
4.	Jaisavala Dasa	94	
5.	Pallivala	452	
6.	Osavala	122	

Serial No.	Name of Caste	Population
7.	Saitavala	1
8.	Bagheravala	3,492
9.	Srimala	660
10.	Srimala Dasa	42
11.	Paravara	8,681
12.	Chausake Paravara	729
13.	Padmavati Paravara	2,297
14.	Lamechu	100
15.	Golapurva	376
16.	Golalare	1,565
17.	Baraiya	1,512
18.	Humada Dasa	10,639
19.	Humada Visa	846
20.	Katanera	635
21.	Charanagare	170
22.	Jangada Poravada	1,239
23.	Samaiya	194
24.	Asati	254
25.	Lohiya	52
26.	Golasingare	258
27.	Kharauva	720
28.	Ayodhyavasi	194
29.	Chittoda Dasa	274
30.	Chittoda Visa	551
31.	Mevada	85
32.	Gujara	15
33.	Narasimhapura	1,527
34.	Narasimhapura Dasa	1,592
35.	Narasimhapura Visa	4,374
36.	Nagada Dasa	897
37.	Nagada Visa	2,654
38.	Selavara	433
39.	Binaikiya	452
40.	Lada	5
41.	Nema	53
42.	Nai Jaina	4
43.	Badhai Jaina	3
44.	Pokara Jaina	2
45.	Brahmana Jaina	10

Serial No.	. Name of Caste	Population	
46.	Sunara Jaina	8	
47.	Mahesri Jaina	16	
48.	Jaina	3	
	Total	1,19,293	
Punjab			
1.	Khandelavala	616	
2.	Agravala	23,246	
3.	Budhela	. 8	
4.	Padmavati Paravara	353	
5.	Jaisavala	203	
6.	Osavala	179	
7.	Paravara	10	
	Total	24,615	
Central P	rovinces		
1.	Khandelavala	1,293	
2.	Agravala	393	
3.	Jaisavala	86	
4.	Pallivala	• 57	
5.	Gangeravala	636	
6.	Setavala	9,112	
7.	Bagheravala	741	
8.	Papadivala	8	
9.	Paravara	23,519	
10.	Chausake Paravara	548	
11.	Padmavati Paravara	146	
12.	Lamechu	218	
13.	Golapurva	9,476	
14.	Golalare	1,900	
15.	Humada Dasa	45	
16.	Katanera	61	
17.	Badanera	501	
18.	Charanagare	1,777	
19.	Dhakada	1,110	
20.	Poravada	277	
21.	Poravada Jangada Visa	540	
22.	Poravađa Jangada	517	
23.	Kasara	303	
24.	Samaiyya	913	
25.	Panchavise Golapurva	194	
26.	Astai	213	

Jaina Caste System

	,	
27.	Chaturtha	22
28.	Panchama	18
29.	Golsinghare	24
30.	Ayodhyavasi Taranapanthi	208
31.	Ayodhyavasi	99
32.	Krishnapakshi	62
33.	Kamboja	85
34.	Gandhi	20
35.	Bhavasagara	27
36.	Binikiya	3,225
37.	Nema	263
38.	Lada	194
39.	Dhavala	33
	Total	58,864
Bombay		
1.	Khandelavala	4,814
2.	Agravala	596
3.	Jaisavala	1,068
4.	Osavala	383
5.	Paravara	48
6.	Chaughale	160
7.	Padmavati Paravara	12
8.	Hummada Dasa	7,392
9.	Hummada Visa	1,709
10.	Osavala Visa	45
11.	Kathanera	3
12.	Charanagare	40
13.	Bagheravala	91
14.	Srimala	59
15.	Samkavala	40
16.	Saitavala	11,771
17.	Kasara	9,631
18.	Chaturtha	68,432
19.	Panchama	24,553
20.	Upadhyaya	1,216
21.	Mevada Visa	479
22.	Mevada Dasa	2
23.	Mevada	1,591
24.	Bogara	1,432
25.	Dhakada	162
26.	Digambara Jaina	198
	-	

27.	Sravaka	70
28.	Chitauda	32
29.	Golapurva	70
30.	Jaina Brahmina	. 18
31.	Binaikiya	2
32.	Sadara	6
33.	Narasimhapura Dasa	1,007
34.	Lamechu	8
35.	Poravada	8
36.	Lada	191
37.	Golalare	2
38.	Kamboja	620
39.	Thagara Bogara	53
40.	Narasimhapura	98
41.	Khurasale	240
42.	Misra Jaina	25
43.	Tagara	8
44.	Jaina	263
45.	Harada	236
	Total	1,38,957
Madras-M		
1.	Khandelavala	1
2.	Digambara Jaina	9,481
3.	Panchama	7,985
4.	Jaina Brahmana	661
5.	Chaturtha	831
6.	Jaisavala	115
7.	Kasara	53
8.	Saitavala	5
9.	Paravara	59
10.	Srimali	19
11.	Padmavati Paravara	9
12.	Sravaka	8,397
13.	Bogara	999
14.	Vaisya Jaina	242
15.	Indra Jaina	11
16.	Purohita Brahmana	15
17.	Kshatriya Jaina	87
18.	Sadara Jaina	11,235
19.	Anyadharmi	70
	Total	41,216

Appendix-IX

Names of 'Gotras' found among Agaravala Jainas
as given by various authors

S. No.		Names of	'Gotras' given by	
•	Crooke	Sherring	Jain, P.D.	Ramalalji
115	Garga	Garga	Garga	Gara
2.*	Gobhila	Gobhila	Goila	Goyala
3.	Gautama	Garavala	Kachchala	Singala
4.	Maitreya	Batsila	Kausala	Mangala
5.	Jaimini	Kasila	Vindala	Tayala
6.	Saingala	Simhala	Dhalana	Taralo
7.	Vasala	Mangala	Srngala or Singhala	aKasala
8.	Aurana	Bhadala	Jaitrala or Jindala	Vansala
9.	Kausika	Tingala	Mantrila or Mitrala	Airana
10.	Kasyapa	Erana	Tungala	Therana
11.	Tandeya	Tayala	Tayala	Sintala
12.	Mandavya	Terana	Vamsala	Mintala
13.	Vasishtha	Thingala	Kansala	Jhindhala
14.	Mudgala	Tittila	Tangala	Kindhala
15.	Dhanyasha	Nitala	Mangala	Kachhila
16.	Dhelena or	Tundala	Airina	Harahara
	Dhauma			
17.	Taitariya	Goila or	Goina Madhukula	Vachchila
171/2.	Nagendra	Bindala	Gavadhara/Gavana	

Appendix-X Names of 'Gotras' found in the Srimala Caste of Jainas

 S. No	. Name of Gotra	S. No.	Name of Gotra
 1.	Katariya	2.	Kahundhiya
3.	Katha	4.	Kalera
5.	Kadaiye	6.	Kuradika
7.	Kala	8.	Kuthariye
9.	Kukada	10.	Kaudiya
11.	Kaukagadha	12.	Kambotiya
13.	Khagala	14.	Khareda
15.	Khaura	16.	Khauchadiya
17.	Khausadiya	18.	Gadaudagha
19.	Galakate	20.	Gapataniya
21.	Gadaiya	22.	Gilabala
23.	Gindodiya	24.	Gujariya
	•		-

Serial No.	Name of Gotra	Serial No.	Name of Gotra
25.	Guiara	26.	Ghevariya
27.	Ghaughadiya	28.	Charada
29.	Chandi	30.	Chugala
31.	Chadiya	32.	Chanderivala
33.	Chhakkadiya	34.	Chhaliya
35.	Jalakata	36.	Junda
37.	Junddibala	38.	Janta
39.	Jhamachura	40.	Tanka
41.	Tankariya	42.	Tingada
43.	Dahara	44.	Dagada
45	Dungariya	46.	Dhaura ·
47.	Dhaudha	48.	Tavala
49.	Tadiya	50.	Turakya
51.	Dusaja	52.	Dhanaliya
53.	Dhuvana	54.	Dhupada
55.	Dhyadhiya	56.	Tavi
57.	Narata	58.	Dakshanata
59.	Nachana	60.	Nandarivala
61.	Nivahatiya	62.	Niraduma
63.	Nivahediya	64.	Parimana
65.	Pachausaliya	66.	Padavadiya
67.	Paserana	68.	Panchobhu
69.	Panchasiya	70.	Patani
71.	Papadagota	72.	Purabiya
73.	Phalavadhiya	74.	Phaphu
75.	Phophaliya	76.	Phusapana
77.	Bahapuriya	78.	Barada
79.	Badaliya	80.	Bandubi
81.	Banhakate	82.	Baisaza
83.	Barigota	84.	Bayada
85.	Vimatalaka	86.	Vichada
87.	Bauhaliya	88.	Bhadrasavala
89.	Bhandiya	90.	Bhalodi
91.	Bhubara	92.	Bhandariya
93.	Bhadunga	94.	Bhotha
95.	Mahimabala	96.	Mauthiya
97.	Maradula	98.	Mahataniya
99.	Mahakule	100.	Marahati
101.	Mathuriya	102.	Masuriya
103.	Madhalapuri	104.	Malavi

Serial No.	Name of Gotra	Serial No.	Name of Gotra	
105.	Marumahata	106.	Mandotiya	
107.	Musala	108.	Moga	
109.	Murari	110.	Mundadiya	
111.	Radika	112.	Rankibana	
113.	Rihalima	114.	Lavahala	
115.	Ladarupa	116.	Sagaripa	
117.	Ladavala	118.	Sagiya	
119.	Sambhadati	120.	Sidhuda	
121.	Sudrada	122.	Sohu	+ 1/2
123.	Saudhiya	124.	Hadigana	
125.	Hedau	126.	Hidauraya	
127.	Angaripa	128.	Akodupada	
129.	Ubara	130.	Bohara	
131.	Sangariya	132.	Palahota	
133.	Ghughariya	134.	Kunchaliya	
		nnandiy VI	•	

Appendix-XI

A list showing Gotras, Dynasties, Places of Origin and Family Deities found in the Khandelavala Caste

S. No	. Gotra	Rajput	Place of	Family
		Dynasties	Origin	Deity
	1	2	3	4
1.	Saha	Chauhana	Khandela	Chakresvari
2.	Patani	Tanvara	Padhani	Ama
3.	Papadivala	Chauhana	Papadi	Chakresvari
4.	Dausa	Rathuada	Dausa	Jamaya
5.	Sethi -	Soma	Sethaniyo	Chakresvari
6.	Bhausa	Chauhana	Bhausani	Nandani
7.	Gaudha	Gaudhada	Gaudhani	Matani
8.	Chanduvada	Chandela	Chanduvada	Matani
9.	Mauthya	Thimara	Mauthya	Aurala
10.	Ajamera	Gauda	Ajameryo	Nandani
11.	Daradaudya	Chauhana	Daradauda	Chakresvari
12.	Gadaiya	Chauhana	Gadayau	Chakresvari
13.	Pahadya	Chauhana	Pahadi	Chakresvari
14.	Bhuncha	Surya	Bhunchhada	Amana
15.	Vaja	Hema	Vajani	Amana
16.	Vajjamaharaya	Hema	Vajamasi	Mauhani
17.	Rauka	Soma	Raloli	Aurala
18.	Pataudya	Tanvara	Patodi	Padmavati

S. No.	Gotra	Rajput Dynasties	Place of Origin	Family Deity
	1	2	3	4
19.	Gagavala	Kachhava	Gagavani	Jamavaya
20.	Padyada	Chauhana	Padani	Chakresvari
21.	Sauni	Saulankhi	Sauhani	Amana
22.	Vilala	Thimara Sauma	Vilala	Aurala
2 3.	Viralala	Kuruvamsi	Chhoti Vilali	Sautala
24.	Vinyayakya	Gahalauta	Vinyayaki	Vethi
2 5.	Vankivala	Mauhila	Vankali	Jini
26.	Kasalavala	Mauhila	Kamsali	Jini
27.	Papala	Suadha	Papali	Amana
28.	Saugani	Suryavamsi	Saugani	Kanhadi
29.	Janjhadya	Kachhava	Janjhari	Jamavaya
30.	Katarya	Kachhava	Katarya	Jamavaya
31.	Vaida	Sauradi	Vadavasa	Amani
32.	Taugya	Panvara	Taugani	Pavadi
33.	Bohora	Saudha	Bohori	Sautali
34.	Kala	Kuruvamsi	Kulavadi	Sauhani
35.	Chhavadya	Chauhana	Chhavadya	Aurala
36.	Laugya	Suryavamsi	Lagani	Amani
37.	Luhadya	Maruthya	Luhadya	Lausila
38.	Bhandasali	Saulankhi	Bhandasali	Amani
39.	Dagadavata	Saulankhi	Daradauda	Amani
40.	Chaudhari	Tanvara	Chaudhatya	Padmavati
41.	Pautalya	Gahalauta	Pautala	Padmavati
42.	Gindaudya	Saudha	Ginhaudi	Sridevi
43.	Sakhunya	Saudha	Sakhuni	Siravaraya
44.	Anaupadya	Chandela	Anaupadi	Matani
45.	Nigautya	Guada	Nagauti	Nandani
46.	Pangulya	Chauhana	Pangulyo	Chakresvari
47.	Bhulanya	Chauhana	Bhulani	Chakresvari
48.	Pitalya	Chauhana	Pitalyo	Chakresvari
49.	Banamali	Chauhana	Banamala	Chakresvari
50.	Aradaka	Chauhana	Aradaka -	Chakresvari
51.	Ravatya	Thimarasauma	Ravatyau	Autala
52.	Maudi	Thimarasauma	Maudahasi	Laurala
53.	Kaukanarajya	Kuruvamsi	Kaukanarajya	
54.	Jugarajya	Kuruvamsi	Jugarajya	Saunala
55.	Mularajya	Kuruvamsi	Mularajya	Saunala

S. No.	Catua	Rajput	Place of	Family
S. 110.	Gotra	Dynasties Dynasties	Origin	Deity
	1	2	3	4
56.	Chhahadya	Kuruvamsi	Chhahadya	Saunala
57.	Dukada	Dujala	Dukada	Hema
58.	Guati	Dujala	Gautada	Hema
59.	Kulabhanya	Dujala	Kulbhani	Hema
60.	Vaurakhandya	Dujala	Vaurakhandi	Hema
61.	Sarapatya	Mauhila	Sarapati	Jinadevi
62.	Chiradakya	Chauhana	Chiradaki	Chakresvari
63.	Nigardya	Gauda	Nivagada	Nandani .
64.	Nirapaulya	Gauda	Nirapala	Nandani
65.	Sarayadya	Gauda	Saravadya	Nandani
66.	Kadavada	Gauda	Kadavaari	Nandani
67.	Sambharya	Chauhana	Sambharyo	Chakresvari
68.	Haladya	Mauhila	Haralauda	Jainidhayada
69.	Saumagasa	Gahalauta	Saumada	Chauthi
70.	Bamba	Saudha	Bambali	Sikharaya
71.	Chauvanya	Chauhana	Chauvaratya	Chakresvari
72 .	Rajahamsa	Saudha	Rajahamsa	Sikharaya
73.	Ahankarya	Saudha	Ahankara	Sikharaya
74.	Bhusavadya	Kuruvamsi	Bhasavadya	Saunala
75.	Maulasara	Saudha	Maulasara	Sikharaya
76.	Bhangada	Khimara	Bhangada	Aurala
77.	Laudhadya	Mauratha	Lauhata	Lausalaghiya
78.	Khetrapalya	Dujala	Khetrpalayau	Hema
79 .	Rajabhada	Sankhala	Rajabhadara	Sarasvati
80.	Bhunvalya	Kachhava	Bhunvala	Jamavaya
81.	Jalavanya	Kachhava	Jalavani	Jamavaya
82 .	Vedalya	Thimara	Vanavauda	Aurala
83.	Lathivala	Saudha	Latavada	Sridevi
84.	Nirapalya	Sorata	Nipati	Amani

JAINA COMMUNITIES: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Jaina communities have their interesting origin and development Dundas has studied the historical development of long Jaina tradition on the basis of Jaina sources: According to Paul Dundas:

To write a conventional history of the Jainas§ is an awkward undertaking. This is not simply as result of an inadequacy of material on which to draw, for at times the sources available are rich although, paradoxically, it is the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so close to us in time, which represent one of the periods of Jaina history most difficult to reconstruct, but rather because exclusive reliance on the few 'hard facts' provided by inscriptional or literary texts will result, at least for the early period of Jainism, in little more than a skeletal chronological framework and mere lists of teachers, authors and descriptions of their works. It is unfortunate that the flavour of Jain history has, for all its interest, often remained elusive and I would contend that it will only be possible to gain some sense of it if there is brought into play a wider range of source materials such as stories, legends, belles-letters, clan and sectarian traditions, hagiographies and so on, not all of which constitute evidence of the sort generally employed in the writing of history but which nonetheless provide a distinctively Jain perspective on the religion's past.

The single most important fact about the development of

^{§.} Excerpted from the 'Jains': by Paul Dundas, pp. 96-128.

Jainism as a whole is that from Mahavira onwards, the obligation to hand down the teachings has created a community and a culture with their own memories and resonances which are not bounded solely by objective historical data, however indispensable it might be to attempt to retrieve them. As a result of this, I will adopt in this chapter a broadly thematic approach to the sweep of Jain history up to the sixteenth century or so, drawing eclectically on a range of sources and concentrating largely and of necessity for much of this period on the ascetic as main protagonist.

From a very early period, the Jain community shifted from its original heartland in the Ganges basin outward towards different parts of India. No doubt the region where Mahavira preached the doctrine was never totally abandoned, for it still remained the location of important sacred spots, but virtually all Jains who live in the states of Bihar and Bengal today are descendants of those who migrated back from the west for economic reasons from the seventeenth century onwards.

The two main directions of movement were along the important trade route to the west and down the eastern litoral to the Dravidian south, and it must be assumed that this process involved both ascetics and lay supporters, the former following the logic of the ideal of wandering mendicancy and the latter in search of greater mercantile opprtunity. Early confirmation of Jainism's presence in the east can be found in the famous inscription from Hathigumpha, dating from approximately the first century BCE, of Kharavela, the king of Kalinga in what is now the state of Orissa. In this, Kharavela boasts of having attacked the Ganges basin kingdoms of Anga and Magadha and of having retrieved an image of a fordmaker which had been taken from Kalinga by earlier invaders. It is difficult to say to what extent Kharavela was a devout Jain, since the inscription states that he honoured all sects, and the significance of the description of his raid probably lies in the early evidence it provides both of the existence of Jain image worship and of a practice which was to become particularly prevalent in medieval south India, the seizing of an important image as a means of symbolically stripping a kingdom of its prosperity and well being. Architectural remains point to the continued presence of Jains in Orissa as late as the sixteenth century but that region's contribution to the historical development of Jainism remained comparatively minor.

It is the westward shift to the city of Mathura and its environs which provides the best evidence for generalising about early Jain society. Mathura owed its position from about the fourth or third century B.C. as a cultural and trading centre to the fact that it was located on the junction of the caravan routes to the west, east and south of India and it was undoubtedly a cosmopolitan city exposed to a variety of influences. All our knowledge of the archaeological and inscriptional evidence for the Jain connection with this ancient centre polarises around the funerary monument (stupa) excavated at Kankali-Tila. The Jains themselves maintained a legendary tradition of the antiquity of this site whose fullest expression is given by the medieval Shvetambara pilgrim, Jinaprabha Suri. According to this legend, two monks came to Mathura and lodging in a garden converted its mistress, a goddess, so that she became a Jain laywoman. The goddess, to compensate for her failure to take the Jain community of Mathura to Mount Meru to pay homage to the stupa there, constructed a replica of it made out of gold and jewels. The Buddhists and Hindus claimed this great stupa for their own, but a miracle demonstrated that it had in reality been dedicated to the seventh fordmaker Suparshava whose image it contained, thus bringing about Mathura's status as a holy place for the Jains. In the course of time, the fordmaker Parshva came to Mathura and warned that the corrupt world age was at hand, as a result of which the goddess, fearing her inability to protect the stupa, got it bricked it up and a more normal stone monument was built outside (VTK 9).

There is an inscriptional reference to the *stupa* 'created by the gods' dating from 157 CE, which suggests that by that period it was reckoned to be of considerable antiquity. Jinaprabha's story points to the fact, corroborated by archaeological evidence, that the Jains cohabited in Mathura with other religious groups and also that at an early period there was no great difference between them with regard to religious architecture. A slightly earlier legend about the *stupa* given by the tenth century Digambara Somadeva records how the foundation of the *stupa* took place after considerable rivalary with the Buddhists. It is also likely that around the beginning of the common era the Jains, no doubt in order to accomodate themselves to the Hindu population, started remodelling the story of Krishna, of whose cult Mathura was and still is an important centre, in order to link him with the fordmarker Nemi.

The inscriptions from Kankali-Tila offer important evidence of the fission of the Jain ascetic community into troops (gana) and branches (shakha), descended from specific teachers and often relating to specific geographical areas, information which is essentially in accord with the elaborate details of the post-Mahavira ascetic organisation given in the 'Succesion of the Elders' (Sthaviravali), an appendix to the Kalpasutra. However, much more significantly, donative inscriptions also show that by the turn of the common era Jainism was patronised at Mathura by people such as traders, artisans and jewellers: in other words, the skilled and moneyed middle classes from whom the lay community has usually, although not exclusively, been constituted. This bears clear witness to the fact that Jainism was not in its earliest period a purely ascetic religion and that the patterns of worship and belief which gradually emerged within it proved attractive to lay followers whose interaction with monks and nuns on a formal basis provided the means for the maintenance of the religion.

The fame of Mathura as a great Jain holy place lingered on for centuries. As late as 980 CE, a massive image of Parshva, which was later excavated from Kankali-Tila, was dedicated there. However, there is little doubt that during the fourth and fifth centuries CE substantial sections of the Jain community had begun to drift away from the city and migrate further to the west. While this may seem strange in view of the fact that northern India was at this time under the control of the Gupta dynasty, which presided over ancient India's most significant period of political stability and artistic efflorescence, it has been suggested that an important component of Gupta culture was a Hindu revivalism whose effects could be seen in the gradual decline in the production of Jain sculptures and images at Mathura.

Certainly the Puranas, the Hindu mythological lorebooks, some of the most important of which were written during the Gupta period, describe the archetypal heretic, essentially portrayed as an amalgam of the Jain and Buddhist monk, as a demonic and anti-social figure, but this may only reflect the pejudices of the Brahman compilers of these texts. There is in fact no serious evidence for Hindu persecution of Jains in north India at this time, and an alternative explanation might be that a substantial part of the Jain community responded to the external and internal political pressures that were being inexorably exerted on the Gupta empire, and which were eventually to bring about its fragmentation, by migrating to the west into the, from the fifth century, prosperous kingdom of the Maitrakas of Valabhi where doubtless new overseas trading opprtunities were also available. This gradual relocation of a sizable part of the community is reflected in the fact that the penultimate Shvetambara scriptural recitation was held at both Mathura and Valabhi while the last was held at Valabhi alone.

Jainism in South India

A late tradition related by Hemacandra in the twelfth century

describes how the son of the famous northern emperor Ashoka (third century B.C.), Samprati, an ubiquitous figure in Jain lore whose agency is often invoked to provide temples of uncertain date with a fictive antiquity, having prepared the ground by sending spies disguised as Jain monks to provide instruction in such matters as almsgiving, then dispatched real monks to civilise the barbarian south (Parip p. 69).

It must be assumed that this story preserves some distant memory of the gradual infiltration into the south of bands of wandering mendicants who acted as transmitters of a northern, prestigious culture, of which Jainism was a part. Fragmentary inscriptional evidence testifies to the existence of Jain ascetics and lay supporters in the south in the second and first centuries BC, although for several centuries after this inscriptions are hard to find, and Digambara Jainism gradually assumed a major role for almost a millennium in the south Indian religious imagination. The processes involved in this are certainly obscure, but historians of south India have generally made little effort to explain what the sources of Jainism's popularity were and they have often treated the religion's presence in the south as an aberrance, little more than a convenient focus of supposedly negative and world-denying values against which, from about the sixth century, the renascent forces of devotional and intellectual Hinduism could react and define themselves in order to restore a supposedly pure, life-affirming Tamil culture, underpinned by Sanskritic values. Yet this is to under-rate not only the nature of Jain devotion and doctrine but also the significance of the alternative religious and political ideology which Jainism was able to provide and which can be seen at their most distinctive in the south in two areas, literature and kingship.

Jaina Literature in Tamil

Jain texts constitute a significant proportion of ancient Tamil

literature and form a legacy which has been lovingly studied and commented upon for centuries by Hindus as well as Jains. The earliest grammar of the Tamil language is generally regarded as having been written by a Jain, while two of the main Tamil epics either are exclusively Jain in subject or contain significant Jain themes.

Not among the very earliest Tamil works, as it dates from about the ninth century, but of the greatest literary importance is 'Jivaka the Wishing Jewel' (Civakacintamani) by the Digambara Tiruttakkaterar, a text which is still sung and performed among the Tamil Jain community. Such was the power of this work, so tradition has it, that a twelfth century Hindu king who had become obsessed with its beauties had to be weaned away from it by means of a specially composed epic about the Shaiva saints. Drawing on a pre-existent story and reworking it in the context of Tamil literary covention, 'Jivaka the Wishing Jewel' contains a blend of the wordly and the spiritual in which the erotic and picturesque adventures of its hero Jivaka take their real meaning as no more than a preclude to his eventual renunciation and attainment of spiritual deliverance. Various opposing themes are skilfully intertwined, such as kingship and asceticism, sexual desire and disgust with the world, marriage and renunciation, to create a poetic work of religious propaganda in which a highly developed northern metaphysical structure is integrated into a sophisticated southern aesthetic to demonstrate how worldly values are transcended by those of a higher ideal.

The most famous of all the Tamil epics and the oldest is the 'Lay of the Anklet' (Silapadikkaram) which dates from perhaps the fifth century. Here the Jain theme is not predominant, perhaps surprisingly in the light of the author's name, Ilango Adigal (Adigal denoting a Jain ascetic in Tamil), but it nonetheless has an important structural purpose within the narrative as a whole. The starting point of the 'Lay of the Anklet' is the theme

of a patient wife and her philandering but finally repentant husband. Kovalan, in order to escape from a courtesan with whom he has become infatuated, resolves to travel to the city of Madurai with his wife Kannaki to start a new life there. In the course of the journey they fall in with a Jain nun called Kavunti and share the hardships of the road with her. The eventual disastrous denouncement of the story, the killing of Kovalan in Madurai and Kannaki's destruction of the city in revenge, is presaged by one of Kavunti's homilies to the couple in which the nun argues at length that the Jaina ascetic gains freedom through the absence of the ties of sexual relations and the burden of emotional longings and attachments.

However, Kavunti's main function within the 'Lay of the Anklet' is to proclaim the centrality within human affairs of the law of karma through a demonstration by means of her powers gained from the practice of asceticism that the disasters which be fall Kovalan and Kannaki are ultimately the result of their own actions and that the apparently tragic and random course of events can be shown to be explicable in terms of Jain metaphysics. At the same time, the poem also presents Kavunti as being to some extent under the sway of her emotions herself, for she compromises her ascetic vows to aid Kannaki and expresses here admiration for the marital devotion of the couple. As a result, it can be said that the figure of the Jain nun Kavunti is not presented solely as an adjunct to the plot of the 'Lay of the Anklet' and a mere device for the arid transmission of Jain doctrine but as a compassionate and involved commentator on the crisis of the epic who attempts to show that Jainism and its explanation of the workings of the world can provide a mollifying influence on the intensities of human experience.

The Jain contribution to Tamil literature demonstrates how a northern and originally alien religious tradition could, through the adaptation of existing literary forms and the deployment of a conscious artistry, both manipulate and feed into south Indian culture and by a process of naturalisation become part of it.

Jain Kingship in Karnataka

In the course of the 'Thirty-twos' (*Dvatrimshika*), a series of treatises on philosophical themes by the great logician Siddasena Devakara (fifth century CE.) who is claimed by both the Shvetambaras and the Digambaras, there suddenly occurs a panegyric of an unknown king (Dvatri 11). In fact, it is likely that this encomium is an interpolation but its occurrence in such an unlikely context points to an important theme in Jain history: royal patronage and, in particular, the apparent espousal of Jainism, a religion of non-violence, by aggressive and militaristic south Indian kings and their warrior supporters.

The ancient texts which legislate for ascetic behaviour are adamant that it is improper for monks to take alms from a king (e.g. MA 911). However, Jain monks, especially in the Karnataka region of south India, often seemed to have forged close relationship with kingly patrons and on certain occasions played an important part in the foundation of royal dynasties, if tradition is to be believed. The monk Simhanandin is credited with being one of the agents behind the emergence of the Ganga dynasty in the third century CE (although the main inscriptional evidence for this is late), while the twelfth century Hoysala dynasty supposedly had its origins in a defensive act of violence urged on its founder by a Digambara monk. Indeed, there is no epigraphic mention in Karnataka of Jains of a mercantile or bourgeois background until the tenth century and, although it would be imprudent to deny the existence of such lay followers, the picture of Jainism up to this point is very much of a religion sponsored by kings and warrior aristocrats.

Early Jainism was prepared to countenance the exercise of martial skills in war but only if carried out defensively, and it denied the possibility, frequently stated in Hinduism, that a warrior who died in battle would be reborn in heaven (Bh 7.9). Instead, Jainism redefined the nature of martial valour and violence so that the true warrior was seen as being the fully committed Jain ascetic. The early Digambara writer Shivarya compares the young warrior fighting in battle to the spiritually victorious monk and the gaining of deliverance is equated with the attainment of kingship (BhA 19-23, 199 and 1849-50). Jainism's ideology, particularly marked among the Digambaras who were the dominant sect in the south, of heroic individualism and self-perfection, frequently expressed in images of striving, battle and conquest, which could thus lead to it being seen as a religion of vigour and bravery, is no doubt one of the reasons why it was held in such respect by a large sector of south Indian warrior society.

In addition, it has been argued that the attractiveness of Jainism also lay in its ability to confer a brand of respectable northern Aryan culture upon southern warrior while at the same time enabling them to distance themselves from peasant, Hindu Society. It is from this background that the idealised Jain king, familiar from literature and south Indian inscriptional panegyric, emerges who owed his position to merit and moral qualities rather than to the ritual validation on which the Hindu king depended. However, although Jain scholars have naturally argued for the exclusivity of such kings' Jainness, it is difficult to be so confident about their religious affiliation. The institution of kingship in south India seems to have been one which transcended conceptual or religious boundaries, and the inherent obligation incumbent on all kings to gain plunder and increase the boundaries of their realm through military means at the expense of their neighbours would have carried more weight than any duty to observe the Jain principle of non-violence.

Practical pre-scriptions for the conduct of the Jain king are found in the 'Lorebook of the Beginning' (Adipurana) of

Jinasena (ninth century CE). This is the main Digambara source for the Universal History, although Jinasena did not carry it beyond the biography of Rishabha and it was finished by his pupils. The 'Lorebook of the Beginning' was most likely composed to be read in the court of Jinasena's patron, the great south Indian monarch Amoghavarsha Rashtrakuta, and there is a strong didactic element in it, most clearly embodied in the forty-second chapter in which Bharata, Rishabha's son and the first universal emperor of this world age, instructs an assembly of warriors in the duties of kings and the warrior class, all of whom are said to be related to the spiritual warriors, the Digambara monks, through having their birth in the Three jewels of right faith, knowledge and conduct (AP 42.15). In the course of this discourse, Bharata firmly enjoins all kings to protect not only themselves and their subjects but also the Jain community and doctrine, putting them under an obligation to keep their kingdoms free from heretical teachings and, in particular, the malign influence of Brahmans.

The most famous exemplification of the nature of the Jain warrior occurs in Jinasena's description of the conflict between Bharata and Bahubali. Bharata attempted to take over the kingdoms of his brothers which had been bestowed upon them by Rishaba. However, his half-brother Bahubali refused to countenance this, as a result of which the two fought a duel. At this very moment of triumph over Bharata, Bahubali realised the transience of kingship and worldly affairs and renounced, standing in the forest in a meditative posture for a year at the end of which he gained the true Jain victory, conquering the real enemies, the passions and thus becoming, according to the Digambaras, the first human of this world age to achieve liberation. It is this story which inspired the most conspicuous artistic monument in south Indian Jainism, the massive image of Bahubali at Shravana Belagola dedicated by the victorious general Camundaraya in 981.

The 'Lorebook of the Beginning' presents a subtle model of kingship as a necessary but potentially dangerous and flawed institution (Bharata was motivated by anger and attempted to cheat in his fight with Bahubali). All kings are reagarded as requiring the controlling presence of Jain principles and Jain, rather than Brahman, advisers, and they can ultimately only gain mastery of the world by winning through to the genuine kingship of austerities and becoming a monk. We do not know how many south Indian kings or warriors attempted to put these principles into practice, although the ideal of the righteous Jain monarch remained a powerful one. While the last Rashtrakuta emperor supposedly ended his life in the manner of the true ascetic by fasting to death, it must have also been the case that a generally syncretistic religiosity prevailed, as in the case of Camundaraya who is known to have dedicated temples to the Hindu gods Vishnu and Shiva.

Early Digambara Sects

An inscription from Shravana Belagola describes how the teacher Arhadbali, fearing the various dissensions which might arise as a result of the influence of the corrupt world age, split up the Mula Sangha, the 'Root Assembly', which had descended from Mahavira through the great Kundakunda, into four sections called Sena. Deva, Simha and Nandin. The sixteenth century writer Indrannadin gives a more extended version of this story, referring to a greater variety of subdivisions of the community, with each monk being obliged to incorporate the designation of the sectarian division to which he belonged into his own name (ShruAv pp. 88ff). Traditional dating would regard Arhadbali as the twenty-ninth teacher in succession from Gautama, thus locating him in the early common era, although the accounts for his activities might well suggest a later attempt to explain a contemporary situation. Whatever the truth of this story which no doubt preserves a memory of a restructuring of the ascetic community, it scarcely does justice to the complexity of medieval Digambara organisation in which a plethora of sects and subsects, many of them totally obscure to us today, emerged on the basis of preceptorial association and geographical connections with particular regions and towns. A representative, if perhaps slightly unsual, example of this fission is the thirteenth century monk Ramacandra Maladharideva whose full title contained no less than six separate lineage connections.

228

It was the monks of the Mula Sangha who exerted the dominant and most longstanding influence in the Digambara ascetic community. Digambara tradition views the Mula Sangha as in some way replacing the Nirgrantha Sampradaya, the 'Bondless Lineage' a supposedly pristine line of undifferentiated decent from Mahavira. The first mentions of this signal an awareness of the growing separation of naked and white-robed monks and can most likely be dated to about the end of the fourth century. Shvetambara references to the appearance of a 'Forest-dwelling Lineage' confirm the existence of a particularly austere ascetic community which was eventually to be known as Digambara. The Mula Sangha and its senior monks are referred to repeatedly in inscriptions from about the fifth or sixth century and the name occurs at Shravana Belagola as late as the nineteenth century, although an affirmation of affiliation to it by that late date must have been a hollow one. For Shrutasagara, writing in the sixteenth century, the Mula Sangha was so called because it was the basis (mula) of the path to give delieverance and those who did not belong to it were only pseudo-Jains (ShP p. 11: comm. on Darshanapahuda 11). However, claims to represent true lineal descent from the ancient teachers were common in Jainism and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Mula Sangha gradually became little more than a prestigious but artificial designation, redolent of along unattainable orthodoxy.

References to several Digambara ascetic groupings which

the monks who claimed allegiance to the Mula Sangha regarded as deviant are found frequently in medieval inscriptions. The main continuous textual source for those sects is a short work defending the centrality of the Mula Sangha as the only legitimate Jain' sect by Devasena, who was most likely writing at the beginning of the tenth century (DS), in which he describes a rogues' gallery of sectarian miscreants, including the Buddha, presented as an apostate follower of Parshva, the Shvetambaras and the Yapaniyas, whose behaviour marked them out, for him, as being beyond the pale.

However, Devasena's real venom was reserved for rival Digambara sects. The first of these is the Dravida Sangha, the 'Dravidian Assembly' founded by Vajranandin (died 469) at Madurai in the Tamil heartland. Devasena accuses conduct in respect of bathing and eating proscribed food. Even more seriously, his followers are said to have virtually abandoned wandering mendicancy and taken to a settled mode of life, tilling the ground and selling the produce.

The Kashtha Sangha, which seems to have been named after a place, was, according to Devasena, founded by Kumarasena at the end of the seventh century. Among his supposed faults was the giving up of the peacock feather whisk, the normal emblem of Digambara ascetics, and the substituting of one made of cow's tail hair. The Mathura Sangha, reputedly founded by Ramasena in the second century CE, is said to have advocated the abandoment of the whisk completely.

These ascetic groups of which the Dravida and Mathura Sanghas disappeared some time in the late medieval period, were singled out as heretical by Devasena on the basis of their rejection of points of custom and practice which he regarded as reflecting false understanding (mithyatva). For their parts, the Kashtha and Mathura Sanghas must have regarded themselves as ultra-orthodox in that the former would have argued that a cowtail whisk would minimise the possibility of injury to life-

forms, since peacock feathers are more adhesive and likely to pick up dust and small insects, while the latter would have felt justified in rejecting the whisk completely on the grounds that monks should have no possessions at all. Devasena would appear to have been on firmer ground in expressing doubts about the legitimacy of the Dravida Sangha, which seems to have been an early example of the tendency on the part of many ascetics to yield to the inevitability of contact with the laity and live permanently in monasteries.

The Bhattaraka

If the Digambara ideal was in origin that of the wandering or forest-dwelling naked ascetic, the realities of the existence of a lay community and altered social and political structures were to ensure that another figure would eventually emerge as a focus of religious authority. From an early period, the institution of 'dana' the giving of alms and temporary shelter by lay people to ascetics, developed in a manner not envisaged by Jainism at its earliest stage to the gifting of rock cut caverns, of a sort that can still be seen at ancient sites in south India, and the eventual building alongside temples of monasteries which were accompanied by substantial land endowments, so that the ancient ideal was in part transformed, with many ascetics gradually accommodating themselves to their lay followers by adopting a quasi-householder mode of life.

This was a practice which later Digambara writers were to stigmatise as a sign of decadence, an unhappy compromise in the corrupt world age when ascetic values were declining. Depictions of Digambara monks being carried in palanquins attended by escorts of soldiers, the gradual shift in meaning of the title 'acarya' which originally designated a senior monk who expounded the scriptures, to denote the functionary who administered a temple, and the inscriptional instruction from ninth century Tamil Nadu that a monk in charge of a monastery

had to keep a lamp burning in a temple in perpetuum out of the interest accuring from a donative grant, all represent stages in a process which was to lead to the emergnce of the *bhattaraka*, the pivotal figure in medieval Digambara Jainism.

The Sanskrit term bhattaraka denotes a 'learned man' and is roughly comparable to the academic title 'doctor'. In origin, he was the head of any group of naked monks which lived permanently in one of the monasteries (matha) which had begun to be built near temple complexes from about the fifth century CE. According to Shrutasagara, who was writing when the institution of the bhattaraka had become firmly established, a thirteenth century bhattaraka proclaimed that owing to Moslem persecution monks could wear clothes when outside the monastery and remove them when they returned to it. Whatever the truth of this, Digambara asceticism came to be associated in the medieval period less with naked monks than with the bhattarakas, who were celibate but non-initiated clerics, linked to pontifical centres, taking hereditary names from their predecessor, wearing orange robes both inside and outside the monastery and taking them off in honour of the ancient ideal only when eating and when initiating another bhattaraka.

In an age when the community of naked monks was gradually dwindling away, the *bhattarakas* played a vital role, not always based on any conspicuous spirituality, in the perpetuation of Digambara Jainism. This could sometimes take a striking form. For example, at the end of the fifteenth century, a *bhattaraka* in Rajasthan consecrated a thousand images of fordmakers and sent them round India to repair the damage done by Moslem iconoclasm. But, generally, the function of the *bhattaraka* was the parochial one of conducting rituals, supervising the lay performance of vows, overseeing the affairs of his monastery, maintaining libraries and being responsible for religious education. Most importantly, the *bhattaraka* had to represent the local Digambara community as a mediating

figure when dealing with Hindu rajas or the Moslem authorities. Indeed, the *bhattaraka* was very much like a king himself. He sat on a pontifical throne, enjoyed trappings of office and a great deal of pomp and ceremony attended his processional activities. The *bhattaraka* of Kolhapur in Maharashtra who built the gate of his monastery of equal height to the city gate was making a specific point about his equality of status with the local raja.

It seems to have been the bhattaraka who maintained the lingering vestiges of Digambara sectarian divisions and at times longstanding antipathies can be detected. There survives, for example, a manuscript copy of Devasena's critique of Jainism from a Mula Sangha perspective which belonged to a seventeenth century bhattaraka of Surat, affiliated to the Kashtha Sangha, who deleted every one of Devasens's objections to his sect and substituted the name of the Mula Sangha, adding general abuse of it to make his point clear, James Tod, who encountered a bhattaraka of Surat at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was aware of these two Digambara sects, and some bhattaraka still have cowtail whisks as a legacy of an original connection with the Kashtha Sangha. However, of much more importance than any sectarian allegiance was each bhattaraka's connection with a specific local caste over whose affairs he adjudicated, thus strengthening his personal relationship and that of his monastery with a particular region.

In the medieval period, there were thirty-six *bhattaraka* thrones in various parts of India but the bulk of them seem to have faded away to insignificance by the nineteenth century. The most important and famous today are the oldest, those at Mudbidri and Shravana Belagola in south Karnataka, while also of significance are two in Kolhapur, each of which is linked with a local caste. Although the medieval role of the *Bhattaraka* will never be fully repeated because there is now no serious need for any formal intercession with government on behalf

of the Jain community, they still play an important part in the promotion of Jainism, both through travelling inside and outside India and through general educational and publishing work.

Mixed Fortunes in the South

Whatever the attractions of Jainism for many of the inhabitants of south India and notwithstanding its striking artistic contribution to the culture of that area, it was merely one element of a complex religious world and its position gradually became embattled in the face of often militant forms of Hinduism, the so-called 'Hindu Renaissance', eventually undergoing a slippage into the marginalised position which it occupies today in the south.

An appreciation of some of the forces at work at the outest can be gained from a brief consideration of the significance of Kalugamalai, one of the oldest Jain sites in sotuh India. Kalugamalai is a small town at the foot of a huge rock outcrop by Jains on the otherwise flat plain in the district of Tiruneveli in south Tamil Nadu. There can be found a cluster of Jain inscriptions, the oldest of which date from before the common era, and some superb carvings which date from around the eighth century CE. Ancient caves with carved rock beds in them testify to the early presence of Digambara monks in the area. However, the name 'Vulture Peak', the literal meaning of Kalugamalai, is also strongly suggestive of Buddhism since it was on a hill of that name outside the city of Rajagriha in the Ganges basin that the Buddha preached many of his sermons and there is in fact a resilient local tradition which would connect Kalugamalai with the Buddha, by which is presumably meant the Buddhists.

Furthermore, the large natural cave at the bottom of the hill seems to have become at a relatively early date a shrine to Murugan, a regional god particularly associated with the Tamil sense of their identity as Hindus, while on the rock itself,

which was the main focus of Jain activities, there is also an old shrine to the Hindu God Aiyanar, the cuase of some recent disturbances when a group of Digambara monks, for whom Kalugamalai is still a place of pilgrimage, attempted to replace the Hindu image with a statue of one of the fordmakers. It is impossible to reconstruct in detail the early history of this area but it might be noted that Aiyanar is a divinity who sometimes served as a guardian deity in Jain temples and whose main epithet *Shasta*, 'Ruler', is of Jain and Buddhist origin and that he is in many respects the figure who symbolises an eventual shift in Tamil Nadu from a conceptal world where various south Indian religious traditions coexisted and intersected, Kalugamalai perhaps representing a microcosm of this, to an eventual Hindu dominance from about the eighth century onwards in which Jain and Buddhist shrines were increasingly appropriated or destroyed.

The frequently employed expression 'Hindu renaissance' is of course partisan and also of only limited value, for it implies that Hinduism in south India had in some sense become quiescent in the face of the Jains and the Buddhists, which would be difficult to demonstrate. However, a reassertion of Hindu values unquestionably took place in the south at the expense of Jainism and Buddhism, often through members of those religions returning to Hinduism. The position of Buddhism in south India is not relevant for his study and, while the resurgence of Brahman theology as embodied in figures such as Kumarila and Shankara was largerly aimed at the Buddhists, the attack directed against the Jains is of much more interest for the social history of the far south.

Some sense of what this 'revival' involved can be gained from a reading of the Hindu devotional poets who used the Tamil language to express the intensity of their relationship with god Shiva. The classic example of such a poet is Appar who lived in the ninth century. He had in fact converted to Jainism and become a Digambara monk, rising to be head of a monastery.

Appar's hagiography suggests that during this time he suffered intense psychosomatic pains, perhaps as a result of fasting, until on being received back into his ancestral faith he was cured by the grace of Shiva. Appar's poetry, in which he sings of his love for Shiva and bemoans his wasted years as a monk, gives a remarkable insight into the manner in which many south Indians must have come to regard the Jains. Appar refers to Shiva as 'the god who pierced the delusion/that afflicted me/ when I joined the Jains/and became a wicked monk'. He continues:

Calling it a great penance, everyday I carried/the peacock feather fan under my arm; a fool, I whirled about like the great bar of a loom... I don't know how to get rid/of the heart that loved/the weak and filthy Jains/with their yellowing teeth... when I think of the long years spent/in following the contradictory teachings of Jains/I feel faint./When I think day and night/of the honey that dwells in holy Aiyaru a shrine of Shiva/town of jasmine groves/I am filled with sweet delight.

Intense bitterness of this sort may well have had unfortunate consequences for many Jains. In Hindu temples in Tamil Nadu today, including the shrine to Marugan at Kalugamalai, one may see lurid mural representations of the massacre by impaling of eight thousand Jains in Mudurai for having taken Shiva's name in vain. This event, which is often taken as marking the end of Jainism's influence in Tamil Nadu, is most graphically represented in the great Minakshi temple in Madurai itself and it remains a folk memory among Hindu peasantry who can have only the vaguest idea of what a Jain is. Interpretation of this tradition is uncertain. It is conceivable that in some way it reflects the abandonment of the city of Madurai by the Jains for economic reasons or their gradual loss of political influence. Alternatively, it could be said that the massacre is essentially mythical, the destruction by the Hindu gods of the demonic forces of unrighteousness personified by the Jains, with the

stakes on which they were impaled being simulacra of the yupa, the piece of wood set up in the Vedic sacrificial compound to homologise earth, heaven and the intermediate space.

No record of a massacre at Madurai can be found in Jain literature or inscriptions. There is, however, one interesting piece of evidence with relevance to the story, although it may do no more than confuse the question. In the hills to the west of Madurai, there was a large-scale Jain monastic establishment, possibly the greatest in the far south of India. This site, which seems to have been occupied by the Jains from before the common era, was clearly of considerable importance, with many temples affiliated to it and connections with Shravana Belagola in Karnataka to the north in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. What is significant is that, after an early group of inscritptions, there is a gap of some six hundred years, in other words, covering the period when the Hindu revival was taking place and when the massacre at Madurai must have occurred, until a further cluster of inscriptions dating from the ninth and tenth centuries

It is unclear why there is such a gap in the evidence. It may well be that some terrible persecution was indeed inflicted on the Jains around the eighth century or before and it is indicative of the nature of the times that a temple affiliated to this monastery had a shrine to Shiva erected on its foundations around 1000 CE. At the same time, it is apparent that the site of the monastery, if it was indeed abandoned for several centuries, was eventually reoccupied and began to thrive again, testimony to the fact that Jainism in Tamil Nadu was not totally destroyed by the Hindu revival. The religion even continued to receive some degree of patronage from Tamil royal families and a small but steady stream of inscriptions bears witness to the continuing presence of Jainism up to the present day. However, it has to be conceded that the Hindu revival ensured that from about the ninth or tenth century Jainism lost much of its earlier hold on the Tamil

imagination and it gradually became restricted to the north of Tamil Nadu where today's indigenous Jain population of some thirty thousand, miniscule in a state inhabited by fifty million people, is largely located.

In Karnataka, the Jains also experienced varying fortunes. From a literary point of view, virtually all early literature in the Kannada language deals with Jain themes. At the same time, as in Tamil Nadu, the Jains were threatened by a Hindu revival, this time in the form of the militant Virashaiva movement which started in the twelfth century, and the hagiographies of its leader Basava describe in often chilling terms how the Jains, who are accused of having used trickery and black magic to intimidate pious Shaivas, were eventually frustrated by Shiva's power and slaughtered in pogroms. However, Jains continued to exercise a degree of influence within the Hindu Vijayanagar empire which was founded in 1336, with laymen often holding prominent ministerial and military positions. One of the Vijayanagar emperors, Bukka Raya, intervened in 1368 in a dispute between the Vaishnavas and the Jains, proclaming that both their religions were equal and that Hindus had to protect the Jains, while also appointing a state garrison to guard Shravana Belagola.

On the surface, then, Jainism remained a religion of substance in Karnataka and a project such as the erection in 1432 of a great image of Bahubali at Karkala, designed to rival the one at Shravana Belagola, by a donor styling himself the new Camundaraya, and yet another at Venur in 1604, suggests a tenacity, and indeed grandiosity, of purpose which belies any notion of the religion's disappearance in that region. Nonetheless, Jainism went into inexorable, albeit not fully terminal, decline in Karnataka as it experienced the effects of a sea change within society, with many Jain clans converting to Hinduism, and it remained a significant presence perhaps only in the southwest. Even this area did not remain immune, with Shringeri, famed as the place where the great ninth century Hindu theologian

Shankara supposedly founded his first monastery, in reality being originally a Jain centre taken over by Hindus in the fourteenth century and then fitted out with a spurious history.

The twelfth century Kannada poet Brahmashiva who lived at the beginning of the Virashaiva onslaught expressed his deep unhappiness with Jainism's embattled position. While making fun of the pretensions of Hinduism, he also chronicled disturbing developments, such as the conversion of a temple in Kolhapur dedicated to the fordmaker Candraprabha into a shrine to the Hindu goddess Mahalakshmi and the existence of families in which the father was a Jain, the wife a Shaiva and the childern devotees of the Sun God. Brahmashiva, who seems originally to have been a Shaiva himself, argued for the superiority of Jainism on the grounds of its universal appeal but was forced to admit that Jains in the south were becoming few and far between: 'Just as lamps burn in the dark/at the time of (the festival of) Divali, so the Jaina shines/between the hordes of people/who in the age of Kali are blinded by flasehood.

Shvetambara Teachers

It would be possible after a fashion to delineate the fortunes of Shvetambara Jainism in north India up to about 1000 CE, but it would be overambitious to attempt to furnish a full social history. The inscriptional evidence is meagre and sporadic, and the fragmentary records of ascetic lineages, patronage by minor rajas and donative activities by merchants stand very much in the shadow of the intellectual and literary achievements of the great Shvetambara teachers. Extended biographies of the most significant of these figures, so central to Shvetambara tradition, only started to be written about the beginning of the twelfth century, although they are no doubt based in part on earlier material, with brief accounts of some of the more ancient teachers being found in the Shvetambara commentaries, and it must be remembered that the Shvetambara community viewed its leaders

through the lenses of hagiography. As a result, it can be regarded as of no real consequence that the details of these teachers in the various medieval biographies often differ in detail or are at variance with each other. What is truly important is that the teachers are linked by the common activity of *prabhavana*.

Prabhavana is today the name of the pleasant and informal custom often followed by Jains of giving a piece of coconut or a sweet to those who have been present at a religious ceremony. In its earlier usage, the term refers to what can be roughly translated as 'spreading and exalting the Jain religion by the performance of glorious deeds'. In the standard enumeration there are eight ways in which Jainism can be exalted: through scriptural knowledge, preaching, debating, astrological prediction, asceticism, mastery of spells of invocation and of magic power and, finally, literary skill (YS 2.16 comm.). The most important collection of Shvetambara hagiographies is the thirteenth century Prabhacandra's 'Deeds of the Exalters of the Doctrine' (Prabhavakacarita; PC) in which are given the biographies of twenty-two teachers, starting with the near-legendary Vajrasvamin who lived in the early centuries of the common era and concluding with Hemacandra (1089-1172), a figure about whom some serious historical conclusions can be drawn. The emphasis in these hagiographies is on the Shvetambara teacher as performer of prabhavana and as hero and protector of the community, with often the very intellectual achievement which gives that teacher his prominence for modern scholarship being underplayed in favour of descriptions of his magical abilities and performance of miracles which represent a kind of debased version of the superhuman powers possessed by the fordmakers and their disciples, no longer attainable in the corrupt world age.

Siddhasena Divakara, who can be approximately dated to the fifth century CE, is one of the most striking examples of this. Famed for his learning, Siddhasena supposedly received 240 Jaina Social Life

his epithet 'Sun' (Divakara) from the legendary king Vikramaditya to whose court he is portrayed as having been attached. Through writing the first work devoted to logic to be purely Jain terms, he equipped Jainism with the intellectual tools to engage its opponents in formal debate. In addition, Siddhasena wrote a terse Prakrit work called the 'Examination of the True Doctrine' (Sanmaitakka) whose second chapter, in which epistemology and the structure of omniscience are discussed, generated the only serious intra-Jain dispute about a matter of philosophical doctrine. However, the hagiographies of Siddhasena are not interested in such writings and indeed they use his learned reputation as an excuse for some burlesque at his expense.

The oldest hagiography of Siddhasena available (c. twelfth century) depicts him at the beginning of his career as a haughty Brahman who agrees while in the countryside to debate with a Jain monk called Vriddhavadin in front of an adjudicating audience of rustics rather than the learned scholars of the royal court to whom he would have been more accustomed. Siddhasena's Sanskrit grandiloquency baffles the yokles and they award the victory to Vriddhavadin, who merely uttered some platitudes about the necessity of leading the righteous Jain life but expressed them in a readily understandable vernacular dialect. As a result of this, Siddhasena has to convert to Jainism.

Siddhasena's learning here rebounds upon him as it does later on in the hagiography when Vriddavadin rebukes him for his pride which leads him to adopt the trappings of royality and also, drastically, when his enthusiams for Sanskrit leads him to offer to translate the scriptures into that language, as a result of which he is given a penance of twelve years' exile. The most dramatic and miraculous event of Siddhasena's career occurred during this period of wandering when he used a Sanskrit hymn to conjure up an image of Parshva from a statue of Shiva. Other versions have the stone phallic emblem of Shiva (*linga*) splitting to reveal the fordmaker within.

The hagiographers of Siddhasena weave a skein of cross-references to create a picture of representative Shvetambara leader whose learning is set at nought or transformed by the power of the Jain religion. So, if Jain ascetics are as a matter of custom all addressed with the title 'great king' (maharaj), they should not behave like monarchs as Siddhasena did, while the account of his twelve year exile would have resonated powerfully with an audience which was familiar with the many Indian stories describing kings who were sent into the wilderness for this period. Like these kings, Siddhasena returns from exile transformed, in this case into a monk who has become fully aware of the potentialities that can be effected by devotion rather than technical learning.

Many other teachers were the subjects of Shvetambara hagiography, such as Kalaka who is credited with having induced the Scythians to invade western India at the beginning of the common era in order to avenge the honour of his sister, a nun who had been raped by a Hindu king, or Jiva who miraculously restored to life a dead cow placed in a Jain temple by malicious Brahmans, thus demonstrating that the Jain community would endure and insult from nobody (PC 7.128-53), or Mahadeva who saved the city of Taxila from the plague through the magic power of a hymn to the fordmaker Shantinatha and then predicted its destruction by Turkish invaders three years later (PC 13), or the eleventh century scriptural commentator Abhayadeva Suri who was aided by a goddess to find a buried image of Parshva which cured him of leprosy (PC 19). However, of a still greater order of significance for Shvetambara history are the two most eminent of the 'exalters' (prabhavaka), Haribhadra and Hemacandra.

The hagiographies describe two main events in Haribhadra's life. We have already encountered one of them, his conversion by the nun Yakini, at the beginning of Chapter 1. The second relates to Jainism's long antagonism towards Buddhism.

Haribhadra's nephews are described by the hagiographers as having clandestinely studied in a Buddhist monastery and, on being discovered, as having lost their lives. To avenge them, Haribhadra challenged the Buddhists to debate and, defeating them through his command of metaphysical learning, enforced a penalty jumping into a vat of boiling oil. As a result of his anger and grief for his nephews, both inappropriate for a Jain monk, he was required by his teacher to undergo penance. This story is somewhat problematic in the light of the many conciliatory remarks about Buddhism to be found in the works ascribed to Haribhadra, a topic I will return to later but, like the story of Siddhasena, it demonstrates how glory accrued to the Jain community through the defeat of its enemies and at the same time how the learning which brought about that glory is curbed by the obligations of the Jain religion.

Haribhadra is credited by Shvetambara tradition with having written fourteen thousand works. Although this number is obviously artificially high, some of the hundred or so texts with which Haribhadra can reasonably be connected are among the greatest masterpieces of Jain literature. Every area of concern to Jainism or literary genre which can be put within a Jain context—ritual, ethics, ascetic and lay behaviour, doxography, novelistic romance, satire, scriptural commentary and logicfalls within the ambit of this protean writer. The modern scholar Jinavijaya (1888-1976), who did more than anybody else to bring to light and publish many of the sources for medieval Shvetambara history, in fact argued that, on internal grounds, many of the works attributed to Haribhadra had to have been written considerably later than 529 CE, the traditional date of his death. Williams, in a paper published in 1965, took this idea further and suggested that there were two Haribhadras, one using an epithet alluding to his grief for his murdered nephews, 'Having Separation as a Distinguishing Mark' (Virahanka), the other styling himself 'Spiritual Son of Yakini' (Yakiniputra / sunu). The former could be differentiated from the latter on the grounds of his use of more archaic language and subject matter and according to Williams perhaps lived in the sixth century. Williams also produced evidence that Haribhadra the 'Spiritual Son of Yakini' was in fact a temple-dwelling monk and thus a representative of the group which, as we shall see in the next section, was to represent for later Shvetambaras the worst of all perversions of correct Jain practice.

That Williams' suggestions have remained unknown or ignored by Jain scholars in India is indicative of the high status which Haribhadra continues to occupy amongst Shvetambaras. For them, it is Haribhadra who was responsible for the creation of a truly autonomous Shvetambara literary culture through the integration into Jainism of both the style and some of the substance of the Brahman tradition of learning from which he had emerged and, from the eleventh century, Haribhadra was regarded as being the pivotal figure in the Shvetambara teacher lineage, a paragon of orthodoxy standing in the middle of the line of descent from Mahavira's disciples which led to the redical monastic reformers of the later medieval period. The rumour, known in the twelfth century, that Haribhadra was a templedwelling monk was easily, if somewhat dubiously, attributed to the fact that there was another, heretical teacher of the same name (GSS 57). One of the most urgent tasks to be undertaken by scholars of Jainism is a full scale investigation into the work of the 'Haribhadra corpus' and the formulation of some system of attribution and choronology.

If Haribhadra, however many teachers there may have been of that name, must remain for the present a somewhat nebulous figure, then Hemacandra is the most tangible of all the exalters of the doctrine. His fame is firmly rooted in a specific historical role with which all Gujarati Jains are familiar and which was in part responsible for establishing Shvetambara Jainism as a resilient and self-confident presence in western India. Of the

main writers who describe Hemacandra's life, Prabhacandra is concerned with those of his activities which specifically advanced the cause of Jainism (PC 22), while the fifteenth century chronicler Merutunga locates him in the broder context of a semi-legendary history of Gujarat.

Hemacandra was born in 1089 in the town of Dhandhuka near what is now Ahamedabad to parents of the Modha merchant caste. While still a boy, he was given to a Shvetambara teacher called Devacandra and initiated by him, being given the name Somacandra. The young monk's prodigious mastery of various branches of learning, Jain and non-Jain, led to Devacandra designating him as his successor, and in 1108 he was given the honorific title *Suri* and became a teacher in his own right who had authority over a group of monks and entitlement to provide his own exegesis of the scriptures. From that time he was known as Hemacandra.

The dominant concern in the biographies of Hemacandra is his relationship with Jayasimha Siddharaja and his successor Kumarapala of the Calukya dynasty who ruled Gujarat from their capital at Patan which, although now only a small town, was then one of the finest cities in India. Siddharaja, who ascended the throne in 1092, ruling to 1141, epitomised some of the main qualities of the ideal Indian king. Militantly aggressive towards his neighbours, he was also interested in learning and culture and to further this he appointed Hemacandra as his court scholar and historian, commisssioning him to produce a poetic-history of the Chalukya family and a Sanskrit grammar. Hemacandra's grammar, called the Siddhahaima, enshrining the names of patron and author, is still used by Shvetambara ascetics today.

According to Prabhacandra, Siddharaja, who was without a son, formed a desire to kill his nephew Kumarapala who astrologers had predicted would both succeed him and bring about his kingdom's demise (PC 22.358-60). Kumarapala was

only able to escape through Hemacandra hiding him under a pile of manuscripts (PC 22.368) and he had to remain outside Gujarat until with Siddharaja's death he was able to return to claim the throne. The motif of a hero fleeing the evil designs of a relative with the aid of a benefector and returning to regain his rights after a period of exile is a common one in folk literature throughout the world and may lead some to question the historicity of this episode, especially as the sources differ about Siddharaja's motives. However, there is unanimity about the close relationship formed between Hemacandra and Kumarapala, with the monk validating the prince's claim to the throne and, furthermore, apparently prevailing upon him to run both his life and his kingdom in accord with Jain principles.

Some of Hemacandra's writings were specifically directed at Kumarapala, such as the 'Treatise on Behaviour' (Yogashastra), which was designed to show him how to lead the Jain life, while towards the end of his version of the Universal History he portrays Mahavira as predicting Kumarapala's meeting with himself. As a result of this prompting, Kumarapala is said to have given up eating meat and he also issued edicts banning the slaughter of animals in his kingdom. Some accounts of his enthusiasm for Jainism sound a little hyperbolic, such as the vast fine supposedly imposed on a merchant for killing a louse, but the erection of many Jain temples, such as those a Taranga Hill in north Gujarat, would appear to testify to his sincerity.

Yet, as with the south Indian kings whom the Digambaras claimed to be Jains one suspects that the realities of Kumarapala's religious affiliations were rather more complex. Siddharaja was certainly a Shaiva Hindu and there is evidence of a teacher of that sect being rewarded by Kumarapala for restoring the famous temple to Shiva at Somnath. One of the most celebrated episodes in the hagiography of Hemacandra takes place at Somnath where, in the presence of Kumarapala, the monk summoned up Shiva himself to attest to the superiority of Jainism. This story has

the air of an allusion to Kumarapala's partiality for this god, and the most likely interpretation to put on Kumarapala's overall religious stance is that he allowed Jain moral values to inform both his own conceptual universe and the practical running of his kingdom, while also remaining a devotee of Shiva and participating in Hindu ritual kingship and its obligations. One Hindu text describes Kumarapala as re-entering the Hindu fold late in life, which certainly suggests that he was strongly associated with Jainism, and then goes on to describe how his successor persecuted the Jains. If an Indian kingdom run on purely Jain principles over did exist, then it was shortlived.

Hemacandra's main legacy is his literary works which embrace all the main branches of Indian learning, as can be seen from his epithet 'Omniscient One of the Corrupt Age'. It is not uncommon for scholars to berate him for his lack of originality, but that would be to miss the point about his achievement. Hemacandra's role was as the maintainer and systematiser of Shvetambara tradition rather than a radical innovator. While there may have been later figures such as Yashovijaya of more penetrating intellect, on one subsequent to Hemacandra was able to match his command of Jain learning.

The Temple-Dwelling Monks

According to the Shvetambara canonical commentator Shilanka, an ascetic cannot be said to be righteous simply through living in the forest. Righteousness, which comes from the avoidance of the destruction of life-forms, can be found in either a village or a forest but these places are not in themselves the determing elements for it. Mahavira, after all, did not preach with reference to one place of abode or another but to knowledge of the fundamental entities of existence and correct behaviour (Comm. on As 1.8.1.4).

Shilanka is here referring to two styles of aceticism, one based on relative isolation from lay society, the other involving some form of interaction with it, in terms of an ancient polarity going back to Vedic times, where the village represented the social world centred around the domestic fire while the forest stood for the unstructured world lying beyond it. Despite Shilanka's insistence upon the ultimate irrelevance of these distinctions, the idea of the forest as representing the proper domain of the true and upright ascetic life remained an ideal in Jainism, rather as the desert or the hermit's cave once did for Christianity and, although solitary habitation by Jain ascetics in the jungle or other such remote places quickly became exceptional, medieval Shvetambara chroniclers describe how in the eleventh century would be reforming monks, who saw themselves as fundamentalist in their uncompromising adherence to an ancient way of life, associated themselves with the forest with a view to challenging the temple-dwelling (caityavasin) monks who were sedentary inhabitants of temples in villages and towns and who had arrogated a central institutional role within the Shvetambara community to themselves.

By Shvetambara reckoning, the temple-dwelling monks appeared in about the fourth century CE, but it is impossible to trace their early history beyond the odd reference such as that to the king of Patan who banned non-temple-dwelling monks from his city (PC 19.71-6). However, by about the thirteenth century, chroniclers begin to describe debates which took place in Gujarat between the temple-dwellers and those reforming monks who attacked the entire basis of their mode of life. The main objection to the temple-dwellers was that they ignored the injuctions about following the wandering life and living only in the temporary lodgings appropriate to it, as a result of which they did not exercise any rigour in beginning for alms and the avoidance of violence. A further accusation was that the templedwellers misused temple funds in order to stage garish rituals involving loud music and dancing girls which were conspicuously similar to Hindu idiom. Their very appearance, with the coiffured hair, teeth stained with betelnut, immodest expressions, sleek bodies, feet and hands painted with lac and wearing of garlands and fine clothes, was enough to induce a frisson of revulsion in their upright opponents.

To invoke decadence or a decay in spiritual values in order to explain change comes naturally to Jain scholars but is of only limited explanatory value. The temple-dwelling monks represented an important, possibly majority, strand in Shvetambara Jain practice for several centuries, one which merits an attempt to be understood on its own terms. Its emergence can be seen reflected in the centrally important books of monastic law, the *chedasutras*, and their layers of commentary, which up to the seventh century introduce exceptions to general rules about behaviour with, for example, one text citing a variety of reasons why a monk might be permitted to give up the wandering life and stay permanently in the same place, such as unsatisfactory or dangerous conditions in the surrounding world, or a simple desire to increase knowledge.

The eleventh century teacher Sura justified the behaviour of the temple-dwelling monks as a natural expression of Jain values which, even if appearing deficient in rigour, should not be challenged by the laity. If it were not for the temple-dwelling monks. Sura is portrayed as arguing, then Jainism would have disappeared:

There would be a lack of temples today if monks did not live in them. Previously lay people took great care and interest in temples, teachers and the doctrine, but now because of the corrupt age they are so preoccupied with providing for their families, they scarcely go to their homes, let alone to the temple. The king's servants also because of their worldly interests no longer concern themselves with the temple. Eventually the Jain religion will be destroyed. Ascetics by living in temples preserve them. There is scriptural authority for adopting an exception to a general rule to prevent the doctrine falling into abeyance.

It was the intensity of the ascetic's connection with his lay supporters, built into Jainism from early on, which created the conditions for the emergence of the non-wandering monk (as it did for the Digambara *bhattaraka*) who, as a form of reciprocity to the laity, lived in and safeguarded those temples which were an expression of the totality of the Shvetambara community's religiosity.

Sura seems to have been defeated in 1024 by the reforming monk Jineshvara Suri in front of the court of king Durlabha at Patan, and a reading of the descriptions by the medieval chroniclers of the successive humiliations suffered in debate by the temple-dwelling monks at the hands of the reformers suggest that they were all but eliminated by the end of the thirteenth century. However, this would be to accept sectarian polemic. A record of a lost inscription describes how a conclave as held in 1242 involving both senior temple-dwelling monks, designated according to the shrines which they controlled, and 'lodging-dwelling' (vasativasin) monks, that is, medicants of the kind envisioned by the ancient texts, living only in temporary abodes on their wanderings and designated with reference to their teachers. The reason for the assembly is interesting enough in itself, a ban on the ascetic initiation of sons who had been fathered by monks as a result of a breach of celibacy, but the apparent lack of any confrontation suggests that the two groups of monks represented an acknowledged division of labour in the Shvetambara community, with one group managing the sacred places and the other fulfilling the wandering ideal. However, the increasing prestige of the reforming sects ensured that the temple-dwelling monks lingered on for several centuries only in attenuated or mutated form.

The Emergence of Shvetambara Gacchas

The Kalpasutra makes clear that from an early date the ascetic community was both internally divided into a variety

of branches descended from prominent teachers and highly organised in accord with an essentially unified view of what was entailed in the renunciatory path. The oldest and most basic unit of organisation was the gana or 'troop', denoting a small group of monks, although there were other organisational designations whose precise significance is often unclear. The uncertainty of the evidence before the eleventh century makes it difficult to locate any mainstream Shvetambara lineage, and indeed there most likely never was one. Shvetambara tradition refers to four pupils of Vajrasvamin (c. fourth century CE), supposedly the last teacher to be familiar with any of the purva texts, founding four 'families' (kula) or ascetic lineages called respectively Candra, Nirvriti, Vidyadhara and Nagendra (PC 1.116-18). Haribhadra is generally regarded as having belonged to the Vidvadhara Family, while there were monks claiming association with the Candra Family as late as the sixteenth century, presumably on the grounds of what was perceived as its antiquity and orthodoxy.

The old designations of gana and kula came to be replaced amongst the Shvetambaras in the medieval period by the term gaccha, an expression found in the latest parts of the Shvetambara scriptures, whose derivation is usually connected with the Sanskrit verb gacchati, 'goes' and is generally translated as 'sect' or 'subsect'. From the eleventh century in western India, there appeared a variety of image-worshipping Shvetambara gacchas, each claiming to represent a true Jainism as near to that stipulated in the scriptures as possible, although in reality often differing from other gachhas in very little respect, and headed by charismatic teachers, invaribaly entitled suri, whose legitimacy was enshrined in meticulously recorded lineage records going back to the disciple Sudharman which are among the most important sources for Jain chronology.

While the bulk of the literary accounts of this period centre around two groups which have survived to this day, albeit with differing fortunes, the Kharatara Gaccha and Tapa Gaccha, the existence in the past of a large number of other Gacchas with their own lists of teachers testifies to an extremely diverse Shvetambara ascetic world. One of the chroniclers of the Kharatara Gaccha attempted to account for the origins of this situation by describing how a tenth century Acarya called Uddyotana had, at the end of his life, consecrated eighty-four (a Jain round number) of his pupils as acaryas as a result of which there arose the same number of Gacchas (KhGPS p. 20). If the purpose of this account was to establish the existence of a single quasi-partiarchal figure as founder through whom descent could be traced, it was in reality the accelerating expansion of local affiliations and personal associations amongst Shvetambara ascetics which led to fissions within the community, with the names of some Gacchas having their origins in a particular region or caste, while others were designated by their founder's name or with referene to some important event in their history or particular ritual modification with which they were associated.

To take one example indicative of the last point: a sect still in existence, but as yet almostly completely unstudied from the historical point of view, is the Ancala Gaccha. This sect maintains that it took its name from the permission given by an acarya to a laywoman who had forgotton to bring a mouth-shield to the temple for ritual obeisance to use the edge (ancala) of her sari to cover her mouth instead.

The Kharatara Gaccha

According to the chroniclers of the Kharatara Gaccha, their sect arose as a result of a monk called Vardhamana abandoning his teacher, a temple-dwelling monk, in disgust with what he saw as his disrespect for the doctrine and starting a lineage of teachers whose sense of sectarian identity derived from victory over temple-dwelling monks in public debate.

Vardhamana (died 1031) is a shadowy figure whose authority is rejected by other gacchas and about whose origins the Kharatara chroniclers differ. One portrays him as having become Uddyotana's main pupil (KhGPS p. 20), while another states that he recieved the mantra which entitled him to become head of the sect directly from Dharanendra, the tutelary deity of the fordmaker Parshva (KhGBG p. 1). Certainly, in all the accounts of the central legitimating event in Kharatara history, the defeat of the temple-dwelling monk Sura at Patan in 1024, Vardhamana is pictured either as not being present or as delegating authority to his pupil Jineshvara, whose alacrity in debate was, according to most sources, responsible for the sect receiving the name Kharatara, that is, 'Particularly Sharpwitted' or 'Fierce'. The suris who came after Vardhamana, including his successor Jineshvara, are, as pictured by the chroniclers, among the liveliest personalities in all Jain history; scholars, installers of images, pilgrims, wizards, even children.

With the exception of canonical commentory Abhayadeva Suri, whose inclusion in the Kharatara teacher lineage was hotly challenged by other sect, the most famous and representative of the Kharatara suris were Jinavallabha and Jinadatta. Jinavallabha (eleventh century) had as a boy been a pupil of a temple-dwelling monk who provided education for the sons of the laity and who, because of the young Jinavallabha's precocity, had bought him from his mother to be his desciple. Once, Jinavallabha was left in charge of the temple library, whose contents were normally kept concealed, and read part of one of the manuscripts, which turned out to be the defining text of Shvetambara asceticism, the Dashavaikalika, whereupon he realised that the way of life he and his master had been following was not in accord with the scriptures. He then went to study with Abhayadeva Suri and was subsequently appointed his successor as suri, not without misgivings on the part of other monks because of his temple-dwelling background. It is with Jinavallabha that one of the alternative names of the Kharatara Gaccha, the Vidhisangha, the 'Assembly based on Scriptural Injunction' is associated.

Not all versions of this story tally in every respect. However, it is agreed that scripture occupied a central place in determining the course of Jinavallabha's career. It was recourse to the literal words of sacred texts which, through furnishing binding behavioural injunctions, governed the entire Kharatara approach to the ascetic life, and the supposedly heretical behaviour of their arch-enemies, the temple-dwelling monks, was specifically linked by the chroniclers of the sect to ignorance, misuse or travesty of the scriptural canon.

Few of Jinavallabha's works have been seriously studied but one which deserves to be better known is the 'Crown of the Assembly' (SP), a pressimistic and gloomy poem about the state of Jainism in the eleventh century which belies the triumphalist tone of the later Kharatara chroniclers and expresses its author's often sardonic views about the corrupt forces with which the then relatively small Kharatara Gaccha felt itself to be contending. Jinavallabha regarded himself as living in bad times, the Kali Yuga with as vengeance, in which the fort of the Jain doctrine had been captured by false ascetics and hordes of barbarians, in other words the Moslems, were perpetrating savage depredations (SP 40). To quote one verse:

'Now that the ascetic community has shown itself to have a body unequalled in ugliness, now that mighty armies of barbarians have appeared like the plague, now that the prophecy of the time when upright monks will not be honoured has come to pass, we are harassed because we expound the true doctrine by those who have united with the growing camp of the king of delusion to do his bidding (SP 40).'

It is Jindatta (1075-1154) who is the most celebrated of the suris of the Kharatara Gaccha and a wider range of activity is ascribed to him than to any other. While a boy, he was given by his mother to some Shvetambara nuns who saw in him signs of greatness. During his youth, the chronicler Jinapala records, Jinadatta evinced a degree of impulsiveness and abrasiveness (KhGBG p. 14) and in later years, when Suri, he was to be an energetic and aggressive advocate of the interests of the Kharatara Gaccha, as when he journeyed into Sindh, then a dangerous land under Moslem control, to gain converts. Jinadatta's carrer is presented by the hagiographers as being replete with miraculous deeds, such as raising the dead, which had little obvious connection with the 'great truths' of Jainism but nontheless glorified the religion, and they stress his contact with a supernatural world in which divinities come to his aid with warnings and Hindu goddesses overcome by his power grant boons which will ensure the continuity and safety of the Kharatara Gaccha.

Some of the chroniclers describe how a monument was erected to Jinadatta Suri after his death at Ajmer, with the spot becoming known as the Dadabari, the 'Garden of Dada'. He and three other later suris of the Kharatara Gaccha became affectionately known as the Dada ('Grand-dad') Gurus and are the objects of a cult centred around a variety of Dadabaris, built usually in the vicinity of temples, which is still popular in western India today. Jinacandra Suri (1139-65) was given the epithet 'Jewel-wearing' because he had a jewel in his forehead with which he performed miracles, Jinakushala Suri (1279-1311) through triumphal processions throughout the west gained many converts and Jinacandra Suri (1537-1612), after a vision of his predecessor as suri, instituted a reform of the Kharatara Gaccha and won concessions for the Jain community from the Moslem authorities. The Dada Gurus function rather like the saints in Christianity and are credited with the ability to intervene in human affairs when propitiated. One of the later chroniclers describes how Jinasakhya, who was Kharatara suri at the

beginning of the eighteenth century, was saved from drowning by mediating upon Jinakushala Suri (KhGPS p. 36), and many devotees of the Dada Gurus today ascribe their luck and prosperity to the intervention of these holy men.

The Tapa Gaccha

The image-worshipping Shvetambara sect which is by far the most dominant today both in numbers and significance is the Tapa Gaccha. This was founded in 1228 by Jagaccandra Suri who abandoned out of disgust for its lax behaviour the 'Figtree' (Vata) Gaccha, so called becuase it was supposedly under a figtree that Uddyotana initiated his pupils, which Tapa tradition regarded as the mainstream Gaccha. On seeing the intensity of Jagaccandra's austerities, a king gave him the epithet Tapa, 'Asceticism', which was subsequently applied to the Gaccha. Jagaccandra is an even more elusive personage than the Kharatara teacher Vardhamana and it is not until the sixteenth century with the great suri Hiravijaya that a member of the Tapa Gaccha stands forth as a clearly definable historical figure. It is also at this time that the Tapa monk Dharmasagara produced a variety of writings which represent the main source for the issues at stake in medieval Shvetambara sectarianism.

The language of Indian religious polemic was often extremely fierce but even by these standards Dharmasagara was an unusually dyspeptic controversialist. His main concern was to establish the centrality and uniqueness of the Tapa Gaccha and his writings are relentless exposures of what he saw as flaws in both the lives and doctrinal standpoints of other Jain teachers and the lineages which sprung from them. Indeed, there is evidence of attempts even within the Tapa Gaccha to suppress some of his writings because of their excessively aggressive tone.

Dharmasagara's most important work is called the 'Sun in the Eyes of Owlish-Heretics' or, more prosaically, the 'Examination of the Doctrine' (PP). Apart from the Digambaras,

who are disposed of with what had become time-honoured Shvetambara arguments, and the followers of Lonka who advocated the rejection of image worship. Dharamasagara's greatest ire is resreved for the Kharatara Suris, Jinavallabha and Jinadatta and, in a manner often strikingly modern in style through its analysis of textual sources, he attempted to show that the bulk of the Kharatara accounts of them were fictitious or self-serving and that no legitimate lineage could possibly have descended through these two teachers. In particular, Dharmasagara concentrates upon Jinavallabha's relationship with Abhayadeva Suri whose eminence ensured that he was included in both the Kharatara and the Tapa lineages, and he claims that there could be no possible pupillary connection between the two because Jinavallabha, as the erstwhile pupil of a temple dwelling monk, had never been properly initiated. That this remained an important issue can be seen from the seventeenth century Kharatara writer Samayasundara's claim that in 1560 a conclave of teachers from a wide variety of Gacchas formally announced that Abhayadeva Suri was a member of the Kharatara Gaccha (SSh p. 25).

The attack directed by Dharmasagara against the Kharatara Gaccha is long and involved but his objection, as to all other Jain sects, is clear. Teachers who started new lineages or who introduced, as Jinadatta did, innnovations in ritual were in fact setting themselves up as the equals of the fordmakers. There could be only one *tirtha*, one community with one correct form of practice and, although there may be many suris within it, it could be based only upon Mahavira with lineal descent proceeding through his disciple Sudharman. Furthermore, a particularly telling point against a sect like the Kharatara Gaccha which claimed to derive its authority from a fundamentalist adherence to the scriptures is that there cannot be any validation of practice through sacred texts alone for, while there is no action of the *tirtha* which is not in accord with scripture, the

tirtha cannot be based solely on scripture but must take its strength from a properly constituted teacher lineage.

For Dharmasagara, the true and uninterrupted lineage is, needless to say, represented by the Tapa Gaccha, and by arguing for its centrality he was attempting to impose a uniform orthodoxy upon a multifarious Jain identity. Clearly sensitive to the possible accusation that the Tapa Gaccha itself might be regarded as no more than one of a variety of sects which all came into being in the same way, Dharmasagara points out that Jagaccandra seceded from the Figtree Gaccha at the express command of his teacher, and the fact the name Tapa Gaccha does not occur before him does not, he claims, signify any new doctrine or change of behaviour but a confirmation of the ancient ascetic values upon which Jainism was based.

Controversy continued between the Kharatara and Tapa Gacchas for some considerable time, particularly over the great pilgrimage place of Mount Shatrunjaya. The conflict even proceeded on the supernatural level. One of the Kharatara chroniclers describes how at the end of the sixteenth century a suri called Jinacandra gained control of Manibhadra, the tutelary deity of the Tapa Gaccha (KhGPS p. 35), while another story describes how the sixteenth century Tapa Gaccha Suri Anandavimala invoked Manibhadra to defeat the god Bhairava who had been summoned up by the Kharataras. Such controversy seems improbably today when Kharatara ascetic numbers have dwindled to some 19 monks and 193 nuns, nearly all localised in Rajasthan, compared with the 1,179 monks and 3,680 nuns of the Tapa Gaccha.

Relations with the Moslems

The Shvetambara chroniclers preserve a faint echo of the dismay which must have attended the destruction in 782 of the city of Valabhi, the cultural and political centre of Western India, by Turkish invaders. This event marked the start of the

onset of Islam and a gradual restructuring of Indian polity and society, a result of which the Jains, although not totally excluded from political power began to assume the almost exclusively commercial role with which they have been associated to this day.

Jain relations with Moslem rulers were at some times friendly, at other times uneasy and conciliatroy as the attitudes of the Moslems varied. One of the earliest examples of this is the despoliation in 1313 of the temples on Mount Shatrunjaya by the Turks. Their restoration was in fact effected quickly by Samara Shah, a servant of Alp Khan, the governor of Gujarat, with the Jain even receiving financial asistance from his master to do so, a sign that the Moselems were on this occasion pragmatic enough not to let religious scruples lead to the alientation of an economically powerful minority. An interesting insight into Jain attitudes towards this whole episode can be found in the account written in 1336 by Kakka Suri which describes the restoration of the great temple of Rishabha at Shatrunjaya. He shows no interest in the motives behind the Moslem desecration, stressing instead that such occurrences are to be expected in the irreligious Kali Yuga, and Kakka Suri's real concern is in describing the lavish renovation of Shatrunjaya by which the Jain community demonstrated its prosperity, thus fitting it into a pattern of previous renovations performed by legendary Jain figures stretching back to the very beginning of the world era (NNJP 3.26ff).

However, the restoration of Shatrunjaya notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that the early period of Moslem rule in Western India saw the destruction and disappearance of a large number of Jain holy places and many one great shrines are now no more than names. References by the Kharatara chronicler Jinapala to the escape of one of Jinadatta Suri's disciples from slavery under the Moslems (KhGBG p. 18), Jinacandra Suri's magical rescue of some merchants by rendering them invisible

to Turkish raiders (KhGBG p. 21), and the difficulties involved in carrying out pilgrimages to the main Gujarati holy places (KhGBG pp. 62-4) testify to the pressure that was being exerted on the Jain community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The great manifestation of Moslem power in India, the Mogul empire, was founded in 1526 by Babur, an adventurer from Central Asia, and reached the peak of its glory with his grandson, the emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Akbar was deeply interested in religion and it is often said, in fact incorrectly, that he founded a new religion. Certainly, he did invite many teachers of various denominations, including Jesuits, to his court and Jain sources dwell at length on his relationship with Shvetambaa teachers.

Akbar seems to have been in contact with the Shvetambaras from a fairly early age. He was, for example, in possession of a library of Jain manuscripts which had been presented to him by a monk called Padmasundra. However, it was with the great preacher Hiravijaya Suri (1527-95), the head of the Tapa Gaccha, with whom he had the closest relationship. In 1587 Hiravijaya, somewhat late in his career (he had become suri in 1566), was summoned by royal edict to the imperial court at Agra. According to the Jain accounts, Akbar interrogated the Shvetambara teacher about the characteristics of true religion and, on being informed that it was compassion for all forms of life which was its most important consitutent, he was moved to issue decrees ordering the freeing of caged birds and the banning of the slaughter of animals on Shvetambara festival of Paryushan. When Hiravijaya departed after three years at Agra, he left behind one of his pupils, Shanticandra, who also prevailed upon Akbar to issue edicts banning the killing of animals as well as lifting the tax upon non-Moslems. The monks of the Tapa Gaccha were not the only Jain influences in the Moghul court, for the Kharatara Suri Jinacandra who visited Lahore in 1591 persuaded Akbar to protect Jain temples from Moslem assault.

However, the Shvetambaras also had enemies at court. Another of Hiravijaya's pupils, Vijayasena Suri, had to defend Jainism from a charge of atheism made to Akbar in 1592 and the attitude of the emperor's successor, Jahangir, towards the Jains was not always as begin as that of his father. Jahangir seems to have developed a strong animus against the Kharatara Suri Jinasimha, ostensibly because he had predicted an early end to his reign, while on another occasion he apparently banned all Jain monks from his kingdom. Jahangir's behaviour was unquestionably erratic since there is no doubt that at their is no doubt that at other times he viewed Shvetambara monks very favourably, appointing one to teach his son and in 1616 issuing an edict granting Jains freedom of worship. Indeed so inconsistent does the Moghul emperor's attitude towards the Jains seem to have become that it has been suggested that they represented for Jahangir, who had taken a vow of non-violence earlier in his life in repentance for a murder, a focus for his own turbulent and ambivalent feelings towards killing which, in the form of hunting and military activity, he was never really to abandon.

None of the Jain teachers who attended the Moghul court exercised any really serious influence over Akbar and Jahangir, and their main significance lay in their position as spokemen for an economically powerful but politically impotent group of imperial subjects. While many exploits by members of the Moghul royal family in the seventeenth century were financed by Jain bankers, this was no gurantee of immunity from persecution. In 1645, while govenor of Gujarat, Aurangzeb (later to become emperor) desecrated, and turned into a mosque, an ornate temple to Parshva dedicated at colossal expense by Shantidas Jhaveri, the richest and most influential merchant and financier of Ahmedabad. Although Aurangzeb's father, the empeor Shah Jahan, ordered the temple to be given back to Shantidas (in fact, it could never be used again), this event must

have been a stark reminder to the Jains of their powerlessness in the face of a dominant Islam.

Shvetambara Caste Conversion

The metaphysical doctrine that all souls are essentially the same and the constant reiteration in the literature from an early period that rank depends upon moral qualities rather than purity of birth ought to have ensured a thorough going egalitarianism within Jainism. However, the Jains have over the centuries evolved a caste structure in the sense that each individual belongs to a social group, originally endogamous, which ranks itself in respect to other groups. While the origin of such differentiation in part lay in claims of relative purity based around marriage alliances and interdining, today the prime determinant for Jain caste ranking is essentially economic status, with some castes being accepted as manifestly more prosperous and powerful than others and, despite some lingering conservatism, caste prescriptions do not play a vital role in Shvetambara Jain life any more. In the last resort, purity for Jains, is a matter of religion rather than society, something to be achieved, unlike Brahman purity which is perceived as innate and governing all social relationships.

Many Shvetambara Jain castes have their origins in the Patronage by particular families of a Jain teacher who in turn assumed a ritual role and recorded the history of that family's relationship with his *Gaccha*. Such castes generally take their names from the town or region in which legend suggests they arose and this gives a sense of 'rootes' to the caste members, who have very often migrated far from their place of origin, which supplements their identity as Jains. It is also significant for merchant society in north India that some of these castes also contain Hindus so that, depending upon context, religious affiliation can at times be subsumed under the broader caste designation of *bania* 'merchant'.

For the chroniclers of the deeds of the great teachers of Shvetambara sects like the Kharatara Gaccha, the conversion of Hindu clans, particularly in Rajasthan, and their subsequent linkage to and perpetuation of the gaccha of the converting monk is one of the major hagiographic themes. The motivation for such conversions to Jainism is not always connected by the chroniclers with any awareness of the truth of the tenets of Jain doctrine but is often brought about by the persuasiveness of a miracle-working Shvetambara monk who is able to compel allegiance through the obvious that the willingness of Jain teachers to link their teachers with the emerging regional vernaculars and popular poetic modes played a part in this process.

One of the most famous and successful castes is the Oswals who although containing Hindu Vaishnavas, are predominatly Jain and have spread outside the Marwar region of Rajasthan to be found wherever Jains conduct business. The Oswals originate and take their name from the town of Osian near Jodhpur and, according to Shvetambara history, they were lay follower of the Upakesha Gaccha, a lineage which seems to have died out at the beginning of this century. The chronicle of the Upakesha Gaccha describes how a monk called Ratnaprabha Suri who died eighty-four years after Mahavira was responsible for the conversion of the Oswals. In fact, despite attempts based on highly questionable interpretations of fragmentary inscriptions to locate Jainism in Rajasthan before the common era, there seems little doubt that Ratnaprabha Suri lived considerably later, possibly in the twelfth century.

The accounts of the activities of Ratnaprabha Suri contain motifs common to other conversion stories. According to the chronicle, he both restored to life the son of a prominant Brahman who had been bitten by a snake, thus creating the climate for other inhabitants of Osian to convert, and confirmed his power by his conquest of the town's tutelary goddess Saccika who was compelled to abandon her carnivorous habits and become

a Jain vegetarian deity. The sanctity of Osian was further guaranteed by the miraculous discovery of a buried image of Mahavira which was installed in a temple. The chronicle also describes how the attempt to remove the prominent nipples of this image, which brought about a miraculous flow of blood, led to Saccika predicting the eventual loss of Osian's prosperity and the scattering of the Oswal caste. (Also in EOJ, pp. 2883 - 2914)

JAINA SOCIAL CONDUCT

I JAINA WAY OF LIFE

Jainism is an ancient humanistic religion. It is a religion that aims at the highest development of the living beings to develop their spiritual power and prowess. It provides equal opportunity to all, rising above all caste and class divisions and distinctions, on the purification of head and heart, thought and conduct observing the basic teachings of the Tirthankaras.

Jaina philosophers and Jaina social figures have made rich contributions to the development of the society and the nation, both spiritually as well as socially in the field of religion, philosophy, literature, arts and architecture, culture, history, economic sphere etc. etc. Jaina society has a living culture; a culture of revolution of thought and conduct while Jaina religion upholds the Ratnatrayas to attain liberation, and its all embracing attitude has been a non-communal multiplicity accepting mentality, the Jaina social philosophy has emphasised on the observance of the Jaina ethical code.

According to M.L. Mehta*: "The Vedic or Brahmanic culture recognises four classes of society: Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. These classes are based upon birth. The four classes recognized by the Jaina or Sramanic culture are of a different sort. Their basis is not birth but conduct. They are Sadhus (monks), Sadhvis (nuns), Sravakas (laymen) and Sravikas (laywomen). Jainism grants full freedom to all human

^{*} Mehta, Mohan Lal: Social Conduct, EOJ, pp. 6583-6591.

beings to observe vows. It gives equal opportunity to all persons to practise self-discipline according to their capacity. The observers of vows are divided into two broad categories: lay-votaries and ascetics. The lay-votary is variously known as sravaka, upasaka, anuvratin, desavirata, sagara etc. The ascetic is differently designated as sramana, sadhu, bhiksu, nirgrantha, muni, yati, anagara, mahavratin, sarvavirata etc.

Small and Great Vows

Vows are of two kinds: small and great. Those who observe small vows (anuvratas) are called lay-votaries and those who practise great vows (mahavratas) are called ascetics. The layvotaries are house-holders, whereas the ascetics are homeless mendicants. The vows of a lay-votary are called small, because he is unable to desist from violence etc., completely. The vows of an ascetic are called great, in as much as he desists from all sins completely. The lay-votary's vows are partial, whereas those of the ascetic are complete.

Lay-votary

A lay-votary is enjoined to observe twelve vows: five anuvratas, three gunavratas and four siksavratas. The anuvratas are the fundamental or primary vows that he observes. The gunavratas and siksavratas are the supplementary or minor vows to enhance the strength of the anuvratas. The five anuvratas are related to ahimsa, satya, asteya, brahmacarya and aparigraha. Since these are observed partially by a lay-votary, they are called anuvratas in his case. An ascetic observes them completely, and therefore, in his case they are known as mahavratas. The anuvratas are technically known as: sthula-pranatipata-viramana, sthula-mrsavada-viramana, sthula-adattadana-viramna, svadara-santosa or svapati-santosa and iccha-parimana or parigraha-parimana.

Gross Violence

The sthula-pranatipata-viramana (abstinence from gross violence) vow depends on the distinction between subtle violence (suksma-himsa) and gross violence (sthula-himsa). Subtle violence means taking of life in any form. Abstention from this type of violence is obligatory for the ascetic. Gross violence means destruction of the higher forms of life, i.e., beings with more than one sense-organ. This sort of violence is also enjoined to avoid as far as possible the killing of beings with one sense, i.e., the sense of touch. Meat-eating is strictly forbidden, as it involves destruction of the higher forms of life. The consumption of alcohol and honey is also banned.

What is violence? The severance of vitalities out of passion is violence. It is wicked, because it causes pain and suffering to living beings. Killing horrifies all creatures, since every being wishes to live and not to be slain. The positive aspect of non-violence is compassion (anukampa-daya-karuna). It is the beneficent mother of all beings. It is manifested in the form of giving protection to all living creatures. Evil cannot dwell in a person crowned with the halo of compassion.

Violence may be committed in speech or in body or in mind. In other words, injury may be physical or vocal or mental. One may commit a sin himself, cause others to commit it or approve of its committal by others.

Gross Falsehood

The sthula-mrsavada-viramana (abstinence from gross falsehood) vow enjoins the lay-votary to abstain from gross untruth. It forbids uttered out of passion. This vow prohibits truth, too, if it provokes the destruction of a living being. That truth which causes pain and suffering to creatures is not commendable. In Jainism all the vows are intended to safeguard non-violence or non-injury.

Gross falsehood is defined as speech by which great suffering or great hurt is caused to another person or to oneself. Subtle flasehood is in the form of inaccurate speech used in play or in jest. The ascetic is forbidden to use both the forms. The layvotary must refrain from gross falsehood. He is enjoined to avoid harmful, harsh, cruel or secret speech and use balanced language. It gives satisfaction to all living beings and cuases hurt to none.

Gross Stealing

The sthula-adattadana-virmana (abstinence from gross stealing) vows forbids the taking of what is not granted by its owner. It is concerned with objects which are in the possession of others. Nothing that belongs to others is to be taken whether is a house or on the highway or on water or in the wood or in the hills. Appropriating trivial objects like rubble from the roadside without asking permission is not forbidden. The ascetic is prohibited to take anything, significant or insignificant, without asking permission. He is forbidden to appropriate even a blade of grass if it belongs to someone else and not given to him.

Carnal Connection

The svadara-santosa (contentment with one's own wife) or svapati-santosa (contentment with one's own husband) vows forbids adultery. Desisting from desire for sexual union with a married or unmarried woman or man who is not one's own wife or husband forms the essence of this vow. It prohibits casting evil glances at other women or men. It is positive in the sense of contentment with one's own wife or husband and negative in that of avoidance of the wives or husbands of others.

All sexual intercourse is to be condemned in the case of an ascetic. A lay-votary may be permitted, if he or she cannot resist the sex-urge, to have recourse to a limited use of his own wife or her own husband. If this restriction were not enforced, there would be a grave danger of a man having carnal connection with his mother or sister or daughter. Sexual intercourse with a prostitute etc. is also forbidden.

Limited Property

The iccha-parimana (limited one's desires) or parigraha parimana (limiting one's possessions) vows is concerned with setting limits for ones's land, money, gold, grain etc. The limits are in the form of a man's self-imposed restrictions on the extent of his property. This vow of limited possessions is based on limited desires. It is essential to restrict desires in order to restrict possessions. In all forms of possessions violence is implicit. It is, therefore, implied that if possessions are limited, violence, i.e., harmful activity is reduced to that extent.

Attachment to possessions is at the root of all evils. If a person possesses the idea of 'this is mine', he has to safeguard it. In safeguarding it violence is likely to occur. For its sake he may tell a lie. He may also commit a theft in connection with that object. Hence, limiting one's possessions or attachment to possessions is essential to curb evils.

The gunavratas cover a certain number of long-term restraints, whereas the siksavratas represent recurring exercises in self-discipline. The disaparimana, the upabhoga-paribhoga-parimana and the anarthadanda-viraman vows are known as gunavratas.

Confined Area

The disa-parimana (confining to an area of a certain extension) vow is meant to reduce quantitatively a man's sinful actions by circumscribing the area in which they can be committed. The more his movements are restricted the fewer living creatures will perish. The gunavrata helps the lay-votary in freeing himself from the empire of greed by putting the acquisition of wealth often out of his reach. The ban is a self-

imposed one and covers all directions including upward and downward movements. The vow is defined as the determination, by circumstances one's range of movement, to desist from minor sm until death.

Moderate Living

The upabhoga-paribhoga-parimana (observing moderation in eating, clothing etc.,) vow enjoins the lay-votary to lead a moderate life by placing a limit on different objects. It is concerned with (1) things used once or used internally such as food, betel, cooling paste, incense, or such acts as bathing (upabhoga) and (2) things that can be used repeatedly or used externally such as houses, furniture, clothes, jewellery, vehicles (paribhoga). It also puts a ban on the pursuit of fifteen cruel trades. The consumption of honey, alcohol, meat etc., the practice of eating by night and similar other sinful actions are also forbidden. The following are the fifteen cruel trades:

- (1) Livlihood from charcoal (angara-karman).
- (2) Livlihood from wood (vana-karman).
- (3) Livlihood from carts (sakata-karman).
- (4) Livlihood from transport fees (bhataka-karman).
- (5) Livlihood from hewing (sphota-karman).
- (6) Trade in animal by-products (danta-vanijya).
- (7) Trade in lac (laksa-vanijya).
- (8) Trade in alcohol (rasa-vanijya).
- (9) Trade in human beings and animals (kesa-vanijya).
- (10) Trade in poisonous articles (visa-vanijya).
- (11) Work involving milling (yantra-vanijya).
- (12) Work involving mutilation (nirlanchana).
- (13) Livlihood from setting fire to a forest and the like (davagni-dana).
- (14) Livlihood from drawing off the water from lakes etc.

(sarah-sosana).

(15) Livlihood from rearing anti-social elements (asati-posana).

Jainism admits only a limited number of ways of earning one's living. It forbids a profession that involves the destruction of living beings. The pursuit of profession in a pure way is permitted.

Purposeless sin

The anarthadanda-viramana (abstinence from purposeless sin) vow prohibits harmful activities that serve no useful purpose. Such activities are of four kinds: (1) evil thought, (2) negligent action, (3) giving of hurtful things and (4) preaching of sin. Wishing how others may suffer from defeat, punishment, bondage, mutilation, confiscation of all possessions and so on, is evil thought (apadhyana). Negligent action (pramadacarita) consists in cutting trees, digging the earth, sprinkling water and so on, without any purpose. Furnishing means of destruction such as poison, thorns, weapons, fire, rope, whip, stick, and the like, is the third kind, viz., giving of hurtful things (himsapradana). Using words that incite others to cause suffering and injury to living beings is the fourth kind, viz., preaching of sin (papopadesa).

Inward Balance

The four siksavratas include the vows of samayika, desavakasika, posadhopavasa and atithi-samvibhaga. The samayika (state of an inward balance) is an exercise in the attainment of equanimity or tranquility of mind. It is the cessation of all sinful activity and the concentration on harmless activity. It may be performed in one's own house or in any place suitable for the purpose. The individual intending to perform it must not be in fear of anyone. There should be no other cuase for anxiety to sway his mind in any direction. He must, like an

ascetic, observe all carefulness and control. The samayika should be performed as often as possible. It should last for a minimum of one *muhurta* (48 minutes). Its requisites include propriety of time, place, posture and mood and purity of mind, speech and body.

Limited Field of Activity

The desavakasika (limitation of dwelling-and-occupation area) vow is closely related to the disa-parimana vow. The former is a reduced version of the latter. The desavakasika vow limits the field of activity still further than in the case of the disa-parimana vow. Moreover, the disa-parimana vow is taken for one's lifetime, whereas the desavakasika vow include a room of a house, a whole house, a village or a township. Its duration generally covers the period from dusk to dawn. Other time-limits suggested are a night, a day, five days, a fortnight and so on, or even shorter periods such as a prahara (3 hours) or a muhurta (48 minutes).

Fasting Combined with Self-observations

The posadhopavasa (fasting combined with self-observation) vow enjoins the lay-votary to observe fast and concentrate on pure thoughts on different holy days. It forbids bodily adornment including garlands, perfumes and ornaments. Sexual intercourse and worldy duties are also prohibited in this vow. Thus, it has four spheres of application: (1) food, (2) bodily care, (3) sexual intercourse and (4) worldly occupations. With regard to food there are three possibilities: (1) a complete fast, (2) a fast in which the taking of water is permitted and (3) the taking of one meal a day. The vow may be carried out in any suitable place. The whole time should be spent in meditation, study, reciting scriptures and listening to religious stories, discourses etc. A suitable spot must be chosen, examined and swept either with a broom or with the flap of one's garment

before voiding feces, urine, spittle and the like. Similarly, a proper sleeping place must be chosen, examined and swept.

Sharing with the Guest

The atithi-samvibhaga (sharing with the guest) vow makes it obligatory for the laity to give alms to ascetics. Four things are offered to the ascetic: food, implements, medicine and shelter. He must be offered pure food with a pure heart. Implements such as clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, books, brooms and the like must be presented to him. He must be given wholesome and proper medicine. Suitable shelter must be provided for him. He is called guest because he comes on any day without any regularity or definiteness. He moves from place to place without transgressing his self-control. The lay-votary is forbidden to offer to the ascetic such objects by which livings beings may be killed, by which harmful activities may be provoked, through which misfortune is occasioned or disease spread or as a result of which fear is inspired or the recipient ruined. Jainism enjoins the giving of food etc., not only to the ascetic but also to the very young and the very old, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, strangers from another land, sick people and the like. As an expression of compassion, one should help those who are in need. Nothing that is prejudicial to right belief and right conduct should be given. Offerings to the spirits of the ancestors and other superstitious gifts are prohibited. One should use his wealth indiscriminately to assist all who are in misery or poverty.

Voluntary Death

The lay-votary as well as the ascetic courts voluntary death at the end of his life. This type of death is known as sallekhanas, samadhi-marana or pandita-marana. When there are situations which render the observance of vows impossible, one should court volunatry death. Such situations include accute famine, physical weakness, incurable disease, calamity, approach of death

and so on. The performance of voluntary death begins with a progressive withdrawal of food. It culminates in complete abstinence from food and drink. Confession and expiation of one's faults and forgiveness of all offfences committed against oneself make a man fit for voluntary death. He should spend his last moments in contemplation and meditation. In these critical moments he should be steadfast to withstand the assaults of various troubles. He is required to put aside all affection and enemity as well as attachment and acquisitiveness. He should abandon all dissatisfaction, sorrow, fear, dejection and the like. He should be free from all the passions.

Sallekhana or voluntary death cannot be called suicide, as there is no passion in it. Suicide is always committed under the sway of passion, whereas there is complete absence of passion in voluntary death. A person who kills himself by means of poison etc., is swayed by attachment, a version or infatuation. But he who courts voluntary death is free from desire, anger and delusion. The absence of attachment and other passions is essential for the right performance of volunatary death. When some serious danger threatens the body, the votary tries to avert it in a righteous manner without violating his vows. In case it is not possible to avert danger to the body, he tries to safeguard his vows at least. Such a produce cannot be called suicide.

Ascetic's Vows

An ascetic is required to observe five great vows. He is also enjoined to practise the vow of abstention from taking food and drink after sunset. The five great vows are pertaining to non-violence, non-falsehood, non-stealing, non-copulation and non-possessiveness. The ascetic is forbidden to commit any sin, subtle or gross. He is enjoined to refrain from all sinful activity, physical, vocal or mental. He should not commit a sin himself nor cause others to commit it nor approve of its committal by others.

Non-violence

The vow of non-violence or non-injury (pranatipata-viramana) is the most important of all the vows. It is safeguarded by the vows of non-falsehood, non-stealing etc. Violence is defined as the severance of vitalities out of passion. The vitalities or life-principles are ten: five senses, energy, respiration, life-duration, speech and mind. Violence is condemned, as it causes pain and suffering to living beings. Mere severance of vitalities is not sinful. When an ascetic goes on foot with carefulness, sometimes small insects get crushed under his feet and die. Still there is no bondage of sin in his case. Really speaking, passion is the cause of sin. Mere possible attitude even without the severance of vitalities constitutes violence. One who acts with passion or negligence commits sin whether death, injury, harm or trouble is caused to living beings or not. He who acts with proper care does not commit the sin of violence by mere injury.

Non-falsehood

Speaking what is not, laudable is falsehood. That which causes pain and suffering to living beings is not laudable, whether it refers to actual facts or not. Hence, the vow of non-falsehood (mrsavada-viramana) includes the abstention from untruth spoken out of passion, and from truth, too, if it provokes the destruction of a living being. It enjoins the avoidance of harmful harsh or cruel speech and the use of balanced language that gives satisfaction to all living creatures.

Non-stealing

Taking anything which is not given is stealing. The vow of non-stealing (adattadana-viramana) enjoins that nothing that belongs to others is to be appropriated. Not even a blade of grass is to be taken if it belongs to someone else. Thus, the ascetic is forbidden to appropriate even trivial objects without asking permission. The connection of stealing or theft with

violence or injury is established like this: Whoever takes the possessions of a man takes away his life, since they represent his external vital force giving him consolation. Thus, violence is a necessary concomitant of theft.

Non-copulation

Copulation or unchastity comprises the activity of man and woman prompted by sexual desire. The vow of non-copulation (maithuna-viramana) forbids the ascetic to embrace man or woman or any other creature out of sexual urge. Two reasons are generally advanced for the condemnation of all carnal contact: (1) In a moral sense the peace of the mind is disturbed by the increase of the passions of love and hate. (2) In a physical sense the sexual act is always accompanied by violence, as it is held that there are always present in the sexual organ of a woman numerous minute living creatures of which many perish during every act of coitus.

Non-possessiveness

Possessiveness is defined as attachment of possessions. It is related to the acquisition and protection of possessions such as land, gold, silver, grain, livestock, furniture, jewels and so on. The vow of non-possessivenes (parigrahaviramana) enjoins the ascetic not to accumulate possessions, not to indulge in attachment. Infatuation or attachment is at the root of all evils. The ascetic is required to be free from all attachment.

Avoidance of Night-eating

Abstinence from taking food by night (ratribhojana-viramana) is essential for the ascetic. It is known as the sixth vow and defined as the abandonment of the fourfold aliments by night out of compassion for living beings. The following are the fourfold aliments:

1. Asana—all that is swallowed. Grains, pulses etc., come under this category.

- 2. Pana—all that is drunk. Water, milk etc., form this variety.
- 3. Khadima—all that is chewed or nibbled. Fruits, nuts etc., some under this group.
- 4. Svadima—all that is tasted or relished. Pepper, ginger, betel etc., constitute this class.

The practice of night-eating is condemned vehemently by the Jaina authors on ethics. They argue that there exist many tiny insects completely invisible by night even when a lamp is lit. The food may be infested by such insects. Other organisms may also crawl or flutter into it. At night anything, for instance moths, mice, snakes, bones or hairs, may fall into the bowl of food. Where food is cooked and the platters are washed there is even greater violence by night. Thus, the practice of taking food by night provokes great destruction of living creatures. It is also said to be responsible for many diseases. The ideal ascetic takes food once a day. The next best eats twice. No ascetic will take food after sunset and before sunrise.

Essential Duties

Normally an ascetic should divide the day into four equal parts and fulfil his important duties in them. In the first part he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should go on his begging tour and in the fourth he should study again. He should divide the night, too, into four equal parts and perform his essential in them.

In the first part he should study, in the second he should meditate, in the third he should sleep and in th fourth he should study again. Thus, out of the eight parts of a day and night four are mainly for study, two are for meditation, one is for food and drink and one is for rest. Study includes reading or recital, questioning, repetition, pondering and religious discourse. Meditation or contemplation should be inquisitive and metaphysical.

To repeat again: In the first quarter of the first part of the day the ascetic should inspect his implements, pay his respects to the superior and then begin to study. In the third part he should beg food and drink for any of the following six reasons:

1. To quench hunger and thirst, 2. to serve the teacher, 3. to observe the rules of self-control, 4. to comply with the rule about walking, 5. to save one's life and 6. to meditate on the Law.

The ascetic may omit to beg food for the following six reasons:

1. in case of illness, 2. in case of a disaster, 3. to preserve one's chastity, 4. out of compassion for living beings, 5. in the interest of penance and 6. to court voluntary death.

In the fourth part of the day the ascetic should put away his alms bowl after having taken his meal and begin to study. In its last quarter he should pay his reverence to the superior and after having performed expiation of sins (transgressions) concerning the day (daivasika pratikramana) he should inspect his lodging. He should also inspect the place where his excrement and urine are to be discharged. Similarly, he should perform expiation of sins concerning the night (ratrika pratikramana) in the last quarter of its fourth part. He is, as a rule, required to abstain from all killing, lying, stealing, sexual intercourse and attachment.

Correct Behaviour

Monks (at least two in a group) should be content to live in a burial place or cremation ground, in a deserted house, below a tree, in solitude or in a place prepared for somebody else. They should live in a pure place which is not too much crowded and where no women live. Nuns (at least three in a group) should live in a pure and protected place which is not much crowded and where no men live.

The ascetic should not build a hosue nor cause others to erect one. The same holds good with the cooking of food and drink. Since he lives on alms, he should beg and not buy. He should not engage in buying and selling. He should collect his alms in small parts according to rules. He should contentedly go on his begging tour whether he gets alms or not. He is enjoined not to eat for the sake of pleasant taste but for the sustenance of life. Though overcome by thirst, he should not drink cold water, i.e., water having life (sacitta), but try to get distilled water, i.e., water without life (acitta). If he suffers from cold, he should not long for fire etc., to warm himself. If he suffers from heat, he should not long for a bath and the like. At one time he may have no clothes, at another he may have some. Under no circumstances he should complain about it. If he falls sick and suffers pain, he should cheerfully bear the ills that attack him."

JAIN RELIGION AND THE NOTION OF SOCIAL REALITY

Noted social science researcher, Anand Kashyap rightly observes: "In any notion regarding the nature of social reality the idea of change as well as that of something which constitutes "non-change" and which can integrate and diversity into some concept of unity is one of basic requisites. The exercise of finding out the nature of change and non-change is an eternal process of inquiry and has led to innumerable notions, hypotheses, philosophies and discoveries in the history of knowledge. While the dominant tradition in the West has been to comprehend reality as an objective phenomenon as "being there" with an independent ontological status, in Indian tradition the notion of "self" has played a dominant part in understanding that which does not believe in the ontological independence of objective

reality. While some schools of thought e.g., Lokayat do not subscribe to any notion of self as being different from the human body and accept the world as a perfect reality. Vedantins like Shankar in their non-dualistic perception of reality accept the self or "Brahma" as the only reality and see the world merely as an appearance or an illusion which is percieved as reality due to ignorance or avidya. In between these two extremities is located the philosophy of the Jains which maintains a dualistic concept of reality and believes that the world and the self both are real and there is no contradiction between the "being" and "becoming", for while "being" forms the essential "substance", "becoming", forms its "modes" or appearance.

The Jain view of reality is based on the principle of non-absolutism called syadvad which maintains that all points of view or the statements are relative and therefore each of them carries some grain of truth. Unity as well as diversity and continuity as well as change are all real and nothing is unreal or false. Syadvad or the principle of non-absolutism, in fact, is an extention of the principle or the value of non-violence or ahimsa from the level of action to the field of cognition or knowledge which intends to accommodate all points of view holding each of them as true. The doctrine of syadvad does not hold any thing as false or non-truth for it might injure the feelings of adherents to other faiths.

To Jain metaphysics, *jiva* (conscious being), karma (action) and *samasara* (world) are the three primary substance dialectically related to each other, each constituting a relative truth in relation to the other. But the essence or the ultimate truth can be realized only through perfect knowledge or the gnosis attained through penances or tapasya. It is this perfect intuitive knowledge that reveals the true or the absolute nature of the world as well as that of one's self or the true identity of both. It is only after attaining this absolute knowledge and by abiding in the pure and free consciousness of the self that the jiva *enthralled* in

the world through its present and past karmas (moral retributions) or deeds gets liberated from the folds of this unceasing karmachakra (birth and death cycle) and the world of miseries and attains salvation. The karma has been concieved as an expression of desire or vasana "a force of extroversion which takes the soul away from itself towards non-spiritual objects and ends."

There is the self (jiva) and non-self (ajiva) i.e., matter, and the jiva gets infatuated and inflicted with the karmic matter which is also present in the atmosphere in the form of ultra-microscopic infections it is through there inflow out one's consciousness called asrava which causes the bondage of the jiva called bandha.

It is the prime task of the jiva in the world to remedy out this karmic infection, one, by preventing a fresh infliction into one's consciousness, samvara, and, two, by shedding out the residual karmic infection through curative means called nirjara. All activities of body, mind and speech cause inflow of karmic matter called asrava. Good actions cause the virtuous karma (punya) leading to a happy and prosperous life and the bad actions called Pap-karma like anger, pride, greed, hypocrisy, himsa or violence, etc., lead to the miseries in life. A fresh inflow of the karmic matter called samvara can be checked by preventing the causes of this infliction through observing strict vigilence, discipline and hardships in practice and through reflecting upon the nature of the karmic infliction and the nature of the right path. Observance of the three great principles called Triratna exhorted by Mahavir Swami, viz., Samyak darshan (right faith), Samyak jnan (right knowledge) and Samyak caritra (right conduct), are the means to prevent this karmic infection.

The nirjara, or the shedding away of the karmic matter,

^{1.} Mahatma Gandhi as told in his own words, (Paris: UNESCO, 1958) pp. 77-8., G. C.: Foundations of Indian Culture, Vol. 1, (New Delhi: Books and Books, 1948), p. 68.

is affected through internal and the external austerities like fasting, mortifying the body, service, study, detachment, renunciation etc. Through such austerities and penances the soul gets purified of the karmic inflictions and is retored back to its primordial health and perfect normalcy called the state of kevalya in which the self is permanently absorbed into its own intrisic peace and bliss and is free from all desires. This is the ideal state of perfect knowledge, purity and freedom. The person or the jiva who has attained this state of kevalva or moksha (salvation) is known as a kevali, jin, or tirthankar. Buddhists call him Buddha and the Vedantins a Brahma jnani or sthitaprajna i.e., one who has realized or attained the ultimate reality and for whom there is nothing left in the world to aspire for. The basic ambition of every conscious being or jiva should be to undergo the educative and remedial process of sadhana or tapasya (spiritual discipline) and realize the true nature of one's self. As all actions lead man away from the primordial nature of the self, i.e., perfect peace and tranquility, it is in the very nature of the action to put him to bondage and miseries. Therefore in the Jain philosophy good and bad actions have been equally conceived as binding and man is advised to see freedom from all kinds of actions and take to renunciation.

The society or the world in Jain thought has been conceived as a given or as human condition with which man has to start his journey away from this bondage and work for his salvation. Thus the reality of the world or that of action is the reality of means and not an end in itself.

The concept of man is predominant in this view than any notion of society as a "collective consciousness" in the Durkheimian sense of the term, or its development in terms of its material existence about which Max Weber has been so much concerned in his *Protestant Ethic* and the Spirit of Capitalism. The dominance of the concept of man is not typical of Jain philosophy alone, rather it is the characteristic feature

of the entire Indian tradition. That is why Max Weber has been led to call it the "of her worldy" tradition. But this tradition cannot be called an individualistic tradition, for the concept of man here is not an "a social" but "a trans-social" one. While in Western society man is born as an individual with natural rights, in the Indian tradition he is born as a social category and realizes his identity as an individual only after the realization of his real or authentic self, and this realization of the self ultimately leads him to become a saint or a selfless man for the society. Commenting upon the attempts of Western scholars to comprehend Indian culture and society in the categories which are alien to this system. Dr. G.C. Pande aptly points out that:

The whole conception of man as a social animal whose rational being is exhausted by social roles and relations of society as a system of competiting individuals and classes is alien to the Indian tradition for which man is a spiritual being characterized by moral reason, individual indentity being inseparable from social roles, and classes being essentially cooperaitve.³

Thus in the tradition social being is not merely an institutionalized or an externally given reality participating in the social processes as a mechanamorphic being or as a vital being motivated to act as a consumerist or as a labourer. Similarly social consciousness is also not merely a sociocentric conscience collective responsible for all kinds of moral virtues, rather it is a primordial bond of "we feeling" of the family, an inner social experience of "esprit de corps" charged with the values of *ahimsa*, compassion, humility and sacrifice.

See, Thapar, Romila, "The Householder and the Renouncer in the Brahmanical and Buddhist Traditions", ed. T.N. Madan, Way of Life: King, Householder, Renouncer; (New Delhi: Vikas Pub., 1982), p. 274-284; and Tambiah, S.J., "The Renouncer: his Individuality and his Community," ed. T.N. Madan, p. 299-301.

^{3.} Pande, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 260-61.

With the non-absolutistic conception of truth and that of the world as a changing reality the doctrine of karma in Jain thought has attained special significance. While in the absolutist conception of truth as in Shankar Vedanta where the transcendental unity of consciousness conceived as *Brahman* (the Divine) is the only reality and the world is merely an illusion or an appearance or in other Vedantic schools where the grace of God is the unmoved mover or the prime mover of things. The notion of karma or human action has not been given as much significance as it has been in Jain philosophy. This grants Jainism the special status of being a non-fatalistic religion sometimes called *sramanism*.

But the word *sraman* is used for the other worldly ascetic who in order to achieve the goal of liberation takes to severe penances and austeritics, *i.e.*, *srama* in life and does not depend on the grace of God and not used for the *karmavadin*, *i.e.*, for the man working for attainments in the world. The doctrine of karma here impels man to inculcate moral goodness by uplifting his consciousness through penances and practicising the five spiritual vows called five yamas in Patanjali's Yogsutra, Panchshila in Buddhism and Panch-mahavrat in Jainism. They are *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacarya* (celibacy), *satya* (truth), asteya (non-stealing) and *aparigraha* (non-possession).

The doctrine of karma together with the notion of the world as a reality grants some scope for social change or development but again this concept of social development is constrained through several limitations of the moral nature and is not allowed to take an independent course or directionality and speed. Unlike Vedic aspirations material development or prosperity has never been the prime or a dominant goal of this *sramanic* culture. Thus the notion of social change is through or via the inward journey of man into his own consciousness which ultimately turns out to be social in purpopse and is not merely confined to individualistic gains.

In the Jain scheme of things every adherent to this philosophy is a prospective monk or an ascetic pursuing the goal of self-realization on one hand and on the other hand dealing with the world or samsara according to the norms laid down by the precepters.

Instead of a one dimensional horizontal movement of the consciousness, i.e., towards the ephemeral externalities of life, what is envisaged in the Indian tradition in general is to move vertically towards the higher values of self-realization. Thus the lever of social change works through the transformation or upliftment of the consciousness of the individuals rather than through any collective action or through the change of social structure or institutions. The ultimate aim is to attain the state of desirelessness. Therefore, the relativity of the pap (vice or bad-actions) and punya (virtuous acts) is also expected to be abandoned and a life abiding in pure consciousness is the goal to be aspired for. A person of the Jain religion is admonished to transcend the relativity of good and bad actions both, for as Parmatmaprakasa exhorts, meritorious action leads to wealth, wealth to pride, pride to infatuation and infatuation to sin (therefore) let there be no good actions for us."4 As good acts also lead to hell in the end, a wise man is he who considers even a virtue to be a vice and is not satisfied with anything less than self-realization. Thus the concept of morality is merely a relative one which enables man to discriminate between good and bad actions to conduct his worldly life.

To conduct the social life of a householder (sravaka) in accordance with the dharma morality, people are adviced to stick to good actions and practise the five moral precepts or anuvratas, viz., ahimsa, satya, asteya, brahmacarya and aparigraha and ultimately aspire to be a sramana or monk.

In spite of the fact that the Jain religion together with its

^{4.} See Dayanand Bhargava, *Jain Ethics*, (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass). p. 76.

other counterpart Buddhism - both constituting the hetrodox systems of Indian philosophy — to a very great extent had emerged as protestant religions in reaction to the Brahmins' excessive concern for the karma-kanda, i.e., sacrifices and growing social inequality and injustice to the depressed sections, had given scant attention to any direct collective action or the structural transformation of society. While sramanism, on one hand, is a development forward from the Brahamanic ritualism as regards the growth of awareness is concerned, on the other hand, it is an escape from the life and reality of the world. While the Vedic-Brahmanic religion had a clear idea of the social order based on the varna-asrama system, Jains did not subscribe to this notion of the hierarchical ordering of society and had opposed it on the principle of ahimsa and samanata (equality). To them discrimination based on birth or ascription was unjust and violated the moral virtues of 'equality' and 'non-violence' (ahimsa). They had attained self-knowledge and was leading a life of peace and purity. The greatest contribution of Jain thought to post-vedic Indian society lies in its emphasis on the value of ahimsa which carries the complete meaning or the essence of dharma and encompasses all other moral virtues as compressed in one single whole. Emphasis on samanata or equality forms an important dimension of the value of non-violence for all jivas or that living beings carry the same consciousness and therefore are to be treated on the same par without making any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, colour, social status or any such category which corresponds to the non-self or the materiality of the things.

In spite of the fact that in contrast to Vedic Brahminism the Jains have been able to evolve a profound concept of man as an individual, conceiving him as a dynamic being into a journey from the "I" to the "I" and from "alone", they could not evolve any positive concept of society, social action and social development. Therefore, Jain thought is mostly known

as a world renouncing sramanism. There is no provision for realiszing the self without renouncing the word as it has been provided in the Ishopanishad or in the Bhagvad Gita. Max Weber calls the Jain notion of supreme holiness "homelessness," the break of all worldly relations.⁵ To Weber a man who only feels and thinks "I am I" is homeless. Such a person neither yearns for life nor for death. Along with this kind of individualism obtained in this system which does not connect or culminate into some such encompassing reality as that of God or Brahman the Jain belief or metaphysics is lost on the one hand at the level of transcedence, for it does not believe in any God as the omnipotent existence, and on the other, it does not accept the world of karma (actions) as a complete or the primary reality to live in. While the reality of the world and that of karma (action) is accepted as a necessary evil and assigned a secondary status in contrast to the reality of the self or consciousness, the self has also been left alone as a "monad" unconnected with other individual selves. Thus the Jains believe not in one, but many Gods, all realized souls or siddhas or tirthankaras are Gods. This double nature of the reality unconnected with any single notion of truth like that of the Upanishadic Sarvam Khalvidam Brahman (all is divine) draws man into a dilemma of "this worldliness" and the "other worldliness." Spiritual thought growing from the notion of ritualistic social order of the Vedic Brahmanism to the Jain sramanism. i.e.. from the external ritualism to inner contemplative sadhana of realizing the self, ultimately culminates in the Upanishadic philosophy of the Bhagvad Gita. The notion of the Niskama Karma Yoga of the Gita seeks to synthesize inner worldliness with other-worldliness, i.e., the reality of the self or Brahman with the reality of the world of social action. The Yoga or the realization of the self has been defined here as the art of performing an act in the

^{5.} See, G.R. Madan, Western Sociologists on Indian Society, (Bombay: Allied Pub. Private Lted., 1979), p. 110.

world—"Yoga Karmasu Kaushalam.6 In this concept of karmayog the other worldly asceticism or renunciation has been internalized and integrated into the mechanism or the structure of the very act itself. The spiritual disciplining of the sadhana into karmayoga admonishes the aspirant to perform all worldly actions according to his nature and social duties and to derive inner bliss (ananda) in the act of performance itself, and says that one should not anticipate or crave for the result or the rewards accruing from that act, "Karmanya vadhikaraste ma faleshu kadachanah." This means that as ananda is the basic nature of the self it should be derived from within and the action should be performed in the world without any external dependence for the reward. This means that like a true Yogi a man must learn to act in a detached manner and live in the present, refraining from speculating about the past or future. This notion of the Gita comes very near to the Calvinistic doctrine of "work is worship", but while in Calvinism this motto serves merely as an "ethic" to be followed, in the Gita, it has been concieved as a Yoga, i.e., as an inner discipline to be practised and learnt, for this kind of worldly action too ultimately leads one to the realization of his authentic self or the ultimate truth. Thus while in the Jain philosophy action or karma has been detached from the process of attaining self-knowledge, in the Bhagvad Gita it is transformed into the karmayoga, ultimately culminating in self-realization.

In considering this dialectial process of the development of spiritual thought in India, perhaps it could be hypothesized that a Jain Tirthankar or a Kevalin and Mahatma Gandhi are the two facets of the same reality and form two ends of the same stream, mutually supplementing each other. Buddha and Mahavir were the first to portray the siddha or the "saint tradition" as different from the orthodox ritualistic tradition of the Brahmins; this tradition forms the very foundation of Indian spirituality.

^{6.} Srimad Bhagvad Gita, Ch. 2.

^{7.} Ibid., Ch. 2.

With slight modifications in the methods of sadhna and with adaptations according to the changing historical conditions, this tradition continues even today. Nanak, Kabir, Tulsi, Ramkrishna Paramhamsa, Vivekanand, Sri Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi are the land-marks of this heritage. Mahatma Gandhi, here, forms a type of his own who had ried to realize truth through karmayoga and ahimsa and had broadened his field of sadhna from the solitary recluse of some forest cave to the wider field of the entire nation and society. It was Gandhi who had used the Jain value of satya, ahimsa asteya, aparigraha and Brahmacharya, as the moral weapon to bring change in the society and blended them with the conept of karmayoga. Gandhi was the most powerful exponent of the synthesized philosophy of the Jains and that of the Gita and perhaps the only saint and mass leader who could offer an indigenous model of development and change based on the traditional values of aparigraha and ahimsa. If we can recognize some grades in the evolution of human consciousness and if the available models of social reality and that of social development have any bearing upon it, then we can look to three such available models and reflect upon them. These models are: (1) the Marxist "Conflict" model, (2) the functionlist's "Consensus" model, based on liberal values and (3) the Gandhian model based on "peace and non-violence." It is the Gandhain model which seeks to reconcile and synthesize the individualistic and the collectivistic notions of development, on the one hand, and on the other, tries to bridge the gap between reality and "this worldliness" and other worldy pursuits.

To Gandhi non-violence was the principal value which worked more as a positive force than a negative concept. In the notion of satyagraha Gandhi had very successfully blended the principle of ahimsa (Non-violence) with that of 'Truth' (satya) and had used it as a means for achieving agreement or consensus in society. As Bondurant puts it, "satyagraha as

a social instrument has projected the traditional ethical laws into the realm of social action."8 In its simplest forms satyagraha means the resolution of conflict arising out of differences of opinion through the convertibility of the oppressor and this implies an inner transformation of the man. As Joan Bondurant points out, the "immediate goal is not the triumph of his substanital side in the struggle—but rather, the synthesis of the two opposing claims."9 To Gandhi non-violence does not merely mean "non-injury" or merely the absence of violence, rather it is as Lannoy puts it "a synthesis arrived at by resolving an inner conflict beween aggressive and non-aggressive instincts. Non-violence is not an instinct but an ethical stance which demands long training and self-discipline."10 Thus non-violence in Gandhian action implies the ability to strike and a conscious restraint with a feeling that if the vengeance is superior to passive and helpless submission, forgiveness is still higher. Like Buddha or Marx. Gandhi accepts the reality of the struggles or conflicts in society but for resolving them he neither advocates the renunciation of the world nor a violent struggle, rather he offers to be a satyagrahi and attempts to bring an inner change in the opponents' attitude through is a part of the traditional Jain or saintly mystique, that 'realization of truth mutually liberates both parties and establishes them in love for all."11 Satyagraha is a tapasya (penance) or voluntary suffering directed towards social action and this ultimately results in a dialogue and equality. The Gandhian philosophy of satyagraha also rests on the traditional saintly premise that the irreducible zero or what medieval saints have called deenata (humility) is more

^{8.} Boundurant. Joan: Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict, (Berkeley: University Press, 1958), p. 110.

^{9.} Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

^{10.} Lannoy Richard: The Speaking Tree: A Study of Indian Culture and Society, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 379.

^{11.} Ibid., p. 382.

powerful than any other strength or force just as, to put it in a Taoist metaphor "water is superior in strength over the rock."

While Gandhian social and political action drew their strength largely from the concept of satyagraha—a synthesis of the Jain ethics of satya (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence), his economic ideas are very largely based on his notion of "Trusteeship" which again was a social application of the sramanic values of aparigraha i.e., non-possesion and asteva or non-stealing. To him economic equality was the master-key to non-violent independence. He said, "working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. A violent and bloody revolution is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing that for common good."12 At this point while Marx would never, believe that any change in the exploitive attitude of the wealthy could ever be achieved without some kind of violent struggle or shock, the traditional Indian belief that there is a spark of divinity and fundamental goodness present in every being prompted Gandhi to adopt the method of uplifting the level of consciousness or self-awareness through the non-violent method of satyagraha. This would make the opponent realize the truth rather than resort to coercive and violent methods of change. To him coercion or violence belonged to animal consciousness and if there is any "evolution" of human consciousness then ahimsa forms a very important ingredient of it. Thus Gandhi appealed to the wealthy to act as a "Trustees" rather than as the owners and consumers of it for their own luxuries.

To evaluate the Gandhian model of social reality and social development in terms of its political "success" to my mind appears to be a misconception of the word "success". The basic intent of the Indian philosophical and spiritual tradition including that of the successes but to prepare for the *sadhna* way of life

^{12.} Gandhi M.K.: All Men are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi.

and to grow into a karma yogin. In tune with Jain philosophy Bhogaishvarya or the maximization of the vital satisfaction does not from the basis Gandhian model of social development. It is the realization of the self through some kind of sadhna (inner discipline) to become a selfless man in the society which forms the crux or the core reality of the Indian tradition; and the Jain sramanism and the Gandhian praxis constitute the two most important facets of this reality.

I have attempted here to look at the Jain philosophical thought not as an isolated system of ethical values and metaphysics but as a phase in the dialectics of the Indian tradition which has contributed most in the formation of the structure of traditional values in this society. The completenss of the Jain *sramanic* values largely rests *Upanishadic*, saints' traditional of the medieval times and the modernization of the tradition values along with the traditionlization of modernity done by Mahatma Gandhi and his synthesized philosophy in the recent past.

From the point of view of social reality as it is expressed in the form of "collective action," Mahatma Gandhi has been the most powerful exponent to give a social meaning to Jain philosophical thought.§

[§] Kashyap, Anand: Jain Religion and the Notion of Social Reality in Singhvi, N. K.'s Ideal, Ideology and Practice, pp. 112-122.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- * All India Digamber Jain Directory 1914
- * All India Svetambar Jaina Directory, 1914. Altekar, A.S.
 - History of the Rastrakutas and their times.
 - State and Government in Ancient India.
- * Barnett
 - Antagada-Dasao
 - Anuttaravavaiya-Dasao
- * Barodia
 - History and Literature of Jainism.
- * Beal
 - Life of Hiuen-Tsang.
- * Beni Prasad
 - The State in Ancient India.
- * Bhattacharya, J.N.
 - Hindu Castes and Sects.
- * Bombay Gazetteers (Bombay).
 - Vols. XXII—XXV.
- * Bool Chand
 - Lord Mahavira, Benaras, 1948.
- * Bose, A.N.
 - Social and Rural Economy of Northern India.
- * Boundurant, Joan.
 - Conquest of Violence : The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict. Berkeley,

University Press, 1958.

* Buhler

- Indian Sect of the Jainas.
- * Census of India (1911): A Govt. of India Publication
- * Chanchreek, K.L. and Jain, Dr. Mahesh
 - Jain Agams: An Introduction to Canonical Literature. New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Art and Architecture: Northern and Eastern India. New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Art and Architecture: Western and South India. New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Economic life.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Philosophy, Vol I.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors 2004.
 - Jaina Philosophy, Vol II.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Religion: History and Tradition.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Social life.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jaina Worship and Rituals.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jainism and Western Thinkers.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributors, 2004.
 - Jainism: Rishabha Deva to Mahavira.
 New Delhi, Shree Publishers and Distributers 2004.

* Chanda

— Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. No. 1.

* Charpentier

— Uttaradhyaya.

* Cowell and Neil

- Divya-Avadan.

* Crooke, William

—Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces.

4 vols.

* Cunningham

- Ancient Geography of India.

* Dalal, C.M.

- Poravada Vamikone Itihasa.

* Davids, Rhys (Mrs.)

- Book of Kindred Sayings.
- Buddhist India.
- Dialogues of the Buddha.

* Dalamaine, Maj.

 On the Shravacs or Jains: Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I, 1827.

* Dey

- Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.
- Notes on Ancient Anga.
- * Digambara Jain Directory [1914].

* Doshi, C.M.

Dasa Shrimali Jaina Baniya of Kathiavar.

* Dundas Paul

— The Jains: New Yorks, Routledge.

* Dutt, N.K.

- Origin and Growth of Caste in India.

* Elliot and Dowson

- Social and Cultural History in Northern India.

* Enthoven, R.E.

- Tribes and Castes of Bombay. 2. Vols.

* Gait, E. A.

Encylopedia of Religion and Ethics.
 (Multi Volume set).

* Gandhi, M.K.

— All Men are Brothers (Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi).

* Ghoshal, U.N.

— Hindu Revenue System.

* Ghurye

- Caste, Class and Occupation.
- Caste and Race in India.

* Glasenappa, H.V.

- Jainism.

* Hamilton, B

 On the Shravacs or Jains: Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol I, 1827.

* Hemacandra

- Parisishta-Paravan.
- Trishasti-Salaka.

* History of Osvalsas.

- Jaipur, Rajasthan.

* Hoernle

- Uvasaga-Dasao.

* Hultsch

- Baudhayana Dharama Sutra.

* Iyer, L.K.A.

— Maharashtra Tribes and Castes.

* Jacobi, Hermann

- Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII.

* Jain, B.L.

- Agraval Itihasa.

* Jain, Hiralal

Jain Itihasa Ki Purva Pithika aour hamara
 Abhyuthana. 2. Pts.

* Jain, J.C.

Life in Ancient India.

* Jain, J.L.

- Jaina Law.

* Jain, K.P.

- Ashta—Sakha Upajati : Jain Antiquary. 1938.
- Samkshipta Jain Itihasa. 2 Vols.

* Jain, P.D.

— Vijatiya Vivaha Mimamsa.

* Jnanasundarji

— Jaina Jai Mahodaya.

* Jha, Shaktidhar

 Aspects of Brahmanical Influence on the Jaina Mythology.

* Jinavijaya Muni

— Jaina-Pustaka Prasati Sangraha.

* Kane, P.V.

— History of the Dharma Sastras.

* Kashyap, Anand.

 Jain Religion and the Notion of Social Reality (In. N.K. Singhvi's Ideal, Ideology and Practice)

* Ketkar, S.V.

- History of Caste in India.

* Kudale, B.D.

 Dakshinetila Chara Potajati—Pragati ani Jinavijaya-Vol. 45.

* Law, B.C.

- Buddhaghosa.
- India as Depicted in Early Text of Buddhism and Jainism.
- Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India.

* Mcrindle

- Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.

* Macdonell

- Vedic Index.

* Madan, G.R.

Western Sociologists on Indian Society.
 Bombay, Allied Pub. Private Ltd., 1979.

* Meyer, J.J.

- Hindu Tales.

* Miles, William

On the Jains of Gujaratha and Marwar:
 Transactions of Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 3.

* Mishra, J.S.

- Pracina Bharat Ka Samajik Itihas.

* Om Prakash

- Pracina Bharat Ka Samajik Itihas.

* Pargiter

- Ancient Indian Historial Tradition.
- Dynasties of the Kali-Age.

* Phaltone, L.A.

- Setvala Jaina Lekanchi Mahiti.
- Jaina Dharmachi Prachina Avastha :
 Pragati ani Jinavijaya

* Pradhan

- Chronology of Ancient India.

* Ramalalji'

- Mahajana Vamsa-Muktavali.

* RayChaudhari,

- Political History of Ancient India.

* Risley, H.H.

- People of India.
- Tribes and Castes of Bengal., 2004.

* Russell, R. V.

Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces
 Vols.

* Rice, Lewis

- Mysore and Coorg.

* Richard, Lannoy

— The Speaking Tree: The Study of Indian Culture and Society. London, OUP, 1971.

* Rockhill

— The Life of Buddha.

* Sachau

- Alberuni's India (India as depicted

by Alberuni).

* Sammadar

- Glories of Magadha.
- * Senart, E.
 - Castes in India.

* Srimad Bhagvad Gita

- Gorakhpur, Gita Press.

* Sharma, B.N.

- Social Life in Northern India.

* Sharma, R.S.

- Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History.
- Purva-Madhyakalin Samaj aur Arthavyavastha par Prakash.

* Sherring, M.A.

- Hindu Tribes and Castes, 2. Vols.

* Sripalachandraji

— Jain Sampradaya Siksha.

* Smith, Vineet

- Early History of India.

* Svetambar a Jaina Directory [1914].

* Suri, Vimala

- Paum Caria.

* Takakusu

— On Travels of I-Tsing.

* Tank, U.S.

- Jaina Historical Studies.

* Tawney (Penzer, Ed.)

- Kathakosa.
- Katha Sarita Sagara.

- * Thurston, E.
 - Tribes and Castes of South India, 4 Vols.
- * Tod, Col. J.
 - Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 2 Vols.
- * Vaidya, C.V.
 - History of Medieval Hindu India.
- * Watters
 - Travels of Yuan-Chwang.
- * Wilson, Dr.
 - Works by Wilson.

and control of industry and trade was primarily in the hands of the mercantile class and they occupied a prominent position in the society. Volume seven traces how Jaina society developed through the ages as a dynamic and value based social order. Mahavira never differentiated between Aryans and the non-Aryans, the rich and the poor while addressing his sermons. Thus Jaina society never believed in caste gradation. Volume eight and nine are devoted to the study of Jaina Art and Architecture having a long and continuing rich tradition which flourished in various parts of India under royal patronage during different periods of history and remained fully dedicated to the service of the religion of the Tirthankaras. Volume ten is a comparative study of Jaina religion and philosophy and includes selected writings of Western scholars like O. Walther Shubring, Dr. J.G. Buhler, Hermann Jacobi, Dr. H. Zimmer. Max Weber, Miss Elizabeth Frazer, M. Guerinot, Dr. O Pertold etc. The last Volume number eleven traces the historical evolution of the Jaina faith and the long chain of its twenty four Tirthankaras beginning with Rishabha Deva. In this volume considerable emphasis has been given on the first Tirthankara and the twenty fourth and the last Tirthankara Mahavira.

It is hoped this Encyclopedia containing valuable and thoughtful material on various subject-themes of *Jain* religion and philosophy will be helpful in understanding ideals and practices of this ancient religion of India and welcomed by Indian and foreign scholars as well as general readers.



K.L. Chanchreek is a great scholar, *Indologist* and academician. Born in *Delhi* and educated at *Agra*, *Delhi* and *Punjab* Universities, he served as Research Assistant and Member, Experts Advisory Committee, *Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology*, Chief Librarian, M/o *Commerce and Industry*, General Manager, Modern Food Industries, Chief Editor, Collected Works of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (*Dr. Ambedkar Foundation*) and Academic Adviser Bundelkhand University.

He has edited several literary and social journals, written and compiled books and research publications on a wide range of subjects like *Jainology, Buddhism*, literature, history, library and information science, *Dalit* movement, international and current affairs as well as on national leaders.



Dr. Mahesh K. Jain, born at Rohtak in 1950 and educated at Hathras, Agra and Meerut, obtained his M.A. (Econ.) and M.Com, degrees from Agra University and Ph.D. (Econ.) from Meerut.

Basically an academic, Dr. Jain is associated with several social, literary, cultural organisations and possesses expertise in Print-Media.

He has written and edited nearly two dozen research publications on various subjects like: Management, Financial discipline, Planning, Research Methodology, Literature, and Jainology both in English and Hindi. Some of his published works are:

(1) Jain Agams; (2) Jaina Art and Architecture: Northern and Eastern India; (3) Jaina Art and Architecture: Western, South India and Jaina Bronze in Museums; (4) Jaina Economic Life; (5) Jaina Philosophy-in 2 Vols.; (6) Jaina Religion; (7) Jaina Social Life; (8) Jaina Worship and Rituals; (9) Jainism: Rishabha Deva to Mahavira; (10) Jainism and Western Thinkers; (11) Consumer Behaviour; (12) Research Methodology; (13) Management: Principles and Techniques; (14) Elements of Marketing Management; (15) Lord Mahavira; (16) Agricultural Productivity and Cooperative Credit; (17) Rojgar Siddhanta and Rajasva(H); (18) Samastigat Arthik Siddhanta(H); (19) Rajasva ke Siddhanta(H); (20) Bhartiya Niyojan(H).



SHREE PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS 20, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi- 110002 www.shreepublishers.com

